

Marco Antonio Rocha Martins (Federal University of Santa Catarina/Humboldt-CAPES/CNPq)

Micro-variation and parametric change: proclisis in “neutral [XP]V contexts” in Brazilian writing

As many studies have attested, the 18th and 19th centuries represented a milestone for the genesis of Brazilian Portuguese (BP), especially with regard to the syntax of clitic personal pronouns (Galves 1996; Torres Moraes 1996). In the theoretical framework of parametric change of generative theory, I show in this paper that Brazilian writing of the 19th century reflects variation in the placement of clitic personal pronouns in finite sentences in the context of [XP]V. This seems to reflect a parametric change in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) grammar in relation to Classic Portuguese grammar (CIP). I argue that in BP grammar, there is a change in legitimation of the SV order correlated to the position of the subject DP which is reflected in the change in the pattern [XP]cliticV in data from Brazilian writing of the second half of the 19th century.

1 Introduction: Overview of the syntax of clitic personal pronouns in Brazilian 19th- century writing¹

Many studies on the syntax of clitic personal pronouns in Brazilian Portuguese in texts written in Brazil throughout the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries have shown that the patterns of position and placement of such elements in finite sentences constitute a complex topic (Lobo 1992; Pagotto 1992; Schei 2003; Duarte/Pagotto 2005; Torres Moraes/Ribeiro 2005; Galves/Torres Moraes/Ribeiro 2005; Carneiro 2005; Martins 2009, 2010, 2012, 2013, 2018; Carneiro/Almeida 2009; Carneiro/Galves 2010; Cavalcante/Duarte/Pagotto 2011; Martins/Meisnitzer 2016):

- (i) Proclisis is predominant in sentences with predicate negation operators (as illustrated in (1) below); with quantifiers, with certain adverbs in a pre-verbal position, and in sentences beginning with focused constituents. Enclisis is observed only very sporadically:²

¹ In this article, I present results of my research project Position of the subject and proclisis in neutral contexts [XP]V in 19th century Brazilian writing: Reflexes of a parametric change in BP, financed with a Humboldt Institute/CAPES scholarship (Process number 88881.145464/2017-01) during the period in which I was a visiting professor at the University of Cologne/Germany. This project is integrated into the project The position of the pre-verbal subject and [XP-clitic-Verb] structures in the Brazilian nineteenth-century writing, financed by CNPq with the productivity scholarship PQ-2 (process 310094/2017-8). I thank the anonymous reviewer for his contributions.

² The data cited in this paper was collected from the corpus used in the research project named in note 1 and will be presented in more detail in Section 2. The codes preceding the data encode the following information:

Century – 19th.1, 19th.2, 20th.1 and 20th.2

Textual genre – LR: letters from readers; LJ: letters from journalists; A: advertisement; TP: theater play
Brazilian State – SC: Santa Catarina; RJ: Rio de Janeiro; BA: Bahia; PE: Pernambuco; RN: Rio Grande do Norte; CE: Ceará.

- (1) [19th.1 LR RJ] *Rogo-lhe de ajudar a que elle seja recebido, e jurado; **não SE recuse** [not CLIT.3SG.REFL=refuse] a este meu pedido, e desculpe a franqueza com que lhe falla.*
‘I beg you to help him to be received and sworn; do not refuse my request, and please forgive the honesty with which I speak to you’
- (ii) There is a (slight) progressive increase of proclisis in finite sentences with the verb in absolute initial position:
- (2) [20th.2 LR CE] *NOS resta* [CLIT.1PL.DAT=remains], *somente aguardar o próximo furo de reportagem da revista Veja, e logo em seguida, a matéria detalhada nos jornais de grande circulação, para sabermos a quem será atribuída a nova falcatrua ou patifaria.*
‘All that remains for us to do is to wait for the next *Veja* magazine scoop and, soon after, the detailed article in the major newspapers, so that we will know who is to be attributed the new falsification or rascality.’
- (iii) In non-dependent finite sentences in “neutral contexts (phrases with unfocused subjects, adverbs and PP-phrases)”, there is variation between enclisis and proclisis, with a progressive increase of proclisis observed in the 20th century:
- (3) [19th.2 LR PE] *A justiça SE apoderou* [CLIT.3SG.REFL=seized] *delle, e o jury se reunio.*
‘Justice seized him, and the jury met.’
- (iv) In sentences with complex predicates, there is cliticization to the verb on which the clitic pronoun depends semantically:
- (4) [19th.1 LJ PE] *As duas classes podem SE reduzir* [can CLIT.3PL.REFL=reduce.INF] *as exhortações desta especie, de que hum “liberalista” pode ser culpado, humas exhortações claras, e em termos expressos: outras disfarçadas, e em termos constructivos.*
‘The two classes can be reduced to exhortations of this kind that a “liberalist” may be guilty of [formulating] some clear exhortations in explicit terms and others disguised, and in constructive terms.’
- (v) There is some residual interpolation – often of the phrasal negation marker:

- (5) [19th.1 LR RJ] *Eu ME não julgo [CLIT.1.SG.REFL=not=consider] criminoso e quando for chamado a contas apresentarei os títulos de minha defeza se he que os innocentes se justificão.*
 ‘I don’t think I’m a criminal and when I’m called to account, I’ll present my defense bonds, if the innocents are to justify themselves.’

Adopting and thence assuming the grammar competition model (Kroch 1989, 2001), I have argued (Martins 2009, 2012; cf. Martins, 2012; see also Carneiro/Galves 2010) that the different empirical placement patterns of clitic pronouns identified in the writings of 19th and 20th century Brazilians reflect properties of three different Portuguese grammars: Brazilian Portuguese (BP), European Portuguese (EP) and Classical Portuguese (CIP). It is particularly in the writing of the first half of the 19th century that traces of classical grammar are still present. This hypothesis predicts that within texts written in Brazil in the 19th and 20th centuries, the following patterns are to be found:

- I. Proclisis to the verb in absolute initial position in non-dependent finite clauses and proclisis to the thematic verb in complex verbal structures. Both cases reflect patterns which emerged in BP grammar; see (6) and (7), respectively:

- (6) [19th.1 LR PE] *O Senhor Rangel procurou saber se appareceraõ essas noticias nos Afogados? Estou que não. SE indagou [CLIT.3SG.REFL=asked]. Constou-lhe que nunca se desse tal cousa? Duvido.*
 ‘Did Mr. Rangel try to find out if this news will appear in the *Afogados*? I’m convinced that he did not. He asked himself. Was he aware that such a thing would never happen? I doubt it.’

- (7) [19th.1 LR BA] *Se elle não tivesse feito tão grandes asneiras, se ele não fosse tão ruim, pela minha parte perdoava-lhe, porque tem ME divertido [has CLIT.1SG.ACC=entertained] muito!*
 ‘If he hadn’t made such big mistakes, if he wasn’t so mean, I’d forgive him for it, because I have had a lot of fun with him!’

- II. Enclisis in clauses with pre-verbal subjects, prepositional phrases or non-focused, non-modal adverbs. This reflects a pattern of EP grammar, cf. (8):

- (8) [19th.1 TP SC] *Dolores: O senhor ama-ME [loves=CLIT.1SG.ACC] também?...*

“Dolores: Sir, do you love me too? ...”

III. Interpolation of the negation marker *não* ((5), above) and of pronouns or adverbs (9) is observable in matrix sentences without proclisis triggers; the same is true of clitic climbing with proclisis to the finite verb in environments without proclisis triggers (10) – except in constructions without a passive auxiliary. All these cases reflect patterns generated by CIP grammar:

- (9) [19th.1 LR CE] *ME muito afoítesa [CLIT.1SG.ACC much delights], senhor redactor pedirem se taes attestados: os dois primeiros senhores ja lhe diceraõ abertamente, que naõ lhe davaõ atestados.*

‘It surprises me, Mr. editor, that they dare to ask for those proofs: the first two gentlemen have already told you very openly that they would not give you any certificates.’

- (10) [19th.2 A CE] *O papel NOS deverão ser fornecido [CLIT.1PL.DAT=shall be supplied], e as outras impressoes serão feitas, segundo o que se convencionar.*

‘The paper shall be given to us, and other prints will be made, according to what will be agreed.’

The data commented on above has been widely found in empirical analyses presented in many previous works using texts from different periods. I consider this proof of the hypothesis forwarded here and investigated in this article: that traces of classical Portuguese grammar (CIP) are still present throughout the first half of the 19th century.

This paper focuses on the analysis of a particular and specific context which may provide cues as to how CIP influenced Brazilian writing in the 19th century. The context discussed is that of [XP]V without any proclisis triggers, as observed by Martins (1994) a “context [...] of diachronic variation.” As revealed by the corpus data (see (11) and (12) below), we can observe the alternation of proclisis and enclisis in these contexts, the latter illustrating the strong influence of the enclitic pattern of EP. However, the central question at issue here is: which Portuguese grammar generated the proclitic pattern [XP]cliticV, which we observe in Brazilian writing of the 19th century? The innovative BP grammar or the archaic CIP?

- (11) [19th.1 A CE] *O abaixo assignado SE encarrega* [CLIT.3SG.REFL=**takes care of**] *de advogar qualquer causa crime, ou civil n'esta cidade, podendo quem o quizer honrar com sua confiança, para tal fim contar com bom patrono de suas causas na relação do Districto, e até perante o Supremo Tribunal de justiça.*

'The designated below takes care of any criminal or civil cause in this city, and anyone who wishes to honor him with his or her trust can count on a good patron of his or her cases in the District's court, and even in front of the Supreme Court of Justice.'

- (12) [19th.1 A RJ] *O proprietario encarrega-SE* [**takes care of=CLIT.3SG.REFL**] *de apromptar com urgencia e asseio jantares extraordinarios, banquetes, etc. no salão ou fora para o que dispões de um pessoal habilitadissimo.*

'The owner takes care of preparing with urgency and cleanliness extraordinary dinners and feasts etc. in the hall or outside, for which he has highly skilled staff available.'

All data used for the empirical analysis presented in this paper was extracted from the Brazilian press and from theater plays written by Brazilians in the 19th and 20th centuries. It was then classified according to the following syntactic contexts containing [XP]V configurations: non-dependent clauses with the verb preceded by non-focused subjects (see (11) and (12) above), by prepositional phrases (13), by adverbs (14), and by clauses (15):

- (13) a. [19th.1 A RJ] *Na loja de Joaquim José da Rocha na rua Direita ao pé da rua das violas SE vendem* [CLIT.3PL.IMPERS=**sell**] *folhinhas para este anno de 1809.*

'In Joaquim José da Rocha's shop on Direita Street close to Violas Street, papers for this year of 1809 are sold.'

- b. [19th.1 A PE] *Na loja do sobrado amarello nos quattros cantos da rua do Queimado número 29 vende-SE* [**sells=CLIT.3PL.IMPERS**] *cortes de calcas de brim branco a 1\$200.*

'In the shop of the yellow house at the four corners of Queimado Street number 29, there are cuts of white jeans for sale for 1\$200.'

- (14) a. [19th.2 LR RJ] *Hoje SE iniciam* [CLIT.3PL.IMPERS=**begin**] *neste estabelecimento de ensino os exames de admissão ao 1^o Anno*
 ‘Today begin the entrance exams for the first year at this school.’
- b. [20th.1 LR BA] *Hoje encerram-SE* [close=CLIT.3PL.IMPERS] *as inscrições ao exame de admissão ao Curso Anexo.*
 ‘Today are closing the registrations for the entrance examination for the attached course.’
- (15) a. [19th.1 A CE] *Quem quiser ouvir suas preleções, SE matricularà* [CLIT.3SG.REFL=**will.enroll**] *até o dia 3 do supradito mês.*
 ‘Whoever wishes to hear your lectures will make their inscription until the 3rd of the month mentioned above.’
- b. [19th.1 A CE] *Quem o pretender dirija-SE* [address=CLIT.3PL.REFL] *a esta Tipographia.*
 ‘Whoever wants it shall go to this printing house.’

To understand the gradual change in the positioning of clitic pronouns from enclisis to proclisis in this syntactic context in Brazilian writing of the 19th and 20th centuries, it is important to bear in mind that proclisis was the common pattern in texts written between the 16th and 19th centuries, or, in other words, in the grammar of CIP (cf. Galves, Britto and Paixão de Sousa 2005). Then, there is a change in the pattern of placement from the 19th century onwards. Martins (2009, 2012) shows that in texts written by both Portuguese and Brazilians born from the 19th century onwards, the placement patterns present two opposite directional tendencies: on the one hand, in plays written by Portuguese authors (from Lisbon), proclisis decreases significantly in the 19th and 20th centuries, reaching 2% in texts from the second half of the 20th century; on the other, in plays from the 19th and 20th centuries written by Brazilians, there is an increase in proclisis in texts from the first half of the 19th century onwards (28.5%), which then demonstrates a significant further increase, despite starting from an already high percentage compared to that of EP. The evolutions subsumed in this paragraph are visualized in Figure 1.

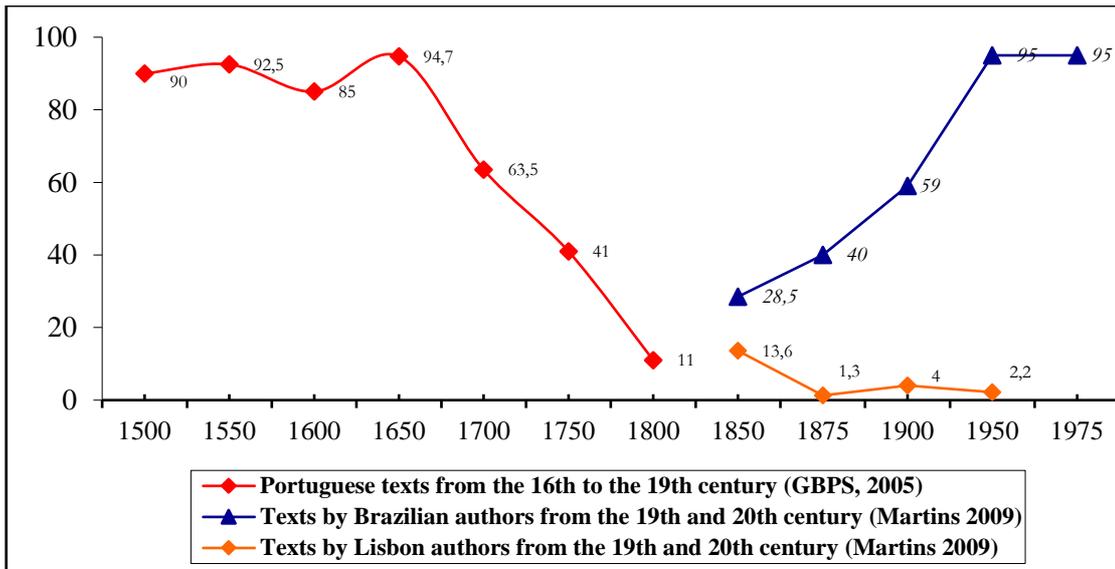


Fig. 1: Diachrony of XclV in Portuguese, by author's year of birth (Martins 2012, 294)

As shown in Figure 1, while the drastic decrease of [XP]cliticV observed in Portuguese plays of the 19th and 20th centuries (13,6% > 1,3% > 4% > 2,2%; Martins 2009) had already begun in the 17th century (Galvez, Britto and Paixão de Sousa 2005), there is a drastic increase in the frequency of [XP]cliticV in Brazilian plays (28.5% > 40% > 59% > 95%; Martins 2009).

When we look more closely at writing emerging from Brazil in the 19th and 20th centuries, the data shows a sharp decline in proclisis in the context [XP]V from the first (83%, 74%, 57%) to the second half of the 19th century (62%, 36%, 26%); this is visualized in Figure 2 (from Martins 2018).

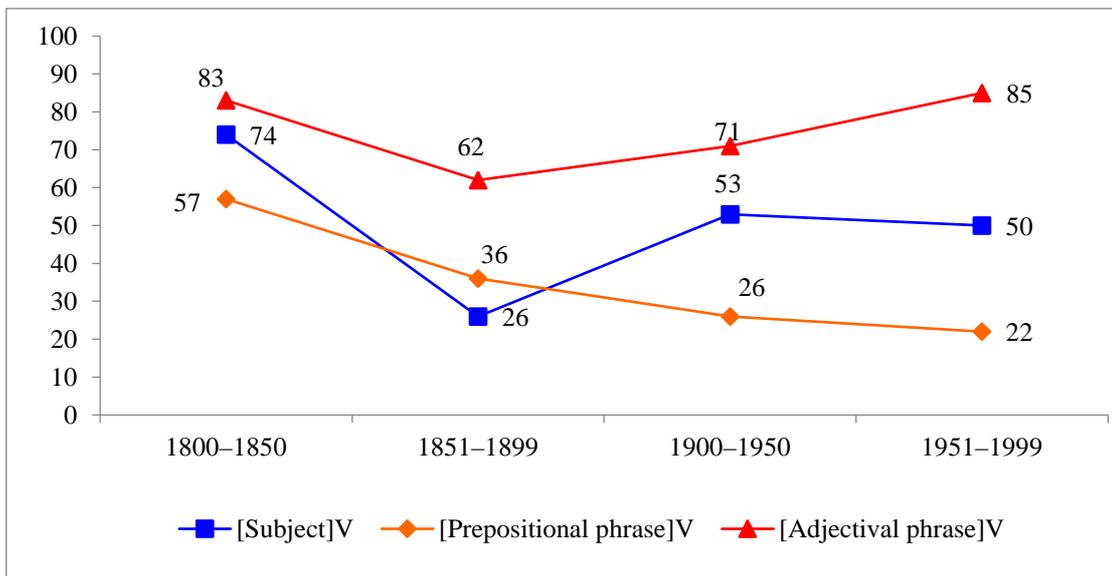


Fig. 2: Diachrony of [XclV] in BP (Martins 2018, 170)

The decrease of proclisis in [XP]V contexts in Brazilian writing occurring from the first to the second half of the 19th century has been interpreted in the literature as a result of the normative pressure of the enclitic norm of EP (cf. Pagotto 1998; Carneiro 2005). I present here an alternative hypothesis: the proclisis found in texts

from the first half of the 19th century is still generated by the conservative grammar of CIP. By *grammar*, I refer to Chomsky's definition of I-Langue (Chomsky 1981). In this sense, and following Kroch's (1989) proposal of grammar competition, the proclitic pattern of CIP would be present in the writings of Brazilians through the course of the 19th century as a peripheral grammar that was learned in monitored contexts and triggered in monitoring situations.

When we focus more carefully on the evolution of proclisis in [XP]V contexts, we find a high frequency of attestations in Brazilian writing from the beginning of the second half of the 19th century (83%, 74%). If proclisis in this context exclusively stems from pressure of the EP norm, what justifies the (empirically attested) fact that there is a high frequency of [XP]cIV in texts of the first half of that century? In other syntactic contexts, the evolution of proclisis does not seem sensitive to the pressure of the EP norm (cf. Martins 2018). Would the change associated with BP grammar in texts be delayed by the pressure of the norm in [XP]V contexts only? My working hypothesis in this article as previously stated is that Brazilian writing of the first half of the 19th century still reflected the proclitic [XP]cIV pattern of CIP grammar while proclisis generated by innovative BP grammar in this context can only be more clearly attested in the second half of this century. This being so, there would not be a decrease in proclisis in the [XP]cIV context of Brazilian writing in the second half of the 19th century, as proposed by Pagotto (1998), or a failed change, as proposed by Galves and Kroch (2015). Rather, Brazilian texts from the first half of the 19th century would more likely reflect

a competition between Portuguese grammars with strong influences from the CIP pattern.

In an attempt to seek evidence for the hypothesis I defend, I present in this paper an analysis of the micro-variation [XP]cIV versus [XP]Vcl in texts written in Brazil throughout the 19th and 20th centuries in a sample with a greater dataset. I try then to discern the parametric change that affects the syntactic position of the pre-verbal subject and the syntactic properties of personal clitic pronouns in BP. As is clear from the graphs in Figure 2 above, the observation of the nature of the pre-verbal subject is of fundamental importance to understanding the evolution of proclisis in Brazilian writing in the 19th century.

2 The corpus

The sample for the empirical analysis presented here was extracted from two sets of texts, as outlined in the introduction:

- (a) **texts from the Brazilian press**, or, more specifically, **letters from newspaper readers and journalists and advertisements**. Texts from newspapers from four different states were considered: Rio de Janeiro (RJ), Bahia (BA), Pernambuco (PE) and Ceará (CE). For any of the four subgenres, the sample consists of 5,000 words for each time span of 50 years (1800 to 1850, 1951 to 1899, 1900 to 1950 and 1951 to

1999).³ These texts are available on the Project for the History of Brazilian Portuguese website <https://sites.google.com/site/corporaphpb/>; and

- (b) **theater plays** written by Brazilian playwrights born in the Brazilian states of Santa Catarina, in southern Brazil, and from Rio Grande do Norte, in northeastern Brazil.

3 Empirical evidence for parametric change

1,455 tokens of the [XP]V construction were collected in the corpus described in section 2 of this article and statistically analyzed with GOLDVARB 2001 (cf. Robinson/Lawrence/Tagliamonte 2001). The following variables, in order of relevance, proved to be statistically relevant in the conditioning of the proclisis: (1) nature of the subject in SV contexts, (2) constituent preceding the verb in ([XP])[XP]V contexts, (3) period, (4) grammatical person of the clitic personal pronoun, (5) superficial position of the verb, nature of the constituent preceding the verb in ([XP])[XP]V contexts and (6) location.⁴

Multivariate analysis showed the variable constituent immediately preceding the verb was the second most important factor in the conditioning of proclisis within [XP]V contexts. The relative weights of the different constituent types are listed in Table 1.

	Tokens/Total	RW.
Adverb	143/217 – 65%	0,70
Subject	434/806 – 53%	0,58
PP	90/260 – 34%	0,39
Clause	18/172 – 10%	0,12
TOTAL	685/1455 – 47%	

Tab. 1: Proclisis according to type of constituent preceding the verb in ([XP])[XP]V contexts

Adverbs of various types strongly condition proclisis with a relative weight of 0.70, as opposed to the relative weight found for subjects and prepositional phrases (0.58 and 0.39, respectively). For the current study, adverbs contained in PPs, which function as adverbial adjuncts, were not considered. As opposed to these three factors, sentences with pre-verbal clauses, with a relative weight of 0.12, are the context that most disfavors enclisis.

In the history of Portuguese, adverbs constitute a rather heterogeneous class regarding clitic placement. Some adverbs, e.g. modals or VP adverbs, are strong conditioning factors of proclisis, others not. Here, I did not discriminate between different types of adverbs in use in Brazilian writings of the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries; rather variation is attested with all types of adverbs (Martins 2009, 2012; Carneiro/Galves 2010), as exemplified by cases of enclisis containing modal adverbs (16):

³ The data are analyzed in greater detail in Martins (2018).

⁴ In this paper, I will not present analyses differentiating press texts from theater plays. The same holds for the relative weights of each factor according to century. Both will be left for future research.

- (16) a. [20th.2 LR RJ] *Já deixei-A* [left=CLIT.3SG.ACC] *na Motocar e o mecânico me disse que era “azinhavre”, e que “produto nacional era uma droga mesmo”!*
 ‘I already left it at Motocar and the mechanic told me that it was “Verdigris”, and that “national products really suck”!’
- b. [19th.1 LR BA] [...] e *assim comprei-A* [bought=CLIT.3SG.ACC] *muito bem*
 ‘[...] and so I bought it very well!’
- c. [19th.2 LR BA] *Em conclusão declaro ao Senhor Philantropo que o Senhor José Revault é incapaz de contrariar a liberdade das ditas crias, pois sempre dizia-ME* [told=CLIT.1SG.DAT] *que ellas serão forras.*
 ‘In conclusion, I declare to Mr. Philantropo that Mr. Joseph Revault is incapable of opposing the freedom of the mentioned cubs, because he has always told me that they were free.’
- d. [19th.2 A BA] [...] e *tambem vendem-SE* [sell=CLIT.3PL.IMPERS] *folhas avulsas a 60 réis.*
 ‘[...] and individual sheets are also sold for 60 réis.’

The percentage of proclisis with the four different constituent types, mapped to time span and with the four synchronic stages considered, are represented in Figure 3.

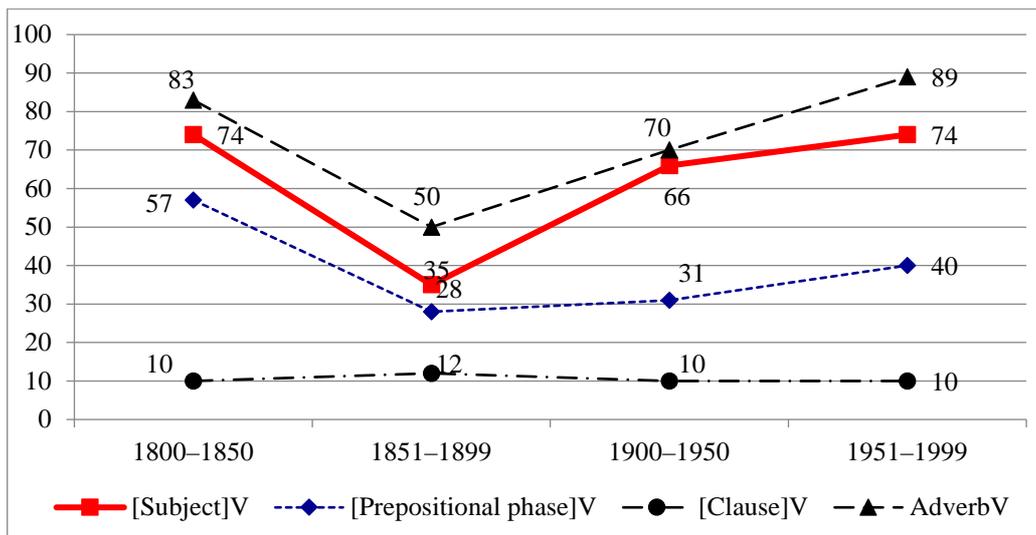


Fig. 3: Proclisis according to pre-verbal constituent type throughout the 19th and 20th century

The results portrayed in Figure 3 confirm those obtained in previous studies, as do those systematized in Figure 2 above, and thereby evince a drop in proclisis in all contexts of the first (83% 74% 57%) to the second half of the 19th century (50%,

35%, 28%); this holds true save in sentences with a sentence in the pre-verbal position, which maintains an average of approximately 10% in all periods. I should point out here that this decrease is observed as more pronounced in sentences with contiguous subjects to the left of the verb (which falls from 74% in the first half to 35% in the second half of the 19th century). As stated earlier, the general decrease of proclisis in [XP]V contexts of 19th century Brazilian writing has been interpreted as a result of the pressure exerted by the enclitic norm of EP (cf. Pagotto 1998). However, an in-depth analysis allows us to better determine this scenario: the decrease of proclisis in the second half of the 19th century is more significant in contexts where the verb is preceded by a subject and does not occur to the same extent in other contexts of [XP]V; that is, with adverbs and pre-verbal PPs. The evolution of proclisis in SubjectV contexts in 20th century writing also shows notable peculiarities with an abrupt growth to 66% and 74%, respectively, from a low percentage of 35% in the second half of the 19th century. In PP contexts, the increase is much slower (28% > 31% > 40%), while the increase in AdvV contexts is substantially higher (50% > 70% > 89%), although already presenting a high percentage in the second half of the 19th century.

In light of this, it is important to point out that the implementation of proclisis in Brazilian writing does not occur simultaneously in all “neutral contexts” [XP]V (see examples (13) to (15)), but is first triggered in a specific context: SubjectV (see Martins 2012 for a more detailed discussion).

To return to the central question raised in the present article: which grammar of Portuguese is reflected by proclisis in neutral contexts [XP]V in Brazilian writing at the beginning of the 19th century? In the SubjectV context, it is observed that the type of subject is a strong conditioner for proclisis (Martins 2009, 2012), as shown in Table 2 below. It is worth remarking here that this was the first variable selected by the software GOLDVARB 2001 in the analysis of the data I present in this work on the conditioning of proclisis.

	Tokens/Total	RW.
Demonstrative pronoun	4/5 – 80%	0,75
Personal pronoun	271/314 – 86%	0,82
DP	147/441 – 33%	0,27
DP + relative clause	12/46 – 26%	0,21
TOTAL	434/806 – 53%	

Tab. 2: Proclisis according to the type of subject in Subject V contexts

The relative weights show that demonstrative or personal pronouns contiguous to the verb in the [XP]V context account for a high proportion of the variance of proclisis (0.75 and 0.82), when compared to phrases with DP subjects or with relative clauses (0.27 and 0.21). Figure 4 shows how proclisis is distributed over the four periods analyzed for pronominals and DP subjects to the left of the verb separately:

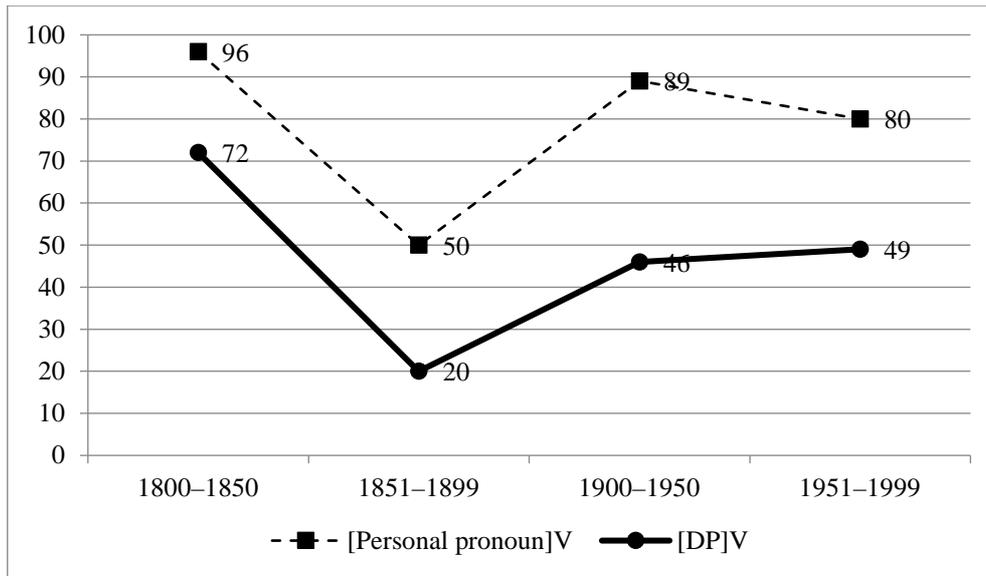


Fig. 4: Proclisis by type of pre-verbal subject throughout the 19th and 20th centuries

Note that the drop in proclisis in the second half of the 19th century is much more pronounced in [DP]cIV contexts (72% to 20%). While the frequency of proclisis falls in contexts with both types of subjects – pronominal and DP – in texts from the second half of the 19th century, the frequency of proclisis with pronominal subjects is always greater than 50% over time; this is unlike what happens in sentences with DP subjects, the frequency of which falls sharply from 72% to 20% in the 19th century and rises again in the 20th century. Additionally, a drop in DP subjects from the first to the second half of the 19th century seems to favor the hypothesis I previously raised in the article: proclisis in the [XP]cIV context in texts from the first half of the 19th century, supposedly derives from the proclitic pattern of the archaic grammar of CIP and is not the same proclisis found in Brazilian texts from the second half of the 19th century, which would, were this not so, be associated instead with the innovative grammar of BP.

A strong argument for the hypothesis I defend is that the time period was selected in third place by the statistical program in the multivariate analysis, according to the data in Table 3.

	Tokens/Total	RW.
1800-1850	97/206 – 47%	0,69
1851-1899	224/660 – 33%	0,30
1900-1950	166/299 – 55%	0,57
1951-1999	198/290 – 68%	0,73
TOTAL	685/1455 – 47%	

Tab. 3: Proclisis by period

There is a clear gradation in the relative weights found: in the first half of the 19th century, the relative weight is 0.69, as opposed to the second half of the 19th century, with a relative weight of 0.30. In the 20th century, there is a clear gradation of relative weights that evolve from 0.57 to 0.73. Very clearly, there are different motivational forces of proclisis in the texts of the different periods. A statistical analysis including the factor ‘century’ in the model must be done to confirm this picture.

How to interpret these results of Brazilian writing of the 19th and 20th centuries? Regarding the “context of diachronic variation” [XP]V in Portuguese, and considering the different grammars of CIP, EP and BP instantiated in texts over the centuries, I find myself aligning with the hypothesis of Paixão de Sousa (2004). Taking into account texts written between the 16th and 19th century, Paixão de Sousa (2004) argues that the increased enclisis in [XP]Vcl contexts in this Portuguese is associated with different properties in patterns of order of the constituents of Portuguese grammar over the centuries. In the grammar of CIP, on the one hand, two types of structures were possible:

- (i) Structures with constituent boundaries, a configuration in which, derived from movement in the syntax, the pre-verbal constituent would occupy an internal position in the clause structure. This is a typical property of V2 grammar (see (17) below).
- (ii) Structures of adjunction, in which, without movement in the syntax, the pre-verbal constituent was fused into a position outside the domain of the sentence (cf. (18) below).

In EP grammar conversely, and as represented by texts from the 18th century onwards, the pre-verbal subjects are not frontline structures. The lack of such structures means that an (X)VS order, in which any constituent might occupy the pre-verbal position, was now restricted to very few and peculiar contexts in EP. Thus, there is a parametric change as to the position of the subject in SV contexts from the grammar of CIP to that of EP. Microvariation obtains as to the position of clitic pronouns in [XP]V contexts (i.e., [XP]clV or [XPVcl]) in Portuguese texts written by authors born after the 19th century, thereby resulting in the hypothesis of competition between the EP and CIP grammars in texts written between the 17th and 18th centuries defended here.

- (17) a. # [*Bem ME importava* [CLIT.1SG.REFL=cared] ...⁵
 ‘I really would not care [...]’
- b. # [*Muito VOS desejei* [CLIT.2PL.ACC=wanted] ...
 ‘I really wanted you [...]’
- c. # [*Todos ME tratam* [CLIT.1SG.ACC=treat] ...
 ‘Everyone treats me [...]’
- d. # [*Elas mesmas LHES contaram* [CLIT.3PL.DAT=told]...
 ‘They themselves told it to them [...]’

(Paixão de Sousa 2004, 72)

⁵ The # symbol means inter-sentence limit.

- (18) a. *Suspenso o imperador com esta proposta* #**[disse-LHE]**
[said=CLIT.3SG.DAT] Ariano
 ‘Suspended the emperor with this proposal, Ariano said to him’
- b. *Em Sintra* #**[obrigava-me [obliged=CLIT.1SG.REFL]** a tomar
 ‘In Sintra, I forced myself to take’
- c. *Por esta razão* #**[the pareceu [CLIT.3SG.DAT=seemed]**
 ‘For this reason, it seemed to him’

(Paixão de Sousa 2004, 74)

Figure 5 shows the increase in enclisis [XP]Vcl in EP from the 18th century onwards, according to the results of Paixão de Sousa:

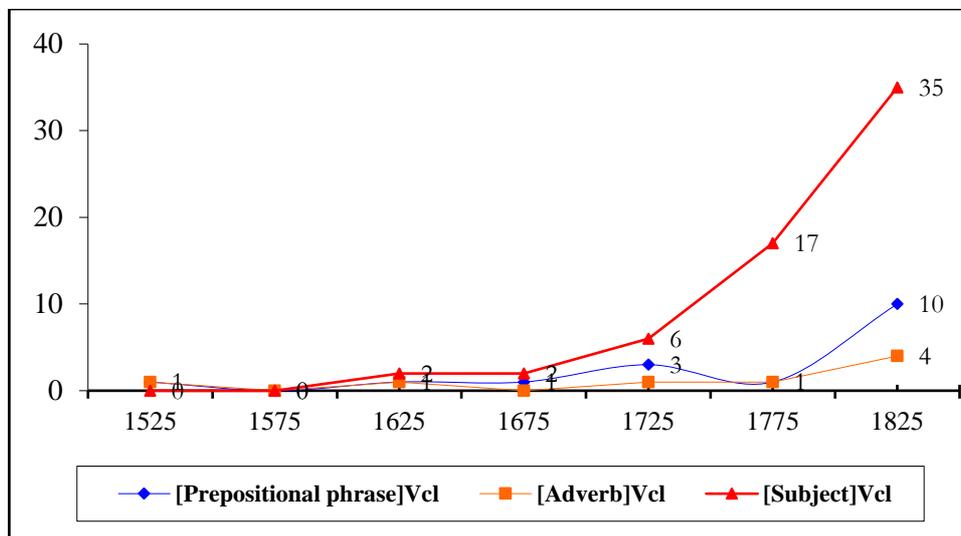


Fig. 5: Enclisis in main clauses in [XP]V contexts, where XP is a PP, a non-modal adverb or a non-focused subject (adapted from Paixão de Sousa 2004, 51 & 116)

According to Paixão de Sousa (2004), texts written from the 19th century onwards would reflect patterns generated by both the conservative grammar of CIP – [XP]cIV – and the innovative grammar of EP – [XP]Vcl. From this period on, the consolidation of [S]V contexts would be, in this sense, generated by a grammar that lost its V2 property. The increase in enclisis, observed from the 18th century onwards, is interpreted by the author as an associated pattern not to the generalized enclitic of EP, but to SVcl constructions. Note that this seems to be the same scenario explained by Figures 2 and 3 for Brazilian writings of the 19th century, tending toward the BP proclisis pattern: there is a significant increase in proclisis in the [DP] cIV context.

Similarly, observing Brazilian writing of the 19th and 20th centuries, the micro-variation [XP]Vcl/[XP]cIV confirmed mainly in 19th texts seems to reflect a parametric change in the licensing of the SV order (and no longer of the [XP]V(S) order); and additionally, in a different structural position for the pre-verbal subject. BP loses the properties of a V2 type language such as CIP. And this change is reflected in the quantitative evolution witnessed in the [DP]cIV pattern in the texts

of the second half of the 19th century. The proclisis in the Brazilian texts is implemented in a very specific context: [DP]cIV in a grammar in which the subject DP pre-verbal is in Spec,TP. I propose that the deficiency of the T-phi features that have changed in BP relative to CIP (see Avelar/Galves, 2016) creates restrictions so that the pre-verbal position in the sentence structure is occupied only by subjects and not by any other constituents as in CIP, so that those pre-verbal subjects occupy the Spec,TP position. The change in the T-features associated with the change in the loss of their restriction to the first position (see Galves and Kroch 2016) leads to the proclitic configuration in the DPcIV context in BP.

As parallel evidence for the hypothesis, we find data with patterns of inversion of SV subjects in non-inaccusative contexts in this same corpus. Berlinck and Coelho (2018), analyzing data from part of the corpus I investigated in this article, show that the syntax of [XP]V(S) constructions in Brazilian writing changed between these centuries, at the turn of the second half of the 19th to the 20th century. These authors find marginal data of non-inaccusative VS (as 19 below) and argue that this data from the first half of the 19th century exhibits traces of [XP]VS – or of a V2 type of grammar, especially with bi-argumental verbs, such as CIP – while in the 20th century the SVO order (20) seems to be the only available option.

- (19) [19th.1 TP RJ] *Em 2 do corrente escrevi-te dando conta das despesas que fez o chico durante o mez passado*
 ‘On the 2nd of this month, I wrote to you reporting the expenses that chico made during the last month.’
- (20) [20th.2 TP RJ] *O doutor P. Celydonio concordou completamente com as indicações do Doutor Reis.*
 ‘Dr. P. Celydonio has completely agreed with Dr. Reis’ indications.’

To summarize, these results seem to corroborate the hypothesis I propose here in which assuming the generative perspective of linguistic change, more specifically the model of grammatical competition proposed by Kroch (1989, 2001), the change in the underlying structure of orders for pre-verbal subjects is directly correlated with changes in the position of clitics in the [DP]V contexts in the implementation of BP grammar. As discussed above, this can be observed in a 19th and 20th century corpus of Brazilian writing (see also Kato 1999). More specifically, empirical data from the second half of the 19th century reflect the implementation of a change that is at the root of BP grammar – which very possibly began in previous centuries, or in the 19th century as argued by Galves/Namiuti/Paixão de Sousa (2006). There is a grammatical change reflected in the texts: the loss of V2 language properties (or of unrestricted [XP]VS) with the movement of the verb above TP and with a consequent SVO order as the only derived option (see also Torres Moraes 1996). This change is directly associated with the position of the clitic pronoun in neutral environments [DP]V in which proclisis also becomes the only option available.

4 Conclusions

To conclude this article, I can thus describe the patterns of placement of the clitic personal pronoun in [XP]V contexts found in Brazilian writing of the 19th and 20th centuries, as well as the theoretical interpretations of the empirical data analyzed.

- (1) In 19th century writing, [DP]cIV constructions and [XP]cIV constructions (where X is an adverb or a PP) present different percentages. The hypothesis I put forward for this finding is that the proclitic pattern in [XP]V contexts is associated with the grammar of a V2 type language, such as the one instantiated by CIP in texts until the first half of the 19th century. The evolution of proclisis generated by BP grammar in Brazilian writing is associated with the context [DP]V and began to appear in Brazilian texts more frequently in the second half of the 19th century.
- (2) In 20th-century writing, proclisis is almost categorical in both contexts – [XP]V and [DP]V. The consolidation in these contexts can be interpreted as the competition between patterns generated by the innovative grammar of BP and normative pressure from the idealization of EP. There is, in this sense, in the writing of the 20th century, a “stabilization” of the use of the structures generated by BP grammar.

I have presented arguments in favor of the hypothesis that the micro-variation evidenced in the placement of clitic pronouns in [XP]V contexts in 19th century Brazilian writing reflects a parametric change that is and always was at the heart of BP in relation to the grammar of CIP. There seems to be a grammatical change reflected in the texts: a change in the legitimation of the SV order compared to the [XP]V pattern associated with the subject’s position in the sentence structure. The theoretical explanation for the syntactic change observed here may be the deficiency of T-phi features that have changed in BP relative to CIP. This change is associated with the observed loss of the restriction of clitics in first position that affected the position of the clitic pronoun in the context [DP]cIV.

References

- Avelar, Juanito; Galves, Charlotte. 2016. From European to Brazilian Portuguese: a Parameter Tree Approach. *Cadernos de Estudos Linguísticos* 58, 237–256.
- Berlinck, Rosane de Andrade/Coelho, Izete L. 2018. A ordem do sujeito em construções declarativas na história do português brasileiro, in: Sónia Cyrino/Maria A. Torres Moraes (edd.), *Mudança sintática no português*

- brasileiro: perspectiva gerativista. Historiando o Português Brasileiro*, vol. 4. São Paulo: Contexto.
- Carneiro, Zenaide. 2005. *Cartas brasileiras (1809–1904): um estudo linguístico-filológico*, Tese (Doutorado em Linguística) – Universidade Estadual de Campinas: Campinas.
- Carneiro, Zenaide/Galves, Charlotte. 2010. Variação e gramática: colocação de clíticos na história do português brasileiro, *Revista de Estudos Linguísticos* 18 (2), 7–38.
- Carneiro, Zenaide/Almeida, Norma. 2009. A escrita de um forro no Brasil do século XIX: um estudo da colocação de clíticos, in: Vanderci Aguilera (ed.), *Para a História do Português Brasileiro*, volume 7: *Vozes, veredas, voragens*, tomo I, Londrina: EDUEL, 93–123.
- Cavalcante, Silvia/Duarte, Maria Eugenia/Pagotto, Emílio. 2011. Clíticos no século XIX: uma questão de posição social?, in: Dinah Callou/Afranio Barbosa (edd.), *A norma brasileira em construção: cartas a Rui Barbosa (1866 a 1899)*, Rio de Janeiro: Fundação casa de Rui Barbosa, 167–218.
- Duarte, Maria Eugenia/Pagotto, Emílio. 2005. Gênero e norma: avós e netos, classes e clíticos no final do século XIX, in: Célia Regina dos Santos Lopes (edd.), *A Norma Brasileira em Construção: fatos linguísticos em cartas pessoais do século 19*, Rio de Janeiro: In-Fólio, 67–82.
- Galves, Charlotte/Kroch, Anthony. 2016. Main Syntactic Changes from a Principles-and-Parameters View, in: Leo Wetzels/Sérgio Menuzzi/João Costa. (edd.). *The Handbook of Portuguese Linguistics*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 487–503.
- Galves, Charlotte/Namiuti, Cristiane/Paixão de Sousa, Maria Clara. 2006. Novas perguntas para antigas questões: a periodização do português revisitada. In Annette Endruschat/ Rolf Kemmler/Barbara Schäfer-Prieß (edd.), *Grammatische Strukturen des Europäischen Portugiesisch*, Tübingen: Calapinus Verlag, 45–75.
- Galves, Charlotte/Torres Moraes, Maria A./Ribeiro, Ilza. 2005. Syntax and Morphology in the Placement of Clitics in European and Brazilian Portuguese, *Journal of Portuguese Linguistics* 4 (2), 143–177.
- Galves, Charlotte/Britto, Helena/Paixão de Sousa, Maria Clara. 2005. The Change in Clitic Placement from Classical to Modern European Portuguese: Results from the Tycho Brahe Corpus, *Journal of Portuguese Linguistics* 4 (1), 39–67.
- Galves, Charlotte. 1996. O enfraquecimento da concordância no português brasileiro, in: Ian Roberts/Mary A. Kato (edd.), *Português brasileiro: uma viagem diacrônica*. São Paulo: Editora UNICAMP, 387–408.
- Kato, Mary A. 1999. A restrição de monoargumentalidade da ordem VS no português do Brasil, *Fórum Lingüístico*, Florianópolis: Pós-graduação em Lingüística UFSC, 1–21.
- Kroch, Anthony. 1989. Reflexes of Grammar in Patterns of Language Change, *Language Variation and Change* 1, 199–244.

- Kroch, Anthony. 2001. Syntactic Change, in: Mark Baltin/Chris Collins (edd.), *The Handbook of Contemporary Syntactic Theory*, Massachusetts: Blackwell, 699–729.
- Lobo, Tânia. 1992. *A colocação dos clíticos em português: duas sincronias em confronto*. Dissertação de Mestrado, Universidade de Lisboa: Faculdade de Letras.
- Martins, Ana Maria. 1994. *Clíticos na história do português*. Tese de doutoramento, Universidade de Lisboa: Faculdade de Letras.
- Martins, Marco Antonio/Meisnitzer, Benjamin. 2016. The Use of Clitics in Brazilian Portuguese: the Development of an Endogenous Standard Variety, in: Rudolf Muhr (ed.), *Pluricentric Languages and Non-Dominant Varieties Worldwide*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 67–84.
- Martins, Marco Antonio. 2009. Tese (Doutorado em Linguística) – Programa de pós-graduação em Linguística, Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, Florianópolis.
- Martins, Marco Antonio. 2010. O português são três: evidências empíricas para a hipótese de competição de gramáticas, *Revista ABRALIN* 9, 37–76.
- Martins, Marco Antonio. 2012. Reflexos da gramática do PC na escrita brasileira do século 19: uma análise das construções XclV, in: Tânia Lobo/Zenaide Carneiro/Juliana Soledade/Ariadne Almeida/Silvana Ribeiro (edd.), *ROSAE – Linguística histórica, história das línguas e outras histórias*, Salvador: EDUFBA, 333–356.
- Martins, Marco Antonio. 2013. Para o estudo da propagação da mudança na colocação de clíticos no Português Brasileiro, in: Maria A. Ferreira Lima/Francisco Alves Filho/Catarina de Sena Sirqueira Mendes da Costa. (edd.), *Linguística e literatura: percorrendo caminhos*, vol.1, Teresina: EDUFPI, 83–98.
- Martins, Marco Antonio. 2018. A sintaxe dos pronomes pessoais clíticos na história do português brasileiro, in: Sônia Cyrino/Maria A. Torres Moraes (edd.), *Mudança sintática no português brasileiro: perspectiva gerativista. Historiando o Português Brasileiro*, vol. 4, São Paulo: Contexto.
- Paixão de Sousa, Maria Clara. 2004. *Língua Barroca: Sintaxe e História do Português nos 1600*. Tese de Doutorado, Instituto de Estudos da Linguagem, UNICAMP: Campinas..
- Pagotto, Emílio. 1992. *A posição dos clíticos em português: um estudo diacrônico*. Dissertação de Mestrado, Instituto de Estudos da Linguagem da Universidade Estadual de Campinas: Campinas.
- Pagotto, Emílio. 1998. *Norma e condescendência, ciência e pureza. Língua e instrumentos lingüísticos*, vol. 2, 49–68.
- Roberts, Ian/Roussou, Anna. 2003. *Syntactic Change: A Minimalist Approach to Grammaticalization*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Roberts, Ian/Kato, Mary A. (edd.) 1996. *Português brasileiro: uma viagem diacrônica*, São Paulo: Editora UNICAMP, 409–425.

- Robinson, John/Lawrence, Helen/Tagliamonte, Sali, J. 2001. *GoldVarb: a Multivariate Analysis Application for Windows*. Department of Language and Linguistic Science, University of York. <http://www.york.ac.uk/depts/lang/webstuff/golvarb/>.
- Schei, Ane. 2003. *A colocação pronominal do português brasileiro – a língua literária contemporânea*, São Paulo: Humanitas.
- Torres Moraes, Maria A./Ribeiro, Ilza. 2005. Contraste da sintaxe dos clíticos no português europeu e português brasileiro, *Linha d'Água* 17, 21–40.
- Torres Moraes, Maria A. 1996. Aspectos diacrônicos do movimento do verbo, estrutura da rase e Caso nominativo no português do Brasil, in: Ian Roberts/Mary A. Kato (edd.), *Português brasileiro: uma viagem diacrônica*, São Paulo: Editora UNICAMP, 263–306.