

# Differences between European and Brazilian Portuguese in the use of temporal adverbials

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## *Abstract*

*This paper attempts to provide a partial description of the main differences between European Portuguese and Brazilian Portuguese concerning the form and interpretation of temporal adverbials. Two temporal domains are described in relatively more detail: the expression of anchored temporal measurement and the expression of duration. However, differences in other semantic domains – such as simple temporal location, quantification over time intervals, correlation of events and frequency – are also mentioned and briefly illustrated. It will be shown that, overall, the system of temporal adverbials is remarkably similar in European and Brazilian Portuguese, the differences being mainly lexical, lexical-syntactic or morpho-syntactic.*

## **1. Introduction**

The aim of this paper is to provide a description of the main differences between European Portuguese (EP) and Brazilian Portuguese (BP) regarding the system of temporal adverbials. Some expressions that have sentential properties but are comparable, by their distributional and semantic properties, to temporal adverbials will also be taken into account, namely, phrases with predicates of amounts of time combined with the verbs *haver* (“there to be”), *fazer* (“to make”) and *ter* (“to have”) or with the past participle form *passado* (“passed”). Two temporal domains will be described in relatively more detail: the expression of **anchored temporal measurement** (Section 2) and the expression of **duration** (Section 3). However, differences in other semantic

domains – such as simple temporal location, quantification over time intervals, correlation of events and frequency – will also be mentioned and briefly illustrated (Section 4).

As will be seen, differences between EP and BP with respect to the issue at stake are mainly lexical or lexical-syntactic, and sometimes morpho-syntactic too. As a consequence, no important theoretical issues will be discussed in this paper, its aim being essentially descriptive. Nonetheless, the overall perspective on time issues expressed in previous works by the authors (especially Mória, 2000, 2003b and Alves, 2003), within the framework of Discourse Representation Theory, is implied.

The data used in this paper is taken basically from two corpora<sup>1</sup>: for European Portuguese, the **Natura-Público Corpus** (henceforth, NP), which contains ca. 6.3 million words, taken exclusively from a recent Portuguese newspaper; for Brazilian Portuguese, the **NILC-São Carlos Corpus** (henceforth, NILC), which contains ca. 32 million words, 85% of which taken from Brazilian newspapers, and the rest from other types of texts. Unless otherwise stated, all quantitative data provided here is taken from these two corpora. Of course, numbers should be compared taking into account the difference in size between the two corpora: a proportion of ca. 1 to 5. Given obvious space constraints, texts from the corpora will not be translated, although the relevant temporal expressions are discussed within the text and highlighted in the excerpts.

## 2. Anchored temporal measurement

The first area to be analysed involves a subset of adverbial – or adverbial-like – expressions whose common characteristic is that they involve two semantic ingredients: (i) a **temporal anchor point**, which can either be the utterance time or a contextually determined perspective point, and (ii) a **time measurement operation** – either retrospective or prospective – from that anchor point<sup>2</sup>. The relevant expressions may be used either to locate events in time or (simply) to refer to intervals, as in the following two sequences, respectively:

- (1) O museu foi inaugurado **há cem anos**. [TEMPORAL LOCATION]  
 the museum was inaugurated there-is hundred years  
 ‘the museum was inaugurated one hundred years ago.’

<sup>1</sup> These *corpora* are accessible at <http://acdc.linguatca.pt/acesso/>.

<sup>2</sup> Parallel expressions involving counting of temporally ordered entities, rather than time measurement, are also used, both in EP and BP – e.g. *há três épocas* (“there-is three seasons”, *three seasons ago*), *daqui a três fins-de-semana* (“from-here to three weekends”, *three weekends from now*). For the sake of simplicity, they will be ignored in this paper (cf. Mória, 2000, 2003a, for a semantic analysis).

- (2) Este quadro data de **há cem anos**. [TEMPORAL REFERENCE]  
 this painting dates from there-is hundred years  
 ‘this painting dates back to one hundred years ago.’

These phrases with *há* (“there-is”) involve retrospective time measurement, and correspond to English expressions with *ago*. Although they behave differently in contexts (1) like (2) and (as a temporal locating adverbial and as a time-denoting expression, respectively), a unified analysis is possible and seems advantageous. In fact, they can be considered instances of the same category – that of time-denoting expressions – under an analysis where a null preposition with the value of *em* (“in” / “at”) is postulated in adverbial contexts like (1) (cf. discussion of this proposal in Mória, 2000). Accordingly, sentence (1) would be interpreted as in (3) below:

- (3) O museu foi inaugurado  $\emptyset_{em}$  **há cem anos**.  
 the museum was inaugurated  $\emptyset_{in/at}$  there-is hundred years

Phrases with *daqui a* (“from-here to”), which illustrate prospective time measurement, have similar properties:

- (4) O museu será inaugurado **daqui a dez dias**. [TEMPORAL LOCATION]  
 the museum will-be inaugurated from-here to ten days  
 ‘the museum will be inaugurated in ten days.’
- (5) A reunião foi marcada para **daqui a dez dias**. [TEMPORAL REFERENCE]  
 the meeting was scheduled to from-here to ten days  
 ‘the meeting was scheduled for ten days from now.’

Sequences involving retrospective and prospective time measurement will be analysed separately in the following two sections.

### 2.1. Retrospective anchored temporal measurement

In order to refer to intervals that precede an anchor point by a certain amount of time, Portuguese uses different temporal expressions. Differences between EP and BP are more striking in three cases, which we will focus on here: (i) expressions with a form of the verb *haver* (“there to be”) and/or the adverb *atrás* (“behind”); (ii) expressions with a form of the verb *fazer* (“to make”); (iii) expressions with a form of the verb *ter* (“to do”). Among the retrospective expressions that will not be discussed in this paper are those with *antes* (“before”) and *a* (“at”) like those below, which appear to be used similarly in both dialects:

- (6) O museu reabriu em Maio. Tinha encerrado **dois meses antes**.  
the museum reopened in May. [it] had closed two months before  
'the museum reopened in May. It had closed two months before.'
- (7) **A dois meses das eleições**, ninguém sabia quem iria ganhar.  
at two months from-the elections, nobody knew who would win  
'two months before the elections, nobody knew who would win.'

### 2.1.1. Expressions with *haver* and/or *atrás*

Intriguingly, there are four equivalent constructions involving these elements in Portuguese.

#### i. simple *há* construction

As illustrated in (1) and (2) above, the relevant temporal adverbials may simply contain a form of the verb *haver* (together with the predicate of amounts of time). The typical verb form is *há* ("there is"), morphologically a present tense, but semantically a neuter form, since it is used for any kind of anchor point (present, past or future). However, when the anchor point is in the past, structures with *havia* ("there was"), morphologically and semantically an imperfective past, are also possible, both in EP and BP, even if they are far less common than those with *há*, and will henceforth be ignored. The simple *há*-construction is frequent both in EP and BP. In (1), the *há*-phrase occurs adverbially in sentence-final position; however, it may also appear in sentence-initial position, in which case an optional complementizer *que* ("that") often appears:

- (8) **Há cem anos** (que) o museu foi inaugurado.  
there-is hundred years (that) the museum was inaugurated  
[equivalent to (1): *the museum was inaugurated one hundred years ago*]

#### ii. (redundant) *há... atrás* construction

The simple *há* construction competes, both in EP and BP, with a semantically equivalent structure where the adverb *atrás* ("behind") is – redundantly – added to the temporal phrase.

- (9) O museu foi inaugurado **há cem anos atrás**.  
the museum was inaugurated there-is hundred years behind  
[equivalent to (1): *the museum was inaugurated one hundred years ago*]
- (10) Este quadro data de **há cem anos atrás**.  
this painting dates from there-is hundred years behind  
[equivalent to (2): *this painting dates back to one hundred years ago*]

Note that when the adverbial phrase occurs in sentence-initial position, the complementizer *que* cannot occur (in contrast to what happens with the parallel form without *atrás* – cf. (8)).

- (11) **Há cem anos atrás** (\**que*) o museu foi inaugurado.  
there-is hundred years behind (\*that) the museum was inaugurated

Despite its redundancy, the *há... atrás* construction is rather common both in EP and BP (though less common than the simple *há*-structure, according to the consulted corpora). A slight difference in its frequency in EP and BP is also detected in the corpora: 96 occurrences in the BP corpus vs. 120 in the five times smaller EP corpus.

### iii. simple *atrás* construction

The two constructions described so far compete with a third equivalent one where the verb form (*há*) is omitted and only the adverb (*atrás*) remains. This structure – curiously, a syntactic parallel of English *ago*-adverbials – is widespread in BP, but relatively rare in EP. In fact, most EP speakers consider it odd or ungrammatical.

- (12) O museu foi inaugurado **cem anos atrás**. [BP, ?EP]  
the museum was inaugurated hundred years behind  
[equivalent to (1): *the museum was inaugurated one hundred years ago*]
- (13) Este quadro data de **cem anos atrás**. [BP, ?EP]  
this painting dates from hundred years behind  
[equivalent to (2): *this painting dates back to one hundred years ago*]

It must be stressed that, though this construction it not accepted by most EP speakers, a non-despicable number of occurrences is registered in the EP corpus: at least 25 (vs. 120 of the *há... atrás* construction). This might indicate a similar tendency to drop the verb form (*há*) in both dialects. Observe the following examples (which are non-standard EP):

- (14) “Nada que alguma vez se sonhasse, **20 anos atrás**.” (NP, par 74388);  
“**Dois anos atrás** o país era o ponto de maior sofrimento humano do mundo.” (NP, par 71209); “(...) a defesa acérrima da União Europeia (...) deitou por terra a ideia (...) que a sua conversa com os portugueses **de dois dias atrás** tinha sugerido.” (NP, par 70399) [EP]

### iv. constructions with bare predicates of amounts of time

Finally, a fourth type of construction must be mentioned. In structures involving “lower-bound” temporal prepositions like *desde* (“since”) and *de* (with the meaning of “from”), BP sometimes resorts to a construction, unused

in EP, where both the verb (*há*) and the adverb (*atrás*) are dropped, leaving the temporal prepositions *desde* or *de* with a bare predicate of amounts of time as the complement. These structures are equivalent to the canonical ones, with *há* after the temporal preposition.

- (15) O museu está encerrado **desde dois anos**. [BP, \*EP]  
 the museum is closed since two years  
 ‘the museum has been closed for two years (now).’
- (16) O museu está encerrado **de dois anos para cá**. [BP, \*EP]  
 the museum is closed from two years to here  
 [roughly equivalent to (15)]

Note that the form of the BP adverbial in (15) is parallel to French expressions with *depuis* and German expressions with *seit*, which can also co-occur with bare predicates of amounts of time to express how long a situation has been going on at a given anchor point. The BP corpus contains at least a few dozen occurrences of this elliptic construction with *desde* – some regarded as marginal by several Brazilian speakers – and more than one hundred occurrences with *de... para cá*. Here are some examples:

- (17) “**Desde dez dias** que se entregava a essa árdua tarefa, quando (...) lhe bateram à porta, em meio de seu trabalho.” (NILC, par 103558); “Começava a crer possível ou real uma idéia que o atormentava **desde muitos dias**.” (NILC, par 110755) “(...) entrou nos seus aposentos, como se os conhecesse **desde muito**.” (NILC, par 111827); “Escultor acostumado a lidar com fibras de vidro (...), **de dois anos para cá** ele tem estado às voltas com remédios importados (...)” (NILC, par 8067); “O que importa é o status que isso, **de uns tempos para cá**, proporciona.” (NILC, par 13712) [BP]

It must be noted that this particular type of temporal phrases expresses (time-anchored) **duration**. However, this information is, arguably, inferred rather than directly asserted, and they can therefore be taken as true locating adverbials, at the assertion level (cf. Mória, 2000 for a discussion of this issue, which, for space reasons, cannot be explored here).

The use of the four constructions just described seems to be particularly affected by the presence of prepositions immediately before the relevant temporal expression. This is true not only in the obvious case of construction iv (which, as mentioned, only occurs in the presence of the prepositions *desde* and *de*), but also of constructions i, ii, and iii. Furthermore, in prepositioned contexts, differences between EP and BP seem to be sharper. First, let us start by identifying the relevant prepositioned contexts we have in mind. These are of three sorts: (i) complement of a preposition selected by higher predicate, like the verb *datar* (“to date”) in (2) above; (ii) complement of a preposition

(often *de*) in a noun modifier, as in (18); (iii) complement of a temporal preposition, like *até* (“until”), *desde* (“since”), *de* (“from”), *entre* (“between”) or *antes* (“before”), as in (19)-(23)<sup>3</sup>:

- (18) os problemas de **há dois anos (atrás)**  
 the problems of there-is two years (behind)  
 ‘the problems of two years ago.’
- (19) O museu esteve encerrado até **há dois anos (atrás)**.  
 the museum was closed until there-is two years (behind)  
 ‘the museum was closed until two years ago.’
- (20) O museu está encerrado desde **há dois anos (atrás)**.  
 the museum is closed since there-is two years (behind)  
 ‘the museum has been closed for two years (now)<sup>4</sup>.’
- (21) O museu está encerrado de **há dois anos para cá**.  
 the museum was closed from there-is two years to here  
 [roughly equivalent to (20)]
- (22) Os dinossauros prosperaram entre **há 230 e há 65 milhões de anos (atrás)**.  
 the dinosaurs thrived between there-is 230 and there-is 65 millions of years (behind)  
 ‘dinosaurs thrived between 230 and 65 million years ago.’
- (23) Não há registos escritos de antes de **há cinco mil anos (atrás)**.  
 NEG there-is records written of before of there-is five thousand years (behind)  
 ‘there are no written records from before five thousand years ago.’

In these prepositioned contexts, BP normally resorts to the simple *atrás* construction, which is non-standard in EP and particularly rare in this type of contexts (only 2 occurrences in the NP corpus). Thus, the following structures are common in BP, but would sound odd to most EP speakers:

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<sup>3</sup> There are no examples with *entre* or *antes* in the NP or NILC corpora. However, the CETEMPúblico corpus – a much larger corpus of EP, containing ca. 190 million words taken from the same newspaper as the NP – contains 9 and 3 occurrences, respectively.

<sup>4</sup> The grammatical English structure *since two years ago*, a more direct parallel of the Portuguese sequence, is seldom used (cf. Mória, 2003a).

- (24) “Até então – e **desde cerca de 350 mil anos atrás**, quando a humanidade começou a dominar o fogo –, a noite era um território vedado à maioria dos indivíduos.” (NILC, par Ilustrada-96a-30-91); “O preso Corrêa Leite diz que nunca teve problemas com drogas **até alguns meses atrás**.” (NILC, par Cotidiano-94a-soc-1); “São figuras que parecem pertencer à China **de quatro séculos atrás**.” (NILC, par 7636) [BP]

In fact, prepositioned structures with *há* are (with some exceptions)<sup>5</sup> relatively rare in BP. Structures with *desde há* and *de há... para cá* are especially rare (8 and 0 occurrences, respectively, in the BP corpus). Accordingly, the following examples, which are normal in EP, would probably have been differently phrased by a Brazilian speaker:

- (25) “**Até há dois anos**, poucos conheciam este advogado minhoto (...)” (NP, par 24668); “A epidemia de cólera que **desde há 15 dias** flagela o Peru já causou a morte de 66 pessoas (...)” (NP, par 2533); “(...) a situação não evoluiu muito **desde há 20 anos para cá**.” (NP, par 77327); “A verdade é que, **desde há alguns anos a esta parte**, este herói da banda desenhada viu-se envolvido com uma cantora famosa (...)” (NP, par 12783); “(...) o trabalho realizado **de há um ano para cá** foi muito importante.” (NP, par 40362); “(...) uma iniciativa da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa que **de há uns anos a esta parte** vem ocorrendo regularmente no mês de Março.” (NP, par 72810); “António Seguro obteve 74 por centos dos votos expressos, repetindo a vitória **de há dois anos**.” (NP, par 1929) [EP]

As for prepositioned structures with both *há* and *atrás*, the frequency is low in written EP (10 occurrences in the NP corpus), although it seems very common in oral speech, and almost null in BP (a single occurrence, of *até há... atrás*, in the NILC corpus). Thus the following examples are typical of EP<sup>6</sup>:

- (26) “**Até há alguns meses atrás**, «choviam» as queixas contra situações menos pacíficas que decorriam à volta das discotecas de Coimbra.” (NP, par 43851); “E de facto, já existem **desde há uns meses atrás** «kits» de diagnóstico para o HIV1 (...)” (CETEMPúblico 1.7, Ext 816433 (clt-soc, 93b)); “Para Rui Silva (...), o PDM ontem aprovado

<sup>5</sup> There is a relatively high number of occurrences in the BP corpus of: (i) sequences containing the vague quantifier *pouco(s)* (“little” or “few”), especially *até há pouco (tempo)* [“until there-is little (time)”, *until recently*], and (ii) the temporal phrase *de há muito* [“from there-is long”, *for a long time (now)*].

<sup>6</sup> The example with *desde há... atrás* was taken from the CETEMPúblico corpus, given that no example of this sequence was found in the smaller NP corpus. The CETEMPúblico contains 10 instances of this combination.

«não apresenta diferenças substanciais em relação ao **de há quatro meses atrás** (...)» (NP, par 69589) [EP]

### 2.1.2. Expressions with *fazer* (“to make”)

Expressions with *fazer* (“to make”) are semantically similar to those considered in the previous section: they serve basically to express the distance between a given situation and a certain anchor point. Two syntactic-semantic differences, however, must be noted: (i) they normally occur only in adverbial position, and not as preposition complements; consequently, they are essentially used to express temporal location, and not mere temporal reference; (ii) they allow – especially in EP – the anchor point to be lexically expressed. The generic form of these expressions is: [*fazer* (Y) X-TIME] (“to-make (Y) X-TIME”), where the verb *fazer* may be inflected – e.g. *faz* (“makes”), *fez* (“made”) –, Y is an optional expression that marks the anchor point for time measurement – e.g. *agora* (“now”), *hoje* (“today”), *amanhã* (“tomorrow”) –, and X-TIME is a predicate of amounts of time. The expression as a whole may be used at the end of a sentence, as in (27), or at the beginning, as in (28), in which case, an optional complementizer *que* (“that”) often occurs. The following sentences are equivalent to those containing phrases with *há* and/or *atrás* in adverbial position.

- (27) O museu foi inaugurado **faz (hoje) cem anos**.  
the museum was inaugurated makes (today) hundred years  
[roughly equivalent to (1): *the museum was inaugurated one hundred years ago*]
- (28) **Faz (hoje) cem anos** (que) o museu foi inaugurado.  
makes (today) hundred years (that) the museum was inaugurated

As said, *fazer*-constructions are used in both EP and BP, although the latter seems to make wider use of them (judging from the consulted corpora). The most noticeable difference between EP and BP, with respect to these expressions, is that EP seldom uses expressions where the anchor point is implicit (rather than explicit), whereas this subtype of construction is widespread in BP. Note, in particular, that the sequences with vague meaning – e.g. with bare plurals or with the sequence *faz muito* (*tempo*) (“makes much (time)”) – are common in BP but odd to EP speakers:

- (29) “Hoje, os proprietários de imóveis são tão necessitados quanto os inquilinos, mesmo porque **faz anos** que se acabaram os latifundiários urbanos.” (NILC, par Imóveis-94b-eco-2); “Aliás, não **faz muito**, comentei que o carioca prefere ir para o Caju.” (NILC, par Opinião-94a-opi-1) [BP]

Conversely, BP normally does not make the anchor point explicit by means of expressions like *hoje* (“today”), *agora* (“now”), *amanhã* (“tomorrow”) or the like. In fact, no occurrences of the relevant sequence *fazer hoje/agora/amanhã*, for instance, were identified in the BP corpus. The following examples are thus typical of EP.

- (30) “A guerra do Golfo terminou **faz hoje um ano**.” (NP, par 25998);  
 “**Faz hoje precisamente vinte anos** que a sonda espacial norte-americana Mariner 10 visitou pela primeira vez o planeta Mercúrio (...).” (NP, par 72168); “É o caso do angolano Domingos Afonso, chegado a Portugal **faz agora um ano**.” (NP, par 61495) [EP]

### 2.1.3. Expressions with *ter* (“to do”)

Besides *haver* and *fazer*, a third verb may be used, though exclusively in BP, to express the distance between an event and a given anchor point: *ter* (“to have”)<sup>7</sup>. Observe the following examples (with the temporal phrase in sentence-final and sentence-initial position, respectively):

- (31) O museu foi inaugurado **tem cem anos**. [BP, \*EP]  
 the museum was inaugurated has hundred years  
 [roughly equivalent to (1) and (27): *the museum was inaugurated one hundred years ago*]
- (32) **Tem cem anos** (que) o museu foi inaugurado. [BP, \*EP]  
 has hundred years (that) the museum was inaugurated

Constructions with this verb are relatively common in informal BP, although only a few examples were found in the (written) BP corpus:

- (33) “Já **tem um tempo** que se ouviu falar das misturas de elementos do jazz com batida dance, batizada de acid jazz.” (NILC, par Revista-94b-nd-1); “Já produziu toda uma estética em filmes e também peças, não **tem muito tempo**.” (NILC, par Ilustrada-94b-nd-1) [BP]

### *Excursus 1. Temporally anchored duration*

Structures with the verbs *haver*, *fazer* and *ter* may also be used to express a particular form of duration – **temporally anchored duration** –, which must not be mistaken for temporal location or temporal reference (as expressed in the structures analysed throughout section 2.1).

<sup>7</sup> It must be noted that the verb *ter* is used in BP, but not in EP, with an existential meaning similar to that of *haver* – the BP sentence *tem muitos livros aqui* (“has many books here”) is equivalent to the EP sentence *há muitos livros aqui* (“there-is many books here”, *there are many books here*).

- (34) O museu está encerrado {há / faz (agora) / tem} dez dias.  
 the museum is closed {there-is / makes (now) / has} ten days  
 ‘the museum has been closed for ten days (now).’

These structures differ from those considered so far in that they directly express how long a given (atelic) situation has, or had, been going on at a given anchor point – i.e. they express duration. In contrast, the ones previously analysed serve primarily to identify intervals (that lie in the past of the anchor point) – temporal reference –, and, in adverbial contexts, to locate events relative to those intervals – temporal location.<sup>8</sup>

The differences between EP and BP, concerning these expressions of duration, are similar to those observed for parallel expressions in the previous section, namely those regarding (i) the (non-)expression of the anchor point in structures with *fazer*, and (ii) the non-use of temporal phrases with *ter* in EP. The following examples are thus typical of BP:

- (35) “Castellinho sussurra, José Aparecido cisma quieto **faz horas**, Eduardo Muylaert medita (...).” (NILC, par Mais-94b-nd-1); “A prefeitura não limpa a praça **faz meses** (...).” (NILC, par Cotidiano-94a-soc-2); “Fica evidente que o caldo de cultura de que se nutre a intolerância está presente, **faz muito tempo**, em setores importantes da sociedade argentina.” (NILC, par Opinião-94a-opi-2) [BP]
- (36) “Com o fim desta inflação, **tem duas semanas** que eu comemoro o Brasil e o preço da cachaça é o mesmo!” (NILC, par Brasil-94a-pol-3) [BP]

As for phrases with *haver* that express anchored duration, it must be emphasized that, in this particular use, they *do not* combine with the adverb *atrás*.

- (37) \*O museu está encerrado **há dez dias atrás**.  
 the museum is closed there-is ten days behind

In fact, this impossibility may be used as a test to distinguish the time-denoting or locating *há*-phrase (analysed throughout the section 2.1), which is compatible with *atrás*, from the duration *há*-phrase, which is incompatible with it. Note, furthermore, that the former phrase corresponds to English expressions with *ago*, whereas the latter roughly corresponds to English

<sup>8</sup> In truth, structures with *desde* (*há*) (*atrás*), discussed before, convey information about duration in similar terms; however, as has been briefly mentioned, that information may arguably be derived from inferential patterns associated with the use of the locating preposition *desde*, and not directly asserted, as we assume to be the case in the structures considered in this excursus.

expressions with *for*<sup>9</sup>. As to the use of duration *há*-constructions, no differences between EP and BP were detected.

## 2.2. Prospective anchored temporal measurement

In order to refer to intervals that follow an anchor point by a certain amount of time, Portuguese uses different temporal expressions. Differences between EP and BP are more striking in five cases, which we will focus on here: (i) expressions with the preposition *em* (“in”); (ii) expressions with *daqui por* (“from-here by”); (iii) expressions with the complex connective *ao fim de* (“at-the end of”) or similar ones; (iv) expressions with the past participle *passado* (“passed”); (v) expressions with *depois* (“after”) modified by predicates of amounts of time. Among those that will not be discussed in this paper are expressions with *de... a* (“from... to”)<sup>10</sup> and *dentro de* (“within of”), which behave quite similarly in EP and BP:

- (38) O espectáculo foi programado para **{daqui a / dentro de} dois meses.**

the show was programmed for {from-here to / within of} two months  
‘the show was programmed for two months from now.’

[TEMPORAL REFERENCE]

- (39) O museu será inaugurado **{daqui a / dentro de} dois meses.**

the museum will-be inaugurated {from-here to / within of} two months

‘the museum will be inaugurated in two months.’

[TEMPORAL LOCATION]

### 2.2.1. Expressions with *em* (“in”)

One of the most striking differences between EP and BP concerning the use of temporal adverbials is that BP uses phrases headed by the simple preposition *em* (“in”) to locate events in the future of an anchor point, i.e. as deictic or anaphoric temporal adverbials equivalent to *dentro de...* and *daqui/daí a...*

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Mória (1999, 2000, 2003a) for a more elaborate discussion of the different semantic values of temporal phrases with *haver*.

<sup>10</sup> When the anchor point is the utterance time, the adverbial frequently takes the form *daqui a...* (“from-here to”), although forms like *de hoje a...* (“from today to”) or *de amanhã a...* (“from tomorrow to”), for instance, are also possible; when the anchor point is not the utterance time, the adverbial frequently takes the form *daí a...* (“from-there to”).

- (40) A aula começa **em quinze minutos**. [BP, \*EP]  
 the class starts in fifteen minutes  
 ‘the class will start in fifteen minutes.’

It is important to note that EP and BP use the same preposition (*em*) to express the **duration** of accomplishments – either basic accomplishments, as in (41), or accomplishments resulting from Aktionsart shift, e.g. those derived from achievements by addition of a preparatory phase (cf. Moens, 1987), as in (42):

- (41) A ponte foi construída **em seis meses**.  
 the bridge was built in six months  
 ‘the bridge was built in six months.’
- (42) Os alpinistas chegaram ao topo da montanha **em vinte minutos**.  
 the climbers arrived at-the top of-the mountain in twenty minutes  
 ‘the climbers reached the top of the mountain in twenty minutes.’

Therefore, the fact that BP uses the preposition *em* to express (anchored) **temporal location** may bring about ambiguity. The situation is, for that matter, similar to the one in English, where the preposition *in* has both these values as well. Of course, ambiguity depends on the conjunction of adequate grammatical and pragmatical conditions (which cannot be exhaustively explained here). Observe the following example:

- (43) O barco chega a Lisboa **em vinte minutos**.  
 the boat arrives to Lisbon in twenty minutes

This sentence is ambiguous in BP, but univocal in EP. In the *duration reading*, available in both dialects, it has a generic interpretation, and means that the boat is capable of completing the journey (from an unspecified point up to Lisbon) in twenty minutes. In the *location reading*, available only in BP, it has an episodic interpretation, and means that the arrival in Lisbon is due to happen twenty minutes after the utterance time (in a situation where the journey may have already started up). The latter interpretation is expressed in EP with *dentro de* or *daqui a* (which are also alternative possibilities in BP):

- (44) O barco chega a Lisboa {**dentro de / daqui a**} **vinte minutos**.  
 the boat arrives to Lisbon {within of / from-here to} twenty minutes  
 ‘the boat will arrive in Lisbon in twenty minutes.’

Accordingly, structures like the following, taken from the BP corpus, would normally be expressed by an EP speaker with the sequence *dentro de* or *daqui a* instead of *em*:

- (45) “O edital, já com o preço da empresa, sai **em duas semanas.**” (NILC, par 15978); “Trabalhos no cruzamento das avenidas Prestes Maia com Senador Queirós começam **em dois dias.**” (NILC, par Cotidiano-94a-soc-3); “A Prefeitura de Florianópolis inaugura **em 40 dias** a primeira linha do serviço de transporte marítimo.” (NILC, par Cotidiano-94a-soc-1); “Ele está às voltas com um déficit de US\$ 6 bilhões para o ano fiscal que se encerra **em dez dias.**” (NILC, par Dinheiro-94b-eco-1); “No máximo **em dois meses** o ex-presidente Fernando Collor de Mello estará sendo julgado pelo (...) Supremo Tribunal Federal por crime de corrupção passiva.” (NILC, par Brasil-94b-pol-1) [BP]

### 2.2.2. Expressions with *daqui por* (“from-here by”)

The sequence *daqui a* (“from-here to”), mentioned at the beginning of this section 2.2, may be used in EP with the preposition *por* (“by”) instead of *a*.

- (46) O museu será inaugurado **daqui por dois meses.**  
 the museum will-be inaugurated from-here by two months  
 ‘the museum will be inaugurated in two months.’

Although not so common as *daqui a*, there are at least 7 occurrences of *daqui por* with predicates of amounts of time as complements in the EP corpus. No occurrences were found in the BP corpus.

- (47) “Mas só **daqui por algum tempo** se saberá ao certo quais as repercussões que ela teve no Congresso.” (NP, par 25122); “«A quantidade pode não ser muito grande, mas **daqui por um mês**, com o calor, será muito pior», disse o presidente (...).” (NP, par 32961); “Se tudo correr bem, estarão de volta **daqui por cinco anos** (...).” (NP, par 67003) [EP]

Note, however, that both EP and BP use the sequence *daqui por diante* (“from-here by in-front”), a counterpart of English *from now on*. Other sequences used to express this generic prospective value, in both dialects, are: *daqui em diante* (“from-here in in-front”), *de agora / hoje em diante* (“from now / today in in-front”), *daqui para a frente* (“from-here to the front”), or the single adverb *doravante* (“henceforth”).

### 2.2.3. Expressions with *ao fim de* (“at-the end of”) and similar forms

Temporal expressions with *ao fim de* are used, both in EP and BP, to express the distance between two events, and involve prospective temporal measurement from an anchor point. Observe the following examples:

- (48) Houve um apagão e só **ao fim de duas horas** o problema foi resolvido.  
 there-was a blackout and only at-the end of two hours the problem was solved  
 ‘there was a blackout and only two hours later the problem was solved.’
- (49) A Ana casou. **Ao fim de três anos**, teve o primeiro filho.  
 the Ana got-married. At-the end of three years, [she] had the first son  
 ‘Ana got married. Three years later, she had her first child.’

Let us consider example (48) to illustrate the semantic and syntactic properties of this construction. As we can see, three elements have to be taken into account: the previous event (the blackout), the subsequent event (the solving of the problem, i.e. the end of the blackout) and the intervening amount of time (two hours). The subsequent event is represented in the matrix clause, and the intervening amount of time is expressed in the temporal adverbial – notice the form [*ao fim de X-TIME*]. As for the previous event, which serves as the anchor point for time measurement, it is typically represented in a different clause, i.e. it is contextually determined in the discourse (by anaphoric processes). Note that (48), which includes sentential conjunction, is equivalent to a sequence of two juxtaposed sentences (similar to (49)): *Houve um apagão. Só ao fim de duas horas o problema foi resolvido.*

The information conveyed via *ao fim de X-TIME* can also be expressed via (roughly) equivalent forms like: (i) *passado X-TIME* (“passed X-TIME”), (ii) *X-TIME depois* (“X-TIME after”) or (iii) *X-TIME mais tarde* (“X-TIME more late”); the former two will be analysed in following subsections; the third is parallel to English expressions with X-TIME *later*, and will be ignored here.

The main difference between EP and BP regarding the use of *ao fim de* involves the form of the connective. BP resorts to three variants that are unused or very rare in EP: *no fim de* (“in-the end of”), *no final de* (“in-the final of”) and *ao final de* (“at-the final of”). Consequently, the use of *ao fim de* is relatively less frequent in BP than in EP. Here are some examples, typical of BP:

- (50) “De caminho, pediu-me que, se acaso fosse a Roma, jurasse que **no fim de seis meses** estaria de volta” (NILC, par 106563); “Foi o que ela achou **no fim de algum tempo**, e com isso explicou o inexplicável.” (NILC, par 108373); “Entretanto, a cada comprimido que engolia, sentia-se mais convencida: **no final de cinco minutos**, as caixas estavam vazias.” (NILC, par 113164); “Mantido constante em cruzeiros, **no final de seis meses**, com inflação de 40 % ao mês, esse aluguel seria de US\$ 13.” (NILC, par Imóveis-94b-eco-2); “Com a

nova lei, **ao final de um mês**, você terá ingerido 30 pães e uma barata.” (NILC, par Cotidiano-94a-soc-2) [BP]

*Excursus 2. Measure quantification over events and temporal location*

Structures exemplified in (48)-(49) are semantically and syntactically different from the following one, which includes the sequence *ao fim de* as well:

- (51) **Ao fim de dez dias de greve**, os mineiros regressaram ao trabalho.  
 at-the end of ten days of strike, the miners returned to-the work  
 ‘after ten days of strike, the miners returned to work.’

This sentence mentions two abutting events – the strike and the return to work – rather than to two events separated by a given amount of time (as in (48)-(49)). Syntactically, the temporal adverbial has a different form: *ao fim de* [X-TIME *de* N], rather than *ao fim de* X-TIME. The relevant operation involving the predicate of amounts of time is **(temporal) measure quantification over events**, rather than temporal measurement from anchor points – notice that the complement *dez dias de greve* (“ten days of strike”) is, from a quantificational point of view, comparable to *dez litros de água* (“ten litres of water”) or *dez metros de tecido* (“ten meters of cloth”), which involve measure quantification in other domains. Finally, note that the sequence does not have a direct counterpart with e.g. *mais tarde* (“more late”, *later*); rather, the equivalent expressions are *depois de* [X-TIME *de* N], *após* [X-TIME *de* N], *passado* [X-TIME *de* N]<sup>11</sup>. In these particular contexts, *ao fim de*, *depois de*, and *após* are temporal locating connectives which express **immediate posteriority**.<sup>12</sup>

In these contexts, the differences in the form of the connective *ao fim de* are similar to those observed above, in 2.2.3, although the three alternative forms do not sound so odd to EP speakers here:

<sup>11</sup> Note, furthermore, that, in the structures at stake, the complement may also have the form [X-TIME *a* S<sub>INFINITIVE</sub>] in EP and [X-TIME S<sub>GERUNDIVE</sub>] in BP (cf. paper about gerundive clauses in this volume): “Eu, *ao fim de seis anos a pensar nisto*, continuo sem saber como é que isto se resolve.” (NP, par 49590) [EP]; “(...) *após 15 anos a viver no estrangeiro*, regressou a Portugal (...)” (NP, par 11493) [EP]; “Surpresa no circuito: o sueco Stefan Edberg rompeu com o técnico Tony Pickard *depois de 11 anos trabalhando juntos*.” (NILC, par Esporte-94a-des-2) [BP].

<sup>12</sup> Despite the differences underlined here, a uniform semantic analysis of the connective *ao fim de* in sentences like (48)-(49) and (51) seems possible. Uniformity arises if sentences like (48) or (49) are analysed as involving some sort of anaphoric reference – in these cases, to the consequent state of the event mentioned in the first sentence (i.e. the blackout holding, or Ana being married, respectively). The relevant temporal phrases in those sentences would have the form *ao fim de* [X-TIME  $\emptyset$ ] (where “ $\emptyset$ ” marks the anaphor whose content is to be deduced from the context; cf. Alves, 2003, for comparable anaphoric reconstructions), and would therefore be of a type very similar to that of (51).

- (52) “perguntou o Palha **no fim de vinte minutos de conversação.**” (NILC, par 110227); “Você não teme que as pessoas fiquem decepcionadas ao descobrir, **no final de três horas de filme,** que Wyatt Earp não era o bom xerife que quase todo mundo imagina?” (NILC, par Ilustrada-94b-nd-1); “A crise no sistema bancário venezuelano teve início (...) quando o Banco Latino acabou fora da Câmara de Compensação **ao final de três semanas de saques de depósitos (...).**” (NILC, par 30821) [BP]

#### 2.2.4. Expressions with passado (“passed”)<sup>13</sup>

Expressions with the past participle *passado* (“passed”) – sometimes, though not always, with gender and number inflection – are used in EP and BP – like expressions with *ao fim de* in contexts like (48)-(49) – to express the distance between two events. The relevant temporal sequences come in two syntactic forms: one, akin to those with *ao fim de*, where the anchor point is determined by anaphoric means – cf. (53); another one, where the anchor point is explicitly mentioned within the temporal sequence (as a prepositional argument) – cf. (54).

- (53) Uma sonda espacial foi enviada para Marte. Chegou **passado(s) seis meses.**  
 a probe spatial was sent to Mars. [It] arrived passed<sub>SING (PL)</sub> six months  
 ‘a space probe was sent to Mars. It arrived six months later.’
- (54) **Passados seis meses sobre o envio da sonda,** a NASA anunciou a sua chegada a Marte.  
 passed<sub>PL</sub> six months over the launch of-the probe, the NASA announced the its arrival in Mars  
 ‘six months after the launch of the probe, NASA announced its arrival in Mars.’

In the construction illustrated in (53), *passado* has only one explicit complement: a predicate of amounts of time (with which it may – though need not – agree in number and gender). Other syntactic variants are ignored here: the predicate of amounts of time may appear in post- or pre-participle position – *passado* X-TIME or, sometimes, X-TIME *passado* –, and the whole temporal expression may appear in sentence-initial or in sentence-final position. With respect to this structure, no differences between EP and BP were detected.

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<sup>13</sup> Constructions with *passado* (and its inflectional variants) seem to have (at least some) properties of true participial sentences. Nonetheless, they are analysed together with temporal adverbials in this paper, inasmuch as they share with them relevant semantic properties.

In the construction illustrated in (54), *passado* has two explicit complements: a predicate of amounts of time (with which it normally agrees in number and gender) and a prepositional phrase describing the anchor-event. BP and EP diverge in the preposition that heads this phrase: BP normally uses only the preposition *de* (“of”); modern EP normally uses the preposition *sobre* (“over”), though sometimes the preposition *de* (“of”) also occurs. Only 2 occurrences of *de* were detected in the EP corpus, and no occurrence of *sobre* was identified in the BP corpus. Accordingly, the first group of sequences below is typical of EP, while the second is more common in BP.

(55) “O enigma persiste, **vinte e cinco meses passados sobre** a posse do executivo (...).” (NP, par 35543); “(...) não se compreende que a resposta portuguesa só agora vá ser conhecida, **passado mais de um ano sobre** os primeiros contactos das duas empresas (...) com as autoridades nacionais.” (NP, par 8329) [EP]

(56) “Segundo o presidente do TCE, (...) **passados 35 dias da** posse da nova diretoria, nenhuma cópia do contrato foi enviada ao Tribunal.” (NILC, par 23549); “(...) até agora, **passados quatro dias do** roubo, o avião ainda não foi localizado.” (NILC, par 11521) [BP]

Finally, EP seems to resort more frequently than BP to a complex construction, where *passado* is followed by *que* (“that”) – possibly a relative pronoun – and a form of the verb *ser* (“to be”). These periphrastic structures (equivalent to the simpler ones considered up to now) are relatively common in written EP, but not in BP (one single occurrence in BP corpus):

(57) “Vivo-a com orgulho, pois hoje, **passados que são** dezoito anos, ainda não encontrei nenhuma razão objectiva para que não voltasse a participar da mesma forma (...).” (NP, par 39387); “não posso (...) deixar-me confranger com certas notícias que, **passados que são** 17 anos **sobre** esse maravilhoso dia desse longínquo abril, nos trazem à memória tempos que julgávamos apagados para sempre.” (NP, par 14653) [EP]

#### 2.2.5. Expressions with X-TIME depois (“X-TIME after”)

The structures with *ao fim de* and *passado* analysed in the previous two subsections (which take predicates of amounts of time as complements) are equivalent to structures where *depois* is (pre-)modified by a predicate of amounts of time. Compare the following two structures – where the anchor point is determined by anaphoric means, or is explicitly mentioned within the temporal sequence – with (53) and (54) above:

- (58) Uma sonda espacial foi enviada para Marte. Chegou **seis meses depois**.

a probe spatial was sent to Mars. [It] arrived six months after  
'a space probe was sent to Mars. It arrived six months later.'

- (59) **Seis meses depois de ter sido enviada**, a sonda chegou a Marte.  
six months after of have<sub>INFINITIVE</sub> been sent, the probe arrived to Mars  
'six months after having been sent, the probe arrived in Mars.'

The main difference between BP and EP, with respect to this use of *depois*, is that BP abundantly resorts to a structure similar to (59), but where a finite sentence, introduced by the complementizer *que* ("that"), is used instead of an infinitive sentence preceded by *de*:

- (60) **Seis meses depois que foi enviada**, a sonda chegou a Marte.  
[BP, ??EP]  
six months after that was sent, the probe arrived to Mars  
[equivalent to (59)]

This structure is customary in BP, but it does not emerge in the EP corpus<sup>14</sup>.

- (61) "**Um dia depois que** Clinton apresentou sua proposta orçamentária (...), analistas políticos acreditam que um acordo de longo prazo será extremamente difícil (...)." (NILC, par 32683); "A operação aconteceu **dois dias depois que** traficantes metralharam a delegacia de Bonsucesso (...)." (NILC, par Cotidiano-94<sup>a</sup>-soc-2) [BP]

Note, incidentally, that a parallel difference between EP and BP is detectable when *depois* is not modified by predicates of amounts of time (i.e. in structures that do not involve temporal anchored measurement, the topic of this section). The following sequences seem slightly odd to EP speakers (only 12 relevant occurrences of unmodified *depois que* were found in the EP corpus<sup>15</sup>):

- (62) "Sua técnica excessivamente solta nunca foi aprovada pelos puristas e acadêmicos, mesmo **depois que** ele se tornou «Primeiro Pintor de Câmara do Rei»." (NILC, par 36913); "**Depois que** morrem, as células se decompõem e desaparecem." (NILC, par 593); "Ficou biruta

<sup>14</sup> According to Mary Kato (p.c.), this may be related to a more general preference for the use of finite (rather than infinitive) sentences, in BP.

<sup>15</sup> A (single) curious case of *após que*, totally unused in EP, is also registered in the BP corpus: "O guardador explicou que só **após que** a moto deixou a quadra é que começou a gritar, pedindo socorro." (NILC, par 33339).

**depois que** os pais de sua namorada branca proibiram o romance.”  
(NILC, par 7478) [BP]

### 3. Duration

#### 3.1. Basic facts about duration

Let us now turn to the domain of duration. One crucial property to note – which is common to EP and BP, and, furthermore, has a parallel in English and other European languages – is that the choice of temporal connectives depends on the Aktionsart of the situation whose duration is being quantified upon: typically, adverbials with *durante* (“for”) express the duration of **atelic** situations (i.e. states and activities), and adverbials with *em* (“in”) express the duration of **telic** situations (namely, accomplishments):

(63) O museu esteve encerrado **durante dois meses**. [STATE]  
the museum was closed for two months  
‘the museum was closed for two months.’

(64) O museu foi construído **em dois meses**. [ACCOMPLISHMENT]  
the museum was built in two months  
‘the museum was built in two months.’

Furthermore, when expressing the duration of atelic situations, there exists the possibility (in some cases, that we will not try to characterise here) of omitting the prepositional connective, without any semantic change. For example, sentence (63) is grammatical if the preposition *durante* is omitted; the non-prepositioned predicate of amounts of time *dois meses* may either occur in sentence-final position (*esteve encerrado dois meses*) or right after the verb (*esteve dois meses encerrado*).

Apart from these relatively simple means of expressing duration, two other cases must be mentioned: (i) the expression of anchored duration, which was the topic of the Excursus 1 above, and will be ignored here; (ii) the expression of what can be termed **planned duration**, which involves the intended – rather than the actual – duration of a situation, and is typically associated with adverbials headed by the preposition *por* (“by”):

(65) A Ana saiu da sala **por cinco minutos** (mas só regressou passado uma hora).  
the Ana left of-the room by five minutes (but only returned passed one hour)  
‘Ana left the room for five minutes (but only returned one hour later).’

Planned duration is typically associated with an Aktionsart shift: note that the matrix clause expresses an achievement (the leaving of the room), whereas the (intended) duration associated with the temporal adverbial concerns the consequent state of that achievement (the absence from the room). These structures have been studied in the literature about English (cf. e.g. Binnick, 1969; Mittwoch, 1980; Hitzeman, 1993), where it is expressed via the same preposition that heads adverbials expressing the actual duration of atelic situations – *for*.

- (66) The sheriff of Nottingham jailed Robin Hood **for four years** but he stayed in jail only three days. (Hitzeman, 1993: 17)

### 3.2. Adverbials with *por* (“by”)

The main difference between EP and BP detected in the corpora is that the latter amply resorts to adverbials with the preposition *por* to express the actual duration of atelic events. Hence, like in English, the difference between actual and planned duration is blurred in BP. It must be noted that, although the preposition *por* was used with this exact value by some Portuguese writers<sup>16</sup>, in modern Portuguese it is very seldom used (only a few comparable examples are detected in the EP corpus), and sounds odd to most EP speakers. The following examples from the BP corpus, where the actual duration of atelic situations is expressed, are thus typical of BP:

- (67) “Durante a exposição, a cinemateca (...) exibirá os filmes feitos pelo artista, como *Sleep* – cuja única cena retrata um amigo de Warhol dormindo **por cinco horas e 21 minutos** – (...).” (NILC, par 8450); “Já a professora Marina Magalhães, que ficou em coma **por quatro dias**, depois de cair em um buraco do Rio Cidade na Tijuca, nem quer aguardar o pagamento da indenização (...).” (NILC, par 10835); “A caçada aos irmãos acusados de necrofilia, que **por cinco anos** aterrorizaram a zona rural de Nova Friburgo, chegou ao fim.” (NILC, par 10861); “(...) as mulheres vivem atualmente além dos 80 anos de idade, ou seja, passam a metade de sua vida adulta após a menopausa, ao contrário do que ocorreu **por milênios**.” (NILC, par Brasil-94b-pol-2) [BP]

Oddity in EP is even more striking if a sequence like *a fio* (“at thread”) or *seguido* (“followed”), roughly equivalent to the English expression *in a row*, is added. No occurrence of these structures was found in the EP corpus:

<sup>16</sup> Cf. “É o ter dado às palavras – virtude, amor pátrio e glória – uma significação profunda e, depois de haver buscado **por anos** a realidade delas neste mundo, só encontrar aí hipocrisia, egoísmo e infâmia (...).” (in Alexandre Herculano, *Eurico, o Presbítero*; Corpus Clássicos da Literatura Portuguesa da Porto Editora)

- (68) “Muitos presos não viram a luz do dia **por meses a fio**.” (NILC, par Mundo-94b-pol-1); “Outro motivo que pode fazer Joel se entreter **por horas a fio** é a política (...)” (NILC, par Folhateen-94a-soc-2); “Duas centrais de reprodução da Câmara trabalharam ontem **por 15 horas seguidas** para copiar o processo do deputado Ricardo Fiuza (...) para o julgamento. (NILC, par Brasil-94b-pol-1) [BP]

The oddity in the use of *por*-adverbials in EP is a subtle matter, however. As shown in Mória (2001), different degrees of oddity are felt, according to some linguistic factors (which cannot be explored here), as e.g. prospectiveness or retrospectiveness. It must be stressed that, in certain cases, *por*-adverbials are felt as perfectly normal to express the duration of atelic situations, even in EP. This is the case with e.g.: (i) sequences involving vague duration, especially those involving the name *tempo* (“time”), as *por algum tempo* (“for some time”) or *por muito mais tempo* (“for much more time”); (ii) sequences involving extremely brief duration, as *por breves {instantes / momentos}* (“for brief {instants / moments}”) or *por um {instante / momento}* (“for an {instant / moment}”):

- (69) “O «drama nacional» continuará, com certeza, colado à cidade **por algum tempo** (...)” (NP, par 57118); “mas agora a dúvida é: **por quanto mais tempo** guardará a firma da maçã o seu exclusivo sobre o padrão macintosh” (NP, par 13476); “o técnico sadino (...) esteve apenas **por breves momentos** na sala de imprensa (...)” (NP, par 11334); “Aterrou de queixo no chão, ficando imobilizado **por breves instantes**.” (NP, par 57032); “Estes factores encorajam a paz, mas só **por um momento**.” (NP, par 24097) [EP]

It must also be noted that some predicates select temporal arguments headed by the preposition *por* (followed by simple predicates of amounts of time): e.g. *prolongar-se por*, *perdurar por*, *continuar por*, *vigorar por*, *válido por*; the same applies to predicates clearly introducing a value of planned duration: e.g. *prorrogar por*, *adiar por*, *interromper por*, *suspender por*, *proibir por*, *renovar por*, *contratar por*, *eleger por*.

Besides its use to express actual duration (especially in BP), the preposition *por* is used both in EP and BP to express planned duration. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish planned from actual duration (in the written corpora), ambiguity often arising. Observe, however, the following unequivocal example of planned duration:

- (70) “Veio com intenções de «ficar cá **por uns anos largos**», representando os interesses da Continental na fábrica de Lousado.” (NP, par 39340).

#### 4. Other temporal values: some brief notes

In this short section, we will illustrate some differences between EP and BP in some semantic domains not yet considered. It should be merely taken as a point of departure, a preliminary list upon which a further more elaborate description can be built.

##### 4.1. Simple temporal location

###### 4.1.1. Explicit or implicit *em* (“in”, “on”, “at”)

In Portuguese, like in many other languages, temporal prepositions are often not visible in adverbial positions, that is, temporal adverbials may surface as simple NPs (cf. Mória, 2000). With respect to this issue, three different cases must be taken into account: (i) the presence of a preposition in adverbial position is mandatory, in which case temporal expressions surface as NPs in nominal contexts and as PPs in adverbial contexts – e.g. *o ano de 1980* (“the year of 1980”) vs. *no ano de 1980* (“in-the year of 1980”), *Janeiro* (“January”) vs. *em Janeiro* (in January); (ii) the absence of a preposition is mandatory, in which case temporal expressions surface in the same form in both nominal and adverbial contexts – e.g. *hoje* (“today”), *todos os dias* (“all the days”, *everyday*); this is also the case of an English expression like *last week*, which is semantically equivalent to “IN last week” when it occurs in adverbial position (cf. Kamp & Reyle, 1993); (iii) the presence of a preposition in adverbial position is optional, in which case temporal expressions may surface both as NPs or as PPs in adverbial contexts; this happens, for instance, with expressions including the deictic adjective *passado* (“passed”, a counterpart of English *last*) – cf. (71) –, with the idiomatic expression *o outro dia* (“the other day”), which refers vaguely to a (not very distant) day in the past, or with the names of the weekdays (in which case a definite article is dropped together with the temporal preposition) – cf. (73):

(71) Eu fui a Londres **(em) a semana passada**.

I went to London (on) the week passed

‘I went to London last week.’

(72) Eu encontrei-o **(em) o outro dia** e ele disse-me que tinha casado.

I met-him (in) the other day and he told-me that [he] had married

‘I met him the other day and he told me that he had got married.’

(73) Eu vou a Londres **(no) Sábado**.

I go to London (in-the) Saturday

‘I will go to London next Saturday.’

There are some differences between EP and BP concerning the issue at stake. In particular, BP exhibits a stronger tendency than EP to drop the locating preposition *em* (together with a definite article). Forms involving deictically or anaphorically dependent expressions like [*no*] *ano que vem* (“[in-the] year that comes”) or [*no*] *dia seguinte* (“[in-the] day following”), for instance, are odd in EP if the forms within square brackets are omitted; these omissions are common in BP, as illustrated by the following examples from the BP corpus:

- (74) “O que se pergunta é se o atual presidente, Rony Lyrio, vai anunciar sua aposentadoria **ano que vem**, ou não.” (NILC, par 20114); “**Dia seguinte**, o Soir aparece com mais um espaço em branco.” (NILC, par 39281). [BP]

Furthermore, BP – contrary to EP – often omits the definite article in adverbials with *passado* (“passed”) of the type illustrated in (71). Observe the following example:

- (75) “Mas, em relação ao mesmo mês de 1995, o resultado é pífio: cerca de 13.300 unidades (...), contra 55 mil **ano passado**.” (NILC, par 12475). [BP]

Possibly, some of the differences at stake here are not specific of the time domain, involving instead the ampler area of nominal reference. We will not pursue this issue here.

#### 4.1.2. Expressions with *até* (“until”)

There are at least two differences between EP and BP with respect to the use of this temporal preposition: (i) differences in the distribution of *até* (“until”) and *até a* (“until at”); (ii) use, only in BP, of the complex connective *até em* (“until in”).

Temporal connectives with *até* may come under two forms in both EP and BP: the simple form *até* (“until”) or the complex, historically more recent, form *até a* (“until to”). In each dialect, they tend to appear in complementary distribution, depending on the form of the complement. However, modern EP seems to make a wider use of the complex connective *até a*, frequently resorting to this form whenever the complement includes an explicit definite article: e.g. *até ao* (“until to-the<sub>MASC</sub>”), *até à* (“until to-the<sub>FEM</sub>”). For instance, with deictically or anaphorically dependent complements like (i) *o fim/final do ano* (“the end of-the year”<sup>17</sup>), or (ii) *o ano passado* (“the year passed”), BP uses simple *até*, and EP *até a* in (well-nigh) 100 % of the registered cases.

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<sup>17</sup> The nouns *fim* and *final* are equivalent, but EP normally uses the first form, and BP the second.

- (76) “**Até ao ano passado**, tinham nascido em todo o mundo cerca de 200 mil crianças contaminadas pela sida no útero.” (NP, par 27282); “**até ao fim desta semana**, deve estar concluída a lei de bases que vai regular a estrutura superior de chefia das forças armadas.” (NP, par 10071) [EP]
- (77) “**Até o ano passado**, a lista apontava que pelo menos 15 chefões do crime organizado estavam escondidos em São Paulo.” (NILC, par 34289); “Itamar pediu ao ministro que, **até o final desta semana**, apresente um parecer sobre a proposta dos sindicalistas.” (NILC, par Brasil-94b-pol-1) [BP]

Besides the complex connective *até a*, BP uses *até em* (“until in”), though this form is relatively rare in formal texts. At least 5 occurrences are registered in the BP corpus.

- (78) “A Cooperativa Habitacional de São Paulo lança **até em** novembro o «Parque do Jaraguá», edifício de 540 apartamentos de dois quartos, 47 m2.” (NILC, par Imóveis-94a-eco-1) [BP]

#### 4.1.3. Expressions with *desde* (“since”)

In section 2, it was noted that BP – contrary to EP – allows the preposition *desde* to take a simple predicate of amounts of time as complement, the result being an adverbial that indicates for how long a certain situation has been going on (cf. (17) above). One of the relevant examples is repeated here:

- (79) “**Desde dez dias** que se entregava a essa árdua tarefa, quando (...) lhe bateram à porta, em meio de seu trabalho.” (NILC, par 103558) [BP]

Apart from this, BP differs from EP in that – somewhat marginally – it allows the preposition to occur within the complex connective *desde em* (“since in”). This connective is parallel to *até em* (mentioned above), and appears to be a dialectal possibility in BP, though it is still very uncommon in written texts and is not accepted by many Brazilian speakers. Only one occurrence was found in the NILC corpus:

- (80) “Carlos Eduardo Lins da Silva, 41, é correspondente em Washington da Folha **desde em** julho de 1991.” (NILC, par Especial-94b-nd-1) [BP]

#### 4.2. Universal quantification over time intervals

In order to express that a situation happens with a certain frequency, EP and BP may resort – just like English – to universal quantification over time-units (day, week, month, year, weekend, etc.). Both dialects use a relatively complex syntactic sequence formed by a plural universal quantifier applied to an NP with a plural definite article: *todos os N* (“all the N”).

- (81) “O Público inicia amanhã uma nova secção semanal, a publicar **todos os domingos**, intitulada Questões do Público.” (NP, par 48186);  
 “Vou à igreja **todos os domingos**.” (NILC, par Brasil-94a-pol-1)

In this semantic area, the main difference between EP and BP is that BP often uses the singular quantifier *todo / toda* (“every<sub>MASC</sub> / every<sub>FEM</sub>”) directly applied to the temporal noun, whereas EP does not. The following forms are thus typical of the Brazilian variety:

- (82) “Veja na Folha, **todo domingo**, como calcular os juros do crediário.” (NILC, par Brasil-94b-pol-3); “(...) pense nos 100 mil brasileiros que **todo ano** morrem por doenças relacionadas ao tabaco.” (NILC, par 32289); “Quase **toda semana** há um funeral para a vítima inocente de uma bala perdida.” (NILC, par Brasil-94a-pol-1); “O problema é que **todo dia** surge um novo problema.” (NILC, par 28436) [BP]

It must be emphasized that the difference at stake is not specific of the time domain. Rather, it is a general tendency in the universal quantification with *todo / todos os*, which is independent of the type of entities quantified upon, as already assumed in Peres (2001).

#### 4.3. Correlation of events

In order to express that a situation happens whenever another situation takes place (i.e. that the two situations are correlated), EP and BP use temporal connectives like *sempre que* (“always that”, *whenever*), *cada vez que* (“each time that”) and, less frequently, *de cada vez que* (“of each time that”) and *a cada vez que* (“at each time that”). The last three forms have the following frequency: in the BP corpus, 174, 10 and 29 instances, respectively; in the EP corpus, 25, 19 and 0 instances, respectively. As can be seen, the form *a cada vez que* (“at each time that”), though recognised by Portuguese speakers, is very seldom used:

- (83) “Por conta dessa polémica, existe uma frase na região que é repetida **a cada vez que** se discute o assunto” (NILC, par Brasil-94a-pol-3) [BP]

Furthermore BP, contrary to EP, frequently resorts to complex expressions similar to those with *cada* (“each”), but with universal quantification expressed via the singular form *toda* (“every”) or the plural form *todas* (“all”). There are several variants, the more frequent being: *toda vez que* (“every time that”), *toda a vez que* (“every the time that”) and *todas as vezes que* (“all the times that”) – 249, 13 and 35 occurrences, respectively, in the BP corpus; other registered forms, rather infrequent though, are the prepositioned forms *em toda vez que* (“in every time that”), *em todas as vezes que* (“in all the times that”), and *de todas as vezes que* (“of all the times that”), with a single occurrence each. In the EP corpus, only one relevant occurrence (of *todas as vezes que*) is registered.

- (84) “O salário perdeu poder de compra **toda vez que** o preço da passagem subiu.” (NILC, par Dinheiro-94a-eco-1); “Agnaldo Timóteo afirmou que **toda a vez que** está sem dinheiro pede ajuda ao amigo Castor de Andrade.” (NILC, par Brasil-94b-pol-1); “**Todas as vezes que** a inflação muda de patamar, como acontece atualmente, aumenta o jogo das expectativas.” (NILC, par Dinheiro-94b-eco-1); “Mas **em toda vez que** dá aquele primeiro drible curto, ele acerta os ponteiros do relógio da marcação adversária.” (NILC, par Esporte-94a-des-1); “E não o decidido Ronaldão, (...) que se saiu muito bem **em todas as vezes que** vestiu a camisa titular da seleção?” (NILC, par Esporte-94b-des-1); “Pelas quatro horas da madrugada, Manuel, impressionado, porque, **de todas as vezes que** acordava, via luz no quarto do hóspede (...)”. (NILC, par 120442) [BP]

Correlation of events is also often expressed by the simple connective *quando* (“when”) in association with the appropriate linguistic elements that trigger a universal interpretation (cf. Carecho, 1996), both in EP and BP.

#### 4.4. Constant iteration

In order to express that a situation is constantly repeated, EP and BP often resort to adverbs like *sempre* (“always”) or *constantemente* (“constantly”). Furthermore, they may use phrases which contain universal quantification over time units, especially *hora* (“hour”), *instante* (“instant”) and *momento* (“momento”); in this case, the differences between EP and BP are more striking.

As for expressions with *hora* (“hour”), three slightly different forms were detected in the BP corpus: *toda hora* (“every hour”), *a toda hora* (“at every hour”) and, less frequently, *a toda a hora* (“at every the hour”) – 50, 48 and 4 occurrences, respectively. As for EP, it only uses the last expression, with a preposition and a definite article (although, given its relatively informal status,

it is not frequent in the NP corpus: 1 occurrence). Accordingly, the following examples are typical of BP:

- (85) “Mas eleição não tem **toda hora**, como a TV interativa que a Globo está nos propondo.” (NILC, par 12383); “Eles não mudam **toda hora** de ortografia.” (NILC, par Ilustrada-94b-nd-2); “E devemos levar em conta que não se pode estar mudando **a toda hora** as regras do esporte mais popular do mundo.” (NILC, par 19859) [BP]

As for expressions with *instante* (“instant”), two slightly different forms were detected in the BP corpus: *a todo instante* (“at every instant”) and *a todo o instante* (“at every the instant”) – 30 and 9 occurrences, respectively. The non-prepositioned form *todo instante* (“every instant”) was not detected. As for EP, again, it only uses the expression with a preposition and a definite article, *a todo o instante* (although it does not occur in the NP corpus; cf. however several occurrences in the wider CETEMPúblico corpus). The following example is thus typical of BP:

- (86) “Precisava parar **a todo instante**, porque as mãos ficavam geladas, e as pernas entorpecidas pela posição.” (NILC, par 110042) [BP]

As for expressions with *momento* (“moment”), the two forms parallel to the ones above with *instante* – viz. *a todo momento* (“at every moment”), *a todo o momento* (“at every the moment”) – occur in the BP corpus 57 and 6 times, respectively. Furthermore, the BP corpus provides 1 occurrence of the non-prepositioned form *todo momento* (“every moment”), and 2 of the sequence *em todo momento* (“in every moment”), which exhibits a different preposition. Once again, EP only uses the form with a preposition (*a*) and a definite article: *a todo o momento*. The following forms are thus typical of BP:

- (87) “Na imensidão estelar, os corpos celestes se entrechocam **a todo momento**, produzindo jatos descomunais de energia.” (NILC, par 134811); “Quanto à técnica de escrever, o narrador oscila entre a terceira pessoa onisciente, mas que **todo momento** se interpõe, isto é, apresenta-se com recursos de primeira pessoa.” (NILC, par Fovest-94a-eco-1); “O Defensor realizará as investigações, inspeções, reuniões e entrevistas que o exercício de suas funções requeira, e de tal dará conta ao ministro da Justiça e Graça (...) **em todo momento** que aquele considerar necessário.” (NILC, par 55858) [BP]

It must be noted that the expressions *a todo o instante* and *a todo o momento* are often used in EP – though not in BP – to express a semantic value that differs from the one considered in this section: imminent future

occurrence (of some event), rather than constant iteration. Ambiguity between iteration and imminence is possible, though often the context gives enough hints to identify the relevant interpretation. The following examples – involving imminent occurrence – are thus typical of EP:

- (88) “Os investidores japoneses aguardam **a todo o momento** a nomeação do novo primeiro-ministro.” (NP, par 75116); “Que lhe importava o precipício (...) sobre o qual planava num ramo fraco que (...) se podia partir **a todo o instante!**” (NP, par 113914) [EP]

#### 4.5. Irregular low frequency

In order to express that an event has a very low and irregular frequency, happening “once in a while”, Portuguese may resort to adverbs like *raramente* (“rarely”), *esporadicamente* (“sporadically”), *pouco* (“little”) or *muito pouco* (“very little”), for instance. It may also resort to different complex expressions involving the noun *vez* (“time”), like: (i) expressions where this noun is vaguely quantified (cf. English *sometimes*) – *às vezes* (“at-the times”), *por vezes* (“by times”), *algumas vezes* (“some times”), *poucas vezes* (“few times”); (ii) expressions containing also the form *quando* (“when”) – *de vez em quando* (“from time in when”), and, much less frequently, *de quando em quando* (“from when in when”), *de quando em vez* (“from when in time”) or *de vez em vez* (“from time in time”) (the latter with only 1 occurrence, in the BP corpus); (iii) the idiomatic expression (*uma vez por outra* (“one time by other”). The latter normally occurs with the indefinite article in EP (only 1 occurrence without the article), and without the indefinite article in BP (no register with the article):

- (89) “Apesar de resvalar **vez por outra** para um linguajar inadequado para o cargo, entendeu rapidamente seus limites de atuação (...).” (NILC, par Dinheiro-94a-eco-1) [BP]
- (90) “Pode dar a impressão, pelo título, de que «Minha Mãe É Uma Sereia» tem algo que ver com os seres mitológicos (...) que o cinema **uma vez por outra** vai buscar como personagens.” (NP, par 39980) [EP]

As for strictly lexical differences between EP and BP with respect to the expression of this semantic value, note the use of the idiomatic phrase *vira e mexe* (“turn and move”), only in BP.

- (91) “**Vira e mexe**, o Brasil me faz lembrar a Argentina dos anos de chumbo.” (NILC, par Opinião-94a-opi-2); “«O que acontece é que,

**vira e mexe**, se encontra um mau policial fazendo o que não deveria.» (NILC, par Cotidiano-94b-soc-1) [BP]

## 5. Conclusions

Overall, the system of temporal adverbials is very similar in European and Brazilian Portuguese. As said at the beginning of this paper, differences are mainly lexical or lexical-syntactic, and sometimes morpho-syntactic too. Among the most striking ones, we can underline the following: (i) BP makes wide use of the adverb *atrás* without a form of the verb *haver* to locate events in the past of a given temporal perspective point, whereas EP normally does not drop the verb form – cf. (12)-(13); (ii) BP uses simple predicates of amount of time (together with lower bound temporal prepositions *desde* and *de*) to express anchored duration, whereas EP normally doesn't – cf (15)-(17); (iii) BP uses the verb *ter* to locate events in the past of a given temporal perspective point – cf. (31)-(33) – or to express anchored duration – cf. (36) –, whereas EP doesn't; (iv) BP uses the preposition *em* to locate events in the future of a given temporal perspective point – cf. (40) and (45) –, whereas EP doesn't, resorting instead to phrases with e.g. *dentro de* or *daqui/daí a*; (v) BP makes wide use of the preposition *por* to express the actual duration of atelic situations, whereas EP normally uses *durante* – cf. (67)-(68); (vi) BP amply resorts to universal quantification over the noun *vez* to express correlation of events, whereas EP makes very scarce use of this construction – cf. (84). There are also some minor differences in the actual form of the temporal connectives (especially the complex ones) or of the temporal phrases as a whole, e.g. (i) in structures with *fazer*, BP does not normally express the anchor point for time measurement, whereas EP does – cf. (29) vs. (30); (ii) BP does not normally use the complex connector *daqui por*, which is common in EP – cf. (46)-(47); (iii) BP uses the four connectives *ao fim de*, *no fim de*, *no final de* and *ao final de*, in constructions like (50), where EP only normally uses the former; (iv) BP makes wide use of *depois* applied to finite sentences, whereas EP normally uses *depois (de)* applied to infinitive sentences – cf. (60)-(62); (v) there seems to be a stronger tendency in BP to drop the locating preposition *em* (sometimes together with an ensuing definite article) – cf. (74); (vi) BP uses the simple preposition *até* in contexts where EP uses the complex connective *até a* – cf. (77); (vii) BP uses – though, marginally – complex forms unknown in EP, like *até em* – cf. (78) – or *desde em* – cf. (80); (viii) BP uses the universal quantifier *todo* applied to temporal nominal elements – cf. (82) (and still (84)-(87)) –, whereas EP normally uses the universal quantifier *todos* applied to nominal phrases (with definite articles) – cf. (81); (ix) BP has a specific idiomatic expression to express irregular iteration – *vira e mexe*.

Some of the differences mentioned above, especially those pertaining to temporal connectives, are specific of the semantic domain under consider-

ation. Others, however, have a more widespread presence in the grammar, which includes its manifestation in the temporal domain. Such is the case, for instance, of the differences concerning the universal quantification with *todo* or of the tendency to drop definite articles and/or prepositions in BP. Unsurprisingly, the temporal domain is not immune to the general tendencies in the grammar of the language.

Finally, a brief note to stress that the present descriptive paper merely aims at being a departure point for a more thorough and general characterisation of the temporal adverbials in Portuguese, considered in its full diversity.

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