The Change in Clitic Placement from Classical to Modern European Portuguese: Results from the Tycho Brahe Corpus

CHARLOTTE GALVES
HELENA BRITTO
MARIA CLARA PAIXÃO DE SOUSA

Abstract

In this paper we study the syntax of clitic-placement in Portuguese authors born from 1542 to 1836, as regards their patterns of clitic pronouns placement. The motivation for the research was to enquire: what is the pattern of enclisis (V-cl) and proclisis (cl-V) variation in those texts; is it indicative of linguistic change; if so, when in the timeline can the change be located?
Drawing from the emprical results, we analyse the syntax of clitic placement in those texts as representative of a grammatical change which should be located in the first half of the 18th century. Our empirical arguments and structural analysis sustain that in texts up to the 18th century, enclisis is strictly a Verb-First phenomenon (even so, we will argue, in constructions that are supperficially non-verb initial). We sustain that the effects of this syntax in clitic placement ceases to be noticed for texts written by authors born after 1700.

0. Introduction

In the history of Portuguese, one of the most salient syntactic features that change along time is clitic placement. As clitic placement can be considered one of the major grammatical indicators, changes in this domain constitutes an important key to the grammatical history of a language. In this paper, we bring the results from a new research on this topic, which aims at accounting for one of the grammatical changes Portuguese underwent, and at locating this change in time.

We started out from a much debated point in the literature: *When does Modern European Portuguese start*? In previous research, two different

proposals had been made, based on the evolution of clitic placement in enclisis/proclisis variation contexts (namely, non-dependent affirmative sentences XP-V, XP being a [+*referential*] phrase). In these contexts, the predominance of proclisis typical of 16th century texts[1] cedes to the generalization of enclisis – which became obligatory, verb-clitic being the grammatical order in Modern European Portuguese (henceforth EP). On one hand, Martins (1994) claims that the new grammar starts in the 17th century; on the other hand, Galves and Galves (1995) and Galves et al. (1998) claim that the change occurs only at the end of the 18th century.

The empirical grounds for the proposal in Martins (1994) were the patterns of enclisis *versus* proclisis variation in nine 16th-19th century texts. This included two 17th century texts: the letters by Francisco Manuel de Melo (1608-1666), with predominant proclisis (7,7% enclisis in variation contexts); and the *Sermons* by Antonio Vieira (1608-1697), with predominant enclisis (68,4%). Based on this comparison, Martins (1994) argues that the *Sermons* are representative of the modern grammar, and Melo´s text follows a conservative model. According to her, Vieira should be then considered as a Modern EP speaker.

However, Galves and Galves (1995) and Galves and al. (1998), based on the work by Salvi (1990) and Torres Moraes (1995) on clitic-placement in authors from the 18th and 19th centuries, proposed a different periodization for the change into Modern European Portuguese, claiming that the grammatical change started at the end of the 18th century. Meanwhile, Britto (1999) investigated the pattern of clitic-placement in Antonio Vieira´s letters – which revealed a markedly proclitic pattern (with 81% of proclisis in variation contexts[2]). This showed that the pattern of clitic placement in the *Sermons* contrasted not only with Melo's pattern (as Martins had already shown), but also with other writings by Vieira himself.

In view of this debate, we proceeded to gather a considerable volume of data on clitic placement, in order to obtain more evidence from a wider range of texts. In this paper, we present an exhaustive description of clitic placement in 20 texts written by authors born between 1542 and 1836. Our findings support the hypothesis that the change occurred later than argued by Martins (1994), but sooner than claimed by Galves and Galves (1995) and Galves et al. (1998)[3].

[1] This predominance was shown by several studies; among others, *cf.* Lobo, 1992, Ribeiro, 1995.

[2] Our results, cf. Figure 1 to come, point to an even stronger contrast, since we find proclisis in 98% of the cases. The discrepancy with Britto's study is due to some differences in the set of phenomena considered.

[3] It must be noted that we depart from these analyses not only because we have much more data at our disposal, but also because we adopt the view defended by Kroch (1989) that when two forms compete along the time, the grammatical change should be located not at the end of this competition, but at its beginning; *cf.* Final Remarks.

On the one hand, we show here that Vieira's *Sermons* can still be considered as representative of the grammar that precedes EP – which, following the tradition, we shall call Classical Portuguese[4] (henceforth ClP). As shown by Galves (2001/2003), the enclitic syntax of the *Sermons* is consistently correlated with a stylistic effect of contrastiveness on the pre-verbal phrase. This is coherent with the hypothesis defended by Galves and Galves (1995) and Galves (2000) that, in ClP, enclisis in XV configurations corresponds to a structure in which the pre-verbal phrase X is external to the clause (*cf.* also Salvi, 1990 and Benincà, 1995). Therefore, the high rate of enclisis in the *Sermons* by itself cannot be taken as an argument to locate the grammatical change at the beginning of the 17th century.

We therefore propose that in order to precisely date the change to EP, it is important not only to consider the decrease in the frequency of proclisis, but also to detect when enclisis is no longer exclusively derived from V1 structures plus a preverbal external phrase. From this point on, the variation between enclisis and proclisis ceases to be produced by a single grammar; the only pattern produced by the new grammar is enclisis, and the occurences of proclisis we observe in the texts are the effect of grammar competition (in the sense defined by Kroch, 1994, 2001).

By analyzing the texts from this point of view, we will argue that the authors born at the begining of the 18th century represent the first generation of EP speakers.

I. A first survey of the data

I.1 The database

This paper is based on data from 20 texts written by authors born between the 16th and 19th centuries (a total of 851,619 words), included in the *Tycho Brahe Parsed Corpus of Historical Portuguese*[5]. From these texts, we selected

[4] Galves (2004) proposes that this grammar should be named "*Middle Portuguese*", in order to be distinguished from the literary language referred to as "*Classical Portuguese*" (*cf.* also Paixão de Sousa, 2004).

[5] All the texts are available at <http://www.ime.usp.br/~tycho/corpus>: Diogo do Couto (1542-1606), *Décadas* – 47,448 words; Luis de Sousa (1556-1632), *A vida de Frei Bertolameu dos Mártires* – 53,928 words; Francisco Rodrigues Lobo (1579-1621,) *Corte na aldeia e noites de inverno* – 52,429 words; Padre Manuel da Costa (1601-1667), *A arte de furtar*, 52,867 words; Antonio Vieira (1608-1697), *Letters*, 57,088 words, and *Sermons*, 53,855 words; Francisco Manuel de Mello (1608-1666), *Cartas Familiares*, 58,070 words; Frei Francisco das Chagas (1631-1682), *Cartas Espirituais*, 54,445 words; Manuel Bernardes (1644-1710), *Nova Floresta*, 52,374; José Cunha Brochado (1651-1735), *Letters*, 35,058 words; Maria do Céu (1658-1753), *Rellaçaõ da Vida e Morte da Serva de Deos a Venerável Madre Elenna da Crus*, 27,410 words; André de Barros (1675-1754), *A vida do Padre Antonio Vieira*, 52,055 words; Alexandre Gusmão (1695-?), *Cartas*, 32,433 words; Matias Aires (1705-1763), *Reflexões sobre a vaidade dos homens*, 56,479

and classified 24.974 items of data consisting of occurrences of clitics in finite clauses. Of these, 5.369 items were found in matrix affirmative clauses, which form the focus of interest in this paper[6]. For reasons explained below, we shall split this matrix affirmative clauses in two groups, according to the variation pattern[7]: "*Variation Contexts I*", and "*Variation Contexts II*".

The subset of data we called *Variation Contexts I* is formed by 2.533 items, which correspond to the variation contexts included in *Table 1* below and form the image depicted in *Figure 1* (*cf.* I.2). These are finite affirmative main clauses in which the verb-clitic complex is preceded by a referential, non-focalized[8] subjects (1.233 items); an adverb other than fronted VP adverbs (365 items); or a prepositional phrase other than fronted arguments (935 items) – such as examples (1) below:

(1) **Variation Contexts I:**

Subject-V:

(a) Eu **corro-me** *de dizer o que padeço* (Melo, 1608)
(b) Esta fortuna **pesa-me** *já muito*. (Melo, 1608)
(c) Ele **me disse** que pasmava como lhe abastava o que tinha (Sousa, 1554)
(d) Ruy Lopes de Villa-Lobos **o recebeo** *com muita honra* (Couto, 1542)

Adverb-V:

(e) Depois **sucedeo-lhe** *o Mirão, seu sobrinho, ...* (Couto, 1542)
(f) Agora **quero-lhe** dizer algumas cousas das que Vossa Mercê desejará saber a meu parecer (A. Costa, 1714)
(g) Hoje **me parto**. (A. Chagas, 1631)
(h) Sábado passado **vos mandei** *um papel de engaços* (Melo, 1608)

words; Luis Antonio Verney (1713-1792), *Verdadeiro método de estudar*, 49,335 words; Antonio da Costa (1714-?), *Cartas do Abade Antonio da Costa*, 27,096 words; Correia Garção (1724-1772), *Dissertações*, 24,924 words; Marquesa de Alorna (1750-1839), *Letters*, 49,512 words; Almeida Garrett (1799-1854), *Viagens na minha terra*, 51,784 words; Ramalho Ortigão (1836-1915), *Cartas a Emília*, 32,441 words.

[6] In the subordinate and negative clauses, proclisis is practically categorical (with the exception of 16 enclitic sentences in subordinates); further studies into those cases are currently under way.

[7] Here, by "variation" we mean "empirical variation". We shall discuss the precise nature of this variation below.

[8] "Non-focalized" stands for not explicitly focalized, i.e., where the focalization is not morphologically marked (such as "só+subject; "o mesmo+ subject", etc.); such cases were not considered as variation contexts, as they never appear with enclisis. We also did not consider as variation contexts formulaic SV instances such as "Deus me livre".

Prepositional Phrase-V:

(i) Em troca disto, **ofereço-lhe** da parte de Inglaterra defesa de tôdas as suas colónias e ... (Alorna, 1750)
(j) A respeito de Prado **diz-me** Queiroz: "Não sei se Você já o viu depois de casado". (Ortigão, 1836)
(k) Com este aviso **lhe foi** juntamente infundida notícia dos excessos que entre estas duas súbditas suas passavam. (Bernardes, 1644)
(l) Para os críticos **me deu** Nosso Senhor excelente coração, porque sempre vou a ganhar com eles ... (Melo, 1608)

We excluded from our quantification all the contexts in which we found categorical proclisis (sentences in which the verb is preceded by focus particles, affective operators, and fronted VP-adverbs), *cf.* 2 a-b below[9]; and categorical enclisis (sentences in which the verb is the absolute first constituent), *cf.* 2c below[10]:

(2) **Non-variation contexts**

Categorical proclisis:

(a) Bem **me importava** entender ao certo o que se passa ... (Melo, 1608)
(b) Muito **vos desejei** cá ontem para ouvirdes explicar a Ene êste retrato. (Melo, 1608)

Categorical Enclisis:

(c) **Defendeu-o**, emparou-o (bem sabe Vossa Paternidade a história) e como verdadeiro amigo escreveu-lhe... (Sousa, 1556)

Finally, we considered as a separate group two contexts, which we called *Variation Contexts II:* V1 second coordinates (953 items) and the sentences with fronted dependent clauses (907 items). In such cases (which are not included in *Table 1* below), we found a distinct alternation pattern – to be further explored in I.4.

[9] It is worth noting that the contexts of obligatory proclisis have not changed in the whole history of Portuguese.

[10] Sentences in which the verb is preceded by a complement (2 d-e) fall into two distinct categories: on the one hand, in fronted complements without clitic doubling, proclisis is categorical; on the other hand, in dislocated complements with clitic doubling, enclisis is by far the generalized option:

(i) Isto **lhe disse** *de todo seu ânimo...* (Couto, 1542)
(ii) os pecados **soffremol-os** *facilmente; os milagres não os podemos soffrer* (Vieira, 1608 – Sermons)

None the above mentioned contexts were included in the computation in Table 1 (in I.1) or Figure 1 (in I.2).

Table 1: Enclisis Rates in Variation Contexts I

	Couto	Sousa	Lobo	Costa	Melo	Vieira Let.	Vieira Ser.	Chagas	Barmardes	Brochado	Céu	Barros	Gusmão	Aires	Costa	Varney	Garção	Alorna	Garrett	Ortigão	
birthdate	1548	1556	1579	1601	1608	1608	1608	1631	1644	1651	1658	1675	1695	1705	1713	1714	1724	1750	1799	1836	TOT
S-V																					
enclisis	14	02	03	15	05	00	31	04	09	04	03	02	00	63	50	16	07	38	75	79	420
proclisis	85	38	44	33	59	67	26	40	63	56	25	24	32	114	27	08	17	36	13	06	813
	99	40	47	48	64	67	57	44	72	60	28	26	32	177	77	24	24	74	88	85	1233
% E	0,14	0,05	0,06	0,31	0,08	0,00	0,54	0,09	0,13	0,07	0,11	0,08	0,00	0,36	0,65	0,67	0,29	0,51	0,85	0,93	
ADV-V																					
enclisis	05	04	00	00	00	02	02	02	01	00	00	00	00	06	17	02	00	06	07	13	67
proclisis	22	12	10	04	19	15	08	14	15	13	09	37	09	42	09	14	20	05	13	08	298
	27	16	10	04	19	17	10	16	16	13	09	37	09	48	26	16	20	11	20	21	365
% E	0,19	0,25	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,12	0,20	0,13	0,06	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,13	0,65	0,13	0,00	0,55	0,35	0,62	
PP-V																					
enclisis	02	07	01	08	01	01	22	03	05	02	01	05	03	14	42	08	02	10	12	20	169
proclisis	78	44	59	47	38	50	32	46	46	41	46	59	19	65	29	16	13	18	15	05	766
	80	51	60	55	39	51	54	49	51	43	47	64	22	79	71	24	15	28	27	25	935
% E	0,03	0,14	0,02	0,15	0,03	0,02	0,41	0,06	0,10	0,05	0,02	0,08	0,14	0,18	0,59	0,33	0,13	0,36	0,44	0,80	
TOT																					
Enclisis	21	13	04	23	06	03	55	09	15	06	04	07	03	83	109	26	09	54	94	112	656
Proclisis	185	94	113	84	116	132	66	100	124	110	80	120	60	221	65	38	50	59	41	19	1877
	206	107	117	107	122	135	121	109	139	116	84	127	63	304	174	64	59	113	135	131	2533
% E	0,10	0,12	0,03	0,21	0,05	0,02	0,45	0,08	0,11	0,05	0,05	0,06	0,05	0,27	0,63	0,41	0,15	0,48	0,70	0,85	

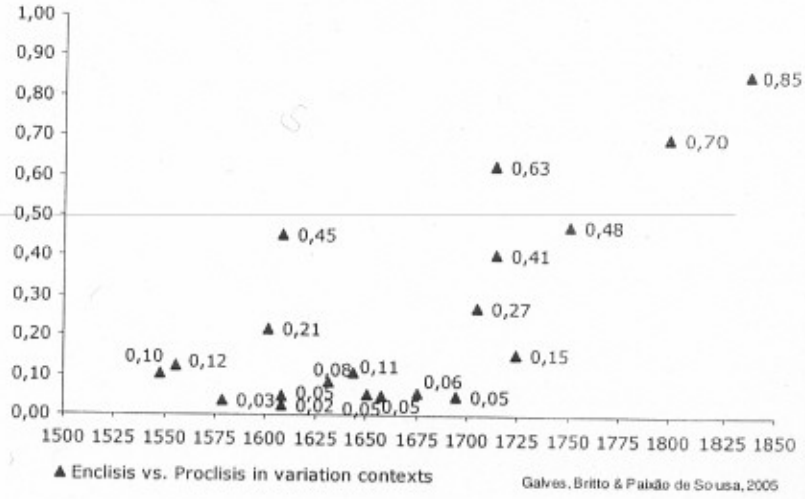
I.2 Enclisis vs. *Proclisis in* "Variation Contexts I"

I.2.1 General picture

The distribution of enclisis *vs.* proclisis in *Variation Contexts I* is represented in *Figure 1*[11]:

[11] In all the figures of the paper, the plots correspond to the date of birth of the authors, and not to the date of production of the texts. The reasons of this choice are twofold. First, this corresponds to the generativist view that grammars emerge in the natural language acquisition process. Second, as far as the texts we study are concerned, this is in many cases the only temporal localization we can rely on. For further discussion, see Paixão de Sousa (2004).

Figure 1: Enclisis versus Proclisis in variation contexts I



This picture evidences two moments. Up to the last quarter of the 17th century, we see that the texts present around 10% of enclisis or less, with only two exceptions (M. da Costa's *Arte de Furtar*, with 21% of enclisis, and Vieira's *Sermons*, with 45% of enclisis). From 1700 on, the curve presents a neat inflection, and the rate of enclisis increases from 27% in *Reflexões sobre a vaidade dos homens* (by M. Aires, born in 1705) to 85% in the letters by R. Ortigão (born in 1836)[12].

As we mentioned in the *Introduction*, a high rate of enclisis in Vieira's *Sermons* had already been documented by Martins (1994)[13] and was taken as evidence that he was already a speaker of EP. However, it must be noted that in our corpus, none of the texts by 17th century authors born after Vieira shows the same pattern: enclisis in those texts is consistently inferior to 12%. Only after the first quarter of the 18th century we find texts which display a rate of enclisis comparable to the one documented in the *Sermons*. As we observed above, it is only from this period on that the rate of enclisis systematically increases. Therefore, our Corpus (which is the largest one produced for this period of the language up to this day), provides quantitative evidence that the high rate of enclisis in Vieira's *Sermons* is not the effect of grammatical change.

[12] It must be noted that one author prevents the curve from raising uninterruptedly from 1700 on. It is Correia Garção, born in 1724, who systematically behaves in a conservative manner with respect to all the indicators considered. See below the other figures.

[13] As mentioned above, Martins finds 68% of enclisis. This difference in the results is due to differences in the criteria for identifying variation contexts. Nevertheless, in both measurements this text appears as significantly more enclitic than its contemporaries.

We shall argue that the pattern found in the *Sermons* is due to the wide use of a syntactic construction available in CIP. This construction is not as favoured by most of the contemporary texts (including, remarkably, by the other text in the Corpus written by the same author: the *Letters*, with 0,02 of enclisis).

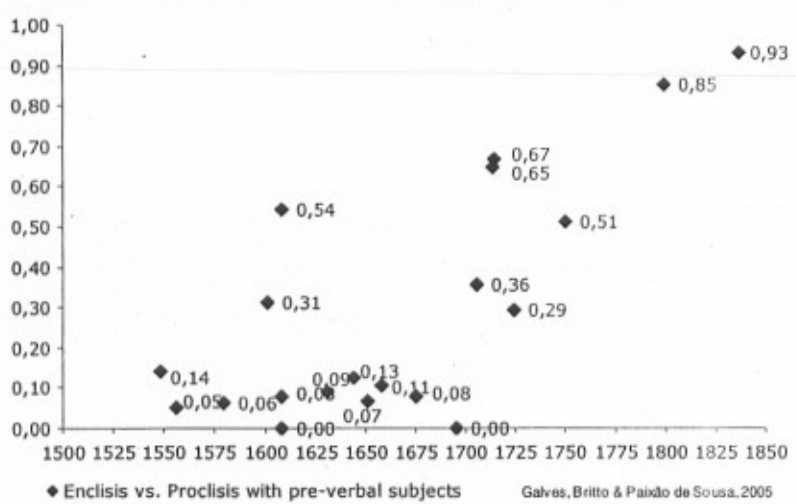
We interpret the pattern revealed by our data as indicative that the texts written by 16th and 17th century authors represent a grammar where enclisis and proclisis correspond to distinct structures, the option between them being subject to stylistic and textual conditionings. Proclisis is neuter and enclisis is marked.

In contrast, in the texts written by authors born from 1700 on, we find signs that this optionality is no longer active, and that enclisis no longer corresponds to a marked construction – on the contrary, it surfaces as the generalised form in XV contexts (in particular, SV, as we shall see in I.2.2 below). Before we present our hypothesis for the structures in question, there are some further empirical facts that deserve our attention.

I.2.2 The case of subjects

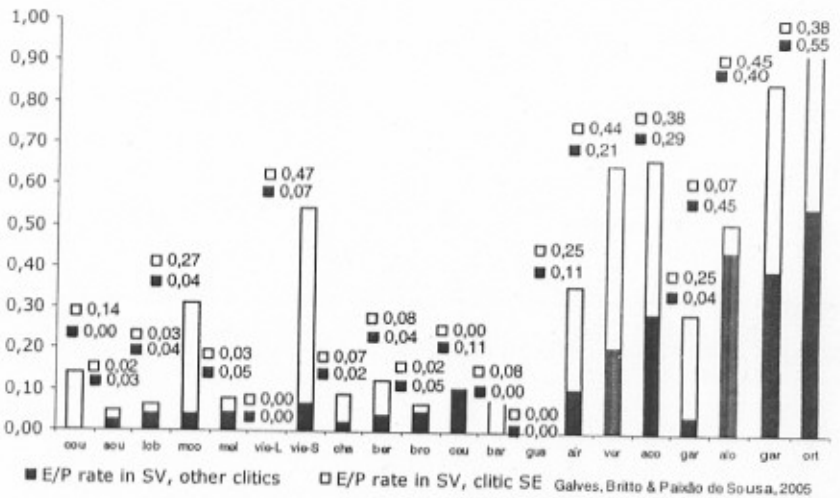
Some interesting aspects are revealed when we consider a subset of the *variation contexts I*: the sentences in which the pre-verbal phrase is a subject. It is interesting to note that the tendencies observed in *Figure 1*, with all the pre-verbal phrases, appear more neatly when calculate the enclisis *versus* proclisis rate in this specific context. First of all, between the last author from the 17th century and the first two authors of the 18th century there is a jump in the rate of enclisis – from 0% to 30%. Furthermore, the contrast between *A Arte de Furtar* and Vieira's *Sermons* on one side, and the remaining 16th and 17th century texts on the other side, is stronger with SV than in the general picture. Finally, the rates of enclisis in the last two texts are closer to the modern situation. These facts are shown in *Figure 2a* below:

Figure 2a: Enclisis versus Proclisis with pre-verbal subjects



Moreover, it is interesting to note that, if we take into account the factor type of clitic, we observe that enclisis in pre-18th century texts is strongly correlated with the use of the clitic SE. Typically, a high rate of enclisis in SV in the 16th-17th century texts translates into a high proportion of the construction "V-SE" – which is not true for the 18th-19th century texts. This is shown in *Figure 2b*, where the rates of *Figure 2a* are decompounded into "SV-SE" and "SV-CL" (where CL refers to all clitics except SE):

Figure 2b: Enclisis versus Proclisis with pre-verbal subjects – clitic SE and others contrasted



In the three more enclitic 16th-17th century texts (the ones by Couto, b. 1548; Costa, b.1601; and Vieira, b.1608, *Sermons*) – we observe that enclisis with SE has a dramatic effect on the total of enclisis. That is: most of the cases of enclisis in those texts are V-SE patterns (in fact all of them, in the case of Couto). In contrast, in the texts written by authors born after 1700, the distribution of enclisis with SE and with other clitics is much more balanced[14],

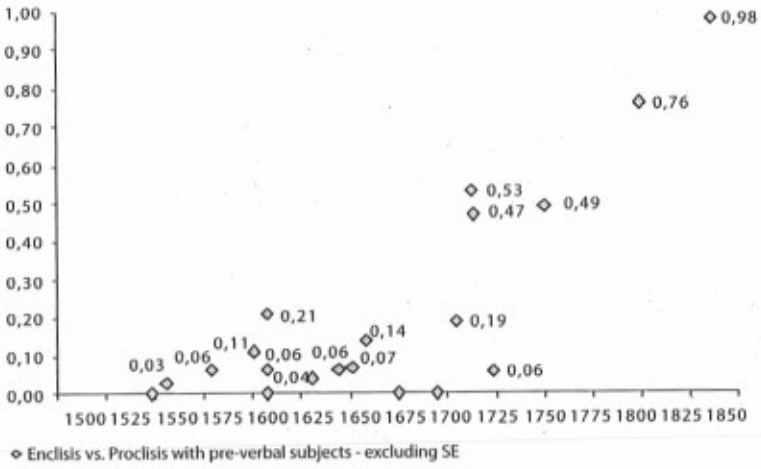
[14] Let us compare, for example, the letters by Marquesa de Alorna (b. 1750) with the *Sermons* by Vieira (b. 1608). In Alorna's text, the overal enclisis rate in SV is 0,51; this is comparable with the rate found in Vieira's *Sermons* – 0,54 (*cf.* Figure 2). However, Figure 3 shows that Vieira's 0,54 is compounded by a 0,47 rate of enclisis in SV clauses with the clitic SE, plus a 0,07 rate in SV clauses with other clitics. That is: a great proportion of his enclitic SV sentences involve SE. In contrast, Alorna's 0,51 overall rate is compounded by a 0,07 enclisis rate in SV clauses with SE, plus a 0,45 enclisis rate with other clitics. In this case, the proportion of the enclitic SV sentences that involve SE is much lower. The same is true for the other two post-1750 texts: Garrett's (b.1799) novel, with an overall rate of enclisis in SV of 0,85, neatly shared by a rate of 0,4 with SE and 0,40 with other

(with the exception of Correia Garção, *cf.* footnote 12), and not obligatorily pending on the side of SE, which can be seen clearly in the texts by Alorna, Garret and Ortigão.

The same fact can be seen from a slightly different point of view, by separating the subset of SV sentences with clitics other than SE, and measuring the frequency of enclisis *versus* proclisis within this group. We then observe that the rates of enclisis in pre-18th century texts even out, ranging from 0% to 14% (except, again, in Vieira's *Sermons*; but even in this case, the contrast with his contemporaries is much less outstanding). This is shown in *Figure 3* below:

We shall not present a detailed analysis of the syntax of SE and its roles as a reflexive, indeterminate, and passive particle in 16th-19th century Portuguese at this moment[15]; the point here is to stress out that if the nature of SE constructions affects clitic placement favouring enclisis (for whatever reasons), in any case this ceases to be an important factor in post-18th century texts. In those texts, enclisis will be established as the favourite option with any type of clitic.

Figure 3: Enclisis versus Proclisis with pre-verbal subjects – excluding clitic SE



I.3. Enclisis/Proclisis in "Variation Contexts II"

In our data, we find a different picture of variation in two other contexts: sentences in which the verb immediately follows a coordination conjunction

clitics; and Ortigão's (1836) letters, whose overall rate of 0,93 is compounded by a 0,38 rate with SE and 0,55 with other clitics.

15 Preliminary work shows that the effect of SE is due to passive SE. This is expected if pre-verbal subjects with SE occupy an external position, as argued by Raposo and Uriagereka (1996) for EP. We leave this topic for further research.

(i.e., V1 second coordinates), and sentences in which the verb is preceded by dependent clause:

(3) **Variation Contexts II**

Verb-initial second coordinates:

(a) *Achou-os ditosamente, falou-lhes,* e **rendeu-os** *a largarem aquela vid brutal, e virem a ser filhos da Igreja, e vassalos do Império Português* (A. Barros, 1675)

(b) *Durando as persuasões do padre, chegou preparada uma mezinha,* **lhe pediram** *se retirasse.* (Bernardes, 1644)

Verb preceded by dependent clauses:

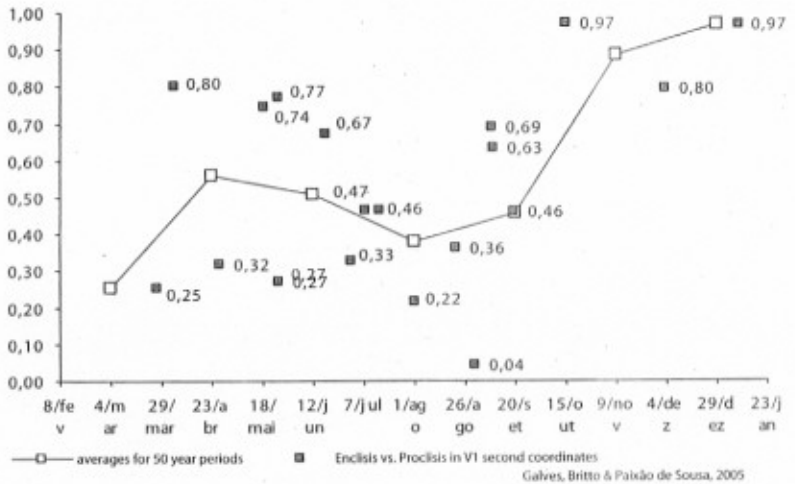
(c) Para os começar a render, **amimou-os** com donativos, língua a todas as Nações não menos inteligível, que grata. (A. Barros, 1675)

(d) Vendo-o um Cónego no adro daquela antiga Sé **lhe disse**: *De quem sois meu menino?* (A. Barros, 1675)

Figure 4 and *Figure 5* below respectively show the distribution of enclisis and proclisis in V1 coordinates and in sentences in which the verb is immediately preceded by a clause. What is striking in both cases is that we find very high rates of enclisis since the very beginning of the period considered in our data. We also find a great contrast among contemporary authors in the 16th-17th century. With fronted dependent clauses, the proportion of enclisis ranges from 0% to 88% (with 8 texts presenting less than 50% enclisis, and 5 texts presenting more than 50%); in V1 second coordinates, enclisis ranges from 22% to 80% (9 texts with less than 50%, and 4 texts with over 50%). Moreover, for a given author there is no correlation between being enclitic in those contexts and the ones we considered before. For instance, the text by F.L.Sousa (b.1556) has 80% of enclisis in V1 coordinates, and 78% in sentences initiated by a clause – but only 5% of enclisis with pre-verbal subjects. F.R. Lobo (b. in 1575), who patterns with Sousa with respect to the rate of enclisis with pre-verbal subjects (6%), has much less enclisis in V1 coordinates (32%) and in sentences with pre-verbal clauses (8%).

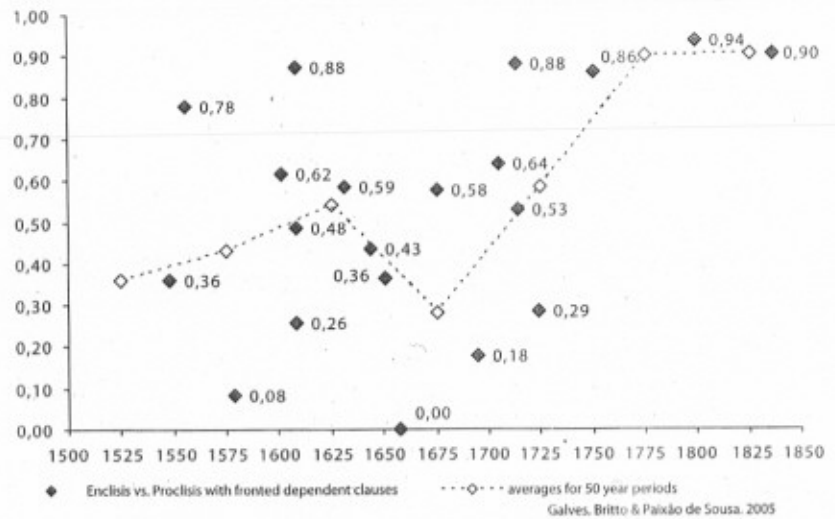
We shall see below that the placement of clitics in these contexts, which seems very idiosyncratic, is indeed sensitive to prosodic factors up to the 18th century. This leads us to suggest that the source of this variation is different from the source of the variation observed in the contexts XV, X being a Subject, a PP or an Adverb. We come back to this point further below.

Figure 4: Enclisis versus Proclisis in V1 second coordinates



Nevertheless, it must be noted that, from 1700 on, enclisis will be generalized in *Variation Contexts II* – just as attested for *Variation Contexts I*.

Figure 5: Enclisis versus Proclisis with fronted dependent clauses



I.4 Summary

So far, we have brought up the following portrait of clitic placement in 16th-19th century texts, based on the quantitative survey of 24.964 items of data:

(i) An alternation between proclisis and enclisis is attested in texts written by authors born between the 16th and 17th century, with two different patterns:

- *In what we have called "variation contexts I", the rates of enclisis versus proclisis range between 0,00 and 0,45 (and among those contexts, SV constructions show an even wider range, from 0,00 to 0,54). However, in those contexts proclisis is by far the preferred option in most of the texts;*
- *In what we have called "variation contexts II", the range can be even wider and idiosyncratic (in V1 second coordinates, from 0,22 to 0,80; after fronted embedded clauses, from 0,00 to 0,88); and proclisis is not a favorite option for all texts.*

(ii) The picture changes when we look at texts written by authors born after 1700, in which enclisis is gradually established as the favourite option in all the contexts.

We interpret this set of evidence as revealing that *an important grammatical change is surfaced in the syntax of authors born at the onset of the 18th century.* We propose below a structural analysis for this change. We shall now see that the changes occurring in the distribution of enclisis from 1700 on evidence that not only does proclisis decline during the 18th century, but also enclisis ceases to correspond to a V1 structure.

II. The nature of the grammatical change

II.1 Two derivations for enclisis

We propose here that in Classical Portuguese enclisis surfaces exclusively in structures in which the verb is in the first position in CP. In all other contexts, proclisis is the only option:

(4)

[V → Vcl
[XV → XclV

This is rather straightforward to sustain as regards absolute verb-initial constructions – as we mentioned, enclisis is categorical in those contexts. But in order to maintain this analysis for enclitic XV constructions there must be an accessory hypothesis, by which all XV constructions that appear with

enclisis are in fact Verb-initial structures. In other words, it must be argued that in this case, X is an adjunct.[16]:

(5)

X # [V → XVcl
[XV → XclV

The proposal that X is an adjunct in XV constructions with enclisis has been put forward by other analyses of Romance languages – mainly, for Medieval Romance (*cf.* among others, Salvi,1990; Benincà, 1995). In Medieval Portuguese, as in other related languages, enclisis is only expected in those contexts in which the condition known as the "*Tobler Mussafia Law*" would be broken. The T-M generalization states that a clitic cannot be the first constituent of a clause; and it is to avoid this illegal position that enclisis arises. In languages in which this rule applies, proclisis is the default position; enclisis is limited to verb-initial structures. We shall discuss further on the exact nature of this restriction.

The analysis of enclisis as derived from the Tobler-Mussafia law has also been proposed for EP itself, with the consequence that pre-verbal subjects in enclitic clauses are analyzed as adjuncts (Barbosa, 1996, 2000)[17]. In the SV context, as it has been widely described, enclisis is generalized in EP, unless the subject is quantified or focalized (*cf* among others Barbosa, 1996, 2000; Duarte and Mattos, 2000; Galves, 1992, 2000; Raposo, 2000).

In our proposal, the syntax of enclisis in EP is not reduced to a Verb-First conditioning. We follow Galves and Sândalo (2004) who argue that enclisis in this language is due to the application of the following constraint at the morphological level[18]:

(6) **Non-initial (1 X-bar)**:
a clitic cannot be the first element of the first X-bar of the clause.

[16] As for the XV structures with X internal to the clause, it must be emphasized that X can be either a subject or a fronted NP, PP or Adv. This characterizes ClP as a V2--like language in which there is no special pre-verbal position for the subject. We shall not discuss the precise nature of this position here. The fact that in ClP, V1 orders are robustly attested and that, according to preliminary research, there is no asymmetry between matrix and embedded clauses with respect to the position of the verb, suggests that this position is not the specifier of CP, but of a category between CP and IP. It is also important to note that, like in V2 languages, this position can be occupied just as well by focalized phrases as by topicalized phrases.

[17] Alternatively, they are located in Spec/Top (Raposo, 2000) or in the specifier of another high category whose head does not contain the verb (Costa and Martins, 2003).

[18] Galves and Sândalo (2004) formulate their proposal in the framework of Optimality Theory.

This constraint adequately predicts that in every instance in which I-bar is the first X-bar of the clause, enclisis is derived. This would happen in two cases: verb-initial clauses[19], and SV clauses:

(7) Enclisis in verb initial clauses, derived from (6):
[CP [IP [I V cl

But since (6) applies to the X-bar level (not to the XP level), then the presence of a constituent in the specifier of IP is irrelevant for the constraint. This is why enclisis is produced regardless of the presence of the subject in IP:

(8) Enclisis in SV, derived from (6):
[CP [IP *subject* [I V cl

Proclisis is found when there is some higher X-bar projected. These are the cases of obligatory proclisis mentioned above: interrogative or subordinate clauses, or when the presence of a focalized or quantified phrase requires the projection of some category higher than Infl[20].

(9) Proclisis, derived from (6):
[CP *XP* [C [IP [I cl V
[CP [*que* [IP [I cl V
[ΣP [Σ *XP* [IP [I cl V

To sum up, enclisis in V1 is, in this view, a subcase of the rule that applies to the first X-bar boundary – namely, the case when this first X-bar boundary coincides with the boundary of the clause, *cf.* (7) above. Enclisis in SV is another sub-case of the restriction in (6), when the first X-bar boundary does not coincide with the boundary of the clause, *cf.* (8) above.

In this paper we shall bring diachronic evidence in favour of the analysis just outlined – which derives enclisis in ClP and in EP from different conditions. Actually, we can say that the difference between the two grammars refers to the domain in which "*Non-Initial*" applies: in ClP, the domain is the first XP (we come back to this in II.4 below); in EP, the domain is the first X-bar. As regards verb-initial constructions, the superficial effect is the same (this explains why enclisis is always categorical in V1). But as regards SV constructions, the change in the condition has crucial consequences. In (10) below, we formulate the respective structures for SV with enclisis in ClP and in EP:

[19] We assume, in this formulation, that the inflected verb in EP rests in IP, and does not raise to C. We also assume that Spec/IP is the position for subjects in this grammar.

[20] We assume that this category is Σ, which, in EP, is restricted to non-topics (cf. Footnote 16)

(10)

Classical Portuguese: S # [V → SVcl
(*enclisis may only appear with adjunct, topicalized subjects*);
Modern European Portuguese: # [S V → SVcl
(*enclisis may appear with non-adjunct subjects*)

This implies that the change from ClP to EP involves a change in the position of pre-verbal subjects, correlated with a change in the domain in which the restriction against first-position clitics applies. Our empirical results from 16th-19th century texts fit well with this claim. They show several important facts documented in 16th-17th century texts which cease to be detected in 18th-19th century texts simultaneously, namely: a marked interpretation for the construction SV-cl; a phonological effect on the distribution of enclisis-proclisis; a high proportion of subject-verb inversions.

In the remainder of this paper we shall illustrate and discuss these facts in more detail.

II.2 Clitic-placement in the texts by Antonio Vieira

One of the strongest empirical arguments for the claim that enclisis in ClP derives from the T-M law comes from the text that represents an apparent exception in the picture of enclisis-proclisis variation in the 17th century (*cf. Figure 1*): Vieira's *Sermons*. We will show that the occurrences of XV+enclisis in this text (including SV) support the analysis of X as an adjunct – since the pre-verbal phrases in those constructions can be interpreted as contrastive topics in the totality of the cases. Contrastive topicalization, normally associated with an independent intonational contour is likely to be a case of adjunction.

Pre-verbal subjects with enclisis in the *Sermons* are contrasted with another phrase (generally a subject too), *with no exception*[21]. This constrast is based on lexical oppositions, made explicit either in the sentence itself or in its immediate context (or even in both). In the examples below, the lexical oppositions operate between the terms "*elles...como homens/Christo...como Deus*" in (11a); "*Deus... a nós por nós/os homens...a nós por si*" in (11b); "*a revelação.. sem as boas obras/as boas obras...sem revelação*" in (11c); and "*nós...de traz das costas/Deus...diante dos olhos*" in (11d):

(11)

(a) Elles **conheciam-se**, como homens, Christo **conhecia-os**, como Deus. [p. 125]
"They **knew-themselves**, as men, Christ **knew-them**, as God".

[21] The analysis in this section is based on Galves (2001/2003), to which we refer the interested reader for a more detailed description of the data.

(b) Deus **julga-nos** a nós por nós; os homens **julgam-nos** a nós por si. [p. 170]
"God **judges-us** to us for ourselves; men **judge-us** to us for themselves".

(c) *Comparada, porém, qualquer revelação não canonica, com as boas obras, eu antes quizera a certeza das obras, que a da revelação*; porque a revelação não me póde salvar sem boas obras; e as boas obras **pódem-me** salvar sem revelação. [p. 97]
"... because the revelation cannot save me without good deeds; and the good deeds **can-me** save without revelation."

(d) *E porque considera Deus não os passos, senão as pégadas? Porque os passos passam, as pégadas ficam; os passos pertencem á vida que passou, as pégadas á conta, que não passa. Mas differentemente não passa Deus pelo que nós tão facilmente passamos!* Nós deixamos as pégadas de traz das costas, e Deus **tem-n'as** sempre diante dos olhos, *com que as nota e observa: as pégadas para nós apagam-se, como formadas em pó, para Deus não se apagam, como gravadas em diamante.* [p. 121]
"...We leave the fingerprints behind our back, and God **has-them** always in front of his eyes,..."

Conversely, when no contrastive value is assigned to the subject, proclisis appears. The examples below illustrate some such cases. In (12a), the subject "*Estes thesouros*" is anaphoric to the phrase "*nos thesouros*" in the preceding sentence; in (12b), "*O Evangelhista*" is the source of a textual quotation:

(12)

(a) ...porque ainda que a vida e os dias em que peccamos passam, os peccados que n'elles commettemos, não passam, mas ficam depositados nos thesouros da ira divina. *Falla o Apostolo por bocca do mesmo Deus, o qual diz no Deuteronomio: Nonne hæc condita sunt apud me, et signata in thesauris meis? Mea est ultio, et ego retribuam in tempore.* Estes thesouros, pois, que agora estão cerrados, **se abrirão** a seu tempo, e se descobrirão para a conta no dia do Juiso, *que isso quer dizer, in die iræ, et revelationis justi judicii Dei.* [p. 122]
"because although the life and the days in which (we) sin pass, the sins that we commit do not pass but remain deposited in the treasures of the divine anger. (....) These treasures, therefore, that now are closed, **SE-will-open** ('will be opened') in their time, and SE-will-discover ('will be discovered') for the counting in the day of the Judgement...."

(b) *Esta differença dos signaes que então ha-de haver, e agora não ha, é a que faz a differença dos effeitos muito mais para temer no Juiso de cada dia, que no do fim do mundo. Que effeitos ha-de causar nos homens a vista d'aquelles signaes?* O Evangelhista **o refere** por bem extraordinarios termos: *Arescentibus hominibus præ timore, et expectatione, quæ supervenient universo orbi.* [p. 87]
"The Evangelist **it-refers** by well extraordinary terms: ..."

This examples show that (contrary to what is argued in Martins, 1994) proclisis in the *Sermons* is not restricted to focalization. Of course, our analysis does not exclude that pre-verbal phrases in proclitic constructions be foci; but, crucially, it does not require them to be. Any phrase other than constrastive topics is expected to appear with proclisis.

The high rate of enclisis in Vieira's *Sermons* must be related, then, to an extensive use of constrastive topicalization. The reason for this extensive use lies in the nature of the *Sermons*: they are masterpieces of the baroque oratory style, in which the oppositions between terms is a fundamental stylistic resort[22].

Under the natural claim that contrastive topics are adjuncts (since they are likely to have an intonational contour of their own), the pattern of clitic placement in the *Sermons* fits easily in our hypothesis for Classical Portuguese (in which enclisis derives from a restriction against first-position clitics). From this point of view, the high proportion of enclisis does not necessarily identify this text as produced by the modern EP grammar.

Additionally, this interpretation provides a straightforward account for the apparent contrast between the *Sermons* and the *Letters* by same author, which display much less enclisis, as Britto (1999) discovered. Both texts are representative of Classical Portuguese, but the letters, which are not pieces of baroque oratory rhetoric, do not favour the use of contrastive topicalizations. In fact, the few cases of enclisis in the letters also fit well into the analysis of clitic placement proposed here. In the letters, we only find enclisis with pre-verbal subjects in SXV – that is, when some phrase appears before the verb

[22] As extensively discussed by A. Saraiva (among others in: "Para exemplificar: todo o sermão sobre as lágrimas de S. Pedro que tem por texto predicável – Cantavit gallus, et conversus Dominus respexit Petrum, et egressus foras flevit amare ("Cantou o galo, o Senhor voltou-se e olhou para Pedro; este veio para fora e chorou amargamente") – assenta numa análise do conceito de olhos, através da qual se explica o texto bíblico. Os olhos têm dois ofícios: ver e chorar. Ponderação misteriosa: porque é que a Natureza juntou no mesmo instrumento este ver e este chorar? Porque o pecado entra pelos olhos, e portanto a penitência deve sair pelos mesmos olhos. Sobre este ver e chorar, sobre este entrar e sair, e sobre este dentro e fora constrói Vieira todo o seu Sermão e inclusivamente a contextura da frase", Saraiva & Lopes 1996:523)

(in those cases, moreover, this phrase is clearly an adjunct, (*cf.* 13a below); we also find enclisis in clitic left dislocation constructions (*cf.* 13b below)[23]:

(13)
(a) E mais Abel, *Senhor*, **salvou-se**, e está no céu. [p. 469]
"And more Abel, *Lord*, **saved-SE** ('was saved'), and is in heaven."

(b) A El-rei Faraó, *porque consentiu no seu reino o injusto cativeiro do povo hebreu*, **deu-lhe** Deus grandes castigos, e um dêles foi tirar-lhe os primogénitos. [p. 468]
"To The-king Farao, because he allowed the unjust captivity of the hebrews in his kindom, **gave-him** God great punishments,..."

We conclude that Vieira is not an exception in his time, but the one who most clearly reveals the system. His use of enclisis is compatible with a grammar in which this order is clearly marked and associated to contrast, that is, ClP.

In the next sections, we shall come back to the question of the localization in time of the change from ClP to EP.

II.3 The patterns in change: 18th-19th century texts

We have already seen that the rates of enclisis present a steep change after the first half of the 18th century.

We shall see now that, in addition, the use of enclisis in the later texts no longer corresponds to clear stylistic features of the sentences – which is to be expected, since enclisis is categorical with +referential phrases in EP. This is illustrated in a a very enlightening manner by the comparison between Vieira's *Sermons* and Marquesa de Alorna's letters. The two texts instantiate a comparable rate of enclisis with XPs in general (respectively 45% and 48%) and with SV (respectively 54% and 58%), *cf. Figure 1* and *Figure 2*; but in Alorna (b. 1750), enclisis and proclisis are alternatively found in exactly the same discursive and informational contexts. No contrastiveness is associated with enclisis, as exemplified by (14a); and anaphoric subjects can be followed either by enclisis or by proclisis, as exemplified by (14b) and (14c):

[23] Interestingly, the 2 cases with the order Adv-Vcl in the letters appear in discursive contexts that suggest contrast:
(i) Êste discurso é evidente em toda a parte, e nestas onde eu agora ando muito mais que em Paris, porque lá não vemos mais que as grandezas de França, e **aqui vêem-se** as suas dependências, os seus receios, as suas contemporizações e as suas rogativas. [p. 150]
(ii) De maneira, senhor, que até agora nos dizia êste mesmo ministro que França não havia de deixar de fazer a paz por amor de Portugal, e nos mandava cada dia repetir êste desengano em Lisboa, em Paris e em Munster; **e agora, que a conveniência ou a fôrça o reduz a continuar a guerra, quer-nos vender** a liga, como se deixara de fazer a paz por nossa causa e como se, uma vez posta França em guerra, necessitara menos da conservação e união de Portugal que da de Nápoles, a que tão poderosa e tão empenhadamente assiste!

(14)

(a) *Enfim, minha Senhora, a mesma delicadeza e pundonor de Vossa Alteza Real está interessada na escolha do meio que a pode fazer alcançar o que deseja e, aproveitando a licença que me dá para dizer o que entendo, tomo liberdade de supor-me por um momento no seu lugar e dizer-lhe o que eu faria, o que Vossa Alteza fará muito melhor que eu, e o que desejo que Vossa Alteza Real faça.*
Vossa Alteza Real **julga-se** ofendida e precisa despicar-se.
"Your Highness **judges-SE** ('judges yourself') offended and needs to be avenged".

(b) *A malícia tem armas para atacar tudo, mas o juizo também as tem para perceber e discernir o que convém.* Esta reflexão **lhe** basta *para, daqui por diante, saber quem deve aceitar ou recusar com algum pretexto sempre polido e que nem levemente ofenda o amor próprio de ninguém, porque desta atenção depende a paz e bom nome.*
"This reflection **to-you suffices**"

(c) *Fui imediatamente falar com uma das minhas amigas, a qual me comunicou que, tendo tido a resolução de preguntar a Sua Majestade se meu marido seria nomeado para algum dos lugares, Sua Majestade respondeu que eu ainda não tinha pedido nenhum.* Esta resposta **aclarou-me** *e, abolindo todos os meus antigos princípios, conheci que na nossa Côrte é preciso pedir e de pouco ou nada serve merecer.*
"This answer **clarified-me**"

Therefore, enclisis in Alorna is not only frequent, but also, apparently, not discursively limited – in opposition to what we saw in Vieira. This can be taken as evidence that at this point (the second half of the 18th century) the grammar has already changed; and that the use of proclitic constructions is a conservative option, in a situation of competition of grammars.

Still, for the generation born in the first half of the 18th century, this articulation between qualitative and quantitative analyses of the alternation between enclisis and proclisis is more complex, making it difficult to precisely locate the the exact point of change. For instance, how is the frequency of 36% of enclisis with subjects to be interpreted in the text by Aires (b.1705)? Is it the result of the competition of grammars, as in Alorna, or a stylistic effect due to the nature of his text, as in Vieira? The former interpretation is favoured if we consider that Aires' birthdate places him inside the ascending curve for enclisis (*cf. Figure 1* and *Figure 2*). But if we look at his use of enclisis, we can observe the same kind of oppositions as in Vieira's *Sermons*, as illustrated in (15) below[24]:

[24] In this aspect, it might be worth noticing that Matias Aires' writing can be seen as the last heir to the baroque argumentative style, as Antonio Saraiva points out. (Saraiva e Lopes, 1996:584)

(15)

(a) *No exercício do mal achamos uma espécie de doçura, e de naturalidade, as virtudes praticam-se por ensino*: o vício **sabe-se**, a virtude **aprende-se.**
"... the vice **knows-SE**, the virtue **learns-SE** ('Vice is known, virtue must be learned')"

(b) ... no prometer fazemos nós, no cumprir **fazem-nos** fazer
"in promising do we, in delivering **make-us** do" ('In promising, we act; in delivering, we are made to act')

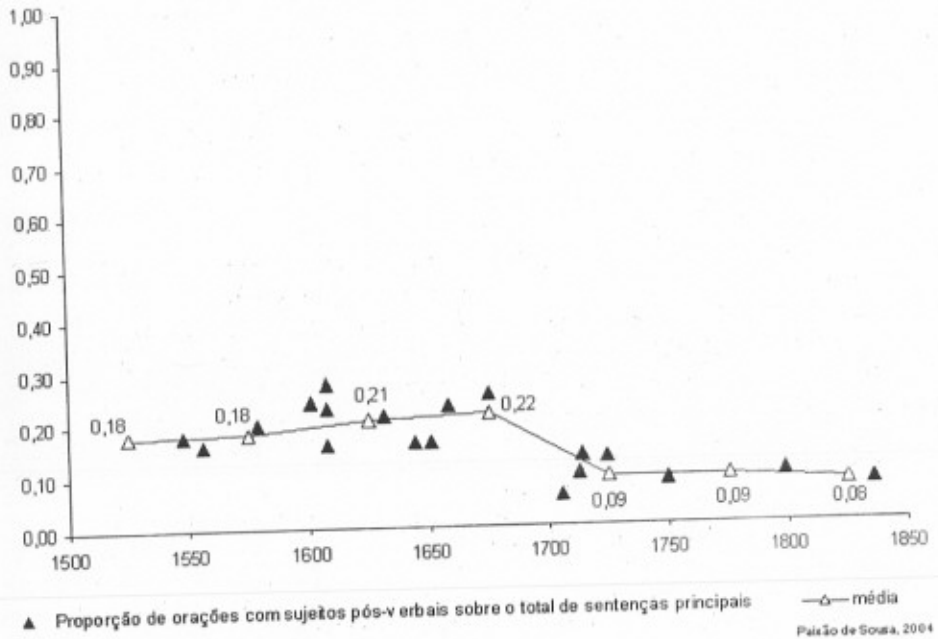
Therefore, we are faced with the problem of the borderline texts. Paixão de Sousa (2004) suggests a way to solve this problem: she shows that apart from clitic placement, another factor that distinguishes 16th-17th century texts from 18th-19th century texts is that the relative proportions of *pre-verbal*, *post-verbal* and *null subjects* in the sentences present a neat change after 1700. There is a clear fall in the rate of inversions, which shows up at the turn of the 18th century: from an average of 20% for authors born before 1675, the proportion of VS constructions falls to an average of 10% for authors born after 1705[25].

Paralel to the fall of VS, there is a raise in the proportion of SV constructions (while null subjects present no clear pattern of raising or falling). Now, when data for SV is split into enclitic and proclitic, we see that this raise in SV translates into a raise of SV with enclisis (from around 0,05 of total data in 1550-1599 to around 0,30 of total data in 1800-1850; SV with proclisis falls steadily after 1700). Remarkably, the low rates of SV with enclisis before the 18th century are attested even in texts in which the relative

[25] The data in Paixão de Sousa (2004) was selected from the same corpus, but a different methodology was used to quantify it. The finite clauses with clitics (with any placement, be it variation, categorical proclisis and categorical enclisis) were separated according to the quality and position of the subjects: *null*, *pre-verbal*, or *post-verbal*. The proportion of each of those patterns was then calculated for each text. In texts representative of the period 1550-1599, the proportion of sentences with *null subjects* averages 0,56 of total data; the proportion of sentences with *pre-verbal subjects* (SV) averages 0,22 of total data; and the proportion of sentences with *post-verbal subjects* (VS) averages 0,18 of total data. In texts from 1600-1649, the proportion is: *null subjects* – 0,47 of total data; *SV* – 0,31; *VS* – 0,21. In texts from 1650-1699, the proportions are: *null subjects* – 0,49; *SV* – 0,27; *VS* – 0,22. That is: for the three periods, VS ranges around 0,18 to 0,27 of the options in the texts, and SV ranges around 0,22 to 0,31. In texts from 1700-1749, the proportions change: *null subjects* represent on average 0,41; *SV*, 0,42; and *VS*, 0,09. In texts from 1750-1799, the proportions are: *null subjects* – 0,49; *SV* – 0,36; *VS* – 0,09; and for 1800-1850, *null subjects* – 0,42; *SV* – 0,42; *VS* – 0,08. Moreover, the sub-type of VS constructions that suffer the earliest and steepest decline is X-V-S-X with proclisis – typically, *Germanic inversions*. Most of the remaining VS-orders in the later texts can be classified as Romance inversions, (X)VSX with enclisis (cf. Paixão de Sousa, 2004)

rate of enclisis *versus* proclisis is high – such as the *Sermons* by Vieira. This means that for all 16th-17th century texts, even those with a high rate of enclisis *versus* proclisis, the frequency of SV with enclisis is never higher than the frequency of VS structures[26]. This confirms the view that in pre-18th century texts, SV with enclisis is a marked construction (much more than VS constructions); whereas it is a frequent, unmarked construction in later texts (in which, contrastively, VS becomes less frequent) – which is consistent with the analysis we presented in this paper: constructions with enclisis in pre-18th century texts are in fact V1 structures, with an adjunct subject. This structure can be considered as marked, and corresponds to a stylistic option.

Figure 6: Proportion of VS constructions in matrix affirmative clauses (cf. Paixão de Sousa, 2004)



II.4 Further diachronic arguments

II.4.1 Fronted clauses and prosody

We have shown that in ClP, enclisis is marginal in *Variation Contexts I*. We have argued that it occurs when the pre-verbal phrase is outside the

[26] Typically, in a pre-18th century text the proportion of VS orders will range from 0,18 to 0,27; and the proportion of SV with enclisis will be lower than 0,05 – i.e.: in those texts the proportion of SV with enclisis never surpasses the proportion of VS. In contrast, in post-18th century texts the proportion of VS orders is in average 0,10; and the proportion of SV with enclisis always surpasses the proportion of VS (cf. Paixão de Sousa, 2004).

boundaries of the clause. In other terms, we adopt the view that enclisis in ClP is correlated with the Tobler Mussafia Law, which prevents a non-stressed item from showing up at the beginning of the clause.

However, one question remains: how can the Tobler-Mussafia Law be translated into modern terms? In particular, how should "*clause*" be understood in the definition of the law? It is not completely clear whether it is a *syntactic* notion, or a *phonological* notion. As far as *Variation Contexts I* are concerned, we can stick to a syntactic definition. In effect, as proposed above, the crucial point is whether the pre-verbal phrase is in a specifier position internal to the clause, or in an external, adjunct position.

But, with respect to *Variation Contexts II*, things are not so clear. On the one side, the alternation between enclisis and proclisis could be attributed to the occupation of different syntactic positions by the pre-verbal element (*i.e, external or internal*, deriving enclisis and proclisis respectively). In this case, why should the variation with pre-verbal dependent clauses and V1 second coordinates look so different from the variation with pre-verbal adverbs, PPs or subjects? Moreover – can we associate the position of the clitic in *Variation Contexts II* with discursive aspects of the text, as we did for *Variation Contexts I*? This is not likely to be the case, since there would be no clear sense in which a clause or a conjunction could be interpreted as a contrastive topic.

On the other side, we could argue that *only the external* syntactic position can be occupied by pre-verbal dependent clauses. In this case (and if, at the same time, we interpret the Tobler-Mussafia Law as referring to *syntactic* boundaries), then, how could we explain the fact that we do find proclisis in this context (even though enclisis is much more frequent than in the other contexts of variation)?

The alternative hypothesis is to understand "*clause*", in the law, as referring to a prosodic unit, which, in modern terms, can be identified with the *Intonational Phrase* (henceforth IntP) of Prosodic Theory[27]. We have indication that this is the right approach to our data. In effect, we observe that, in the texts by authors born in the 16th and 17th centuries, the frequency of enclisis in sentences in which the verb is immediately preceded by a dependent clause is correlated with the length of this clause[28]. The frequency of enclisis is significantly higher for dependent clauses with more than 8 phonological words, as *Table 2a* below shows:

[27] This is in accordance with Barbosa (1996, 2000) who proposes the following formulation of the constraint:
*[$_{IntP}$ cl V ...] IntP = Intonational Phrase

[28] This important aspect was pointed out to us by Anthony Kroch during the IV Workshop for the project Rythmic Patterns, Parameter Settings and Language Change (Campinas, August 2002). We are very grateful to him for this observation, as well as for the methodological suggestions about the quantitative treatment of the data.

Table 2a: The effect of the length of pre-verbal dependent clauses on clitic placement in authors born in the 16th and 17th centuries

Size of fronted dependent clause (*in phonological words*)	16th			17th		
	P	*E*	*% E*	*P*	*E*	*% E*
1-4 w	68	29	**0,30**	38	35	**0,48**
5-8 w	33	18	**0,35**	27	28	**0,51**
9+ w	8	9	**0,53**	10	25	**0,71**
	109	56		75	88	

Since long clauses are more likely to be IntP by their own, this data suggests that the relevant boundary for the position of the clitic is the IntP boundary. Assuming CP as the *syntactic boundary* of the main clause, if no adjunction structure is involved, *there is no choice* for the IntP/CP alignment; the syntactic and prosodic boundaries always coincide. We correctly predict that in such cases, the only position for the clitic is proclisis, since no IntP can be associated with internal syntactic nodes.

As for adjunction structures, there are two possibilities for the association between the intonation boundary and the syntactic boundary. IntP can be associated either with the *lowest segment* or with the *highest segment* of CP. In the first case, enclisis obtains; in the second case, proclisis obtains instead. Thus, in adjunction structures, the position of the clitic will depend on how the prosodic and syntactic boundaries are aligned, as represented in (16) below:

(16)

[CP *XP* **{IntP** [CP
{IntP [CP *XP* [CP

This alignment rule would apply to any adjunction structure, including the ones in the contexts we have called *Variation Contexts I.* Nevertheless, let us recall that in this case, adjunction is associated to a discursive value, namely contrast; we therefore expect the phonological interpretation of the adjunction structure to be coherent with the intended effect of the choice of this structure. Consequently, we expect the IntP boundary to be associated with the lowest CP segment – otherwise the adjunction structure would become superficially indistinguishable from the structure in which the pre-verbal phrase is inside the clause.

To sum up, in Classical Portuguese the alignment of syntactic and prosodic boundaries will have a defining effect over clitic placement, as the restriction over first-position clitics applies in this case to the first XP, as we have already suggested in II.1.

Note, however, that we also suggested that the domain in which "*Non-Initial*" applies changes in EP (in this case, it is first X-bar). It is then interesting to notice that the correlation between the length of the pre-verbal clause and the position of the clitic ceases to be true in the texts of the 18th century. The numbers in *Table 2b* and *Figure 7* below reveal that in 18th-19th century texts, the length of the pre-verbal clause no longer affects clitic placement:

Table 2b: Length of pre-verbal clauses and clitic placement (16th to 19th centuries)

Size of fronted embedded clause (*in phonological words*)	16th			17th			18th			19th		
	P	*E*	*% E*	*P*	*E*	*% E*	*P*	*E*	*% E*	*P*	*E*	*% E*
1-4 w	68	29	**0,30**	38	35	**0,48**	12	35	**0,74**	0	10	1,00
5-8 w	33	18	**0,35**	27	28	**0,51**	16	31	**0,66**	0	4	1,00
9+ w	8	9	**0,53**	10	25	**0,71**	15	15	**0,50**	0	0	–
	109	56		75	88		43	81		0	14	

Categorical enclisis after an adjoined dependent clause (or any adjunction construction) is in fact to be expected in EP, by our hypothesis. Once in this system the relevant boundary for the aplication of the "*Non-initial*" restriction is the first X-Bar, elements adjunct to CP do not affect the rule at all (just as elements in Spec-IP do not). That IntP can align with the highest or the lowest segment of CP in adjunction is irrelevant in this case.

II.4.2 The XXV constructions

Another factor that reinforces our analysis of enclisis as a V1 phenomenon in pre-18th century texts is the general patterns for "V3" constructions – that is, superfical XXV sequences – in this Corpus. Under the hypothesis for the grammatical difference between ClP and EP presented here, enclitic V3 constructions with a subject immediately preceding the verb (XSV-cl) would consist of *two external phrases* in in ClP; while in EP, only the first phrase would be external. This is represented below:

(17)

(i) ClP:
[XP][XP] #Vcl
[XP][Subject] #V-cl

(ii) EP:
[XP] #[Subject Vcl]
[XP][XP] # Vcl

If this analysis is on the right track, XSV with enclisis should become more frequent in the change from ClP to EP. This is exactly what is revealed in the data from a preliminary study (Galves and Paixão de Sousa, 2004).

In this study, we observed that up to 1700 the distribution between proclisis and enclisis in XXV and SXV V3 orders is similar to the distribution found in V2 orders; however, the order XSV with enclisis is much less

frequent[29]. After 1700, there is a decrease in V3 structures with proclisis, which affects all types of V3 orders homogeneously. In contrast, the evolution of enclitic V3 is not homogeneous: while both XXV and SXV become relatively more frequent, the difference is specially noticeable for the order XSV. This pattern, which is extremely rare in the preceding centuries, increases from 0,6% of the total data in 1700-1750, to 1,2% in 1750-1800, and reaches 2,7 % in 1800-1850.

In other words, after the beginning of the 18th century we observe not only an increase in the proportion of enclitic V3 constructions (consistently with what happens in V2 structures), but also the emergence of a new pattern. This new pattern is XSV with enclisis. This evidences that the raise of enclisis is accompanied by a change in the position of the subject.

III. Concluding Remarks

The history of clitic-placement in texts written by Portuguese authors born from the 16th to the 19th century evidences two different types of variation.

Up to the end of the 17th century, the variation between enclisis and proclisis is produced by one grammar. Except when enclisis is used for stylitic purposes, the rate of enclisis in the XV contexts that correspond to what we have called *Variation Contexts I* remains inferior to 15%. We have argued that it is because their underlying structure is marked.

This analysis straightforwardly explains the contrast between contemporary texts representative of the 16th-17th century texts – in particular, between Vieira's *Sermons* and its contemporary texts (including the *Letters* by the same author). In the *Sermons,* the position of the clitics evidences that the pre-verbal phrase is to be interpreted as a contrastive topic. The *Sermons* are masterpieces of baroque oratory style, which uses oppositions between terms as a fundamental stylistic resort. This is why enclisis is so frequent in this text. In contrast, the *Letters* (which are not pieces of baroque oratory) display much less enclisis, consistently with what is observed for other writers in the same period. In conclusion, Vieira's work provides us with a nice and rare case of deep and visible correlation between syntax and style.

In other syntactic contexts, which we called *Variation Contexts II*, enclisis is far more frequent in this period. By evidencing the role of the Tobler-Mussafia Law in clitic-placement, this kind of contexts further support our analysis of the structure of enclitic sentences in this period. The difference in the frequency of enclisis in *Variation Contexts I* and *Variation Contexts II* can be related to the fact that in the former, there are two syntactic positions available for the pre-verbal phrase (one of them being marked); while in the latter, only the external syntactic position is available, and the placement of the clitics will depend on the presence or absence of an IntP boundary between the pre-verbal element and the verb.

At the beginning of the 18th century, things change. A great deal of variation is still attested in the texts; but we have several pieces of evidence that this variation no longer produced by one single grammar. Instead, it is the reflex of grammar competition (in the sense of Kroch, 1994). This means that a grammatical change has already taken place.

On the basis of other quantitative effects of this change, which affect the position of subjects, we have argued that the turning point in our Corpus lies between the last author of the 17th century and the first author of the 18th century. It is interesting to emphasize that from this point of view, the grammatical change happens not at the end, but at the beginning of the change curve. What we observe empirically is not the course of the change in time, but the effect of the change in the texts. This is compatible with the generativist claim that parametric change is abrupt (cf. among others Lightfoot, 1999).

In bringing these results, we have not attempted to solve all the problems concerning the intricate evolution of the syntactic phenomena correlated with the grammatical change from Classical Portuguese to Modern European Portuguese. Instead, we have set up a framework in which a new light is shed onto those old questions, revealing new questions that can be answered.

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[29] In all the 16th-17th century texts, only the following sentence with XSV and enclisis (with clitics other than SE) is attested: "*Vendo tão rara e verdadeira amizade, el-rei Dionísio o mais velho* ***disse-lhes****: Eu perdoo o crime, a troco de que me admitais também por vosso amigo* (M. Bernardes, 1644)". The total numbers are:
(i) XXV: 100 cases, 10 with enclisis (10%)
SXV: 42 cases, 06 with enclisis (14%)
XSV: 57 cases, 01 with enclisis (1,7%)
Total: 199 cases, 17 with enclisis (8,5%)

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Charlotte Galves
IEL
Universidade Estadual de Campinas
UNICAMP
galvesc@unicamp.br

Helena Britto
UNICAMP

Maria Clara Paixão de Sousa
UNICAMP