

Chapter 7: Contrasting English and Portuguese

After the description of the tense and aspect systems of English and Portuguese in their own terms in the previous chapters -- and based on the detailed study of the contrastive issues that will be presented in Part III--, this chapter provides a general view of the differences between the two languages and their formalization in terms of the framework suggested in Chapter 5.

I will not claim to be exhaustive. Still, the material presented in this chapter is drawn from several different sources: published contrastive examples for other language pairs, introspective data, and, especially, the detailed analyses contained in Part III.

I do not claim to have arrived at the final analysis of all differences noted, either. In fact, some of them will only be superficially discussed at the end of this chapter. Nevertheless, I believe the material contained here provides considerable evidence for most claims put forward in the previous chapters, as well as permitting the analysis of a large body of empirical contrastive data.

This chapter is, in fact, the most important one in this dissertation, as it applies both the contrastive and monolingual insights presented so far to the analysis of real text. The previous analyses and the representation model are put to test here. Their success (or failure) depends on my being able to furnish a satisfactory explanation of a significant amount of real translation data.

As narrative text, the material studied offers relatively little information on temporal reference, it should not be surprising that the bulk of the chapter is concerned with differences in Aktionsart (Sections 7.1 to 7.3), and that the section dealing with temporal reference (Section 7.4) is short and does not employ many real examples.

A translation network model is thus applied in the discussion of most data. Let me explain how the presentation is structured. Since the underlying model of a language system is a set of semantic types of situations plus a set of grammatical devices that move from simpler to more complex situations, the contrasts will necessarily be of two kinds: those concerning the classes that are translationally related, and those concerning the grammatical devices. I start by discussing the cases of different aspectual class in the two languages and continue by suggesting analyses of the grammatical markers which are related to them.

The expression "different aspectual class in the two languages" is, in a way, meaningless: There cannot be the same aspectual class across languages. Not only are verbs themselves (the members of the class) necessarily distinct, but the classes are defined through linguistic criteria which are defined in one linguistic system. However, given the pervasive misconception that aspectual classes are semantically definable and have relevance in a language-independent way (against which I have argued at length in Section 6.1 above), it is interesting to draw attention

both to translationally related verbs which have significantly different aspectual properties and to the different behaviour of seemingly corresponding classes as a whole.

In addition, I have found it convenient to distinguish between those contrasts which stem from the source language being vague relative to a distinction required by the target language, discussed in Section 7.1, and those which originate in the source language transmitting in compact form information that cannot be similarly packaged in the target language, presented in Section 7.2. Section 7.3 contains the complete translation networks, together with a revision of the descriptive model inspired by the empirical data.

7.1 Vagueness as a source of contrasts

Before engaging in the description of differences, I should note that the concept of vagueness, or of "cutting the pie in different places", can only be described in contrast with another system, where something is specified, or "cut", in a different way.

So, some of the properties that I will be discussing here may well be irrelevant for each particular language, but they will indeed prove relevant when translation is involved.

Nevertheless, some degree of overlapping between the previous chapters, depicting each monolingual system, and the present chapter is inevitable. Instead of systematically pointing back to the previous chapters, I have opted to repeat some of the information already provided (albeit in a different form and with different weight) in order to make this chapter relatively self-contained.

7.1.1 Portuguese Aquisições

One of my earliest findings concerning differences between English and Portuguese (see Santos (1991a)) was the observation that there is a class of verbs in Portuguese which is translationally related to two different verbs in English: cf. *conhecer* ('meet' and 'know'), *saber* ('learn' and 'know'), *perceber* ('realize' and 'understand'), *lembrar* ('remember' and 'recall').

The lexical content of these verbs stands for the inception of a property and its permanence, which are commonly signalled by tense choice between *Perfeito* and *Imperfeito*, respectively. They are also monolingually distinguished by several other properties, detailed in Santos (1991a) and also described in Section 6.4.1. Basically, they share features of states and of events. They are felicitously used in *Presente* and *Imperfeito* (without connotations of habituality or performativity) just like ordinary states (cf. *lembro-me muito bem dele*, 'I remember him perfectly'), and they are also used in *Perfeito* as ordinary punctual events (cf. *Às 9 lembrou-se de que tinha de ir buscar o chapéu*, 'At 9 he remembered he had to fetch his hat'). But, contrary to states or events, the sequence of the two perspectives is not infelicitous, cf. *Ele lembrou-se do nome. Ainda se lembra*. ('He recalled the name. He still remembers it.') or *Ele conheceu-a. Ele conhece-a*. ('He met her. He knows her.').

In Santos (1995a), I suggested that verbs of this class might cause difficulties for translation into English, in that there would be cases where English must choose while

Portuguese is vague. There, I presented the following invented example: *Conhecer uma pessoa como ele é sempre uma aventura*, which could be rendered in English as *Meeting (or knowing) a person like him is always exciting*.

7.1.1.1 Aquisições with Mais que perfeito

In the corpus, this vagueness can be seen most clearly when the source text is in Mais que perfeito (which I claim preserves the vagueness), and the English translator has to choose between the inceptive or stative interpretation of *conhecer*:¹

*deitado virtuosamente à porta da casa de um seu neto (neto do velho que ele **conhecera** ao instalar-se na árvore)*
*lying virtuously at the door of the house belonging to one of its grandsons (grandson of the old man the genie **had met** when he moved into the tree)*
'lying virtuously at the door of the house of a grandson of his (grandson of the old man he had known at the time he had settled in the tree)'

*Muitas vezes ouvia os habitantes da aldeia (que ele já **conhecera** como antepassados deles mesmos ou de animais que lhes circulavam ao pé)*
*he heard near him the villagers (whom he **knew** as their own ancestors or as animals that gathered around them)*
'Many times he heard the inhabitants of the village (whom he had already met as their own ancestors or of animals that circulated near them)'

This contrasts with the next examples:

*Marco Semprônio recordou os imperadores que a todos **tinha conhecido** de perto*
*Marcus Sempronius reflected on the emperors he **had known** intimately*
'M.S. remembered the emperors, all of whom he had known intimately'

*O Castanheira desaparecera, só depois se **soubera** que tinha morrido.*
*Castanheira had disappeared, only afterwards **was it learned** that he had died.*
'Castanheira had disappeared, only afterwards was it known that he had died'

In the first example, the adverbial *de perto* ('intimately') clearly indicates that it is the stative perspective that is meant here, while the following instance of *saber* in Mais que perfeito can be interpreted as describing an event because of *depois* ('afterwards'). Still, the translation using *know* seems acceptable as well, possibly because "afterwards" is a fairly vague temporal referent.

7.1.1.2 Aquisições with Imperfeito

In the following example with *saber* ('know' and 'learn'), even though the verb is in Imperfeito and indicates thus clearly that the stative meaning is intended, the translator has chosen a pluperfect formulation, probably due to the presence of *já*, which, as noted in Section 6.7 above, introduces a reference time, and indicates that the beginning of the state clearly precedes it. (Incidentally, the translator's choice of *long* is a free addition.)

à espera de esquecer que a carne era sempre igual, e os gestos do amor tão

¹ In this section, my own translation offers the alternative English rendering.

*poucos que os **sabia** já de cor.*

*waiting to forget that flesh was always the same and the gestures of love so few that he **had** long **known** them by heart*

'waiting to forget that the flesh was always equal, and the love gestures so few that he knew them already by heart'

Many Aquisições in their stative sense describe an attitude or intention rather than a physical event, even though the corresponding event sense may occur as a physical act, for example as in *conhecer* ('know', 'meet'), and even more clearly in *prometer* ('be promising' and 'promise'). This last verb illustrates a case where English has no corresponding lexicalization of the stative sense, incidentally a very frequent situation with Aquisições. Then, the translator is forced to use means other than lexical to render it. The pluperfect is a good candidate because it expresses both an event and its resulting property:

*Depois, em verdade, a aldeia não crescera tanto quanto, naquela época, **prometia***

*Afterwards, in fact, the village had not grown as much as it **had promised** at that time*

'Then, in fact, the village had not grown as much as it, at that time, promised'

*sustos com que, em criança, a minha família **planeava** a eliminação sistemática e higiénica dos meus terrores do escuro*

*fears with which, as a child, my family **had planned** the systematic and hygienic elimination of my terror of the dark*

'fears with which, as a child, my family planned the systematic and hygienic elimination of my terrors of the dark'

The two English translations convey, respectively, an event of promise followed by a state where the promise held, and an event of planning followed by a state where the plan was put to practice. This is not what is conveyed in the Portuguese original, though, where a homogeneous description of a promising state and of an intention are stated, and asserted to hold at "that time" and "his childhood".

Not all Aquisições in Portuguese pose problems for translation into English, however. In some cases, the vagueness can be lexically preserved. This happens with verbs like *cercar* ('surround') or *rodar* ('circle'), which can denote the inception of a position, in *Perfeito*, or the position itself, in *Imperfeito*.

In the following examples, *Imperfeito* describes a clear position, and, even though English does not formally mark the state vs. the event, misinterpretation does not arise:

*o manto se pegava nos espinhos da roseira que a **envolvia**.*

*caught his mantle on some thorns of the rosebush that **encircled** it.*

'the mantle was catching in the thorns of the rosebush which encircled it (a statue)'

*entre as potentes raízes que se **alteavam** como muralhas sombrias,*

*among the powerful roots that **rose** like shadowy walls*

'among the strong roots that rose like shadowy fortress walls'

In the next example, on the contrary, English marks the position through the progressive:

*Recolheu sobre o seio a mão que **pendia** para fora do catre*
*She drew to her bosom the hand that **was hanging** over the cot*
'She put over her bosom the hand which hang out of the cot'

Another possibility is to express in English only the result state using a past participle, thus preferring a passive rather than an active formulation:

*O rosto dele [...] era um rosto de velho, que os cabelos brancos **coroavam** revoltos*
*His face [...] was that of an old man, **wreathed** in dishevelled white hair*
'it was an old man's face, which the white hair crowned ruffled'

7.1.1.3 Aquisições with Perfeito

Even though the Mudança described in Perfeito is in general easier to convey in English, I note (cf. Section 6.4.1) that, for an Aquisição, tense alone is not a sufficient indicator to determine the interpretation, in which case one could actually talk about defective verbs instead (i.e., one could argue for the existence of one verb *lembrar-1* which only accepted Perfeito, and a verb *lembrar-2* which only accepted Imperfeito, and had homonymous forms in Presente and Infinitivo, for example). One finds clear inceptive meanings in Imperfeito (habitual): *Ele lembrava-se de repente mas depois tornava-se a esquecer* ('He would suddenly remember only to forget again') as well as stative meanings in Perfeito *Ele lembrou-se da expressão dela anos a fio* ('He remembered that expression of hers for many years').

Therefore, a Perfeito of an Aquisição can be vague between inception or the expression of a delimited stretch of a state, as the following example shows:

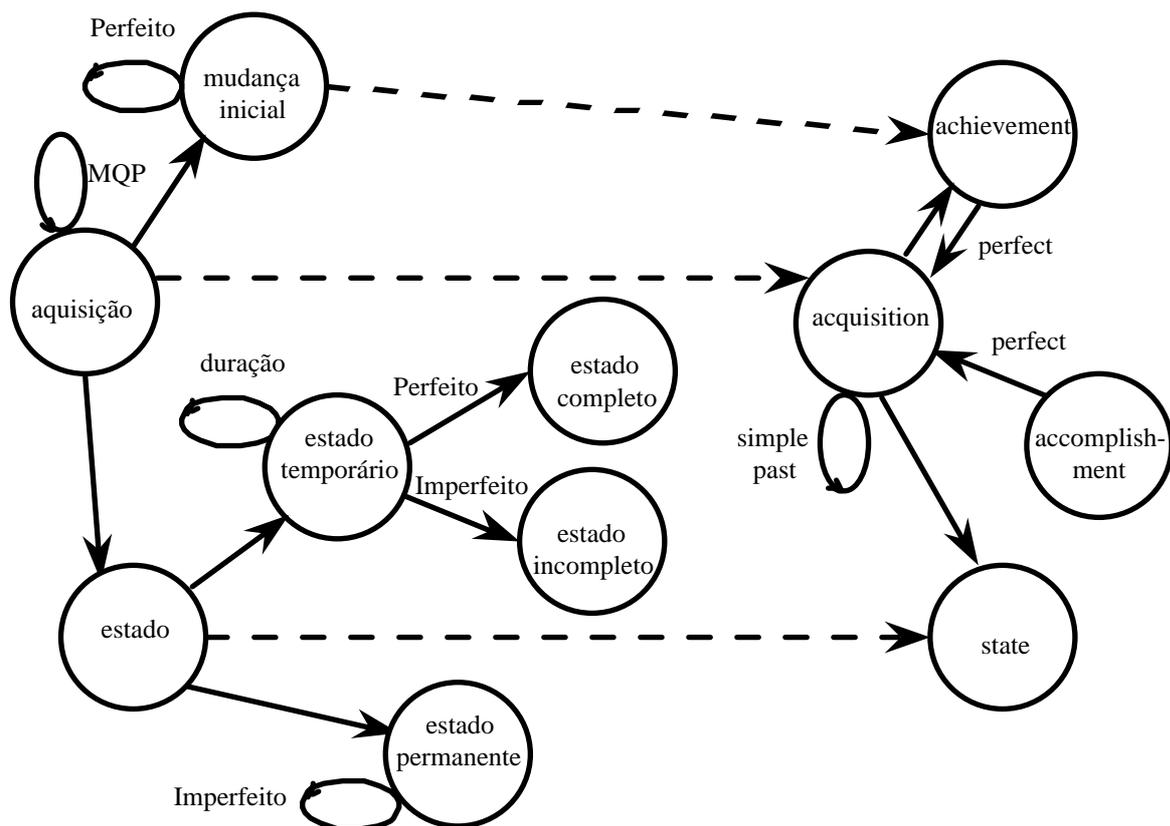
***Apeteceu-lhe** estar no café a encarar o Pinheiro Couto*
*He **wished** he were in the café to confront Pinheiro Couto*
'He felt like being in the café facing Pinheiro Couto'

where Perfeito can be equally well interpreted as the beginning of a "feeling like" state, or as a delimitation, for a short time, of such a state, which can be seen by the perfectly fine addition of *por uns momentos* ('for a moment') after *apeteceu-lhe*.

English allows both interpretations, and, in fact, it allows yet another one which does not belong to the source meaning, the one corresponding to the Imperfeito formulation: the English sentence may display a period of wishing seen from the inside, but the Portuguese one cannot.

In the translation network, the vagueness of Aquisições and the possible strategies for their translation are shown in Figure 7.1.

Figure 7.1



7.1.2 English acquisitions

The phenomenon of vagueness between inception or development, but with different verbs altogether, seems to be pertinent when translating from English into Portuguese as well. Indeed, it turned out to be even more pervasive. (I note that, at least for some verbs, this problem has been mentioned by Vendler (1967) himself, Dowty (1979) and Heinämäki (1984), to mention just a few.) I will distinguish between the case of verbs vague between a state and their inception, which I call acquisitions, and those where the same vagueness is at stake, but concerning activities (their duration or inception).² I will discuss the latter in Section 7.1.3.

7.1.2.1 Main "stative" verbs

The most striking case of acquisitions in English is *be*, and to a lesser extent *have*, even though several positional verbs, like *stand* (*up, back, etc.*), *sit down*, *lie down*, are also vague between the bringing about or the mere statement of a particular position.

I start by displaying a translation pair where the statement of the position is chosen by the translator, although I would prefer the action:³

² In fact, it might be analysable as the same phenomenon in English. The separation is, obviously, motivated by the purposes of contrast with Portuguese: The two cases are different because of the sharp separation between (the translation into Portuguese of English) states and activities.

³ Some may feel that this particular example is a mistranslation, i.e., the sentence could not be interpreted in English as the statement of position. Still, the reason for this choice (or misunderstanding), made by the Portuguese translator, is obviously related to the fact that these verbs are vague in some cases, at least from a Portuguese point of view.

*After a while they **lay** down together on the sleeping mat*
*Momentos depois, **estavam estendidos**, lado a lado, na esteira.*
'Moments after, they were lying, side by side, on the mat.'

Before I proceed to describe the relevance of this factor for translation into Portuguese, let me note that this vagueness is not only noticeable in connection with translation. Rather, researchers concerned with the formalization of narrative progression, in monolingual analyses of English, have noted it before, as is demonstrated by Couper-Kuhlen's discussion of the sentence *He sat straight up in his chair, staring at the bottle*, namely: "the event <he sit straight up in his chair> is open to two different temporal interpretations, depending on whether we treat it as an activity with no clear initial or ending point [...] or an Accomplishment with a clear beginning point" (Couper-Kuhlen, 1987:15). And Caenepeel, discussing a sentence with *sat* as main verb, states even more bluntly, that there are "verbs which are, in principle, ambiguous between a state and an event interpretation" (Caenepeel, 1989:85).

This difference between English and Portuguese is very conspicuous with sentences involving *be* or *have* as main verb. In the following examples, the Portuguese translation renders the inception with a punctual event:⁴

*Now uncertainty **was** in Kino*
*A dúvida **apoderou-se** de Kino*
'Doubt took over Kino'

*But Kino **was** in motion.*
*Mas Kino **começou** a mexer-se.*
'But Kino started to move'

*And she **was** silent, for his voice was command.*
*Ela **calou-se**, porque a voz dele era uma ordem.*
'She stopped talking, because his voice was an order'

*Then, snarling, Kino **had** it, had it in his fingers, rubbing it to a paste in his hands.*
*Então Kino soltou um grito e **agarrou-o**, agarrou-o com os dedos, esborrachou-o nas mãos.*
'Then Kino gave a shout and caught it, caught it with his fingers, rubbed it in the hands'

It is true that one could argue that the English state has been coerced into a punctual event by the narrative context (and this would imply that the translation was exact as far as aspectual class was concerned), but I do not think this analysis holds true. I believe it is undeniable that the state mentioned holds: it was not coerced into something else than a state, at least.

Another (preferable) analysis would be to claim coercion into a special kind of state with initial bounds and a place in the narrative structure, taking up Caenepeel's (1989) proposal of

⁴ Lauri Carlson pointed out that the next three examples are stylistically marked, reminding cinematographic effects which could well be typical of Steinbeck and not of English in general. The first two, in addition, involve locative metaphors. Still, I believe that the existence of these, albeit marked, examples corroborates my hypothesis.

contingent states. In fact, it has been suggested that some states behave like events in narrative because they display perception (or perspective): Couper-Kuhlen suggests that *perceived states acquire a t_i, that is they are event like in their behaviour* (Couper-Kuhlen, 1989:26) and Caenepeel (1989) talks about coercion into the class of contingent states. The kind of examples presented by these researchers is actually commonly found in my corpus. Not surprisingly, they give rise to a rather consistent introduction of perception or psychological verbs in the translation:

*Kino held the great pearl in his hand, and it **was** warm and alive in his hand.*

*Kino apertou a pérola na mão e **sentiu**-a quente e viva.*

'Kino tightened the pearl in the hand, and felt it warm and alive'

*He looked then for weakness in her face, for fear or irresolution, and there **was** none.*

*Ele procurou então no rosto da mulher fraqueza, medo ou irresolução. Nada disso **achou**.*

'He searched then in his wife's face for weakness, fear or irresolution. Nothing of that sort did he find.'

*He looked into its surface and it **was** gray and ulcerous.*

*Mirou-lhe a superfície e **achou**-a cinzenta e ulcerada.*

'He glanced at the surface and found it gray and ulcerous.'

This seems to support an analysis involving coercion brought about by a context involving a perceiving agent in a preceding, conjoined sentence. As suggested by Caenepeel and Couper-Kuhlen, the context would add an initial bound to an otherwise pure state.

I suggest a different analysis, though: That English stative verbs are vague between the state and its inception.⁵ The reason has to do with the first group of examples, where there are no coercion clues available. In fact, the previous set of examples could not be expressed with a perception or perspective verb without a completely arbitrary decision on the part of the translator, for example *Juana saw that Kino was in motion* or *Kino saw that Juana had the baby in her arms* (addition underlined).

One could, it is true, suggest that the two groups correspond to different phenomena altogether, but it would be difficult to maintain such an analysis in view of the fact that the second group of sentences could as well be meant as depictive and not strictly perceived by the character who is interpreted as perceiving it. For instance, in the last example, was it Kino who found the pearl grey, or was it grey to everybody at the time he looked into it? On the other hand, while proposing an analysis in terms of coercion, Caenepeel also suggests a uniform analysis of stative sentences; according to her, every stative sentence (in a narrative context) in English can be identified with (some sort of) perspective.

But if every stative sentence in narrative discourse indicates perspective (and, in

⁵ This has, unfortunately, the unpleasant consequence that the word "stative" is no longer applicable to verbs in English, which I called acquisitions instead. In the model I am proposing, it applies only to interpretations of these verbs in context.

Caenepeel's terms, is therefore coerced into a different aspectual class), then it seems more appropriate to consider it an intrinsic property of that aspectual class, as I suggest.

Note, incidentally, that this standpoint disposes of one of the most puzzling problems for discourse processing of English in the 80's, namely the treatment of discourse such as *John closed the door and switched off the light. It was pitch dark around him.*, discussed at least in Partee (1984), Dowty (1986), and Nerbonne (1986). Instead of providing ad-hoc rules for the interpretation of states in narrative discourse, one can simply note that this is a typical use of an English acquisition, of which both a change of state and the holding of the state itself can be derived.

This does not mean that this vagueness is available in every possible context. In some cases a more specific interpretation can be formulated and expressed already in the source language. In others, however, it is up to the translator (the person who has to interpret the English text in order to render it in Portuguese) to decide. To show this, I present the following two translations of English sentences:

*But Juana **had** the baby in her arms now.*
*Mas Joana já **tinha** o filho nos braços.*
'But Juana already had the son in her arms'

*But Kino **was** in motion.*
*Mas Kino **começou** a mexer-se.*
'But Kino started to move'

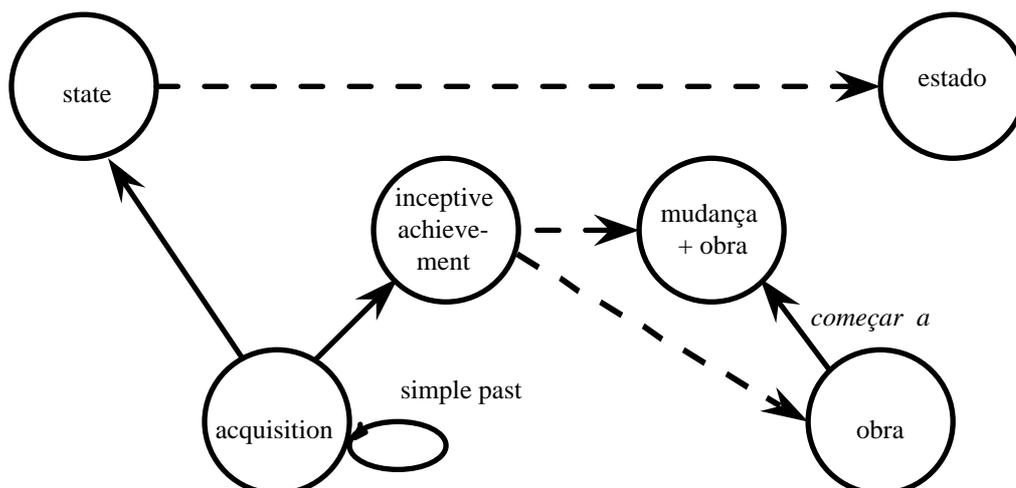
Finally, I note also that Moens (1987:82) explicitly says that "for some states, [...] an inchoative reading is easier to come by, as in *When Harry came in, I knew the answer.*" Now, since obviously the other interpretation (I already knew the answer) is at least as plausible, it seems that even statives for which there is a lexical counterpart (in this case, *learn*) are possible to interpret as inceptive. This adds to my claim on the intrinsic vagueness of all English statives.⁶

Figure 7.2 presents an account of these situations in the translation network. Note that even though, formally, acquisitions in English are similar to those in Portuguese, they are (to a large extent) disjoint, and thus this similarity is from one point of view illusory, although it highlights similar economy processes in the two languages.

Note that the network displays two translational arcs starting from "inceptive achievement". The more exact one (directed at "mudança + obra") is, however, very infrequent in practice, while the one to *Obra*, which joins two nodes with a fair amount of different assumptions and actually conveyed meanings, is more common (as displayed in the examples above).

Figure 7.2

⁶ An exception, noted e.g. by Vlach (1993:274), is "the more exclusive category of *locative* statives", his examples being *Allen is under the table* and *Betsy is at work*. These sentences match in all respects with progressive sentences, which are states (not acquisitions) in my model.



To finish the subject of English lexical acquisitions, I call attention to Matveyeva's account of a similar case going from English to Russian. Presenting the example (where the Portuguese translation was substituted for the Russian text) *Am I mad?* -> *Endoideci?* (Matveyeva, 1985:104), she considers it an illustration of "a sentence conveying an action which has led to a specific state [which is described in the original]" (Matveyeva, 1985:87), and this, in turn, is presented as an instance of the general phenomenon described by "different verbs may denote phases of the course of an action" (ibid, 93).

In other words, Matveyeva considers (the content of) *endoidecer* ('become mad') to be an integral part of the meaning of *be mad*, which is thus conceived as a complex event with (at least) two parts. This is, however, factually not the case: one may always have been mad, that is, madness may be an intrinsic property of a person, and then it does not make sense to talk about its inception.

A little consideration shows us that the English question is also vague between temporary or permanent properties, while the Russian (and, to some extent, the Portuguese) translation selected the temporary reading. (I will deal with this additional vagueness of English states in Section 7.1.4 below.) This would not be the best translation implying a temporary reading, though, because the Portuguese verb is very much of a fatal nature. *Estarei maluco?* ('Am I being mad?') is much better, because it expresses both doubt (through Futuro) and temporariness (through *estar*) without describing a change of state.

More important than the particular case at hand, though, this discussion is meant to further illustrate a point that I have striven to make clear throughout the present dissertation: what an (English) sentence conveys may be perceived differently by native speakers of different languages. In particular, the postulation of a complex action underlying a particular English utterance may be language dependent. As to the comparison with Portuguese, acknowledgement of vagueness is enough, but the formulation of the same sentence in Russian may require an interpretation involving a complex event.⁷

⁷ I.e., it is possible that the translation presented by Matveyeva is obligatory in Russian. This does not, however, mean that the English text already indicates it in any way.

7.1.2.2 The passive

After discussing the complex properties of the verb *be*, one should not be surprised to find that grammatical constructions employing it also display properties of an acquisition. A case in point is the English passive, which can be interpreted in either of the two ways which have been discussed above, namely, as an event (bringing about a state) or as a state (brought about by an event). This can be seen clearly by (the translation of) the examples presented below.

The most obvious case is where it is not even clear whether we have a passive or a predicative clause formed by verb+adjective, as in:

*and the neighbours **were hushed***

*Os vizinhos **ficaram** mudos*

'the neighbours became mute'

*his hands **were** clean and his nails **polished**.*

***tinha** as mãos muito limpas e as unhas **polidas**.*

'he had the hands very clean and the nails polished'

But even in more clear passives one can see that the two interpretations are available. In the next three examples, the translator has chosen inception, but I display (after the sign "->") another translation which, in my opinion, would be acceptable -- and even preferable in the last case.

*and any children who showed a tendency to scuffle [...] **were hissed** to silence by the elders.*

*Se qualquer criança tentava brigar, [...] logo os irmãos mais velhos a **obrigavam** a estar quieta.*

'If some child tried to fight, ... at once the elders forced it to be still'

-> As crianças que mostrassem agitação eram mantidas em silêncio pelos assobios dos mais velhos. ('Children who showed excitement were kept silent by the hisses of the elders')

*but having set it up, other forces **were set up** to destroy it*

*mas mal o construía, logo outras forças se **formavam** para o destruir*

'but as soon as he built it, at once other forces formed to destroy it'

-> mas, tendo-o construído, outras forças se lhe opunham/intentavam na sua destruição ('having built it, other forces opposed to it/intended its destruction')

*The great pearl **was wrapped** in an old soft piece of deerskin and **placed** in a little leather bag and the leather bag was in a pocket in Kino's shirt.*

***Embrulhou** a pérola num velho pedaço de macia pele de veado, **meteu-a** num pequenino saco de coiro, e o saco de coiro, por sua vez, na algibeira da camisa.*

'he wrapped the pearl in a old piece of soft deerskin, he put it in a small leather bag, and the leather bag, in turn, in the shirt pocket'

-> A pérola estava embrulhada numa velha peça macia de pele de veado e metida num saquinho de couro que estava num bolso da camisa de Kino. ('the pearl lay wrapped in an old soft piece of deerskin and inside a little leather bag which was in a pocket of Kino's shirt')

On the other hand, other passives were interpreted by the translator as displaying a pure

state. A good example is the first one, where even the form of display was added:

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

*The baby's face **was flushed**
A criança **tinha** a cara **congestionada***
'The child had the face congested'

Finally, another sign that the result of passive is acquisition-like is the fact that Portuguese *Mais que perfeito*, which was claimed to preserve vagueness according to whether a state or its inception was meant (cf. Section 7.1.1), is often employed as translation of the English passive, as the following examples illustrate.

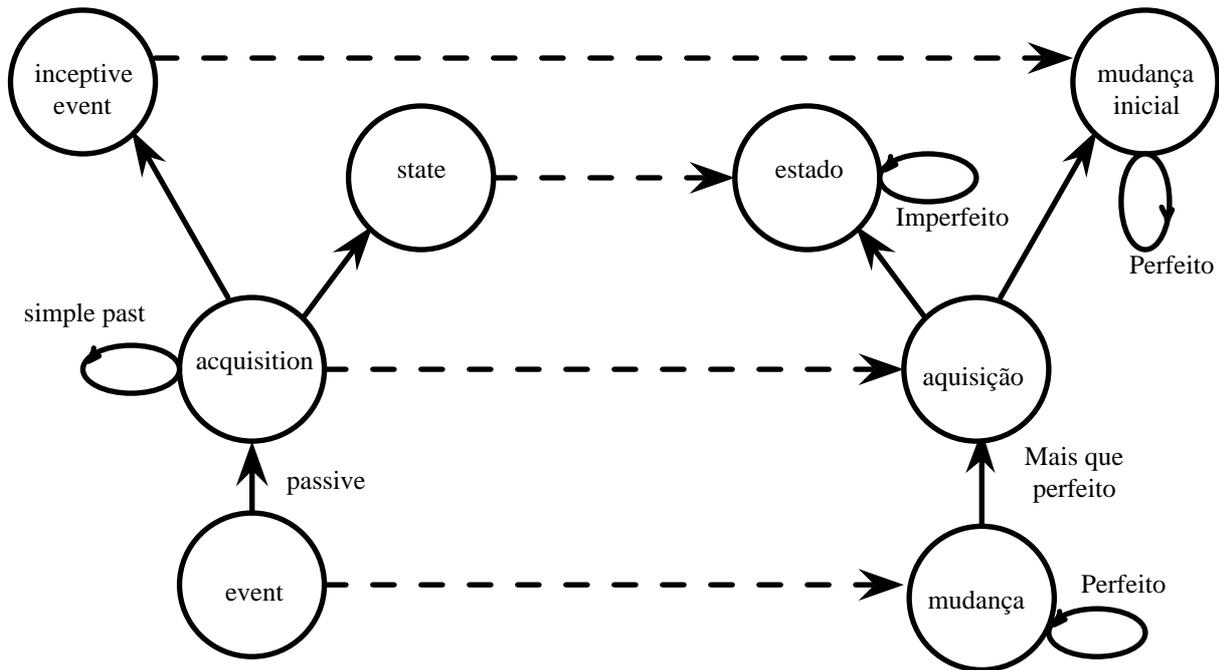
*he thought Kino might look toward the place where it **was buried**.
pensava que Kino havia de denunciar com os olhos o lugar onde a **escondera**.*
'he thought Kino would denounce with the eyes the place where he had buried it'

*He **was shaved** close to the blue roots of his beard, and his hands were clean
Barbeara-se até às raízes azuis da barba, tinha as mãos muito limpas*
'he had shaved up to the blue roots of the beard, had the hand very clean'

Thus, I model the import of passive as turning an event into an acquisition, as displayed in Figure 7.3.

Despite the apparent symmetry of the networks of the two languages, most of the time actual translations correspond to very different paths. Except for the *Mudança* with *Mais que perfeito*, which shares two translation arcs, most other translations of the English passive begin at the "estado" or the "mudança inicial" level, therefore corresponding to a unique translation arc, induced moreover by translation. To keep the drawing simple, the part of the translation of event into *Obra* is not displayed. It will be in Figure 7.8 below, when dealing with *Obras*.

Figure 7.3



7.1.2.3 Age constructions

Another context where the verb *be* displays properties that require an event reading, or, at least, a translation by means of an event, is in sentences talking about age. When the reaching of another age is meant, an event verb must be used in Portuguese, cf. *My father is fifty years old in May* -> *O meu pai faz cinquenta anos em Maio* ('My father turns fifty in May'). On the other hand, if a property is mentioned, another (stative) translation is obligatorily employed, using the verb *ter* ('have'): *How old is your daughter?* -> *Quantos anos tem a tua filha?* ('How many years does your daughter have?'). This is observed in the only translation pair concerning age in the corpus:

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

7.1.2.4 Perception verbs

I would like to suggest that perception verbs, traditionally an area of dispute regarding aspectual classification (see Chapter 12), can also be subsumed under the acquisition class. Let me start by quoting Matveyeva again on English to Russian translation (but note that where she employs "process" I would talk of "state" instead): "In many instances the same action may be presented either as an event or process [...] This is frequently seen in the usage of verbs of sense perception, when it is not the event (or process) of perception itself that is important, but its content or object" (Matveyeva, 1985:98). She presents the following English examples, to which I added two possible Portuguese translations:

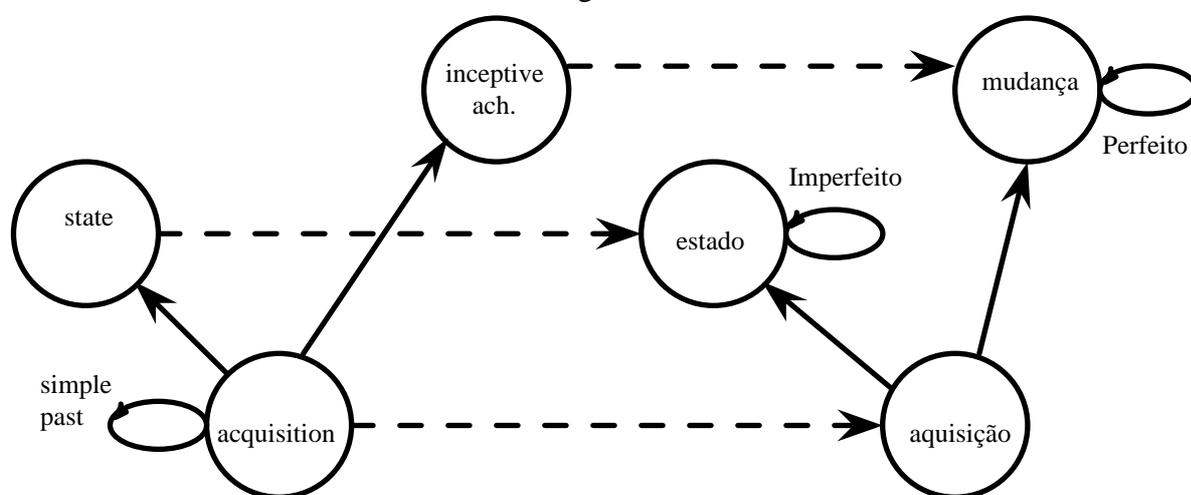
they both heard the sound of bolts being hastily shot back -> *ambos ouviram*Perfeito/

ouviam Imperfeito *o som de balas em resposta precipitada.*

they saw the dog's teeth had slipped the hand -> viram Perfeito / *viam* Imperfeito *que os dentes do cão tinham largado a mão.*

Now, what seems impossible to decide is whether it is the inception that counts as seeing, or whether the eyes (and the attention) are all the time centred on the object. I would claim that *see that* in English is an acquisition just as much as *be* or *stand*. The only difference regarding translation into Portuguese is that *ver que* is also an Aquisição, but, in the past, one must specify which one, the state or event, was meant, while this is not so in the simple past in English, as Figure 7.4 displays.

Figure 7.4



Interestingly, this vagueness is also present with the modal *could*, as the following examples show (but see also Chapter 12). I present some cases where, in my opinion, the other interpretation (and corresponding translation) would be more appropriate:

*And, looking down, she **could** see the cigarette of the man on watch.*

Por baixo da gruta, Joana viu o cigarro da sentinela.

'Below the cave, Juana saw (caught a glimpse of) the watcher's cigarette'

*All of these things Kino **saw** in the lucent pearl*

Tudo isto Kino via na pérola cintilante.

'All this Kino could see in the cintilating pearl'

7.1.2.5 Transitive location verbs

Another set of English verbs display the typical characteristics of acquisitions, in that they can display both the action to get into a given position, and the position itself, as already noted in Section 7.1.1.2. They differ from the ones discussed above (*sit, lie, hang*) in that their typical subjects do not undergo the change of position (and, if they do, a reflexive pronoun must be used): *surround, centre, insert*, etc. Cf. *the animals surrounded the camp* vs. *the oak trees surrounded his property*, or *the crusaders surrounded the castle* (which I believe can be interpreted in both ways).

These verbs differ from the intransitive location ones as far as translation into Portuguese is concerned, too, because they correspond to the same lexical item, but sharply distinguished, in the past, by Imperfeito (the state) and Perfeito (the event): in other words, the Portuguese translations are standard examples of Aquisições.

The corresponding model in the translation network was thus already depicted in Figure 7.4 above. Here, I present authentic examples where the vagueness has been preserved: the first by employing a gerund, the others a Mais que perfeito.

*Kino's brother Juan Tomás and his fat wife Apolonia and their four children crowded in the door and **blocked** the entrance*

*João Tomás, irmão de Kino, a gorda Apolónia, mulher dele, e os quatro filhos vieram das suas cabanas, amontoaram-se à porta, **barrando** a entrada*

'Juan Tomás, Kino's brother, the fat Apolonia, his wife, and the four children came from their houses, crowded at the door, blocking the entrance'

*the red swelling **extended** farther around it in a hard lymphatic mound*

*toda a bolha vermelha se **alargara** numa dura baba linfática*

'all red blob had enlarged in a hard lymphatic mound'

*His eyes **rested** in puffy little hammocks of flesh and his mouth **drooped** with discontent.*

*os olhos **tinham-se afundado** em papos de carne e a boca **descaíra** numa expressão de desagrado.*

'the eyes had drowned in hammocks of flesh and the mouth had drooped in a displeased expression'

This last example, however, which cannot but describe a stative situation, would have been better translated, in my opinion, by using the Imperfeito; cf. *Os olhos afundavam-se em papos de carne e a boca descaía numa expressão de desagrado*. Note that the previous examples, on the contrary, could not be rendered by Imperfeito.

7.1.3 English activities

It has been claimed by many researchers that English activities in simple tenses can be interpreted as inception or duration (see i.a. Dowty (1979), Moens (1987), Lascarides (1988), Kent (1993)). Grammatically, however, there are ways of conveying one of these meanings only: the progressive for duration, and preposed punctual adverbials for inception; cf. *At 5 pm, he was running* versus *At 5 pm today, he ran*.⁸ (The deictic adverbial *today* is used here in order to avoid interference from another phenomenon, that of vagueness between a habitual versus a particular situation, also at stake with simple tenses, and which will be discussed in Section 7.1.4.1.)

Without either feature, however, we have an expression which is vague, but cannot be preserved as such in Portuguese. In other words, the Portuguese translationally related verbs, or, rather, their tensed instances, must choose between an on-going property or a definite bounded instance (expressed respectively in Imperfeito or in Perfeito). If one strived to convey exact

⁸ I use preposed adverbials because Dowty (1979:343) claims that *he ran at 5 pm* is ambiguous between *he was running at 5 pm* or *he started running at 5 pm*.

inception, the corresponding aspectualizer, *começar a* ('begin'), would be needed most of the time. Still, in many cases, the use of *Perfeito* renders inception in a roundabout fashion, since something which happened at a definite moment of time is bound to have begun (and finished, but this latter nuance is not important for English).

In translation into Portuguese, the translator probably identifies the inceptive shade of meaning with *Perfeito*, and the on-going activity with the temporary state typical of *Imperfeito*, since one is forced to decide whether to use *Perfeito* or *Imperfeito*. In the following two examples, the inception was thus chosen (or rather, a definite bounded event was conveyed). One should note that there was, however, no objective reason for that choice (nor was there an objective reason for the opposite).

It stopped, and its tail rose up over its back in little jerks and the curved thorn on the tail's end glistened.

imobilizou-se. Em pequenas sacudidelas, foi erguendo a cauda no ar, e, no extremo dela, o ferrão curvo brilhou.

'It stopped. In little jerks, it gradually raised the tail in the air, and, in its extreme, the curved thorn started to glisten/glistened instantly'

And as Kino raised his right hand to the iron ring knocker in the gate, rage swelled in him, and the pounding music of the enemy beat in his ears, and his lips drew tight against his teeth

Quando Kino levou a mão direita ao batente de bronze do portão, a raiva cresceu dentro dele, a música barulhenta do inimigo encheu-lhe os ouvidos, os lábios apertaram-se-lhe contra os dentes

'When Kino raised the right hand to the iron ring knocker in the gate, rage raised in him, the noisy music of the enemy filled his ears, and the lips tightened against the teeth.'

The next example, however, even though equally vague out of context, is pragmatically interpretable as an event only. I show the context inside square brackets:

[It was a tiny movement that drew their eyes to the hanging box.] Kino and Juana froze in their positions. [Down the rope that hung the baby's box from the roof support a scorpion moved slowly.]

Kino e Joana ficaram gelados.

'Kino and Juana became frozen'

On the other hand, other activities were rendered by a stative description in Portuguese. The next example is pragmatically justified by the fact that the rate of grass growth is not perceivable. In other words, it is a good approximation to describe it as a stative situation (a zero rate).⁹

Little tufts of sad dry grass grew between the stones

Pequenas moitas de desprezíveis ervas secas emergiam entre as pedras

'Little tufts of despicable dry grass emerged among the stones'

This problem is faced by translators into Russian as well: Matveyeva presents the sentence

⁹ As a comparison, *To her astonishment, the balloon grew* would most probably be rendered in *Perfeito* (as a complete *Obra*): *Para seu espanto, o balão cresceu.*

Teddy trudged on his way with his mind considerably relieved as an example of different choices taken by different translators into Russian: "the perfective denotes the start of a process and the imperfective the process in the course of its performance" (Matveyeva, 1985:93). I.e., it can be translated (and, therefore, interpreted) as "Terry started to trudge" or "Terry was trudging". Now, in my view, such an English sentence can also (and better) be translated by an expression which denotes compactly the sequence of the two choices (as *começar a* in Portuguese).

The case of English activities is actually difficult for translation into Portuguese for several reasons: On the one hand, it is a much richer class as far as the lexicon is concerned, i.e., it contains quite a few items for which there is no lexical counterpart in Portuguese. On the other hand, it is often used in the building of an event (an accomplishment), such as *fan alive*, *shoot dead* or *wipe clean* (which will be discussed in Section 7.2.1), and in the specification of a temporal stretch, such as *sit eating*, *stand waiting* (Section 7.2.2), which are grammatical constructions simply non-existent in Portuguese. Finally, in the Portuguese monolingual analysis, the need was not felt to identify a class of activities in Portuguese separating, for example, the few translationally related verbs with English activities from the other events. Verbs like *correr* ('run'), *ir* ('go') and *fazer* ('do') were thus classified as Obras or even as Mudanças (see Section 6.3.1 above and Section 7.1.7 below).

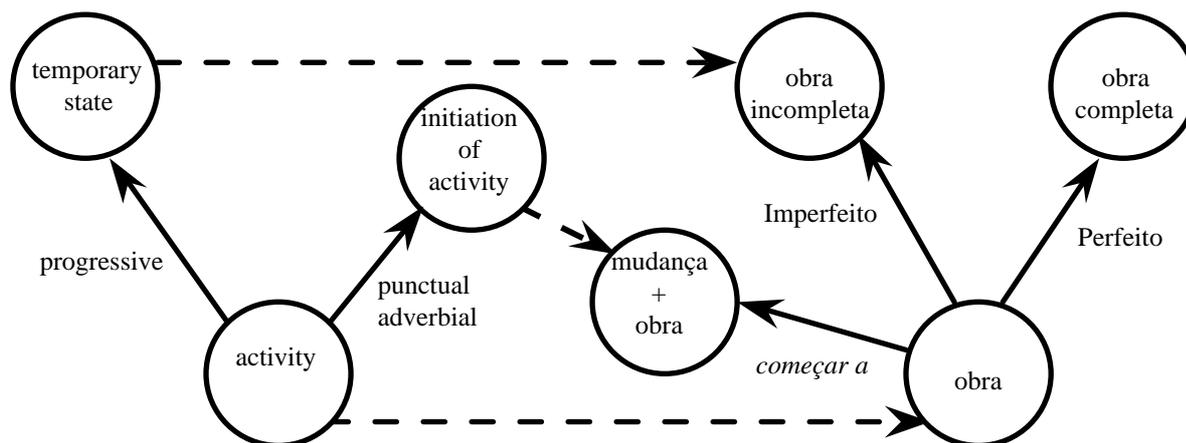
To illustrate the fact that activities are not easily expressed in Portuguese, I show cases of an activity turned into a complete event in the translation into Portuguese, even when not all parts of the event were mentioned in the original. The next two cases display a verb of result substituted for a manner verb in the Portuguese translation, even though the English text does not mention any result (or goal location) explicitly:

*the neighbours were **tumbling** from their houses now*
*Os vizinhos tinham **acorrído***
'The neighbours had (quickly) come'

*she **clutched** the baby **tight** and looked at Kino*
*ela **apertou** a criança **ao peito** e procurou, com os olhos, Kino*
'she tightened the child to the breast and looked for, with the eyes, Kino'

The translation network corresponding to the translation of English activities is presented in Figure 7.5.

Figure 7.5



The network explains why a *Perfeito* rendering of an English activity can denote a complete instance, but rarely, if ever, can it be understood as its inception (analogous to the fact that an English accomplishment in the simple past is hard to read inceptively).¹⁰ It also indicates that the translation into Portuguese adds something not present in the original.

It is thus only in cases where English itself already describes a bounded activity that there is an exact translation between the two languages, as in the following example again adapted from Matveyeva (1985:94):

For a moment she stood gazing at him -> Ficou a olhar para ele

This example is especially interesting because it employs an acquisition verb, *stand*, and an activity verb, *gaze*, but in a special context which precludes an inceptive interpretation of either. The general case of position + activity will be considered in Section 7.2.2 below; here, what interests me is the fact that the *for*-adverbial bounds the activity, which is then necessarily conveyed in *Perfeito* in the translation. The translation in turn is interesting because it omits the duration adverbial, conveying rather a durative looking (gazing) by the use of the aspectualizer *ficar a*, which asserts the beginning of the act of looking, but not its end, expressing thus an inceptive *Obra*.

7.1.4 English states

After the long discussion in Chapter 6 on temporary and permanent states, the readers cannot but have arrived at the conclusion that this distinction, essential for Portuguese, is often (if not almost always) left unspecified in English. The only sign of this distinction being present in English at all is probably the lexical meaning of adjectives, which, according to Greg Carlson (1977/1980), could be divided in stage level and individual level predicates.

While the conceptual distinction was explained above, the difficulties that face the

¹⁰ Moens claims that an inceptive reading may occur with accomplishments as well: "when a *when*-clause with a culmination expression is followed by a main clause containing a process or culminated process, the main clause often gets an inchoative reading" (Moens, 1987:79) and presents the example *When John arrived, I wrote the answer on the blackboard*.

I think, however, that the whole writing is seen as having taken place (a culmination, in his terms, thus), and not just its inception.

translator should be expressed here. Since this difference is pervasive in all parts of Portuguese grammar, almost all instances of stative expressions in English are difficult to translate into Portuguese (or at least require further interpretation). In what follows, and unless explicitly noted, I am dealing with contexts containing unequivocally stative expressions (i.e., the problem of acquisitions is not at stake here).

I should note that the distinction between permanent and temporary properties in English is often conveyed through the arguments of a stative verb: *he loved soup* vs. *he loved the soup*, but not always: Cf. *he loved the soup she made* which can be rendered by *ele gostava da sopa que ela fazia* ('he liked the soup made by her' or 'he liked her soup'), or by *ele gostou da sopa que ela fez* ('he enjoyed the soup that she made on that particular occasion').¹¹

Given that English is geared to the description of actions and events, most states are temporary, and are so rendered in Portuguese. A fairly common case, regarding body properties, is translated by a stative construction in Portuguese, namely *ter* followed by a noun phrase agreeing with a past participle, which can also be used to display permanent properties. Examples are:¹²

for his mind was hard and suspicious
porque tinha o ânimo endurecido e desconfiado
'because he had the mind hardened and suspicious'

but his eyes and his voice were hard and cold
Mas tinha os olhos e a voz ásperos e gelados
'But he had the eyes and the voice harsh and frozen'

Kino's lips were thin and his jaws tight
Kino tinha os lábios cerrados e as maxilas apertadas.
'Kino had the lips closed and the jaws tightened'

I should note that these examples, out of context, would probably qualify preferably as permanent properties, instead of being interpreted as specific temporary states in which the protagonist is in, as they should in this particular narrative.

When English states in context could be taken as permanent (i.e., expressing a property), I noted the following example, where a property of a particular instance, rather than a general property, is conveyed in the Portuguese translation:

And he drank a little pulque and that was breakfast.
Bebeu um pouco de pulque. E foi o seu pequeno almoço.
'He drank a little pulque. And that was his breakfast (then)'

Even though I claim (see Chapter 14) that this translation is poor, I have to agree that the vagueness conveyed by *be* in this case could not be conveyed in Portuguese. At most, one could render the two interpretations explicitly, as in *e era o seu pequeno almoço, e foi-o também dessa*

¹¹ Incidentally, it is not clear how to express naturally in English *Ele gostou da sopa que ela fazia* (something like 'he enjoyed on that occasion the soup she usually made').

¹² After discussing the passive, this construction will be taken up again at the end of the present section, and displayed in a partial translation network in Figure 7.10.

vez ('and it was generally his breakfast, and it was so on that occasion, too'), but such a translation is obviously barred for stylistic reasons.

7.1.4.1 The simple past

The reason why the simple past is discussed under states is probably not transparent for a native English speaker without knowledge of Portuguese. However, the English simple past is vague between a unique or habitual rendering; cf. *I walked to school on Monday* vs. *I walked to school when I was young*.¹³

No matter whether this goes unnoticed when one is concerned with English alone, rendering a simple past sentence in Portuguese at once forces one to interpret it as either an event or a permanent state (and correspondingly use the *Perfeito* or *Imperfeito*). According to some, this is necessary to recognize even for English monolingual analysis: G. Carlson claimed that "It is recognized that a sentence like *Bill ran* is at least two ways ambiguous. On the one hand, it could specify that there was an occasion in which Bill engaged in a certain activity [...] On the other hand, the sentence could indicate that Bill had some disposition or characteristic -- that he was one who runs (habitually)" (Carlson, 1977:70).¹⁴ I disagree with Carlson in that I believe this is an instance of vagueness, not ambiguity, but I completely agree with the terms of his distinction.

Even though it should be noted that a similar sort of vagueness can be attributed to *Imperfeito* as well, in some special contexts (which will be discussed in Section 7.1.7 below),¹⁵ the translation by *Imperfeito* often conveys the choice of habituality. Examples are:

*and now she **did** a most surprising thing*
*e, de repente, **saía-se** com a mais inesperada das ideias*
'and, suddenly, she would have the most unexpected idea'

*and the thought **got** into Kino*
*Era o que Kino também **pensava***
'that was Kino's opinion too'

Even when arguably the translation is vagueness preserving, a much stronger connotation of habituality is displayed in the Portuguese rendering than in the English original, as I claimed in Santos (1995b); cf.:

*And the rhythm of the family song was the grinding stone where Juana **worked***
the corn for the morning cakes
*o ritmo dessa música familiar vinha da mó com que Joana **preparava** o milho*
para a refeição da manhã.
'the rhythm of that family song came from the grinding stone with which Juana

¹³ Alternatively, one could say that simple past preserves this vagueness, if one wanted to say instead that it is already present in *walk to school* itself; cf. *walk to school on Monday* vs. *walk to school in winter*. It is not the case, however, that the first expression describes a real, instantiated occurrence, as is the case with the simple past, so I will leave to the reader to decide which is responsible for the vagueness.

¹⁴ And many other researchers concentrating on English only dealt with, or at least noted, this particular issue; cf. L. Carlson (1981), Moens (1987), Sandström (1993), etc.

¹⁵ Basically, those in which *Imperfeito* can also be interpreted as imperfective perspectival aspect.

prepared the corn for the morning meal'

In fact, in the English text nothing forces Juana to be using her usual grinding stone on that occasion. For all we know, she might even use a different one each day. But if that was to be conveyed in Portuguese, progressive had to be used (*com que Joana estava a preparar o milho*).

In the next example, while the English text is vague with respect to whether the situation is to be taken as general or as holding at the particular time in the story, the Portuguese translation conveys only the general property, precluding the specific interpretation:

*On his lap was a silver tray with a silver chocolate pot and a tiny cup of eggshell china, so delicate that it **looked** silly when he **lifted** it with his big hand, lifted it with the tips of thumb and forefinger and spread the other three fingers wide to get them out of the way.*

*tinha um tabuleiro de prata no colo, com uma chocolateira também de prata e uma finíssima chávena de porcelana da china tão delicada que **ficava** deslocada quando ele a **levantava** na mão enorme, segurando-a nas pontas do polegar e do indicador de modo que os outros três dedos estendidos lhe não tocassem.*

'he had a silver tray in his lap, with a chocolate pot also in silver and a very fine china cup so delicate that it became out of place whenever he lifted it in the huge hand, holding it with the tips of the thumb and the forefinger so that the other three stretched fingers would not touch it'

As I noted in Santos (1994b), even though the number of the instances of Imperfeito which I judged habitual (without consulting the English original) was higher in translated text than in original Portuguese text, most instances were improperly habitual, in the sense that the habitual interpretation overlapped with an actual occurrence interpretation regarding the particular narrative moment. This is, on the contrary, a much rarer case in the Portuguese original (see Chapter 10 for details), which suggests that the habitual connotations I attributed to the text translated from English were spurious (due to the use of Imperfeito, but not intended in the original).

One good example of possible addition of habituality in the translation is:

*To one he **said**, "I think they have gone south along the coast to escape the evil that was on them." And to another, "Kino would never leave the sea.*

*A um **dizia**: "Talvez eles tenham ido para o sul para fugir à pouca sorte que os persegueia." E a outros: "Kino seria incapaz de abandonar o mar.*

'To one he would say: ... And to others: ...'

One issue I would like to stress, and which in my view confirms that English is vague in this respect, is the fact that more often than not an English text does not provide any clues for the translator. To illustrate this, I note that, in the following paragraph, some of the verbs were chosen by the translator to specify permanent states (properties of a temporary event, namely of Kino and Juana's walk), while others were described as self contained events. That this choice is often arbitrary is demonstrated by the underlined cases below, where I would have chosen Imperfeito instead.

Kino and Juana **walked** through the city as though it were not there. Their eyes **glanced** neither right nor left nor up nor down, but **stared** only straight ahead. Their legs **moved** a little jerkily, like well-made wooden dolls, and they **carried**

pillars of black fear about them. And as they **walked** through the stone and plaster city brokers **peered** at them from barred windows and servants **put** one eye to a slitted gate and mothers **turned** the faces of their youngest children inward against their skirts. Kino and Juana **strode** side by side through the stone and plaster city and down among the brush houses, and the neighbours **stood** back and let them pass.

Kino e Joana **atravessaram** (P) a cidade como se ela não existisse. Os seus olhos não se **viravam** (I) nem para a direita nem para a esquerda, nem para cima nem para baixo. Apenas **olhavam** (I) fixamente em frente. As pernas **deslocavam-se** (I) aos sacões, como as das bonecas de madeira, e **erguiam** (I) à sua volta colunas de medo escuro. Enquanto **atravessavam** (I) a cidade de pedra e de cimento, os comerciantes **espreitaram**-nos (P) por detrás das janelas gradeadas, os criados **colaram** (P) um olho às portas entreabertas e as mães **esconderam** (P) os rostos dos filhos nas saias. Kino e Joana **passaram** (P), lado a lado, pela cidade de pedra e de cimento e **desceram** (P) até à aldeia de cabanas, onde os vizinhos se **afastavam** (I) para os deixar passar.

Interestingly, this phenomenon seems to be pertinent again as far as translation into Russian is concerned. According to Matveyeva, "if there is no clear indication in the original text that an action is repeated, a past indefinite form [the simple past, DMS] sometimes gives translators the opportunity of interpreting the situation in different ways" (Matveyeva, 1985:95), and I cite my alternative translations of her original English examples on the same page:

His goggling spectacles and ghastly, bandaged face under the penthouse of his hat, came with a disagreeable suddenness out of the darkness upon one or two home-going labourers -> Os seus óculos ... apareciam/apareceram de chofre da escuridão a um ou dois trabalhadores que voltavam para casa.

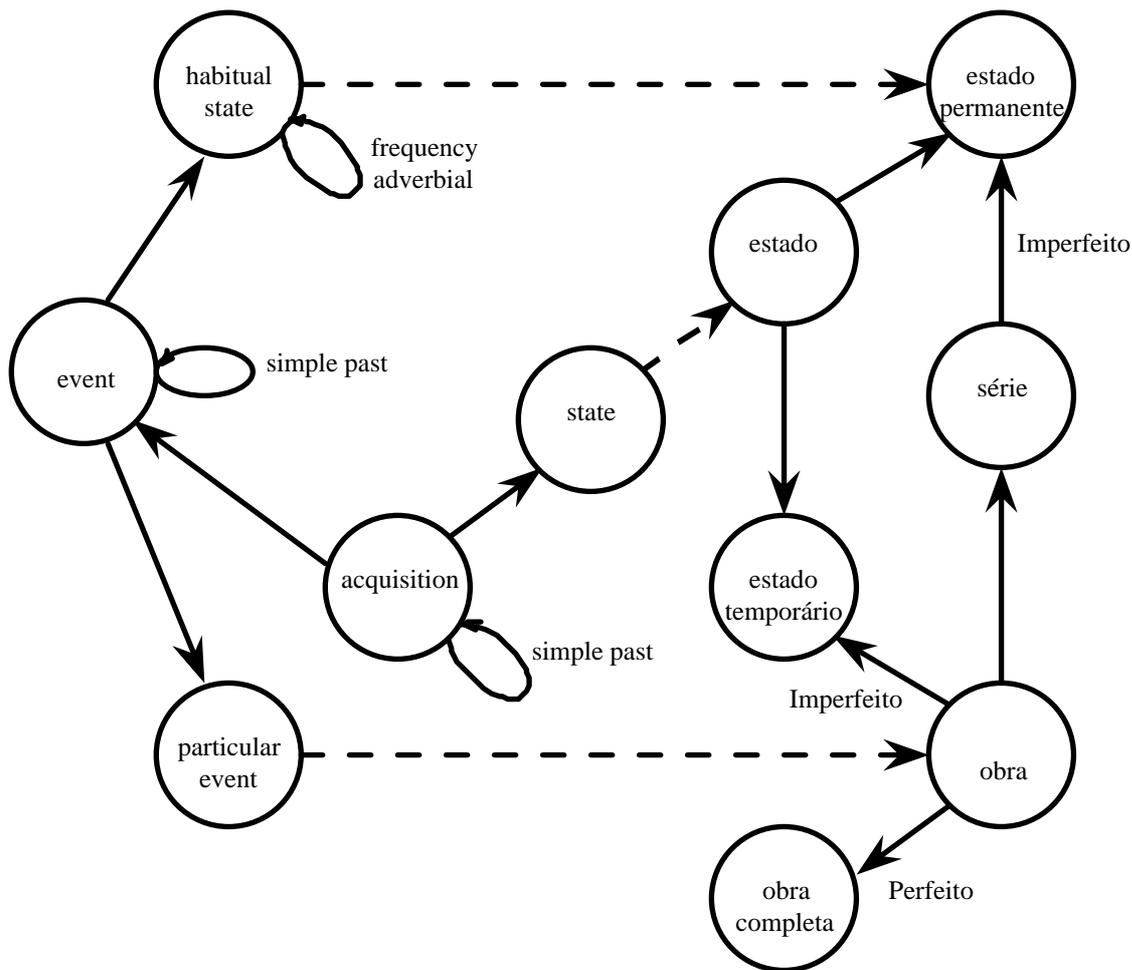
When he looked up coloured patches swam in his eyes. -> Quando olhou para cima manchas coloridas nadaram-lhe nos olhos. / Quando olhava para cima manchas coloridas nadavam-lhe nos olhos.

This discussion justifies, I believe, my modelling of simple past as preserving vagueness between generic (permanent) states and events. A warning is in place here: This is similar to, but not the same as, being vague between an event and its resulting state (the definition of acquisition¹⁶), because here the state is not the resulting state, but rather a state associated with one kind of events.

In the translation network, Figure 7.6 models this situation.

Figure 7.6

¹⁶ It could be objected that Section 7.1.2 above should include some reference to the simple past as well, given that most cases discussed there were obviously concerned with it. However, I note that the simple past is obligatory with "statives" and perception verbs, and therefore it could be considered as devoid of content. By contrast, here, with events, there are alternative "tenses", namely the progressive, and thus its use carries at least some meaning.



This amounts to saying that, regarding Portuguese, simple past is three times vague with resultative events: Using the clause *he sat* in three different contexts,¹⁷ one can (a) denote a temporary state resulting from the sitting event, *he sat there looking at the sea yesterday when I entered the shop*, (b) denote a permanent state (a habit), *he sat there looking at the sea every afternoon* and (c) denote a particular event, *he sat after she left*.

As far as the English aspectual network is concerned, a simple past sentence of an acquisition verb with a frequency adverbial gets the analysis "habitual state" by means of a complex path: coerced from "acquisition" to "event" by simple past (of the "event" node) and coerced by the frequency adverbial into "habitual state". The corresponding path is thus

ACQUISITION @> EVENT simple past EVENT @> HABITUAL STATE freq. adv. HABITUAL STATE

As regards translation into Portuguese, a "particular event" is related to an "obra", a "habitual state" to an "estado permanente" and a "state" to an "estado". Note that the distinction habitual state/particular event is necessarily induced by translation: English is vague (not ambiguous, as G. Carlson puts it) regarding such a distinction. Note, in addition, that the

¹⁷ Note that the verb has to be an acquisition for this threefold vagueness to hold. An accomplishment, an achievement or an activity would lack the temporary state interpretation which would have to be rendered by the progressive. On the contrary, the progressive is only optional in the case at hand.

introduction of the node "estado" on the Portuguese side was motivated by the desire to distinguish the two kinds of states associated to the English simple past, for perspicuity in this section. Most of the times, lacking a corresponding vague "estado" in Portuguese to a given English "state", one would have to interpret more specifically the English "state" as being either temporary or permanent, even though that was not required by the analysis of English alone.

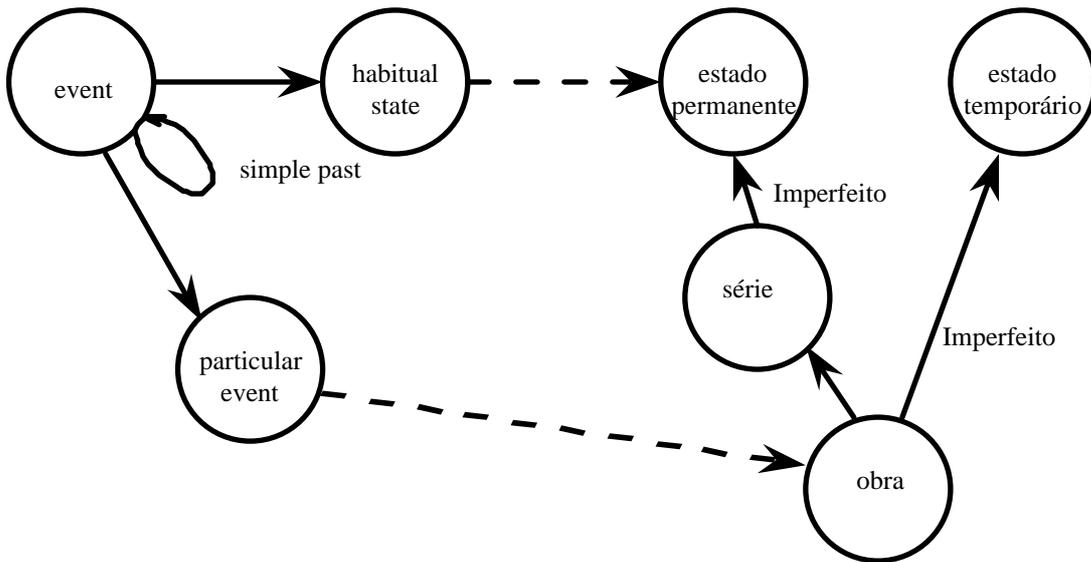
Finally, the Portuguese aspectual network also explains when and why two different interpretations can be maintained. There are two possible paths from "obra" involving Imperfeito: one, through "série" to "estado permanente", and another directly to "estado temporário". A given Imperfeito sentence may thus have two alternative analyses coming from English, if the English analysis stopped at the "event" node (i.e., if no clues were available to decide between an habitual state or a particular event in the source text).

Figure 7.7 displays the two paths corresponding to the two interpretations of the previous example (*where Juana worked the corn*):

```
EVENT (Juana work the corn) simple past EVENT T> HABITUAL STATE  
EVENT (Juana work the corn) simple past EVENT T> PARTICULAR EVENT  
OBRA (Joana preparar o milho) @> SÉRIE Imperfeito ESTADO PERMANENTE  
OBRA (Joana preparar o milho) Imperfeito ESTADO TEMPORÁRIO
```

The representation shown in Figure 7.7 conveys an ambiguous sentence in Portuguese, not a vague one. This could be considered a weakness of the model -- but, in my opinion, it is an advantage, because I believe one can claim, for the Portuguese sentence, two interpretations with disjunct temporal profiles, but not for the English one; cf. *vinha da mó com que Joana preparava o milho para a refeição da manhã, que a Luísa estava a usar* ('the grinding stone with which Juana worked the corn for the morning cakes, which Louisa was using'). The Portuguese sentence is all right, but its English counterpart seems unacceptable to me.

Figure 7.7



7.1.4.2 The passive again

Since, relative to Portuguese, simple past *be* is vague between temporary or permanent states, this is relevant in connection with the passive as well (again in addition to the phenomenon discussed in Section 7.1.2.2 above).

In fact, even after choosing a stative interpretation, the translator must sometimes take another decision: is this an essential property, or a temporary one? In other words, must one employ the verb *ser* or *estar* in Imperfeito?

Let me illustrate this with the following examples:¹⁸

It was fed by shadepreserved snow in the summer
que era alimentado pela neve que as sombras ali conservavam mesmo no Verão

the place by the side post where the pearl was buried
o sítio, junto do pilar, onde a pérola estava guardada

He was called to a serious case
foi chamado para um caso urgente.

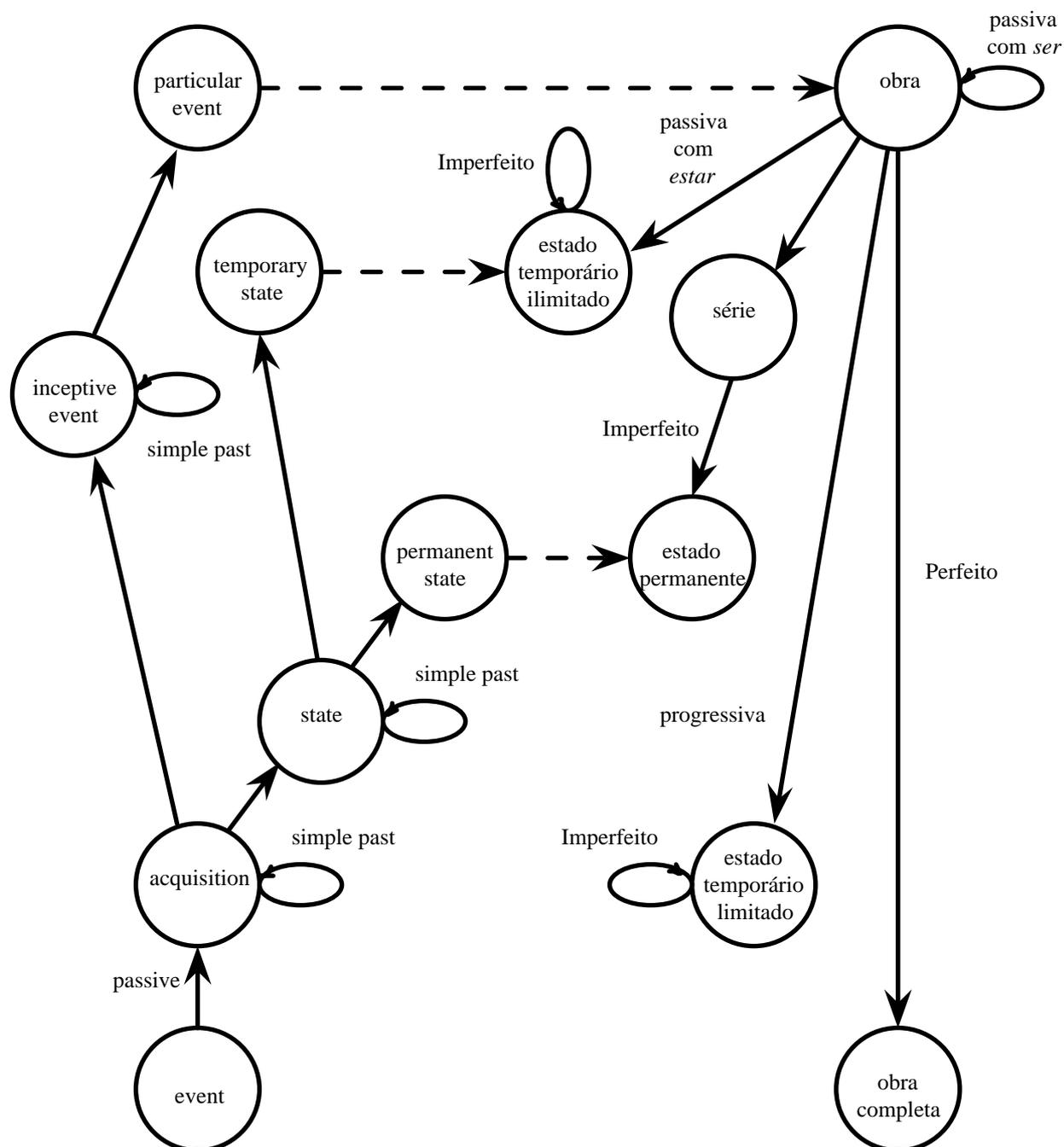
Note that, formally, there is no difference between the three English sentences, but the first is interpreted as a property, the second a temporary state, and the third an event. The second and the third examples, furthermore, depict a once-only event that brought about a particular state (the position of the pearl, and of the "he" character, respectively).

This threefold choice is modelled in the translation network in Figure 7.8. What I intend to convey by the labels *limitado* and *ilimitado* ('bounded' and 'unbounded') in the Portuguese aspectual network is the different meanings of the two grammatical devices: the Progressiva (*estar a*) selects a temporary state contained in the *Obra*, while the passive (with *estar*) refers to

¹⁸ In this case, no glosses are given, because to my knowledge there are no formal ways of distinguishing the three cases in English.

an unbounded temporary state that starts after the occurrence of the Obra. As will be stressed in Section 7.3 below, this fragmentation of Aktionsart labels is done simply to increase perspicuity.

Figure 7.8



I should note that the choice between these two kinds of states¹⁹ is also present when translating the passive by an active clause, obviously. In fact, it is very common to translate a passive by an active form in the English to Portuguese direction, as will be noted in various places in Chapters 10, 13 and 14. If an active clause in Imperfeito is employed, however, the choice between temporary or permanent states is not formally marked, given that Imperfeito may

¹⁹ The choice between an event and a state was discussed in Section 7.1.2.2 above.

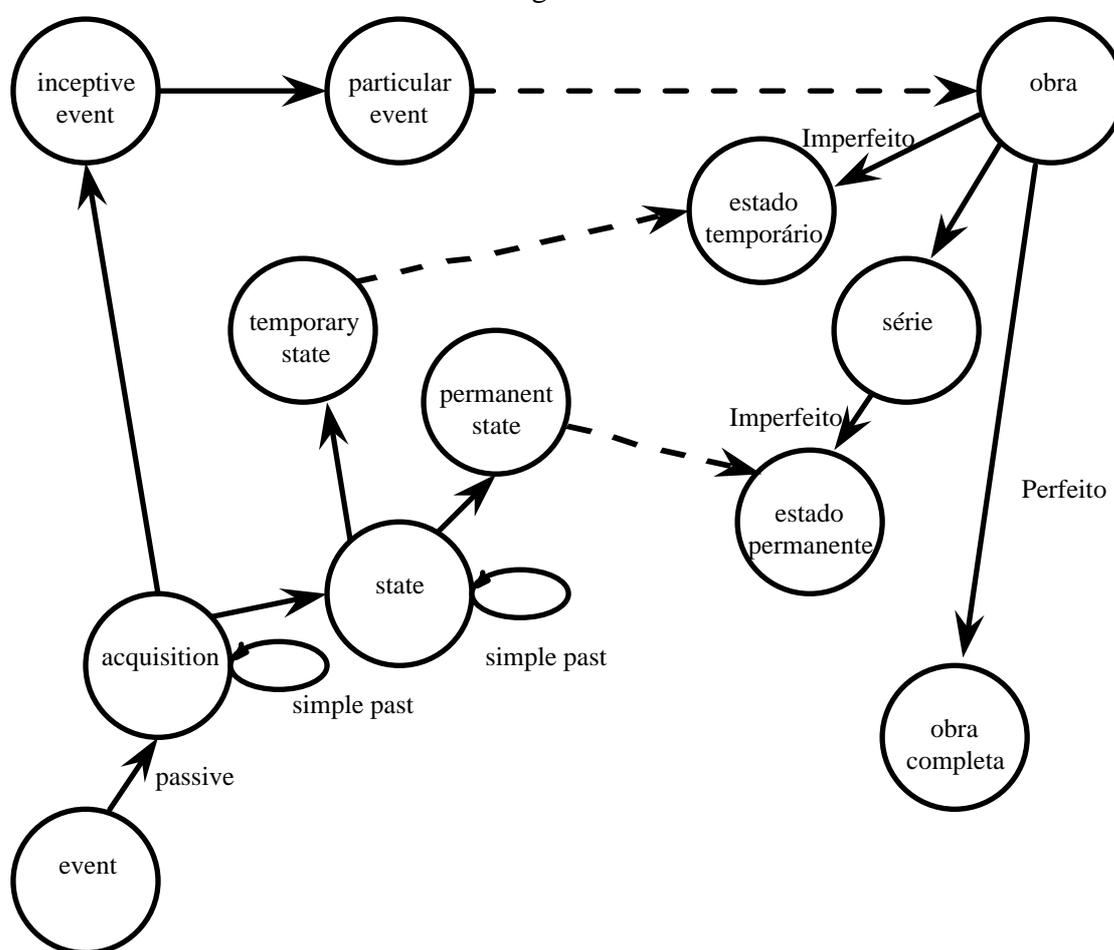
convey the two. This might then be a good strategy for preserving the vagueness.

Notwithstanding, and as argued in Section 7.1.4.1, Imperfeito renders more aptly the permanent state connotation, or, at least, brings it to the fore. One of the examples presented above is a good illustration of this claim:

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

Even though the boats should be interpreted as being there at the particular moment of the narrative, the Portuguese text conveys, in addition, that this was the right, and usual, place for the boats. The corresponding description in terms of the translation network appears in Figure 7.9.²⁰

Figure 7.9



On the other hand, the common translation of passive into Mais que perfeito seems to preserve the vagueness between the two kinds of states: it is up to the reader to interpret the

²⁰ Note that the previous example, instead of an Obra, could also be considered an Aquisição, given that the same verb can denote the alignment and the aligned position in Portuguese. However, *alinhar-se* requires intrinsically a plural number of elements as subject (like *gather*, so discussed in the literature on generics in English) and this is why the interpretation of *alinhar-se*, as "form a line", is also possible as Obra.

The difference in the Portuguese aspectual network would be that the node "obra" would be replaced by "aquisição", and "obra completa" by "mudança inicial". Regarding the translational arcs, only the one from "particular event" would be directed to "mudança inicial" instead.

change as definitive or temporary. The same is true of a simple past participle clause -- the state is selected, but not the kind of state. So, in the next example, I think that the temporariness is due to the preposition *com* ('with'), and not to the past participle:

walked up the beach and through the brush line. His senses were dulled by his emotion.
subiu pelo areal, atravessou as sebes, com os sentidos embotados pela emoção.
 'he ascended through the sand, crossed the bushes, with the senses dulled by the emotion'

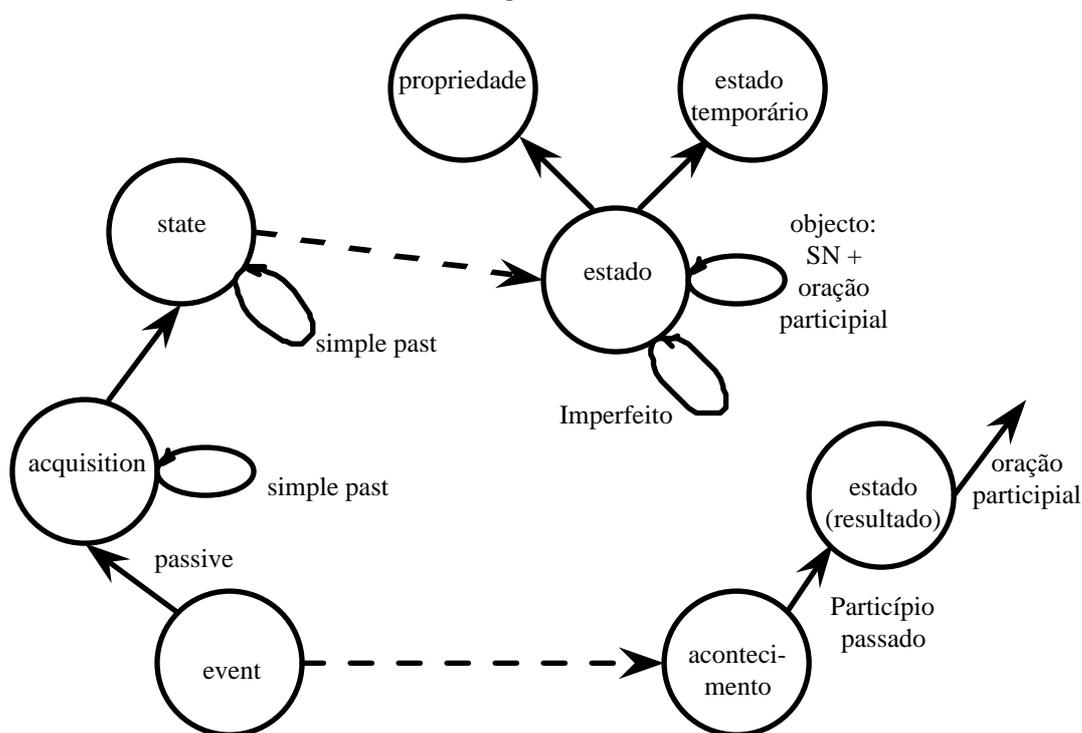
Finally, I should note that, again similar to the case of *be* as main verb, the construction *ter* + noun phrase agreeing with past participle is often employed, cf.

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

The baby's face was flushed and his throat was working
A criança tinha a cara congestionada e uma farfalheira na garganta.
 'The child had the face congested and a noise in the throat'

All cases involving this construction were rendering temporary states. I wonder, however, whether this is a consequence of the subject matter being already unambiguously temporary, rather than a property of this construction, since *ter* in Portuguese has been identified in Section 6.4.2 as vague between property and state. In fact, I believe it can also be employed for permanent properties, as in *Tinha o cabelo encaracolado* ('he had the hair curled', meaning 'he had curly hair'), but it is of interest to note this frequency trend.

Figure 7.10



I thus suggest in Figure 7.10 the following analysis for cases of Imperfeito of *ter* having an

object agreeing with the past participle, which is a construction generally neglected by Portuguese grammars ("SN" stands for Sintagma Nominal -- 'Noun phrase', i.e., NP):²¹

7.1.5 Portuguese vagueness about relevance

One of the concepts which is often employed in connection with the (present) perfect is the concept of (present) relevance, i.e., the focus on the resulting state and on the irrelevance of the actual date (temporal location) of the event.²²

Now, the concept of relevance, or focus on a resulting state, is mostly alien to Portuguese grammar. I claim that Portuguese is simply vague about this issue: Portuguese sentences are formally indistinguishable regarding whether what is being said is done for the purpose of actual behaviour or simply for the narration of a story. Cf. the following possible dialogue:

-- *O João partiu o vaso.*

-- *E então? Queres que faça alguma coisa?*

-- *Não, estou só a contar-te o que se passou.*

("John broke/has broken the flower pot." "So what? Do you want me to do something?" "No, I'm just telling you what happened.").

Relevance is mainly applicable when things are past and can thus have (had) results, and so it is mainly discussed in connection with the past tenses.

7.1.5.1 The Perfeito

In Portuguese, since there are no explicit marks of relevance of the result, it is difficult to assess whether a particular description of an event in Perfeito is mainly meant for the relevance of its result or for its occurrence at a given time. In other words, for resultative events, is the description of the occurrence of an event made for the sake of the action or for expressing its result?

This is a question that never²³ worries a Portuguese speaker, but which becomes important when translating into English, since in English the two forms are expressed differently, by means of the perfect and non-perfect tenses.

To show that the lack of a formal marker for this distinction in Portuguese makes it hard for the English translator to decide, I present a set of examples (all extracted from direct speech) of a resultative action whose result holds at the narrative present time. As can be observed, the examples display different choices by the translator(s):

Saulo, tu transferiste para a religião o teu entusiasmo apaixonado.

Saul, you've transferred your impassioned enthusiasm to this religion.

²¹ This construction is however discussed in Campos (1984a), in relation with the PPC, and more thoroughly in Campos (1987) in comparison with Galician. Campos mentions that such a construction is perfective or resultative, and that the past participle in that construction is traditionally assigned the function "predicativo do objecto directo" (Campos, 1987:79).

²² Other concepts, like the extended period in which the resulting state is perceived to hold, "the extended now" (when dealing with the present perfect), will be discussed in Section 7.4 and Chapter 12 below.

²³ Well, almost never. The exception is demonstrated by the just presented made-up dialogue.

'Saul, you transferred to the religion your impassioned enthusiasm.'

*Mas o lume **apagou-se** e vou descer à vizinha a pedir-lhe lume.*

*But the flame **has gone** out and I have to go downstairs to the neighbor and ask her for some fire.*

'But the light extinguished and I go down to the neighbour to ask her fire.'

*Ah, veio também o criado do Senhor Rui Dias, do mando deste senhor, que tão teu amigo é, perguntar pela encomenda que te **fez** daquelas poesias del-rei David*

*Ah, Senhor Rui Dias's servant also came, sent by his master who is your great friend, to ask after the commission he **gave** you for those poems of King David,*

'Ah, came also the servant of Sir Rui Dias, on behalf of his master, who such a good friend of yours is, to ask after the commission he did to you of those poetries of King David'

*A Santa Inquisição que nos **livrou** da maldade e da malícia dos inimigos da nossa Fé manda que se acredite nos santos*

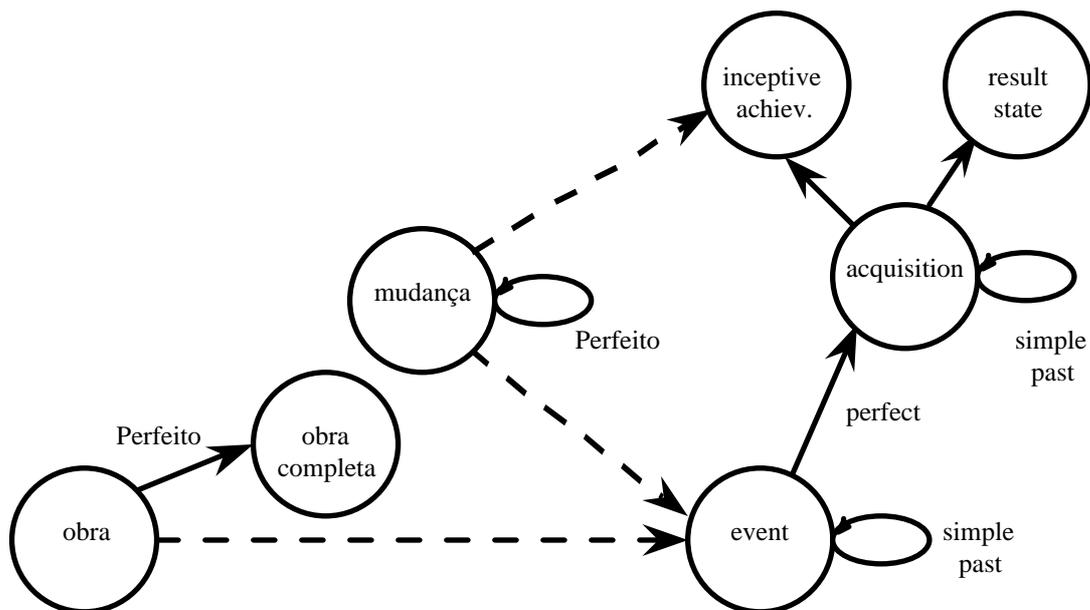
*The Holy Inquisition which **delivered** us from the evil and malice of the enemies of our Faith orders us to believe in the saints*

'The Holy Inquisition which freed us from the evil and malice of the enemies of our Faith commands that one believes in the saints'

As far as I can see, the transfer, the extinguishing, the commission and the freeing all occurred in the past, and their result is still present: the enthusiasm, the lack of light, the request for the poem, and the freedom. Whatever conditions the different choices is, thus, not expressible in Portuguese-only terms; however, it is intuitively applied by an English native speaker.²⁴

In the translation network, one can describe this as in Figure 7.11.

Figure 7.11



²⁴ Another option, of course, to explain the above facts would be that the two last cases depict translationese. I cannot, however, and precisely because this phenomenon has no parallel in my native language, be a judge of the English text.

There have been, in fact, researchers dealing with Portuguese who claim that *Perfeito* is ambiguous between perfect and preterite (in Lohse's (1993) terms, between expressing [-N,A] or [+N,S], i.e., expressing anteriority in the experiential enunciation mode, and simultaneity in the narrative enunciation mode²⁵). I believe that the examples just presented, however, clearly demonstrate that *Perfeito* is simply vague on this respect, and that it is Lohse's feature description that enforces the "ambiguity", not the language.

In my view, the questions at issue when translating from Portuguese into English are the following:

1. *Obras* as such have no result, and so it is up to the translator, if he uses an accomplishment to translate an *Obra*, to select the perfect or not on purely English internal grounds.

2. *Mudanças*, on the other hand, are so essentially connected with a result state that in Portuguese no additional grammatical marker is necessary to emphasize it. English, in turn, since its events are compact expressions (referring both to a change and a result state -- and optionally to an activity), needs such a focussing device.

7.1.5.2 The Portuguese passive with *Perfeito*

Similar to what happens with the simple tense, the passive of an event (*ser* with *Perfeito*) is vague between an action meant for the sake of the result, or for simply reporting a past action. In fact, and somewhat surprisingly, the *ser* passive in Portuguese seems to have no aspectual import: it turns an *Obra* into an *Obra*, and a *Mudança* into a *Mudança*.

A good example is *A porta foi aberta*, which could be translated either by *The door has been opened* or by *the door was opened* (meaning that someone opened the door). *The door was open*, on the other hand, would be interpreted out of context not as a passive, but as a state holding in the past, which would in turn be expressed in Portuguese by *A porta estava aberta* or *A porta esteve aberta* (passive with *estar*, with Imperfeito and *Perfeito*, respectively, or simply an *Estado temporário* in either tense²⁶).

There were very few examples of the *ser* passive with *Perfeito* in the corpus. It is thus remarkable that two out of four cases were rendered by a past participle, which may be said to preserve the vagueness;²⁷ cf.

Pecado é sonhar com o futuro: [...] invejar furiosamente, como coisa que nos foi roubada, a felicidade alheia

²⁵ Fonseca (1983) proposes that *Perfeito* is used both in narration and in comment (Lohse's narrative and experiential enunciation modes) because it functions as the hook that links the two temporal subsystems in Portuguese. This way she is able to maintain an analysis in two enunciation modes without (apparently) requiring the ambiguity of *Perfeito*.

²⁶ I will not address here the momentous problem in Portuguese grammar which is to distinguish between adjectives and passives in formally indistinguishable contexts.

²⁷ Obviously, there is no mark in a past participle clause of simple vs. perfect tense, since past participle clauses have no tense. The action is presupposed, not stated. Still, one may claim that the past participle presupposes an action which was past, or which was mentioned for its consequences, and it is in this sense that I intend the expression "preserve the vagueness".

*Sin is to dream of the future: [...] to envy furiously, like a thing **stolen** from us, another's happiness*

'Sin is to dream of the future: [...] to envy furiously, like a thing which was stolen from us, the happiness of the other'

*respondera '[...]' -- resposta que **foi** muito **celebrada**, com aplausos ou risos, por todo o Ministério*

*had responded "[...]" -- a rejoinder **acclaimed** with applause and laughter throughout the Ministry*

'had answered "[...]" -- an answer which was much celebrated, with applause and laughter, by the whole Ministry'

Furthermore, in one other case, the passive was rendered by the pluperfect, i.e., the perfect was involved, even though not the present perfect, which was impossible in such a past-in-the-past context:

*quando fora agradavelmente surpreendida por um programa directo, em que, ao piano, **foram** executadas [...] valsas antigas.*

*when she had been pleasantly surprised by a live program in which some old waltzes **had been** performed [...] on the piano.*

'when she had been pleasantly surprised by a live program, in which, on the piano, were performed [...] old waltzes.'

In fact, in English the difference between the passive or the perfect passive implies a difference in temporal reference as well, as can be best appreciated by making explicit the past participle formulations: *a rejoinder who was (still) acclaimed* versus *a rejoinder which had been acclaimed*, because, contrary to *Perfeito*, the form *was* in the passive form can be interpreted as cotemporal with the current time.

7.1.5.3 The Mais que perfeito

Vagueness between a stative result and a past action is also found with *Mais que perfeito* of a *Mudança* (recall that *Obras* have no result in general), but here, English can have the two interpretations too, given that the past perfect is both the past of the simple past and of the present perfect; cf. e.g. Salkie (1989). Thus, in both languages, one can make the interpretation more specific either by adding punctual adverbials or by adding indefiniteness markers like *já* or *ever* and *once*.

For instance, due to *já*, the following example conveys that the forgetting happened at an indefinite past time before the reference time of the narrative:

*E já se **esquecera** das suas saudades musicais, quando fora agradavelmente surpreendida por um programa directo*

*She **had** already **forgotten** her musical nostalgia when she had been pleasantly surprised by a live program*

'And already had she forgotten her musical nostalgia when she had been pleasantly surprised by a live program'

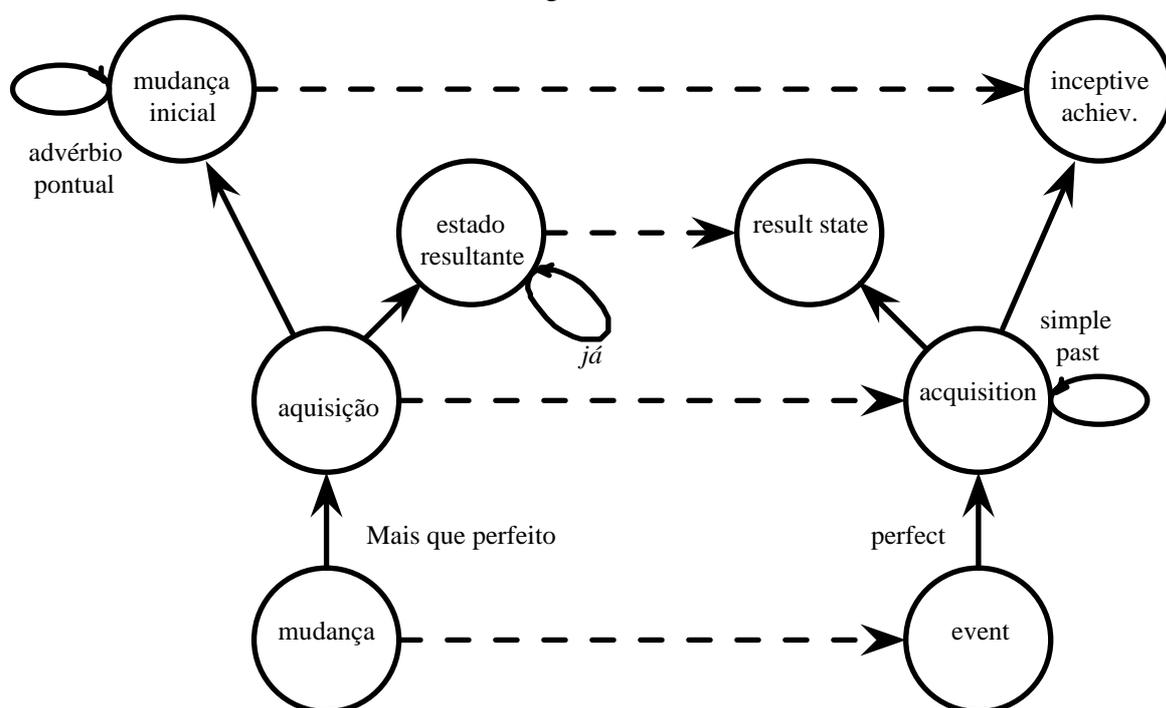
I.e., *já* here marks relative pastness, actually removing the possibility of coincidence interpretation. This way, it implies that the result of forgetting was holding at the time of the surprise, implying a relevance reading. In this example, English seems to use *already* in exactly

the same way.

By contrast, the *Mais que perfeito* can be safely understood as expressing a past in the past in the next example, due to the precise temporal adverbial *no primeiro momento* ('at first'). The existence of the adverbial specification, together with the fact that *be* is already an acquisition, allows English to dispense with the pluperfect altogether:

Ela, que no primeiro momento ficara paralisada,
She, who was at first paralyzed,
 'She, who at the first moment had become paralyzed,'

Figure 7.12



The translation network corresponding to *Mais que perfeito* is shown in Figure 7.12. The last example starts, from the English side, on the acquisition node.

I should note that, while I model English perfect (i.e., *have* + past participle) as being vague between the two interpretations, I provide a particular (non-compositional) analysis for Portuguese *Mais que perfeito* only. This is grounded on the whole of the systems of the two languages: In Portuguese, there is a synthetic form for *Mais que perfeito*, while *Perfeito* is not even a part of the analytic form (formed by Imperfeito of *ter* followed by the uninflected past participle); on the contrary, the perfect does roughly the same in all tenses in English, and past perfect is formed by simple past of *have* plus perfect.

7.1.6 Portuguese Mudanças

In Portuguese, the category of *Mudanças* expresses a change of state. It is irrelevant whether that change occurs slowly or instantaneously, which is, however, a crucial distinction in English, neatly separating accomplishments and achievements. (Or, alternatively, whether there is a process associated to a change or not.)

In other words, vagueness between graduality or suddenness is an important feature of Portuguese when translating into English.

This can be seen in the frequent addition of graduality by the English translation:

e a voz tornou-se-lhe amarga para acrescentar: --
and his voice grew bitter as he added, "
'and his voice turned bitter to add:'"

E os chifres, periodicamente mais numerosos, cobrindo tudo, apareciam no próprio quarto do chefe de posto.

And the horns, which gradually became more numerous and soon covered everything, began to appear in Rebelo's own bedroom.

'And the horns, periodically more numerous, covering everything, appeared in the very bedroom of the chief of the post'

Eu cansei-me de traições, de perfídias,

I grew tired of betrayals, of treachery,

'I got tired of betrayals, of treachery'

Assustou-se, ficou mesmo estranhamente assustado.

He grew frightened, he actually felt a strange fear

'He got frightened, he got really frightened, strange as it were'

In the last case, the addition is unjustified, in my opinion.

One English verb which conveys change of state without connotations of duration is *become*. Therefore, it is not surprising that it appears so often in the translation:

E no momento em que Deus, Ele e a Palavra se tornaram um só

And at the moment when God, He, and the Word became one

'And at the moment when God, He, and the Word turned into one only'

Ou ele [...] ficara um pouco confuso.

Or else he [...] had become a little confused.

Ele, que via almas de brâmanes passarem a cães, de cães a shatrias, a vaicias e a pessoas "sem casta", e, às vezes, voltarem a ser brâmanes

He, who had seen Brahmins' souls become dogs', then go from dogs to Kshatriyas, to Vaishyas and to casteless persons and, at times, become Brahmins again

'He, who saw Brahmins' souls go to dogs, from dogs to Kshatriyas, to Vaishyas and to persons "without caste", and, sometimes, be Brahmins again'

se ninguém lembra já o que mais de quarenta anos de Império tornou vulgar,

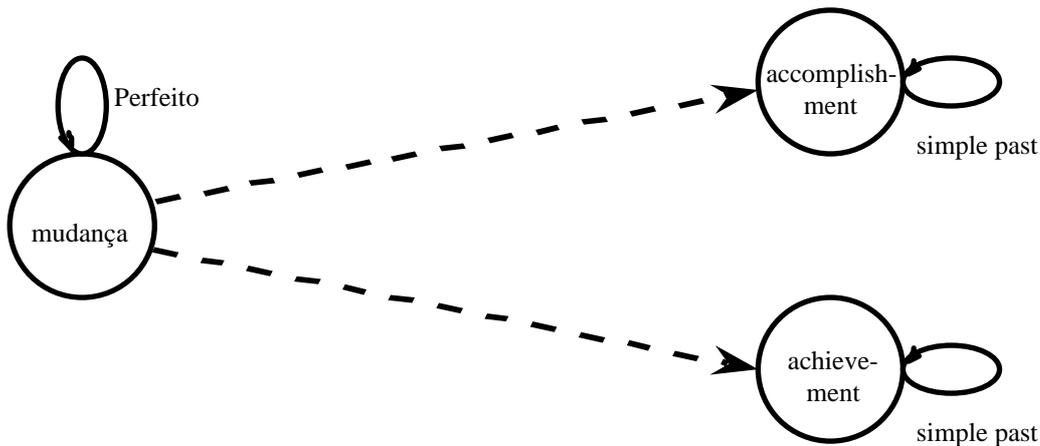
if no one remembers any longer what after more than forty years of Empire has become common knowledge

'if nobody remembers any longer what more than forty years of Empire made common'

Note that, in the above examples, Portuguese displays a number of aspectualizers which convey some change of state: *tornar(-se)*, *ficar*, *passar a*, *voltar a*. None of them conveys graduality or suddenness, i.e., all are vague in that respect.

Figure 7.13 thus presents the relevant aspectual network.

Figure 7.13



7.1.6.1 The aspectualizer *ficar*

It is interesting to look more closely at some of these aspectualizers and see whether they bring some problems for translation.

Ficar, I have claimed in Chapter 6 (Section 6.3.1.3), is interesting because, while being a typical *Mudança*, it does not require that the result state be different from the preceding state. In other words, it is vague according to whether the result state was already holding. Furthermore, its object may express a result state or a result location. That this is very much the same for Portuguese will be pointed out in the next section.

In addition, *ficar* was claimed to contrast with *tornar-se* regarding the temporariness vs. permanency of the resulting state. The translation into English, however, should be insensitive to this distinction.

Finally, if *ficar a* is applied to *Obras*, the corresponding expression is of the kind *Mudança+Obra*, but, again, the *Obra* does not need to start at the time of the *Mudança*, as is characteristic of *ficar* in general.

Let me now confirm these claims in real translations. The translation of *ficar* mirrors well the vagueness regarding inception or continuation, because it can be aptly conveyed by English acquisitions:

Ficou olhando as chispinhas delicadas que a candeia fazia
 He *sat* watching the delicate sparks that the lamp gave out
 'He remained looking at the delicate little sparks which the lamp did'

O frade, com boas palavras, despediu-os, e ficou na estrada a vê-los afastarem-se
 The friar, with good words, bade them farewell and *stood* in the road watching them leave
 'The friar, with good words, bade them farewell, and remained in the road seeing them go away'

In the first example, the English text may describe an inception (of the sitting) or simply a sitting position, and the same holds for the standing of the friar in the road. It is not said whether

he was already in the road before that moment. This contrasts with the examples presented in the previous section, where *ficar* had been rendered as a clear change of state by *become*. In the next examples, on the other hand, the two languages convey inception because of the adverbials *e depois* and *and then*, or because of the previous context:

*Gustavo Dorés olhou em volta, ainda duvidoso, e depois **ficou** com os olhos perdidos na terra amarelada*

*Gustavo Dorés looked around, still in disbelief, and then **stood** staring at the yellowish earth*

'G.D. looked around, still doubtful, and then his eyes got lost in the yellowish earth'

*Tropeçou e caiu. O caminho era um lamaçal em que **ficou** sentado, dentro de um charco.*

*He tripped and fell. The path was a swamp in which he **sat** mired.*

'He stumbled and fell. The path was a mire in which he got seated, inside a puddle'

Finally, other cases of *ficar* express a remaining state, i.e., no change, and this is transmitted in English through a variety of devices:

-- *É um desses a quem o rei dá tudo, e não **fica** nada para nós.*

*'He is one of those to whom the King gives everything, **leaving** nothing for us.*

'He is one of those to whom the king gives everything, and nothing remains to us'

*E **ficou** escrevendo pela noite adiante.²⁸*

*And he wrote **on** into the night.*

'And he went on writing into the night'

*Alguma coisa te **ficou**, bem que eu dizia, de quando eras filósofo.*

*'As I said, you've **retained** something of the philosopher you once were.*

'Something remained in you, I was right, of when you were a philosopher'

The best proof that *ficar* is vague is, however, a case where the English translator's intuitions and mine disagree, as illustrated by the two translations of the next example:

*Marco Semprônio **ficou** pensativo, e depois fitou o rosto moreno,*

*Marcus Sempronius **remained** pensive, and then his eyes rested on the visitor's dark face*

'M.S. became thoughtful, and then stared at the dark face'

7.1.6.2 Change of location verbs

It is most frequent, in Portuguese, to use change of location verbs without specifying the means of arriving at a new location. So, "*ir* ('go') somewhere" is best analysed as change of location. Means of transport, for example, if mentioned at all, is left to an adjunct: Portuguese has no equivalent verb for *drive*, *fly* or *ride*: one *vai* ('goes') *de carro* ('by car'), *de avião* ('by plane') or *a cavalo* ('on horseback'). In other words, the verbs *guiar*, *voar* or *montar* are simply

²⁸ The state referred to here is the state of being in the process of writing. Note, incidentally, that a more common rendering (in European Portuguese) would be *ficou a escrever*.

not movement verbs.²⁹ They are used to denote capabilities or activities, as illustrated by: *Sabes guiar?* ('Can you drive?'), *Sabes guiar um avião?* ('Can you fly a plane?'), *Estou a aprender a montar (a cavalo)* ('I'm learning to ride (a horse)').

This is most adverse to English thinking, where people "go in a certain manner". This shows up in the cases when change of state (change of location) verbs are transformed into activities, manner being added by the translation:

Depois, foi a uma mesa próxima
*He then **walked** to a nearby table*
 'Then, he went to a nearby table'

O escravo, tão suavemente como entrara, saiu.
*The slave **slipped out** as quietly as he had entered.*
 'The slave, as softly as he had entered, exited.'

com que vira o Adamastor sair da nuvem grossa
*with which he had seen Adamastor **emerge** from a thick cloud*
 'with which he had seen Adamastor exit from the thick cloud'

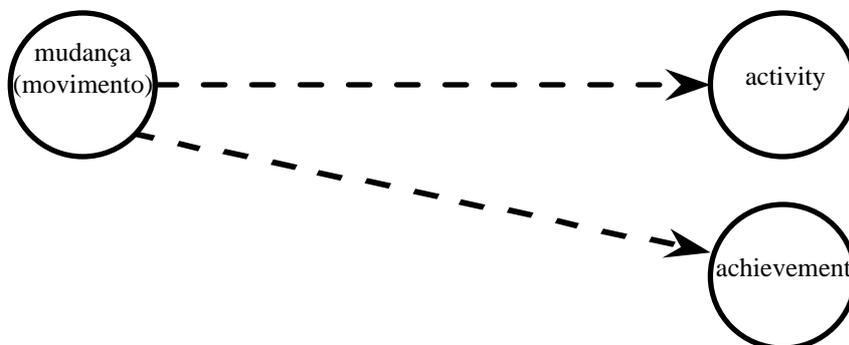
However, manner addition in these cases did not occur as often as I expected. My findings thus differed from what Slobin (1994) reported from Spanish translation into English, where out of 60 arbitrarily chosen movement events (20 per novel), the translation is not faithful in 33% of the cases, i.e. one out of three translations added manner and/or more locative detail.

In fact, English has a number of change of location verbs (from French influence), like *enter* and *arrive*, which were extensively used in the translation, cf. e.g.:

*Manda **entrar**.* -- *Para onde? Para aqui?*
*Tell him to **enter**." "Enter where? Out here?"*
 'Ask him in. Where? In here?'

The relevant translation network is thus the one depicted in Figure 7.14, where one may say that the translational arc into achievement results in a less idiomatic translation.

Figure 7.14



²⁹ *Voar* is used for flying as far as living things are concerned (birds, insects, bats, etc.) like *fly* in English. However, *voar* cannot refer to means of locomotion for human beings in planes or other flying devices. When the meaning conveyed is "fly over", the transitive verb *sobrevoar* is used instead, as in *Sobrevoámos Lisboa antes de aterrar* ('We flew over Lisbon before landing'). Otherwise, *ir* and *vir* are employed, cf. *Vou a Boston na próxima semana* ('I am flying to Boston next week').

But the absence of manner main verbs in English is a clear sign of translationese, which the next examples display beyond doubt:

Apoiado à mesa, arrastou-se até à outra ponta, e daí, deixou-se cair até à enxerga.

Leaning on the table, he dragged himself to the far side and from there let himself fall to the cot.

'The table supporting him, he trailed to the other side of the table and fell slowly to the cot'

Deixou-se ficar estendida

She let herself remain stretched out

'She lay on'

7.1.7 Portuguese Obras

A Portuguese Obra can be roughly defined as an event which takes time and can be seen as a whole or as developing in time. It is thus vague regarding a possible result. English, however, must decide whether the corresponding event is an accomplishment or an activity, i.e., precisely whether such an event has a result or not.

The two cases can actually be observed in real examples. In the following English translation, result is conveyed through lexical means: while in Portuguese it is asserted that a simple act of talking in a special way occurred, in English a speech is produced, i.e., a result is mentioned.

*O papá **discursou**?*

*Did you **give** a speech, Papa?*

'Daddy, did you talk?'

Conversely, Obras may be translated into English as activities, leaving their precise temporal profile unexpressed. The next examples, adding manner as described in Section 7.1.6.2, are typical:

***Passei** entre as mesas empilhadas.*

*I **walked** among the stacks of tables.*

'I passed among the tables stacked'

*o Gustavo Dores **revelou-se** incansável.*

*Gustavo Dores **worked** untiringly on the project.*

'G.D. revealed himself tireless'

In any case, the information that the walk had been completed and that the "revelation" was over is missing in the English text, which conveys instead how he did pass, how he revealed himself untiring. Note, furthermore, that there is a good reason to employ a concrete verb in the translation of the abstract Portuguese *revelar-se*: *Work on the project* is bounded by the time boundaries of the project, while the result of a revelation might hold on for ever. And that would be at odds with what is conveyed by *Perfeito* in Portuguese, which clearly delimits some bounds (he revealed himself as being tireless then).

7.1.7.1 The translation of Obras with perfective aspect

There is, in fact, one further complication associated with Obras whenever they are expressed in the perfective aspect, i.e., when the *Perfeito*, or the *Mais que perfeito*, signals that the whole period is over.

The only way that English can express a similar meaning is through the perfect (which, additionally, focuses on the result state). So, a pluperfect formulation adds result even when it was not employed for that reason in the first place. This can be appreciated clearly in the next example:

Eu, que levei anos a curar-me dos sustos
I, who had spent years recovering from the fears
'It has taken years for me to recover from the frights'

I.e., to signal that the years were wholly in the past, as conveyed by the Portuguese original, the past perfect had to be used. The present perfect would strongly implicate an extended now instead. The simple past, finally, would fail to convey the perfectivity, in that it could be taken as denoting that the speaker was still in the middle of such a period.

The most conspicuous -- and unexpected -- pattern, however, turned out to be the use of achievements corresponding to the inception of the *Obra*, as displayed in the next examples:

O caso dera que falar,
The episode soon became famous
'the case had given origin to much talk'

que se interessara demasiado pela homenagem,
who had become too interested in the commemoration
'who had been too interested in the homage'

Exasperara-se:
He had become exasperated:
'he had got exasperated'

onde agora, como não onde o frade se distraía, as pedras eram tão numerosas
where now, unlike when the friar had become distracted, stones were as numerous
'where now, not like where the friar had been distracted, the stones were as many'

In Portuguese, the result of the event (if one may call it a result) is the *Obra* itself (while they spoke, while he was interested, while he was distracted, etc.), i.e., no result remains after the event ends. I.e., the Portuguese examples specifically convey that, respectively: after there was talk, the talk died away; his interest had finished; his exasperation was past; the distraction was over, he was no longer distracted. On the contrary, the English texts can be read as, at the (current time of the narrative): the fame is still alive; he is still too interested; he keeps being exasperated; the friar is still distracted. These are implications which, incidentally, happen to be plainly wrong in the cases at stake.

The same pattern occurs, for instance, in the following habitual *Imperfeito*:

Ainda tremia, e se lhe obnubilava a consciência de génio -- calcule-se! -- , só de recordar o incidente.

*He still trembled, and his genie's conscience **grew** clouded--imagine!--just to recall the incident.*

'He still trembled, and his genie's conscience obnubilated -- imagine!--, only from recalling the incident'

The obnubilation in the Portuguese clause is meant to hold only during the times he trembled or recalled the accident, and is not supposed to hold later than that, contrary to what may be implied by the English rendering.

The analysis of these examples thus shows that English tends to use a resultative formulation to translate non-resultative Obras. The resultative predicates are, however, related to the inception of the Obra, which is thus -- at most -- pragmatically inferred to have finished. This contrasts with the rendering of a complete Obra in Portuguese, which identifies in an equally definite manner the beginning and the end of the period to which the Obra corresponds.

7.1.7.2 The translation of Obras with imperfective aspect

A perfective description of an Obra is hard to render adequately in English. Imperfeito of an Obra is even more problematic, as I will try to demonstrate in this section.

As a marker of imperfective (perspectival) aspect, an Imperfeito of an Obra signals that it is developing. This is a piece of information that is often lost in the translation into English, as can be seen in the same translation of the verb *sorrir* ('smile') in the two tenses (simple past for Imperfeito and simple past for Perfeito, respectively):

-- *Os meus amigos velhos já morreram todos -- e **sorria**.*
"All my old friends have already died," and he **smiled**.
"My old friends have all died", he said, smiling'

*Marco Semprônio [...] **sorriu**, torcendo os lábios.*
*Marcus Sempronius [...] **smiled**, twisting his lips.*
'M.S. smiled briefly, twisting his lips'

The next example, thanks to the use of *já* and *already*, seems to preserve the information that the Obra is still developing, but note that English resorts to a special construction adding manner:

*sob o qual tão poucos frades dormiam o sono eterno (Fr. Athelstan já lá **dormia**,*
*under which so few friars slept the eternal sleep (Friar Athelstan already **lay***
sleeping there
'under which so few friars slept the eternal sleep (Fr. Athelstan slept there already'

Things are even more complicated if the simultaneous meaning is connected with the vague habitual repetition germane to Imperfeito, as in

uma época revolta, tumultuosa, transbordante de piedade e de paganismo, que,
*como as ondas do mar, **vinha** bater às portas do seu mosteiro de Jarrow*
an era, rebellious, tumultuous, overflowing with piety and paganism which, like
*the waves of the sea, **had beaten** upon the portals of his Jarrow monastery*
'a revolved, tumultuous, overflowing with piety and paganism, age, which, like
the sea waves, came to knock (repeatedly) at the doors of his monastery in Jarrow'

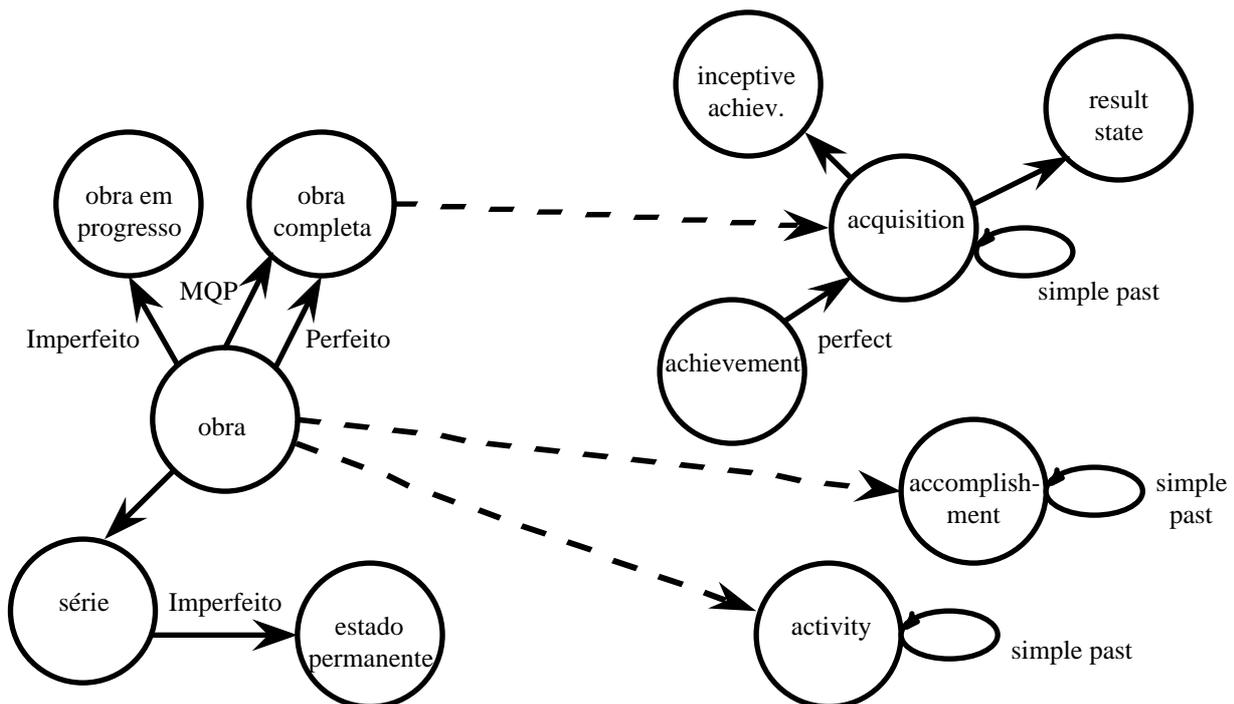
*Não fôra uma serpente vagabunda que, por esse tempo, se instalara entre as raízes da árvore, e lhe **fazia** o favor de comer aquilo tudo,*
*If it had not been for a loafing snake who during this time **had** settled in among the roots of the tree and **done** him the favor of eating it all up,*
'had it not been for a wandering snake, who, by that time, had installed herself among the roots of the tree, and did him the favour of eating all that (repeatedly)'

My interpretation of the Portuguese sentences is that a situation is conveyed which is both habitual, and developing at the present time of the narrative. The English translations are, in my opinion, deficient in both respects, since they convey most naturally a semelfactive and past event, instead of a reoccurring, and present, one.

In fact, the problem for the English translation of examples like the above is that they combine three values: in progress, essential properties, and habituality, only the first of which is grammatically marked in English by the progressive, which excludes in general the two others. So, the use of the pluperfect by the English translator to convey a state and a possible cumulative series of events sometimes does not yield the desired result. In any case, it cannot transmit a property connotation. This will be properly discussed in Section 7.2.5 below. Here, I am interested specifically in matters of imperfective aspect (recall that perspectival aspect, the way I defined it, does not include habituality), and especially in how the vagueness associated with the accomplishment/activity dichotomy is tackled by translation. I will, however, also discuss here cases of Imperfeito of an Obra which are harder to classify.

The relationship between Obras on the one hand, and accomplishments and activities on the other, is described in the translation network shown in Figure 7.15 (except for the habitual Imperfeito case, which will be provided in Section 7.2.5).

Figure 7.15



In the next example, Imperfeito seems to be used to describe an essential property of some entity, even if that property is lexically expressed by an *Obra*.³⁰ I.e., the verb *passar-se* ('happen') conveys the location (intrinsic to some event, or happening).

*Lera, uma vez, uma história qualquer que até se **passava** ali, no Alto de S. João.*
*Once he had read some story or other that **had** even **taken** place there in Alto de São João.*

'He had read, once, some story whose location was exactly there, in Alto de S.J.'

Even though the verb itself expresses development, in progress, what the English translation conveys is almost exactly what the corresponding sentence in *Mais que perfeito* (*uma história qualquer que se tinha passado ali*) would convey. The Portuguese rendering in Imperfeito does not convey a once and for all past event; on the contrary, it displays something which, every time it is read, "occurs" there.

In fact, the English translator resorted to the same strategy as was employed with *Aquisições* (see Section 7.1.1.2 above), namely using the pluperfect to render the stative counterpart of the eventive (and temporally delimited) *Perfeito* *passou* ('took place'). This does not seem to be the right way to proceed here.³¹ I propose that such a strategy is adequate for *Aquisições* and *Mudanças*, but not for *Obras*.

Consider now the following case

*os olhos [...] não **perscrutavam**, apenas alongavam por ela dentro imagens*
*his eyes [...] **sought** out **nothing**, merely stretched along the distance the images*
'the eyes did not seek, only stretched into it images'

Here, we have a clear *Obra* seen in its development, for which the strategy followed by the translator was to add explicit quantification (although negative) in the direct object. This is because, even though *seek* is an activity, the ordinary negation would transform it into a (negative) event implying a definite (past) time (as displayed in my gloss). On the contrary, the quantification over many things (or none) was able to convey a process distributed in time.

7.1.8 Portuguese *Moradas* (*Estados* or *Obras*)

Finally, the case of *Moradas*, i.e., those verbs that are vague between a permanent property or a situation in progress, is commonly rendered in English by verbs vague between a property or an activity, as in:

*os dois filhos **viviam** longe, na Bitínia um, na Tarraconense o outro*
*his two sons **lived** far away, one in Bithynia, the other in the province of Tarragon*
'the two sons lived far, in Bithynia one, in the province of Tarragon the other'

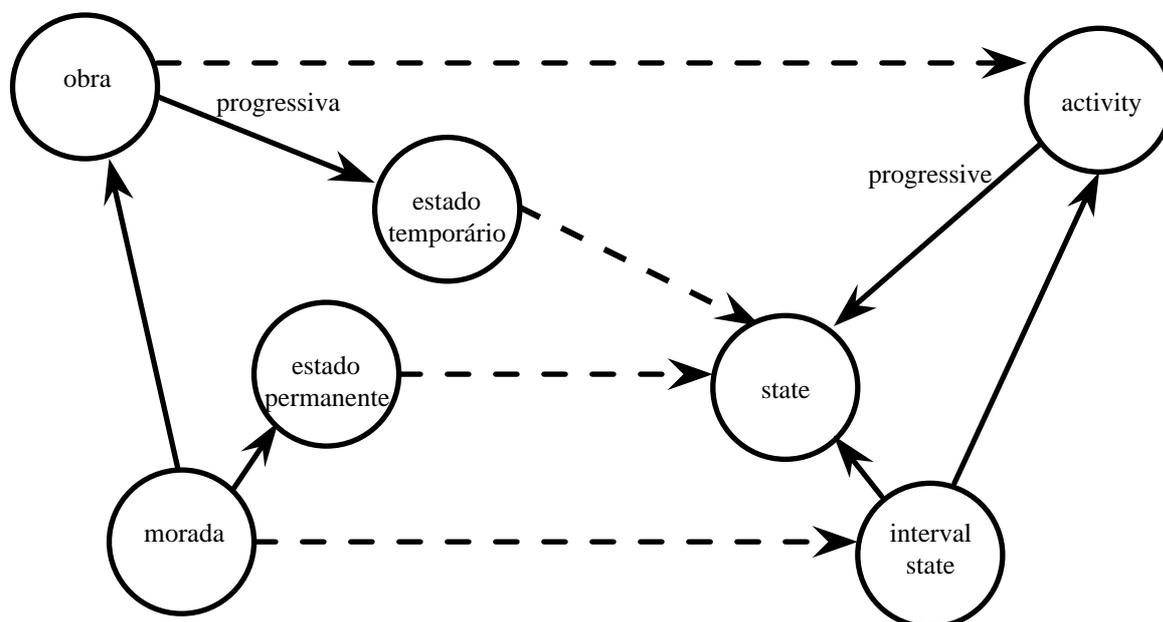
This is a case where there is a fairly good overlap across languages between the properties

³⁰ Note that I have not considered this case in Chapter 6. Reconsidering the matter here, it seems to me that the Imperfeito can only in a few cases apply to an *Obra* without serializing it first. *Passar-se* ('occur') is the only case I could find, and this verb is notoriously special in that it refers precisely to the passing of a temporal object (i.e., it can be predicated of nominal *Obras*). Furthermore, it can also define a temporal location, as in *Isto passou-se no Natal* ('This happened last Christmas').

³¹ Furthermore, the fact that the main clause is also in the pluperfect considerably diminishes the possible effect this resource might otherwise have.

of the lexical items involved, as can be appreciated in Figure 7.16.

Figure 7.16



7.1.9 Portuguese Estados

Even though most of my claims in this dissertation point to the fact that English states are vague regarding a number of features relevant for Portuguese, it is interesting to observe that states in Portuguese also have a wider range of use than in English, forcing thus translation to specify something which is vague in Portuguese.

7.1.9.1 Estados permanentes

In fact, it seems that stative clauses in Portuguese can be understood as causes, as well as having definite temporal contours, while in English one must have a change of state (an event) in such cases.

Observe that in Portuguese one can use (permanent) states as planned results:

Para que Roma não seja os Neros que a governam
So that Rome won't become the Neros who govern her,
 'So that Rome not be the Neros who govern her'

para que a sua estrela existisse.
so that his star would come into existence.
 'so that his star existed'

as well as describe them as being under control:

E, quando alguém da tua categoria se torna cristão, consegue ser cristão de categoria?
And, when someone of your distinction becomes a Christian, can he become a Christian of distinction?
 'And, when someone of your distinction becomes a Christian, does he manage to be a Christian of distinction?'

Also, permanent states are commonly used as causes as well:

*Porque **era** afinal, e agora, um ladrão temível que o povo procurara.*
*For it **had** finally **become**, now, a dreadful thief whom the people had been hunting.*
'because he was, after all, now, a dreadful thief whom people had looked for'

*a chuva **era** tanta, que um dos jovens disse:*
*the rain **became** so heavy that one of the youths said:*
'the rain was so much, that one of the young men said:'

In all these cases, English requires a change, as can be seen from the translations. Now, these examples are interesting in what they show about both languages. As regards English, they show that the verb *be*, although I have claimed that it is an acquisition, does not function as one in a future or infinitive context: its "acquisitional import" is restricted to the past. This might be due to the asymmetry past/future in relation to beginnings. Alternatively, its use as a permanent versus a temporary state may be involved: Could it be that *be* was only an acquisition when its stative sense denoted a temporary state? In any case, it is relevant to note the existence of a lexical item denoting the inchoation of *be*, namely *become*, something which is not available for *sit* or *hang*, for example.

As for Portuguese, the first two examples illustrate clearly the vagueness of the Conjuntivo tenses, which can refer both to the present and the future (of now or of the reference time). On the contrary, note that the English translations select specifically a future formulation. In other words, a more exact translation of the first examples would be *so that Rome isn't and won't become*, and *so that his star existed or would come into existence*, respectively. The gist of these cases from a contrastive point of view is that they demonstrate how closely interrelated with Aktionsart differences differences in temporal reference are, something which will be taken up again in Section 7.4.

7.1.9.2 Estados temporários

Another point is that Portuguese Estados temporários are in general unspecified for manner of position, which English tends to add, analogously to the cases discussed in Sections 7.1.6.2 and 7.1.7 above. This is a sort of vagueness which is not so relevant for the purposes of the present study, since it is lexical, but it indicates a standard pattern involved in many differences between the two languages, which will be further discussed in Section 7.5 below.

Examples are:

E, num clarão, cegante mesmo para génios, o deus Kama, chamejante de fúria, estava diante dele,
*And there in a lightning bolt, blinding even for genies, **stood** the god Kama, blazing with fury before him,*
'And, in a flash, blinding even for genies, the god Kama, flaming with fury, was before him,'

Rir-se do que já cá está.

Laughing at those lying here.
'To laugh at what is already here.'

Note, incidentally, that the lexical items involved in both translations are acquisitions. While in the second case the intended interpretation was unambiguously stative, in the first the intrinsic vagueness serves to convey both appearance and state, while the Portuguese source text does not convey the former explicitly.

7.2 Compactness as a source of contrasts

If the contrast of two languages is especially required in cases where one language says too little (i.e., is unspecified, or vague, about a particular topic), it is equally necessary when it says too much, i.e., packs in a compact way pieces of information which must be expressed separately in the other language (if they can, at all). To translate a compact category -- and note that compactness is, again, contrastively defined -- a translator must either unwrap it or choose only one piece of meaning to convey. In any case, we end up with a translation pair where the two elements are considerably different.

7.2.1 English accomplishments (manner plus attained result)

It is common in English to describe an accomplishment by asserting separately the activity and its result or goal. According to Aske, some languages "prefer to express the 'culmination point' of an event or situation outside the main predicate, such as English. [...] In Spanish the basic telic or accomplishment path predicate has to be a verb, it cannot be a non-verbal predicate" (Aske, 1989:7). And Nilsson has noted that "in many (perhaps all) Germanic languages it is furthermore possible to express movement or change in a situation without the verb itself marking it" (Nilsson, 1985:91).³² Three formally different ways of doing this in English are: verb + adjective constructions, verb + particle constructions and verb + goal PP's. This is either not possible in Portuguese or, in any case, marked, as we will see presently. It is thus safe to conclude that, in Portuguese, the result is much more important than the means to obtain it.

7.2.2.1 Activity + result adjective

As to activity + adjective, which is a construction that Portuguese simply lacks, the Portuguese text either uses an adjunct to describe manner, like *à força* in the first example, or simply omits it, as in the second.

and he pried open the baby's mouth and poured it down.
abriu à força a boca da criança e fê-la beber.
'he opened with force the mouth of the child and made it drink'

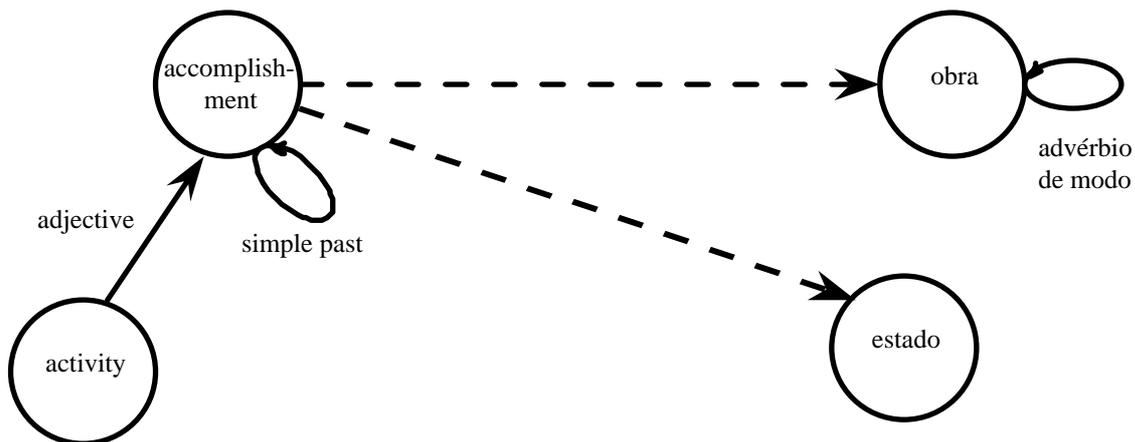
the sky was brushed clean by the wind
O vento limpou o céu

³² Norwegian provides beautiful examples of such possibility; cf. Nilsson (1985). In fact, it is even possible to omit the verb itself in some contexts, as in *Skal du ut i kveld?* (lit. Will you out in the evening).

'the wind had cleaned the sky'

An interesting case in English is that of *grow* + adjective, in that it seems to be the barest form of activity + result state, since the activity does not carry manner. (Alternatively, *grow* could be considered an aspectualizer.) It is thus highly predictable that Portuguese gets rid of the activity connotation in the translation.

Figure 7.17



As is modelled in the translation network displayed in Figure 7.17, sometimes the translation only describes the result state (adding *agora* ('now') to contrast with an indeterminate before³³), as in

*All manner of people **grew** interested in Kino -- people with things to sell and people with favours to ask.*

*Toda a gente agora se **interessava** por Kino. Toda a gente tinha coisas para lhe vender ou favores a pedir-lhe.*

'Everyone was now interested in Kino. Everyone had things to sell him or favours to ask him.'

*And his face **grew** crafty.*

*O rosto **tinha** agora uma expressão de astúcia.*

'The face had now an expression of astuteness.'

Alternatively, the translation can describe a simple transition into the result state, as in

*Kino's face **grew** dark and dangerous.*

*A expressão de Kino **tornou-se** sombria e ameaçadora.*

'Kino's expression became somber and threatening'

*The news of the approach of the procession ran ahead of it, and in their little dark offices the pearl buyers stiffened and **grew** alert.*

*Como a notícia da aproximação do cortejo corria mais do que ele, os compradores de pérolas, nas suas escuras lojecas, empertigavam-se e **punham-se** alerta.*

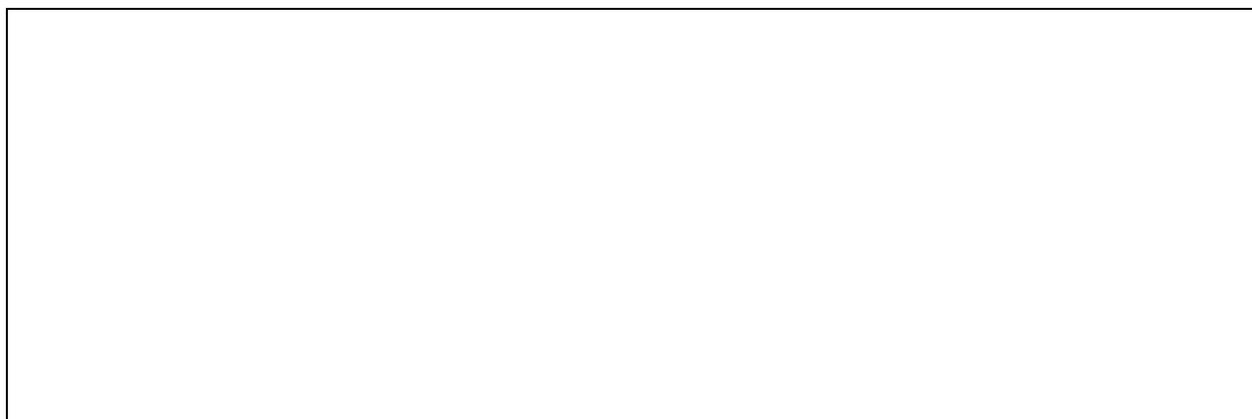
'As the news of the approach of the procession ran more than it, the pearl buyers, in their dark little offices stiffened and got alert.'

Most of the time, *grow* is rendered by *tornar-se*, i.e. a mudança (change of state) conveying

³³ This use of adverbials with states will be discussed in Section 7.2.6 below.

no information on graduality. Note that *tornar* is equally well (or better) translated by *become* (cf. Section 7.1.6.1 above). The way to model this in the translation network is thus very simple, as Figure 7.18 shows.

Figure 7.18

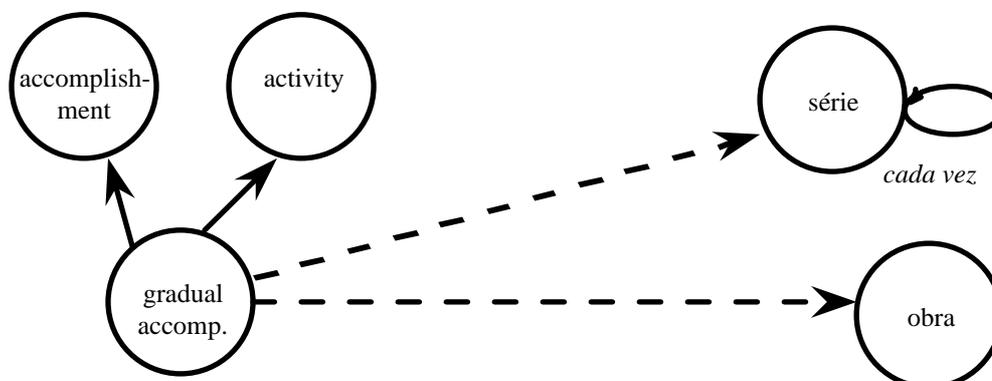


Now, and providing evidence for the kind of classes typical of the two languages, note that only gradual accomplishments in English, i.e., those in which a change is viewed as happening homogeneously, do not entail any loss. This class was modelled in the English aspectual network as vague between accomplishment and activity, and thus corresponds fairly well to Portuguese Obras, since Obras are unspecified about result. It is surely not a coincidence that gradual accomplishments have been suggested as a relevant class for Italian by Alonge (1992).

In fact, in the only case in the corpus where the activity involved in an English accomplishment of the form *grow* + result adjective gets conveyed, the adjective is in the comparative, which is accurately rendered by *cada vez* ('each time') and the corresponding inflected adjective in Portuguese:

*The way began to rise, and as it did the rocks **grew** larger.*
*O caminho começou a tornar-se íngreme e as pedras eram **cada vez** maiores.*
 'The path began to become steep and the rocks were each time larger'

Figure 7.19



Interestingly, and possibly due to the discretizing effect of *cada vez*, the aspectual class used in the translation is a series (of comparisons). The comparisons involve permanent

properties, what changes is the subjects: different stones each time. This is thus strictly speaking outside the scope of the basic aspectual network, since it involves quantification. I will therefore only specify a translational arc from gradual accomplishment to *série*, but noting that this is not the whole story.

Figure 7.19 displays the corresponding translation network.

7.2.1.2 Activity + locative particle

As to activity plus locative particle, two cases must be distinguished: those in which the particle describes the resulting state of a movement (called by Aske (1989) "telic path phrases", and by Slobin & Hoyting (1994) "boundary focus (as opposed to path focus) path type orientation"³⁴), and those in which it simply describes the direction of the movement, possibly in addition to other prepositional phrases describing other features of the path.

Examples of the first kind (which is extensively discussed by Slobin (1994)) express both a movement and the result of such movement. In the translation into Portuguese, either only the change of position remains in the translation, as in the following examples

Her hand crept out from under her shawl
O braço dela saiu do xale
'Her arm left the shawl'

He slipped off his sandals
Descalçou as sandálias
'he took off the sandals'

or two clauses must be used, as in

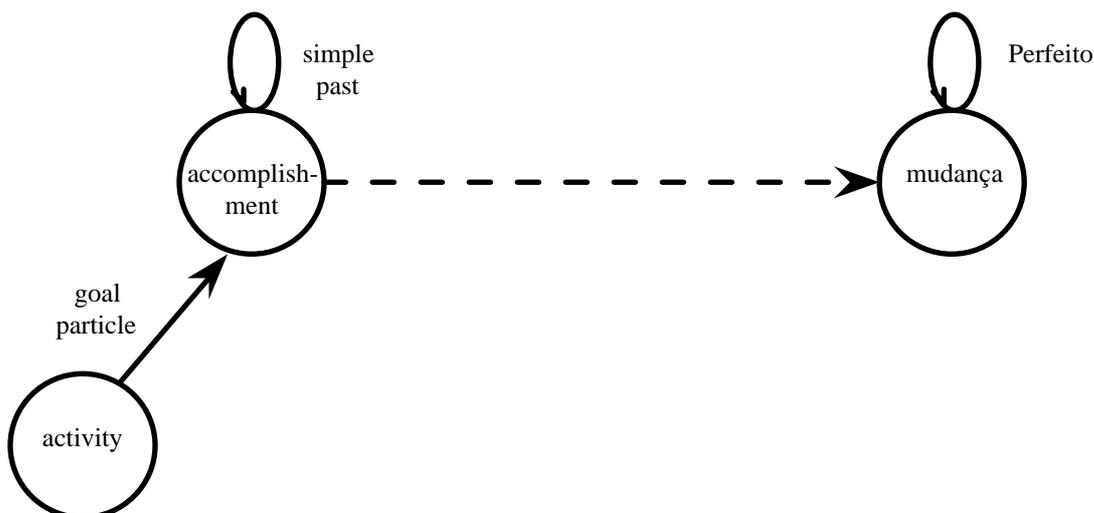
As he came through the door, Juana stood up from the glowing fire pit
Joana, que estava inclinada para o lume, endireitou-se
'Juana, who was bent towards the fire, raised'

This is conveyed in Figure 7.20.

Figure 7.20

³⁴ The authors say that "the distinction is apparently of no interest to manner-type, satellite framed languages" (Slobin & Hoyting, 1994:12) like English. Incidentally, Nilsson's (1985:92f) remark on the minimal pairs composed by Norwegian static and dynamic adverbs (*ned* - *nede* ('down'), *opp* - *oppe* ('up')) may refute their claim.

In any case, the distinction is undoubtedly of interest for the translation from English into a verb framed language like Portuguese, as Slobin himself notes in Slobin (1994).



As for the second kind of activity plus locative particle combinations, more often than not direction is simply omitted, no matter whether the accomplishment is rendered in Portuguese as a completed event or an event in progress. This is shown in the next examples:

*She looked **up** at him, her eyes as cold as the eyes of a lioness.*
ela fixou-o com os olhos gelados de uma leoa.
 'she fixed him with the frozen eyes of a lioness'

*She put her lips **down** over the puncture and sucked hard*
aplicou-lhe os lábios, chupou com firmeza,
 'she applied the lips to it, sucked with firmness'

*The third man scabbled **away** like a crab*
O terceiro homem arrastava-se como um caranguejo
 'The third man dragged like a crab'

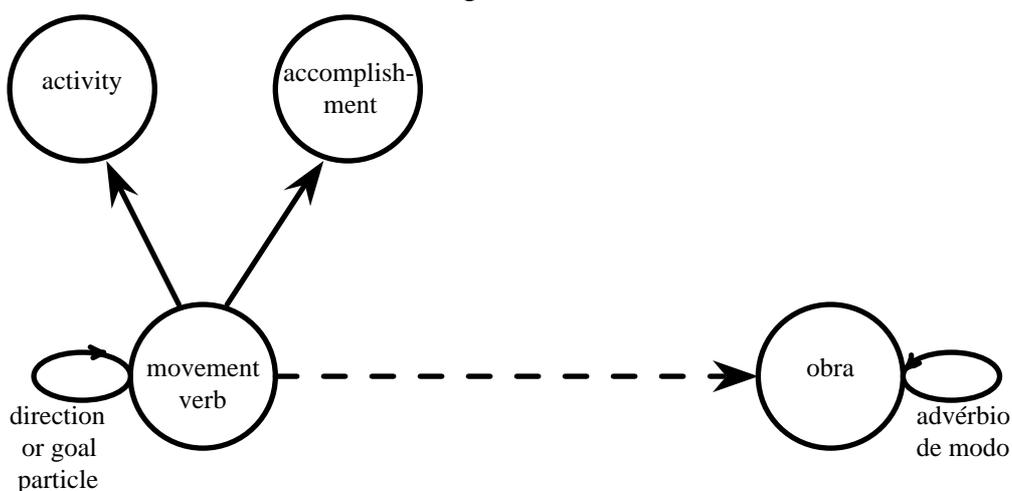
In some cases, however, the English particle is vague between a goal or direction interpretation, i.e., if it signals a place adverbial or a direction adverbial, as the next examples show. The fact that the translator chose the goal interpretation, in fact, adds to my claim that simple directional information is usually neglected in translations into Portuguese:

*Kino looked **down** to cover his eyes from the glare.*
*Kino **baixou** as pálpebras para fugir à dureza da luz.*
 'Kino lowered her eyelids to escape the hardness of the light'

*The doctor **put** his cup **down** gently before he let his anger rise.*
*o médico **pousou** cuidadosamente a chávena antes de desabafar a sua cólera.*
 'the doctor landed carefully his cup before loosening his anger'

This construction is illustrated in Figure 7.21. In fact, I should note that the English expression corresponding to a verb plus direction or goal particle is just like an *Obra* in Portuguese, in that it takes time but is vague regarding resultativeness.

Figure 7.21



Note that the first kind of constructions discussed here (depicted in Figure 7.20) is exactly equivalent to the activity + result situation discussed in the previous section (7.2.1.1), as Aske (1989) noted. This makes particular sense for Portuguese, because change of location verbs in Portuguese are not concerned with movement, as argued in Section 7.1.6.2 above: They are as typical *Mudanças* as they can be.

Now, the reason why I presented the two cases separately, even though in English they are similar and translate the same way, is that in Portuguese there is an exact translation, in some cases,³⁵ while this is not the case for the construction discussed in the previous section (involving adjectives rather than locative particles).

In fact, and provided the movement verbs exist, one can say *Corri para dentro de casa* (literally 'I ran to inside the house', corresponding exactly to 'I ran into the house'), *Saí de dentro de casa* (lit. 'I left the inside of the house', corresponding to 'I went out of the house'), *Saltei para cima do colchão* (lit. 'I jumped to on top of the mattress', exactly 'I jumped onto the mattress'), as noted in Section 6.4.5. It is nevertheless remarkable that although one can say so, such expressions are extremely rare, in translation or original text; in the whole corpus only two examples were found, incidentally in translated text:

and when the bow floated, Juana climbed in
e a proa já flutuava quando Joana saltou para dentro dele
 'and the bow already floated when Juana jumped into it'

The second example will be discussed in Section 7.2.2 below.

7.2.1.3 Activity with path describing arguments

The third way English mingles activity and goal, the case of a movement verb plus a locative prepositional phrase (PP) expressing a part of its path, is actually not a case of

³⁵ Incidentally, contrary to what is the case for Spanish, according to Slobin (1994).

compactness because Portuguese has similar constructions, as noted in Section 6.4.5.³⁶

However, I discuss it here because manner is almost always dropped in favour of a more neutral movement verb encoding simply direction (excepting the fairly general cases corresponding to *go*, *swim* and *fly*, which are generally maintained or used to replace more specific English ones). Examples are:

*His hand **strayed** limply to the place where the pearl was hidden under his clothes*
*A mão dele **encaminhou-se** frouxamente para o lugar onde, debaixo das roupas,*
tinha a pérola guardada.

'His hand directed itself loosely to the place where, under the clothes, had the pearl kept.'

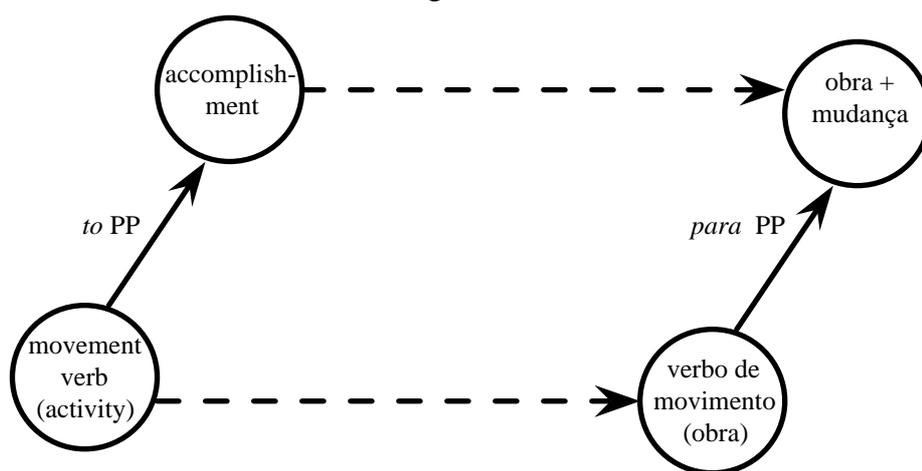
*and big flies **buzzed** around the cut on her chin.*
*grandes moscas **voavam** à volta da ferida do queixo.*
 'big flies flied around the injure in the chin'

For the sake of completeness, I display the case of activities with goal path arguments in Figure 7.22, noting that the nodes corresponding to movement verbs are simply there for clarity purposes, their real class appearing inside parentheses.

These cases and some of their consequences for translation between English and Spanish were extensively discussed by Slobin (1994) and Berman & Slobin (1995). As described by Slobin (1994), a translation into Portuguese (/Spanish) tends to omit complex path descriptions, as shown in the next example:

*Now Kino and Juana **slid** the canoe **down the beach to the water***
*Kino e Joana **empurraram** o barco **para a água***
 'Kino and Juana pushed the boat into the water'

Figure 7.22



It is perhaps necessary to note that there are several kinds of movement expressions in English as regards aspectual behaviour: those specifying only manner, which are pure activities,

³⁶ In fact, from the point of view of Portuguese, I do not consider this and the previous case different, at least from an aspectual point of view. It is just that the previous case in English is rendered by a verb satellite (*ran into the house* vs. *ran to the house*), while in Portuguese both are rendered inside the prepositional phrase (*para dentro de casa* vs. *para casa*).

those specifying movement in a certain path, which are gradual accomplishments, and those specifying goal of movement, which are clear accomplishments. Examples of sentences of the three kinds are *he limped*, *he walked along the bridge*, and *he jumped onto the table*, respectively. In addition, it seems that there is the following hierarchy in that the highest element decides which aspectual class is involved: manner < path < goal. This is why in some of the figures above movement verbs were classified as activities and in others as gradual accomplishments.

7.2.1.4 The passive of gradual accomplishments

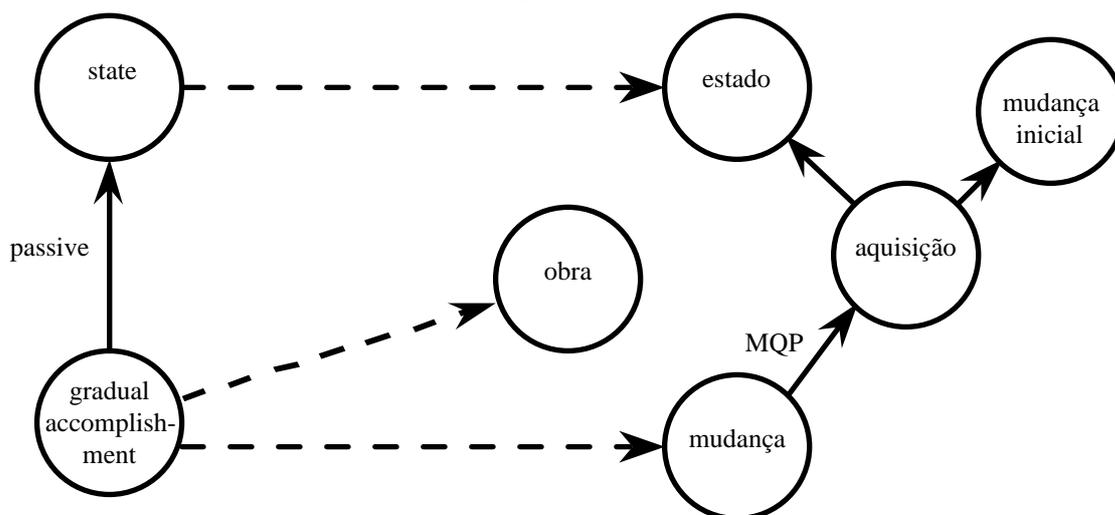
With lexical verbs vague between a process and its result (gradual accomplishments), the English passive focuses on the result while presupposing a previous process.

Since the Portuguese passive of *Obras* does not seem to have aspectual import, and *Obras* in general have no result, it cannot be used to render the English passive in these cases. Neither *Perfeito* nor *Imperfeito* focus on the result, either, so the best a Portuguese translator can do is to use a *Mais que perfeito* with its import of *Aquisição*, as is illustrated by the following examples:

The little hole was slightly enlarged and its edges whitened from the sucking, but the red swelling extended farther around it
a pequenina mancha aumentara um pouco, o contorno desinflamara-se com a sucção, mas toda a bolha vermelha se alargara
 'the little stain had grown a little, the contour had lost the inflammation with the suction, but all red swelling had enlarged'

the torn flesh of the knuckles was turned greyish white by the sea water
ao contacto da água salgada, em volta dos nós dos dedos se acinzentara
 'by the contact with the salty water, around the knuckles had turned gray'

Figure 7.23



In sum, although gradual accomplishments are, as mentioned above, closer to Portuguese *Obras* than any other class of English verbs, this similarity holds only for the active voice.

The situation is displayed in the partial network of Figure 7.23.

I should however acknowledge that all the examples above involve English lexemes displaying a causative-inchoative alternation (cf. Alonge, 1992); this feature may also be crucially related to the described behaviour.

7.2.2 Position plus activity in English

English has a compact form to express being in a position and performing an activity, which has no parallel in Portuguese, and which must, therefore, either result in multiplication of the number of clauses or omission of some information.

Again, it is generally the manner of position which is lost, as can be seen in the following examples:

*The servant from the gate came to the open door and **stood waiting** to be noticed.
o criado chegou à porta aberta do quarto e **esperou** que dessem por ele.
'the servant arrived at the open door of the room and waited that he was noticed'*

*When the evening came, the neighbours in the brush houses **sat eating** their corncakes and beans, and they discussed the great theme of the morning.
A noite encontrou os vizinhos nas cabanas, **comendo** os seus bolos de milho com feijão e discutindo o grande acontecimento da manhã.
'The night found the neighbours in the houses, eating their corn cakes with beans and discussing the great event of the morning.'*

*and the pearl, knocked from his hand, **lay winking** behind a little stone in the pathway. It glinted in the soft moonlight.
Mas a pérola, que lhe saltara da mão, **rolara** na terra **para trás de** uma pedra do caminho e cintilava sob a pálida lua.
'But the pearl, who had jumped from him from the hand, had rolled into behind of a path stone and twinkled under the pale moon.'*

This last example is very interesting, because, in addition to omitting both manner of position and activity, it specifies position as the result of a previous event (a rolling), incidentally absent from the original. Another interesting detail is that it uses the construction discussed in Section 7.2.1.2 above, namely a movement verb followed by a result location.

Even when the two pieces of information still get conveyed by the translation, ordinarily there is a switch between manner and activity, in that the Portuguese main verb describes the event, and an adjunct describes the position. This has been termed by Vinay and Darbelnet (1977:105) the "chassé-croisé" while describing translation between English and French, and has been pointed out by Talmy (1985), Aske (1989), and Slobin (1994) for Spanish as well.³⁷

*He **stood** over her, **looking** down, but the light was very dim.
De pé, junto dela, quis **ver**. Mas a luz não chegava.
'Standing, near her, he wanted to see. But the light was not enough.'*

*Kino **stood** in the door, **filling** it, and hatred raged and flamed in back of his eyes*

³⁷ It is nevertheless interesting to point out that, although Talmy (1985) and Aske (1989) address especially the case of gerundive manner clauses, these are by no means frequent in Portuguese -- and I would expect the same to be true of Spanish as well. I believe their concern stems from competence issues which are not reflected in performance.

Kino, de pé, barrava a entrada, com o ódio e a ira chispando no fundo dos olhos.
 'Kino, standing, obstructed the entrance, with the hate and the rage flaming in the back of the eyes'

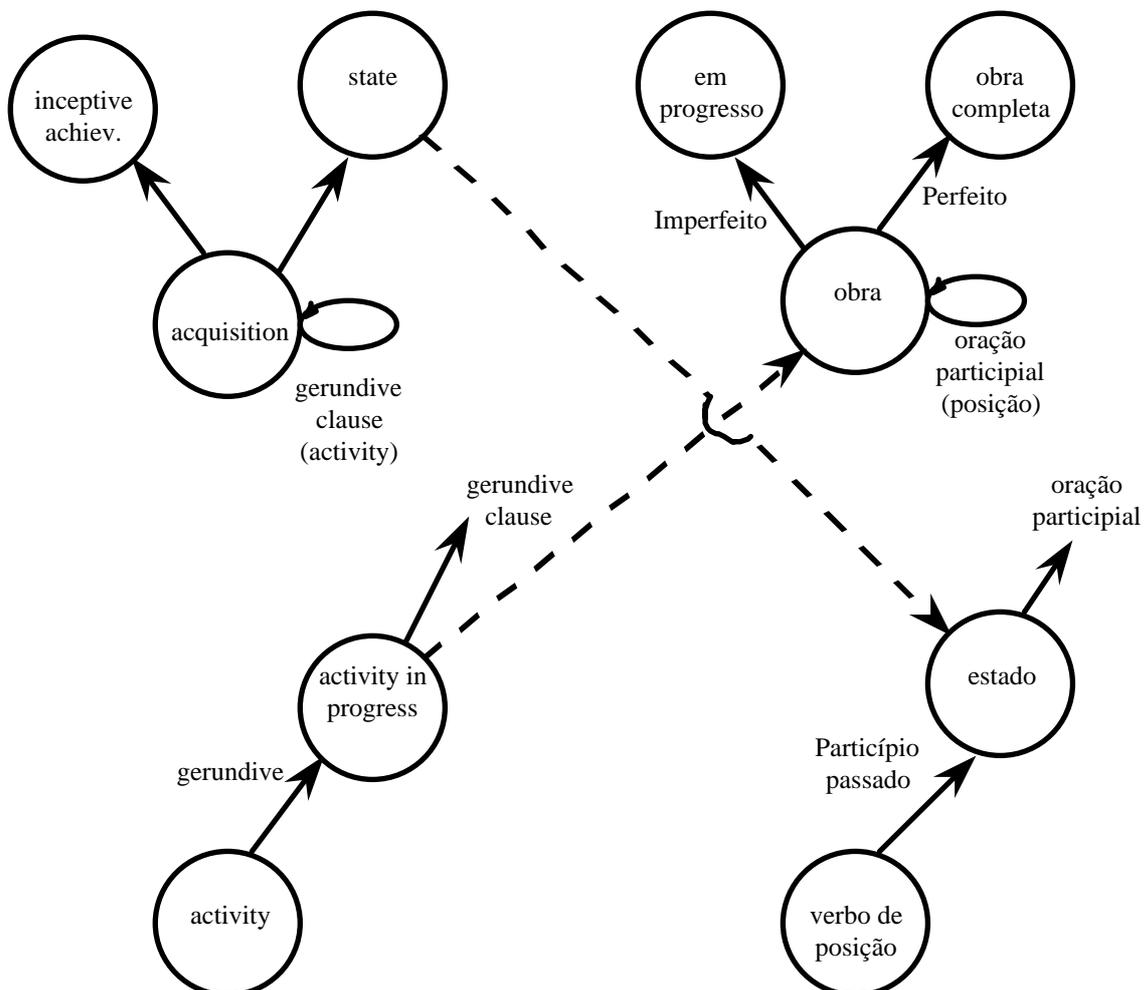
A stout slow man sat in an office waiting.
Numa dessas lojas, um homem robusto e vagaroso, instalado à sua secretária, esperava.
 'In one of those shops a fat and slow man, installed at his desk, waited.'

In his house Kino squatted on his sleeping mat, brooding.
E Kino, em casa, acocorado na esteira, meditava longamente.
 'And Kino, at home, squatted on the mat, meditated for a long time.'

One should probably consider the possibility of cases like "stand verb-ing" as being different from "stand somewhere, verb-ing". At least the latter are easier to maintain as two clauses in a target language like Portuguese, as was just demonstrated.

A translation network formulation of these cases is provided in Figure 7.24. The categories after the arrow name subnetworks whose purpose is the building of an entity which is in turn used as label of an arc in a higher network. The crossing of the levels is signalled by corresponding categories belonging to different levels in each language.

Figure 7.24



Finally, in a few cases the English form was kept, cf.:

Kino lay on the ground, struggling to rise, and there was no one near him.
Kino jazia por terra, fazendo por erguer-se, e não havia ninguém junto dele.
'Kino lay on the ground, forcing to rise, and there was nobody near him.'

Long after Juan Tomás had gone Kino sat brooding on his sleeping mat.
Muito tempo depois de João Tomás ter saído, ainda Kino estava sentado na esteira, meditando.
'Long after Juan Tomás had left, still Kino was seated in the mat, thinking.'

In the first case, this is due to the existence of a (by no means frequent) lexical item for describing the lying position in Portuguese. As to the second, I consider it an instance of translationese: In my opinion, the sentence would be significantly improved if the meditation, and not the position, had been stated in the main verb, as in *ainda meditava, sentado na esteira* ('he still meditated, seated on the mat').

7.2.3 The English perfect (present relevance plus result of a past action)

7.2.3.1 The present perfect

Monteiro et al. (1980) describe "the difficulty of expressing in Portuguese, through the verbal inflection itself, the aspect which the Present Perfect expresses. If we translate *The door has been open* by *A porta está aberta*, so as to account for one of the distinctive features of the Present Perfect ("relevance of the present state") we will not be expressing, however, as in *has been open* that the present state is a consequence of a past fact" (Monteiro et al., 1980:147)

More generally, when the present perfect describes both the event and its result (sometimes phrased as stating that its consequences are relevant), Portuguese must choose between the description of the event, or between the expression of the result state. That this is clearly an arbitrary choice can be seen in the different actual choices for exactly similar sources, involving the verb *become*:

"This pearl has become my soul,"
-- *Esta pérola tornou-se a minha alma.*
'this pearl became my soul'

now that you have become a rich man
-- *Agora, que és um homem rico.*
'Now, that you are a rich man'

In some cases, though, a compromise can be obtained by using a Portuguese form which both mentions the state and the event, as for example *Mais que perfeito*:

Kino has found the Pearl of the World
Kino encontrou a Pérola do Mundo.
'Kino had found the Pearl of the World'

When, on the other hand, the main use of the present perfect is to view the exact temporal locations as irrelevant, then *já* can be successfully used, as will be discussed at length in Chapter 12. This is not, however, what concerns us here, since in these cases no result is expressed; cf.:

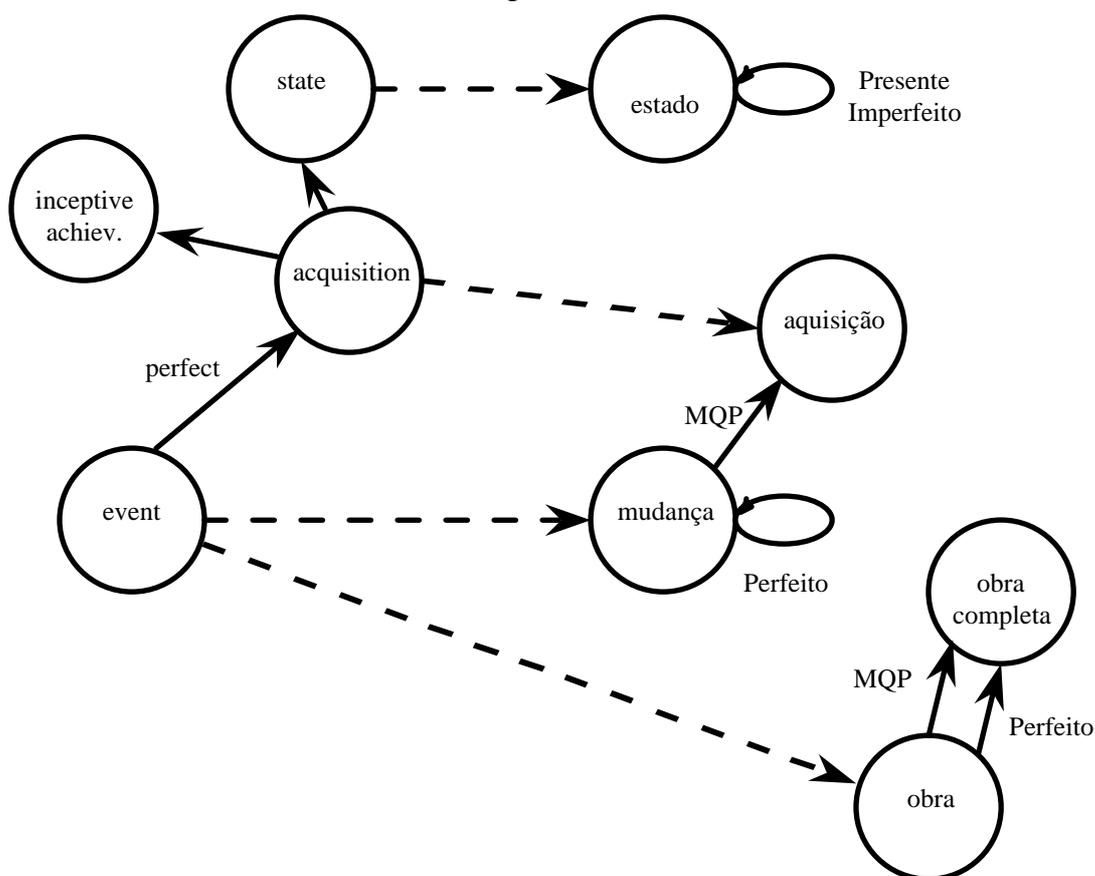
*I've **heard** a coyote pup cry like a baby.*

***Já** ouvi o choro de uma lobazita que era tal qual o duma criancinha.*

'I already heard the cry of a little wolf which was exactly like that of a little child'

The three translations of the English present perfect (Estado, Mudança or Obra) are illustrated in Figure 7.25.

Figure 7.25



7.2.3.2 The past perfect

The pluperfect, when behaving as the past of the perfect, is similarly compact, in that it can suggest primarily the result state, or the occurrence of a previous event. This can be nicely illustrated by the three distinct choices for the verb *go* in the past perfect:³⁸

*Now, in an instant, Juana knew that the old life **was gone** forever.*

*Então, de repente, Joana compreendeu que a sua vida **tinha mudado** para sempre.*

'Then, suddenly, Juana understood that her life had changed forever'

*But now it **was gone**, and there was no retrieving it.*

*Mas agora via que tudo **estava acabado**, sem remédio possível.*

'But now she saw everything was finished, without remedy'

*For a moment his body was black in the cave entrance, crouched and silent, and then he **was gone**.*

*Por um instante, o corpo recortou-se-lhe, negro, na entrada da gruta, atento e silencioso. Depois -- **saiu**.*

'For an instant, the body appeared, black, at the cave entrance, attentive and silent.

³⁸ From a synchronic point of view, *go* is a strange verb because it allows two perfect constructions: *he is gone/he was gone*, and *he has gone/he had gone*. One could consider the *be* form close to a passive, but what is relevant here is that the form with *be* is more concerned with the result, while the one with *have* seems to be more linked to a stretch of movement (in Portuguese terms, *go* with *be* works like a *Mudança*, *go* with *have* behaves like an *Obra*).

Then -- he left.'

These three choices display, respectively, (i) a past change with relevant consequences, (ii) the relevant consequences of a previous event, and (iii) a *Mudança* in the past.

At first sight surprisingly, in a few cases the event and the result conveyed by the English pluperfect can be maintained by *Perfeito* of a *Mudança*. This applies not only to the above example with the verb *sair*, but also to the next case:

*"Do you think they would take you back alive to say they **had stolen** it?"*

*-- Pensas que te levarão vivo para dizerem que ta **roubaram**?*

'Do you think that they will take you alive for them to say that they stole it from you?'

In fact, the *Mudança* *roubar* ('steal') expresses equally well the result ("you don't have the pearl") and the change ("they stole it"), due to the intrinsic resultativity of *Mudanças*. By contrast, the use of a *Mais que perfeito* would not be possible here. Since the main tense is present (or future), a *Mais que perfeito* would convey that the "you" had it back again after the theft.

Again, matters of temporal reference are mingled with aspect, in that *had stolen* in English is required in order to express precedence with respect to the time of *say*. On the contrary, the present perfect would make the (future) assertion related to now, and thus irrelevant for a future time. In other words, the above question in the present perfect could be paraphrased by *Do you think they would take you back alive to say that they stole it before now?*, which highlights the irrelevance of the reference to "now" in Juana's rhetorical question.

One thus sees that the pluperfect in English is necessary to express relative ordering, and this explains why it can be rendered by the *Perfeito*. Note that an alternative way in Portuguese would be a composto tense in the infinitive, as in *Julgas que te levarão vivo para os acusares de ta terem roubado?* ('Do you think they'll take you alive for you to accuse them of having stolen it?'). This is in accordance with the close resemblance of composto forms and the *Perfeito*, noted in Section 6.7.

7.2.4 The PPC (recency plus iterativity in Portuguese)

With events, the *Pretérito perfeito composto* (PPC) expresses both an interval until now and a repetition of an event an indefinite number of times, as discussed in Chapter 6. In English, one must supply both the interval and the repetition explicitly, which means that some of the information often gets lost.

Due to the fact that the PPC is obligatorily linked to now, and is thus most frequent in direct speech or informative text, and not in the narrative genre, it was extremely rare in my corpus. Two out of its three occurrences, however, illustrate my contentions:

*E eu disse [...] que **tens trabalhado** muito e até **tens estudado** com o Padre Manuel para que as palavras santas fiquem todas certas e nos seus lugares.*

*And I said [...] that you've **worked** much and **have even studied** much with Padre Manuel so that the holy words would come out right and in their proper places.*

'And I said [...] that you've been working much and have even been studying with Padre Manuel so that the holy words would all come out right and in their right places.'

In this example, no mention is made of the fact that the situation continues up to the present. In fact, the English text does not even express explicitly an iterative situation, even though the verbs *work* and *study*, associated to *much*, strongly suggest it. Strictly speaking, this is again a case of quantification, now on the English side.

Figure 7.26

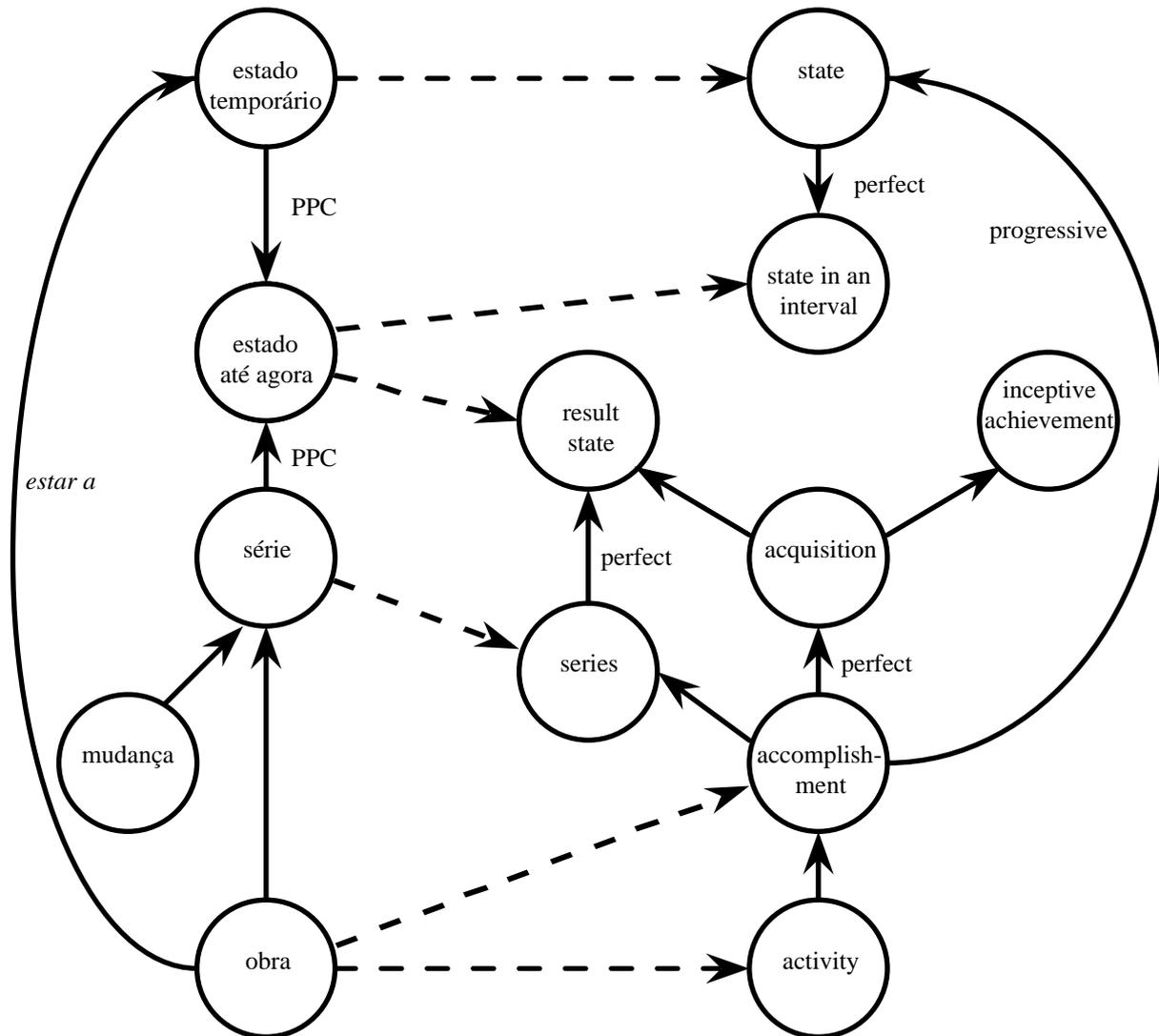


Figure 7.26 shows the possible linkings in this case. It explains also why the perfect progressive and the PPC with *estar a* are fairly good translations of each other, while the same is not the case for their non-progressive counterparts.

7.2.5 Habituality as a property in Portuguese

In Chapter 6, one of my boldest claims was the need for properties in the ontology of Portuguese. This was backed by my observation that Portuguese often displays an event as a characteristic property of a subject, or a situation, or a place. In Chapter 6, and in Santos (1995b),

I presented this feature mainly in connection with Imperfeito. Here, I intend to show that this characteristic shows up in many other tenses as well, such as the Presente and the tenses of Conjuntivo.

In order to translate this meaning, the perfect of a plural event is often used in English. The perfect has a summative interpretation in English, while the number of events is left vague:

*Ele, que **via** almas de brâmanes passarem a cães,*
*He, who **had seen** Brahmins' souls become dogs'*
'He, who (often) saw Brahmins' souls go to dogs'

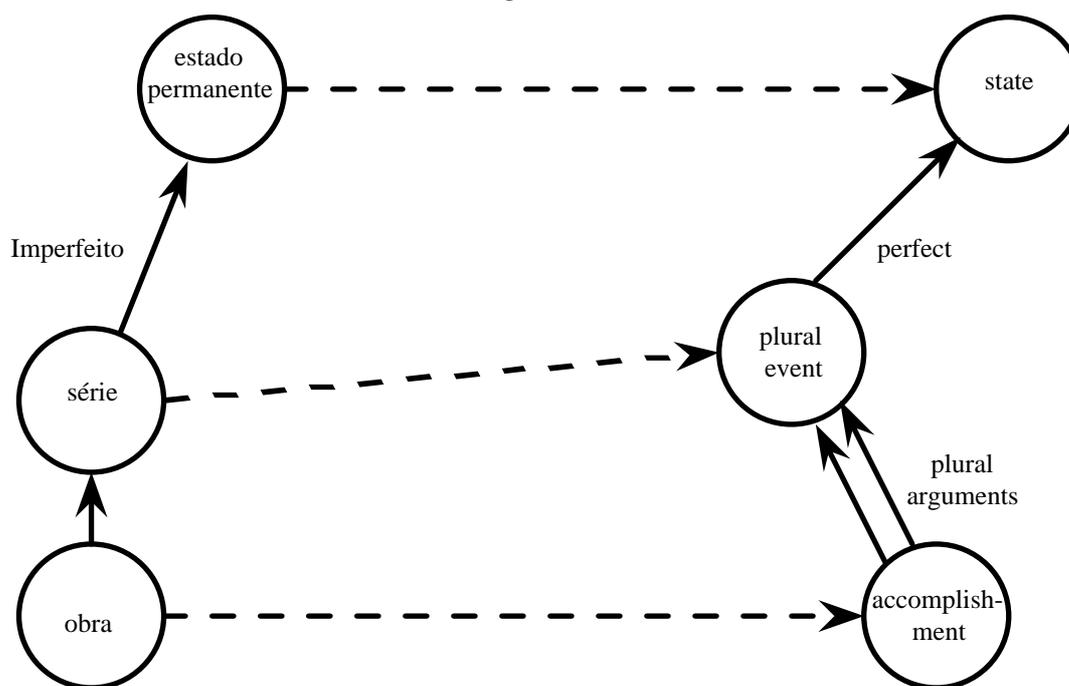
*pois todos os servos **estavam** bem pagos*
*for all his servants **had been** well paid off*
'for all servants were well paid'

*Embora **seguisse** com os olhos, e às vezes com mais do que os olhos, muitas mulheres,*
*Although he **had followed** many women with his eyes, and at times with more than his eyes,*
'Although he followed (Imperf. conj.) with the eyes, and sometimes with more than the eyes, many women'

*A mim a Senhora Sant'Ana nunca me **desampara***
*Saint Anne **has** never **failed** me*
'To me Saint Anne never fails me'

An undesirable consequence of this form of translation is, however, that the situation is described as a set of past events, instead of a present property. This is displayed in Figure 7.27.

Figure 7.27



Another common translation of habitual tenses, and especially of Imperfeito, is a past participle clause (obviously only in case such an option is grammatically available):

*que ele conhecia perfeitamente pelas descrições que dele lhe **faziam** os demónios de lá*

*He knew the cemetery perfectly from the descriptions of it **provided** him by its resident demons,*

'which he knew perfectly from the descriptions which made to him the demons from there'

*Tinham vindo, como sempre, escutar, ciumentas dos favores que a **cumulavam***

*They had come, as always, to listen, jealous of the favours **heaped** upon her*

'They had come, as always, to listen, jealous of the favours that heaped her'

This makes the state described more "present", but at the cost of not specifying a plural number of cases (which can, however, generally be pragmatically inferred): In other words, a plural number of descriptions and of favours is mentioned in the English text, but not that they correspond to different occasions.

7.2.5.1 Imperfeito

As noted a number of times above, Imperfeito is the tense to which habituality as an essential property is most clearly linked. In addition to the fairly common case, just described, of translating Imperfeito by a pluperfect of a plural event, several other ways to deal with its content in English could be identified.

Conveying that the property described as habitual behaviour belongs to the past -- an undesirable feature of the pluperfect translation -- occurs also in the rare cases where *used to* is used, because *used to* requires a contrast with the present. Ordinarily, this contrast has to be present in the source text already, and this is why, in my opinion, *used to* is so rare in the English translation:

*Voltemos aos "espíritos". Eu **comprava** cigarros numa estaqueira*

*But back to the "spirits." I **used to buy** cigarettes from a woman*

'Let's go back to the "spirits". I bought cigarettes in a place'

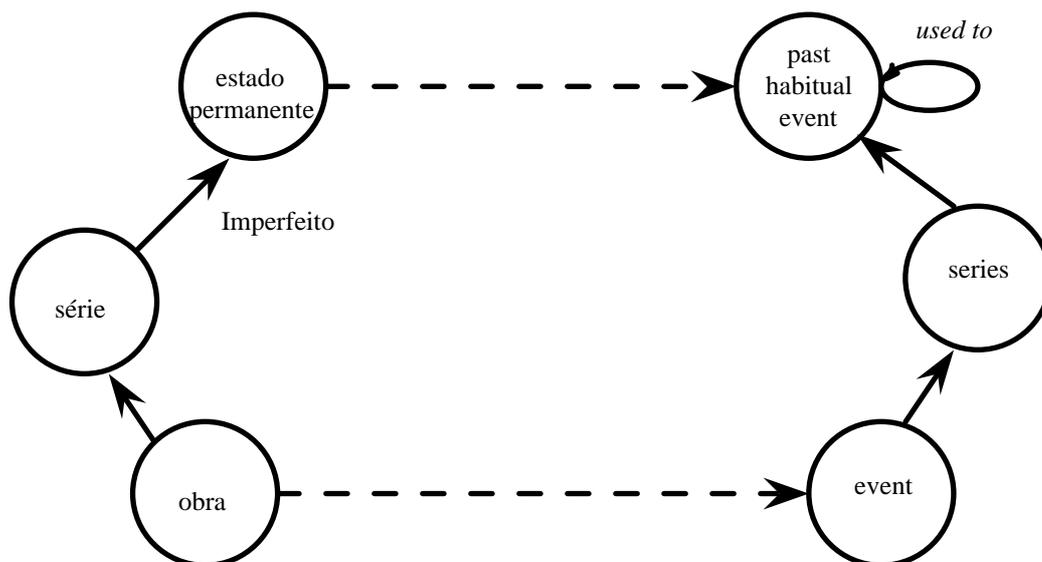
*Antigamente, ela **vendia** muito*

*Before, she **used to sell** a lot*

'Before, she sold a lot'

This is displayed in Figure 7.28.

Figure 7.28



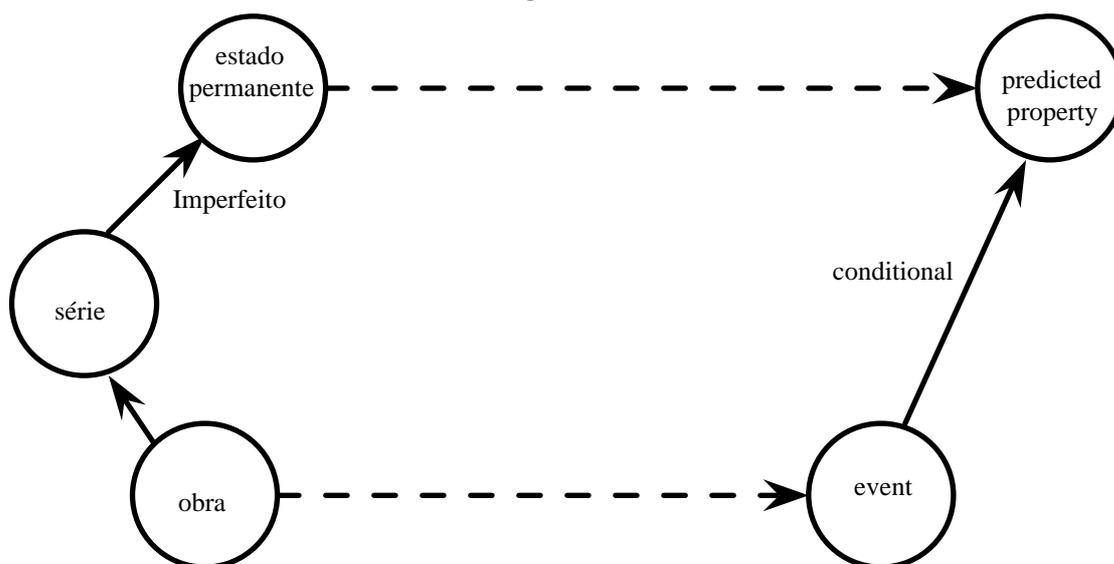
In some other cases, the habituality is so much present that a past rendering will not do, and thus English translators sometimes transform the habitual into a future tendency, by resorting to the conditional:

*Isto o não **dizia** ele, nem nos seus resmungos de velho*
*This he **would** never say, not even in his old-timer's mutterings*
'This he did not say, not even in his mutterings of old man'

*tentações do demónio, como **diziam** os padres*
*temptations of the devil, as the priests **would** say*
'temptations of the devil, as the priests said'

This is illustrated in Figure 7.29.

Figure 7.29



The habitual property is also frequently converted into a possibility, which is obviously much weaker.

*E este pensar, que os descendentes **liam** nele com a omnisciência própria da*

espécie,

*And this thinking, which his descendants [...] **could** read in him with the particular omniscience of the species*

'And this thinking, which the descendents read in him with the omniscience characteristic of the species'

*uma solidão de que os meus amigos [...] dificilmente me **tiravam**.*

*a solitude from which my friends [...] **could** extract me.*

'a solitude out of which my friends hardly took me'

This is especially common when the verb describes a negative property:

*Mas eu não **suportava** mais mundo nenhum.*

*But I **could** no longer tolerate any world.*

'But I did not stand any more world'

*Agora, não mais **lia**, já não **escrevia**.*

*Now he **could** no longer read, he **could** no longer write.*

'Now, he did no longer read, already did not write'

*a sua omnisciência não a **recordava**.*

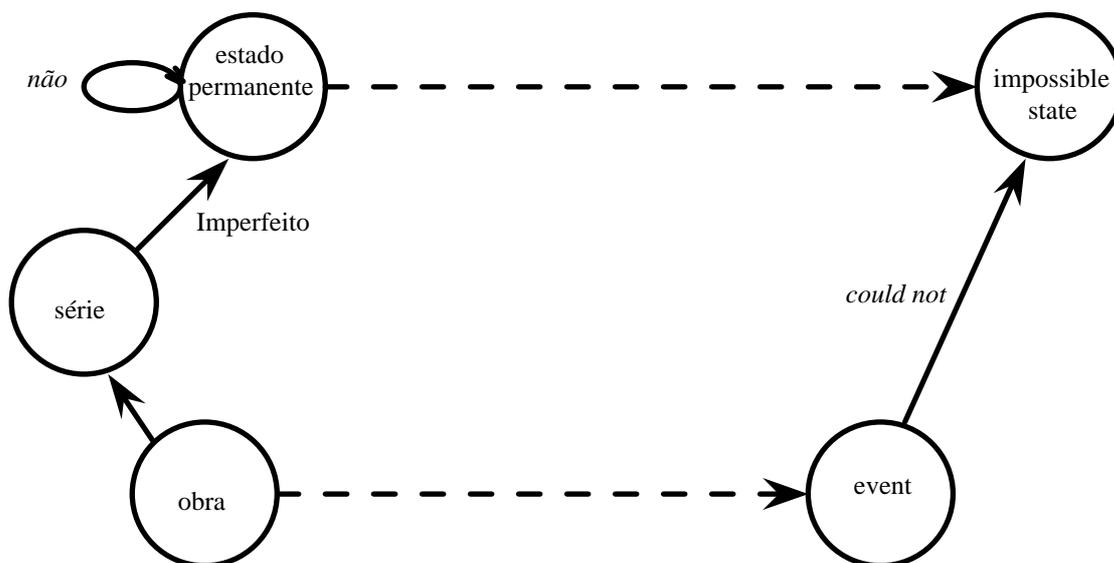
*his omniscience **could** not recall.*

'his omniscience did not recall it.'

The explanation is clear: if from possibility one may infer a habit, from impossibility logically follows the absence of such a habit, or, better, a negative habit/property. Therefore, while Figure 7.29 is appropriate to describe the situation with positive *could* as well, the negative case is described in Figure 7.30.

Note that, from a logical point of view, we have an implication reversal: while the English translation is implied by the Portuguese text in the affirmative sentences, it implies the source instead in the negative ones.

Figure 7.30



Possibly, however, the most frequent strategy on the part of the English translator is to

leave habituality implicit altogether, either by framing the simple past in a large temporal frame (like *then* in the next example), or with arguments that make plurality explicit.

oh, eram experiências que nós fazíamos
oh, those were practices we carried out then.
'oh, they were experiments we did'

E este pensar [...] não lhe facilitava a vida interior
And this thinking [...] did nothing to calm his inner life
'And this thinking did not ease the inner life to him'

In this case, the word *nothing* seems to be employed in order to convey a sum of different occasions (while *did not* would imply a definite unique occasion -- compare with a similar example discussed in Section 7.1.7.2 above). Interestingly, in cases where words like *nothing* already appear in the Portuguese sentence, the translator has looked for a more explicit form of expressing habituality, as is the case of the next example.

Agora, era certo e garantido que aquela alma ficaria lá pelo cemitério, sem descanso, trazendo uma mudança nova ao desconsolado ambiente em que não acontecia nada.

Now it was assured and guaranteed that that soul would haunt the cemetery restlessly, bringing a new change to the disconsolate environment in which nothing ever happened.

'Now there was no doubt that that soul would stay in the cemetery, restlessly, bringing a new change to the disconsolate environment in which nothing happened'

In fact, it is only to be expected that English uses generic states to convey Portuguese properties. In particular, English can produce a generic sentence about a particular element of the sentence or of the times it holds true using the particle *ever*. One has then a generic state in English, which is relatively close to a habitual state in Portuguese. By contrast, it is tense in Portuguese which denotes genericity (associated to the nominal domain in English): in Portuguese, the same pronoun can denote a definite thing or a generic one (see *que, o que, tudo o que, quem* and *onde* in the next examples), while tense signals a property of many occasions. English, on the other hand, uses generic pronouns but vague tenses.

fazias logo os versos que te pediam.
you could quickly write whatever verses were asked of you.
'you did at once the verses that they asked you'

transformava em poesia tudo o que tocava
he transformed into poetry whatever he touched
'he transformed into poetry everything he touched'

E, à hora da morte, a gente conta o que ainda lembra ou fez entretanto
Then, in the hour of our death, we tell whatever we still remember or have done meanwhile
'And, at the hour of death, we tell what we still remember or have done meanwhile'

uma beleza que não existe senão como a ideia que primeiro é pensada por quem é digno dela.

*a beauty that does not exist except as the idea first thought by **whoever** is worthy of it.*

'a beauty of which there is but the idea that is first thought by whom is worthy it'

I should, however, note that there is no strict equivalence here either, because the English formulation is similar to logical universal quantification over x in that if there are no objects x the sentence is true (and appropriate), while the Portuguese sentences in Imperfeito not only depict a rule but they assert that some of the instances necessary to infer the rule have happened in the past.

In fact, the English sentences would correspond more exactly to sentences in Imperfeito do conjuntivo, such as *fazias logo os versos que te pedissem* ('you could quickly write the verses (whatever) they asked you'). This formulation does not require the existence of any verses, while the habitual one (with Imperfeito) does. (As far as I can see, a similar distinction is only pertinent in English between *when* and *whenever* clauses.)

7.2.5.2 The *ser* passive

The Portuguese passive with Imperfeito is another device notoriously difficult to translate into English, because of the Imperfeito connotations.

In the next example, it expresses a habit which results in a property (a property which holds of the past, but not necessarily in the present):

*um dos demónios do cemitério, de quem se deixara ser mais íntimo, e que **era** muito viajado*

*one of the cemetery demons with whom he had grown more friendly and who **travelled** a lot*

'one of the cemetery demons with whom he condescended in being more intimate, and who was very travelled'

In fact, if "he" still travelled a lot, the active formulation would be preferable; cf. *que viajava muito* ('who travelled a lot').

In the next example, the passive in Imperfeito expresses a habit whose actors are not relevant. It is not by chance, I believe, that this example features a translation mistake.

*Na repartição, todos os momentos de distração do chefe, por detrás dos seus óculos de aro escuro e espesso, que dão seriedade e impõem respeito, **eram atribuídos** à comemoração,*

*At the office, the chief, behind his glasses with dark, thick frames which convey solemnity and command respect, **devoted** every spare moment to the commemoration;*

'At the office, all moments of distraction of the chief, behind his glasses with dark thick frame, which convey solemnity and impose respect, were attributed to the commemoration.' (i.e., people attributed to the commemoration the occasions of the chief becoming distracted)

Finally, the following example, now in Presente, also fails to transmit the rule connotation of the Presente, which extends, actually, to the whole time, i.e., is not restricted to the time when

the lamb is being sacrificed).

como um cordeiro que não entende porque é sacrificado pelo arúspice.
*as a lamb that doesn't understand why it **is being sacrificed** by the haruspex.*
'as a lamb which does not understand why it is sacrificed by the haruspex.'

In my view, the English translation is defective because the lamb (any lamb) does not understand ever why it is sacrificed. Its lack of understanding does not apply only to the occasion in which it is actually sacrificed -- even though it might only think about it then.

7.2.5.3 Adverbial quantification

When frequency adverbials are already present in a Portuguese habitual sentence, their translation into English allows also for an habitual -- or at least plural -- interpretation, as is the case in:

Até o fastio, que às vezes o afastava longamente de contactos carnavais
*Even boredom, which at times **took** him far from carnal contacts*
'Even boredom, which sometimes kept him away from carnal contacts for a long time'

durante o dia, contudo, batia sempre
*nevertheless, during the day he always **knocked***
'during the day, however, he would always knock'

As argued in Section 6.6 above, however, frequency adverbials like *always*, *never* or *sometimes* do not convey all temporal / aspectual meaning included in a sentence in Portuguese: they convey that the sentence refers to a number of times or occasions, but not whether it is meant as a habit or an extensional description. I.e., from the point of view of Portuguese, there is a clear difference between *Ele fez sempre os deveres* and *Ele fazia sempre os deveres* (tentatively translatable as 'He has always done his homework' and 'He always did his homework'): the first admits of no exception, being a statement about a fixed number of times, while the second expresses a property and consequently allows exceptions (providing the habit is firmly rooted).

This seems to get lost in the translation, though, as the following examples show:

ele, que vivia com tanta modéstia, mas pagava sempre o seu café!
*he, who lived so unpretentiously but always **paid** for his own coffee!*
'he, who lived so poorly, but always paid his coffee'

Muitas vezes eu pensava que me escrevias, mas tu nunca escrevias
*Many a time I thought you would write to me, but you never **wrote***
'Often I thought you would write me, but you never did'

Especially the cases of preposed *sempre*, which, as I claimed in Section 6.6, express a property and not quantification over occasions, have lost such interpretation, cf.:

eu nunca fui popular com os meus amigos, e sempre recebi de estranhos, ou de amigos recentes e ocasionais, confidências mais íntimas e delicadas do que as que deles recebi
*I **was** never popular with my friends and **had** always **received** from strangers, or from recent and casual friends, more intimate and delicate confidences than those they had bestowed on me.*

'I have never been popular among my friends, and have the property of receiving from strangers ...'

tu sempre meditaste nisso ou foi agora, ao falares comigo, que te lembraste?
have you always thought about this or did you only remember it now, while speaking to me?
'have you always had in mind that or was it now, talking to me, that you recalled it?'

Another interesting comment concerns *nunca* and *Perfeito*, which is inherently vague between "never on any past relevant occasion" or "never up to now". In English, the translator is forced to decide which interpretation is involved by choosing between the present perfect and the simple past, as is illustrated in the next examples:

Por minha parte, nunca me senti tão humano
As for me, I've never felt more human
'On my part, I've never felt more human'

Mas que nunca choraste para mamar é a verdade
But that you never cried for the breast is true
'But that you never cried to be breastfed is the truth'

In cases where the vagueness is relevant, however, there is a loss in the translation. In the following example, the Portuguese sentence with *nunca* is vague between a quantification over events (every time he gave a speech) or the expression of a property (the object of his talks was never something else). The English translation seems to have chosen the quantification over (past) events, and thus the simple past.

Eu nunca falei de outra.
I never spoke of any other.
'I have never talked about another, or I always talked about that one'

Finally, and as far as *sempre* ('always') with the progressive is concerned, my claim of the negative, and excessive, connotation of this combination is vindicated by the next example:

Então um livro desses [...] precisa que tu estejas sempre a explicar o que é isto [...] ?
Does a book like this [...] need you constantly to explain what this is [...] ?
'So such a book [...] needs that you are always explaining what this is [...] ?'

The adverbial *constantly* nicely expresses both repetition and excessive rate. Furthermore, there is no need for the progressive in English to be employed.

7.2.6 Reference to the future in Portuguese (plurality + future time)

In Section 7.2.5.1 above, I noted that translations with *-ever* failed to transmit the factual content of Imperfeito sentences. Now, since future tense does not presuppose existence, there is a better match between generic nominal quantification and tense when the occasion is situated in the future, as can be seen in:

quando vier a Cristina, põe as flores onde quiseres.
when Cristina comes, put the flowers wherever you wish.
'when Cristina arrives (Fut. conj.), put the flowers where you wish (Fut. conj.)'

On the other hand, and as noted in Section 6.8.1.1, Portuguese Futuro expresses indefinite quantification over future times (to express a definite future, the Presente or the construction *ir* + Infinitivo are used). Now, English future is vague regarding selfactivity or repetition; to specify this latter, *ever* is used:

*Mas Roma é tão dura, Saulo, que nem nós **veremos**, nem os nossos netos, uma tal coisa.*

*But Rome is so implacable, Saul, that neither we nor our grandchildren **will ever see** such a thing.*

'But Rome is so hard, Saul, that neither we'll see, nor our grandchildren, such a thing'

The same happens for sentences expressed in an opaque context, when the clause is therefore obligatorily in Presente do conjuntivo. This is easy to see in the consequent addition of *ever* in the English translations:

*E não creio [...] que **alguma vez** os cristãos **governem** Roma.*

*Nor do I believe [...] that the Christians will **ever** govern Rome."*

'And I do not believe [...] that some time the Christians govern Rome'

*devo ser [...] um desses corações que não há incêndio que **purifique**.*

*surely I can be nothing for you but [...] one of those hearts that no amount of fire could **ever** purify.*

'I must be [...] one of those hearts which there is not a fire that purifies'

Note that, although the form *ever* (as opposed to *never*) is due to the negative context, it is not negation which is at stake here. What is relevant, both for *ever* or *never*, is that they express quantification, which in Portuguese is conveyed by tense alone.

I restrain from attempting to model these contrasts in a translation network, since they involve both modal values and quantification.

7.2.7 Portuguese Estados and *já* (state + change of state)

In a way resembling English acquisitions, Estados in Portuguese co-occurring with the adverb *já* ('already') denote not only their holding but their previous inception. In English, one either expresses the contrast (to what purpose one must generally add an explicit verb of change) or simply the state. In the following example, the translator chose to express the change:

*Mais tarde, essas demonstrações ostensivas **eram** desnecessárias já;*

*Later, those ostentatious demonstrations **became** unnecessary;*

'Later, these ostensive demonstrations were already unnecessary'

while in the next one he describes the position only (additionally specified relative to manner):

*Rir-se do que já cá **está**.*

*Laughing at those **lying** here.*

'To laugh at what is already here'

The use of *já* is, in fact, particularly appropriate with Aquisições, because they already contain the two values (state and change of state). This compactness, however, is hard to render in English, and one gets, at most, vague translations, where neither interpretation is enforced on the reader, through the use of an acquisition:

*e os gestos do amor tão poucos que os **sabia** já de cor.*
*and the gestures of love so few that he **had** long **known** them by heart*
'and the gestures of love so few that he already knew them by heart.'

This is not always possible, though, and, in the next example, the translator not only chose the change, but specified the means to bring it about as well. By contrast, the manner of the final position is omitted, contrary to what the source text expresses:

-- *Quere-as? -- e as flores já se **alteavam** nas mãos do outro.*
*"Do you want them?"--and he **placed** the flowers in the other man's hands.*
"Do you want them?"--and the flowers were already in the hands of the other.

In any case, notwithstanding the length of Sections 7.1 and 7.2, far from every vague or compact situation identified in the empirical studies was detailed here, as the reader will be able to appreciate for him/herself while reading Part III.

The number of distinct situations identified was however enough to make their merging into a unique data structure (one complete translation network in each direction) far from trivial, as will be shown in the next section.

7.3 The complete translation networks

The word "complete" requires, at once, a clarification. By "complete" I mean solely the putting together of the partial networks presented so far. A host of phenomena were not described in this chapter, most conspicuously those concerning temporal conjunctions and prepositions, as well as sentence connectives. I expect, nevertheless, that they will be easy to accommodate, since the whole machinery of the aspectual network was conceived with them in mind, as noted in Chapter 5.

Before presenting the networks, I should note that I have been using node labels in a fairly unconstrained way in the preceding sections, in order to highlight what was relevant in the particular examples discussed. In particular, I have sometimes named the resulting node of a transition labelled by a grammatical marker with a specific name related to the meaning of that marker, such as "result state" in Figure 7.26 or "mudança inicial" in Figure 7.1. When merging the several partial translation networks, and since this information is retrievable from the path followed, I have only used the general classes (considered in the monolingual sections).

Another displaying strategy I have been using is to employ general nodes when a particular grammatical device was applicable to more than one aspectual class bringing the same result. One example is my use of "event" in Figure 7.3, standing for accomplishment or achievement. In the "complete" translation networks, I do not make use of such supernodes, unless justified on other grounds.

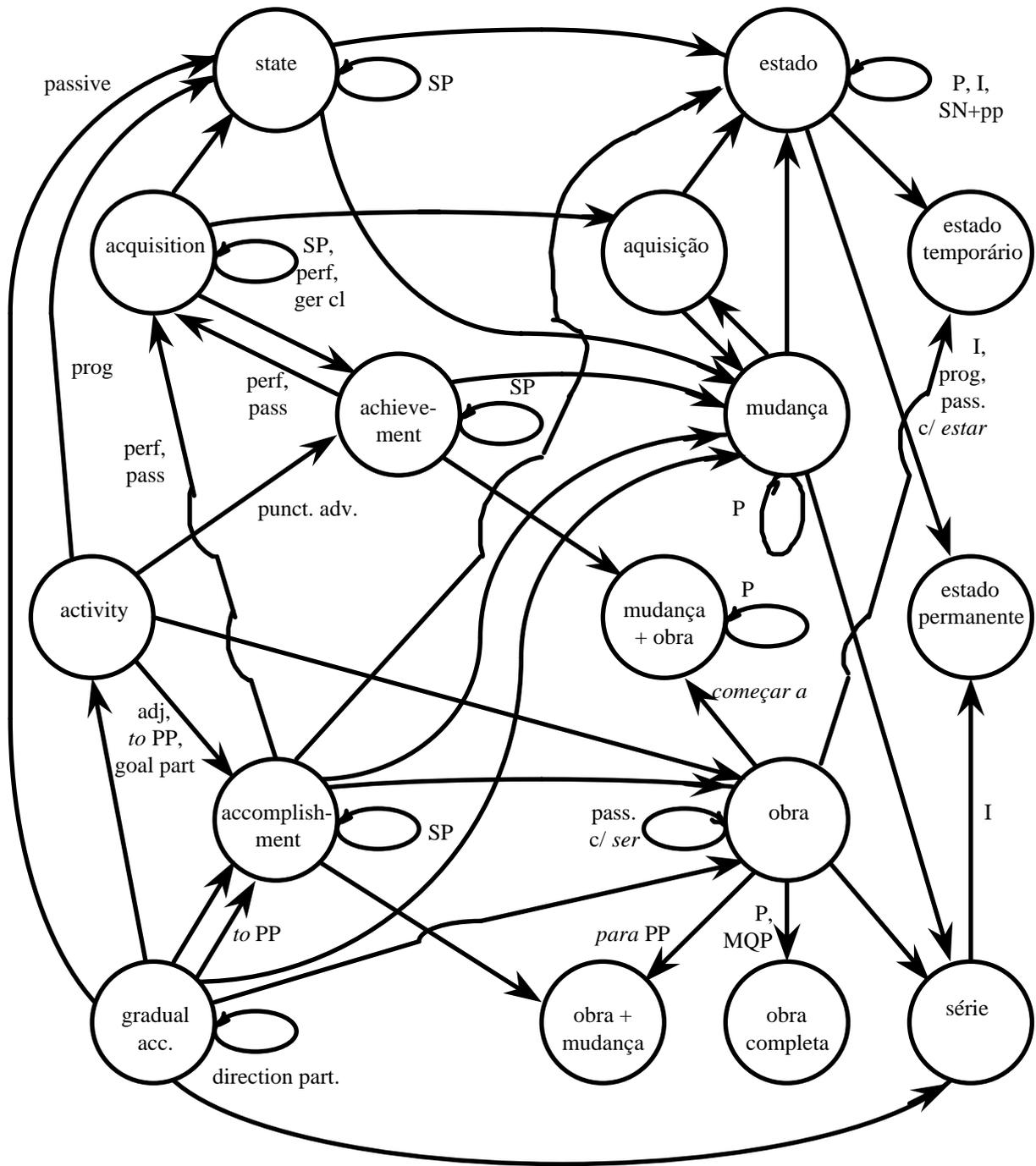
The translation networks from English to Portuguese and from Portuguese to English are displayed in Figure 7.31 and Figure 7.32 respectively.

Not to overload Figure 7.31, I chose not to display explicitly the vagueness between

general and particular interpretations of English eventive classes, which was actually the same strategy I used in the partial networks throughout the chapter (except for Figures 7.6 to 7.9, whose rationale was precisely to represent this phenomenon): I did not add to achievements, accomplishments, activities and gradual accomplishments each, two more nodes for specific vs. generic interpretation.

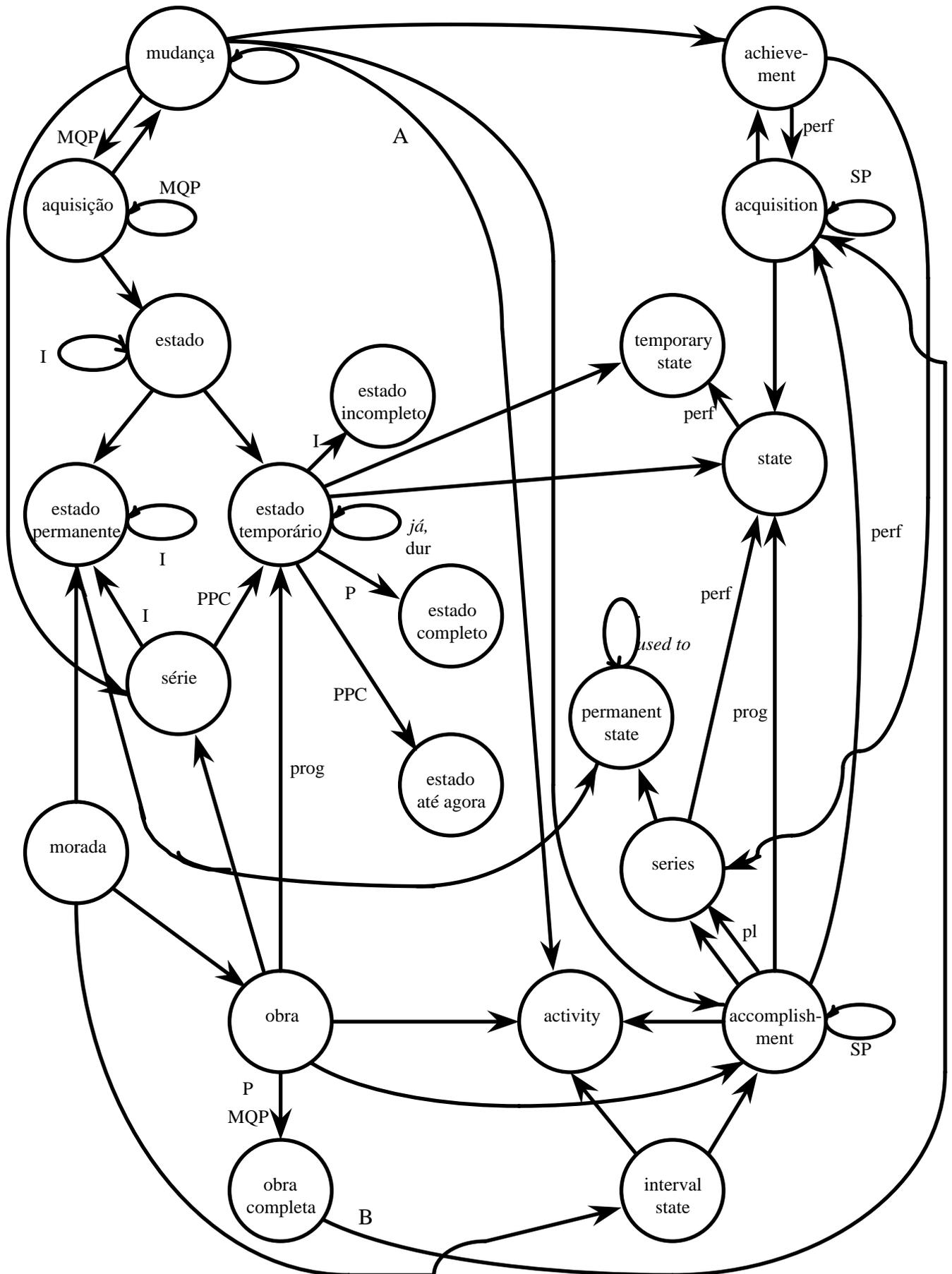
In addition to T arcs missing, to put together all (or most) partial networks presented in this way loses two kinds of phenomena, both of which, in fact, correspond to the need for further changes to the source aspectual network. In the following discussion, I will illustrate them with the translational arcs marked A and B in the Portuguese to English network.

Figure 7.31: Translation network from English to Portuguese



(For technical limitations of the drawing tools, I was not able to graphically distinguish the translational arcs, as done elsewhere in the present text.)

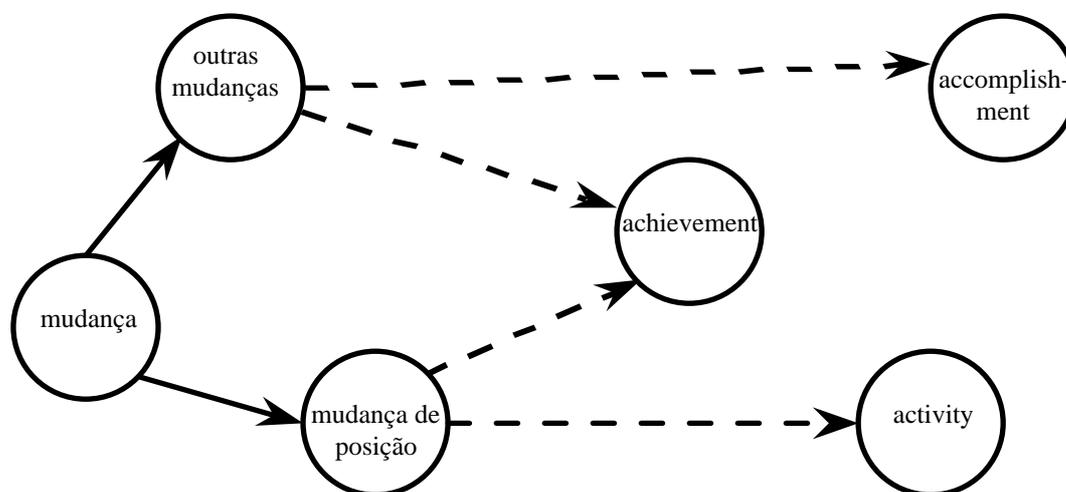
Figure 7.32: Translation network from Portuguese to English



First, I will consider the arc marked by A (introduced in Figure 7.14) in order to show that, even though a particular source language node may have several departing translational arcs in the "complete" translation network above, such a situation does not necessarily mean that the class as a whole has this property, not even that any of its elements has.

Rather, the arc marked with A was invoked to explain the translation of change of location verbs. I.e., the translation from Mudanças into activities is restricted to the case of Mudanças describing a change of location. At first sight, one might consider modelling this by postulating two nodes induced by translation into English: change-of-location vs. other changes, as depicted in Figure 7.33:

Figure 7.33



However, there is a fundamental difference compared to the temporary state / permanent state distinction, for example, because the decision of interpreting a Mudança either as a change of location or another kind of change is not dependent on the target language (English, in this case). Such decision is not induced by translation: whether some verb denotes a change of position or another kind of change is something that can be decided on the basis of the Portuguese text alone. The translator has, consequently, no choice between translating something as a change of location or as a change of something else; rather, s/he is obliged to select a different translation in each case. Furthermore, I have not found verbs vague between these two interpretations: such a finding would have provided support for the node Mudança in Figure 7.33 to be represented as monolingually vague.

It seems, thus, that the accurate representation of this situation requires one to divide the node Mudanças in two, rather than adding two different nodes linked to the original one by unlabelled or T arcs. This is similar to the common partition of lexical items in bilingual dictionaries among several non-overlapping translations, e.g. Portuguese into English *toalha*, into *towel* and *table cloth*, *deixar* into *let* and *leave*, *explorar* into *explore* and *exploit*.

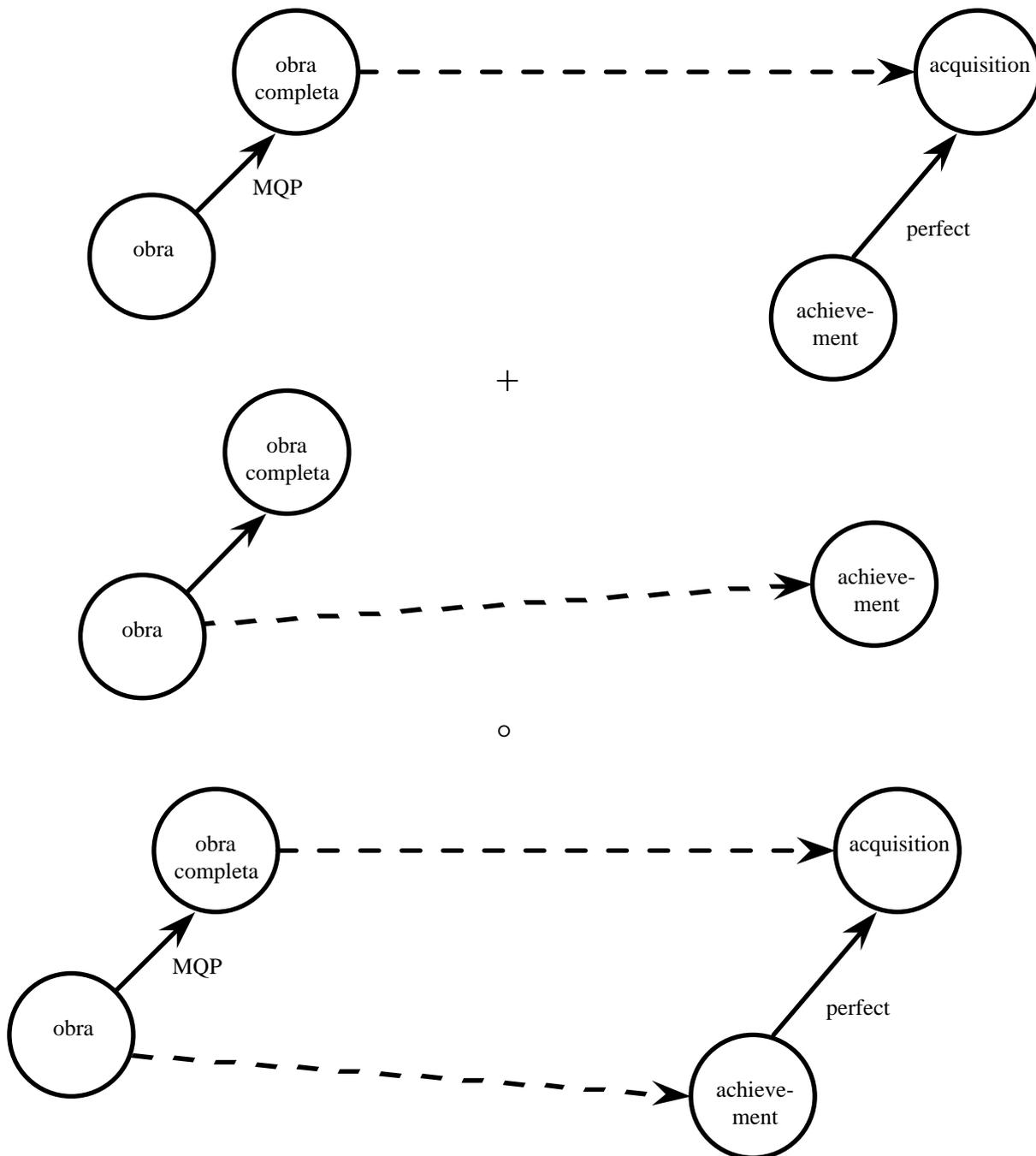
Turning now to the translational arc labelled B (introduced in Figure 7.15), the problem

here is that the (common) translation strategy it depicts involves more than the two particular nodes related, namely, it concerns a sequence of nodes in both networks.

In particular, I described in Section 7.1.7 that the path OBRA Mais que Perfeito OBRA COMPLETA is commonly translated by the path ACHIEVEMENT perfect ACQUISITION. Only in this setting (note that, in Figure 7.15, there is no translational arc between "obra" and "achievement"), the nodes "obra completa" and "acquisition" are translationally related, they are not in general.

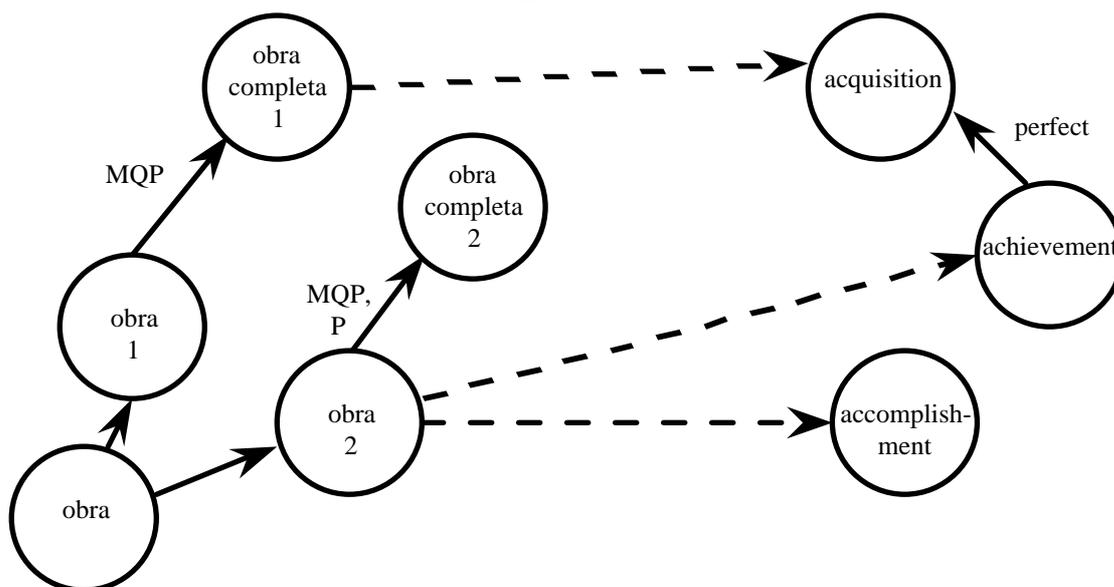
Figure 7.34 shows that the information contained in two partial translation networks is not preserved in their merging:

Figure 7.34



In other words, the partial networks encode sequences of translation choices that are in general not preserved in the merging that gave origin to the complete networks of Figures 7.31 and 7.32. The example just analysed shows clearly that (i) translational arcs are not independent, and that (ii) translation choice may reflect paths (or sequences of nodes) rather than simple categories. In order to preserve the information of the two partial networks of Figure 7.4, something like the network of Figure 7.35 would be needed.

Figure 7.35



Summing up, the complete translation networks presented above have lost relevant contrastive information, and thus define only a superlanguage relative to a correct translation network. (An interesting conjecture is that they describe the contrast of the two language systems, but not translation -- yet.)

Such a correct translation network can be specified more precisely as involving the three following changes to the source language aspectual network, offered here as a more precise rendering of what it means to "look at the source language through the target language eyes":

- Addition of categories to the source language, or at least of unlabelled (T) arcs, which would not be required by the source language analysis only, but which stem from the need to reinterpret the source text while performing translation.
- Refinement of the source language categories, resulting in subdivision of nodes, because of finer partition, in the target language, of the (translations of the) elements of a same class in the source language.
- Split of the source language categories in order to encode different derivation patterns that correspond to different translations.

Only then should the resulting source language aspectual network be put in correspondence with the target language one, yielding an N-to-M mapping in general.

The corresponding translation networks are thus ready to be used for particular

translations, which, obviously, correspond to one (set of) path(s) in each network.

A final warning: the apparent symmetry of the translation networks (even of the new, correct, ones) is, in a way, deceiving. Particular examples choose particular paths, which are, most often than not, not parallel in the two networks.

I do not provide a picture of the correct translation networks in the present text, though. In fact, the translation networks I have presented above are apparently close to the limit of what can be graphically grasped by the ordinary reader (and, also, of what can be squeezed into an A4 page with my drawing tools). Solely to encode the situations discussed (one of each kind), I would have to add five nodes to the source aspectual network of Figure 7.32.

Rather than engage in such an attempt, I turn to matters involving temporal reference. Note that I have not yet dealt with the contrastive problems due to differences in temporal reference itself, differences which are not mirrored by the structure of the translation networks at all.

7.4 Contrastive temporal reference

In the introduction to the present chapter, I predicted that ontological distinctions would play the most important role in translation of narrative text. However, I have shown already in several places in this chapter that differences in temporal reference itself may be a factor in (or a result of) such differences.

This section will not attempt to be exhaustive in what concerns temporal reference. I will simply suggest how to go about investigating translation differences between English and Portuguese, comparing every device involving temporal reference in turn. Much remains to be done, most notably where temporal adverbials are concerned.

I start in Section 7.4.1 by discussing the cases already mentioned, and providing some generalizations that were missing when particular translation pairs were presented. In Section 7.4.2, I take up the question of *for*, due to its ubiquity in works on temporal reference in English.

7.4.1 A systematization of the cases already discussed

In the present section, I discuss more systematically phenomena noted in various places above.

Some cases fall under the heading of "compactness involving temporal reference". In particular, in the sections dealing with the pluperfect and the PPC as compact categories (Sections 7.2.3.2 and 7.2.4), the differences in the grammatical devices involved were analysed as compactness of a special kind: these tenses were claimed to carry both Aktionsart requirements (information) and temporal reference, and the mismatches in the translation were due to the difficulty of simultaneously conveying the two in the target language.

Similarly, while discussing the indefinite frequency contained in some Portuguese tenses (most conspicuously Imperfeito), I stated that one of the major losses in translation into English was the fact that the presentness information (relative to the narrative now) gets replaced by pastness (cf. Section 7.2.5.1).

On the other hand, some other examples were discussed where mismatches in aspectual categories led to differences in temporal reference: The *Perfeito* of an *Obra* translated by the English pluperfect in Section 7.1.7.1 is a case in point.

Another kind of situations also discussed might be called "vagueness in temporal reference" proper: In Section 7.1.9, it was claimed that, because future and subjunctive tenses in Portuguese do not specify whether they apply to present or future time or both (cf. Section 6.8.1.3), English is forced to decide, by using different aspectual classes for the translation of *Estados* in those tenses. The most well-known case of vagueness in temporal reference, involving the English present perfect, will be discussed in Section 7.4.2 below.

The same phenomenon of vagueness of temporal reference, but now in the direction of English to Portuguese was already noted as a problem in Chapter 3; the corresponding examples are repeated here for convenience:

He was trapped as his people were always trapped
Estava peado, como todos os da sua raça sempre tinham estado
'He was trapped as his people had always been'

Perhaps he alone did this and perhaps all of his people did it.
Talvez ninguém mais fizesse aquilo e talvez todos os seus o tivessem feito.
'Maybe nobody else did that and maybe all of his had done it'

Now it is easy to identify exactly what features of the systems of the two languages are crucially involved here. In the first example, the simple past (in the passive) is vague regarding inclusion of the narrative present point. By contrast, in Portuguese one must decide whether the period is simultaneous or wholly preceding (signalled by choosing *Imperfeito* vs. *Mais que perfeito*, respectively).

The second example is similar, although the English sentence is additionally vague between a property or an event. This can be preserved in the *Conjuntivo*, but not the temporal vagueness.

7.4.2 A well-known contrastive case of temporal reference

As noted already in Chapter 2, Moens (1987:52) claimed that there were two *for*'s in English, given that French and German have two different lexical items to define the duration of an action, and of a state.

In addition, the meaning of *for* with the present perfect is one of the most discussed subjects in English studies, as Abusch & Rooth (1990), Kamp (1991), Mittwoch (1988), among others, show, and it is generally noted that English differs in this respect from other languages; cf. Kamp & Reyle's contention that "we should perhaps not be too much disturbed that this use of the perfect proves to be the odd one out, for it appears to be something of an idiosyncrasy of English. In German or French, for instance [...]" (Kamp & Reyle, 1993:567f).

I have already criticized this kind of statements from a monolingual point of view, but I believe they are misguided in other accounts as well. Portuguese, as will be shown, has a

different distribution of lexical items than the languages English is generally contrasted with (namely French, German and Dutch). So, a discussion of this subject here seems obligatory.

In my view, there are two phenomena related to *for* which are interesting from a contrastive point of view and which have been extensively discussed in the literature -- even though, to my knowledge, never together --, namely: (i) when *for* is used with a stative expression and is intended to cover a period until now; (ii) when it is applied to an accomplishment (or achievement) and is intended to measure the duration of the result state.

Contrary to what has been asserted by many researchers, I believe there is no idiosyncrasy of English for using the same lexical item in apparently distinct situations. On the contrary, *for* in all cases measures a duration of some state or activity involved.

Let me thus analyse in more detail what is involved in these two situations.

The first one is as follows: *for* measures a temporary state, measured from the point of view of its beginning. Thus a sentence with a *for* adverbial is vague regarding whether the duration extends until now, or whether it finishes at some point in the past. One can specify that it goes until now by adding precisely the word *now* to the *for* adverbial, as in *I've lived in Oslo for two years now*, but this is generally left to the context.

Depending on whether the situation depicted is wholly in the past or overlaps with the present, other languages have two ways to depict the situation. The past one is roughly similar to English, cf. *Vivi em Lisboa 30 anos* ('I lived in Lisbon for 30 years'). The one including the present is, however, generally constructed in a quite different way. In fact, in Portuguese (as in French and German), the measure is done backwards from now, and is external (as opposed to the English case, which is internal to the situation described), i.e., it depends solely on the time line. The contrastive data invariably presented, to which I add the Portuguese rendering, is:

Há dois anos que vivo aqui. I have lived here for two years. J'habite ici depuis deux ans. Ich wohne hier seit zwei Jahren. ('It's two years since I live here')

Now, to ask, with Kamp (1991), why the English present isn't used in this way, seems to me equally vacuous as ask why English does not employ e.g. the words *fleuve* and *rivage* instead of *river*. An equally (un)interesting question should be "Why should it?". What must be explained in a linguistic analysis is, in my view, how a language, given the devices it has, expresses a set of meanings (and leaves others to be understood contextually);³⁹ not why it differs from other languages which have other expressive devices. And, therefore, the fact that other languages distinguish sharply between the two cases is no argument for claiming that English should -- and, in fact, English does not.

The second situation has already been suggested to follow the same pattern with *durante* and *por* in Section 6.5.3 as *again* (discussed in Section 6.3.1.2). In the few cases where the same

³⁹ Of course, Kamp's question should probably be understood as "What is it in the meaning of *for* and/or the present that precludes their combination for a referring a past until now situation?", which may be a sensible question to ask. It is the fact that he asks it in a contrastive paper (and not in one dealing exclusively with the English system) that makes me raise this issue here.

lexical item in Portuguese can denote a durative situation and a *Mudança* (thus behaving like an English accomplishment), one has the same pattern as English with *por*, but a more restricted situation with *durante*, for reasons of perspectival aspect: *Ela alugou o apartamento por dois anos mas não chegou a usá-lo* ('She rented the flat for two years but she did not get to use it') is possible, whereas *Ela alugou o apartamento durante dois anos* ('She has rented the flat for two years') can only be uttered after the two years are over.

Finally, yet another difference, indirectly involving *for*, strikes a Portuguese native speaker, namely that the temporal adverbial that locates the left border of the extended now described by the previously shown translations of *I have lived in Oslo for two years* is the same that is used to locate a definite event wholly in the past, cf.:

Há dois anos mudei-me para Oslo. Two years ago I moved to Oslo. Il y a deux ans je déménagea pour Oslo. Vor zwei Jahren bin ich nach Oslo gezogen.

(I.e., the uniform *há dois anos* contrasts with the alternations *ago/for*, French *il y a/depuis* and German *vor/seit*.)

In other words, in addition to the tense change that all four languages feature, it seems that the kind of expression influences the temporal adverbial. Moreover, this is probably not independent from the fact that French and German use their analogue of *since* and *desde*, which, in English and in Portuguese alike, cannot be used with duration measures. (Note that *since* cannot occur with present tense stative expressions either, contrary to *desde*, as noted in Section 6.2.6.) As I have not analysed the systems of French or German, I will not suggest here an explanation for their behaviour. Rather, I will concentrate on explaining why in Portuguese there is no need for such a distinction while in English it is necessary.

My explanation relates again to the categories intrinsic to each language. For such compact lexical items as accomplishments in English, it is necessary to indicate whether the location intended by the adverbial is relative to the activity, the change, or the result state. I suggest that when *ago* modifies an accomplishment, it locates the change, whereas *for*, *since*, *from ... to* or *from ... until* adverbials select the result state. On the other hand, no adverbial seems to be able to delimitate separately the activity.

By contrast, it falls out from the definition of the Portuguese aspectual classes that only the time of the event can be located: the punctual time associated to the *Mudança*, or the complete time the *Obra* takes. So, there is no need to have several adverbials: a *há*-adverbial indicates a punctual location with a *Mudança*, while with an *Obra* it so to say punctualizes it. As for a state, it measures it (with *Presente*); cf.:

Ele casou há dois anos. ('He married two years ago')

Ele construiu a casa há dois anos. ('He built the house two years ago')

Ele toca violino há 4 anos. ('He has played the violine for four years now')

One still has *de ... a* or *desde...até* if one wants to locate precisely the two boundaries of an extended period, an *Obra* or a temporary state. This contrasts with English where the compactness of a change + activity does not allow neither to be precisely delimited, and thus

from ... to or *from ... until* cannot be applied to accomplishments; cf.:

Construí a casa de Outubro a Fevereiro. ('I built the house from October to February.')

**I built the house from October to February.*

An interesting observation, made in Campos (1987), is that *há* is ungrammatical with the PPC, which accepts *desde* ('since') or *de há X para cá* ('from X to now') instead. The reason seems to be that *há* indicates a precise location in the past, and the PPC, if its temporal location is specified at all, has to be compatible with an extended now.

Summing up, what from a superficial point of view could be taken as idiosyncratic behaviour was shown to be adequately explainable in terms of systematic differences between the languages, both in terms of Aktionsart and in terms of temporal reference, two categories which I claim are inextricably related.

7.5 Loose ends

The cases I grouped under this last section might be termed "general differences in emphasis and interest", and are harder to express in a translation network, because they are more elusive in at least two ways: On the one hand, they concern general preferences which show up in many phenomena; on the other hand, they may apply to translation pairs strictly outside the scope of the translation network, in that the difference is located at the lexical level.

Still, they are crucially related to the questions discussed in the present thesis, because they demonstrate marked preferences which are also patent in each language's respective aspectual networks. In particular, the preference of Portuguese for properties (which will be discussed in Section 7.5.1) is shown by (or derives from) the importance given to the category property in the Portuguese system; while the emphasis on manner particular to English, discussed in Section 7.5.2, is shown by the prominence given to activities, and especially accomplishments, in the English system.

The next sections thus simply illustrate beyond, or below, the examples already provided, i.e., they gather more evidence without suggesting further analysis.

7.5.1 Rules and instances (general vs. particular)

Borrowing Vinay and Dalbarnet's (1977) formulation regarding English in comparison with French, I would say that English is a language aimed at the particular while Portuguese is mainly concerned with general properties.

In a way, this has been shown every time I discussed the facts of Portuguese, so I refrain to state it once more or point to the innumerable places where it is argued for in the present text. Here, I only want to show that the import of this feature has a broader range than the choice of categories and grammatical devices.

Rather than stating this as an absolute property of Portuguese, though, I am interested in comparing it with English by looking at real translations. I show thus what I consider to be strong evidence for this preference of Portuguese for conveying rules instead of asserting

instances, namely, cases where more explicit means than tenses are employed to express a rule without a counterpart in the English original:

She, being the nearest woman relative, raised a formal lament for the dead of the family

*Sendo a única parente mulher, **competia**-lhe fazer o carpimento formal da morte da família.*

'Being the only woman relative, it belonged to her to do the formal lament for the death of the family'

a little tight over the chest now if it was buttoned.

*agora estava um pouco apertado no peito para o **poder** usar abotoado.*

'now it was a little tight in the chest to be usable buttoned.'

They slept at their posts in the shadow of the church so that no one crept in for consolation without their knowledge.

*dormiam no seu posto à sombra da igreja; ninguém **podia** procurar ali consolação sem que eles o soubessem.*

'they slept at their post in the shadow of the church; nobody could look for consolation there without them knowing it'

A related phenomenon, formally similar in that it involves addition of a modal, is shown in the next examples. Here, it is not a rule that is depicted but behaviour following from a rule -- extended behaviour in the first case, semelfactive one in the second:

He went quickly and quietly, and Juana trotted behind him to keep up.

*Kino andava depressa e sem ruído, e Juana **tinha de** andar ligeira para o acompanhar*

'Kino walked quickly and without noise, and Juana had to walk swiftly to accompany him'

The hot sun beat on the earth so that Kino and Juana moved into the lacy shade of the brush

*O sol ardente causticava tanto a terra que Kino e Juana **tiveram de** procurar a sombra rendilhada dos arbustos*

'the burning sun cauterized so much the earth that Kino and Juana had to look for the lacy shadow of the bushes'

The case of English translations that drop the rule connotation in favour of an extensional formulation are many; however, since most cases of rules in Portuguese are conveyed by tense, they have already been described (and handled) in the previous sections. Still, it is possible to find instances where a rule formulation is somewhat weakened, as in the next example:

um rapaz tão forte e tão bonito como tu eras, que não havia moça que não se voltasse para te ver, nem homem que não se mordesse de inveja.

such a strong and handsome boy as you were, all the girls used to turn around to look at you and all the men would bite their tongues with envy.

'a boy so strong and so beautiful as you were, that there was no girl who would not turn around to look at you, nor man who would not bite with envy.'

7.5.2 The expression of manner

English specifies manner everywhere, while for Portuguese this information is relatively

rare. I have already described the dropping of manner (or its addition, depending on the direction) with accomplishments and activities. I note here that the events that take time in English (accomplishments and activities) are almost always specified for manner. By contrast, the "corresponding" classes in Portuguese, *Mudanças* and *Obras*, are either geared to a particular result irrespective of means or describe a state of affairs developing in time. Its elements pay no special attention to manner of development or manner of attainment of the result.

So, one of the obvious differences concerns the lexicon population: It has been pointed for example by Slobin (1994) that the number of movement and location verbs (specified by manner) is considerably higher in English than in Spanish; this should apply *mutatis mutandis* to Portuguese as well. I believe this is also true at least for noise-making and appearance verbs. On the contrary, lexical items in Portuguese tend to make distinctions associated to perspective, connotation, permanency or temporariness.

Vinay & Darbelnet (1977) have noted similar differences between English and French, as my translation of some of their words shows: "very often a French word is the common denominator of a series of English synonyms which lack a default word" (ibid:59); "it is especially in the domain of auditory and visual perception that English shows its superiority in what concerns detailed notation" (ibid:60); "French words are generally at a higher level of abstraction than the one of their corresponding English ones. They are not so hindered by reality's details" (ibid:59). And Nilsson (1985) wrote that, in general, "a Germanic language is much more concrete than a Romance language concerning specification of different circumstances related to a situation or process" (Nilsson, 1985:89, my translation).

Let me illustrate manner deletion in Portuguese with examples syntactically more complex than those presented so far:

*The wind **blew** fierce and strong, and it pelted them with bits of sticks, sand, and little rocks.*

O vento forte e furioso fustigava-os com ramos partidos, areia e cascalho.

'The strong and furious wind pelted them with broken branches, sand, and rubble'

*And the morning of this day the canoes **lay lined up** on the beach;*

Na manhã daquele dia os barcos ficaram na areia.

'In the morning of that day the boats stayed on the beach'

*The word was passed out among the neighbours where they **stood close packed** in the little yard behind the brush fence.*

estas palavras espalharam-se pelos vizinhos que barravam a porta no palmo de terreno por detrás da sebe.

'these words spread among the neighbours who blocked the door in the little yard behind the fence'

In addition, I show cases of lexical specificity diminished by translating into Portuguese (first two examples) and increased when translating into English (the remaining examples):

*The shawl was **crusted** with dried blood*

O xale estava todo manchado de sangue seco

'The shawl was all stained with dried blood'

*he saw that a great hole **had been** knocked in the bottom.*

*viu que o barco **tinha**, no fundo, um buraco enorme.*

'he saw that the boat had, in the bottom, a huge hole'

difícilmente me tiravam

*could **extract** me.*

'hardly took me out'

só me torna, cada vez mais, um deus temeroso e longínquo

*only serves to **heighten** my transformation into a fearful and distant god*

'only makes me, increasingly, a fearful and distant god'

mesmo de olhos fechados ela via o perfume da imensidade luminosa

*even with eyes closed she could **trace** the scent of the luminous immensity*

'even with eyes closed she saw the scent of the luminous immensity'

7.5.3 Discussion

To end this general section (as opposed to the particular ones where detailed analyses of particular cases were provided), I should note that Vinay & Darbelnet (1977) consider general vs. particular and neglect of manner vs. attention to manner essentially the same phenomenon, which they describe (still more generally) as French being a language based on the "plan de l'entendement" (understanding level) opposed to English being a language based on the "plan du réel" (reality level).

By contrast, I originally classified these two trends as complementary, the following way: Attention to manner from the English side should be considered, in comparison with the general / particular tendency, the other side of the coin. The profusion of manner information in English would have as goal the individuation of particular actions: The more specific relative to manner a given description is, the less general it is intended. In other words, (enough) individuation of actions is achieved by tense in Portuguese (specifically by *Perfeito*), while English requires manner to avoid genericity. The specification of properties accompanying movement or place, so that they individuate the particular action, contrasts with the Portuguese specification of bare movement and location, omitting the particular manner in which it was performed.

How come that two conflicting descriptions can be given of the relationship between two distinct phenomena? Reconsidering the question, I concluded that my original analysis (just expressed in the preceding paragraph) was wrong. Its discussion may nevertheless cast some light on the issues involved. In fact, if one considers the famous generic sentence *Dogs bark*, or recalls my remarks in Section 7.1.6.2 regarding movement verbs (I noted that movement verbs involving manner were used in Portuguese exclusively as abilities -- general, thus), one sees that manner-related verbs are not at all exclusively used in particular sentences.

The conclusion that should instead follow is that manner is attention to particular in the lexicon, as Vinay & Darbelnet claimed, and that general rules versus particular instances in time

is a phenomenon which is orthogonal to the lexical items employed.

Still, the grammar of each language behaves like its lexicon, and thus English gives attention to manner, and does not focus on general rules. Portuguese, by contrast, is very much geared to general rules, so much so that, when it focuses on manner it does so, as a rule, to express rules.