

## Temporality and temporal dislocation in Spanish and Modern Greek past tenses of the Indicative<sup>1</sup>

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ABSTRACT. In the present article we carry out a contrastive analysis of the past tenses of the Spanish and Greek indicative. Verbal forms are often used to express meanings that do not seem to correspond to the value traditionally assigned to them. Thus, for example the simple future can express conjecture in the present, the imperfect politeness, etc. For this type of phenomenon, various interpretations have been proposed, making use of terms such as *metaphorical meanings* (Bello 1988 [1847]), *migration* (Bull 1960), *temporal dislocation* (Rojo 1974), etc. We suggest that based on Rojo and Veiga's theory of 'temporality' (1999), along with some general categories of temporal displacement, it is possible to explain both 'straight' and 'dislocated' uses of a verbal form, and at the same time show that as far as the latter are concerned we are dealing with systematic rather than 'idiomatic' uses in both languages, which can —therefore— be explained.

KEYWORDS. Past Indicative tenses, temporality, temporal dislocation, straight verbal use, dislocated verbal use, Spanish, Modern Greek.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

In both Spanish and Modern Greek, verbal forms are often used to express meanings that do not seem to correspond to the temporal value traditionally assigned to them. Therefore, if Kostas tells his Spanish girlfriend Carmen:

- (1) Κάρμεν, μη φύγεις! Σε ένα λεπτό έφτασα!

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will she wait for him or would she rather leave, ending the relationship? Respectively, do Spanish and Greek speakers understand easily utterances as the following where *cantaré* / *θα γράφει* express conjecture in the present rather than “future tense”?:

- (2) Πού είναι η Μαρία; —Δεν ξέρω. Υποθέτω *θα είναι* στο σπίτι.  
(3) ¿Dónde está María? —No sé. Me imagino que *estará* en casa.

Similarly, in both languages, how is it possible to understand sentences that are in fact grammatically incorrect, such as?:

- (4a) ¡No *iba*, aunque me dieras 2000 euros!  
(4b) Δεν *πήγαινα*, ακόμη και να μου έδινες 2000 ευρώ!

## 2. THEORETICAL MODEL

Examples like the aforementioned demonstrate that “verbal forms acquire other values beyond the purely temporal ones. It is not temporal, for instance, the notion of ‘conjecture’ of the ‘epistemic future’ (as in *Ahora estará durmiendo* [*She should be sleeping*] ‘Es muy probable que ahora esté durmiendo’ [‘It is quite possible that she is now asleep’])”<sup>2</sup> (*NGLE*: 1681). Various interpretations have been proposed for this type of phenomenon: Bello (1988 [1847]) talked about *metaphorical meanings* (*significados metafóricos*), Bull (1960) almost a century later called it *migration*, Rojo (1974) —and then Rojo & Veiga (1999)— interpreted it as *temporal dislocation* (*dislocación temporal*), Veiga (2008)<sup>3</sup> talked about *two independent and combinable modal notions in the core of the Spanish verbal system* (*dos nociones modales independientes y combinables en el núcleo del sistema verbal español*).

In this paper we will attempt to carry out a contrastive analysis of the paradigm of the past tenses of the Indicative in Spanish and Modern Greek. We will show that, based on the theory of temporality (*temporalidad*) —as it was proposed by Rojo (1974), adopted by Rojo & Veiga (1999) in the Grammar of the Spanish Royal Academy (RAE) and modified in some points by Veiga in his numerous studies<sup>4</sup> on temporal and modal verbal functions— in combination with some basic categories of temporal dislocation or displacement (*dislocación temporal - desplazamiento temporal*), it is possible to explain all the uses, proper and ‘dislocated’ or ‘displaced’<sup>5</sup>, of a verbal form in both Modern Greek and Spanish. Consequently, the latter, ‘idiomatic’ uses, are subject to systematization, and, therefore, explainable.

More specifically, according to this model, each verbal form expresses a type of temporality that is not absolute. That is, we are dealing with *linguistic temporal relationships* in a way that an event may be *anterior*, *simultaneous* or *posterior in relation to an*

<sup>2</sup> The English translations of the Spanish quotes are ours.

<sup>3</sup> Idea already presented in previous papers of his (Veiga 1988, 1989, 1991a, 1996).

<sup>4</sup> Special reference is made to them below.

<sup>5</sup> The terms are explained below.

other. These *linguistic temporal relationships* are expressed economically through formulas by means of a set of *vectors* represented as  $-V$  (*anterior*),  $oV$  (*simultaneous*) and  $+V$  (*posterior*). Similarly, we can call *O* the central point (the origin) of all temporal relations, and therefore the three possible relationships between an event and the central point, or a point zero, can be represented as follows:

- i)  $O-V$  = anterior to the origin [an event is anterior  $-V$  to the origin  $O$ ].
- ii)  $OoV$  = simultaneous with the origin [an event is simultaneous  $oV$  to the origin  $O$ ].
- iii)  $O+V$  = posterior to the origin [an event is posterior  $+V$  to the origin  $O$ ]<sup>6</sup>.

The central internal reference *O* (i.e. the starting point) of the deictic system created is mobile and it is usually identified with the time of utterance —although on the other hand it can undergo displacements (*desplazamientos*). With regard to the structure of the formulas, they should be read from right to left. For instance, a more complex formula such as  $(O-V)+V$  (representing *cantaría*) denotes an event that is posterior  $+V$  in relation to another event, which in turn is anterior  $-V$  to the starting point *O*. We also see that the three basic temporal relationships can create more complex ones<sup>7</sup>. So in the following example, *había llegado / είχε φτάσει* expresses anteriority  $-V$  to a reference, which in turn is anterior to the starting point —*le dijeron / του είπαν* ( $O-V$ ):

- (5) Le dijeron que el director *había llegado* a Roma la semana pasada.
- (6) Του είπαν ότι ο διευθυντής *είχε φτάσει* στη Ρώμη την προηγούμενη εβδομάδα.  
( $O-V$ ) ( $O-V$ )- $V$

The (direct or indirect) orientation of the events expressed by the verbal forms in relation to the starting point, *does not* imply their position at a fixed distance from it, but rather their *orientation* in relation to it. This means that: (a) What is important is the primary temporal relation a form expresses, that is, the temporal value it expresses *primarily*; (b) The starting point is an entity of the same nature as the secondary or tertiary reference

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<sup>6</sup> To this original tripartite distinction, Veiga (1991a: 189-195) introduced a new “double” primary vector, that of *pre-posteriority*  $+(V-V)$ . The prefix *pre* refers to the “temporal relation of anteriority inextricably linked to another temporal relationship which is always a relation of a posteriority” (Veiga 2008: 79) and accompanies the corresponding change of the names and vectorial formulas of *habré cantado* and *habría cantado*. Consistent with this choice, in 2013 he proposes the addition of another double primary vector, that of *pre-simultaneity*  $o(V-V)$  for *he cantado* (*vid. below*). However, for reasons of expository clarity, the original tripartite distinction was maintained in Rojo & Veiga (1999) and *NGLE*. In this regard we should note that for Modern Greek, the adoption of another double primary vector, that of *sincro-posteriority*  $+(VoV)$ , has been proposed for the correct representation of the temporal value of the forms *θα γράφω* and *θα έγραφα*, where the prefix *sincro-* refers to the temporal relation of simultaneity inextricably linked to another temporal relation which is always a relation of a posteriority (*vid. Leontaridi 2018, 2019*).

<sup>7</sup> This complexity does not lie in the increase of these initial relationships, but in their chain connection in a series of theoretically infinite levels.

points<sup>8</sup>; however, the first, being the central point of the system in relation to which all other points are oriented, is the most important point of all.

At the same time, Rojo & Veiga generally adopt Bello's terminology (1988 [1847])<sup>9</sup> to name each one of the verbal forms since "the label used for each form reflects its temporal value" being "more descriptive, systematic, didactic and mnemonic" (Cartagena 1999: 2941)<sup>10</sup>. Regarding the structure of each formula, we can distinguish:

A) The *primary vector* (*vector primario*): it is the right end of each formula. It expresses the *primary temporal relationship*, which is what the form basically expresses.

B) The *reference point* (*punto de referencia*): in the formula it is what lies to the left of the primary vector. It may be the starting point or a point placed in relation to the latter. It indicates on the time axis the moment in relation to which the verbal forms express the primary relationship.

C) The *originary vector* (*vector originario*): in the formula it is exactly what lies after the starting symbol<sup>11</sup>.

Adopting the vectorial model in Modern Greek<sup>12</sup>, we observe that the basic temporal values of each past form of the Indicative, as reflected by the corresponding formulas, seem to be the same in the two languages. In the following table the preference for the primary temporal relationship of anteriority is made explicit:

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<sup>8</sup> These are not differences of hierarchical status between the temporal relations expressed by the various formulas but rather differences in the number of vectors of the formula.

<sup>9</sup> Their basic differentiation is found in the name used for *había cantado*, which Rojo & Veiga called *ante-pretérito*, a term that Bello (1988 [1847]) had retained for *hube cantado* considering *había cantado* 'ante-co-pretérito' (vid. Rojo & Veiga 1999: 2883).

<sup>10</sup> As Rojo & Veiga (1999: 2882) explain, the basic idea is that "We have three fundamental temporal values: 'present', 'past', 'future', and then by means of adding the prefixes ante-, co- and pos(t), we get the creation of a name that reflects almost accurately the temporal values such as they appear in the formulas assigned to them. So, *canté*, which refers to a situation prior to the beginning, is called by Bello 'pretérito'. Therefore, *cantaba*, which designates a simultaneous condition to a reference anterior to the starting point, will be a 'co-pretérito' and *cantaría* a 'pos-pretérito'". The attempt to adopt the terminology of Bello to Modern Greek has led to use the *προγενεστερο-, ταυτο-, μετα-, προ-* and *συγχρο-* terms for the respective prefixes *ante-, co-, pos(t)-, pre-* and *syncro-* (vid. Leontaridi 2011a, 2018, 2019). Therefore, the 'pretérito' *canté / έγγραφα* O-V will be called *παρελθοντικός* and the 'co-pretérito' *cantaba / έγγραφα ταυτο-παρελθοντικός*. The 'pos-pretérito' *cantaría / θα έγγραφα* (O-V)+V will be *μετα-παρελθοντικός*, the 'pre-futuro' *habré cantado / θα έχω γράψει* O+(V-V) *προ-μελλοντικός*, etc.

<sup>11</sup> For example, in the verbal form *cantaba / έγγραφα* whose representation by the corresponding formula is (O-V)oV we can distinguish: The primary vector (oV) that expresses simultaneity; the reference point which is a point anterior to the starting point (O-V); the originary vector that expresses anteriority (-V). The term *primary vector* was proposed by Rojo (1974), while the term *originary vector* by Veiga (1983).

<sup>12</sup> Table 1 presents the latest data of the corresponding proposed model for Modern Greek (vid. Leontaridi 2019), having undergone modifications in some points (as compared to Leontaridi 2008 [2001], 2011a, 2011b).

Table 1. The past tenses of the Indicative in Spanish and Modern Greek:  
their vectorial formulas and basic temporal values (source: own).

VERBAL FORM	VECTORIAL FORMULA			
		Point of reference	Originary vector	Primary vector
<i>Canté / Έγραψα</i>	<b>O-V</b>	O	-V	-V
<i>It expresses an event anterior to the origin.</i>				
<i>Había cantado / Είχα γράψει</i>	<b>(O-V)-V</b>	(O-V)	-V	-V
<i>It expresses anteriority in relation to a point of reference anterior to the origin.</i>				
<i>Cantaba / Έγραφα</i>	<b>(O-V)oV</b>	(O-V)	-V	oV
<i>It expresses simultaneity in relation to a point of reference anterior the origin.</i>				
<i>He cantado / Έχω γράψει</i>	<b>Oo(V-V)</b>	O	o(V-V)	o(V-V)
<i>It expresses temporal relation of anteriority inextricably linked to another temporal relationship which is always a relation of simultaneity.</i>				

Before proceeding, we should note that due to space limitations, we will not analyze the relation of temporality and verbal aspect in this paper, for it constitutes an issue dealt extensively in other works (for example Leontaridi 2019: chapter 5). In any case, it is important to understand that this theoretical model does not deny the presence of aspect in the verbal paradigm, but it actually constitutes an alternative approach to the latter, based on criteria different from it. Thus, the various realizations of the category of verbal aspect can be explained as derivatives of the primary temporal relationships. In other words, there is an agreement between specific contents of verbal aspect and specific temporal relationships: for example, all verbal forms whose primary temporal relationship expresses anteriority are perfective; there is no form that expresses primarily anteriority and at the same time it is characterized by a non-perfective verbal aspect<sup>13</sup>.

### 3. MODAL AND TEMPORAL PLURIFUNCTIONALITY

Temporal dislocation: “Redistribution of temporal contents which involves a parallel redistribution of modal contents” (Rojo & Veiga 1999: 2890)

Let us return to one of the examples mentioned above. What exactly happens in sentences such as?:

- (7) Πού είναι η Μαρία; —Δεν ξέρω. Υποθέτω θα είναι στο σπίτι.  
 (8) ¿Dónde está María? —No sé. Me imagino que *estará* en casa.

Traditionally, (Spanish) grammars classified verbal forms in categories called moods. Similarly, moods are subdivided into tenses, and sometimes the latter into verbal aspects. However, against this highly hierarchical structure, disagreements arise in cases

<sup>13</sup> For an extensive analysis of the issue, consider Rojo (1974, 1988, 1990), Rojo & Veiga (1999), Veiga (1992, 2008: 95-127, 141-6, 2015a); for considerations in relation to Modern Greek, *vid.* Leontaridi (2002a, 2002b, 2008 [2001], 2008, 2011a, 2011b, 2018, 2019).

where temporal values converge with modal. Similar and very common examples in Spanish include the use of *cantaría* and *habría cantado*<sup>14</sup>:

- (9a) Cuando lo conocí, él *tendría* veinte años.
- (9b) Le prometí que le *escribiría* pronto.
- (9c) *Podría* vivir en este país.
- (9d) Si tuviera tiempo, *iría* al cine.

What is interesting in the previous example (a-d) is that the same form can express different values, both temporal and modal. In other words, we observe the appearance of uses that do not correspond to the original value. On the one hand, we have temporal functions different from those reflected by the formulas, and on the other hand, the actions expressed may be loaded with certain shades that do not belong to the temporal sphere. Against this observation we can adopt two positions: (a) consider these uses deviations, errors or special uses; (b) based on criteria different from temporality, relegating it to a secondary level, try to find whether there is some systematization behind these uses. Rojo (1974: 90) explains:

[...] we have characterized each verbal form by means of a formula in which its primary temporal relation, and when it exists, the secondary one, is expressed [...] Not all its uses fully correspond to the value assigned. There are extensions or expansions, neutralizations and, probably, most importantly, the possibility of altering the structure of the system at certain points and according to certain lines. The latter is what we will call *displacement of the temporal system* [emphasis added]. The wide variety of uses of each form is based, in addition to significant extensions and to the neutralization of certain oppositions, on the possibility of abandoning the ‘straight’ uses (those that meet the definition of each form) and adopting a different function. [...] Even supposing that these ‘dislocated’ uses can cancel out temporal relationships, this does not imply these relationships are denied; simply certain characteristics are suspended, generally maintaining a remarkable parallelism in several points of the system. The suspension or even the cancellation of the initial functions asserts their previous existence.

The operation of *temporal dislocation* mechanisms has been studied in other papers<sup>15</sup>, therefore we will not go into specific details in the following pages. We will merely point out that the basic idea is to distinguish between proper or *straight* uses and *displaced*

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<sup>14</sup> Cfr. in Modern Greek, the use of *θα έγραφα* and *θα είχα γράψει*:

- (a) Όταν τον γνώρισα, *θα ήταν* είκοσι χρονών.
- (b) Της υποσχέθηκα ότι *θα της έγραφα* σύντομα.
- (c) *Θα μπορούσα* να ζήσω σε αυτή τη χώρα.
- (d) Αν είχα χρόνο, *θα πήγαινα* σινεμά.

<sup>15</sup> Indicatively, Rojo (1974), Rojo & Veiga (1999), Veiga (1991a, 1991b, 1999, 2004, 2008, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014), Veiga & Mosteiro Louzao (2006), Fernández González (1993), Azpiazu Torres (2014). For a description of the displacement mechanisms operating in Modern Greek and the consequent redistribution of temporal-modal contents in the Modern Greek Indicative, *vid.* Leontaridi (2008 [2001], 2011a, 2011b, 2018, 2019).

or *dislocated* uses<sup>16</sup>, as the temporal displacement ultimately lies in “a redistribution of temporal contents which involves a parallel redistribution of modal contents” (Rojo & Veiga 1999: 2890). However, this shift does not occur in all forms of the verbal system. On the other hand, when a form is used according to its dislocated uses (that is, when some new modal content is added to its meaning) this does not mean that the form loses its quality as a form of the Indicative or Subjunctive. With this in mind, Rojo & Veiga (1999) identify two general cases of displacement: The first case, called *modal shade of uncertainty*, affects exclusively the verbal forms of the Indicative in whose straight temporal value exists a vector of posteriority (for instance, *cantaré* / *θα γράψω*). These forms can acquire a modal shade of uncertainty. The second case of displacement is called *modal shade of unreality*: certain forms of the Indicative and the Subjunctive in whose straight temporal value exists an originary vector of anteriority (for instance, *cantaba* / *έγραφα*) may acquire modal contents related to unreality<sup>17</sup> in general. For example:

Table 2. Example of the first case of dislocation (source: own).

(a)	En este momento <i>son</i> las 10. Αυτή τη στιγμή <i>είναι</i> 10.	Expression of <i>simultaneity</i> in relation to the starting point.
(b)	Dentro de un rato <i>serán</i> las 10. Σε λίγο <i>θα είναι</i> 10.	Expression of <i>posteriority</i> in relation to the starting point.
(c)	<i>Serán</i> las 10 (en este momento) (Υποθέτω) <i>θα είναι</i> 10 (αυτή τη στιγμή).	A form that expresses posteriority is used to express <i>simultaneity</i> resulting in a shade of uncertainty.

Sentences (a) and (b) express the straight temporal values of the forms used. However, sentences (c) express the same temporal value that appears in (a) —simultaneity (in relation to the origin)— but they use the forms of (b). This lack of balance between the central value and the temporal relation expressed results in that sentences (c) acquire an additional modal value of probability or uncertainty (not belonging to the temporal sphere) that are not present in (a) or (b). It should be noted that Vairel (1979) and James (1982) argued that this dual temporal-modal significance (that is, the existence of verbal forms that can express temporal contents in which intervenes anteriority and at the same time modal contents related to unreality) constitutes a linguistic universal. Rojo (1974: 112-3), describing the phenomenon of temporal displacement, explains that:

The verbal system is composed of a set F of forms  $\{f_1, f_2, \dots, f_n\}$  each of which can be defined temporarily [...] by means of a certain trait or set of traits  $t$ , which can be represented in a formula [...] according to which [...] the form expresses a temporal relation  $R$  between a certain fact and the origin or a reference. When the form  $f_1$ , defined according to the trait  $t_1$ , is used to express the temporal relation  $R_1$ , we do not find in the action expressed any extra-temporal shade that can not be explained by the fact that the form belongs to a certain mood. The same happens when the form  $f_2$ , defined according to the trait  $t_2$ , indicates a

<sup>16</sup> Cfr. *fundamental meanings* and *metaphorical meanings* (Bello 1988 [1847]), *systemic functions* and *non-systemic functions* (Bull 1960), *primary values* and *secondary values* (Gutiérrez Araus 1995), *prototypical* or *basic values* and *pragmatic* or *contextual values* (Sastre Ruano 1996: 385).

<sup>17</sup> Rojo & Veiga (1999: 2895) talk about *unreality* (*irrealidad*) or *detachment* (*alejamiento*) from reality in general.

temporal relationship  $R_2$ . However, when the form  $f_1$  is used to indicate the temporal relation  $R_2$ , which presupposes the possession of the trait  $t_2$ , a certain extra-temporal shade  $s$  is added to the form's meaning that does not appear when it is used to indicate the relation  $R_1$ . This is a case of system dislocation: *the use of a form in a function other than that corresponding to its value implies the addition of a non-temporal shade that can only be explained by altering the identity between value and function* [emphasis added].

And he continues (Rojo 1974: 112-3):

Dislocation is therefore an intrasystematic phenomenon, perfectly explicable as an alteration of temporal relations. The change of position [of a form] within the system causes not only the expression of a different temporal relation but also the acquisition of an extra-temporal shade that [the form] does not possess in its original function nor, on the other hand, is it found in the form replaced. [...] The dislocation of the temporal system does not lie in that one or several forms acquire certain new meanings when they are used in a function corresponding to another form. *It is a whole subset of forms, defined from a certain common trait, which alters its position in the system in the same direction and thus achieves the addition of the same non-temporal meaning* [emphasis added].

To sum up, the aforementioned reveals the *modal-temporal multifunctionality* (*plurifuncionalidad modo-temporal*) that characterizes the Spanish<sup>18</sup> verbal system in a way that we can recognize five modal and nine temporal functions in it. These five modal contents<sup>19</sup> that operate in the structure of the Spanish verbal system in the implementation of a present (OoV) temporal content are:

*Indicative 0* (IND 0): modal value expressed by verbal forms of the Indicative in their straight uses<sup>20</sup>.

*Indicative 1* (IND 1): modal value expressed by those verbal forms of the Indicative that have experienced the first case of dislocation (*uncertainty*) in the temporal theory of Rojo (1974)<sup>21</sup>.

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<sup>18</sup> As well as the Greek verbal system in our opinion (*vid.* Leontaridi 2008 [2001], 2011a, 2011b, 2018, 2019).

<sup>19</sup> *Vid.* Veiga (1991a: 61, 215-6, 2008: 36), Rojo & Veiga (1999: 2896-7), Veiga & Mosteiro Louzao (2006: § I.3.5). For a brief and comprehensive presentation of the phenomenon of dislocation in relation to the modal values that can be expressed in the Spanish Indicative and Subjunctive, *vid.* Veiga (2012: 857).

<sup>20</sup> The term *straight* derives from Rojo's temporal theory (1974). IND 0 is the modal value expressed by the forms of the Indicative when used in accordance with what Bello (1988 [1847]) called *fundamental values* or *fundamental meanings* (*valores fundamentales* or *significados fundamentales*) and Bull (1960) *systemic functions*. According to Veiga (1999: 131) it is the only modal shade that allows the usage of all temporal oppositions of the system. IND 0 is the unmarked term of the opposition *indicative / subjunctive* but also of the oppositions *unreal / real* and *uncertain / certain*, that is, of all the oppositions operating in the modal system.

<sup>21</sup> IND 1 is the modal content expressed by the forms of the Indicative (in whose straight temporal use intervenes a vector of posteriority) when used according to what Bello (1988 [1847]) called *metaphorical meaning of the relationship of posteriority* (*significado metafórico de la relación de posterioridad*) and Bull (1960) *backward migrations*. *Vid.* also Veiga (1991a: 57) regarding the adoption of the term *uncertainty* (*incertidumbre*), against *probability* (*probabilidad*). With regard to the dislocation phenomena recorded in Modern Greek for the expression of probability and conjecture in IND 1, *vid.* Leontaridi (2018, 2019).



*Indicative 2 (IND 2):* modal value expressed by those verbal forms of the Indicative that have experienced the second case of dislocation (*unreality*)<sup>22</sup>.

*Subjunctive 0 (SUBJ 0):* modal value expressed by verbal forms of the Subjunctive in their straight uses<sup>23</sup>.

*Subjunctive 2 (SUBJ 2):* modal value expressed by those verbal forms of the Subjunctive that have experienced the second case of dislocation (*unreality*)<sup>24</sup>.

Consider the following sentences as expression of these five modal contents:

Table 3. Examples of the modal contents in Spanish (source: adapted from Veiga 1991a: 61 and Rojo & Veiga 1999: 2897) and Modern Greek (source: own).

i. <i>Los amigos que ahora <u>quieren</u> escucharme.</i>	IND 0: objective + real + certain
ii. <i>Los amigos que ahora <u>querrán</u> escucharme.</i>	IND 1: objective + real + uncertain
iii. <i>Los amigos que ahora <u>querrían</u> escucharme.</i>	IND 2: objective + unreal
iv. <i>Los amigos que ahora <u>quieran</u> escucharme.</i>	SUBJ 0: subjective + real
v. <i>Los amigos que ahora <u>quisieran</u> escucharme.</i>	SUBJ 2: subjective + unreal
i. <i>Οι φίλοι που τώρα <u>θέλουν</u> να με ακούσουν.</i>	IND 0: objective + real + certain
ii. <i>Οι φίλοι που τώρα <u>θα θέλουν</u> να με ακούσουν.</i>	IND 1: objective + real + uncertain
iii. <i>Οι φίλοι που τώρα <u>θα ήθελαν</u> να με ακούσουν.</i>	IND 2: objective + unreal
iv. <i>Οι φίλοι που τώρα <u>μπορεί να θέλουν</u> να με ακούσουν.</i>	SUBJ 0: subjective + real
v. <i>Οι φίλοι που τώρα <u>μπορεί να ήθελαν</u> να με ακούσουν.</i>	SUBJ 2: subjective + unreal

If we now want to concentrate on the uses of the past forms of the Indicative (IND) in Modern Greek and Spanish, it is understandable that the modal contents of interest to us are IND 0 and IND 2<sup>25</sup>. Due to constraints in the extent of the work, we will confine ourselves to refer mainly to the dislocated uses (IND 2) and their interpretation through the phenomenon of temporal displacement.

<sup>22</sup> IND 2 is the modal content expressed by the forms of the Indicative (in whose straight temporal use intervenes a vector of anteriority) when used according to what Bello (1988 [1847]) called *metaphorical meaning of the relationship of anteriority* (*significado metafórico de la relación de anterioridad*) and Bull (1960) *forward migrations*.

<sup>23</sup> SUBJ 0 is the modal content expressed by the forms of the Subjunctive when, in parallel with the aforementioned corresponding use of the forms of the Indicative, they are used according to what Bello (1988 [1847]) called *fundamental values* or *fundamental meanings* (*valores fundamentales* or *significados fundamentales*) and Bull (1960) *systemic functions*.

<sup>24</sup> SUBJ 2 is the modal content expressed by the forms of the Subjunctive when, in parallel with the aforementioned corresponding use of the forms of the Indicative, they are used according to what Bello (1988 [1847]) called *metaphorical meaning of the relationship of anteriority* (*significado metafórico de la relación de anterioridad*) and Bull (1960) *forward migrations*. After all, as recently summarized Bajo Pérez (2017: 139) in her comprehensive work on the expression of unreality in Spanish, “The unreality is not exclusive of the indicative or the subjunctive, it is expressed with verbal forms of both moods. The opposition between real and unreal is given systematically in both moods: ind. *Mañana iremos cuanto antes / Mañana iríamos cuanto antes*; subj. *Ojalá esté nevando en mi pueblo / Ojalá estuviera nevando en mi pueblo*”.

<sup>25</sup> IND 1 is rejected since, as reflected in Table 1, no form of those studied in this paper includes a vector of posteriority in its basic (straight) temporal value.

### 3.1. Cantaba/ Έγραφα (O–V)oV<sup>26</sup>

*Cantaba* and *έγραφα* express simultaneity (expanded, habitual, ‘instant’ or ‘permanent’)<sup>27</sup> in relation to a reference point anterior to the starting point. These are *par excellence* the tenses of descriptions. In general, their straight uses are identified and they express duration, repetition or habit in the past, simultaneous past actions, actions of duration interrupted by another action, etc.

- (10) En 1990 *estudiabas* en Roma.
- (11) Το 1990 *σπούδαζες* στη Ρώμη.
- (12) Mi madre *llevaba* siempre vestidos y *se maquillaba* todos los días.
- (13) Ο μητέρα μου *φορούσε* πάντα φορέματα και *βαφόταν* καθημερινά.
- (14) Mientras *vivíamos* en Viena, *íbamos* a esquiar todos los sábados.
- (15) Όσο *ζούσαμε* στην Βιέννη, *πηγαίναμε* για σκι κάθε Σάββατο.
- (16) Marta *se vestía*, cuando entró su hijo.
- (17) Η Μάρτα *ντυνόταν*, όταν μπήκε ο γιος της.
- (18) Copérnico probó que la tierra *giraba* [/'gira] alrededor del sol.
- (19) Ο Κοπέρνικος *απέδειξε* ότι η Γη *γυρνούσε* [/'γυρνά] γύρω από τον ήλιο.

Other common uses include the so-called ‘imperfect of attempt’, by which we express events which (in general) did not end up being carried out, remaining a simple intent<sup>28</sup>. Or the ‘imperfect of opening’ in fairy tales, and ‘imperfect of closing’ to emphasize a particular sentence and create greater psychological proximity<sup>29</sup>.

- (20) *Me iba a acostar* cuando sonó el teléfono.
- (21) *Ξάπλωνα*, όταν χτύπησε το τηλέφωνο.
- (22) *Érase una vez una niña* pobre, que *vivía* en un bosque...
- (23) Μια φορά και έναν καιρό *ήταν* ένα φτωχό κορίτσι που *ζούσε* σε ένα δάσος...
- (24) El 6 de agosto de 1945 *caía* la primera bomba atómica en Hiroshima.
- (25) Στις 6 Αυγούστου 1945, *έπεφτε* η πρώτη ατομική βόμβα στη Χιροσίμα.

As far as their dislocated uses, both *έγραφα* and *cantaba* are often used to refer to present or future events. However, when forms that express anteriority to a point are used to express simultaneity to it, they acquire modal contents that are generally related to unreality or detachment (IND 2). That is, the use of a –V form to express a temporal relationship oV adds a shade of unreality to the action. This type transfer is accountable for the so-called

<sup>26</sup> For an extensive and in-depth review of temporal-modal functions of the form (O–V)oV in the two languages, *vid.* Leontaridi (2011a).

<sup>27</sup> *Cfr.* Fernández González (1991: 557), Rojo & Veiga (1999: 2908), *NGLE* (1746-1747), Leontaridi (2011a: 198-203, 2011b: 101, 2019).

<sup>28</sup> *Imperfecto de conato / αποπειρατικός παρατατικός. Cfr.* indicatively Gili Gaya (1961), Rojo (1974), Alarcos (1994: 163), Seco (1995: 300), Sastre Ruano (1995: 38), Gutiérrez Araus (1995: 50 *et seq.*), *NGLE* (1760), Leontaridi (2011a: 209-211, 2019).

<sup>29</sup> *Imperfecto de apertura / εναρκτικός παρατατικός and imperfecto de cierre / παρατατικός κλεισίματος. Cfr.* indicatively Sastre Ruano (1995: 41), Gutiérrez Araus (1995: 55-56), Leontaridi (2011a: 211-213, 2019).

uses of ‘imperfect of unreality’ and ‘imperfect of politeness’ in Spanish, the majority of which are shared by *έγραφα* in Modern Greek<sup>30</sup>.

Thus, *έγραφα* can express unreality, politeness, etc., but this does not mean it can do so in all contexts; often in its place it is preferable in Modern Greek to use *θα έγραφα* (O–V)+V. In any case, both *έγραφα* and *θα έγραφα* in Modern Greek (although to a lesser extent in comparison to Spanish) coincide in that thanks to their vector of anteriority they can denote a wish, a disposition for a future action, expressing detachment from the present. The frequent neutralization of *cantaba / έγραφα* (O–V)oV and *cantaría / θα έγραφα* (O–V)+V is due to the fact that the forms that express posteriority have always value +V, while forms that express simultaneity may present a value of oV or +V<sup>31</sup>:

- (26) De buena gana      *iba ~ iría*      hoy al cine, pero no puedo.  
 (27) Ευχαρίστως      *πήγαινα ~ θα πήγαινα*      σινεμά σήμερα, αλλά δεν μπορώ.

And since *cantaba / έγραφα* (O–V)oV does not express a primary temporal relation of anteriority, but rather of simultaneity, it can express the basic temporal relations of *canto / γράφω* OoV, *cantaré / θα γράψω* O+V and *cantaría / θα έγραφα* (O–V)+V<sup>32</sup>. Thus, for the expression of desire, appeal, etc., which implies a kind of enforcement on our interlocutor, one way to reduce the presumable imperative tone that a ‘direct’ form such as *canto / γράφω* OoV would imply is to use the ‘imperfect of politeness’<sup>33</sup> (that is, a –V form for the expression of the relation oV):

- (28) —¿En qué puedo ayudarle? —*Quería* un pantalón como ése del escaparate.  
 (29) —Σε τι μπορώ να σας βοηθήσω; —*Ήθελα* ένα παντελόνι σαν αυτό της βιτρίνας.

<sup>30</sup> *Imperfecto de cortesía* and *imperfecto irreal*. To these two uses, various authors (for instance Rojo 1974: 118; Pérez 1997: § 1.3.2, 1998; Wilk-Racięska 2004) add the use of *imperfecto prelúdico* for the expression of imaginary hypothesis in the child language or dreams (Gutiérrez Araus talks about *imperfecto lúdico* or *imperfecto de juego* and *imperfecto onírico* or *de figuración*; 1995: 55 and 1998: 299 respectively). Indeed, we anticipate, not only *cantaba* but also *había cantado* can express the fantasy that is directly related to *play* in sentences such as:

- (i) Yo *era* la reina y tú *eras* la princesa.  
 (ii) Yo *había perdido* mi pistola, pero *tenía* una espada.

According to Rojo (1974: 119) the imaginative element involved in any play activity of this kind is expressed by the use of verbal forms whose straight function is to denote a relationship of anteriority. However, Veiga (2008: 58) considers that these uses retain temporal significances and therefore should not be considered dislocated. Rojo & Veiga (1999: 2916-2), and more recently the *NGLE* (1749), adopt a compromising solution, arguing that these uses are not clearly modal, rather they retain certain temporal significances. For a critical review of these and other explanations offered, *vid.* Bajo Pérez (2017: 127-9). With regard to the arguments of these different views and what applies respectively in Modern Greek, *vid.* Leontaridi (2011a: 224-7 for *έγραφα*; 2008 [2001]: 370-1 for *είχα γράψει*; 2019).

<sup>31</sup> And this is because, as Rojo explains (1974: 100 *et seq.*), a form that expresses simultaneity oV to the starting point can also express posteriority +V in relation to it.

<sup>32</sup> *Vid.* Veiga & Mosteiro Louzao (2006) and Leontaridi (2011a, 2019).

<sup>33</sup> *Vid.* Bajo Pérez (2017: 123-9) for a review of the explanations offered by various authors in relation to ‘imperfect of politeness’ in Spanish.

For the same reason, sometimes, *cantaba* / *έγραφα* can express surprise in the present. In this case, according to Gutiérrez Araus (1995: 52, *et seq.*), the past to which the speaker refers to indirectly is that of his expectations, which contradicts the present; it is as if we were using the form (O–V)oV to express something that was already in the context, while preferring it to the present OoV, the expression of surprise in the present is more pronounced. Thus, in view of Kostas' unexpected visit, Carmen will exclaim:

- (30) ¡Anda! Si eras tú...!  
 (31) Αχ! Εσύ ήσουν;

While he in turn, not expecting to see her at home, will say:

- (32) ¡Anda!;Pero, ¿tú estabas aquí? ¿No te habías ido de viaje?  
 (33) Α! Μα καλά, εδώ ήσουν εσύ; Δεν είχες φύγει ταξίδι;<sup>34</sup>

Where the two forms differentiate, is in their use in conditional clauses that express something unreal (but not impossible to be fulfilled)<sup>35</sup>. In oral Spanish, *cantaba* appears both in the hypothesis as in the apodosis (replacing the grammatically correct *cantaría* or *cantara*)<sup>36</sup>.

- (34) Si tenía dinero, daba la vuelta al mundo.  
 (35) Si tuviera dinero, daría la vuelta al mundo.

On the contrary, in Modern Greek, the use of *έγραφα* in the hypothesis is grammatically acceptable. However, its appearance in the apodosis —instead of *θα έγραφα* (O–V)+V— is not a generalized phenomenon as in Spanish. In any case, the presence of the form (O–V)oV in such examples could be explained as the speaker's attempt to blunt the sense of unreality, creating psychological proximity:

- (36) Αν είχα τελειώσει, [θα] ερχόμουν μαζί σας.  
 (37) Δεν σε πιστεύω. Αν ήθελες, [θα] μπορούσες να είχες τελειώσει εγκαίρως.

Obeying to similar displacement processes, in oral speech, *cantaba* / *έγραφα* is neutralized with *cantaría* / *θα έγραφα* in the main clause of concessive sentences:

- (38) ¡No me lo ponía, aunque me lo regalaras!  
 (39) Δεν το φορούσα, ακόμη και να μου το χάριζες!  
 (40) Aún siendo el más pobre del mundo, me casaba con él.  
 (41) Ακόμη και ο φτωχότερος του κόσμου να ήταν, τον παντρευόμουν.  
 (42) No me quedaba, aunque me lo pidiera de rodillas.  
 (43) Δεν έμενα, ακόμη και γονατιστός να μου το ζητούσε.

<sup>34</sup> Gutiérrez Araus (1995: 52-54) also speaks of 'imperfect of reproach' (*¡Ahora que estaba yo tan feliz, vienes tú con esa historia!* = *Τώρα που ήμουν τόσο ευτυχισμένος, έρχεσαι μ' αυτή την ιστορία...*) and 'imperfect of contradiction' (*Ahí/Ahora que esperaba descansar, enciendes la tele.* = *Εκεί/Τώρα που ήλπιζα να ξεκουραστώ, ανοίγεις την τηλεόραση*).

<sup>35</sup> For more details on the use of these verbal forms in Conditional Sentences in Spanish and Modern Greek, *vid.* Leontaridi (2011a: 229-234, 2019).

<sup>36</sup> *Cfr.* Gutiérrez Araus (2012).

In summary, both in Modern Greek and in Spanish it is possible to use the form (O–V)οV to express temporal relation (O–V)+V. And in turn, both of them can be used instead of the form OοV or O+V, adding a shade of detachment to the sentence.

### 3.2. *Canté* / *Έγραψα* (O–V)

Both *canté* and *έγραψα* in the following examples express an event anterior to the starting point:

(44) El año pasado *fui*mos a Madrid.

(45) Πέρυσι *πήγα*με στη Μαδρίτη.

In general, their straight uses are identical<sup>37</sup>. O–V is the form we usually use to refer to a past, unique action<sup>38</sup> of a shorter or longer term<sup>39</sup>. Their difference lies in that *έγραψα* is also used for events that have taken place very close to the present (where *he cantado* is used in Spanish).

(46) *Ha llamado* Juan hace 5 minutos.

(47) *Τηλεφώνησε* ο Γιάννης πριν από 5 λεπτά.

(48) Esta mañana *he visto* a Mario.

(49) Σήμερα το πρωί *είδα* τον Μάριο.

Either way, in all cases, the events are placed in a *closed unit* (*contexto cerrado*). Based on these facts, *canté* / *έγραψα* is the verbal form of narrations and it is used to refer to past events that are not precisely defined. They also coincide in their ‘prototypical’ use to describe past (non-instantaneous) acts *as a whole*:

(50) *Estudió* sistemáticamente un año y sacó las oposiciones a la primera.

(51) *Μελέτησε* συστηματικά ένα χρόνο και πέρασε στις εξετάσεις του ΑΣΕΠ με την πρώτη.

They also state a momentary action that interrupts a lasting past action<sup>40</sup>, or an act interrupted at a specific moment in the past<sup>41</sup>. It may also acquire a gnomic significance, mainly in proverbs or general axioms<sup>42</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> For a detailed presentation of the straight and dislocated uses of *canté* and *έγραψα*, *vid.* Leontaridi (2008 [2001], 2011b, 2019).

<sup>38</sup> They may be past actions not necessarily defined with precision on the time axis: ‘¡Te lo dije!’ / ‘Σου το είπα!’; but also: ‘Colón *llegó* a América en 1492’. / ‘Ο Κολόμβος *έφτασε* στην Αμερική το 1492’.

<sup>39</sup> In the sense that they are not necessarily instantaneous actions: ‘*Goberné* durante más de diez años’ / ‘*Κυβέρνησε* για πάνω από δέκα χρόνια’.

<sup>40</sup> For example: ‘Cocinaba cuando *llamaron* a la puerta. / Μαγείρευα όταν *χτύπησε* η πόρτα’.

<sup>41</sup> However, *cantaba* / *έγραφα* can also be used for this function. The use of one form or the other depends on the speaker’s communicative intention: ‘*Colaboré* [vs. *colaboraba*] con ella hasta que se marchó’. / ‘*Συνεργάστηκα* [vs. *συνεργαζόμουν*] μαζί της, μέχρι που *έφυγε*’.

<sup>42</sup> For example: ‘La curiosidad *mató* al gato’; ‘No se *ganó* Zamora en una hora’; ‘No *se hizo* la miel para la boca del asno’; ‘Quien *hizo* la ley *hizo* la trampa’. Or in Modern Greek: ‘*Κύλησε* ο τέντζερης και

Surprisingly, no dislocated uses for the form O–V in Spanish are recorded. However, the uniqueness of the –V vector of *canté* as both primary and originary vector explains its *functional coincidence* with other temporal relations of primary anteriority (*he cantado*, etc.) but also originary anteriority (*cantaba* and *cantaría*). As Veiga (2008: 79) explains:

[...] the ‘unique’ character of its vector of anteriority, which can not be combined with another and, consequently, is equally primary and originary vector, is the explanation of the at first surprisingly striking fact that this temporal relationship functionally converges [...] with others of primary anteriority (*ante-presente*, etc.) in IND 2 and SUBJ 2, but, conversely, converges with relationships of non-primary, but originary anteriority (*co-pretérito* and *pos-pretérito*) in SUBJ 0 and IND 1: in the first case it functions according to its primary vector condition; in the second, according to its originary vector condition.

In other words, the monovectorial relationship O–V can be functionally identified with the rest of the relationships of primary anteriority as well as the relationships of originary anteriority [*cantaba* (O–V)oV and *cantaría* (O–V)+V], since its opposition with OoV and O+V will continue working whatsoever (Veiga 1999: 147)<sup>43</sup>.

*Έγραψα*, on the contrary, expresses not only anteriority –V but also simultaneity oV and posteriority +V<sup>44</sup>. This is the case when the speaker wishes to change a situation in the present or when a situation in the future is perceived as something very certain or close. Although these are examples coming from the oral speech, cases in which *έγραψα* adopts present value [O–V as OoV] are quite often recorded. We believe that this is because the speaker wants the action that takes place in the present to change, so he presents it as an action that has already begun. The result is the need for change to become more imperative. So if during a linguistics conference someone says to a colleague sitting next to him:

- (52) Πείνασα! or  
 (53) Βαρέθηκα!

he is probably implying *πεινάω*, *πάμε να φάμε* or *βαριέμαι*, *πάμε να φύγουμε* (‘I’m hungry; let’s grab something to eat’ or ‘I’m bored, let’s do something more interesting’).

Similarly, *έγραψα* can be used with future reference, instead of *θα γράψω* [O–V as O+V]. As Mackridge (1985: 130) states:

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*βρήκε το καπάκι*; ‘Η περιέργεια σκότωσε τη γάτα’. Cfr. Mackridge (1985: 129), Tsopanakis (1994: 366), Clairis & Babinotis (1999: 66).

<sup>43</sup> On this particular behavior of *canté*, *vid.* the very enlightening observations of Veiga (1999: 144–149).

<sup>44</sup> “The Aorist Indicative is a much more versatile form [in relation to *έχω γράψει*], which can be used not only for different degrees of remoteness in the past or to indicate anteriority [...] but even for events in the present or in the future” (Moser 1994: 86).

It is interesting to note the frequent colloquial use of this form [of *έγραψα*] to refer to future time. The cases in which this occurs are expressions of promise or threat, in which the action is viewed by the speaker as being so certain that he wants to avoid the rather contingent nature of a situation expressed by a ‘future tense’. Thus: *έγινε!* —‘done!’ (i.e. ‘consider your request as having already been carried out’) *έφτασα!* —‘I’ve arrived!’ (said by a waiter to reassure a customer who has summoned him)<sup>45</sup>.

- (54) —Τι θα πάρετε; —Μια μπύρα. —*Έφτασε!*  
(55) *Φύγαμε!* (= θα φύγουμε σε πέντε λεπτά)  
(56) Παιδιά υπομονή! Σε πέντε λεπτά ήρθε (= θα έρθει) ο μπαμπάς!  
(57) Μπορείς να έρθεις να με πάρεις αύριο; —*Έγινε.*

### 3.3. *He cantado* / *Έχω γράψει* Oo(V–V)

The recurring ‘problem’ of the intra-linguistic category of perfect is that it is not possible to fully attribute to it purely temporal or purely aspectual qualities<sup>46</sup>. Regarding the realization of the latter in the Modern Greek and Spanish verbal systems *vid.* Leontaridi (2002a, 2008, 2019), while below we will briefly refer to the first<sup>47</sup>.

First of all, it should be stated that in previous papers<sup>48</sup>, the name used by Veiga —following Bello— for *he cantado* was *ante-presente*, while its vectorial formula (OoV)–V denoted anteriority in relation to a reference point simultaneous to the origin. However, in correspondence with the (re)formulation of the formulas for *habré cantado* and *habría cantado*, the author now calls *he cantado* a *pre-presente* while in the new formula, Oo(V–V), the use of the double primary vector of ‘pre-simultaneity’ o(V–V) indicates a primary temporal relation of anteriority inextricably linked to another temporal relation which is always of simultaneity<sup>49</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> Cfr. Tsopanakis (1994: 366), Mirambel (1988: 143), Moser (1994: 86), IPTMGFL (1998: 122), Clairis & Babiniotis (1999: 66).

<sup>46</sup> According to Moser (1988: 51), in temporal terms, it is placed in between present and past. With respect to the verbal aspect, it is found outside the bilateral opposition between perfective and imperfective, although its name (‘perfect’) may indicate a greater relationship with the former (*vid.* also Veiga 2015a: § 5, 2019: chapter 4; *NGLÉ*: § 23.2k).

<sup>47</sup> *Vid.* Leontaridi (2008 [2001]: 307–20, 2002a) for more information about aspect and tense relation with respect to *he cantado* / *έχω γράψει*; Kouti (2012) for a comparative reference to the uses and functions of *he cantado* / *έχω γράψει* in Spanish and Modern Greek.

<sup>48</sup> Cfr. Veiga (1991a: § IV.2.3.3, 1999, 2010: § 3.2), Rojo & Veiga (1999: 2902) and Leontaridi (2008 [2001], 2011a, 2011b).

<sup>49</sup> For the reasons that led to the adoption of this change, *vid.* Veiga (2013: 123, 2015a: 139, 2015b: § 4, 2019: § 5.1.4).

Excluding the ‘prototypical’ function of ‘perfect of recent past’<sup>50</sup>, for reference to actions very close to the present for which *έγραψα* is used in Modern Greek, as for example in the following sentences:

- (58) Se ha ido hace poco.  
(59) \*Έχει φύγει πριν από λίγο.  
(60) Me he enterado ahora mismo de que os vais mañana.  
(61) \*Έχω μάθει μόλις τώρα ότι φεύγετε αύριο.

in general, *he cantado* and *έχω γράψει* coincide in that they express primarily anteriority and secondarily (and necessarily) simultaneity (in the broader sense of the term). Apart from the above-mentioned difference, these tenses seem to coincide in the majority of their straight uses<sup>51</sup>. Thus, we can speak of ‘perfect of experience’ that states whether or not the subject has had in the past (which extends to the present) the experience described by the verb<sup>52</sup>, as well as a ‘perfect of consequence’ which denotes past acts whose consequences are related to the present<sup>53</sup>.

The Oo(V–V) form also expresses an event or process that occupies a large extent in the past, continues to the present and extends to the future<sup>54</sup> (that is, implying that the act continues) as in:

- (62) Juan, jamás *ha llegado* tarde al trabajo como otros compañeros.  
(63) Ο Γιάννης ποτέ δεν *έχει έρθει* καθυστερημένος στη δουλειά όπως άλλοι συνάδελφοι.  
(64) Nunca *ha habido* protestas en su país.  
(65) Ποτέ δεν *έχουν γίνει* διαμαρτυρίες στη χώρα του<sup>55</sup>.

<sup>50</sup> *Perfecto de pasado reciente*. That is, a perfect that refers to actions that have taken place over a period of time that is not yet concluded, in a period of time very close to the present, or in a period that psychologically includes the present.

<sup>51</sup> We should note that as far as *he cantado* is concerned, we refer to the uses of the form in the central-southern European norm since the *NGLÉ* (§ 23.7b) itself recognizes *he cantado* as “the verbal form whose uses have the greatest geographic diversity in today’s Spanish”.

<sup>52</sup> *Perfecto de experiencia*. ‘No *hemos probado* nunca comida indonesia’. / ‘Δεν *έχουμε δοκιμάσει* ποτέ ινδονησιακό φαγητό’. It is interesting to note —following Clairis & Babiniotis (1999: 69-70)— that although *έχω γράψει* can almost always be replaced by *έγραψα* O–V, reference to experiences is almost exclusively expressed by the former.

<sup>53</sup> *Perfecto de consecuencia*. A past event whose distance from the moment of the utterance is not particularly interesting is described but its consequences extend to the present and affect us in an objective or subjective/ emotional way: ‘La Segunda Guerra Mundial *ha dejado* incontables testimonios del horror y el sufrimiento humano’. / ‘Ο Δεύτερος Παγκόσμιος Πόλεμος *έχει αφήσει* αμέτρητες μαρτυρίες τρόμου και ανθρώπινου πόνου’.

<sup>54</sup> *Cfr.* Gutiérrez Araus (1995: 22), “Continuous-resultative value of the past”. Sastre Ruano (1995: 52) talks about “Act or process that occupies a large area in the past”. In our opinion, the name adopted by Sastre Ruano is not sufficiently clear and descriptive, as similar uses could be attributed to other forms, such as for instance to the form (O–V)oV.

<sup>55</sup> As it can be seen in these examples, usually in the context appear adverbs such as *siempre* / *always* and *nunca* / *never* and their semantic equivalents (*jamás* / *ποτέ*, *desde hace mucho tiempo* / *εδώ και*



It is precisely the new formula Oo(V–V) of *he cantado* the one that suggests the dual nature of temporal orientation (both anterior and simultaneous)<sup>56</sup> and more efficiently highlights the various aspects of its ‘bond with the present’ which is often used in grammatical analyses, as well as the possible present-future continuation set by this verbal form<sup>57</sup>.

As for the displaced uses of Oo(V–V) in Modern Greek and Spanish, we find that both forms, since they express (secondarily) simultaneity, in oral speech can express posteriority, denoting O+(V–V) instead of Oo(V–V). Here, the reference point moves to the *future*, and as reference is made to moments posterior to the point of utterance, the action is presented as already fulfilled and charged with a modal shade of certainty within the unreality represented by the future. It is, therefore, a ‘perfect with future significance’<sup>58</sup> as in the following examples:

- (66) Seguro que pasado mañana ya *has terminado*.  
(67) Μεθαύριο σίγουρα *έχεις τελειώσει*<sup>59</sup>.

Finally, among the dislocated uses in spoken Spanish, we can also include the use of ‘perfect of command’<sup>60</sup>, ‘perfect with present value’<sup>61</sup>, etc., functions which however in Modern Greek are not exclusively expressed by *έχω γράψει* since the choice of *έγραψα* also constitutes a possibility<sup>62</sup>.

### 3.4. *Había cantado* / *Είχα γράψει* (O–V)–V

Both forms express anteriority in relation to a reference anterior to the origin, and coincide, to a large extent, in their straight and dislocated uses, mostly diverging in the use

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πολύ καιρό, *durante mucho tiempo* / για πολύ καιρό, *toda su vida* / *όλη του τη ζωή*, etc.). Regarding the use of temporal markers in Modern Greek and Spanish, *vid.* Leontaridi (2010).

<sup>56</sup> Cfr. Veiga (2011: § 5.3-5, 2019: § 3.2.2, 4.3.2, 5.1.4), Rojo & Veiga (1999: § 44.2.2.3, 44.3.1.1).

<sup>57</sup> Cfr. Veiga (2011, 2014, 2015a: § 5, 2015b: § 4, 2019: chapter 3).

<sup>58</sup> *Perfecto pro futuro* or *perfecto prospectivo* (cfr. Indicatively Rojo & Veiga 1999: 2905; Leontaridi 2008 [2001]: 343-6, 2011b: 106-7; Veiga 2019: § 5.4.1).

<sup>59</sup> In this regard, it should be noted that in both languages, if reference is made to future actions but this is done in a syntactic context of hypothesis introduced by “si/αν”, the norm requires the use of Oo(V–V), while the use of *habré cantado* / *θα έχω γράψει* O+(V–V) is discarded:

- (i) Si pasado mañana ya *has terminado*...  
(ii) Αν μεθαύριο *έχεις τελειώσει*...

<sup>60</sup> Cfr. Leontaridi (2008 [2001]: 346): ‘¡Ya te has callado (= ¡cállate!)!’; ‘Myriam, ¡ya te has ido (= ¡vete!, te vas ahora mismo) a la cama!’ In Modern Greek, due to the use of *έγραψα* in contexts that refer to the recent past, similar uses are also registered for this form:

- (i) *Έχεις πάει* [~ *πήγες!*] τρέχοντας στο κρεβάτι!  
(ii) *Έχεις φύγει* [~ *έφυγες!*] όπως είσαι! Δεν θέλω να σε βλέπω!

<sup>61</sup> *Fictitious present* or *perfect pre present* (*vid.* Leontaridi 2008 [2001]: 347-8).

<sup>62</sup> *Vid.* Leontaridi (2008 [2001]: 342-52).

of *είχα γράψει* (but not *había cantado*) to denote acts in a distant past, without correlating them with other actions that are clearly expressed<sup>63</sup>.

- (68) Κάποτε *είχα ταξιδέψει* στη Νορβηγία και τα τοπία με *είχαν εντυπωσιάσει*.  
 (69) Una vez *viajé*/ \**había viajado* a Noruega y los paisajes *me impresionaron* / \**me habían impresionado*.

In terms of straight uses, the speaker uses the form (O–V)–V in order to refer to past and completed actions of interest to him in relation to other past actions<sup>64</sup>. So he can use this form to give information about the conditions of a situation in which another event occurred<sup>65</sup>. Similarly, in a negative context, it may transmit an explicit statement that from a certain point onwards the action is taking (or starts to take) place<sup>66</sup>.

Regarding dislocated uses, thanks to the presence of the primary vector of anteriority, *είχα γράψει*, but especially *había cantado*, can be used —accompanied by specific adverbial determiners— in place of the corresponding O–V form, indicating the great *speed* at which an action took place<sup>67</sup>:

- (70) Saqué el bizcocho del horno y en un segundo *había desaparecido*.  
 (71) Έβγαλα το κέικ από το φούρνο και σε ένα δευτερόλεπτο *είχε εξαφανιστεί*.

In correspondence with the so-called ‘imperfect of politeness’, in Spanish (but not in Modern Greek) we can talk about ‘pluperfect of politeness or modesty’ (Cartagena 1999: 2955), when (O–V)–V is neutralized with *canté* O–V or *he cantado* Oo(V–V), resulting in a sense of detachment and thus adding a shade of politeness to the utterance:

- (72) ¿*Me había llamado*, señora? (instead of: ¿*Me ha llamado*, señora?)  
 (73) \**Με είχατε φωνάζει*, κυρία;

A last point of divergence between the uses of the form (O–V)–V in the two languages is found in the conditional sentences of the unreal: in spoken Spanish neutralization of *había cantado* with *habría cantado* and *hubiera/-se cantado* may be observed in the apodosis, while the use of *είχα γράψει* in the Modern Greek protasis is grammatical<sup>68</sup>:

<sup>63</sup> Although *había cantado* can be used to achieve the same distance effect, unlike *είχα γράψει*, the first is not contextually independent, as in Spanish the reference to a specific act or even a ‘generalized before’ relative to the moment of speech is obligatory (cfr. Matte Bon 1995: 116).

<sup>64</sup> For example ‘Cuando apareció, nosotros ya *nos habíamos acostado*’. / ‘Όταν έμφανίστηκε, εμείς *είχαμε* ήδη *ξαπλώσει*’.

<sup>65</sup> In other words, the information presented by the forms (O–V)–V constitutes the context of the previous experience that the speaker had at that time: “—¿Cómo te enteraste? —Es que ya *me habían hablado* de este programa, *había leído* unas cosas relacionadas con estas becas ... / —Πώς το έμαθες; —Μου *είχαν* ήδη *μιλήσει* για αυτό το πρόγραμμα, *είχα διαβάσει* κάποια πράγματα σχετικά με αυτές τις υποτροφίες...’ (Leontaridi 2008 [2001]: 362-3).

<sup>66</sup> ‘Lo siento, NO *me había enterado* del resultado. / Λυπάμαι, ΔΕΝ *είχα πληροφορηθεί* για το αποτέλεσμα’.

<sup>67</sup> Cfr. Sastre Ruano (1995: 64), Gutiérrez Araus (1995: 64).

<sup>68</sup> Cfr. Sastre Ruano (1995: 64), Gutiérrez Araus (1995: 64), Leontaridi (2008 [2001]: 371-4).

- (74) Si hubiera tenido dinero, *me había comprado* una casa.  
(75) Αν είχα αποκτήσει χρήματα, θα είχα αγοράσει ένα σπίτι.

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

A structural feature of the Spanish (in no case exclusively) verbal system is the identification of expression for more than one combination of grammatical contents that belong to the categories of mood and temporality. This possibility is manifested in the existence of a series of ‘multifunctional’ forms that, precisely being such, they represent a resource of expressive economy for the transmission of grammatical values that, otherwise, would require a higher number of forms in the conjugation. (Veiga 2012: 855)

In the previous pages, we studied some of the mechanisms of expressing temporal-modal content among the past tenses of the Indicative in Spanish and Modern Greek. We showed that temporality and temporal dislocation reveal the existence of multifunctional forms with quantitative and qualitative correspondences in both languages, which constitutes an important means of linguistic expressive economy.

Straight uses are fundamental, and based on them the dislocated, non-straight ones, can be accounted for; the latter are not unrelated but can be explained by some general categories of temporal dislocation. The displacement of the temporal system is not explained as the use of one or more forms acquiring specific new meanings when used for a function corresponding to another form. Instead, it is a whole *subset* of forms, defined by a *common trait* that does so. This subset changes its position in the system in the *same direction*, thus adding to itself the same non-temporal trait. That is, we are dealing with the existence of certain well-defined trends for *sets of forms*.

Particularly concerning the paradigm of the past tenses of the Indicative, we have found that in both languages, ‘idiomatic’ uses such as those we examined can be explained as the result of the second case of dislocation, since the primary vector of anteriority is responsible for the addition of a shade of unreality (IND 2) to the utterances. The *cantaba / έγγραφα*, *canté / έγγραψα*, *he cantado / έχω γράψει*, *había cantado / είχα γράψει* pairs display similar straight uses and share the majority of their dislocated uses.

The form presenting most and more interesting displaced (common) uses is *cantaba / έγγραφα* (O–V)oV, while its particularly frequent neutralization with other tenses, mainly *cantaría / θα έγγραφα* (O–V)+V, is due to the fact that being a form that expresses simultaneity to the origin, it can denote oV but also a +V to it. As far as the rest of the tenses, *έχω γράψει* Oo(V–V), unlike *he cantado*, is unable to express acts very close to the present. *Canté* O–V does not present shifted uses, while *έγραψα* can express not only anteriority –V but also simultaneity oV and posteriority +V, especially when the act is perceived as something very certain or close. Finally, *había cantado/είχα γράψει* (O–V)–V have similar shifted uses.

In all cases, the originary vector of anteriority –V is the one responsible for adding a modal shade of unreality to the utterances in which past indicative tenses are used in what we call their dislocated uses. And this is because:

[...] dislocation constitutes a systematic phenomenon that affects sets of verbal units that share some common traits in their temporal values. Therefore, it is not about enumerating diverse uses for unconnected verbal forms, but rather recognizing and explaining a mechanism that in the interior of the verbal system it interrelates certain traits and temporal content with certain traits of modal content, enabling certain verbal forms to express more than one mood-temporal combination of grammatical contents, which implies an undeniable economy for the system... (Rojo & Veiga 1999: 2896)

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