

Syntax and Style: clitic-placement in Padre Antonio Vieira*

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Clitic-placement is a remarkable syntactic fact in European Portuguese, both from a diachronic and a synchronic point of view. Modern European Portuguese (henceforth EP) differs from the other major Romance languages by requiring enclisis in certain contexts in tensed sentences. This occurs not only when the verb is in the absolute first position (henceforth V1 enclisis), in accordance to the Tobler-Mussafia law, but also in root affirmative sentences when the pre-verbal phrase is topic-like (henceforth V2 enclisis). However, it is well-known that up to the second half of the nineteenth century, proclisis alternated with enclisis in the V2 contexts in which EP now requires the latter. In this paper, I shall raise the question of the emergence of the categorical V2 enclisis in the history of the language. I shall challenge the claim defended by Martins (1994) that Vieira's Sermons bring evidence that the enclitic grammar emerges during the 17th century. I shall propose that the high rate of V2 enclisis in Vieira is not the reflex of a grammatical change but is due to stylistic considerations linked to the baroque style.

1. An overview of clitic-placement in the history of Portuguese

The striking fact of the history of EP clitic-placement is that, on one hand, the contexts of obligatory proclisis never changed, and on the other hand, enclisis has been obligatory from the 12th century up to now in V1 contexts. With respect to these two kind of contexts, the rules of placement of clitics has therefore been remarkably constant. For clarity sake, I shall schematically recall below the contexts in which proclisis has been categorical in the whole history of the language. Three main types of obligatory proclitic structures can be defined:

a) negative clauses

1. a. O Paulo não **me** fala
b.* O Paulo não fala-**me**
"Paulo does not speak to me"

b) subordinate clauses

2. a. Todo mundo sabe que **a** viste
b. * Todo mundo sabe que viste-**a**
"Everybody knows that (you) saw her"
3. a. Se tu **me** tivesses dito...
b. *Se tu tivesses-**me** dito
"If you had said to me.."

c) clauses in which the preverbal phrase is a quantifier (4), a WH operator (5), a focalized phrase (6), or an adverb of a certain class (7)

4. a. Alguém **me** chamou
b. *Alguém chamou-**me**
"Somebody called me"
5. a. Quem **me** chamou?
b. * Quem chamou-**me**?
"Who called me"
6. a. Só ele **a** entende.
b. *Só ele entende-**a**
"Only him understands her"

7. a. eu (sempre, ainda, já) **a** encontrei no mercado
 b. * eu (sempre, ainda, já) encontrei-**a** no mercado
 "I (always, still, already) met her at the market"

The contexts which will be considered here are therefore the remaining V2 contexts, i.e. the affirmative root clauses, in which the pre-verbal phrase is not of the kind exemplified in (3)-(7), but is instead a topic-like element. It can be the subject of the clause, an adverb, or a prepositional phrase (cf. examples below).

In all these cases, up to the second half of the 19th century, we see a variation between enclisis and proclisis in texts. The interesting point is that the proportion of enclisis and proclisis in variation contexts also varies a lot in time. Martins (1994) presents a detailed study of this variation in non literary texts from the 12th to the 16th century. Galves, Britto and Paixão de Sousa (2001) - henceforth GBP - study the same variation in literary texts from the 17th to 19th century (cf. also Torres Moraes (1995) for the 18th and 19th centuries). Taken together these studies show two reverse tendencies in time. From the beginning of the attested documents up to the 15th century, we observe a move from enclisis to proclisis. The 16th century is predominantly proclitic (cf. also Lobo 1992). From the beginning of the 18th century on, we see a clear evolution in the direction of the enclitic pattern characteristic of EP. The 17th century is more difficult to interpret, given the great deal of variation between authors. Vieira is a case at point since his high proportion of V2 enclisis in the Sermons led Martins to raise the hypothesis that he was representative of the change from the proclitic grammar of the 16th century to the modern enclitic grammar. But as will be developed below, many of his contemporaries, and himself in his Correspondence, are as proclitic as the 16th century authors. This makes the question of the localization of the change a very tricky one.

2. Grammatical change and competition of grammars

I shall assume with Kroch (1994) that when a change appears, it has already been completed in the language and the variation observed is the effect of the competition, in texts, between the old and the new grammar. From this point of view, when we look at the history of clitic-placement in Portuguese, we are in front of two successive variations. Before the change, there is a variation produced by the grammar itself (to which I come back in the next section), and after the change there is a variation produced by the competition between a grammar which contains variation and a grammar which doesn't. The difficult question is to detect the moment at which we cease to be in front of the former, and we are looking at the latter. I shall not attempt to fully answer this question here and report the interested reader to GBP. Here, I shall only address the question of what we can infer from the peculiar clitic-placement in Vieira's sermons, since Martins (1994) takes them as an evidence that, at Vieira's time, the grammar has already changed. Before introducing Martins' analysis and proposing an alternative one, I shall explicit the grammatical analysis I am assuming for the change .

3. Two different grammars for enclisis in tensed clauses.

The history of European Portuguese clitic placement leads us to consider two different grammars allowing enclisis in tensed clauses. One in which enclisis and proclisis co-exist, and the other in which enclisis excludes proclisis. For the former Salvi (1990) and Benincà (1995) (cf. also Torres Moraes 1995, Galves and Galves 1995, and Galves et al. 1998) have proposed an analysis by which proclisis is the normal placement, and enclisis corresponds to V1 clauses to which some phrase is adjoined, as in the representation below where "[" is the clause boundary:

Proclisis: [XP cl-V

Enclisis: XP [V-cl

From this point of view, V2 enclisis is only apparent. In fact, it is a hidden V1 construction, in which the preverbal phrase is outside the boundaries of the clause. This analysis can be understood as a syntactic rephrasing of the Tobler Mussafia Law: enclisis appears whenever V is in first position inside the clause boundaries. Note that it also predicts that enclisis is somehow marked, since the XP does not occupy its normal position, which is inside the clause.

I shall assume this analysis, and I shall show that it is strongly supported by the alternation between enclisis and proclisis in Vieira's sermons.

In the other grammar, only enclisis is produced. The exact analysis of this pattern is outside the scope of this paper, and raises a lot of very complex questions about the position of the subject in EP. Benincà and Salvi argue that the difference between EP and CIP is the fact that in the former subjects are always outside the clause, like topics. This idea is also defended by Barbosa (2000). Costa (1995) and Costa and Galves (2000) argue that subjects are internal to the clause in EP. I shall assume here this analysis, which means that in EP, enclisis is no more a V1 phenomenon. This means that the grammatical change not only affects proclisis, which becomes impossible in the contexts in which variation used to appear, but also enclisis which undergoes a structural change which, with respect to the preverbal subjects, can be expressed in the following way:

XP [V-cl >> [XP V-cl

4. Martins's analysis of clitic placement in Vieira

Martins (1994) interprets the high frequency of enclisis in Vieira's sermons as the reflex of the grammatical change which gave rise to EP. She compares the Sermons with Francisco Manuel de Melo's private correspondence and concludes that, while Vieira is representative of the new grammar, Francisco Manuel de Melo, born the same year as Vieira, still represents the old one. This analysis leads her to raise the question why differently from the modern speakers of EP, Vieira, still uses proclisis in near 30% of the cases. She argues that the overwhelming majority of the sentences in which proclisis shows up are cases of focalization of the pre-verbal phrase, and are therefore cases of obligatory proclisis. However, since "the identification of examples of the construction of focalization is problematic" (op. cit. p. 277), these sentences cannot be excluded a priori, as in the case of interrogative or negative clauses. For the few sentences in which no focalization can be invoked, Martins argues that they are instances of grammatical borrowings, that is, are reminiscences of the old grammar.

This explanation, however, raises a further question. For what reason do we find a dramatic decay of proclisis in the last author she considers, Oliveira Martins (born in 1845), who displays only 2,4% of proclisis? In order to answer this question, Martins claims that this is due to the decay of the productivity of the construction of focalization itself (op. cit. p.298), and she suggests that this construction was reanalyzed at some point, possibly during the 19th century, as a topicalization construction, which is an innovation in the history of the language.

This analysis is problematic for both empirical and theoretical reasons. First, in her presentation of the evolution of clitic-placement in European Portuguese from the 17th to the 19th century, Martins only considers few authors. For the 17th century, in particular, she only analyses Vieira's sermons and Melo's Correspondence. She ignores the striking fact that Vieira himself, in his Correspondence, is as proclitic as Melo (cf. Britto, 1999). She also leaves aside many authors who all display the same proclitic pattern, and for whom enclisis is always very marginal. According to her, these authors would have to be considered as representative of the old grammar. But it is very surprising that the new grammar appear so scarcely in all the century. And it appears as a mystery why only in his sermons does Vieira reveal his new grammar.

The theoretical problem concerns the notion of focalization used by Martins in her analysis. First, as she acknowledges, this construction is not easy to recognize, and in many cases, the only evidence that the pre-verbal phrase is focalized is the placement of the clitic, which makes the analysis quite circular. Second, the claim that European Portuguese has lost the construction of focalization is not fully explicit. Is it a matter of performance, as suggested by the term "productivity", or does it derive from another grammatical change, which would lead to a reinterpretation of the pre-verbal position? This is not clear, but it must be noted that on a discursive and intonational basis, one does not expect that focalization construction be reanalyzed as topicalization constructions.

In the next section, I shall propose an alternative analysis of the high frequency of enclisis in the Sermons, which is compatible with a larger set of data from the 17th century, and which is supported by textual evidence.

5. An alternative interpretation of clitic-placement in Vieira: clitic placement as a stylistic resource.

In this section, I shall bring evidence that the high rate of enclisis in Vieira's sermons is not to be interpreted as the emergence of a new grammar, but instead evidences the special use of enclisis which is made available by a grammar in which proclisis is the unmarked pattern.

Before making this point, it is important to come back to the fact mentioned above that the syntax of clitic placement in the Sermons is different not only from what is found in Vieira's contemporaries, but also from Vieira himself in his Correspondence, as shown by Britto (1999).

The striking fact is that enclisis appears with all kinds of pre-verbal phrases in the Sermons, whereas we never find it with pre-verbal subjects in the letters, and at a very low rate with initial adverbs and prepositional phrases (PPs). Clearly what triggers enclisis in Vieira's letters are pre-verbal adjoined dependent clauses, which appear even in subordinate clauses (2/30). Let's have a closer look to the cases of enclisis with phrases other than clauses in the letters. The only three cases of enclisis with PPs are clitic-left dislocation constructions:

8. [p.87] porque **a êles está-lhe** muito melhor a guerra que a paz , e nós não estamos em tempo de a dilatar , porque na dilação crescerão os empenhos , e com êles a dificuldade da convivência .

because **to them is-to- them** much better the war than the peace,...

9. [p. 166] mas faça-se o milagre , e o demais seja como cada um quiser , que **a nós importam-nos** mais os efeitos que as causas .

...that **to us import-to-us** more the effects than the causes

10. [p. 468] **A El-rei Faraó**, porque consentiu no seu reino o injusto cativo do povo hebreu , **deu-lhe Deus** grandes castigos , e um dêles foi tirar-lhe os primogénitos .

To The-king Faraó, (...), **gave-to** him God great punishments,...

With respect to subjects, as observed above, we never find enclisis when they are contiguous to the verb. But, interestingly enough we do have three cases of the string Subject X V-cl (observe that the first one is again a case of clitic-left dislocation):

11. [p.229] **Nós** , pelo contrário , **pegamo-nos** a que tudo se deve repor no estado em que estava ao tempo da publicação da trégua , e nos ajuda a isto o exemplo da fortaleza de Gale em Ceilão, e a resposta que os mesmos Estados deram ao Embaixador Francisco de Andrada , em que deliberaram isto mesmo .

Us, on the contrary, (we) **stick-ourselves** ...

12. [p.469] E mais **Abel** , Senhor , **salvou-se** , e está no céu .

And more **Abel**, Lord, **saved-SE (is saved)**, and is in heaven.

In both cases, the subject is separated from the verb by some phrase adjoined to the clause: a sentential adverbial PP in 11., and a vocative in 12. Summarizing, all the examples listed above clearly show that enclisis appears when the pre-verbal XPs are external, supporting the structure proposed in Section 3. The only case in which we do not find this pattern and in which the pre-verbal phrase is an adverb, is the following:

13. [p.150] 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 **aquí vêm-se** as suas dependências , os seus receios , as suas contemporizações e as suas rogativas .

... because **there** (we) not see more than the greatness of France, and **here See-SE** ("we can see") her dependencies, her fears, her arrangements, and her demands.

This exception (1 case in 28) is interesting because it appears in a discursive context in which the adverb "aqui" is contrasted with "lá" in the previous sentence, with the repetition of the same verb: vemos/vêm. We shall see that it is in this context that enclisis is systematically found in the Sermons.

Let's now look at enclisis in the Sermons in detail. The very striking difference with what we find in the letters is the great quantity of enclisis with subjects (23/42 in matrix clauses), and with PPs (21/41 in matrix clauses). The examples below illustrate the fact that, in all the cases of enclisis with pre-verbal subjects, **with no exception**, these subjects are contrasted with another phrase, generally a subject too. In many cases, the opposition between the two phrases is explicitly given in the immediately preceding sentence.

14. [p.71] Diz o Senhor, que o dia do Juízo ha-de vir, e que já é; porque ainda que o dia do Juízo ha-de ser depois, e muito depois; o dia da morte é já agora: e o que se ha-de cumprir em todos no dia do Juízo, cumpre-se em cada um no dia da morte: Singulis in die mortis completur. Notae o Completur. **As outras profecias cumprem-se** a seu tempo, **esta do dia do Juízo** tem o seu cumprimento antes de tempo; porque aquillo mesmo que se faz agora, é o que se diz que ha-de ser então.

The other prophecies achieve-SE ("are achieved") in their time, **this one of the Final Judgement** have its achievement before its time

15. [p. 74] Não diz o Apostolo, que passa o mundo, senão as figuras; porque **as figuras vão-se**, e **o theatro** fica.

... because **the figures go-SE**, and **the theater** remains

16. [p. 97] 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 podem-me** salvar sem revelação.

... because **the revelation** cannot save me without good deeds; and **the good deeds can-me** save without revelation.

17. [p. 121] 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.

... **We** leave the fingerprints behind our back, and **God has-them** always in front of his eyes,...

18. [p. 121] Os Setenta, em lugar de pégadas, trasladaram raizes: Et radices pedum meorum considerasti. Assim como os pés se chamam plantas, assim ás pégadas lhes quadra bem o nome de raizes. É porque deu este nome Job ás pégadas dos seus passos? Não só porque os passos passam, e as pégadas ficam; mas porque ficam como raizes fundas e firmes, e que sempre permanecem. **As pégadas** estão manifestas e **vêm-se**; **as raizes** estão escondidas, e não se vêem: e assim tem Deus guardados invisivelmente todos os nossos peccados, os quaes no dia da conta rebentarão como raizes, e brotarão nos castigos, que pertencem á natureza de cada um. Isto é o que tanto cuidado dava a Job.

... **The fingerprints** are obvious and see-SE ("can be seen"); **the roots** are hidden and cannot be seen:...

19. [p. 125] **Elles conheciam-se**, como homens, **Christo** conhecia-os, como Deus.

They knew-themselves, as men, Christ knew-them, as God.

20. [p. 170] **Deus** julga-nos a nós por nós; **os homens** julgam-nos a nós por si.

God judges-us to us for us; **men** judge-us to us for themselves.

It must be observed that the contrast between the pre-verbal phrases is reinforced by explicit oppositions inside their own sentences and the one which precedes or follows. Many times, the verb is repeated in both sentences but some other aspect explicitly marks a contrast, affirmative vs. negative form ("porque **a revelação não me pôde salvar** sem boas obras; e **as boas obras podem-me salvar** sem revelação, **As pégadas** estão manifestas e **vêm-se**; **as raizes** estão escondidas, e **não se vêem**), lexical oppositions (**As outras prophcias cumprem-se a seu tempo, esta do dia do Juiso** tem o seu cumprimento **antes de tempo**: porque **as figuras vão-se, e o teatro fica.**). Observe that the first example combine with negation the exact inversion of the terms in the sentences.

We find exactly the same system of contrasts with other phrases:

21. [p. 87] **Lá ha se** de esperar o tempo que basta para os fructos verdes amadurecerem: **cá** não se espera por fructos maduros, nem ainda verdes, porque se cortam as flores ainda antes.

There has-SE ("one must") wait the time which is sufficient for the green fruits to mature: **here** one does not wait for rape fruits, not even green, because one cuts the flowers even before.

22. [p. 90] Assim como n'esta vida ha grande differença dos grandes e poderosos, aos que o não são, assim a ha-de haver no dia do Juiso. Elles teem hoje a mão direita; mas como o mundo então ha-de dar uma tão grande volta, muito é de temer que fiquem muitos á esquerda. **Dos outros salvar-se-ha** ametade; **e dos grandes e poderosos** quantos?

... **Of the others will-SE-save** ("will be saved") half; **and of the big and powerful** how many?

23. [p. 91] O Juiso com que Deus ha-de julgar aos que mandam e governam, ha-de ser um Juiso durissimo; porque **aos pequenos conceder-se-ha** misericordia; porém **os grandes e poderosos** serão poderosamente atormentados: Potentes potenter tormenta patientur

... because **to the small will-concede-SE** ("will be conceded") pity; however **the big and powerful** will be strongly tormented: ...

24. [p. 133] **Entre as feras tomava-se** com os leões, e **entre os homens** com os gigantes.

among the beasts took-SE ("he fought") with the lions, and **among men** with the giants.

25. [p. 156] Eis aqui porque David queria que o julgasse Deus, e não os homens: **no Juízo de Deus perdoam-se** os peccados como fraquezas: **no juízo dos homens castigam-se** as valentias como peccados.

... in the judgement of God forgive-SE ("are forgiven") the sins as weaknesses: in the judgement of men punish-SE (is punished) bravery as sins.

26. [p. 163] Muitas vezes a bons princípios seguem-se bons fins, como em Christo, e **a máus princípios seguem-se** bons fins, como no bom ladrão, e **a bons princípios seguem-se** máus fins, como em Judas.

.. and to bad principles follow-SE good aims, as in the good thief, and **to good principles follow-SE** bad aims, as in Judas.

27. [p. 164] Se este homem ainda tivera lepra, que lhe chamassem leproso, muito justo; mas se elle estava são, porque lhe hão-de chamar leproso? Porque esse é o juízo dos homens. Fostes vós leproso algum dia? Pois ainda que Deus faça milagres em vós, leproso haveis de ser todos os dias de vossa vida. Deus poder-vos-há dar a saude; mas o nome da enfermidade não vol-o hão-de perdoar os homens. **No Juízo de Deus com a mudança dos procedimentos, mudam-se** os nomes; antigamente eres Saulo, hoje sois Paulo: **no juízo dos homens**, por mais que os procedimentos se mudem, os nomes não se mudam jámais.

...In the Judgement of God with the change of actions, change-SE ("are changed") the names;...:in the judgement of men,...names never SE- change

28. [p. 78] Finalmente, **no dia do Juízo ha se de acabar** a vida com o mundo ; mas com o mesmo mundo se hão-de acabar também os encargos da vida ; porém **no dia da morte acaba-se** o mundo para a vida , mas não se acaba para os encargos.

Finally, **in the day of the Judgement, has-SE** to finish the life with the world; ...; however **in the day of the death finish-SE** the world for the life, but not SE finish for the charge ("the world finishes for life but not for charges").

29. 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.

The fingerprints **for us extinguish-SE**, as if they were made of powder, **for God**, (they) do not extinguish, as if they were engraved in diamond.

Finally, we find clitic-left dislocation constructions supporting this kind of contrasts, as illustrated below.

30. [p. 157] Deus vos livre de vossas boas obras, e muito mais das grandes; **os peccados soffremol-os** facilmente; **os milagres** não os podemos soffrer

... the sins, (we) suffer-them easily; **the miracles** (we) not them-can suffer

This analysis allows us to look differently at the cases in which proclisis shows up. As we saw above, Martins (1994) analyzes them as instances of focalization of the pre-verbal phrase. But we now have another way of contrasting enclisis and proclisis. We have shown that the former always appear when the pre-verbal

phrase is a contrastive topic. This leaves open the possibility of the latter when the pre-verbal phrase is also a topic, but no contrastive value is assigned to it. This is indeed what we observe in the following sentences, when we consider the context in which the sentence containing the clitic is uttered.

31. [p. 122] 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 iudicii Dei.

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 its time,** and SE-will-discover ("will be discovered") for the counting in the day of the Judgement....

32. [p. 123] E finalmente conclue, que então appareceram e se abriram **um livro e muitos livros**, e que pelo que estava escripto n'estes livros foram julgados todos, cada um conforme suas obras: Et **libri aperti sunt; et alius liber apertus est, qui est vitæ;** et iudicati sunt mortui ex his quæ scripta erant in libris secundum opera ipsorum. **D'esta distincção que o Evangelista faz de livro a livros, se vê** claramente, que o livro era da vida, liber qui est vitæ, e que os livros eram da conta, porque pelos livros foram julgados os mortos: Et iudicati sunt mortui ex his quæ scripta erant in libris.

From this distinction that the Evangelist makes from book to books, SE-sees ("it is seen") clearly that the book was of the lifeand that the books were of the counting, because by the books were judged the dead:...

33. [p. 65] E assim como ao sexto dia da criação se seguiu o setimo, **em que diz a Escriptura**, que descançou Deus de tudo o que tinha obrado, e depois d'este dia não se conta outro; assim ao sexto millenario da duração do mundo, se ha-de seguir o setimo, sem fim, no descanço da eternidade. **Este modo de dizer se tem** commummente por tradição antiquissima continuada desde o principio do mesmo mundo .

This way of saying SE-has ("exists") commonly as a very old tradition existing since the beginning of the world itself.

34. [p. 142] **Sete fontes de graça** deixei na minha Igreja, (que é o beneficio da justificação) para que n'ellas se lavassem as almas de seus peccados, e com ellas se regassem e crescessem nas virtudes. **Em uma te facilitei** em tal fórmula o remedio para todas as culpas, que só com as confessar te prometti o perdão, que tu não quizeste aceitar, fugindo da benignidade d'aquelle sacramento como rigoroso, e amando mais as mesmas culpas, que estimando o perdão. **Em outra te dei** a comer minha carne e a beber meu sangue, e juntamente os thesouros infinitos de toda a minha Divindade, em penhor da gloria e bemaventurança eterna, que foi o altissimo fim para que te creei.

Seven sources of grace (I) left in my Church (...) in order for the souls to wash themselves from their sins, and with them to clean up and to grow up. In one of them (I) to-you-eased in such a way the remedy for all your faults....In the other (I) to-you-gave to eat my flesh and drink my blood...

35. [p. 111] E o mesmo podemos dizer das planicies, valles e montes, d'onde se levantavam ás nuvens **aquelles vastissimos corpos de casas, muralhas e torres. De umas se não sabem** os logares onde estiveram; **d'outras se lavram, semeam, e plantam os mesmos logares**, sem mais vestigios de haverem sido, os que encontram os arados, quando rompem a terra.

And the same we can say about the plains , valleys and hills, from where raised to the clouds **those huge bodies of houses, walls and towers. Of ones SE-NEG-know (it is not known)** the places where (they) were; **of the others SE-plough, seed, and plant** the same places, with no more traces of having existed, those that find the plows, when (they) till the soil.

In these sentences, we clearly see that the pre-verbal phrases are anaphoric to a term in the preceding sentence. It is important to note that a careful reading of (34) and (35) reveals that the expression "em umas...em outras" do not express a contrast but correspond to sub-topics of the topic introduced in the preceding sentence.

Another type of non-contrastive topic corresponds to the mention of textual sources, mainly the Gospels (Evangelhos) and the Evangelists (Evangelhistas):

36. [p. 87] Esta diferença dos signaes que então ha-de haver, e agora não ha, é a que faz a diferença dos efeitos muito mais para temer no Juizo de cada dia, que no do fim do mundo. Que efeitos 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.

The Evangelist it-refers by well extraordinary terms:....

37. [p. 83] **O Evangelho o diz** :/. Erunt signa in sole ,/, et luna ,/, et stellis .

The Gospels it-says:....

38. [p. 205] **O mesmo Texto o declara** admiravelmente no que logo acrescenta : Quasi aurora consurgens , pulchra ut luna , electa ut sol , terribilis , ut castrorum acies ordinata .

The same text it-declares admirably in what immediately adds:...

In this case, there is no evidence that the subjects **O Evangelhista, O Evangelho, O mesmo Texto** are focalized, in the sense that that they are claimed by Vieira to be who says what is said . A main characteristic of the Sermons is that the Gospels are a permanent source of quotation, and there is no reason for Vieira to focalize this fact, which is given from the very beginning, and do not need to be claimed along the text. Note, however, that this analysis does not exclude that pre-verbal phrases in proclitic constructions be foci. But, crucially, it does not require it.

6. Concluding remarks

In conclusion, we see that in Vieira's sermons enclisis appears consistently when two terms are contrasted. In other terms, the pre-verbal phrases in enclitic constructions can be characterized as **contrastive topics**. Non contrastive topics appear with proclisis. The high rate of enclisis in Vieira's sermons can be therefore explained by discursive reasons: the sermons are masterpieces of the baroque style, which uses oppositions between terms as a fundamental stylistic resort. This view is consistent with the hypothesis presented above that in Classical Portuguese enclisis always corresponds to a V1 configuration. This means that when some phrase precedes the verb, it is outside the sentence.

We now straightforwardly explain why the letters, which are not pieces of baroque literature, but narrative and argumentative texts, display much less enclisis, consistently with what we find in other writers of this period. However, the cases of enclisis in the letters support the analysis of clitic placement in the sermons. In effect, as we saw above, enclisis arises with subjects and PPs when these are clearly dislocated. Cf. examples 8. and 9. which are clitic-left dislocation constructions, and 10.-12. in which we find the string Subject X V-cl, X a clausal adjunct, and last but not least a case of neat contrastive effect between the adverbs aqui (here) and lá (there).

This analysis gives evidence that Vieira is not different from the other authors of his time. He is enclitic in his Sermons because in his grammar enclisis is a marked construction which can be used for stylistic purposes. Differently from Martins' analysis, which contrasts focalization and topicalization, the relevant contrast here is between contrastive and non-contrastive topics. We have shown that this opposition is strongly supported by the textual analysis of the Sermons. It is also clearly linked to the hypothesis about the grammars involved in the history of clitic-placement sketched in Section 3. In Vieira's grammar, enclisis is a V1 phenomenon: pre-verbal phrases in enclitic constructions are outside the boundaries of the clause, where they are assigned a contrastive interpretation. Proclisis in turn is a V2 phenomenon, with neutral topics or foci in pre-verbal position.

Indeed, this paper says nothing about the localization of the grammatical change in time. It only argues that Vieira's Sermons does not reflect this change. It is worth noting, however, that the analysis proposed here can help us understanding when the variation between enclisis and proclisis ceases to be produced by one grammar, and begins to be produced by the competition of two grammars, in the sense of Kroch (1994). Martins is certainly right in pointing out that the variation between enclisis and proclisis continues after the change. However, the notion of competition of grammars allows us to assume this fact without appealing to the decrease of focalization. What the analysis defended here predicts is that the variation should lose its stylistic value after the change. GBP shows that this is already achieved in the 18th century writer Marquesa de Alorna (born in 1750). Between Vieira and Alorna, where is the breaking point? It is beyond the limits of this paper to answer this question.

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