

## CLITIC PLACEMENT AND THE POSITION OF SUBJECTS IN THE HISTORY OF EUROPEAN PORTUGUESE

CHARLOTTE GALVES & MARIA CLARA PAIXÃO DE SOUSA

### 1. *Introduction*

The complex pattern of clitic-placement in Modern European Portuguese (henceforth EP) tensed sentences has long been noticed and discussed in the framework of Generative Grammar. Leaving some marginal cases of variation aside, the distribution of proclisis and enclisis can be summarized in the following way. Proclisis is obligatory in subordinate clauses, as well as in root clauses when the verb is preceded by a negative, interrogative, quantified or focalized phrase, or certain aspectual or focalizing adverbs, as exemplified below in (1) to (7):

#### Negative clauses:

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

#### 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*."

**Clauses in which the preverbal phrase is a quantifier (4), a WH operator (5), a focalized phrase (6), or an aspectual adverb (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 he 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"

Enclisis is categorical in all the other contexts, namely when the verb is in absolute first position, and when a referential phrase precedes it, as in the example below:

- (8) **Deu-me** um livro / \***me deu** um livro  
 He gave me a book
- (9) O João **deu-me** um livro / \*O João **me deu** um livro  
 John gave me a book
- (10) Ontem **escrevi-lhe** uma carta / \*Ontem **lhe escrevi** uma carta  
 Yesterday (I) wrote him a letter

Barbosa (1996, 2000) argues that all enclitic constructions are V1 constructions in EP. According to her, enclisis derives from the application of the Tobler Mussafia Law, which bans unstressed words at the absolute beginning of sentences (cf. also Salvi 1990, and Benincà 1995). This is straightforward for (8), but (9) needs an auxiliary hypothesis in order to be derivable from this analysis. If (9) is a case of the application of the Tobler-Mussafia law, this means that pre-verbal subjects in EP do not occupy a position internal to the clause, but are dislocated, like topics. Barbosa argues at length in favor of this

hypothesis, in the general framework of the discussion of the position of subjects in null subject languages (NSLs), in the line of Vallduvi (1990) and others. According to this line of argumentation, the A-position for subjects in NSLs is the post-verbal position and pre-verbal subjects occupy a A' -position. As for pre-verbal referential subjects in EP, Barbosa (2000) argues that this position is of adjunction to IP.

Costa (1998, 1999) and Costa and Duarte (2002) argue against this analysis by showing on the basis of syntactic and discursive evidence that subjects and topics display a different behavior in EP, which is unexpected if subjects occupy the same position as left-dislocated topics<sup>1</sup>. In this paper, we bring another kind of evidence against the analysis of enclisis in sentences like (9) above as derived from the Tobler Mussafia law in EP. We contrast this language with its ancestor, Classical Portuguese (henceforth CIP), represented by texts written by Portuguese authors born between the 16th and the 18th century. Based on a large annotated Corpus from this period<sup>2</sup>, we show that clitic placement interacts with subject position in CIP in a way which nicely fits within Barbosa's account: the enclitic placement corresponds to structures in which the pre-verbal phrase, be it subject or any other XP, is outside the boundaries of the clause. We then show that the change from CIP to EP involves not only a quantitative change in the rate of enclisis but also a qualitative change affecting the position of subjects with enclisis. We conclude that although pre-verbal subjects with enclisis used to be external to the clause in CIP, this is no more true for EP.

The organization of this chapter is as follows. In Section 1, we present the pattern of clitic-placement in Classical Portuguese, and we argue that enclisis shows up when the verb is structurally in the absolute first position in the clause. Section 2 is devoted to a quantitative analysis of clitic-placement in V3

---

<sup>1</sup> See for instance, the following contrast in (i)-(iv), from Costa (1998). These sentences show that a dislocated Prepositional Phrase plus a subject can precede the verb; but if two PPs are dislocated in preverbal position, the sentence is bad. This contrast is unexpected under the hypothesis that subjects are dislocated:

- (i) Com o Pedro, o Paulo falou sobre o big bang  
“with Pedro Paulo talked about the big bang”
- (ii) Sobre o big bang, o Paulo falou com o Pedro  
“about the big bang Paulo talked with Pedro”
- (iii) \*Sobre o big bang, com o Pedro, o Paulo falou  
“about the big bang with Pedro Paulo talked”
- (iv) \*Com o Pedro, sobre o big bang, o Paulo falou  
“with Pedro about the big bang Paulo talked”

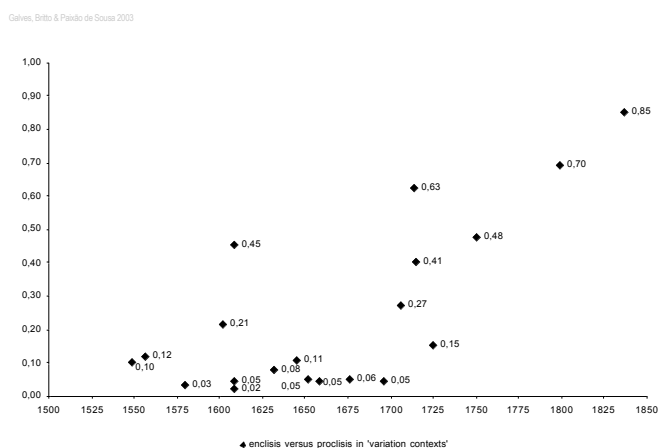
<sup>2</sup> The Tycho Brahe Annotated Corpus of Historical Portuguese,  
<http://www.ime.usp.br/~tycho/corpus>



- (13) a. Eu corro-me de dizer o que padeço. (Melo, 1608)  
*I run-myself from saying what I suffer*
- b. Os cortesãos chamam-lhe replexão por haver comido muito...  
 (Brochado, 1651)  
*The courtesans call-it plentiness for having eaten too much ...*
- c. Taquete nos diz que João Delgado Figueira vai a Roma ...  
 (Vieira, 1608)  
*Taquete to-us-tells that João Delgado goes to Roma*
- d. Quem lhe der auxílio lhe dará também as armas para a vitória.  
 (Chagas, 1631)  
*He who gives you help to-you-will-give also the weapons for victory*
- (14) a. Agora quero-lhe dizer algumas cousas (A. Costa, 1714)  
*Now (I) want-to-you to say some things*
- b. Depois sucedeo-lhe o Mirão, seu sobrinho, ... (Couto, 1542)  
*Afterwards succeeded-to-him Mirão, his nephew, ...*
- c. Ontem me escreveu Jerónimo Nunes (Vieira, 1608, Letters)  
*Yesterday to-me- wrote Jerónimo Nunes*
- d. Claramente o disse São Paulo: (Bernardes, 1641)  
*Clearly it-said St Paul: ...*
- (15) a. Por isso mande-me Vossa Reverência boas novas disto ...  
 (Sousa, 1572)  
*For that send-to-me Your Reverence good news of that*
- b. À fidalguia chamam-lhe qualidade, e chamam-lhe sangue.  
 (Vieira, 1608)  
*To nobility (they) call-it quality, and call-it blood*
- c. Com isto o despedio o Governador com muitas honras,  
 (Couto, 1542)  
*With that him-dismissed the Governor with many honors...*
- c. Para os críticos me deu Nosso Senhor excelente coração, ...  
 (Melo, 1608)  
*For the critics to-me-gave Our Lord excellent heart*

Figure 1 shows the evolution of the frequency of enclisis in these contexts in authors born from 1541 to 1835<sup>4</sup> as described in Galves, Britto & Paixão de Sousa (2003).

Figure 1: *Enclisis versus proclisis in 'variation contexts' – 16<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> centuries*



We can observe that, from the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century on, there is a sharp increase of the rate of enclisis, which gets close to the modern pattern in the letters written by Ramalho Ortigão, born in 1836<sup>5</sup>.

On the basis of the same data, but focusing now on the classical period, Figure 2 concentrates on the authors born between 1541 and 1695.

Figure 2: *enclisis in SV and XV matrix clauses - 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries*

<sup>4</sup> List of the authors included in this study: Diogo do Couto (b. 1542); Luis de Sousa (b. 1556); F. Rodrigues Lobo (b. 1579); Manuel da Costa (b. 1601); Antonio Vieira (b. 1608) – Letters and Sermons; F. Manuel de Melo (b. 1608); Antonio das Chagas (b. 1631); Manuel Bernardes (b. 1644); J Cunha Brochado (b. 1651); Maria do Ceu (b. 1658); Andre de Barros (b. 1675); Matias Aires (b. 1705); Luis Antonio Verney (b. 1713); Antonio da Costa (b. 1714); Correia Garção (b. 1724); Marquesa de Alorna (b. 1750); Almeida Garrett (b. 1799); Ramalho Ortigão (b. 1836).

<sup>5</sup> The absolute values for the whole timespan considered (16<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> centuries) are as follows: from an original set of 23.192 finite sentences with clitics, we extracted 3.251 sentences with the pattern Subject-Verb, Adverb-Verb and PP-Verb (that is, the *variation contexts* to which figure 1 refers). Of this set, 1.076 are with enclisis, and 2.175 are with proclisis.

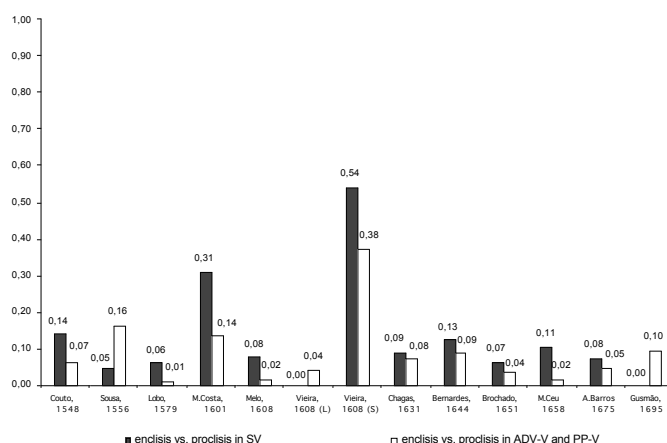


Figure 2 shows that in the texts considered, enclisis ranges from 0 to 16%, with two exceptions to which we come back below. Additionally, we see that, although there is variation between the authors considered, the alternance between enclisis and proclisis affects subjects and non subjects in a comparable way.

As for the more enclitic texts, from authors respectively born in 1601 and 1608, it is worth noting that they constitute two different cases. In the former – Manuel da Costa – the higher rate of enclisis concerns only subjects. This can be explained by the high use of the reflexive/passivizing clitic SE, which was shown by Galves, Britto and Paixão de Sousa (2003) to highly favor enclisis at this period<sup>6</sup>. Indeed, if we do not compute the occurrences of SE in Costa, enclisis drops to 0%. As for the second text, Vieira's Sermons<sup>7</sup>, two observations are at stake. First, it is more enclitic than the others both with subjects and with non-subjects. Second, although we can observe the effect of SE on the rate of enclisis, it is not as strong as in Costa, particularly for subjects, for which we still find 38% of enclisis if we leave SE aside. Moreover, the comparison between Vieira's Sermons and his other text included in the Corpus (his letters) shows that enclisis is not a property of his writing in general, but of his writing in the Sermons.

Galves (2001) examined Vieira's Sermons available in the Tycho Brahe Corpus<sup>8</sup> and found that in the *totality* of the cases of enclitic sentences with

<sup>6</sup> Galves, Britto and Paixão de Sousa (2003) show that there is a correlation between the proportion of the clitic SE and the frequency of enclisis up to the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>7</sup> The high frequency of enclisis in Vieira's Sermons was first described by Martins (1994).

<sup>8</sup> These sermons totalize 53.855 words, with a total of 160 sentences with clitics in variation contexts, 74 of them enclitic, and 86 proclitic.

pre-verbal subjects, the subject is contrasted with another term, as exemplified in (16)-(21).

- (16) Não diz o Apostolo, que passa o mundo, *senão* as figuras; porque as figuras vão-se, e o theatro fica. [p. 74]  
*The Apostle does not say that passes the world but the figures; because the characters go-SE, and the theater remains*
- (17) 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. [p. 97]  
*Compared, though, any revelation not canonical, with the good deeds, I rather would want the certainty of the deeds than the certainty of the revelation because the revelation cannot save me without good deeds; and the good deeds can-me save without revelation.*
- (18) Nós deixamos as pégadas de traz das costas, e Deus tem-n'as sempre diante dos olhos [p. 121]  
*We leave the footprints behind our back, and God has-them always in front of his eyes,..*
- (19) As pégadas estão manifestas e vêm-se; as raizes estão escondidas, e não se vêem [p. 121]  
*The footprints are obvious and see-SE ("can be seen"); the roots are hidden and cannot be seen:...*
- (20) Elles conheciam-se, como homens, Christo conhecia-os, como Deus. [p. 125]  
*They knew-themselves, as men, Christ knew-them, as God.*
- (21) Deus julga-nos a nós por nós; os homens julgam-nos a nós por si. [p. 170]  
*God judges-us by ourselves; Men judge-us by themselves*

The same pattern can be observed with non subjects:

- (22) 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. [p. 163]



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

- (23) 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. [p. 156]  
*This is why David wanted that God judged him, and not the men: 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.*

Note that in all the cases listed above, the opposition between the pre-verbal phrase and another phrase is explicitly given either in the immediately preceding sentence, where the same terms are explicitly contrasted by terms like *senão*, "but" (ex. 16), or *antes* "rather" (ex. 17), or in the same sentence by means of lexical oppositions, or negation. The productivity of these constructions in the Sermons is deeply linked to the baroque style, whose composition is based on oppositions (cf. Saraiva and Lopes 1996 for a description of this property in Vieira's style).

The choice of enclisis is therefore governed by stylistic considerations in Vieira's sermons. Non-contrastive pre-verbal phrases, be they subjects or not, invariably show up with proclisis. This is illustrated in (24), where "estes tesouros" (*those treasures*), is a continuative topic introduced in the preceding sentence.

- (24) porque ainda que a vida e os dias em que peccamos passam, os peccados que n'elles comettemos, não passam, mas ficam depositados nos thesouros da ira divina ... Estes thesouros, pois, que agora estão cerrados, se abrirão a seu tempo, e se descobrirão para a conta no dia do Juízo, que isso quer dizer, in die iræ, et revelationis justii 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 its time, and **SE-will-discover** ("will be discovered") for the counting in the day of the Judgement..*

The stylistic use of enclisis in Vieira's sermons supports the analysis first proposed in the literature by Salvi (1990)<sup>9</sup> that the alternation in clitic-placement in CIP derives from the availability of two topic positions in this language. One is external to the clause, and the other one is internal, qualifying as an internal topic position, like in V2 languages. Both are available both for subjects and non subjects, as represented below.

- i) [Subject/XP] # [ V-cl]  
 ii) # [Subject/XP cl-V ]

From this point of view, i) is a sub-case of V1, and enclisis derives from the application of the Tobler-Mussafia Law. Vieira's oratory use of enclitic sentences to mark contrast in his sermons gives support to the claim that preverbal material in this configuration has an intonational contour of its own that gives it discursive saliency.

In the next section, we shall see how constructions in which not only one but two phrases precede the verb can be taken as an additional evidence for this analysis.

### 3. *The evolution of clitic placement in V3 constructions from Classical to Modern European Portuguese*

The V3 sentences attested in the Corpus can be sub-divided in XXV, SXV, and XSV; examples of each type, with enclisis and proclisis, are given below:

#### (25) XXV

- a. As minhas cartas, quando Vossa Mercê lhe achar alguma cousa, que sem nojo possa aproveitar a alguém, mostre-as, se quiser  
 (Chagas, 1631)  
*My letters, when Your Mercy finds in them something that someone could profit for, show-them, if you want*
- b. Se eu a governara, neste lugar a havia de meter algum tempo.  
 (Chagas, 1631)  
*If I governed it, in this place it-had to put some time*

#### (26) SXV

- a. Nós, pelo contrário, pegamo-nos. (Vieira, 1608, Letters)  
*We, on the contrary, take-ourselves*

<sup>9</sup> See also Benincà (1995).

- b. ela com o ruído os chama, com suas doces águas os deleita, ...  
(Chagas, 1631)  
*she with the noise them-calls, with its sweet waters them-delights*
- (27) XSV
- a. Vendo tão rara e verdadeira amizade, el-rei Dionísio o mais velho disse-lhes: (Bernardes, 1644)  
*Seeing such a rare and true friendship, the king Dionísio the older said-to-them*
- b. Se este negócio é de Deus, êle o há de conservar  
(Chagas, 1631)  
*If this deal is of God, he it-has to conserve*

### 3.1 Enclisis and Proclisis in V3: 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries

According to the analysis of enclisis as derived from the Tobler-Mussafia law, in V3 enclitic sentences *the two pre-verbal phrases are outside the boundaries of the clause*, while in V3 proclitic constructions *the second phrase is necessarily internal* (or proclisis would not surface), as represented below:

- i) [X] [X] # [ V-cl] → XXVcl  
ii) [X] # [ X cl-V] → XXclV

- a. [As minhas cartas,] [ quando Vossa Mercê lhe achar...,] # [ \_\_\_\_\_ **mostre-as**]  
b. [ Se eu a governara,] # [ neste lugar **a havia** ]

Additionally, we must consider that “X” can be of two types: argumental XPs, and adjunct XPs (such as prepositional phrases, sentential adverbs, dependent clauses). Argumental XPs in external position correspond to a topicalization construction. In the case of nominal complements, this will surface as a CLLD construction – as in example 25 ( a ) (in which the clitic *as* is co-referential with the dislocated topic *As minhas cartas*).

Subjects can also be involved in topicalization constructions – but they need not be doubled by a resumptive pronominal, or any lexical category, since Classical Portuguese is a null subject language. Therefore, the four logical possibilities for V3 sequences involving subjects are:

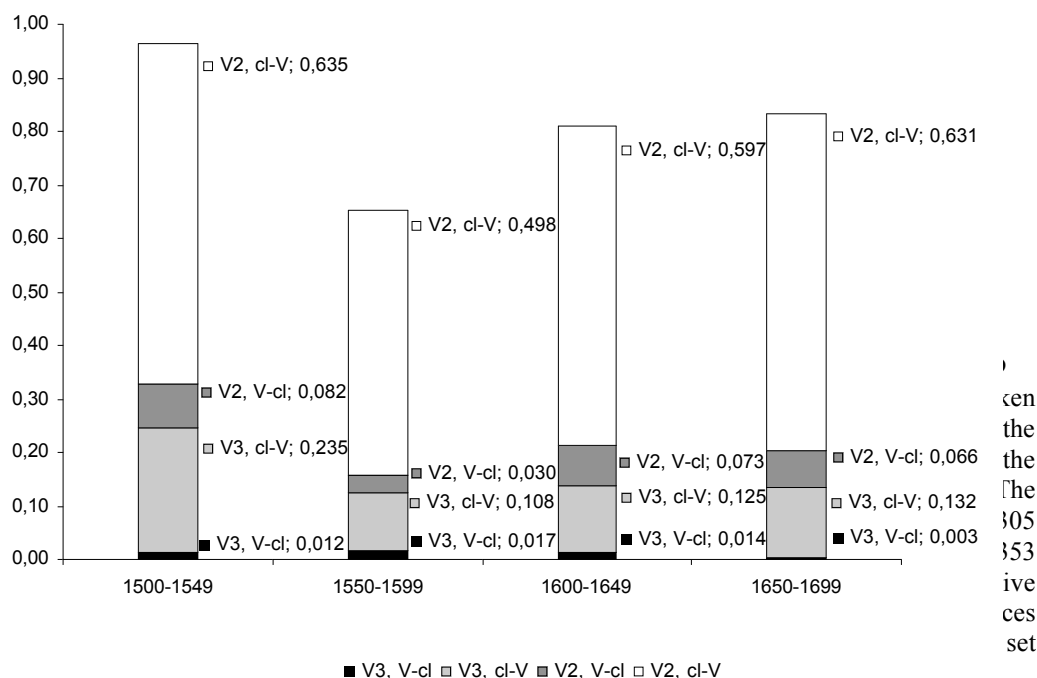
- i) [subject] [XP] # [ V-cl] → SXVcl  
 ii) [subject] [subject] # [XP cl-V] → SXclV  
 iii) [XP] [subject] # [ V-cl] → XSVcl  
 iv) [XP] [XP] # [subject cl-V] → XScIV

- a. [Nós, ] [ pelo contrário, ] # [pegamo-nos]  
 b. [ ela ] # [com o ruído os chama ]  
 c. [Vendo tão rara e verdadeira amizade, ][ el-rei Dionísio o mais velho ] # [disse-lhes...]  
 d. [ Se este negócio é de Deus ] # [ êle o há de ... ]

The data shows, as expected, that the enclitic V3 constructions (the (a) cases in 25 to 27 above) are in general much less frequent than the proclitic V3 constructions in this period (as we shall see in detail below). But we observe that one of them is particularly rare. It is the one with a subject immediately preceding the verb: XSV-cl. The example 25 (a) above is in fact the only occurrence found in 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> c. texts.

Figure 3 presents the proportion of each of the attested V2 and V3 patterns in relation to the sum of all V1, V2 and V3 sequences, grouped in 50-year periods<sup>10</sup>.

Figure 3: V2 and V3 orders: proclisis and enclisis, 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries



We observe that V3 sequences in general range from 0,13 to 0,25 of the total data in each 50 year period. But enclitic V3 sentences are marginal: on the whole, V3 with enclisis in the two centuries amounts to 17 cases in a universe of 1.397 clauses, rendering a proportion of 0,01. In each 50 year period, the proportion is respectively 1/85, 4/231, 11/794 and 1/287 of total data.

Let's have a closer look now at the different types of V3 order. Figures 4 and 5 respectively shows proclitic and enclitic V3 sentences.

Figure 4: *V3 orders with proclisis (proportions in relation to total data in main clauses), 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries*

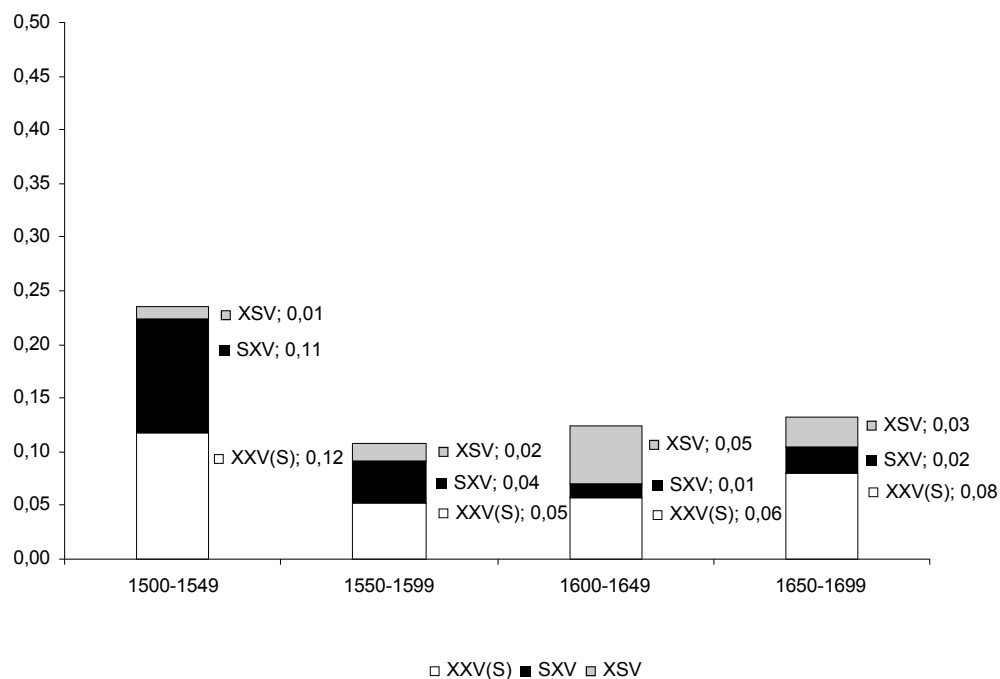
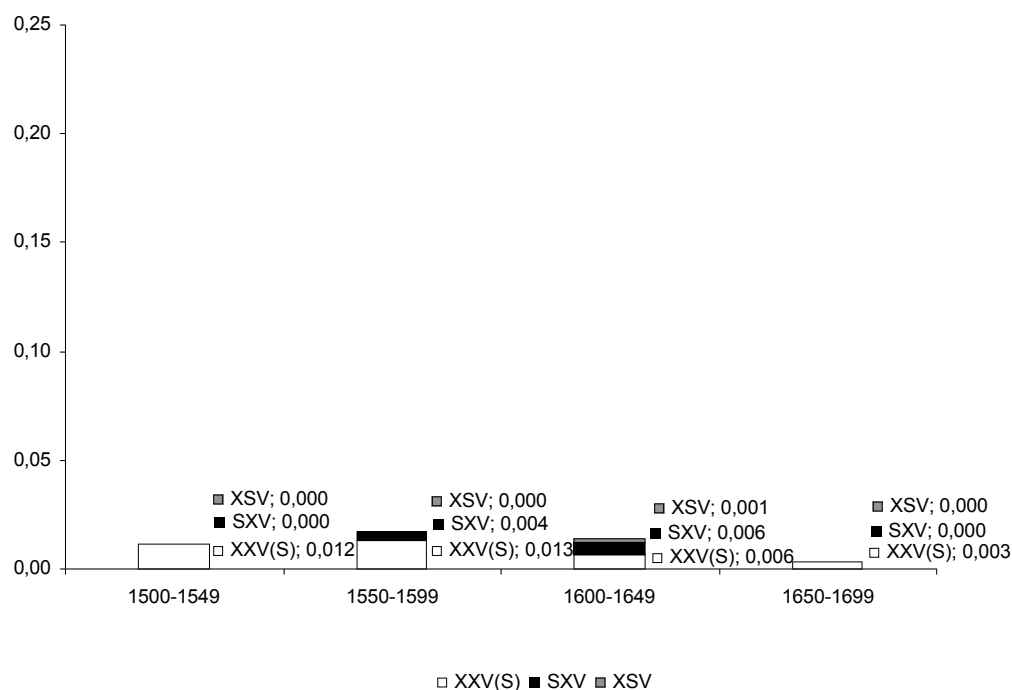


Figure 5: *V3 orders with enclisis (proportions in relation to total data in main clauses), 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries*



As far as proclitic sentences are concerned (figure 4), we see that in all the periods, at least half of the occurrences are XXV, while SXV and XSV vary from period to period.

If we now look at enclitic V3 sentences (Figure 5), we see that the pattern which is more consistently represented over periods is again XXV. SXV does not appear in all the periods, and when it appears, it is less frequent than XXV. The more important fact for our analysis is that XSV occurs only once (see 25 a. above), in all the period considered. Comparing proclitic and enclitic V3 sentences by type, we therefore find:

XXV: 100 cases / 10 with enclisis = 10%  
 SXV: 42 cases / 6 with enclisis = 14%  
 XSV: 57 cases / 1 with enclisis = 1,7%  
 Total: 199/17 = 8,5%

Contrasting this result with the pattern of clitic-placement in V2 (cf. Figures 1,2 and 3), we see that we find a comparable proportion of enclisis in V3 order, except for the order XSVcl, which is almost absent of the corpus. Crucially, this order will appear after 1700, as we shall show now.

### 3.2 *Enclisis and Proclisis in V3 after 1700*

As shown by Figure 1 above, from the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century on, enclisis ceases to be a marginal pattern in Portuguese texts; a gradual increase in its frequency, in relation to proclisis, will end up in the well-known pattern of Modern European Portuguese, where enclisis is categorical with referential pre-verbal phrases, including subjects (as shown in the introduction, cf. example 9).

Under the hypothesis that pre-verbal subjects in EP are not left-dislocated phrases, as argued by Costa (1998) and Costa and Duarte (2002), an important consequence is that in the new grammar, enclitic V3 constructions with a subject immediately preceding the verb would consist, structurally, of one topicalized constituent only, as represented below.

i) CIP:	[XP] [XP]	# [	V-cl]
	[XP] [Subject]	# [	V-cl]
ii) EP:	[XP] [XP]	# [	V-cl]
	[XP]	# [Subject	V-cl]

Following the same line of reasoning that was pursued before, V3 constructions with enclisis – and more specifically, XSV sequences – should become more frequent in the change from CIP to EP. This is exactly what the data shows, as we will see now.

If we take up the contrast between V2 and V3 proclitic and enclitic sequences in the modern texts, some very interesting differences arise in comparison to what was shown in section 1 for classical texts. Figures 6 and 7 below show what happens in V3 constructions after 1700.

Figure 6 shows the decrease of proclisis which is typical of this period, and which affects all types of V3 orders. In contrast, the evolution of enclitic V3, as shown by Figure 7, does not affect the different types of V3 sentences homogeneously. Crucially for our purposes, the order XSV, which was extremely rare in the preceding centuries, is now present in all the sub-periods observed, increasing from 0,006 of the total data in the first one to 0,012 in the second one (although globally the enclitic V3 constructions are less represented in this period) and reaching 0,027 in the last one.

We therefore see that not only the proportion of V-cl increases in V3 constructions from the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century on, consistently with what happens in V2 structures, but also a new pattern emerges. This new pattern is XSV. Differently from SXV and XXV which were already attested, and are only affected by the increase of enclisis, enclitic XSV evidences that this



increase is accompanied by a change in the position of the subject. This change can also be detected by comparing the behavior of V2 sentences using the methodology proposed by Paixão de Sousa (2004) as will be shown in the next section.

Figure 6: *V3 orders with proclisis - 18th and 19th centuries*

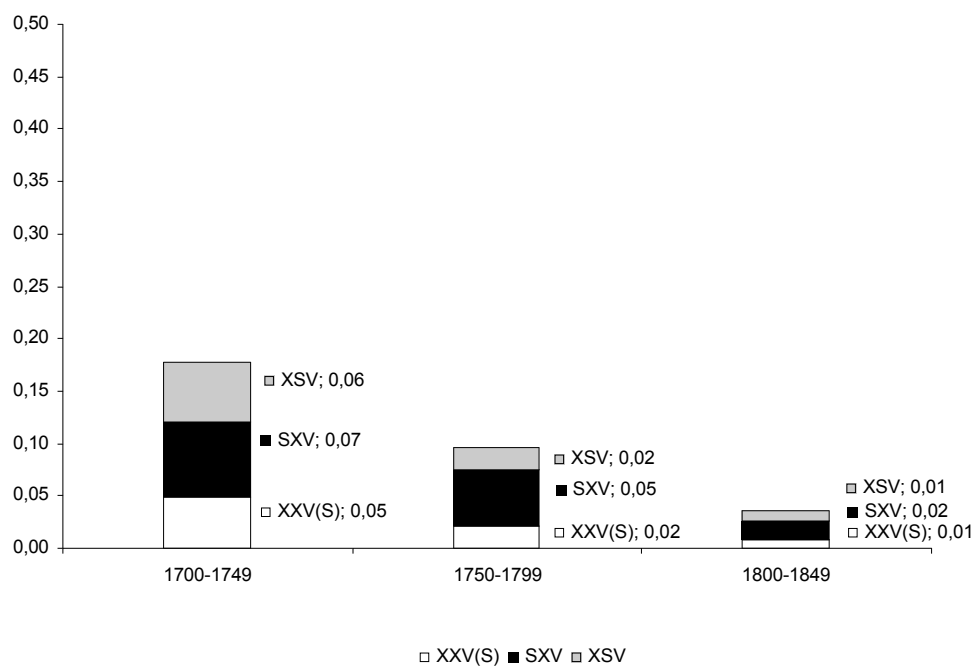
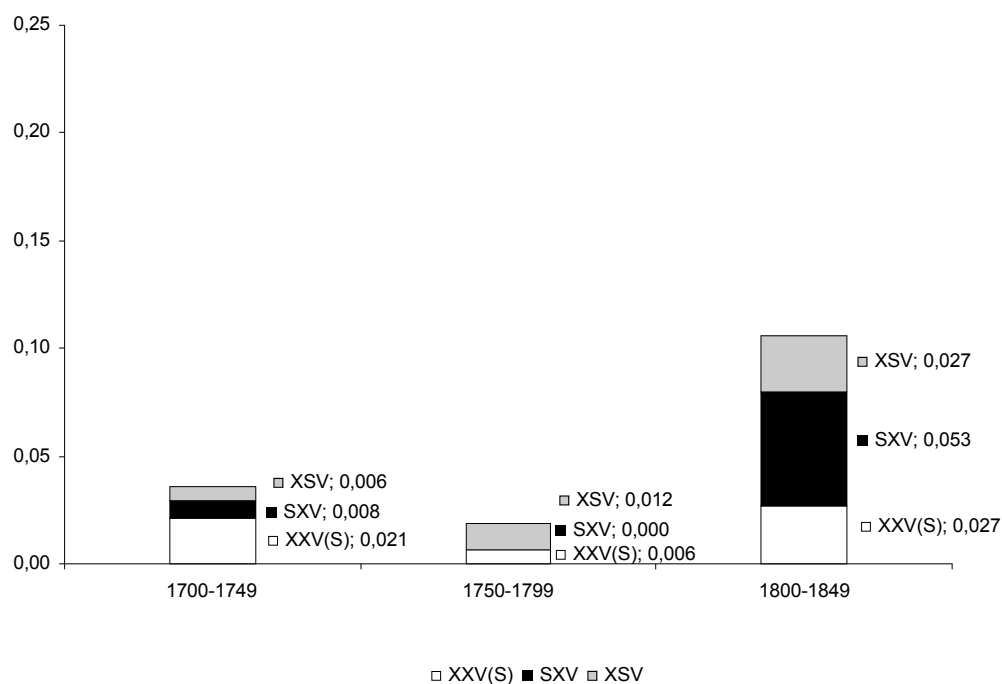


Figure 7: *V3 orders with enclisis - 18th and 19th centuries*

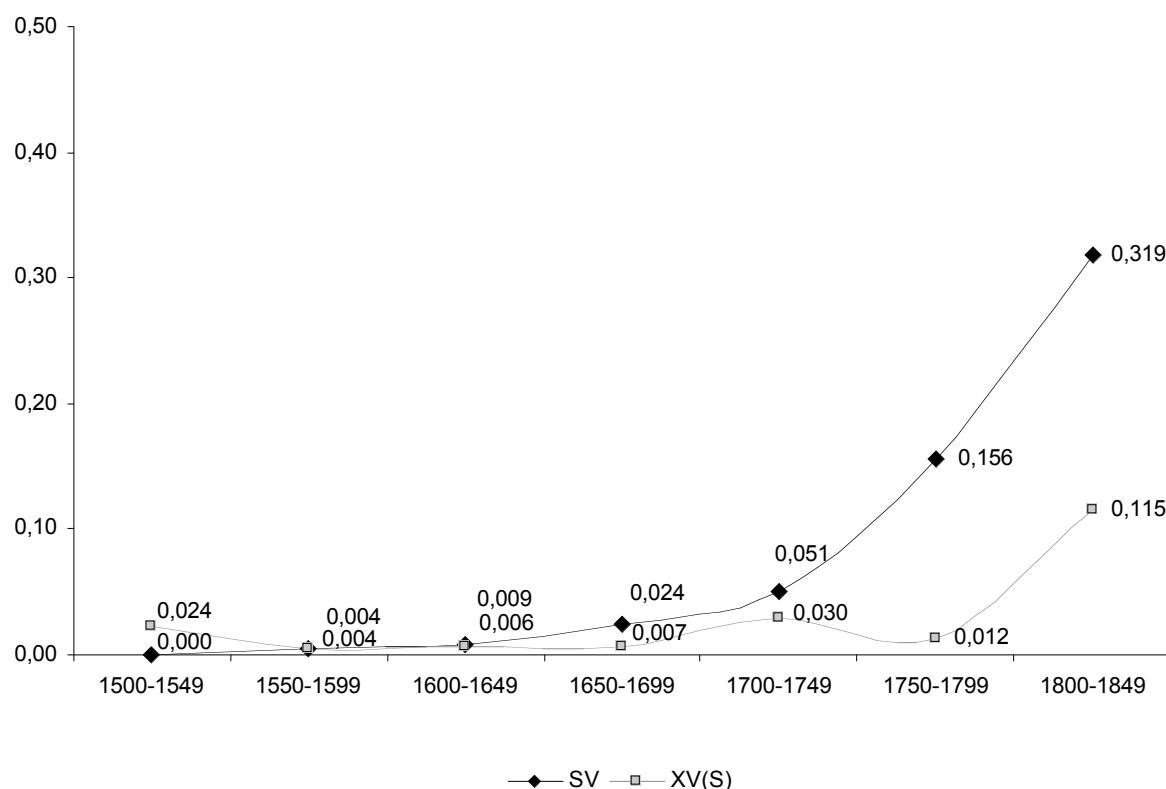


#### 4. *The dissociation of SVcl and XVcl and the loss of VS*

The hypothesis that pre-verbal subjects and non subjects cease to occupy the same position at this time is supported by the fact that the proportion of enclitic subjects with respect to the total data ceases to be equal to the proportion of enclisis with other pre-verbal phrases.

This asymmetry between the tendency of SVcl and XVcl in proportion to total data represents a further argument in favor of the interpretation that in the new grammar, subjects cease to behave like left-dislocated elements (while other XPs, naturally, do not). The difference in the evolution of enclisis regarding SV and other XV is shown for the whole period here considered (16<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century) in Figure 8:

Figure 8: *Evolution of SVcl and XVcl (in relation to total data in main clauses), 16<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> centuries*



While it is true that all V2 and V3 constructions with enclisis become more frequent in texts post-18th century, it is important to notice that this elevation in frequency affects subjects in a singular way, as opposed to the constructions PP-Vcl and ADV-Vcl (XV in the figure).

Figure 8 shows that the proportion of PP-V and ADV-V constructions with enclisis in main clauses raises at a rate of 0,02-0,00-0,01-0,01-0,03-0,01-0,12 (as expected, enclisis becoming more frequent after the 18th century). On the other hand, the proportion of SV with enclisis in main clauses raises at 0,00-0,00-0,01-0,05-0,16-0,32. That is, there is a neat elevation in the frequency of pre-verbal subjects with enclisis between the first and the second half of the 18th century (from 0,05 to 0,16) which is not accompanied by the other environments (which pass from 0,03 to 0,01 at the same period) ; and although the increasing of enclisis is finally observed with non-subjects in the most

recent text, the proportion of enclisis with SV remains twenty points higher than enclisis with XV (0,32 to 0,12).

Notice, crucially, that the two constructions had an identical proportion in texts up to the second half of the 17th century (0,02-0,00-0,01-0,02 for XV, and 0,00-0,00-0,01-0,02 for SV).

We interpret the contrast between the behavior of SV enclitics and XV enclitics as an indication that pre-verbal S and X ceased to occupy the same position in the new grammar.

This conclusion is supported by another fact evidenced by Paixão de Sousa (2004): at the same time enclisis ceases to be a marginal pattern, the XVS order, typical of V2 systems, shows a decline in frequency. In matrix affirmative clauses, the frequency of VS orders in general decreases between the last half of the 17<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. However, VS with enclisis (which is typically #VS, *ie.*, V1) is reasonably stable, while XVS with proclisis presents a marked decrease after the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Furthermore, within XVS orders, the subgroup that shows the more drastic reduction in frequency are the sentences with the pattern XVSX (that is: *Germanic* inversions); contrastively, the VS orders in texts after the 1700s are, mostly, #VXS (that is: *Romance* inversions) <sup>11</sup>.

### 5. *Concluding Remarks*

In this paper, we have brought evidence that in Classical Portuguese enclitic placement is a property of V1 sentences. When the verb is not initial, proclisis is by large the preferred pattern. The occurrence of enclisis in V2 sentences can be shown to correspond to a structure in which the pre-verbal phrase is external to the boundaries of the clause. This is true for subjects as well as for other pre-verbal phrases.

V3 sentences played an important role in our discussion since they evidence that the increase of enclisis we observe in authors born from the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century on is accompanied by a change in the position of subjects. The comparison of the frequencies of the order XSV-cl before and after 1700 suggests that enclitic subjects cease to be external in the emerging grammar.

At the same time, we also observe that the evolution of enclisis ceases to be parallel for subjects and other phrases. This indicates that pre-verbal subjects

---

<sup>11</sup> The progressions in 50 year periods are as follows (the texts surveyed are the same presented in this study). For VS in general: 0,18-0,18-0,21-0,22-0,09-0,09-0,08. For VS with enclisis (typically, #V): 0,05-0,07-0,05-0,04-0,03-0,02. For XVS with proclisis: 0,13-0,13-0,13-0,17-0,05-0,06-0,06. For XVSX, from 0,07 of total data in matrix clauses in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, to 0,01 in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> *cf.* Paixão de Sousa, 2004.

and dislocated phrases cease to be treated in the same way by the new grammar.

This is exactly what we predict if pre-verbal subjects in EP, contrary to the pre-verbal subjects in enclitic constructions in CIP, occupies a specified position inside the boundaries of the clause<sup>12</sup>. We therefore reach, on diachronic grounds, the same conclusion attained by Costa (1999, 2000), and Costa and Duarte (2002) on synchronic grounds.

### References

- Barbosa, Pilar (1996) "Clitic placement in European Portuguese and the position of subjects." In L. Halpern and A. Zwicky (orgs.), *Approaching Second: Second position clitics and related phenomena*. CSLI Publications.
- Barbosa, Pilar (2000) "Clitics: a window into the null subject properties". In J. Costa (ed) *Portuguese Syntax – New comparative studies*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Benincà, Paola (1995) "Complement clitics in medieval Portuguese: the Tobler-Mussafia Law", in Battye, A. e Roberts, I. (orgs.), *Language Change and Verbal Systems*, 1995.
- Costa, João (1998) *Word Order and Constraint Interaction: A constraint based approach*, PhD Dissertation, Leiden University.
- Costa, João (1999) "Word Order and Configurationality in European Portuguese In J. Costa (ed) *Portuguese Syntax – New comparative studies*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Costa, João & Duarte, Inês (2002) "Preverbal subjects in null subject languages are not necessarily dislocated". *Journal of Portuguese Linguistics*, 1, 159-175.
- Duarte, Inês & Matos, Gabriela (1995) "Romance clitics and the Minimalist program", In J. Costa (ed) *Portuguese Syntax – New comparative studies*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Galves, Charlotte (2001) "Syntax and Style in Padre Antonio Vieira", to appear in *Santa Barbara Portuguese Studies*, Vol. VI, H. Sharrer e E. Raposo (eds.)
- Galves, Charlotte, Britto, Helena, & Paixão de Sousa, Maria Clara (2003) "The Change in Clitic Placement from Classical to Modern European

---

<sup>12</sup> The exact position of the subject as well as the complex issue of deriving enclisis in EP without appealing to the Tobler Mussafia law is beyond the limits of this text. We refer the interested reader to Duarte and Matos (1995), and Galves and Sândalo (2004).

- Portuguese: Results from the Tycho Brahe Corpus” , <http://www.ime.usp.br/~tycho/papers>
- Galves, Charlotte & Sândalo, Filomena (2004) “Clitic-placement in Modern and Classical Portuguese”, *MIT Working Papers* vol.47, pp. 115-128.
- Martins, Ana Maria (1994). *Clíticos na história do português*, unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Lisbon.
- Paixão de Sousa, Maria Clara (2003) “Colocação de clíticos e posição de sujeitos em textos portugueses dos séculos 16 a 19”, *III Congresso internacional da ABRALIN*, Rio de Janeiro, março de 2003.
- Paixão de Sousa, Maria Clara (2004) *Língua barroca: sintaxe e história do português dos seiscentos*, unpublished doctoral thesis, State University of Campinas, <http://www.ime.usp.br/~tycho/participants/psousa/thesis>
- Raposo, Eduardo (2000) “ Clitic positions and verb movement”, In J. Costa (ed) *Portuguese Syntax – New comparative studies*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Salvi, Gianpaolo (1990) “La sopravvivenza della legge di Wackernagel nei dialetti occidentali della penisola iberica”, *Medioevo Romano* 15, pp. 177-210.
- Saraiva, Antonio & Lopes, Oscar (1996) *História da Literatura portuguesa*, 17<sup>th</sup> edition, Porto Editora.
- Vallduví, Eric (1990) *The informational component*, PhD Dissertation, Upenn.