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PAST TEMPORAL MEANINGS AND VERB   FORMS

IN ENGLISH   AND PORTUGUESE

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PAST TEMPORAL MEANINGS AND VERB FORMS

IN ENGLISH AND PORTUGUESE

ESTA TESE FOI JULGADA ADEQUADA PARA A OBTENÇÃO DO GRAU DE

- MESTRE EM LETRAS -

OPÇÃO INGLÊS E LITERATURA CORRESPONDENTE E APROVADA EM SUA
FORMA FINAL PELO PROGRAMA DE PÓS-GRADUAÇÃO

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À minha família

A Rogério

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RESUMO

A ausência de uma correspondência "um a um" entre as formas verbais do passado em Inglês e em Português levou-nos a investigar as razões que causam tais diferenças em ambas as línguas.

Nós levantamos a hipótese de que uma análise partindo do significado para forma, baseada na categoria Aspecto e nas relações de ordem, pode explicar o que causa tal não equivalência.

A análise é baseada na abordagem de Bull, não somente porque é a mais abrangente - ela pode ser usada para qualquer língua - mas também porque explica objetivamente as várias relações entre os significados e suas expressões formais.

A análise realizada provou que as diferenças estruturais entre Inglês e Português estão, em sua maioria, relacionadas às diferentes expressões conceituais de ordem e aspecto dos eventos com uma referência temporal.

ABSTRACT

The lack of a one-to-one correspondence between the past verb forms in English and Portuguese has led us to search for the reasons which account for such difference in both languages.

We hypothesize that an analysis which goes from meaning to form, based on order relations and Aspect, can establish what lies behind those non-equivalences.

The analysis is based on Bull's approach not only because it is the most comprehensive - it can be applied to any language - but also because it explains objectively the various relationships between meanings and their formal expressions.

The analysis undertaken has proved that the structural differences between English and Portuguese are mostly related to the different conceptual realizations of the order of events and aspects of events to an axis of orientation.

INTRODUCTION

English and Portuguese belong to the same group of
languages which have a tense-aspect verb system, as Bull's
study - "Time, Tense and the Verb" - has shown. In both
languages, every tense form has a specific time reference, and
marked[1] aspect is indicated by auxiliary verbs.

There are, however, striking differences between the
two systems. One of the differences - the problem we are mainly
concerned with here - is the lack of a formal one-to-one
correspondence between English and Portuguese tense forms that
denote past temporal relations.

The purpose of this study is to find out the different
realizations of past temporal meanings in English and Portuguese,
and to determine how these differences can be accounted for.

We hypothesize that equivalences between the English
and Portuguese relations hips of past temporal meanings can be
established by an analysis that goes from the description of

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[1]See section 2.4. on markedness.

past temporal meanings, based on the concepts of Time, Tense, and Aspect, to their corresponding tense forms in the two languages.

Chapter I presents a critical review of those concepts. The review of literature is restricted to the authors who have somehow contributed to clarify the questions at issue. Chapter II consists of an inventory of past meanings and an analysis of their different realizations both in English and Portuguese involving concepts such as axes of orientation, order and aspect. In Chapter III, errors from a translation text are analysed. It also presents a summary of the findings of this study.

C H A P T E R   I

General Review

1.0. The Concept of Time.

According to Jespersen (1924:256) "Time is something having one dimension only, thus capable of being represented by one straight line. On this straight line, the events which occur before and after the moment of speech are represented as in the diagram below.

```
                              O ─────────────────────────➤
        A past          B  present          C future
```
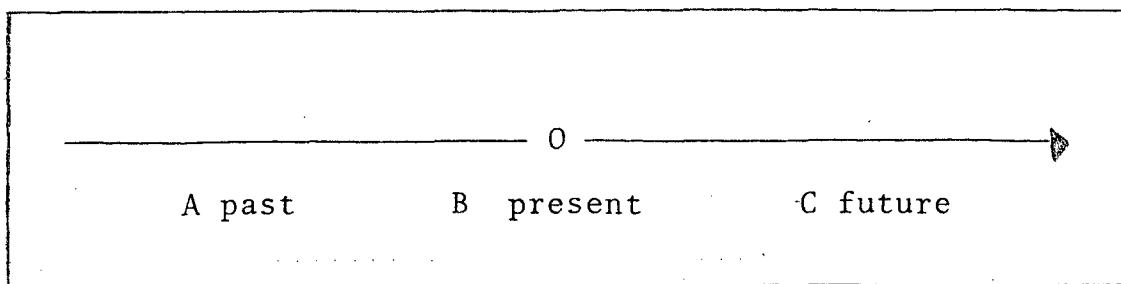
diagram I (Jespersen:257)

The present is the point at which we speak when we refer either to the present itself, to the past or to the future. In a more detailed diagram, partially reproduced here, Jespersen shows the interrelations within the past and future - "the intermediate times" - as he calls them, which are visualized on the same time line:

A past				C future		
before-past	past	after-past	present	before-future	future	after-future
Aa	Ab	Ac	B 0	Ca	Cb	Cc
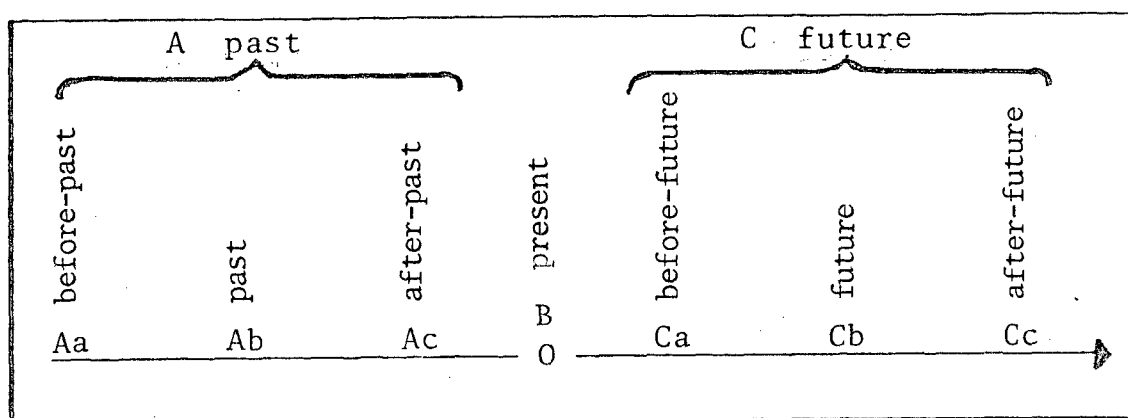
diagram II (Jespersen: p. 257

Bull (1960:4) also conceives of time as "an infinite straight line", which can be analysed in four different ways: 1) scientifically; 2) as the result of measurement by mechanical devices; 3) by subjective perception; 4) and by taking into account the practical purposes of our daily living. Since we deal with time in a very practical way, we think that the last is the most appropriate manner for the purposes of our work. According to this view, "time is an objective entity which man does something to, in, and with - the fourth dimension of objective reality." (4)

Bull, however, distinguishes two categories of time: personal time and public time, which derive from the two distinct

ways one measures time intervals and events. The categories
of time are described in sections 1.1. and 1.2..

Leech (1969:107f) analyses time in English from a
semantic point of view. He divides time into three systems:
the "Time-When" system, the "Duration" system, and the
"Frequency" system, which are realized by tense, aspect and
adverbials.

The "Time-When" system is marked by temporal adverbials
and comprises the dichotomies *before/after* and *period/moment*,
which define respectively tense and aspect in the verbal
group. The opposition before/after expresses "the notion of
precedence in time" (110) implying, therefore, a relation of
order, while period/moment "deals with time either as a
section of a continuum (as in *last Friday*) or as a point on
a continuum (as in *at eight o'clock*)." (110)

Leech's system of *Calendar Time* is included in the
system *Time-When* and comprises elements such as *hour* and *day*
which "can designate either (a) units of time measurement, or
(b) units which not only have a given length, but also begin
and end at a given point." (113f) Therefore, it also deals
with the relations of before/after and period/moment.

1.1. Public Time.

Public Time is measured by the observation of cosmic
phenomena, or by mechanical devices such as the clock.
Examples of Public Time are the seasons of the year, the
phases of the moon, the tides of the sea, the hour and its

divisions, and calendar time. Bull points out four factors
on which calendar time is based:

> (1) the name of the interval of time being used
> (Monday, 1922, and so on - each named interval
> having a fixed lenght), (2) the axis of
> orientation, (3) the three order relations to
> the axis of orientation, and (4) the position of
> each time interval established bidirectionally
> in terms of the intervals containing the axis
> of orientation. (10)

According to Bull, Public Time intervals have the
following characteristics: (1) fixed length; (2) infinite
number; (3) serial repetition; and (4) no interval between
the items in a given series.

1.2. Personal Time.

Personal Time is measured by our perception, our way
of experiencing things or by our emotions. Thus, expressions
such as *for ages* in *I've been waiting here for ages* may,in
fact,be no more than five minutes.

The time intervals of the Personal Calendar are of
indeterminate lenght, for instance, *now, the past, the
present, the future, the remote past, the recent past, the
immediate future, the distant future, a long/short time*,etc.

When we compare Public Calendar with Personal Calendar
time units we realize that the only common feature between
them is that they both contain an axis of orientation
without which it would not be possible to establish order
relations and, consequently, any kind of measurement would

be impossible. But there is a difference: while in the public
calendar the axis is constant within the same time unit, in
the personal calendar it is not, for *yesterday* becomes *today*,
today will be *tomorrow*, etc.

To Bull, calendar time expressions are only one of
the devices used to measure time and to talk about events.
Thus, expressions such as *after breakfast* could be used as
the axis of orientation of a personal calendar. Leech (1969:
113) also views expressions such as *after the war, after
Napoleon* and also *before /after lunchtime* as "an apparent
violation of the ordering system which is based on calendar
time expressions." Therefore, he, too, is concerned with
personal time expressions as axes of orientation of a
personal calendar.

Since we cannot locate events in time based either
on Public Time alone or on Personal time alone, they must be
equated. And they are equated by means of the personal axis
of orientation: the act of speaking, or rather the initiation
of the act of speaking, which is the only personal event
which is objective and which serves as an axis of orientation
in the two types of calendar.

1.3. Point Present/Extended Present

In relation to the personal axis of orientation,
which Bull calls *Point Present* and which others call either
the *Primary Point of Reference* (Leech: 1969) or *Present*

Moment, events can be either simultaneous or sequential. Because we are able to recall and antecipate, three order relations can be established at Point Present (PP): simultaneity, anteriority, and posteriority. Thus, we can have an event simultaneous with our perception of it, we can recollect an event, and we can antecipate an event. Point Present is, therefore, an <u>order present</u>. On the other hand, if we consider the time interval between recollection and antecipation, we will be dealing with <u>time present</u> or *Extended Present*. The *Extended Present*, a concept introduced by Bull, plays a very important role in the analysis of tense systems in that it explains, for example, how in English *what happened this morning* becomes *what has happened today*.

2.0. <u>Tense</u>.

The definitions of tense vary considerably. Some grammarians base their analysis on form, while others take both form and meaning into account.

Jespersen (1924:254) considers tenses as "time-indications expressed in verb forms". He divides tense into Preterite, Present and Future. He seems to identify natural time with tense since his division of tense follows the division of natural time. This is confirmed by the following diagram, which is an expansion of diagram II

The diagram (diagram III) shows a time line with seven points labeled Aa, Ab, Ac, B/O, Ca, Cb, Cc. Above the line: braces labeled "A Past" and "C Future". Upper labels: before-past, past, after-past, present, before-future, future, after-future. Lower labels: ante-preterit, preterit, post-preterit, present, ante-future, future, post-future.
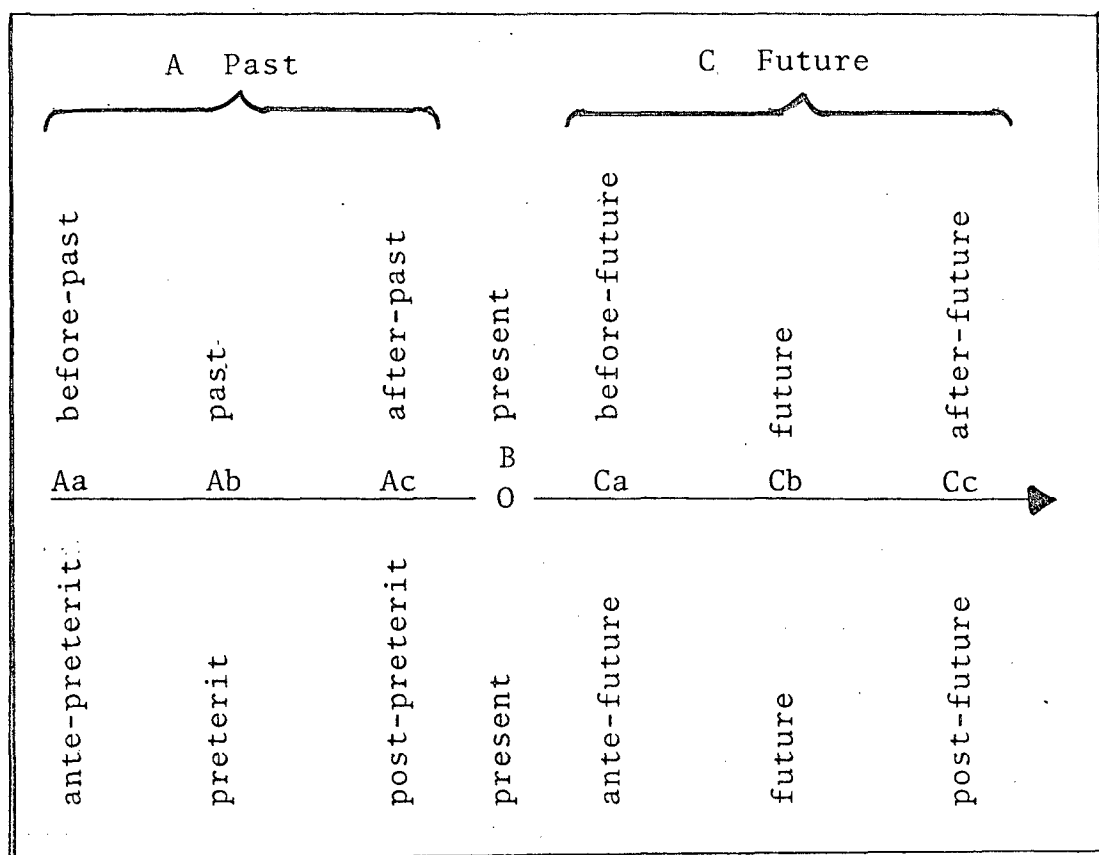
diagram III (Jespersen: 257)

Diagram III shows seven points, which divide the time line into main time (A and C) oriented to a point in the present (B) and subordinative times (Aa and Ac), oriented to a point in the past (Ab), and (Ca and Cc) oriented to a point in the future (Cb). All of them are related to the corresponding tense forms. Such a division, however, is criticised by Lyons (1970: 305) who says that "many treatments of tense have been vitiated by the assumption that the *natural* division of time into *past, present* and *future* is necessarily reflected in language. Even Jespersen falls victim to this assumption in his discussion of tense".

With regard to the division of Tenses, Tregidgo (1979: 191) points out that

> we may say that in English we have an obligatory primary choice between *past* and *non past*, and an optional secondary choice between *before* and *after*. (...)
> All tense forms in English are therefore either past or non-past, the past forms being related to a past viewpoint (in Bull's terminology *orientation*), and the non-past to a present viewpoint, or more exactly to the moment of speech.

Such a treatment bears in a certain way some similarities with Jespersen's internal division of time/tenses.

The division of tenses had already been discussed by H. E. Palmer and F. G. Blandford (1924:176). According to them, there are only two tenses in English "to cover the past-present-future time continuum" and that "apart from occasional references to the future in some subordinate clauses, the past tenses are limited to indicating past time, but present tenses are frequently used to refer to future time." F. R. Palmer (1974:43) also holds this view and considers that "the most important function of tense is to indicate past and present time".

The terminology used by Crystal (1966), Lyons (1970), Quirk et al. (1972), Langacker (1972) and Tregidgo (1979) - *Past/Non-Past* - is more comprehensive since *Non-Past* implies Present and Future irrespective of the verb forms used.

Most Brazilian grammarians divide Tense into Preterite, Present, and Future. Mattoso Câmara (1976:22), however, calls attention to the fact that "in spite of the three temporal markers, the temporal division in linguistic terms is based, in fact, on the dichotomy Present/Preterite", since futurity is

more concerned with uncertainty .and possibility.

Mattoso Câmara's (1976) first concern when he deals with *Tempo* (tense) in Portuguese is to set the moment of speech as the primary reference point in relation to the event. He considers such a relation as *subjective* because it is based on the speaker's point of view. Others, such as Eunice Pontes (1972), Evanildo Bechara (1974), Rocha Lima (1976) also take the moment of the utterance as the primary reference point.

Ataliba Castilho (1968:15), however, postulates three reference points. He says that

> a categoria do *tempo* localiza o processo num dado mo
> mento servindo-se de pontos de referência em número
> de três: o próprio falante, o momento em que se de-
> senrola outro processo e o momento em que idealmente
> se situa o falante, deslocando-se para o passado ou
> futuro.

From the definitions examined so far, we can set up at least two general functions of tense:

1) To relate the time of the event to the moment of the utterence.

2) To express relations of order (before/after).

These two functions will be better understood after we have discussed the axes of orientation and the hypothetical tense system proposed by Bull.

2.1. Axes of Orientation.

Bull has devised four time lines, which represent

axes of orientation: PP, or Point Present (sings); RP,
Retrospective Point (sang); AP, Antecipated Point (will
have sung); RAP, Retrospective Antecipated Point (would
have sung). PP is the primary axis of orientation. It is an
Order Present from which the speaker perceives, infers, etc;
but it is the initiation of speech that marks PP. AP and RP
are projected from PP, whereas RAP is projected from RP. As
can be noted, the moment of speech (PP) is basic to all
relations. From RP, the second axis of orientation and a
backward shift of PP, the speaker can refer to a time before
RP or to a time after RP but before the present -
had sung and *would sing*. From RAP, the fourth axis, the
speaker recalls events whose realization depended on a
previous condition.

The relation of order is explicit in all axes; it
is indicated by order symbols: - (minus), O (zero), and +
(plus) indicators. Thus, an event can be either anterior to
(-), simultaneous with (0), or posterior (+) to an axis of
orientation, as shown in the graphic representation in
2.2.1..

2.2. Two Similar Tense Systems.

We will now describe Bull's hypothetical system and
Leech's English system. In spite of the similarities, there
are considerable differences between them.

2.2.1. Bull's Hypothetical Tense System.

Bull's hypothetical tense system is based on the concepts of order, aspect and axes of orientation. Why does he postulate four axes of orientation (or time lines)?

As he says

> events, like points on a line in space can be meaningfully organized only in terms of one axis of orientation at a time. In recollection, the act of recalling is PP and the event recalled is an event which was once PP but now is RP, then it serves in recollection as the prime axis of orientation around which all possible events are now organized. (...) Once the speaker has moved from PP to RP in recollection, PP ceases to be a relevant entity. (24)

Furthermore, PP and RP are actual events performed by the speaker while RAP and AP are not. Since RP is always anterior to PP and AP is always posterior to it, there is an apparent identification of the axes of orientation and the divisions of natural time. However, a fourth axes is required to explain events not actually performed but which were considered as future when viewed from a past viewpoint.

In the following diagram presented by Bull, we can visualize the four axes and their order-relations. The Portuguese verb forms have been added in order to show the structural equivalences.

```
ρ          E(PP-V)           E(PPOV)           E(PP+V)
─────────── has  sung ─────────── sings ─────────── will sing ─────── α
           tem cantado          canta            cantará

                                    /  ╲
                                   /    ╲
                                  /      ╲
                                 /        ╲     E(AP-V)      E(APOV)    E(AP+V)
                                /          ╲  ── will have sung ── zero ── zero ── α
                               /            ╲      terá cantado
                              /
                             /
                            /
       E(RP-V)      E(RPOV)/
ρ ── had  sung ── sang ─────────────────── would sing ─────────────── α
   tinha cantado  cantou  ╲                cantaria
                           ╲
                            ╲
                             ╲      E(RAP-V)      E(RAPOV)    E(RAP+V)
                              ╲ ── would have sung ── zero ── zero ─────── α
                                    teria cantado
```
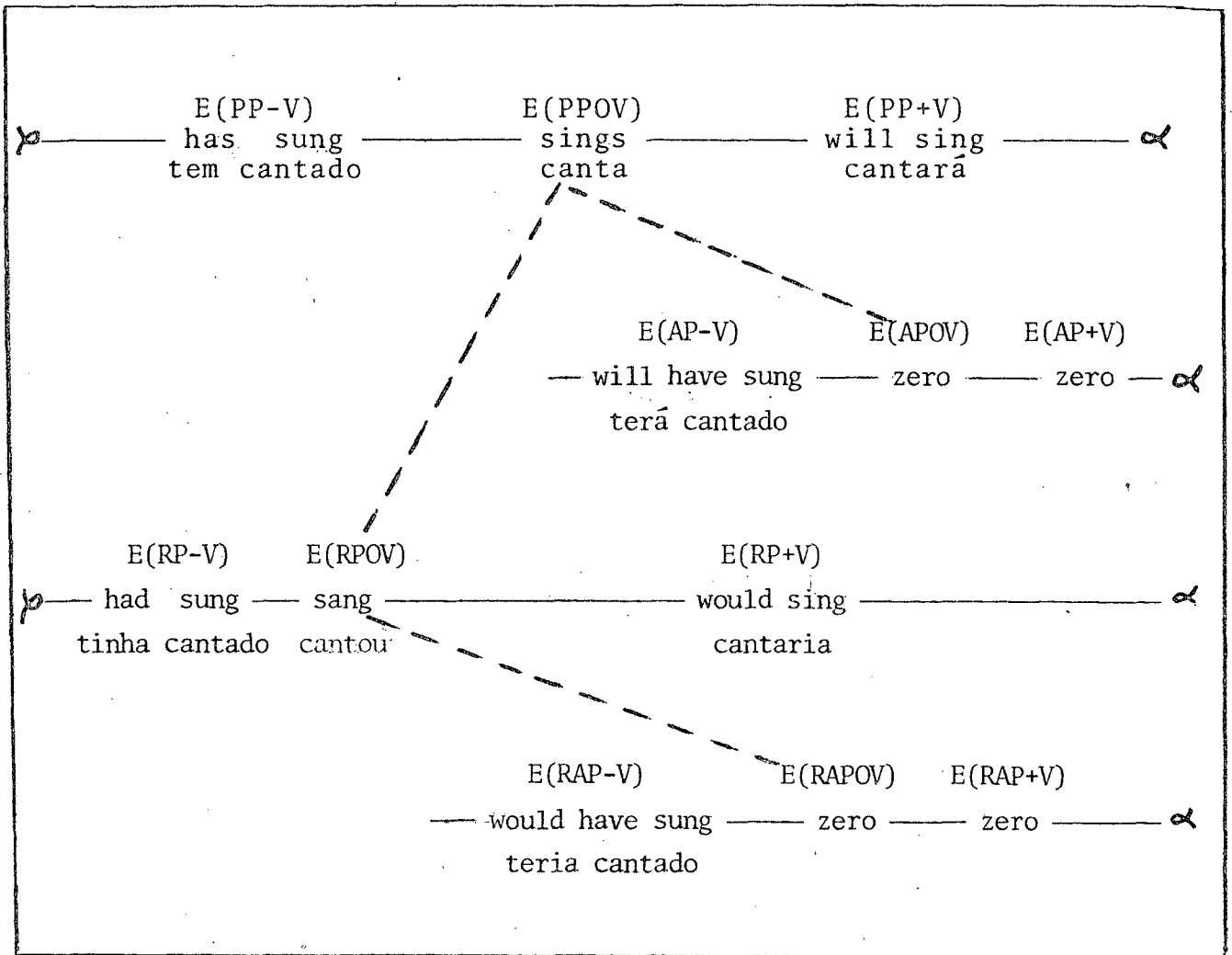
diagram IV (Bull:25)

In the diagram, *E* stands for *event*, representing any verb stem;
V stands for *vector*, which means direction. Each formula shows
the order relations between an event and an axis of orientation:
E(PPOV) indicates that the event takes place at PP; E(PP-V)
indicates that the event took place before PP and that it is
oriented to PP; and E(PP+V) indicates that the event is
antecipated at PP and it is oriented to PP. Order and direction
are indicated in the same way in the other axes.

2.2.2. Leech's Tense System.

Leech's (1969:147f) tense system for English is also based on order relations and direction to axes of orientation - his *points of reference* (PR). It differs from Bull's in regard to axes of orientation, as can be seen in the diagram:

```
┌──────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                              1 PR                                  │
│        PRESENT                 ◉              He sees me            │
│                                                                    │
│                      2 PR     1 PR                                 │
│        PAST DEFINITE  ◉ ◄────── ◉             He saw me            │
│                                                                    │
│                               1 PR                                 │
│        PAST INDEFINITE    ◄─────── ◉          He has seen me       │
│                                                                    │
│                               1 PR                                 │
│        FUTURE                  ◉ ─────────► He will see me         │
│                                                                    │
│                      2 PR     1 PR                                 │
│        PLUPERFECT  ◄───── ◉ ◄────── ◉        He had seen me        │
│                                                                    │
│                               1 PR   2 PR                          │
│        FUTURE PERFECT          ◉ ─────►◉     He will have seen me  │
│                                   ◄──────                          │
│                                                                    │
│                      2 PR     1 PR                                 │
│        FUTURE IN THE  ◉ ◄─────── ◉           He was to see me      │
│           PAST           ────────►                                 │
└──────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
```
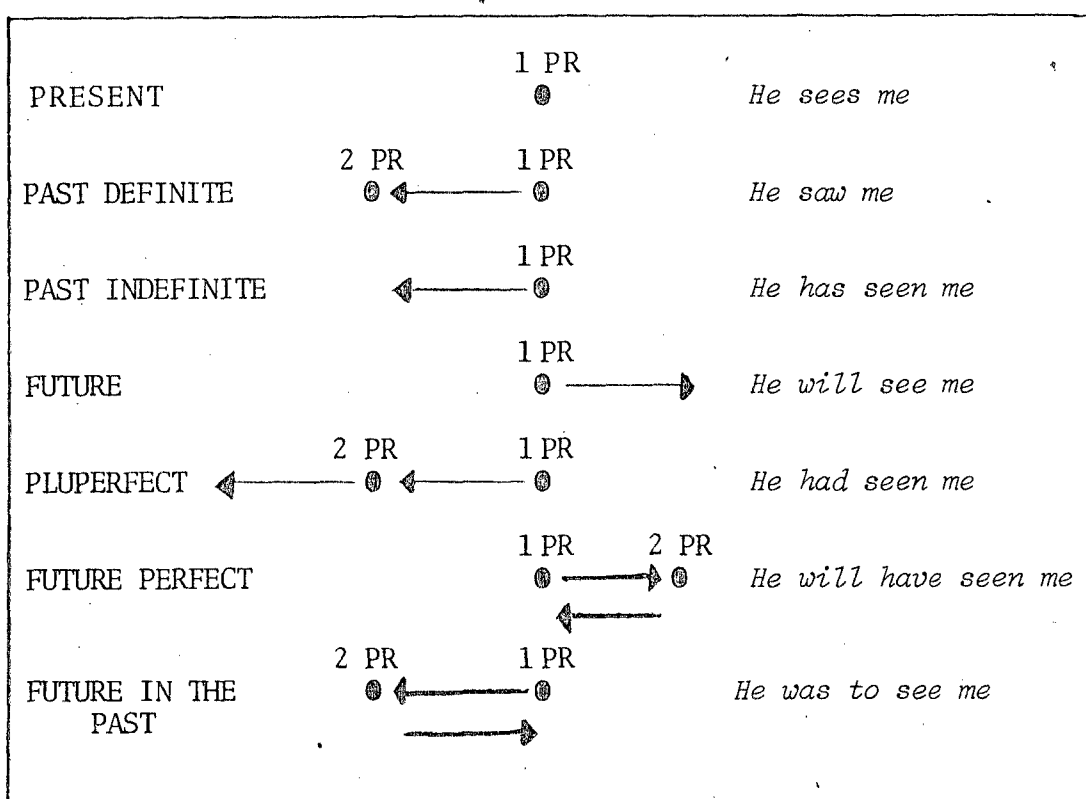
diagram V (Leech:147)

Leech's view of Tense is also based on a relation *before/ after*. However, he establishes only two *points of reference* (PR), which would correspond to two of Bull's axes of orientation: a primary axis, or *First Point of Reference*

(1PR), corresponding to Bull's PP and describing events occuring at the moment of speech and a secondary axis, or *Second Point of Reference* (2PR), corresponding to Bull's RP, but describing events located in a definite past time, and from which other time relations (either in the past or in the future) are derived.

Thus, the second point of reference (2PR) refers to events which occur either before or after '1PR' However, Bull states that

> each form must have restricted functions. There is, to use a figure of speech, a specialization which gives each form a restricted territory within the system. Thus, E (AP-V) can not place an event anterior to PP. (24)

Likewise, *2PR* should not describe events posterior to *1PR*, since it is more than just anticipation - it is the anticipation of an event which will be past in relation to a future time. On the other hand, a sentence like *He was to see me* cannot be viewed as maintaining a direct relationship with *1RP*, but with *2RP* requiring a fourth *PR*.

Although the differences may appear to be small, it seems to us that Leech's system is not as accurate as Bull's, since we believe that four axes can explain time relations better, as events "can be meaningfully organized only in terms of one——axis of orientation at a time" (Bull:24). Besides, whereas Bull's hypothetical system can be used in the description of any language, Leech's cannot, at least not in the description of the Portuguese tense system, especially as regards the analysis of the Simple Past tense and the Present Perfect tense in terms of definiteness.

In dealing with the category *tense* it is necessary to consider not only the position of an event on a time line, but also the participants involved, their point of view, the nature of the events and the elements of structure in the predication. Some of these elements will be analysed in the following sections.

2.3. Tense-Choice.

The use of a tense form is determined by the following factors which operate simultaneously: 1) the speaker's point of view; 2) common focus; and 3) tense subordination, which includes the sequence of tense phenomena.

2.3.1. The Speaker's Point of View.

The speaker's point of view produces either synchronized or desynchronized uses of tense forms.

According to Bull, the choice of synchronized tense forms and of time specification requires that they both have the same referent, either PP, RP, AP or RAP. On the other hand, a desynchronized verb form is used either to make the statement as close as possible to reality - the Historic Present, for instance - to give a colloquial tone to the sentence, or to show the degree of the speaker's involvement in the situation described.

Robin Lakoff (1970:843) points out the involvement of the speaker in the events described to justify the use of certain tense forms. It seems that the more involved the speaker is, the more present tense forms he will choose. She gives the following example:

(1) "The animal you saw <u>was</u> a chipmunk: see, there he is running up a tree".

According to her, "... the chipmunk still exists and still is a chipmunk, in the real world (...) but in the mind of the speaker, the chipmunk has made his appearence and gone, and is no longer relevant" until, at least, the moment he comes back again. And she concludes...

> Thus, in some cases at least, the realness or vividness of the subject matter of the sentence in the speaker's mind is of greater importance in determining the super-ficial tense to be assigned to the verb than are such factors as relative (real) time of occurrence. (841)

The involvement of the speaker in the reported situation is also illustrated by Tregidgo (1979:192):

(2) "They <u>told</u> me the road <u>was</u> under water."

(3) "They <u>told</u> me the road <u>is</u> under water."

where sentence (2) refers to the fact that when he was told about the situation, the road was under water (whether the road is still under water at PP is immaterial). In sentence (3), however, the speaker is not only reporting what he was told but, as Tregidgo says, "he is making himself responsible for its present interest."

The same applies to Portuguese:

(4) - "Mas que ossos tão miudinhos! São de criança?

　　- Ele disse que eram de um adulto. De um anão."

　　(LFT - SR, 4)

2.3.2. Common Focus.

Speaker and hearer(s) must be in *common focus* for the communication to be meaningful. Common Focus is established by the speaker at PP. Bull (58) says that

> we rarely say precisely what we mean; we simply
> provide clues which the hearer interprets in
> terms of his own observations of the life
> situation in which we are all involved at the
> moment of speaking.

2.3.3. Tense Subordination.

According to Tregidgo (1979:192), Tense Subordination "means that the viewpoint of one tense-form (the subordinate tense) is based on the viewpoint of another (the governing tense)." Such a definition could be easily applied to indirect speech, which usually makes use of the *sequence of tense rule* (or back-shift).

Curme (1947:252) refers to a *general rule of sequence* (of tenses) in relation to the *past indicative* (simple past): "when the principal proposition has a past indicative, a past tense form must usually follow" as in:

(5) "He <u>wanted</u> to do it before his father <u>came</u>."

He also mentions a sequence of tense rule in relation to the Present Perfect: "The present perfect is used after a past indicative to represent the statement as something general which holds for the past as well as for the present, or holds for the past life of the person in question up to the time of speaking." (252) As in:

(6) "He <u>brought</u> vividly to his mind that honesty <u>has</u> always
    <u>been</u> the best policy."

An opposite sequence, however, is possible when we are dealing with indefiniteness which progresses to definiteness. Leech (1971:37) gives the following example:

(7) "There <u>have been</u> times when I <u>wished</u> you were here."

The tense sequence in relation to the past perfect consists of a back-shift of the Present Perfect, and is usually used after a simple past verb form.
Tregidgo (1979:193) gives the following examples:

(8) "He told me he <u>fell</u> downstairs on his way to work."

(9) "He told me he <u>had fallen</u> downstairs on his way to work."

Where   he calls attention to the fact that neither (8) nor (9) "could imply a present perfect in direct speech, so current relevance cannot be a relevant factor here" and he adds that

"*had fallen* is subordinate to *told* but the same does not happen in relation to *fell* which simply implies: *He fell downstairs: he told me so.*"

The English grammarians concerned with tense subordination, such as Curme (1949). R. Lakoff (1976), Selinker & Trimble (1976), and Tregidgo (1979), all agree that it is related to factors other than time, mainly the use of the *sequence of tense phenomena* and the point of view of the speaker. R. Lakoff (838) points out that instead of considering tense as involving only time, we should also take into account other elements since the time of occurrence of one verb–if not present– may, apparently, change the tense of the other verb present in the same environment. We will discuss some of these elements particularly in relation to situations with

1. explicit *dicendi* verbs.

Thus, it is possible to say a sentence like this:

(10) I <u>said</u> that John <u>was studying</u>.

even when the act of my saying is simultaneous with the act of John's being studying, owing to an agreement between *said* and the other verb of the sentence. R. Lakoff refers to such tenses as *false tenses*.

A similar explanation could be given to the following example given by Jespersen (1924:294):

(11) "what did you say your name <u>was</u>?

2. The speaker's previous knowledge about a given situation, as

cited by Robin Lakoff, should also be taken into consideration:

(12) "What I just stepped on <u>was</u> a kitten."

(13) "What I just stepped on <u>is</u> a kitten."

where she draws attention to the fact that in sentence (12) the speaker was already aware of the kitten before stepping on it, including it in his previous knowledge, while in sentence (13), the speaker is aware of the kitten only after stepping on it. As she says, "its identity is new information, so the present tense is used." (842). The unshifted present, as in sentence (13) may also occur when a reference is made either to a habitual, customary characteristic situation, or to a universal truth. Curme (252) examplifies the first case:

(14) "He asked the guard what time the train usually <u>starts</u>."

While Jespersen (294) illustrates the second:

(15) "It was he who taught me that twice two <u>is</u> four."

The unshifted present can also occur with either *generic* or *specific* reference, as in the examples given by Bull (69):

(16) "No sabía que el <u>perro</u> ladra (I didn't know that dogs <u>bark</u>)"

(17) "No sabía que ese perro ladra (I didn't know that this dog barks)"

where the only distinction is between generic and specific reference. Both subordinate sentences are extended present and

simultaneous with all axes, although sentence (17) can also mean "the dog is barking" while sentence (16) cannot.

Except for Bernard Pottier et al. (1975), who present a semantic explanation of the sequence of tenses, and Rocha Lima (1976) and Celso Cunha (1977), the subject has not received much attention on the part of the grammarians concerned with Portuguese. Pottier et al. (98) relate the sequence of tenses in Portuguese to the degree of proximity with reality, which is measured by a parameter which they call *atualidade*. Proximity is indicated by a degree scale. *Atual* (+) which stands for *more proximity with reality* and *Inatual* (-) which stands for *less proximity with reality*. Thus, in the following sequence of tenses where direct speech is changed into indirect speech ‡ the verb form *disse* (said) may be followed by one of these tenses:

(18a) "Quando chegou, disse-me: Chamarei o João."
(18b) "Quando chegou, disse-me que chamaria o João."

(19a) "Quando chegou, disse: Chamo o João."
(19b) "Quando chegou disse que chamava o João".

(20a) "Quando chegou, disse-me: Chamei o João."
(20b) "Quando chegou, disse-me que chamara ⎫
                                     havia chamado ⎬ o João."
                                     tinha chamado ⎭

Thus, we have:

Inatual "-"	chamara	chamava	chamaria
Atual "+"	chamou	chama	chamara

Table I (Pottier et al., 98)

The back-shifts in Portuguese occur, according to Celso Cunha and Rocha Lima, from the present indicative to the imperfect indicative, from the perfect preterite to the compound perfect preterite, from the simple future to the future preterite and from the imperative to the subjunctive. This agrees with Pottier et al.'s table presented above.

(21) ... e digo mais: não saio daqui. Contem a verdade já!

which, when back-shifted yields:

(22) ... e disse mais: que não saía dali (enquanto) não contassem a verdade (naquele momento).

We can now present a summary of the discussion about Tense Subordination:

i. The view-point expressed by the subordinate verb form is based on the view-point expressed by the subordinating verb-form;

ii. The following elements play an important part in the choice of tense:

a) the time of occurrence of the dependent event;

b) the time at which a given situation occurred in relation to the moment of speech;

c) the involvement of the speaker in the reported situation;

d) the speaker's previous knowledge about the reported situation.

iii. Unshifted present tense forms occur with:

a) habitual, customary characteristic situations;

b) universal truths;

c) current relevance.

iv. The sequence of tense rules can be applied to both English and Portuguese.

2.4. Synchronization/Desynchronization versus Markedness.

Synchronization and desynchronization have to do with tense function. In Bull's words.

> A marked form, except for special instances, must perform the function indicated by the mark (...). An unmarked form, on the other hand, may exhibit infinite potentials without endangering the structure of the system. In other words, the function of an unmarked form is determined by context. (57)

The unmarked non-past verb forms are more inclusive and, as Lyons (1970:17) says, "occur in a wider range of contexts than the marked forms." Thus, a present tense form can refer either to the past, to the present itself, and to the

future, yielding either synchronized or desynchronized uses..

2.4.1. A past tense form is said to be *synchronized* when both the tense and the explicit or implicit time reference have the same axis of orientation, that is, RP:

(23) "When he <u>saw</u> the advertisement he <u>telephoned</u> Rod immediately (BA-BS, 33)

2.4.2. When such an agreement is affected, *desynchronization* occurs. There are two types of desynchronization to be considered:

a) forms that are not past tenses (i.e. present tense forms) referring to past events.

b) past tense forms not referring to past events.

Type (a): It is used when someone speaks in the present about an event already completed in the past but projects his own mind to that time. This kind of desynchronization of time and tense is usually called *Historic Present*.

(24) "Let me get it straight. Your father was king. You were his only son. Your father <u>dies</u>. You <u>are</u> of age. Your uncle <u>becomes</u> king." (TS-RG, 35)

Type (b): It expresses mainly unreality, or tentativeness, or intention in the past. Modal auxiliaries or the past

forms of lexical verbs are used. Jespersen points out that "the most important non-temporal use of preterit forms is to indicate unreality or impossibility." (1924:265)

(25) Could you pass me the butter?   or
(26) Would you mind opening the window? It's very hot here.
(27) I wanted to go with you/I would like to go with you.

Quirk et al. (1972) mention three criteria on which markedness is based: the higher or lower degree of inclusiveness, specificity and neutrality expressed by two linguistic forms. The criterion of frequency, however, should not be forgotten since it is directly proportional to the degree of inclusiveness, specificity and neutrality.

Bloomfield (1935:268) affirms that "sometimes the function of a phrase is determined by some special constituent, a *marker*". In relation to the category tense, the marker is the suffix -ED, used to indicate past tense as in *looked* or *painted* in contrast with the absence of a mark in the present tense forms - *look* and *paint*.

2.5. Time and Tense: An Association.

The prevailling view in the works reviewed is that time and tense are two different entities which should not be taken one for the other, but one considered in relation to the other. However, people tend to identify time with tense. F. R. Palmer (1974:2) comments that

speakers of European languages expect that their
verbs will tell them something about time, and
that we shall have at least a future, a present
and a past tense referring to a future, a present
and a past time. But there is no natural law that
the verb in a language shall be concerned with
time.

According to Bull, the identification of Time
with Tense is due to the coincidence that morphemes such as,
for example, *a* in *came* and *yester-* in *yesterday* both express
before, i.e. *past.* He adds that this identification is also
due to the common characteristics of calendar and tense systems,
such as the presence of an axis of orientation and a concept of
direction. However, the calendar system deals with intervals of
time - durational concepts - while the tense system deals with
the relation *before/after* - directional concepts. Thus, when we
say *Friday*, what is established is an interval of time; but
when we say *last Friday* the word *last* attributes the meaning of
direction - anteriority - to it. It is important to notice that
Friday establishes its position in relation to the other days of
the week; however, in *he came*, we only know that anteriority is
being indicated, and,as Bull says, "it neither defines the
position of *come* in terms of other events in an objective series,
nor indicates the amount of time between the action and PP."(18)

A clear example of the identification of time
with tense is seen in Kahane and Hutter (1953). In their work -
The Verbal Categories of Colloquial Brazilian Portuguese, they
define *time* as "the linguistic expression of the relationship
between the action and certain (expressed or unexpressed)
adverbial action modifiers." (17) Such a definition, however,

does not seem to be appropriate since time is not a
linguistic category - this role is performed by the
category tense - but a universal entity independent of any
linguistic feature. This may be due to the two meanings
that the word *tempo* has in Portuguese: it means either *time*
or *tense*.

Based on a formal criterion, Napoleão Mendes de
Almeida (1969) and Celso Cunha (1971) view *tempo* (tense)
as having a direct correspondence between the inflected
forms of the verb and the time they suggest. However, we
think that this is not necessarily true if we consider the
modals or the desynchronized uses of the verb forms.

The tendency to identify time with tense is
confirmed by statements like the following:

> ... os momentos naturais são o presente, o preté-
> rito (passado) e o futuro que designam,respectiva
> mente, um fato ocorrido no momento em que se fala,
> antes do momento em que se fala e após o momento
> em que se fala. (Celso Cunha, 1971:386)

As *Pretérito* (Preterite) is the linguistic expression of
the concept *time-before* and not of *natural time*, the two
concepts, time and tense should be kept apart in the
description of verb forms.

From the discussion above, three basic
generalizations can be made:

i. All events take place either before, simultaneously
   with or after the moment of speech.

ii.   The order relations elucidate the meaning of a tense

form by the indication of its orientation either

towards the past, the present or the future.

iii. The placing of an event at one of the axes depends

mainly on the speaker's point of view.

2.6. Specification.

It is generally agreed that time adverbials play

an important role in locating events in time.

Jespersen (1924:254) refers to the importance of

"words others than verbs, such as adverbials, to specify

time."

Tregidgo (1979:191) points out that

> ... generally speaking, past forms are not chosen
> unless the past viewpoint is somehow *defined* by
> an expressed or implied time-reference (...). With
> non-past forms the present viewpoint, i.e. the
> moment of speech is self-defining, though its
> exact relationship with the event or state referred
> to may be further defined by adverbials such as
> *now, at the moment, up to now, before now, in the
> past, later on, tomorrow,* etc.

Crystal (1966:2) says that time reference gives

"the semantic reference of the tense form." His study of

the co-occurrence of tense forms and time specification

in English reveals that the percentage of optional or

unnecessary use of adverbials is very low in relation to

their obligarory use. According to him, the absence of

adverbials is related only to the "timeless fact of
unspecified generality (as one finds in the expository
narrative of texts books) or when they are made
redundant due to the relevance of perceivable context in
actual conversation." (17) Crystal (8) defines as
temporal, "all adverbials which could be elicited as
possible answers to the question *when*." He also calls
attention to the fact that labels such as *future* or
habitual should be given only to the combination of a
tense form and an adverbial, since it is the adverbial
which confirms and reinforces the time reference of the
tense form.

2.6.1. Specification in English.

The adverbials used with the English past tense,
at least in British English, have a common feature: they
must indicate a definite past time. Thus, adverbials
such as *yesterday, last week, last year, a long time
ago* - mentioned by F. R. Palmer (1974:44) - are examples
of that feature. Palmer also refers to the adverbials
which are only used with Present tenses: *now, at this
moment, at the present time*; those which may be used
either with a period of time including the present or
not: *today, this week, this year*, etc; and those used to
indicate past or present time depending on the moment of
speech: *this morning, this afternoon, this summer.*

Examples of the co-occurrence possibilities can be found in Irene Wade's (1978) study in the "Usage of the Past and Present Perfect Tenses in Bristish and American English" where she analyses the most acceptable adverbial combinations with the two tenses in both varieties of English. She concludes that the speakers of both varieties are concerned with a definite time in the past when they combine Past Tense and time specification. However, she points out that American speakers, in the data available, also accept the co-occurrence of past tense forms and the adverbials *just*, *recently*, *already* in informal speech, while the majority of British speakers do not accept that combination. It should be noted that the adverbial JUST NOW is used with a past tense form in both varieties when the meaning is *a moment, few minutes ago*. The data has also demonstrated that adverbs such as *recently*, *ever*, *already* and those of the kind indicated by Palmer (*today, this week, this year*) co-occur with either the Simple Past or the Present Perfect, although there is a preference for the latter by both American and British speakers. Regarding adverbs like *never*, Wade's data indicates that it is used with the Simple Past when a specific time context is provided (the percentage of co-occurrence in both varieties, however, is low), otherwise it will co-occur with the Present Perfect.

2.6.2. Specification in Portuguese.

Portuguese grammarians in general do not seem to be greatly concerned with the relationship tense form/ time specification. They usually give a definition of adverb and a list of the semantic types of adverb, such as *adverbs of time, location, doubt, negation*, etc. Thus, in relation to the past, Celso Cunha (1977:500) mentions the following time adverbs: *anteontem* (the day before yesterday), *antes* (before), *ontem* (yesterday), etc. However, the use of these time adverbs is optional with the *Pretérito Perfeito* (Simple Past), and it is perfectly possible to say:

(28) Eu estudei História.

    (I have studied History)

the event being placed in an indefinite past time. On the other hand, if our intention is to give a definite time reference, we will say:

(29) Eu estudei História ontem à noite.

    (I studied History last night)

Adverbs like *ultimamente* (lately), or expressions such as *nos últimos dias/semanas/meses/anos*, etc. are used with either an indefinite past which has already finished, or with a tense form which comprises the past and the present, as in:

(30) Ela <u>viajou</u> mais <u>ultimamente</u> do que em todo o ano
    passado.

(31) Ela <u>tem viajado</u> bastante <u>ultimamente</u>.

the translation being the same for both sentences:

She <u>has travelled</u> more lately than the whole past year.

She <u>has travelled</u> a lot lately.

Time adverbs like *já* (already), *nunca* (never) can occur with an indefinite past event, as in:

(32) Ele <u>já</u> me <u>disse</u> isso mil vezes / Ele <u>nunca</u> me <u>disse</u> isso.

      (He has already told me that / He has never told me that).

or with an event indicating a past-before-past:

(33) Ele já <u>tinha</u> me <u>dito</u> isso mil vezes / Ele nunca <u>tinha</u> me

                                                      <u>dito</u> isso antes.

      (He had already/never told me...)

JÁ can also co-occur with an event comprising both the past and the present:

(34) Eu <u>já</u> <u>tenho</u> <u>ouvido</u> queixas como esta.

      (I have already heard complaints like this).

but the same is not possible with *nunca*:

*Eu nunca tenho ouvido queixas como esta.

      According to what we have found, time adverbials in Portuguese occur optionally with the tense forms with which they can combine. However, there are some co-occurrence

restrictions: the adverbs which imply duration lasting up to the present are not commonly used with tense forms which can indicate indefinite past time, such as the Simple Perfect Preterite. The opposite is also true: time adverbials which indicate a definite point in the past do not combine with tense forms indicating an event stretching up to the present.

Thus, we have:

- Simple Perfect Preterite (VI): ontem, anteontem, antes, já, nunca.

- Compound Perfect Preterite (TENHO VISTO): ultimamente, nesses últimos dias/ semanas/meses/anos, etc., já.

- Compound Pluperfect (TINHA VISTO): ontem, anteontem, antes, já, nunca.

Specification in Portuguese is discussed to a large extent by Ataliba Castilho (1968) when he analyses the category Aspect. More will be said about it in the following section.

3.0. Aspect.

Broadly, the category Aspect has to do with the *duration* of an event. An event can be viewed either as

completed, in which case it is Perfective, or as not completed, being, then,Imperfective.

Bull (28) says that "All languages have a device to indicate perfective aspect, and the imperfective aspect can be automatically indicated by the absence of a mark (...)" - zero mark. He adds that "all languages examined have fundamentally the same basic structural characteristics. The base to judge by the universality of its appearence, is the difference between perfective and imperfective aspect."

3.1. Perfectivity and Imperfectivity.

Jespersen (1924:286) points out the four ways in which Aspect can be expressed:

i.   the ordinary meaning of the verb itself;
ii. the occasional meaning of the verb as occasioned by context or situation;
iii. a derivative.suffix;
iv. a tense form.

He prefers not to use the terms *Perfective* and *Imperfective* when he refers to Aspect as, according to him, in many languages the term Perfective comprises different meanings.

According to Comrie (1976:4), "as the general definition of aspect we may take the formulation that

aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal
constituency of a situation." He accepts the dichotomy
Perfective/Imperfective and says that

> The Perfective looks at the situation from outside,
> without necessarily distinguishing any of the internal
> structures of the situation, whereas the imperfective
> looks at the situation from inside, and as such is
> crucially concerned with the internal structure of the
> situation.

He further characterizes the Perfective aspect
as follows:

i.   It is diagrammatically represented by a point;

ii.   It   indicates a complete situation with beginning,
middle and end;

iii. It is resultative as it indicates the completion of the
event.

The problem created in relation to the confusion
between the terms *perfective* and *perfect* is solved in Comrie's
work on aspect by the establishment of a clear-cut distinction
between the two terms. The *Perfective* views a perfected
situation as a whole, while *perfect* refers to a situation in
the past which is still relevant in the present.

Imperfectivity involves concepts such as
Continuousness and *Progressiveness* which Comrie (34-38) presents
as distinct. Progressiveness is defined as "the combination of
continuous meaning and nonstativity", while continuousness is a
general term which also includes Progressiveness and is defined as
"imperfectivity not determined by habituality" as we can see in
the diagram:
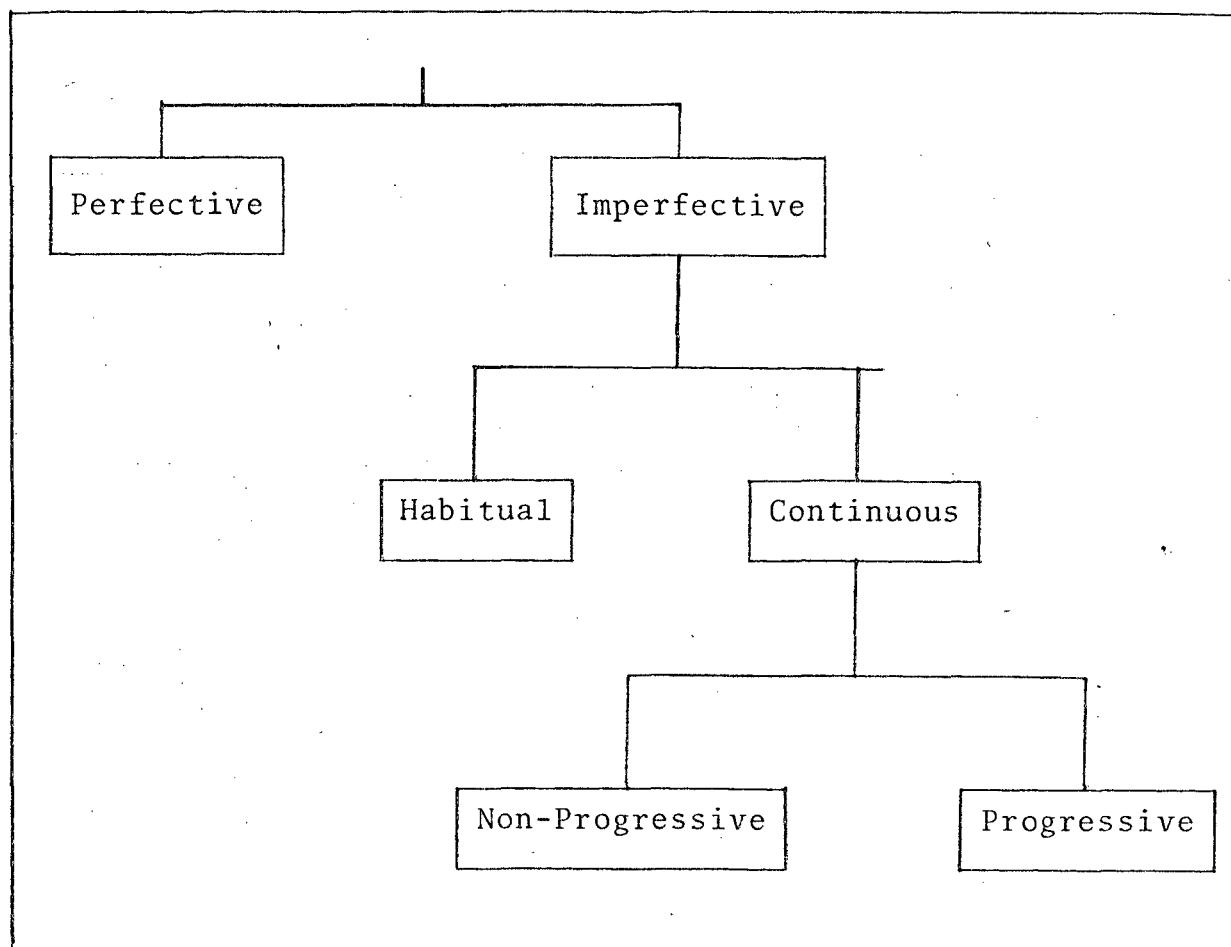
diagram VI (Comrie:25)

There is a formal and notional distinction between Progressiveness and Imperfectivity, since it is possible to have a durative event without the use of Progressive forms, such as the *used to* form and the simple past tense form indicating habituality. This will be discussed in section 3.2.

Bull (13) draws a parallel between Aspect and Order. According to him, when time is divided into *past, present* and *future*, and defined as *what happened, what's happening* or *what will happen*, we are not dealing with time as something "conceived by the observation of events" but rather with aspect.

Thus, what is completed before the moment of speech is
a perfected event; while an imperfect event is what
has not yet been completed and is simultaneous with
the moment of reporting the event. In other words
what finishes before PP is Perfective/Anterior, while
what is in progress at PP is Imperfective/Simultaneous.
The parallelism between aspect and order would explain
the nature of the verbal system of certain languages.
However, Bull points out that the aspect system cannot
explain differences such as that between *has sung* and
had sung, which is a difference in axes of orientation.

3.1.1. Aspect in English.

Quirk et al. (1972:90) define aspect as "the
manner in which the verb action is regarded or
experienced." They divide aspect in English into two
sets: Perfective/Non-Perfective, and Progressive/Non-
Progressive.

The Perfective aspect is identified with the
Present Perfect, that is "past with current relevance."
(91) Tregidgo (1974:99), however, does not accept the
notion of *current relevance*, because, according to him
and following Bull "the Present Perfect is a present
tense looking backwards into the past."

In relation to this, Jespersen (270) comments that there are certain combinations in the present perfect so that it "has become a pure present(...): I have got (I've got): the retrospective element is quite absent in I've got no time/You've got to do it." And Bull (86) describes the present perfect as indicating that "a single event is terminated anterior to PP but it is not oriented to RP." He adds that "this is the function which has been traditionally used to justify the label "Present Perfect" and which has obscured the fact that "perfective" is a cover label for both initiative and terminative aspect."

The Progressive aspect indicates events in development which can be stopped. Quirk et al. mention the following as its main features: "limited duration, incompletion, simultaneity, vividness of description, emotional colouring, and emphasis."

(35) "We <u>were driving</u>, the powerful motor <u>purring</u> and <u>filling</u> me with pride and anxiety. The car smelled of mints and cigar smokes." (RE-IM, 37)

The Non-Progressive aspect is related to the Simple Present/Simple Past verb forms.

3.1.2. <u>Aspect in Portuguese</u>.

All the Brazilian grammarians reviewed seem to associate the category aspect with duration. Some expressly

say so (cf. Ataliba Castilho, Mattoso Câmara, Eunice Pontes, Cel
so Pedro Luft); others do not, but the meaning of duration is
implicit in their discussion of aspect (cf. Napoleão Mendes de
Almeida and Celso Cunha, for example).

Ataliba Castilho (1968:14) defines aspect as "... a re
lação entre o processo e o estado expressos pelo verbo e a idéia
de duração ou desenvolvimento." He divides aspect into *imperfec-
tivo* (imperfective) - the emphasis is on duration; *perfectivo*
(perfective) - the emphasis is on the completion of the event;
and *iterativo* (iterative) - the emphasis is on the repetition of
the event. The first two correspond to Mattoso Câmara's (1967)
durativo (durative) and *pontual* (punctual) aspects.

Bernard Pottier et al. (1972: 102) use the term *de-
senvolvimento* to characterize aspect, and divide it into *perfec-
tividade* (perfectivity) and *imperfectividade* (imperfectivity).
The former is subdivided into *terminativo* (terminative) and *ini-
ciativo* (initiative), while the latter is related to the actual
performance - which they call *cumprimento* (fulfilment) - of the
event itself. They present a diagram in which those concepts are
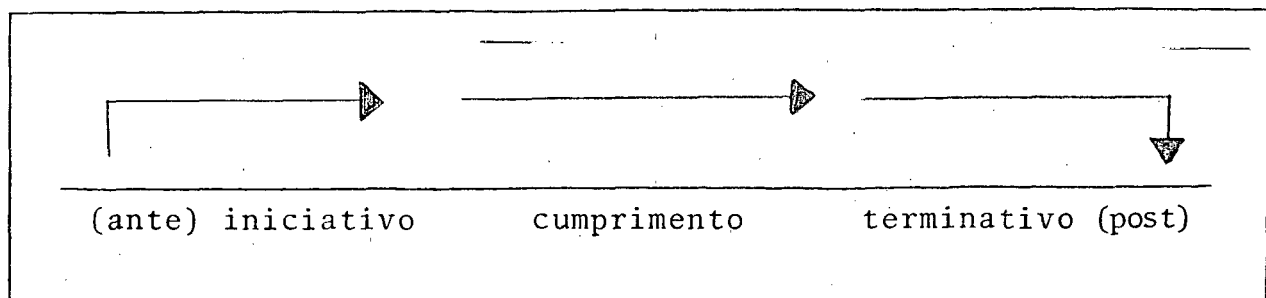clarified:

(ante) iniciativo   cumprimento   terminativo (post)

diagram VII (Pottier et al.:102)

Aspect in Portuguese is characterized by:

i.   the use of an auxiliary verb, such as these in the examples
     given by Pottier et al. (102): *vou fazer* (I am going to do) -
     initiative aspect; *estou fazendo* (I am doing) - actual
     performance; and *tenho feito* (*fiz*) (I have done) -
     terminative aspect.

ii. The use of periphrastic expressions whose inherent meaning
     indicates either inception, actual performance or
     accomplishment. Pottier et al. (102-103) mention events
     which are about to start: *estar a ponto de* ..., *estar para* ...;
     events which indicate initiation: *começar a, pôr-se a, de-
     sandar a* (chorar); events indicating the actual performance:
     estar a, ter plus the past participle of another verb; and
     events indicating the end of the action: *cessar de, deixar
     de*. The suffixes -ec(er); *anoitecer;* -iz(ar): *suavizar;*
     and the prefixes a-: *amadurecer;* en-: *envelhecer;* and re-:
     resfriar-se are also used to indicate initiation. Ataliba
     Castilho (1968:62ff) mentions *dar para, entrar a* to indicate
     inception; *estar, ficar, continuar, vir, ir, seguir, permane
     cer* + *a* + infinitive/present participle to indicate actual
     performance; and *acabar, terminar, vir* + *de* + infinitive
     of an atelic verb[3] to indicate imperfective terminative
     aspect: *acabávamos de percorrer*...; or a telic[4] verb to
     indicate perfective terminative aspect: *acabou de fumar.*

---

[3]Atelic Verb: it indicates that the action does not require
an end to be considered as performed. (see 3.3.1.)

[4]Telic Verb: it indicates that the action must achieve an
end before being considered as performed. (see 3.3.1.)

iii. The use of time adverbs, which will be discussed in
the following section.

3.2. Aspect and Specification.

The occurrence of specification in combination with a
verb form is a very common device used either to characterize
a certain aspectual meaning or to emphasize it in both
English and Portuguese. The specification of duration or
frequency is usually necessary to mark aspect. Some
adverbials are compatible with the present, some with the
past and others with the perfect, and yet there are certain
adverbials which can be combined with any of these tenses.
In the next section we will list the most usual adverbials
which occur with the past and perfect tenses.

3.2.1. Aspect and Specification in English.

Specification in English is usually required. The past
tense accepts adverbials such as *yesterday, last week, two
days ago, the other day, 1944* and so on, which exclude the
present time. The combination of the Simple Past tense with
adverbial specification denotes
1) Either initiative or terminative aspect:

(36) We started our job at six o'clock.

(37) "He gave this interpretation some credence last week."
     (TM, 1978, 52)

2) Iterativity

(38) He <u>knocked</u> at the door <u>several times</u>.

3) Habituality

(39) He <u>usually</u> <u>went</u> to the cinema on Fridays.

The Progressive in combination with adverbial specification
expresses
1) Habituality

(40) "He said that they must be bad girls because <u>every day</u>
when he came down there they <u>were sweeping</u>." (TM - 40)

2) Iterativity

(41) "(...) and it was so incredible to her that I should
have made the highest score in the class that she <u>was</u>
<u>trying</u> to test me <u>again</u> personally." (TM - 45)

3) Duration in the past

(42) "While we <u>were attending</u> an embassy party she collapsed."
(RE - IM, 43)

The Present Perfect is only compatible with
adverbials of present time and of indefinite time.

(43) The dentist <u>has pulled</u> her tooth <u>today</u>.

(44) "Have you <u>ever</u> <u>seen</u> the rain? / Coming down on a sunny
     day?" (CCR-H, 67).

It may express duration when combined with adverbial
specification such as *since* or *for* but this duration does not
necessarily indicate that the event stretches up to the
present:

(45) They <u>have been</u> in Chile for three years.

The combination of the Present Perfect plus an adverb of
frequency expresses iterativity, as in:

(46) Man <u>has</u> <u>always</u> <u>dreamed</u> of flying

The use of the Present Perfect Progressive plus *since* refers
to events started in the past and still going on in the
present although not necessarily simultaneous with PP:

(47) "I<u>'ve been singing</u> professionally <u>since 1978.</u>"
     (BA - BS, 105)

;.2.2. <u>Aspect and Specification in Portuguese.</u>

On describing the different devices through which the
category aspect is marked in Portuguese, A. Castilho (1966)
attributes a great importance to time adverbials in the
characterization of aspect. Castilho discusses more specifically

two temporal adverbs: JÁ (already), marked by a clear meaning of result, and AGORA (now). Both adverbs may locate the event either in a remote past or in a recent past. Thus, we have:

(48) "Geraldo: - *Telefone ao Dr. Castro. Pergunte-lhe toda a verdade.*
      Silvia: - *Eu já telefonei, Geraldo.*" (AC-SV, 127)

and

(49) "Saiu agorinha mesmo." (AC-SV, 127)

The diminutive suffix - INHA emphasizes the idea of recentness. The affixes used to mark aspect will be discussed in section 3.5. The lengthening of duration can be achieved by the adverb AINDA (still) expressing a meaning opposite to JÁ as in:

(50) Ele ainda escrevia / estava escrevendo quando cheguei

or by expressions of duration such as those mentioned by Ataliba Castilho (1968:72)

(51) "À noite chamou a pequena e teve-a muito tempo apertada
      contra si."

On the other hand, the shortening of the time span can be achieved by expressions of duration such as:

(52) "Pensei por um momento que ela ia olhar"

        Iterativity can be marked by temporal adverbs, such as *de instante a instante* (every now and then), *amiúde* (very

often), *novamente* (again), *mais uma vez* (once more), etc.,
as in:

(53) "O rádio noticiava de instante a instante o constran-
    gimento pelo qual passava o ministro da Guerra   numa
    das salas do Catete."   (95)

.3.3. Inherent Meaning.

The category aspect is also related to the semantic
features of the verb. The distinctions *telic/atelic*, and
cyclic/noncyclic perform a considerable role in the
characterization of the aspectual category.

3.3.1. Verb Stems.

Ataliba Castilho and Comrie classify events into
telic and atelic. Telic verbs indicate actions which must
achieve an end before they can be considered perfected.
Comrie prefers to speak of *telic situation* because,
depending on the circumstances, the same event may be
either telic or atelic. He says that a telic situation
"involves a process that leads up to a well defined
terminal point, beyond which the process cannot continue."
(45)   It has, therefore, an inherent terminative meaning.
Examples of telic verbs are: *matar* (kill), *morrer* (die),
cair (fall), *engolir* (swallow). Comrie (44) gives some examples:

(54) "John is making a chair"

where the chair will be considered made when he has really
finished making it.

However, in:

(55) "John makes chairs"

the event will be considered atelic since the situation tends
to continue indefinitely.

Comparing two events such as *John is singing* and *John is
making a chair*, Comrie points out that both events can last for
either a short or a long time; but if the second event is
stopped, we cannot say that it was really performed, while if
we stop the first we can say that John has really sung since
such an event does not require a terminal point. On the other
hand, *sing* can acquire a telic meaning if we are concerned with
a specific song which should have been sung and which was stopped
in the middle - in this case the action was not really performed.
Ataliba Castilho (1968:55) mentions the following as atelic events: *viver*
(live), *dormir* (sleep), *escrever* (write), *andar* (walk), *pensar*
(think), etc. Telic verbs such as punctual verbs,
when combined with certain adverbs of duration indicate iterativity:

(56) ( )foi a Balsa que lhe inoculou através dos anos de in-
    fância e mocidade a seiva que faria dela a mulher sã e
    formosa( )" (AC-IEAV, 76).

A different terminology, although with the same meaning, is used by Bull. According to him, all events have three aspects: a beginning, a middle, and an end, but they are not equally relevant. What distinguishes events is primarily either the terminative or the initiative aspect. Events are, then, either *cyclic* - those having terminative aspect as their primary attribute, or *noncyclic* - those whose primary attribute is initiative aspect. Cyclic events are further subdivided into those like *girar* (revolve), in which the initiative and terminative aspects (of each revolution) are simultaneous and which can be taken either as a series of events or as a single event, and those like *levantar-se* (get up), in which there must be an interval of time between the repetition of the event, but the repetitions are not taken as one prolonged event. Both *girar* and *levantar-se* have the three aspects, and are characterized by having automatic termination. Noncyclic events, like *dormir* (sleep), on the other hand, are characterized by their initiative aspect and negatively by not having, at least theoretically, an automatic termination. As Bull points out, the termination is a different event, *acordar* (wake up), in this case.

According to what has been discussed, it seems clear that there is a correspondence between the dichotomies *telic/atelic* and *cyclic/noncyclic*. Both *telic* and *cyclic* indicate terminative aspect as well as iterativity. This is confirmed by Comrie when he says that "a perfective form referring to a telic situation implies attainment of the terminal point of the situation" (46), while Ataliba (1968:57,66) adds that in Portuguese

such a situation carries an iterative meaning; however, if the verb is atelic, durative aspect is implied, as in the example he gives (57):

(57)
"À sombra do lindo céu
Eu jurei, <u>tenho jurado</u>
Não ter outros amores,
Só a ti eu <u>tenho amado</u>."

where *tenho jurado* (have sworn) has a perfective/iterative aspect, and *tenho amado* (have loved) has a durative aspect.

Mattoso Câmara (1954:140) classifies events as regards their inherent meaning into:

1) Inceptivo (initiative) - events which indicate the beginning of the action. Eg. *partir* (leave).

2) Cessativo (terminative) - events denoting the end of an action. Eg. *chegar* (arrive).

3) Cursive (durative) - events whose meaning indicates that they are taking place now whitout regard to their beginning or end. Eg. *andar* (walk).

4) Iterativo (iterative) - events denoting an action which is repeated. They are usually used in the Present Indicative. Eg. *levanto-me cedo* (get up early).

To these, Arthur de Almeida Torres (1965:77) adds the following:

- Incoativo (inchoative) - events indicating the beginning of an action (usually a natural phenomenon).

   Eg. *Anoitecer* (get dark).

- Momentâneo (instantaneous) - events characterized by a limited duration of the event.

   Eg. *telefonar* (telephone), *explodir* (explode), *gritar* (shout).

3.3.2. Affixes and Adverbial Particles.

Affixes also mark aspect in Portuguese. Ataliba Castilho (1968) calls attention to the suffixes such as *-ECER* and *-EJAR*, as in *amanhECER* (dawn) and *fraquEJAR* (weaken) which mark inchoative aspect. Pottier et al. also mention the suffix *-IZ(AR)* and the prefixes *A-, EN-, RE-* as in *suavIZAR* (soften), *Aclarar* (clear), *ENlouquecer* (go crazy), *ENvelhecer* (grow old), *REsfriar-se* (catch a cold).

In English, there are very few aspectual affixes. Quirk et al. (1972:989) mention prefixes such as -fore, meaning *before* as in FORETELL, FOREWARN; and re-, meaning *again, back,* as in REBUILD, RECLAIM, RE-EVALUATE.

Instead of affixes, aspectual adverbial particles

are used, which Carly Silva (1962) calls *aspectual morphemes*. They are used with verbs to denote "the character of the action expressed, with regard to its inception, duration or completion." He adds that

> As aspectual morphemes, adverbial particles may be
> used with ingressive force, to call attention to
> the beginning of an action or state; with terminative
> force, to mark the final point of the activity or
> state, often indicating attainment or failure; with
> durative force, to indicate an action begun and
> ending in an instant; with iterative force, to
> denote that the action is repeated. (6)

He (7ff) gives some examples:

Ingressive meaning:(58) "His face lighted up when he saw me."

Terminative meaning: (59) "These heavy losses brought about

his bankruptcy."

Durative meaning: (60) "We have tarried along, and are to

blame."

Some aspectual morphemes, besides marking the terminative aspect of a verb, seem to reduce its time span. We can find some examples in Carly Silva's work - *drink up, drink off, drink down* which aquire the meaning of "drink completely (especially at a draught)." (9)

3.4. Habituality.

Habituality does not necessarily imply iterativity, nor does iterativity necessarily imply habituality. Comrie defines *habituality* as "a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment but, precisely as a characteristic feature of a whole period." (27-28) This does not mean, however, that it necessarily involves iterativity since habituality can be achieved without repetition when "the individual situation is one that can be protracted indefinitely in time." (27) He gives the following examples:

(61) "the temple of Diana used to stand at Ephesus" - habitual not iterative;

(62) "the lecturer stood up, coughed five times, and said..." - iterative but not habitual.

The *used to* form, which characterizes habituality in the past, when combined with atelic situation, as in:

(63) When I was young I used to play tennis very well

is also viewed by Leech (1971:49) as an indicator of a past state when combined with a state (atelic) verb, as in the example he gives:

(64) "Cigarettes used to cost two shillings a packet - now they cost three times as much."

Habituality can also be achieved by the use of a simple past verb form in association with adverbs of period, or frequency, such as:

(65) I played tennis <u>during the summer</u>.

(66) "When he <u>finished</u> work, he <u>usually</u> went to a cheap restaurant for his evening meal." (BA-BS, 33)

In short, past habituality is imperfective in relation to the past and characterizes a whole period. It may be either iterative or not, and it indicates *past state* with atelic verbs (state verbs), and *past habit* with telic verbs.

4.0. Summary of the concepts on which Tense/Aspect systems are
     based, according to Bull (time and tense) and Comrie
     (aspect) - which will inform the analysis of the
     following chapters.

4.1. <u>Time</u>.

    4.1.1. <u>Personal time</u>.

        1.1.1. Subjective

        1.1.2. Duration measured by one's emotions

        1.1.3. Variable length

        1.1.4. Not position bound

    4.1.2. <u>Public time</u>.

        1.2.1. Established by public agreement

        1.2.2. Based on cosmic phenomena and their
              substitutes

        1.2.3. Fixed length

        1.2.4. Position bound in a series

4.2. Axes of Orientation.

4.2.1. PP - Point Present:

2.1.1. Order Present

2.1.2. Established by the initiation of the act of speech

2.1.3. Both personal and public

2.1.4. Establishes common focus

4.2.2. EP - Extended Present:

2.2.1. Time Present

2.2.2. Indicates simultaneity with PP

2.2.3. Time interval between a recalled event and an anticipated event

4.2.3. RP - Retrospective Point:

2.3.1. Order past

2.3.2. Projected from PP

2.3.3. Bidirectional and Reversible

4.2.4. AP - Anticipated Point:

2.4.1. Projected from PP

2.4.2. Does not stand for actual events performed by the speaker

4.2.5. <u>RAP - Retrospective Anticipated Point</u>:

    2.5.1. Projected from RP

    2.5.2. Does not stand for actual events performed
           by the speaker

4.3. <u>Order</u>: in relation to an axis of orientation, indicates:

    4.3.1. Anteriority

    4.3.2. Simultaneity

    4.3.3. Posteriority

    4.3.4. Desynchronization

4.4. <u>Aspect</u>.

    4.4.1. <u>In relation to the internal temporal constituency
of a situation</u>.

        4.4.1.1. Perfective/Imperfective

        4.4.1.2. Imperfective: habitual/continuous

        4.4.1.3. Continuousness: Imperfectivity plus stativity

        4.4.1.4. Progressiveness: Imperfectivity plus
               nonstativity

4.5. <u>Tense-choice: determined by</u>:

4.5.1. the speaker's point of view

4.5.2. common focus

4.5.3. tense subordination

ABBREVIATION SOURCES

AC - SV: Ataliba Castilho. A Syntaxe do Verbo e os Tempos
              do Passado em Português. Revista Alfa, Nº 9. Fa-
              culdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras (FFCL)
              de Marília. Marília, SP, 1966.

AC - IEAV: Ataliba Castilho. Introdução ao Estudo do Aspec-
              to Verbal na Língua Portuguesa. Coleção de Teses,
              Nº 6. FFCL - Marília, SP, 1968.

BA - BT: Brian Abbs et al. Building Strategies. Longman,
              London, 1979.

CCR - H: Credence Clearwater Revival. *Have you ever seen
              the rain?* in: Amadeu Marques. English 2, 2º Grau.
              Ed. Ática, 1978.

TM: Time Magazine. January, 1978.

TS - RG: Tom Stoppard. Rosencrantz & Guildenstern are dead.
              Faber and Faber, London, 1967.

C H A P T E R 2

Past Temporal Meanings and Verb Forms in English and Portuguese.

The English and Portuguese verb systems express the same temporal concepts, but sometimes they have different formal realizations. Those differences related to the past constitute the problem we are dealing with.

The purpose of the present investigation is to bring out what underlies the different realizations.

This chapter consists of an inventory of past meanings as well as of an analysis of the differences in their formal realization in the two languages, in terms of concepts such as *axes of orientation, order,* and *aspect.*

The description of past temporal meanings starts from meaning not only because there is not a one-to-one structural verbal correspondence between English and Portuguese, but also because in both English and Portuguese the same verb form may have different meanings. It is corpus-based, and the method of translation is used for the purpose of comparison. The English meanings will be translated into Portuguese. Examples from the Portuguese data will be given when necessary to confirm what has been discussed.

The data collected from written material are followed by the indication of the authors, the title of the book, magazine or newspaper, and the page numbers. At the end of the chapter, the sources will be given in full. The data without source indication are taken from colloquial conversation.

1.0. Meaning and the Verbal expression of past time.

The verbal expression of past time in both English and Portuguese is marked by a basic characteristic: the recollection of events is oriented either to PP or to RP. What we recollect may have happened once in a definite or indefinite past time, or may have been a habitual or iterative event. In addition, we may also recollect that we anticipated events in the past.

The meanings described below indicate the axis of orientation, the order relation to the axis, and perfective or imperfective aspect.

The inherent aspectual meaning of the verb stem - *telic* for terminative aspect and *atelic* for initiative aspect - as well as whether specification is required or not are also part of the description.

1.1. At PP.

1.1.1. A single telic event is completed in a non-specified time but is not oriented to RP.

This is usually indicated by context either linguistic or situational. It is realized in English by the Present Perfect, and in Portuguese by the Simple Perfect Preterite. Specification is optional in both languages.

(1) "I've read Mr Lenin's article once and I don't need to read it any more." (TS-T, 78)

   "Eu (já) li o artigo do Sr. Lenin e não preciso lê-lo mais."

1.1.2. A series of the same telic event is completed before PP but is not oriented to RP.

Such a meaning is realized in English by the Present Perfect and in Portuguese by the Simple Perfect Preterite. Specification of frequency is obligatory in English and Portuguese.

(2) "Interviewer: Would you like to tell me what you've been doing this week?

    Graham: I've had rather a busy week. I've played squash a couple of times (...)."
    (BA-BS(TB), 104)

"Entrevistador: Você gostaria de/poderia me dizer o que você tem feito/fez esta semana?

Graham: Eu tive uma semana muito cheia. Eu joguei squash algumas vezes (...)."

1.1.3. The initiative aspect of a single atelic event is prior to PP and is extended up to the present time.

Both in English and in Portuguese this meaning implies duration, the interval of time stretching from the past into the present. A Present Perfect verb form is used in English and a Compound Perfect Preterite in Portuguese. Period specification i.e. *how long*, is obligatory in both languages.

(3) "Tennis has been my whole life." (TM,32)

O Tênis tem sido a minha própria vida

1.1.4. A series of telic events starts before PP and is repeated up to PP.

This meaning is realized in English by the Present Perfect and in Portuguese by the Compound Perfect Preterite or similar periphrastic forms. Specification is obligatory in English but optional in Portuguese.

(4) "My uncle bought a telescope last week. He <u>has tried</u>
to look at the stars <u>since then</u>." (AM-E, 79)

"Meu tio comprou um telescópio semana passada. (<u>Des-
de então</u>) <u>tem tentado/vem tentando</u> olhar as estrelas."

1.2. <u>At RP</u>.

1.2.1. <u>A single telic or atelic event is completed before PP and oriented to a definite point at RP</u>.

The event is viewed as a whole, therefore either terminative or initiative aspect may be involved. The context, the nature of the verb, or common focus will determine which aspect is involved. Its main feature - a definite point in the past - is usually indicated by temporal specification of definite time. In English, the meaning is realized by a Simple Past verb form, and in Portuguese by the simple form of the Perfect Preterite.

(5) "Once in 1919, we <u>went</u> to a concert in the Kremlin."
(TS-T, 87)

"Uma vez, em 1919, nós <u>fomos</u> a um concerto no
Kremlin."

1.2.2. <u>A series of telic events is completed before PP and
oriented to RP</u>.

Iterativity is marked in both languages by the presence of an optional specification of frequency or duration. The Simple Past is used in English and the Simple form of the Perfect Preterite is used in Portuguese.

(6) I <u>studied</u> at the Actor's Studio <u>for two years</u>.

Eu <u>estudei</u> por <u>dois anos</u> no Actor's Studio.

1.2.3. <u>A single event is Imperfect at RP</u>.

The idea of duration in the past can be expressed in English by the auxiliary verb BE in combination with the -ING participle of a lexical verb, or by the Simple Past of an atelic verb implying inert perception or cognition. And in Portuguese, it is expressed by the Imperfect Preterite, or periphastic forms: *estava* plus the participle of another verb. Specification is optional in both languages.

(7) "Robert Burns, a famous Scottish poet, <u>was walking</u> along the docks when a rich acquaintance of his fell into the water." (AM-E, 83)

"Robert Burns, um famoso poeta escocês, <u>andava/estava</u> <u>andando</u> ao longo do cais quando um rico conhecido seu caiu na água."

(8) I <u>knew</u> he was a liar.

Eu <u>sabia</u> que ele era um mentiroso.

1.2.4. <u>A series of telic events is Imperfect at RP.</u>

In English, this meaning is expressed by:

a) the *used to* form, indicating *habituality*, as in:

(9) "Mayakovsky was celebrated even before the revolution when he <u>used to</u> shout his fractured lines in a yellow blazer." (TS-T, 87)

Mayakovsky era célebre mesmo antes da revolução, quando ele <u>costumava</u> gritar seus versos fragmentados, vestido num blazer amarelo.

The *used to* form very often co-occurs with time specification which locates the habitual event in an extended period of time in the past:

(10) "<u>When I was a youngster</u> (...) I <u>used to</u> go for a walk down the canal with a girl who lived down my road." (HP-BP, 47)

"Quando eu era rapazola(...) costumava passear pelo ca-
nal com uma garota que morava no começo da minha rua."

b) The Progressive forms require specification of frequency
to indicate iterativity or habituality:

(11) Every day when I arrived home Mary was singing her
favourite song.

Todo dia, quando eu chegava em casa, Mary estava
cantando sua canção favorita.

c) The use of a Simple Past event combined with specification
of frequency to indicate habituality or iterativity:

(12) "When he finished work, he usually went to a cheap
restaurant for his evening meal." (BA-BS,33)

"Quando ele terminava de trabalhar, ele ia geral-
mente para um restaurante barato para jantar."

In Portuguese, iterativity imperfective at RP is
expressed by the Imperfect Preterite which can also imply
habituality, or by the periphrastic form *ia* or *vivia* plus
the present participle of the lexical verb:

(13) "Horácio chegava, pendurava o chapéu, entrava no ba-
nheiro." (DT-VC, 24)

(14) "Bruna lia a vida dos santos ou então cosia roupinhas
para as crianças da creche." (LFT-CP, 25)

(15) "Estendia-se na rede, desatava a cabeleira. E com
um movimento brando ia se abanando." (LFT-JS, 21)

(16) Ela vivia sorrindo.

For the expression of habituality in Portuguese, the
nature of the verb, and the context are taken into
account. Time specification is optional. Thus, in a
sentence like:

(17) "No começo eles tinham medo, o japonês tossia 'de
noite, eles não podiam dormir." (DSQ-FS, 24)

The Imperfect Preterite *tossia* (coughed/used to cough)
is viewed as atelic, iterative, implying a "characteristic
situation" which is reinforced by context.

The same can be said of:

(18) "O marceneiro tossia, tossia no quarto da frente."
(MR-ES, 65)

1.2.5. A single telic event is completed before RP and oriented
to RP.

This meaning is expressed in English by HAD plus
the past participle of a lexical verb - the Past Perfect
or Pluperfect. Time specification is optional.

(19) "All the food I had in my bag, I <u>had cooked</u> myself, or <u>prepared</u> myself. I <u>had baked</u> the bread myself." (HP-S, 22)

Toda a comida que eu tinha na mochila, eu mesmo <u>cozinhara/ tinha cozinhado</u> ou <u>preparara/tinha preparado</u>. Eu mesmo <u>assara/tinha assado</u> o pão.

In Portuguese, such a meaning is expressed by either the *Pretérito Mais-que-Perfeito Simples* (Simple Pluperfect), or the *Pretérito Mais-que-Perfeito Composto* (Compound Pluperfect) which corresponds to the English form. Time specification is also optional.

(20) "A professora <u>dissera</u> à Dona Margarida que a menina era inteligente." (MR-ES, 23)

(21) "Eu <u>tinha convidado</u> Steve para tocar." (JB)

(22) "We did a replay of the same scene we <u>had played during the first week of the term.</u>" (TM)

Nós repetimos a mesma cena que <u>tínhamos feito durante a primeira semana do período escolar.</u>

Adverbial Specification such as JUST/AGORA, MAL, as well as the periphrastic form *ACABADO DE* place the events closer to RP.

(23) "He <u>had just spent</u> 31 days as a captive." (TM)

"Ele tinha <u>acabado de</u> passar 31 dias como prisioneiro."

(24) "Agora que a água se retraíra(...) eu podia ver um

aro de ouro." (LFT-JS, 67)

With the English *Pluperfect*, the definite/indefinite
distinction is neutralized; therefore, adverbs such as
ALREADY used in combination with the Pluperfect, do not
express definiteness or indefiniteness, but only
reinforce the idea expressed by the Pluperfect - "a past
before past".

(25) "His program was detailed in a 281-page volume

called *America's New Beginning: A Program for*

Economic Recovery, which Congress had already

received." (TM, 18)

"Seu programa estava detalhado em um volume de 281

páginas chamado: *America's New Beginning: A Program*

for Economic Recovery, que o Congresso já tinha re-

cebido."

(26) "Podia até se matar, já tinha falado nisso, *o dia*

em que não me restar mais nada sei o que vou fazer."

(LFT-JS, 33)

1.2.6. The atelic event starts in a remote past and continued

up to a less remote one.

This is expressed by the Pluperfect, which
implies, both in English and in Portuguese, the meaning

of a *state-up-to-then*. Specification is optional in both languages.

(27) "I wanted to find if the Ancient Egyptians <u>had</u> <u>originally been</u> able boatbuilders and seafarers before they settled down along the Nile(...)."
(TH-RA, 7-8)

"Eu queria descobrir se os antigos egípcios <u>tinham</u> <u>sido</u> primeiramente construtores de barcos e navegadores habilidosos antes de se estabelecerem 'ao longo do Nilo(...)."

1.2.7. <u>A single or a series of telic events is recalled at PP</u> <u>but anticipated at RP</u>.

This is realized in English by *Would* plus infinitive and in Portuguese, by the Simple Future Perfect Preterite. Specification is optional in both languages.

(28) He told me that he <u>would go</u> to England.

Ele me disse que <u>iria</u> para a Inglaterra ⎯⎯⎯

Periphrastic forms can also be used both in English (*was/were to*) and Portuguese (IA plus the infinitive of the lexical verb) in order to express the meaning stated.

(29) "He <u>was</u> later <u>to</u> regret his decision." (RQ-GCE,90)

"Ele <u>ia</u> se <u>arrepender</u> de sua decisão mais tarde."

1.2.8. <u>The event is recalled at RP as unfulfilled.</u>

In English, this is expressed by the *was/ were going to* construction and in Portuguese by the periphrastic form *ia* plus the infinitive of the lexical verb. Time Specification is optional in both languages.

(30) "You <u>were going to</u> give me your address." (RQ-GCE,90)

Você <u>ia</u> me <u>dar</u> seu endereço.

1.3. <u>At RAP</u>.

1.3.1. <u>A single event is anticipated at RP and perfected before RAP</u>.

This is expressed in English by *would + have + past participle* and in Portuguese by the Compound Future Perfect. Time Specification is required in both languages.

(31) I was sure that he <u>would have arrived</u> home at <u>two o'clock</u>.

Eu estava certa de que ele (já) <u>teria chegado</u> em casa <u>às 2 horas</u>.

The time specification *already/já* is usually used to emphasize the possible fulfillment of the event at a time before the moment of speech.

1.3.2. <u>A hypothetical event is recalled at RAP as having been</u>
<u>anticipated at RP.</u>

The contingent state implied by this definition
is expressed in English by *if* and the Past Perfect, and
in Portuguese by the *Pretérito Imperfeito do Subjuntivo*
(Imperfect Preterite Subjunctive). Specification is
optional in both languages.

(32) He would have gone to England if he <u>had had</u> money.

Ele teria ido para a Inglaterra se ele <u>tivesse ti-</u>
<u>do</u> dinheiro.

The English and Portuguese verb forms which express the
meaning discussed so far are presented in a diagram as follows.

IS DOING
DOES
PP

FAZ
ESTÁ FAZENDO

HAS BEEN DOING
HAS DONE

TEM FEITO
TEM ESTADO FAZENDO
TENHA FEITO

USED TO DO
WAS DOING
DID
RP

WOULD DO

WILL HAVE DONE

TERÁ FEITO

AP

FARIA/IRIA FAZER
IA FAZER
ESTARIA FAZENDO

(+) (-)

HAD BEEN DOING
HAD DONE

TINHA FEITO
TINHA ESTADO FA-
ZENDO

FIZ
FAZIA
FIZESSE
ANDEI A FAZER
ACABEI DE FAZER
ESTAVA FAZENDO

WOULD HAVE DONE
WOULD HAVE BEEN DOING   RAP

TERIA FEITO
TERIA ESTADO FAZENDO

(+)

(-)

(-)

(+)

diagram VIII

2.0. Desynchronization.

The descriptions in section 1 have been based on the assumption that the tense forms are used in a straight correspondence with their temporal meanings. However, the meaning of past time does not necessarily correspond to past tense forms as will be seen.

2.1. At PP.

2.1.1. The event is recalled at PP but took place at RP.

This is expressed both in English and Portuguese by the Simple Present - Historic Present - whose characteristic is that it is unmarked as regards time. This means that it may be oriented either to RP, PP, or AP. The axis is established by adverbials, surrounding past tense forms, or by linguistic or situational context.

(33) "There are two. I turn to them and speak. I look at them in their eyes. I kiss them there and say, I look away to smile, and touch them as I turn." (HP-S, 35)

Há duas (pessoas). Eu me volto para elas e falo. Olho em seus olhos. Beijo-as lá e digo, desvio meu olhar para sorrir e toco-as ao me voltar.

(34) "<u>Durante o ciclo da Borracha</u> a alienação e a conivên-
cia dos artistas <u>atingem</u> seu grau máximo." (IÉ)

In sentence (34), the axis is indicated by the adverbial
"durante o ciclo da borracha", whereas in (33) it is
indicated by the context of situation: a play.

2.1.2. <u>The event at PP is expressed by a tense indicating</u> <u>imperfectivity at RP.</u>

This kind of desynchronization is used in
tentative and polite utterances. This meaning is conveyed
in English by the Simple Past Tense, Past Progressive, or
Modals (e.g. would, could), and in Portuguese by the *Futu-
ro do Pretérito Simples*, or by the periphrastic form *estava*
plus gerund. PP is established by the context of situation.

(35) I <u>wanted</u> to talk to you/I <u>was wondering</u> whether.../
I <u>would like</u> to talk to you.

Eu <u>queria</u> falar com você/Eu <u>estava imaginando</u> se.../
Eu <u>gostaria</u> de falar com você.   –

2.2. <u>At RP.</u>

2.2.1. <u>The event is anticipated at RP but is located in a time interval not compatible with RP.</u>

This is expressed in English by *was/were going to* plus infinitive, or *was/were to* plus infinitive. In Portuguese, by the Future Preterite, by the Imperfect Preterite plus the preposition *para* (TO) plus the infinitive of the lexical verb, or by the periphrastic expression *ia* plus the infinitive of the lexical verb.

(36) Mary <u>was going to attend</u> French classes next year.

Mary <u>ia ter</u> aulas de Francês no próximo ano.

(37) <u>Era para</u> ele <u>chegar</u> ao Rio amanhã.

3.0. <u>Standard Substitutions.</u>

Standard Substitutions consist of the replacement of certain past verb forms by other verb forms on the same axis, usually giving a more colloquial tone to the utterance.

The substitutions occur from *plus to zero,* from *minus to zero* and from *plus to minus.* The standard substitutions will be shown by means of diagrams in which the replacement is indicated by arrows.

3.1. <u>At RP</u>.

3.1.1. <u>An event anticipated at RP is expressed as an event</u>
<u>imperfect at RP</u>.

In English, this is expressed by *WAS/WERE*
GOING TO which replaces *would* plus infinitive; in
Portuguese, by the Imperfect Preterite in place of the
Future Preterite:

(38) a) He <u>would go</u> tomorrow, but he has changed his mind.

  b) He <u>was going</u> tomorrow, but he has changed his mind.

(39) a) Ele <u>iria</u> amanhã, mas (ele) mudou de idéia.

  b) Ele <u>ia</u> amanhã, mas (ele) mudou de idéia.

PP

RP

(-) ———————— (+) (-) ————————

WAS GOING   WOULD GO

3.1.2. <u>An anticipated hypothetical event is expressed as an</u>
<u>event recalled at RP</u>.

Such a meaning only occurs in Portuguese,
with the Future Preterite being replaced by the Imperfect
Preterite.

(40) a) Se essa rua fosse minha eu <u>mandaria</u> ladrilhar

    b) "Se essa rua fosse minha eu <u>mandava</u> ladrilhar" (from

       a popular song)

```
                            PP
 _____/_____
                         _ /
                     _ _/
         RP       _ _
(-)_____/_____ (+)   (-)_____(+)
                  /
             <───────────
     MANDAVA       MANDARIA
```

3.1.3. <u>The event is completed in a Past-Before-Past but expressed as having ocurred at RP.</u>

In English, this is expressed by the Simple Past verb form which replaces the Pluperfect, and in Portuguese by the Simple Perfect Preterite which also replaces the Pluperfect:

(41) a) He <u>had finished</u> his work before he left for school.

    b) He <u>finished</u> his work before he left for school.

(42) a) Ele <u>tinha terminado</u> o exercício antes de sair para

       a escola.

    b) Ele <u>terminou</u> o exercício antes de sair para a escola.

```
                          PP
 _____/_____
                      _ /
                   _ /
         RP     _ /
(-)_____/_____ (+)   (-)_____(+)
   HAD FINISHED      FINISHED
   TINHA TERMINADO   TERMINOU
```

3.1.4. <u>An anticipated hypothetical event is expressed as</u>
<u>an event completed before RP</u>.

This substitution only occurs in Portuguese:
the Imperfect Subjunctive verb form is replaced by
the Simple form of the Pluperfect. This use of the
Pluperfect, however, is restricted to a small
number of exclamatory sentences.

(43) a) Ai, quem me <u>desse</u> ser aquela loura estrela/
que brilha no eterno azul como eterna vela.

b) "Ai, quem me <u>dera</u> ser aquela loura estrela/
que brilha no eterno azul como eterna ve-
la." (MA-CV, 114)

PP

$(-)$ ———————————— $(+)$ $(-)$ ———————————— $(+)$

RP

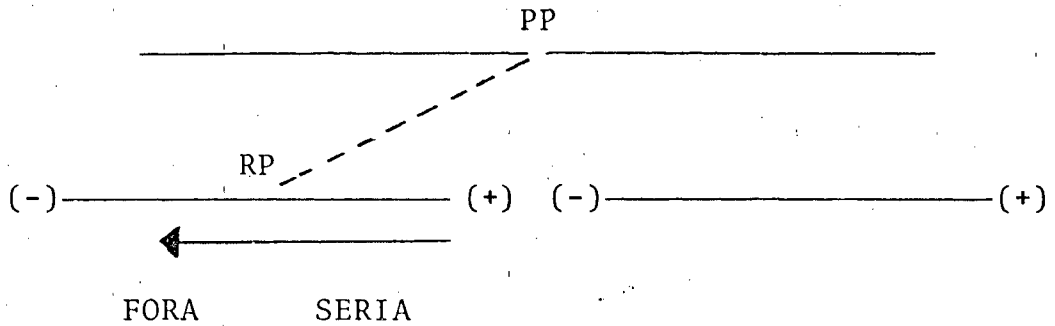DERA   DESSE
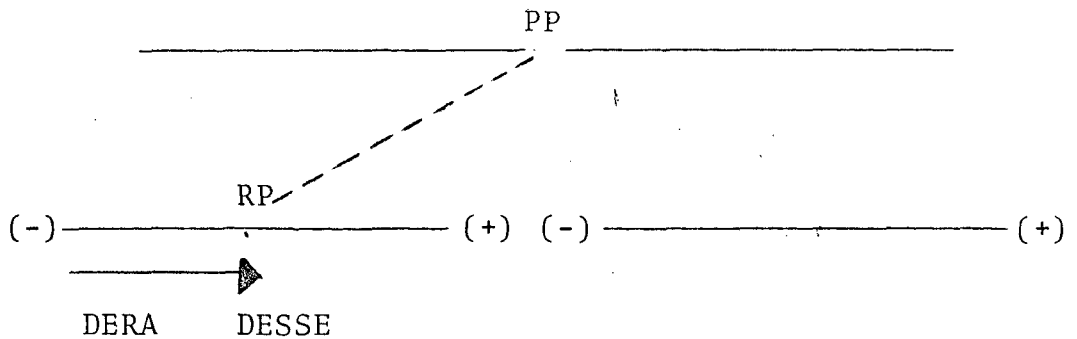
3.1.5. <u>An event is anticipated at RP and, implying</u>
<u>uncertainty, is expressed as an event completed</u>
<u>before RP</u>.

Such a use, however, is not common and it is

restricted in Portuguese to literary style (cf. Celso Cunha, 1977: 437).

(44) a) Sem Tabira dos Lusos que <u>seria</u>?

    b) "Sem Tabira dos Lusos que <u>fora</u>?" (CC-GLP, 437)

```
                              PP
  _____/_____
                          __/
                RP    __--
  (-)_____--_____ (+)   (-)_____(+)
        <------------------
      FORA        SERIA
```

4. Specification.

Table   II, which follows, shows whether the meanings inventoried in section one require specification or not. By specification we mean the indication by adverbials of time-when (definite or indefinite),frequency, and duration. The meanings are tabulated with their formal realizations and examples. Obligatory specification is marked (+), non-specification (-), and optional specification ($\pm$). *E* and *P* stand for *English* and *Portuguese* respectively.

MEANING	REALIZED BY	SPEC.		EXAMPLES
Event perfected in definite past	Simple Past	+	E	Once in 1919 we went to a concert in the Kremlin
	Simple Perfect Preterite	+	P	Uma vez, em 1919, nós fomos a um concerto no Kremlin
Event perfected in indefinite past	Present Perfect	+	E	I've read Mr. Lenin's article once and I don't need to read it any more.
	Simple Perfect Preterite	+/-	P	Eu (já) li o artigo do Sr. Lenin e não preciso lê-lo mais.
Event imperfect in definite / indefinite past	Simple Past	-	E	I knew he was a liar
	Past Progressive	+/-	E	Robert Burns(...) was walking along the docks...
	Imperfect Preterite	+/-	P	Eu sabia que ele era um mentiroso
	Periphrastic Expressions	+/-	P	Robert Burns(...) estava andando ao longo do cais...
Event lasting up to the present	Present Perfect	+	E	Tennis has been my whole life
	Compound Perf.:Preterite	+/-	P	O tênis tem sido a minha própria vida
A series of the same event lasting up to the present	Present Perfect	+	E	My uncle bought a telescope. He has tried to look at the stars since them
	Compound Perf.Preterite	+/-	P	Meu tio comprou um telescópio.(Desde então) ele tem tentado olhar as estrelas
Habituality in the past	Simple Past	+	E	When he finished work, he usually went to a cheap restaurant.
	used to	+/-	E	Mayakovsky was celebrated even before the revolution when he used to shout his fractured lines on a yellow blazer.
	Imperfect Preterite	+/-	P	Horácio chegava, pendurava o chapéu, entrava no banheiro.
	Periphrastic forms	+/-	P	Estendia-se na rede, desatava a cabeleira. E com um movimento brando ia se abanando.

Table II

MEANING	REALIZED BY	SPEC.		EXAMPLES
Iterativity in definite past	Simple Past	E	+	I studied at the Actor's Studio for two years.
	Simple Perf.Preterite	P	+	Eu estudei dois anos no Actor's Studio
	Imperfect Preterite	P	+ −	O japonês tossia (de noite), eles não podiam dormir
Iterativity in indefinite past	Present Perfect	E	+	I've had rather a busy week. I've played squash a couple of times....
	Simple Perf.Preterite	E	+	Tive uma semana muito cheia. Joguei squash algumas vezes...
Event perfected in a past-before-past	Pluperfect	E	+ −	All the food in my bag I had cooked myself(...the day before)
	Simple/Comp.Pluperfect	P	+ −	Toda a comida que eu tinha em minha mochila, eu mesmo cozinhara/tinha cozinhado (...no dia anterior)
Event imperfect in a past-before-past	Pluperfect	E	+ −	I wanted to find if the Ancient Egyptians had been able boatbuilders
	Pluperfect + -ING	E	+ −	He said that he had been studying English (...when they arrived at 10 o'clock).
	Pluperfect	P	+ −	Eu queria descobrir se os antigos egípcios tinham sido hábeis construtores de barcos
	Compound pluperfect plus past participle	P	+ −	Ele disse que tinha estado estudando Inglês (...quando eles chegaram as 10 horas)
Contingency in the past	IF + past perfect + would + have + past participle	E	+ −	If I had had money (last year) I would have gone to England.
	SE + Perf.Preterite Subjunct. + Compound Future Preterite	P	+ −	Se eu tivesse tido dinheiro (ano passado), eu teria ido para a Inglaterra.

Table II Cont.

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MEANING	REALIZED BY	SPEC.		EXAMPLES
Event recalled as anticipated in the past	WAS/WERE TO + Infinitive	E	+ −	He was (later) to regret his decision
	Simple Future Preterite/ Periphrastic form	P	+ −	Ele se arrependeria/ia se arrepender de sua decisão (mais tarde)
Event anticipated and perfected in the past	WOULD + HAVE + past participle	E	+ −	I was sure that he would have (already) arrived at 2 o'clock
	Compound Future Preterite	P	+ −	Eu estava certa de que ele (já) teria chegado em casa às 2 horas.
Event recalled as unfulfilled in the past	WAS/WERE TO	E	+ −	You were going to give me your address (yesterday)
	Imperfect Preterite + Infinitive	P	+ −	Você ia me dar seu endereço (ontem)

TABLE II

5.0. Past Time Relations in English and Portuguese: An analysis of differences.

We will now attempt to give a conceptual explanation for the structural differences between English and Portuguese in the expression of past temporal meanings. We will not deal with tense forms rarely used in Portuguese.

The meanings and examples given are numbered following their original presentation in section 1.

5.1. (1.1.1.) A single event is completed in a non-specified time but is not oriented to RP.

(1) "I've read Mr Lenin's article and I don't need to read it any more."

"Eu (já) li o artigo do Sr. Lenin e eu não preciso lê-lo mais."

The meaning stated above, as pointed out previously, is formally realized in English by the Present Perfect, and in Portuguese by the Simple Perfect Preterite. Past events in English, when characterized by *indefiniteness* are oriented to PP while in Portuguese, since the Simple Perfect Preterite is unmarked as to the distinction *definite/indefinite,* the axis of orientation is given by context or

specification. Thus, we might say that the difference derives from a different conceptualization of the relationship between *definite/indefinite* past and the two primary axes of orientation.

Indefinite past time is expressed either by adverbials of indefinite time or by no specification:

I've already read it/I've read it.

Já o li /*Eu o li.*

We suggest that in the case of Portuguese the axis is RP. Desynchronization of the axis could be said to occur when the Simple Perfect Preterite is used in conjunction with a present time adverbial:

Li o artigo agora/hoje.

5.2. (1.1.2.) <u>A series of the same telic event is completed</u>
<u>before PP but is not oriented to RP.</u>

(2) "Interviewer: Would you like to tell me what you've
<u>be</u>en doing this week?

Graham: Well, I've had rather a busy week. I'<u>ve</u>
<u>played</u> squash <u>a couple of times</u>(...)"

"Entrevistador: Você poderia me dizer o que você tem
feito esta semana?

Graham: Bem, eu tive uma semana muito cheia. Eu jo-
guei squash algumas vezes (...)"

Indefiniteness and iterativity characterize this meaning.
In the example given, both the interviewer and Graham are
placed in the same period of time - this week - of the
repeated event, which has not finished yet when Graham is
asked to describe his activities. We notice that he is
aware that although his repeated activity may have finished
by the time of speaking, the period of time referred 'to
by the interviewer is not. In other words, since the
activity was repeated throughout the week, and as the
week has not finished yet,although the event may have
already finished, the orientation is towards PP. And this
is also true in Portuguese if we accept the explanation
about desynchronization. The meaning of iterativity is
given by the specification *a couple of times* (algumas ve-
zes).

5.3. (1.2.4.) A series of events is Imperfect at RP.

(12) "When he finished work he usually went to a cheap
restaurant for his evening meal."

"Quando ele terminava de trabalhar ele geralmente ia
para um restaurante barato para jantar."

The English Simple Past is marked by the feature definiteness, but is unmarked relative to the Perfective/Imperfective aspectual distinction. This only occurs when it is combined with specification of frequency such as *usually, very often, seldon,* expressing habituality as well as iterativity. In this case it corresponds to the Simple Imperfect Preterite in Portuguese. Therefore, the Simple Past only corresponds to the Simple Imperfect Preterite when combined with specification of frequency - it is specification determining aspect.

6.0. Conclusions.

From the description of the past temporal meanings and the analysis of the differences in their formal realization in English and Portuguese, a conclusion can be drawn: The differences observed between the two systems are mainly related to how the category Aspect is realized. This can be noticed, for example, when we have to choose between the Simple Perfect Preterite or the Imperfect Preterite to translate the English Simple Past, since it is not marked as to aspect; or to choose between the Simple Present, Simple Perfect Preterite or Compound Perfect Preterite to translate the English Present Perfect. The choice depends on the specification used, marked/ unmarked aspect, definiteness/indefiniteness, the type of event (telic/atelic), the speaker's point of view, and

the context in which the sentence is inserted.

Thus, we have the following structural equivalences:

i. With iterative meaning the English Simple Past corresponds
to the Simple Imperfect Preterite - specification of
frequency required in English, but optional in Portuguese to
mark imperfective aspect:

He <u>usually</u> <u>went</u> to church after tea.

<u>Geralmente</u> ele <u>ia</u> à igreja após o chá.

"<u>By custom</u> the seats behind the exit door had become
"colored" seats, and no matter how many whites were
standing, any black sitting behind the exit door
<u>knew</u> he or she wouldn't have to move." (TM, 39)

"Devido ao hábito, os bancos anteriores à porta de saída
tinham se tornado "bancos para negros", e não importa
quantos brancos estivessem em pé, qualquer preto senta-
do depois da porta de saída <u>sabia</u> que ele ou ela não te
ria que sair."

ii. The Present Perfect corresponds to the Simple Perfect
Preterite - indefinite time specification optional in English,
but required in Portuguese to indicate orientation to PP
(desynchronized axis):

"I've found the man who killed Mozart," "Ian McKellen
whispered.""

"Eu descobri (agora) o homem que matou Mozart, "Ian
McKellen sussurrou."" (TM, 48)

iii. The Present Perfect corresponds to the Compound Perfect
Preterite or Simple Present - period specification
obligatory in English, but optional in Portuguese to express
the meaning of an event lasting up to the present.

I've studied the behaviour of bees for quite a long
time, since I was at university.

Eu tenho estudado (venho estudando)/estudo o comporta-
mento das abelhas por muito tempo/(há) muito tempo,
desde que eu estava na universidade.

The conclusions drawn about the different
realizations in the two languages are summarized in the table
below:

ENGLISH	PORTUGUESE
i. Simple Past	Simple Perfect Preterite - moment, definite time specification Imperfect Preterite - period; period specific-action
ii. Present Perfect	Simple Present Compound Perfect Preterite — event extending up to now Simple Perfect Preterite - indefinite time; indefinite time specification

TABLE III

ABBREVIATION SOURCES

AM - E : Amadeu Marques - English 2º *grau*, vol. 1-2,1978.

BS - BA: Brian Abbs et al. - Building Stategies. London,
Longman, 1979.

CC - GLP: Celso Cunha - Gramática da Língua Portuguesa.
MEC, 4a. ed., 1977.

DV - VC: Dalton Trevisan - O Vampiro de Curitiba. Ed. Re-
cord, 6a. ed. revista, 1979.

DSQ - FS: Dinah Silveira de Queiróz - Florada na Serra.
Rio, Liv. José Olympio Ed., 1974.

HP - BP: Harold Pinter - The Birthday Party. London, Eyre
& Methuen Ltd., 1960.
- Silence, Eyre. & Methuen Ltd.,
London, 1969.

IÉ: Revista Isto É - Março, 1978.

JB: Jornal do Brasil - Junho, 1978.

L - MEV: Leech - Meaning and the English Verb. London, Longman, 1971.

LFT - JS: Lygia Fagundes Telles - O Jardim Selvagem. Rio, Liv. José Olympio Ed., 1974.

MA - CV: Machado de Assis - Círculo Vicioso. In: Antologia de Poetas Brasileiros. Série Antologia da Literatura Mundial. São Paulo, Gráfica e Editora Edigraf Ltda.

ML - U: Malcom Lorry - Ultramarine. England, Penguim Books, 1933.

MR - ES: Marques Rebelo - A Estrela Sobe. Rio de Janeiro, Liv. José Olympio Ed., Col. Sagarana, vol. 109, 8a. ed., 1980.

RQ - GCE: Randolph Quirk - A Grammar of Contemporary English. London, Longamn, 1972.

TM: Time Magazine - April, 1978 / March, 1981.

TH - RA: Thor Hayerdahl - RA Expedition. Translated by Patricia Cramptom. England, Penguim Books, 1971.

TS - T: Tom Stoppard - Travesties. London, Faber and Faber, 1975.

V: Revista VEJA - Agosto, 1978.

C H A P T E R   3

Past Tense in English and Portuguese: Analysis of a translation text.

       The purpose of the analysis of a translation from English into Portuguese is to offer evidence for some of the conclusions arrived at in chapter 2.

       Although it is not our aim to engage in error analysis, we know that learners and translators of English often misinterpret the temporal meaning of some past tense forms. We will, therefore, indicate what we think is the nature of each error and what the correct form should be. The errors are analysed in terms of the relevant concepts discussed previously: axes of orientation, order, aspect, and the factors which each concept involves, such as type of verbs, speaker's point of view, etc.

The text used is "A Severed Head", by Iris Murdoch (England, Penguin Books, 1961) and the translation " A Cabeça Decepada", translated by Clarisse Lispector (Rio de Janeiro, Editora Artenova S.A., 1974).

Nine samples have been selected.

1.0. Procedure.

The analysis consists of three parts: a, b and c. In a) the original text is immediately followed by the published translation. The Tense forms focused on are underlined and numbered in the two versions and page numbers are given in brackets.

In b) The English tense forms are followed by their erroneous translation, after which the correct forms in Portuguese are suggested, and the nature of the error pointed out.

In c) explanatory comments are made.

Errors other than those related to tense and aspect are only mentioned when relevant to the object of the analysis.

2.0. Analysis of a translation text.

1.
a) "The platform lights were dulled, powerless to cast any radiance out into the relentless haze, so that the darkness seemed to have got inside one's head. Excited, strangely exhilarated by the fog, obscure

figures peered[1a] and hurried past[2a]. One moved about[3a] within a small dimly lighted sphere, surrounded by an opaque yet luminous yellow night out of which with startling suddenness people and things materialized[4a]."
(p. 53)

"As luzes da plataforma estavam amortecidas, com pouca força para espalhar qualquer luminosidade, dentro do .nevoeiro implacável, de tal modo que a escuridão pare-cia penetrar na cabeça das pessoas.

   Excitadas, estranhamente alvoroçadas pelo ne-voeiro, figuras obscuras apareceram[1b] e apressadas passaram[2b].

   Uma moveu-se[3b] dentro de pequena esfera, palida-mente iluminada, cercada por uma noite opaca, mas lumi nosa fora, da qual, com surpresa alarmante, pessoas e coisas se materializaram[4b]." (p. 45)

b) English - 1a. peered / 2a. hurried past / 3a. moved about
            4a. materialized.

   Translation - 1b. apareceram / 2b. passaram / 3b. moveu
                 se / 4b. materializaram.

   Correct forms - 1. apareciam / 2. passavam / 3. movia
                   se / 4. materializavam.

   Nature of Error - Imperfective aspect mistaken for
                     Perfective in the four instances.

c) The context indicates that the author is making a
   description of a place; she talks about a platform,
   people, lights, and so on, as if she were looking at
   them at the moment she was writing. In other words,
   it means that the actions related to the whole scene
   were taking place at that time; in addition, the
   verbs used are atelic. This kind of misinterpretation
   occurs because the English *Simple Past* is unmarked as
   regards the aspectual opposition perfective/imperfective
   whereas the Portuguese *Simple Perfect Preterite* and
   the *Imperfect Preterite* are marked; the former is
   perfective and the latter is imperfective.

2. a) "As I saw it go I felt frightened and then I wondered[1a]
      if I had rightly identified[2a] the thing which
      clutched[3a] at my heart." (p. 95)

      Ao se passar isso, senti-me amendrontado e então pensa-
      va[1b] se eu identifiquei[2b] corretamente a coisa que
      apertou[3b] meu coração. (p. 81)

   b) English - 1a. wondered / 2a. had identified / 3a. clutched
      Translation - 1b. pensava / 2b. identifiquei / 3b. apertou
      Correct forms - 1. pensei / 2. tinha identificado / 3. apertava
                                    identificara

Nature of Errors: Aspectual and Tense

(1) aspectual: perfective mistaken
     for imperfective

(2) tense: -RP mistaken for RP

(3) aspectual: imperfective mistaken
     for perfective.

c) (1a) *wondered* should have been translated into the
Simple Perfect Preterite and not into the *Imperfect
Preterite* since it indicates terminative aspect (telic
verb). If the sequence of tense rules had been used
correctly, the form *pensava* would not have been used
in Portuguese: *I felt frightened and then I wondered* =
eu me senti amedrontada e pensei/tive dúvidas...
It also marks the axis of orientation (RP) to which a
preceding event is oriented (-RP) (2b) *had identified*.
The last form (3a) *clutched* should be translated into
the *Imperfect Preterite* as the context indicates that
the situations *clutch/apertar* is atelic.

3. a) "I went over to the window. Down below I <u>could see</u>[1a]
the lights of the cars as they passed in endless
procession and wheeled round into   Knightsbridge.
The street lamps <u>lit up</u>[2a] the stripped trunks of the
tree." (p. 200)

Fui para a janela. Lá embaixo <u>pude ver</u>[1b] as luzes dos carros que passavam em procissão interminável e rangiam os pneus em Knightbridge. As lâmpadas da rua <u>iluminaram</u>[2b] os troncos compridos das árvores. (p.171)

b) English - 1a. could see / 2a. lit up

Translation - 1b. pude ver / 2b. iluminaram

Correct forms - 1. podia ver / 2. iluminava

Nature of Error - Aspectual

> (1) Imperfective stative perception mistaken for perfective instantaneous perception.

> (2) Imperfective mistaken for initiative aspect.

c) (1a) *Could see* expresses the state of perception as opposed to *saw* which would mean instantaneous perception. The situation is atelic, therefore, the duration of the action, and not its termination is the main focus.

(2a) *Lit up* refers to an atelic situation, requiring, therefore, an *Imperfect Preterite* verb form.

4. a) "He had come to analysis <u>fairly late</u>, after practising for some time in America and in Japan, as an ordinary doctor, and he <u>had achieved</u>[1a] considerable reputation as that fashionable kind of modern magician. He <u>spent</u>[2a] half the week in Cambridge, where he <u>lodged</u>[3a] with his sister and lent his ear to neurotic undergraduates, and the other half[4a] in London, where he seemed to have a formidable number of well-known patients." (p. 19)

Começou a fazer análise <u>ultimamente</u>, depois de praticar algum tempo, tanto na América como no Japão, como um doutor comum, <u>até adquirir</u>[1b] considerável reputação nesta forma de mágico moderno. <u>Gastou</u>[2b] metade de uma semana em Cambridge, onde se <u>hospedou</u>[3b] com sua irmã e dava uma olhada nos alunos neuróticos. A outra metade <u>gastou</u>[4b] em Londres, onde parecia ter um formidável número de pacientes bem conhecidos. (p. 17)

b) English - 1a. had achieved / 2a. spent / 3a. lodged / 4a. (spent)

Translation - <u>1b.</u> até adquirir / 2b. gastou / 3b. ~~(se)~~ hospedou

Correct Forms -1 tinha (havia) adquirido / 2 passava / 3 (se) hospedava

Nature of Error - Aspectual and Tense

> (1) Tense:-RP mistaken for RP (até
>   adquirir = até que adquiriu)
>
> (2), (3) and (4) Aspectual: Imperfective
>   (habituality) mistaken for
>   perfective.

c) The verb form (1a) *had achieved* should have been
   translated as *tinha adquirido* expressing an event which
   occurred before RP. The misinterpretation of *fairly late*
   as *ultimamente*, when it should have been translated as
   tardiamente also contributed to the erroneous translation
   of *had achieved* since *ultimamente* shifted the event
   from -RP to -PP. The context indicates that (2a),
   (3a) and (4a) (ellipted) express habituality, while
   in the Portuguese version the events are viewed as
   having happened only once. This is inconsistent with
   the other two tenses in the same paragraph: *lent* and
   seemed which were correctly translated into the
   Imperfect Preterite - both indicating habituality.

5.a) "I advanced to the door and knocked. After so much
   breathless silence the sound of the knock seemed
   thunderous. I let it die and then as there was no reply

to it I opened the door. For a moment the light
dazzled me.

I saw[1a] opposite to me a large double divan bed.   The
room was brightly lit."   (p. 126)

"Avancei para a porta e bati. Depois de um longo silên
cio em que fiquei com a respiração suspensa. O som da
batida pareceu-me uma trovoada. Deixei passar um pouco
e, então, como não houvesse resposta, abri a porta.
Por um momento a luz ofuscou-me.
Eu via[1b], de frente para mim, um largo sofá-cama duplo.
O quarto estava bastante iluminado. (p. 109)

b) English - 1a. saw
   Translation - 1b. via
   Correct form - 1. vi
   Nature of Error - Aspectual: Perfective: instantaneous
                                perception, mistaken for
                                imperfective: state of
                                perception.

c) This again exemplifies the differences pointed out in
   sample   3. The main focus here is not on the duration
   of the event but its perception - a quick and immediate
   perception of the whole scene.

6.a) (...)"Forgive me for being so informal, Georgie Hands. I

believe we have a lot of friends in common.

      She knows your sister, I said. I came up behind

Georgie, ready to pilot her out. I had had more than enough.

      I saw you at a party once, said Georgie, but you

wouldn't remember[1a] me. She held out her hand.

      Then I am[2a] the poorer for that! said Palmer. Please

don't go. Do stay and have another drink. We can at least

start to get acquainted." (p. 89)

(...) Perdoe-me por estar sendo tão informal, Georgie Hands.

Creio que temos muitos amigos em comum.

      - Ela conhece sua irmã - eu informei. E me levantei

por trás de Georgie, pronto para levá-la dali. Eu tinha ti-

do mais do que o suficiente.

      - Eu o vi uma vez numa festa - disse Georgie - mas vo-

cê não se lembrava[1b] de mim. - Ela manteve sua mão na dele.

      - Então o azar foi meu! disse Palmer. - Por favor,

não vá. Fique e tome outro drinque. Podemos, pelo menos co-

meçar a nos conhecer. (p. 76-77)

c) *Wouldn't remember* is a tentative form which can be

paraphrased as *it's hardly likely that you remember me*. That

the time reference is present is further shown in the

English text by Palmer's rejoinder: *Then I am the poorer for*

that where *am* is mistranslated into *foi*. The best Portuguese

tense form to achieve such a meaning is, therefore, the *Future Perfect Preterite* and not the Simple Present.

7.a) "I went home by tube. It was odd, this feeling of being integrated once again into the ordinary life of London. For over a week now I <u>had been going</u>[1a] to the office every day and returning at five-thirty to Hereford Square, just like in the old days. (p. 150)

"Voltei para casa pelo metrô. Era estranha a sensação de es tar, mais uma vez, integrado na vida de Londres. Por mais de uma semana eu <u>estive indo</u>[1b] para o escritório todos os dias e voltando às cinco e meia para Hereford Square, como nos velhos tempos." (p. 128)

b) English - 1a. had been going

Translation - 1b..estive indo

Correct form -1. ia/ estava indo

Nature of Error - Aspectual

c) The presence of time specification *for over a week now (now having been omitted in the translation)* indicates that the event had its initiation some time before, continued throughout the week, and was still going on when the speaker

talked about it. The use of direct speech would confirm its duration up to the moment of speech. In Portuguese, a better translation for that expression would be:

Fazia mais de uma semana (agora) que eu ia/estava indo para o escritório..., since the Imperfect Preterite is the most appropriate form to indicate a durative event, as well as to express both iterativity and habituality - two features that mark the present context.

8.a) "Antonia got on to the bed and knelt her way across on to the other side, supporting herself on Palmer's shoulder. She sat[1a] there, curling her softly slippered feet under her, well enveloped in the glowing red gown. Her hair, which had been contained[2a] in the lifted collar, spread now a little on to her shoulders in flat heavy coils of faded gold." (p. 106)

"Antonia foi para a cama e ajoelhou-se em seu lugar, atravessada para o outro lado, apoiando-se no ombro de Palmer. Ela estava lá sentada[1b], dobrando seus pés calçados em delicados chinelos, sob o corpo bem embrulhado no brilhante *chambre* vermelho. Seu cabelo estava[2b] preso na gola levantada, espalhava-se agora sobre seus ombros, em achatados e pesados anéis de ouro desmaiado. (p. 91)

b) English - *1*a. sat / 2a. had been contained

Translation - 1b. estava (1ā) sentada / 2b. estava (preso)

Correct forms - 1 sentou-se / 2 $\begin{cases} \text{estivera} \\ \text{tinha estado} \end{cases}$

Nature of errors - Aspectual and Tense

(1) Aspectual - Perfective mistaken for Imperfective

(2) Tense - -RP mistaken for RP.

c) The verb form *sat* is expressing terminative aspect and, therefore, should have been translated as the Simple Perfect Preterite and not the Imperfect Preterite. The passage is a description of the sequency of actions and not their duration. The second verb form *had been contained* refers to a situation prior to the one occurring when the character saw Antonia. A *Compound Pluperfect* is, therefore, required in Portuguese to describe a past-in-the-past.

9.a) I stumbled[1a] cursing down the cellar steps. (p. 109)

Eu tropeçava[1b], descendo os degraus do porão. (p. 93)

b) English - 1a. stumbled

   Translation - 1b. tropeçava

   Correct form - 1. tropeçei

   Nature of error - Aspectual: Perfective mistaken for

                                 Imperfective

c) Since *Stumbled* is an atelic verb and expresses Terminative

   Aspect, a *Simple Perfect Preterite* verb form is required in

   Portuguese. The use of *tropeçava* would imply an idea of

   repetition which is not present in sample 9.

       Most of the errors found in the translation of the

"The Severed Head" are aspectual. The number of misinterpretations

related to the Portuguese Simple Perfect Preterite and Imperfect

Preterite is higher in relation to those of Tense. The aspectual

misinterpretations are caused by the non-observation of certain

elements which are essential to its determination: type of verb,

specification, context, point of view of the speaker. And those

related to tense by the non-observation of the relation of

order *before/after* to the axis of orientation.

       Few Present Perfect verb forms were found in the

text - perhaps because the novel is mostly narrative. The few

forms that appear have been correctly translated, which can be

explained by the fact that it would constitute an elementary error on the part of the translator, to equate the English Present Perfect, with indefinite past meaning, with the Portuguese Compound Perfect Preterite.

CONCLUSION

The analysis, based on Bull, has proved that the most important conclusion is the one which confirms the hypothesis that through a conceptual analysis from meaning to form, it is possible to establish what lies behind the structural differences between English and Portuguese in the expression of past temporal meanings.

The differences have been found to relate to the following conceptual elements:

1.0. Definiteness / Indefiniteness and Perfective / Imperfective.

1.1. The English Simple Past is marked for definiteness, but the aspectual opposition *perfective/imperfective* is neutralized, whereas in Portuguese the Simple Perfect Preterite is aspectually marked for perfectivity but the opposition *definiteness/indefiniteness* is neutralized.

1.2. The English Present Perfect, with past meaning, is marked for *indefiniteness* corresponding, in this case, to the Portuguese Simple Perfect Preterite, which is neutralized in relation to that feature.

2.0. Specification.

2.1. The English Simple Past cannot co-occur with present time specification while the Portuguese Perfect Preterite can.

2.2. The English Present Perfect expresses *duration-up-to-the-present* only when it is combined with specification oriented to PP, while the Portuguese Compound Perfect Preterite does not require such specification.

3.0. Aspect.

3.1. Whether the Portuguese form equivalent to the English Simple Past is the Simple Perfect Preterite (Perfective Aspect) or the Imperfect Preterite (Imperfective Aspect) is determined by specification, type of verb, context, the speaker's point of view and common focus.

It seems that the fact that the English Simple Past is aspectually unmarked is more misleading than the use of the Present Perfect to express indefinite past time. The Simple Past is more likely to cause errors in translation from English to Portuguese, for the translation of the English Present Perfect with indefinite past meaning into the Portuguese Compound Perfect Preterite would not make sense:

I've bought a new dress

*Tenho comprado um vestido novo.

On the other hand, the English Present Perfect is more likely to cause errors in translation from Portuguese into English for the Portuguese Simple Perfect Preterite is neutralized as to indefiniteness. Therefore, a tendency is observed to equate

Eu vi João

with

*I saw John.

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