**TaCo-CPC – Tagged Corpus
of Classical Portuguese Clitics.
17ᵀᴴ century
Corpus Anotado dos Clíticos
do Português Clássico.
Século XVII**

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Introduction

I. General information

The corpus presented here has been compiled from 14 texts (both continuous excerpts and integral versions) containing 4594 clitic-verb sequences in various configurations. The texts were published between 1614 and 1735, but all of them were written in the 17th century.

The data have been retrieved from OA pdf files stored in the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, and, more precisely, from one of its sections: Biblioteca Nacional Digital. As no search engine is available, suitable sequences with clitic pronouns had to be excerpted manually. Both original spelling and punctuation have been preserved. The collection of letters published in 1735 is a posthumous edition, reputed as trustworthy. The complete list of 14 texts is given in the references below.

The texts are of various sizes, ranging from a modicum of 139 clitic-verb sequences (the sermon from 1697) to 1285 clitic-verb sequences in Father António Vieira's letters. They represent different genres (regulations for clerks and court officials, sermons, hagiography, scholarly treatise, chronicles, a report on putative miraculous events, personal letters), displaying a multitude of styles and degrees of formality. The only genre deliberately left out of the analysis involves poetry. The texts target various groups of addressees (or even particular addressees), some known and others unknown beforehand. They were composed in a variety of communicative circumstances by individuals of higher social ranks (printed matter was hardly available to poorly educated representatives of lower classes in 17th-century Portugal). The excellent scholarship of the authors of 14 texts in the corpus can be easily inferred from the degree of lexical refinement and grammatical correctness of their writings. Apart from poetry, another obvious, yet unintentional deficit is related to the absence of female authors. Although one of the texts is anonymous (1639), no serious evidence supports the idea of its female authorship (see e.g. Donaldson, 2014: 334-338 for a case study of how gender variation may inform syntax). Women-authored texts are few and far between in the period under discussion.

Furthermore, the selection of 17th-century works was further narrowed down so that the *não* negative marker would be the only element eligible to break the continuity of clitic-verb sequences. The intent was to filter out the texts that represent Old-Middle Portuguese clitic grammar (Martins, 2011a: 94-96). There are two exceptions to this. The 1639 judicial regulations were selected on purpose to bring to light the distance between its antiquated grammar and Classical Portuguese standards found in the remaining texts. The *Regimento dos Juizes das Aldeas* possesses, among others, the following archaic traits: multiple interpolations (more than one syntactic constituent separating the clitic from the verb; Martins, 2016: 421-423), an *n*-initial preverbal accusative clitic after a proclisis trigger ending in a nasal diphthong (variation between vowel-initial and *n*-initial preverbal accusative pronouns is frequent, in this particular phonological setting, in Portuguese scriptural production up to the end of the 16th century; cf. Martins 1994: 217-218), the inflected infinitive used in the capacity of the imperative mood (Martins, 2012; Carvalho, 2015: 669, 673) and variable past participles in compound tense forms. The data from this document have been left out of the statistics concerning interpolation. The second minor exception is the 1650 chronicle by Bento Teixeira Feio with a single instance of *bem* 'well' interpolated between the clitic pronoun and the verb. The corpus contains only part of this extensive text. In the remaining part, several similar cases have been detected.

There are going to be two further parts, encompassing the 18th and the 19th centuries. The main purpose of both this and the forthcoming parts is to parse prose text samples so that selected examples could be helpful for research on the syntax of clitic pronouns.

II. Classical Portuguese

As for the word 'classical' in the title of the present work, there is disagreement between scholars on what 'classical' should be taken to mean and where it should be localized. In Castro's (1988: 12; 2006) periodization, the history of Portuguese is divided into four periods: (i) Old Portuguese (from the publication of the first text in 1214 to

1385–1420); (ii) Middle Portuguese (from 1420 to 1536–1550); (iii) Classical Portuguese (from 1550 to the 1700s); and (iv) Modern Portuguese (from the 1800s to the present; see also Cardeira, 2005: 32).

In a less philologically-oriented approach, Classical Portuguese corresponds to a language written in Portugal between the fifteenth and the eighteenth centuries. Differences revolve around Middle Portuguese, so that some scholars ignore this period altogether (Galves, 2018). As a result, the beginning of Classical Portuguese is disputed.

III. The tags

The record of a given clitic-verb sequence takes the form of a series of tags. An example record, depicted below, consists of the following pieces of information:

File page: 3 (1645. *Sermaõ do jubileo geral*; Book page number: 1)
Nos outros Iubileos, ainda que ſe empenha a maõ da miſericordia, concedendoſe grandes graças, não ſe empenha de todo a mão da juſtiça, ...
Clitic: *se* (refl.3.sg)
Clitic placement: **triggered proclisis**
Proclisis trigger: *ainda que*
Verb: *empenhar*
Tense / Verb form: present indicative
Modal frame:
Negation:
Clause: **Embedded**

The term 'triggered proclisis', which is going to be dealt with more extensively, later on refers to one of the peculiarities of clitic placement in EP. Unlike in other Romance languages, in EP, clitic placement does not hinge on the finiteness of the verb. Instead, it depends on specific syntactic conditions. Enclisis is the default pattern in finite root clauses. By contrast, proclisis becomes obligatory only after a series of expressions, called 'proclisis triggers', placed preverbally.

1. File page. Localization in the file stored in the Biblioteca Nacional Digital

2. Date of publication, author's name (elective), title (or a significant part of the title), chapter and section (numbering and section titles, if available), page numbers as they appear in the original printed version. The last element is not always coincident with the point 1 above.

3. Example containing the clitic-verb sequence. Original spelling has been kept throughout, which is (among other things) how the present corpus departs from the Tycho Brahe Parsed Corpus of Historical Portuguese (Galves, Andrade, and Faria, 2017), which frequently relies on modern editions of old printings and manuscripts. Perhaps, the most obvious spelling detail, which turns out directly relevant to clitic attachment (cf. the characterization of root clauses Iba below), is related to how the coordinate conjunction *e* 'and' is graphically represented. Rather than being expressed as a plain word, it always takes the form of the special character '&'. Still, some caution is required, as some occurrences of this graphic sign are designed to replace ordinary commas or semicolons.

Likewise, spelling matters are directly relevant to the analysis of interpolation, the central point of interest of research conducted on the basis of the TaCo-CPC. The negative marker *não* was the only expression eligible to disrupt the continuity of clitic-verb sequences in Classical Portuguese (Martins, 2016: 423). Variants encountered in 17th-century texts comprise: *não*, *naõ*, *nõ*, *nã* and *nam*. In addition, the clitic *se* and an ensuing negative marker are frequently spelled jointly *senão* to represent *se não* sequences, thus additionally complicating their retrieval. In a nutshell, the ulterior motive behind the compilation of the TaCo-CPC was to represent exactly what the original versions of the analyzed texts contain.

*Eſta he a raſaõ que me faz temer que antes da felicidade que ſe eſpera, venha algum caſtigo que **ſenaõ teme**, …*
'This is the reason which makes me fear that, before the happiness that one is looking ahead to, some punishment may come, that one is not frightened by …'

4. The clitic alongside the bundle of morphophonological features it represents. In what follows, EP clitic pronouns are assumed to constitute a paradigm (Luís and Kaiser, 2016: 211; see also a similar portrayal of Sardinian object and reflexive clitics in Mensching and Remberger, 2016: 278), as outlined below in a somewhat oversimplified manner. In the diagram below, grey-shaded fields display the default *o*, *a*, *os*, *as* forms alongside their allomorphic *no* and *lo* variants. EP clitic pronouns encode the following morphosyntactic features: person-number (1, 2, 3 singular, 1, 2, 3 plural), gender (masculine, feminine). Case distinctions involve the dative vs. accusative formal contrast for 3rd person pronouns. For 1st and 2nd person pronouns of singular and plural, no formal distinctions are found, due to the complete syncretism of accusative and dative forms. Likewise, gender distinctions extend solely over 3rd person direct object (i.e. accusative) forms. As for the 'reflexive', this term is provisional and extends over a variety of usages and values, related to argument structure (or diathesis; Schwarze, 2012: 127-129). Aside from reflexivity / reciprocity, Duarte, Matos and Gonçalves (2005: 119-120) single out: nominative clitics (*Trabalha-se demasiado* 'One works too much' to characterize null subjects as indefinite; see also Schwarze 2012:137), passive clitics (*Penduraram-se os quadros na parede* 'The pictures were hung on the wall'; see Martins and Nunes, 2016: 323-326), ergative clitics (*O gelo derreteu-se e nós assustámo-nos com o degelo repentino* 'The ice thawed and we got scared with the sudden thaw'), inherent clitic (*Ele zangou-se com os alunos* 'He got angry with the pupils'). Rather than being a straightforward pronoun, *se* in the preceding examples is an operator on the argument structure of the verb. It conveys a variety of meanings, sometimes conflated in a single broad category – the middle voice. Inherent clitics are parts of lexical entries of the verb they attach to. In point of fact, they evince an idiomatic behavior: no referent is required to be looked for. Likewise, no grammatical function is realized. Still, they are likely to have agreement and case features.

	ACCUSATIVE	DATIVE	REFLEXIVE
1. SG	me [mə]		
2. SG	te [tə]		
3. SG.MASC	o [u] no [nu] lo [lu]	lhe [ʎə]	se [sə]
3. SG.FEM	a [ɐ] na [nɐ] la [lɐ]		
1. PL	nos [nuʃ]		
2. PL	vos [vuʃ]		
3. PL.MASC	os [uʃ] nos [nuʃ] los [luʃ]	lhes [ʎəʃ]	se [sə]
3. PL.FEM	as [ɐʃ] nas [nɐʃ] las [lɐʃ]		

Person-number annotation of *se* accompanying a non-finite form is frequently problematic, as coreference or binding connections are not easy to come by.

*… para que os ditos pagamentos foʃʃem effectivos, aʃʃim ao Biʃpo e Clero, como aos meʃmos Padres da Companhia, por **ʃe experimentar** que todos os outros apertos …*
Clitic: ***se*** (refl.3.)

Gender symbols in the tags of accusative clitic pronouns have been abbreviated as M (masculine) and F (feminine).
Allomorphic variants of enclitic pronouns have been kept throughout (*no*, *na*, *nos*, *nas* and *lo*, *la*, *los*, *las*; the latter series is also found in mesoclisis and clitic clusters, e.g. *no-lo*, *nos-o, irrespective of where the latter are placed with respect to the verb; Piel, 1989).

*…; mas **fazem-no** aʃʃim os que governaõ, porque ʃe houverem de fazer as prevençoens neceʃʃarias, hade-ʃe gaʃtar muito tempo nellas*
Clitic: ***no*** (acc.3.m.sg)
'.. but those who govern are so doing themselves for, if they are supposed to undertake necessary preventive measures, much time will have to be spent on them'

Portuguese proclitics are known to behave as if they were independent elements 'visible' for coordination (cf. Sandalo and Galves, 2013: 121; for example *Todos o aplaudiram e festejaram* 'They all applauded and celebrated it', but **O Paulo aplaudiu-o e festejou* 'Paulo applauded

and celebrated him'; the correct structure requires the reiteration of the pronoun in enclisis). Thereby, they stand in a stark contrast to enclitics, which fail to display this property. As for the annotation of the examples, the decision is not to treat sentences such as below as representing two distinct clitic-verb sequences, although a somewhat deeper syntactic parsing would legitimize such a solution.

...; *mais eftima a efpada do General Olandez, que feu tio lhe deixou em memoria de **o vencer**, & matar*.
'But he has more veneration for the spade of the Dutch General, handed down by his uncle in memory of defeating him and killing him(= Dutch General)'

Clearly, in cases of 'triggered proclisis', the left-hand context had to be reconstructed up to the point of occurrence of a probable proclisis trigger. Sometimes, the search required to reach as far as several lines back.

To simplify the classification somewhat, clitics taking the form *o* (irrespective of agreement requirements) which are used as predicates ('les clitiques prédicatifs' in Monachesi & Miller's description, 2000; 'predicative clitics', Duarte, Matos, Gonçalves, 2005: 119), binding on a previously mentioned set or feature, are classified as accusatives, as well. Unlike in Italian where the elided form is elective with the accusative pronoun proper (*Martina l'elegge* or *Martina lo elegge* 'Martina is choosing it'), but prohibited with the 'clitique prédicatif' (*Martina lo è* vs. **Martina l'è* 'Martina is that way / So is Martina'; see Monachesi, 1999), in 17th-century Portuguese texts neither clitic form nor clitic placement hinges on this distinction.

…, *e a efte fim quafi todos os Cabos do exercito eraõ naturaes de Catalunha, como tambem **o he** D. Joaõ de Quaray, a cuja ordem vinha tudo*
'... and for this purpose almost all the corporals of the army were of Catalan origin, as is also Sir João de Quaray, by whose order everybody was coming …'
*Aos 12. de Janeiro de 1688. profeguio a fua viagem para Borneo, & fendo muy profpera, **o foi** tambem muito myfteriofa,*

'On January the twelfth of 1688, it was carrying on towards Borneo, the travel being completely unimpeded, it was also very mysterious'

5. Clitic placement. No doubt, this point is very tricky in any description given to Portuese clitics.

Five possible clitic placements are found in Classical Portuguese: interpolation, triggered proclisis, non-triggered proclisis, mesoclisis and enclisis.

Present-day European Portuguese exhibits a complementary distribution between pronominal enclisis and proclisis. Enclisis is the default placement in clauses containing finite verb forms. It is "a well defined syntactic configuration in which a host is adjoined to a clitic" (Schlonsky, 2004: 301). By contrast, preverbal position of clitic pronouns is obligatory once enclisis is ruled out. This is to say that proclisis appears only if some other expressions occur preverbally. As Duarte and Matos put it (2000: 117): 'proclisis is triggered by the presence of so-called operator-like elements c-commanding the verbal host of the clitic: (i) sentential negation operators and negative phrases in preverbal position […]; (ii) overt complementizers […]; (iii) *wh*-operators […]; (iv) quantified NPs in subject position […]; (v) fronted contrastive focus elements […]; (vi) certain adverbs in preverbal position'.

In Classical Portuguese, proclisis was categorical in the same syntactic conditions (cf. Martins, 2016: 416 'Ao longo de todo o período histórico do português (desde os primeiros textos, no final do séc. XII, até hoje), mantêm-se estáveis os contextos de próclise obrigatória'; transl. 'throughout the history of Portuguese, starting from the first texts from the twelfth century until now, the contexts of obligatory proclisis remain unaltered'; Galves et al, 2005: 43 'It is worth noting that the contexts of obligatory proclisis have not changed in the whole history of Portuguese'). All these cases are subsumed under the 'triggered proclisis' category.

Still, unlike today, in the 17th and 18th centuries, a series of contexts ('cl-V / V-cl variation contexts') enabled speakers to choose whether clitic pronouns are to be placed in the preverbal or postverbal position. All these cases were reanalyzed as obligatory enclisis contexts later on.

Proclisis in such configurations is thought to be 'non-triggered'. In fact, even if some preverbal constituents (left-dislocated or hanging

topics, subordinate clauses, root clauses plus a coordinate conjunction, non-argumental prepositional phrases, clause-external adverbs, non-focalized and non-quantified subjects) warranted, to some extent, the preverbal position of the pronoun, they cannot be said to coerce speakers into applying that model at the expense of enclisis. The number and the nature of these variation contexts are not undisputed and so the discussion thereof will be resumed in point 11.

As for enclisis with finite verb forms, in Classical Portuguese this placement is predominantly associated with verb-initial sentences (plus, occasionally, sentences with a preverbal clause-external constituent). Little by little, it begins to take over from proclisis in variation contexts. In the examples that start with *E* 'And', the criterion of V-cl in sentence-initial position is, strictly speaking, not met. Yet, such cases are also thought to represent categorical enclisis (although they deviate from Tobler-Mussafia law; see below) rather than an optional enclisis in cl-V / V-cl variation contexts. In no case is the clitic preverbal in such sequences.

Mesoclisis is rare (it is hardly found in the TaCo-CPC texts; only texts 1697, 1639, 1686 and 1735 display as few as 16 occurrences). This model is thought to be the result of the resegmentation of future or conditional verb forms into the infinitive and a pseudo-auxiliary (reanalyzed as a person-number marker), forming a double-stressed compound, with the clitic attached to the infinitive and a regular enclitic allomorphy, even with irregular stems (*fazer*, but *farei*, mesoclisis *fá-lo-ei*).

Interpolation (clitic-verb non-adjacency) is a long-standing pattern in European Portuguese. In Classical Portuguese, the negative marker *não* was the only element likely to disrupt the continuity of clitic-verb sequences. In no example is the interpolation categorical: proclisis and interpolation are always interchangeable. In Old and Middle Portuguese, the number and the nature of expressions likely to be inserted between the clitic pronoun and the verb was virtually unrestricted. Only Left Periphery elements were precluded from being interpolated (Martins, 2011b: 140-141). Left Periphery is the expression of the syntax-semantics interface and links the utterance with its context. It is in the Left Periphery where information on the type of an utterance are found (assertion, interrogation, exclamation, injunction) alongside information on foci ('a resolution for a variable left open in previous discourse'; cf. López 2009: 28) and topics (piece of information, highly predictable and retrievable from

the foregoing discourse). This period is known in linguistic theorizing over clitics as 'generalized interpolation' (Fiéis, 2001: 199-202). In syntactic terms, it corresponds to the first of the three stages singled out in the history of Portuguese clitic grammar. This stage is reported to have become obsolete in the 16th century (Namiuti, 2008: 7). In some approaches (Namiuti, 2006; Andrade and Namiuti-Temponi, 2016: 205-207), generalized interpolation is accounted for in terms of clitic movement: the clitic pronoun is allowed to move to C° in subordinate clauses, whereas the Verb moves up to Σ° (the functional domain of polarity, i.e. affirmation *vs*. negation dichotomy, which, among others, informs the choice of indefinites; see *Li algum livro* 'I read some book', **Li nenhum livro* 'I read none book', *Não li nenhum livro* "I read no book'; *Não li algum livro* 'I didn't read (one of the) books'). Once the clitic is moved, a variety of XPs may separate it from its default verbal host. That is how the generalized clitic-verb non-adjacency (with any kind of expressions allowed to follow the pronoun and precede the verb), including multiple interpolations, comes about. Clitic movement to C° is associated with the dominance of the C-cl-(X)-negV word order, i.e. complementizer – clitic – any non-left-periphery constituent – Negation-verb complex, one of the salient features of which consists in the contiguity of proclisis triggers and clitic pronouns.

Along different lines, another syntactically based explanation for this positional freedom is couched in terms of IP scrambling. According to this viewpoint, Old (and Middle) Portuguese featured intersecting lines within syntactic trees. SOV word orders were more frequent as a result of IP middle scrambling (e.g., raising to multiple Spec, TP positions; Martins, 2002), and not of movement to the C domain. Certain expressions were likely to appear either at a distance from their heads ('scrambled'; see Costa & Martins, 2010: 59-61; Martins, 2011b: 139-140) or, alternatively, fixed orders were missing for some dependent – head groups. For example, both 'predicate adjective – copula' and 'copula – predicate adjective' orders were allowed. Once scrambling had been lost, indiscriminate interpolation began to recede (Martins, 2014: 42-44)[1].

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[1]   According to Martins (2011b: 140-141), interpolation is indicative of the distinction between the OV orders brought about by the presence of contrastive foci or marked topics and OV with scrambled objects, since clitics mark the border between sentence's left periphery and the middle field.

The present corpus provides evidence, that *não*-clitic-verb and clitic-*não*-verb had divergent distributions depending on whether they are found in 'triggered proclisis' contexts or in X-V-cl / X-cl-V variation ones ('non-triggered proclisis'). Whereas non-adjacency was the default choice in the former (225 out of 266 occurrences, i.e. 84.58%), clitic-verb adjacency was prevailing (50 out of 64 occurrences, i.e. 78.12 %) in the latter in the period under discussion. The aggregate, i.e. for both kinds of contexts (obligatory proclisis ones and cl-V / V-cl variation ones) ratio is 2,62 : 1 in favor of interpolation (72.42%)[2.]

6. Proclisis trigger. The insertion of this element is confined to examples considered to be instances of 'triggered proclisis' in point 5. The following list covers all of the categories likely to serve as categorical proclisis triggers: (i) sentential negation and preverbal negative phrases; (ii) overt complementizers (including prepositions for some non-finite verb forms); (iii) interrogative, relative and exclamative words (Villalba, 2017: 605-615; Mioto and Lobo, 2016: 281-283); (iv) quantified subject NPs; (v) fronted foci and focus particles (Kato and Ribeiro, 2009: 124-126); (vi) preverbal VP adverbs and fronted objects with no subsequent clitic doubling (Magro, 2019: 31-34). If a sentence contains an undisputable proclisis trigger, but proclisis fails to occur (as it happens to non-finite verb forms), the field is left blank.

... ſendo que a tiuerão ſempre guardada, & com grande decencia, & reſpeitada com tanta veneraçam, & temor, que nem a tocala, nem ainda a **vela** *ſe atreuiam*.

'… the fact being that they had always been mindful of it, with lots of decency, and that they had always been respectful of it, showing so much veneration and fright that they neither dared touch it nor have a look at it'

If two equally likely proclisis triggers appear preverbally in a sentence, generally both of them are indicated.
Additionally, in Classical Portuguese, subordinate clauses were occasionally introduced with no overt *que* complementizer. The omissions reached such a frequency that they carried over into negated clauses. In such contexts, interpolations may have appeared even when an overtly expressed proclisis trigger was absent[3].

..., *cõ proteſtos, lhe foi requerido **o não fizeſſe** ...* (1644. *Relaçam em que se refere parte dos gloriosos successos, que na Provincia da Beira tiverão contra Castelhanos, as armas de S. Magestade, ...*; p. 3) http://purl.pt/12510 (text not included in the TaCo-CPC)
'With protests he was required not to do that'

7. Verb. If, in sequences where a finite and a non-finite verb forms are juxtaposed, the clitic climbs to the verb other than the one that subcategorizes for the argument it specifies, its 'surface' host is given (Anderson 2005:108-111). For example, in sequences such as *podendo a conservar*, the *a* pronoun is enclitic to the modal auxiliary and not proclitic to the infinitive (as would be the case for Brazilian Portuguese; see Duarte, Matos, Gonçalves, 2005: 133-134). In fact, EP norms allow *podendo-a rapidamente conservar* but not *podendo rapidamente a conservar*.

8. Tense / Verb form. Traditional labels are used (present indicative, simple past perfect, imperfect indicative, pluperfect compound, pluperfect simple, simple future, present subjunctive, imperfect subjunctive; future subjunctive; conditional; imperative). In sequences such *há-de*

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[3]   To the best of our knowledge, the phenomenon has not thus far attracted the attention of scholars; an apparently similar structure has been extensively dealt with by Arteaga (2009: 23-27), for Old French; it remains to be investigated whether French and Portuguese omissions were indeed equivalent.

mover-se ('will move' or 'has to move'), the semantic contribution (categorial meaning) of the periphrasis is indicated (e.g. '*haver de* infinitive prospective / modal construction').

9. Modal frame. This row is taken into consideration with root clauses only. Modal characteristics of subordinate clauses are often biased by the lexical meaning of the main clause's verb or the semantic profile of the element standing in a CP position. For example, in S. Schwenter's (1999: 13-15) classification, conditional constructions, even if they are all headed by *if*, diverge according to what the speaker does in the apodosis (main clause). In content conditionals, the protasis specifies the state of affairs enabling speakers to produce a given assertion. In speech-act conditionals, some behavioral stance is taken towards the situation communicated in the apodosis. The protasis shows, then, why or under what circumstances a given speech act is 'felicitous'. Finally, in epistemic conditionals an inference, whose symptoms are outlined in the protasis, is drawn by the speaker. Related to the above, but exhibiting a slightly different nature, is the tripartition based on epistemic links relating the propositional content of protases to the speaker's appraisal of extra-linguistic reality. From this point of view, conditional constructions split into factual, counterfactual, and hypothetical ones.

Generally, mood and modality are known not to be in one-to-one correspondence. For example, in Romance languages simple future indicative forms are used to issue orders and give instructions (Stage, 2002: 56).

10. Negation. With simple finite verb forms, negation always acts as a proclisis trigger. Thus, it is invariably paired with 'triggered proclisis' contexts. Aside from the basic negative *não*, only the preposition *sem* 'without', and the discontinuous conjunction *nem … nem* 'neither … nor' are considered 'negative markers' (Matos, 2003: 771-773; see also Duarte, Matos and Hub Faria, 1995: 132-139). Obviously, negative quantifiers such as preverbal *nada* 'nothing' and *ninguém* 'nobody' contribute to the expression of negation, as well. In the TaCo-CPC examples, postnominal *algum / alguma* is a negative polarity marker c-commanded by the negative marker proper (symmetric negative concord; see Batllori, 2019). It seems not to have reached the rank

of the negative marker on its own yet at that point. If a negation is an element of negative concord, NPIs are identified as well, even if they occur after a cl-V complex (Matos, 1999: 187-188).

Mood selection in Romance languages is known to be sensitive to whether the verb is negated or not. Such cases are accounted for accordingly.

..., *nem obrigação algũa que* **os forçaſſe** *a jornada tam perigoſa pella diſtancia de mil, & quinhentas legoas de mares*, ...
'nor any obligation whatsoever that would have coerced them into such a dangerous expedition covering the distance of 1500 nautical miles'
Negation: yes (NC: *nem* NPI: N *alguma*; mood selection)

<u>11. Clause type</u>. This row is filled with root clauses only. Putting the variety of structural models in order posed a major challenge in compiling records for TaCo – CPC's examples.

11a. Variation contexts. They correspond to 'non-triggered proclisis' and 'enclisis' in the 'clitic placement row'. If the negative marker *não* occurs preverbally in variation contexts, interpolation is likely to take place as well (see Table 2 above). Nonetheless, instances of interpolation outside categorical proclisis contexts are subsumed under Root II.
Root I: finite main clauses in which the cl-V / V-cl complex is preceded by a referential, non-focalized subject
Root Ia': a clause with a fronted dependent clause
One of the recurrent problems with the first two models is related to structures in which a sentence-initial subject is followed by a dependent clause (e.g. a relative clause, or an adverbial-infinitival one), and a subsequent V1 main clause: *Os soldados, após ver o inimigo, atiraram-lhe* 'Soldiers, after having seen the enemy, opened fire on them'. In most of the cases, nothing hinges on whether such sequences are treated as representing the Root I model (on account of *Os soldados*), or the Root Ia' model (on account of *atiraram* being directly preceded by *após ver o inimigo*). Still, things get complicated once the subject is a proclisis trigger, i.e. a non-referential NP, contains marked focus, or is a quantifier. Then, proclisis becomes categorical (i.e. subject – dependent clause – cl-V) and cannot be traced back to variation found in Ia' contexts in

that period. Such cases are assumed to represent the Root I type, with a categorical proclisis.

Moreover, for some scholars variation in clitic placement in 17th-century Root Ia' clauses is subject to some restrictions. Unlike in modern EP, where enclisis is not sensitive to prosodic factors, in 17th-century texts the freedom of choice used to be constrained by the length of preverbal dependent clauses. According to Sandalo and Galves (2013: 129), longer, i.e. consisting of nine or more words, pre-verbal clauses stood a better chance of being matched by autonomous intonational phrases[4]. In such cases, the verb in the subsequent main clause is the best candidate to become the first element of the clause's intonational contour, and enclisis is dominant. This prediction is partially borne out in the present corpus – even if after nine-word subordinate clauses, proclisis is still dominant in ensuing V1 main clauses, enclisis is found there with a higher frequency than in V1 main clauses following subordinates shorter than nine words.

	preceding clause with less than nine words		preceding clause with nine words or more	
	V-cl	cl-V	V-cl	cl-V
1614	2	10	1	4
1625	-	22	3	35
1640	-	1	-	2
1645	6	1	3	-
1650	1	44	1	20
1660	1	2	1	3
1686	1	10	1	9
1692	-	6	-	7
1697	-	3	1	-
1735	4	14	8	5
	15	113	19	85

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[4] Intonational phrases include all adjacent phonological phrases that are part of a root sentence, while syntactic material not structurally attached, like parentheticals, form their own IPs. Besides being governed by syntactic conditions, the formation of IPs is also subject to phonological constraints: long phrases tend to be split into smaller IPs, and balanced IPs are preferred. Likewise, the longest IP tends to surface as the rightmost (see Oliveira, Cruz, Paulino and Vigário, 2017: 53-54).

Root Iba: V1 second coordinate
Obviously, coordination of more than two clauses, one of which is a cl-V or V-cl sequence is found as well. Such cases are subsumed under this label too.

*E indo repararſe à Bahya, acharam ja nella as noſſas armadas, & feitas na volta de Pernambuco, aparcceraõ naquella parajem, a quatro de Mayo, & **ſe fizeram** ao mar na volta do Norte.*
'And going to Bahia, to have some repairs done, they already found our (navies) there ready and positioned around Pernambuco & they appeared in this place on May the fourth, and set off on their sea crossing northwards'

Ic: inserted (parenthetical) V1 root clause. This is an extremely rare case in the TaCo-CPC.

*..., em que a execuçaõ ſe perſuadia com razoens politicas, as quais **ſe diz** tambem foraõ cenſuradas ...*
'... in which the execution was advocated for political reasons, which, it is said, were censored accordingly'

Root Id: dislocated complements with clitic doubling. These fall into two categories: CLLD (clitic left dislocation), with a resumptive clitic pronoun following the topicalized constituent and hanging topic left-dislocations (HTLDs). Left-dislocations without a pronoun (straightforward topicalization) in Classical Portuguese are, for obvious reasons, left out of analysis in the present corpus.
Root IV: an adverb other than fronted VP adverb
Root IVa: a prepositional phrase other than a fronted argument.

11b. Categorical enclisis context. Root Ia (TM categorical enclisis). TM stands for the Tobler-Mussafia law, the ban against clitic pronouns in clause initial position. The rule allows clitics to appear postverbally only when being preverbal would place them in clause initial position. In Classical Portuguese this constraint has to be redefined so as to cover sentence-initial position only. In the middle of a sentence, proclisis, even in clause-initial position, was an eligible option (see the Ia' context).

Both in cl-V / V-cl variation contexts and in Root Ia, mesoclisis is an optional choice with simple future and present conditional forms. Clearly, authors employed various strategies to avoid inserting the pronoun verb-internally.

11c. Categorical proclisis contexts
Root I with a focalized or quantified subject, including negative quantifiers *nada* and *ninguém*
Root II with a preverbal negative marker, including interpolation
Root III with a CP position filled with *wh*-words: interrogative pronouns, exclamatives, and indirect orders, i.e. other than the interlocutor-oriented ones (Mioto and Lobo, 2016: 278-282)
Root IV clause with a preverbal VP adverb
Root IVa clause with a preverbal oblique (i.e. prepositional NP) argument
Root V clause with a preverbal focus particle or with fronted direct objects (encompassing both focalized and quantified objects)

IV. TaCo-CPC and TBC
It is important to reveal the rationale for compiling the TaCo-CPC. For several years, scholars have had at their disposal the *Tycho Brahe Parsed Corpus of Historical Portuguese (TBC)*, an electronic corpus of texts written in Portuguese by authors born between 1380 and 1881. Crucially, the criteria for data selection are different. The TBC itself as well as a number of studies inspired by it are closely tied to Kroch's (2001; see also Galves and Kroch, 2016) theory of syntactic change. The essential period for the occurrence of such a change is language acquisition[5], as the direct mechanism prompting the change involves internalized diglossia (with divergent parameters likely to be used

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[5] This decision corresponds to the view, associated with the work of Lightfoot (1999: 92; 2006), that syntactic changes originate from individual cues available to new generations of speakers that compute a large-scale grammatical system on the basis of their parents' speech. The change, then, boils down to a series of micro-scale transitions between synchronically stable individual grammars. The principal mechanism prompting the change is the devious imitation of the older generation's grammatical habits. As parents' internalized grammar is not directly available to new

on alternate occasions by the same individual). Thus, two competing individual grammars are a prerequisite for the change to become activated (Galves, Britto, Paixão de Sousa, 2005: 40, 64-65 and Janda and Joseph, 2003: 140-141 for a skeptical point of view towards this approach)[6]. The exact placement of the change (the turning point) is related to the period when a given author was acquiring his / her language. Thus, anonymous works are hardly compatible with such principles of data selection. Indeed, in the TBC only an insignificant number of texts, tardily added and subsumed under the 'Various' label, are anonymous. They have been compiled on the basis of the *Gazeta de Lisboa* (18th century) and 17th-century 'clumsily handwritten notes' (*Manuscritos das Mãos Inábeis*) by unidentified authors (Galves, 2018: 55). No analogous constraint has been imposed onto the data retrieved from the Biblioteca Nacional Digital.

This decision might have some bearing on the results depicted in this corpus, especially with respect to the 18th and 19th-century scriptural production (forthcoming volumes). In the 19th century in particular, some of the periodicals became platforms of heated political debates over the usefulness of monarchy in Portugal. Arguments were exchanged back and forth, frequently by anonymous authors, with the use of rhetorical devices intended to enhance their powers of persuasion (Nkollo and Fiéis, 2020). These appeals involved, among others, serial repetitions of negative interrogative sentences or conditionals juxtaposing multiple negated protases, each of which depicted an undesirable situation, paired with a paradoxical conclusion in the apodosis. By strongly suggesting a positive answer, they represented a pragmatic implicature (as in *Haven't you ever study Latin*?; cf. Larrivée, 2017: 455). Some of these strategies exhibit a strong 'priming effect', i.e. a tendency to replicate linguistic material used in the preceding stretches of the same text (Blas

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generations of learners, its reconstruction must be flawed to a degree (the situation is known as 'the imperfect transmission of linguistic attitudes').

[6]   In Namiuti's (2008: 18-19) opinion, **once a given speech community becomes diglossic with respect to the fixation of a given parameter**, speakers can acquire both parameters; if they are left with the decision as to which rule of well-formedness is applicable in a given speech event, the choice is a matter of performance' (2008: 18-19). All this is consonant with the claim that parametric change is abrupt rather than gradual.

Arroyo and Schulte, 2017: 23). Such a discourse architecture, even if not exclusive to anonymous press releases, is apparently favored by the argumentative character of the political appeals of that period.

17th century

1614. Nicolao Agostinho. *Relaçam summaria da vida do... Senhor Dom Theotonio de Bragāça ...* http://purl.pt/11490 (pages: 84-137; sequences with clitics: 294)

1625 Bertolameu Guerreiro. *Jornada dos vassalos da coroa de Portugal, pera se recuperar a cidade do Salvador, na Bahya de todos os Santos, tomada pollos holandezes, a oito de Mayo de 1624. & recuperada ao primeiro de Mayo de 1625.* http://purl.pt/17352 (pages: 10-150; sequences with clitics: 1069)

1639. Anonymous. *Regimento dos Juizes das Aldeas, e Julgados do Termo, &c.* 1639. (pages: 1-15; sequences with clitics: 155)

1640. Diogo de Santana. *Relaçam verdadeira do milagroso portento, & portentoso milagre, q[ue] aconteceo na India no Santo Crucifixo, q[ue] està no coro do observantissimo mosteiro das Freiras de S. Monica da cidade de Goa, em oito de Fevereiro de 636. & continuou por muitos dias, tirada de outra, que fez o Reverendo P. M. Fr. Diogo de S. Anna.* http://purl.pt/16740 (pages: 5-19; sequences with clitics: 155)

1645. Jorge da Costa. *Sermaõ do jubileo geral concedido pelo muy S. Padre Innocencio Decimo : Tratase engenhosamente como estes favores da misericordia de Roma saõ pera Portugal empenhos da declaraçaõ de sua justiça.* http://purl.pt/20760 (pages: 3-22; sequences with clitics: 145)

1650. Bento Teixeira Feio. *Relaçam/ do naufragio/ que fizeram as naos/ Sacramento, & Nossa Senhora da Ata-/laya, vindo da India para o Reyno,/ no cabo de Boa Esperança; de/ que era Capitaõ mór Luis/ de Miranda Henriques,/ no anno de 1647.* http://purl.pt/28100 (pages: 5-47; sequences with clitics: 584)

1660. Padre Antonio Vieira. *Copia de huma carta para ElRey N. Senhor. Sobre as missoes do Seará, do Maranham, do Pará, & do grande rio das Almasónas.* http://purl.pt/16556 (pages: 3-20; sequences with clitics: 198)

1686. Antonio Carvalho da Costa. *Compendio geographico : distribuido em tres tratados, o primeiro, da projecçam das espheras*

em plano, construcçam dos Mappas universaes, & particulares, & fabrica das cartas Hydrographicas: o segundo da Hydrographia dos Mares: o terceiro da descripçam Geographica das terras, com varias proposiçoens pertencentes a esta materia. http://purl.pt/13823 (pages: 96-141; sequences with clitics: 418)

1692. Vicente Barbosa C.R. *Compendio da relaçam, que veyo da India o anno de 1691... da nova missam dos Padres Clerigos Regulares da Divina Providencia na ilha de Borneo.* http://purl.pt/12025 (pages: 2-12; sequences with clitics: 152)

1697. Aires de Almeyda S.J. *Sermam do acto da fee que se celebrou em Coimbra no Terreiro de S. Miguel em 17. de Outubro de 1694.* http://purl.pt/13488 (pages: 3-19; sequences with clitics: 139)

1735. Antonio Vieyra S.J. *Cartas* (Volume 1) https://digital.bbm. usp.br/handle/bbm/4527 (pages: 33-105, 122-134; 140-201; 388-441 sequences with clitics: 1285)

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