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
Lingüística-Unicamp

I. The problem

In the history of European Portuguese (EP), it is observed that, during the 16th century, in non-dependent affirmative sentences XP V, XP being a [+referential] phrase, the very predominant order between clitic pronouns and verbs is proclisis (cf. Lobo 1992, Martins, 1994, Ribeiro 1995 among others). Nevertheless, at a certain moment of the history of the language, enclisis became obligatory in this syntactic context, verb-clitic being the grammatical order until nowadays.

According to Martins (1994), the 17th century was the moment when this change took place. Based on Antonio Vieira’s (1608-1697) sermons, which, according to her counting, present 68% of enclisis in the relevant context, Martins argues in favor of the view that Vieira should be considered as a Modern EP speaker.

Based on the work by Salvi (1990) and Torres Moraes (1995) who analyzes clitic-placement in authors from the 18th and 19th century, Galves and Galves (1995) and Galves and al. (1998) claim that this change occurred only at the end of the 18th century, and was triggered by a phonological change which affected the rhythm of the language during the 18th century (cf. Teyssier 1975). This challenge of Martins’ conclusions is supported by Britto’s (1999) description about proclisis-enclisis variation in Antonio Vieira’s private correspondence, which revealed a very proclitic syntax (81.03% of proclisis). This shows that the syntax of clitic-placement in the sermons is different not only from Vieira’s contemporaries but also from the rest of his own work.

In the present paper, we present an exhaustive description of clitic-placement in 20 authors born between 1542 and 1836, which supports the hypothesis that the change occurred later than argued by Martins. However, it also shows that the change occurred before what was claimed by Galves and Galves (1995) and Galves and al. 1998.

We show that 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 Classical Portuguese, enclisis in V2 configurations corresponds to a structure in which the pre-verbal phrase is outside the clause (cf. also Salvi (1990) and Benincà (1995)).

However, although we show that Vieira’s sermons cannot be taken as an argument to locate the grammatical change at the beginning of the 17th century, this change is not easy to be precisely dated. The qualitative analysis of the data we present here points out to the fact that it can be detected not only when the frequency of proclisis decreases, but when enclisis ceased to be interpretable as deriving from V1 structures plus a preverbal external phrase. The variation we observe then ceases to be produced by a single grammar, but is the effect of competition of grammars in the sense defined by Kroch (1994, 2000). Both from this qualitative point of view, and from a quantitative one, it is possible to argue that the authors born from 1713 on are already speakers of EP.
II. The corpus

The corpus is composed of the following 20 texts from the *Tycho Brahe Parsed Corpus of Historical Portuguese*[^1]:

- **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
- **Padre Antonio Vieira** (1608-1697) Letters - 57,088 words
  
  Sermons – 53,855 words
- **Francisco Manuel de Mello** (1608-1666) Letters - 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) Cartas - 35,058 words
- **Maria do Céu** (1658-1753) – *Relaçaõ 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 - 56,479 words
- **Luis Antonio Verney** (1713-1792) Verdadeiro método de estudar - 49,335 words
- **Antonio da Costa** (1714-?) Cartas do Abade Antonio da Costa - 27096 words
- **Correia Garção** (1724-1772) Dissertações - 24,924 words
- **Marquesa de Alorna** (1750-1839) Letters - 49,512 words
- **Almeida Garrett** (1799-1854) Viagens à minha terra – 51,784 words
- **Ramalho Ortigão** (1836-1915) Letters – 32,441 words

III. The methodology

The present paper was guided by the following methodological criteria:

1. The organization of the data

The procedure in organizing the data was as follows. In a first stage, all occurrences of enclisis and proclisis in a given text were separated – regardless of the syntactic context in which they occur. Next, we worked on the totality of the occurrences, classifying them according to the sentence type and the clause-initial elements, obtaining thus a global picture of the distribution of data. Last, data is separated into varying and categorical; only the contexts in which variation has been registered - within a text or between different texts - are considered in the analysis. The totality of occurrences is, however, readily retrievable from the initial archives. We comment below on the criteria followed to isolate relevant contexts, and mention some ensuing problems.

1.1 Sentence type and quantification of the data

In **V1 sentences** enclisis was categorically attested in all texts. In negative sentences, proclisis is the only option. Those types of sentences are therefore no considered in our study.

[^1]: *Tycho Brahe Parsed Corpus of Historical Portuguese*
Proclisis is also highly predominant from Old Portuguese to modern European Portuguese texts in subordinate clauses. Some enclitic relative and completive clauses appear in 18th and 17th century texts, but as these occurrences are marginal in numbers, we do not consider them here and exclude subordinate clauses from our variation set.

Coordinate clauses are expected to follow the pattern of matrix clauses as far as clitic placement variation is concerned, once the connectives are not counted as clause-initial elements, but instead, as constituents outside clause limits. However, this generalization fails in one context: coordinate clauses in which there is no constituent between the connective and the verb/clitic sequence. Whereas those sentences could be considered V1 clauses (once, as mentioned, the connective is outside clause limits), research has shown that they present variation in clitic placement (cf. for instance Martins 1994 and Ribeiro 1995), which is also verified in our data.

Preliminary research has shown that:

- The frequency of enclisis and proclisis according to the pre-verbal element is constant across matrix and second conjunct of coordinate clauses.

- There is a discrepancy between, on one hand, matrix clauses and coordinate clauses in which the verb is not in the first position after the connective and, on the other hand, coordinate clauses in which the verb follows immediately the conjunction (from now on referred to as V1 coordinate structures). In all the authors considered, the relative frequency between enclisis and proclisis in V1 coordinate structures is sensibly different from what we observe in V2 constructions, both in matrix and coordinate clauses. The variation between authors is much bigger with V1 Coordinate than with Matrix and V2 coordinate structures. We shall therefore compute all the V2 constructions together, and keep apart the V1 coordinate clauses only.

### 1.2 Clause-initial elements

As shown in Table 1, within each V2 affirmative sentence-type group, clauses were separated according to the initial elements with which variation was registered in at least one text of the set considered—namely, subjects, adverbs, prepositional phrases and dependent clauses.

Proclisis was registered categorically, in all texts, in sentences initiated by explicitly focalized, and interrogative phrases. It is almost categorical also with quantified N phrases. However, some quantifiers, like todos (all) alguns and muitos (many) (some) present some cases of enclitic placement. At this point of our research, we did not take this variation into account, the order cl-V was computed as categorical proclisis, and the cases of enclisis were ignored.

Sentences with the adverbs bem, mal, já, sempre, também, and ainda in pre-verbal position have also been excluded from the variation set since they never occurred with enclisis. We also excluded the adverb assim, although some cases of enclisis appeared. But in this case, the picture of the variation is more complicated since there are two different uses of assim[2]. One is still categorically proclitic in Modern European Portuguese. The other yields enclisis. It is for this one that we have to compute variation in Classical Portuguese. As it is much less frequent than in the other in texts, we have eliminated both from our data up to now.

Last, there are cases in which more than one constituents precede the verb. In this case, we keep track of this fact in the data, but for classification and statistical purposes, we consider the phrase which immediately precedes the verb. It must be noted however that when the second phrase clearly modifies the first one, they are counted as only one constituent. The two following examples illustrate this point. In the first one, from Aires, the relative clause is part of the subject, which is considered as being the relevant pre-verbal phrase, while in the second one, from Maria do Céu, in which the pre-verbal PP modifies the verb, it is this PP which counts as the pre-verbal element.

a) a/D-F tristeza/N ,/, que/WPRO devia/VB-D resultar/VB da/P+D-F fealdade/N ,/, confunde-se/VB-P+SE ,/,
   the sadness, which should result from the ugliness, is confused....

b) ella/PRO com/P uma/D-UM-F caninha/N o/CL decia/VB-D mais/ADV-R abaixo/ADV ,/, she, with a little stick, put it down

As for the coordinate structures, we have found variation with the coordination conjunctions e, “and”, mas “but”, and porem “however”, but not with ou “or”, pois “because”, and the explicative que, also tagged as conjunction in the corpus. We also excluded from our computation the clauses introduced by porque, because of the ambiguity between the clausal and the explicative reading. Although these clauses do present variation, we left them for a future research.
Finally, we have found some few occurrences of other pre-verbal phrases, which are computed, up to now, as "others". These are essentially vocatives, some dislocated or topicalized NPs, and some other fronted elements, mainly adjectives.

1.3 Further categorization

The 'variation' contexts here considered constitute broad classes in a preliminary organization of data. Within each class, more specific groupings were made when relevant – for example, heavy vs. short phrases. We believe that this organization in general classes, although not exhaustive, can facilitate further research on the data, allowing for more specific classifications where this reveals to be relevant. One consequence of this option for a broad classification of clause-initial elements is that non explicitly focalized and topicalized elements were not considered as separate groups. In other words, the syntactic categories topic/focus were not separated a priori in the classification. We have preferred, in face of the complexity involved in identifying focalization and topicalization operations in written texts, to keep ourselves to broader syntactic categories, procrastinating the interpretation of the status of each element as foci or topics to the stage of the analysis.

As it can be inferred from what is said above, we adopt a new methodology for the description of the variation. What counts as variation context is not defined a-priori, only on the basis of a previous knowledge, but also on the basis of what we find in the texts. The variation contexts are therefore defined as the ones in which we find optionality in clitic placement either within one text or across texts of the period. In opposition, by definition, categorical contexts are those in which none of the surveyed texts show optionality in placement. One consequence of this methodology is that the group of 'variation contexts' may change as work proceeds from one text to another. As a result, it should be pointed out that "variation context" is an open category, in that the potential register of variation in a newly researched text would force all the previous data to be reviewed, in order to include the new syntactic environment as a variation context. It must be stressed, then, that the data presented below describes the present state of research, as the inclusion of further data from other texts can force the variation set to be revised. This does not mean that we do not use our knowledge to evaluate the relevance of marginal data on the overall picture. For instance, in what follows, we did not take into consideration in the total quantification of the data the variation in subordinate clause. The reason is that, since enclisis in this context is at most very marginal, it would increase enormously the final percentage of proclisis for all the authors, hiding the relevant quantitative contrasts.

We believe, however, that at the end of the process a fair picture of clitic-placement variation can be achieved. This method presents the advantage of permitting a qualitative approach to the variation, as shown in the analysis below, which reveals that the variation in clitic placement throughout the period augments not only in absolute numeric terms, but also in terms of the contexts in which it can be attested.

One last detail on the methodology should be pointed out. As it can be seen in the examples listed in the analysis below, some sentences can include more than one occurrence of enclisis/proclisis. In separating the data, each sentence was taken as a unit, but each occurrence was counted separately. Thus a sentence which shows a subject initial clause with a clitic, followed by a coordinate clause with a clitic, for example, is listed twice - once in each pertinent context. The aim of this procedure was to allow analysis to access the broader discursive contexts, which showed to be pertinent, for example, in identifying topicalization constructions. The numbers on the tables refer to proclisis/enclisis occurrences.
IV. The data

Applying the methodology presented in III. to our corpus, and ordering the authors according to their birth date\(^3\), we obtained the following results.

Let's call V2 sentences the sentences in which the verb is immediately preceded by either a subject or a PP or an adverb. Picture 1 shows the variation between enclisis and proclisis in this context. Picture 2 and Picture 3 respectively show this variation in sentences in which the verb is immediately preceded by a clause, and in V1 2\(^{nd}\) coordinate (that is when the verb immediately follows the coordination conjunction).

Picture 1: the variation between enclisis and proclisis in V2 sentences

![Diagram showing variation between enclisis and proclisis in V2 sentences](image)
Picture 2: the variation between enclisis and proclisis in sentences in which the verb is immediately preceded by a clause

Énclises em sentenças iniciadas por uma oração

Picture 3: the variation between enclisis and proclisis in V1 coordinate sentences
By comparing these three pictures, we immediately observe two important facts. First, the mean frequency of enclisis is much higher when a clause or a coordinating conjunction immediately precedes the verb than in the other contexts. Second, in all these graphs, the data allow us to define two periods, with a border line around 1700.

In the remaining of this article, we shall argue that these two periods can be characterized as follows:

- The variation observed in the first period, in which enclisis ranges from 0 to 15%, with few exceptions, is produced by a single grammar, that we shall call Classical Portuguese, in which enclisis is a marked option since it arises in structures in which the pre-verbal phrase is outside the boundaries of the clause, and therefore the verb is in first position, as represented below:

\[
\text{Enclisis in Period 1:} \\
\text{XP[V-cl]}
\]

- The variation observed in the second period, in which we observe an inversion in frequency between proclisis and enclisis, is due to the competition in texts between two grammars, Classical Portuguese and Modern European Portuguese. We shall bring some evidence that in the latter, enclisis is no more a V1 phenomenon.

VI. Enclisis is a V1 phenomenon in Classical Portuguese

1. Enclisis and contrast in Vieira's sermons

As was already pointed out by Britto (1999), Vieira displays in his letters a very different clitic placement from the sermons. The first striking fact when we look at Table I 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 PPs. Clearly what triggers enclisis in Vieira's letters are pre-verbal adjoined 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:

1. \[ \text{mas/CONJ \ faz\-se/VB-SP+SE \ o/D milagre/N,/, \ e/CONJ \ o/D \ quem/PRO \ seja/SR-SP \ como/CONJS \ cada/Q-G um/D-UM \ quiser/VB-SR,/, \ que/CONJ \ a/P \ nós/PRO \ importam-nos/VB-P+CL \ mais/ADV-R \ os/D-P \ efeitos/N-P \ que/CONJS \ as/D-F-P \ causas/N-P. /} \]

2. \[ \text{porque/CONJ \ a/P \ ães/PRO \ est\-lle/ET-P+CL \ muito/Q \ melhor/ADJ-R-G \ a/D-F \ guerra/N \ que/CONJ \ a/D-F \ paz/N,/, \ e/CONJ \ nós/PRO \ não/NEG \ estamos/ET-P \ em/P \ tempo/N \ de/P \ a/CL \ dilatar/VB,/, \ porque/CONJ \ na/P+D-F \ dilação/N crescerão/\VB-R \ os/D-P \ empenhos/N-P,/, \ e/CONJ \ com/P \ ães/PRO \ a/D-F \ dificuldade/N \ da/P+D-F \ convencia/N. /} \]

3. \[ \text{[DEC] \ A/P \ El-rei/NPR \ Faraó/NPR,/, \ porque/CONJ \ consentiu/VB-D \ no/P+D \ seu/PRO \ reino/N \ o/D \ injusto/ADJ \ cativeiro/N \ do/P+D \ povo/N \ hebreu/ADJ-G,/, \ \textit{deu-lhe/VB-D+CL} \ Deus/NPR \ grandes/ADJ-G-P \ castigos/N-P,/, \ e/CONJ \ um/D-UM \ dêles/P+PRO \ foi/SR-D \ tirar-lhe/VB+CL \ os/D-P \ primogénitos/N-P. /} \]
- 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 tat the first one is again a case of clitic-left dislocation):

4. Nós/PRO, pelo/P+D contrário/N, pegamos-nos/VB-P+CL a/P que/WPRO tudo/Q se/SE deve/VB-P report/VB no/P+D estado/N em/P que/WPRO estava/ET-D ao/P+D tempo/N da/P+D- F publicação/N da/P+D-F trégua/N, e/CONJ nós/CL ajuda/VB-P a/P isto/DEM em/P+D exemplo/N da/P+D-F forteza/N de/P Gale/NPR e/CONJ Celião/NPR a/D-F resposta/N que/WPRO os/D-P mesmos/ADJ-P Estados/NPR deram/VB-D ao/P+D Embaixador/NPR Francisco/NPR de/P Andrada/NPR e/CONJ que/WPRO deliberaram/VB-D isto/DEM mesmo/FP. /.

5. E/CONJ mais/ADV-R Abel/NPR, Senhor/NPR, salvou-se/VB-D+SE, e/CONJ está/ET-P no/P+D céu/N.

In both cases, the subject is separated from the verb by some phrase adjoined to the clause: a sentential adverbial PP in 4., and a vocative in 5.

- Finally, the only case in which we find enclisis with an adverb is the following:


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/vêem. 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 and with PPs. Let's compare the sentences with enclisis and the sentences with proclisis.

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.

7. 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 prophecia cumprem-se a seu tempo, e o theatro fica.

As outras prophecias/ esta do dia do Juízo

8. Não diz o Apostolo, que passa o mundo, senão as figuras; porque as figuras vão-se, e o theatro fica.

As figuras /o theatro (o mundo)

9. Comparada, porém, qualquer revelação não canonica, com as boas obras, eu antes quisera a certeza das obras, que a da revelação; porque a revelação não me pôde salvar sem boas obras; e as boas obras pôdem-me salvar sem revelação.

As boas obras/ a revelação

10. 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 ficam; os passos passam, e as pégadas ficam; mas porque ficam como raizes fundas e firmes, e que sempre permanecem. As pégadas estão manifestas e vêem-se; as raizes estão escondidas, e não se vêem; e assim tem Deus guardados invisivelmente todos os nossos peccados, os quais 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.
As pégadas/as raízes conhecia-os

12. <125> Elles conheciam-se, como homens, Christo, como Deus.

Deus/os homens

It must be observed that the contrast between the pre-verbal phrases is reinforced by explicit oppositions inside the sentences they precede. 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 vêem-se; as raízes estão escondidas, e não se vêem”), lexical oppositions (As outras prophecias cumprem-se a seu tempo, esta do dia do Juízo 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:

14. <P_87> Lá ha se de esperar o tempo que basta para os frutos verdes amadurecerem: cá não se espera por frutos maduros, nem ainda verdes, porque se cortam as flores ainda antes

lá/cá

15. <90> Assim como n'esta vida ha grande diferença dos grandes e poderosos, aos que o não são, assim a ha-de haver no dia do Juízo. 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?

Dos poderosos/dos outros

16. <91> O Juízo com que Deus ha-de julgar aos que mandam e governam, ha-de ser um Juízo duríssimo; porque aos pequenos conceder-se-ha misericordia; porém os grandes e poderosos serão poderosamente atormentados: Potentes poter-tomenta patientur

aos pequenos/aos grandes

17. <133> Entre as feras tomava-se com os leões, e entre os homens com os gigantes

entre as feras/entre os homens

18. <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 juizo dos homens castigam-se as valentias como peccados.

no Juízo de Deus/no juizo dos homens

19. <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.

A bons principios/a maus princípios

20. <164> Se este homem ainda tivera lepra, que lhe chamasse 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 saúde; 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 juizo dos homens, por mais que os procedimentos se mudem, os nomes não se mudam jámãis.

no Juízo de Deus/no juízo dos homens


No dia do juízo/no dia da morte

Finally, we find clitic-left dislocation constructions supporting this kind of contrasts, as illustrated below.
22. Again, the same is true for non subject pre-verbal phrases: which they are simply anaphoric to some other preceding phrase or refer to the author of a thoughts or words.

Conversely, proclisis appears when no contrastive value is assigned to the subject, as can be seen in the following sentences, in pre-verbal phrases in enclitic constructions can be characterize d as

In conclusion, we see that in Vieira's sermons enclisis appea rs consistently when two terms are contrasted. In other ter ms, the 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 defended by many authors (see for instance Benincà(1994) Galves and Galves(1995), Galves (1997, 2000) Salvi (1990) 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. 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 subje cts and PPs when these are clearly dislocated. Cf. ex. 1. and 2.

Which are clitic-left dislocation constructions, 3.-5. in wh ich we find the string Subject X V-cl, X a clausal adjunct, and last but least a case of neat contrastive effect between the adverbs aqui (here) and lá (there).

In some cases, proclisis seems to show up when two terms are co ntrasted, but a look at the examples below shows that in this case we have is sub-topics, which instead of being in opposition, go to the same conclusion:

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 defended by many authors (see for instance Benincà(1994) Galves and Galves(1995), Galves (1997, 2000) Salvi (1990) 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. 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. ex. 1. and 2. Which are clitic-left dislocation constructions, 3.-5. in which we find the string Subject X V-cl, X a clausal adjunct, and last but least a case of neat contrastive effect between the adverbs aqui (here) and lá (there).

We shall now compare these results for Vieira with the data concerning his contemporaries.
2. Enclisis in the 17th century authors

Let’s observe the enclitic constructions in each of these authors.

Costa

As in Vieira’s letters, we do not find any enclisis with adverbs (against 36 cases of proclisis). As for the PPs, only in 7 cases in 46 is the clitic enclitic. Of these 7 cases, 3 correspond to contrastive topics as in Vieira’s sermons:


na casa da suplicação/nas ruas

32. < Huns/NPR-P por/P ignorancia/N perderã/VB-D o/D lême/N ;/ e/CONJ tambéem/ADV o/D nó rte/N ;/ outros/OUTRO-P por/P covardia/N meteraõ/VB-D tanto/ADJ-R panno/N ;/ que/CONJS quebraraõ/VB-D os/D-P mastros/N-P ;/ outros/OUTRO-P por/P paixõõ/VB-D+SE fizerãõ-se/VB-D+SE tanto/ADV-R ao/P+D alto/ADJ ;/ que/WPRO deraõ/VB-D em/P baixos/ADJ-P ;/ e/CONJ baixos/ADJ-P miseravies/ADJ-G-P ;/ e/CONJ todos/Q-P encantados/VB-AN-P das/P+D-F-P Serães/NPR-P cahirãõ/VB-D em/P Sirtes/NPR-P ;/ e/CONJ Carybdes/NPR-P ;/ que/WPRO os/CL sorverãõ/VB-D ;/

por ignorancia/por paixão

33. < Cresciaõ/VB-D as/D-F-P rendas/N-P Reaes/ADJ-G-P com/P tributos/N-P por/P huma/D-UM-F <P_158> parte/N ;/ e/CONJ por/P outra/OUTRO-F multiplicavaõ-se/VB-D+SE as/D-F-P perdas/N-P ;/ destruîa-se/VB-D+SE a/D-F Monarquia/NPR ;/ e/CONJ tudo/Q se/SE gastava/VB-D em/P appetites/N-P ;/ faltavaõ/VB-D as/P armadas/N-P ;/ e/CONJ nos/P+D-P tanques/N-P do/P+D Retiro/NPR navegavaõ/VB-D baixes/N-P ;/.

por uma parte/por outra

These cases are clearly cases of dislocation of the PP, co-related with contrast in (31)-(33), and in a clitic-left dislocation construction in (34).

The three other cases are transcribed below:

35. A/D-F hum/D-UM cego/ADJ ;/ destes/P+D-P que/WPRO pedem/VB-P por/P portas/N-P ;/ deraõ/VB-D em/P certa/ADJ-F parte/N hum/D-UM cacho/N de/P uvas/N-P por/P esmola/N ;/ e/CONJ como/CONJS se/SE guarda/VB-D mal/ADV em/P cerveirea/N de/P pobres/ADJ-G-P ;/ o/D que/WPRO se/SE penderõ/VB-P pizar/VB ;/ tratou/VB-D de/P o/CL assegurar/ VB logo/ADV repartindo/VB-G igualmente/ADV com/P o/D seu/PRO$ moço/N ;/ que/WPRO o/CL guiava/VB-D ;/ e/CONJ para/P isso/DEM concertou/VB-D com/P elle/PRO ;/ que/C o/CL comessem/VB-SD bago/N ;/ e/CONJ bago/N ;/ alternadamente/ADV ;/ e/CONJ depois/ADV de/P quatro/NUM idas/VB-AN-F-P ;/ e/CONJ venidas/VB-AN-F-P ;/ o/D cego/ADJ para/P experimentar/VB ;/ se/WQ o/D moço/N lhe/CL guardava/VB-D fidelidade/N ;/ e/CONJ tico/VB-D os/D-P bagos/N-P a/P pares/N-P ;/ o/D moço/N vendo/VB-G ;/ que/C seu/PRO$ amo/N falhava/VB-D no/P+D contrato/N ;/ calou-se/VB-D+SE ;/ e/CONJ deu-leh/VB-D+CL os/D-P cabes/N-P a/P termos/N-N ;/ naõ/NEG lhe/CL esperou/VB-D muitos/Q-P o/D cego/ADJ ;/ e/CONJ ao/P+D terceiro/ADJ invite/N descarregoulhe/VB-D+CL com/P o/D bordaõ/N na/P+D-F cabeça/N ;/.

36. Chama/VB-P hum/D-UM Religioso/ADJ destro/ADJ ;/ e/CONJ de/P segredo/N ;/ entregoulhe/VB-P+CL com/P hum/D-UM recado/N para/P sua/PRO$-F Senhoria/NPR ;/ que/C lhe/CL faça/VB-SP mercê/N de/P se/SE servir/VB daquela/P+D-F peça/N ;/ e/CONJ de/P tudo/Q o/D mais/ADV-R ;/ que/WPRO ha/HV-P em/P sua/PRO$-F casa/N ;/ porque/CONJ estava/ET-D zombando/VB-G ;/ quando/CONJS lhe/CL mandou/VB-D o/D recado/N do/P+D <P_95> dote/N ;/.

37. Ao/P+D ladraõõ/N mostraõ-se/VB-P+SE os/D-P dentes/N-P ;/ e/CONJ naõ/NEG o/D coração/N ;/.
All these cases are easily amenable to the same analysis. In effect, although in (35)-(37) no effect of contrast is observed, the sentences with enclitic placement in (35)-(36) are part of a narrative text, in which the prepositional phrase preceding the verb introduces a circumstance which plays a salient role in the action.

As for the subjects, we also observe the contrasts found in Vieira’s sermons.

38. < Dirá/VB-R alguém/Q que/C he/SR-P ./, porque/WADV <P_82> gastarô/VB-P menos/ADV-R ./, e/CONJ eu/PRO digo/VB-P que/C he/SR-P ./, porque/WADV guardarô/VB-P mais/ADV-R ./, e/CONJ ambos/Q-P dizemos/VB-P o/D mesmo/ADJ ./, mas/CONJ com/P esta/D-F declaração/N ./, que/C todos/Q-P gastarô/VB-P da/P+D+F fazenda/N Real/ADJ-G ./, e/CONJ aquelas/D-P guardarô/VB-P para/P si/PRO ./, e/CONJ estes/D-P para/P seu/PRO$ dono/N ./: aquelas/D-P pagão-se/VB-P+SE por/P por sua/PRO$-F maô/N ./, e/CONJ estes/D-P naô/NEG trataô/VB-P de/P paga/N ./, senaô/SENAO de/P restituição/N ./.


40. < Hum/d-UM leaô/N contenta-se/VB-P+SE com/P a/D-F preza/N ./, que/WPRO lhe/CL basta/VB-P para/P aquelle/D dia/N ./, ainda/ADV que/C tenha/TR-SP diante/ADV das/P+D-F-P unhas/N-P muito/Q mais/ADV-R ./, em/P que/WPRO se/SE a/D-F possa/VB-SP empregar/VB ./, A/D-F rapoza/N, quand/CONJS dá/VB-P em/P hum/UM galinheiro/N, tudo/Q degola/VB-P ./, e/CONJ espedaçô/VB-P até/FP o/D superfluo/ADJ.

Um leaô/a rapoza

But, contrary to Vieira’s sermons, this is not a systematic characteristic of enclisis with subjects. However, these constructions all share an interesting property. They all appear in passive se-constructions, (in proclitic clauses, se only appear in 50% of the clauses (7/15)[4].

41. < As/D-F-P Republicas/NPR-P conservaô-se/VB-P+SE com/P fazenda/N ./, vassalos/N-P ./, e/CONJ leys/N-P ./, e/CONJ se/SE CONJS a/D-F fazenda/N se/SE desbarata/VB-P ./, e/CONJ os/D-P vassalos/N-P se/SE offendem/VB-P ./, e/CONJ as/D-F-P leys/N-P se/SE quebraô/VB-P ./, lá/ADV vay/VB-P ./, quanto/WADV WADV Martha/NPR fiou/VB-D ./.

42. < Os/D-P Reynos/NPR-P herdaô-se/VB-P+SE mais/ADV-R pelo/P+D direito/N hereditario/N ./, que/WPRO pelo/P+D do/P+D sangue/N ./

43. < O/D que/WPRO diz/VB-P o/D Direito/NPR ./, que/WPRO femeas/VB-SP naô/NEG entrem/VB-SP em/P officios/N-P ./, nem/CONJ-NEG jurisdiçoeiôs/N-P ./, entende-se/VB-P+SE ./, onde/WADV se/SE naô/NEG succede/VB-P Jure/NPR haereditario/N ./.

44. < Os/D-P depositos/N-P das/P+D-F-P Orden/NPR-P militares/ADJ-G-P ./, que/WPRO resultavaô/VB-D das/P+D-F-P comendas/N-P vagas/ADJ-F-P ./, consumiaô-se/VB-D+SE em/P usos/N-P profanos/ADJ-P contra/P os/D-P Breves/NPR-P Apostolicos/ADJ-P ./.

Moreover, it must be noted that in most of the cases (to be quantified in a further moment), these subjects are long, as in (44) and (45), or separated from the verb by a clause like in (46) and (47).

45. < E/CONJ o/D caso/N presente/ADJ-G da/P+D-F maneira/N que/WPRO o/CL resolvemos/VB-P ./, ainda/ADV que/C naô/NEG esta/ET-P na/P+D-F Ordenação/NPR_deste/P+D Reyno/NPR ./, colhe-se/VB-P+SE do/P+D Direito/NPR Civil/ADJ-G ./, e/CONJ esta/ET-P determinado/VB-AN por/P Acurso/NPR ./, Bartholo/NPR ./, e/CONJ os/D-P Doutores/NPR-P ./, e/CONJ admitido/VB-AN ./, e/CONJ praticado/VB-AN em/P Portugal/NPR ./, e/CONJ muitos/Q-P outros/ADJ-P Reynos/NPR-P ./, como/CONJ nos/NPR mostrámos/VB-P ./.

Summarizing, enclisis in Costa can be characterized, as in Vieira, as deriving from structures in which the pre-verbal phrase is clearly external to the clause, functioning as a marked topic. However the texts differ with respect to the frequency of this kind of structures appear, and the different types existing in clauses. In Vieira’s sermons, enclisis exhaustively results from the system of oppositions constitutive of the baroque style. In Costa, we also find the same stylistic factor, but it is less systematic. However, another conditioning of enclisis appears, the frequent use of passive se-constructions. Finally, the fact that in both authors, pre-verbal clauses very frequently triggers enclisis supports the claim that this placement of the clitic does correspond to a V1 structure, since clauses are likely to be adjoined to the maximal projection of the clause.

**Melo**

As is easily seen in Picture I, enclisis in Melo is very reduced. As Vieira in his letters, he never uses it with pre-verbal PPs and adverbs, and the only context in which we can find an important rate of enclisis is when the pre-verbal phrase is a clause. However, Melo does display some cases of enclisis with pre-verbal subjects. We transcribe below all the 7 cases at stake:

47. A/D-F minha/PRO$-F trasladação/N de/P São/NPR Vicente/NPR /. da/P+D-F minha/PRO$-F comédia/N ., parece-me/VB-P+CL que/C deve/VB-P estar/ET de/P remolho/N ., ao/P+D que/WPRO vou/VB-P entendendo/VB-G ./.

48. A/D-F necessidade/N toma/VB-P as/P+D-F-P vezes/N-P as/D-F-P vezes/N-P do/P+D gôsto/N ./, mas/CONJ esta/D-F tão/ADV-R duvidosa/ADJ-F mão/N julga-se/VB-P+SE melhor/ADJ-R-G de/P fora/ADV Necessidade (tão duvidosa mão) gôsto

49. Cuidei/VB-D que/C lhe/CL fazia/VB-D cocos/N-P à/P+D-F menina/N e/CONJ ela/PRO fez-me/VB-D+CL à/P mi/PRO espantos/N-P ./.

50. O/D hábito/N de/P sofrimento/N ./, em/P que/WPRO eu/PRO pareço/VB-P+CL, rompeu-se/VB-D+SE por/P seu/PRO$ mosmo/ADJ uso/N ./.

51. Os/D-P meus/PRO$-P erros/N-P chamaram-se/VB-D+SE a/P sagrado/ADJ ./.

52. Eu/PRO corro-me/VB-P+CL de/P dizer/VB o/D que/WPRO padeço/VB-P ., porque/CONJ a/D-F variedade/N dêstes/P+D-P meus/PRO$-P acidentes/N-P não/NEG só/FP me/CL deixarã/VB-R ofendido/VB-AN ./, mas/CONJ até/P mentiroso/ADJ ./.

53. Esta/D-F fortuna/N pesa-me/VB-P+CL já/ADV muito/Q ./.

Leaving apart the first example, which is a clear case of topicalization since the verb “parecer” takes no subject, only in (49) and (50) can be the contrast between two terms the origin of the enclitic positioning of the pronoun. There is however a common feature between the sentences exemplified in 50-53, they all instantiate the first person. Can this fact explain enclisis in a way coherent with what have been said so far? With respect to Mello, the question is almost useless, given the very low frequency of enclisis.

**Chagas**

In Chagas, the proportion of enclisis with subjects is comparable to the one found in Melo, and the cases of enclisis with adverbs and PPs pattern with what is found in Vieira’s letters. It is therefore a prolific author. Below, we list all the cases of enclisis with pre-verbal subjects, adverbs and PPs.


55. O/D espírito/N é/SR-P como/CONJS vento/N ./, com/P o/D mesmo/ADJ com/P que/WPRO uns/D-UM-P vão/VB-P para/P cima/ADV ./, vão/VB-P outros/OUTRO-P para/P baixo/ADV ./, eu/PRO acho-me/VB-P+CL bem/ADV em/P caminhos/N-P chãos/ADJ-P ./, ainda/ADV que/C me/CL seja/SR-SP preciso/ADJ vadear/VB serras/N-P e/CONJ meter/VB debaixo/ADV dos/P+D-P pés/N-P os/D-P montes/N-P ./.

56. Ao/P+D contrário/N ./, os/D-P que/WPRO estão/ET-P no/P+D verão/N da/P+D-F graca/N ./, no/P+D estio/N do/P+D amor/N de/P Deus/NPR ./, abrem-se/VB-P+SE ./, expõem-se/VB-P+SE ./, anelam/VB-P ./, suspiram/VB-P pelas/P+D-F-P mesmas/ADJ-F-P aflições/N-P que/WPRO eram/SR-D o/D seu/PRO$ fastio/N ./, amam/VB-P as/D-F-P mortificações/N-P ./, os/D-P desprezos/N-P e/CONJ adversidades/N-P no/P+D gôsto/N ./, no/P+D espírito/N ./, de/P fora/ADV e/CONJ de/P dentro/ADV ./.

57. A/P Dona/NPR Britis/NPR diga/VB-SP Vossa/PRO$-F Mercê/NPR que/C ., se/CONJ eu/PRO tivera/TR-RA um/D-UM
V. M., pre-verbal subjects do we find enclisis. The remarkable fact is that there is no case of V-cl order with pre-verbal clauses, a

In Maria do Céu, proclisis shows up in its extreme form. Only in V1 coordinate structures, and only in four sentences with Maria do Céu context which favours enclisis a lot in all the other authors.

A careful reading of all the examples of pre-verbal subjects with enclisis listed above show that the analysis proposed so far is applicable to Chagas also.

Senhora, as árvores podem estar cheias de frutos, e juntamente estar verdes e com alguma <original> alg~ua

Senhor, tenho achado por experiência que Vossa Mercê <original> V. M. </original> não tem mortificando ainda as suas paixões, especialmente a da vaidade; e provo isto com um exemplo natural. A árvore que está no cume de um monte, por leve que seja o vento, ou a viração que sopra, logo se move e se inquieta. Não é assim a que está no fundo do vale, a quem, por sumida no profundo, nem ainda as tempestades movem. Mas Vossa Mercê <original> V. M. </original> inquieta-se e altera-se muitas vezes com virações muito leves; não só sente nos ramos dos sentidos êste movimento, mas chega à raiz sem ser o furacão rigoroso: logo, é sinal que está no monte da vanglória e não no vale da humildade.

A careful reading of all the examples of pre-verbal subjects with enclisis listed above show that the analysis proposed so far is applicable to Chagas also.

60. Agora/ADV fique/VB-SP muito/Q desassossegada/VB-AN-F com/P est/ET-D F ferida/N ./, que/CONJ ão/SR-P belo/ADJ

61. Sç/ADJ-PP nessa/VB-P na/P+D-P terra/N ./, que/CONJ mais/ADJ-R fernosa/ADJ-F e/CONJ mais/ADJ-R galante/ADJ-G andará/VB-R nos/P+D-P olhos/N-P de/P Deus/NPR ./, para/P quem/WPRO é/SR-P vaidade/N enfeitar/VB as/D-F-P fersomuras/N-P ./, que/C não/NEG ês/SR-P mais/ADJ-R que/CONJS querer/VB pôr/VB de/P melhor/ADV-R gôsto/N é/SR-P barro/N ./, que/WPRO tarde/ADV ou/CONJ cedo/ADV se/SE torna/VB-P na/P+D-P terra/N que/WPRO foi/SR-D ./, e/CONJ Deus/NPR anda-nos/VB-P+CL se/espreitando/VB-G entre/VB-SP os/P+D-P+CL olhos/N-P nas/P+D-P+CL médias/VB-P-P+PL viva/VB-A N-P ./, passando/VB-G da/P+D-F cortica/N que/WPRO está/ET-P para/ADJ錄 ADV ./, e/CONJ entre/VB-SP a/P+D-P+CL considerar/VB que/C está/ET-P êle/PRO+PRO+CL dentro/ADV de/P+D-P+CL adv/ADJ-P+CL for/vB-SP de/P+D-P+CL

Maria do Céu

In Maria do Céu, proclisis shows up in its extreme form. Only in V1 coordinate structures, and only in four sentences with pre-verbal subjects do we find enclisis. The remarkable fact which favours enclisis a lot in all the other authors.
67. A/P Dona/NPR Joanna/NPR de/P Castro/NPR Tia/NPR do/P+D Correio/NPR Mor/NPR /., vio/VB-D logo/ADV /., que/C espiro/VB-D /., junto/ADV a/P+D+F sua/PRO$-F cana/N com/P uma/D-UM-F fermosura/N celestial/ADJ-G /., sinais/N de/P que/C acabara/VB-RA em/P graça/N aquella/D-F ditosa/ADJ-F predestinada/VB-AN-F /., já/ADV hauiaõ/HV-D revisto/VB-PP a/D-F-P sua/PRO$-F morte/N /., vendo-a/VB-G+CL na/P+D-F caza/N em/P que/WPRO que/VB-D  falleceu/VB-D /., com/P o/D accidente/N que/WPRO a/CL acabou/VB-D sobre/P a/D-F+F sobrinha/NPR Brites/NPR de/P Mendoça/NPR vio-a/VB-P+CL assim/ADV que/C espiro/VB-D toda/Q-F vestida/VB-AN-F de/P branco/ADJ /., e/CONJ ouvio/VB-D que/C fallando/VB-G a/CL Imagem/NPR lhe/CL dizia/VB-D de/P nome/N de/P Jesus/NPR /., e/CONJ fazendo/VB-G hum/D-UM grande/ADJ-G reparo/N nesta/P+D-F noudade/N /., ouvindo/VB-D que/C fallando/VB-G a/D-F+F Imagem/NPR lhe/CL dizia/VB-D /., Ela/PRO+CL auzentome/VB-P+CL.


69. Poucos dias de sua profissãö, contou esta menina, como enterando em uma <original> hu <original> capella, em cujo altar estaua a Imagem do Menino Jesus, este a chamara com a maõ; da sua pureza bem se pode crer o favor, e da sua verdade naõ se pode suspeitar o artificio. Ella/PRO+CL contou-o/VB-D+CL com/P singeleza/N /., e/CONJ sem/P desvanecimento/N /., nem/CONJ menos/ADV-R com/P cuydado/N /., no/P+D que/WPRO poderia/VB-D ser/SR /., que/C o/D successo/N mostrou/VB-D a/CL chamaua/VB-D o/D Menino/NPR para/P o/D ceo/N /., dizendolhe/VB-G+CL com/P esta/D-F acçaõ/N se/SE fosse/VB-SD para/P elle/PRO+CL.


In all these cases we find again that the marked pattern is intended to have a contrastive effect, in the sense that a distinctive topic is introduced. In effect, in all the sentences, it corresponds to an abrupt change of topic.

In conclusion, the authors of the 17th century show a very consistent pattern in the distribution of clitic-placement. It is clearly a minority, marked, pattern, associated to emphasis or contrast. This characterization is fully compatible with the hypothesis that enclisis in this period corresponds to a V1 structure, with some phrase adjoined to the sentence, producing an apparent V2 order.

We shall now see that changes occurring in the distribution of enclisis from 1700 on support the analysis proposed so far, and evidence that not only does proclisis decline lost during the 18th century but enclisis ceases to correspond to a V1 structure.

VI. The competition of grammars

Picture 1 shows an important variation among authors in the first quarter of the 18th century. We observe that the frequency of enclisis in V2 sentences ranges from 0.15 (Garção) to 0.68 (Verney). Figure 4 below shows this variation with pre-verbal subjects:
We shall see below, that in contrast with what we found at the beginning of the 17th century, this variation does not correspond to clear stylistic features of the sentences or texts. The exact point of change is however still difficult to precisely locate by articulating a qualitative and quantitative analysis. For instance, how is the frequency of 36% of enclisis with subjects to be interpreted in Aires? Is it the result of the competition of grammars, or a stylistic effect due to the nature of his text? By looking at the picture, the former interpretation is favoured since Aires’point is inside an ascending curve. But if we consider the sentences, we see that we find the same kind of oppositions as in Vieira’s sermons in most of the cases.

Matias Aires


73. No/P+D exercício/N do/P+D mal/N achamos/VB-P uma/D-UM-F espécie/N de/P dualidade/N , as/D-F-P virtudes/N-P praticam-se/VB-P+SE por/P ensino/N , o/D-vício/N sabe-se/VB-P+SE , a/D-F virtude/N aprende-se/VB-P+SE .

o vício/a virtude

este(o amor)/aquela (a formosura)

With PPs and Adv, other clitics show up, but we systematically find the system of oppositions found in Vieira’s sermons, as exemplified in (59-62), where we see the same oppositions functioning inside the sentences \(vamos/levam-nos, \ a \ vida \ com \ honra/ a vida com ignomínia, \ como \ elas \ são/ como \ os \ homens \ querem)

75. no/P+D prometer/VB fazemos/VB-P nós/PRO ,/ no/P+D cumprir/VB fazem-nos/VB-P+CL fazer/VB ./.

No prometer/no cumprir

76. em/P uma/D-UM-F cousa/N nós/PRO somos/SR-P o/D que/WPRO obramos/VB-P ./, na/P+D-F outra/OUTRO-F não/NEG ./, para/P aquela/D-F vamos/VB-P ./, para/P esta/D-F levam-nos/VB-P+CL ./.

Para aquela/para esta

77. finalmente/ADV ali/ADV nasce/VB-P a/D-F nobreza/N ,/ aqui/ADV extingue-se/VB-P+SE a/D-F vida/N com/P honra/N ./, aqui/ADV conserva-se/VB-P+SE a/D-F mesma/ADJ-F vida/N com/P ignomínia/N ./.

an/aqui

78. Nos/P+D-P primeiros/ADJ-P anos/N-P vemos/VB-P as/D-F-P cousas/N-P como/CONJS elas/PRO são/SR-P ./, depois/ADV vemo-las/VB-P+CL ./, como/CONJS os/D-P homens/N-P querem/VB-P ./,

Nos primeiros anos/depois

As we shall see now, the variation between enclisis and proclisis in the following authors is more easily interpretable as the result of the competition of two grammars since no clear pattern emerge from the distribution of each form.

**Correia Garção**

Correia Garção (born in 1724) presents little enclisis. The 7 cases with subjects, and the only case with PP are transcribed below.

79. “Eu/PRO ultrajei-vos/VB-D+CL ?!/.”


81. “A/D-F Arcádia/NPR fundou-se/VB-D+SE para/P adiantamento/N das/P+D-F-P Belas/ADJ-F-P Letras/NPR-P ,/ não/NEG para/P fazer/VB ostentação/N de/P talentos/N-P ./, para/P divertir/VB o/D público/N ./, ou/CONJ para/P dar/VB que/WPRO fazer/VB aos/P+D-P prelos/N-P ./.”

82. “Aprendei/VB-I a/P pelejar/VB e/CONJ a/P não/NEG terem/VB o/D perigo/N ;/. quem/WPRO deseja/VB-P a/D-F paz/N ,/ prepara-se/VB-D+SE para/P a/D-F guerra/N ./.”

83. “O/D amor/N próprio/ADJ é/SR-P base/N de/P todas/Q-P paixões/N-P ./, por/P isso/DEM o/D martírio/N do/P+D homem/N santo/ADJ e/CONJ que/WPRO nos/CL é/SR-P superior/ADJ-G em/P virtudes/N-P ./, causa-nos/VB-P+CL horror/N ./, mas/CONJ nunca/NEG compaixão/N ou/CONJ piedade/N ./, pois/CONJ o/D horror/N as/CL afugenta/VB-P nestes/P+D-P casos/N-P tão/ADV-R fortemente/ADV que/WPRO conJ que/CONJ ficam/VB-P supitas/ADJ-F ou/CONJ desaparecem/VB-P ./.”

84. “Havia/HV-D quem/WPRO dissesse/VB-D-SD que/C os/D-P Árquades/NPR-P já/ADV não/NEG se/SE ajuntavam/VB-D no/P+D Ménalo/NPR ./, mas/CONJ os/D-P Árquades/NPR-P ajuntavam-se/VB-D+SE no/P+D Ménalo/NPR ./.”

85. “E/CONJ o/D raio/N que/WPRO vimos/VB-D aceso/ADJ sobre/P as/D-F-P nossas/PRO$-F-P cabeças/N-P apagou-o/VB-D+SE ./, desfez-se/VB-D+SE em/P fumo/N ./, desapareceu/VB-D ./.”

86. “Muitos, querendo imitar Virgílio, fazem uma má tradução desta ou daquela imagem de tão grande poeta; e escravos de suas palavras não passam de tradutores. Não imitam, roubam e despedaçam as obras alheias: desfiguram o que lhes agradou, como se tomases por empresa fazer-nos aborrecer o que admiramos. Disto/P+DEM acha-se/VB-P+SE que/C enfermam/VB-P tantas/ADJ-R-F-P quantas/WADV são/SR-P o/D-F-P obras/N-P que/WPRO todos/Q-P os/D-P dias/N-P aparecem/VB-P cheias/ADJ-F-P de/P lugares/N-P dos/P+D-P poetas/N-P ./, não/NEG imitados/VB-AN-P ./, mais/CONJ servilmente/ADV traduzidos/VB-An-P ./.”

In these examples, no clear pattern is recoverable. Note that in the last sentence, the pre-verbal PP is clearly anaphoric. This is also the case for the subject in (85). This is not a context for enclisis in the preceding authors. This could be a piece of evidence that, although he uses very little enclisis, Garção no more assigns to this construction a structure in which the pre-verbal phrase is outside the boundaries of the clause. In other terms, we would already be at the beginning of the period in which the variation...
between enclisis and proclisis is the reflex of a competition of grammar, proclisis being the choice of the old grammar, still by far
majoritary at this time.

The two preceding authors, Verney and Antonio da Costa, respectively born in 1713 and 1714, reinforce this hypothesis, since
they both present a very high rate of enclisis for their time. It is interesting to note that Verney can be consider a very atypical
author since, as he himself claims, his mother tongue is not Portuguese. But this is not the case of Antonio da Costa, and their
use of enclisis with pre-verbal subjects is exactly the same. The difference between them is that if we consider all V2 sentences
(cf. Figure 1) Verney is consistently more enclitic, while Costa comes back to the line. It is also interesting to note that Antonio
da Costa is the first author in our Corpus in which the high frequency of enclisis does not go together with a high frequency of
the clitic SE, as shown in Figure 5 below:

Marquesa de Alorna

Alorna (born in 1750) displays a frequency of enclisis comparable with the one found in Vieira’s sermons. 51% of her subjects
are followed by enclisis. However, in contrast with Vieira, no clear pattern is found in the distribution of enclisis and proclisis.
Proclisis and enclisis are alternatively found in exactly the same discursive and informational contexts. No contrastiveness or
emphasis is associated with enclisis, as exemplified by the following examples, in which the subjects are topics which have
already been introduced in the text in the previous sentence:

87. Depois de beijar a mão à Rainha, foi o Conde conferir com o Arcebispo, que o tratou às mil maravilhas e logo lhe disse que
era preciso tirar uma Princesa de Portugal do paradeiro em que elas estavam; que êle não tinha ordem nenhuma da
Rainha para lhe falar naquela matéri, mas que estava certo que, observada tôda adecência e delicadeza neste ponto, a
Rainha estimaria ver a senhora Infanta Dona <original> D. </original> Mariana Vitória casada com o Imperador. O/D
Conde/NPR respondeu-lhe/VB-D+CL que/C desejava/VB-D encher/VB tôdas/Q-F-P obrig ações/N-P do/P+D seu/PRO$ emprêgo/N com/P a/D-F maior/ADJ-R-G habilidade/N possibile/ADJ-G e/CONJ que/C ficava/VB-D muito/Q lisongeado/VB-AN com/P a/D-F simples/ADJ-G idéia/N de/P uma/D-UM-F incumbência/N tão/ADV-R lisonjeira/ADJ-F ;/.  

88. Enfim, minha Senhora, a mesma delicadeza e pundonor de Vossa Alteza Real <original> V. A. R. </original> 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
<original> V. A. </original> fará muito melhor que eu, e o que desejo que Vossa Alteza Real <original> V. A. R. </original>
faça. Vossa Alteza Real <original> V. A. R. </original> julga-se ofendida e precisa despiscar-se.
Furthermore, in contrast with what we observed in Vieira’s sermons, anaphoric subjects can be followed either by enclisis or by proclisis:

89. A malícia tem armas para atacar tudo, mas o juízo também as tem para perceber e discernir o que convém. Esta/D-F reflexão/N lhe/CL basta/VB-P para/P , daqui/P+ADV por/P diante/ADV , saber/VB quem/WPRO deve/VB-P aceitar/VB ou/CONJ recusar/VB com/P alguns/Q pretexto/N sempre/ADV polido/ADJ e/CONJ que/WPRO nem/CONJ levemente/ADV ofenda/VB-SP o/D amor/N próprio/ADJ de/P ninguém/Q , por/CONJ/ADV CONJ destas/P+D-F atenção/N depende/VB-P a/D-F paz/N e/CONJ bom/ADJ nome/N .

90. Fui imediatamente falar com uma das minhas amigas, a qual me comunicou que, tendo tido a resolução de pregar a Sua Majestade se meu marido seria nomeado para algum dos lugares, Sua Majestade <original> S. M. </original> respondeu que eu ainda não tinha pedido nenhum. Esta/D-F resposta/N aclarou/VB-D+CL e/CONJ , abolindo/VB-G todos/Q-P os/D-P meus/PRO$-P antigos/ADJ-P princípios/N-P , conheci/VB-D que/C na/P+D-F nossa/PRO$-F Côrte/NPR é/SR-P preciso/ADJ pedir/VB e/CONJ de/P pouco/Q ou/CONJ nada/Q serve/VB-P merecer/VB ./.

In sum, differently from Vieira, the quantitative importance of enclitic constructions in Alorna can be taken as evidence that the grammar has changed, and that the occurrences of proclitic constructions are the effect of the use of the old grammar, in a situation of competition of grammars. The results found in the following authors, in whom the enclitic pattern goes on increasing, reinforce this conclusion. Finally, it must be noted that Alorna displays an almost categorical enclitic pattern in V1 coordinate sentences.

**Almeida Garrett**

In Almeida Garrett (born in 1799), the only context in which proclisis keeps being predominant is when the pre-verbal phrase is an adverb. A possible explanation for this discrepancy is the possibility of focalization of adverbs, as illustrated in (93).

91. Joaninha/NPR apertou/VB-D a/D-F avó/N com/P ambos/Q-P os/D-P braços/N-P ;/ e/CONJ sem/P dizer/VB uma/D-UM-F palavra/N , sem/P fazer/VB um/D-UM só/ADJ-G gesto/N , lentamente/ADV e/CONJ silenciosamente/ADV se/SE retirou/VB-D para/P dentro/ADV de/P casa/N ./.

**Ramalho Ortigão**

Finally, in Ortigão (born in 1836) we almost find the pattern of Modern European Portuguese. The two only cases of proclisis with subjects are given below.

92. Uma/D-UM-F coisa/N me/CL dá/VB-P cuidado/N ./, é/SR-P a/D-F falta/N de/P uma/D-UM-F carta/N tua/PRO$-F ./.

93. Deus/NPR vos/CL dá/VB-SP as/D-F-P mais/ADV-R alegres/ADJ-G páscoas/N-P a/P todos/Q-P ./, para/P quem/WPRO eu/PRO envio/VB-P os/D-P mais/ADV-R ternos/ADJ-P e/CONJ os/D-P mais/ADV-R saudosos/ADJ-P abraços/N-P ./.

Although, from the point of view of the model of grammar competition, we need no explanation for these two cases, it is worth noting that (93) is clearly a case of fixed expression. As for (92), the indefinite determiner *uma* can be analyzed as an existential quantifier requiring proclisis.

**VI. Enclisis ceases to be a V1 phenomenon from the 18th century on**

So far, we have shown that up to the beginning of the 18th century, we consistently find in authors the expression of a grammar in which enclisis corresponds to a V1 grammar. This ceases to be the case from Correia Garção on, which, together with the increasing of the rate of enclisis, authorizes us to claim that the variation observed from this author on is produced by the competition of two grammars, Classical Portuguese, and Modern European Portuguese, in which enclisis is categorical in the former variation contexts.

The texts of the Tycho Brahe Corpus provide us with further evidence that the change observed in the recent history of European Portuguese affects the very nature of enclisis. We have shown that in Classical Portuguese, enclisis is marginal in variation contexts and corresponds to structures in which the pre-verbal phrase is outside the boundaries of the clauses. In other terms, enclisis in Classical Portuguese is correlated with the Tobler Mussafia Law which prevents a non stressed item to show up in the absolute first position in intonational phrases. This is consistent with the fact, shown by Picture 2 above, that the variation is much greater when the phrase which a clause. In effect, clauses are more likely to form their own intonational phrase, and therefore, the verb is more likely to be treated as the first element of the main clause. Furthermore, as pointed out to us by Tony Kroch[5], we expect that the longer the pre-verbal clause is, the higher is the probability that enclisis be chosen.
The following table shows that this is true until the end of the 17th century, but ceases to be true in the texts of the 18th century.

Table 1: The effect of the length of pre-verbal clauses on clitic placement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1500 to 1599</th>
<th>1600 to 1690</th>
<th>1691 to 1799</th>
<th>1800</th>
<th>proc</th>
<th>encl</th>
<th>%encl</th>
<th>proc</th>
<th>encl</th>
<th>%encl</th>
<th>proc</th>
<th>encl</th>
<th>%encl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-4 w</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29.89</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>47.94520548</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>74.46808511</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-8 w</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>35.29</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>50.90909091</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>65.95744681</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9+ w</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>52.94</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>71.42857143</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>88</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>43</td>
<td>81</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 shows that during the 16th and the 17th centuries, the presence of a long clause (more than 8 words) immediately before the verb stongly favours enclisis. By contrast, no such effect is found after 1691. This is consistent with the idea that by the end of the 17th century, enclisis ceases to be the effect of the application of the Tobler-Mussafia law. Another phenomenon reinforces this analysis. As described by Paixão de Sousa (2002), in the 12 texts from authors born before 1700, there are 43 sentences in which the verb is preceded by a subject which is preceded itself by another phrase (XP-Subj-V)[6]. It turns out that 42 of those sentences are proclitic, and only one is enclitic - again in the Sermons, in the context of contrastive topics[7]. This is exactly what the analysis put forth above predicts. Since there are two positions for topics, one external and one internal, if two topics show up together, we expect proclisis to arise, not enclisis. In contrast, in the last author considered in Graphs 1 and 2, Ramalho Ortigão, born in 1836, we find 12 cases of XP-Subj-V-cl. This is what we predict if in this author, enclisis is no more a V-1 phenomenon. In this case, the subject is internal to the sentence, and the pre-verbal XP is the topic, an order which is very common in EP.

V. Conclusions

1. Vieira's sermons mystery elucidated:

Enclisis in Vieira's sermons supports a stylistic effect typical of the baroque rhetoric. In syntactic terms, this can be explained as deriving from the fact that when the clitic is post-verbal, the phrase in pre-verbal position is outside the clause. From this point of view, it is Vieira's letters which are representative of the syntax of his time.

2. Two different proclisis/enclisis variations:

Up to the end of the 17th century the variation is produced by one grammar. Except when enclisis is used for stylistic purposes as in Vieira's sermons, and to less extent in Costa, and later in Aires, the rate of enclisis in V2 sentences remains inferior to 20%. At the beginning of the 18th century, the grammar changes, as shown by graphic I, and proclitic constructions are no more produced by the new grammar, but continue to appear in texts as the reflex of grammar competition (Kroch 1994). On the basis of the qualitative analysis of the texts we have been considering, this point is between Aires and Alorna, that is between 1705 and 1750, or may be between Aires and Garção, that is between 1705 and 1724. All the pictures presented above seem to support this view.

VII. References


PAIXÃO DE SOUSA, M. C. 2000 *Reflexões sobre a Escrita Portuguesa no período de Bilinguismo Literário – séculos 16 a 18*, manuscript, Unicamp.


* This research was partially supported by Fapesp under the grants 98/03382-0, 99/03240-4, and 01/06584- 7, by CNPq (under the Projeto Tipal, grant 465928/2000-5 ), and by ZiF.

** We warmly thank Tony Kroch for his insightful comments on the data.

[1] At this point of the research, we shall not include Verney (1713-1792) in this corpus. In effect, Verney is likely not to be a native speaker of Portuguese. His father was French, and he himself claimed : “Eu sou Estrangeiro: e com dificuldade me-explicarei em uma linguai, que nam mamei no-berso”. (apud Paixão de Sousa, 2000).

[2] We are grateful to João Costa, Ana Maria Martins and Gabriela Matos for a very illuminating discussion about this question.

[3] This way of proceeding is coherent with the generativist conception of grammar as an Internal-Language (Chomsky, 1985). A specific grammar grows in the child’s mind from an initial state (the universal grammar), on the basis of the data s/he is exposed to. This grammar never changes after the end of the acquisition process. However, since we are aware that written language is not the pure product of this grammar but generally includes old stages of the language, yielding what Kroch (1994) calls a competition of grammars, it would be interesting also to order the texts according to the time they were written. However, for some of the texts, this is very difficult to define. Moreover, in the case of the correspondence, we have letters written over a long period of time. At this point we shall not try to solve these problems and we shall leave this
task for further research.

[4] Obs. It must be noted however that passive se-constructions proclisis can also appear with proclisis, in contrast with what happens in Modern European Portuguese (cf. Raposo-Uriagereka 1996).

[5] We are strongly grateful to him for this observation, as well as for the methodological suggestions about the quantitative treatment of the data.

[6] It must be noted that V>3 is not a frequent pattern. Before 1700, we find it in 11% of the cases (47 cases for a total of 438 sentences). After 1700, the proportion raises to 16% (40 cases for a total of 252 sentences).