**Chapter 6: A sketch of the Portuguese tense and aspect system**

I present here my account of the Portuguese tense and aspect system, from a Portuguese point of view. After a motivation of this approach in Section 6.1, I start by describing the categories pertinent to Portuguese for the language as a whole, providing relevant evidence. Then, I consider the import of several grammatical devices, following closely the model of semantic partitioning suggested in Chapter 4.

The description of the English tense and aspect system in the previous chapter was biased in the sense that it proceeded from the work of others, and because it hardly paid attention to the phenomena of temporal reference or perspectival aspect, as noted in Section 5.2.3. This is defensible because, as pointed out in Chapter 4, the past tense in English conveys very little information, and perspectival aspect does not seem to play any relevant role in English. In order to describe the Portuguese tense and aspect system, however, in addition to the aspectual network, one must deal with perspectival aspect and with the meaning of the several tenses. In principle, there are two ways to proceed: either to develop a separate framework for such issues, or to enlarge the aspectual network accordingly. I will take the first option to describe temporal reference, and the second to describe the import of the tenses in terms of perspectival aspect. Their relationship to quantification, finally, will be tentatively described by yet another network in Section 6.9.2.

Sections 6.2 to 6.4 discuss Portuguese Aktionsart. In Section 6.5, I discuss (perspectival) aspect, and, in Section 6.6, tenses in connection with quantification. Section 6.7 discusses *já* and *ter* + Particípio passado, before presenting an overview of the Portuguese tenses and a brief description of the tenses other than the indicative past ones, in Section 6.8. Section 6.9, finally, displays the Portuguese aspectual network. Note, however, that no full description of Portuguese grammar will be found here: I mention mainly the subjects which are relevant for the contrast with English, which will be the subject of the next chapter.

**6.1 The importance of monolingual categories**

Many people (myself included) have adapted Vendler's partition to other languages, taking its universality for granted. Examples are Alonge (1994) for Italian, Eberle (1988) for German, Kamp (1981b) for French, Zaenen (1988) for Dutch, Santos (1991b) for Portuguese.[1] However, I believe now that one should follow Vendler's methodology instead, and look for clear grammatical contrasts that distinguish predicates in one language.

I am not suggesting that the categories he elicited are English specific. The works

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[1] This self-reference should not be interpreted as implying that this is the first attempt to deal with the subject for Portuguese. Rather, I simply believe that it is more natural to criticize oneself than others. But I do not know of any work for Portuguese which does not import a "foreign" model of aspect.

mentioned above are certainly enough to disprove such a claim, since they show that it is possible to identify the Vendlerian categories in several distinct languages. What I am claiming is, instead, that it is plausible that the importance that the English language as system gives to those categories is English specific. Other languages, in turn, may give more importance to other distinctions and even neglect those that English favours. Vendler, in fact, clearly states that his aim is "to describe the most common time schemata implied by the use of English verbs" (Vendler, 1967:98f, emphasis added).

It seems uncontroversial to me that systematic distinctions in one language appear at all linguistic levels, and, therefore, instead of trying to organize the lexicon by grouping together individual items, one should look at the grammatical system and see what distinctions it allows the speaker to make. From there, one should be able to look for these very same features in the lexicon, and arrive at a motivated partitioning of it.

This was exactly what Vendler did for English. I present here a very short description of his tests: possessing continuous tenses or not; if yes, if someone is V-ing and stops, it may not be true that he V-ed, or it must be true. The first cases (accomplishments) accept the question *how long did it take*, the second (activities) accept *for how long*. For those which do not accept continuous tenses (the progressive), some (states) accept *for how long*, others (achievements) only *at what time*.

Summing up, the classes singled out by Vendler depend crucially on the meanings or distinctions effected by the English progressive and by the English prepositions *for*, *in*, and *at*. Now, everyone knows that prepositional meaning is one of the most language specific features there is. Likewise, the meaning of a particular aspect in one language is also never exactly mirrored in others (and this is particularly so as far as the progressive is concerned). Thus, it should be obvious that the categories Vendler uncovers are primarily relevant for English.[2]

Now, one could argue against the claims above by saying that it was clear what Vendler meant with his tests, and that therefore those tests could be translated/rendered in any other language. This is at least approximately true. In fact, Vendler himself, arguing for the use of linguistic facts in philosophy, makes the following claims: (i) "philosophical arguments should explore the necessary truths embedded in some actual language or other" (p.26); (ii) "A statement like *One cannot know something erroneously* is true in all languages provided it is well translated" (ibidem), i.e., provided the translator "succeeded in reconstructing in his own language a conceptual model sufficiently similar to the linguistic environment of the English word" (p.25). But, if, for example, in Portuguese, *for* is translated in two different ways, and if *at what time* has no unique translation except a sort of *when*, one may doubt whether the same distinctions are being made in the other language.

This was precisely what led me to look for independent language-internal characteristics on

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[2] This is also patent in the way he distinguishes between generic states and specific states, depending on the (lexical) existence of a corresponding activity: a grocer, ruler or educator is never "grocing", "ruling" or "educating", while a smoker, a dogcatcher or a painter are actually sometimes smoking, catching dogs or painting.

which to base a classification of linguistic expressions. Here again I am supported by Vendler: "Philosophical statements mirroring some idiosyncratic aspect of a particular language are no less true than the ones corresponding to some common feature. The difference is that assertions of the former kind will be more difficult to translate than assertions of the latter kind" (1967:28).

Note that the reason for this discussion is not a mere philosophical or methodological one. Its practical consequences should be overwhelming. In fact, by using Portuguese-internal distinctions, I expect to arrive at a model that explains a fair range of phenomena, whose explication has so far been hindered by attempts to use English-specific categories. In the last section of this chapter, I will vindicate this claim by explicitly trying out the Vendlerian categories on Portuguese.

## 6.2 The major categories of Portuguese

There are three major categories in Portuguese, at least as regards their behaviour with respect to time: permanent states, temporary states, and events (or, as an alternative terminological option, properties, states, and events).[3] In other words, Portuguese conceptualizes reality separating these three cases. Before providing ample linguistic evidence for this claim in sections 6.2.2 to 6.2.6, I will discuss what exactly these categories mean in semantic terms.

During my discussion in Section 4.3 above, I already gave good reasons for the separation of events and non-events in English. It is largely the same for Portuguese, even though this does not mean that linguistic expressions related to events in one language are necessarily translated into the other language by expressions of the corresponding kind.

The distinction between temporary states and properties, on the other hand, was only superficially described in Chapter 4, for the good reason that it is much more conspicuous in Portuguese. However, and as has already been mentioned, this covert distinction has been proposed by a multitude of scholars in connection with English as well.

In fact, I will start by distinguishing between temporary and permanent states as has been argued for English in the literature.

### 6.2.1 Temporary and permanent states

It is amazing to see how often researchers on tense and aspect have resorted to such a distinction, although it is not grammaticalized in English. This made me claim in Santos (1993) that both temporary states and permanent states pertained to the description of English, and that there had been two different treatments of states in the literature depending on whether researchers took one or the other kind as the basic state, leading to what I dubbed the "stative

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[3] I warn the reader that in the present dissertation, and especially in this chapter, I use "permanent states" and "properties" interchangeably, as well as "states" for "temporary states". In fact, I agree with Kåre Nilsson that the best would be to use Portuguese terms: "qualidades" for the former and "estados" for the latter. This would make the text hard to read, however, especially when citing the English literature. Furthermore, and due to the fact that in former work of mine (e.g., Santos (1993)) I use only the terms "permanent states" vs. "temporary states", and this is by no means uncommon in the literature, I did not completely replace them for "properties" vs. "states", especially because "properties" have distinct technical senses as well.

paradox". Here, on the contrary, I do not want to commit myself to any claim on English, but the weaker claim of the two conceptions of states should be uncontroversial. Rather, I want to emphasize that English does not formally distinguish between the two in most cases,[4] as will be illustrated in detail in Section 6.4.3 below.

### 6.2.1.1 Two conceptions of states

Let me first present a selection of quotations by researchers who presented states in English in a way that makes them resemble my permanent states:[5]

"But although it can be true of a subject that he knows something at a given moment or for a certain period, knowing and its kin are not processes going on in time" (Vendler, 1967:99f).

"states have an atemporal and abstract quality" (Bach, 1981:71)

"the notion of an event somehow presupposes the notion of a change of state of affairs. State descriptions on the other hand typically do not involve such a change. Moreover, events seem to be in some sense temporary, while states of affairs are potentially <u>atemporal</u>, like the world being round, or the earth revolving around the sun." (Hinrichs, 1986:67, my emphasis).

States do not "take time" (Smith, 1991:37)

By contrast, many other researchers have taken the view that English states are temporary states (a view which, incidentally, I think is more empirically adequate for English), and were mainly concerned with the kind of temporal interval presupposed by a temporary state:

Dowty opposes verbs like *stand*, *lie*, *sit*, which are true of intervals, to *be on the table*, *be asleep*, which "can be true at moments and are true at an interval if and only if they are true at all moments within that interval" (Dowty, 1979:180).

L.Carlson (1981), on the other hand, construes his distinctions as saying that the former kind of verbs (dubbed "dynamic") is true both at a moment and at an extended interval, while the former kind is only true at points ("stative").

Mittwoch (1988:234), finally, notes that "ordinary statives can be evaluated both at a moment and for an extended interval. ([...] sentences with verbs like *remain*, *stay* and *keep* cannot be true at a moment.) There is a subgroup of statives which can only be evaluated at a moment". She gives the following examples: *it is 6 o'clock*, *John was on the point of leaving*, *the sun was at zenith*.[6]

It is amazing to see that three different researchers, intending to explain the same facts about the grammar of English (namely that *sit*, *lie* and *stand* behave like statives but accept the progressive), are led to assert so different, even contradictory, interpretations. I suppose that this shows that the essential question does not concern their behaviour in time.

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[4] Still, I have used the category "permanent states" in the English aspectual network to model the import of the simple present; cf. Section 5.2.3.

[5] This selection is made on purely opportunistic terms. Instead of augmenting arbitrarily the list of references, I chose those scholars who have already been mentioned for other purposes.

[6] I believe that this last distinction is irrelevant for the English <u>grammatical</u> system, even though it may be true of the situations purported to be described.

I should emphasize again that, in my opinion, the tests which have been provided to identify statives, namely the possibility of cooccurrence with punctual adverbials (or felicitousness with punctual localization), hinge not so much on the properties of statives relative to time, but derive rather from their independence of time. In other words, it is the linguistic tests that involve something punctual, not the state to which they are applied.

Those researchers who concentrated particularly (or exclusively) on temporary states have also had a tendency to join (or deny any principled separation between) (temporary) states and activities: E.g. Galton, even though distinguishing between states of position and states of motion (i.e., temporary states and activities), goes on to say that "as regards location in time, states of change and states of no change are on equal footing, since they can both be located at moments, in contrast with changes of state [events, DMS], which cannot. Thus we can say that a train is stationary or moving at a particular moment" (Galton, 1984:29f). His example, however, indicates that he is taking progressive states for activities (incidentally, a quite common confusion in the literature, I must say).

The frequent use of activities in the progressive (or, on the contrary, as displaying an habitual behaviour) made me claim in Santos (1993) that activities in English are never sentential: a claim that I have withdrawn (as can be observed in the previous chapter). Sentences denoting activities are certainly rarer than those denoting events or states in English, but they occur, and denote a kind of event that takes time and is seen as developing in time.

Language has a tendency to assert definite locations, even though not exact, and this is why most activities are depicted in one particular moment (i.e. in the progressive form). But Sandström points out that activities can be used in other ways, too, in narrative; cf. Sandström (1993:145), who uses the word "process" for activity: "Due to its indefinite bounds, the referent introduced by a process sentence has a tendency to "spread out" until specified to stop, usually by means of some kind of adverbial. Not uncommonly, the indeterminate referent introduced by a process sentence is utilized as the temporal frame for a character's musings, which can then be left likewise indeterminate as far as their temporal outline is concerned."

In fact, I believe that it is exactly due to the rarity of pure activities (a question of Aktionsart), together with the frequency of their use in the progressive (which is related to imperfective perspectival aspect) that the two concepts are so easy to confuse in English.

**6.2.1.2 The distinction acknowledged**

Independently of the bias of the researchers towards one of the two kinds of states I am proposing here, the distinction between permanent and temporary states has often been noted in the literature, even though without being given the major ontological significance I claim:

Anderson mentioned the contingent/absolute distinction in the following terms: "All full semantic elements are underlying predicates. [...] The notional character of [...] the three classes of predicate is clear and familiar: sortal predicates ([+ substantive], like *man*) are opposed to a set ([- subst]) which itself divides into those which attribute a characteristic ([+ stative]), <u>contingent</u>

(*unwell*) or not (*immortal*), and the [- stat] remainder" (Anderson, 1973:74f, my emphasis).

Particular mention must however be done to Gregory Carlson's (1977/1980) work on the bare plural in English. Even though not concerned with aspect in the first place, Carlson suggested a distinction among predicates: stage-level predicates and individual-level predicates, which, if restricted to states, corresponds fairly well to my own conception of temporary and permanent states. (Note that G.Carlson's distinction can be cast in the terms I used in Chapter 4 by saying that in object-level predicates there are no temporal variables involved, while stage-level predicates are located in time. This has been suggested as an adequate analysis in e.g. Diesing (1990).)

Dowty (1979) seems to be the first to apply this distinction to aspect, suggesting a separation between object-level and stage-level statives. However, and possibly because G.Carlson's subject was the interpretation of nominal phrases, his suggestion has not been taken by most people working on aspect (on the verbal domain), as the next examples demonstrate.

Moens (1987:52) notes that states expressing inalienable properties resist, contrary to "ordinary" states, combination with *for-* or *until*-adverbials, illustrating with ?*I was quite tall until I met Harry* and ?*The cepteryx was a mammal for several centuries*.

Caenepeel (1989), as mentioned in Chapter 5, has proposed the categories of restrictive and unrestrictive states in the following terms "restrictive states present a state of affairs as extending over a <u>segment</u> on the time line under construction" (Caenepeel, 1989:119).

Krifka et al. (1992) classify stative predicates among the three following distinct categories: "lexical-characterizing dispositional" (stative lexical items which induce a generic reading): *know French, like John, be intelligent*; "lexical-characterizing non-dispositional" (stative lexical items which do not induce a generic reading): *be married, be male, be a member of a party*;  and "episodic": *be in the cage, stand in the doorway* (see Santos (1993) for further details). My point of view in the present dissertation is that Portuguese only distinguishes ontologically between Krifka et al.'s lexical-characterizing and episodic statives; this is not to say that further subdivisions would not be relevant for other purposes (see also Section 6.3.2 below).

Herweg explains in the following terms the difference between temporary and permanent states: "a potentially changing property can be characterized as a state S which allows for an alternation of periods of S with periods of the opposite state S'. On the other hand, an object having a permanent property is a state S for which no such alternation of periods of S and S' exists" (Herweg, 1991b:987).

And the examples could be multiplied at will. I will not, however, concern myself with its adequacy or relevance as far as English is concerned. Rather, I will try to demonstrate in the following that the threefold distinction among events, states and properties, no matter how (little) relevant it is in English, lies at the heart of Portuguese.

### 6.2.1.3 My description of the opposition

The distinction between Portuguese temporary states and permanent states, or properties,

has turned out to be exceedingly difficult to explain, even though I believe to have succeeded in amassing considerable evidence for it being operational as a grammatical category in the sections to come, as well as in Chapter 7.

Of course, I could say that this is a genuinely Portuguese description, and that there are simply no tests in English to help the English pick out the same properties Portuguese speakers do. Even though this may be true, it does not preclude that the distinction cannot be explained in English.[7] So, I intend to explain in the present section where the boundaries are.

But let me at once note that this distinction is not in most cases done in content words (as G.Carlson's stage-level/individual level is). Rather, it seems very much grammaticalized, especially if one considers *ser/estar* as grammatical markers and not full main verbs. This results in the fact that questions like Are "young", "successful", "stationary" temporary states? Is "round" a property? are misguided for Portuguese. From the point of view of Portuguese, these words (or their corresponding ones) are vague, and can be conceptualized as either; cf.:

*As malas são redondas, mas estão um bocado amachucadas agora.* ('The bags are round, but they are a little out of shape now')

*Olha, a tua sombra está redonda.* ('Look, your shadow is round')

On the contrary, words like *novo* ('new' or 'young') even though they by definition hold in temporary periods in time (in the everyday sense of the word temporary) are most commonly conceptualized as permanent states, i.e., as essential properties. This is so because they are inescapable for living things: *O João é novo* ('João is young'). By contrast, when age is not so much measured by (inescapable) time but by use, one can describe it either as an essential or a contingent property: *Este vestido está novo* ('This dress is new') can be said of a 50 years-old dress which was found intact (and hardly used) in some cellar. Or even more clearly: *Comprámos estas calças ao mesmo tempo, e as minhas estão velhas e as tuas novas!* ('We bought these trousers at the same time, and mine are old and yours are new!').

Let me present some other examples of this distinction, now in contexts other than adjectives:

*As estátuas são no jardim, mas estão aqui por causa das obras.* ('The statues are in the garden, but they are here (now) because of the construction work')

*O aspirador é arrumado na despensa mas está arrumado aqui hoje porque estamos a pintar a despensa.* ('The vacuum-cleaner is kept in the storage room but is being kept here today because we are painting the storage room')

The best description I could find about what is involved in my technical use of property here, with which I intend to mirror the natural use of property-inducing grammatical devices by any native speaker of Portuguese, is Hempel's description of a scientific law; cf. Hempel

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[7] Incidentally, it seems that it can even be exported into English: John Harris, in a lecture at the University of Oslo in March 1996, noted that both Irish English and Caribbean English distinguish between a habitual or punctual property (his terms), the examples being: *I do be sick* vs. *I am sick*. This matches exactly the permanent / temporary distinction expressed in Portuguese with *ser doente /estar doente*.

(1966:55f):

A scientific law cannot be adequately defined as a true statement of universal form: this characterization expresses a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for laws of the kind here under discussion. What distinguishes genuine laws from accidental generalizations? [...] a law can, whereas an accidental generalization cannot, serve to support counterfactual conditionals, i.e., statements of the form 'If A were (had been) the case, then B would be (would have been) the case', where in fact A is not (has not been) the case. [...] Similarly, a law, in contrast to an accidentally true generalization, can support subjunctive conditionals, i.e., sentences of the type 'If A should come to pass, then so would B', where it is left open whether or not A will in fact come to pass. [...] a law can, whereas an accidental generalization cannot, serve as a basis for an explanation.

The same objective situation (if there were language without speakers, i.e., perceivers of the world) can be conceptualized differently by different speakers, as a contingent or an essential property. Consider the alternative formulations: *Ela está gorda* vs. *Ela é gorda* ('She is fat'). These may differ strikingly in the psychological consequences as far as she is concerned, however referring to the same weight/external appearance.

Now, L.Carlson (1981), following Aristotle, distinguishes between properties, habits, and dispositions, depending on how easy they are to change. In my view, however, Portuguese does not distinguish between these three categories (which might be grammaticalized in Classical Greek), even though there is the aspectualizer *costumar* precisely to express a habit to which a property is assigned on the part of the speaker. As far as dispositions are concerned, if I understand what the concept means in the first place, they seem to be divided into permanent states (like in *Ele corre 200 m em X tempo* 'he runs 200 meters in X time') and temporary states (as in *Ele anda a ler muitas histórias aos quadradinhos* 'He is reading many comics these days'), where such disposition is fairly easy to change.

### 6.2.2 Evidence from the interpretation of the past tenses

Offering a semi-formal description of some of the past tenses with these three kinds of entities seems to be the best way to explain the differences. I will use a tabular form: **then** stands for a temporal variable, **e** for an event, **Int** for an extended now, that is, an interval up to the present and **n** for an indefinite plural number. As examples of properties, states and events, I use respectively *ser bom* ('to be good'), *estar doente* ('to be ill') and *cair* ('fall down').

Table 6.1

|  | Properties | Temporary states | Events |
|---|---|---|---|
| Imperfeito | *Ele era bom* | *Ele estava doente* | *Ele caía* |
|  | bom(ele) | doente(ele, then) | cair(ele) |
|  |  |  | (cair(ele,e), then) |
| Perfeito | *Ele foi bom* | *Ele esteve doente* | *Ele caiu* |
|  | bom(ele,e) |  | cair(ele,e) |
|  | bom(ele(t)) & t<now | doente(ele, t) & t<now |  |
| PPC | *Ele tem sido bom* | *Ele tem estado doente* | *Ele tem caído* |
|  | (n x bom(ele,e), Int) | doente(ele, Int) | (n x cair(ele,e), Int) |

Imperfeito is clearly marked for events, having a double interpretation: as a permanent

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state, a habit or a typical characteristic;[8] or as a temporary state, holding whenever the event is in progress, as the following examples illustrate.

*Ela dançava no Bolshoi.* ('She danced in the Bolshoi ballet' - permanent state)

*Encontrei-o quando subia as escadas.* ('I met him when he was going up the stairs')

Imperfeito has strikingly different interpretations with the two kinds of states: it is clearly unmarked for permanent states, and seems to be part of an equipollent contrast with Perfeito for temporary states. Imperfeito indicates inclusion in a period where the temporary state holds. Perfeito, in turn, indicates that such a period was wholly in the past, i.e., was over; cf. *Ela estava cansada* vs. *Ela esteve cansada* ('She was tired').

Perfeito is unmarked with events, and is clearly marked with properties, with which it can have two interpretations: turning them into events (instantiations of that property) or into temporary states (bounding that property to a past time). So, *Ele foi cobarde* ('he was a coward') is commonly understood as meaning the same as "he acted like a coward", while *Ele foi casado* ('he was married') is only understandable in the sense of "there was a period -- wholly in the past -- in which he was married". (See also Section 6.3.2 below.)

Pretérito Perfeito Composto (PPC), finally, refers to an interval related to now and is unmarked with temporary states: *Ele tem estado doente* ('He has been sick lately'); *Ele tem estado a brincar* ('He has been playing'). Since the localization of one event cannot be identified with an indefinite interval, events are indefinitely pluralized to fit the interval described by the PPC: *Ele tem caído* ('He has often fallen'), *Ele tem corrido* ('He has run lately'), *Ele tem ido ao cinema* ('He has often been to the movies lately'). As far as properties are concerned, the argument of PPC must be "located", therefore losing their property-like character, and they may as well be interpreted as describing a sequence of events (instantiating such property), as in *Os almoços têm sido deliciosos* ('The lunches have been delicious lately') or as simply reporting a temporal stretch of such property: *Ele tem sido amoroso* ('He has been very nice').

### 6.2.3 Evidence from aspectualizers

That the distinctions between temporary states, permanent ones and events are relevant in Portuguese also shows in the fact that some aspectualizers specialize for (or, at least, prefer) different kinds.

So, I claim that, with expressions denoting an event and not precluding reinterpretation as a property,[9] like *fumar* ('smoke') or *correr* ('run'), *começar a* is preferentially used with the property sense, while *pôr-se a* is mainly restricted to a particular event.

*Ele começou a fumar.* ('He started smoking (when he was 15 years old)')

*Ele pôs-se a fumar.* ('He started to smoke (as soon as we were out of the house)')

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[8] Of course, for some kinds of events, for example *cair* ('fall'), this interpretation may be hard to construe without invoking a special context; this is not related to the meaning of Imperfeito, nor to the ontological classification of events, but simply to the way the world is.

[9] Typically precluding such reinterpretation are expressions which denote unrepeatable events, like *die*, or *eat this cake* (with a non-generic interpretation of *cake*).

Similarly, *tornar a* and *voltar a*, both conveying repetition, distinguish not only the kind of argument (between an event and a property), like *começar a* and *pôr-se a*, but also result in a situation of a different kind: *tornar a* asserts an event (and is thus more natural when applied to events in the first place), while *voltar a* asserts a durative situation, and so it is more appropriate with arguments which are permanent states, as in the following pair:

*Ele tornou a fumar.* ('He smoked again (he lit another cigarette)')

*Ele voltou a fumar.* ('He started smoking again (he went back to smoking after two years)')

or with a particular durative event, meaning the coming back of that durative situation, as in *Ele voltou a ler o jornal* ('he went back to his reading of the paper').

In turn, the aspectualizers *deixar de* and *parar de* again convey a permanent (or irrevocable) end vs. a temporary one. This is a different distinction from the previous ones, because it applies to either kind (i.e., the verb argument may still be read either as a particular activity or as the associated property):

*Ele parou de correr.* ('He stopped running')

*Ele deixou de correr.* ('He quit/gave up running')

A parallel phenomenon is found with *ficar* and *tornar-se*, which have as arguments adjectives and not verbs. *Ficar* and *tornar-se* are preferentially used with temporary and permanent states, respectively; cf.:

*Ela ficou triste.* ('She got sad')

*Ela tornou-se triste.* ('She became a sad person')

Finally, the aspectualizer *andar* is especially interesting because it conveys, in my view, the transition between a temporary state and a permanent state. It shows, from the part of the speaker, a "threat" to describe the behaviour as a property (a permanent state) next time.

*Ele está a fumar muito << Ele anda a fumar muito << Ele fuma muito.*

('He is smoking a lot << He is into smoking a lot << He smokes a lot')

When its argument is an event, the distinction between *estar a* (the ordinary progressive, implying simply a temporary state) and *andar a* is subtler:

*Ele anda a construir uma casa* ('He is engaged in building a house') implies that to some extent this is seen as a constitutive, not merely temporary, state of "him". In other words, the focus of the statement is more on the consequences than on the activity itself. Of course, those consequences are heavily context dependent. (More on *andar a* will be presented in Section 6.4.6 below.)

### 6.2.4 Evidence from locative prepositions

Another interesting opposition in European Portuguese is that of *a/para*, especially interesting because it is not available in the Brazilian variant, where often a different preposition, *em*, is used.

Basically, the two prepositions distinguish between going to some place temporarily or permanently. This is especially tricky because people rarely go to some place permanently in a

literal sense (being movable living objects, people keep moving), so "go permanently" means go with the objective of remaining there. What *remain* means is again context dependent (and not only in Portuguese).

The most obvious example is my uttering: *Vou ao INESC (e volto já)*. ('I go by INESC (and will be back soon)') contrasting with *Vou para o INESC* ('I go to INESC and will stay there for some time'). Note that *a* does not mean I go and come back, even though this is often the case. It only means that I drop by but do not linger there, as in *Vou ao merceeiro e depois para casa* ('I go by the grocer's and then home'). Other examples are:

*X foi para o Brasil em 1974.* ('X moved to Brazil in 1974')

*Nós fomos ao Brasil nas férias de Natal.* ('We've been to Brazil this Christmas')

*O Manel já foi à tropa.* ('Manel has done his military service')

*O Manel foi para a tropa.* ('Manel is doing his military service')

*A Rosa foi à polícia.* ('Rosa went to the police station')

*A Rosa foi para a polícia.* ('Rosa enrolled in the police corps'; or 'Rosa went to the police station to remain there', to be interrogated, or to do something specific made clear by the context)

As far as I know, this distinction is only used with destination verbs, i.e., and apart from *ir* ('go') and *vir* ('come'), it is mainly used with *levar* ('take') and *trazer* ('bring'). To the extent that other verbs can be used with a destination object, it can also be observed elsewhere; cf.:

*Ela subiu ao 5.o piso para ir buscar o embrulho de que se tinha esquecido* ('She went up to the 5th floor to fetch the parcel she had forgotten')

*O homem gordo, bufando, subiu para a charrete com dificuldade.* ('The fat man, puffing, climbed to his seat in the cart with difficulty')

It is also involved in the metaphorical expression *ir para* (meaning choose a profession: *ir para professora* ('become a teacher'), *ir para engenharia* ('become an engineering student').

In fact, and despite the apparently few distinct cases where it is used, I believe that this feature has great relevance in present-day Portuguese.

**6.2.5 Evidence from temporal adverbials**

The distinction between permanent and temporary states is also available with temporal adverbials, even though the situation is somewhat fuzzier here. For example, *na quinta-feira* ('on Thursday') refers to one definite Thursday (a perspective one because it can relate to now or to the current reference time), but *à quinta-feira* or *às quintas-feiras* ('on Thursdays') expresses a permanent property (every day having the property of being a Thursday). Finally, *quinta-feira* (no determiner) is a deictic adverbial, naming the Thursday following today.

*De dia*, *de tarde* e *de noite* also have the generic flavour noted in connection with *à quinta feira*. By contrast, *à tarde* ('in the afternoon/evening') is mainly employed to refer to a particular afternoon (like *na quinta-feira*): *À tarde escrevo a carta* ('This afternoon I'll write the letter'), but it can also refer to a part of the day in general, as in *À tarde sentia-se cansado e ia-se deitar* ('In the afternoon he would feel tired and would lie down').

Even though the preposition associated with a particular or generic interpretation seems to be hopelessly dependent on its argument, my point here is that Portuguese often distinguishes formally between the two types of temporal adverbials.

### 6.2.6 Evidence from temporal localization: *Quando*-questions and *Desde*-clauses

One additional criterion for the threefold distinction events-states-properties is the different behaviour of (the elements of) these classes as far as the question *Quando?* is concerned. In fact, such a question

1. is not felicitous with permanent states, cf. *\*Quando é que ele era alto?* ('When was he tall ?');

2. can be answered by "I don't know" for events and temporary states in Perfeito, cf. *Quando é que ele esteve doente? Não sei.* ('When was he sick? I don't know'); *Quando é que ele caiu? Não sei.* ('When did he fall down? I don't know');

3. must be answered for temporary states and events in Imperfeito, i.e., it is semantically obligatory in those cases; cf. *Quando é que ele estava doente? Quando o fui visitar.* ('When was he sick? When I visited him'); *Quando é que ele construía a casa? Na altura em que tu estiveste em Londres* ('When was he building the house? When you were in London'). Note, by the way, that these questions can only be uttered as a kind of echo: If the speaker who utters them arrives for example in the middle of the conversation, and thus only hears an Imperfeito sentence (which is then echoed by the question), since such sentences must follow (or contain) a definite temporal location.

Another related test involves the word *desde* ('since') in a temporal use.[10] *Desde* has as its argument a temporal expression, and specifies an extended now, whose left bound is expressed by the *desde* argument. It may be straightforwardly so (having a noun phrase as argument),[11] or the temporalness of the argument may result from the location of events, temporary states, or even permanent states which can be said to begin in time: *desde* combines as well with clauses, initiated by *que*. As would be expected, states, properties and events behave differently:

1. Events can only be taken as past wholes, specifying the beginning of the period:

*Desde que ele morreu, a vida dela nunca mais foi a mesma.* ('Since he died, her life was never the same')

*Desde que ela entrou em casa, não se ouve nada.* ('Since she entered, nothing can be heard')

*Desde que o João tomou banho no rio, está terrivelmente constipado.* ('Since John bathed in the river, he has a terrible cold')

---

[10] *Desde* with Presente do conjuntivo (or Imperfeito do conjuntivo) is a concessive conjunction, i.e., it is rendered in English by *provided that* or the like. This use is not at stake here.

[11] Examples are: *Desde criança que gosto de livros* ('Ever since I was a child I love books'), *Desde o 1.o ano do liceu que ela detesta matemática* ('Ever since her first year in secondary school she hates maths'), *Desde segunda-feira que não tenho apetite* ('Since Monday I don't feel like eating'), *Desde o Carnaval do ano passado que não me divertia tanto* ('Since last Carnaval I haven't enjoyed myself so much').

*Desde que começaram as obras, não conseguimos descansar aos fins de semana de manhã.* ('Since the construction work began, we have not been able to rest on weekend mornings')[12]

2. Temporary states, on the other hand, can be used either like events (as past wholes, in Perfeito), or as specifying a current temporary state (marked by its beginning, in Presente):

*Desde que o João esteve doente que não come bem.* ('Since John was ill he does not eat properly')[13]

*Desde que o João está doente que não consegue dormir.* ('Since John has been ill, he does not manage to sleep properly')

*Desde que estou a tomar banho já tocaram duas vezes à porta.* ('Since I've been taking a bath the doorbell has already rung twice')

3. Permanent states, finally, have to be seen as temporary states in order to be able to specify beginnings:

*Desde que dou aulas à noite ando muito cansada.* ('Since I give evening lectures I feel very tired')

*Desde que temos um governo socialista as pessoas andam mais contentes.* ('Since we have a Socialist government people feel more content')

*Desde que sou aluna de doutoramento que não vou ao cinema.* ('Since I am a PhD student I have not been to the cinema')

or to be taken as complete wholes:

*Desde que dei aulas à noite que não acredito no sistema universitário.* ('Since I gave evening lectures, I do not believe in the university system')

Now, it is important to note that these clauses do <u>not</u> mean "because of" (as could mistakenly be understood from their English glosses). Of course, for reasons of relevance, it would be expected that there are also contingency links between the two clauses, especially since the use of permanent states is marked (they have to be coerced). But I sustain they have a temporal meaning (only), as might be argued best with the perfectly fine sentence *Desde que dei aulas à noite que não o vejo* ('Since I gave evening lectures, I haven't seen him').

## 6.3 Minor subdistinctions in Portuguese

By minor subdistinctions I mean distinctions within one particular ontological kind, i.e., distinctions which have no ontological import, but are still of relevance for explaining the behaviour of (at least) some tense and aspect devices.

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[12] Note that the *desde*-phrase does not entail that the result state is still occurring (even though this is a common use of a *desde*-phrase with *começar*), as the following possible continuation shows: *Depois das obras acabarem, veio o circo, e agora, plantaram o arraial dos Santos na praça à frente da nossa casa* ('After the construction work ended, came the circus, and now they organized the festivities of the saints in the square outside our home').

[13] The attentive reader may wonder on the purpose or meaning of the second word *que* which appears in this and following examples, instead of the comma, so to say. Even though it may provide a key to the kind of situation involved, I have no answer at the moment. I can only say that all (invented) examples were displayed the way it seemed less marked/more natural to me.

### 6.3.1 Obras and Mudanças

In addition to the major categories, Portuguese seems to distinguish, to some extent, between two kinds of events: those that take time, and those that bring a change. I call the first Obras, and the second Mudanças.

Let me begin by surveying their distinct behaviour in several distinct linguistic contexts. In the end, I shall discuss the assumptions underlying the classification more carefully.

### 6.3.1.1 Evidence related to durativity

There is different behaviour between Obras and Mudanças in the following cases:

1. Imperfeito is much more naturally used as perspectival aspect (see Section 6.5 below) with Obras than with Mudanças, because the latter are seen as punctual by the language:

*Quando ele se banhava no rio, apareceu uma criança.* ('When he was bathing in the river, a child turned up')

*Quando ele escrevia o livro, a mulher adoeceu.* ('When he was writing the book, his wife fell ill.')

*\*Quando ele morria,* ('When he was dying')

*??Quando o João entrava em casa, ouviu um grito.* ('When João was entering home, he heard a cry')

It is obviously difficult to present clear negative examples of a linguistic claim, because the hearer has generally the tendency to automatically create contexts where such expressions would be interpretable, as noted in Chapter 4. What one succeeds in doing is to present sentences which are harder to interpret. The last example, for instance, would probably be accepted by most speakers, but I think it would correspond to a coercion from Mudança into Obra, i.e., the entering of a house would be reconceptualized as a process which takes time (and has probably several stages, like taking the keys out of the purse, opening the outside door, calling the lift, and so on).

2. The difference between the two classes is especially conspicuous in the present tense, where the progressive is necessary to express imperfective perspectival aspect. With the Presente, the progressive can only mean that an Obra is occurring, not a Mudança:

*Estou a escrever um livro.* ('I'm writing a book')

*Estou a tomar banho.* ('I'm taking a bath')

In fact, the progressive with Mudanças is generally restricted to closeness of goal (which is often associated with other clues, like *não tarda nada* ('it won't be long')):

*O comboio deve estar a chegar.* ('The train must be arriving')

*O vaso está quase a cair.* ('The pot is nearly falling')

Contrary to what has been written on its English counterpart, the sentence *Ele está a ganhar* ('He is winning') can't be anything but an Obra. In fact this sentence can only be felicitously uttered in games where different phases add to the result, or to contests, such as races, where at each point a winner can be identified. In both cases we have clear Obras. In

games or contests where neither of these conditions hold, such as games based on pure luck, this sentence is meaningless (or better, it has no informative content).

3. *Acabar de* only means "to finish" with Obras.[14] In other words, it only selects a final phase of an Obra, not of a Mudança, for Mudanças have no phases.

> *Acabei de pôr a mesa às 2.* ('I finished laying the table at two')
>
> *Acabei de ler o livro, podes levá-lo.* ('I finished reading the book, you can take it')

4. *De a* ('from to') can only be used with Obras.

> *Ele construiu a casa de Janeiro a Março.* ('He built the house from January until March')
>
> *Ele correu das duas às quatro.* ('He ran from two to four')

It is probably interesting to emphasize that the English sentence corresponding to the first example is ungrammatical in English, although perfectly correct and unmarked in Portuguese. This fact will be discussed in the next chapter.

### 6.3.1.2 Evidence related to change of state

5. The construction *ir* in Imperfeito followed by the main verb in gerund means something like "almost did" for Mudanças, while it preferentially describes iterativity or continued activity for Obras.

> So, in *eu ia caindo* ('I almost fell down'), *eu ia morrendo* ('I nearly died'), *eu ia perdendo o lugar* ('I almost lost my place'), *eu ia-me esquecendo* ('I almost forgot'), *eu ia-me chateando a valer* ('I almost became really furious'), *eu ia ganhando* ('I almost won') there is a strong preference (in some cases, even the only possibility) for the first interpretation: an imminent happening which was prevented at the last minute.

> On the other hand, for Obras the most natural interpretation (actually the only possible one if *ir* is in Presente) is that of continued activity: *eu ia correndo* ('I went running'), *eu ia cantando* ('I went singing, I sang continuously'), *eu ia trabalhando* ('I worked from time to time'), *eu ia lendo* ('I kept reading') all seem to lead naturally to (an albeit contextually varied) second kind of interpretation: continued activity.

6. Another special behaviour that singles out Mudanças as a definite kind of events different from Obras is that Mudanças seem to describe both the change and the resulting state. This is clearly what is involved in the most natural (if not unique) reading of *voltar a*, *tornar a* and *outra vez* ('again', literally, 'another time') with Mudanças; cf.:

> *Ele voltou a entrar em casa.* ('He went back to the house')
>
> *Ele voltou à cidade onde nasceu.* ('He went back to the town where he was born')[15]

---

[14] The other meaning of *acabar de*, roughly translatable by English *just*, will be discussed in detail in Chapter 12.

[15] This example is not here by mistake, even though this *voltar* is not (apparently?) an aspectualizer. Rather, I intend to show the close connection (or analogy) of the previous sentence with this. It is possible, furthermore, that *voltar* as main verb is really a short form for *voltar a (v)ir a/para*, since *voltar a ir* is odd in Portuguese. *Ir outra vez* seems to be synonymous with *voltar*, but note that in English there are also two alternative expressions: *go back* and *return*.

*Ele tornou a sair.* ('He went out again')

*Ele trouxe o cão cá para fora outra vez.* ('He brought the dog outside again')

*Ela foi outra vez para casa a chorar.* ('She returned home, crying')

*Ele tornou a adormecer.* ('He went back to sleep')

*Ele fechou outra vez as janelas.* ('He closed the windows again')

*Voltou a apagar a luz e fechou a porta.* ('He turned the light off again and closed the door')

*Encheu o buraco outra vez com terra.* ('He filled the hole with earth again')

In fact, I claim that in all these cases the sentences are felicitously -- and currently -- used to describe cases where what is intended is, respectively, that he is back in the house (or in the city he was born); he is out again; the dog is out again (might not even have been brought out by "him" or anybody else before); she returned home crying (but not necessarily again, she might not have returned before); he was asleep again; he brought about that the windows are closed again (it might even have been the first time they were open); he made it happen that the light was off again; his doings resulted in there being earth in the hole again.

A similar behaviour of accomplishments in English with *again* (and the prefix *re-*) was provided by Dowty (1979) as evidence for their decomposition as (activity CAUSE (BECOME (result state))).[16] Dowty claimed that the corresponding English sentences are ambiguous between two interpretations: one in which *again* concerns the whole accomplishment, and another in which only the result state is involved. Now, this is an interesting question, because it highlights two further (slight) differences in the behaviour of Obras and Mudanças:

With Mudanças, *tornar a*, *voltar a* and *outra vez* mean only (and thus are neither ambiguous nor vague) that the result is repeated. This is of course difficult to argue except by claiming that my intuitions are right, since (if there were two interpretations) the more specific interpretation (that the event and the state get repeated) entails the more encompassing (that only the state got repeated), and so it is hard to separate them.

On the contrary, the use of *tornar a* and *voltar a* with Obras entails that the whole Obra must be repeated, for the aspectualizers *tornar a* and *voltar a* to be felicitously used. I.e., the sentence *O João voltou/tornou a arrastar o cão cá para fora* ('John dragged out the dog again') necessarily entails that there had been one (or more) draggings out before.

As far as the use of *outra vez* is concerned, and provided the Obra has a result (cf. Section 6.4.5), I believe it accepts the two interpretations (paralleling thus the case discussed by Dowty). In fact, *O João arrastou o cão cá para fora outra vez* ('John dragged out the dog again'), even though more naturally interpreted as stating that the whole Obra was repeated, seems to be acceptable when it is only the result state that is repeated, as the following (invented) passage illustrates: *O cão da Maria é terrível. Ontem, andávamos a dar um passeio, e quando*

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[16] This statement does not do justice to Dowty's (1979) complex and well-structured theory which provides the more encompassing semantic description of English aspectual classes to date. I chose not to discuss it in detail in the present dissertation, though, because it is geared to a large extent to the treatment of causation necessary to model English accomplishments which I believe is of little relevance to the adequate treatment of Portuguese. Cf. particularly Section 6.4.5 below.

*passávamos à frente da casa do João, vimos de repente uma confusão de flores a voar, e o João aos gritos. Depois ouvimos uma palmada, e vimos <u>o João a arrastar o cão cá para fora outra vez</u>. Desde aí não nos fala.* ('Mary's dog is terrible. Yesterday we went for a walk, and when we passed outside John's house, we saw a sudden confusion of flowers flying and John shouting. Then we heard a beating, and saw <u>John dragging the dog out here again</u>. Since then he does not speak to us.').

Summing up, *voltar a* and *tornar a* have a clear distinct behaviour with Obras and Mudanças; and *outra vez* is only synonymous with them as regards Mudanças. (With Obras that have a result, it is vague between the two interpretations.)

7. There is another phenomenon which seems to provide yet more evidence; namely the constraints regarding past participle clauses. Mudanças accept a past participle clause whose past participle agrees with the subject, cf.:

*Chegada a Lisboa, a Maria procurou hotel.* ('Arrived in Lisbon, Mary looked for a hotel')

*Caídas as folhas, a árvore parecia uma catedral.* ('Fallen the leaves, the tree looked like a cathedral')

*Vindos de Oslo, estavam ansiosos por praia.* ('Come from Oslo, they were looking for being at the seaside')

while Obras require agreement with the object, or are ungrammatical if intransitive; cf.:

*Construída a casa, fomos festejar.* ('The house built, we threw a party')

*Levadas as mesas, não tínhamos onde comer.* ('The tables taken away, we had no place to eat')

*\*Rido,* ('laughed')

*\* Andada a Lisboa,* ('Walked to Lisbon')

An analysis of this phenomenon is outside the scope of this text, but I note that it seems to correlate fairly well with the classes I have postulated.

8. Finally, let me note that it is usually straightforward (and sometimes even felt as preferable) to rephrase a sentence involving *já* and a Mudança with the corresponding assertion of the result state with *já*; cf.:

*Já cheguei = já cá estou* ('I've arrived = I'm already here')

*Já entrei na floresta = já estou na floresta* ('I've entered the wood = I'm already inside the wood')

Conversely, the same is not common and, even when a possible result may be logically involved, it sounds awkward when *já* with an Obra is involved, cf.:

*Já comi um bolo ??= já há um bolo no meu estômago.* ('I've already eaten a cake ??= there is already a cake in my stomach')

*Já escrevi um livro ??= já há um livro escrito por mim.* ('I've already written a book ??= there is already a book written by me')

This test must, however, be applied with care, because *já* has another, quantificational, use,

in which it patterns similarly with both kinds of events, cf.:

*Já comi um bolo com sal.* ('I've already eaten a salty cake', meaning I have once eaten a salty cake)

*Já entrei nessa floresta.* ('I've already entered that forest', meaning I've been inside that forest before, or once)

*Já* will be discussed in more detail in several other places below, most notably in Sections 6.7 and 6.9.2, and Chapters 12, 13 and 14.

### 6.3.1.3 Aspectualizers

The difference in kind of event shows also in the behaviour (or meaning) of some aspectualizers.

As already mentioned in Section 6.3.1.1, *acabar de* only picks a phase for Obras; the same happens with *começar a* ('begin') and *continuar a* ('continue'), which cannot be applied to Mudanças:

*Ele continuou a ler.* ('He kept/continued reading')

*Ele começou a modelar a estátua dela.* ('He began to mould up the statue of her')

Or rather, if a Mudança expression is modified by (input to) such an operator, it must be either reinterpreted iteratively, or as a property. Cf. my adaptation of Dowty's example:

*Ele continuou a entrar em casa dos pais pela porta das traseiras.* ('He kept/continued entering his parents' home through the back door')

A better example, distinguishing between an iterative and a property reading is

*Ele começou a bater-lhe.* ('He started beating/to beat her')

This sentence can be interpreted as the start of a series of beatings (i.e., a plural number of hits, slappings or whatever), or, alternatively, it can be read as the inception of the property "He beats her", a use of this aspectualizer which has already been discussed in Section 6.2.3 above.

Now, if this were the only case where a series of events had to be invoked to describe adequately the meaning of a Portuguese sentence, one might refrain from postulating a different aspectual class, and note rather that a series of events, necessarily taking time, is covered by the general concept of an Obra.

In Section 6.4.6, however, I will argue that this category (a series of events, which I call Série) is necessary for a number of different reasons, and will thus invoke it here to illustrate further differences between Obras and Mudanças. In particular, I claim that phase-denoting aspectualizers can take Obras and Séries, but not Mudanças (which means that a Mudança must be reinterpreted as a Série to be felicitously understood in the scope of the aspectualizer, as already stated). In addition, the description of the aspectualizers I just furnished predicts that, whenever a particular Obra-denoting expression is unspecified regarding plurality, two interpretations of the aspectualizers are possible, a prediction which is borne out by the facts, cf.:

*Ela continuou a lavar a camisola apesar de eu lhe ter dito que destruiria o padrão.* ('She continued washing the sweatshirt although I told her that would ruin the pattern')

*Ela continuou a lavar a camisola sem reparar no barulho.* ('She went on washing the sweatshirt, without noticing the noise')

*Ela começou a ler o Expresso quando foi para Lisboa.* ('She began reading Expresso (a newspaper) when she moved to Lisbon')

*Ela começou a ler o Expresso e não olhou mais para mim.* ('She began reading Expresso and did not look at me again')

On the other hand, *ficar* is a typical Mudança which spells out the result state. It has, however, a special (and relatively puzzling) characteristic: it does not assert anything related to the previous situation, which, in fact, can be the same as the one asserted to occur after the "change", as shown by the following examples:

*Quando o professor perguntou, ela ficou calada.* ('When the teacher asked, she remained/became silent')

*Ela ficou zangada apesar de eu lhe ter pedido desculpas.* ('She continued to be angry although I apologized')

*Ela ficou zangada por eu ter partido o jarrão.* ('She got angry because of my breaking the vase')

*Ela ficou em casa quando passámos pela rua dela.* ('She entered home when we went by her street')

*Ela ficou em casa, apesar de nós a termos convidado a vir connosco.* ('She stayed at home although we had invited her to come with us')

This makes *ficar* translatable by totally unrelated verbs in English, like *stay* or *remain* vs. *become* or *get*. In Chapter 7, I show that in Portuguese it is only one lexical item with a precise meaning, though, by presenting actual contexts where both (English) interpretations are possible.

*Tornar-se*, finally, another clear Mudança, differs from *ficar* in that it presupposes that <u>before</u> the result state did not hold. Another difference is in the connotation of temporariness or permanence associated with the verbs, as pointed out in Section 6.2.3 above: *tornar* conveys permanent properties, while *ficar* is mainly used for temporary ones. This explains why *ficar* is used with location but not *tornar*, barring archaic expressions like *tornar à casa paterna* ('return to the house of the ancestors').[17]

### 6.3.1.4 Discussion

After showing varied linguistic behaviour separating Obras and Mudanças, let me note that the classification of events is done in terms of what is seen by the language as their most conspicuous property. So, even though it is obvious that an event could (by its intrinsic properties) pertain to the two classes (there is nothing logically, or practically, impossible about taking time and producing a change[18]), I claim that membership of linguistic expressions

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[17] And the new word *retornado* which was coined in the 70s to refer to the people who had settled in Portuguese Africa and came back to Portugal when independent African countries where established.

[18] So much so that this is the standard description of English accomplishments.

referring to events is divided between the two classes.

Let me explain why I say so: *As folhas ficaram amarelas com o tempo* ('The leaves became yellow after a long time') is conveyed in Portuguese as a Mudança (as can be seen by applying the above tests), even though it is acknowledged that it took a long time. Conversely, *Luís de Camões escreveu Os Lusíadas* ('Luís de Camões wrote Os Lusíadas') is an Obra, even though the result is conspicuous (and probably the reason why such a sentence would be uttered most of the times).

Let me now discuss two possible objections to my division.

The first relates to the fact that, for some Mudanças that (can) take time, the progressive is felicitous and does not carry the meaning "close to the goal". In fact, it seems to mean imperfective perspectival aspect, putting the observer inside the Mudança; cf.:

*O trigo está a crescer a olhos vistos.* ('The wheat is growing fast')

*As tuas mãos estão a ficar engelhadas: sai já do banho!* ('Your hands are becoming wrinkled: get out of the water at once!')

*Estás a ficar grisalha.* ('You're getting grey')

*Com o sol, estás a ficar loira outra vez.* ('With the sun, you're getting blond again')

In fact, I claim that in this kind of uses the progressive <u>adds</u> graduality. This is typical of some Mudanças, and, in fact, in particular contexts, can be applied to most; cf.:

*Ele está a morrer aos poucos* ('He's dying little by little')

*O prédio está a cair aos poucos / aos bocados* ('The house is falling down little by little / in pieces')

By contrast, the progressive does not add graduality to an Obra, it simply places the observer inside it. *Ele está a tomar banho* ('He's having a bath') or *Ele está a procurar as chaves* ('He's looking for his keys') do not require a gradual process to be understood.

So, I conclude that, although at first blush the progressive test did not distinguish between Mudanças and Obras, the two proved to be distinct with respect to the progressive's contribution.

The second objection is one of coverage. What if a situation neither takes time nor produces a change? Wouldn't one need a third class to take care of such cases, exemplified by:

*Ele deu um soluço/arroto/suspiro.* ('He hiccuped/burped/sighed once')

*Ele deu-lhe um empurrão/uma bofetada.* ('He pushed him/slapped him once')

*Ela deu uma cambalhota/uma gargalhada/um risinho envergonhado.* ('She somersaulted/ gave a laugh/ produced a short timid giggle')

Before presenting my view, let me note that the construction "*dar um* <deverbal noun>" is fairly common in Portuguese, as the following list (by no means exhaustive) shows:

*dar uma esfregadela* ('give a brushing')

*dar uma limpadela* ('do some cleaning')

*dar uma penteadela* ('comb a little')

*dar uma buzinadela* ('beep for a definite time')

*dar uma olhadela* ('have a look')

In fact, it seems to be a productive grammatical mechanism which adds bounds to a potentially unbounded Obra.[19] The resulting event is by all means an Obra.

Now, I note that in the first cases listed above there is also a corresponding single-word verb, which is again unbounded: we have in Portuguese *soluçar* ('hiccup', 'sob'), *arrotar* ('burp'), *suspirar* ('sigh'), *empurrar* ('push'), *esbofetear* ('slap'), which denote unbounded Obras, and I claim they are semantically prior to the expressions with *dar*. Regarding the third and last set of examples, there are no corresponding verbs (except for *rir* 'laugh'), but they are also those which are most obviously Obras, since they take time. I therefore suggest that all these expressions are Obras, and their infelicitousness in most tests is due to world constraints, not to linguistic properties.

### 6.3.2 Essential properties and social properties

Portuguese seems also to distinguish between properties which are hard to relate to time (such as *ser simpático* ('be nice'), *ser medroso* ('be fearful'), *gostar de ler* ('like to read')), and those which, due to social or conventional constraints, have a time associated, like roles or institutional states (such as *ser professor* ('be a teacher'), *ser casado* ('be married'), *ser membro de uma associação* ('be member of an association')).

This distinction is evidenced by the ease with which social properties can be used in Perfeito to mean the delimited maximal period in which they were true, as opposed to the interpretation of essential properties in Perfeito, which results in an event displaying such property (cf. Section 6.2.2 above). Observe the following representative examples:

*Ela foi professora em Coimbra.* ('She has been a professor in Coimbra', in a delimited past period)

*Ela foi simpática.* ('She was nice' -- she did something nice)

The first example cannot be interpreted as describing an event (about which the property of being a professor can be predicated) and the second example cannot be naturally used to display a fixed maximal period in which the property of being nice held.

Further evidence comes from the fact that the progressive is much more acceptable with the second kind of properties. In fact, the same reinterpretation required by the Perfeito (i.e., that an event is involved) allows at once the progressive to be felicitous; cf.:

*Ela está a ser simpática.* ('She is being nice')

With the first kind of property, by contrast, the progressive would have to be interpreted as enabling perspectival aspect (cf. Section 6.5 below), i.e., as allowing to position the observer in the middle of a period in which that property held. In particular, by referring to a period where someone has a given role, the temporariness of such a role is thus emphasized, resulting in a somewhat odd formulation:

?*Ela está a ser professora em Coimbra.* ('She is being a professor in Coimbra')

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[19] In English terms, it would produce an accomplishment out of an activity. This terminology does not make sense in Portuguese, though, since there is no grammatical distinction between either kind of Obras.

Note also that the behaviour of properties with *desde* (noted above in Section 6.2.6) fits much better social properties than essential ones:

*Desde que é professora, a Maria não tem tempo para nada.* (lit. 'Since she is a teacher, she has no time'; 'Since she became a teacher, she has no time')[20]

*\*Desde que é boa, a Maria não tem tempo para nada.* ('Ever since she is good, she has no time')

## 6.4 Complex categories

As mentioned in Chapter 4, linguistic expressions may denote more than one ontological kind, and often do so. They can do it in two ways: through vagueness among different interpretations, which has already been discussed in Chapter 4, or relating two situations consequentially. I call the second kind <u>compact expressions</u> (as opposed to the <u>vague expressions</u> of the first kind). Briefly, they describe a particular association of two different entities.

I start by discussing complex categories in which vagueness is involved in Sections 6.4.1-3, and proceed by describing complex categories in which compactness is at stake in Sections 6.4.4-5.

### 6.4.1 Aquisições (Mudança or state)

There are two main groups of verbs in Portuguese which systematically convey a state and a change of state. The states in question can be mental (or psychological), as in the case of *lembrar* ('remember'/'recall'), *perceber* ('understand'/'grasp'), *conhecer* ('know'/'meet'), or positional, as is the case of *erguer* ('rise'), *cercar* ('surround'), *chegar* ('arrive'/'reach'), *rodear* ('circle').

In their most natural interpretations, states are described by Imperfeito:

*Ele lembrava-se da Lisboa dos anos 40.* ('She remembered the Lisbon of the 40ies')

*Eu sabia que ela era católica.* ('I knew she was a Catholic')

*A floresta rodeava o lago.* ('The forest surrounded the lake')

*Os cabelos chegavam-lhe à cintura.* ('Her hair fell to her waist')

and events (changes of state) by Perfeito:

*Só me lembrei das chaves quando já estava no carro.* ('I only remembered the keys when I was already in the car')

*Eu soube que ela tinha estado na prisão.* ('I learned that she had been in prison')

*A multidão rodeou o artista.* ('The crowd surrounded the artist')

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[20] Note that whenever the inception of social properties is identified in language by one lexical item (denoting that social event), such description is much more natural than the use of the property itself, and so *desde que casou* ('ever since she married') is preferable to *desde que é casada* ('ever since she is married'), or *desde que entrou para o partido* ('ever since she joined the party') is preferable to *desde que é membro do partido* ('ever since she is a member of the party').

In other words, a whole event is a more direct form of locating a particular time. Therefore, if one still chooses the property formulation, one must have specific reasons for doing so, like referring to the status associated to the property, for example.

*O comboio chegou.* ('The train arrived')

But these verbs behave like ordinary verbs (of either kind, i.e., like ordinary eventives or statives), and thus Imperfeito or Perfeito can be systematically used to change their interpretation, as described in Section 6.2.2 above. For example, in *A multidão rodeava o artista sempre que ele vinha à cidade* ('The crowd surrounded the artist whenever he came to town'), *rodear* is used in its event sense and is transformed into a habitual property by Imperfeito. Conversely, in *Ela lembrou-se do Verão de 84 até casar* ('She remembered the summer of 1984 until she married'), we have a perfective aspect view of a past mental state, i.e., *lembrar* is used in its stative sense of "keep in memory".

Consequently, these verbs cannot be accounted for by saying that they correspond to two defective verbs (one only with "stative" tenses, the other only with "eventive" tenses).

I should note, furthermore, that these two groups of verbs are <u>not</u> to be seen as depicting a change plus the result deriving from that change, either: Even though sometimes a change is the cause of the state, this is not necessarily so, as can be appreciated best in connection with the following examples: If I utter *Lembro-me muito bem da Lisboa dos anos 60* ('I remember the Lisbon of the 60ies very well'), there was never a corresponding event; nor was there ever a covering event corresponding to *A floresta cobria o monte* ('The forest covered the hill'). Conversely, it simply does not make sense to ask *Lembras-te das chaves?* ('Do you remember the keys?') some time after the "remembering" event (you don't keep keys in memory).[21]

Apparently, there is a difference between the two kinds of verbs: while those dealing with mental states have in general the same kind of subjects (namely human subjects) in the two interpretations, those associated to position imply in general a difference: The stative reading is predicated of inanimate subjects, and the eventive one of animate ones. However, this is not a grammatical difference: if inanimate subjects are "animated" one gets the same kind of behaviour, as shown by *Ergo-me no centro da cidade -- disse a estátua* ('I stand in the middle of the town -- said the statue').

I should, of course, be careful to note that my "or" in the title of this section means vague regarding that distinction; to substantiate this claim, there must be some contexts where both interpretations are possible. One example is *Os cruzados cercavam a cidade* ('The crusaders surrounded/were surrounding the city'). This sentence may describe an event seen from the inside, or a location, i.e., a property of the crusaders' location *vis-à-vis* the city. Further examples will be given in the next chapter.

In fact, this is a conspicuous property of many Portuguese verbs. Since noting such

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[21] I am not claiming that the sentence *Lembras-te das chaves?* is ungrammatical or weird. As pointed out by Kåre Nilsson, it would be a perfect fine sentence in a context like: *Lembras-te das chaves que perdeste? E depois tivemos de ir à polícia?* ('Do you remember the keys you lost and then we had to go to the police?'). In such a case, the keys identified an event, which could be in memory. But if the question were meant to ask whether the keys had not been forgotten, e.g. were in her purse now, one would have to use the Perfeito *Lembraste-te das chaves?* ('Did you remember the keys?') or *Lembraste-te de trazer as chaves?* ('Did you remember bringing the keys?'); not the Presente.

behaviour in Santos (1991a,b) for mental verbs, I have come across many other examples. Let me mention two other kinds briefly just to substantiate this claim. The stative counterparts of deictic movement verbs (as Mudanças) are used as properties related to outside appearance: *trazer* ('bring'), *levar* ('take') and *ir* ('go') and *vir* ('come') can be used with Imperfeito or Presente as a property such as dress or contingent association; cf.:

*Ela trazia um vestido cor-de-rosa e sapatos a condizer.* ('She wore a pink dress and matching shoes')

*Ele levava uma mala de cabedal na mão.* ('She carried a leather bag in the hand')

*Ele hoje traz o cabelo em pé.* ('Today his hair stands on end')

Not surprisingly, verbs of clothing show exactly the same behaviour:

*Ela vestia um vestido azul até aos pés.* ('She wore a blue dress down to the feet')

More interesting still is the case of perception verbs, which will be thoroughly discussed in Chapter 11. The next sentences display an event and a property, respectively:

*Ela ouviu um grito.* ('She heard a cry')

*Ela ouvia mal.* ('She heard badly')

## 6.4.2 Property or state

As noted in Chapter 4, English does not distinguish between properties and states systematically (if at all), as the following examples show:

(a) *He did the examination. Then he was ill. Then he broke his arm.*

(b) *He did not turn up at the exam. He was ill.*

(c) *He did not do military service. He was ill.*

In (a) *he was ill* is clearly seen as a temporary state seen from its outside, while in (b) it is seen as an ordinary temporary state (explaining why he did not turn up), and in (c) it is best understood as a property.

The only evidence I have for this claim is the necessary distinction done by translation into Portuguese, where the three concepts come in a different format:

(a) *Ele fez o exame. Depois esteve doente. Depois partiu o braço.*

(b) *Ele não apareceu no exame. Estava doente.*

(c) *Ele não fez a tropa. Era doente.*

Vagueness between property or state is something which is pervasive in English, but rare in Portuguese. The only verb which seems to belong to such a class is *ter* ('have'). Possession appears to be the weaker form of (verbal) association, and is thus compatible with permanent or temporary states depending on the elements that take part in the association; cf.:

*Tenho uma filha.* ('I have a daughter')

*Tenho um saco de plástico.* ('I have a plastic bag')

*Tenho 33 anos.* ('I'm 33 years old')

Evidence in favour of *ter* as a permanent state or property is its preference with permanent diseases vs. temporary ones: *Ela tem cancro* ('She has cancer') vs. *Ela está constipada* ('She has a

cold') or *Ela está com uma gripe* ('She's got the flu').

On the other hand, *ter* behaves exactly like a temporary state regarding the opposition Imperfeito/Perfeito, which expresses perspectival aspect: *Ela tinha varicela* vs. *Ela teve varicela* ('She had chickenpox'), actually paraphrasable by *Ela estava / esteve com varicela*.

### 6.4.3 Obra or permanent state

A small number of verbs in Portuguese can be used (or interpreted) either as permanent states (a property) or Obras (something which takes time but does not necessarily have a result). Perhaps surprisingly, they are not conceptualized as temporary states in Portuguese, as their behaviour with the progressive unambiguosly shows. Examples are *viver em* or *morar* (both corresponding to 'live in'[22]); cf. the first two vs. the third example:

*Ela vive em Paris.* ('She lives in Paris')

*Ela morava nesta rua antes de casar.* ('She lived in this street before marrying')

*Ela morou no Rato, depois mudou para a Lapa, e agora está a morar na Graça.* ('She lived in Rato, then moved to Lapa, and now she is living in Graça' [three Lisbon quarters])

### 6.4.4 Inceptive Obras (Mudança and Obra)

Compact expressions are rare in Portuguese, and, as far as I can see, they tend to be formally marked as compact by displaying two verbs (as in the case discussed in the present section) or at least two separate components (as in the case discussed in the next section).

One interesting case of a complex expression is that of inception, which is signalled by the aspectualizers *pôr-se a*, *desatar a* or *começar a* (all rendered by 'begin'[23]); examples being

*Ele pôs-se a descansar à sombra da árvore.* ('He began to rest in the shadow of the tree')

*Ele desatou a bater-lhe.* ('He began to beat her frantically')

*Ela começou a ler.* ('She began to read')

I analyse these combinations as expressing that a Mudança (the inception) occurred and that an Obra (albeit small) occurred as well. A parallel case is that of completion, conveyed by the aspectualizer *acabar de*, differing only in that the relative temporal order of the two components is reversed. By claiming that these cases denote a complex entity, I suggest that the corresponding complex expression may behave like an Obra or like a Mudança, without either interpretation being felt as coerced.

First, I present evidence for the behaviour of these expressions as Obras (using the inceptive case for illustration). Let me note that such a derived Obra is an initial part of a longer Obra referred to by the main verb. Again, which initial part is contextually determined.

This compact expression has the *outra vez* reading with the result state, but *tornar a*

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[22] The difference between the two seems to be one of granularity: *morar* is preferentially used for streets and quarters, while *viver* is more common for cities or countries.

[23] *Desatar a* has associated a high intensity of the Obra to which it applies, so *desatar a correr* is start to run quickly, *desatar a dar vivas* is to cheer very cheerfully, etc. It may also imply suddenness. Finally, it should be mentioned that both *pôr-se a* and *desatar a* are much more colloquial than *começar a*.

implies the whole (initial) Obra; cf.:

*Ela começou a ler o livro outra vez.* ('She began to read the book again', meaning read again)

*Ela tornou a começar a ler o livro.* ('She began to read the book again', meaning begin again)

In addition,[24] those expressions which accept the progressive seem simply to signal perspectival aspect reading as Obras; cf.:

*Ela está a começar a ler o livro.* ('She is beginning to read the book', meaning she is in the middle of an initial part)

*Estou a acabar de pôr a mesa.* ('I'm finishing laying the table', meaning I'm in the middle of the final phase)

However, their behaviour with punctual adverbs shows that they behave as naturally as Mudanças as well:

*Acabei de pôr a mesa às duas.* ('I finished laying the table at 2 o'clock')

*Comecei a treinar às três.* ('I started training at three')

*Pus-me a olhar pela janela às 4 e ainda aqui estou.* ('I started looking through the window at four and I'm still at it')

### 6.4.5 Obra and then Mudança

Contrary to English, where, as already mentioned -- and as will be abundantly demonstrated in the next chapter --, the concept of something having a result following from a given activity is essential,[25] in Portuguese those situations are fairly rare, and appear only in an analytic form.

So, in addition to the case of the aspectualizer acabar de already discussed in the preceding section, the "Obra and then Mudança" category appears only in cases of unbounded Obras which express manner and which have as argument a locative prepositional phrase (PP), such as *arrastar* ('drag'), *puxar* ('pull'), *empurrar* ('push)' or *atirar* ('throw'):

*Ele atirou o casaco para cima do sofá.* ('He threw the jacket onto the sofa')

*Ele puxou a criança para o passeio.* ('He pulled the child onto the sidewalk')

The locative PP thus expresses the result, and the verb the Obra. The reader is invited to try the tests presented above to convince him/herself that these expressions show Mudança-like and Obra-like behaviour.

This is not a property of the verbs alone, though, but a result of their combination with such a kind of argument, since, even though the verbs are most commonly used with a goal location,

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[24] In fact, the previous test alone would not be enough, due to the different syntactical properties of the two items *outra vez* and *tornar a*. One might claim that *outra vez* in the first sentence is in the scope of *começar a*, and even more clearly so in the alternative rendering with *outra vez*, i.e., *Ela começou outra vez a ler o livro*, which in my opinion also conveys "read again".

[25] As much so, in fact, that Dowty (1979) chose to model English accomplishments as A CAUSE B, A and B being activities, achievements or even accomplishments.

they are not semantically defective without the PP, as the following sentences demonstrate:

*Ele atirou a bola mas não acertou em ninguém.* ('He threw the ball but did not catch anyone')

*Ele puxou-me o cabelo e empurrou-me.* ('He pulled my hair and pushed me')

*Ele arrasta os pés.* ('He walks dragging his feet')

## 6.4.6 Séries

The concept of an indefinite sequence of events looks suspiciously like a matter of quantification. Therefore, I have strongly resisted considering it an aspectual class of Portuguese, at the same level as an Obra or a Mudança.

However, soon it became obvious that no longer the argument that it would be spurious or ad hoc could be really maintained, for I kept finding cases where a Série was precisely what was involved. On the other hand, it will be shown in Sections 6.6 and 6.9.2 that quantification proper does not share any linguistic properties with Séries.

I consider thus a Série, i.e. a sequence of an indefinite number of events (Obras or Mudanças) to be an essential feature of the Portuguese tense and aspect system.[26] Let me present here some of the evidence for this claim.

Probably the most striking argument in favour of Séries is the behaviour of *andar a*. In Section 6.2.3, I noted that *andar a* expresses a temporary state with some connotations of property. Still, to claim that *andar a* applies to a property and turns it into a temporary state seems to be too drastic. The main (and forceful) argument against such a description is that, albeit it may satisfactorily describe the behaviour of event expressions, it is totally inadequate as far as property expressions themselves are concerned.

In fact, *andar a* is only appropriate with properties which are themselves already derived from event descriptions (i.e., expressed by event expressions), and implies in general several occasions, often conveyed by (nominal) quantification, as in *Ele anda a privar-se de tudo* ('He is depriving himself of everything') or *Ele anda a correr muito* ('He is running much these days'). Worse still, *andar a* is not even grammatical with pure properties (at least not with those involving the verb *ser*[27]), cf. *\*Ele anda a ser músico* ('He is a musician these days'). (Other expressions without a copula are possible, such as *Ele anda sincero* ('He is sincere these days'), *Ele anda triste* ('He is sad lately'), *Ele anda cansado* ('He is tired these days') but they depict more commonly temporary states than properties.)

To insist on the property connotation as fundamental to the meaning of *andar a* makes it correspond to a double import, from event to property and then to temporary state, which is a

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[26] A similar class, series, has been proposed for English by Freed (1979), Kent (1993), etc., which I used in Section 5.2 above. Arguments for a corresponding class <u>in Portuguese</u> is what is at stake in the present section.

[27] *Andar a* does not accept a copula verb, so *\*andar a estar* is equally bad. But the point here is that even properties which are lexicalized by other verbs are much more marked than event expressions, cf. *Ele anda a gostar de inglês* ('He is liking English (as a discipline at school) these days'), which carries the implication that this is temporary, although it has been "happening" for some time already.

very roundabout formulation. A more plausible alternative, modelling it as turning an event into a temporary state, precisely like *estar a* (the progressive), fails however to distinguish the two. On the other hand, it is true that *andar a* and *estar a* share several properties, and so it is appropriate that they share at least output class. In both cases, they pick out a period which is temporary. The one denoted by *andar a* is, however, always felt to be longer than the one expressed by *estar a*.

The solution of this problem is actually found by considering yet another use of *andar a* that is not related to properties at all, namely when *andar a* applies to Obras (especially unbounded ones) without them being taken as properties. In my opinion, the following examples provide the key to the core import of *andar a*:

*O Paulo? Anda a correr pela quinta.* ('Where is Paul? He's running around all over the farm')

*O João anda a arrumar o sótão.* ('João is cleaning up the attic these days')

In these cases, *andar a* invokes a series of smaller Obras. In particular, it pictures a series of runnings and a series of times spent in cleaning up, respectively. Hence my claim that *andar a* takes as input a series and transforms it into a temporary state.

Naturally, a temporary state including a series is in general larger than one involving just one event, and thus the implication of a longer period. Also, the fact that the speaker, instead of describing one particular instance which depicts a possible property (like *He is smoking much*), invokes a series of particular instances depicting that particular property makes it closer to asserting the property. Finally, I can explain why Obras which are hard to divide into further small Obras are hard to construe with *andar a* as well. E.g., *\*Ele anda a tomar banho* ('He is taking a bath these days') cannot be understood as referring to the same bath, while the cleaning up invoked above could be made in phases.

A similar intuition seems, incidentally, to underlie the uses of durative *ir* + Gerúndio. *\*Ele vai tomando banho* ('He takes a bath interleavingly') is odd, but *Ele vai trabalhando na tese* ('He is working on his thesis interleavingly') is the right way to describe someone's work which is interleaved with other activities -- i.e., it is constituted by a series of short periods of work.

Another argument for the recognition of Séries in Portuguese is the interpretation of the PPC, already noted in Section 6.2.2: This tense, when applied to an expression denoting an event, must be interpreted as a sequence of events, as noted in Santos (1993).

Finally, and apart from the distinct interpretation of an Obra and a Mudança with several aspectualizers, just noted in Section 6.3.1.3 above, another relevant clue is the behaviour of Imperfeito with events.

In fact, I claimed in Section 6.2.2 that the main import of Imperfeito with events was the depiction of a property; however, it is unarguable that event expressions not already uniquely marked are much easier to "habitualize". So, only repeatable (serializable) events, often having plural arguments, can be assigned an habitual interpretation, cf.:

*Ele lavava carros.* ('He washed cars')

*Ele lavava o carro.* ('He washed the car' -- usually, or this was his duty)

**Ele escrevia "Os Lusíadas".* ('He wrote "Os Lusíadas" usually')

So, also the import of Imperfeito with events is better described through the requirement that the input to Imperfeito be a Série in the first place. This makes it easy to explain why the connotation of habituality is related to, but not exhausted by, the description of a property in Imperfeito. In addition, it explains why the PPC and Imperfeito share a number of features, which would be hard to understand otherwise: Due to the input Série, both involve the notion of indefinite repetition -- that precludes, among other things, the cooccurrence of definite quantification over events, as will be shown in Section 6.6 below.

## 6.5 Aspect

Perspectival aspect, as defined in Chapter 4, concerns the temporal position of an observer (generally the narrator) in relationship to what he describes. As I will show, this is a concept which has some importance in the Portuguese tense and aspect system.

### 6.5.1 The opposition Imperfeito/Perfeito

Perspectival aspect is clearly conveyed by Imperfeito and Perfeito with temporary states, cf.:

*Eu estava doente.* ('I was ill, then')

*Eu estive doente.* ('I have been ill')

With Obras, the same distinction can be achieved by means of Imperfeito and Perfeito, especially in the context of a subordinated clause:

*Ele olhou para a rapariga que ria.* ('He looked at the girl who was laughing')

*Quando lavava os dentes, ouviu um estrondo.* ('When he was brushing his teeth, he heard a bang')

If the tense of the subordinated clause were Perfeito, it would signal the event as a whole. Especially interesting is the contrast between restrictive and explicative relative clauses in Portuguese:

*Ele olhou para a rapariga que riu.* ('He looked at the girl who (had) laughed', restrictive)

*Ele olhou para a rapariga, que riu.* ('He looked at the girl, who laughed', explicative)

Since the restrictive clause to be understood requires prior understanding of its constituents, it displays <u>only</u> the interpretation in which the whole event was prior to the main clause event (i.e., the laugh preceded the looking). Conversely, the event mentioned in the non-restrictive clause can <u>only</u> be understood as following the main clause event (since the event of looking/ turning his eyes to had already been described as a whole).

As far as the example with the *quando*-clause is concerned, if its tense were in Perfeito instead: *Quando lavou os dentes*, the Perfeito would mean 'at the occasion timed by his brushing of the teeth', which would furthermore stated to have been concluded. The use of an event instead of the time defined by that event has then relevance for the interpretation of the whole sentence:

*quando* is read as non-temporal; rather, it expresses some contingency relation between the two events (e.g., one is the cause of the other, or a response to the other).

Nowadays, Imperfeito progressive is, however, replacing simple Imperfeito in this function with events: to me, both clauses in Imperfeito above could be replaced by Imperfeito progressive, and they are more naturally, if not obligatorily, rendered that way in speech.

Actually, I believe this fact constitutes further evidence for the increasing relevance of the ontological separation between properties and temporary states in Portuguese.

### 6.5.2 Imperfeito and Perfeito with the progressive

The progressive yields the temporary state associated to one Obra, which is then described as above, with the observer being inside or outside the Obra, using respectively Imperfeito or Perfeito:

*Ele estava a construir uma casa.* ('He was building a house')

*Ele esteve a construir uma casa.* ('He has been building a house but no longer is')

This move makes perspectival aspect confined to temporary states, but it allows as well a neater separation between ontological questions and questions of aspect.

Summing up, perspectival aspect in Portuguese tends to be present only in the Imperfeito/Perfeito opposition with temporary states. Perspectival aspect with events is at present being replaced by an ontological operation that <u>first</u> identifies a temporary state associated with an event (the progressive), and <u>then</u> allows perspectival aspect to apply to it (the tense).

Some people have claimed that to use the progressive with Perfeito is tantamount to stating that the event did not occur as a whole. I disagree. Even though this is undeniably a valid motivation for the use of this marked combination, I do not think it is included in the meaning of Perfeito progressivo. In fact, Perfeito adds further information: the process is no longer taking place. Furthermore, it is easy to construe examples in which it is clear from the context that the event as a whole occurred, such as

*Quando ele esteve a construir a casa em que agora vive, chegou a dormir ao relento.* ('When he was building the house in which he now lives, he went as far as to sleep outdoors')

### 6.5.3 Aspect and quantification

Perspectival aspect is related to quantification over times in a particular way. Quantification issues will be discussed in detail in the next section, but here I should mention that only perfective aspect allows counting (as has been noted by Hoepelman & Rohrer (1980) for French):

*\*Ele estava duas vezes doente.* ('He was ill twice, at that moment')

*Ele esteve duas vezes doente.* ('He was ill twice')

*Muitas pessoas estavam doentes.* ('Many people were ill at that moment')

*Muitas pessoas estiveram doentes.* ('Many people have been ill')

In the second pair, the first sentence can only mean that the many people in question were

ill at the same time, while the second allows for them to have been ill at different times.

The same phenomenon occurs with the durative adverbial *durante* ('for'):

*\* Ele dormia durante duas horas.* ('He was sleeping for two hours')

*Ele dormiu durante duas horas.* ('He slept for two hours')

The asterisk in the first sentence is meant to indicate that it cannot be uttered during a two-hours' period of sleeping -- it can, however (and this will be discussed below), be uttered with a habitual, property-like, meaning.

Interestingly, there is in Portuguese another measure adverbial, *por* (note that *por* is also translated by English *for*), which allows imperfective aspect; cf.:

*Ele dormia por duas horas quando o pai chegou.* ('He was sleeping for two hours, when his father arrived'- he had the intention of sleeping two hours)

The difference in the pair *por/durante* is thus a difference of perspectival aspect: while *durante* implies perfective aspect, *por* signals imperfective aspect, and can thus be used also inside (not only outside) the period it measures. This explains the phenomenon observed in Santos (1991a:15) in connection with the translation of English *for*, while discussing the examples:

*Saiu durante/por dez minutos mas já está de volta.* ('He left for ten minutes but he is back again')

*Saiu por dez minutos. Deve estar a voltar.* ('He left for ten minutes. He'll be back soon')[28]

The point about these examples is that *durante* and *por* are interchangeable when the period is over (or has not yet begun), but only *por* is possible if the period is overlapping with the perspective (now, or the reference point).

At the time, trying to make sense of Portuguese data through English explanatory concepts, I suggested that "the verb *sair* [...] accepts the two interpretations (stative and achievement)" (Santos, 1991a:19). It is now time to explain the data in Portuguese terms.

First of all, measure adverbials with Mudanças in Portuguese only measure the result state (as *outra vez* only concerns the result state, too), as should be expected from the analogy with English: Dowty (1979) noted that English measure adverbials with accomplishments are ambiguous between measuring the activity or the result state, just like *again*. Since Mudanças have no activity in their constitution, the result state is the only thing that can be measured.

The opposition between *durante* and *por* does not concern what is measured, but where the measurement is done from. In a word, a question of (perspectival) aspect. To corroborate this claim, note that the following sentence can be uttered in the middle (actually, fairly close to the

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[28] I am not sure what would be the best way to translate the two Portuguese sentences into English. On purpose, I avoided the present perfect, for the following reason: To complicate things further, the interpretation of *He has left for ten minutes* corresponding to his leaving having happened ten minutes before now, is (necessarily) expressed in Portuguese with yet another temporal adverbial, namely *Saiu há dez minutos* ('He left ten minutes ago'). The other possibility of interpreting the English present perfect sentence, corresponding to an interval fully in the past, would in turn be similar to the first Portuguese sentence, *Saiu durante dez minutos*. These facts will be further discussed in Chapter 7 below.

end) of the period in question, as opposed to a corresponding sentence with *durante*, which could only refer to a period entirely in the future:

*Estou aqui por uma hora, e depois vou para casa.* ('I'm here for an hour, and then I'll go home')

This example demonstrates, in addition, that the distinction involved is a question of perspectival aspect, and not of factual readings of *durante* as opposed to *por*, as might be an alternative justification of the corresponding examples in the past,[29] since the future can never be factual.

But let us now look more generally at quantification phenomena, keeping in mind that counting (of events or temporary states) requires perfective aspect.

## 6.6 Quantification

There are two sorts of quantification that I will discuss, nominal and verbal. Both can be subdivided into indefinite and definite quantification. I start by indefinite quantification, and note that, in Portuguese, the distinction between a cumulative/concrete or frequentative/abstract statement can be given solely by tense, as the next pair of sentences shows:

*Ele deu muitos livros às crianças.* ('He gave many books to his children')

*Ele dava muitos livros às crianças.* ('He would give many books to his children; He often gave books to his children')

The first sentence denotes a plural event, the second a property. I.e., in connection with quantification, tense has primarily an ontological import.

More specifically, the first sentence describes a plural event which is vague regarding its distribution in time: it can describe one occasion of giving many books simultaneously, or many different occasions. By contrast, for the property described by the second sentence to hold, there must have been many occasions of giving books (however, this is not what is explicitly conveyed).

If one wants to describe precisely that many occasions amounting to many books were concerned, one can use the PPC (provided the situation is located at an extended now). Thus, *Ele tem comprado muitos livros* ('He has bought many books lately') is only felicitous if he has been buying books on several occasions.

Let us now analyse <u>sentential</u> indefinite quantification. Consider:

*Ele comeu lagosta muitas vezes.* ('He ate lobster many times')

*Ele comia lagosta muitas vezes.* ('He would eat lobster many times')

Here we have the purest contrast. In both cases, quantification is related to occasions ("vezes");[30] however, the first sentence simply asserts a number of past events, while the second states a property, related to the frequency of his eating lobster. In fact, these two sentences may

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[29] As suggested by Jan Engh (Personal communication)

[30] Note that the word corresponding here to English *time*, *vez*, is in other contexts rendered in English by *turn*, cf. *É a tua vez* ('It's your turn'). Furthermore, I do not perceive any difference in meaning between the two cases.

be paraphrased in the following way:

The number of times he ate lobster was high.

The frequency of his eating lobster was high.

If one considers now the case of definite quantification, the difference is even clearer; cf.:

*Ele deu três livros aos filhos.* ('He gave three books to his children')

*Ele dava três livros aos filhos.* ('He would give three books to his children')

While the first sentence, in strict parallel with *Ele deu muitos livros aos filhos*, can concern (at most three) different occasions or one unique giving event, the second sentence can only mean three books at the same time (in the same event). Furthermore, it is necessarily an incomplete sentence: it presupposes a kind of occasions about which the property is predicated, such as expressed by *nas férias* ('during the holidays') or *quando voltava de viagem* ('when he returned from his travels').

In other words, definite nominal quantification in a sentence in Imperfeito cannot concern the whole sentence, although in a sentence in Perfeito it is vague between quantification over events or over objects.

Definite sentential quantification, finally, can only apply to individuated entities in time and space, i.e., events and temporary states in the perfective aspect, as already mentioned in the previous section. One can only make sense of a corresponding Imperfeito sentence if one is able to provide both a short time span on which the counts are performed, and a much broader period over which such a frequency is being asserted, as in:

*Ele saltava três vezes (quando a via).* ('He jumped three times (whenever he saw her)')

*Ele saltava três vezes por dia.* ('He jumped three times a day')

*Ele dormia duas horas depois do almoço quando era novo.* ('He slept for two hours after lunch when he was young')

Let me now look at the behaviour of *sempre* ('always'). *Sempre* is an especially interesting adverb because it embodies a kind of natural language paradox: Contrarily to what would be expected, permanent truths are not expressed with *sempre*, i.e., if something is always the case, the right way to describe it is not relating it to time at all. In other words, it should be described as an (atemporal) property. So, if one mentions time, it is to refer to other times than the whole time. In fact, I claim that *sempre* always denotes on all occasions (or at all -- discrete -- times).

In the simple tenses, *sempre* is a sort of pointer (anaphoric object) to a series of occasions which are implicit (or explicit) from the context. In other words, the following sentences have no meaning in isolation:

*Ele caiu sempre.* ('He always fell')

*Ele caía sempre.* ('He always fell')

More interesting is the observation that there is a fairly big difference between event sentences in Imperfeito or Presente with *sempre*, and the corresponding version in the progressive aspect, as the following examples show:

*Ele caía sempre [que passávamos por aquele buraco].* ('He fell whenever we went past

that hole')

*Ele estava sempre a cair.* ('He was always falling')

*Ele perdia sempre [quando jogávamos canasta].* ('He always lost when we played canasta')

*Ele estava sempre a perder.* ('He was always losing')

*Ele estava sempre a perder o chapéu de chuva.* ('He was always losing his umbrella')

*Ele dava sempre a mão à mãe [quando atravessava a rua].* ('He always held hands with his mother when crossing the street')

*Ele estava sempre a dar a mão à mãe.* ('He was always asking for his mother's hand')

*Ele fazia sempre os deveres.* ('He always did his homework')

*Ele estava sempre a fazer os deveres.* ('He was always doing his homework')

In fact, the non-progressive sentences imply/presuppose quantification over all appropriate occasions (examples of which were presented inside square brackets). The progressive sentences, in turn, concern temporary states, and thus convey quantification over times: something like "very frequently" (in the relevant time scale). In addition, because the appropriate times were better covered by the simple form, we get an excessive, depreciative, connotation with the progressive.

The same happens with basic temporary states:

*Ele estava sempre doente.* ('He was always sick')

*Ele esteve sempre doente.* ('He was sick all the time' or 'He was sick every time')

The first sentence has a depreciative connotation, while the second can be interpreted as either quantification over events (understood from the context) or covering homogeneously a given period (also understood from the context), illustrated respectively by *Ele esteve sempre doente quando tivemos exames* ('He was sick whenever we had examinations') and *Em Fevereiro, ele esteve sempre doente* ('He was sick all throughout February').

Further evidence showing that quantification over events versus times is an adequate description of the difference noted is the fact that *sempre* with simple tenses can be rephrased by *todas as vezes [que ...]* ('all the times (that ...)'), but this is not the case with the progressive:

*Ele fazia os deveres todas as vezes.* ('He did his homework every time')

*Ele caía todas as vezes que passávamos por ali.* ('He fell down all the times we went past that place')

*Ele perdia todas as vezes que jogávamos.* ('He lost every time we played')

* *Ele estava a fazer os deveres todas as vezes.* ('He was doing his homework every time')

* *Ele estava a cair todas as vezes que passávamos por ali.* ('He was falling down all the times we went past that place')

This indicates that the simple tenses express a plural event or a property of the occasions, i.e., *sempre* is related to events, while the progressive, being linked to temporary states, forces *sempre* to relate to times.

If my analysis is correct, then it should follow that the PPC, which already refers to a temporary state, will only accept *sempre* in the event/ocasion reading. This is in fact what

happens:

*Ele tem sempre comprado livros caros [quando aqui vem].* ('He has always bought expensive books [when he comes here]')

*Ele tem-se sempre queixado da perna [quando vai ao médico].* ('He has always complained about the leg [when he sees the doctor]')

These sentences can only refer to some contextually determined occasions, not times.

Now, the analysis of quantified sentences in Imperfeito as properties, together with the possibility of Perfeito to apply to properties, thereby locating them in a past period in which they held, allows one to explain the positional alternation of *sempre* with Perfeito, which is not possible with Imperfeito (nor Presente).

The grammatical facts are as follows: *sempre* can appear in pre- or postverbal position with Perfeito, but it is only acceptable in postverbal position with Imperfeito; cf. the following examples, all corresponding roughly to 'He always gave money to the poor':

*Ele deu sempre dinheiro aos pobrezinhos.*

*Ele sempre deu dinheiro aos pobrezinhos.*

*Ele dava sempre dinheiro aos pobrezinhos.*

*\*Ele sempre dava dinheiro aos pobrezinhos.*

The semantic facts, I claim, are that the adverb in preverbal position signals that Perfeito's import is turning a property into a past temporary state, while the postverbal position (the non-marked position) is signalling ordinary quantification over events. This is shown by the following examples:[31]

*Ele sempre deu dinheiro aos pobrezinhos.* ('He was always of the kind of giving money to the poor')

*Ele deu sempre dinheiro aos pobrezinhos.* ('He always gave money to the poor' - in the appropriate past occasions I have in mind)

*Ele sempre nadou no mar alto.* ('He always swam in the high sea')

*Ele nadou sempre no mar alto.* ('He swam in the high sea all the times I'm talking about')

*Ele sempre comeu azeitonas, desde bebé.* ('He has always eaten olives, ever since he was a baby')

*Ele comeu sempre azeitonas (quando vinham para a mesa).* ('He ate olives whenever they were put at the table')

Summing up, in quantification with event sentences tense and aspect play a major role in determining the interpretation of quantifiers and of sentences as a whole. As just shown, *sempre* is vague as regards quantification over times or over events: In Perfeito, it can be used in the two

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[31] Strictly speaking, the adverb in postverbal position (the unmarked position) is vague between the two interpretations in Perfeito, while in preverbal position it signals exclusively the property reading.

functions, whereas in Imperfeito (and in PPC[32]) it is necessarily restricted to events, and in the (Imperfeito) progressivo it is only interpretable as applying to times. This fits in nicely with the syntactic distribution of *sempre*.

Finally, let me comment on the meaning of *quando*, which, as shown above, is the natural way to make the set of situations related to *sempre* explicit. It is thus appropriate to express more clearly its import, by discussing the differences between the next three sentences:

*Ele arranjava relógios.* ('He fixed clocks' - he was a watchmaker)

*Ele arranjava sempre os relógios [quando se avariavam].* ('He always fixed the clocks when they were out of order')

*Ele arranjava os relógios quando se avariavam.* ('He fixed the clocks when they were out of order')[33]

The first sentence expresses a property, which is atemporal (even though it is located in a past period). The second sentence establishes a permanent link between two distinct events (so, in a way, it is a property of a sequence of events). The difference between the second and third sentences is subtler. The meaning conveyed by the third sentence seems to stand midway between the two previous ones, in that it can depict a role (and not an occupation), a role which is shown when the occasions depicted in the *quando*-clause arise (but this is a question of verification, not of the meaning of the sentence proper); or it can express his habitual behaviour. In that use, similar to the second sentence, it is weaker than the latter, because it accepts a number of exceptions to such behaviour which the sentence with *sempre* does not.

The fact that the third sentence is to some extent vague between a pure property and a habitual one is a feature of Imperfeito in general, as was discussed in Santos (1994b) under the label HAB-PROP. It can be appreciated in the next example:

*Ela tomava conta do jardim.* ('She took care of the garden')

This may as well be taken to mean either that "she was the gardener" or that "she had the habit of doing some gardening".

## 6.7 *Já* and *ter* + **Particípio passado**[34]

I treat these two grammatical devices in the same section, because, despite their undeniable

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[32] Syntactically, the behaviour of PPC is similar to that of Imperfeito: both accept only one position of *sempre*, namely after the finite verb; cf. *\*Ele sempre dava livros caros*, *\*Ele sempre tem dado livros caros*. This derives from the fact that the PPC, as well as the Imperfeito, can only have <u>one</u> interpretation with *sempre*.

[33] Note that in this case the *quando*-clause is obligatory, i.e., it cannot be presupposed, while in the previous sentence with *sempre*, *sempre* stands for a set of (relevant) occasions which are not necessarily made explicit in the same sentence. (In particular, people only fix clocks when they are out of order, so the *quando*-sentence there would usually be left out.)

[34] I use the designation *ter* + Particípio passado for a variety of reasons: there is no common standard designation for this construction in Portuguese, since traditional grammar simply calls the corresponding tenses "formas compostas" ('compound forms'), i.e., the designation is morphologically grounded. On the other hand, I cannot use the term "perfeito" for clash with the term I use (and is traditionally used) for one of the simple past tenses. Finally, I avoid the term perfect, which would claim an *a priori* semantic analysis and would also make it hard to distinguish from the English perfect (which for obvious reasons I do not want to treat here).

aspectual import, my analysis of them involves crucially temporal reference as well.

### 6.7.1 The meaning of já

*Já* and *ainda não* are interesting in that they cannot be applied to infinitives of events, except in the *ter* + Particípio passado form, as opposed to most adverbials and/or aspectualizers. So, even though the following are possible Portuguese expressions: *já ter feito* ('to have already done') or *já ser um homem* ('to be already a man') or *já estar cansado* ('to be already tired'), the following is not: *\*já fazer* ('to already do'). For reasons of space, I will restrict my attention here to *já*.

The best way to explain the restriction just stated is to note that *já* is essentially temporal, and necessarily relates <u>two</u> times, one of which must be defined by the expression it applies to. At first sight, this explanation is puzzling, because *já* should then apply to events and not to permanent states. But note that *já* behaves precisely like *desde*, selecting the beginning point for permanent and temporary states, and considering the event as a whole for events. (To get a past occurrence as a whole in an untensed form, the form *ter* + Particípio passado must be used, as will be described below.)

To show first that the time obtained from the argument expression of *já* behaves in the way mentioned (cf. also Campos (1984b:543)), note the translations into English and my explanations:

*Já comeste.* ('You have eaten') -- the time of your eating is related to now

*Já tinhas comido.* ('You had eaten') -- the time of your eating is related to the reference time

*Já estás velho.* ('You are already old') -- the time of your beginning to be old is related to now

*Ele já estava cansado.* ('He was already tired') -- the time of his beginning to be tired is related to the reference time

*Já dou aulas na Universidade.* ('I already teach at the University') -- the time of my beginning to teach is related to now

*Já volto.* ('I'll be back soon') -- the time of my coming back is related to now

Now, what is the more specific meaning of *já*, in addition to relating two times? I suggest that *já* specifies a close relation between the time of the event and the other time (which is now or the reference time). The exact import of this closeness relation is, for obvious reasons, essentially context dependent, even though there are clear cases where the closeness is understood in purely temporal terms (a short time had elapsed, a short time will elapse).

Let me also state that *já* has a temporal import in the sense of introducing another temporal referent explicitly, i.e., in the cases where the expressions involved do not yet have a reference point, *já* adds it. This is reflected in the two following facts:

1. *Já* with Perfeito is not used in narrative contexts, while Perfeito, on the other hand, is the narrative tense by excellence. This is because *já* with Perfeito explicitly invokes now.

2. *Já* with Imperfeito introduces a reference time which is non-existent with Imperfeito alone, as can best be seen by contrasting *Já dava aulas na Universidade* ('I was already teaching at the University') with *Eu dava aulas na Universidade* ('I was teaching at the University' -- I was a teacher there)

In addition, the meaning of *já* proposed helps to explain the two temporal interpretations of *já* with Mais que perfeito: For expressions vague between an event or a state (Aquisições), the addition of *já* can be construed as relating the the event (corresponding to the first point of the state) to a later point where the state holds; cf.:

*Eu já tinha visto o Jorge quando ela me falou.* ('I had already seen Jorge when she talked to me')[35]

This analysis, I think, has the advantage of reinforcing the relevance of the threefold ontological distinction in Portuguese (between states, properties and events), while producing at the same time an adequate description of the behaviour of *já*.

Let me just say some words on the use of *já* with permanent states. As with *desde*, social properties, which can be assigned a non-trivial beginning, are more felicitous with *já*. On the contrary, the following examples are not acceptable: *\*O mundo já é mundo* ('The world is already the world')[36] or *\*O homem já é mortal* ('Man is already mortal'). But not every social property is equally acceptable with *já*, as will be shown presently. Furthermore, fairly many essential properties can be assigned an initial point by the application of *já* itself; cf.:

*Ela já gosta de ler.* ('She already likes to read')

This sentence conveys, in addition to the closeness of the inception of that property with now, that the person who utters it considers such a property a predictable phase (of the development of a child, for example).

By contrast, and though *Desde que ela canta na Ópera...* ('Since she sings in the Opera...') is a perfectly natural expression, the "corresponding" *Ela já canta na Ópera* ('She already sings in the Opera') can only be uttered in a very special context where it had been predicted of her that she would once sing in the opera.

Now, is this evidence for yet another distinction inside the category permanent states? I do not believe that this is grammatically justified in Portuguese. Furthermore, it is possible to present similarly odd sentences with events, showing that the above data is not related to properties, but essentially connected with the meaning of *já*. For example, *\*Eu já nasci* ('I am already born') is odd because it is hard[37] to construe a context where it would be justified to

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[35] The interpretation of this sentence I am interested here is the one where *eu já tinha visto o Jorge* can be simultaneously construed as depicting a previous event (my spotting of Jorge) and a state which could be either I knew where he was, I could see him, I had the information that he was there, etc., *já* emphasizing the close relation between the event and the state, as well focusing on the time of the state itself in order to get a felicitous *quando*-structure. (Without *já* the whole *quando*-structure would sound weird.)

[36] Even though a common way of phrasing inevitability (or unchangeability) in Portuguese is with the *desde*-clause *Desde que o mundo é mundo* ('Since the world is the world').

[37] In a previous version of this chapter, I had written "hard, if not impossible", but Lauri Carlson suggested a context where it made perfect sense, namely as an answer to a preacher preaching: "You must be born again".

express closeness with now.

### 6.7.2 The meaning of *ter* + Particípio passado

Let me now turn to the explanation of *ter* + Particípio passado, whose main gist has already been mentioned to explain the behaviour of *já*.

This construction indicates that its argument is wholly in the past, relative to a reference time which can be situated anywhere. It is thus the counterpart of Perfeito, except that Perfeito does not introduce a reference time: it is linked to now, i.e., its argument is wholly in the past of now. This observation explains, from a systemic point of view, why PPC has developed such a different meaning: its obvious meaning (that the reference point was now) was already occupied by Perfeito, and so it would fill no place.

The meaning of *ter* + Particípio passado is thus mainly associated with temporal information. However, and as should be clear, the interaction of temporal information with Aktionsart may produce different interpretations, in fact, in a way similar to the cases of *já* and *desde*. The main difference between *ter* + Particípio passado, on the one hand, and *já* and *desde*, on the other, is their behaviour with temporary and permanent states: The former construction, instead of identifying the initial point, sees everything as a whole (and thus postulates previously occurring final points to the argument situations as well):

*ter construído a casa* ('to have built the house')

*ter estado em Paris* ('to have been in Paris')

*ter aplaudido os Beatles* ('to have cheered the Beatles')

*ter sido princesa* ('to have been a princess')

In addition, the construction *ter* + Particípio passado allows temporal modification of the event to which it applies:

*Ter cantado na ópera ontem fez-lhe muito bem.* ('to have sung in the opera yesterday did him good')

*Ter cantado na ópera durante 1984 fez-lhe muito bem.* ('to have sung in the opera during 1984 did him good')

*Ter cantado na ópera de Janeiro a Março fez-lhe muito bem.* ('to have sung at the opera from January to March did him good')

*Ter construído a casa em 1988 ser-lhe-á muito útil em 1998, porque deixará de pagar sisa.* ('to have built the house in 1988 will be very useful to him in 1998, because then he will stop paying the tax')

With future deictic adverbials, however, it seems more difficult to get felicitous sentences: It seems odd to state a wholly past situation relative to a reference point whose event time is in the future, as in ?*Será uma vantagem no futuro ele ter-se inscrito amanhã.* ('It will be an advantage in the future for him to have enrolled tomorrow'). In fact, the rendering that comes first to mind uses a simple infinitive; cf. *Será uma vantagem no futuro ele inscrever-se amanhã* ('It will be an advantage in the future for him to enroll tomorrow'). This is possibly due to

constraints on how the future is perceived; I will suggest no explanation for this fact.

Let me instead discuss the relationship between *ter* + Particípio passado and the perfective aspect. As noted in Section 4.2.1, the English perfect could be given a perspectival aspect formulation. As for Portuguese, let me simply state that *ter* + Particípio passado implies perfective aspect, but it should not be confused with it, since, as I showed, it has mainly a temporal import.

It is, moreover, related to direction in time. If one wanted to express that something is seen as a whole from an anterior point of view, one would use the expression *estar para*:

*Ele está para casar.* ('He is going to marry soon')

*Ele estava para construir uma casa, mas depois mudou de ideias.* ('He was about to build a house, but changed his mind later')

*Quando o tornares a encontrar, ele estará para partir para o México.* ('When you see him again, he will be about to leaving for Mexico')

*Uma vez, ele esteve mesmo para emigrar.* ('Once, he was about to emigrate')

It is but natural that natural language has a more developed mechanism (and is more frequently used) to describe what is past than one to describe what is to come, and thus that the compound tenses have a much wider use and relevance than the periphrastic expression *estar para* (which, anyway, is possible with all (morphological) tenses, as partially illustrated above).

## 6.8 Tense

Much has already been said already about the Portuguese simple past tenses. A new section on tense is only necessary to present a global view of all tenses, as well as provide, for the sake of completeness, some description of other (rarer) tense forms.

As far as the tense paradigm is concerned, the reader is invited to consult any grammar of Portuguese to get the traditional view. Here, I will only provide a flat presentation of the tense paradigm, mainly to illustrate the morphological complexity and provide terminological precision, and go on to suggest one possible hierarchical description of it.

Finally, I present a short description of the subjunctive and non-past referring tenses, both to show that many of the distinctions referred to previously also play a role there, and to provide some information on these forms, that can be useful when discussing particular translation pairs in the remainder of this text.

### 6.8.1 The tense paradigm of Portuguese

First of all, it should be noted that the word "tense" in the present dissertation refers to all morphological distinctions in the verb apart from those of person and number -- the "simple tenses", plus progressivo (*estar a* + Infinitivo) and compound forms (*ter* + Particípio passado), irrespective of whether their meaning is obtained compositionally from the tense of the auxiliary and the general meaning of the analytic form.

To illustrate the tense paradigm of Portuguese, I will use a regular verb of the first

conjugation, *cantar* ('sing'), in the second person singular (all tenses having a form for this person are listed, thus also the personal infinitive and the imperative; by contrast, gerund, past participles and impersonal infinitive are omitted). First, I display the name I use in this dissertation, then the form, and finally its full name from traditional grammar. After the simple form, I display the progressive and the compound (*ter* + Particípio passado) forms.

Of course, I might also have included the forms *ter estado a* + Infinitivo for completeness' sake. However, this form of presentation is mainly relevant to a description of the tenses' meaning, and since no form of *ter estado a* + Infinitivo is either obligatory (as is the case of Presente progressivo) or non-compositional (as is the case of the PPC), I skipped them.

Table 6.2: The Portuguese tense paradigm

| 1 | Presente | *cantas* | Presente do indicativo |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | Presente prog. | *estás a cantar* | Forma perifrástica do presente do indicativo |
| 3 | PPC | *tens cantado* | Pretérito perfeito composto do indicativo |
| 4 | Imperfeito | *cantavas* | Pretérito imperfeito do indicativo |
| 5 | Imperfeito prog. | *estavas a cantar* | Forma perifrástica do pretérito imperfeito do indic. |
| 6 | Mais que perfeito | *tinhas cantado* | Pretérito mais que perfeito composto do indic. |
| 7 | Perfeito | *cantaste* | Pretérito perfeito do indicativo |
| 8 | Perfeito prog. | *estiveste a cantar* | Forma perifrástica do pretérito perfeito do indic. |
| 9 | MQP simples | *cantaras* | Pretérito mais que perfeito simples do indicativo |
| 10 | MQP prog | *estiveras a cantar* | Forma perifrástica do pretérito mais que perf. s. |
| 11 | Futuro | *cantarás* | Futuro do indicativo |
| 12 | Futuro prog. | *estarás a cantar* | Forma perifrástica do futuro do indicativo |
| 13 | Futuro composto | *terás cantado* | Futuro composto ou perfeito do indicativo |
| 14 | Condicional | *cantarias* | Condicional |
| 15 | Condicional prog. | *estarias a cantar* | Forma perifrástica do condicional |
| 16 | Condicional comp. | *terias cantado* | Condicional composto |
| 17 | Presente do conj. | *cantes* | Presente do conjuntivo |
| 18 | PC prog. | *estejas a cantar* | Forma perifrástica do presente do conjuntivo |
| 19 | PPC conj. | *tenhas cantado* | Pretérito perfeito composto do conjuntivo |
| 20 | Imperfeito do conj. | *cantasses* | Pretérito imperfeito do conjuntivo |
| 21 | IC prog. | *estivesses a cantar* | Forma perifrástica do pret. imperfeito do conj. |
| 22 | MQP conj. | *tivesses cantado* | Pretérito mais que perfeito do conjuntivo |
| 23 | Futuro do conj. | *cantares* | Futuro do conjuntivo |
| 24 | FC prog. | *estiveres a cantar* | Forma perifrástica do futuro do conjuntivo |
| 25 | FC comp. | *tiveres cantado* | Futuro composto ou perfeito do conjuntivo |
| 26 | Infinitivo pessoal | *cantares* | Infinitivo pessoal ou flexionado |
| 27 | IP prog. | *estares a cantar* | Forma perifrástica do infinitivo pessoal |
| 28 | IP composto | *teres cantado* | Infinitivo pessoal composto |
| 29 | Imperativo | *canta* | Imperativo |

Even though I list 29 different forms in Table 6.2, they can obviously be divided into smaller groups, and several alternative presentations can be put forward. I provide here a condensed description of the tense forms, more in the spirit of traditional grammar, by suggesting several possible organizational parameters:

1. The most obvious parameter is morphological constitution: synthetic (one word only),

progressive (with *estar a* + Infinitivo), and compound (with *ter* + Particípio passado). I have shown that at least the meaning of the third category is not always obtained compositionally, but it still is in most cases, and that of the Progressivo seems to be obtained compositionally in all cases.

2. Another distinction (at least underlying the naming conventions, but obviously with more content than that) is mood. How many moods should be distinguished is not so obvious (and, in fact, there are different grammatical traditions in Portugal and Brazil regarding the issue of whether Condicional constitutes in itself a separate mood). I suggest a threefold distinction between factual, non-factual and neutral (these latter category including Futuro, Condicional, Futuro do conjuntivo and Infinitivo).

3. Furthermore, a syntactic distinction can be drawn between the Conjuntivo tenses and all the other ones, in that the former always appear in subordinate clauses (even though not always explicitly, as is the case of orders or requests). All other tenses can appear in main or subordinate clauses (Infinitivo pessoal included).

4. In addition, a fairly conventional distinction is, of course, that of tense proper. The way I see it, it is operational in the three moods in a binary way: opposing past vs. non-past, or non-past to no tense in the neutral mood.

5. Finally, as I claimed in many places already in the present text, (some) tenses have a definite ontological import.

This is diagrammed in Figure 6.1, where a possible distinction between all forms is presented in accordance with the above features.

Figure 6.1



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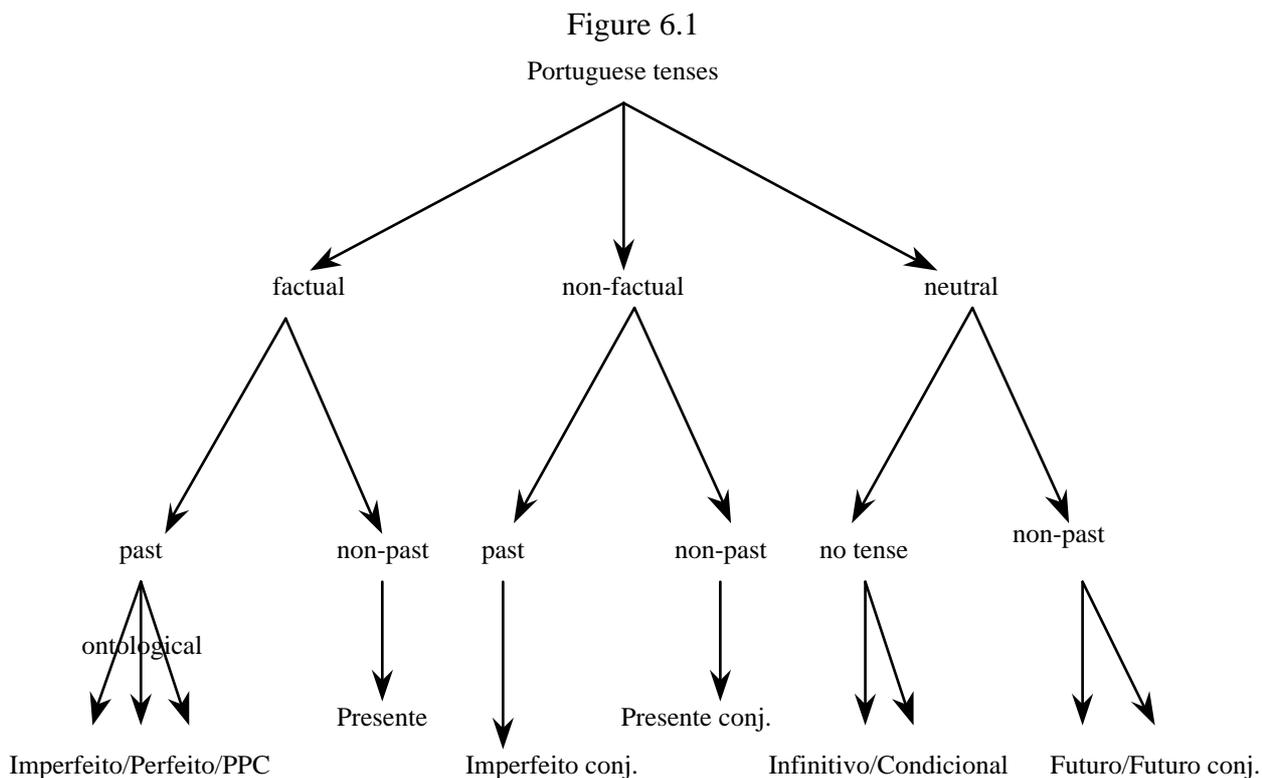
Now, as also noted in Chapter 5 in connection with aspectual classes, I do not think that features in general are an adequate descriptive apparatus for grammar, even though, of course, they may be useful for a rough picture such as the one just presented.

And the reason seems to be that natural language users (and therefore creators) have at their disposal tense forms (bundles of features), not features themselves. So, even if at some point in time there was a neat feature system, creative language use (as well as all other phenomena responsible for language change) would rapidly make such a system too restrictive.

Practical evidence against the features just presented adequately describing the present situation is the fact that Imperfeito is now widely used instead of Condicional, Presente instead of Futuro, and *já* + Perfeito instead of Futuro perfeito. While this can be presented in a description that considers each tense form separately as an individual capable of bearing several (albeit interrelated) meanings, it is not possible to use a feature description without having to postulate either ambiguity or more features.

Another related problem with most feature systems is that there is no independent evidence for the features themselves. Furthermore, it is often difficult (if not impossible) to prove that they are logically independent. I will not dwell on these matters here, however, since Figure 6.1 is in no way crucial to my analyses: it should only be seen as an aid to a coarse understanding of the Portuguese tense system.

Note, nevertheless, that neither the progressive nor the compositional compound tenses are depicted in the figure. One might argue that at least Mais que perfeito simples should also be included, but I chose to disregard it. It is, however, not obvious that even the compound Mais que perfeito, bringing sometimes the import of Aquisição, should not be present as well (there are cases where it is in paradigmatic contrast with Perfeito). In any case, and as already pointed out, the figure is not to be taken too seriously: For example, the pair Imperfeito/Perfeito also contrasts in terms of perspectival aspect, and that is not contemplated (because this would be a case where more than one feature distinguished the very same elements). Neither have I suggested a precise difference between the two types of Futuro (definite vs. non-definite would be one possibility, but also unique vs. plural might do).

Instead, I will turn to a succinct description of some of the tenses not mentioned yet.

### 6.8.2 Presente

The opposition between Presente and Presente prog., incidentally the main reason to have the progressive forms in Table 6.2, is the opposition between permanent states and temporary states when the verb denotes an event.

This contrast is fully comparable with English, and has already been discussed in Section 6.2.1 above, so not much needs to be said; cf.:

*Ele canta.* ('He sings')

*Ele está a cantar.* ('He is singing')

The only thing that might be interesting to underline here is that, in this respect, Portuguese

is very close to English, as opposed to other Romance languages like Italian and Spanish, where the progressive is optional (cf. Marchand (1955)), or like French where it is almost non-existent.

This does not exhaust the meaning of present-day Portuguese Presente, though, since it is frequently used with events in a future meaning (provided a suitable definite adverbial is present or understood); cf. *Vou hoje para Macau* ('I fly today to Macao'); *Ele chega às três* ('He arrives at three o'clock').

But again this does not differ much from the behaviour of the English present, either. Rather, apparently the main difference between the two languages is the non-existence of a futurate progressive in Portuguese (for a short survey of means to express futurity in Portuguese see next section).

### 6.8.3 Futuro

What remains to be described in a chapter on the Portuguese tense and aspect system is the non-indicative tenses, as well as the Futuro and the Condicional. I will not provide a full treatment of these matters here, given their low frequency in general and especially in narrative texts. I will nevertheless describe some features which will result in a more complete picture of the tense and aspect system in Portuguese.

In what concerns the Futuro, it is very rarely used with future reference (having a strong prophetical and old-fashioned tone); cf.:

*Ele virá um dia e salvará o país.* ('One day he will come and save the country')

*Se tu o chamares ele deixará tudo.* ('If you call him, he will leave everything')

There is, however, a case where Futuro is still widely used with future meaning, namely whenever quantification over events is involved; cf.:

*Nada te faltará.* ('Nothing will be missing for you')

*Camões nunca será esquecido.* ('Camões will never be forgotten')

*Terás sempre a impressão de ter perdido alguma coisa.* ('You will always feel like having missed something')

*Nunca perceberás porque ele te deixou.* ('You will never understand why he left you')

*Lembrar-te-ás disso muitas vezes.* ('You'll remember that many times')

*Farei tudo o que for preciso.* ('I'll do all that is needed')

In fact, while a definite occasion, even when its location is indefinite, is rendered by different forms, an occasion which expands indefinitely in (future) time is still preferably rendered with Futuro, as the previous examples showed. This is quite easy to explain in semantic terms. For something to expand indefinitely in time, it has to be a sequence of events or a property, it cannot be one particular event.

The following sentences illustrate the common ways of expressing future time in present-day Portuguese, namely with *ir* + Infinitivo and *haver de* + Infinitivo:

*Hei-de convidar-te para cá vires jantar.* ('I will invite you for dinner')

*Tu hás-de ser reconhecido como um grande poeta.* ('You will be recognized as a great

poet')

*Vou comprar um carro desportivo.* ('I'm going to buy a sports car')

*O novo aeroporto de Oslo vai ser em Gardermoen.* ('The new Oslo airport is going to be at Gardermoen')

Futuro is especially interesting because it has a relatively wide range of uses (even though it is quantitatively rare), especially in what properties are concerned:

1. In fact, and in addition to the special kind of quantification with *sempre* already discussed, the meaning of *sempre* with properties in the future is temporal, i.e., quantifies over times; cf.:

*Ela será sempre a minha preferida.* ('She will always be my favourite')

2. Futuro can also express the beginning of a property as a whole in the future (being in that respect the opposite of Perfeito, which specifies their end), as in:

*Ela será rainha.* ('She will be queen')

3. Its more interesting usage, however, is that of expressing possibility, probability:

*Ela terá uns trinta anos.* ('She will be thirty')

or even doubt about the present, as is most apparent in questions (note that in English a verb is used to translate the doubt); cf.:

*Ele será suficientemente honesto para cumprir a promessa?* ('I wonder whether he is honest enough to keep his promise')

*Estará doente?* ('I wonder whether she is ill')

*Será que ele perdeu o comboio?* ('I wonder whether he missed the train')

This doubt expressing mode is also possible in statements, as the following example shows:

*Ela será tudo o que tu dizes, mas eu não quero nada com ela.* ('She will be all you say, but I will not have anything to do with her')

Very clearly, the use of Futuro in such a sentence conveys that the utterer does not believe in its truth, or at least, that s/he does not want to take a stand on it.

The import of Futuro here is clearly modal (i.e., it expresses a marked attitude); nevertheless, temporal and aspectual properties are also relevant, since (i) attitudes are located in time and (ii) the argument is restricted to present states of affairs, i.e., events are only possible arguments after they have occurred.

*Ela terá mandado a carta, mas não a recebi.* ('She may have sent the letter, but I have not received it')

*\*Ela mandará a carta, mas não a recebi.* ('She will send the letter, but I have not received it')

### 6.8.4 Condicional

While Futuro expresses doubt about the future and present, Condicional expresses doubt about the past.

*Estaria doente?* ('I wonder whether he was ill')

*Seria casado, mas não se comportava como tal.* ('He might be married, but he did not behave accordingly')

Also, it is used to express quantification about a hypothetical past (or present) in the very same way that Futuro is used to express quantification about a hypothetical future.

*Ele nunca daria esta comida ao cão.* ('He would never give this food to the dog')

But if the past is hypothetical, some explicit or implicit (non-actual) condition must always be understood, i.e., a Condicional is semantically dependent on some hypothesis about the past.[38]

*Camões seria mais célebre se tivesse escrito em inglês.* ('Camões would be more famous if he had written in English')

*O João teria comido melhor se não lhe tivesses dado tantos chocolates.* ('João would have eaten more if you had not given him so many chocolate bars')

*Se X tivesse sido o assassino, teria arranjado um alibi.* ('If X were the assassin, he would have fixed an alibi')

Most commonly, such a hypothesis is expressed by Imperfeito do conjuntivo, as is seen in the previous examples. Explicit comparison is another way of expressing an alternative, as in:

*Acho que uma sova daria melhor resultado.* ('I think a beating would produce better results')

In European Portuguese, Condicional is nowadays being replaced by the Imperfeito, much in the same way Futuro is giving way to Presente in definite occasions; and so Condicional would sound awkward in (oral speech like):

*Se eu ganhasse a lotaria, comprava uma casa com piscina.* ('If I won the lottery, I would buy a house with a swimming pool')

Finally, Condicional is also used as future of the past, as Peres (1993) notes, and is thus required in sentences like:

*Os romanos estabeleceram-se na península. Os bárbaros chegariam alguns séculos depois.* ('The Romans settled in the Iberian peninsula. The Barbarians would arrive some centuries later')

### 6.8.5 Conjuntivo

As concerns the subjunctive tenses, their unifying property is that they are related to some attitude of the speaker: belief, denial, order, hope, or simply possibility. They refer to situations without asserting their factual existence. These situations are often temporally ordered; however, the tense of the subjunctive tenses is generally related to the attitude, not to the time of the situation they refer to.

### 6.8.5.1 Presente do conjuntivo

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[38] Henceforth, whenever example sentences have more than one tensed clause, I underline the verb form which is being discussed, in order to make it easier for the readers to follow the examples.

So, Presente do conjuntivo concerns a present belief, doubt, mental attitude, etc., about a present, past or future situation. Not surprisingly, a present (or simultaneous) situation concerns a temporary state or a property; cf.:

*Não acredito que ele seja mentiroso.* ('I do not believe that he is a liar')

*Não acredito que ele esteja em Bruxelas agora.* ('I do not believe that he is in Brussels now')

When an event is mentioned, it must be either all in the past or all in the future, and this distinction is made clear done with the PPC conj. vs. the (simple) Presente do conjuntivo; cf.:

*Não acredito que ele tenha feito isso.* ('I do not believe he has done it')

*Não acredito que ele faça isso.* ('I do not believe he will do it')

### 6.8.5.2 Futuro do conjuntivo

Futuro do conjuntivo, on the other hand, is future in that it concerns a time later than now (even though it may refer to something which may be true at the moment of the utterance)

*Se ela estiver lá, volta para trás.* ('If she'll be there, come back')

*Se ele for simpático, aceita.* ('If he will be nice, turn it in')

*Se ele tiver caído, ajuda-o a levantar-se.* ('If he has fallen down, help him to stand up')

*Se ele cair, não te rales.* ('If he falls, don't worry')

But, just like Futuro, Futuro do conjuntivo may refer to the present, as in the next utterance following a knock on the door: *Se for o Pedro, não estou* ('If it is Pedro, I'm not here'). One might say that it still concerns a time in the future of now in that the <u>verification</u> whether it was Pedro or not will be done in the future, even though he is there (or not) at present.[39] In any case, it should be stressed that the tenses of Conjuntivo treat (unknown) present and future situations in the same way, as is, in fact, also the case with Futuro.

It should be noted that Futuro do conjuntivo is syntactically restricted to two contexts only: (i) *se*-clauses and (ii) clauses associated with indefinite/relative pronouns, like *quando*-related clauses (in addition to *quando* ('when'), conjunctions like *logo que* ('as soon as')), or clauses introduced by *onde* ('wherever'), *o que* ('whatever'), etc. The first introduce a hypothesis, and identify a time related to that hypothesis, while the second simply identify such a time. Note that in both contexts the time can refer to the present, or the future, provided the argument is a property or a temporary state. In other words, they introduce a time which is non-past: *Pensa em mim onde estiveres* ('Remember me wherever you are'); *O que fizeres não é da minha responsabilidade* ('Whatever you do is not my responsibility'). Only *quando*-(related) clauses cannot refer to the present, for the obvious reason that they would be identifying it completely

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[39] I was not aware that this analysis of the Futuro do Conjuntivo had already been suggested by Nilsson (1972). Nilsson displays the following translation/explanation for the real sentence *Se for o Dâmaso, mato-o!* "Hvis (det viser seg at) det er Dâmaso (som har gjort det), dreper jeg ham ('If (it reveals itself that) it is Dâmaso (who did it), I kill him')" (Nilsson, 1972:9, my translation into English), and comments: "it is clear [...] that the situation indicated as a possibility by means of the subjunctive form will only be verified <u>after</u> the time of the utterance" (Nilsson, 1972:10, my translation).

(conflicting with the meaning of Futuro do conjuntivo as expressing a not yet localized definite point in time).

The difference between Futuro do conjuntivo and FC comp. with events is that, while both do not localize, the first denotes a definite time point, while the second indicates an interval of indefinite length, bounded to the left.[40]

This explains the following examples:

*Quando <u>construires</u> a casa, vou-te visitar.* ('While you build the house, I'll visit you')

*Quando <u>tiveres construído</u> a casa, vou-te visitar.* ('When you have built the house, I'll visit you')

*Quando <u>acabares</u> o curso, compro-te uma casa.* ('When you graduate, I'll buy you a flat')

*Quando <u>tiveres acabado</u> o curso, vais poder descansar.* ('When you have graduated, you'll be able to rest')

In the first pair, the time identified by the *quando*-clause of the first sentence is the time of the building, in the second is the time after the building. In the second pair, we have two events in the first sentence, compared to a state which is claimed to hold in the unbounded period selected by FC comp. in the second sentence.

### 6.8.5.3 Comparing Futuro do conjuntivo with Futuro

Here, I intend to pursue an admittedly unconventional analysis of the difference between the two types of Futuro, based on not distinguishing between *se* as an indirect question conjunction and *se* as a conditional conjunction. (This should be taken as a digression intended to illuminate some differences, not as a final analysis.)

Note that the distinction between Futuro and Futuro do conjuntivo in connection with *se*, both regarding hypothetical future or present conditions, is in English (approximately) rendered by the opposition between *whether* and *if*; cf., regarding the future:

*Não sei se ele virá.* ('I do not know whether he will come')

*Se ele vier, fico felicíssima.* ('If he comes, I'll be delighted')

and regarding the present:

*Não sei se ele é padre.* ('I do not know whether he is a priest')

*Se ele for padre, não podemos entrar.* ('If he is a priest, we cannot go in')

While *if* (and Futuro do conjuntivo) ask, so to say, the hearer to pursue actively the hypothesis they introduce, *whether* (and Futuro) simply note that this is an hypothesis.

A further difference between the two types of Futuro is that Futuro do conjuntivo identifies a particular time as part of its meaning (even though it cannot localize it), i.e., it works as a definite description, while Futuro, on the contrary, refers to either a previously identified time[41]

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[40] In the usual metaphorical reference to the time line: past to the left, future to the right.

[41] Precisely identified by Futuro do conjuntivo, as in *Quando acabares o curso, serei a mulher mais feliz do mundo* ('When you graduate, I'll be the happiest woman in the world'). If the main clause depicts an event, Futuro is giving way to Presente, as already noted: *Quando acabares o curso, dou uma festa* ('When you graduate, I'll throw a party').

or to an indefinite set of times (indefinite quantification).

### 6.8.5.4 Imperfeito do conjuntivo

Finally, Imperfeito do conjuntivo (which would be more properly called simply <u>past</u> subjunctive) has often past time reference, as can be easily appreciated by the fact that it is used to express both Presente and Futuro do conjuntivo in indirect speech. My analysis of it invokes a past reference point, that may concern the mental attitude, cf.:

*Não acreditei que ele <u>fosse</u> capaz de o fazer.* ('I did not believe he would be able to do it') or the time about which the hypothesis is formulated, cf.:

*Não acredito que ele <u>fosse</u> capaz de o fazer.* ('I do not believe that he would be able to do it')

*Quando era miúda, se o meu vizinho <u>desse</u> uma festa ficava feliz.* ('When I was a child, if my neighbour threw a party I would be happy')

In a *se* conditional clause, Imperfeito do conjuntivo specifies something which is hypothetical (and thus the speaker cannot know that it is true at the time he makes the hypothesis).

For this reason, it is the tense used in counterfactuals, but in itself it does not imply contrary to fact. Rather, it has a weaker content: it signals clearly a hypothetical context. In some cases, if one expresses something hypothetically it must be because one believes that the contrary is the case (as is generally true regarding hypotheses about the past and especially the present), but not necessarily always, as the following examples, involving quantification, show:

*Se me desses a tua morada, quando eu <u>tivesse</u> tempo podia-te ir lá visitar.* ('If you gave me your address, whenever I had the time I could pay you a visit')

*Gostava muito de ter uma casa na praia. Quando <u>fizesse</u> calor, ia tomar banho no mar.* ('I wish I had a house by the seaside. Whenever it were hot, I would take a bath in the sea')

Now, if only one (future) occasion is involved, Futuro do conjuntivo would be appropriate; the use of Imperfeito do conjuntivo may convey the additional implication that such a hypothesis does not reflect reality (or at least the knowledge of the speaker); cf. the next minimal pair:

*Se o Pedro <u>tiver construído</u> a casa, podíamos ir hoje lá vê-la.* ('If P. has built the house, we could go and see it today')

*Se o Pedro <u>tivesse construído</u> a casa, podíamos ir hoje lá vê-la.* ('If P. had built the house, we could go see it') (Pragmatically, it is implied that he has <u>not</u> built the house)

However, one should not impose the implication as part of the meaning, because the previous sentence, if followed by e.g. *Vamos telefonar-lhe para saber se a construiu ou não?* ('Shall we phone him to know whether he has built it or not?') shows that Imperfeito do conjuntivo only asserts wishful thinking, and not the belief that the hypothesis goes against reality.

Summing up, Imperfeito do conjuntivo can concern an attitude about the past, or signal a hypothesis (about the past, the present or the future). Since in what regards the future, it

competes with the Futuro do conjuntivo, in that connection it is used specifically either for an indefinite number of events, or for signalling plausible counterfactuality.

Finally, let me note an interesting property of all simple subjunctive tenses, namely, the fact that the ontological distinctions observed in the indicative mood are neutralized. So, properties can be read as properties or as events instantiating that property (which in the past indicative mood would be clearly distinguished by the opposition Imperfeito/Perfeito); cf.:

*Se ele for simpático, podes casar com ele.* ('If he is nice, you may marry him')

*Se ele for simpático, perdoo-lhe.* ('If he is nice (behaves nicely), I will forgive him')

*Duvido que ele seja simpático (quando te encontrar).* ('I doubt he will be nice (when he meets you next)')

And, conversely, events can be understood as properties as well in a subjunctive context, as can be seen in the next examples

*Se ele cantar, sai da sala.* ('If he sings, leave the room')

*Se ele cantar, contrata-o.* ('If he sings (is a singer), hire him')

In other words, Portuguese in conjuntivo behaves very much like English, in that it is vague regarding the ontological distinction among events, properties and states.

## 6.9 The Portuguese aspectual network

As explained in the previous chapter, the aspectual network is meant as an adequate device for displaying the tense and aspect system of a language in what Aktionsart is concerned, i.e., for displaying how the properties of a given situation are built up from smaller constituents.

The way it was conceived (and modified in Chapter 5), it is not adequate to model quantification issues nor to deal with perspectival aspect. I will thus consider what might be necessary in order to encompass these phenomena later (Section 6.9.2), and present in Section 6.9.1 the basic aspectual network for Portuguese without paying attention to such issues.

## 6.9.1 The basic aspectual network

Let me first present the basic aspectual network. For ease of exposition, I have been using English names for most Portuguese categories in this chapter. To facilitate the comparison between English and Portuguese in the next chapter, and to present a pure Portuguese aspectual network here, I will now use the Portuguese names, as follows: ESTADOS PERMANENTES (properties), divided into PROPRIEDADES ESSENCIAIS (essential properties) and PROPRIEDADES SOCIAIS (social properties), ESTADOS TEMPORÁRIOS (temporary states), ACONTECIMENTOS (events) divided into OBRAS and MUDANÇAS, and then vague classes like AQUISIÇÕES and MORADAS (obra or permanent state), and compact classes, named after their constituent classes suitably linked by "+".

What I do in this section is mainly to summarize the content of this chapter in a different format: I present linguistic devices in a functional way, in which the input domain is especially relevant, because it may indicate further unlabelled (coerced) transitions. This mechanism allows

me to explain why, the more marked a particular device is, the more it corresponds to more information: In terms of the aspectual network, a marked use corresponds to more transitions, each of which adds something to the overall interpretation.

In order to illustrate this, let me analyse the Progressiva in some detail, or, equivalently, the aspectualizer *estar a*:

estar a: OBRA --> ESTADO TEMPORÁRIO

Such a characterization has already been motivated above in several places. The semantic operation relative to the Progressiva is the selection of the time "occupied by an event".

The addition of graduality, brought about by the Progressiva when applied to Mudanças, is modelled as coercion from these to Obras, prior to the import of the Progressiva proper. A sentence like *Ele está a ficar velho* ('He is getting old') is thus modelled by the following path:

MUDANÇA @-> OBRA --> ESTADO TEMPORÁRIO

Likewise, one of the most marked uses of the progressive, applying to Propriedades essenciais, as in cases like *Ele está a ser simpático* ('He's being nice'), can be modelled by another coercion, now from Propriedade essencial to Obra:

PROPRIEDADE ESSENCIAL @-> OBRA --> ESTADO TEMPORÁRIO

The semantic import of this coerced transition is the replacement of the property by an event which is itself endowed with such a property. More accurately, it is this event which is coerced into an Obra (i.e., is viewed as taking time), in order for the progressive to be successfully interpreted.

In Figure 6.2, I present a simplified version of the Portuguese aspectual network. To avoid unnecessary repetition, I will leave some transitions unanalysed; these will be discussed in connection with the contrast with English in Chapter 7.

Figure 6.2
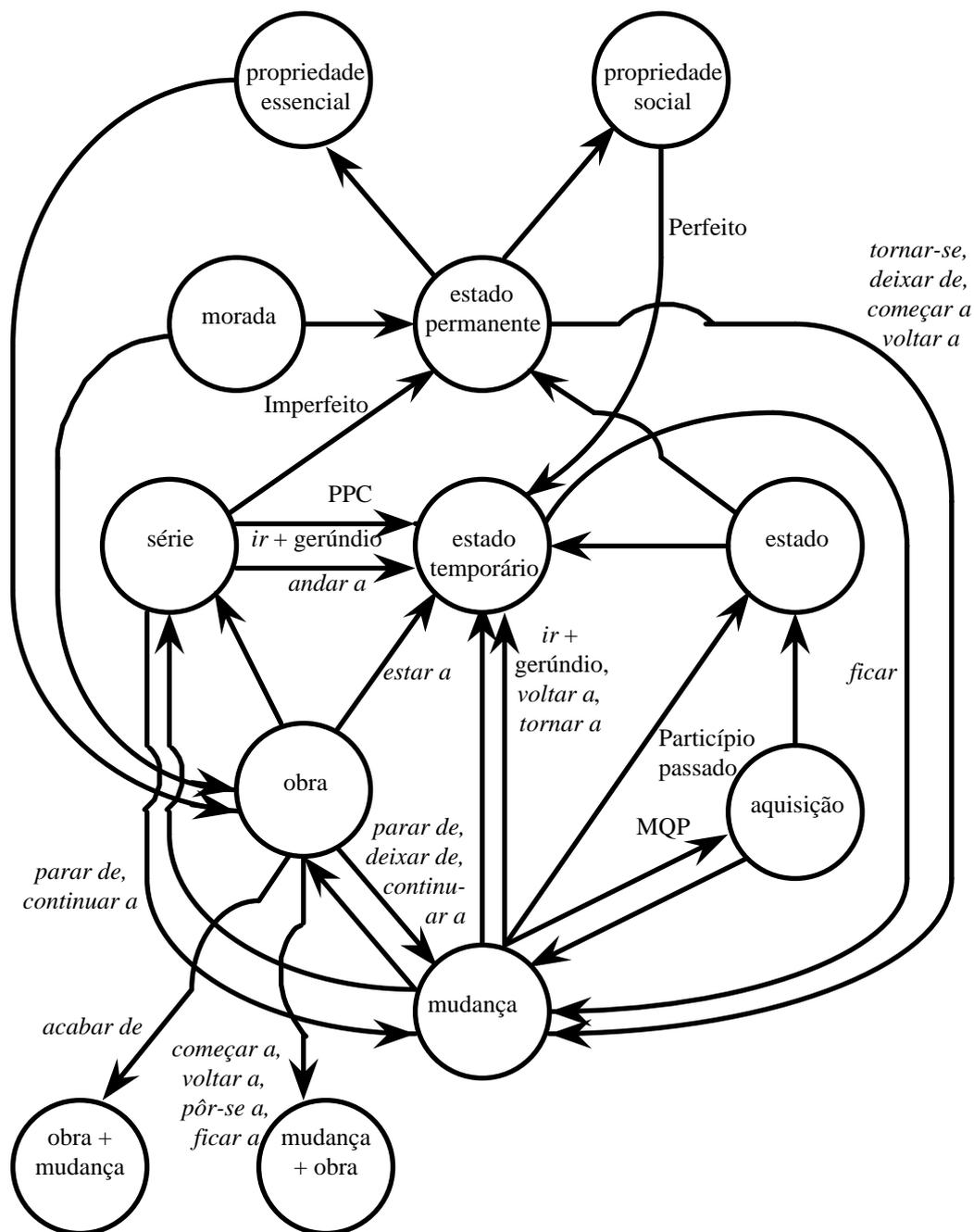
The other aspectualizers mentioned above are easily cast in functional terms as well:

começar a: OBRA --> MUDANÇA+OBRA

começar a: SÉRIE --> MUDANÇA+SÉRIE[42]

começar a: PROPRIEDADE --> MUDANÇA

pôr-se a: OBRA --> MUDANÇA+OBRA

tornar a: OBRA --> OBRA

tornar a: MUDANÇA --> ESTADO TEMPORÁRIO

voltar a: OBRA --> MUDANÇA+OBRA

voltar a: MUDANÇA --> ESTADO TEMPORÁRIO

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[42] Not depicted in the aspectual network.

voltar a: PROPRIEDADE --> MUDANÇA

continuar a: OBRA --> MUDANÇA

continuar a: SÉRIE --> MUDANÇA

parar de: OBRA --> MUDANÇA

parar de: SÉRIE --> MUDANÇA

deixar de: OBRA --> MUDANÇA

deixar de: PROPRIEDADE --> MUDANÇA

andar a: SÉRIE --> ESTADO TEMPORÁRIO

acabar de: OBRA --> OBRA+MUDANÇA

ficar: ESTADO TEMPORÁRIO --> MUDANÇA

tornar-se: PROPRIEDADE --> MUDANÇA

ir + Gerúndio: MUDANÇA --> ESTADO TEMPORÁRIO [preceding the unrealized Mudança]

ir + Gerúndio: SÉRIE --> ESTADO TEMPORÁRIO [included in the Obra]

In order to make the picture clearer, I did not draw any (tense or other) application in Figure 6.2 which would not result in change of output class. Figure 6.3, on the other hand, only contains all mechanisms which do not primarily change aspectual class (but obviously have some other import, generally in terms of temporal reference). They have to be charted in an aspectual network, though, because they have aspectual import due to their capability of coercion. For example, Perfeito applied to a Propriedade essencial produces the unlabelled transition from it to Obra.

The use of loops is merely meant to indicate that no change in aspectual class results. But it should be stressed that the contribution of these loops is significant in terms of temporal reference. One might, thus, provide a different description of Figure 6.3 by introducing combined categories corresponding to aspectual class and temporal information, as is here displayed in functional form (*passado* stands for 'past'). I did not do it in graphical form because it would complicate the drawing unnecessarily; this issue will nevertheless discussed in Chapter 8 in connection with formalization of the aspectual network.

Perfeito: ACONTECIMENTO --> ACONTECIMENTO PASSADO

Perfeito: ESTADO TEMPORÁRIO --> ESTADO TEMPORÁRIO PASSADO

Imperfeito: ESTADO TEMPORÁRIO --> ESTADO PASSADO

Imperfeito: SÉRIE --> PROPRIEDADE PASSADA

Imperfeito: PROPRIEDADE --> PROPRIEDADE PASSADA[43]

PPC: ESTADO TEMPORÁRIO --> ESTADO TEMPORÁRIO EM XN

PPC: SÉRIE --> ESTADO TEMPORÁRIO EM XN

Note, however, that, after tense has applied, no more transitions (coerced or associated to grammatical operators) are allowed in the basic aspectual network.

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[43] As noted by Kåre Nilsson, the characterization given here, forcing Imperfeito to be past, does not cover the modal uses of Imperfeito (for example, those in which it replaces Condicional). It should be clear that I do not handle modal values in the aspectual network.

Figure 6.3
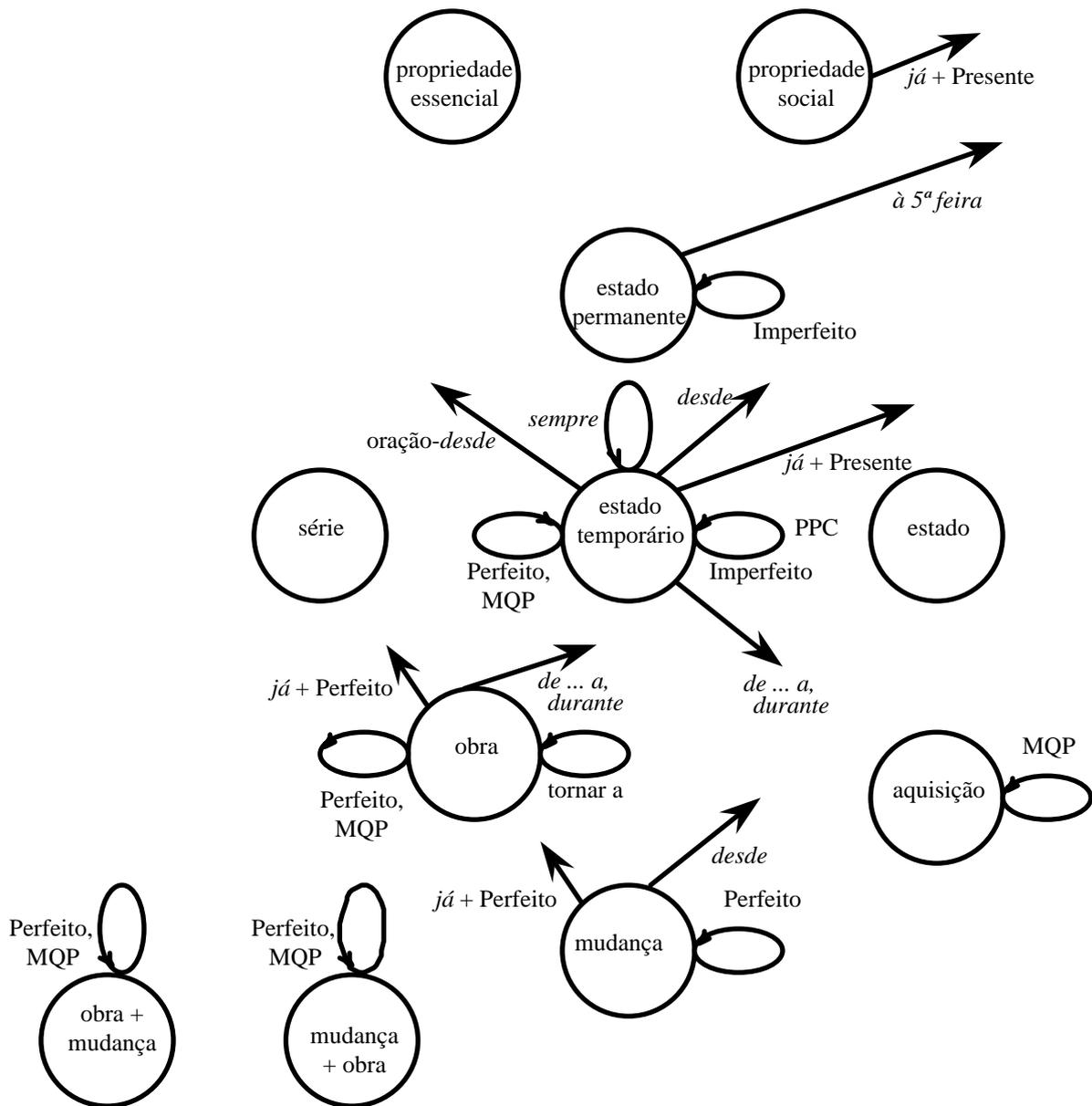


Let me discuss, finally, some questions relative to the modelling of temporal adverbials in the aspectual network. Following a suggestion by Sandström (1990), I consider that the best way to handle them is to have them denote something else than an aspectual class (e.g., a time period, a time quantity), acknowledging however their aspectual import in terms of coercion capability.

Temporal adverbials will not receive much attention in the present dissertation, but a possible way to model their import is presented in the following lines (in what follows, I use parentheses to indicate that it is not the whole expression which is transformed into the categories I am using to denote the import of the adverbial --*tempo* ('time'), *duração* ('duration') --, but only the temporal adverbial expression):

à 5.a feira: TEMPO (PROPRIEDADE)

na 5.a feira: TEMPO (ACONTECIMENTO)

na 5.a feira: TEMPO (ESTADO TEMPORÁRIO)

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de a: TEMPO (OBRA) [the time of the whole event]

durante: DURAÇÃO (OBRA) [the duration of the whole event]

durante: DURAÇÃO (ESTADO TEMPORÁRIO) [the duration of the whole state]

durante: DURAÇÃO (SÉRIE) [the duration of the whole series]

*Durante* is analysed as coercing Mudanças into Estados temporários, while simply measuring the latter, Séries and Obras. This corresponds to the following analyses for *Ele dormiu durante duas horas* ('He slept for two hours'), *Ele esteve no café durante duas horas* ('He was in the coffee shop for two hours'), *Ele saiu durante duas horas* ('He left for two hours'), and *Ele entrou e saiu durante duas horas* ('He went in and out for two hours'), respectively:

OBRA (ele dormir) durante (2 horas) OBRA

ESTADO TEMPORÁRIO (ele estar no café) durante (2 horas) ESTADO TEMPORÁRIO

MUDANÇA (ele sair) @> ESTADO TEMPORÁRIO durante (2 horas) ESTADO TEMPORÁRIO

SÉRIE (ele entrar e sair) durante (2 horas) SÉRIE

This contrasts with temporal conjunctions, because they convert an expression belonging to a particular aspectual class into another entity (a time, for example), which, as any temporal adverbial, can in turn coerce its arguments.

desde: MUDANÇA --> TEMPO (ESTADO TEMPORÁRIO) [the time of the whole event]

desde: ESTADO TEMPORÁRIO --> TEMPO (ESTADO TEMPORÁRIO) [beginning point]

Exemplifying with *desde*, the argument of *desde* (the *desde*-clause without *desde*) is the input of the operator, while the result, the import of the *desde*-clause, is a time applied to another argument (the main clause). For example, in the first definition, the Mudança is in the *desde*-clause, and the Estado temporário in the main clause: *Desde que ele caiu anda de muletas* ('Ever since he fell down he walks on crutches'), *ele caiu* is a Mudança, *desde que ele caiu* a Tempo which is applied to the Estado temporário *anda de muletas*. I use the labels "desde" and "oração-desde" in the aspectual network to distinguish the two.

Finally, the import of *já* lies outside the scope of the basic aspectual network because it relates two times, and because its application is, in a way, after the tense. Some of its (non-quantificational) import, however, can be captured, as for temporal adverbials and tenses, by expressing its coercion capabilities, which I have displayed syncategorematically in Figure 6.3, and express here in functional form:
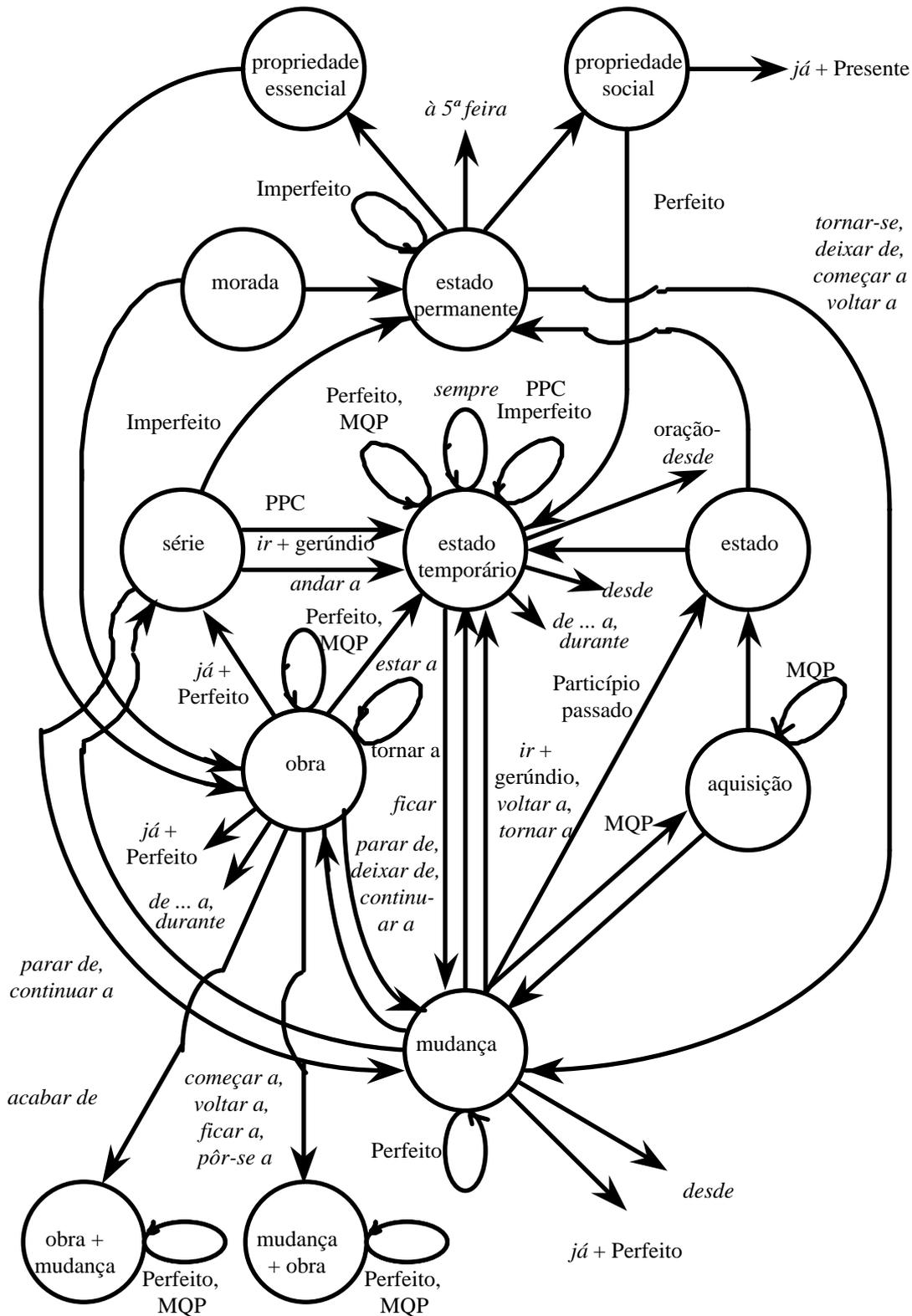
já: ESTADO TEMPORÁRIO PRESENTE --> INÍCIO DO ESTADO NO PASSADO

já: PROPRIEDADE SOCIAL PRESENTE --> INÍCIO DA PROPRIEDADE NO PASSADO

já: ACONTECIMENTO PASSADO --> ACONTECIMENTO PASSADO

Finally, Figure 6.4 combines the information depicted in the two previous figures.

Figure 6.4

propriedade essencial

propriedade social → *já* + Presente

*à 5ª feira*

Imperfeito

morada

estado permanente

Perfeito

*tornar-se, deixar de, começar a voltar a*

Imperfeito

Perfeito, MQP

*sempre* PPC Imperfeito

oração-*desde*

série

PPC

*ir* + gerúndio

*andar a*

estado temporário

estado

*desde*

*de ... a, durante*

Perfeito, MQP

*estar a*

*já* + Perfeito

Particípio passado

MQP

obra

*tornar a*

*ir* + gerúndio, *voltar a, tornar a*

aquisição

*ficar*

*já* + Perfeito

*parar de, deixar de, continu- ar a*

MQP

*de ... a, durante*

*parar de, continuar a*

*acabar de*

*começar a, voltar a, ficar a, pôr-se a*

mudança

Perfeito

*desde*

obra + mudança

Perfeito, MQP

mudança + obra

Perfeito, MQP

*já* + Perfeito

## 6.9.2 Extensions to an aspectual network description

In this section, I investigate how the whole framework of an aspectual network can be extended to encompass the phenomena of perspectival aspect and quantification. Since perspectival aspect seems a less intricate issue, I begin by discussing it.

I believe that the position of an observer has nothing to do with the kind of thing observed, no matter how subjective the kind attributed is. So, in a way, perspectival aspect has no place in an aspectual network. However, since it is independent of aspectual class, it can be added as a further category, just like I suggested the addition of nodes relative to temporal reference in the previous section.

This will be the path I will follow when contrasting English and Portuguese sentences in Chapter 7, whenever the latter carry such information. I will thus add the names "Obra completa" and "Obra em progresso", and "Estado (temporário) acabado" and "Estado (temporário) não acabado", and the further import of Imperfeito and Perfeito will be presented functionally as:

Perfeito: OBRA --> OBRA COMPLETA

Imperfeito: OBRA --> OBRA EM PROGRESSO

Perfeito: ESTADO TEMPORÁRIO --> ESTADO ACABADO

Imperfeito: ESTADO TEMPORÁRIO --> ESTADO NÃO ACABADO

To be sure, now Imperfeito and Perfeito are no longer functions, but multifunctions, i.e., for the same input value they have a set of values. This does not seem particularly ill-suited for their description, though, because the idea that tenses have an import on more than one level is by no means new -- and was advanced in Chapter 4 as well. Furthermore, this will later be shown to handle some translation problems nicely.

As far as the import of quantification is concerned, and as I noted in Chapter 4, it takes as input the kind of situation (as computed by the aspectual network) and does something else with it. This "something else" is to attribute a number (or quantity). It does not change the aspectual class, even though the application of counting mechanisms may coerce the basic interpretation. This explains, in my view, why L.Carlson's and Hintikka's systems, discussed in Chapter 4, managed to deal with aspect and quantification without considering aspectual class of complex sentences, and why Verkuyl's (1993) criticism of aspectual classification may have some appeal: I believe him to be right in claiming that, <u>to deal with quantification</u>, aspectual class is the wrong way to go.

In the view I advocate here (which is very sketchy, because quantification is beyond the scope of this dissertation), the import of quantification has to follow (temporally) the definition of the kind of situation, i.e., it has to be applied to the <u>output</u> of the basic aspectual network.[44] But tenses may play a role in the meaning of a quantified expression, which seems to indicate that there may be another network (or other computing device) for quantificational issues.

I will assume that Série is the exit to the quantificational network (note that, very conveniently, a Série is not a final node in the basic aspectual network because it has no tense). Tenses will obviously be among the operators which have quantificational import, as well as *já*,

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[44] This goes against the spirit of Verkuyl's approach, but together with Hintikka and Carlson's ones. At this point I cannot justify this more than by rehearsing Hintikka's claims about outside-in versus inside-out interpretation; however, to the extent that the sketchy model I present here has some explanatory power, it may contribute to its *a posteriori* justification.

which is probably the most clear device in Portuguese grammar where the two distinct domains are at stake.The discussion of temporal adverbials like *sempre* above also made clear that, in addition to a clear temporal use, they work as quantificational adverbs (i.e., contrary to ordinary frequency adverbials, *sempre* and *nunca* also count). In sum, these adverbs are again multifunctional, agreeing with Sandström's (1993:102) remark that "temporal referents picked out by adverbials can belong to the event realm or the time realm".

In fact, and although the question of quantification has turned out to be relevant to describe the Portuguese tense and aspect system, especially the import of some of the tenses, such a general model (i.e., a further device which handles quantification) is obviously required for English as well. In addition to the works described in Chapter 4, I mention the problematic English sentence *He was polishing all the boots* and its discussion in Taylor (1977).

Finally, let me discuss why I suggest a separate network (or whatever) to handle quantification, and why I do not consider it as an obligatory step (i.e., not all sentences must go through it).

First of all, I note that, as soon as quantification over events takes place, its result no longer depicts something which can e.g. be transformed into a series or a temporary state, nor its time can be identified, nor aspectualizers applied. There is no other way out, I believe, than treating it as a sentence describing quantification over events, and not a situation of any Aktionsart class. So, as soon as the quantification network is reached, it is a "no way out", or "no return", route.

On the other hand, not all sentences express quantification (in the sense of quantification over events, of course). I actually believe that most sentences do not; cf.:

*Ele é simpático.* ('He is nice')

*Ele arranja relógios.* ('He repairs clocks' -- he is a watchmaker)

*Comprei um livro.* ('I bought a book/I have bought a book')

*Viste o filme?* ('Did you see the film?'/'Have you seen the film?')

*Estou a tomar banho.* ('I'm taking a bath')

These sentences can be explained, and modelled, in the basic aspectual network without resorting to quantification. They are different in kind from, for example, *Comprei uma vez um livro* ('I once bought a book'), where no longer time reference is relevant, just quantification.

In fact, I stress that, although the description of an event involving one particular participant at one given time logically entails that there was once one event of such a kind, the two pieces of information conveyed by corresponding sentences are different, and certainly not at all communicatively similar. To prove this last claim, consider the next text and its uninterpretability if the expression *uma vez* ('once') were inserted in its last sentence:

*Trás! E a travessa partiu-se. O João entrou em casa, zangado.* ('Boom! And the dish broke. John entered the house, furious.')

And this concludes the evidence on my claims that the quantificational network is neither obligatory nor a part of the basic one.

**6.10 Conclusion**

The reader might have been struck by the fact that many of my analyses were applicable to English as well: in fact, some phenomena simply seemed to be common to both languages. Why then make such a strong claim that this chapter presents a language-dependent, language-particular analysis of Portuguese?

My point is that it is probable that many analyses developed to deal with the Portuguese tense and aspect system be applicable to English as well (in the same way that English Vendlerian categories were proven applicable to a large extent to other languages, as mentioned in Section 6.1), especially given that English and Portuguese have a common origin. It should, however, be noted that the point of departure for all analyses presented here were features of Portuguese grammar.

What should be different regarding the analyses suggested here is the extent to which the interpretation of these features is essential, relevant, or even necessary, for each language. In other words, and as claimed in Chapter 3, even if languages make the same distinctions they may make them with a fairly different hierarchical weight.

My next goal in the present dissertation is precisely to compare the different weights and the different grammatical distinctions by looking at real translations. This will be attempted in the next chapter.

Before closing this chapter, though, I intend to make more explicit, in the light of my findings here, why Vender's tests are not very appropriate for Portuguese.

On the semantic side, Vendler's tests divide between resultative and non-resultative events, and then, for the resultative, between extended events and punctual events (as seen by English).

Now, a possible way to describe the situation in Portuguese is by somehow reversing the order of the tests, and to notice that, furthermore, punctual events are identified with change (not result in itself, but this is possibly a too subtle question to be of interest here).

Figure 6.5 provides a graphical illustration of the contrast.

Figure 6.5

ENGLISH

PORTUGUESE

events

result            non-result

extended   punctual

events

extended          punctual

( = change)
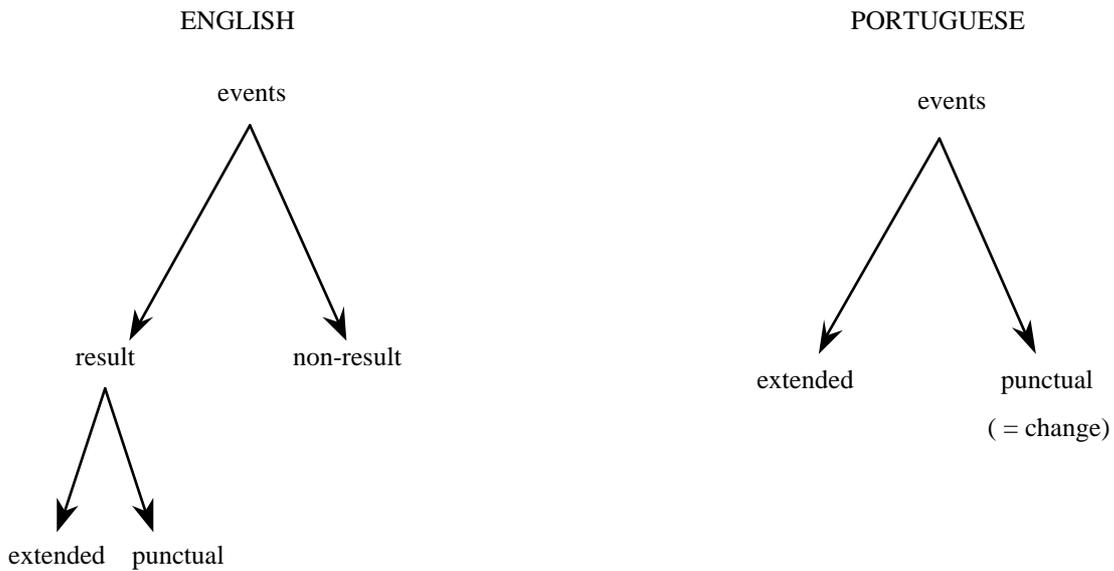
On the linguistic side, Vendler's tests are based on the perfect -- the right thing to do if it selects the result. But what is the analogue of the perfect in Portuguese (in its use of selecting the result)? There is none, precisely because the notion of result is not grammatically relevant.

The other major test suggested by Vendler, namely, cooccurrence with the progressive, intends to look for extendedness as an inherently relevant property. And since this is actually relevant in Portuguese, it is a more Portuguese-oriented test, and thus, as shown in Section 6.3.1, I also used it (or its analogue) to distinguish between Mudanças and Obras.

But here again there is a difference between the two languages. The progressive is not so grammatically relevant in Portuguese as it is in English -- and, in fact, hosts of other criteria were presented in Section 6.3.1 to distinguish between Obras and Mudanças. Further to the point, there is a somewhat similar (or competing) test: Imperfeito denoting perspectival aspect or habituality (the first for the extended type, the second for the non-extended type). This test might be more adequate as a "translation" of Vendler's progressive test given the relative frequencies of the Progressivo and Imperfeito in Portuguese.

The other tests Vendler has provided to show result or durativity, namely cooccurrence tests with *in*- and *for*-adverbials, can be subject to analogous remarks. However, they do not look for the same properties: *in* indicates boundedness (<u>not</u> resultativity)[45] and *for* extendedness. It is a property of English that in most cases there is a conflict between the two tests, i.e., inherent bounded and inherent extended seem to conflict, though this is neither natural nor logically necessary: it is equally acceptable, in my view, to say *I painted the house in two hours* or *I*

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[45] See e.g. Dahl (1981) for a discussion that shows that inherent boundedness (telicity) is often mixed with the notion of completion (or external boundedness). Even though he ends the paper claiming that one of these categories is not relevant, I believe that his conclusion is misguided, and derives from his attempt to arrive at a <u>universal</u> definition drawing from examples of several languages which are incompatible in this respect.

See also Egg (1995) on the subject.

*painted the house for two hours* (or with *read the book* substituted for *paint the house*). But in most cases in English you can either use *in-* or *for*-adverbials with one particular verb, as Vendler points out.

Now, as one would expect, analogue tests in Portuguese will fail to arrive at any distinction: i.e., Obras will be felicitous with both *em* and *durante* (corresponding roughly to *in* and *for*), and Mudanças with neither. Actually, they would be felicitous with the adverbial *dali a*, which simply indicates relative location, not duration.

This concludes my point on Vendlerian categories for Portuguese. What Vendler did was remarkably appropriate for English, but he pin-pointed properties of the English language, which are not by any means conceptually or logically necessary. He did not aim, nor (accidentally) managed, to identify distinctions which are universally valid and relevant for the grammar of all languages of the world. Or, to remain within the subject of the present chapter, for Portuguese.