

Clitic Placement in 17th and 18th European Portuguese Texts: First Results from the Tycho Brahe Corpus[♦]

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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 in the second half of the 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 analysis, which solves Vieira's puzzle and supports Torres Moraes and Galves and Galves' point of view. 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 remains 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). Both from this qualitative point of view, and from a quantitative one, it is clear that Alorna (b. 1750) is already a speaker of EP. The point of departure of the change remains to be detected, since before her, excepting outsiders like Vieira and Costa, we see a consistent variation between enclisis and proclisis, with a very low rate of the former. It is therefore very difficult to decide, on the basis of the data available up to now, when this variation begins to be produced by the emergence of the new grammar. The text which follows aims to begin to collect evidence in order to answer this question.

II. The corpus

The corpus is composed of the following 11 texts from the [Tycho Brahe Parsed Corpus of Historical Portuguese](#)¹:

Padre Manuel da Costa (1601-1667) *A arte de furtar* - 52 867 words

Padre Antonio Vieira (1608-1697) Letters - 57,088 words

Sermons - 53855 words

Francisco Manuel de Mello (1608-1666) Letters - 58,070 words

Frei Francisco das Chagas (1631-1682) *Cartas espirituais* – 54445 words

Maria do Céu (1658-1753) – *Rellação da Vida e Morte da Serva de Deos a Venerável Madre Elenna da Crus* 27410 words

^{*} 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 Típal, 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 lingua, que nam mamei no-berso". (apud Paixão de Sousa, 2000).

Matias Aires (1705-1763) *Reflexões sobre a vaidade* - 56,479 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* – 51784 words
Ramalho Ortigão (1836-1915) *Letters* – 32441 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 - is 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.

Proclisis is also the categorical option from Old Portuguese to modern European Portuguese texts in subordinate clauses, which do not seem, therefore, to be variation contexts. However, some enclitic relative and completive clauses appear in 18th and 17th century texts. These occurrences are marginal in numbers, but nevertheless may pose an intriguing question for the variation problem.

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 2nd 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*). As will be shown in Table I below, 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. This is particularly clear in Costa, in whom we find an inversion of the values of each placement. This discrepancy is clearer in Table II, in which these constructions have been computed separately from all the others. From this table, we can also see that the variation between authors is much bigger with V1 Coordinate structures – which range from 0.06 of enclisis in Aires to 0.83 in Alorna - than with Matrix and V2 Coordinate structures –which range from 0.07 in Melo to 0.052 in Alorna.

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 *porém* “however”, but not with *ou* “or”, *pois* “because”, and the explicative *que*, also tagged as conjunction in the corpus.

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.

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

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.

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.

Table I: the variation between enclisis and proclisis in authors born between 1601 and 1836:

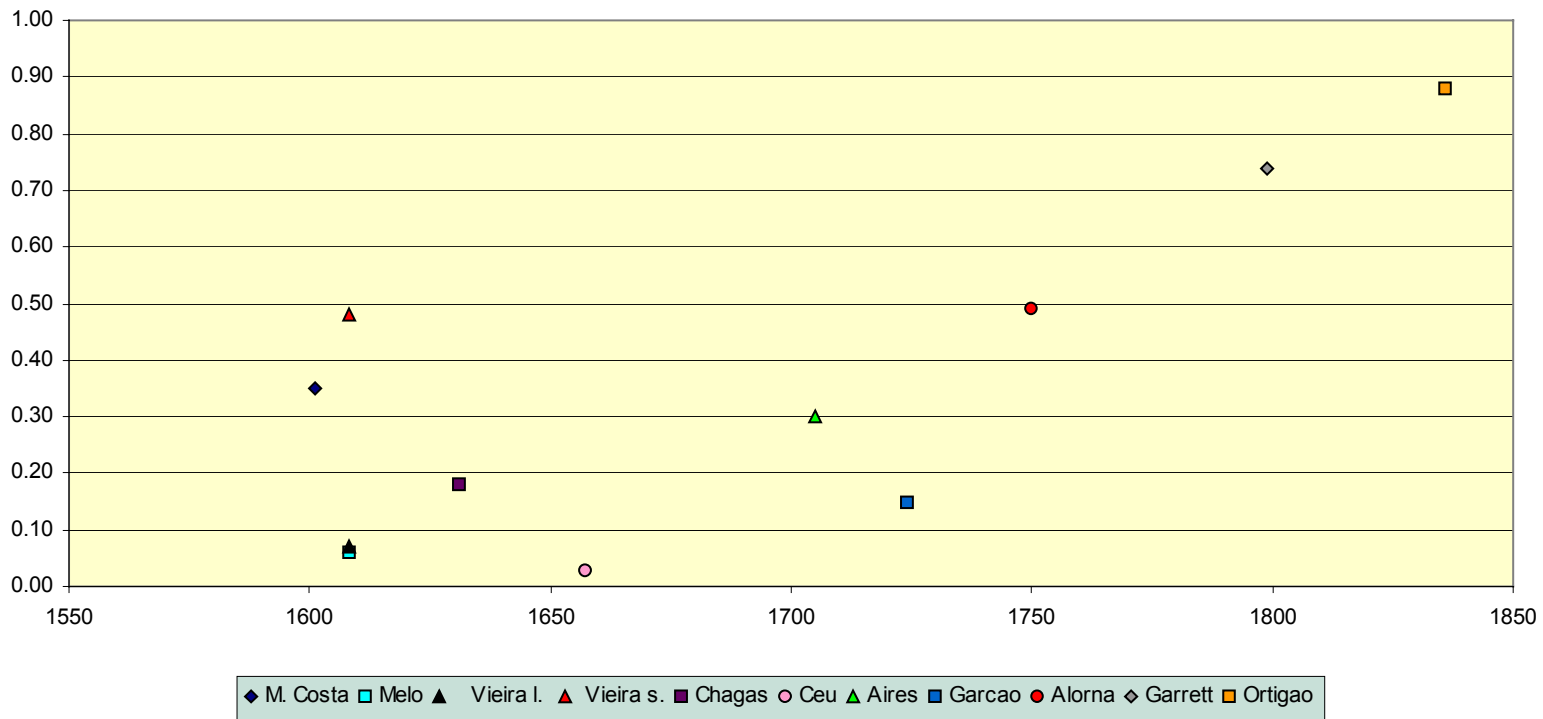
clause	initial constituent		M. Costa	Melo	Vieira l.	Vieira s.	Chagas	Céu	Aires	Garcao	Alorna
			1601	1608	1608	1608	1631	1658	1705	1724	1750
V2 Matrix and coordinates	subject	Vcl	16	7	0	29	5	5	15	7	41
		cIV	26	89	122	31	78	37	59	18	49
	adverb	Vcl	0	0	2	4	3	0	8	0	3
		cIV	16	41	26	11	33	18	13	24	8
	PP	Vcl	7	0	2	24	6	0	12	1	12
		cIV	46	70	77	45	63	56	29	16	22
	clause	Vcl	31	8	15	35	25	0	10	3	24
		cIV	12	22	22	11	18	74	4	5	3
	others	Vcl	0	0	1	0	4	0	0	0	0
		cIV	1	0	0	3	6	0	0	1	0
	total	Vcl	54	15	20	92	43	5	45	11	80
		cIV	101	222	247	101	198	185	105	64	82
	E/P	Vcl	0.35	0.06	0.07	0.48	0.18	0.03	0.30	0.15	0.49
		cIV	0.65	0.94	0.93	0.52	0.82	0.97	0.70	0.85	0.51
V1 coordinates		Vcl	68	11	14	35	60	15	3	7	36
		cIV	23	38	36	12	35	17	33	9	6
	E/P	Vcl	0.75	0.22	0.28	0.74	0.63	0.47	0.08	0.44	0.86
		cIV	0.25	0.78	0.72	0.26	0.37	0.53	0.92	0.56	0.14
TOTAL		Vcl	122	26	34	127	103	20	48	18	116
		cIV	124	260	283	113	233	202	138	73	88
		Vcl	0.50	0.09	0.11	0.53	0.31	0.09	0.26	0.20	0.57
		cIV	0.50	0.91	0.89	0.47	0.69	0.91	0.74	0.80	0.43

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.

The results of Table III can be visualized in the following graph:

Graph I: the variation between enclisis and proclisis in V2 structures in authors born between 1601 and 1836

enclisis in 17th-19th century texts: XV matrix and coordinates



We shall now comment these results.

1. Vieira's sermons x Vieira's letters

As was already pointed out by Britto (2000), 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. mas/CONJ faça-se/VB-SP+SE o/D milagre/N ./, e/CONJ o/D demais/ADV-R 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. porque/CONJ a/P êles/PRO **está-lhe/ET-P+CL** muito/Q melhor/ADJ-R-G a/D-F guerra/N que/CONJS 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 êles/PRO a/D-F dificuldade/N da/P+D-F convencia/N ./.
3. [DEC] A/P El-rei/NPR Faraó/NPR ./, porque/CONJ consentiu/VB-D no/P+D seu/PRO\$ reino/N o/D injusto/ADJ cativoiro/N do/P+D povo/N hebreu/ADJ-G ./, **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 primogênitos/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 that the first one is again a case of clitic-left dislocation):

4. Nós/PRO ./, pelo/P+D contrário/N ./, **pegamo-nos/VB-P+CL** a/P que/WPRO tudo/Q se/SE deve/VB-P repor/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 nos/CL ajuda/VB-P a/P isto/DEM o/D exemplo/N da/P+D-F fortaleza/N de/P Gale/NPR em/P Ceilão/NPR ./, e/CONJ 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 ./, em/P 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:

6. Êste/D discurso/N é/SR-P evidente/ADJ-G em/P toda/Q-F a/D-F parte/N ./, e/CONJ nestas/P+D-F-P onde/WADV eu/PRO agora/ADV ando/VB-P muito/Q mais/ADV-R que/CONJS em/P Paris/NPR ./, porque/CONJ lá/ADV não/NEG vemos/VB-P mais/ADV-R que/CONJS as/D-F-P grandezas/N-P de/P França/NPR ./, e/CONJ aqui/ADV **vêm-se/VB-P+SE** as/D-F-P suas/PRO\$-F-P dependências/N-P ./, os/D-P seus/PRO\$-P receios/N-P ./, as/D-F-P suas/PRO\$-F-P contemporizações/N-P e/CONJ as/D-F-P suas/PRO\$-F-P rogativas/N-P ./.

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

Let's now look at enclisis in the sermons in detail. The very striking difference with what we find in the letters is the great quantity of enclisis with subjects 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. <71> Diz o Senhor, que o dia do Juízo ha-de vir, e que já é; porque ainda que o dia do Juízo ha-de ser depois, e muito depois; o dia da morte é já agora: e o que se ha-de cumprir em todos no dia do Juízo, cumpre-se em cada um no dia da morte: Singulis in die mortis completur. Notae o Completur. As outras profecias cumprem-se a seu tempo, esta do dia do Juízo tem o seu cumprimento antes de tempo; porque aquillo mesmo que se faz agora, é o que se diz que ha-de ser então.
As outras profecias/ esta do dia do Juízo
8. <74> 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. <97> Comparada, porém, qualquer revelação não canonica, com as boas obras, eu antes quizera a certeza das obras, que a da revelação; porque a revelação não me póde salvar sem boas obras; e as boas obras pódem-me salvar sem revelação.
As boas obras/ a revelação
10. <121> E porque considera Deus não os passos, senão as pégadas? Porque os passos passam, as pégadas ficam; os passos pertencem á vida que passou, as pégadas á conta, que não passa. Mas differentemente não passa Deus pelo que nós tão facilmente passamos! Nós deixamos as pégadas de traz das costas, e Deus tem-n'as sempre diante dos olhos, com que as nota e observa: as pégadas para nós apagam-se, como formadas em pó, para Deus não se apagam, como gravadas em diamante. Tal é a consideração dos peccados, que na nossa memória logo se perde, e na sciencia divina sempre está presente.
Nós/Deus
11. Os Setenta, em lugar de pégadas, trasladaram raizes: Et radices pedum meorum considerasti. Assim como os pés se chamam plantas, assim ás pégadas lhes quadra bem o nome de raizes. E porque deu este nome Job ás pégadas dos seus passos? Não só porque os passos passam, e as pégadas ficam; mas porque ficam como raizes fundas e firmes, e que sempre permanecem. As pégadas estão manifestas e vêem-se; as raizes estão escondidas, e não se vêem: e assim tem Deus guardados invisivelmente todos os nossos peccados, os quaes no dia da conta rebentarão como raizes, e brotarão nos castigos, que pertencem á natureza de cada um. Isto é o que tanto cuidado dava a Job.
As pégadas/as raizes
12. <125> Elles conheciam-se, como homens, Christo conhecia-os, como Deus.
Elles/Christo
13. <170> Deus julga-nos a nós por nós; os homens julgam-nos a nós por si.
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 póde salvar sem boas obras; e as boas obras pódem-me salvar sem revelação, As pégadas estão manifestas e vêem-se; as raizes estão escondidas, e não se vêem), lexical oppositions (As outras profecias cumprem-se a seu tempo, esta do dia do Juízo tem o seu cumprimento antes de tempo: porque as figuras vão-se, e o theatro 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 fructos verdes amadurecerem: cá não se espera por fructos maduros, nem ainda verdes, porque se cortam as flores ainda antes
lá/cá
15. <90> Assim como n'esta vida ha grande differença dos grandes e poderosos, aos que o não são, assim a ha-de haver no dia do 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 durissimo; porque aos pequenos conceder-se-ha misericordia; porém os grandes e poderosos serão poderosamente atormentados: Potentes poterent tormenta 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 juízo dos homens castigam-se as valentias como peccados.

19. *no Juízo de Deus/no juízo dos homens*
<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 principios
20. <164> Se este homem ainda tivera lepra, que lhe chamassem leproso, muito justo; mas se elle estava são, porque lhe hão-de chamar leproso? Porque esse é o juízo dos homens. Fostes vós leproso algum dia? Pois ainda que Deus faça milagres em vós, leproso haveis de ser todos os dias de vossa vida. Deus poder-vos-há dar a 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 juízo dos homens, por mais que os procedimentos se mudem, os nomes não se mudam jámais.
no Juízo de Deus/no juízo dos homens
21. Finalmente/ADV ./, no/P+D dia/N do/P+D Juízo/NPR **ha/HV-P se/SE** de/P acabar/VB a/D-F vida/N com/P o/D mundo/N ./, mas/CONJ com/P o/D mesmo/ADJ mundo/N se/SE hão-de/HV-P+P acabar/VB também/ADV os/D-P encargos/N-P da/P+D-F vida/N ./, porém/CONJ no/P+D dia/N da/P+D-F morte/N acaba-se/VB-P+SE o/D mundo/N para/P a/D-F vida/N ./, mas/CONJ não/NEG se/SE acaba/VB-P para/P os/D-P encargos/N-P .
No dia do juízo/no dia da morte

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

22. <157> Deus vos livre de vossas boas obras, e muito mais das grandes; os peccados soffremol-os facilmente; os milagres não os podemos soffrer
os peccados/os milagres

Conversely, proclisis appears when no contrastive value is assigned to the subject, as can be seen in the following sentences, in which they are simply anaphoric to some other preceding phrase or refer to the author of a thoughts or words.

23. <122> porque ainda que a vida e os dias em que peccamos passam, os peccados que n'elles commetemos, não passam, mas ficam depositados nos thesouros da ira divina. Falla o Apostolo por bocca do mesmo Deus, o qual diz no Deuteronomio: Nonne hæc condita sunt apud me, et signata in thesauris meis? Mea est ultio, et ego retribuam in tempore. Estes thesouros, pois, que agora estão cerrados, se abrirão a seu tempo, e se descobrirão para a conta no dia do Juízo, que isso quer dizer, in die iræ, et revelationis justii judicii Dei.
24. Este/D modo/N de/P dizer/VB se/SE tem/TR-P commummente/ADV por/P tradição/N antiquissima/ADJ continuada/VB-AN-F desde/P o/D principio/N do/P+D mesmo/ADJ mundo/N ./.
25. <87> Esta differença dos signaes que então ha-de haver, e agora não ha, é a que faz a differença dos efeitos muito mais para temer no Juízo de cada dia, que no do fim do mundo. Que efeitos ha-de causar nos homens a vista d'aquelles signaes? O Evangelhista o refere por bem extraordinarios termos: Arescentibus hominibus præ timore, et expectatione, quæ supervenient universo orbi.
26. < O/D Evangelho/NPR o/CL diz/VB-P ./, Erunt/FW signa/FW in/FW sole/FW ./, et/FW luna/FW ./, et/FW stellis/FW ./.
27. < O/D mesmo/ADJ Texto/NPR o/CL declara/VB-P admiravelmente/ADV no/P+D que/WPRO logo/ADV acrescenta/VB-P ./, Quasi/FW aurora/FW consurgens/FW ./, pulchra/FW ut/FW luna/FW ./, electa/FW ut/FW sol/FW ./, terribilis/FW ./, ut/FW castrorum/FW acies/FW ordinata/FW ./.

Again, the same is true for non subject pre-verbal phrases:

28. <123> E finalmente conclue, que então appareceram e se abriram um livro e muitos livros, e que pelo que estava escripto n'estes livros foram julgados todos, cada um conforme suas obras: Et libri aperti sunt; et alius liber apertus est, qui est vitæ; et judicati sunt mortui ex his quæ scripta erant in libris secundum opera ipsorum. D'esta distincção que o Evangelhista faz de livro a livros, se vê claramente, que o livro era da vida, liber qui est vitæ, e que os livros eram da conta, porque pelos livros foram julgados os mortos: Et judicati sunt mortui ex his quæ scripta erant in libris.

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

29. <142> Sete fontes de graça deixei na minha Igreja, (que é o beneficio da justificação) para que n'ellas se lavassem as almas de seus peccados, e com ellas se regassem e crescessem nas virtudes. Em uma te facilitei em tal fôrma o remedio para todas as culpas, que só com as confessar te prometti o perdão, que tu não quizeste aceitar, fugindo da benignidade d'aquelle sacramento como rigoroso, e amando mais as mesmas

culpas, que estimando o perdão. Em outra te dei a comer minha carne e a beber meu sangue, e juntamente os thesouros infinitos de toda a minha Divindade, em penhor da gloria e bemaventurança eterna, que foi o altissimo fim para que te creei.

30. <P_111> E o mesmo podemos dizer das planicies, valles e montes, d'onde se levantavam ás nuvens aquelles vastissimos corpos de casas, muralhas e torres. De umas se não sabem os logares onde estiveram; d'outras se lavram, semeam, e plantam os mesmos logares, sem mais vestigios de haverem sido, os que encontram os arados, quando rompem a terra.

In conclusion, we see that in Vieira's sermons enclisis appears consistently when two terms are contrasted. In other terms, the pre-verbal phrases in enclitic constructions can be characterized as **contrastive topics**. Non contrastive topics appear with proclisis. The high rate of enclisis in Vieira's sermons can be therefore explained by discursive reasons: the sermons are masterpieces of the baroque style, which uses oppositions between terms as a fundamental stylistic resort. This view is consistent with the hypothesis 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 not 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. Vieira's work x his contemporaries (Francisco Manuel de Melo (b. 1608), Manuel da Costa (b. 1601)

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 8 cases in 46 is the clitic enclitic. Of these 8 cases, 3 correspond to contrastive topics as in Vieira's sermons:

31. < Assim/ADV saõ/SR-P os/D-P ladroens/N-P :/. na/P+D-F Casa/NPR da/P+D-F Supplicação/NPR **chamão-se/VB-P+SE** infames/ADJ-G-P ,/, quando/CONJS os/CL sentenceaõ/VB-P ,/, que/CONJ he/SR-P poucas/Q-F-P vezes/N-P :/. mas/CONJ nas/P+D-F-P ruas/N-P ,/, por/P onde/WADV andaõ/VB-P de/P continuo/ADJ em/P alcatêas/N-P ,/, tem/TR-P nomeadas/VB-AN-F-P muito/Q nobres/ADJ-G-P :/. porque/CONJ hunts/D-UM-P saõ/SR-P Godos/NPR-P ,/, outros/OUTRO-P chamão-se/VB-P+SE Cabos/NPR-P ,/, e/CONJ Xarifes/NPR-P outros/OUTRO-P :/. mas/CONJ nas/P+D-F-P obras/N-P todos/Q-P saõ/SR-P piratas/N-P ./.
na casa da suplicação/nas ruas
32. < Hunts/NPR-P por/P ignorancia/N perdaõ/VB-D o/D léme/N ,/, e/CONJ também/ADV o/D nóte/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 paixaõ/N fizeraõ-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 miseraveis/ADJ-G-P :/. e/CONJ todos/Q-P encantados/VB-AN-P das/P+D-F-P Serêas/NPR-P cahiraõ/VB-D em/P Sirtes/NPR-P ,/, e/CONJ Carybdes/NPR-P ,/, que/WPRO os/CL sorveraõ/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 :/. destruía-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 baixeis/N-P ./.
por uma parte/por outra

There is also 1 case of clitic-left dislocation:

34. < Mas/CONJ estas/D-F-P repostas/N-P ,/, e/CONJ instancias/N-P tem/TR-P facil/ADJ-G resoluçaõ/N :/. porque/CONJ a/D-F certeza/N da/P+D-F ley/N consta/VB-P muito/Q bem/ADV a/P Castella/NPR ,/, que/WPRO a/CL sumio/VB-D com/P as/D-F-P Cortes/NPR-P de/P Lamego/NPR ,/, como/CONJS fica/VB-P dito/VB-AN :/. e/CONJ a/P nós/PRO **bastanos/VB-P+CL** a/D-F tradiçaõ/N por/P certeza/N ,/, que/WPRO se/SE prova/VB-P com/P muitos/Q-P documentos/N-P ./.
por uma parte/por outra

And, finally, an infinitival clause introduced by preposition, which is the context in which enclisis appears more frequently in all the authors of this period (see Mello, and Vieira's sermons and letters in the table above):

35. e/CONJ para/P evitar/VB hum/D-UM mal/N irremediavel/ADJ-G ,/ , **ha-se/HV-P+SE** de/P devotar/VB algum/Q inconveniente/N ,/ , quando/CONJS he/SR-P menor/ADJ-R-G ,/ , que/CONJS o/D mal/N que/WPRO se/SE padece/VB-P ./.

The three other cases are transcribed below:

36. 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-P mal/ADV em/P cevadeira/N de/P pobres/ADJ-G-P ,/ , o/D que/WPRO se/SE pode/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 guaiava/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 experimental/VB ,/ , se/WQ o/D moço/N lhe/CL guardava/VB-D fidelidade/N ,/ , picou/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-lhe/VB-D+CL os/D-P cabes/N-P a/P termos/N-P :/. naõ/NEG lhe/CL esperou/VB-D muitos/Q-P o/D cego/ADJ :/. e/CONJ ao/P+D terceiro/ADJ invite/N **descarreguilhe/VB-D+CL** com/P o/D bordaõ/N na/P+D-F cabeça/N ./.
37. Chama/VB-P hum/D-UM Religioso/ADJ destro/ADJ ,/ , e/CONJ de/P segredo/N ,/ , **entregalho/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 ./.
38. Ao/P+D ladraõ/N mostraõ-se/VB-P+SE os/D-P dentes/N-P ,/ , e/CONJ naõ/NEG o/D coraçãõ/N ./.

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

39. < Dirá/VB-R alguem/Q que/C he/SR-P ,/ , porque/WADV **<P_82>** gastaõ/VB-P menos/ADV-R ,/ , e/CONJ eu/PRO digo/VB-P que/C he/SR-P ,/ , porque/WADV guardaõ/VB-P mais/ADV-R :/. e/CONJ ambos/Q-P dizemos/VB-P o/D mesmo/ADJ ;/. mas/CONJ com/P esta/D-F declaraçaõ/N ,/ , que/C todos/Q-P gastaõ/VB-P da/P+D-F fazenda/N Real/ADJ-G ,/ , e/CONJ aquelles/D-P guardaõ/VB-P para/P si/PRO ,/ , e/CONJ estes/D-P para/P seu/PRO\$ dono/N :/. aqueles/D-P **pagaõ-se/VB-P+SE** por/P sua/PRO\$-F maõ/N ,/ , e/CONJ estes/D-P naõ/NEG trataõ/VB-P de/P paga/N ,/ , senaõ/SENAO de/P restituizaõ/N ./. *aqueles/estes*
40. < Conservarse-ha/VB-R!SE em/P pé/N nestas/P+D-F-P demoras/N-P conservando/VB-G o/D amor/N dos/P+D-P soldados/N-P ,/ , e/CONJ a/D-F benevolencia/N dos/P+D-P póvos/N-P ;/. esta/D-F **ganha-se/VB-P+SE** administrando/VB-G justiça/N ,/ , e/CONJ aquelle/D usando/VB-G liberalidade/N ./. *esta/aquele*
41. < Hum/d-UM leaõ/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 as/CL possa/VB-SP empregar/VB ./. A/D-F **rapoza/N**, quand/CONJS dá/VB-P em/P hum/D-UM galinheiro/N, tudo/Q degola/VB-P ,/ , e/CONJ espedaça/VB-P até/FP o/D superfluo/ADJ.
Um leaõ/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 se-constructions, either with an indeterminate (42) or a passive (43-45) reading (in proclitic clauses, se only appear in 50% of the clauses (7/15):⁴

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-Uriagerka 1996)

42. < As/D-F-P Republicas/NPR-P conservaõ-se/VB-P+SE com/P fazenda/N ,/, vassallos/N-P ,/, e/CONJ leys/N-P :/. e/CONJ se/CONJS a/D-F fazenda/N se/SE desbarata/VB-P ,/, e/CONJ os/D-P vassallos/N-P se/SE offendem/VB-P ,/, e/CONJ as/D-F-P leys/N-P se/SE quebraõ/VB-P ,/, lá/ADV vay/VB-P ,/, quanto/WADV Martha/NPR fiou/VB-D :/.
43. Os/D-P Reynos/NPR-P herdaõ-se/VB-SP+SE mais/ADV-R pelo/P+D direito/N hereditario/ADJ ,/, que/WPRO pelo/P+D do/P+D sangue/N ./
44. < O/D que/WPRO diz/VB-P o/D Direito/NPR ,/, que/WPRO femeas/VB-SP naõ/NEG entrem/VB-SP em/P officios/N-P ,/, nem/CONJ-NEG jurisdicoens/N-P ,/, entende-se/VB-P+SE ,/, onde/WADV se/SE naõ/NEG succede/VB-P Jure/NPR haereditario/N ./
45. < Os/D-P depositos/N-P das/P+D-F-P Ordens/NPR-P militares/ADJ-G-P ,/, que/WPRO resultavaõ/VB-D das/P+D-F-P comendas/N-P vagas/ADJ-F-P ,/, consumiaõ-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).

46. 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 naõ/NEG está/ET-P na/P+D-F Ordenaçãõ/NPR deste/P+D Reyno/NPR ,/, colhe-se/VB-P+SE do/P+D Direito/NPR Civil/ADJ-G ,/, e/CONJ está/ET-P determinado/VB-AN por/P Acursio/NPR ,/, Bartholo/NPR ,/, e/CONJ os/D-P Doutores/NPR-P ,/, e/CONJ admittido/VB-AN ,/, e/CONJ praticado/VB-AN em/P Portugal/NPR ,/, e/CONJ muitos/Q-P outros/ADJ-P Reynos/NPR-P ,/, como/CONJS mostrãmos/VB-P ./
47. Os/D-P Romanos/NPR-P em/P quanto/WADV tiveraõ/VB-D erario/N publico/ADJ ,/, em/P que/WPRO conservavam/VB-D os/D-P rendimentos/N-P do/P+D seu/PRO\$ Império/NPR ,/, conservavaõ-se/VB-D+SE invenciveis/ADJ-G-P :/. e/CONJ tanto/ADV-R que/C os/CL gastaraõ/VB-D em/P superfluidades/N-P ,/, e/CONJ ambiçoens/N-P ,/, perderaõ-se/VB-D+SE a/P si/PRO ,/, e/CONJ quanto/WADV tinhaõ/TR-D :/. e/CONJ porque/CONJ para/P se/SE terem/TR-F maõ/N ,/, apertaraõ/VB-D demasiadamente/ADV com/P os/D-P póvos/N-P ,/, que/WPRO dominavaõ/VB-D ,/, tirando-lhes/VB-G+CL a/D-F substancia/N ,/, rebellaraõ-se/VB-D+SE todos/Q-P :/. e/CONJ porque/CONJ crueis/ADJ fizeraõ/VB-D guerra/N sem/P causa/N ,/, meteraõ/VB-D em/P ultima/ADJ-F dezesperaçaõ/N as/D-F-P Naçoens/NPR-P ,/, que/WPRO mancomunadas/VB-AN-F-P resistiraõ/VB-D até/P desencaixarem/VB-F de/P seus/PRO\$-P eixos/N-P todo/Q o/D Imperio/NPR ,/, cumprindo-se/VB-G+SE ao/P+D pé/N da/P+D-F letra/N o/D proverbio/N :/. Male/FW parta/FW ,/, male/FW dilabuntur/FW ./

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 Table IV, 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:

48. 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 ./
49. A/D-F necessidade/N toma/VB-P às/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*
50. 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 a/P mi/PRO espantos/N-P ./.
Eu/ela
51. O/D hábito/N de/P sofrimento/N ./. em/P que/WPRO eu/PRO pareço/VB-P professo/ADJ ./. rompeu-se/VB-D+SE por/P seu/PRO\$ mesmo/ADJ uso/N ./.
52. Os/D-P meus/PRO\$-P erros/N-P chamaram-se/VB-D+SE a/P sagrado/ADJ ./.
53. 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 deixará/VB-R ofendido/VB-AN ./, mas/CONJ até/P mentiroso/ADJ ./.
54. 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 39-42, 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.

3. Other generations of the 17th century (Antonio das Chagas –b. 1631, Maria do Céu –b. 1658)

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 proclitic author. His general rate of enclisis is however higher than these authors because he is more enclitic when the pre-verbal phrase is a clause. Below, we list all the cases of enclisis with pre-verbal subjects, adverbs and PPs.

55. Um/D-UM mosquito/N não/NEG tem/TR-P ombros/N-P para/P um/D-UM monte/N ./, uma/D-UM-F ervinha/N ./, débil/ADJ-G e/CONJ inútil/ADJ-G ./, afoga-se/VB-P+SE com/P pouca/Q-F água/N ;/. não/NEG é/SR-P necessário/ADJ um/D-UM mar/N ./.
56. 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 ./.
57. Ao/P+D contrário/N ./, os/D-P que/WPRO estão/ET-P no/P+D verão/N da/P+D-F graça/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 ./.
58. A/P Dona/NPR Britis/NPR diga/VB-SP Vossa/PRO\$-F Mercê/NPR que/C ./, se/CONJS eu/PRO tivera/TR-RA um/D-UM Santo/NPR Antoninho/NPR ./, de/P boa/ADJ-F vontade/N lho/CL+CL dera/VB-RA ./, mas/CONJ que/C o/D santo/N se/SE devia/VB-D enfadar/VB dela/P+PRO o/CL trazer/VB no/P+D peito/N sem/P o/CL meter/VB no/P+D coração/N ;/. que/C o/CL traga/VB-SP daqui/P+ADV por/P diante/ADV dêste/P+D modo/N ./, que/CONJ mais/ADV-R fermosa/ADJ-F e/CONJ mais/ADV-R galante/ADJ-G andar/á/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 fermosuras/N-P ;/. que/C não/NEG é/SR-P mais/ADV-R que/CONJS querer/VB pôr/VB de/P melhor/ADJ-R-G côr/N êste/D barro/N ./, que/WPRO tarde/ADV ou/CONJ cedo/ADV se/SE torna/VB-P na/P+D-F terra/N que/WPRO foi/SR-D ;/. e/CONJ Deus/NPR anda-nos/VB-P+CL espreitando/VB-G dentro/ADV dos/P+D-P rostos/N-P de/P tôdas/Q-F-P as/D-F-P criaturas/N-P ./, para/P ver/VB se/WQ há/HV-P alguém/Q que/WPRO deixe/VB-SP de/P pôr/VB os/D-P olhos/N-P nestas/P+D-F-P máscaras/N-P vivas/ADJ-F-P ./, passando/VB-G da/P+D-F cortiça/N que/WPRO está/ET-P fora/ADV ./, e/CONJ entre/VB-SP a/P considerar/VB que/C está/ET-P êle/PRO dentro/ADV e/CONJ fora/ADV de/P tudo/Q ./.
59. Primeiro que tudo, tenho achado por experiência que Vossa Mercê <original> V. M. </original> não tem mortificado 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. Emfim/ADV ,/, **falta-me/VB-P+CL** agora/ADV tempo/N ./
61. Agora/ADV fique/VB-SP muito/Q desassossegada/VB-AN-F com/P esta/D-F ferida/N ,/, que/CONJ é/SR-P belo/ADJ modo/N êsse/D de/P curar/VB a/D-F chaga/N ;/. então/ADV alegue-me/VB-SP+CL ,/, justificando-se/VB-G+SE ,/, que/C isto/DEM é/SR-P dor/N das/P+D-F-P culpas/N-P ,/, e/CONJ não/NEG das/P+D-F-P penas/N-P ;/. eu/PRO não/NEG lhe/CL mando/VB-P fazer/VB nenhum/Q pecado/N ;/. ou/CONJ lhe/CL tire/VB-SP ou/CONJ lhe/CL ponha/VB-SP ,/, vá/VB-SP por/P diante/ADV por/P êsse/D caminho/N em/P que/WPRO estava/ET-D ./
62. Senhora, as árvores podem estar cheias de frutos, e juntamente estar verdes e com alguma <original> alg~ua </original> flor. Nas/P+D-F-P do/P+D espírito/N **requere-se/VB-P+SE** que/C se/SE acabe/VB-SP a/D-F flor/N e/CONJ que/C se/SE acabe/VB-SP a/D-F verdura/N ,/, para/P chegar/VB à/P+D-F transformação/N de/P Cristo/NPR crucificado/VB-AN ,/, que/WPRO é/SR-P o/D que/WPRO eu/PRO prego/VB-P ,/, sem/P ser/SR São/NPR Paulo/NPR ;/. e/CONJ assim/ADV deve/VB-P estar/ET crucificado/VB-AN tudo/Q na/P+D-F árvore/N da/P+D-F mortificação/N ,/, que/WPRO eu/PRO estimo/VB-P mais/ADV-R que/CONJS a/D-F oração/N ./
63. A/P mim/PRO e/CONJ a/P outros/ADJ-P tais/ADJ-R-G-P ,/, **toca-nos/VB-P+CL** chorar/VB e/CONJ pedir/VB a/P Deus/NPR mova/VB-SP os/D-P que/WPRO sabem/VB-P e/CONJ podem/VB-P ,/, e/CONJ talvez/ADV porque/CONJ não/NEG querem/VB-P ,/, usam/VB-P mal/ADV do/P+D que/WPRO podem/VB-P e/CONJ peor/ADV do/P+D que/WPRO sabem/VB-P ;/. e/CONJ como/CONJS eu/PRO não/NEG tenho/TR-P serventia/N para/P nada/Q disto/P+DEM ,/, não/NEG me/CL meto/VB-P em/P nada/Q mais/ADV-R que/CONJS em/P rogar/VB a/P Deus/NPR comunique/VB-SP seu/PRO\$ espírito/N aos/P+D-P que/WPRO são/SR-P cabeças/N-P e/CONJ braços/N-P de/P religião/N ./
64. Ressuscite/VB-SP o/D gôsto/N ,/, respire/VB-SP o/D desmaio/N e/CONJ revivam/VB-SP os/D-P alívios/N-P ;/. e/CONJ no/P+D meio/N das/P+D-F-P cruces/N-P **tornam-se/VB-P+SE** as/D-F-P espinhas/N-P rosas/N-P e/CONJ os/D-P cravos/N-P boninas/N-P ,/, pois/CONJ servem/VB-P ao/P+D merecimento/N para/P corôa/N ,/, ainda/ADV que/C para/P o/D corpo/N sejam/SR-SP martírio/N ./
65. Humildade/N ,/, humildade/N ,/, que/CONJ disto/P+DEM **falta-lhe/VB-P+CL** muito/Q ./
66. Vossa/PRO\$-F Mercê/NPR ainda/ADV agora/ADV começa/VB-P seu/PRO\$ mundo/N espiritual/ADJ-G ;/. tem/TR-P muita/Q-F terra/N por/P andar/VB ,/, muitos/Q-P despenhadeiros/N-P por/P onde/WADV ir/VB ,/, muitos/Q-P laberintos/N-P por/P correr/VB ;/. que/CONJ a/P Hércules/NPR **convidaram-no/VB-D+CL** os/D-P conflitos/N-P e/CONJ fizeram-no/VB-D+CL Hércules/NPR os/D-P trabalhos/N-P ./
67. E/CONJ em/P castigo/N desta/P+D-F minha/PRO\$-F ousadia/N ,/, **mande-me/VB-SP+CL** Vossa/PRO\$-F Senhoria/NPR êste/D Cristo/NPR aqui/ADV a/P Montemór/NPR ,/, para/P que/C êle/PRO me/CL repreenda/VB-SP ,/, posto/VB-AN em/P uma/D-UM-F cruz/N ,/, e/CONJ desta/P+D-F cadeira/N me/CL ensine/VB-SP o/D que/WPRO sem/P escrúpulo/N de/P minha/PRO\$-F grande/ADJ-G soberba/N direi/VB-R então/ADV a/P Vossa/PRO\$-F Senhoria/NPR ./

María do Céu

In Maria do Céu, proclisis shows up in its extreme form. Only in V1 coordinate structures, and in five sentences with 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 context which favours a lot enclisis in all the other authors. Below are listed the five enclitic V2 sentences:

68. A/P Dona/NPR Joanna/NPR de/P Castro/NPR Tia/NPR do/P+D Correo/NPR Mor/NPR ,/, vio/VB-D logo/ADV ,/, que/C espirou/VB-D ,/, junto/ADV à/P+D-F sua/PRO\$-F cama/N com/P uma/D-UM-F fermosura/N celestial/ADJ-G ,/, sinal/N de/P que/C acabara/VB-RA em/P graça/N aquella/D-F ditosa/ADJ-F predestinada/VB-AN-F ;/. já/ADV haviã/HV-D revisto/VB-PP a/D-F sua/PRO\$-F morte/N ,/, vendo-a/VB-G+CL na/P+D-F caza/N em/P que/WPRO falleceo/VB-D ,/, com/P o/D accidente/N que/WPRO a/CL acabou/VB-D ,/, sua/PRO\$-F sobrinha/N Dona/NPR Brites/NPR de/P Mendocça/NPR **vio-a/VB-P+CL** assim/ADV que/C

- espirou/VB-D toda/Q-F vestida/VB-AN-F de/P branco/ADJ ,/ , e/CONJ ali/ADV conheceo/VB-D a/D-F ditoza/ADJ-F sorte/N que/WPRO lhe/CL coubera/VB-RA ./.
69. Vencido/VB-AN tanto/ADJ-R tempo/N de/P sua/PRO\$-F preseuerança/N ,/ , e/CONJ achando-se/VB-G+SE uma/D-UM-F madrugada/N em/P o/D coro/N orando/VB-G ,/ , pondo/VB-G os/D-P olhos/N-P em/P hum/D-UM menino/N que/WPRO estaua/ET-D sobre/P o/D altar/N de/P uma/D-UM-F das/P+D-F-P cappellas/N-P colateraes/ADJ-G-P ,/ , cuja/WPRO\$-F Imagem/NPR se/SE dizia/VB-D do/P+D nome/N de/P Jesus/NPR ,/ , o/CL vio/VB-D ornado/VB-AN de/P joyas/N-P muyto/Q resplandecentes/ADJ-G-P ,/ , e/CONJ fazendo/VB-G hum/D-UM grande/ADJ-G reparo/N nesta/P+D-F nouidade/N ,/ , ouvio/VB-D que/C fallando/VB-G a/D-F Imagem/NPR lhe/CL dizia/VB-D :/. Eu/PRO auzentome/VB-P+CL ./.
70. Poucos dias de sua profissaõ, contou esta menina, como entrando em uma <original> h~ua <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 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-R 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 aççaõ/N se/SE fosse/VB-SD para/P elle/PRO ./.
71. Em/P outra/ADJ-F occaziaõ/N estando/ET-G a/D-F serva/N de/P Deos/NPR em/P conversaçaõ/N santa/ADJ-F com/P uma/D-UM-F pessoa/N espiritual/ADJ-G lhe/CL entrou/VB-D pella/P+D-F grade/N hum/D-UM menino/N pobre/ADJ-G no/P+D vestido/N ,/ , rico/ADJ na/P+D-F fermosura/N ,/ , o/D qual/WPRO lhe/CL roubou/VB-D o/D coraçãõ/N pellos/P+D-P olhos/N-P ;/. faloulhe/VB-D+CL carinhosa/ADJ-F ,/ , e/CONJ pedindolhe/VB-G+CL o/D menino/N alguma/Q-F cousa/N que/WPRO comesse/VB-SD ,/ , lhe/CL foy/SR-D*/VB-D buscar/VB huma/D-UM-F pãdinha/N ,/ , que/WPRO para/P ella/PRO estaua/ET-D feyta/VB-AN-F ;/. leuantouse/VB-D+SE ligeira/ADJ-F a/P procurar/VB à/P+D-F criada/N que/WPRO a/CL tinha/TR-D fechada/VB-AN-F no/P+D seu/PRO\$ almario/N ,/ , encontrou-a/VB-D+CL ,/ , e/CONJ pediolha/VB-D+CL+CL ,/ , dizendolhe/VB-G+CL o/D para/P que/WPRO a/CL queria/VB-D ;/. a/D-F mulher/N ,/ , a/P quem/WPRO a/P esta/D-F hora/N achou/VB-D desabrida/VB-AN-F ,/ , **negoulha/VB-D+CL+CL** ,/ , e/CONJ nem/NEG importunada/VB-AN-F com/P rogos/N-P ,/ , lha/CL+CL quiz/VB-D dar/VB ;/. poderia/VB-R ser/SR a/D-F sua/PRO\$-F tençaõ/N reservarilha/VB+CL+CL para/P que/C a/CL comesse/VB-SD quando/CONJS para/P isso/DEM a/CL fizera/VB-RA ./.
72. Os/D-P dous/NUM maiores/ADJ-R-G-P inimigos/N-P da/P+D-F oraçaõ/N ,/ , saõ/SR-P o/D sono/N ,/ , e/CONJ o/D pensamento/N ,/ , **este/D prendialho/VB-D+CL+CL** Deos/NPR ,/ , e/CONJ era/SR-D politica/N santa/ADJ-F achala/VB+CL desvelada/VB-AN-F quem/WPRO a/CL queria/VB-D suspendida/VB-AN-F ;/. para/P vencer/VB pois/CONJ este/D roubador/N do/P+D tempo/N ,/ , que/WPRO furta/VB-P o/D que/WPRO se/SE vive/VB-P ,/ , para/P o/D que/WPRO se/SE naõ/NEG logra/VB-P ,/ , <P_146> despio/VB-D os/D-P colchoes/N-P da/P+D-F laã/N e/CONJ encheos/VB-D+CL de/P canas/N-P desencontradas/VB-AN-F-P ,/ , e/CONJ neste/P+D mais/ADV-R potro/N de/P tormento/N ,/ , que/WD*/CONJS lugar/N de/P repouso/N passava/VB-D as/D-F-P poucas/Q-F-P horas/N-P que/WPRO daua/VB-D a/P seu/PRO\$ trabalhozo/ADJ sossego/N ./.

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 either to a change of topic or, as in 72., to a marked sub-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.

4. The evolution of clitic-placement in the 18th and 19th century authors (Matias Aires - b. 1705, Correia Garção -b. 1714, Marquesa de Alorna -b. 1750, Almeida Garrett- b. 1799, Ramalho Ortigão – b. 1836)

Matias Aires

Interestingly, in Aires, as in Costa, all the occurrences of enclisis with subjects are with the clitic SE. Furthermore, in most of the cases we find the same kind of oppositions as in Vieira's sermons.

73. a/D-F glória/N do/P+D successo/N regula-se/VB-P+SE pela/P+D-F qualidade/N da/P+D-F vitória/N ,/ , e/CONJ não/NEG pela/P+D-F qualidade/N do/P+D vencedor/N ;/. importa/VB-P menos/ADV-R saber/VB ,/ ,

quem/WPRO é/SR-P o/D que/WPRO venceu/VB-D ,/ , ou/CONJ como/WADV venceu/VB-D ,/ , do/P+D que/WPRO saber/VB somente/ADV quem/WPRO venceu/VB-D :/ . os/D-P homens/N-P só/FP na/P+D-F razão/N de/P homens/N-P têm/TR-P igual/ADJ-G direito/N uns/D-UM-P para/P subirem/VB-F ,/ , e/CONJ outros/OUTRO-P para/P descerem/VB-F ;/ . <P_57> o/D merecimento/N só/FP se/SE pesa/VB-P naqueles/P+D-P que/WPRO caem/VB-P ,/ , e/CONJ não/NEG nos/P+D-P que/WPRO sobem/VB-P ./ .

74. As/D-F-P mais/ADV-R das/P+D-F-P cousas/N-P admiram-se/VB-P+SE ,/ , porque/CONJ se/SE não/NEG conhecem/VB-P ;/ . e/CONJ juntamente/ADV porque/CONJ nelas/P+PRO há/HV-P um/D-UM rico/ADJ véu/N ,/ , que/WPRO as/CL cobre/VB-P :/ . vemos/VB-P um/D-UM exterior/N brilhante/ADJ-G ,/ , que/WPRO muitas/Q-F-P vezes/N-P serve/VB-P de/P esconder/VB um/D-UM abismo/N horrendo/ADJ ;/ . a/D-F mesma/ADJ-F luz/N arma-se/VB-P+SE de/P raios/N-P ,/ , para/P que/C não/NEG possa/VB-SP examinar-se/VB+SE de/P donde/P+WADV lhe/CL vêm/VB-P os/D-P resplendores/N-P :/ . a/D-F formosura/N em/P tudo/Q nos/CL atrai/VB-P ;/ . a/D-F nossa/PRO\$-F admiração/N não/NEG pode/VB-P passar/VB além/ADV ;/ . donde/P+WADV a/CL encontra/VB ,/ , ai/ADV fica/VB-P suspensa/VB-AN-F ,/ , e/CONJ cega/ADJ-F ./ .
75. No/P+D exercício/N do/P+D mal/N achamos/VB-P uma/D-UM-F espécie/N de/P doçura/N ,/ , e/CONJ de/P naturalidade/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
76. A/D-F formosura/N reside/VB-P em/P uma/D-UM-F forma/N exterior/ADJ-G ;/ . o/D amor/N parece/VB-P que/C é/SR-P um/D-UM efeito/N da/P+D-F vontade/N ,/ , ou/CONJ do/P+D desejo/N ;/ . aquela/D-F mostra-se/VB-P+SE ,/ , porém/CONJ este/D esconde-se/VB-P+SE ;/ . este/D é/SR-P invisível/ADJ-G ,/ , porém/CONJ aquela/D-F vê-se/VB-P+SE :/ . a/D-F formosura/N pode/VB-P dizer-se/VB+SE o/D como/WADV é/SR-P ,/ , porém/CONJ o/D amor/N não/NEG ;/ . porque/CONJ quem/WPRO o/CL tem/TR-P ,/ , sente/VB-P sem/P saber/VB o/D quê/WPRO ,/ , e/CONJ quem/WPRO o/CL não/NEG tem/TR-P ,/ , ainda/ADV o/CL conhece/VB-P menos/ADV-R ./ .
este(o amor)/aquela (a formosura)

With PPs and Advs, 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/levamos, a vida com honra/a vida com ignominia, como elas são/como os homens querem*)

77. 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
78. 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
79. finalmente/ADV ali/ADV nasce/VB-P a/D-F nobreza/N ,/ , aqui/ADV extingue-se/VB-P+SE ;/ . ali/ADV perde-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 ignominia/N ./ .
ali/aqui
80. 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

In conclusion, Aires still displays a distribution between enclisis and proclisis which is very much similar to that of 17th century authors, both from a qualitative and a quantitative point of view.

Correia Garção

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

81. “Eu/PRO ultrajei-vos/VB-D+CL ?/.”
82. “O/D generoso/ADJ pastor/N Albano/NPR fechou-nos/VB-D+CL a/D-F porta/N desta/P+D-F cabana/N ?/.”
83. “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 ,/ , e/CONJ 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 ./ .”
84. “Aprende/VB-I a/P pelear/VB e/CONJ a/P não/NEG temer/VB o/D perigo/N ;/ . quem/WPRO deseja/VB-P a/D-F paz/N ,/ , prepara-se/VB-P+SE para/P a/D-F guerra/N ./ .”

85. “O/D amor/N próprio/ADJ é/SR-P base/N de/P todas/Q-F-P as/D-F-P paixões/N-P ./, e/CONJ 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/ADV-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/CONJS ou/CONJ ficam/VB-P supitas/ADJ-F ou/CONJ desaparecem/VB-P ./.”
86. Havia/HV-D quem/WPRO dissesse/VB-SD que/C os/D-P Árcades/NPR-P já/ADV não/NEG se/SE ajuntavam/VB-D no/P+D Ménalo/NPR ;/. **mas/CONJ os/D-P Árcades/NPR-P ajuntavam-se/VB-D+SE** no/P+D Ménalo/NPR ./.
87. **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-se/VB-D+SE_./**, desfez-se/VB-D+SE em/P fumo/N ./, desapareceu/VB-D !/.
88. 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 tomassem 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 as/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 ./, mas/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 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. Obviously, in order to reinforce this tiny argument, we shall need more evidence from other authors of the same period. It is worth anticipating, however, that the next author of our corpus, Marquesa de Alorna, instantiates a clear picture of grammar competition.

Marquesa de Alorna

Alorna displays a high frequency of enclisis, comparable with the one found in Vieira’s sermons. 45% 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 :

89. 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 matéria, mas que estava certo que, observada tôda a decência 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 as/D-F-P obrigações/N-P do/P+D seu/PRO\$ emprêgo/N com/P a/D-F maior/ADJ-R-G habilidade/N possível/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 ;/.
90. 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 despicar-se.

Furthermore, in contrast with what we observed in Vieira’s sermons, anaphoric subjects can be followed either by enclisis or by proclisis:

91. 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 algum/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 ./, porque/CONJ desta/P+D-F atenção/N depende/VB-P a/D-F paz/N e/CONJ bom/ADJ nome/N ./.

92. Fui imediatamente falar com uma das minhas amigas, a qual me comunicou que, tendo tido a resolução de perguntar 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-me/VB-D+CL e/CONJ ,/, abolindo/VB-G todos/Q-P os/D-P meus/PRO\$-P antigos/ADJ-P principios/N-P ,/, conheci/VB-D que/C na/P+D-F nossa/PRO\$-F Côte/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

Garrett is the first author in whom we find inversion of the values of enclisis and proclisis. 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).

93. Joanhina/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 we almost find the pattern of Modern European Portuguese. The two only cases of proclisis with subjects are given below.

94. 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 ./.
95. Deus/NPR vos/CL dê/VB-SP as/D-F-P mais/ADV-R alegres/ADJ-G-P 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 (95) is clearly a case of fixed expression. As for (94) the indefinite determiner *uma* can be analyzed as na existential quantifier requiring proclisis.

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.

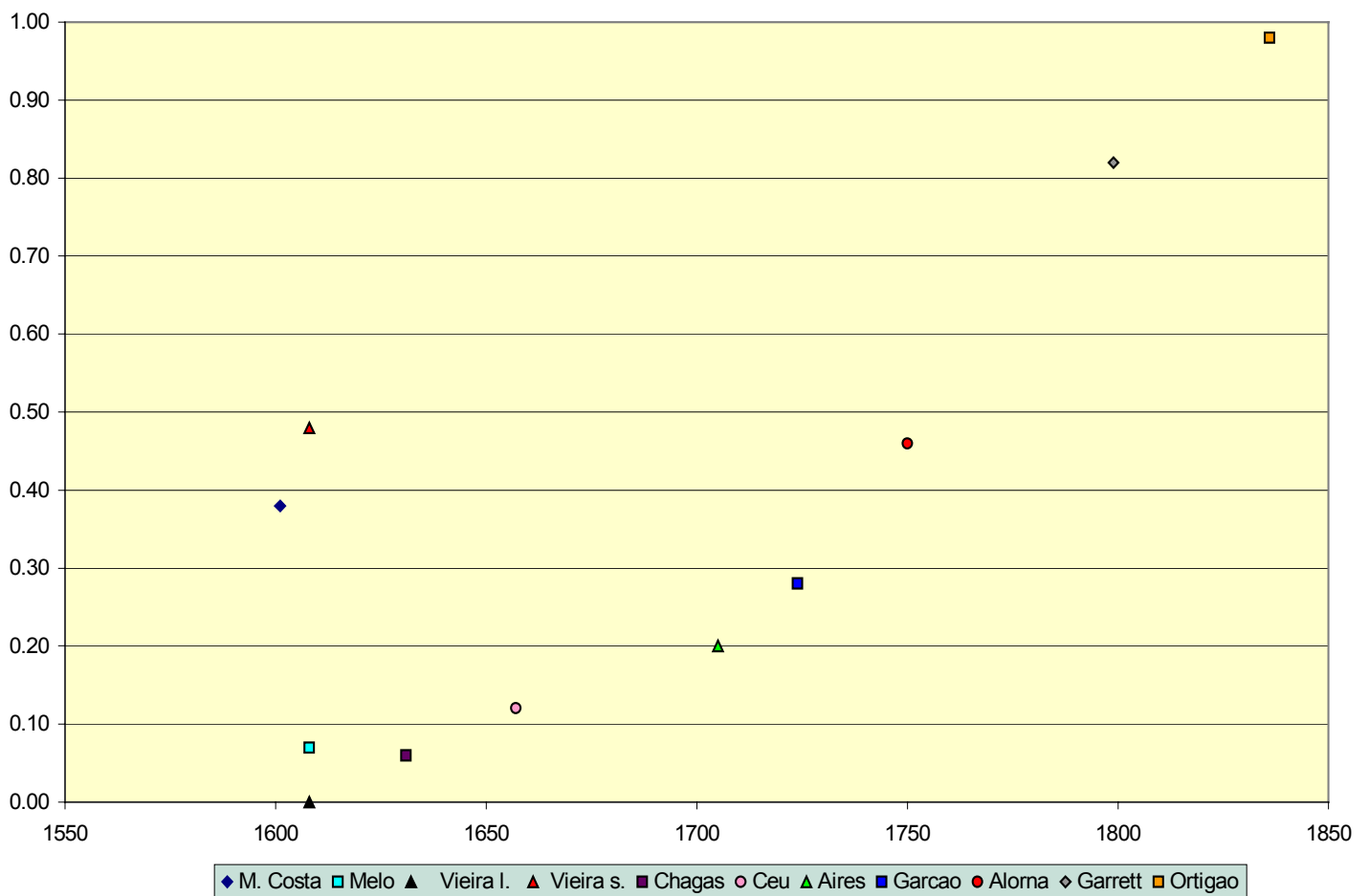
2. Two different proclisis/enclisis variations:

In 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 some point 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. Graph I seems to support this view.

However, if we draw a graph based only on subjects, another possible picture emerges, in which, as pointed out to us by Tony Kroch, – if we leave aside the eccentric points of Costa and Vieira’s sermons – a nice S-curve appears, which typically appears in a situation of change. But, it must be noted that the initial point of this curve is hard to determine in the absence of more data, in particular from the second half of the 17th century, as well as of the end of the 16th century. We shall attempt to fill these gaps in a near future. Moreover, we must be careful in interpreting the rate of enclisis in authors like Aires, since it seems to be very much determined by his barroque style. Before him, we see a big variation between authors, in which there seems to be a constant basis around 10% of enclisis, and peaks up to 50%. Is Aires in the curse of the change in spite of his stylistic motivation for using enclisis, or is he part of the variation internal to the grammatical system of Classical Portuguese? Only adding more authors to this picture shall we have elements to answer this question.

Graph II: the evolution of clitic-placement with pre-verbal subjects:

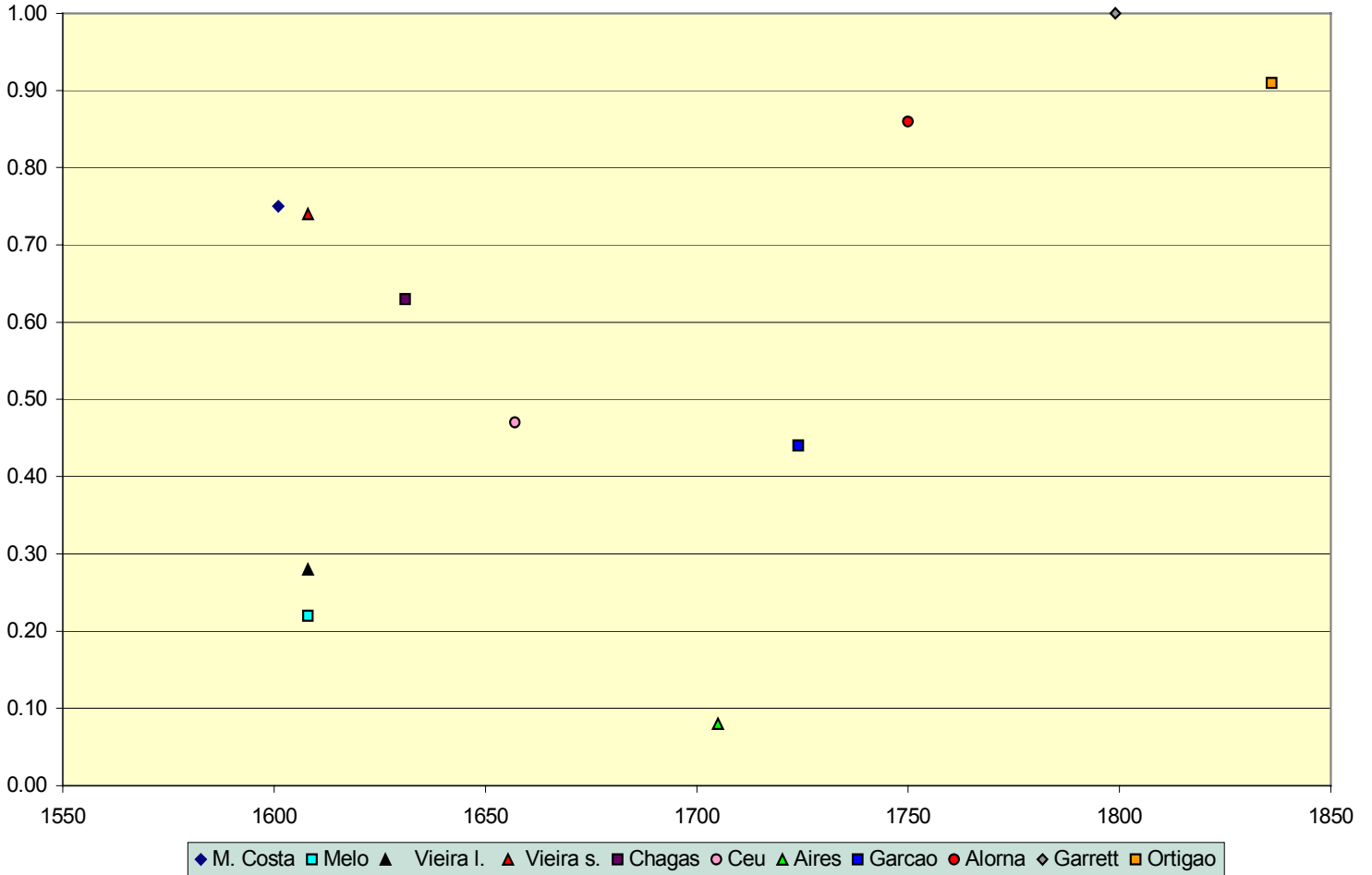
enclisis in 17th-19th century texts: XV matrix and coordinates, X=subject



Finally, we present a last graph drawn from the data of table I., which shows the evolution of enclisis in V1 coordinates. As we mentioned at the beginning of this text, variation in this context is much greater, and this clearly appears from Graph III, which, at this point, sheds no light on the beginning of change.

graph III: enclisis in V1 coordinates

enclisis in 17th-19th century texts: V1 coordinates



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