

Anaphoric temporal locators in European and Brazilian Portuguese

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Abstract

This paper is an attempt to describe the main differences between European Portuguese (EP) and Brazilian Portuguese (BP) concerning the form and the use of anaphoric temporal locators. I concentrate on two types of locators: locators with demonstratives (Section 3) and locators with vague time expressions (Section 4). With respect to the former type, I propose that the opposition between locators headed by an explicit operator and locators headed by an implicit operation interacts with deixis and anaphora dependencies. As for the latter type, I restrict myself to the presentation of lexical and semantic differences between the two varieties.

1. Introduction

As many times pointed out in the literature, demonstrative pronouns play a crucial role in the expression of deixis and anaphora dependencies. The study presented in this paper shows that there exist interesting differences regarding the use of such pronouns in EP and BP. Section 3 is devoted to the presentation of such differences, with a particular focus on the temporal location domain. A closer look at temporal locators with demonstratives – e.g., *neste ano* (“in_this year”, this year), *esta semana* (“this week”, this week) – reveals the existence of an interaction between the referential properties of these locators and the presence vs. absence of an explicit operator heading them.

Locators with vague time expressions – e.g., *entretanto* (“meanwhile”), *durante este tempo* (“during this time”) – are dealt with in section 4.

Differences between EP and BP with respect to locators of this type are mainly lexical. As a consequence, no important theoretical issues will be discussed in that subsection.

The data presented are mainly extracted from two on-line corpora: the NILC-São Carlos Corpus (henceforth, NILC) for Brazilian Portuguese, and Natura/Público (henceforth, NP) for European Portuguese. NILC contains 32.091.996 words, most of them (85%) extracted from newspaper text and the rest from didactic material and business letters. NP contains 6.257.950 words extracted from the daily newspaper *Público*. Access to these corpora is provided by Linguatca at <http://www.linguatca.pt/ACDC/>. Given obvious space constraints, texts from the corpora will not be translated.

2. Anaphoric temporal locators

Anaphoric temporal locators are locating expressions with a referential dependency on the linguistic context that precedes them. Sequences (1)-(6) below contain examples (acceptable in both varieties) of such expressions:

- (1) A Ana foi a Londres em [Dezembro de 2001]_i. O Paulo foi ao Brasil [nesse ano]_i.
Ana went to London in December 2001. Paulo went to Brazil that year.
- (2) A Ana chegou a Lisboa em [1970]_i. O Paulo chegou [no ano seguinte Ø_{a esse ano}]_i.
Ana arrived in Lisbon in 1970. Paulo arrived the following year.
- (3) [A Ana nasceu]_i em 1970. O Paulo tinha 10 anos [na altura]_i.
Ana was born in 1970. Paul was 10 years old at the time.
- (4) [A Ana mudou-se para Paris]_i em 1999. Vivia em Lisboa [até então]_i.
Ana moved to Paris in 1999. She had been living in Lisbon until then.

Locators such as *nesse ano* (“that year”), *no ano seguinte* (“the following year”), *na altura* (“at the time”) and *até então* (“until then”) anaphorically refer to a temporal entity explicitly represented in the previous linguistic context – cf. (1)-(3) – or inferable¹ from it – cf. (4). Most anaphoric locators exhibit in their complement part anaphors such as a demonstrative pronoun

¹ Situation descriptions do not denote temporal referents but provide them for anaphoric reference. See Mória & Alves in this volume for details on this matter.

(cf. (1)), a definite article (cf. (3)) or a temporal proform (cf. (4)). In other cases, the anaphor is null² (cf. (2)).

As proposed in Alves 2003, locators of this type interact with discourse structure. According to several discourse theories, as for instance Segmented Discourse Representation Theory (cf. Asher 1993) or Rhetorical Structure Theory (cf. Mann and Thompson 1987), all the segments in a coherent discourse are connected to each other by means of discourse relations (cf. Lascarides and Asher 1991). The locators at stake may be compatible or incompatible with such discourse relations (henceforth DR). Compare sequences (a) and (b) below with sequence (c):

- (5) a. A Ana esteve em Paris a semana passada. Ficou hospedada no hotel Hilton.
Ana was in Paris last week. She stayed at the Hilton hotel.
- b. A Ana esteve em Paris a semana passada. Durante esse tempo ficou hospedada no hotel Hilton.
Ana was in Paris last week. During that time she stayed at the Hilton hotel.
- c. #A Ana esteve em Paris a semana passada. Enquanto isso ficou hospedada no Hilton.³
Ana was in Paris last week. Meanwhile she stayed at the Hilton hotel.

In sequence (a), the natural interpretation is that the second sentence elaborates on the first, and that the second situation is part of the situation previously mentioned. In terms of discourse structure, the second sentence is connected to the first by a DR called Elaboration. The locator *durante esse tempo* (“during that time”), in (b), is compatible with such DR, that is, it does not block the inferences at issue, whereas *enquanto isso* (“meanwhile”), in (c), does block them. We no longer infer that the second situation is part of the first and, consequently, that the second sentence is an elaboration of the first. Similarly, in (6) below, only in (a) we are able to infer that Ana missed school because she was sick, and, consequently, that the second sentence is connected to the first by the DR Result.

- (6) a. A Ana esteve doente o mês passado. Faltou à escola.
Ana was sick last month. She missed school.

² I analyse *no ano seguinte*, as it occurs in this example, as containing a null anaphor corresponding to the complement of *seguinte*. This null anaphor is represented by \emptyset_a esse ano. See Alves 2003 for a more detailed argumentation in favour of this analysis.

³ # signals that the sequence does not have the described interpretation. I won't elaborate here on other possible interpretations this sequence may have.

- b. #A Ana esteve doente o mês passado. Simultaneamente faltou à escola.⁴
 Ana was sick last month. Simultaneously she missed school.

The introduction of *simultaneamente* (“simultaneously”) in (b) blocks the above mentioned inferences. In the only possible interpretation of (b), the two situations took place at the same time but the first does not cause the second.

3. Locators with demonstratives

In this section, I’ll concentrate on locators with demonstratives, such as *neste ano* (“this year”), *nessa semana* (“that week”) or *naquele mês* (“that month”). Even though differences concerning demonstrative pronouns are a matter that primarily belongs to the determination domain, it is worth studying its impact on the temporal location system. I start with a brief presentation of what grammars say about the demonstrative system in Portuguese and then describe their actual use in EP and BP.

According to contemporary normative and descriptive grammars⁵, Portuguese has a three-form demonstrative system, as presented in the table below:

Table I – Demonstrative pronouns in Portuguese

este (masc-sing)	esse (masc-sing)	aquele (masc-sing)
esta (fem-sing)	essa (fem-sing)	aquela (fem-sing)
estes (masc-plur)	esses (masc-plur)	aqueles (masc-plur)
estas (fem-plur)	essas (fem-plur)	aquelas (fem-plur)
“this”	“that”	“that”

Following the same grammars, given the ordinary individual domain, all three forms might be used both in deixis and anaphora contexts. As for deixis contexts, *este* conveys proximity to the speaker, *esse* conveys proximity to the addressee and *aquele* conveys non-proximity to either the speaker or the addressee.

In European Portuguese the use of demonstratives matches what these grammars suggest. Let us observe some illustrative cases. If a speaker is referring to a book he is reading, to a cake he is eating or to a table he is eating at, he must use *este*, as shown in (7), (8) and (9), respectively:

⁴ Same as in the previous note.

⁵ As explained below, in BP there is a clear discrepancy between the information given in these grammars and the actual use of demonstratives, as speakers tend to use the *esse*-paradigm in situations where grammars suggest *este*-forms.

- (7) a. Já leste este livro?
 “Already Ø_{you} read this book?”
 Have you read this book yet?
- b. *Já leste {esse / aquele} livro?
 “Already Ø_{you} read {that / that} book?”
 Have you read {that book / that book (over there)} yet?
- (8) a. Este bolo é muito doce!
 “This cake is very sweet”
 This cake is very sweet!
- b. *{Esse bolo / aquele bolo} é muito doce!
 “{That cake / that cake} is very sweet!”
 {That cake / that cake (over there)} is very sweet!
- (9) a. Esta mesa foi muito cara.
 “This table was very expensive”
 This table was very expensive.
- b. *{Essa mesa / aquela mesa} foi muito cara.
 “{That table / that table} was very expensive.”
 {That table / that table (over there)} was very expensive.

Turning back to the temporal domain and to temporal locators in particular, we notice the following in EP: only *este* can be used in deixis contexts and the value it conveys is temporal proximity. For instance, if we are talking about the calendar year (or week) that includes the utterance time, *este* is the appropriate pronominal form, not *esse* or *aquele*.

- (10) Este ano houve menos acidentes de viação do que no ano passado.
 “This year there-was less accidents of car than in-the year passed.”
 This year there were fewer car accidents than last year.
- (11) *{Nesse / Naquele} ano houve menos acidentes de viação do que no ano passado.
 “In {that / that} year there-was less accidents of car than in-the year past.”
 That year there were fewer car accidents than last year.

- (12) Esta semana tenho trabalhado muito.
 “This week Ø_I have worked much.”
 This week I have been working hard.
- (13) *{Nessa / naquela} semana tenho trabalhado muito.
 “In {that / that} week Ø_I have worked much.”
 That week I have been working hard.

As for anaphora contexts, the three demonstrative forms may intervene in locators with such dependency:

- (14) “Com uma ligeira queda logo no primeiro dia da semana, a Bolsa de Londres viria a registar a maior desvalorização da semana na terça-feira (...).” O índice perdeu **neste dia** mais de 20 pontos.” (NP, par 46626) [EP]
- (15) “O PÚBLICO deu a notícia na passada terça-feira. Nessa mesma manhã a Bolsa suspende as acções do Banco Totta & Açores. O Dr. Alípio Dias diz ainda **nesse dia** que a notícia do PÚBLICO «é especulativa».” (NP, par 1278) [EP]
- (16) “(...) os Estados Unidos reduziram também em 14,9 por cento o volume de importação, que passou de 228,3 milhões de barris, em Janeiro, para 194,2 milhões, em Fevereiro. A importação de produtos industriais e de automóveis também desceu **naquele mês**.” (NP, par 16980) [EP]

Therefore, in EP the referential dependencies of demonstrative locators are as in the table below:

Table II – Referential dependencies of demonstrative locators in EP

Deictic	Anaphoric
Locators with <i>este</i> : <i>neste ano, nesta semana</i>	locators with <i>esse</i> : <i>nesse ano, nessa semana</i> locators with <i>aquele</i> : <i>naquele ano, naquela semana</i>

In Brazilian Portuguese, nevertheless, we find a similar situation with respect to *este* and *aquele*, but a different situation as far as *esse* is concerned: contemporary normative and descriptive grammars indicate the demonstrative *este* as the appropriate form to be used in deixis cases (conveying proximity to the speaker), but speaker judgements and corpora show that the use of *esse* in such contexts is also possible. For instance, according to speakers coming

from the São Paulo area, the form *esse* is acceptable in contexts similar to those presented in (7), (8) e (9) above:

- (17) Cê já leu {este / esse / *aquele} livro?
 “You already read {this / that / *that} book?”
 Have you read {this book / that book / that book (over there)} yet?
- (18) {Este / Esse / *aquele} bolo é muito doce!
 “{This / that / *that} cake is very sweet!”
 {This cake / that cake / that cake over there} is very sweet!
- (19) {Esta / Essa / *aquela} mesa foi muito cara.
 “{This / that / *that} table was very expensive!”
 {This table / that table / that table over there} was very expensive!

Similarly, in the temporal domain, and unlike what is the case in EP, *esse* might be used in locators that represent the current calendar year or week.

- (20) {Neste / Nesse} ano houve menos acidentes de viação do que no ano passado.
 “{In_this / in_that} year there-was less accidents of car than in_the year past.”
 {This / that} year there were fewer car accidents than last year.
- (21) {Nesta / Nessa} semana tenho trabalhado muito.
 “{In_this / in_that} week Ø_I have worked much.”
 {This / that} week I have been working hard.

Although the corpora indicate a clear preference for *este*-locators in cases of deixis, they also contain many examples of deictic *esse*-locators:

- (22) “Houve um conveniente desencontro de agendas. (...)Com o fim do período de convenções, a cúpula da candidatura de FHC estuda **nessa semana** o mapa das alianças estaduais e define onde o candidato terá palanques.” (NILC, par Brasil-94b-pol-1) [BP]
- (23) “A maior parte está fixada na região do Xiriana (...). A presença constante dos garimpeiros nesta região durante quase sete meses trouxe problemas graves de saúde aos ianomamis. De acordo com dados do DSY (Distrito Sanitário Yanomami), 26 índios morreram de malária **nesse ano** no local, contra três mortes registradas em 93.” (NILC, par Brasil-94a-pol-2) [BP]

From the data above, we obtain the following table:

Table III – Referential dependencies of locators in BP

Deictic	Anaphoric
locators with <i>este</i> : <i>neste ano, nesta semana</i> locators with <i>esse</i> : <i>nesse ano, nessa semana</i>	locators with <i>aquele</i> : <i>naquele ano, naquela semana</i>

If we restrict ourselves to the temporal domain and to temporal locators, another difference between EP and BP should be mentioned at this point. This difference concerns the presence *vs.* the absence of an explicit temporal operator *em* (“in”) heading temporal locators. In Portuguese, as in other languages, some locators are headed by an explicit *em*, whereas with some others this operator is not visible but arguably implicit. In this respect, Mória 2000 (cf. also Mória & Alves, this volume) distinguishes three cases: the presence of the preposition is mandatory; (ii) the absence of the preposition is mandatory; (iii) the presence of the preposition is optional. Let us see what the case of locators with demonstratives is, starting with the European variety. In EP, the presence of an explicit operator *em* is optional in deictic locators with *este*. In (24) and (25) below, examples are given of locators with an implicit operator and with the explicit *em*, respectively:

- (24) “A Checoslováquia fala no mês de Junho como data para a sua saída, a Polónia declarou **esta semana** que a sua aliança com a URSS tinha acabado e que era agora um país neutral, a Hungria e a Bulgária afirmam que sairão em breve.” (NP, par 1408) [EP]
- (25) “Miguel Beleza – Dele disseram ter-se incompatibilizado com Cavaco Silva e que, por isso mesmo, não tinha sido chamado de novo para a pasta das Finanças. Auguraram-lhe ainda um corte com Cavaco Silva. O passado foi assim, mas a nomeação **nesta semana** para governador do Banco de Portugal provou que o futuro não aconteceu como lhe vaticinaram.” (NP, par 36325) [EP]

According to the corpus, the first structure is clearly preferred to the second, with 875 occurrences against 34.

On the other hand, it is worth emphasising that in anaphoric locators with *este* the presence of the preposition is mandatory, as shown below:

- (26) a. A Ana licenciou-se em 1987. Foi neste ano que começou a trabalhar.
“The Ana graduated in 1987. Was in_this year that \emptyset_{she} started at to_work.”
Ana graduated in 1987. It was in this year that she started to work.

- b. *A Ana licenciou-se em 1987. Foi este ano que começou a trabalhar.
 “*The Ana graduated in 1987. Was this year that \emptyset_{she} started at to_work.”
 Ana graduated in 1987. It was in this year that she started to work.

An explicit preposition is also mandatory in anaphoric locators with *esse* and *aquele*. In none of the examples below, the preposition *em* could be omitted:

- (27) “Os números coligidos em 1990 indicam que os alemães gastaram **nesse ano** 16 mil 800 escudos por pessoa em livros, seguidos dos noruegueses (16 330 escudos), da Finlândia e da Noruega (13 500 escudos) e dos norte-americanos (12 800 escudos).” (NP, par 38691) [EP]
- (28) “(...) A descida de Sokol para o inferno começou nos princípios de 1982. Ele já tinha cumprido sete anos de prisão e exílio, mas **naquele ano** foi transferido de um campo de prisioneiros no sul, onde a situação era suportável, para o duro regime de Qofbari, perto de Puka, nas profundezas das gélidas montanhas do norte da Albânia.” (NP, par 12808) [EP]

In BP the picture is as follows: in the case of deictic locators with *este*, *esse* and *aquele*, the preposition is optional. As for deictic locators with *aquele*, a single case was found in the corpus, where it seems that *aquele ano* is in a shifted deixis context. So, in deixis cases, BP parallels EP in showing a clear preference for locators with an implicit preposition. In anaphoric locators with *este*, *esse* and *aquele*, the presence of *em* is mandatory. More examples are given below:

[deictic locators]

- (29) “A transmissão também será realizada, ao vivo e com tradução simultânea, às 22h, pelo SBT, com Marília Gabriela como apresentadora. O crítico de cinema Rubens Ewald Filho, que participa como comentarista, faz questão de lembrar os prêmios especiais que serão distribuídos **este ano**.” (NILC, par 9307) [BP]
- (30) “Depois de privatizar algumas dezenas de empresas ao longo dos últimos anos, o programa de desestatização do governo mudou de rota. A ênfase **neste ano** está sendo dada à retirada do governo do setor de serviços.” (NILC, par 24683) [BP]

- (31) “Lacerda cria, ainda, duas vacas, dois bezerros e um jumento. Tira diariamente dez litros de leite e vende por CR\$ 200,00 o litro. Com isso, consegue dinheiro para as despesas da casa. «Além do leite, o único produto que venderemos **esse ano** são as abóboras», diz.” (NILC, par 36221) [BP]
- (32) “Estamos recuando no tempo», concorda Francisco Malfitani, que já fez campanhas do PT e que, **nesse ano**, cuidará da propaganda de Francisco Rossi (PDT), candidato ao governo paulista.” (NILC, par 144962) [BP]

[deictic (?)] (Shifted deixis context)

- (33) “Era o primeiro pebolim que chegava ao Brás, novidade absoluta, caríssimo, segundo deu para depreender da expressão do meu pai quando o gerente lhe deu o preço. O velho foi categórico: nem pensar que Papai Noel, **aquele ano**, seria tão generoso.” (NILC, par 665375) [BP]

[anaphoric locators]

- (34) “A primeira e única vez em que nenhum filme ganhou mais de um Oscar foi em 1930. Foi **neste ano** também que Cedric Gibbons ganhou o prêmio pela cenografia de A ponte de São Luís Rey (The bridge of San Luis Rey).” (NILC, par 20367) [BP]
- (35) “O livro é de 62, escrito para sua licenciatura em história, e foi tido como «excelente» pela banca examinadora. Dias, coronel da Reserva do Exército, estudou **nesse ano** na Maria Antonia, como era conhecida a Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras da USP.” (NILC, par 332486) [BP]
- (36) “Desde 1991, que o Bradesco vinha trabalhando na aproximação da Metal Leve e da Cofap, gigantes do ramo de autopeças do Brasil. O banco adquiriu **naquele ano** 15,32% do capital da Metal Leve.” (NILC, par 24149) [BP]

The data presented so far led me to conclude that in both varieties of Portuguese the presence *vs.* the absence of an explicit *em* correlates with the referential value of the temporal locators: the preposition is mandatory in cases of anaphora but optional in cases of deixis, where there seems to be a clear preference for an implicit *em*. If this is so, a table with the referential properties of demonstrative locators in these two varieties should look as in Table IV.

Table IV – Referential properties of locators with demonstratives in EP and BP

Locators with demonstratives			
Deictic		Anaphoric	
\emptyset_{em} <i>este</i> UNIT-OF-TIME	<i>neste</i> UNIT-OF-TIME	<i>nesse</i> UNIT-OF-TIME <i>naquele</i> UNIT-OF-TIME	EP
\emptyset_{em} <i>este</i> UNIT-OF-TIME \emptyset_{em} <i>esse</i> UNIT-OF-TIME \emptyset_{em} <i>aquele</i> UNIT-OF-TIME (?)	<i>neste</i> UNIT-OF-TIME <i>nesse</i> UNIT-OF-TIME	<i>naquele</i> UNIT-OF-TIME	BP

In order to make the picture more perspicuous, a table with the figures concerning the occurrences of some locators with demonstratives is added below (cf. Table V).

Table V – Number and type of occurrences of locators with demonstratives (a sample)⁶

	NILC-São Carlos [BP corpus]		Natura-Público [EP corpus]	
	occurrences	anaphoric occurrences	occurrences	anaphoric occurrences
\emptyset_{em} <i>este</i> ano	3504	0	875	0
<i>neste</i> ano	779	8	39	0
\emptyset_{em} <i>esse</i> ano	97	1	0	0
<i>nesse</i> ano	37	22	33	33
\emptyset_{em} <i>aquele</i> ano	1	0	0	0
<i>naquele</i> ano	100	95	5	3

4. Referentially vague time expressions

Temporal expressions, in particular anaphoric ones, exhibit a considerable variety from both the syntactic and the semantic point of view. On the semantic side, one of the relevant distinctions pulls apart temporal expressions with predicative content and referentially vague time expressions. Examples of the former are: *nesse ano* (“that year”), *no mesmo dia* (“the same day”), *naquela semana* (“that week”), *na véspera desse dia* (“the day before that day”), *no dia seguinte* (“the following day”) and *no semestre anterior* (“the previous semester”). Examples of the latter are *então* (“then”), *nesse meio tempo* (“in the meantime”), *enquanto isso* (“meanwhile”) and *na altura* (“at the time”). Expressions with predicative content constrain their antecedent to be a time expression representing a time interval of a given calendar type

⁶ As said above, the BP corpus is ca. five times bigger than the EP one. Any comparison between the number of occurrences in these two corpora should take this difference into account.

(day, week, year, etc.). Vague expressions do not impose the same type of constraint. They can pick up antecedents inferred from situation descriptions, as shown in the following examples:

- (37) Ontem à noite a Ana fez o jantar. Enquanto isso o Paulo pôs a mesa.
Last night Ana cooked dinner. Meanwhile, Paul set the table.
- (38) A Ana nasceu em 1970. O Paulo tinha então 10 anos.
Ana was born in 1970. Paul was 10 years old then.

In the first case, *enquanto isso/meanwhile* represents the “running time” of the eventuality described in the first sentence: “A Ana fez o jantar” (“Ana cooked dinner”). In the second case, *então/then* refers to the “running time” of the situation “A Ana nasceu” (“Ana was born”). According to the corpora, we also find differences between EP and BP in the use of referentially vague temporal expressions.

(i) locators with *meio tempo* (“meantime”)

Although acceptable in both varieties, locators as *neste meio tempo* (“in the meantime”), *nesse meio tempo* (“in the meantime”) and *no meio tempo* (“in the meantime”), as in the examples below, seem to be much more common in BP than in EP. In fact, they do not appear in the consulted EP corpora, being replaced in this variety by *enquanto isso* or *entretanto*.

- (39) “Este comercial fica no ar até 12 de outubro. **Nesse meio tempo** a empresa põe no ar um comercial da Dinamarca que mostra a linha de brinquedos «Cidade».” (NILC, par 526147) [BP]
- (40) “Como já havia comentado em oportunidades anteriores, o contrato oferecido por Ron Dennis, proprietário da McLaren, não o favorecia nem um pouco. Ele poderia até ser usado como piloto de testes e não participar das corridas. A negociação se arrastou por quatro meses. **Neste meio tempo**, Barrichello foi sondado ainda por Flavio Briatore, da Benetton, e por Jean Todt, da Ferrari.” (NILC, par 656766) [BP]

(ii) locators with *entretanto* (“meanwhile”)

In EP, *entretanto* (“meanwhile”) is mainly used with a temporal value. In the first of the following examples, the anaphor refers back to the time interval corresponding to the “running time” of an eventuality. In the second

case, it refers back to a time interval stretching from the speech time to the “running time” of an eventuality. In the third, *entretanto* refers back to a time interval stretching from the time of an eventuality to the speech time.

- (41) “(...) ao contrário das primeiras manifestações estudantis de hostilidade à guerra, os protestos de ontem não foram conduzidos apenas por estudantes islâmicos, mas alargaram-se aos não religiosos. **Entretanto**, também ontem, mais de 120 intelectuais e artistas egípcios lançaram um apelo aos artistas e intelectuais de todo o mundo para que condenem a guerra inumana e destrutiva que se desenrola no golfo.” (NP, par 5523) [EP]
- (42) “Recorte a resposta certa e espere pelo magazine de domingo, em que será publicado o supercupão referente à terceira semana. **Entretanto**, não se esqueça que tem de nos fazer chegar até à próxima sexta-feira o supercupão que ontem publicámos no público / magazine e onde deverá ter colado todas as respostas correctas da semana anterior.” (NP, par 9885) [EP]
- (43) “Em Outubro, menos de 20 por cento dos americanos considerava que o país estava no bom caminho. A explicação estava no desastre da economia, patente no impasse orçamental que opunha o congresso à administração. Nada mudou, **entretanto**, a não ser o facto de a recessão ser agora oficialmente reconhecida.” (NP, par 8532) [EP]

In BP, *entretanto* seems to have lost its temporal value. The corpora show that this expression is mainly used to mark the denial of an expectation, akin to a concessive value, as in the following cases:

- (44) “Esses pesos se transformam, no final, em cotas. Estas têm o mesmo valor tanto para o faxineiro quanto para o diretor. Funcionários com cargos de maior responsabilidade, **entretanto**, têm peso maior que seus subordinados.” (NILC, par Dinheiro-94b-eco-2) [BP]
- (45) “O real vai exigir do consumidor uma grande mudança de comportamento. Com os valores dos contratos e o salário estabilizados, será mais fácil visualizar e controlar o orçamento doméstico. Esta facilidade, **entretanto**, não significa menos trabalho para «esticar» seu dinheiro e fechar o mês com as receitas e despesas equilibradas.” (NILC, par Dinheiro-94b-eco-1) [BP]

- (46) “O professor Selten expandiu e refinou a teoria de equilíbrio de Nash, para incluir conceitos de como se formam estratégias ao longo do tempo. Selten possui um livro em co-autoria com Harsanyi. Um nome, **entretanto**, foi a ausência notável da lista.” (NILC, par Dinheiro-94a-eco-1) [BP]

(iii) locators with *esse tempo* (“that time”)

The paragraphs below, extracted from a BP corpus, are not fully acceptable in contemporary EP⁷. Leaving aside differences related to the temporal operators (that will be ignored here), the locators sound inappropriate in the given contexts. Notice that in both cases, the locator with *esse tempo* (“that time”) is used to convey that two situations are simultaneous:

- (47) “Caiu desfalecida contra o esteio. Japi lambia-lhe a mão fria e pulava travesso para fazer sorrir a criança, soltando uns doces latidos de prazer. (...) **Por esse tempo** pisava Martim os campos amarelos do Tauape; seu irmão Poti, o inseparável, caminhava a seu lado.” (NILC, par 1279531) [BP]
- (48) “Aqueles que iam acompanhar até ao cemitério, procuravam os seus carros. Embarcaram todos, e o enterro rodou. **A esse tempo**, na vizinhança, alguns pombos imaculadamente brancos, as aves de Vênus, ergueram o vôo, ruflando estrepitosamente;” (NILC, par 1296582) [BP]

In EP, in both cases, *por/a esse tempo* should be replaced by, for instance, *nessa altura*, an expression that, according to the corpora, is much more customary in the European than in the Brazilian variety. In EP, locators with *esse tempo*, as *nesse tempo*, are also available but their use seems to be different from the one at stake in the above BP texts. Consider the examples below:

- (49) a. O Paulo escalou o Pico da Vara em 1999. Chovia {na altura / nessa altura}.
 “The Paulo climbed the Pico da Vara in 1999. Rained {in_the height / in_that height}.”
 Paulo climbed Pico da Vara in 1999. It rained {at the time / at that time}.

⁷ According to some speakers, (48) is acceptable, although with a literary flavour.

- b. O Paulo escalou o Pico da Vara em 1999. Chovia {nesse tempo}.
 “The Paulo climbed the Pico da Vara in 1999. Rained {in_that time}.”
 Paulo climbed Pico da Vara in 1999. It rained {at that time}.

[Notice that in all cases the anaphoric locators occur in sentences with the “pretérito imperfeito”.] When we read sequence (a), we may conclude that it was raining when Paulo climbed the Pico da Vara, that this fact made the climb more difficult, that he got wet, and so on. As for sequence (b), what it expresses is the idea that 1999 or the 90 decade was not dry. This does not entail that it was raining when Paulo was climbing.

Notice, furthermore, that *na altura* and *nessa altura* can be used with the progressive, but not *nesse tempo*:

- (50) a. O Paulo escalou o Pico da Vara em 1999. Estava a chover {na altura / nessa altura}.
 “The Paulo climbed the Pico da Vara in 1999. Was at to_rain {in_the height / in_that height}.”
 Paulo climbed Pico da Vara in 1999. It was raining {at the time / at that time}.
- b. *O Paulo escalou o Pico da Vara em 1999. Estava a chover nesse tempo.
 “The Paulo climbed the Pico da Vara in 1999. Was at to_rain in_that time.”
 Paulo climbed Pico da Vara in 1999. It was raining at that time.

What seems to be the case, then, is that, in EP, locators with *esse tempo* represent more extended time intervals than in BP. For instance, in the sequence below, very similar to the one given in (47), *por esse tempo* is most naturally interpreted as referring to a period of time in the past during which Ana’s brother regularly surfed.

- (51) a. Cheguei a casa depois do almoço. A Ana estudava. Por esse tempo o irmão fazia *surf* com os amigos.
 “Ø_I arrived to_the home after of_the lunch. The Ana studied. By that time the brother did surf with the friends.”
 I arrived home after lunch. Ana studied. At that time her brother surfed with his friends.

An interpretation according to which the same locator refers to the time during which Ana studied is not easy to obtain. It seems that these locators, in sentences with the “pretérito imperfeito”, are not compatible with a DR of Parallelism (cf. Alves 2003), a DR that emerges when the conclusion can be

drawn that two independent situations are simultaneous. This would explain why paragraph is unusual in EP (48).

It also seems that they are incompatible with a DR of Reaction (cf. Alves 2003). This DR is inferred when the interpretation that a situation was triggered by another one obtains, as in the following case:

- (52) Perdi o emprego há três anos. Fiquei deprimida na altura.
I lost my job three years ago. I was depressed at the time.

If this is so, the unacceptability of paragraph (49) in European Portuguese is explained.

In EP and in BP, *nesse tempo* is appropriately used when a situation is backgrounding another one, the relevant discourse segments being connected by the DR of Background.

- (53) “Donde a violência permanente de «Não Dês Bronca» mesmo quando dá vontade de rir. No Carnaval vestiam-me de minhota e ficava três dias sozinha na varanda, a lançar, para as árvores do Jardim Constantino, serpentinas que baloiçavam nos ramos até a chuva da Páscoa as desbotar. Eu era gorda **nesse tempo** (...)” (NP, par 63404) [EP]
- (54) “E como cantavam em 1967, um Luciano Pavarotti ainda pouco conhecido, ainda sem os tiques da vedeta mediática em que se transformaria! Que bem cantava, **nesse tempo**, Fiorenza Cossotto, antes de ser atacada pela «primadonnice» verista!” (NP, par 37593) [EP]

(iv) locators with *aí* (“there”)

Although in EP *aí* (“there”) may hold a temporal value (as opposed to a spatial one), this mainly is the case when it occurs as the complement of an explicit temporal operator such as *de* (“from”), *desde* (“since”) or *até* (“until”), as illustrated below:

- (55) “Só em 1983, a CDH aprovou uma resolução reiterando o direito à autodeterminação de Timor-Leste; **desde aí**, as vagas promessas oferecidas pelo regime de Jacarta de que a situação tendia a melhorar substituíram sistematicamente a condenação das práticas de violação e o apelo ao respeito pelos direitos do homem.” (NP, par 20163) [EP]

- (56) “Sabe-se hoje, sem sombra de dúvida, que a Terra se move em torno do Sol, à velocidade considerável de cento e oito mil quilómetros por hora. No entanto, não foi fácil a confirmação deste facto, anunciado por Copérnico no século XVI com base na sua teoria de que o sistema do mundo ficaria muito mais simples com o Sol colocado no seu centro, em vez da Terra, como **até aí** se havia acreditado.” (NP, par 32662) [EP]

Accordingly, examples such as the following, where no explicit temporal operator is present, are unusual in EP. In similar cases, European Portuguese speakers would use *então* (“then”) or *nessa altura* (“that time”) instead.

- (57) “(...) Voltou ao portão tentando explicar por que não havia embarcado – mas logo senti que toda aquela cena era apenas um pretexto para me dar outro beijo. Novamente me beijou no rosto, agora mais demoradamente. (...) Dinho retorna então pela terceira vez e, **aí**, me dá um beijo quase nos lábios.” (NILC, par 7307) [BP]
- (58) “Vocês sabem por que o Rio Cidade anda tão devagar? O prefeito encomendou uma pesquisa que revelou que a população não gosta de obras rápidas, ou seja, o povo só assimila seus efeitos quando a obra o desespera. Depois, de repente, em 15 dias, aparecem 100 operários trabalhando para finalizar os trabalhos e **aí** todos ficam aliviados.” (NILC, par 10578) [BP]
- (59) “E por falar em Andréa, Olavo, hipnotizado pela sedução da sereia, saiu da festa cedinho – com ela, é claro; o que é o amor. No jantar havia de tudo, inclusive o camarão grávido, especialidade da casa. Quando começou a discoteca, comandada por Márcio Torres, as mulheres começaram a dançar umas com as outras, tal a animação; só **aí** os homens aderiram.” (NILC, par 21442) [BP]

(v) locators with *época* (“epoch”)

In EP, locators with the temporal noun *época* (“epoch”) can only be used to refer to a period of time in the past of the utterance time, as shown by the following examples:

- (60) Os americanos aterraram na Lua em 1969. Nessa época a televisão em Portugal era a preto e branco.
American landed in the Moon in 1969. At that time TV in Portugal was black and white.
- (61) Os americanos aterrarão em Marte em 2020. *Nessa época a televisão será personalizada.
American will land in Mars in 2020. By that time TV will be personalized.

Therefore, the following example extracted from a BP corpus is unacceptable in EP:

- (62) “Outro encontro sobre Aids está previsto para Dezembro em Paris. A ministra francesa da saúde, Simone Veil, espera que os países por **essa época** decidam eliminar as restrições de viagem a pessoas infectadas com o HIV.” (NILC, par 72459) [BP]

5. Conclusions

There are some interesting differences and similarities in respect of anaphoric locators in EP and BP. Regarding the locators with demonstratives, the relevant facts can be summarised as follows: (i) unlike what happens in EP, in BP both locators with *este* and locators with *esse* (although corpora indicate a clear preference for the former) can be used in deixis contexts, which seems to follow from the fact that in BP (but not in EP), in non-temporal domains, *esse* can be used in deixis contexts to convey proximity to the speaker; (ii) in both varieties, locators headed by an explicit *em* are ambivalent, that is, they can be used both in deixis and anaphora contexts, although in deixis contexts both varieties preferentially use implicit *em* locators; (iii) both in EP and BP, locators with an implicit *em* are not ambivalent, insofar as they can be used in deixis contexts only, which made me hypothesise that the choice between explicit and implicit *em* with (at least) these locators is not arbitrary, but related to deixis and anaphora dependencies.

Concerning other locators, namely those that include vague time expressions, I showed the existence of several lexical differences. One of the relevant expressions (*entretanto*) has mainly a temporal value in EP, but seems to have lost this value in BP. The remaining expressions have a temporal value in both varieties, but they are used in different contexts, though with more frequency in one variety than in the other.

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