UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DE SANTA CATARINA
DEPARTAMENTO DE LÍNGUA E LITERATURA
ESTRANGEIRAS

THE PERFECT ASPECT - SYNTACTIC INTERFERENCES
ON THE PART OF BRAZILIAN STUDENTS
LEARNING ENGLISH

TESE SUBMETIDA À UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DE
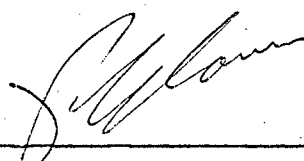SANTA CATARINA PARA A OBTENÇÃO DO GRAU DE
MESTRE EM LETRAS

APÓSTOLO THEODORO NICOLACÓPULOS

FLORIANÓPOLIS
SANTA CATARINA - BRASIL
ABRIL - 1976

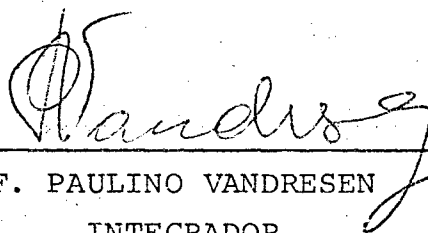ESTA TESE FOI JULGADA ADEQUADA PARA A OBTENÇÃO
DO TÍTULO DE

"MESTRE EM LETRAS"

ESPECIALIDADE LÍNGUA E LITERATURA INGLÊSA E APROVADA
EM SUA FORMA FINAL PELO PROGRAMA DE PÓS-GRADUAÇÃO.

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PROF. THOMAS E. COWIN, M.A.
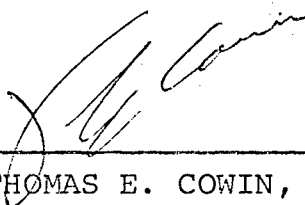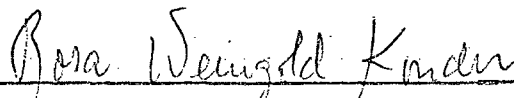ORIENTADOR

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PROF. PAULINO VANDRESEN
INTEGRADOR
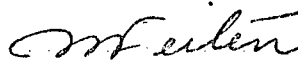
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AOS   MEUS   PAIS

THEODORO E ANASTACIA,

E   IRMÃOS

JORGE   E   NICOLETA

A G R A D E C I M E N T O S

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A B S T R A C T

The present dissertation is a contrastive study of the perfect aspect in English and Portuguese. Another aspect which combines fairly freely with the perfect is also examined: the progressive.

This study is based on some ungrammatical English sentences collected from the students of the Federal University of Santa Catarina, which comprise the "corpus" of the study.

This contrastive study follows the principles of Transformational Generative Grammar. At the end of the dissertation, there is an attempt to formalize some rules and a Transformational Grammar is presented, intended to avoid the generation of ungrammatical sentences in both English and Portuguese.

Some practical suggestions are also offered as well as some transformation drills, emphasizing the use of perfect constructions in English.

R E S U M O

A presente dissertação é um estudo contrastivo do aspec-
to perfectivo em inglês e português. O aspecto progressivo, que se
une com certa liberdade ao perfectivo, é também examinado.

Este estudo é baseado em algumas frases agramaticais do
inglês, colhidas dos alunos da Universidade Federal de Santa Cata-
rina, as quais constituem o "corpus" do estudo.

Este estudo contrastivo segue os princípios da Gramática
Gerativa Transformacional. No final da dissertação, faz-se uma ten
tativa para formalizar algumas regras e apresenta-se uma Gramática
Transformacional, com o escopo de evitar a geração de frases agra-
maticais, tanto em inglês quanto em português.

Apresentam-se também algumas sugestões de caráter práti-
co assim como alguns exercícios de transformação, enfatizando   o
uso de frases em inglês no aspecto perfectivo.

INTRODUCTION

1.   The primary purpose of the present study is to discuss the perfect aspect in both English and Portuguese. In the second chapter, there is a theoretical discussion on tense and aspect with some clarifying examples.

1.1.   This study will only treat present and past perfects and will leave out the future perfect owing to the fact that it implies modality.

1.2.   Between Chapters II and III, there is a list of relevant data which is the "corpus" upon which the error analysis is based. These data collected chiefly among the students of the Federal University of Santa Catarina were duly classified and carefully compared to Portuguese. The examination of the data comprises the third chapter of the present study.

The grammaticality of English sentences were tested with native speakers of English, namely Professors Thomas E. Cowin and Arnold S. Gordenstein. Portuguese sentences were tested with a great number of native speakers of Brazilian Portuguese (Florianó polis). I have to add that I have also relied to a certain extent on the research carried out by Barbara A. Peterson[1], on Quirk and Greenbaum[2], on Ross[3], Crystal[4], and McCawley[5].

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1. Peterson, B. A. "Toward Understanding the Perfect Constructions in Spoken English". In English Teaching Forum. Vol. VIII. January - February, 1970, nº 1.
2. Quirk, R. and Greenbaum, S. A University Grammar of English. 4th Printing. London, William Clowes & Sons, Limited, Longman, 1975.
3. Ross, J. R. "Auxiliaries as Main Verbs". In William Todd (ed) , Studies in Philosophical Linguistics, Series One, 1969.
4. Crystal, D. "Specification and English Tenses". In Journal of Linguistics, Vol. 2, Number I, April 1966.
5. McCawley, J. D. "Tense and Time Reference in English". In C. Fillmore & D. T. Langendoen, ed., Studies in Linguistic Semantics. New York, 1971.

1.3.   I have chosen to base the present study on Transforma tional Generative Grammar because of its far-reaching effects and among them the capacity to generate grammatical sentences.   Many problems such as ambiguities and transfer phenomena may be explai ned when dealing with deep structure of sentences.

I will try to follow the principles of Transformatio nal Grammar, which has its roots in studies of philosophical gram marians who date from the seventeenth century. The publication of Syntactic Structures by Chomsky[6] in 1957, marks the real beginning of Transformational Grammar.

Transformationalism is represented nowadays by   two branches. Chomsky appears as the main representative of the first branch which is chiefly based on the revised theory of   Syntactic Structures that appeared in 1965 with the publication of   Aspects of the Theory of Syntax[7].

The second branch represented by John R. Ross, George Lakoff and James McCawley proposes that semantic   representations should form the basis of a grammar. This branch proposes   more abstract deep structures than those proposed by Chomsky and   his followers, thus indicating that there is a closer relationship be tween syntax and semantics.

1.4.   In the formalization of rules, given the   practical purpose of this study, I used some elements of Chomsky's 1965 ver sion adapted to ideas discussed in Chapter II.

Also sentences of the type.

I think for some time before giving an answer.

Are not discussed in this study.

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6. Chomsky, N. A. Syntactic Structures. Mouton & Company,Printers, The Hague, 1957.

7. Chomsky, N.A. Aspects of the Theory of Syntax.   The M. I. T. Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1965.

CHAPTER ONE CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

1.1 Robert Lado Marks the real beginning of applied Contras tive Linguistics with the publication of Linguistics across Cultures in 1957. Two years following the publication of Lado's book; new studies were started on the Contrastive Structure Series,edited by Charles A. Ferguson under the auspices of the Center for applied Linguistics of the Modern Language Association of America in Washington, D. C. this se ries deals with the comparison of English and white each of the five fo reign languages most commonly taught in the United States: French, Ger man, Italian, Russian and Spanish. So far, contrastive studies on Ger man, Italian and Spanish have appeared, namely; W. G. Moulton; The So unds of English and German; and H. L. Kufner, The Grammatical Structu res of English and German; in 1962. R. P. Stockwell and J. D. Bowen; The Sounds of English and Spanish in 1965. R. P. Stoclwell; J. D. Bowen and J. W. Martin; The Grammatical Structures of English and Spanish in -1965; F. B. Agard and R. J. Di Pietro; The Sounds of English and Ita lian; and The Grammatical Structures of English and Italian; in 1966.

The above studies are based on Chomsky. According to Ger hart Nickel, based on Transformational Grammaire ate also the research projects being carried out between Polish and English in Poznan, Serbo-Croatian and English in Zagreb, Rumanian and English in Bucharest;Irish and English in An Teanglann; and German and English in Stuttgart.

In fact, world meetings show that inguistcs are interested-in Constrative Linguistcs. The Nineteenth Round Table Meeting at Geor getown University, Washington; in 1968; was about "Constrative Linguis tics and its Pedagogical Implications".

In Brazil, some contrastive studies have also appeared. Mã rio Mascherpe Wrote Análise Comparativa dos Sistemas Fonológicos do in glês e do Português; Ph. d. thesis; in 1973: Clóvis Barleta de Morais presented his Ph. D. thesis on Contribuição ao Estudo das Orações Adje nas Linguas Românicas;and Marília G. Gottlob wrote Das Orações Subordi nadas na Lingua Alemã Contribuição para sua Melhor Compreensão por Fa lantes do Português (Ph. D. thesis). In 1974, Zelinda Tognoli Galati ' Moneta wrote Contribuição para o Estudo Confrontativo das Orações Subor dinadas em Lingua Alemã e em Lingua Portuguesa (Ph. D. thesis).

CHAPTER TWO

TIME, TENSE, AND ASPECT.

1.   Time is a universal concept divided into the present, past, and future. The categories of tense, mood and aspect, which are linguistic concepts, are related to time which is a non linguistic notion. Tense relates the time of the action, event   or state of affairs mentioned in the sentence to the time of utterance (the time of utterance is now).

Aspect has to do with the relationship between   the verbal action and its duration or development (e. g. if completed or in progress).

Tense, mood, and aspect cannot be studied separately because they mingle in various ways, i. e., time present and past cannot be studied without considering aspect, and the future   is closely connected with mood.[1]

1.1.   According to Lyons[2], English has two aspects   which combine fairly freely with tense and mood: (1) the perfect, as for instance,

(1)   I have read the book
(2)   I had read the book
(3)   I will have read the book
(4)   I would have read the book.

and (2) the progressive

(5)   I am reading the book
(6)   I was reading the book
(7)   I will be reading the book
(8)   I would be reading the book.

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1. Quirk R. And Greenbaum, S. A University Grammar of English. 4th Printing. London, William Clowes & Sons, Limited, Lonoman, 1975, p. 40.

2. Lyons, J. Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics.   Cambridge, University Press, 1969, pp. 315 - 316.

1.2.   As-far as the expression of future time is concerned, it is difficult to draw a clear-cut distinction between tense and mood. Aspect, as seen in the above examples, also merges both with mood and tense.

A brief discussion follows as to whether tense and aspect should be considered universal features of language.

This will prepare the ground for the theoretical model I intend to use for practical analysis.

1.3.a.   In connection with tense, Lakoff points out:

> ..., "it is not clear at present whether tense mar-
> kings should be introduced as part of an auxiliary
> constituent or as features of verbs and adjectives,
> which are later inserted before the adjective or verb
> by spelling rules. I will assume the latter"[3]...

If we consider the sentence

(9)   Mary leaves on Saturday.

expressed by the present tense but with a future time meaning, we shall see that it is the notion of future time implied in on Saturday which is important to the semantic interpretation of the sentence, and not the use of the present tense.

In comparing the sentences

(10)   *I write yesterday

and

(11)   I wrote yesterday

how could we account for the fact that sentences (10) and (11) could be meaningful and unambiguous (excluding for a moment the problem of grammaticality)? Couldn't the notion of past time implied in the adverb yesterday account for that fact?

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3. Lakoff, G. On the Nature of Syntactic Irregularity. New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970, p. A - 5.

In fact, Crystal points out that "tense usage is first of all related to individual adverbials" and further on:

> "The adverbial is taken as the base form, and the tense the compared item (rather than vice versa) as there is greater determination existing in this direction than in any other: an adverbial requires an accompanying tense-form, whereas a tense-form does not in theory require an adverbial".[4]

On the other hand, some sentences seem to contradict the above.

(12)   He wrote

(13)   He studied

However, the previous hypothesis is saved if we accept that all sentences have underlying time adverbials in deep structure which may be deleted in a later point of derivation (excluding "timeless" sentences of the type All men are mortal).

Besides, most adverbials colligate with all tense-forms-as Crystal himself puts it.

Actually, there are mutual restrictions between tense and temporal adverbials. However, these restrictions may be outlined "by reference to two variables: the number of tense-forms which colligate with an adverbial, and the number and type of meanings ascribable to each individual colligation".

On the one hand, according to Crystal, "the simplest co-occurrence would be an adverbial which could combine with one tense-form only to express one time-relationship", and on the other, "one could envisage adverbials which have the potentiality of co-occurrence with all tense-forms, EACH co-occurrence allowing a number of different meanings, depending on verbal and/or situational context",

In opposition to what Lakoff pointed out, it is worth noting that Ross[5] proposes that auxiliaries and verbs really belong

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4. Crystal, D. "Specification and English Tenses". In Journal of Linguistics, Volume 2, Number I, pp. 1-133, April 1966 (p.16).

5. Ross, J. R. "Auxiliaries as Main Verbs". In William Todd (ed.), Studies in Philosophical Linguistics, Series One, 1969.

to the same lexical category, <u>verb</u>, and that they must be   <u>main</u>
verbs.

He proposes that each of the underlined words in (14)

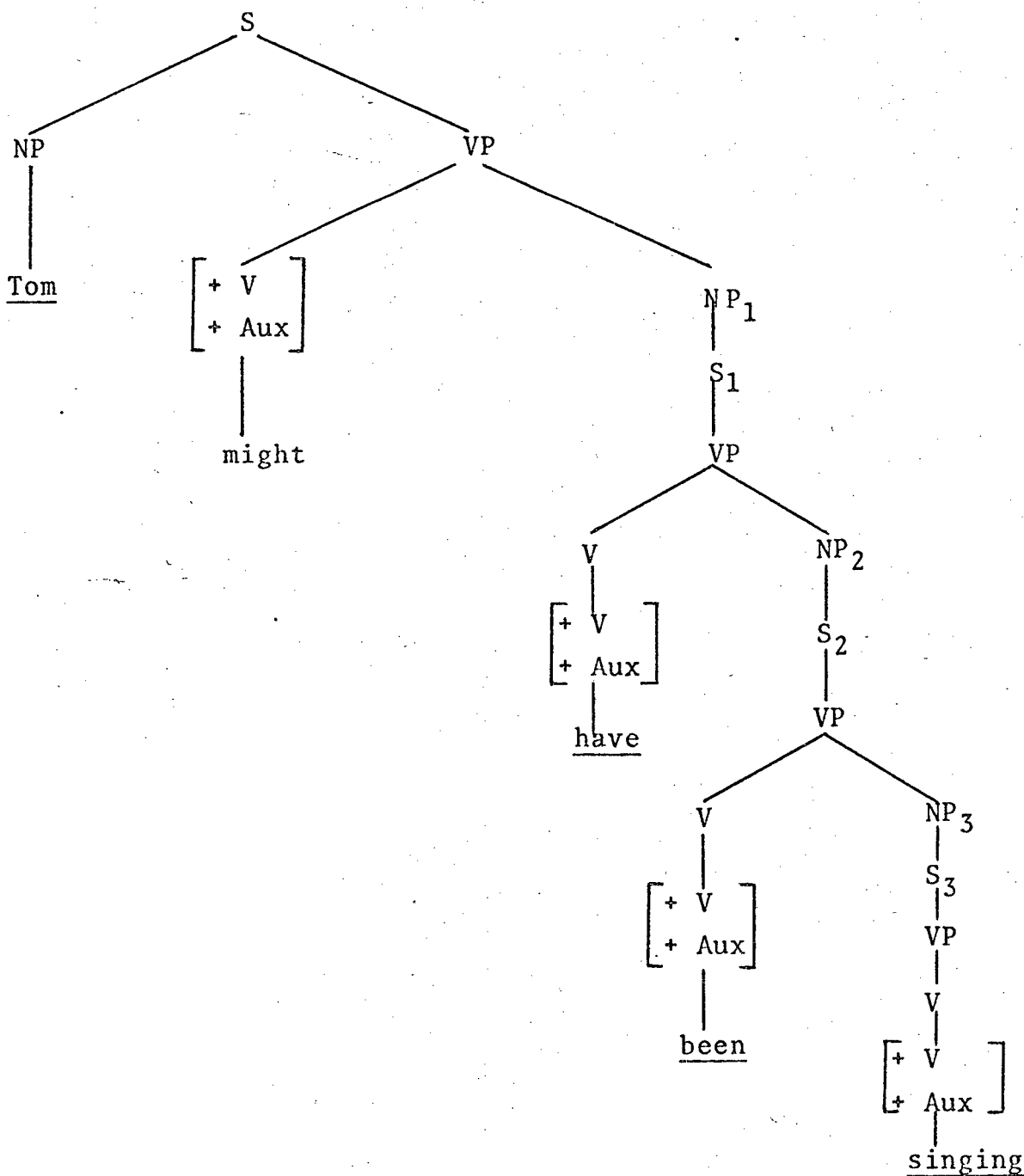(14)   Boris <u>must</u> <u>have</u> <u>been</u> <u>being</u> <u>examined</u> by the captain.

must be the main verb of some underlying S and that all <u>verbs</u> (a
term which covers the traditionally called adjectives, auxiliaries,
the copula, and true verbs) are directly dominated by VP in   deep
structure.

He also proposes that sentence (15)

(15)   Tom might have been singing.

should have the following tree diagram:

In connection with tenses, McCawley[6] goes further and proposes that "tenses are not features but are themselves underlying verbs".

He means that tense should not be considered a universal feature of language and that it is inherent in the verb.

1.3.b.   McCawley, based on Hoffman's (1966) observation that in certain environments the distinction between simple past, present perfect, and past perfect is neutralized in favor of have, proposes that "all occurrences of the auxiliary have are underlying past tenses". For example, sentences (16), (17) and (18).

(16)   John is believed to have arrived at 2:000 yesterday.

(17)   John is believed to have drunk a gallon of beer by now.

(18)   John is believed to have already met Sue when he married Cynthia.

involve embedded clauses which would have to be in the simple past, present perfect, and past perfect respectively, if used as independent clauses:

(19)   John arrived at 2:000 yesterday. (*has arrived, *had arrived).

(20)   John has drunk a gallon of beer by now. (*drank, *had drunk).

(21)   John had already met Sue when he married Cynthia. (*met, *has met).

6. McCawley, James D. "Tense and Time Reference in English".In C. Fillmore & D. T. T. Langendoen, ed., Studies in Linguistic Semantics. New York, 1971, pp. 97-113.

1,4,   There are two kinds of syntactic aspect in English: the perfect and the progressive. These syntactic aspects have a variety of different semantic functions: iterative (or frequenta tive), punctual (or momentary), habitual, inchoative (or incepti ve), etc.

In some cases, it is the verb which shows the seman tic aspect rather than the formal feature (e. g. - ing, -en).

Present - (continuous or repeated state or action)	Aorist - (momentary action or state)
1. trógho (I eat/am eating)	éphagha (I ate)
2. ghrápho (I write/am writing)	éghrapsa (I wrote)
3. pethéno (I die/am dying)	péthana (I died)

The first verb presents different themes, one for the present trogh and one for the aorist phagh. The second verb pre sents the same root both for the present and the aorist, with a small change in the theme, ghraph and ghraps. The present and the aorist of the third verb also present the same root, with a vowel change in the theme pethen and pethan (alternance e/a).

The distinction between the two themes is reflected in the whole verb system. Here are some examples:

trógho (I eat/am eating)	éphagha (I ate)
étrogha (I ate/was eating)	thá phágho (I will eat)
thá trógho (I will be eating)	ná phágho (to eat)
ná trógho (to be eating)	
thá étrogha (I would be eating)	phághe (eat! imperative)
tróghe (eat! imperative)	phaghoméno (eaten)
tróghontas (eating)	

1.5.a.   This paper will deal with the perfect aspect in parti_
cular. Another aspect which may combine with the perfect will also
be treated: the progressive.

In connection with the term perfect, Twaddell says
that it "has been unhelpful by suggesting some kind of   comple-
tedness, previous termination",...

The perfect expresses an idea of an action or a state
continuing up to the present time, and - as Barbara Peterson puts
it - a verb in a perfect construction, although expressing   an
action, an event or a state of affairs in the past is   explicitly
marked for current relevance simply by being in the perfect form.

McCawley, in his turn, says that the present perfect.
" is not merely the present of a past in the same sense that   the
past perfect is a past of a past: the obvious parallel to   using
the past perfect for something which at a designated   reference
point in the past tense ought to be using the present perfect for
something which at a designated reference point in the   present
would be reported in the past; but since the present is the   only
point in the present, that characterization would amount to   the
absurdity that the present perfect is used for what the past   is
used for".[7]

He wants to say that if we consider the present per-
fect as the present of a past as the past perfect is a past of   a
past it would seem absurd to use the present perfect for something
that happened in the past. However, given the fact that the   past
described by the present perfect must include the present,   and
that the present is the only point in the present, the use of the
present perfect would be explained.

He further states that he is not going to argue that
the present perfect "is ultimately the present of a past but rather
through deletions it acquires a derived constituent   structure
having a present as its highest verb and past as its next highest
verb",...

According to McCawley, the present perfect has   the
following uses:

(a)   to indicate that a state of affairs prevailed throu-

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7. McCawley, J. D. "Tense and Time Reference in English".   In C.
   Fillmore & D. T. Longendoen, ed., Studies in Linguistic Seman-
   tics. New York, 1971, pp. 103 - 104.

ghout some interval stretching from the past into the present (Universal):

I've known Max since 1960.

(b)   to indicate the existence of past events (Existential):

I have read _Principia Mathematica_ five times.

(c)   to indicate that the direct effect of a past   event still continues (stative):

I can't come to your party tonight — I'vw caught the flu.

(d)   to report hot news (Hot news):

Malcolm X has just been assassinated.

He says that the semantics of natural languages does not involve the "unrestricted quantification" found in most logic textbooks, but "restricted quantification".

In connection with this, he further says that   "the universal and existential present perfects appear both to involve a quantifier, that ranges over an interval stretching from   the past into the present and differ as regards whether that quantifier is universal or existential". That quantifier "joins two propositional functions, one giving the _range_ of the variable, and   one giving the property that is being asserted of things in that range". McCawley proposes that these two propositional functions "provide the source of the two tenses...: the range provides the   present tense, since it must be an interval containing the present,   and the function being asserted provides the past tense, since it   is being asserted of events or times that are in the past".

He assumes that the tense morpheme which corresponds to the range would be put in the clause corresponding to the quantifier and that these quantifiers are deleted, at some later stage, leaving as traces only their tenses and words like _ever_, _already_, and _sometimes_, and a time adverb describing the range, as for instance, _since Tuesday_, _during the last five years_, etc.

In many languages, "the universal and existential cases are not treated alike", as for example, in Portuguese, Greek, Spanish, French, etc..., where "the tense of the scope in universal sentences is lost, and a simple present appears".

Much of the co-occurrence restrictions between auxiliaries and time adverbs dealt with by Twaddell is explained — as McCawley puts it — if we treat present perfects as derived from a semantic representation of the type proposed by him.

As far as the universal and existential present perfects are concerned, this approach explains why adverbs or adverbials which designate points in time, such as two o'clock, yesterday, last night, etc., cannot be used with the present perfect: "since the time adverb of the scope of the quantifier is a bound variable which the quantifier binds, * I have written a letter yesterday, would be excluded for exactly the same reason as * I talked to someone the butcher". In both cases a constant and a variable would be filling the same position.

As far as the third use of the present perfect —
(c) Stative — I think that the example given by McCawley at least — may be covered by the existential case.

In saying

I've caught the flu

we can distinguish two different meanings: one expressing that you caught the flu at least once, which is the relating to the existential present perfect, and the other expressing that you caught the flu and are still suffering its effects. But the second possibility does not exclude an existential quantifier which indicates "at least once".

In connection with the fourth use of the present perfect — (d) Hot news — I also think that it may be covered by the existential case, since it express something that happened in the past at least once.

McCawley further gives another examples which strengthens my assumption:

Max has been fired.

Although, as he argues, it may be "news", it appears to involve an existential quantifier.

Leech[8] has a similar classification relating to present perfects with different terminology:

(1) STATE-UP-TO-THE-PRESENT.

With "state verbs", present involvement means that the state extends over a period lasting up to the present moment:

We've lived in London since last September.

Have you known the Faulkners for long?

The house has been empty for ages.

(2) INDEFINITE PAST.

With "event verbs", the present perfect may refer to some indefinite happening in the past:

Have you been to America?

He's a man who has experienced suffering.

I've known them to strike their children in front of visitors.

All my family has had measles.

(3) HABIT-IN-A-PERIOD-LEADIND-UP-TO-THE PRESENT.

The habitual or iterative use of the present perfect with "events verbs" is illustrated by:

Mr. Phillips has sung in this choir for fifty years.

I've always walked to work.

The news has been broadcast at ten o'clock for as long as I can remember.

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8. Leech, G. N. Meaning and The English Verb. London, Longman,1971, pp. 31 - 35.

-(4) RESULTATIVE PAST.

The present perfect is also used in reference to a past event to imply that the result of that event is still opera- tive at the present time. This meaning is clearer with "transi- tional verbs" denoting the switch from one state to another.

The taxi has arrived (i. e. "The taxi is now here").

He has been given a camera ("He now has the camera).

I've recovered from my illness ("I'm now well again).

Someone has broken her doll ("The doll is now broken").

I think that the first and third uses of Leech's classification may be conflated and be related to the Universal present perfect. Furthermore, the second and fourth uses may also be conflated and be considered as the Existential present perfect.

Yet, one of the examples given by Leech

I've always walked to work

cannot be considered as the Universal case.

The sentence

I've walked to work

seems to involve an existential quantifier and not a universal one.

1.5.b. The uses of the present perfect are closely connected with the question of presuppositions, which are not so simple at they may seem at first sight. McCawley[9] contests Chomsky's analysis of sentence (22)

(22) * Einstein has visited Princeton.

which is ungrammatical for Chomsky on the grounds that the surface

9. McCawley, J. D. "Tense and Time Reference in English". In C. Fillmore & D. T. Langendoen, ed., Studies in Linguistic Se- mantic. New York, 1971, pp. 106 - 109.

structure of certain types of present perfect "is presupposed to refer to someone who is alive".

MCCawley says that "the presupposition has nothing to do with the question of what is the surface subject", and gives examples:

(23)   Frege has contributed a lot to my knowledge.

(24)   Frege has been denounced by many people.

(25)   * Frege has been frightened by many people.

He notes that whether a sentence "in the present perfect commits the speaker to the belief that the subject refers to someone who is alive depends on the rest of the sentence...and also depends on stress", and suggests that "topic rather subject is directly related to presuppositions".

In connection with sentences (24) and (25) he says that "Frege has to be alive for people to frighten him, but he doesn't have to be alive for people to denounce him".

In fact, "the property of being alive is not directly involved in the oddity of (22), since a person who believes that the dead return to haunt the living could perfectly well say (22) without contradicting his knowledge that Einstein is dead". The same may happen to (25). Thus, the presupposition in an existential present perfect "appears to be that the range of the variable which the existential quantifier binds is a period during which the event or state designated by the propositional function in the scope of the quantifier can happen or be the case. Since the present perfect can only be used if the range includes the present, the presupposition is that the present is included in the period in which the designatum of the propositional function in question can happen or be the case".

To illustrate the above, he gives the following example:

(26)   My mother has changed my diaper many times.

Sentence (26) would be adequate if used by "a linguis<u></u>tically precocious 2-year-old still wore diapers but not if said by a man who stopped wearing diapers 30 years ago".

He further questions that the sentence,

(27)   Have you seen the Monet exhibition?

as Leech puts it, can only be used if it refers to an exhibition which the speaker believes to be running in opposition to

(28)   Did you see the Monet exhibition?

which would refer to an exhibition which the speaker believes to have already closed.

A presupposition that the exhibition is still running "is not sufficient to make (27) appropriate: for example, one would have to use (28) and not (27) if speaking to a person who one knows to have recently suffered an injury which will keep him in the hospital until long after the exhibition closes".

Sentence

(29)   Many people have died in auto accidents.

does not imply that those people designated by the subject are ali<u></u>ve, since it is about "<u>events</u> of a person dying in an auto accident, which can still happen".

1.5.c.   I see two different uses of the present perfect:

(1)   The one which seems to involve-according to McCawley — a universal quantifier (Universal)

I have studied since 1950

I have known Helen for ten years

I have lived in London since last September.

Have you known the Faulkners for long?

Mr. Phillips has sung in this choir for fifty years

which, in many languages, including Portuguese, are generally trans lated as the simple present. With this use, <u>since</u>, <u>for</u>, <u>all</u> are used.

(2) The other which expresses the existence of a past action, event or state — i. e., something that happened <u>at least once</u> in the past and has "current relevance" (Existential)

I have read the book three times

I have been fired (at least once)

I have caught the flu

Have you been to America?

The taxi has arrived

which are translated, in many languages, as the past. With this use, one may use <u>ever</u>, <u>never</u>, <u>always</u>, <u>sometimes</u>, etc.

1.5.d. As far as the past perfect is concerned, McCawley makes some important comments.

The sentences

When John married Sue, he had met Cynthia five years before.

When John married Sue, he had read Principia Mathematica five times.

"are reasonable candidates for analysis as the past of a past and the past of a present perfect respectively, since the content of the main clause, if expressed at the time when John married Sue, would require past tense and present perfect respectively", as in sentences

John met Cynthia five years ago.

John has read Principia Mathematica five times.

However, if we analyze the above sentences as the past with an embedded past or present perfect, we may explain why a past perfect allows two time adverbs: "at a more underlying level of structure, there is one time adverb per clause, and the past perfect would arise from an embedding structure, whose main clause and embedded clause could each supply one time adverb". This provides two sources for a past perfect. McCawley goes further and proposes a third source: the past of a past perfect. He says that he knows of no good examples of a past perfect with three time adverbs, but "there are examples of past perfects with two time adverbs and an implicit reference to a third point in past time, as in a discourse containing sentence

When John had married Sue, he had known Cynthia for five years.

which is possible only if the discourse has already mentioned some past time which is taken as the "reference point" for John had married Sue".

Then, the above sentence could "be analyzed as the past (the unmentioned reference point) of the past (John's marrying Sue) of a present perfect (John has known Cynthia for five years). Thus, if a reference point is taken to be a tense, with or without time adverb, whose subject is an embedded sentence corresponding to the event or state that is being described relative to that reference point, there is some reason for allowing the potentially limitless freedom of combination of underlying tenses..., except that the occasion would hardly ever arise for one to use so many "reference points as to require tenses piled more than three deep".[10]

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10. McCawley, J. D. "Tense and Time Reference in English". In C. Fillmore & D. T. Langendoen, ed., Studies in Linguistic Semantics. New York, 1971, pp. 102 - 103.

1.6. In _Tense and Time Reference in English_ by McCawley, there is a discussion on Chomsky's proposals for the deep structure of the sentence

John had been smoking pot.

In Chomsky's point of view the deep structure of _John had been smoking pot_ would be

Figure 2

Ross (1967) has contested Chomsky's analysis of English auxiliaries, as was discussed earlier, and proposed a different deep structure for the above sentence.

Figure 3

Successive applications of the cyclic transformation "known variously as <u>subject raising</u>, <u>it-replacement</u>, or <u>VP raising</u> plus application of <u>complementizer placement</u> to add PP and -ing to the complements of <u>have</u> and <u>be</u>" respectively convert figure (3) into (4)

Figure 4

McCawley relates Ross's analysis to semantic and pro poses that "tenses are not features but are themselves underlying verbs and that all occurrences of the auxiliary have are underlying past tenses"[11], so that

John had been smoking pot

will be derived not from figure (3) but from

Figure 5

However, what McCawley proposes as a deep structure as a refinement of Ross's analysis is just an intermediate stage in the derivation — as he himself puts it.

Given the fact that there is still much discussion on the deep structure of the perfect aspect, I will use, for more practical purposes only, Ross's analysis.

— * —

---

11. This is discussed earlier in 1.3.b.

LIST OF RELEVANT DATA

ENGLISH

1. * They live in Florianópolis since 1950.

2. * They live in Florianópolis since ten years.

3. * We know each other for quite a few years.

4. * Helen and her husband are living in Rio for five years.

5. * Helen has been lived in Rio for five years.

6. * Mary has worked in Rio in 1970.

7. * We've known each other in California many years ago.

8. * Mary has studied for eight years before she decided to take that exam.

9. Mary studied for eight years before she decided to take that exam.

10. She said that Peter left.

11. She said that Peter had left.

12. * She said that she was needing that book.

13. * I was studying for two hours yesterday (when she came).

14. * He worked since nine o'clock.

PORTUGUESE

1. Eles moram em Florianópolis desde 1950.

2. Eles moram em Florianópolis há dez anos.

3. Nós nos conhecemos há muitos anos (pres.).

4. Helena e seu marido estão morando no Rio há cinco anos.

5. Helena está morando no Rio há cinco anos.

6. Maria trabalhou no Rio em 1970.

7. Nós nos conhecemos na Califórnia há muitos anos atrás.

8. Maria tinha estudado (durante) oito anos antes de se decidir a fazer aquele exame.

9. Maria estudou (durante) oito anos antes de se decidir a fazer aquele exame.

10. Ela disse que Pedro partiu.

11. Ela disse que Pedro tinha partido.

12. Ela disse que (ela) estava precisando daquele livro.

13. Eu estava estudando há duas horas ontem (quando ela chegou).

14. Ele trabalhou desde as nove horas.

CHAPTER THREE

ANALYSIS OF DATA

In this chapter, I will examine common mistakes among Brazilian students learning English

1.

1.1.a.   The following sentence is an ungrammatical   English sentence

(1)   *They live in Florianópolis since 1950.

This mistake stems from the fact that in Portuguese the sentence

(2)   Eles moram em Florianópolis desde 1950

is grammatical.

In a more detailed examination, let us see where this transfer occurs on the part of the student. In Portuguese, we basi cally have the same surface tree diagram for two deep structure, i. e., one surface structure is generated from two deep structure.

(3)   a. Eles moram em Florianópolis.
           (They live in Florianópolis)

and

        b. Eles moram em Florianópolis desde 1950.
          (They have lived in Florianópolis since 1950).

In a tree diagram, we will have

Figure 1

The Prepositional Phrase2 <u>desde 1950</u> is not relevant to the above surface tree diagram in that it does not alter it. In English, however, we will have two different tree diagrams to account for the Portuguese surface structure

(4)   Eles moram em Florianópolis (desde 1950)

because the Prepositional Phrase <u>since 1950</u> is of utmost importance to the English tree diagram.

Therefore, we have

(5)   They live in Florianópolis

Figure 2

(6)   They have lived in Florianópolis since 1950.

whose surface structure would be, according to Ross's proposal.[1]

Figure 3

        To obtain the above tree diagram, many transformations were applied. Among others, two important transformations took place: one, called the perfect transformation which places the auxiliary <u>have</u> under the first VP and the other which introduces the PP (-en), through an affix transformation.

        After all transformations are applied, we will have the gramatical sentence

        They have lived in Florianópolis since 1950.

        The Prepositional Phrase <u>since 1950</u> may be deleted but if it is deleted the meaning changes, i. e., if we say

(7)   They have lived in Florianópolis

we mean that they are not living in Florianópolis any more, though they did live there at some past period.

        On the other hand, in Portuguese, instead of saying

        Eles moram em Florianópolis desde 1950

---

1. See 1.6. (Chapter II)

we can also say

(8)   Eles têm morado em Florianópolis desde 1950.

Both forms emphasize the fact that <u>eles</u> (they)   are
still living in Florianópolis.

Consequently, <u>moram</u> and <u>têm morado</u> are free variants,
and for Brazilians, according to my informants, there is no subs-
tantial difference in meaning between the simple and the compound
form. However, there is a clear-cut preference for the simple form
<u>moram</u> in spoken Portuguese.

As a result, Portuguese-speaking students when faced
with a sentence containing a compound verb such as (8), have   no
difficulty producing the correct English form

They have lived in Florianópolis since 1950

because, as I stated earlier in this paper, they transfer the fea-
tures of their native language to the language they are learning.

Consequently, the sentences

Eles têm morado em Florianópolis desde 1950

and

They have lived in Florianópolis since 1950

have the same tree diagram in both languages.

A similar mistake is found in the ungrammatical sen-
tence

(9)   * They live in Florianópolis since ten years.

In English, <u>since</u> must be followed by a phrase indi-
cating a <u>point in time</u>.

        e. g. <u>since 1950</u> or <u>since two o'clock</u>.
        <u>For</u> requires a time phrase which express a <u>period</u> of
time.

        e. g. <u>for ten years</u> or <u>for two hours</u>.

If the transformations undergone by sentence (9) are applied, the following English sentence will be generated

(10)   They have lived in Florianópolis for ten years.

— * —

Let us examine another ungrammatical sentence

(11)   * We know each other for quite a few years.

Again, the Prepositional Phrase <u>for quite a few years</u> proves to be highly relevant to English speakers in that it generally provides a surface structure different from that in Portuguese. The word-by-word translation of the above ungrammatical sen<u>n</u> tence is grammatical in Portuguese.

(12)   Nós nos conhecemos há muitos anos (pres.).

To obtain the corresponding grammatical English sentence, the transformations applied to sentence (6), and among them, the perfect and the affix transformations, must apply, generating, after the replacement of segments by actual words from the lexicon

(13)   We have known each other for quite a few years.

Furthermore, it is worth noting that in Portuguese the surface structure (12) has two deep structures. The verb form <u>co-nhecemos</u> is used for the present and past forms and <u>há</u> is used to indicate either continuity or a definite past action.
Consequently, the ambiguous surface structure

(14)   Nós nos conhecemos há muitos anos

accounts for two English surface structures which are

(15)   a. We have known each other <u>for</u> many years.
          b. We knew each other many years <u>ago</u>.

and, of course, for two Portuguese deep structures, that is, one relating to the present and the other to the past.

The generation of the perfect form in (15a) was already discussed and the past form in (15b) will also be focused upon in 1.2.

1.1.b.   In connection with the perfect continuous form, similar mistakes of transfer of the native language of the student occur when he uses the present continuous where the present perfect continuous is required.

Thus, we find mistakes of this sort:

(16)   * Helen and her husband are living in Rio for   five years.[2]

which, if translated into Portuguese, is a grammatical sentence.

(17)   Helena e seu marido estão morando no Rio há   cinco anos.

As I previously stated, Prepositional Phrases of the type for (meaning continuity) or since do not ordinarily   shift the surface verb form in Portuguese. The same cannot be said if we think in terms of English surface structure.

Therefore, the Portuguese sentences

(18)   a. Helena e seu marido estão morando no Rio.

and

        b. Helena e seu marido estão morando no Rio há   cinco anos.

basically have the same surface tree diagram.
        However, there are two different deep structures.
        We see that PP^2 does not alter the surface tree diagram.

---

2. Not with future reference.

Figure 4

Turning to English, we'll have two different   tree diagrams, i. e., one for

(19)   Helen and her husband are living in Rio

and

(20)   Helen and her husband have been living in Rio for five years.

The English surface structure which accounts for sentence (19) undergoes the same transformations that applied to sentence (18a), excluding the Prepositional Phrase há cinco anos.

Sentence (20), in its turn, will undergo different transformations .owing to the Prepositional Phrase for five years.

In this case, the transformations undergone by   the previously examined simple present perfect with since and for must apply together with the progressive transformation, for now we have the continuous form which, in turn, does not differ from   its simple form but simply adds emphasis on duration. Both forms   may be used interchangeably whenever the topmost verb allows it.

Thus, according to Ross's analysis, we will have the following tree diagram relating to sentence (20)

```
                                    S
                                   / \
                                  /   VP
                                 /   /  \
                                /   /    VP
                               /   /    /  \
                              /   /    /    VP
                             /   /    /    /  \
                           NP    V   /    /    \
                           |     |  V   V      PP
```

| Helen and her husband | have [+ Pres] | be | PP live | ing | in Rio |

Figure 5

According to McCawley, progressive <u>be</u> must apply last "because of the constraint that the topmost verb of its complement must be nonstative"[3], in order to avoid sentences of the type

(21)   * John is resembling Harry

or

(22)   * John has been resembling Harry.

Quirk and Greenbaum[4] make a clear-cut   distinction between dynamic and stative verbs.

Dynamic verbs "admit the aspectual contrast of progressive and non-progressive".

Thus, we can say

(23)   The boy played soccer

---

3. McCawley, J. D. "Tense and Time Reference in English".   In C. Fillmore and D. T. Langendoen, ed., <u>Studies in Linguistic   Semantics</u>. New York, pp. 97 - 113.

4. Quirk, R. and Greenbaum, S. <u>A University Grammar of English</u>.4th Printing. London, William Clowes & Sons, Limited, Longman, 1975. pp. 14 - 15 and 46 - 47.

5. Most verbs are dynamic, and even those called stative can   be used dynamically on occasion.

and

(24)   The boy was playing soccer.

            Those verbs which do not admit the progressive   are
called <u>stative</u>.
            Compare the sentences

(25)   John is now a student at Georgetown University

and

(26)   * John is now being a student at Georgetown Universi
            ty.

            Sentence (26) is ungrammatical because <u>to be</u> is sta
tive.
            Further on, Quirk and Greenbaum carefully points out
that the progressive occurs only with dynamic verbs or, "more ac
curately, with verbs in dynamic use.[5]

            There are two classes of verbs: dynamic and stative.
            Most stative verbs can be used dynamically, i.   e.,
with the progressive indicating emphasis upon duration.
            E. g.
            He is being stupid.

            We have to bear in mind this distrinction because it
applies to the perfect progressive.
            Dynamic verbs are thus classified:
            (some examples)
            (1) Activity verbs: abandon, ask, call, drink, eat,
help, listen, etc.
            (2) Process verbs: grow, slow, down, widen, etc.
            (3) Verbs of bodily sensation: ache, feel, hurt,etc.
            (4) Transitional event verbs: arrive, die, fall, lea
ve, etc.

---

5. Most verbs are dynamic, and even those called stative can   be
   used dynamically on occasion.

(5) Momentary verbs (hit, jump, kick, etc.)[6]

Stative verbs are classified:

(1) Verbs of inert perception and cognition: adore, believe, desire, detest, etc.

(2) Relational verbs: be, belong to, contain,   cost, etc.

Palmer, in his turn, has a slightly different classification for non-progressive verbs. The verbs fall into two sub-classes-verbs of state and private verbs.

Private verbs are these that refer to states or activities that the speaker alone is aware of. These are of two   kinds, those that refer to mental activities and those that refer to sensations. Both commonly occur with non-progressive forms.

Examples of verbs referring to mental activities are: think, imagine, hope plan, forget, believe.

Examples of verbs referring to sensations are: see, smell, hear, taste, feel.

Verbs of "state" are those which "refer not to an activity but to a state or condition. The sense of duration is an integral part of the lexical meaning of the verb, and there is for this reason no need for a progressive form to indicate duration".

E. g. contain, belong, matter, deserve, consist, please, depend, own.[7]

Turning to sentence (16), the student failed to apply the perfect and the affix transformations. At least, three <u>ordered</u> transformations were applied:

(1) The perfect transformation
(2) The progressive transformation
(3) The affix transformation

---

6. A complete list of these verbs is presented in Appendix III.
7. Palmer, F. R. <u>The English Verb</u>. London, Longman, 1974, pp. 70 - 75.

In producing the ungrammatical sentence

(27)   * Helen has been lived in Rio for five years.

the student applied the wrong affix transformation, the one which introduces an affix segment to the right of <u>live</u>, generating the <u>-ing form</u>.

Furthermore, my research work shows that students do not make mistakes when they cope with perfect continuous forms, such as

(28)   Eu tenho estado trabalhando.
            (I have been working)

or

(29)   Eu tenho estado estudando.
            (I have been studying)

Yet, in Portuguese, it is unnecessary and, in fact, it may sound strange to a native speaker, if we add to sentences (28) or (29) Prepositional Phrases of the type <u>há muito tempo</u> (for a long time) or <u>desde as duas horas</u> (since two o'clock), a fact that does not occur in English.

Nevertheless, once again, the compound form <u>eu tenho estado estudando</u> is not so common as <u>eu estou trabalhando</u> (há duas horas). There is, in fact, a strong preference for the latter and for most Brazilians, there is no substantial difference in meaning between them.

1.2.a.   The ungrammatical string

(30)   * Mary has worked in Rio in 1970.

raises another problem: The over-generalization, on the part of the student, of the use of the present perfect.

Sentence (30) is, in its Portuguese translation as follows

(31)   Maria trabalhou no Rio em 1970.

Thus, we have

Figure 6

We see from the above surface tree diagram that the use of the adverbial of definite time em 1970 does not alter the verb form in Portuguese.

In English, however the distinction between definite and indefinite time is of utmost importance to the verb.
Therefore, the Portuguese sentence

Maria trabalhou no Rio (em 1970)

accounts for two English surface structures

(32)   a. Mary has worked in Rio.
           b. Mary worked in Rio in 1970.

The same happens with

(33)   *We've known each other in California many years ago.

Sentence

(34)   We've known each other in California

is translated into Portuguese as

(35)   Nós nos conhecemos na Califórnia (past)

and, adding an adverbial of definite time to sentence (34), we'll have

(36)   Nós nos conhecemos na Califórnia há muitos anos   (a-
             trás).

         The adverbial há muitos anos (many years ago) did not
shift the verb form at all.

         However, if we add an adverbial of definite time   in
English, such as many years ago, in 1970, last year, or   tonight
(when the period of time is over), and if we keep the same   verb
form as the student did in sentence (33), an ungrammatical   string
will be generated.

         Actually, in Portuguese, the use of adverbials of   de
finite time quoted above are not relevant to the surface form   of
the verb. In English, however, the simple past is required   whene
ver adverbials of definite time appear[8].

         Turning to the ambiguous sentence (14)

         Nós nos conhecemos há muitos anos

has two different English surface structures

         a. We have known each other for many years.
         b. We knew each other many years ago.

         This double the ambiguity can be explained:

         (1) many verbs in Portuguese have the same form, when
they are in the first person of plural, be it in the present or in
the past (pretérito perfeito).
             e. g. = amamos, conhecemos, etc...

         (2) the preposition há has two different uses:
         The first há indicates continuity, e. g.:
         Nós nos conhecemos há muitos anos (pres.).

         The second há is oftentimes reinforced by atrás, e.g.
         Nós nos conhecemos há muitos anos atrás.

---

8. See in appendix IV a complete list of time expressions   used
   with the simple past.

1.2.b.   In connection with the simple past - present perfect distinction, Quirk and Greenbaum consider the following sentences

(37)   John lived in Paris for ten years

(which entails that the period of residence has come to an end and which admits the possibility that John is dead).

and

(38)   John has lived in Paris for ten years

(which entails that John is still alive but permits the residence in Paris to extend either to the present (the usual interpreta tion)[9] the one discussed in 1.1.a. in this paper - or to some uns pecified date in the past. However, according to W. F. Twaddell[10], the latter use of (38) is marked for "current relevance, that is to say that, although it refers to "some unspecified date in the past", it implies that he may come back someday to Paris or that his living in Paris is connected in some way with "his" present. This use of the present perfect is closely connected with the ques tion of presuppositions.

1.3.a.   The present perfect is also used with just to refer to very recent activity:

(39)   I've just seen him.

(40)   He's just gone.

(41)   I've just been waving goodbye to him.

Actually, as Palmer puts it, the activity does not continue up to the present time and this use of the present per fect is "presumably" connected with the "current relevance" per fhct form.

9. Quirk, R. and Greenbaum S. A University Grammar of English. 4th Printing. London, Willian Clowes & Sons, Limited, Longman , 1975. pp. 43 - 44.

10. Twaddell, W. F. The English Verb Auxiliaries. 2nd Edition, 3rd, Printing, Brown University Press, Providence, Rhode Island, 1968.

He states that the use of <u>just</u> in the above sentences "can only be accounted for if it is a present time adverbial - to mean in a brief period of time preceding, but up to the present moment".

Palmer says that the adverb <u>just</u> is, in fact, used "unambiguously" as a present time marker in:

(43)   I just saw him leave

(44)   He just went out of the door.

"Semantically - as Palmer puts it - it is a little odd there is little or no current revelance" in sentences (42) , (43) and (44), because they are not different from;

(45)   I saw him <u>a moment ago</u>.

(46)   He went <u>a moment ago.</u>

It is worth noting here that, in British English,<u>just</u> is generally used with the present perfect where as in American English the simple past is widely used.

1.3.b.   Common adverbs such as <u>ever</u>, <u>never,</u> and <u>always</u> which in Great Britain are associated with the present perfect are used either with the present perfect or with the simple past, in the United States, with no difference in meaning:[12]

(47)   a. Have you ever seen one of these?
         b. Did you ever see one of these?

(48)   a. I've never seen it.
         b. I never saw it.

---

11. Palmer, F. R. The English Verb. London, Longman, 1974, pp. 77.

12. Peterson, B. A. "Toward Undertanding the Perfect Constructions in Spoken English". In: English Teaching Forum. Vol. VIII. january - February, 1970, nº 1.

(49)   a. I've always known Beverly Carlton was low.

            b. I always knew Beverly Carlton was low.

        However, with <u>yet</u> the present perfect "seems to be pre_ ferred by careful speakers":

(50)   I haven't seen him yet.

1.3.c.   In connection with some adverbials such as   <u>today</u>, <u>tonight</u>, <u>this week</u>, etc., either the present perfect or the simple past is used, "with little or no difference in meaning".

(51)   a. I saw him tonight.

            b. I've seen him tonight.

1.3.d.   The verb <u>to be</u> is used with a special meaning   with the perfect form, and occurs with <u>to</u> only with the perfect:

(52)   I've been to London.

(53)   He'd been to my house.

        Sentences (54) and (55) are ungrammatical

(54)   * I am to London (or * I was to London)

(55)   * He was to my house.

        Used with the perfect form and followed by <u>to</u> the verb <u>to be</u> has the meaning of having gone and returned.

        Sentences (56) and (57) are different

(56)   He's gone to London. / He isn't here.

(57)   He's been to London. / He is not in London.

        Sentences (56) accounts for the fact that <u>he</u>   isn't here. In sentence (57), <u>he</u> is not in London.

— * —

2.

2.1.a.   In connection with the past perfect, let us   examine
the following ungrammatical sentence

(58)   * Mary has studied for eight years before she decided
              to take that exam.

        The past perfect tense is generally encountered   in
situations "in which the time concerned is <u>before another event in
the past</u>", as Barbara A. Peterson puts it.

        It describes a past in the past, that is to say,   so-
mebody had done something <u>before something happened</u>.

        In accordance with Ross's analysis, we would have the
following surface structure

Figure 7

which, after all transformations take place, will generate   the
grammatical English sentence

(59)   Mary had studied for eight years (before she   decided
              to take that exam).

        Yet, in spoken English as well as in spoken Portuguese
there is a tendency among native speakers to use the simple   past
instead of the past perfect, in the situation quoted above.
              Thus, we may say

(60)   Mary studied for eight years (before she decided   to

take that exam).

This would explain, perhaps why the student produced the ungrammatical sentence (58). In wishing to use a verb form which expressed a past action he used the present perfect instead of the simple past. This confusion on the part of the student was discussed earlier in 1.2.a.

In Portuguese, we **would have**

(61)   Maria tinha estudado (durante) oito anos (antes de se decidir a fazer aquele exame).

and

(62)   Maria estudou (durante) oito anos (antes de se decidir a fazer aquele exame).

2.1.b   I also encountered the following sentence

(63)   She said that Peter left.

which is not a mistake if we think in terms of spoken English.

Here, the past perfect is required after past-tense "reporting verbs"[13], such as said, told, thought.

Thus, we would normally have, instead of (63)

(64)   She said that Peter had left.

In reported speech, the past perfect tense has always one meaning: anteriority, i. e., the action reported occurred prior to the moment of reporting.

In Portuguese, the realization of the past perfect is similar.

We have

(65)   Ela disse que Pedro partiu.

---

13. This terminology is used by Barbara A. Peterson.

and

(66)   Ela disse que Pedro tinha partido.

2.1.c.   Let's consider an ungrammatical sentence of the   type

(67)   * She said that she was needing that book.

In the above sentence, the student applied the   pro-
gressive transformation when it shouldn't apply, a question   dis-
cussed in 1.1.b., i. e., where it is pointed out that the   pro-
gressive occurs only with dynamic verbs or verbs in dynamic use.
Therefore, if the progressive transformation were not
applied, we would have the grammatical sentence

(68)   She said that she needed that book.

In Portuguese, the aspectual contrast is allowed   to
express simultaneity.

(69)   Ela disse que precisava daquele livro.

and

(70)   Ela disse que estava precisando daquele livro.

However, in English, we can say

(71)   She said that she was working.

which is a grammatical English sentence, where a dynamic verb ad-
mits the progressive.

As far as stative verbs are concerned, it is   worth
saying that the past tense may be ambiguous.
The sentence

(72)   She said that she heard the news.

has three different meanings:

(a) She was listening to the news at that very moment (simultaneity).

(b) She heard the news (had heard the news) before she reported the fact, i. e., prior to the action, as for exemple.

She said that she heard the news earlier this morning.

(c) She heard the news (habitual or repeated action), as for instance.

She said that she heard the news every day.

In Portuguese, the sentence.

(73)   Ela disse que ouviu as notícias.

accounts for (b).

(b) Ela disse que tinha ouvido as notícias (past per- fect).

Two other surface structure are needed to account for (a) and (c).

(a) Ela disse que estava ouvindo as notícias (simult$\underline{a}$ neous action).

(c) Ela disse que ouvia as notícias (habitual or repe$\underline{a}$ ted action).

2.1.d.   The following sentences are seldom used by a Brazilian student.

(74)   I had been studying since five (when she came).

or

(75)   I had been studying for two hours (when she came).

because their Portuguese counterparts would be

(76)   Eu estava estudando desde as cinco (quando ela   che
             gou).

and

(77)   Eu estava estudando (durante) duas horas (quando ela
             chegou).

The tendency is to produce sentence

(78)   * I was studying for two yours (when she came)

or

(79)   * I was studying since five yesterday (when...).

             However, in English, the past continuous cannot   go
with a time adverbial, be it <u>since</u>, <u>for</u>, <u>yesterday</u>, etc.
             When a time adverbial appears, the past perfect   con
tinuous is used.

(80)   I had been studying for two hours (yesterday)   when
             she came.

             If the past continuous is to be used, no time   adver
bial is allowed.

(81)   I was studying when she came.

                         — * —

3.   We will compare most of the grammatical sentences pre
sented so far, in order to see, in broader terms, how tense and as
pect work, and thus, try to formalize some rules which will   ac-
count for the generation of grammatical sentences.

(82)   a. They have lived in Florianópolis since 1950.

b. Eles moram em Florianópolis desde 1950.

(83) a. They have lived in Florianópolis sinde 1950.
      b. Eles têm morado em Florianópolis desde 1950.

(84) a. They have lived in Florianópolis for ten years.
      b. Eles moram em Florianópolis há dez anos.
      c. Faz dez anos que eles moram em Florianópolis.
      d. Eles têm morado aqui há dez anos.

(85) a. We have known each other for many years.
      b. Nós nos conhecemos há muitos anos (pres.).
      c. Faz muito anos que nós nos conhecemos.

(86) a. We knew each other many years ago.
      b. Nós nos conhecemos há muitos anos atrás.

(87) a. Helen and her husband have been living in Rio for
         five years.
      b. Helena e seu marido estão morando no Rio há cinco
         anos.
      c. Faz cinco anos que Helena e seu marido estão moran
         do no Rio.

(88) a. I have been working.
      b. Eu tenho estado trabalhando.

(89) a. I have been studying.
      b. Eu tenho estado estudando.

(90) a. Mary had studied (for) eight years (before she de
         cided to take that exam.).
      b. Maria tinha estudado (durante) oito anos (antes de
         se decidir a fazer aquele exame).

(91) a. Mary studied for eight years (before she   decided
         to take that exam).
      b. Maria estudou (durante) oito anos (antes de se de
         cidir a fazer aquele axame).

(92) a. She said that Peter had left.
      b. Ela disse que Pedro tinha partido.

(93)   a. She said that Peter left.

      b. Ela disse que Pedro partiu.

(94)   a. She said that she needed that book.

      b. Ela disse que (ela) estava precisando daquele li
        vro.

      c. Ela disse que (ela) precisava daquele livro.

(95)   a. She said that she was working.

      b. Ela disse que estava trabalhando.

(96)   a. I had been studying since five (when she came).

      b. Eu estava estudando desde as cinco (quando ela che
        gou).

      c. Eu tinha estado estudando desde as cinco (quando
        ela chegou).

(97)   a. I had been studying for two hours last night (when
        she came).

      b. Eu estava estudando há duas horas ontem à noite
       (quando ela chegou).

before proceeding to the rules, it is necessary to say that, in Portuguese, sentences with <u>desde</u> (since), which normally require a present tense, may also be used with the past, a fact that does not occur in English.

    Compare the sentences

(98)   Many new words have entered the language since 1940.

(99)   Muitas palavras novas <u>entraram</u> na língua desde 1940.

(100)   Ele <u>trabalhou</u> desde as nove horas.

    Sentence (100) used with the past tense indicates that the period of time in question is over. In English, however, senten ce (100) would be.

(101)   * He worked since nine o'clock.

    In English, <u>since</u> cannot go with a past tense, and sen tence (100) makes me suspect that perhaps in the deep structure ,

it would be

(102)   Ele trabalhou das nove horas <u>até às doze</u>.

         Where <u>até às doze</u> (until twelve) is deleted,   genera
ting sentence (100). If this is true, sentence.

(103)   He worked from nine to twelve o'clocl.

would account for sentence (100).

                          – * –

         Now, we will see how a transformational grammar would
deal with all the above sentences.

         Grammar I (English and Portuguese)

         S ————————→ NP + VP
         VP ———————→ V (NP) (Place) (Time)
         V ————————→ V + Tense (Perfect) (Progressive)

                         $\begin{cases} + \text{ point in time} \\ + \text{ period pf time} \end{cases}$
         Time

         Point in time ————→ Prep + NP
         Period of time ————→ Prep + NP
         Place ———————————→ Prep + NP

                         $\begin{cases} \text{Past} \\ \text{Present} \end{cases}$
         Tense

         NP ————————Det + N
         V ————————— CS
         N ————————— CS
         Prep ———————— CS

                          – * –

There are many subcategorization rules which are not stated here. For instance, in connection with NP in the above rules, strict subcategorization rules are necessary to avoid the generation of ungrammatical sentences of the type

(104)   * The stones have lived in Rio,since 1950.

or

(105)   * They have rained for a long time.

In sentence (104), we see that the VP imposes selectional restrictions on the NP. The same happens to sentence (105) where the NP (subject) imposes selectional restrictions on the VP and vice-versa.

— * —

Examining sentences (82a) and (82b) together with (84a) and (84b), and replacing their Prepositional Phrases, we would have the following ungrammatical strings

(106)   * Eles moram em Florianópolis desde 10 anos.

(107)   * They have lived in Florianópolis since 10 years.

(108)   * Eles moram em Florianópolis há 1950.

(109)   * They have lived in Florianópolis for 1950.

Here, again, some selectional rules are required to state that for goes with a phrase indicating a period of time and since must be followed by a phrase expressing a point in time, as was discussed in 1.1.a.

— * —

Relevant subcategorization rules for English

$$\text{for}\ \left[+\text{Prep, }+\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{Perfective}\\\text{Perfective + Progressive}\\\text{Past}\end{array}\right\}\ \left[\begin{array}{l}+\text{period}\\\text{of time}\end{array}\right]\right]$$

$$\text{since}\ \left[+\text{Prep, }+\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{Perfective}\\\\\text{Perfective + Progressive}\end{array}\right\}\ \left[\begin{array}{l}+\text{ point}\\\text{in time}\end{array}\right]\right]$$

Relevant subcategorization rules for Portuguese

$$\text{há}\ \left[+\text{V }+\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{Tense}\\\text{Tense + Progressive}\\\text{Perfective}\\\text{Perfective + Progressive}\end{array}\right\}\ \left[\begin{array}{l}+\text{period}\\\text{of time}\end{array}\right]\right]$$

$$\text{Tense}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{Present}\\\text{Past}\end{array}\right\}$$

$$\text{desde}\ \left[+\text{Prep, }+\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{Tense}\\\text{Tense + Progressive}\\\text{Perfective}\\\text{Perfective + Progressive}\end{array}\right\}\ \left[\begin{array}{l}+\text{point}\\\text{in time}\end{array}\right]\right]$$

$$\text{Tense}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{Present}\\\text{Past}\end{array}\right\}$$

In a transformational grammar discussed above where selectional restrictions are required, stated through sub categotization rules, and after all transformations take place, we will be able to generate grammatical sentences.

Let's take the verb to smoke to see if the above rules work. We have to bear in mind the notion of dynamic and stative verbs and the selectional rules imposed by them, dis cussed in this paper.

(110)   a. They have smoked since 1950.
         b. Eles fumam desde 1950.

(111)   a. They have smoked since 1950.
         b. Eles têm fumado desde 1950.

(112)   a. They have smoked for ten years.
         b. Eles fumam há dez anos.
         c. Faz dez anos que eles fumam.

(113)   a. We have smoked for many years.
         b. Nós fumamos há muitos anos (pres.).

(114)   a. We smoked many years ago.
         b. Nós fumamos há muitos anos atrás.

(115)   a. Helen and her husband have been smoking for five
            years.
         b. Helena e seu marido estão fumando há cinco anos.
         c. Helena e seu marido têm estado fumando há cinco
            anos.
         d. Faz cinco anos que Helena e seu marido estão fu-
            mando no Rio.

(116)   a. I have been smoking.
         b. Eu estava fumando.

(117)   a. Mary had smoked for ... (before ...).
         b. Maria tinha fumado ... (antes de ...).

(118)   a. Mary smoked for ... (before ...).
         b. Maria fumou ... (antes de ...).

(119)   a. She said that Peter had smoked.
         b. Ela disse que Pedro tinha fumado.

(120)   a. She said that Peter smoked.
         b. Ela disse que Pedro fumou.

(121)   a. She said that she smoked.
         B. Ela disse que ela fumou.
         c. Ela disse que ela fumava.

(122)   a. She said that she was smoking.

                b. Ela disse que ela estava fumando.

(123)   a. I had been smoking since five (when...).

                b. Eu estava fumando desde as cinco (quando...).

                c. Eu tinha estado fumando desde as cinco (quando...).

(124)   a. I had been for two hours 1st night (when...).

                b. Eu estava fumando há duas horas ontem à noite (quando...).

Turning back to the list of revelant data, let us see where they break these rules:

Data:

(1) * They live in Florianópolis since 1950.

(2) * They live in Florianópolis since years.

(3) * We know each other for quite a few years.

(4) * Helen and her husband are living in Rio for five years.

In the above sentences, the student used the simple present (1, 2, and 3) and the present continuous in (4). The rules state that since always requires the perfective in English. In Portuguese, desde ' generally requires a simple present. For may require either the perfec tive or the past. Given the fact that sentences (1), (2), and relate to the Universal present perfect, this way the perfective is required.

In sentence

(5) * Helen has been lived in Rio for five years

Sentences

(6) * Mary has worked in Rio in 1970 and.

(7) We've known each other in California many <u>years</u> <u>ago</u> broke the rule because no definitive time adverbial can be used with the present perfect (see p. 68, 1.4.)

Sentence

(8) * Mary has studied for eight years before she decided to take that exam.

Is ungrammatical because the student failed to apply the no tion of anteriority discussed in 2. 1.a, p.49).

In saying

(12) * She said that she was needing that book

The student misused a stative verb (see 1. b. p. 30 - 31). by generalizing progressive aspect when it is not permissible.

(13) * I was studying for two hours yesterday (when she ca
        me)

Breaks the rules because a past continuous cannot be used with _for_ or _since_ + time adverbial or time adverbial clause. The rules say that in this case the past perfect continuous (perfective) is re quired.

In sentence

(14) * He worked since nine o'clock the student broke the rule by using _since_ with the past, and since can only go with the per fective.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

1.   As I said in the second chapter of this paper, after a discussion on the uses of the present perfect based primarily on McCawley and Leech, I see, in broader terms, two different uses of the present perfect: the Universal and the Existential.

1.1.   The Universal indicates that an action, event or state of affairs which began in the past continues up to the   present time, or — as McCawley put it — it indicates that a   state   of affairs prevailed throughout some interval stretching from   the past into the present:

(1)   I've lived here since 1970.

or

(2)   I've lived here for six years.

1.2.   The Existential is used to indicate the existence   of past events or to describe an action, event or state of   affairs that took place at least once in the past:

(3)   I've read that book many times.

or

(4)   I've already read that book.

1.2.a.   Many grammarians state that the present perfect (Exis tential case) is used in opposition to the simple past taking into account the expression of definite and indefinite time.

        In examining Barbara Peterson's research, who analyzed ten American plays, one reads that "the present perfect is   used more often without any adverbial expression at all". And   further on: "This usage without adverbial clues is the most difficult   to predict, because the simple past is used under the same   circumstan ces".

        In fact, these "circumstances" refer to different "pasts":

     (a) The immediate past

     (b) The recent past

     (c) An indefinite period of time up to the moment of
         speaking.

Examples:

TIME ZONE	PRESENT PERFECT	SIMPLE PAST
Immediate Past	You've made a very nice entrance	A penguin bit me!.
	What's (what has) happened?	What happened?
Recent Past	I've been to see Mrs. Passos	I see you checked the list, lady.
	Lord bottomly has asked me to marry him.	Did you have an acci dent?
Unspecified Time in the Past	Yes, I've been in Haiti and Mexico	Paul's a man who lost his faith.
	I've been through what you're going through now	I know, ...I read about it.
Indefinite Period up to the Moment of Speaking	Things have been pretty slim for me.	I put 34 years into this firm and now I can't pay my insurance.
	Do you know I haven't met a single friend of yours?	

     She points out that "the simple past was used more often than the present perfect in situations which either could serve. Out of the ' 1,474 occurrences of the present perfect and simple past without adverbs, there were 804 cases of the simple past as compared to 670 cases of the present perfect".

In American English, there is a high degree of interchangeability as far as the present perfect and the simple past are concerned. This degree of interchangeability concerns the existential case of the present perfect and not the universal.

The following examples strengthen my suspicion, because they refer to sentences in which both the simple past and the present perfect appear.

Same Verb:

Well, you won...
Look, Sherry, it's over, and you've won.

Where were you?
Where have you been?

I heard plenty.
I've heard a lot about it.

They caught an iguana.
The Mexican boys that work here have caught an iguana.

Some cases were found in which the same speaker uses "the past tense and the present perfect indiscriminately in the same sentence when talking about the same subject or when referring to the same subject at a different time, or by two different speakers talking about the same subject".

Same Speaker:

It's snapped ... It went snap... And it snapped! It finally snapped.

I don't think we've met... we talked on the phone.

Oh God! Those cables! If only Cossette hasn't - Cosette! Did you send those cables?

I've never been so frightened in my life... I was never so frightened in my life.

Same Situation:

Speaker A: Oh my God I forget all about this.
Speaker B: I haven't. I've told everybody 3:30... We promised the
           delegates 3:30.

Speaker A: I've invited myself for the weekend.
Speaker B: I'm glad you did.

The same applies to adverbs:

PRESENT PERFECT	PAST
Have you ever heard of Harris Mitchell?	Did you ever hear how Crockfield started?
This is one of the finest examples I've ever seen.	This is one of the most fascinating relaxation I ever found.
Have you never had in your life any kind of a love life?	You look wonderful - I never saw you look better.
I've just heated up the coffee want some?	Well, I just got here...

1.2.b.   As far as the perfect constructions are concerned, I agree with Twaddell[1] that they are marked for "current relevance" simply by being in the perfect form, i.e., even if a perfect construction indicates the existence of past events (the existential case), it carries the meaning of "current relevance" (see a discussion on the question of presuppositions in Chapter II).

On the other hand, a sentence in the past tense is not necessarily excluded from the meaning of "current relevance" just by being in the past tense. The meaning of "current relevance" may be attached to a past tense, "by the presence of some other.

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1. Twaddell, W. F. The Englihs Verb Auxiliaries. 2nd Edition. 3rd
   Printing. Brown University Press.Providence, Rhode Island,1968.

element connected with the sentence: an adverb, the context, the situation".

Compare the sentences

(5)   The Christmas tree fell on Mr. Stanley. He's got a big bump on his forehead.

(6)   I put a touch of absinthe in the dough. Do you like it?

In the above sentences, the simple past as well as the present perfect are used "to describe events somehow connected with the present". We see that a verb used in the past does not necessarily have only a past meaning; it may also indicate "current relevance" whenever some other element accounts for it.

However, a verb in the perfect construction "is expli citly marked for current relevance simply by being in the perfect form".

1.3   In connection with present perfects, in Portuguese the first case (Universal) is expressed by the simple present:

(7)   I've smoked since 1970.

(8)   Eu fumo desde 1970.

(9)   I've smoked for ten years.

(10)   Eu fumo há dez anos.

and the second case (Existential) is expressed by the simple past:

(11)   I've gone to Rio three times.

(12)   Eu fui ao Rio três vezes.

(13)   I have smoked.

(14)   Eu fumei.

1.4.   In relation to the interchangeability of the present perfect-simple past, the opposite is not true. The simple past followed by a definite time adverbial cannot by any means be replaced by the present perfect, otherwise an ungrammatical sentence of the type *I have written a letter yesterday would be generated, as was discussed in Chapter Two (1.5.a.).

1.5.   The question of presuppositions may well be illustrated by the use of the pretérito perfeito composto in Portuguese. Compare the sentences

(15)   Eu amei.

(16)   Eu tenho amado.

(17)   Este livro foi-me útil,

(18)   Este livro tem me sido útil.

   Sentences (15) and (17) used in the simple past indicate that a event took place at a given time in the past, but sentences (16) and (18) indicate the results of a past action, whose consequences are manifested in the present time ("current relevance").

1.6.   In relation to the distinction between the present perfect (the Universal) and the present perfect continuous, there is a certain degree of interchangeability. Sentences

(19)   Mary has lived here for ten years

and

(20)   Mary has been living here for ten years

or

(21)   Mary has lived here since 1960

and

(22)   Mary has been living here since 1960.

are intercheangable. The use of the continuous form indicates   em
phasis on duration. In spoken English, the present perfect   conti
nuous is preferred with certain verbs if it is possible to choose.

         (a) The present perfect continuous is sometimes   used
for describing an event of limited duration continuing up to   the
present (or very recent past).

(23)   He's been running (He's run is normally   unacceptable
             without an adverb).

(24)   I've been studying (I've studied is normally   unaccep
             table without an adverb).

         This use of the present perfect continuous is frequen
tly found with activity verbs (e. g. run, work, talk,smoke, watch,
listen, drive, etc.).

         (b) The present perfect continuous is used when   an
action is not necessarily completed.

(25)   He's been mending the T. V. (and perhaps it is   still
             not mended).

         The use of the present perfect He's mended the T.   V.
indicates that the T. V. is now mended and works properly.

         (c) The present perfect continuous is also used   when
the action may have recently finished, but its results are   appa
rent. The action lasted over a period of time, for which Progressi
ve Aspect is natural.

(26)   It's been raining (the ground is wet).

(27)   We've been sun-bathing (we're brown).

         (d) When the object of the verb is quantified,   the
present perfect (simple) is normally used.

(28)   He has smoked five cigarettes.

1.7.   In present study I analyzed Leech's and MeCawley's clas sification of the present perfect and tried to conflate them   and present them in broader terms. For teaching purposes, I think   that the classification adopted - the one relating to the Universal   and Existential cases seems to be practical. A presentation of the inter changeability the present perfect - simple past in connection   with the Existential case clarifies the difficulties.

The merging of the Universal case with the   continuous form is not always possible. A number of restrictions ate imposed on the main verb.

The purpose of such a study is to a clear and practical' view of the English verb, especially of the perfect   constructions which are regarded as the most difficult.

APPENDIX I
PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS

1.   Given the fact that this paper has practical purposes, I would like to present in this brief section some ideas on the   teaching of verb forms which this paper has treated.

1.1.   Before the presentation of the present perfect, the stu dents should know to use both the present tense and the past tense. The past tense should be   taught with expressions of definite   time such as last year, ago, in 1959, yesterday, etc. (See Chapter Three, 1.2.a)   This should be emphasized to avoid, at a later stage,the use of the present perfect with adverbials of definite time.

        This paper has emphasized that the present perfect   is never used with such expressions.

1.2.   After the past tense is thoroughly mastered by the student the present perfect (Existential case) must be presented in   contrast to the past tense.

1.3   Then present perfect (Existential) can be presented   with such words as ever, never, sometimes, just, already, etc.

        The teacher has to bear in mind that the Existential   present perfect may be substituted by the past tense (See Concluding Remarks). However, the teacher shouldn't at the very beginning cause   ' confusion in the minds of the stendents. At a later and more   advanced stage, he will explain the differences between the present perfect and the simple past which ate concerned with presuppositions.

1.4   After the presentation of the existential case, the   universal present perfect has to be presented. I think that a good   way to teach it, with the present tense, due to the fact that in   portuguese, both are translated as the present tense.
The use of since and for alone will account for the distinction   (on the surface) in English.

1.5   The present perfect continuous may be immediately presen ted. I think that the teacher should copare it to the present   continuous. since and for will account for the defference.

1.6.   The past perfect is not going to present major difficul
ties as the present perfect. It indicates <u>anteriority</u> in both   En
glish and Portuguese, Notice that in spoken English as well as in
spoken Portuguese both the past perfect and the past are used.

E. G.

A teacher I had adored died.

or

A teacher I adored died.

The past perfect is also used after "reporting" verbs in
the past tense such as <u>said</u>, <u>told</u> <u>thought</u>, etc. Notice that the sim
ple past may also be used in spoken English and in spoken Portuguese
(See Chapter three, 2.1.b.).

APPENDIX II

TRANSFORMATION DRILLS

A) Transform the sentence from the Simple Past into the Present Perfect
   (Omit the adverb of definite time)

   1. She wrote many letters yesterday.
   2. He lay in the sun this adternoon.
   3. She saw my new shirt last night.
   4. She accused the murderer Yesterday.
   5. They worried about me yesterday afternoon.

B) Transform the sentences from the Simple Present into the Simple Pre
   sent Perfect using since or for.

   1. She studies English.
   2. The girl works in the library.
   3. My brother smokes Brazilian cigarettes.
   4. The teacher works here.
   5. The boy waits for his girl-friend after class.

C) Transform the sentences from the Present Continuous into the Present
   Perfect Continuous using since or for.

   1. She is studying English now.
   2. The girl is working in the library this afternoon.
   3. My brother is smoking now.
   4. The teachers are working hard today.
   5. I am teaching English this morning.

D) Tranform the sentence from Simple Present Perfect into the Present
   Perfect Continuous.

   1. The boy has cried for a long time.
   2. My sister has studied English since 1965.
   3. The boys have fought for fifteen minutes.
   4. They have rested under the tree for two hours.
   5. The teacher has worked here since last year.

APPENDIX III

This is a list of dynamic verbs taken from A <u>University</u> <u>of English</u>.

(1) Activity verbs: abondon, ask, beg, call, drink, eat, help, learn, listen, look at, play, rain, read, say, slice, throw, whisper, work, write, etc.

(2) Process verbs: change, deteriorate, grow, mature, slow down, widen, etc. Both activity and process verbs are frequen tly used in progressive aspect to indicate incomplete events in pro gress.

(3) Verbs of bodily sensation (ache, feel, hurt, itch , etc) can have either simple or progressive aspect with little diffe rence in meaning.

(4) Transitional event verbs (arrive, die, fall, land,le ave, lose, etc) occur in the progressive but with a change of mea ning compared with simple aspect. The progressive implies inception ie; only the approach to the transition.

(5) Momentary verbs Ihit, jump, kick, knock, nod, tap, etc) have little duration. and thus the progressive aspect power fully suggests repetition.

In addition to it, a list of stative verbs from the same source follows:

(1) Verbs of inert perception and cognition: abhor, ado re, astonish, believe, desire, detest, dislike, doubt, feel, forgi ve, guess, hate, heat, imagine, impress, intend, know, like, love, mean, mind, perceive, please, prefer, presuppose, realize, recall, recognize, regard, remember, satisfy, see, smell, taste, think, un derstand, want, wish, etc.

(2) Relational verbs: apply, to (everyone), be, belong to, concern, consist of, contain, cost, depend, on, deserve, equal, fit, have, include, involve, lack, matter, need, owe, own, possess, remain (a bachelor), require, resemble, seem, sound, suffice, tend, etc.

APPENDIX IV

Time expressions used with the simple past (by Barbara A. Peterson)

- After (plus a time expression) - after that; after the war.
- ago - several years ago; long ago; 20 years ago.
- at (plus a time expression)- at one o'clock; at the ti me; at that; at birth; at the age four; at first.
- before (as definite time) - I'm sorry for what I said ' before.
- In (plus a time expression - in February; in her youth; in 1944; in those days.
- last - last week, month, etc., the last time; her last hunting trip; the last to ...
- lat/later - late in life; later on; twelve months la ter.
- minute/moment (with the) - the minute I saw; the mo ment we met.
- next - the next day.
- once - meaning "at one time", "once upon a time".
- onr - one day; one Sunday; one time.
- other (with the) - the other night; the other day.
- that/those - that night; those days.
- then - by then; just then.
- until (plus a time expression) - until much later.
- what time - as an interrogative.
- when - as an interrogative.
- yesterday - day before yesterday, etc.
- in subordinate clauses after said, thought, etc.
- in subordinate clauses following after, before, since, until, when, while - if the main clause is in the past.
- in the main clause when the verb in the subordinate clau se is in the past tense after: after, before, until , when, while.
- after if, as like, suppose, ans would rather when the verb expresses a contrary-to-fact situation.
- after wish.
- when the person spoken about is dead.

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