Franciane Rocha

FUTURE PRESENT PROGRESSIVE IN BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE

Master's thesis

Faculty of Humanities
Department of Language and Communication Studies
NTNU

Trondheim, September 2012

PREFACE

This thesis is submitted to the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) for partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Philosophy in Linguistics.

The Master program has been conducted at the Department of Language and Communication Studies, NTNU, Trondheim with Associate Professor Dorothee Beermann as main supervisor.

ABSTRACT

The use of the present progressive to express future is a grammatical construction imported into Portuguese from English. In this construction here called Future Present Progressive (FPP), the verbal predicate expresses the present tense, while a temporal adverb locates the event in the future. The assimilation of this construction to Brazilian Portuguese (BP) enriches the language's inventory of periphrastic expressions of the future tense

This work studied the internal structure of FPP constructions in BP and the relationship between its components. Lexical and grammatical aspects were considered to investigate why utterances such as*: 'Estamos nos mudando em duas semanas'* (We are moving in two years) are grammatical, while utterances as: '**Estou morando no Candá ano que vem'* (*I am living in Canada next year) are not, although both expressions are grammatical in the present progressive in BP. The research was conducting with naturally occurring language, collected from the Twitter microblogging service, using a methodology, which one might call *digital linguistics*. The data was treated using the resources of the multi-lingual database TypeCraft, and is freely available at: http://typecraft.org/TCEditor/1730/.

Our analysis of FPPs focuses on the relationship between lexical and grammatical aspect and suggests an extension of the semantic features that define different aspects. It furthermore highlights the role that the stage-level predicate *'estar'* plays in deriving the semantics of this construction. Our research suggests that, besides the combination between lexical and grammatical aspect, different semantic mechanisms can also influence the compatibility pattern of verbs and syntactic constructions. Our research also shows that the FPP, although a borrowing from English, has morphosyntactic and semantic properties that makes it an integral part of the BP grammar.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to acknowledge this institution in the figure of all the professors and staff that made the duration of this master program to be so productive and worthwhile. This was a grateful learning experience not only on the building of the thesis, but also in the lectures and in dealing with everyone from ISK.

Especially, I would like to thank Associate Professor Dorothee Beermann, my supervisor, for guiding me through the writing process in a way that allowed me to discover my attributes as a linguist and a researcher.

I would like to thank also my family for all their support and respect for my choices. They are my family, and that being; there is no need to say more.

Regarding my friends, I have to thank the universe for having met them. Especially for the friends I made in Norway. Honestly, they were the best part of this journey through this beautiful country.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge my husband for all the support, comprehension, dedication and encouragement; for never let me give up on anything and also for being part of what I am in all segments.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The future in Brazilian Portuguese can be expressed by using the present progressive and, in most cases, an adverb that expresses the future tense. This construction seems to gain ground relative to standard expressions of the future tense. According to Garcia (2010), the future use of the present progressive is a grammatical construction imported into Portuguese from English where utterances such as "I am traveling to Canada" are allowed as statements about future events, when followed by an overt reference to future tense. We will call the Brazilian Portuguese construction the *Future Present Progressives* and abbreviate it as FPP. In the light of more general changes in the expression of the future in my language, I consider this construction to be of special interest. Oliveira (2006) observes that periphrastic expressions of the future tense have gained in importance over the more traditional forms. Also Cintra (2008, p. 6) noted that "while the use of the simple future decreases, especially in the spoken language, we find an increasing use of constructions that involve the verb '*estar' (be)* + *progressive forms* in contemporary Brazilian Portuguese"[1].

In the FPP, the verbal predicate expresses the present tense, while a temporal adverb locates the event in the future. While (1) illustrates an ordinary Present Progressive, example (2) represents the FPP.

(1)   Estou viajando para o Canadá.
          "I am traveling to Canada."

Estou	viajando	para	o	Canadá
est ou	viaja ndo	para	o	canadá
be 1SG.PRES	*travel* GER1	*to*	*the*.DEF.MASC	*Canada*
AUX	V	PREPdir	ART	Np

Generated in TypeCraft.

---

[1] From the original: "na medida em que decresce o uso da forma simples de futuro, especialmente na língua falada, e se constata um aumento de construções que envolvem *(es)ta(r)+gerúndio* no PB contemporâneo" Cintra (2008, p. 06).

(2)   Estou viajando a Paris ano que vem
         "I am traveling to Paris next year."

Estou		viajando		a	Paris	ano	que	vem
est	ou	viaja	ndo	a	paris	ano	que	vem
be	1SG.PRES	*travel*	GER1	*to*	*Paris*.OBJ	*year*	*that*	*come*
AUX		V		PREP	N	N	PNrel	V

<div align="right">Generated in TypeCraft.</div>

The present work focuses on the internal structure of this construction and the relationship between its components. We will consider lexical and grammatical aspects and investigate the question why utterances such as (2) and (3) are grammatical future expression while utterances as and (4) and (5) are not, although all four expressions are grammatical in the present tense.

(3)   Estamos nos mudando em duas semanas.
         We are moving in two weeks.

(4)   *Ele está percebendo a verdade amanhã cedo.
         He is realizing the trurth tomorrow morning.

(5)   *Estou morando no Candá ano que vem.
         I am living in Canada next year.

We will discuss the semantic nature of the progressive and lexical and grammatical aspect of verbs. Tani (2004, p. 2) states that, "when a certain type of verb does not appear in a certain grammatical environment, the reason must lie in the relationship between the two types of aspects" (the lexical and the grammatical aspect). It is well known that in Portuguese, the progressive is compatible with all four of Vendler's aktionsarten (Bastos, 2004) while for English, generally only two aktionsarten can be construed with the progressive, namely, accomplishments and activities (Vendler, 1976). Yet, linguists differ in their explanation for this fact. It is therefore interesting to consider the FPP where also in Brazilian Portuguese, aspectual constraints restrict the compatibility of the progressive with verbs of different types of lexical aspects.

We argue that the compatibility of the progressive with all four aktionsarten in BP is triggered

by the different semantic nature of the Portuguese present progressive. We will show that *'estar'* (be) contributes its stage-level attributes to the periphrastic construction, while the verb provides the progressive aspect. This profiles the progressive more as a 'now on-going' event than that is the case for the English progressive. For FPPs, its processual nature restricts its ability to occur with aktionsarten that have no processual features. Verbs that do not express intervals, neither portray processes, also do not imply internal temporal configuration and cannot be extended to a previous virtual start point or to a future culmination of the action. Because of this, states and achievements, which according to Verkuyl (1993) are [-process] categories, are 'difficult' categories when it comes to the BP FPP. Yet some verbs of these classes are allowed, a fact that we will discuss in this thesis.

The FPP is a productive pattern in Brazilian Portuguese (henceforth BP). Although, we have not conducted a detailed quantitative study of the phenomenon, we have seen enough examples to claim with some confidence that the FPP is part of BP. Our goal here is to establish the internal aspectual structure of FPP constructions. Although the FPP is imported from English, we will be able to show that BP has assimilated this structure.

This work is based on naturally occurring language. The data comes from Twitter. A tweet is a spontaneous form of expression produced in a non-controlled linguistic environment. Extracting information from Twitter, we created a corpus of 101 FPP constructions, corresponding to 2414 annotated morphemes of BP. We used the online linguistic platform TypeCraft[2] to support this work. The interested reader finds our corpus[3] freely accessible online

The present work contributes to the understanding of BP in several ways. First of all, we hope to broaden our understanding of the FPP construction. We furthermore consider the creation of a freely available in-depth annotated corpus for the FPP as a useful contribution to linguistic research. Analysing the data we collected, we found that the relationship between lexical and grammatical aspect is important, as has also been claimed by Tani (2004) and Lyons (1977). Yet, we believe that an insightful analysis of the phenomenon will depend on a more fine-grained definition of the semantic features that define different aspects. Our study confirms not only the increased use of periphrastic future expressions, but also the unique role

---

[2] TypeCraft can be found at www.typecraft.org
[3] Corpus available at: http://typecraft.org/TCEditor/1730/

of the progressive in the expression of the future. Our research also suggests that, besides the combination between lexical and grammatical aspect, different semantic mechanisms also influence the compatibility of verbs with this syntactic construction. For the FPPs, this language allows situations to be "actively ongoing" in the presence of any lexical feature that encodes dynamicity or a process-like reading.

1.1 Brazilian Portuguese

Our corpus represents Brazilian Portuguese and, consequently, does not make any claims about other variants of Portuguese. However, when we discuss the core grammar of BP, we will refer to Portuguese in general and only when necessary, we will point out differences between Brazilian and European Portuguese.

Brazilian Portuguese refers to a group of Portuguese dialects spoken in Brazil by about 190 million people (IBGE, 2010). BP can be traced back to the 16th century, and is tied to the Portuguese colonization of the American continent. Since then, Brazilian Portuguese has coexisted with a number of Amerindian languages as well as with African languages spoken by the slaves that had been brought to Brazil. The influence of Yoruba (ISO 639-3: yor) and the Tupi-Guarani languages is still felt in the lexicon of Brazilian Portuguese (Bagno, 2001).

It is not our objective here to discuss the differences between Brazilian Portuguese and other variants of Portuguese. However, we should mention that linguists have claimed (Bagno (2001), Perini (2002), next to others) that Brazilian Portuguese is more opened for lexical loans, especially from English and French, than European Portuguese. It further has been claimed that Brazilian Portuguese is a language that adopts more easily the foreign forms applying only minimal phonological changes.

1.2 Thesis outline

This thesis is organized as follows: Chapter 2 describing future expressions in general terms and introduces the Future Present Progressive. Chapter 3 describes the Future Present

Progressive in more detail and presents our corpus, including its compilation. Chapter 4 discusses lexical and grammatical aspect and their relationship to the BP progressive. Chapter 5 presents the analysis of our data. The conclusions are presented in chapter 6, which also gives an outlook pointing to possible future developments of this work.

CHAPTER 2

FUTURE EXPRESSIONS

The variability in the expression of future is a characteristic of Romance languages. Next to Portuguese, this phenomenon has been described for French, Italian and Spanish (Oliveira and Olinda 2008, p. 94). Linguists (Oliveira, 2006; Santos, 1997; and Silva, 2002; next to others) have identified at least four "default" forms conveying primary future meaning. These are the simple future, the future present, the *'haver'* (be to) periphrasis and the *'ir'* (go) periphrasis. Prescriptive grammars, until recently, only acknowledge the synthetic or simple future, yet diachronic studies of future expressions in Brazilian Portuguese (Oliveira, 2006; Bastos, 2010; Poplack and Malvar, 2007) agree that the simple future is in the process of being substituted by periphrastic forms, specially by the *'ir'* periphrasis and, to a minor extent, by the future present.

Oliveira (2006), when working with future expressions in Portuguese from a diachronic perspective, reports that the simple future is less and less used in Portuguese discourse, both in formal and informal contexts. Following Poplack and Malvar's (2007), the simple future has been substituted mainly by the analytic forms of *'ir' (go) + infinitive* which nowadays can be used almost without any linguistic or social restrictions (Oliveira 2006, p. 194). Spearheaded is this change, by spoken discourse. Oliveira (2006) says that simple future, also in written discourse, gives way to the periphrastic form *'ir'* (go)+ *infinitive*. According to the same studies, the *'haver'* periphrastic form is almost never used in Brazilian Portuguese speech.

Table 1. Comparison between the use of simple and periphrastic future in spoken discourse
(Taken from Oliveira 2006, p. 196)

Data	Simple Future	Periphrastic Future	Present
Spoken 70's: EF[4]	17%	*76%*	10%
Spoken 70's: DID[5]	11%	*73%*	16%
Spoken 90's: DID	3%	*82%*	15%

Poplack and Malvar (2007, p. 123) and the cited comments by Malvar (2003) seem to support Oliveira's conclusions, further suggesting that this linguistic change is already established:

> Analysis of a large corpus of 20th-century Brazilian Portuguese (Malvar 2003), however, revealed almost no variation at all. On the contrary, nearly all references to future time were expressed by the ir-periphrasis. The synthetic future is vanishingly rare, the future present at best a minor contender, and the haver-periphrasis is virtually non-existent.

However, as the last author recommends, we rely on the research that says this is a change still in course, which tends to be established soon. Such claims as Malvar's (2003) cited above, are considered here credible evidence of the advanced stage of this process of linguistic change in BP.

The changes discussed for Portuguese reflect similar changes in the other Romance languages, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. In Colombian Spanish, Orozco (2005) found similar results, as shown in Table 2.

Next to the data from BP and Colombian Spanish and the claims that future variation is common among Romance languages, Dahl (1985) and Fleischman (1982) assert that variation in future tense forms is very productive cross-linguistically.

---

[4] EF: *Formal Speech*. Form the Portuguese original: "Elocução Formal"

[5] DID: *Dialogues between Informant and Documenter*. From Portuguese Original: "Diálogo entre Informante e Documentador"

Table 2. The use of different future tense forms in Colombian Spanish.
Table taken from Orozco (2005, p. 34).

Form	Raw frequency	Percentage
Morphological Future	269	18.2%
Simple Present Tense	533	35.9%
Periphrastic Future	681	45.9%
Total	1,483	100.0%

2.1 Non-default forms

Variability of future expression in Portuguese has attracted much research. Points of discussion are the productivity pattern of the future constructions presented in the last section, which are also called the "default" future forms according to recent grammars. Poplack and Malvar (2007, p. 123) note that the default forms (simple future, future present and ir-periphrasis) are those forms that convey "primary future meaning", but they also mention that there are other variants "associated with a wide array of modalities (e.g. certainty, doubt, resolution, necessity and probability) or contexts of use (e.g. affirmative sentences, monosyllabic verbs, proximity in the future)".

The expression of future under investigation here is not one of the default forms, but still a marked one. As mentioned in the Introduction, the Future Present Progressive (FPP) is a periphrastic construction containing an adverb that introduces future reference. The FPP is borrowed from English expressions such as: "I am flying to Baltimore tomorrow." The FPP is not the only non-default future expression, we also find *'ir'* (go) in the present +*'estar'* (be) infinitive + gerund. Prescriptive grammars consider the latter forms as *'gerundismos'*. Also denounced by prescriptive grammars, *'gerundismos'* provide a confirmation of the productivity of periphrastic future expressions. Interesting is also Guimarães' (2008, p. 234) study which shows that the productivity of the gerundism marks the beginning of the establishment of the periphrastic form involving the auxiliary *'estar' (be) + progressive*.

 I quote:

"The emergency of phenomena like this makes part of a larger process of the recurrence of periphrastic forms, as the use of simple forms of the future decreases, especially in the spoken discourse, we observe the increasing of constructions involving 'estar' + gerund in contemporary BP.[6] "

2.2 Future Present Progressive – general form and use

The present progressive is composed by the auxiliary *'estar'* (be) inflected for present tense plus the main verb of the sentence in the progressive form:

Table 3. Morphological structure of the Future Present Progressive (FPP) in BP

Future Present Progressive	
Present Progressive	*element of overt future meaning*
'ESTAR' (be). pres + V.prog	**+ ADV.temp**

An interesting question is if the use of the present progressive to express future events, contributes in a new semantic dimension to the expression of a future event. According to Murphy (2007) and Copley (2002), this construction conveys that some preparation for the future event has already started. When the speaker chooses to express a future action by the use of present progressive, he wishes to express that the action intended is not only a desire, but also a project that in some way has already started to happen. The FPP implies that the preparation of the event is part of a process that will culminate in the realization of the action in the future. In this way, the speaker portrays the present as the *virtual starting point* for bringing the future event about (Murphy 2007). In order to exemplify, consider sentence (20). In (20), the speaker implies that his travel is something settled, decided, maybe that tickets

---

[6] From the original: "Consideramos aqui a forma perifrástica ir (pres.)+(es)ta(r)+gerúndio como um tipo particular do chamado go-future (cf. Fleischman, 1982; Bybee et al., 1991; Hopper, 1991; Heine, 1993), cuja emergência faz parte de um processo mais amplo de recorrência de formas perifrásticas, na medida em que decresce o uso da forma simples de futuro, especialmente na língua falada, e se constata um aumento de construções que envolvem (es)ta(r)+gerúndio no PB contemporâneo"

have been bought, or that (s)he has already gotten permission to travel from his/her employer.

(20)   Estou viajando a Londres na próxima semana.
        I am travelling to London next week.

Not all Romance languages license FPP constructions. In Spanish, for instance, the simple present tense may co-occur with an adverb expressing the future (21). The use of the progressive in this construction is however not possible (Torrego, 2011).

(21)   El próximo año voy a Madrid a estudiar.
        The next year I go to Madrid to study.

Notice further, that the meaning of a BP FPP corresponds to that of English "Futurates" (Copley 2002). Futurates are planned or decided actions. They portray the future as the result of preparation, or planning, and the Futurate as the result of processes that will be fully accomplished in the future.

FPP constructions are relatively little studied in Brazilian Portuguese. My first concern is therefore, to illustrate the productivity of this construction in natural occurring discourse. I acquired data from Twitter and created a small annotated corpus for FPP constructions, using a methodology which is part of a field perhaps best called *digital linguistics*. In the following, I will describe my work with the research corpus of BP FPP constructions. The analytic focus of my work is on the semantic compositionality of the construction, and in particular on its aspectual properties.

CHAPTER 3

FUTURE PRESENT PROGRESSIVE IN USE

In this chapter, we describe the creation of a small research corpus of "real world" expressions featuring the FPP. We will describe the nature of our data, the data collection and the compilation of our corpus. We will also comment on our methodology and the tools we have used.

In the previous chapter, we saw that periphrastic future expressions are by now established parallel to the traditional synthetic expressions of future. Furthermore, the FPP is between the non-canonical exponents of the future tense. Yet, together with the other non-canonical expressions of the future, they share the fate that they are "little or sometimes not yet" contemplated in official grammars. For instance, Mateus et al. (2004 p. 154-155)[7] is, to my knowledge, the only Portuguese grammar that refers to this construction. In a short comment in the section on the Portuguese future, it is mentioned that "phaseable" states in the present progressive allow future projections.

In the linguistic literature, Oliveira (2006), referring to Mateus et al., mentions the possibility of future reference using the present progressive form. Also, in his comparative work on English and Portuguese, Oliveira (1999, p. 12), speaks of FPPs presenting translations of English futurates into Portuguese, which are very similar to the ones found in the data collection supporting the present work. However, for Oliveira (1999), FPPs are outside of the scope of his work: "We do not intend to list those cases where the progressive is used as an idea of the future, given the context or the adverb that follows it, as: (04) He is traveling tomorrow. (05) He is arriving late[8]". Other superficial references to FPP structures are found

---

[7] From the original: "Os estados faseáveis na forma de presente progressivo permitem uma projeção para o futuro, como se o estado fosse resultado de um plano estabelecido no presente" (Mateus et al, 2004, p. 154).

[8] From the original: "Não pretendemos arrolar aqueles casos em que o progressivo é usado com idéia de futuro, dado o contexto ou o advérbio temporal que o acompanha: (04) He is traveling tomorrow. Ele está viajando

in English didactic material for Portuguese speakers, as exemplification of Anglicisms (Godoy, 1992; Garcia, 2010 and; Cintra 2008).

Not last, because of the lack of studies of BP FPP, we created a small annotated corpus of natural-occurring FPPs, combined with a suggestion for their analysis, as an useful contribution to the investigation of future expressions in BP.

3.1 Data Collection

In order to show that FPP expressions are a productive feature of Brazilian Portuguese, a database of annotated naturally occurring examples in the form of Interlinear Glossed Text has been compiled. In the following, we present in detail the data collection procedure and methodology used to extract, select and store the data used in this thesis.

3.1.1 Data sources

I decided to gather data from Twitter[9]. Twitter is a free micro-blogging service that allows users to exchange real-time information. This information takes the form of 140 characters long text-based messages called *tweets*. This kind of electronic dialogue is very popular among users from different linguistic backgrounds. Twitter is currently available in 47 languages and it is expanding its capacity very quickly. According to information provided in 2012 for the Twitter search team[10], since its release in 2006, the micro-blogging service has more than 140 million users that produce about 340 million tweets every day. The functionality that allows accessing and sharing of textual information allows written communication among a large number of people in a velocity that makes it seem like spoken discourse. The Twitter team argues that Twitter communication is as close to spoken discourse as this is possible in this kind of electronic environment.

We have chosen to use Twitter as data sources first of all because 'digital speech' is a very valuable source of authentic linguistic information and secondly,because we are interested in

---

amanhã (05) He is arriving late. Ele vai chegar atrasado".

[9] www.twitter.com

[10] From the official *Twitter Engineering Blog* (http://engineering.twitter.com/2011/05/engineering-behind-twitters-new-search.html)

conducting our research using naturally occurring language. For the present work we extracted 101 FPP sentences, which we keep in the online database TypeCraft. This amount of data was considered enough because the primary goal of this thesis is to buttress the productivity of FPPs in BP. A quantitative comparison of future expressions is not intended in this work, although it suggests a possible future development of this thesis.

3.1.2 Data acquisition

For the data acquisition searches were performed in the platform targeting the profiles and posts of Portuguese speakers by selecting the search option 'Portuguese' in the field *Language* of the search form. The pattern we were looking for consisted of the auxiliary verb *'estar'* (be), inflected for present tense, followed by a verb carrying the progressive morpheme *'ndo'*. Although European Portuguese uses also the auxiliary *'estar'* to build the present progressive, it features instead of an inflected verb, the preposition *'a'* + the infinitive form (V+*'r')* as the formative that combines with the auxiliary. The difference is illustrated below:

- Brazilian Portuguese:

*'Estou caminha**ndo** na praia'*. (I am walking on the beach)

- European Portuguese:

*'Estou **a** caminha**r** na praia'*. (I am walking on the beach)

We first tried to use Twitter's Advanced Search interface for our data acquisition, which is shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Twitter's search interface

It is most likely already know between linguists that data acquisition from social media may not return the best results for linguistic research. Due to the rich inflectional morphology of the auxiliary verb *'estar'* (be), several searches on Twitter are needed in order to get the occurrence of all inflected forms of the auxiliary verb. The auxiliary should also be searched in its vernacular forms. For completeness, also prescriptive grammatical forms should be included into the search, although they are hardly used in the digital social media.

Notice that the standard conjugation of the verb requires six searches: *'estou'* (1st singular), *'estás'* (2nd singular), *'está'* (3rd singular), *'estamos'* (1st plural), *'estáis'* (2nd plural), and *'estão'* (3rd plural). In order to account for the forms of the auxiliaries in informal discourse, four searches would be needed. In these forms, the second and third persons, of both plural and singular are represented by the same form[11], see cells (text marked in bold) in Table 4.

---

[11] According to Bagno (2001) this is a mark of informal discourse in Brazilian Portuguese that comes form the substitution of the old form of second persons "tu" (you) for singular and "vós" (you) for plural for respectively "você" (you.SG) and "vocês" (you. PL). The new forms of second person get the inflectional morphemes

Table 4: Search terms for the FPP data acquisition

	Canonical orthography	**Internet orthography** *(-es /loses its first syllable)*
1st SG	estou *ndo[12]	tou, tô, tow *ndo
2nd SG	está, estás *ndo	**tá *ndo**
3rd SG	está *ndo	**tá *ndo**
1st PL	estamos *ndo	tamos *ndo
2nd PL	estão, estais *ndo	**tão *ndo**
3rd PL	estão *ndo	**tão *ndo**

The search had also to account for the abbreviations used in the orthography of the auxiliary, employed on the Internet. As in spoken discourse, in the Brazilian Internet language the auxiliary is reduced; all six forms of the auxiliary *'estar'* lose their first syllable, as shown in Table 4. Besides losing the first syllable, the first person singular has three different possible (and ordinarily used) orthographies, they are: *-tou, -tô,* and *–tow* (see Table 4). Given this, finding these data requires at least ten searches, correspondent to 14 search terms, each in isolation, to account for the inflectional paradigm and the Internet use of the auxiliary verb *'estar'*.

It is advisable to represent the result of each of these searches as separate dataset, since the result sets represent noisy data, that is, depending on the search term the result set may contain a smaller or larger amount of data that does not consist of FPPs. Performing 14 searches in an interface that does not allow regular expression search is not a problem. The problem is that some of the searches, which do justice to the morphological variation, overgeneralise to an extend that leads to unwanted occurrences of non-FPPs in our result set. Moreover, Twitter's search interface makes it impossible to include the adverbs and other overt expressions of future in the search, a fact that we will explain further in Section 3.1.3.

During the time of our data acquisition, Twitter made posted tweets only available for the last three days in order to optimize its search tool, and in order to offer faster responses given the

---

inherent to the forms of third person for both number and tense in all cases.

[12] The star (*) stands as the search mechanism to find words that end in 'ndo'.

size of its database[13]. This limited us to only a small number of raw data per search, once 14 and another time 17 examples, each third day. To optimise data acquisition, we used the Twinitor[14] website. This is one of the websites that allows users to search and monitor data directly from Twitter's database; it was chosen mainly for its search facilities and the possibility to search older data. Twinitor permits multiple category searches. Figures 2 and 3 show the primary interface and some of the self-definitions given by Twinitor:

Figure 2: Twinitor's main interface (www.twinitor.com)

Figure 3: Twinitor's self-definitions (www.twinitor.com)

Another argument in favour of Twinitor is that the interface of the results' page is very clear due to the colour coding of the results, which relates them to the different search terms. Also, the response is quite fast and one can get older, therefore richer results, than in Twitter's own search engine. Figure 4 shows the results' interface of Twinitor for five different searches.

---

[13] According to our monitoring, since May 2012 it is possible to get much older results from Twitter's search tool.

[14] www.twinitor.com

Figure 4: Twinitor's results interface.
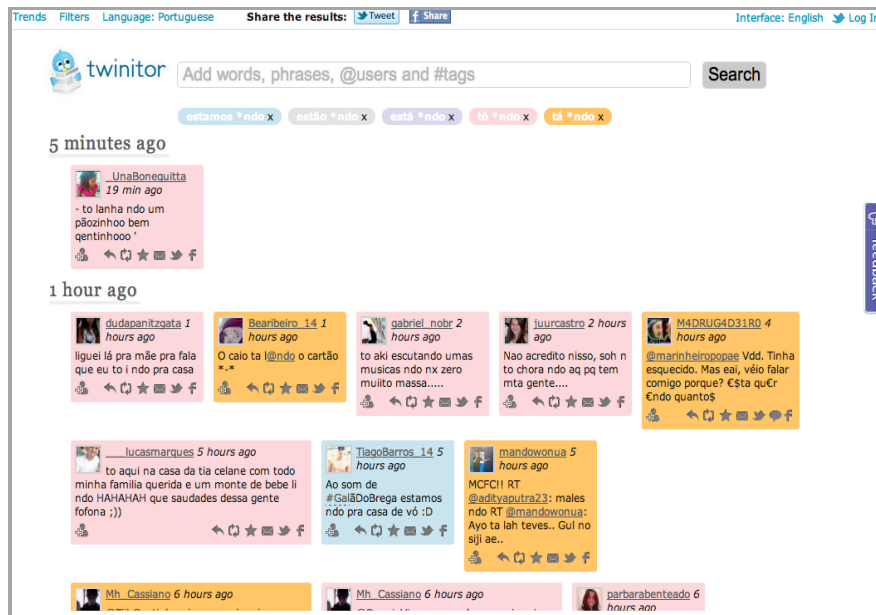
3.1.3 Data selection

Not all the material extracted from Twitter consisted of FPP sentences. Twitter does not annotate their data for linguistic properties so that it was impossible to search for categories such as 'temporal adverb'. Also, it would have been impracticable to search for present progressive structures followed by every possible Portuguese term that corresponds to future temporal adverbs individually.

In total, 773 sentences were extracted from three searches in Twinitor. The search sets accounted for the 14 search terms[15], grouped according to grammatical person and number, specifications namely: First search set =1st person singular; 2nd search set = 2nd and 3rd singular, plus 1st plural; and 3rd Search set = 2nd and 3rd plural, as shown in Table 5.

---

[15] For more on the search terms, look back in Table 4.

Table 5. Search sets for the FPP acquisition of data.

Search set 1	Search set 2	Search set 3
1. estou *ndo:	5. está *ndo;	11. estão *ndo;
2. tou *ndo;	6. estás *ndo;	12. estais *ndo;
3. tô *ndo;	7. tá *ndo;	13. tão *ndo;
4. tow *ndo;	8. está *ndo;	14. estão *ndo
	9. estamos *ndo;	
	10. tamos *ndo;	

From the raw data, 101 FPP sentences were selected. There were different types of false positives that had to be eliminated from the searches results, some of which are illustrated below:

FALSE POSITIVE 1: Present progressives: *'estar'. pres + V.prog:*

Ex: Estamos curtindo o show ao vivo no parque Ibirapuera.

   "We are enjoying the live concert at Ibirapuera Park."

Estamos	curtindo	o	show	ao	vivo
esta mos	curti ndo	o	show	a o	vivo
be 3PL.PRES	*enjoy* GER	MASC	*concert*	MASC	*live*
AUX	V	ART	NMASC	PREP	NMASC

no	parque	Ibirapuera
em o	parque	ibirapuera
on the.DEF.MASC	*Park*	*Ibirapuera*.MASC
PREP	NMASC	Np

Generated in TypeCraft.

FALSE POSITIVE 2: 'estar' auxiliaries followed by non-verbal entities ended in '–ndo';

Ex: Está moribundo em casa.

   "He is sick at home."

Está	moribundo	em	casa
est á	moribundo	em	casa
be 3SG.PRES	*sick*	*in*	*house*
AUX	NMASC	PREP	NFEM

Generated in TypeCraft.

FALSE POSITIVE 3: Present progressive structures followed by adverbs that do not denote future meanings.

Ex: Estamos fazendo muito exercício desde a semana passada.

    "We are doing a lot of exercise since last week."

Estamos		fazendo		muito	exercício	desde		a	semana
esta	mos	faze	ndo	muito	exercício	desde		a	semana
be	3PL.PRES	*make*	.GER	*a.lot*	*exercise*	*since*		FEM	*week*
AUX		V		ADVm	NMASC	ADVtemp		ART	NFEM

passada	
passada	
past.FEM	
ADJ	

Generated in TypeCraft.

We were left with 101 examples of FPP constructions, which we believe is a satisfactory result for the purpose of this work. We suspect that the occurrence of FPP in natural occurring discourse would be much smaller, since in Twitter, users not rarely talk about exciting events coming up in their life and this, increases the chance of for the occurrence of FPPs. Our discussion in chapters 4 and 5 will reveal why that is the case.

3.1.4 Data storage

The selected sentences are stored in the multi-lingual database TypeCraft (TC). TypeCraft has been developed by Beermann and Mihaylov (2011, 2012) and is hosted at NTNU[16]. The database is augmented by an Interlinear Glosser, which allows the user to add in-depth linguistic annotations to text. The system allows linguistic data management as an online service. The 101 FPP sentences were annotated using TC's Interlinear Glosser, which resulted in 2414 annotated morphemes. The annotated data can be found in TC under the title "Future Present Progressive in Brazilian Portuguese", and it can be consulted at any time pointing a browser to http://typecraft.org/TCEditor/1730/. Figure 5 shows the interface of the TypeCraft Editor.

---

[16] NTNU: Norwegian University of Science and Technology (www.ntnu.edu)

Figure 5. User Interface of the TypeCraft Editor (www.typecraft.org)

The database contains only the FPP sentences (structure shown in Table 3) that we extracted from Twitter since our main interest is to determine which verb classes enter into FPP constructions. After removing false positives, 101 FPP sentences were selected from the raw data extracted from Twitter. These sentences were annotated and stored in TypeCraft and their verbs were classified into Vendler's categories. We will have a closer look at the data in section 5.1.

3.2 The phenomenon

FPP constructions impose constraints on the main predicate. The verbs *'entender'* (understand) and *'achar'* (find) for example do not occur in FPP structures, while other verbs do. Examples (22) to (25) illustrate this point:

(22)   *Estamos *entendendo* tudo semana que vem.

   "We will be understanding everything next week." (Intended meaning)

Estamos		entendendo		tudo	semana	que	vem
esta	mos	entende	ndo	tudo	semana	que	vem
be	*3PL.PRES*	*understand*	GER	*all*	*week*.FEM	*that*	*come*.PRES.3SG
AUX		V		QUANT	N	PNrel	V

Generated in TypeCraft.

(23)   *Estamos *achando* a resposta amanhã.

   "We are finding the answer tomorrow." (Intended meaning)

Estamos		achando		a	resposta	amanhã
esta	mos	acha	ndo	a	resposta	amanhã
be	3PL.PRES	*find*	GER	*to*	*answer*	*tomorrow*
AUX		V		PREP	NFEM	ADVtemp

Generated in TypeCraft.

(24)   Eles estão *fazendo* as provas dentro de três dias.

   "They are doing the exams within three days." (Intended meaning)

Eles		estão		fazendo		as		provas	dentro
ele	s	est	ão	faze	ndo	as		prova s	dentro
	3PL	*be*	PRES.3PL	*do*	GER	DEF.PL.FEM		*exam* PL	*within*
PN		AUX		V		ART		NFEM	ADV

de	três	dias
de	três	dia s
	three	*day* PL
PREP	NUM	N

Generated in TypeCraft.

(25)   Estamos nos *mudando* em duas semanas.

   "We are moving in two weeks."

Estamos		nos	mudando	em	duas	semanas
esta	mos	nos	muda ndo		du as	semana s
be	3PL.PRES	REFL.1PL	*move*	*in*	*two* FEM.PL	*week* PL
AUX		PN	V	PREP	QUANT	NFEM

Generated in TypeCraft.

Building on Lyons (1977) and Tani (2004) and their understanding of the present progressive, the compatibility of verbs with BP FPP might result from lexical aspect specifications, or as Lyons puts it: "there are severe restrictions upon the combination of certain aspects with verbs

having a certain aspectual character" (1977, p. 713).

In the next chapter, we will review some of the relevant literature of grammatical and lexical aspects. It provides the background for the analysis of the phenomena in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 4

GRAMMATICAL AND LEXICAL ASPECT

This chapter provides the foundations for our analysis and presents a partial account of what has been published about grammatical and lexical aspect. Sections 4.3 and 4.4 discuss the relationship between these two types of aspects and the progressive in BP.

4.1 Grammatical aspect and progressive in Brazilian Portuguese

Comrie (1976, p. 03) defines grammatical aspect as the different ways of looking at the internal structure of a situation. Grammatical aspect is a category that is related to tense, in that, both describe properties of situations and both are frequently marked morphologically on verbs or across a verbal complex. Although it is not always easy to keep aspect and tense apart, they are conceptually clearly distinct, since aspect refers to the internal structure of a situation while tense is a deictic category which locates the situation in time (Comrie, 1976: 3; Dahl, 1985).

Terminological issues often blur the picture. For example, the past tense which also in the Romance languages may coincide with two different aspects, the perfective and imperfective, is frequently classified using complex expressions, e.g., past perfect tense and past imperfect tense, which suggests that these are expressions of tense alone (Garcia 2010). Languages mark aspectual characteristics using different formatives, and some languages choose to mark aspect with inflectional morphemes while others employ free morphemes. All this adds to the general confusion. Yet, classifications of aspects have been attempted, and we here reproduce a simple system suggested by Comrie (1976) highlighting the relative position that the progressive has.

Figure 6. The progressive path
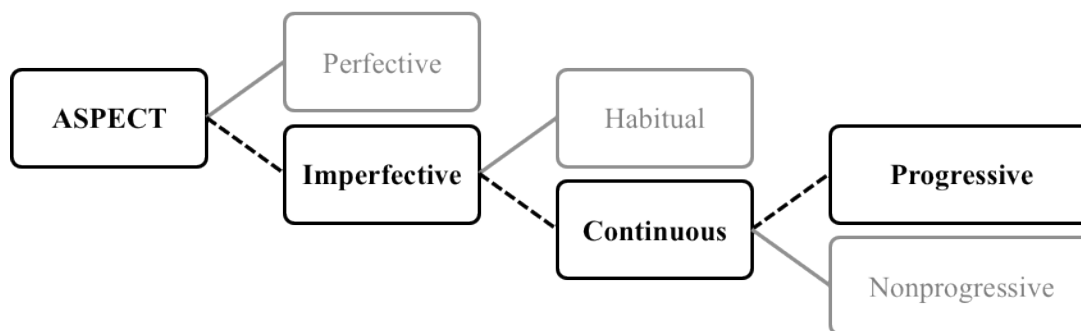
The progressive is an imperfective form, but what really are the distinctions between the imperfective aspects on the one side and the perfective aspects on the other? According to most linguistics, the perfective describes a situation as a whole. According to Comrie (1976), the perfective expresses a situation as a single and un-analysable piece of information. It describes the event from the outside, without necessarily distinguishing any of the internal structure of the situation, while the imperfective describes events that have internal properties. In imperfective events, there is a complex temporal structure that can be explored and examined because of it sub-parts. These events are extended in time and can encode different semantic roles according to what is dictated by lexical subcategorization.

The subtypes of imperfectives carry additional features, which are responsible for the representation of distinct semantic situations. In Figure 6, we see that among the subtypes of imperfectives, habitual and continuous appear in opposition. The reason is that habitual forms, as the title suggests, express a habit or a situation that is regularly repeated as a customary behaviour (Comrie 1976, p. 2632). The continuous, on the other hand, expresses situations that are *ongoing* at the time of speech. Continuous forms are more state-like. In a language like English, which does not distinguish the progressive and the continuous aspect morphologically, the expression *she is swimming* is continuous in the sense that it portrays *the subject* as in the state of swimming. As a progressive, however, the expression refers to a *dynamic* situation where we focus on the subject using her arms and legs to paddle herself through the water.

Murphy (2007) says that English continuous forms can convey the meaning *of an action that has not yet begun at the time of interest*. As a progressive, the FPP introduces an imperfective

situation. And as mentioned in Section 2.2, speakers use FPPs to convey an imperfective situation that culminates in the future. Building on Murphy, one could perhaps say that also for situations expressed in the FPP, the action has not yet begun at reference time, which in FPPs is the present tense. If reference time and Murphy's 'time of interest' could be seen as the same, also in FPPs there would be a sense of an action that has not yet begun. This must remain a speculation, clear however is that FPPs are extended and ongoing situations, possibly dynamic in nature, where the aspect is tied to a morphologically complex expression of present tense. The event time in FPPs is located in the future due to the presence of an adverbial expression of time that locates the event in the future tense.

Morrissey (2007) formulates his characterisation of progressive slightly different. He talks about the progressive as encoding the concepts of temporariness or incompleteness. In terms of feature specification we might want to assign the features [+dynamic] and [-complete] to the progressive. The same features have been proposed by Quirk et al. (1985, p. 198) who claims that progressive happenings presuppose unlimited duration. For us this means that also the FPP is a situation that is incomplete and which, due to its anchoring in the future, has its culmination point in the future. As Garcia (2010) observes, that depending on the tense that the progressive combines with, it describes a situation, which was, is, or will be in progress at a particular point in time over an undetermined period of time.

4.1.1 Progressive in BP

The BP progressive is built using a tensed form of the auxiliary *'estar'* followed by the main verb in the gerund. Portuguese forms the gerund by adding the morpheme *'-ndo'* to the verbal root. The gerund morpheme has its origin in the Latin gerund forms, which have the *'–nd+vowel'* morpheme in all grammatical forms (Rosário, 2011). Next to Portuguese, Spanish and Italian also inherited the gerund form as Table 6 shows.

Table 6. Gerund forms in Latin in and in Romance Languages

Language	Gerund form of verb 'amar' (love)
Latin	genitive: ama**ndi**
	dative: ama**ndo**
	acusative: ama**ndum**
	ablative: ama**ndo**
Portuguese	ama**ndo**
Spanish	ama**ndo**
Italian	ama**ndo**

The auxiliary used to form the progressive plays an important semantic role. Portuguese features two copula verbs for the meaning encoded in English 'be': *'estar'*, which is the auxiliary used in Portuguese progressive constructions and *'ser'*. *'Ser'* has a permanent meaning, and is an *individual-level* predicate (Schmitt, 2003); while *'estar'* encodes a temporary meaning, ordinarily referred to as a *stage-level* predicate. Table 7 sets the Portuguese verbs in relation to the English auxiliary *'be':*

Table 7. 'Be' in English and Portuguese

ENGLISH	PORTUGUESE	EXAMPLE
BE	SER	Ele **é** legal He be.pres nice *He is nice (all the time)*
	ESTAR	Ele **está** legal He be.pres nice *He is nice (is being nice today)*

The distinction observed between Portuguese and English is characteristic for Romance copula verbs. Next to Portuguese, Spanish, Galician, Italian, Catalan and Sicilian also feature two distinct verbs (Bastos, 2004; Batllori and Roca, 2004; William, 1962; Schmitt 2003), which originated from the Latin verbs *'esse'* (to be) and *'stare'* (to stand). Consider Table 8:

Table 8. Individual and stage-level auxiliary systems in Latin and the Romance Languages

Latin origin	Portuguese	Spanish	Sicilian	Italian	Catalan	English
ESSE (to be)	*Ser*	*Ser*	*Siri*	*Essere*	*Ser*	*BE*
STARE (to stand)	*Estar*	*Estar*	*Stari*	*Stare*	*Estar*	

The use of these verbs obeys language specific requirements. Let me mention that they only appear in Italian to a minor extent, and that they do not occur in French or Romanian (Bastos, 2004).

Also in FPPs, *'estar'* carries the verbal inflection for tense, number and person. It is a stage-level (SL) predicate expressing temporary properties (Carlson, 1977; Kratzer, 1995). As already seen in Table 6, *'estar'* expresses states that are not permanent. Compare now (26) and (27). While the individual-level predication in (26) is used to mean that *he is a lawyer* (which thus is perceived as a permanent situation), (27) expresses that *he happens to be drunk,* which is normally a temporary state:

(26) Ele **é** advogado.

   *"He **is** (ser.IL) a lawyer."*

(27) Ele **está** bêbado.

   *"He **is** (estar.SL) drunk."*

An individual-level predicate conveys what is perceived as permanent truth. In (26), saying that someone is a lawyer is a piece of information that the hearer takes for granted rather than looking for observable evidence to make sure it is true. However, the use of a stage-level verb in (27) conveys that the person in question *is drunk now* (since the verb is inflected for present tense) which is a situation that at least potentially can be verified. Since stage-level predicates are bound to a specific tense they are more factual without necessarily being a fact. So, if a speaker utters *"Ele estava bêbado"* (*He was (estar SL) drunk*), s(he) means that the subject is typically not drunk, but that s(he) was certainly drunk at a definite point in time in the past.

We conclude that the Portuguese stage-level auxiliary *'estar'* anchors a situation in time by denoting transitory properties. So far we have stated that any progressive, including the FPP can be expressed by using the features [+dynamic] and [-complete], here we now would like to add that by virtue of the inherent meaning contributed by the auxiliary, an FPP also possesses the feature [+ transitory].

We thus would like to suggest that the FPP denotes an incomplete event, that is, it is an imperfective situation, which is dynamic. It is furthermore transitory and, by virtue of a temporal adverb, anchored in the future. It is particular the stage-level property imported from *'estar'* that lets us stress that Portuguese progressives, generally speaking, should not be confused with their English counterpart, not only because of its morphological form but also because of its semantics. The Portuguese progressives anchor the event much more in speech time than that is the case in English. The idea of being "in the middle of something", conveyed by progressive forms is reinforced as a transitory state in Portuguese. Consider (28) and (29):

(28) Para qual time você torce?

   "Which team do you support?"

(29) Para qual time você está torcendo?

   "Which team are you supporting?"

Data (29) implies that the speaker is talking about a transitory situation that only holds here and now. As far as I can tell this is not the case for the English translations of (28) and (29). Both questions might simply be an inquiry about a person's general preference, such as*: "Are you supporting Real Madrid or Barcelona?"* which really is the same questions as: "*Are you a fan of Real Madrid or Barcelona?*" If interested in finding out which soccer club a person supports, the question in BP is much more likely to be asked using the simple present than the present progressive. In (29) the question rather is: "Which team are you supporting right now?" The support event is assumed to have a specific duration; maybe after this match you will support another team, or you will not support any team. While the English present

progressive is ambiguous between a stage and an individual-level interpretation, the BP present progressive is not.

4.2 Lexical Aspect

The *lexical aspect*, or *aktionsart* of a verb is a semantic category that encodes the inherent aspectual properties of a verb. As Dahl puts it: "...the aspectual properties that are lexically incorporated to the verb root itself..." (Dahl, 1985). Aktionsart is about the aspectual characteristics of the verb itself, regardless of its syntactic context. Vendler (1967) classifies verbs according to their lexical aspects into two primary situation types: *stative* and *eventive*, as illustrated in Figure 7.

Figure 7. Lexical aspect - Vendler (1967)
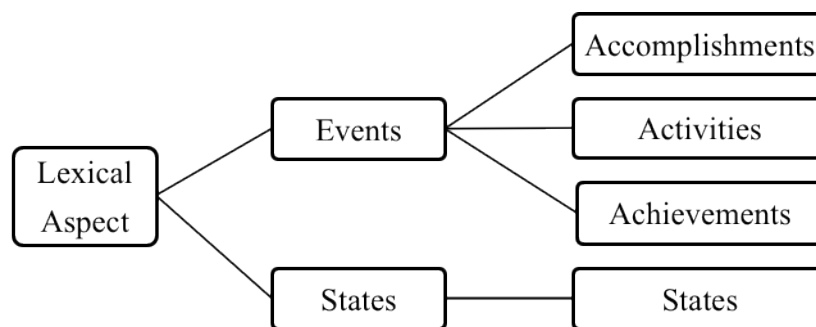
The eventive situations are subdivided into three categories:

- Accomplishments are events that reach an ending point, like: 'paint a picture', and 'draw a circle'.

- Activities convey events that are not predefined to reach an ending point, like: 'run' and 'swim'.

- "Achievements express a change of state and they finish as soon as they start, like: 'recognize', 'reach', and 'notice'" (Bastos, 2010, p. 14).

The second group shown in Figure 7 is the group of the stative situations. State verbs have permanent meaning and express homogeneous situations, for example: 'know', 'believe', and

'understand'.

Each of the aktionsarten can be associated with a defined set of grammatical features. Achievements and accomplishments have in common the feature *telic*. These two classes of verbs express complete situations that are defined by an end point (Croft, 2004). Activities and states can be distinguished from achievements and accomplishment through the feature *atelic*. A different way to express the same features is to use an attribute value format and say that achievements and accomplishments are [+telic] while Activities and States are [-telic].

Croft (2004) presents a set of distinctive features associated with lexical aspect, he suggests the following attributes: Dynamic/Stative, Durative/Punctual, and Bounded/Unbounded, the last pair correspondent to telic and atelic respectively (Croft, 2004; in Tani, 2004, p. 02). Using these features the aktionsarten can be distinguished as follows (Tani, 2010, p. 02; *apud* Croft, 2004):

- **Activity:** [+Dynamic], [+Durative], [-Bounded].

- **Accomplishment:** [+Dynamic], [+Durative], [+Bounded].

- **Achievement:** [+Dynamic], [-Durative], [+Bounded].

- **State:** [-Dynamic], [+Durative] [-Bounded].

It has been observed, mainly on the basis of English data that lexical and grammatical aspects interact (Vendler, 1967; Dowty, 1979). In English, activities and accomplishments may be expressed as progressives while achievements and states mostly yield ungrammatical results when expressed in the progressive. In Portuguese however, verbs of all four lexical aspects may appear in progressive constructions. The Vendler (1967) classes and the progressive in Portuguese are the topic of next section.

4.3 Vendler's classification and Portuguese data

Of particular interest for us is that although all four Vendler classes are allowed to appear in progressive constructions in BP, FPP constructions are more restricted. A comparison of

English and Portuguese is given in (30) and (31):

(30) English data:

a. State: *I am loving John.

b. Activity: I am driving a car.

c. Achievement: *I am noticing the picture.

d. Accomplishment: I am eating a sandwich.

(31) Brazilian Portuguese (BP) data:

a. State: *Eu estou ama-ndo o João*

    'I am loving John'

b. Activity: *Eu estou dirigi-ndo um carro.*

    'I am driving a car'

c. Achievement: *Eu estou nota-ndo a foto.*

    'I am noticing the picture'

d. Accomplishment: *Eu estou come-ndo um sanduíche.*

    'I am eating a sandwich'

<div align="right">(Bastos, 2004, p. 42-43)</div>

Vendler's studies are based in English verbs but have been assumed to be cross-linguistically applicable. Yet, there are obviously differences, which make it impossible to use the so-called progressive test to distinguish states and achievements from activities and accomplishments, as it is possible in English. Yet, other tests do apply also in BP. Bastos (2004) classifies verbs by applying tests that indicate the presence of the features [± telic] and [± stage] (sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.2).

4.3.1 Telicity tests

State and activity verbs coexist with an adverbial expression of the type "for x time" (Bastos 2004, *apud* Vendler, 1967; Kenny, 1963; Ryle, 1949). Looking at (32) and (33), we can observe that states and activities are atelic and thus may co-occur with the expression "for years" for example in English as well as in BP; while achievements and accomplishments may not:

(32) English data:

a. State: John loved Mary for years.

b. Activity: John ran for hours.

c. Achievement: *John arrived for hours.

d. Accomplishment: * John built a house for days.

(33) Brazilian Portuguese data:

a. State: O João amou a Maria por anos.

      'John loved Mary for years'.

b. Activity: O João correu por horas.

      'John ran for hours'.

c. Achievement: * O João chegou por horas.

      'John arrived for hours'.

d. Accomplishment: * O João construiu uma casa por dias.

      'John built a house for days'.

A further test, that yields identical results for BP and English, is the so-called imperfective paradox. In this test, Bastos (2004, p. 49) examined whether a situation entails its completion. Consider Table 9 for the results:

Table 9. The imperfective paradox test

State: a. O João estava/está amando a Maria. "John was/ is loving Mary"	ENTAILS:	b. O João amou a Maria. "John loved/loves Mary"
Activity: a. João estava/está empurrando o carrinho. "John was/is pushing the cart."	ENTAILS:	b João empurrou o carrinho. "John pushed the cart."
Accomplishment: a. O João estava/está construindo uma casa. "John was/is building a house"	DOES NOT ENTAIL:	b. O João construiu uma casa. "John built/build a house"
Achievement: a. Eu estava/está alcançando o topo. "I was/is reaching the summit"	DOES NOT ENTAIL:	b. Eu alcancei o topo. "I reached the summit"

Accomplishments and achievements entail their completion and therefore an event of this type does not entail that it also holds in an unspecified present, this is not true of states and activities, which are said to be unbounded.

4.3.2 Vendler's classes as complements of verbs of sensory perception[17]

Kratzer (1994) and Bastos (2004), observed that state and achievement verbs in English tend to not occur as complement of verbs of sensory perception, such as *see, hear*, and *taste*. This restriction does not hold for activities and accomplishments. It is further claimed that verbs of perception force a stage-level interpretation on their complements. Consider (34) and (35):

(34) English:

a. State: *I saw Mary [know English]

b. Activity: I saw Mary [speak English]

c. Accomplishment: I saw Mary [eat a sandwich].

d. Achievement: (?) I saw Mary [notice the picture]

(35) Brazilian Portuguese:

a. State: * Eu vi a Maria conhecer inglês.

   '*I saw Mary know English*'

b. Activity: Eu vi a Maria falar inglês.

   '*I saw Mary speak English*'

c. Accomplishment: Eu vi a Maria comer um sanduíche.

   '*I saw Mary eat a sandwich*'.

d. Achievement: (?) Eu vi a Maria notar a foto.

   '*I saw Mary notice the picture*'

This observation does not follow from Croft's specification. Remember that activities are [+Dynamic], [+Durative], [-Bounded]; accomplishments: [+Dynamic], [+Durative], [+Bounded]; achievement: [+Dynamic], [-Durative], [+Bounded]; and states are [-Dynamic], [+Durative], [-Bounded]. Since state and achievements have no feature in common which

---

[17] Same term used by Rojo and Valenzuela (2005) to treat English and Spanish verbs.

would put them in one class, they also cannot be distinguished from activities and accomplishments by features that they possess but activities and accomplishments lack. According to Bastos (2004, p. 47), this test teases out the feature [± stage], which stands for the property of being dynamic in a certain interval. Verbs are [+ stage] when they are dynamic in the sense that every sub-part of these events is in a relation of continuation with the others. Verbs of perception according to him select verbs that are [+stage].

4.4 Progressive aspect and lexical categories in BP data

Linguists have stressed repeatedly (Tani, 2010; Garcia, 2010; Cunha 2004) that Vendler's classification is a guideline for the semantic classification of verbs rather than a prescription. Comrie (1976, p. 35) states that especially when it comes to viewing situations as more or less stative or dynamic, languages may differ in crucial respects. In Portuguese, all verbs allow a progressive, which we take to mean that it allows portraying situations as extended events quite independent of their inherent aspectual specification.

We have seen that Portuguese progressives are morphologically as well as semantically different from English progressives. The auxiliary *'estar'* adds a stage-level interpretation to the Portuguese progressive, which means that it is more grounded in *time* than that is the case for English. It is the *'here and now'* and a viewpoint *'from the middle of the happening'* that is the essence of the Portuguese progressive. This general semantic property of BP progressives comes over to the FPP. A FPP grounds a future event in a transitory present strongly conveying the sense of a situation 'already on its way'. No matter what the internal structure of an event might be, what is said about it is that it is already 'in the making'.

In the next chapter, we try to answer the question why FPPs are sensitive to aktionsarten while the BP present progressive is not.

CHAPTER 5

DATA ANALYSIS

We saw in Chapter 4 that the stage-level interpretation added by the auxiliary *'estar'* gives the progressive its particular meaning. We have argued that by virtue of the semantics imported by *'estar'*, Portuguese progressives are transitory events and thus more anchored in time than their English counterparts. We suggest that it is a focus on *transition* rather than on *duration*, which is the common feature of all imperfective events that allow the Portuguese progressive to occur with all four Vendler's aktionsarten. Differently from Portuguese, the tendency in English is that progressive constructions are only compatible with activity and accomplishment verbs (Vendler, 1967; Dowty, 1979). Here again, we provide a summary of these facts in Table 10.

Table 10. Compatibility of the aktionsart and the progressive in English and Portuguese

Compatibility with PROG construction		
Lexical Category	Portuguese	English
Activity	✓	✓
Accomplishment	✓	✓
Achievement	✓	✗
State	✓	✗

Given the Portuguese compatibility scheme shown in Table 10, it was expected that the FPP expressions in BP would follow the same pattern as the present progressive. However, as we have shown in Section 3.2, the FPP is more restrictive than the progressive in general. Let us go back to example (22) and (25) shown in Section 3.2. The examples show that the verbs *'entender'* (understand) and *'achar'* (find) are not compatible with FPPs. It therefore seemed that neither states nor achievements are licensed in FPP and the verbs *'acreditar'* (believe), *'reconhecer'* (recognize), which are likewise bared from this construction seem to support that idea. Therefore, it seems that the BP FPP follows the English pattern observed for the

progressive rather than the one found in BP, that is, activity and accomplishment verbs are allowed to occur within the construction, while achievement and state verbs are not. This makes sense if we take into account that linguists (Garcia 2010 to just name one) agree that Portuguese FPPs are linguistic loans from English. On that account, we suspect that they, as a relative new import to BP, keep most of their English characteristics. With this hypothesis in mind we consulted our research corpus and sorted all verbs in our dataset according to their aktionsart. The work is described in detail in Section 5.1

5.1 A preliminary analysis

There are a variety of approaches suggesting criteria, which allow us to assign verbs to different verb classes. I can with Levin (2007); Tani (2010); DeArmond (2004) and Dowty (1979) name some of these approaches. Let us look in some more detail at Dowty Tests for lexical aspect (Dowty 1979: 60) reproduced in Table 11.

Table 11. Dowty Tests for aspectual verb categories (1979: 60)

Criterion	States	Activities	Accomplishments	Achievements
1. Meets non-stative tests	no	yes	yes	?
2. Has habitual interpretation in simple present tense	no	yes	yes	yes
3. φ for an hour, spend an hour φing:	ok[18]	ok	ok	bad
4. φ in an hour, take an hour to φ:	bad	bad	ok	ok
5. φ for an hour entails φ at all times in the hour:	yes	yes	no	d.n.a.
6. X is φing entails x has φed:	d.n.a.	yes	no	d.n.a.
7. Complement of stop:	ok	ok	ok	bad
8. Complement of finish:	bad	bad	ok	bad
9. Ambiguity with almost:	no	no	yes	no
10. X φed in an hour entails x was φing during that hour.	d.n.a.	d.n.a.	yes	no
11. Occurs with studiously, attentively, carefully, etc.	bad	ok	ok	bad

---

[18] **ok** = The sentence is grammatical, semantically normal / **bad** = The sentence is ungrammatical, semantically anomalous / **d.n.a** = do not apply.

Since our goal is to assign an aspect to each verb in the context of each of our 101 examples, Dowty's diagnostics must be applied to the verbs and their objects. As Levin (2007) notices, aspectual shifts triggered by the immediate complement of the verbal unit, must be taken into account. Activities may shift into accomplishments in the cases where the activity verb is followed by a nominal that expresses a *goal* (as observed by DeArmond (2003), next to many others). This goal argument turns the verb into a [+telic] eventuality, changing the activity into an accomplishment. See example (36) and (37):

(36) Henry is painting.

   Painting= [+Dynamic], [+Durative], [-Telic]: **Activity**

(37) Henry is painting the house.

   Painting NP = [+Dynamic], [+Durative], [+Telic]: **Accomplishment**

With this in mind, we tried to classify all the verbs from our TypeCraft corpus into Vendler's four categories. As predicted by our first hypothesis, most of the verbs in our FPP dataset are activities. However, what we did not predict was the low rate of occurrence of accomplishments. Neither did we predict the high number of the occurrence of achievements and states. The result of our classification, expressed in percentages, is shown in Table 12:

Table 12. Classification of verbs of the BP TypeCraft corpus into aspectual classes

Category	Activity	Accomplishment	Achievement	State
Occurrences	44	16	36	5
%	43,6	15,9	35,6	4,9

Table 12 shows the results obtained from the classification of the verbs in our database. Together, activities and accomplishments account for almost 60% of the verbs, but there is also a considerable amount of unpredicted achievement and some state verbs. These data conflict with our first hypothesis that BP FPP would follow the 'English pattern' and suggest that the BP FPP follows a more 'Portuguese pattern' (see Table 10). Very interesting is that, we also have BP data that show incompatibility of achievements and states with the FPP.

In the following, we first take a closer look at the expected cases according to our preliminary hypothesis (Section 5.1.1). We then examine achievement and state verbs in Section 5.1.2

5.1.1 Activities and accomplishments in our database

The tables in this section separate the verbs following their classification, and show the occurrence rate in the TypeCraft database. They display the verb, its English translation and the number of occurrences. Table 13 lists the activity verbs.

Table 13. Activity verbs of the FPP TypeCraft corpus

Portuguese Activity verb	English Translation	Number of Occurrences
'apostar'	bet	1
'apresentar'	perform	1
'apresentar'	present	1
'assitir'	watch	1
'atender'	serve	1
'bater'	knock	1
'beber'	drink	1
'cantar'	sing	1
'colocar'	put	1
'comer'	eat	1
'conspirar'	conspire	2
'cozinhar'	cook	1
'disponibilizar'	offer	1
'dizer'	talk	1
'dormir'	sleep	1
'encontrar'	meet	1
'esperar'	wait	4
'falar'	talk	2
'fazer'	do	2
'fazer'	make	1
'funcionar'	work	1
'ir'	go	2
'lavar'	wash	1
'ler'	read	1
'ocupar'	invade	1
'participar'	participate	1

'passar'	pass	2
'pegar'	take	2
'protestar'	protest	1
'revisar'	review	1
'rolar'	go on	1
'sortear'	raffle	1
'tentar'	try	1
'tocar'	play	1
'trabalhar'	work	2
TOTAL		**44**

Verbs like *'bater'* (knock) correspond to instantaneous events that generally are part of the category of semelfactive verbs, a specific class of achievements (Levin, 2007). However, these verbs describe iterations and have the ability to occur in the progressive form. Since they allow iteration, they can behave like activities. We have thus classified examples such as (38) as activities:

(38)   Estou batendo à sua porta em menos de dois dias.

        "I am knocking at your door in less than two days"

Estou		batendo		à		sua		porta	em	
est	ou	bate	ndo	a	a	s	ua	porta	em	
be	1SG.PRES	*knock*	GER	*to*	.DEF.FEM	*your*	FEM	*door*	*within*	
AUX		V		PREP		PNposs		NFEM	PREP	

menos	de	dois		dias	
menos	de	dois		dia	s
less	*of*	*two*.NUM>N		*day*	PL
	PREP	N		N	

Generated in TypeCraft.

Table 14 shows the accomplishment verbs that are present in the FPP dataset. In this table the verbs that are listed with their respective complements and translations. To list verb phrases rather than verbs was necessary in order to capture category shifts mentioned in the beginning of this chapter. Some activity verbs such as *'ir'* (go), and *'viajar'* (travel) express telic events when followed by an NP expressing the endpoint or other kinds of delimiters of the motion.

Table 14. Accomplishment verbs of the FPP TypeCraft corpus

Portuguese Accomplishment verb	English Translation	Number of Occurrences
'atravessar a ponte'	cross the bridge	1
'correr a maratona'	run the marathon	1
'correr a S. Silvestre'	run the S. Silvestre	1
'divulgar os números'	divulgue the numbers	1
'encontrar a Vani	meet Vani	1
'encontrar o Fábio'	meet Fábio	1
'enviar os avisos'	send the news	1
'inaugurar meu presente'	inaugurate my gift	1
'indo para o carnaval	go to the carnival	1
'ir para a praia'	go to the beach	1
'ir para o shopping'	go to the mall	1
'liberar os resultados'	release the results	1
'preparar as tabelas'	prepair the tables	1
'trocar de carro'	change the cars	1
'trocar os presentes'	change the presents	1
'viajar a Paris'	travel to Paris	1
TOTAL		**16**

In sentences like (39) the verb *'correr'* (run), generally an activity verb has all the characteristics of an accomplishment verb.

(39)   Estou correndo a maratona em dois meses.

     "I'm running the marathon in two months"

Estou		correndo		a	maratonaa	em	dois		meses	
est	ou	corre	ndo	a	maratona	em	dois		mes	es
be	1SG.PRES	*run*	GER		*marathon*	*in*	*two*.NUM>N		*month*	PL
AUX		V		DET	NFEM	PREP	N		NMASC	

<div align="right">Generated in TypeCraft.</div>

These two first categories are compatible with the grammaticalization patterns for progressive aspect in English and Portuguese. Consequently, they also behave normally in the FPP. In the next section, we present the achievements and the states found in our FPP database and

discuss their semantic characteristics.

5.1.2 Achievement and State verbs

Also achievement and state verbs appear in FPPs. We saw in Section 5.1 that 35,6% of the verbs are achievement verbs, and 4,9% of them have been classified as states, as the Tables 15 and 16 show.

Table 15. Achievement verbs of the FPP TypeCraft corpus

Portuguese Achievement verb	English Translation	Number of Occurrences
'abrir as inscrições'	start the registrations	1
'acabar a promoção'	finish the competition	1
'atingir'	reach	1
'cair'	fall	3
'chegar'	arrive	9
'comecar aulas de fotografia'	start photography classes	1
'deixar'	leave	1
'deletar'	delete	2
'finalizar a promocão'	finish the sale	1
'finalizar as tarefas'	finish the tasks	1
'finalizar meu tratamento'	finish my treatment	1
'iniciar o concurso'	start the test	1
'juntar-se'	join	1
'pousar'	land	1
'sair'	leave	6
'terminar as aulas'	finish the classes	1
'terminar os exames'	complete the exams	1
'voltar'	return	3
TOTAL		**36**

Table 16. State verbs of the FPP TypeCraft corpus

Portuguese State verb	English Translation	Number of Occurrences
'lamentar'	regret	1
'sentir ciúmes'	feel jealous	2
'sentir saudade'	miss	1
'sentir'	feel	1
TOTAL		**5**

While our database shows that achievements are allowed to appear in BP FPP constructions, we already know that some achievement verbs may not occur in FPPs, as data (22) and (23), presented in Section 3.2, and also (44) and (45) below show:

(44)   *Estamos achando a resposta amanhã.

        *"*We are finding the answer tomorrow.*"

Estamos	achando	a	resposta	amanhã
esta mos	acha ndo	a	resposta	amanhã
be 3PL.PRES	*find* GER	*to*	*answer*	*tomorrow*
AUX	V	PREP	NFEM	ADVtemp

Generated in TypeCraft.

(45)   *Estamos reconhecendo os bandidos na Sexta.

        *"*We are recognizing the bandits on Friday.*"

Estamos	reconhecendo	os		bandidos	
esta mos	reconhece ndo	o	s	bandidos s	
be 3PL.PRES	*recognize* GER	DEF.MASC	PL	*bandit*	GER1
AUX	V	ART		NMASC	

na	Sexta
em a	sexta
in DEF.FEM.SG	*Friday*
PREP	NFEM

Generated in TypeCraft.

The same 'mixed' pattern, we observe for state verbs. Although there are 5 legitimate occurrences of such verbs in our database, we already know that states verbs are by far not as productive with respect to the FPP then they are in general progressives in BP, witness (46) and (47).

(46)   *Estamos entendendo tudo semana que vem.

       *"*We are understanding everything on next week.*"

Estamos	entendendo	tudo	semana	que	vem
esta mos	entende ndo	tudo	semana	que	vem
be 3PL.PRES	*understand* GER	*all*	*week*.FEM	*that*	*come*.PRES.3SG
AUX	V	QUANT N	N	PNrel	V

<div align="right">Generated in TypeCraft.</div>

(47)   *Estou morando no Canadá ano que vem.

       "*I am living in Canadá next year*"

Estou	morando	no	Canadá	ano	que	vem
est ou	mora ndo	em o	canadá	ano	que	vem
be 1SG.PRES	*live* GER	*on* DEF.MASC	*Canada*	*year*	*that*	*came*
AUX	V	PREP	Np	N	PNrel	V

<div align="right">Generated in TypeCraft.</div>

In the next two sections, we examine achievement (Section 3.1.2.1) and state verbs (Section 5.1.2.2) individually and in more detail.

5.1.2.1 Achievements in our data

Achievements are about 35,6% of our data. Table 15 contains more information about the occurrence rates of these verbs in our data. The verbs in this category are non-durative verbs of the kind that "express a change of state and finish as soon as they start" (Bastos 2004, p. 42). Still, achievements encode dynamic properties, and even though according to Vendler's definition, these verbs represent non-durative events, we know that some of them can behave as processes.

According to Mourelatos (1978) the behavior of achievements in progressives points to a weakness in Vendler's classification. Vendler created a bipartition in his system that placed activities and accomplishments in one side admitting progressive reading; and achievements and states on the other, forbidding progressives. However, as we know for Portuguese, all classes of verbs can occur in progressive forms, it is also known that some English achievements, and also states do appear in progressives.

Considering the behaviour of achievements in BP FPPs, leads us to agree with Tani (2010) and Garcia (2008), when they affirm that achievement verbs are the most intricate of Vendler's classes. Achievements are far from being a homogeneous category. Rather, our data attests that there are at least two different kinds of achievements with distinct internal characteristics. We believe that one of these sub-classes of achievement is compatible with the FPP while the other is not.

In the following, we sketch a more fine-grained aspectual picture of these verbs with some of these verbs receiving deeper layers of categorization, in the form of aspectual features. We would like to outline more fine-grained characteristics of these verbs in order to model their behaviour in our database. We start by considering Smith (1997, p. 30).

Smith defines achievement verbs as instantaneous events that encode *a change of state*. Meanwhile, she states that for the occurrence of a change of state, some process or preparation must have happened immediately before. In other words, it is impossible that a change of state takes place without an event that brings this change about, even if this is not expressed by the the verb. Smith (1997, p. 31) considers this previous input situation as inherent to achievement, and calls it their "preliminary stage". She says that (perhaps not all, but many) achievement verbs allow or require preliminary stages in their meaning in order to convey change of state. For instance, speakers know that for "winning a race", the subject needs first to "run or compete". This previous elements are semantically intrinsic to the meaning of "win a race". Trypuz and Vieu's (2007) second Smith by stating that achievements are not independent entities; they rather are the culmination of some external activity.

However, these "preliminary stages" are not always expressed, they however are focused upon in progressives. In some cases, the achievement does not have preliminary stages because the verb conveys a purely instant situation, for example 'he noticed her new hair color'. Achievement perceived as instantaneous therefore might be banned from progressives. In Smith's words:

> "Some achievements have preliminaries in some cases, but not others. For instance [I recognize John] may occur with preliminaries: I may meet John at a party and

> gradually find him familiar, eventually recognizing him as an acquaintance of an year
> ago. But I may also recognize John instantly. Similarly, [find your watch] may occur
> after some preliminary searching stages, or without them." (Smith 1997: 31)

We believe that Smith observation is central to our understanding of why certain achievement verbs easily combine with FPPs while others do not. Some achievements lend themselves more easily to be perceived as having a preliminary stage than others. Those seem to be the ones that more easily comply with the FPP.

Consider in this connection also Mourelatos (1978, p. 416). He claims that achievement verbs capture either the inception or the climax of an action. Based on Mourelatos, we would like to suggest that, achievements that capture the climax of the situation are, in the relevant sense, instantaneous situations; such as: *notice*, *recognize*, and *realize*. We have defined FPP constructions as representing that the event *begins at the time of utterance and culminates in the future*. Climax achievements do not lend themselves easily to such a *phasing pattern*. Although verbs like *'perceber'* (realize) are allowed to happen in general progressive structures like (48), since also climaxes can be seen in 'low motion'; they nevertheless, yield semantically ill-formed structures in a FPP because they resist its typical phasing pattern. Examples are given in (46) and (47):

(46)   Estou percebendo a verdade.
        "I am realizing the true."

(47)   *Estou percebendo a verdade amanhã/em algumas horas/ na semana que vem.
        "I am realizing the true tomorrow/ in some hours/ next week."

FPP compatible achievements, on the other hand, are those that allow a preliminary stage view of the action. According to Demizu (2006), they denote the transition to another state and in progressive forms; they also encode the event that leads to that transition. These achievements allow the event to culminate in the future. Let's take as example the verb *'chegar'* (arrive), which occurs more than once in our dataset.

(48)   Estou chegando na cidade.
        "I am arriving in town."

(49) shows the verb in an FPP. The meaning is that the speaker is in the middle of what one might call an *arrival process*. The culmination of the event however, will be in a future, this semantics pertains to all achievement verbs in our database, as (50), (51), and (52) exemplify.

(49)   Estou chegando na cidade daqui a pouco/amanhã/semana que vem.

    "I am arriving in town in a while/ tomorrow/next week."

(50)   Nesse fim de semana estou pousando em Londres.

    "This weekend I am landing in London."

Nesse	fim	de	semana	estou		pousando		em
em esse	fim	de	semana	est	ou	pousa	ndo	em
in this	*end*	*of*	*week*.FEM	*be*.PRES	1SG	*land*	GER1	*in*
ADVm	NMASC	PREP	N	AUX		V		PREP

Londres
londres
London
Np

  Generated in TypeCraft.

(51)   Estamos saindo de férias no próximo fim de semana.

    "We are leaving for vacations on the next weekend."

Estamos		saindo		de	férias	no	
esta	mos	sai	ndo	de	férias	em	o
be	3PL.PRES	*leave*	GER1	*of*	*vacation*	*in*.LOC	DEF.MASC
AUX		V		PREP	NFEM	PREP	

próximo		fim	de	semana
próxim	o	fim	de	semana
next	MASC.SG	*end*	*of*	*week*.FEM
ADJ		NMASC	PREP	N

    Generated in TypeCraft.

(52)   Estamos atingindo o middle-way acampamento esta noite,

    "We are reaching the middle-way camp tonight."

Estamos		atingindo		o	middleway	acampamento
esta	mos	atingi	ndo	o	middle way	acampamento
be	3PL.PRES	*reach*		*the*.MASC	*middle way*	*camp*
AUX		V		ART	ADJ	NMASC

esta		noite
est	a	noite
this	FEM	*night*
DEM		NFEM

Generated in TypeCraft.

Yet, Table 15 also presents other types of achievements which are compatible with the FPP construction. All of them are either inchoatives, expressing a change of state, or verbs focusing on the events inception or termination; we found the verbs *'começar/iniciar'* (start), which express inception; and the verbs *'finalizar/terminar/acabar'* (finish), which denote termination. Notice that in our data set these verbs appear as independent lexical entities with their own objects, as can be seen in Table 15, and therefore should not be confused with aspectual verbs which provide aspect to the main predicate that they combine with (Fukuda, 2006). Also verbs of inception and termination allow a phasing of the event where some part of the event takes place in future time. Consider (53) and (54) respectively.

(53)   Estamos começando um curso de fotografia já já.

      "We are starting a photography course in a short time."

Estamos		começando		um	curso	de
esta	mos	começa	ndo	um	curso	de
be	3PL.PRES	*start*	GER	*a*.INDEF.MASC	*course*	*of*
AUX		V		ART	NMASC	PREP

fotografia	já	já
fotografia	já	já
photography	*soon*	*soon*
NFEM	ADVtemp	ADVtemp

Generated in TypeCraft.

(54)   Estou finalizando meu tratamento no próximo dia treze.

      "I am finishing my treatment on the next thirteenth"

Estou		finalizando		meu	tratamento	no	
est	ou	finaliza	ndo	meu	tratamento	em	o
be	1SG.PRES	*complete*	GER	*my*.MASC	*threatment*	*in*	DEF.MASC
AUX		V		PNposs	NMASC	PREP	

próximo		dia	treze
próxim	o	dia	treze
next	MASC.SG	*day*	*thrirteen*
ADJ		NMASC	ADJ

Generated in TypeCraft.

5.1.2.1 States in our data.

There are 05 occurrences of state verbs among our FPPs, they are: *'sentir ciúmes'* (feel jealous), *'sentir saudade'* (miss), *'sentir'* (feel), and *'lamentar'* (regret), see Table 16 for the number of occurrences. As we observed for achievements, these states appear in opposition to other FPP sentences that are ungrammatical when combined with state verbs. For instance, while (52) is a grammatical FPP (53) is not:

(52)   Ele posta as besteiras hoje e amanhã está sentindo remorso.

   "He posts the nonsense today and tomorrow he is feeling remorse."

Ele		posta		as		besteiras	hoje
el	e	post	a	a	s	besteira s	hoje
He.3SG	MASC	*post*	3SG.PRES	DEF.FEM	PL	*nonsense* PL	*today*
PN		V		ART		NFEM	ADVtemp

e		amanhã	está		sentindo	remorso
e		amanhã	est	á	senti ndo	remorso
and		*tomorrow*	be.PRES	3SG	*feel* GER	*remorse*
CONJ		ADVtemp	V		V	NMASC

Generated in TypeCraft.

(53)   *Estamos entendendo tudo semana que vem.

   *"*We are understanding everything next week."*

| Estamos		entendendo		tudo	semana	que	vem
esta	mos	entende	ndo	tudo	semana	que	vem
be	3PL.PRES	*understand*	GER	*all*	*week*.FEM	*that*	*come*.PRES.3SG
AUX		V		QUANT	N	PNrel	V

Generated in TypeCraft.

Also states are heterogeneous. We adopt the proposal of Cunha (1998-2004). Cunha compares Portuguese and English, and according to him, state verbs are entitled to have internal segmentation:

> "Concerning their aspectual profile, stative predications do not form an unvarying category. Conversely, they constitute a complex and heterogeneous aspectual class. In fact, the situations that traditionally are labeled "states" exhibit a great variability in their linguistic behavior patterns, which reveal significant dissimilarities at their internal temporal structure." (Cunha, 2005, p. 01)

What Cunha (2005) proposes is a reclassification of statives taking their *phaseability* into account. States can be phased and non-phased [± phase] (see also Oliveira et. al. 2006, p. 146). This now means that states with the feature [+ phase] can behave as processes or events[19] by incorporating and presupposing a dynamic feature. There are other state verbs that cannot be internally phased; they then express homogeneous situations [-phase]. consider Figure 8.

Figure 8. The [phase] feature
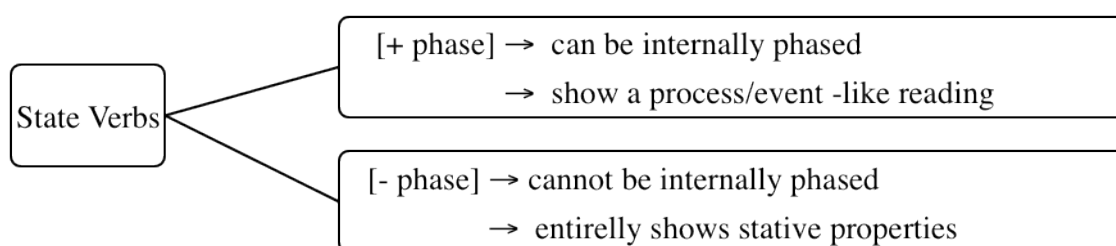
I am not the first to observe that phased states can occur in FPP constructions. Mateus et al. (2004, p. 155), mention the possibility of "future projection". The same is outlined in Oliveira's (2006) work with Portuguese expressions of future. These statements can be summarized as shown in (54) and (55):

(54) AUX.pres + VERB.prog (phase able) can perform as future expression.

<div align="center">and</div>

(55) AUX.pres + VERB.prog (non-phase able) cannot perform as future expression.

'Sentindo' (feeling) in (52) for example, can be understood as a complex situation where the intensity or the duration of the feeling can be variable. The same can be applied to the other state verbs presented in Table 16: *'sentir ciúmes'* (feel jealous), *'sentir saudade'* (miss), and *'lamentar'* (regret). In particular verbs of sensory perception may encode dynamic situations in some contexts (Megginson 2007). When modified by adverbs these verbs can be made to *stress the immediacy* of the action or *one moment in the process* of enjoying, feeling, hearing or seeing something (Cunha 2004). Yet, they express a "state of being or a condition" but in

---

[19] We respect the choice of nomenclature proposed by Cunha (2005).

addition they also express the dynamics of a "conscious or deliberated action" (Megginson 2007). This last reading is compatible with progressive forms and also the FPP.

We believe that the internal segmentation of state verbs accounts for their compatibility with the FPPs in our database. Let us finally draw attention to a specific pattern shown in example (52), where the state verb *'sentir'* (feel) appears. This sentence is actually a composition of two independent clauses where two main verbs are equally semantically significant. In such sentences, two independent clauses are conjoined. By definition, a compound sentence creates a sense of balance or contrast between two equally important pieces of information (Megginson, 2007). In addition to that, each of the clauses carries temporal adverbs that transform the whole situation in a process. The adverbs mark the beginning and the end of the process expressed. The presence of these two adverbs may also have contributed to enabling the occurrence of the state verb on the FPP construction.

We have maintained that the FPP introduces a situation, which has its virtual starting point in the *now* and a culmination point in the *future*. In (52) the adverbs *'hoje'* (today) and *'amanhã'* (tomorrow) seem to bring this meaning to the foreground. We assume that the FPP structure was used in the last clause of the compound with the intention of emphasizing that the action is in progress, as being also the end point of the situation.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

The FPP construction is a grammatical loan recently imported into Portuguese from English (Garcia, 2010). This work explores the role that lexical and grammatical aspect play for the understanding of this construction. We cannot understand the FPP without understanding the progressive in BP. In English, only activity and accomplishment verbs are completely licensed in the progressive. On the other hand, Portuguese admits all four verb classes, and thus also achievements and states in progressive constructions. The focus of this study is to investigate which role these differences in the progressive of BP and English play for the assimilation of the FPP into BP. Initially, when considering Tweets (online text), we found out that few state and achievement verbs head FPP structures which made us believe that FPP constructions would follow, except of some few odd cases, the English pattern, thus excluding achievement and state verbs.

However, after a more systematic study involving the creation of a small research corpus, and a more systematic analysis of the data, we found that the pattern is mixed; neither the BP pattern nor the English pattern can be fully confirmed. FPP constructions do not follow the general Portuguese progressive patter, yet they neither remain English constructions either. We further found that relative to our corpus, a high number of achievements and few states are allowed in FPPs while other verbs of these same classes are prevented. Verbs falling into these two classes do not show a uniform behavior. In order to make sense of the behavior of these verbs, we investigated their internal aspectual semantics in some more detail, giving a more fine-grained categorizations than the Vendler classes allow.

We learned that the states and achievements that appear in our corpus have some characteristics that enable them to behave as processes, points of culmination may thus be expressed in the future while the event is perceived as having a virtual starting point in the

present. For the achievements, we suggested that some of these verbs are purely instantaneous and therefore, remain incompatible with the FPP. However, other achievements encode preliminary stages to convey a change of state. The result is a procedural reading, which allows the event's realization point of the eventuality to be located in the future. They then may occur in FPPs. We further highlighted that achievement verbs may encode additional aspectual features, such as inception or termination of the event, again allowing a process reading.

For the states, the verbs in our data fitted into Cunha's (2004) proposal of the phaseability of state verbs. This approach claims that some state verbs possess an internal segmentation and thus become compatible with a progressive reading and also, with the FPP. Our state verbs belong to the category of verbs of sensory perception, not considered in Vendler's work.

We established that the BP FPP shows features of both the language of origin and the target language. FPPs displayed a much more liberal behaviour in integrating verbs of different aspects than English *Futurates*.

6.1 Contributions

We see the contribution of this in that it provides systematic presentation and analysis of a structure that is very little recognized within the domain of future expression in Brazilian Portuguese. With this work we provide further evidence to the claim that periphrastic expression of future are well established as expression of the future in Brazilian Portuguese.

This work furthermore, corroborates to the claims of Cintra (2008) and Guimarães (2008), who assume that progressive forms have found their place within the periphrastic future expressions in Brazilian Portuguese. We have created an in depth-annotated database of Brazilian Portuguese Future Present Progressive constructions. The research data supporting this work is public. It can be consulted online by pointing a browser to typecraft.org/TCEditor/1730/.

Finally, this work is a study of grammaticalization, which shows that linguistic import take on their own life, they only partially maintain the grammatical pattern of the source language, but might not fully adopt the grammatical pattern of the target language. We have shown that FPPs are BP constructions in their own right, and although they still have properties indicating their English origins, they have become a BP construction with distinct properties on its own.

6.2 Further work

We have chosen Future Present Progressive structures in Brazilian Portuguese as the topic of this thesis because there is still a lot of discussion to be accomplished on this extent. The next step must be to assemble quantitative information about the occurrence of FPPs within the domain of general future reference in BP. Another future development is a diachronic study of the assimilation of the FPP into BP. Non-default future expression in Brazilian Portuguese is an interesting topic on its own right, therefore, further research on the importance of the non-default forms in the scenario of future expression in Brazilian Portuguese would be of great value to the field as a whole.

REFERENCES

Amaral L. Os Verbos de Modo de Movimento no PB. Monografia de Bacharelado em Linguistica, UFMG; 2010.

Amaral L. Os verbos de modo de movimento no português brasileiro. *ReVeLe* – n 3; 2011.

Azevedo M. Portuguese: A Linguistic Introduction. Cambridge University Press; 2005.

Bagno M. Português ou brasileiro? Um convite à pesquisa. São Paulo: Parábola; 2001

Barroso H. O aspecto verbal perifrástico em português contemporâneo: visão functional / sincrónica. Porto, Porto Editora; 1994.

Barroso H. Para uma gramática do aspecto no verbo português [Internet]. Braga, Universidade do Minho; 2007. [cited 2012 Februar] Available from: http://hdl.handle.net/1822/7987.

Bastos ACP. Progressive constructions in Brazilian Portuguese and English. Revista Letras, Curitiba, n. 63. Editora UFPR; 2004. p. 11-27, maio/ago.

Batllori M, Roca F. Grammaticalization of Ser and Estar in Romance. In: 8th Diachronic Generative Syntax Conference (DIGS VIII). Yale University, June 24-27; 2004.

Beermann D, Mihaylov P. Cloud Computing for Linguists [Internet]. The 23rd International Conference on Computational Linguistics; 2010. [cited 2012 May] Available from: www.coling-2010.org/

Beermann D, Mihaylov P. e-Research for Linguists [Internet]. Proceedings of the 5th ACL-HLT Workshop on Language Technology for Cultural Heritage, Social Sciences, and Humanities; 2011. [cited 2012 May] Available from:

http://www.aclweb.org/anthology/W/W11/#1500

Borba FS. Propriedades Sintáticas, semânticas e pragmáticas do léxico. In: Revista (Con)Textos lingüísticos. Vitória: PPGEL; 2007. p. 55-68.

Braga ML. Coriolano, J. Construções De Gerúndio No Português Do Brasil. Alfa, São Paulo; 2007. p. 175-187.

Cintra MR. A perífrase "ir (pres.) + (es)ta(r) + gerúndio" como indício de inovação linguística. Estudos Linguísticos, São Paulo, v.37, n.1; 2008. p. 233-241.

Comrie B. Aspect: An Introduction to the Study of Verbal Aspect and Related Problems. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 1976. ISBN 0-521-21109-3

Copley B. The Plan's the Thing: Deconstructing Futurate Meanings [Internet]. Linguistic Inquiry; 2002 [cited 2012 March] Available from: http://copley.free.fr/copley.futurates.pdf

Croft W. A cognitive analysis of grammatical and lexical aspect using multidimensional scaling. In: JCLA Conference Handbook; 2004. p. 1-4.

Cunha LF. Semântica das Predicações Estativas: para uma Caracterização Aspectual dos Estados. Dissertação de Doutoramento, Porto, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto; 2004.

Cunha LF. As Construções com Progressivo no Português: uma Abordagem Semântica. Dissertação de Mestrado, Porto, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto; 1998.

Cunha LF. Reconsidering Stative Predications, their Behaviour and Characteristics . In: Cadernos de Linguística, Nº 11. Porto, Centro de Linguística da Universidade do Porto; 2005.

Dahl Ö. Tense and aspect systems. Oxford: Blackwell; 1985.

DeArmond RC. Event Classes [Internet]. Course outline, Simon Frasier University; 2004. [cited   2012   February]   Available   from: http://www.sfu.ca/person/dearmond/322/course.outline.322.htm

Dowty D. Word Meaning and Montague Grammar. Dordrecht, Reidel Publ. Comp; 1979.

Fleischman S. The future in thought and language: Diachronic evidence from Romance. New York City: Cambridge University Press; 1982.

Fukuda S. The syntax of Japanese aspectual verbs. A paper presented at the 3rd Workshop on Altaic in Formal Linguistics; 2006.

Garcia AS. Verbos incompatíveis com o progressivo no inglês. SOLETRAS (UERJ), v. 20; 2010. p. 146-164.

Godoy E. O Progressivo: Além do Aspecto. Letras, Curitiba, n.41-42. Editora da UFPR; 1992-93.

Guimarães MR. Alguns problemas na interpretação da progressividade no português do Brasil. Revista Letras, Curitiba, n. 58, p. 137-145. jul./dez. Editora UFPR; 2002.

Hackmack S. Reichenbach's Theory of Tense and it's Application to English [Internet]; 2011. [cited 2011 November] Available from: http://staff.um.edu.mt/mros1/csa5006/pdf/hackmack.pdf

Huddleston RD. The Futurate Construction. *Linguistic Inquiry*; 1977. p. 730-36.

IBGE Brasil. Censo Demográfico de 2012. Dados nacionais. Fundação Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística. Brasil; 2010.

Ignacio SE. Estrutura argumental e morfossintática das orações construídas a partir de verbos de movimento no português escrito contemporâneo do Brasil. Estudos Lingüísticos (São Paulo), São Pulo - USP, v. 31; 2002.

Jackendoff, R. The Architecture of the Language Faculty. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press; 1997, p. 262. ISBN 0-262-10059-2.

Kratzer A. Severing the external argument from its verb. In: Rooryck J, Zaring L. (Eds.), Phrase Structure and the Lexicon, Dordrecht: Kluwer. Carlson; 1995. p. 109-137.

Levin B, Rappaport M. The Lexical Semantics of Verbs of Motion: The Perspective from Unaccusativity. In: ROCA, Iggy (Org.). Thematic Structure: Its Role in Grammar. Berlin: Foris; 1992. p. 247-269.

Levin B. English Verb Classes and Alternations: A Preliminary Investigation. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; 1993.

Levin B. The Lexical Semantics of Verbs II: Aspectual Approaches to Lexical Semantic Representation: Course LSA.113P [Internet]. Stanford University; 2003. [cited 2012 April] Available from: http://www.stanford.edu/~bclevin/lsa07asp.pdf

Lock G. Representing Time: Tense and temporal Adjuncts, summary. In: Functional English grammar: an introduction for second language teachers. New York: Cambridge University Press; 1996. p. 169–170. ISBN 978-0521459228.

Lyons J. Semantics Volume 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 1977.

Malvar E. Future temporal reference in Brazilian Portuguese: past and present. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Ottawa, Ottawa (CA); 2003.

Mateus MHM. et al. Gramática da Língua Portuguesa, 6ª Edição. Lisboa, Editorial Caminho; 2004.

Mateus MHM. et al. Gramática da Língua Portuguesa (5ª edição, revista e aumentada), Lisboa (Editorial Caminho – Colecção Universitária / Série LINGUÍSTICA); 2003.

Mendes RB. Ter + particípio e estar + gerúndio: aspecto e variação no português. Tese de Doutorado). Universidade Estadual de Campinas (UNICAMP). Instituto de Estudos da Linguagem (IEL). Campinas, SP; 2005.

Moens M. Tense, Aspect and Temporal Reference. PhD Thesis, Centre for Cognitive Science, University of Edinburgh; 1987.

Morissey MD. Rules for Advanced German Learners of English. A grammar of errors; 2007.

[cited 2012 May] Available from: https://sites.google.com/site/agrammaroferrors/

Mourelatos APD. Events, processes, and states. Linguistics and Philosophy; 1978. p. 415–434.

Murphy R. English Grammar In Use with Answers and CD ROM: A Self-study Reference and Practice Book for Intermediate Students of English; 2007.

Oliveira JM. O futuro da língua portuguesa ontem e hoje: variação e mudança. (Tese de Doutorado em Língua Portuguesa). Rio de Janeiro: UFRJ, Faculdade de Letras; 2006.

Oliveira R. Do Progressivo do Inglês ao Progressivo do Português. MA Thesis: Universidade Federal do Paraná, Curutiba; 1999.

Oliveira JM, Olinda SRM. A trajetória do futuro perifrástico nalíngua portuguesa: séculos XVIII, XIX e XX. Revista da ABRALIN, v. 7, n. 2, p. 93-117, jul./dez; 2008.

Orozco R. Distribution of Future Time Forms in Northern Colombian Spanish [Internet]. Selected Proceedings of the 7th Hispanic Linguistics Symposium, ed. David Eddington, 56-65. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project; 2005. [cited 2012 April] Available from: http://www.lingref.com/cpp/hls/7/paper1086.pdf

Parsons T. The progressive in English: events, states and processes. Linguistics aiul Philosophy, n. 12; 1989. p. 213-241.

Perini MA. Modern Portuguese (A Reference Grammar). New Haven: Yale University Press; 2002. ISBN 978-0-300-09155-7.

Poplack S, Malvar E. Elucidating the transition period in linguistic change. Probus 19; 2007. p. 121-169.

Pratas F. States and Temporal Interpretation in Capeverdean. In: Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 2008 - Selected papers from Going Romance Groningen 2008.

Quirk R, Greenbaum S, Leech G, Svartvik J. A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language; 1985.

Reichenbach H. Elements of Symbolic Logic. Free Press, New York; 1947.

Reineke BB, Kampers-Manhe B, Hollebrandse B. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins; 2010. p. 215-231.

Santos A. O futuro verbal no português do Brasil em variação. Dissertação (Mestrado em Lingüística) - Instituto de Letras, Universidade de Brasília; 1997.

Schmitt C. Semi-copulas: event and aspectual composition. Michigan State University; 2003.

Silva A. A expressão de futuridade no português falado. Araraquara: UNESP; São Paulo: Cultura Acadêmica; 2002.

Smith CS. The Parameter of Aspect Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers. 2nd ed; 1997.

Tafner EP. O Futuro Na Internet: Vai Estar Se Propagando Uma Inovação? Estudos Lingüísticos XXXIII; 2004. p. 945-951.

Tani M. Lexical Aspects and Grammatical Aspects: Relation between the Verb Know and the Progressive Construction. 2004

Torrego LG. Gramatica didactica del españ ol / Didactic Spanish Grammar. Ediciones SIM, Madrid. Décima edición; 2011. ISBN 9788467541359.

Travaglia LC. O aspecto verbal no português. Minas Gerais: Universidade Federal de Uberlândia; 1985.

Trypuz R, Vieu L. An Ontology of the Aspectual Classes of Actions," in ILCLI International Workshop on Logic and Philosophy of Knowledge, Communication and Action (LogKCA-07); 2007. p. 393-409.

Vendler Z. Verbs and Times, The Philosophical Review; 1957. 66:143-60. ISSN 0031-8108

Vendler Z. Linguistics in Philosophy. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press; 1967.

Verkuyl HJ. A Theory of Aspectuality: The interaction between temporal and atemporal structure. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 1993.