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Word order structures and unaccusative verbs in Classical and Modern Portuguese. The reorganisation of information structure.

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1. Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to describe the change in Portuguese word order with unaccusative verbs from a predominantly Verb – Subject (henceforth VS) pattern to a predominantly Subject – Verb (henceforth SV) pattern that took place between the 16th and the 20th century. It will be shown that a change in the interaction between pragmatics and syntax has led the subject to become predominantly preverbal even in unaccusative contexts.

Such a change from the 16th century VS pattern to the SV pattern that we find in modern Portuguese supposes either a change in the encoding of information structure or a change in surface unaccusativity or both. If VS is no longer seen as the basic word order for unaccusative verbs, a change in surface unaccusativity has taken place, in which the subject of the unaccusative verbs has regrouped to join the subjects of transitive and unergative verbs in preverbal position. If VS is still seen as the basic word order for unaccusatives, the increase in the percentage of SV must be derived from pragmatic factors such as new versus old information and/or the loss of a possible verb second (henceforth V2) restriction.

Much of the discussion around the history of Portuguese word order has evolved around whether or not this language has passed through a stage of V2. A V2 stage in Medieval Portuguese has been defended by Salvi (2004) and Ribeiro (1995), but has been rejected quite recently by Kaiser (2002) and Fiéis (2003). Galves and Galves (1995) and Galves and Sousa (2005) have argued that a V2 analysis is valid for Classical Portuguese. This thesis will show that Portuguese of the 16th – 18th century on the one hand in fact does show V2 effects, on the other hand, lacks the most important feature of V2 languages: that the verb always, or at least in main clauses, occurs in second position. It is a change in the structuring of new versus old information that is the reason for the word order we find in Modern Portuguese.

The basic theoretical assumptions of this analysis are outlined in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 consists of a more detailed description of the corpus and of how the material was analysed. Chapter 4 is a description of the data where the statistical material for the analyses in the following chapters is presented. Chapter 5 contains a discussion around the argument structure of the
clauses with unaccusative verbs. It will be argued that unaccusatives may have two different argument structures, one where the single argument is a subject, another where it is more similar to an object. Chapter 6 studies the pragmatics of Portuguese word order. It will be shown that information structure in 16th century Portuguese has a Topic – Comment structure, where only new information that are topics can occur preverbally, and old information can occur in both preverbal and postverbal position. Modern Portuguese on the other hand has an ‘avoidfocus’ structure, where only new information can occur post verbally and everything that is not new must be in a preverbal position. In Chapter 7, the changes in information structure and argument structure are seen in a wider perspective, as part of a stress shift that took place at the end of the 18th century and that also affected the clitic placement.

1.2. Previous studies

Most of what has been written on Portuguese word order of subject, verb and object are either diachronic analyses of the Medieval Portuguese language compared to the modern language (Pádua 1960), (Schellert 1958), (Fiéis 2003) or synchronic modern studies (Duarte 1987), (Ambar 1992), (Costa 1998, 2004). There is general agreement that as far as the modern language is concerned, all (Ambar 1992) or almost all (Costa 1998, 2004) possible word order combinations of Subject, Verb and Object are permitted and that the word order was “freer” in Medieval Portuguese (Pádua 1960), (Fiéis 2003). Concerning the changes that took place in the centuries between these two periods of the Portuguese language, there is no detailed account of the changes in word order that includes argument structures, prosody and information structures. Galves and Sousa (2005) and Sousa (2004) have comprehensive studies on clitics and subject positions from a syntactic and phonological point of view.

1.2.1. Studies on the Word Order in Medieval Portuguese

Two traditional philological approaches (Pádua 1960) and (Schellert 1958) give a thorough and detailed description of the word order in Medieval Portuguese. Written in 1955, published in 1960, Padua’s work is a description of word order in ancient Portuguese prose literature. It is a synchronic approach to Medieval Portuguese; even though it treats texts from several centuries, the texts are analysed as if they belonged to one period.

Schellert’s focus is on the position of the subject only and he pays more attention to formal criteria and less to stylistic ones than Pádua does. He has statistics of occurrences SV/VS in
various environments, with data from texts that are from three defined periods of time: 14th and 15th century, the 16th century and the 19th and 20th century. These data show an increase in post verbal subjects from the first to the second period, followed by a decrease in the last period.

Both Pádua and Schellert agree on which word orders are possible in Medieval Portuguese and both have SVO as the unmarked order.

In Mattos e Silva (1989) there is an account of the word order in one medieval text, Os diálogos de S. Gregório, versão trecentista and on the basis of this account Ribeiro (1995) discusses the possibility of a verb second stage in Portuguese. This hypothesis has been refuted in Fiéis’s dissertation Ordem de palavras, transitividade e inacusatividade (Fiéis 2003), focussing mainly on the period often referred to as “Old Portuguese” (Português Antigo) or “Medieval Portuguese” (Português Medieval), that is the Portuguese language from 13th to the beginning of the 16th century. Fiéis concludes that the basic syntax is the same in Medieval Portuguese as it is in Modern Portuguese, and that whatever varieties we find are attributed to other factors such as differences in discourse strategies. The large number of postverbal subjects that we find in medieval texts is due to unaccusativity rather than to a verb second restraint. In fact, since the concept of unaccusativity is relatively new, it doesn’t appear in Schellert’s or Pádua’s works. Many of the examples they cite, especially of VS orders could be explained if we took the unaccusative hypothesis into account.

Fiéis’ study of Medieval Portuguese is primarily a syntactic analysis and does not contain a study of discourse related phenomena that might have influenced the word order. Such phenomena are offered as a possible explanation to word order however, and it is clear that Fiéis sees them as important.

1.2.2. Studies on Classical Portuguese

The period between 16th and 17th century, often referred to as Português Clássico, has received relatively little attention in the history of the Portuguese language. The same holds true for the 18th and 19th century. There are exceptions to this such as Said Ali (1971) and Dias (1970) and Galves (1995; 2000; 2002) and recently Sousa (2004). They have, however, little focus on word order in relation to information structure in the centuries in question. There is not much in these works to suggest a significant difference in the information structure in the 16th and 17th centuries from what it was at the beginning of the 20th century.
when these works were written. Torres Morais (1996) and Berlinck (1989; 1997) have focused on some aspects of the history of word order from these periods. Torres Morais has studied the possibility of a V2-period for Old Portuguese, whereas Berlinck has looked at the information value of subjects in the 18th and 19th century in Brazilian and European Portuguese. Recently, researchers of the Tycho Brahe Corpus have produced some works on this period, especially on the combination of prosody and syntax and the history of clitics, for instance Galves (1995; 2002) The present work concentrates on the European variety of Portuguese, from the 16th to the 20th century.

1.2.3. Approaches to modern Portuguese word order

Studies on Modern Portuguese syntax such as Costa (1998; 2004) and Ambar (1992) and Duarte (1987) agree that SVO is the basic or unmarked word order. There is also general agreement that unaccusative verbs (or ergative verbs in Ambar’s terminology) allow for postverbal subjects even in unmarked contexts. The unaccusative hypothesis was first proposed for Portuguese by Perlmutter (1976) who initially referred to postverbal subjects of some Portuguese verbs as subject downgrading before spelling out its current name. Unlike the above mentioned studies, the present study includes a corpus of 20th century Portuguese.

In fact, all authors agree that SVO was and is the basic word order in Portuguese, in medieval times as well as in modern times. This present study will not challenge this view, but rather contribute to the discussion around what other restrictions than syntactic ones affect the word order and when the changes in these restrictions took place.
2. Theoretical background

In this chapter, I shall outline the basic theoretic assumptions relevant for the analysis of the material. This is a traditional corpus-based philological study which aims at giving a description, as accurately as possible, of a certain linguistic phenomenon. Modern technology, such as the use of electronic corpora and automatic searches for specific verbs, has facilitated this type of study and made it possible, within a reasonable amount of time, to study much larger pieces of text than what would have been possible only ten-twenty years ago. Electronic databases such as the one I have created in Filemaker, as well as morphologically tagged texts, have made it feasible to extract statistical evidence in a way that previously would have been too time-consuming. This thesis makes use of such electronic inventions, but it remains traditionally philological in the sense that each example is analysed individually, and in many cases commented upon separately.

A philological approach should not only present the results of an analysis, but also provide data that can serve as evidence for further study. With this view in mind, I have found it more important to spell out all possible problematic examples than to cut down on the number of examples in order to save space and make the book more “readable”.

The above statement does not mean that I shall disregard or not make use of theoretical approaches to the linguistic problems at hand. Most of the recent literature on Portuguese word order has been written within a generative framework, so I shall outline the basics of that as well as other necessary theoretical assumptions that the generative model does not account for. This includes theories on discourse strategies and phonological analyses that are useful for descriptions of word order in modern Portuguese as well as an outline of my view on diachronic change with particular regard to grammaticalisation and reanalysis.

The material has been studied in the following perspectives: argument structure, discourse structure, clause structure, heaviness, referentiality and prosodic features as well as semantic features such as verb meaning and animateness. As was pointed out in Chapter 1, the basic word order in both Old and Modern Portuguese was SVO, and the argument structure was
basically the same (Fiéis 2003), (Costa 2004). Even so, the word order was somewhat different. Other factors must be at work, then, in particular discourse structures and prosody.

2.1. Syntactic structures:

While this is not primarily a generative approach to word order and word order change, some theoretical assumptions are best represented in a tree structure analysis like the one in figure 1 following Chomsky (1986). Recent studies of Portuguese word order have mostly been written within a generative framework, either within the theory of principles and parameters as in figure 1 or within the minimalist program (Chomsky 1995). While the tree structure is relevant for the description of Portuguese syntax, it should be possible to read this thesis without profound knowledge of generative grammar. However, some points will be outlined that describe the principal theoretical assumptions that are used in the analysis of Portuguese.¹

![Figure 1](attachment:figure1.png)

The tree structure in figure 1 is based on the X-bar theory where all types of phrases have the structure in figure 2. The phrases are put together as in figure 1 and 3.

The discussion is mainly about where the arguments are placed in such a tree structure and what motivates them to occur in these positions. The terms D-structure and S-structure (originally Deep structure and Surface structure) have been used to designate two structural levels: D-structure represents the key structural relations in a sentence, such as subject and

¹ For an introduction to generative grammar, see Cook and Newson (1996)
object. S-structure is related to D-structure by movement, and is the sentence that is produced (including the traces that are left).²

\[
\text{XP} \\
\text{Specifier} \quad \text{X'} \\
\text{X} \quad \ldots \\
\text{Head} \quad \text{complement} \\
\text{(lexical category)}
\]

*Figure 2: X-bar structure*

For Modern Portuguese, this means that a transitive main clause will be generated as in fig. 3:

\[
\text{IP} \\
\text{O João}_{i} \quad \text{I'} \\
\text{comeu}_{j} \quad \text{VP} \\
\text{t}_{i} \quad \text{V'} \\
\text{t}_{j} \quad \text{NP} \\
\text{O bolo}
\]

*Figure 3.*

Figure 3 is an illustration of the S-structure in (1) in modern Portuguese.

(1) João comeu o bolo

*John ate the cake*

The D-structure is \[\text{VP O João comer (eat-INF) o bolo}\] which is indicated by the traces marked with small i and j in the tree structure. Because it is assumed that all NPs must be assigned (abstract) Case³, and that the nominative case attributed to subjects is in SpecIP, the Subject must move to this position. The verb moves to a position where it becomes inflected, in

² A minimalist approach will use a different model of representation. It also involves less movement of arguments than the theory of principles and parameters. More arguments are allowed to stay in their base (D-structure) position. This is relevant when we compare Costa’s (2004) analysis of modern Portuguese with earlier analyses.

³ Case, usually written with a capital C is an abstract case and does not need morphological marking.
I(NFL). One of the main discussions in Chapter 7 is whether the verb stays in this position or moves further up, to C. If we look at the tree in figure 1, we see that there is only one open slot before C, which is Spec, C. A typical analysis of verb second (V2) languages such as the Scandinavian languages and Dutch and German, is that the verb does in fact move to C, and that this is why only one element can precede it. A similar analysis has been proposed for earlier stages of Portuguese and will be discussed in Chapter 7.

### 2.2. Unaccusativity

The theory of unaccusativity was first proposed by David M. Perlmutter in 1978 (Perlmutter 1978). He based this article on a previous study of Portuguese verbs of existence (Perlmutter 1976) whose common feature was that the unmarked position of the subject was after the verb. Perlmutter called this phenomenon “subject downgrading”, assuming that the subjects had been right-dislocated and thus “downgraded” to objects. Later studies, for instance Burzio (1986) below, will analyse them as objects on deep structure level and then VS will be seen as the basic word order. When these verbs appear with SV order, it is because the subject has moved to a preverbal position.

Initially, the theory of unaccusativity was a syntactically based hypothesis that there are two kinds of intransitive verbs: unaccusative and unergative verbs. On a deep structure level, the unergative verbs are what we traditionally have perceived of as intransitive verbs, i.e. they have a subject and no object. The unaccusative verbs, on the other hand, have an object, but no subject on the deep structure level, thus resembling a transitive verb. However, the deep structure object will appear as a subject on the surface structure level. This is illustrated in the following formalisation:

\[
\begin{align*}
(2) & \quad \text{NP} \ [\text{vp} \ V] \\
(3) & \quad \ _{\text{vp}} \ V \ \text{NP}
\end{align*}
\]

In (2) the NP is a subject and thus an external argument to the verb, while in (3) the NP is an internal argument to the verb and is a typical object. In the following examples this is illustrated by two possible structures for the verb *break*. In (4) there is a transitive use of break with a subject and an object. In (5) there is only a subject which corresponds to the object in (4). In both cases, *the window* is an internal argument and a D-structure object as is
illustrated in (6) and (7). The example in (5) is of the verb break used in an unaccusative context.

(4) John broke the window
(5) The window broke
(6) John [broke the window]
(7) ___ [broke the window]

Burzio (1986) used the unaccusativity hypothesis to explain former “unexplained problems” of Italian: the distribution of auxiliaries and ne-cliticisation, which generally applies to transitive verbs, but also to some intransitive verbs.

Consider the two intransitive sentences (8) and (9):

(8) Giovanni arriva.
Giovanni arrives.

(9) Giovanni telefona.
Giovanni telephones.

(Burzio 1986:20)

The sentence in (8), with the unaccusative verb arrivare allows the construction in (10), while the sentence (11) with telefonare is not well formed:

(10) Ne arrivano molti.
Of-them arrive many

(11) *Ne telefonano molti.
Of-them telephone many

(Burzio 1986:20)

This construction, which is called ne-cliticisation, is only allowed with direct objects. The fact that the subject of an intransitive verb like arrivare also allows for this construction is explained by means of the unaccusative hypothesis: Molti is the D-structure object of arrivare, and therefore ne-cliticisation is possible. Burzio also notes that this is only possible if the subject is in object position. If molti precedes the verb, insertion of ne is ungrammatical as in (12):

(12) *Molti ne arrivano.

(Burzio 1986:23)

The distribution of auxiliaries is also determined by the same rule. The two verbs arrivare and telefonare have different auxiliaries to form the compound tenses: arrivare uses essere (to be), telefonare uses avere (to have):
(13) Giovanni é arrivato.
Giovanni has arrived.

(14) Giovanni ha telefonato.
Giovanni has telephoned.

(Burzio 1986:20)

In fact, *arrivare* groups with passive constructions as in (15) while *telefonare* groups with actives (16):

(15) Giovanni ha accusato Maria.
Giovanni has accused Maria

(16) Maria é stata accusata.
Maria has been accused.

Burzio goes on to show that while word order in Italian is relatively free, the orders in the following sentences, although seemingly similar, are generated in different ways. He uses the following examples:

(17) Molti esperti arriveranno
Many experts will arrive

(18) Arriveranno molti esperti
Many experts will arrive

(19) Molti esperti telefoneranno
Many experts will telephone

(20) Telefoneranno molti esperti
Many experts will telephone

(Burzio 1986:21)

Burzio argues that while the VS-positioning in phrase (20) results from rightward NP-movement, the position in (18) is base-generated, like *the window* in (7). And further that the word-order in (17) is a result of leftward NP-movement. Ambar (1992) analyses Portuguese in the same way.
The present thesis relies on the above analysis which states that single arguments of unaccusative verbs are in fact generated in post verbal position, and I follow Costa (2004) when he claims that when they appear post verbally they stay in their base position. When they are preverbal, they have moved to Spec IP. This is true for modern Portuguese and is also an adequate analysis for Old Portuguese as argued for by Fiéis (2003).

The basic view of unaccusativity held in this thesis is the one we find in Levin and Hovav (1995) They retain Perlmutter’s original hypothesis that unaccusativity is a syntactically represented but semantically determined phenomenon. One verb may very well appear in both unergative and unaccusative contexts and thus map with different syntactic structures as is shown in the following example from Italian.

(21) Mario ha continuato (*è)
    Mario continued

(22) Il dibattito è continuato (*ha)
    The debate continued

Here, an agentive argument like Mario does not behave like an underlying object, whereas the rather patient-like argument dibattito does. The semantic differences will show up in unaccusative diagnostics. Similarly, in the cases where one verb has different syntactic possibilities, the verb tends to have different semantic properties as well, as argued by Levin and Hovav (1995). In a corpus study this means that each example needs to be classified. While this did not in fact prove to be a great problem, we should be aware of it. First of all, an unaccusative diagnostics in one language is not necessarily transferable to a diagnostic in another language. We do not find exactly the same unaccusative verbs in all languages that have a syntactically expressed unaccusativity. The argument structure of a verb in one language is not necessarily the same in another language. Typical such verbs are “to like” which in English is transitive, while in Portuguese the direct object of the English sentence would be expressed by a prepositional phrase. In Latin it would be in nominative, that is, the case that is typically used with subjects.

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4 This thesis does not take a stand as to what Case, if any, is assigned to the argument of unaccusatives. Belletti (1988) argues in favour of a partitive case that is an inherent Case for post verbal arguments. This is refuted by Eguzkitza and Kaiser (1999) who claim that the arguments are assigned Nominative Case through movement.
This proved to be a theoretical problem more than a practical one. Only examples with verbs that are clearly unaccusative have been used in the main analysis. The unaccusative diagnostics available for Portuguese are listed below. While they, in turn, are not directly transferable to Old and Classical Portuguese this is more of a theoretical problem than a practical one.

Unaccusative verbs are not one homogeneous type of verbs. Like transitive verbs they do not all behave in the same manner. They may be divided into groups of verbs that display the same patterns. Levin and Hovav’s (1995) verb classification has been used to group the verbs, and will be outlined in Chapter 3.

Some verbs are not likely to occur more than a few times, perhaps only once in the present corpus. It is only as a member of such a semantic group that normally is unaccusative that something meaningful can be said about it. On the other hand, the verbs I have studied show rather large differences in behaviour, even though they may all be classified as “unaccusative”. A verb like faltar (to be missing) is much more likely to have a post verbal subject than chegar. Two possible explanations for this are that a) faltar, being a presentational verb, attracts a different kind of subject than chegar (to arrive), the other is that b) the different verbs have different syntactic properties.

Many scholars, among them Perlmutter (1976) and Givón (1988) treat existential verbs somewhat apart, pointing to their global tendency to have post verbal subjects and in many cases lack of agreement between verb and subject. Existential verbs have been singled out as one group. While they do not belong to the group of verbs that were picked out for study in this thesis, the Portuguese verbs ter and haver (to have) are typical such verbs when used as existentials in the sense ‘there is’. In standard Portuguese they appear in singular whether their (single) argument is singular or plural.

When unaccusativity is seen as a semantically based but syntactically expressed phenomenon, it implies that surface manifestations of unaccusativity, such as word order, are liable to change, while the semantic basis remains the same. Independent diagnostics for Portuguese as
well as for other Romance languages such as French (Legendre and Sorace 2003) hold participle constructions as a reliable source for determining unaccusativity.

In Modern Portuguese the following criteria from Mateus et al. (2003) may be used as diagnostics of unaccusativity. The first three are in accordance with Legendre and Sorace (2003) who argue that the only reliable test for unaccusativity in French is participle constructions. They serve to distinguish unaccusatives and transitives from unergatives. The fourth distinguishes unaccusatives from both unergatives and transitives.

- **absolute constructions with past participle (available for transitives and unaccusatives):**
  - unaccusative: chegado o João (come (past participle) John, i.e ‘after John came’)
  - intransitive: *rido o João (laughed John)
  - transitive: lido o livro (read the book)

- **predicative constructions (available for transitives and unaccusatives):**
  - o navio fundou – o navio está fundado
    (the ship sank – the ship is sunk)
  - o bebé nasceu – o bebé está nascido
    (the baby was born – the baby is born)
  - O João correu - *O João está corrido
    (John ran – John is run)
  - O João leu o livro – O livro estava lido
    (John read the book – the book is read)

- **pps used as attributive adjectives (available for transitives and unaccusatives):**
  - o navio afundado (é bonito)
    (the sunken ship)
  - o livro lido (é bonito)
    (the read book)
  - *o rapaz nadado (é bonito)
    (the swum boy)

- **nominalisations, agents ending in –or (not available with unaccusatives, only with transitives and intransitives since they require an external argument (agent)):**
  - leitor
    (reader)
2.3. The V2 hypothesis and Wackernagel’s law

2.3.1. The V2 hypothesis

Many Germanic languages are V2 languages, that is, they have the verb in second position in the clause. Old English and Old French are also analysed as V2 languages. There are different approaches to the V2 phenomenon: The traditional philological approach which always has the verb in second position was first proposed for Old French by Thurneysen (1892) as an observation of how the verb always followed the exordium, the initial element in a sentence. Pádua (1960) observed that inversion was frequent in her corpus and compared it to the Old French system. Some recent authors like Ribeiro (1995), and Galves (2000) see a similar development for Portuguese.

A traditional generativist analysis for V2 suggests that it is the result of verb movement to C, which only leaves room for one constituent in SpecCP. Adams (1989), however, does not see V2 effects in Old French as a result of an empty SpecCP that needs to be filled, but rather claims that ”V2 effects themselves, (...) are entirely epiphenomenal, the accidental consequence of two distinct and independent properties of grammar” (p.8). The two properties she refers to are verb fronting and the need for something to precede the verb. When both these properties are present in a language, a V2 effect will occur. The need for something to precede the verb is a consequence of heavy stress. Adams argues in favour of a eurhythmic principle:

(26) In languages with heavy stress, place stress on the initial constituent.

(Adams 1989 :9)

She combines this with the universal tendency in (27)
(27) Verbs do not take heavy stress, unless they are focused.

(Adams 1989 :9)

Combining these two premises, languages with heavy stress do not usually have sentence-initial verbs. According to Adams, this serves to explain why Celtic languages are not V2 because although they have verb fronting they do not have strong stress and do not therefore have as a target the rule stated above in (26). English is not a V2 language because it lacks verb fronting. Modern French lacks V2 effects because it lacks both Verb fronting in the syntax and strong stress. Old French, on the other hand, had both.

2.3.2. Null operators and covert pros

Old French has strong stress and verb fronting, the two properties necessary in a V2 language. The requirement that something has to precede the verb unless the verb itself is focused and has stress, leads to a variety of semantically "empty" pronouns and adverbials that fill the preverbal position. Small adverbs such as si, lors and or as well as the expletive pronoun il and demonstrative ço are examples of such "filling” words. Sometimes these elements do not appear as phonetic entities, but nevertheless are assumed to exist and may serve to fulfill the requirement that something precede the verb, thus maintaining the verb in second position. When the verb is focused and has stress, such as in yes/no questions, an empty operator is assumed to fill in the empty slot. Other times, a covert pronoun may do the same.

One characteristic of Italian and the Ibero-romance languages, is that the verb can appear without explicit subject, unlike French where the verb, even if it has zero valency (no arguments), requires a subject-like word before the verb.

(28. (a) Italian: (Giovanni / lui) piange. Piove. Piange.
   (a’) (b) Spanish (Juan / él) llora. Llueve. Llora.
   (b’) (c) Portuguese: (João / ele) chora. Chove. Chove.
   (c’) (d) French: Jean il plie. Pleure. Pleure.
   (d’) Il

Both French sentences require an overt, or expressed subject5. However, in the sentences (a), (b), (c), above, the subject can be omitted, and in (a’), (b’) and (c’), there simply is no expressed subject. Such languages are referred to as null-subject languages. When there is no

5 Although the subjecthood of il in (d’) is a matter for discussion, I will not enter into this problem here.
expressed subject, an underlying pronoun, referred to as *covert pro*, is assumed to fulfill the requirement that all sentences have a subject. This covert pro is then analysed as being preverbal in Old Portuguese verb-first sentences (Ribeiro 1995).

2.3.3. Clitic placement and Wackernagel’s law

Clitic placement in Romance has been studied as an effect of Wackernagel’s law which states that the second position is the least stressed position in Indo-European sentences and of the Tobler/Mussafia law that prevented clitics from taking initial position in a sentence.

There are two main theories concerning the placement of clitics: One holds that the placement is syntactically motivated, the other that the placement is restricted by phonetic rules. Recently, a third theory has been evolved by Costa and Martins (2003) which also takes morphological structure into account.

A phonetic approach to pronoun placement involves the supposition that unstressed elements need to “lean” on another element that has stress. If a clitic always needs to lean on something preceding it, then it cannot occur phrase-initially, but only after a phrase initial element with stress. The fact that in the Romance languages the clitic pronoun seldom appears sentence-initially is consistent with Wackernagel’s law. This type of analysis has been used to identify which arguments are actually parts of a clause and which occur outside the borders of a clause. If a verb is preceded by the clitic, whatever precedes the clitic must be part of the clause too. It cannot be a covert pro, because it has to have phonetic value. The complex question of pronoun placement in Portuguese is not the object of this study. Nevertheless, it will be used to argue that certain elements must be part of a clause while others are not.

Barbosa (2000) formalizes this and proposes the following prosodic constraint on clitics in European Portuguese:

\[(29) \quad *[\text{IntP} \text{ cl} \text{ V …}] \text{ IntP} = \text{Intonational Phrase} \]

\[(\text{Barbosa 2000:42})\]

This restriction basically says the same as the Tobler/Mussafia Law, because it prohibits clitics in the absolute beginning of sentences. However, it is more clearly linked to phonetic factors. According to Barbosa, a consequence of this constraint is that any element, even a subject that is not part of the same intonational phrase as the clitic and the verb, cannot permit proclisis. As such, preverbal subjects in EP do not occupy a position within the clause, but are
like topics, outside the clause. Barbosa suggests that they have not been moved to this position but are rather base-generated in front of the clause itself, with the following structure:

(30) \[[A Maria] [\_P telefonou pro,]]

Mary called

(Barbosa 2000:62)

Galves (2000), while disagreeing with Barbosa’s analysis for Modern EP, sees this type of analysis as well fitting for Classical Portuguese (in Galves defined as Portuguese between the 15th and the 18th century). While the main points in Galves analysis will be laid out in Chapter 7 under the discussion around a verb second stage for Portuguese, it is important at this point to underline the fact that this work considers clitic placement as dependent on stress factors, and as such can serve to determine clause boundaries. One of the underlying premises for this analysis is that clitics do not carry stress. This supports the assumption that the sentence initial position in Portuguese carries some sort of stress, since clitics do not occur in the beginning of a sentence in Old and Classical Portuguese.

2.4. Discourse structures

Three interrelated types of discourse relations are studied in this thesis: Topic and focus, given and new information, and definiteness. They are best seen as separate units. While there is often a mapping Topic – given information – definiteness on the one hand and focus – new information – indefiniteness on the other, for instance Gundel (1988), it is only the given – new information and the definiteness that do not involve a great deal of interpretation and thus are available as statistical material in a corpus study like this one. Even here, it is only the definiteness that can be properly asserted. Given – new information is to some degree open to interpretation. These two discourse factors will be described later on in Chapter 3 in the description of the analysis. In this chapter, I concentrate on topic and focus. Topic and focus are not morphologically encoded in Portuguese, and their status in the ordering of the constituents in a sentence is open to interpretation. Theoretically, in a sentence such as

(31) João chegou

John came

John can be either topic or focus or neither. While context normally would account for this, in some cases it is impossible to tell which value it has, because the text does not give enough
context for a reliable interpretation. In what follows, the view on topic and focus adopted in this thesis is outlined.

2.4.1. Topic

The term “topic” has been used with a variety of different meanings. It has been taken to be “what is being talked about”, “what is important” “old information”, “given information”, “a scene-setting” expression” (See Givón (1979) and Lambrecht (1994) for references). Focus is referred to as “new information”, “complement of topic”.

In this thesis I shall use Lambrecht’s (1994) definition of topic, since he distinguishes between “topic” and “topic expression”. This is a useful distinction in a null-subject language such as Portuguese, where the topic is incorporated in the verb inflection in 35% of the phrases (Vasconcellos 1992). Gundel (1988) refers to syntactic topic (topic expression) and pragmatic topic in very much the same way.

TOPIC: A referent is interpreted as the topic of a proposition if in a given situation the proposition is construed as being about the referent, i.e. as expressing information which is relevant to and which increases the addressee’s knowledge of this referent.

TOPIC EXPRESSION: A constituent is a topic expression if the proposition expressed by the clause with which it is associated is pragmatically construed as being about the referent of this constituent.

(Lambrecht 1994:131)

In relation to Lambrecht’s distinction between TOPIC REFERENTS and TOPIC EXPRESSIONS (Lambrecht 1994:127), a sentence may have a topic without having a topic expression. A TOPIC REFERENT is the referent which a proposition is about, whereas a TOPIC EXPRESSION would be the expression in the sentence that designates the referent. He illustrates this with the sentences below, where the topic referent is the person usually referred to as Pat, and the topic expressions are the words Pat, her and she:

(32) Pat said they called her TWICE.
(33) Pat said she was called TWICE.
(34) Pat said SHE was called.
(35) Pat said they called HER.

(Lambrecht 1994:127)

This is important because the topic referent can be referred to twice or more times in the same sentence, and can even be contrastive focus, in this case prosodically marked. Likewise, a topical referent introduced for the first time is likely to be focus of that sentence. In (36), an
old king is not a topic expression, who on the other hand is. But, the old king whom the sentence is about, is the topic referent that is being introduced for the first time.

(36) Once upon a time there was an old king who lived in a beautiful castle
(Lambrecht 1994:129)

The Portuguese equivalents to the phrases (32) and (33) would be (37) and (38).

(37) A Patricia disse que a chamaram DUAS VEZES
The Patricia said-3.SG that she-ACC called-3.PL TWICE

(38) A Patrícia disse que foi chamada DUAS VEZES
The Patricia said-3.SG that was called-3.SGFEM TWICE

Notice that in (37), the topic expression is an accusative pronoun, in (38), however, the equivalent topic expression to she is in fact not expressed in a pronoun, but it is rather implicated in the 3SGFEM form of the verb. In fact, most Portuguese clauses will not have explicit topic expression if the topic referent is the underlying subject of a verb. In (39), the only topic expression is the relative pronoun que, whereas the English translation needs personal pronouns

(39) Era uma vez um rei que vivia num castelo muito bonito. Não tinha filhos, e por isso andava sempre muito triste.
Once upon a time there was an old king who lived in a beautiful castle. He didn’t have any children, and because of that he was always sad.

There is a strong subject – topic correlation in Portuguese, and the topic referent in these sentences is usually referred to as “the underlying subject” of tinha and andava. Since there is no topic expression or explicit subject, one can of course not say anything about the word order in cases such as these. It is worth noting however, that this type of clause constitutes more than half of the examples in my corpus.

This fact, combined with relative vagueness of the meaning of the term “topic” – what a sentence is about as well as a lack of knowledge on prosodic factors for past stages of a language – makes it a difficult criterion to use in a statistical analysis.

Lambrecht also gives an account of the importance that prosody has on discourse and topic, clarifying the limitations a work such as this, based on written texts, will have to live with. He compares the impact that information structure has on language in English, French and Italian. He imagines a situation at a bus stop, where “At a bus stop, the departure of a crammed bus is delayed because a woman loaded down with shopping bags is boarding very
slowly. Turning to the impatient passengers in the bus, the woman utters the following sentence with an apologetic smile (The capital letters show the prosodic (focus) accent of the uttering):

(40) My CAR broke down.

(Lambrecht 1994:14)

In this situation, the new information given is the whole sentence, even though the focus accent falls on car. The topic, if there is one, is the woman who owns the car. But imagine she met a friend of hers on the same bus, who knew she had a car, and asked: What happened to your car? She would have to change the prosodic accent to:

(41) My car broke DOWN.

(Lambrecht 1994:19)

In this sentence, my car is topic, and the focus accent is on down. The only difference between the two sentences is in the prosody. If we compare what these two situations were to give us in Italian, we get:

(42) Mi si è rotta la MACCHINA.

(Lambrecht 1994:14)

(43) La mia macchina si è ROTTA.

(Lambrecht 1994:21)

Here, the situation is different: the prosody is the same, but the word order has changed. (It should be mentioned that Lambrecht considers la macchina an inverted subject in the traditional sense, and does not take into consideration the unaccusativity theory, which would have it an underlying object.) Looking then to the equivalent spoken French sentences, we find yet another way of expressing the topic-focus relation:

(44) J’ai ma VOITURE, qui est en PANNE.

(Lambrecht 1994:14)

(45) Ma voiture est en PANNE.

(Lambrecht 1994:14)
French has a grammatical constraint against the co-mapping of the pragmatic relation focus and the grammatical relation subject. Neither does it have the freedom in word order that Italian has, nor the prosodic freedom that English has. A canonical phrase like:

(46) Ma VOITURE est en panne.

(Lambrecht 1994:22)

with VOITURE as the topic, is prosodically ill formed.

We see that while English has strong grammatical constraints on word order, and the Italian word order to a great extent is controlled by information structure, French has a strong information-structure constraint and a strongly grammatically controlled word order.

A diachronic study like this, dealing with written texts only, will have trouble when taking focus accent and other prosodic features into consideration. According to Costa (2000), prosodic features do play some part in determining focus-topic relations in modern Portuguese. It is therefore necessary to look at the possibility of distinguishing such features in past stages of the language. In order to account for some stress related phenomena we can tentatively recur to theories such as Wackernagel’s law which will be outlined in Chapter 7.

It shouldn’t be overlooked that prosodic factors such as stress are well suited to mark spoken language, and that written language in many cases is not made to reflect such phenomena. What a listener would hear indirectly, for instance a change from the ordinary stress pattern of a sentence, would require additional interpretation from a reader. Because of this, we do not expect to find many examples of for instance free focus stress in a corpus of the type used here.

2.4.2. Focus

In this thesis, the term focus is closely linked to the concept of “new” information. While, for modern Portuguese, tests are available to determine such things as focus stress, and other types of intonation structures, this is not readily available information for Old and Classical Portuguese. While some prosodic structures that may be induced from textual data will be

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6 Portuguese has a somewhat similar constraint: when the subject is new information it must stay within VP (unless it is contrastive focus, in which case other rules apply).

7 We should also consider to what degree prosodic features may enter a written text. Some prosodic features, such as marked stress, are more likely to be used in speech than in writing where we are dependent on the reader’s interpretation of a text to get the intended prosody. In the present work certain types of written material, such as plays or speeches or dialogues, are more likely to need such prosodic interpretation than plain prose texts.
discussed in a later section in this chapter, focus stress is only testable in Modern Portuguese. Tests such as focus diagnostics in Rochemont and Culicover (1990)

   In a well formed simple question – answer sequence, all and only the information provided in the response that is not contained in the question is focused.

   (Rochemont and Culicover 1990:19)

work well only when native speakers are available to confirm the well-formedness. Similarly, a definition along the lines of for instance Lambrecht (1994) below

   FOCUS: the semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition.

   (Lambrecht 1994:213)

works only in part for corpus linguistics of the present kind where statistics play a large role. According to Zubizarreta (1998), the presupposed part of a sentence is the shared assumptions of speaker and hearer at the point at which the sentence is uttered in discourse. What is presupposed is very often impossible to determine for older texts. Even for modern texts such as newspapers, it is sometimes difficult to establish what exactly are the shared assumptions. So while single examples may be analysed according to the descriptions of topic and focus above and may be used as examples, they cannot be used for statistical purposes because not all examples may be analysed.

While focus is almost always linked to new information, different definitions of the term have been used by different authors. Gundel (1988) links it to comment, saying that focus is the part of the sentence which encodes the comment, comment being a part of the Topic – Comment structure.

Lambrecht distinguishes this semantic notion of focus from the manner in which the semantic notion is expressed – that is the “syntactic domain in which it is expressed and the prosodic means whereby this syntactic domain is marked, i.e. the means of sentence accentuation.”

In addition to the focus described above, which is often referred to as information focus, there is also what is sometimes called contrastive focus. In Modern Portuguese, contrastive focus may or may not have an effect on the word order, but it always has prosodic marking. While this will be discussed in Chapter 6, it should be stated here that the given – new dichotomy only refers to information focus.
2.4.3. Stress and discourse structures

Gundel (1988) points out the importance of the use of sentence stress to encode Topic – Comment structures in languages around the world. In her sample, the manner in which stress is used for this encoding was the same across all the genetically different languages. Primary stress always fell on the focus, or on the part of the sentence that encodes the comment. A secondary, high pitched accent could fall on a new or contrastive topic. Also, “the constituent within the focus that receives primary stress is the same across languages regardless of word order.” This is consistent with Lambrecht’s analysis of topic structures in section 2.4.1. above.

Gundel also points out that in presentational sentences, where there is no overtly expressed topic, English has SV order, while for instance Russian has VS. In both languages, however, the stress will fall on the subject. The same is true for transitive sentences with broad focus, where the primary stress will fall on the object.

With Gundel’s analysis we have two possible ways of encoding stress: It can be in a fixed place in the sentence, and the constituents that receive stress move to that place, or, if the word order is fixed, stress itself can be put on any constituent. Portuguese has focus stress in sentence final position. This is compatible with non-fixed word order.

2.5. Syntactic change and reanalysis

The last theoretical section is on theories of linguistic change. Central to this thesis is the concept of reanalysis. The following two quotes from Harris (1995) and Faarlund (2000) illustrate two central concepts in this field:

“Reanalysis is a mechanism which changes the underlying structure of a syntactic pattern and which does not involve any modification of its surface manifestation”.

(Harris 1995:50)

“The theoretical notion of reanalysis is based on the assumption that a given surface manifestation allows more than one syntactic analysis”.

(Faarlund 2000)

A central question in this thesis is what the syntactic status of post verbal arguments of unaccusative verbs is. It will be assumed that it is ambiguous in modern Portuguese because these arguments may map with either subjects or objects, as argued by Costa (2004). However, it is probable that this type of ambiguity has existed all along and that it is only a matter of when which verbs enter into this “ambiguity”. One of the initial questions I wanted
to study was a possible grammaticalisation of discourse structures, where a Topic – Comment structure became a Subject – Verb structure and where even arguments of unaccusatives grouped with subjects of other intransitives and transitives rather than with the object of transitive verbs. Costa (2004) has argued that both these mappings are possible in modern Portuguese. In fact, the argument of unaccusatives may be generated in three different ways:

A. In SpecIP
B. As an argument of V that receives case in situ\(^8\) and thus agrees with the verb
C. As the syntactic object of an expletive verb of the type we find in French “il est venu trois hommes”

While all these three structures existed in older Portuguese (the last one only with ter and haver in my corpus) it seems that A is much more common today than it was in the 16\(^{th}\) century. In fact, the restrictions on VS are seemingly more rigid today than they were in classical Portuguese. On the other hand, the structure in C is only found with ter and haver in the corpus, but is found with all kinds of unaccusatives in modern colloquial Portuguese.

Language change is not seen as a linear development in the sense that it is one process that goes from A to B. A description of language change that follows such a pattern is only seen as a theoretical outline. Different structures live side by side and may do so for centuries. Authors that belong to the same period may vary greatly in their linguistic expression. And, as was pointed out for Latin by Pinkster (1991), word order varies not only from author to author, but also within the works of each author, such as the difference between Cicero’s speeches and Cicero’s philosophical works. The same is true for one of the authors in the present study, Padre António Vieira, whose style in the sermons differs considerably from his letters (Galves 2002). While this is an argument against using statistical material in this way to prove when a syntactic change took place, it is still true that unaccusatives in Portuguese go from a predominant VS pattern to a predominant SV pattern. This reflects a change that is the result of a reanalysis of a Topic – Comment structure as an SVO structure. Because a subject usually coincides with the topic, in a Topic-Comment structure, the subject will in most cases be preverbal and located directly before the verb. A reanalysis of the topic position as the subject position as illustrated in (47) is thus not unlikely to happen.

\[
(47) \quad [\text{SpecCP Topic\textsubscript{subj}} | c \ V \ldots > [\text{SpecIP Subject} | I \ V \ldots
\]

\(^8\) Earlier in this chapter subjects were required to move to SpecIP where they received nominative Case. In minimalist theory, it may also receive Case in its basic position without having to move.
Arguments for and against such an analysis will be put forward in Chapter 7.

2.6. Conclusion

The theoretical framework outlined here is composed of four different parameters that need to be combined in order to explain word order.

1. Semantic structures: unaccusativity is semantically based

2. The syntactic structures: the generative framework is used as a model for language description.

3. Phonology and prosody: It is assumed that stress may be linked to certain syntactic positions and that stress may be moved about. These two types of stress do not indicate the same thing in one and the same language, even though they may exist in one and the same language as markers of two different discourse phenomena (such as contrastive focus stress vs. ordinary sentence stress).

4. Discourse structures. These are seen as independent from syntax because they each represent a specific interpretation of information structure. The encoding of these structures may be prosodic or may be expressed by word order.

All these structures may change: While the semantic basis for unaccusativity remains the same, verbs may go from one semantic category to another, or they may belong to different categories for instance when they may be either transitive or unaccusative depending on the context. As for the points 2, 3 and 4, not only may there be modifications within each structure, their relative importance to each other is also liable to change. Theoretically, a language may go from being syntactically subject-oriented to being discourse-oriented.

Theoretically, a language with a rigid SVO word order is likely to have a VS order with unaccusatives if the argument maps with the object and thus manifests surface unaccusativity, and SV order if it maps with the subject. In languages where word order is determined by other criteria we would expect more variation. In this thesis it is assumed that while syntax plays a part in the mapping of the arguments (in this case the mapping of the argument of unaccusatives as “subject with some object properties”), it is discourse structures that in the end may determine the output in each case. These discourse structures are not necessarily
encoded in the syntax but may also be encoded through prosodic features. Prosodic features such as sentence final focus stress may in turn affect the word order, because even though they are not part of syntax, they may be restricted to certain syntactic domains.
3. Methods and Material

3.1. The Corpus

The main corpus used for this thesis is the following:

- 20th century Portuguese:
  1. 4 editions of Público online, a Portuguese newspaper
  2. A collection of Portuguese short stories
- 16th-19th century Portuguese: texts from the Tycho Brahe parsed corpus of Portuguese texts, as listed in the bibliography
- Additional texts from the last half of the 19th century to complete the diachronic picture

All the texts in the Tycho Brahe Corpus exist as plain texts. Some, but not all are available in morphologically tagged form. The plain text files have been used in the main analysis. Morphologically tagged texts have been used to find the position of certain word classes such as auxiliary verbs and adverbs.

In addition to the above mentioned corpus, additional data from web pages, in particular internet blogs, were used to illustrate certain points. These texts do not constitute part of the main corpus however.

There are several methodological problems connected to “googling” the weblogs. Because we do not know the identity of the writers, we do not know their age, their origin (they need not even be native speakers) or their social background. We don’t know the size of the corpus, only that it is vast, nor in which way it can be said to be representative of the Portuguese

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9 The texts studied in this thesis were chosen among those readily available online in digitalized form at the beginning of this project. The material might have been chosen somewhat differently if more texts had been available at that point in time. As it was, new texts were added to the corpus as they were being published online, this seemed to be the best way to get as representative a corpus as possible, with as diverse texts as possible from all periods of the Portuguese language. Some texts, in particular those that were studied at the beginning of this project, have much longer excerpts than those that were added later. This implies that these texts are statistically overrepresented in the period they belong to. However, in the beginning of chapter 4, the number of examples from each text are stated, and thus indicate their relative importance.
language because we do not know in what way the texts are representative of the Portuguese speaking population. The following considerations were taken when this information was gathered: The searches were limited to pages in Portuguese language from Portuguese domain servers, that is, their address ends with .pt. This is to avoid Brazilian and other variations of Portuguese. The texts where the examples found were read through in case they turned out to be written by a foreigner or a Brazilian.

3.2 The Analysis

Sentences with unaccusative verbs were copied into Filemaker files and analysed according to the criteria described below.

1. Type of clause
2. Type of verb and verb forms
3. Introductory element
4. Animateness of the subject
5. Definiteness and referentiality of the subject
6. Information value
7. Heaviness
8. Other constituents of the clause that may constrain the word order, such as adverbials and predicatives
9. Semantic classification of the verbs

3.2.1. Type of clause

Different restrictions apply to the word order in main clauses and subordinates, as well as in questions, imperatives and optative sentences.\textsuperscript{10} Cf. Pádua (1960), Schellert (1958), Fiéis (2003) among others. Given the relative scarcity of clauses of this type (i.e. questions, imperatives and optatives) in my corpus, they will not be dealt with in this work, except as supporting examples in the discussion around whether Portuguese has passed through a V2 stage. For instance Ribeiro (1995) argues that the word order in WH-questions in modern Portuguese is a V2 remnant.

\textsuperscript{10} Such as \textit{viva Deus!} – may God live!
The subordinate clauses examined here are those with finite verbs and infinitives. The word order is fixed or almost fixed in subordinate clauses that have a gerund as their main verb and in the so-called absolute constructions with past participle (*chezadas as cartas – the letters having come*). Although the word order in these sentences is not insignificant, statistical evidence would not shed light on the diachronic process because my corpus indicates that the word order is the same in all periods.\(^{11}\)

3.2.2. Type of verb and verb forms

Different forms of verbs allow for different word orders. I have already mentioned gerunds: in addition to being the sole verb in an adverbial clause, they can be the main verb in a verbal periphrasis, as can past participles and infinitives. These periphrases fall outside the scope of the present study, with the exception of complex verb forms that are part of the verbal paradigm, i.e. forms of *ter* or *haver + past participle*. Forms like *tinha/havia feito* – ‘I/(s)he had done’, do not allow for subject insertion between the two verbs in modern Portuguese.\(^{12}\) In fact, the same restrictions apply to the subjects of these periphrases as to the subjects of simple forms.

There are restrictions on what type of words may be inserted between the two verbs: In my 20\(^{th}\) century corpus, only clitics and some adverbs appear in this position.

(1) O encarregado *tinha-lhes pedido* que trouxessem cargas explosivas (Público)

(2) Pegando nas palavras de Clinton, *terá realmente acabado* “um velho jogo”, … (Público)

(3) Poucos *tinham já passado*… (Fialho de Almeida)

In Classical and Medieval Portuguese, however, it was possible to put the subject in this position, and although my files with unaccusative verbs show few examples of this, they are found in other parts of the corpus, as in (4)

(4) …assim quando o Imperador chegou, *tinham éles feito* mui grande estrago nos inimigos. (Couto, Décadas)

\(^{11}\) A subordinate clause with a gerund and an expressed subject is VS. If the subject precedes the gerund, the clause with the gerund would normally be interpreted as an adjectival modifier of the subject: *já tinha perdido a mór parte de seus Reinos, não lhe ficando herdeiros* (Couto Décadas) (“He had already lost most of his kingdom because he had no heirs”) vs *O Barnagais, (…) chegando aos nossos, que andavam como leões, baralhou-se com éles* (Couto, Décadas) (“Barnagais, as he reached our men, who were fighting like lions, threw himself in amongst them…”)

\(^{12}\) Although Ambar (1992) claims that for modern Portuguese, the following sentence is felicitous: *Ontem tinham os técnicos chegado a Lisboa* (p. 130) no such examples were found in my 20\(^{th}\) century corpus.
The other types of periphrases are the ones where the unaccusative verb is an auxiliary, and is no longer unaccusative, periphrases with the verbs *mandar* (to order), *deixar* (to let) and *fazer* (to make) + infinitive and *ver* (see), *ouvir* (hear), *sentir* (feel) + infinitive. These periphrases are not part of the present study.

Some verbs appear in both transitive and intransitive contexts. Fiéis (2003) has studied verbs that may appear both as unaccusatives and as transitives depending on the context they are in. Comparing the transitive and unaccusative version of the same verb, some verbs will have different meanings in each context, as outlined in Chapter 2. I have therefore limited the analysis of the verbs in question to where they appear as unaccusatives, grouping transitive uses together with “ordinary” transitives and only studying them in a short section in Chapter 4.

3.2.3. Coordinating and subordinating conjunctions

From Schellert (1958) we learn that main clauses beginning with the conjunction *e* (and) have a larger proportion of postverbal subjects (37.3%) than those that have no such introductory word (16.4%) or those that are introduced by the conjunction *mas* (but) (9.9%). In dependent clauses, postverbal subjects after *onde* (where) are more common (33%) than after *que* (which) and other relatives (17.2%) and non pronominal *que* (that) (9.3%). For this reason, types of coordinating and subordinating conjunctions were also taken into account in the analysis.

Keeping Tobler/Mussafia end Wackernagel’s law in mind, the fact that coordinating conjunctions may be followed by a clitic pronoun further suggests that even the coordinating conjunction *e* may play a phonetically important part in a clause. This is especially important in relation to the hypothesis that Portuguese has gone through a stage of V2, where it is necessary to establish which elements may count as first constituent of a clause and which should remain outside of the clause in the analysis.

13 Only the sentences where the verb immediately follows the conjunction are counted. Clauses where another element such as an adverb or an object comes between the conjunction and the verb are not counted in Schellert’s percentages.
3.2.4. Animate and inanimate subjects

Statistically there is a universal tendency for subjects to be animate and objects to be inanimate. This is mainly because of the correlation Subject – Agent, and because an Agent is likely to be animate, usually human. However, agentivity as classification would lead to a circular argumentation since there is a certain probability that the word order in itself would result in more or less “agentive” interpretations. This was already noted by Schellert who uses a distinction along the lines Harri Meier (1937) proposed for Medieval Spanish between “personal perspective” (personaler Perspektive, Personenhandlung) with the word order SV and “verbal perspective” (verbale Perspektive, Geschehen) with VS.

The single arguments of unaccusative verbs would be expected to fall somewhere between subject and object with regards to animacy. Change of state verbs such as *abrir* (to open) in an unaccusative context would be expected to have predominantly inanimate subjects, whereas verbs of movement would be expected to have more animate subjects. One hypothesis in this thesis is that a former VS structure with unaccusative verbs was mainly syntactically motivated and that a change in word order has co-mapped subjects of transitive verbs with single arguments of unaccusatives. It would not be suprising to find that this change first occurred with animate arguments since they are the most subject-like. We would then expect to find that unaccusative verbs that often take animate subjects, such as verbs of movement, would have more SV than change of state verbs with a single argument.

This is supported by the claims of Bauer (2000) who summarizes Dixon (1994) and (1979) and Comrie (1978) with regard to animateness and its correlations with split ergativity: where split ergativity occurs, “nominative marking will be limited to elements highly placed on the scale of animacy” and that accordingly “the spreading of nominative marking first affects animate elements” (pp. 39-40). Although these observations are linked to morphological case marking, it is not improbable that they can be transferred to syntactic marking by word order.

3.2.5. Definiteness and referentiality

Definiteness is often linked to topichood and old or given information. There is also a correlation between animacy and definiteness in universal hierarchies (Comrie 1989), (Croft 2003)
It proved useful to distinguish demonstrative and personal pronouns from other subjects because of their inherent referentiality. Schellert notes that when a personal pronoun subject is postverbal, it is emphazised. Pádua, who did not take subject properties such as animacy and definiteness into consideration, and only to a small degree the information status in order to explain peculiar examples, does see a distinction between noun subjects and pronoun subjects. She also observes that preverbal strong object pronouns in subordinate clauses, quite frequent in medieval texts, no longer remain in use except in set phrases whereas the weak object pronouns do. Meyer-Lübke (1974) also notes that the object pronoun *esto*, when it is an object, is preverbal.

En portugais, il y a peut-être à noter que, dans les premiers temps surtout, le neutre *esto*, employé comme régime, précède le verbe… (Meyer-Lübke 1974 p. 842)

Among Pádua’s listed examples, there is only one example from the 14th century with preverbal object that is not a weak object pronoun or *esto*. Because of the specific behaviour exhibited by the different types of pronouns, it seemed reasonable to distinguish them from other subjects.

I have used the following classifications of definiteness, based on the hierarchy taken from Croft (2003): definite<specific<nonspecific

- personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns (*este, esse, aquele*)
- proper nouns (names) (whether preceeded by definite article or not)
- definite: nouns, pronouns, numerals that are preceeded by the definite article
- numerals
- indefinite pronouns14 (*todo (all), tudo (everything), outro (other), mesmo (same), muito (much/many), pouco (little/few), ninguém (noone), nada (nothing), nenhum (no), qualquer (any), algum (some), alguém (somebody), alguma coisa (something), algo (something), cada (every) etc.)*
- indefinite: nouns that are preceeded by indefinite article or no article

14 In traditional Portuguese grammars, these are classified together as one group, then described one by one or in groups of two or three. They do not behave uniformly with regard to information value, and are analysed as definite or indefinite depending on whether they are preceded by a definite article or not. The reason for keeping them separate from the other subjects is that they, in modern Portuguese, cause procliticisation and therefore may be expected to show specific behaviour in other analyses as well.
3.2.6. Information value of the subject

Information value has proven important for Portuguese word order. For instance Costa, (2000; 2004), Berlinck (1997), Naro & Votre (1999). I have used four different categories to classify information value:

(i) subject previously mentioned

(ii) subject referring to something previously mentioned, as in (5)

(5) Seis pessoas morreram ontem na sequência da explosão de uma bomba num autocarro no Estado do Penjab, no norte da Índia. O rebentamento, que feriu 25 outras pessoas, ocorreu quando a viatura circulava entre as cidades de Pathankot e Jammu, a capital da Caxemira indiana. (Público)

where o rebentamento is referring to the previously mentioned explosion, even though the actual word itself was not mentioned.

(iii) part of subject previously mentioned (some new information), which often will be interpreted as contrastive focus such as in (6)

(6) Entretanto, prosseguem as obras de construção do edifício, desenhado pelo arquitecto Frank O. Gehry, situado na margem da ria da cidade basca. “O interior está terminado”, disse o porta-voz e assegurou que o resto ficará pronto nos primeiros dias de Setembro. O início das visitas privadas está previsto para o próximo dia 3 de Outubro, enquanto a abertura ao público ocorrerá duas semanas depois, no dia 18. (Público)

In the above example, one part of the subject of ocorrerá, a abertura, is referring to the previously mentioned visitas. However, the other part of the subject, ao público is not the same as privadas, rather it contrasts with it.

(iv) subject not previously mentioned (completely new information)

3.2.7. Heaviness of the subject

Pádua (1960), referring to Cressot (1974), claims that in Old Portuguese, longer elements tend to follow shorter ones. She sees this mainly in connection to the placement of adverbs, and as such modal adverbs of a certain extension will be placed last in the sentence, whereas shorter adverbials of space such as ali (there), cá (here), lá (there) or of time such as já (already) will have a different placement. Heavier elements with proper accentuation will dislocate more easily than less independent elements. (Um elemento frásico de maior “massa” adquire correspondente independência de acentuação, pois tem um acento próprio e exclusivo. Daí o formar um bloco com maior capacidade de se deslocar dentro da frase (p. 29))
“heaviness” restriction can be observed both in the sentence and within phrases. Pádua did not study heaviness as an independent criterion for word order, but she did comment that in example (7) the subject is placed after the verb because it is followed by a relative clause.

(7) "Streyta he a carreyra que aduz e trage o home~ aa uida perduraul…” (Reg de S. Bent., XI – Bol. da Cl. de Let. vol. XIV, p. 258) (apud Pádua 1960:55)

Hawkins (1990; 1994) suggests a relation between word order and phonological heaviness. “Heavy” subjects would be more likely to appear in postverbal position, “light” subjects appear more easily before the verb. It is, however, difficult to distinguish heaviness from new information: A subject with more phonological content is likely to contain more new information than one with less phonological content. If in a language new information is located after the verb, it is just as likely that heavy subjects appear postverbally because of their information status than because of phonological heaviness.

Hawkins’ argumentation is as follows:

The examples (9) and (11) below, (examples taken from Hawkins’ (1990) 8b (9) and 11b (11) are more likely to occur because it takes the hearer less time to register the constituents than in the examples 8a (8) and 11a (10) 16. In 8a, it is necessary to go through the whole NP some friends that John had brought to the party in order to reach the PP. This takes longer time than to listen through the PP to Mary in order to get to the NP.

(8) 8a. I [VP[introduced [NP[some friends that John had brought to the party]] [PP[to Mary]]]

(9) 8b. I [VP[introduced [PP[to Mary]] [NP[some friends that John had brought to the party]]]

(Hawkins 1990:228)

And

(10) 11a. s [That Bill was frightened] [VP[surprised [NP[Mary]]]]

(11) 11b. s [It [VP[surprised [NP[Mary]] s [that Bill was frightened]]]]

(Hawkins 1990:231)

The last example is especially relevant. Although heaviness is not a criterion in my database in the sense that syllables of each subject have been counted, subjects that have been modified

15 The same has been observed for English, for instance in Bech’s (2001) corpus of Middle English, ”clausal” subjects are always postverbal, except for one example from LME (Late Middle English).

16 This is because of the constituent recognition domain which Hawkins (1990:229) defines as follows: "The constituent recognition domain for a node X is the ordered set of words in a parse string that must be parsed in order to recognize all ICs [immediate constituents] of X, proceeding from the word that constructs the first IC to the left to the word that constructs the last IC on the right, and including all intervening words."
by adjectival clauses and thus have more phonological output, have been singled out in case they show a different pattern than other subjects that are similar with regard to animacy, definiteness and information value.

The heavyness constraint can also be used for other constituents that are described in 3.2.8. For instance, the difference between Verb – Adverb – Subject and Verb – Subject - Adverb may be explained by means of parsing. The data provided by Berlinck (1997) from her corpus from the 18th and the 19th century may support this claim. While Berlinck herself suggests that postverbal elements are organized according to informational status, the examples she cites might just as well be interpreted in terms of weight. Support for this claim is also found in modern Portuguese, see Frota and Vigário (2002).

3.2.8. Other constituents

Preverbal elements are generally acknowledged to provoke inversion. For classical Portuguese, Silva Dias (1970) points out that when the verb is preceded by a demonstrative object pronoun, the subject is located after the verb. This type of inversion also happens when a predicative adjective precedes the verb.

The other constituents in question are adverbs, predicatives and clitic pronouns. The question of whether adverbs may influence the position of the subject is especially relevant with regards to the possibility of Medieval Portuguese being analysed as a V2 language. Some adverbials have specific properties, such as the short adverbs that in modern Portuguese cause proclisis and may somehow “count less” than others in a V2 analysis.17 Others are adverbial clauses that may or may not be interpreted as part of the clause. Others again are adverbs on –mente (equivalent to English –ly as in frequently) whose influence on word order depended on which constituent of the sentence the adverb was connected to. According to Schellert (1958) an adverb on –mente that modified the verb or the whole sentence would be more likely to occur in initial position in a sentence with a postverbal subject, whereas in sentences with no such semantic connection, we find the order Adverb (A) – Subject (S) – Verb (V). He also argues that subject inversion in AVS clauses may have to do with the semantic connection between the verb and the adverb. This is not only true with adverbs of manner but also with some temporal adverbs.

17 Cf. For instance Vance (1995) who mentions two types of adverbs that do not trigger inversion, the sentential adverbs as well as a fixed set of adverbs, including ja and onques that may or may not trigger inversion.
Schellert also points to the difference in influence between local, modal and temporal adverbs, where local adverbs almost exclusively are followed by inversion, whereas temporal adverbs are much less likely to cause a change in word order. After temporal adverbs with unstressed ending, inversion is infrequent. Schellert interprets the unstressed ending as a kind of pause, prosodically equivalent to a modern comma.

Some adverbials are arguments and others are adjuncts, and the preposing of an argument will have different syntactic consequences than the preposing of an adjunct. Preposing of an argument will be a topicalisation, preposing of an adjunct will be adjunction. In the following example, for instance, the argument para Inglaterra (for England) does not easily occur before the verb while the placement of the temporal adverb este ano (this year) is more free.

\[(12)\quad \ldots o\text{ navio que este ano partiu para Inglaterra.} \\
\ldots the\text{ ship that this year left for England}\]

\[(13)\quad \ldots o\text{ navio que para Inglaterra partiu este ano.} \\
\ldots the\text{ ship that for England left this year.}\]

### 3.2.9. Semantic classification of the verbs

The verbs have been classified roughly along the lines of Levin & Hovav (1995): Existentials, verbs of movement and verbs of change of state. However, the verbs have different properties across these categories as well. Verbs of movement indicating “to arrive” are more likely to have a subject that has not been mentioned before and therefore are more likely to appear in VS. The opposite will happen with verbs indicating leaving or movement away from, where the subject is more likely to be known to the listener and therefore will occur more often in preverbal position. If this is true, a classification of a verb as a “verb of movement” is less interesting than whether it usually has a known or unknown subject. The same distinction may have a syntactic expression, for instance in Tortora (1996) there is evidence from the Northern Italian dialect of Borgomanerese of syntactic differences between unaccusatives within the class of verbs of inherently directed motion. Telic verbs such as arrive, come and return have a location or goal that needs to be reached in order for the action to be fulfilled. Atelic verbs such as go and leave do not have this entailed locative element.\(^{18}\)

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\(^{18}\) In Norwegian, this manifests itself in the following examples:
Det kom en mann – there came a man
*Det gikk en mann – there left a man
Det gikk en mann ut av døren. – lit: there left a man out of the door
In the last example, a locative element has been added and the sentence is felicitous.
In English, resultative verbs show deep unaccusativity whereas verbs of existence only show surface unaccusativity. It is not improbable that these two groups would display different patterns in other languages. They should not to be seen as one, homogenous group, but rather as several groups of verbs that have some traces in common.

Below, I have listed the verbs that have been picked out for this study, classified according to Levin/Hovav’s classifications. They have either been subjected to the tests for unaccusativity mentioned in Section 2.2. or they belong to the groups that may be identified as verbs of existence and appearance. For some of these verbs the tests do not work. The tests have been either search results from the corpus (from any period) or from searches in other texts that were found in electronic form. In the case of verbs of existence and appearance, they do appear in informal contexts such as weblogs without verb – subject agreement.


2. Verbs of existence and appearance.
   a) Verbs of existence: *existir* (exist), *sobrar* (remain), also non-existence *faltar* (lack, be missing)
   b) Verbs of appearance: *surgir* (surge), *começar* (begin), *rebentar* (burst), *levantar-se* (rise), *originar-se* (originate), *amanhecer* (dawn), *nascer* (be born)
   c) Verbs of occurrence: *acontecer, ocorrer, passar-se* (happen), *seguir-se* (follow)
   d) Verbs of disappearance: *desaparecer, sumir* (disappear), *morrer, falecer* (die), *acabar* (end), *parar* (stop)

3. Externally caused verbs of change of state:
   a) break verbs: *britar, quebrar, quebrantar, romper* (break)
   b) other alternating change of state verbs: *queimar, arder* (burn), *melhorar* (improve), *abrir* (open), *fechar, serrar* (close),

41
encerrar (lock), aquecer (become warm), esfriar (become cold), amarelecer (redden), empalidecer (turn pale), danar (hurt), sanar (heal)

Many of these verbs, and especially the change of state ones may occur in transitive contexts. Others may occur as reflexives or non-reflexive forms, in the case of passar, the verb is classified as a verb of motion when it is non-reflexive and as a verb of occurrence when it is unaccusative.

This list of verbs include many of the verbs in Fiéis’ (2003) study.¹⁹ Not all however, and because of the presupposition made here that unaccusativity and transitivity are semantically based, I see no need, like Fiéis does, to study “parallel” verbs, that is, verbs that may occur as either transitives or unaccusatives. In my list of verbs, there are (at least) two types of parallel verbs: the abrir (to open) type which is resultative and the passar (to pass) type which is not. Examples are given below:

resultative:

(14) João abriu a porta.  
John opened the door.

(15) A porta abriu.  
The door opened.

non-resultative

(16) João passou o rio.  
John crossed (passed) the river.

(17) O rio passou²⁰  
The river passed.

¹⁹ Fiéis’ verbs are: transitive/unaccusative pairs: acabar, arder, casar, começar, entrar, melhorar, partir, queimar, sarrar, tornar and other verbs: ajuntar, colgar, correr, danar, filhar, jazer, seguir, sentir.

²⁰ The verb passar has a complex set of meanings and constructions in Portuguese, as can be confirmed by any large dictionary.
4. An analysis of the material

This chapter contains an analysis of the sentences in my corpus with unaccusative verbs. The tables in section 4.1 present statistics that simply describe the frequency change in VS:SV positions as represented in the corpus. The other type of statistics aims at explaining circumstances that may have led to the rise of SV and the decline of VS. These statistics include adverb position, information structure and even some observations on sentences with transitive verbs. Since a main hypothesis put forward for Portuguese is that it has passed through a verb second phase, it is necessary to study the impact adverb placement has not only on unaccusative verbs but also on transitive and intransitive verbs. Ideally, the same restrictions should apply to sentences with all three types of verbs.

The statistics will show a change around the middle of the 18th century towards SV in modern Portuguese. They will show that adverb placement is a factor that can determine the placement of the subject. Other statistics, such as the placement of predicative adjectives, subject properties, animacy etc. which serve to support (or undermine) the hypotheses will also be presented here and in later chapters.

In section 4.1, each text is separately analysed for VS:SV with unaccusatives in main clauses and in subordinates. The texts are then split into periods of 50 years, where each period will be analysed with regard to its possible V2 status in main clauses. The instances of V3 and V1 are discussed superficially. A closer look at what they represent – such as different argument structures or different discourse patterns – will be discussed later, in respective chapters.

The numbers that are presented here refer to subjects that theoretically may appear in either pre or post verbal position. This implies that relative pronouns are not counted because they will appear preverbally anyway. Subjects as well as adverbs that are whole sentences do count, however, also the ones introduced by relative pronouns. As for the verbs, finite main verbs in both simple forms and complex forms with ter and haver count, but other verbal periphrases have been omitted, whether the unaccusative verb in question is a main verb or an auxiliary verb. Predicative constructions are also omitted, unless otherwise stated.
4.1. From the 16th to the 20th century: Preliminary observations.

From the 16th to the 20th century, there was a gradual increase in the number of preverbal subjects with unaccusative verbs.

If we look at separate figures for each text from the 16th to the 20th century and place the texts chronologically by the birth date of the author, we see a pattern emerge, where there is a gradual increase in post verbal subjects among the 16th century authors and a decrease among those born in the centuries that follow.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of birth</th>
<th>Author/text</th>
<th>Main clause</th>
<th>Main clause</th>
<th>Subordinate clause</th>
<th>Subordinate clause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1497</td>
<td>João de Barros</td>
<td>VS</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1502</td>
<td>D.João III</td>
<td>VS</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1510</td>
<td>Fernão Mendes Pinto</td>
<td>VS</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1517</td>
<td>Francisco de Holanda</td>
<td>VS</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1542</td>
<td>Diogo de Couto</td>
<td>VS</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>48</td>
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<tr>
<td>1556</td>
<td>Luís de Sousa</td>
<td>VS</td>
<td>22</td>
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<tr>
<td>1579</td>
<td>Francisco Rodrigues Lobo</td>
<td>VS</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1583</td>
<td>Manuel de Faria</td>
<td>VS</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>1584</td>
<td>António Brandão</td>
<td>VS</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1597</td>
<td>Manuel Pires de Almeida</td>
<td>VS</td>
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<td>VS</td>
<td>19</td>
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<td>Manuel da Costa</td>
<td>VS</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>44</td>
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<td>VS</td>
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<tr>
<td>1631</td>
<td>António das Chagas</td>
<td>VS</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>Manuel Bernardes</td>
<td>VS</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
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<td>1651</td>
<td>Cunha Brochado</td>
<td>VS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>1658</td>
<td>Maria do Céu</td>
<td>VS</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>1675</td>
<td>André de Barros</td>
<td>VS</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1676</td>
<td>Jerónimo contador de Argote</td>
<td>VS</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1695</td>
<td>Alexandre de Gusmão</td>
<td>VS</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1702</td>
<td>Cavaleiro de Oliveira</td>
<td>VS</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1705</td>
<td>Matias Aires</td>
<td>VS</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1714</td>
<td>António da Costa</td>
<td>VS</td>
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<td>1724</td>
<td>Correia Garçao</td>
<td>VS</td>
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<td>1733</td>
<td>Pina Manique</td>
<td>VS</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>1750</td>
<td>Marquesa D’Alorna</td>
<td>VS</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>1757</td>
<td>Rodrigues da Costa</td>
<td>VS</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1799</td>
<td>Almeida Garrett</td>
<td>VS</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1802</td>
<td>Marq. de Fronteira e Alorna</td>
<td>VS</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>1825</td>
<td>Camilo Castelo Branco</td>
<td>VS</td>
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<td>Ramalho Ortigão</td>
<td>VS</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>Eça &amp; Oliveira Martins</td>
<td>VS</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>1855</td>
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<td>VS</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>1857</td>
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<td>Júlio Dantas</td>
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<td>VS</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>VS</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Almada Negreiros</td>
<td>VS</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.1. The distribution of preverbal and post verbal subjects in main and subordinate clauses for each author/text in the corpus.

Instead of looking at each text, we divide the texts into periods of 50 years. This way we see more clearly the development of subject position and we see that the actual peak of VS is between 1550 and 1750. (If the numbers had been counted century by century and not in periods of 50 years, we would have been left with the impression that there was no change between 1500 and 1800. This table shows that such was not the case.):

Table 4.2. Number of inaccusative clauses with VS /SV in Portuguese texts from the 16th to the 20th century. The periods refer to the year of birth of the authors.

Table 4.3. Percentages of inaccusative clauses with VS /SV in Portuguese texts from the 16th to the 20th century. The periods refer to the year of birth of the authors.

The two tables above show that there was an increase in VS from the first half to the second half of the 16th century, followed by a period of 200-250 years of a predominantly VS pattern.
in main clauses, but with a quicker decrease in the subordinate clauses. From the “peak” period of VS, 1550-1599 to 20th century Portuguese, there is a development in the relationship between VS:SV that is from 3:1 to 1:2.5 in main clauses.

![Diagram 1 Percentages of VS:SV in main clauses.](image1)

![Diagram 2 Percentages of VS:SV in subordinate clauses](image2)

If we compare these statistics to Fiéis’ findings in Medieval Portuguese, they seem to continue the (rather small) decrease in SV in the 16th century. Fiéis’ non literary texts are from the 1st half of the 16th century, so we must suppose that some of the authors were born in the 15th century (the literary corpus is *Crónica dos reis de Bsnaga*, which is undated except from being from 16th century. It has an almost 50/50 proportion of SV:24 and VS:26). Perhaps the easiest way to see this is in diagram 3 below: For the first three centuries, I have used Fiéis’ data, for the first half of the 16th century I have used data from both our studies.

---

Fiéis has the following statistics for unaccusative verbs. They are not completely compatible with the numbers in this thesis, since they include Wh-words as subjects. The numbers in parenthesis refer to the percentage of wh-constituents (constituintes-Wh), calculated from the percentages of either SV or VS in question:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sec.</th>
<th>SV : VS</th>
<th>SV : VS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xiii</td>
<td>75.6% (58%) : 24.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xiv</td>
<td>76.1% (36%) : 23.8 % (10%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv</td>
<td>82.5%(63%) : 17.4 % (10%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xvi</td>
<td>67.1% (51%): 32.8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

21 Fiéis has the following statistics for unaccusative verbs. They are not completely compatible with the numbers in this thesis, since they include Wh-words as subjects. The numbers in parenthesis refer to the percentage of wh-constituents (constituintes-Wh), calculated from the percentages of either SV or VS in question:
and for the following centuries my own data. In order to make them as compatible as possible, this time both main and subordinate clauses are included in my numbers as well since they were inseparable in Fiéis’ calculations. The wh-constituents have been subtracted from Fiéis’ data.

Diagram 3: A comparison of Fiéis’ data with my own: Note that the figures become relatively distorted because while I operate with periods of 50 years, Fiéis operates with centuries. The dating in Fiéis’ material is based on the date of the document, while the data in my figures are based on the birth date of the author. This means that the documents in Fiéis’ corpus from the 16th century may very well be from authors born in the 15th century and as such, in my way of dating they would belong there. Even more so because Fiéis’ documents from the 16th century belong to the beginning rather than the end of the century.

One of the main hypotheses discussed in this thesis is whether or not Portuguese has passed through a stage of verb second. Central to this discussion is the placement of other constituents in the sentence: Deviations from a V2 pattern such as instances of V3 and V1 must be explained. Adverb placement is relevant in this respect. They occur in all possible positions: ASV, SAV, VSA, VAS, SVA, AVS.

Already by looking at the table above, we can make the following predictions: Given that the number of preverbal subjects increase in the 20th century, if all other conditions for word order were the same, we should expect a decrease in the number of V1 and an increase in the number of V3. This prediction turns out to be true. However, if we suppose that 16th century Portuguese was a V2 language, we would also expect the number of V1 sentences to be relatively small because in most cases some constituent is needed to fill the place before the verb. As we shall see, this is not the case: from the last half of the 16th century and for the next two centuries onwards, V1 makes up more than 20% of the sentences with unaccusative verbs.
If, following Adams, we suppose that V2 is an epiphenomenon resulting from verb fronting combined with strong sentence-initial stress\textsuperscript{22}, circumstances where one or both of these do not apply would result in a different order. In fact, all V2 languages have circumstances, where either V1 and/or V3 are found. We would, however, expect AVS and SVA order to be predominant.

If strong stress is lost, but verb fronting remains, we would expect an increase in V1 sentences. If strong stress remains, but verb fronting is lost, we would expect the clitic pronouns to remain in preverbal position. This point will be taken up again in the discussion around Wackernagel’s law in Chapter 7. We would also expect a larger number of V3 because there would be more free spaces to occupy before the verb.

If both verb fronting and strong stress are lost, we would expect an increase in V1 in unaccusative sentences as well as an increase in VS – which is clearly not the case. Other factors that determine word order may have taken over: As Costa has suggested for EP, pragmatic factors override syntactic ones, and focus stress is placed within VP. This will be discussed in Chapter 5.

4.1.1. Types of adverbs

In the following I shall distinguish between the types of adverbs that were outlined in Chapter 3:

1) the small sentence adverbs such as já, não, quase, ainda não, só, ainda nem, também, já não, nunca, quase não, também não. These phonetically “small” adverbs are the only adverbs that can occur between the subject and the verb in Modern Portuguese. An exception to this rule are some adverbs in –mente that may also occur in this position. In my corpus, there was difícilmente in the sense “hardly”. Otherwise, some sort of pause is required between the subject and the adverb, such as in (1):

(1) O João, neste momento não está.
   John; right now he isn’t here.

2) Adverbs that are arguments in the sentence and that in modern Portuguese have been topicalised when they occur preverbally.

3) Adverbs that are adjuncts and that surface more easily in preverbal position.

\textsuperscript{22} I shall suppose that Old Portuguese had some sort of sentence initial stress because of the position of the clitic pronouns. Unlike today, even subjects and in some cases even e could “front” these pronouns.
I shall suppose that these adverbs are also subject to information structure and sentence stress patterns. In other words, in Modern Portuguese, when they are in the beginning of a sentence they carry old information, when they are located at the end of a sentence they get focus stress and carry new information. This is especially true for the group 2 type of adverbs, the argument type. There is, however, also evidence that post verbal adverbs of the type *assim, nesse momento, este ano* are more accentuated when they appear post verbally and as such are subject to some of the same rules as the adverbs in group 2.

### 4.2. Subject positions in main clauses: Subject Verb Adverb

In the following section, the different positions of subject (S), verb (V) and adverb (A) are presented statistically for each period of 50 years. The problematic cases for a V2 analysis, are those with two or more preverbal elements and those with no preverbal elements. In each subsection, the occurrences of V1 and V3 are cited.

#### 4.2.1. Word order in the 1st half of 16th century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preverbal subject</th>
<th>Post verbal subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SV</td>
<td>SVA</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAV</td>
<td>ASV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>VS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AVS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VAS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VSA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>58</td>
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<td>(SAVA 7, SAVAA 2)</td>
<td>(ASVA 4, AASVA 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(AVSA 9, AVSAA 1, AVAS 8, AVASA 1, AAVS 1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 4.4. Word order in texts from authors born between 1457 and 1549. The numbers are for main clauses, with finite verbs.*

The following examples of V3 and V1 were found:

**V3**

**SAVA(A)**

(2) Inofre de Abreu vendo o perigo em que seu irmão estava, sem receio algum *rompeo* pelos Mouros, e apresentou-se diante do irmão… (Diogo do Couto *Décadas*)

(3) ElRei de Zeilá, que era muito bom cavaleiro, vendo o desbarato dos seus, *saiu* do esquadrão, e se passou à dianteira… (Diogo do Couto *Décadas*)
(4) Dom Estevão da Gama como estava tomado, e não corria com o Governador, passou-se pera a Ilha de João Pereira, donde se embarcou na entrada de Janeiro na nau Burgaleza (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(5) O Imperador na envolta dos nossos rompeo também nos inimigos, sendo dos primeiros que lhes puzeram as lanças… (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(6) Deus quando quiz pintar tudo o que vemos, como perfectissimo pintor, sobre a escuridade e treuas que cobria o grão retauolo do mundo, começou logo com o claro…. (Francisco de Holanda, Da Pintura Antiga)

(7) ..., e o mesmo Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha não tornou com as mãos vasias. (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(8) O barnagais, e mais Capitães Abexins nunca saíram dos vallos pera fora ajudar os nossos…(Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(9) e isto não nascia doutra cousa senã das permaticas que elles tinhão posto antre si, … (Francisco de Holanda, Da Pintura Antiga)

(10) Os hómens que vam a Paris e están no estudo pouco tempo, e fólgam de levár bõa vida, nam ficam com muita doutrina. (João de Barros, Gramática da língua portuguesa)

In example (4), the placement of the clitic suggests a possibility that we may be dealing with a V1 clause. This opens up possibilities of different interpretations of the examples (2)-(3) and (6) and perhaps even (5): The subject is a left dislocated topic, modified by an adjectival or adverbial clause or even a locative adverbial (5) as in the following structure: S A # V …, where # marks a clause boundary. An alternative interpretation of all these sentences is then V1. Data presented in Chapter 7 will show that both interpretations are in fact possible, since we find parallel examples of sentences that are introduced by an adverb where both enclisis and proclisis may follow. In fact we could even analyse some of the above examples as V2 with the following structure: S # A V … This type of structure is more common in 16th century Portuguese than it is in modern Portuguese, contrary to the ASV structure which, as we shall see, becomes more and more common.

Of the above examples, (7) - (10) have an adverb of negation between the subject and the verb. These sentential adverbs always appear directly in front of the verb or with a clitic pronoun inserted between the negation and the verb. As discussed in Chapter 3, they need not count as a constituent in a V2 language, and in the following sections, examples of this type, whether they are Subject – “small” Adverb – Verb or Adverb – “small” Adverb – Verb – Subject, will not be cited as examples of V3, even though they occur in the statistics as SAV and AAVS respectively.
ASVA or AASVA

(11) César e Pompéio e Hanibál foram os princípios capítaes do mundo e, deles, o primeiro morre às punhaladas e o segundo degolado e o terceiro com poço-nha. (João de Barros, *Gramática da língua portuguesa*)

(12) ... a Raynha buscou todos os meios possíveis para cumprir a sua palavra, mas por se não poder esperar o termo dos quatro dias que a Raynha pedira, pelo perigo dos muytos feridos que havia na armada, o Capitão mor se partio logo neste mesmo dia à tarde. (Fernão Mendes Pinto, *Perigrinação*)

(13) e sendo disto certificado Micael se partio de Roma a Florença, sua patria, deixando a obra imperfeita. (Francisco de Holanda, *Da Pintura Antiga*)

(14) E satisfeito este concerto por ambas as partes, a Batalha se tornou para sua terra, onde desfeiz logo o seu campo, & despidio toda a gente (Fernão Mendes Pinto, *Perigrinação*)

(15) E todavia sempre os Capitães ficaram na antiga posse de tomarem tôdas as drogas pela avaliação, que é cousa que lhe importava muito. (Diogo do Couto, *Décadas*)

One might argue that the examples (12) - (14) above are not examples of V3, but rather represent a structure A # S V where A is an adverbial clause that somehow is allowed to stay outside the clause structure, whereas other adverbs that are not clausal would have to be within the clause boundaries, such as in (11).

**V1**

There are relatively few examples of V1 from this period. Five of them are presentational constructions with *ficar*. In example (19), one could argue that the topicalized element before the verb, *O outro Bargantim....*, occupies the first position in the clause. The post verbal clitics suggest that this is not the case, however, since a preverbal element within the clause would have attracted the clitics and thus made them preverbal. I prefer to group this example with the next two examples, with *falecer* and *durar*. The verbs have in common that they have definite or demonstrative post verbal subjects. In other words, it is not because they are unknown entities that they occupy this position. They are inanimate or, at least have very little involvement in the action, as in (22), and this could be interpreted to have some impact on the subject placement. However, looking at the results from the next period, we find many examples of animate subjects of the same kind, making such an interpretation less probable.

The examples in (16) - (18) can all be felicitous answers to a question such as “what happened next?” In other words, they are plain, narrative sentences. This is also the case with example (22), but here the post verbal subject has an anaphoric pronoun, which makes a sentence focus interpretation difficult. It is worth noticing that the subject with the anaphoric pronoun
precedes the adverb. This is relevant to the discussion of whether the position of the post
verbal constituents are determined by information structure or heaviness restrictions. In this
case, both old before new (information structure) and short before long (parsing) can explain
the order. As we shall see, this is the case in most examples throughout the data.

VS

(16) Reinou êste Groduxá no Reino de Ormuz trinta anos, ficaram-lhe dous filhos, o
primeiro Torunxá, que reinou vinte e quatro anos, e o outro Mahamed Xá, que
sucedoo ao irmão por não ter filhos, que reinou vinte e nove. (Diogo do Couto
Décadas)

(17) A êste sucedeo Cobadixá seu filho, que reinou trinta anos; ficaram-lhe
dous filhos, Ceifadixá, que reinou vinte anos, e Torunxá, que herdou o Reino, (Diogo do Couto
Décadas)

(18) O outro Bargantim, em que ia Frei Jerónimo de Santo Estevão, da Ordem de Santo
Agostinho, acabaram-se-lhe os mantimentos, … (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

VAS

(19) Fica agora tratármos do poder deste nósso rei - vérbo - , …(João de Barros,
Gramática da língua portuguesa)

(20) fica agora vermos a quárta que é da construiçám. (João de Barros, Gramática da
língua portuguesa)

(21) Té qui tratamos particularmente de cada uma das nósssas lêteras; fica agora vermos do
til,… (João de Barros, Gramática da língua portuguesa)

VSA

(22) Êste reinava, quando Afonso de Albuquerque, sendo Capitão mór daquele Estreito,
foi ter a Ormuz os anos de 1507. Faleceo êste Rei sem deixar filhos,… (Diogo do
Couto Décadas)
4.2.2. Word order in the 2nd half of 16th century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preverbal subject</th>
<th>Post verbal subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>SV</td>
<td>VS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>VAS</td>
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<td>(ASVA 1, ASAV 1, ASA VA 1)</td>
<td>(AVSA 10, AAVS 5, AAVSA 1, AVAS 4, AAVAS 1, AAVAAS 1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.5. Word order in texts from authors born between 1550 and 1599. Finite clauses, main verbs.

V3 (V4)

AS(A)V(A)

There are three examples of AS(A)V(A) Two of them are with an adverb on –mente, the type that Schellert (1958) notes are adverbs least likely to cause inversion, and which is also the most frequently occurring type of adverb in V3 constructions in Old French.

(23) Primeiramente (continuou Leonardo) servidor já se passou das cartas para os retretes; (Francisco Rodrigues Lobo, Corte Na Aldeia e Noites de Inverno)

(24) Por isso Polinices no primeiro de Estácio, devendo forçosamente fazer relação de sua genealogia, corado de pejo começa: Cadmus origo patrum etc (Manuel Pires de Almeida, Poesia e Pintura)

(25) ... e ultimamente elRey se partio para Escocia l pella posta dando sua palavra aos Embaixadores (Manuel de Galhegos, Gazeta)

SAVA

One of these examples is with a “small” adverb. The others are as follows:

(26) O Conde de Alba de Liste, e o Marques de Alcanises l aos 19 de Octubro entrarão pella villa de Ifanes, … (Manuel de Galhegos, Gazeta)

(27) El Rey nosso Senhor em agradecimento deste peregrino aplauso (para que o povo o visse l devagar) parou no meyo das escadas. (Manuel de Galhegos, Gazeta)

(28) O Alferes Garcia Mendes por ordem delRey rompeo pela vangoarda dos contrarios, & arvorou o estandarte Real no (António Brandão, Da Monarchia Lusitana)

(29) E pobres em nenhuma mesa faltarão, se houver quem os queira por hospedes (Frei Luís de Sousa, Frei Bertolameu dos Mártires)
None of the above examples (26) - (28) would be acceptable today except in the interpretation of a topicalised subject.

AAVS(A)

Of the six cases of AAVS, four are with adverb + não. The two remaining are the following: (30) is with a topicalised indirect object, repeated later by the pronoun lhe, while (31) would not be a felicitous word order in Modern Portuguese except with a pause between the two adverbs.

(30) Porque aos que hão-de vir por mar que é a maior parte de seus vassalos, assi de Itália, e Flandres como do novo Mundo, África, e Índia, mais perto lhe fica qualquer porto do Oceano, (Manuel Severino Faria, Discursos)

(31) e ainda hoje daqui saem os galeões de estado da Coroa de Castela (Manuel Severino Faria, Discursos)

AAVAS

(32) E assi no Oceano ficam só três, de que se pode fazer conta, que são o Porto de Santa Maria, Sevilha, e Lisboa. (Manuel Severino Faria, Discursos)

V1

Already in this part of the 16th century there is a considerable increase in the number and percentage of V1. Many of the post verbal subjects are both previously mentioned and definite, contrary to what we would expect to find in modern Portuguese. All the following examples have previously mentioned subjects: (33), (35), (41), (46), (47), (48), (59) and (55), while (37) and (39) are referring to previously mentioned subjects. The one thing these main clauses seem to have in common, is that they may be felicitous answers to a question such as “And what happened next?” In other words, they represent the basic, narrative word order. Also, they are with past tense, which is the narrative tense.

VS

(33) Levantou-se Frei Bertolameu arcebispo e, com a mesma humildade com que se tinha prostrado na vénia, pediu licença pera falar e começou desta maneira: (Frei Luís de Sousa, Frei Bertolameu dos Mártires)

(34) Ocorria-lhe o que tinha lido nos santos, das grandes e precisas obrigações dos prelados; (Frei Luís de Sousa, Frei Bertolameu dos Mártires)
(35) **Cerrou-se** o frade, arrimado a seu parecer, e, resoluto em não querer nada do mundo, sintia pouco ficar havido por mau cortesão e descortês. (Frei Luís de Sousa, *Frei Bertolameu dos Mártires*)

(36) **Começou-se** um porfiado cerco. (Frei Luís de Sousa, *Frei Bertolameu dos Mártires*)

(37) A desesperação criava forças e esforço nos cercados: defendiam-se e ofendiam denodadamente; **morriam** muitos de ambas as partes, e dos nossos, assi naturais como estrangeiros, como acometedores e mais expostos ao perigo que plejavam de lugar descoberto, era sempre maior o número. (Frei Luís de Sousa, *Frei Bertolameu dos Mártires*)

(38) **Abriu-se** o comercio de Moscobia, …(Manuel de Galhegos, *Gazeta*)

(39) **Amanheceu** o venturoso dia, em que se contavão vinte & sinco …(António Brandão, *Da Monarchia Lusitana*)

(40) **Entrarão** tres naos de França, que sairão do porto de (Manuel de Galhegos, *Gazeta*)

(41) **Travou-se** a escaramuça , e **fugirão** os prisioneiros; (Manuel de Galhegos, *Gazeta*)

(42) **Morreu** o Conde de Odemira. (Manuel de Galhegos, *Gazeta*)

(43) **Morreu** o Padre Diogo de Areda, aquelle raro Pregador (Manuel de Galhegos, *Gazeta*)

(44) **Seguense** o anno do Senhor de 1139 memoravel pelo apparecimento de Christo nosso Salvador, (António Brandão, *Da Monarchia Lusitana*)

(45) Pregou o Arcebispo de Braga Dom Ioão, disse a Missa o Bispo de Coimbra Dom Bernardo, ouve huma procissão de grande apparato; **seguirão** canas, touros, & mais festas usadas em Espanha, as quais se continuarão por alguns dias (António Brandão, *Da Monarchia Lusitana*)

(46) **Subiram** o Doutor e Dom Júlio; (Francisco Rodrigues Lobo, *Côrte Na Aldeia e Noites de Inverno*)

(47) **Subiram** todos, e disse o Doutor: - (Francisco Rodrigues Lobo, *Côrte Na Aldeia e Noites de Inverno*)

(48) **Exemplo se** parta [sic] a sombra e **nasce** a luz e é tudo um sol puro. (Manuel Pires de Almeida, *Poesia e Pintura*)

(49) **Segue-se-nos** 23 mostrar como todas as ciências são necessárias ao poeta … (Manuel Pires de Almeida, *Poesia e Pintura*)

**VAS**

(50) **Aconteceu** neste tempo mandar-lhe pedir a abadessa do mosteiro de Odivelas, (Frei Luís de Sousa, *Frei Bertolameu dos Mártires*)

(51) E **aconteceu** logo caso notável com que se penhorou bastantemente com os homens neste modo de proceder (Frei Luís de Sousa, *Frei Bertolameu dos Mártires*)

(52) **Segue-se** logo, e bem provado fica, que a rezão destes apertos era pura virtude de temperança … (Frei Luís de Sousa, *Frei Bertolameu dos Mártires*)

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23 In my corpus, all impersonal constructions like this with a subject clause have postverbal subjects.
(53) Assi foi levando a noite e perendo o sono da forte apreensão, e amanheceu com grande dor de cabeça; **seguiu** logo febre intensa, com agastamentos e desassossegos que deram em doença formada e perigosa. (Frei Luís de Sousa, *Frei Bertolameu dos Mártires*)

(54) O Duque de Maqueda renunciou o cargo de Capitão General da armada de Castella, e **entrou** em seu lugar Dom Francisco Mecia o qual dizem, que anda agora com 24 velas no Cabo de São Vicente, … (Manuel de Galhegos, *Gazeta*)

(55) **Saiose** fora da tenda o bom velho, & tornou à sua hermida (António Brandão, *Da Monarchia Lusitana*)

(56) Em Castro Lebreiro tiverão os nossos aviso, de que num lugar de Galiza se fazia uma feira de gado: **saíraõ** ao cápo l 300 homens (Manuel de Galhegos, *Gazeta*)

(57) **Sairão** de Campo maior duas companhias de cavallo, l forão atreveçando (Manuel de Galhegos, *Gazeta*)

VSA

(58) Porém concedendo à prática a excelência, a acção, o modo e a graça de falar, que é uma viveza a que se não iguala outra nenhuma semelhança, a escritura tem tantas grandezas que parece igualmente necessária para a vida, pois **ficava** o mundo às escuras sem a luz da lição escrita, e só na tradição dos homens se salvaria a memória das cousas, e, nas principais, dominaria a ignorância com mero império. (Francisco Rodrigues Lobo, *Côrte Na Aldeia e Noites de Inverno*)

(59) **Saiu-se** Hércules ao campo e fugiu do rebuliço da cidade (Manuel Pires de Almeida, *Poesia e Pintura*)

(60) **Entrou** elRey de Inglaterra em Escocia (Manuel de Galhegos, *Gazeta*)

The temporal and spatial adverbs in (50) - (57) are relatively short compared to the subjects that follow them. This is contrary to what we find in (58) and (59), where the adverb is just as long as or longer than the subject. (60) is somewhat apart, because the longer element precedes the shorter one, contrary to Hawkins’ predictions. The adverb and the subject have equal information value, though, they are both new information.
4.2.3. Word order in the 1\textsuperscript{st} half of 17\textsuperscript{th} century

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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.6. Word order in texts from authors born between 1600 and 1649.

V3

SAV(AA)

There were two instances of negations, the two others may be interpreted as topicalised subjects. In (62) this is supported by the fact that the pronoun in the last example is enclitic.

(61) porque os que lá naõ furtavaõ, para cá remirem sua vexaçaõ, morriaõ no Castello com ruim nomeada; (Manuel da Costa, Arte de Furtar)

(62) O Santo, em vez de mostrar no gesto os primeiros movimentos da vontade de o comer, entristeceu-se. (Manuel Bernardes, Nova Floresta)

ASV(A)

Of these examples, (63) and (67) have an adverbial topic, which in (63) is retained in the pronoun \textit{lhe} and in (67) by the adverb \textit{então}. The examples (64), (65), (66), (68) and (69) are clearly instances of V3.

(63) a hum Rey prospero com riquezas, bem servido de vassallos, e poderoso em seu Imperio, pouco \textit{lhe falta} para bemaventurado. (Manuel da Costa, Arte de Furtar)

(64) E se nesta materia se atentára só para a linha masculina, o Senhor Dom Antonio ficava de melhor partido,... (Manuel da Costa, Arte de Furtar)

AASVA

(65) Perigoso foy sempre bolir com o caõ que dorme: e porisso muitas vezes as couzas passaõ por alto até as sepultar o esquecimento: (Manuel da Costa, Arte de Furtar)

\textsuperscript{24} AVAS could also be classified with VAS. What is interesting from a verb second point of view, however, is whether or not the verb is preceded by something.
(66) Como nós, os que vivemos n’este mundo, passamos, e não permanecemos, ainda que o mundo permaneça, também elle passa: *Et mundus transit.* (Vieira, *Sermões*)

AAVS

(67) De sorte, que quando a terra dá meia volta, então descobre o sol, e dizemos que nasce, e quando acaba de dar a outra meia volta, então lhe desaparece o sol, … (Vieira, *Sermões*)

(68) assim nas Republicas nascem bandos, e dissenços, que as inquietam, e consomem, … (Manuel da Costa, *Arte de Furtar*)

(69) E porque de hum absurdo se seguem muitos, como diz o Filósofo; deste da força, e violencia, se seguirão tantas injustiças, em que logo se despenhou Castella, que menos … (Manuel da Costa, *Arte de Furtar*)

V1

Again we find that V1 represents a narrative structure that is an appropriate answer to a hypothetical question “what happened next?” Again, the post verbal subjects may contain old information, as in (72), (73), (76), (82), (86), (93) and (94) and in (75), (92), (95), (96), (100) where the subject refers to something previously mentioned.

VS

(70) *chega* o tempo de cobrar o mercador (Manuel da Costa, *Arte de Furtar*)

(71) *chegaraõ* accusaçoens, a quem puxou pelo ponto (Manuel da Costa, *Arte de Furtar*)

(72) *faltavaõ* as armadas, e nos tanques do Retiro navegavaõ baixeis. (Manuel da Costa, *Arte de Furtar*)

(73) E *acabou-se* a junta; (Manuel da Costa, *Arte de Furtar*)

(74) *Começa* a ruina de huma Republica com o desprezo das Leys, onde acaba o exercicio das armas. (Manuel da Costa, *Arte de Furtar*)

(75) *entra* elle vendendo bullas … (Manuel da Costa, *Arte de Furtar*)

(76) *fugiraõ* os pescadores; …(Manuel da Costa, *Arte de Furtar*)

(77) *sobe* a consulta; desce a provisaõ: (Manuel da Costa, *Arte de Furtar*)

VAS

(78) Porque aqui naõ se trata (acodio o Presidente) do que haõ de levar, senaõ do que haõ de trazer; vem a trazer pouco mais de nada, e *faltão* lá as forças para conservar o conquistado (Manuel da Costa, *Arte de Furtar*)

(79) E *acontece* muitas vezes virem das Conquistas, e das fronteiras carregados de certidoens de grandes serviços, (Manuel da Costa, *Arte de Furtar*)
Levantou-se então hum de cauda larga muito reverendo, e disse: (Manuel da Costa, *Arte de Furtar*)

Começavam pelas mudanças dos postos as novidades. (Melo, *Tácito Português*)

E quanto mais esta se mete por baixo da terra, conhecendo a sua vileza e a sua ingratidão, tanto mais sabe crescer e entra pelo Céu o amor de Deus, que mora nos humildes... (Chagas, *Cartas Espirituais*)

Nasceu, por este tempo Dom Teodósio, primogénito da Casa de Bragança, (Melo, *Tácito Português*)

Segue-se agora tratarmos de como uma pessoa, que ... (Chagas, *Cartas Espirituais*)

dissimulam, e passaõ por tudo, pelo dobraõ, e pela pataca, que lhes metem na bolça; e seguem-se dahi mortes, roubos, e perdas intoleraveis. (Manuel da Costa, *Arte de Furtar*)

Seguiase logo a Senhora Dona Catharina, que era viva, (Manuel da Costa, *Arte de Furtar*)

segue-se logo a quarta consequencia de o pôr em casa de (Manuel da Costa, *Arte de Furtar*)

e segue-se logo serem os mergulhadores mal pagos, e os ministros remunerados... (Manuel da Costa, *Arte de Furtar*)

e segue-se daqui, que fazendo-o rico, o meteraõ em riscos de grandissimas (Manuel da Costa, *Arte de Furtar*)

Ocorre-me, de caminho, que não sòmente o vinho para a missa.. (Manuel Bernardes, *Nova Floresta*)

Chegou a tanto a autoridade destes homens que... (Manuel Bernardes, *Nova Floresta*)

sobe a consulta; desce a provisaõ: parte o supplicante com ella; aguarda duzentos, ou trezentos mancebos solteiros (Manuel da Costa, *Arte de Furtar*)

Acaba-se o mundo para mim, mas para os outros não acaba (Vieira, *Sermões*)

Acaba-se o mundo todos os dias; porque para quem morre acabou-se (Vieira, *Sermões*)

Deseja muito êste cargo o Monteiro-mor, e passaram os desejos a demonstrações públicas, (Vieira, *Cartas*)

E prouvéra a Deos que tiveraõ os fidalgos Portuguezes estomago, para fazerem outra bolçã só para a India, pois he empreza sua: e serlhes-ha facil, se puzeraõ nella só, o que gastãõ em vaidades, e o que perdem na taboa do jogo, e daõ a rameiras, e consomem na cura de males, com que estas lhes pagaõ: e ficariaõ elles de ganho, e o nosso Reyno sem tantas perdas temido, e venerando. Deos sobretudo. (Manuel da Costa, *Arte de Furtar*)

Ficou-se hum com esta, por ser o capatáz, e deu aos companheiros as outras, a cada hum sua:... (Manuel da Costa, *Arte de Furtar*)
In the examples (70) - (100) above, the most common order is short adverb before longer subject or short subject before longer adverbial. The only exception to this is (81). As for information value, the subjects in VAS carry new information except in the examples (82) and (86). In VSA, however, most, but not all, of the subjects carry old information. In both (97) and (99) the adverb is anaphoric, while the subject is new information. A word order based on information structure alone could not account for these examples, where the subject is not only new information but also indefinite.

4.2.4. Word order in the 2nd half of 17th century

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</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.7. Word order in texts from authors born between 1650 and 1699.

V3

The two examples of SAV were both with a small adverb of negation, as was one of the examples with AAVAS. No no examples of ASV were found. This leaves us with the following example of V3, where the last adverbial (estando...) may also be interpreted as an adjunct to the first (ocasião) in which case we no longer have a V3 but a V2 clause:

(101) Em outra occasiã o estando a serva de Deos em conversaçã o santa com uma pessoa espiritual lhe entrou pella grade hum menino pobre no vestido, rico na fermosura ...(Maria do Céu, Madre Elen na da Crus)
The VS order continues the trend from the last period, as felicitous answers to questions such as “what happened next?” Subjects that contain old information, are still common, as in (102), (103), (108), (110), (111), (114) and (115).

**VS**

(102) A poucos annos de sua puericia ficou a menina sem May, *faleceu* esta senhora mal-lograda nos annos, e aproveytada nas virtudes; (Maria do Céu, *Madre Elenna da Crus*)

(103) *fugio* o Demonio, ficou o campo a Elena (Maria do Céu, *Madre Elenna da Crus*)

(104) *Seguiu-se* segunda conversação; (Barros, *Padre António Vieira*)

(105) *chegou* a Luz, desapareseo a sombra. (Maria do Céu, *Madre Elenna da Crus*)

(106) *Chegou* esta vez a fúria dos ventos ao mais alto do Olimpo. (Barros, *Padre António Vieira*)

(107) *Passoume* em seu lugar o dia de seu nascimento, que foy o da Cruz, (Maria do Céu, *Madre Elenna da Crus*)

(108) *Partiu* pois o Padre ANTÓNIO VIEIRA para Inglaterra, (Barros, *Padre António Vieira*)

(109) *Parte* finalmente nesta embarcação Bernardo da Santa Ferrão que, mediante a boa informação de Vossa Senhoria, vai despachado por Ajudante Tenente das Minas; (Alexandre de Gusmão, *Cartas*)

(110) *Levantouse* pois a serva de Deos como mulher forte, a buscar… (Maria do Céu, *Madre Elenna da Crus*)

**VSA**

(111) *Ficou* a serva de Deos ao cuidado de sua Irmaã mayor (Maria do Céu, *Madre Elenna da Crus*)

(112) *fugio* o Demonio, *ficou* o campo a Elena, a qual ao seguinte dia desta (Maria do Céu, *Madre Elenna da Crus*)

(113) *Ficou* seu rostro naõ só sem as fealdades da morte, mas… (Maria do Céu, *Madre Elenna da Crus*)

(114) *Chegou* a serva de Deos certo dia à portaria a fallar a hum parente em grao muyto chegado (Maria do Céu, *Madre Elenna da Crus*)

(115) *Chegou* esta notícia ao Padre VIEIRA, que com agigantado coração estimava (Barros, *Padre António Vieira*)

In (106) - (115), the position of subject and adverb can be explained by any of the two competing theories: both length and information structure.
4.2.5. Word order in the 1st half of 18th century

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Table 4.8. Word order in texts from authors born between 1700 and 1749.

V3

ASV, ASAV, ASAVA

These are clear instances of V3:

(116) Desta lastimosa falta, que eu lamento, e de que talvez se queixarão, outra nasce, ..(Correia Garção, Obras)

(117) Acabando tudo com a morte, só a desonra não acaba; (Matias Aires, Reflexões)

(118) sem ela seriam mais frequentes os naufrágios e não poucas vezes os que demandassem remotas praias, não voltariam com a feliz notícia de novos continentes. (Correia Garção, Obras)

AAVS

In most of the examples of AAVS, the second adverb is a negation or another “small adverb”. That leaves us with only one example. In (119) the adverbial clause *logo que* .... is interpreted as a topicalised element, located outside the clause boundary and “repeated” by *então* within the clause. As such it is interpreted as a V2 sentence with the following structure: A#AVS.

(119) porque logo que ahy se veja que o reitor he Nomeado ou aprovado por Sua Magestade entaõ apareserão oposiçoes que queiraõ hir rezedir dentro do Colegio (Pina Manique, Cartas)
There is still both old an new information in post verbal position. The subjects in (128), (131) and (133) are previously mentioned, and the subjects in (121), (125), (130), (134), (135) and (137) refer to something previously mentioned.

VS

120) Chega o reconhecimento, vejo que este mesmo Édipo é o culpado. (Correia Garção, Obras)

121) Os ânimos estavam dispostos, ou ao menos os semblantes: chegou a desejada ocasião, mudaram-se os bastidores,… (Correia Garção, Obras)

122) Chegou o nosso pequeno, todo o cheiinho da panela, (Cavaleiro de Oliveira, Cartas)

123) Chegou o senhor das boas-noites, que aconselha a todos que se deitem sem ceia para viver. (Cavaleiro de Oliveira, Cartas)

124) Falta-nos examinar se contudo persuade mais o que se vê do que aquilo que se ouve, (Correia Garção, Obras)

125) E porque esta circunstância falta nos casos puramente fortuitos, por isso a surpresa que procede deles não chega a mover em nós estas paixões com a actividade que pede a natureza da tragédia: falta-lhe a qualidade de maravilhosos (Correia Garção, Obras)

126) Falta dizer a Vossa Mercê como toca um só na sua rabeca sem mais companhia de nenhuma casta (António da Costa, Cartas)

127) Faltou o senhor conde de Açorda, o barão de Maçamorda, e também faltou aquele cavaleiro que quando chega é o mesmo que fazer vir a coca. (Cavaleiro de Oliveira, Cartas)

128) chegou a desejada ocasião, mudaram-se os bastidores, desapareceu a sinceridade, confundiu-se a boa ordem, (Correia Garção, Obras)

129) Acabam os Heróis, e também acabam as memórias das suas acções (Matias Aires, Reflexões)

130) Toca-se a primeira sinfonia, que sempre é de batalha, ligeira (isso sim), despedaçada, confusa, desafinada como um diabo; forte, forte, forte, depressa; forte, vozes de três cordas, bulha; forte, forte, fortíssimo; acabou o Alegro. (António da Costa, Cartas)

131) e acabou a sinfonia. (António da Costa, Cartas)

132) Acabou-se o papel. (António da Costa, Cartas)

133) Acabou-se a carta, meu Senhor. (Cavaleiro de Oliveira, Cartas)

134) Parte o Proprio que Vossa Senhoria …(Pina Manique, Cartas)

135) Seguiu-se o senhor barão Unhas-de-fome, que parecendo um santo não é (Cavaleiro de Oliveira, Cartas)
VAS

(136) **Chegou** finalmente o tempo, em que os acertos de Vossa Majestade persuadem, que se há uma arte de reinar, (Matias Aires, *Reflexões*)

(137) **Chega** a tanto o despropósito destes Pulchinelas às vezes, (António da Costa, *Cartas*)

(138) **Ocorre-me** ainda terceira, ... (Verney, *Verdadeiro Método de Estudar*)

(139) **Cairia** sobre mim a formidável chusma de espíritos insolentes e ociosos que se cevam (Correia Garção, *Obras*)

VSA

(140) **Acabam-se** as tradições muito antes que acabe o mundo; (Matias Aires, *Reflexões*)

(141) **Nasceu** o homem para viver em uma contínua aprovação de si (Matias Aires, *Reflexões*)

Both weight and information structure may explain the subject – adverb order in the examples (136) - (141). The adverb *a tanto* in (137) is part of an idiomatic expression *chegar a tanto*. This, and other examples of the same kind with idiomatic expressions may display a more rigid order than non idiomatic expressions.

4.2.6. Word order in the 2nd half of 18th century

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</table>

Table 4.9. Word order in texts from authors born between 1750 and 1799.

V3

**SAV(A)**

There is only one example where the adverb is not of the “small” adverb type:

(142) Mas todos são promovidos, e eu em vez d’isso **subi** ao contrário, que há poucas semanas se lavrára a minha (Garrett, *Cartas*)

**ASV**

These are clearly examples of V3:
(143) Nem que Vossa Mercê me dobre o partido eu **fico** no seu teatro. (Costa, *6 Entremezes de Cordel*)

(144) Então os criados **entram** na classe de filhos, a quem devemos felicidade, (Marquesa de Alorna, *Cartas*)

(145) Logo que o Príncipe se persuadir dêste esfôrço, uma nobre emulação **entrára** na sua alma, (Marquesa de Alorna, *Cartas*)

**AAVS**

All these examples have a “small” sentential adverb in second place and are counted as V2.

**V1**

There is still old information with post verbal subjects. In particular, the stage directives in Costa, *6 Entremezes de Cordel* reflect this order.²⁵ Other examples however, such as (147), (162), (168), (169) also have previously mentioned or referential (148), (155), (156), (158), subjects.

**VS**

(146) **Falta-me** dizer da minha saúde. (Marquesa de Alorna, *Cartas*)

(147) **Levantou-se** minha Mãe … (Marquesa de Alorna, *Cartas*)

(148) **Falta** outro çapato que ter me hás de fazer, e o barrete que hás de acabar. (Garrett, *Cartas*)

(149) **Caiu** o carunchoso trono de teu predecessor, antagonista e às vezes (Garrett, *Viagens na Minha Terra*)

(150) **(Entram** todos). (Costa, *6 Entremezes de Cordel*) (stage directive)

(151) **(Foge** tudo) (Costa, *6 Entremezes de Cordel*) (stage directive)

(152) **(Saem** MALANDRINO, MALACAZ, ARTURO, BISBORRIO, CARAMBOLA, (Costa, *6 Entremezes de Cordel*) (stage directive)

(153) **(Sai** Pascalino). (Costa, *6 Entremezes de Cordel*)

(154) **(Sai** Semprónio) (Costa, *6 Entremezes de Cordel*) (stage directive)

(155) **morreu** o carrasco velho, (Costa, *6 Entremezes de Cordel*)

(156) **Partiu** o sobredito e deixou-me encarregada de continuar uma negociação, (Marquesa de Alorna, *Cartas*)

(157) **Seguiu-se** um tropel de versos lindos, (Marquesa de Alorna, *Cartas*)

²⁵ Stage directives were written in the same manner as they are today. They serve to introduce characters, both new characters and characters that have been on the stage before. They are, as such, presentative constructions, which may explain their word order even when they do not carry new information.
Chegou enfim êste dia que eu esperava com apetite, (Marquesa de Alorna, Cartas)

Aparece no mesmo Review uma lady inglesa, chamada Miss Aikin, (Marquesa de Alorna, Cartas)

Passaria por aqui algum Orfeu que, pelos mágicos poderes da sua lira, levasse atrás de si as árvores deste antigo e clássico Ménalo dos salteadores lusitanos? (Garrett, Viagens na Minha Terra)

Entra nos planos do príncipe de Joinville fazer-vos beber da sua zurrapa: (Garrett, Viagens na Minha Terra)

Voltavam à sua terra os meus cinco lutadores ainda em trajo de praça, (Garrett, Viagens na Minha Terra)

Um gritava: “toca-lhe a perna direita!” saía dali outro, “sacode-lhe essas esporas! corta a praça para a esquerda! ” ; e ficava ao pé de mim um velho tão encarniçado que a toda a hora dizia consigo: “abranda-lhe a rédea! abranda-lhe a rédea!” (Costa, 6 Entremezes de Cordel)

Seguiu-se inteiramente o desígnio de Vossa Excelência (Marquesa de Alorna, Cartas)

Entra o primeiro galego com uma escada, dois a paus e (Costa, 6 Entremezes de Cordel)

(Sai LUTÉRIA com as mãos na cabeça (Costa, 6 Entremezes de Cordel)

(Sai MELCAQUETA em camisa, ceroulas, meias brancas, barrete na cabeça, espingarda (Costa, 6 Entremezes de Cordel)

Chega o A ao pinhal da Azambuja, e não o acha. (Garrett, Viagens na Minha Terra)

Cai-me a pena da mão. (Garrett, Viagens na Minha Terra)

Both heaviness restrictions and information structure may explain the ordering of the subject and the adverb in all examples, except maybe (162) where the subject is previously mentioned and the adverb is not. However, the adverb is connected to old information because it is referential to the subject.
4.2.7. Word order in the 1st half of 19th century

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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.10. Word order in texts from authors born between 1800 and 1849.

This is the first century where the number of preverbal subjects exceeds that of the post verbal subjects.

V3

SA(A)V
All examples of SA(A)V are with small adverbs. The construction with clearly topicalized subjects followed by adverbial or adjectival clauses before the verb becomes very scarce from now on.

ASV
It is worth noticing that the nature of the adverbs that precede the subject are of all types. In the first centuries they were mainly adverbial clauses and not adverbials of time and space as they are in the 19th as well as in the 20th century.

(170) Além disso a Fradiquice ficou em Londres, (Eça & Oliveira Martins, Correspondência)

(171) Como os Camarotes não têm divisões visíveis, as cabecinhas dos meninos postos à frente apareciam numa feira seguida, (Ramalho Ortigão, Cartas a Emília)

(172) Desde a última vez que te escrevi, tantas coisas se-têm passado - que, para conversar largamente, ou ainda curtamente, sobre elas, necessitaria o in-fólio. (Eça & Oliveira Martins, Correspondência)

(173) Neste intervalo, Mariana, a filha do ferrador, entrou no sobrado, (Camilo, Amor de Perdição)

(174) Decorridos alguns minutos, a menina saiu outra vez e o primo também. (Camilo, Amor de Perdição)

(175) No momento, porém, de subir a escada que ligava o jardim à casa, Baltasar Coutinho, que a espiava desde que ela saiu da sala, chegou a uma das janelas sobre o jardim, bem longe de imaginar que a via. (Camilo, Amor de Perdição)
AAVS

There is only one example with AAVS and here the second adverb is a small adverb.

VI

As we shall see later on, post verbal subjects that contain no new information become more and more infrequent. Of the example below, only (188) has a previously mentioned subject, while (186) and (189) are referential.

(176) **Existem** ainda mais tres: (Marquês da Fronteira e d’Alorna. *Memórias*)

(177) …*mas existia* a Marquês de Castello Melhor Dona Marianna, a qual se mostrou sempre bóa para conmosco. (Marquês da Fronteira e d’Alorna. *Memórias*),

(178) Para se inculcar como partido conveniente a uma filha segunda, **faltavam-lhe** bens de fortuna: (Camilo, *Amor de Perdição*)

(179) **Faltava-lhe**, porém, casa de confiança onde se ocultasse. (Camilo, *Amor de Perdição*)

(180) *mas falta-me* essa outra condição suprema, um quarto isolado com uma mesa de pinho. (Eça & Oliveira Martins, *Correspondência*)

(181) **Aparece** a estrela. (Ramalho Ortigão, *Cartas a Emília*)

(182) **Aconteceu-me** o que succeede a todas as creanças da edade que eu tinha. (Marquês da Fronteira e d’Alorna. *Memórias*)

(183) **Acontecera** um lavrador mandar-lhe o presente duma vitela, e mandar com ela a vaca, para se não desgarrar a filha. (Camilo, *Amor de Perdição*)

(184) **Ocorre-me** um meio fácil e fazível. (Eça & Oliveira Martins, *Correspondência*)

(185) **Entra** Nossa Senhora, São José, o Demónio. **Aparece** (Ramalho Ortigão, *Cartas a Emília*)

(186) tudo isso desaparece com esta simples linha: **morreu** a Condessa de Ficalho. (Ramalho Ortigão, *Cartas a Emília*)

(187) **Seguem-se** os pastores, (Ramalho Ortigão, *Cartas a Emília*)

(188) **seguia-se** Dom Luiz de Vasconcellos e Sousa, Vice-Rei no Rio de Janeiro, e que morreu Conde de Figueiró; (Marquês da Fronteira e d’Alorna. *Memórias*)

VSA

(189) Nestas reuniões, que tanto cuidado davam á policia, tratava-se menos de politica e mais de litteratura e artes: **passavam-se** ellas em improvisos e em musica, (Marquês da Fronteira e d’Alorna. *Memórias*)
Tenho estado para te escrever há muito, por motivos vários, - mas surge invariavelmente um desses obstáculos, que etc. ... (Eça & Oliveira Martins, *Correspondência*)

As for the subject – adverb order, both heaviness and information structure serve to explain the order in the examples (189) and (190).

### 4.2.8. Word order in the 2nd half of 19th century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preverbal subject</th>
<th>Post verbal subject</th>
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<td>19</td>
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</table>

Table 4.11. Word order in texts from authors born between 1850 and 1899.

These are all with a “small” adverb, with the exception of the following idiomatic expression:

(191) Ainda tenho as marcas. Estas só na cova me passam. (Raúl Brandão, *Os Pobres*)

And the two following examples with a topicalised subject:

(192) A corda por curta não chega ao chão. (Fialho de Almeida, *Contos*)

(193) A mãe, nos ultimos arranjos, dum lado para o outro no quarto, parava de vez em quando para enxugar com a ponta do avental de chita preta as lágrimas que continuavam a cair-lhe em fio pela cara abaixo e que a cegavam. (Espanca, *A paixão de Manuel Garcia*)

These are all with a “small” adverb, with the exception of the following idiomatic expression:

(194) E com ele o mesmo acontecera - havia de mo contar mais tarde. (Sá-Carneiro, *A confissão de Lúcio*)
Por entre os caules seculares dos azinhais e carvalheiras, uns acharoados de incêndio **ardiam** em apoteoses fúlgidas, sobre que os braços do arvoredo desenhavam em negro formas de estranhos esqueletos. (Fialho de Almeida, *Contos*)

Ao sairmos, uma granada **cai** perto. (Jaime Cortesão, *A batalha do Lys*)

Quando a noite se fecha, a água **chega**, asas abertas, voo circular e gritinhos alegres de boa ménagère que volta com o dia ganho e um réptil no bico curvo, para os pequeninos esfomeados. Decorar todo este itinerário (Fialho de Almeida, *Contos*)

já o meu amigo **chegara**. (Sá-Carneiro, *A confissão de Lúcio*)

Calam-se e depois a mesma voz **começa**: - Vem um, quer que eu me ria, vem outro e queme triste. (Raúl Brandão, *Os Pobres*)

Com efeito a sua singularidade **encerra-se**, não em conter elementos que se não encontram nas vidas normais - mas sim em não conter nenhum dos elementos comuns a todas as vidas. (Sá-Carneiro, *A confissão de Lúcio*)

E, de cada vez que o moço interpelado se afastava, aborrecido ou indiferente, este noctívago caçador de efebos lá **seguia** em cata de outro, cortando os grupos, atravessando a rua, numa incoerência de vertigem, (Botelho, *O Barão de Lavos*)

Lá dentro a função, a despeito do cartaz berrante, **seguia** com a monotonia do costume. (Botelho, *O Barão de Lavos*)

Com efeito a rua **subia** e para lá do monumento começava, sem dúvida, a descer (Sá-Carneiro, *A confissão de Lúcio*)

Ao recordá-las longe delas - em miragem nimbada, todas me **surgem** num resvalamento arqueado que me traspassa em luz. (Sá-Carneiro, *A confissão de Lúcio*)

Ao som de uma música pesada, rouca, longínqua - ela **surgiu**, a mulher fulva… (Sá-Carneiro, *A confissão de Lúcio*)

Aqui, o pescador **vive** em barracas de madeira que têm o aspecto de povoação lacustres. (Raul Brandão, *Os Pescadores*)

Esmagados, aturdidos, cada um de nós **voltou** para sua casa… (Sá-Carneiro, *A confissão de Lúcio*)

Quando seguia, aqui perto, pim! uma bala dum-dum de metralhadora **entrou-lhe** pela boca e estoiou. (Jaime Cortesão, *O Almoço do pintor*)

Sim… não discuto isso… você bem vê, para mim já essa arte **passou**. (Sá-Carneiro, *A confissão de Lúcio*)

Com efeito, se a obra de Ricardo de Loureiro era cheia de sensualismo, de loucas perversidades - nas suas conversas nada disso **surgia**. (Sá-Carneiro, *A confissão de Lúcio*)

Outras vezes também, Ricardo **surgia-me** com revelações estrambóticas que lembravam um pouco os esnobismos de Vila-Nova. (Sá-Carneiro, *A confissão de Lúcio*)

**AAVS**

Of the 7 examples with AAV(A)S(A), four are with small adverbs. The others are as follows:
(212) Pelo caminho, ao atravessarmos não sei que praça, chegaram-nos ao ouvido os sons de um violino de cego, estropiando uma linda ária. (Sá-Carneiro, A confissão de Lúcio)

(213) assim no globo passam existências ignoradas de sofrimento e de bondade, que não deixam o mais simples vestígio, como os veios de água escondidos que são a vida da terra. (Raúl Brandão, Os Pobres)

(214) Do fundo; com vagar, saem em braços volumes humanos, as cabeças e os membros descaídos. (Jaime Cortesão, A batalha do Lys)

V1

There are only two post verbal subjects that carry old information in this period, the examples (220) and (228). The other examples are all carry new information.

(215) Começava o baile, o grande baile que os pais da noiva ofereciam a todos os grandes nomes da capital, pelo casamento da filha. (Espanca, A paixão de Manuel Garcia)

(216) Escancara-se o portão, caem-lhe os telhados, mas se, em cima, nas mansardas arrombadas dá de chapa o sol, acreditá-la-eis a cismar, a cantar. (Raúl Brandão, Os Pobres)

(217) Tinham-lhe dado escritas, mas faltava a luz dos olhos (Raúl Brandão, Os Pobres)

(218) Abriam-se guardas-chuvas, e ouviam-se, disparadas contra o céu carrancudo, pragas de arrelia. (Botelho, O Barão de Lavos)

(219) Acabaram-se as iniciativas particulares. Acabaram-se os caprichos dos viajantes isolados. Acabaram-se os génios que cantavam chorando a solidão dos indivíduos (Almada Negreiros, Direcção Única)

(220) Acabou-se o mundo antigo (Almada Negreiros, Direcção Única)

(221) Faltavam poucas, algumas dúzias apenas. (Almada Negreiros, O Cágado)

(222) Passou-se um mês. (Sá-Carneiro, A confissão de Lúcio)

(223) Passou-se tempo… (Sá-Carneiro, A confissão de Lúcio)

(224) Seguiam-se os outros pratos, cada um com sua oferta em verso. (Jaime Cortesão, O Almoço do pintor)

VAS

(225) Aparecem primeiro uns flocos no céu, e a luz tomou-se logo mais azul, pegando azul à pele, molhando de azul as mãos estendidas. (Raul Brandão, Os Pescadores)

(226) Cerrara-se de todo a noite. (Fialho de Almeida, Contos)
Põese o Gebo a contar a sua história, surge uma velha trágica, com o caio dos palhaços, e o Gabiru, filósofo esguio que tem descoberto mundos e ignora as coisas mais simples da vida. (Raúl Brandão, Os Pobres)

Abría ele por esta quadra que, se não honra os dois poetas, enobrece o pintor: (Jaime Cortesão, O Almoço do pintor)

Ficava ainda uma pequena parte nas mãos do arrais para o tempo de Inverno, quando se não podia ir ao mar. (Raul Brandão, Os Pescadores)

As in all the previous periods, the subject – adverb order is compatible with old before new information as well as heaviness restrictions.

### 4.2.9. Word order in the 1st half of the 20th century

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*Table 4.12. Word order in texts from the first half of the 20th century.*

V3

ASV

The trend from the previous half century continues: ASV is common, and it is usually a time adverbial that precedes the subject.

(230) Por muito tempo ela ficou nos retratos e no jardim, bordando à sombra das magnólias…(Alegre, Rosas Vermelhas)

(231) Acaçapada entre duas serras, em cujas encostas matagiosas ainda se acoitavam os lobos, sem caminhos praticáveis, a aldeia ficava longe de tudo e de todos, era um lugar de penitência onde só viviam os que não se aventuravam a deixar o terrunho, presos ao berço pela corda nodosa da descernça. (Arnaut: Os dois barbeiros)

(232) Na quinta-feira de madrugada, mal uma claridade indecisa acaricou a janela do quarto e sorriu nos seus olhos ansiosos, Alfredo levantou-se, vestiu o fato domingueiro e partiu para a sua aventura com a emoção incontida de um adolescente que se preparasse para uma grande viagem. (Arnaut: Os dois barbeiros)

(233) De resto, a primeira carqueja ardia já. (Torga, 0 leproso)
Depois um dia, nesse dia, ao tirar à pressa os cadernos da pasta, o diário caiu ao chão. (Carvalho, *Um diário para Saudade*)

Por vezes tinha pesadelos, acordava, inquieto, a meio da noite, qualquer coisa parecia querer despedaçar-me e então exclamava:
-Mãe!
e logo essa voz, tão calma, entrava dentro de mim, mandava embora os fantasmas, e era de novo o meu quarto, a doce quentura da minha casa no cimo da ternura. (Alegre, *Rosas Vermelhas*)

Um dia, porém, a mãe tinha fugido. (Carvalho, *Um diário para Saudade*)

Nesse tempo o sol nascia exactamente no meu quarto. (Alegre, *Rosas Vermelhas*)

SAV

The two examples of SAV are both with small adverbs.

V1

All the examples with post verbal subjects are with subjects that contain new information. Both heaviness restrictions and information structure can explain the word order in (241) - (243).

Um aldeão veio dos lados da serra da Senhora do Circo e falou do acontecimento do seu povo: aparecera uma mulher afogada e o regedor insistia na presença das autoridades da vila. (Namora: *A mulher afogada*)

Aconteceu, porém, que o Petinga quando veio da tropa, onde, dizia ele, aprendera o ofício, resolveu fazer concorrência ao Alfredo. (Arnaut: *Os dois barbeiros*)

Não vinha só, acompanhava-a sempre aquele olharzinho implacável, seguia-se-lhe aquele sorriso de cantos da boca, já desdenhoso, já cruel. (Carvalho, *Um diário para Saudade*)

VSA

Chegou o Verão, após as trovoadas de um Junho irregular… (Tavares Rodrigues: *Os dias coloridos*)

VAS

Ficou-lhe, dessa ocupação fugaz, o nome depreciativo, que pegou e permaneceu… (Arnaut: *Os dois barbeiros*)

Houve burburinho, apareceu logo quem censurasse o motorista e quem o ilibasse, as pessoas apearam-se para ver. (Carvalho, *Um diário para Saudade*)
4.2.10. Word order in the 2nd half of the 20th century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Preverbal subject</th>
<th>Post verbal subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SV SVA SAV ASV</td>
<td>20 111 (SVAA28,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SVAAA3, SVVA1,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SVVAA1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31 (SAVA16, SAVVA1, SAVAA3, SAAVA1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>54 (ASVV3, ASVV2, ASVVA7, ASVVA2, AASVA3, ASAV2, ASAVA5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>210 22 (AVAS10, AAVAS2, AVS9, AVSA3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9 (VASA1, VAAS1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 87</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.13. Word order in texts from the 2nd half of the 20th century.

V3

SAV

Of the 31 examples of SAV, only three were not with a small adverb:

(244) Alguns desses parceiros sociais, dependentes de subsídios e de avales, dificilmente *passam*, hoje em dia, de uma aristocracia de funcionários e dirigentes que alimentam entre si relações de poder para se manterem todos no poder (*Público online*)

(245) O segundo golo do FC Porto, aos 83”, *nasceu* de boa jogada de Zahovic, (*Público online*)

(246) O slogan “Esta mulher não deixa as coisas a meio”, pelo, certamente involuntário, duplo sentido da expressão, *entrou* na memória e no anedotário. (*Público online*)

ASV

There are 54 examples of ASV, ASAV, AASVA etc. All kinds of adverbials may precede the subject, except for the small ones that fall between the subject and the verb. It is the sheer number of preceding adverbs that is interesting in this century. The percentage of V3 is higher than in any of the preceding centuries.

(247) Cheio de pressa para fugir à aproximação de uma tempestade, Charles Fisher *tinha acabado* de voltar à superfície, após uma descida de mini-submarino. (*Público online*)
Na segunda-feira à noite, cerca das 21h30, uma estrutura metálica, que acabara de ser betonada, caiu junto à Avenida do Colégio Militar. (Público online)

Depois de uma noite de vigília, a celebração final começa pelas 9h15 de amanhã, com o terço na Capelinha, … (Público online)

Entretanto, as primeiras negociações relativamente sérias entre enviados de Kinshasa e a Aliança das Forças Democráticas para a Libertação do Congo-Zaire (AFDLC-Z), de Laurent-Desiré Kabila, começaram ontem na África do Sul, em local secreto, depois da … (Público online)

No concelho de Oeiras, apesar das praias marítimas, as piscinas de Barcarena e a Oceânica encerram às 20h00 e 21h00 horas, respectivamente. (Público online)

Apesar dos planos de fusão do grupo financeiro Credit Suisse com a seguradora Winterthur, ontem anunciados (ver página 32), as acções dos dois grupos fecharam em baixa, tendo o índice suíço descido 0,67 por cento … (Público online)

Despojados da santa humildade abundantemente apregoada pelo país em época de campanha eleitoral, alguns ministros deste Governo fogem para a frente em face da incapacidade de justificar politicamente … (Público online)

Sempre em percentagens, um quinto do eleitorado patriota tinha fugido para o “não me macem” ou o eurocretinismo. (Público online)

“Se lha tiro, a senhora morre”, responde o autarca. (Público online)

“Se lhe tiro a chave, a senhora morre”, justifica o autarca. (Público online)

Se tivesse acelerado, “como de costume”, José Alfredo tinha morrido. (Público online)

Lá em baixo, um cabo tinha-se partido, custando ao biólogo a perda de um grande “molho” de … (Público online)

Gorada a primeira tentativa, outras seguiram noutras zonas do bairro. (Público online)

No entanto, a venda de bilhetes subiu de 55 milhões espectadores em 1984 para 123 milhões … (Público online)

No segundo dia depois do Governo ter decretado a requisição civil, o número de pilotos que invocaram razões de saúde para não poderem trabalhar subiu para 17, sendo que, deste total, apenas sete pediram baixa (Público online)

Em 1989, Thomas Muster tornou-se no primeiro tenista austriaco a entrar no “top” 10 … (Público online)

Sentado num salão de baile de um hotel do Nevada com um grupo de líderes cívicos, empresariais e ambientais que tinham posto de parte desacordos vários para salvar as águas pristinas do Lago Tahoe, os pensamentos do Presidente Bill Clinton voltaram-se para a distante Sarajevo. (Público online)

Os leões não gostaram e, ao início da noite, após uma reunião entre os dois clubes, o horário da partida voltou para a primeira forma. (Público online)

Para não correrem esse risco, Damásio Simão chegou ao ponto de escrever uma circular em árabe, distribuída por todas as embarcações, para que não se dirigissem ao Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras …(Público online)
Na memória dos agentes que patrulham aquela zona, a história mais incrível ocorreu no Verão de 1996. Custava a crer no que os olhos viam: pedalando uma gaivota, três marroquinos tinham chegado a águas espanholas - onde foram interceptados. (Público online)

Os “atuns”, como os “passadores” chamam aos emigrantes, viajam em traineiras que há muito não se dedicam à faina, pois em Ceuta o peixe chega de Marrocos por estrada. (Público online)

Dos 579 mil contos previstos, só menos de metade chegou aos Açores. (Público online)

Assim, o FTSE 100 chegou aos 5075,8 pontos, um valor muito próximo do seu último máximo histórico. (Público online)

As vendas já não foram tão significativas, mas mesmo assim o álbum chegou ao top 30 ingles e teve três singles no top 40. (Público online)

Destina forma, todos os países ficarão em pé de igualdade no acesso a um posto de comissário. (Público online)

Quando do divórcio, Dorothy, considerada uma mulher abastada, também ficou com a casa onde viviam. (Público online)

 Já Almada nos fica, com o seu castelo, à direita. (Público online)

E no Norte, diversos skate-parks ficam em pleno funcionamento neste verão: (Público online)

Nas legislativas de 1994, o pendor abstencionista tinha-se ficado apenas pela casa dos 20 por cento. (Público online)

Quando os atletas descem para o nível do mar, todos estes problemas desaparecem, mas também se perdem os glóbulos vermelhos suplementares. (Público online)

No ano de refluxo dos Jogos Olímpicos de Atlanta, a generalidade dos grandes campeões apareceu para ganhar, mas “apenas” para isso. (Público online)

Mais tarde, o nome do PP surgirá para que as pessoas saibam por quem concorre Isabel Olavo. (Público online)

No lado oposto da cidade, o plano que mais “revolucionará” a estrutura actual surge com a assinatura de Jorge Patrício Martins, que projectou para a zona a Corujeira uma nova avenida, de dimensões idênticas à Avenida dos Aliados, entre a Praça das Flores. (Público online)

Assim sendo, o Galo Negro surge num plano de clara desvantagem, em relação às suas posições de há três anos, antes de haver recusado a vice-presidência da República. (Público online)

Nos restantes países europeus, segundo os estudos efectuados, os problemas surgem, sobretudo, ao nível da aceitação escolar. (Público online)

E se a relação humana é boa, o retorno económico acontecerá. (Público online)

Na memória dos agentes que patrulham aquela zona, a história mais incrível ocorreu no Verão de 1996. (Público online)

Considerado o caso mais grave de degradação ambiental, as águas da Degoldra passam pelo centro da Universidade, o que leva os alunos a comentar, por graça, que
os maus cheiros da ribeira, por vezes insuportáveis, são a “principal causa do insucesso escolar”.

(Público online)

(285) Para os próximos anos, os objectivos da tutela passam pelo reforço do pessoal, criação de novos estabelecimentos e aumento de número de camas. (Público online)

(286) Só tivemos direito a um café ou a um guaraná”, conta. “Então um rapaz se levantou e reclamou. (Público online)

(287) E do secretismo à clandestinidade pouco faltaríamos. (Viegas, Troca de correspondência)

(288) Dizem na aldeia que de pena, de desgosto. Seja como for, depois da morte de D. Magda, a Quinta passará para as mãos dos sobrinhos de Alfredo Madaleno, que viviam em Lisboa. (Viegas, Troca de correspondência)

(289) Conquista a conquista, o movimento nunca mais parou. (Público online)

(290) Mas à parte um “remake” de sinal contrário que aconteceu em Valongo, com o lançamento do cartaz do candidato socialista Braga Lino à câmara local, a campanha autárquica não saiu ainda para a rua. (Público online)

(291) No primeiro campo de férias para crianças queimadas, em Foz do Arouce, as estreias não se ficaram por aqui. (Público online)

(292) A maior parte dos incêndios foi considerada extinta durante a madrugada de ontem, mas na região de Estarreja, onde o fogo chegou a atingir dimensões alarmantes, as chamas só desapareceram pela manhã. (Público online)

(293) Se pedíssem a identificação a toda a gente eles não apareciam porque estão todos ilegais”, conclui. (Público online)

(294) É que, na futura capital europeia da cultura, diz, “ainda há muito preconceito”, e “enquanto as pessoas não nos olharem como iguais, o Porto não passará de uma cidadezinha de provência”. (Público online)

(295) Da ecologia, Antônio Moser já passou ao pecado, assunto do seu último livro, (Público online)

(296) Neste caso, a candidata aparece de costas viradas para o que afirma. (Público online)

(297) Só no dia do casamento a verdadeira nubente apareceu, “gorda, careca e com cara de urso”. (Público online)

(298) No entanto, por já ser procurado na zona de Tomar por um outro crime de tráfico, um dos portugueses, um dos alegados cabecilhas do grupo, fugiu para Espanha. (Público online)

(299) Eriksson dizia que dificilmente deixariam sair qualquer deles, mas se para Negro ainda podia haver uma hipótese de entendimento, para Nesta “nem o Estádio Santiago Bernabéu chegava para conseguir um acordo”. (Público online)

(300) Segundo alguns tablóides, antes do cruzeiro, a princesa passou por Paris e ficou no hotel Ritz (de que Dodi é convenientemente, o dono). (Público online)
AAVS

Most of the 11 examples with AAVS(A) are with a small adverb as the second adverb, however we also find examples of two ordinary adverbs:

(301) Ontem, em Ramallah, ocorreram os primeiros confrontos desde o início do bloqueio, (Público online)

(302) Segundo informações do centro Mario Mieli, em Itália existem cerca de cinco milhões de homossexuais, (Público online)

(303) Em Dezembro, numa organização do Instituto Camões, sairá de Lisboa uma chama do conhecimento. (Público online)

V1

The percentage of V1 clauses is almost as low as it was in the first half of the 16th century.

VS

The nature of post verbal subjects has changed. Even the subjects that have been mentioned before in the text, contain additional new information, for instance in the form of a relative clause. The only exception to this is when the subject has been mentioned in the caption, as in (337). It can easily be seen as new information, however, since the caption is not necessarily seen as part of the text. The sentences are always felicitous answers to a question such as “what happened next?”

(304) Nasceu o Paquistão. Melhor: nasciram dois. (Público online)

(305) Acabaram-se os chapéus dos mais variados modelos, … (Público online)

(306) Segue-se uma largada de balões (Público online)

(307) Seguiram-se alguns singles e EP,.. (Público online)

(308) Seguiu-se a sua destituição de administrador da SIC .. (Público online)

(309) Seguiu-se uma “Queimada Galega” - uma mistura de aguardente, limão, açúcar (Público online)

(310) Chegou a vez de Guterres falar - a tribuna junto ao altar estava-lhe reservada. (Público online)

(311) “Existe um sentimento colectivo majoritário de desculpabilização e até incentivador da ingestão de bebidas alcoólicas.... (Público online)

(312) “Existe o interesse de compreender o nosso passado, de buscar raízes, …(Público online)
(313) Existe uma “task force” da Comissão Europeia que está a estudar novos limites ...
(Público online)

(314) Existe um Gabinete do Vizinho, mas é pura demagogia”. (Público online)

(315) …existe uma enorme carência de piscinas. (Público online)

(316) Faltava pôr em cena “O Teatro Cómico”,… (Público online)

(317) Porque a qualidade desportiva foi elevada, mas faltou superação. (Público online)

(318) Mas faltou aquele brilho nos olhos,… (Público online)

(319) “Falta a licença de utilização, … (Público online)

(320) Faltam-lhe as componentes lúdica, humana e cultural, que terão, necessariamente, de ser defendidas pela câmara”, (Público online)

(321) Sobram cinco problemas. (Público online)

(322) Foram-se os campistas, mas ficaram umas toneladas de lixo, cuja remoção está a cargo da organização do festival. (Público online)

(323) Fica o que poderia ser o lema do campo: … (Público online)

(324) “Aconteceram várias coisas”, diz João Soveral, .. (Público online)

VAS

(325) Abre hoje de manhã, no Padrão das Descobertas, em Lisboa, a 1ª Semana de Cultura e Contemporaneidade, promovida pelo Centro de Estudos dos Povos e Culturas de Expressão Portuguesa da Universidade Católica Portuguesa. (Público online)

(326) …”e chegou agora a altura em que redimiremos a nossa promessa. (Público online)

(327) “Existe no Porto um respeito mútuo e uma vontade de entendimento entre os dois partidos que talvez não exista noutras partes do país”, … (Público online)

(328) …pois existe já uma lista de chacinas alegadamente cometidas pelos rebeldes que,… (Público online)

(329) Existem hoje 500 milhões de automóveis …(Público online)

(330) Falta apenas enviar os azulejos já empacotados,… (Público online)

(331) Surgirão talvez mais umas quantas tendinhas de comes e bebes “by night” aqui e acolá, … (Público online)

(332) Mas acontecem com frequência reuniões em casa de Roxo,… (Público online)

VSA

(333) Em certa altura, conta, “juntaram-se dois “gangs” e acabou tudo à porrada”. (Público online)

(334) Existiram várias queixas nos Estados Unidos, alegando que Beavis e Butthead serviria de inspiração a piromaníacos e grosseiros. (Público online)
As for the subject – adverb position, we now have a situation where all of the subjects contain new information. Heaviness restrictions seem to explain the placement of these constituents in all the examples. Information structure, where old precedes new would not work for example (335), where the adverb is clearly referential.

4.2.11. A summary of the findings:

The main point in the statistics presented so far has been to determine the possibility of other structures than V2 especially with regard to adverb position. The following table shows the percentage of V3 and V1 in each period. It must be mentioned that some of the periods have too few examples to draw reliable conclusions, especially with regard to V3. It should be noted, however, that while the order ASV represented only a part of the V3 sentences in the early periods, in the later periods it became almost exclusive. SAV has almost disappeared as a possible word order, while ASV has become quite common in the 20th century. As for V1, we saw a considerable increase in the occurrence of verb first clauses from the first part to the second part of the 16th century. We saw a decrease beginning in the 19th that became even more apparent in the 20th century, as shown in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Total No of examples</th>
<th>V3</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>V1</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1497-1549</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>10 (ASV 5)</td>
<td>9.4 %</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6.6 %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1550-1599</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>10 (ASV 3)</td>
<td>9.6 %</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>27.9 %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600-1649</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>9 (ASV 4)</td>
<td>7.6 %</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>26.3 %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1650-1699</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>1 (ASV 0)</td>
<td>2.4 %</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>33.3 %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700-1749</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>4 (ASV 3)</td>
<td>6.2 %</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>33.8 %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1750-1799</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>4 (ASV 3)</td>
<td>4.8 %</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>28.6 %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800-1849</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>6 (ASV 6)</td>
<td>8.3 %</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20.8 %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850-1899</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>23 (ASV 17)</td>
<td>17.7 %</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13.1 %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-1949</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>9 (ASV 9)</td>
<td>14.8 %</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9.8 %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949-1999</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>60 (ASV 54)</td>
<td>20.2 %</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>12.5 %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.14. Main clauses with finite verbs that are not V2. Unlike the previous tables, the “small” adverbs are not counted when they occur in SAV. However, when they are the first constituent in a phrase, with a post verbal subject, the phrase is counted as V2. In column three, the number of ASV are in parenthesis. The percentage of V3 and V1 are of the total number of clauses that have an expressed subject. As such, it does not tell us the possibility of V1 in general, only about clauses with a post verbal subject.
In order to find out whether or not these tendencies also hold for transitive and intransitive sentences, a smaller corpus was made, consisting of around 10 first pages of some of the texts, in which sentence initial elements were studied\footnote{Schellert (1958) notes that a new chapter often begins with an “unintroduced” VS.}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total No of examples</th>
<th>No expressed subject</th>
<th>Imperatives, optatives or questions</th>
<th>Ser</th>
<th>Transitives or intransitives</th>
<th>unacc</th>
<th>Total No of V1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mendes Pinto</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couto\footnote{While these figures are based on excerpts of the texts in the corpus, Couto’s Décadas was also studied in toto.}</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luis de Sousa</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rodrigues Lobo</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manuel de Melo</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>49</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cunha Brochado</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria do Céu</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matias Aires</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correia Garção</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marquesa de Alorna</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almeida Garrett</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramalho Ortigão</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850-1899</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-1949</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Público</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.15. Number of sentences beginning with a verb. Time did not permit a study of all the texts in the corpus. This is only a random selection of some of the texts. All periods should be represented. The first 10-20 pages of each text were studied. The second column contains the total number of clauses that were studied, the third column, the number of verb-initial sentences that had no expressed subject. In the fourth column are the sentences that were questions, commands and optatives. In the fifth column I have singled out the sentences that begin with the verb ser because this verb in particular has a tendency to begin a sentence, especially in the earlier centuries. In the sixth and seventh column are the clauses with transitive or intransitive or unaccusative verbs that have a post verbal subject. Notice in particular the decreasing number of inversions with transitive and intransitive (unergative) verbs.

Because of the possibility that any preverbal element, including the conjunction e, may cause a clitic to appear in preverbal position, only sentences preceded by a full stop were studied.

\footnote{26 Schellert (1958) notes that a new chapter often begins with an “unintroduced” VS.\footnote{While these figures are based on excerpts of the texts in the corpus, Couto’s Décadas was also studied in toto.} The following was found: of 939 sentences, 74 had V1. Of these 74 sentences, 12 began with the conjunct e, 35 did not have expressed subjects, 4 were imperative or optative, 24 were with a form of ser, 15 were transitive or intransitive and 7 unaccusative.}
The V3 are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total examples</th>
<th>(A)AA V</th>
<th>(A)AS V</th>
<th>ASA V</th>
<th>SAV /SO V</th>
<th>AOV V</th>
<th>ASO V</th>
<th>TopS V /TopA V</th>
<th>Total num of V3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mendes Pinto</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diogo de Couto</td>
<td>142</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luís de Sousa</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rodrigues Lobo</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>41</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manuel de Melo</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cunha Brochado</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maria do Céu</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Correia Garção</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marquesa d’Alorna</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almeida Garrett</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramalho Ortigão</td>
<td>294</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850-1899</td>
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<td>51</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>63</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-1949</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Público</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.16. Sentences with V3. Most important is the decrease in SAV and the increase in ASV. Lobo and Pinto are, however, 16th century authors that seems to contradict the general tendency. In the second column, the total number of examples are cited, in the third column, sentences that begin with two adverbs, in the fourth and fifth column, sentences that begin with an adverb followed by a subject. In the sixth column, most of the examples can be analysed as topicalised subjects followed by adverb or direct object and verb. The next two columns are rare examples of preposed objects, and the ninth column has either a topicalised subject outside the clause borders that is repeated within the clause or a topicalised adverb, also repeated within the clause.

Note that Couto’s instances of V3 are all with two adverbs preceding the subject or topicalised subjects in SAV. In Chapter 7 I shall return to this text because it, more than any other text in the corpus, has a V2 structure. The other texts in table 4.16, however, give us little reason to analyse Classical Portuguese as a V2 language. Strictly, there are far too many instances of V3, and of ASV in particular to claim that Portuguese was a V2 language. The fact that we have inversion with transitives and intransitives (unergatives) in table 4.15 could be caused by other factors. On the other hand, even though I do not present a similar table for inversion in V2 contexts, it should be mentioned that examples of inversion with transitives and intransitives (inergatives) were numerous in sentences beginning with an adverb.
Looking at the numbers in table 4.15 and 4.16 we see that the proportions of V1 and V3 tend to follow the same tendencies over time even if they do not coincide fully with what we saw was true for unaccusatives.

As we shall see in the next section, 4.3 all the texts have inversion, not only with subjects of transitive and intransitive verbs, but also with subjects of predicative verbs.

4.3. Predicative clauses

Some of the unaccusative verbs that were chosen for this study, in particular *ficar*, but also *tornar-se*, appear as copula verbs in predicative clauses. Others appear in unaccusative contexts accompanied by predicative adjectives. These types of examples were singled out and analysed separately, to see if they obeyed to the same set of rules as the unaccusatives without this additional element. We would expect predicative clauses to behave in the same manner as transitive and intransitive clauses with regard to information structure in the 20th century as well as with regard to the structures that determined word orders in the previous centuries. In other words, the “avoid focus” rule should be at work in these clauses in modern Portuguese as well as the V2-like effects in 16th century Portuguese.

The examples with unaccusative verbs where the subject is modified by a predicative adjective are too few to be presented as conclusive evidence. As for the examples with *ficar* and *tornar-se* + predicative adjective, their sole argument is an underlying object rather than a subject. In this sense, they represent the same semantic properties as unaccusative verbs, passive and mediopassive constructions (*tornar-se*) do.

We should keep in mind the semantic structure of the predicative: a predicative adjective will almost always bring new information about an already known entity. As such, we do not expect the predicative to occur preverbally very often, nor do we expect many post verbal subjects in a language where post verbal position is reserved for new information. In other words, we don’t expect many post verbal subjects of predicative verbs in Modern Portuguese.

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28 Since this is primarily a thesis on unaccusatives, no effort was made to search for and analyse other predicative verbs. However, the fact that these verbs and their subjects seem to behave in the same manner, whether used predicatively, as unaccusatives or as unaccusatives with an additional predicative adjective, supports the claim that other conditions than the argument structure alone determine the word order, and that the rules they obey to overrule the argument structure and are the same for all verbs.
The same periods that were used for the unaccusatives have been used for the predicative examples. The purely predicative verbs *ficar* and *tornar-se* are treated separately from the other verbs which are unaccusatives, but with a predicative adjective or participle that modifies the subject.

### 4.3.1. Word order in predicative clauses in the 1st half of the 16th century

Because we expect the examples to follow the same pattern as the one we have seen before, we expect mostly sentences with verb second. And in fact all the predicative examples are either AVSP or SVP (where A is Adverb, V is Verb, S is subject and P is predicative, whether it is an adjective, a participle or a noun phrase). We also find that the subject, in clauses that are initiated by an adverb, stays between the verb and the predicate. Even the personal pronouns seem to obey to this system, even though one single example (352) is not enough to draw any conclusions.

All but one of the subjects, both preverbal and post verbal ones, have either been mentioned previously or refer to something previously mentioned.

**Examples with *ficar***:

**SUBJECT – VERB – PREDICATIVE**:

(339) Dom Estevão da Gama **ficou enfadado** do pouco respeito, que em Portugal se lhe dava… (Diogo do Couto *Décadas*)

(340) O Judeo, que guiou a Dom Christovão da Gama, vendo as maravilhas que os Portugueses fizeram, **ficou pasmado**, e pedio a Dom Christovão que o fizesse Christão a él… (Diogo do Couto *Décadas*)

(341) ElRei de Zeilá com o socorro dos Turcos **ficou tão soberbo**, e confiado, que foi logo buscar Dom Christovão…(Diogo do Couto *Décadas*)

(342) Os Capitães Fidalgos, e todos os mais **ficaram embaraçados** com tão subita mudança, sem lhes o Governador dar conta do que passava. (Diogo do Couto *Décadas*)

(343) O Governador **ficou sobresaltado**, porque lhe tinha Coge Cemaçadim metido em cabeça, que o tesouro não passava de um milhão de ouro. (Diogo do Couto *Décadas*)

(344) Ruy Gonçalves **ficou triste** de ver esta tão subita mudança, e não podendo al fazer, se embarcou, e chegou a Goa, dando conta ao Governador das cousas que passara com Coge Cemaçadim, que êle em estremo sentio, por lhe escapar daquela feita das mãos. (Diogo do Couto *Décadas*)

(345) O Governador, tanto que soube da prisão do Embaixador, **ficou melancolizado**, … (Diogo do Couto *Décadas*)
Adverb – Verb – (Adverb) – Subject – (Adverb) – Predicative:

(346) Mas ElRei não se quietou, e assim **ficou** aquele inverno a nossa fortaleza **fechada** sem comunicação da Cidade, donde lhe iam os provimentos, que lhe começaram a faltar. (Diogo do Couto *Décadas*)

(347) Daqui **ficaram** os Portugueses **desacreditados** naquele Reino, que correo sempre com o Estado em grande amizade; (Diogo do Couto *Décadas*)

(348) E assi **fica** Heitor **louvádo** de cavaleiro em grão superlativo. (João de Barros, *Gramática da língua portuguesa*)

(349) E, tirando a cada nome destes o seu pronome, dizendo: Joám de Bárrios escrevo Gramática pera António, **fica** ésta linguagem **imperfeita**. (João de Barros, *Gramática da língua portuguesa*)

(350) Se más nam dissér, **fica** ésta **oraçám** **imperfeita**; (João de Barros, *Gramática da língua portuguesa*)

(351) E assi **fica** aquéla **lêtera** **líquida**, (João de Barros, *Gramática da língua portuguesa*)

(352) Com a primeyra vista destas suas fanfarrices **ficamos** nos **algun tanto embaraçados**. (Fernão Mendes Pinto, *Perigrinação*)

(353) ... em fim se vieraõ a concertar que o Capitão da nossa nao lhe desse doze homens dos quinze que Fernão de Morais lhe pidia, de que elle **ficou** satisfeito, & destes fuy eu tambem hum, por ser sempre o mais engeitado, & com isto **ficarão** ambos **auindos**. (Fernão Mendes Pinto, *Perigrinação*)

(354) Iteem: quando de ca partistes, eu avia por meu serviço que fezeseys neste negocio o que largamente cóvosquo foy praticado; por que, de vos cócertades nelle por aquela soma que se vos ca apôtou, quando d’outra maneira ho ná podesyeys fazer, era porque parecia que assentando-se esta deferencia da carta de marca, e ficando o tempo de paz amtre ho emperador e el Rey de França, como então parecia que estava, **ficava** a navegçaõm dos mares **sem nele poder aver outro periguo senam de um ladram**, que muy pouco nojo pode fazer. (D. João III, *Cartas*)

Adverb – Verb – (Adverb) – Predicative – Subject:

This is the only example of a subject that is new information. With only one example it is difficult to draw any significant conclusions, especially since this example could just as well be interpreted as an unaccusative verb with a predicative adjective modifying the subject rather than as a pure copula verb. Nevertheless, we can observe that the subject and the predicate, being both new information, could appear in either position SP or PS if information structure had anything to do with the ordering of the constituents, and that in this case they obey to a heaviness principle.

(355) & arremetendo com estas palavras outra vez á tranqueyra, & dando elles então fogo a uma mina que tinham junto da porta, **ficarão** aly logo **mortos** seis Portugueses & oito escravos, … (Fernão Mendes Pinto, *Perigrinação*)
EXAMPLES WITH OTHER VERBS: (in this period there is only one example, and that is with *amanhecer*). This is an example of verb third, with adverbial sentences that precede the subject. In other words it may be analysed as A#SVP where # marks the clause boundary rather than as ASVP.

(356)  COMO os mais dos miseráveis de nos vinhamos maltratados das feridas, que eraõ grandes & perigosas, ajuntandose a isto a deshumanidade có que naquella triste prisaõ fomos tratados, quando vevo ao outro dia pela menham, dous do conuto dos nove *amanhecerão mortos* ... (Fernão Mendes Pinto, *Perigrinação*)

4.3.2. Word order in predicative clauses in the 2nd half of the 16th century.

Already we find more examples with V1 and V3. Two of the three examples of V3 are with initial sentence adverbials, however. Also, they have the word order APVS and not ASVP, although it is not certain whether that is significant. In the examples (359) and (369) the subject is old information and in (368) and (370) partly old information, and precedes the predicative, while in (360) and (361) and (367) the subject is new information and is placed after the predicative. However, these examples also obey to heaviness restrictions, except for (368), which behaves unlike the others. However, the verb in this sentence is not in agreement with the whole subject, only with the first part, *o Mouro*, and because of this the whole sentence is more difficult to analyse.

Examples with *ficar*:

**SUBJECT – VERB – PREDICATIVE:**

(357)  Deste modo se alcançaria a verdadeira reputação, enfreado sua Majestade o poder de seus inimigos, e tendo seus vassalos exercitados na milícia de contínuas armadas, e a nobreza destes Reinos e dos mais de Espanha *ficaria excelentemente ocupada* ... (Manuel Severino Faria, *Discursos*)

(358)  Dom Antão de Almada (que foy por Embaixador | extraordinario a Inglaterra) *fica assinente* para tratar dos l negocios do Reyno. (Manuel de Galhegos, *Gazeta*)

**ADVERB – VERB – SUBJECT – PREDICATIVE:**

(359)  E porque teus descendentes conheção de cuja mão recebem o Reyno, comporás as tuas armas do preço com que comprei o genero humano, & *ficará* este Reyno *santificado*, amado de mi pela pureza da Fè, & excellencia da piedade. (António Brandão, *Da Monarchia Lusitana*)

**ADVERB – VERB – PREDICATIVE – SUBJECT:**

(360)  Assi *fica mau letrado* o que fora bom sapateiro e não é bom soldado o que fora bom religioso. (Frei Luís de Sousa, *Frei Bertolameu dos Mártires*)
Dos Mouros foi tão excessiva a multidão que pereceu nesta batalha, que afirma Andre de Resende Auctor grave, não só inundarão os campos de sangue barbáro, & ficarão tintos delle os rios Cobres & Terges, mas sobrevindo tempestade de aguas, renovara em os mesmos rios a cór de sangue ... (António Brandão, Da Monarchia Lusitana)

Predicative – Verb – Subject:

Segue-se logo, e bem provado fica, que a razão destes apertos era pura virtude de temperança ... (Frei Luís de Sousa, Frei Bertolameu dos Mártires)

Edificado ficou o prior, não só satisfeito, do que achava no moço; (Frei Luís de Sousa, Frei Bertolameu dos Mártires)

Adverb – Predicative – Verb – Subject:

Onde havia agudeza de engenho com tantas outras boas calidades que temos apontado, fácil fica de entender quanto adiantaria nas letras, no descurso de tão estendido leiturado. (Frei Luís de Sousa, Frei Bertolameu dos Mártires)

E, se no corpo se não corta o pé sem grande sentimento de todos os mais membros, e igualmente dos mais principais, doutrinados ficavam os que a seu cargo tinham julgar do que deviam fazer e com que respeito e mágoa, quando se oferecesse ocasião forçosa de cortar polos pequenos; (Frei Luís de Sousa, Frei Bertolameu dos Mártires)

Seguido isto claro fica que a nenhum Príncipe importa tanto o poder do mar, como ao de Espanha ... (Manuel Severino Faria, Discursos)

Verb – Predicative – Subject:

O que fizerão; mas ficarão mortos quatrocentos, entre os quais morreu Dô Inigo de Baladria governador da cavalleria. (Manuel de Galhegos, Gazeta)

Verb – Subject – Predicative:

Ficou o Mouro, & alguns de sua companhia estirados no campo, & seu cavallo foi dado ao Capitão Portuguez que jazia em terra. (António Brandão, Da Monarchia Lusitana)

Ficaram os amigos tão afeiçoados à conversação daquela noite, que, por fazerem a do outro dia mais comprida, acudiram a ajuntar-se logo depois de se pôr o Sol; (Francisco Rodrigues Lobo, Côrte Na Aldeia e Noites de Inverno)

... durou a pendencia mais de vinte, e quatro | oras; foi-se a pique hum galeão dos Castelhanos, e ficaram alguns destroçados, e todos com muita gente morta (Manuel de Galhegos, Gazeta)

Examples with other verbs (fugir, sair) Both these examples are V2, (371) is SVP and (372) AVSP

... e tanto que ouveraõ vista das frigatas issaraõ de gavia, e arribaraõ sobre ellas, e as canhonearam mais de tres horas até que renderaõ uma, e cõ ella se retiraram vitoriosos para Falmú, e as seis fugirão destroçadas. (Manuel de Galhegos, Gazeta)

Com a observação destas três condições sairá o pintor digno de fama, como o são todos os… (Manuel Pires de Almeida, Poesia e Pintura)
4.3.3. Word order in predicative clauses in the 1st half of the 17th century.

The order Adverb – Verb – Subject – Predicate is by far the most common. Also, there is an increase in clauses where the post verbal predicative adjective precedes the subject. The subjects in (386), (388) and (390) are preceded by the predicate, nevertheless, they are old or referential information. Heaviness restrictions seem to work far better as an explanation for word order in these sentences than information structure does, even though in (390) the subject and the predicative are arguably of the same length. However, in this example both predicative and subject are old information, thus any order should be felicitous. As for the examples (397), (398), (399) and (400), they obey to both the restrictions except for (400) which doesn’t obey to any of them.

Examples with *ficar*:

**Subject – Verb – Predicative:**

(373) ... e só o Rey *ficar defraudado* na Real; ... (Manuel da Costa, *Arte de Furtar*)

(374) Vem a obra feita no dia assinalado; vestem-se todos como palmitos; e só o alfayate *ficar despidos*, e *empenhado* até a morte, ... (Manuel da Costa, *Arte de Furtar*)

(375) Em terra foi outro naufrágio de dous suízaros, que se desafiaram com as taças, como lá Dares e Entelo com os cestos, e andaram tão porfiados vin-hárias ... que nenhum quis ceder e ambos *ficaram mortos* no lugar do conflito, ... (Manuel Bernardes, *Nova Floresta*)

**Adverb – Verb – Subject – Predicative:**

(376) Primeira, porque tudo comparado com os defeitos de outras nesta parte, *ficar* a nossa *mais acreditada*, ... (Manuel da Costa, *Arte de Furtar*)

(377) ... e assim *ficarão* os lucros tão *tenues*, que não podem avançar a duzentos mil cruzados; ... (Manuel da Costa, *Arte de Furtar*)

(378) ... , e assim *ficarão* todos *justificados*, e os circunstantes persuadidos, que tudo hia bem governado conforme aos regimentos da cartilha, ... (Manuel da Costa, *Arte de Furtar*)

(379) Morto o Rey Cardeal, *ficar* a Senhora Dona Catharina só; ... (Manuel da Costa, *Arte de Furtar*)

(380) E ainda que o juramento fora muito voluntario, *ficava* o Reyno *desobrigado* de o guardar, ... (Manuel da Costa, *Arte de Furtar*)

(381) E porque as indignas são, as que por dinheiro sobem aos officios, *ficava* a Republica *mal servida*, e perturbada ... (Manuel da Costa, *Arte de Furtar*)

(382) E nesta resolução *ficar* Sua Majestade *desejoso* de que, quando menos, se consiga não haver hostilidades, com que nos livremos por agora deste cuidado, ... (Vieira, *Cartas*)
(383) ... e nesta ocasião da ausência de El-rei ficaram todos afeiçãoadíssimos ao seu governo; ... (Vieira, Cartas)

(384) Na conveniência, porque, faltando o principal efeito ... , ficará Vosso Mercê exposto à geral desafeição; ... (Melo, Cartas Familiares)

(385) Com isto e com as continuas levas de gente de mar e guerra, para as emprezas de Castella, ficava as nossas desamparadas, e se perdia. (Manuel da Costa, Arte de Furtar)

ADVERB – VERB – (ADVERB) – PREDICATIVE – SUBJECT:

(386) Excluídos assim todos os sobreditos, ficarão no campo sós a Senhora Dona Catharina, e ElRey Dom Filippe: ... (Manuel da Costa, Arte de Furtar)

(387) Esta representaçãon na linha direita de ascendentes nã tem limite: e nas transversais sómente se concede aos filhos, ou filhas dos irmãos, ou irmãos do defunto, de cuja sucessão se trata: e assim ficarão exclusos os mais parentes collaterais, que se acharem fora deste segundo grão, porque nã se estende a elles a representaçã. (Manuel da Costa, Arte de Furtar)

(388) E conforme a isto fica claro o direito da Senhora Dona Catharina, que he melhor, que o de Filippe ... (Manuel da Costa, Arte de Furtar)

(389) Do que temos dito fica assás claro, que Portugal nunca teve unhas para furtar, e que Castella sempre usou dellas. (Manuel da Costa, Arte de Furtar)

(390) Sentença he de eterna verdade, que estabeleçamos primeiro o Reyno de Christo, e logo ficará estabelecido o nosso Reyno, e tudo nos sobejará. (Manuel da Costa, Arte de Furtar)

PREDICATIVE – VERB – SUBJECT:

(391) ... mas mais bem servida ficou a malícia da hospeda, que com hum vintein, que despendeo interessou seis tostoens, que embolçou. (Manuel da Costa, Arte de Furtar)

ADVERB – SUBJECT – VERB – PREDICATIVE:

(392) He o juizo humano, assim como os moldes, ou sinetes, que imprimem em cera, e massa suas figuras: se o molde as tem de serpentes, toda a massa, por sãa que seja, fica cuberta de servandijas, como se as produzira, e estivera corrupta; ... (Manuel da Costa, Arte de Furtar)

(393) Se a guerra for injusta, todos ficarão irregulares, até os seculares, ... (Manuel da Costa, Arte de Furtar)

(394) Se o Sol quando inclina a um dos trópicos prosseguira adiante aquela carreira, o mundo ficará escurecido. (Melo, Tácito Português)

(395) E, finalmente, a mulher vinolenta fica solitária de si mesma,... (Manuel Bernardes, Nova Floresta)

SUBJECT – PREDICATIVE – VERB – ADVERB:

(396) A segunda, quando o Rey o governa contra as mesmas leys. A primeira manifesta fica nos dous Manifestos, e em suas repostas. A segunda se manifestará nas injustiças seguintes. (Manuel da Costa, Arte de Furtar)
**VERB – SUBJECT – PREDICATIVE:**

(397) **Ficou** o Reverendo Padre Prégador *atonito* com tal caso, que houvesse homem no mundo que restituisse em vida, ... (Manuel da Costa, *Arte de Furtar*)

(398) Os Romanos na paz, que fizerão com os Cartagínezes, puzerão-lhes por condição, que lhes entregassem a armada, que tinha: puzerão-lhe o fogo, e **ficarão** todos *quietos*. (Manuel da Costa, *Arte de Furtar*)

(399) ... e **fica** a alma *feita* um deserto. ... (Chagas, *Cartas Espirituais*)

**VERB – PREDICATIVE – SUBJECT:**

(400) **Ficou entendido** o motim, e recolhe-se o decreto do Rey com boa ordenança por duas razões, que se deixão ver. (Manuel da Costa, *Arte de Furtar*)

### 4.3.4. Word order in predicative clauses in the 2nd half of the 17th century.

The number of examples from this period is relatively small, the examples (405), (406), (407) with post verbal subject and predicate show the same pattern as before: both heaviness and information structure can explain the word order.

**EXAMPLES WITH FICAR:**

**SUBJECT – VERB – (ADVERB) – PREDICATIVE:**

(401) ... saíram contra ele os melhores, e todos com assombro do Mestre, que reconheceu grande novidade, **ficaram** contra toda esperança *vencidos*. (Barros, *Padre António Vieira*)

(402) Ambos **ficaremos satisfeitos**: eu, de lograr a companhia de Vossa Mercê ... (José da Cunha Brochado, *Cartas*)

(403) ... o mesmo Turco não **ficaria isento** da ruína geral,... (José da Cunha Brochado, *Cartas*)

(404) ... e Espanha **ficará** tão estabelecida, tão forte, e tão formidável, que ... (Barros, *Padre António Vieira*)

**ADVERB – VERB – SUBJECT – PREDICATIVE:**

(405) Estas são as três sucessões que podem acontecer e com nenhuma delas **fica** Castela *mais poderosa*, nem os nossos interêsses menos bem livrados. (José da Cunha Brochado, *Cartas*)

(406) pois **fica** a Patria *mais illustre* nos filhos que a fazem gloriosa (Maria do Céu, *Madre Elenna da Crus*)

(407) Por êste modo **ficou** a minha alegria *contrapesada* com o meu temor, ... (José da Cunha Brochado, *Cartas*)
**Predicative – Verb – (Adverb) – Subject:**

(408) mas de tão ilustre façanha ficou entre as gentes a memória, senão distinta, sempre gloriosa. (Barros, Padre António Vieira)

**Adverb – Subject – Verb – Predicative:**

(409) pois nunca uma Religiosa fica tão fermoza, como quando se despe do corioso, ...
(Maria do Céu, Madre Elenna da Crus)

**Other Verbs (Sair, Voltar):**

(410) Contra esta celebridade de nome, e aplauso, saiu intrepidamente a emulação, tão cega na própria infâmia, como na ...
(Barros, Padre António Vieira)

(411) Voltou a Serua de Deos para a grade entristecida, ...
(Maria do Céu, Madre Elenna da Crus)

**4.3.5. Word order in predicative clauses in the 1st half of the 18th century.**

What is noteworthy from here on, is the decrease in the number of examples with the subject interpolated between the verb and the predicative adjective. Otherwise, the trends with post verbal subjects and predicatives continue, the post verbal subjects being old information or referential.

**Examples with ficar:**

**Subject – Verb – Predicative:**

(412) Tudo o que assim se dispõe no teatro fica incrível,(…) (Correia Garção, Obras)

(413) As acções de Alexandre, e César, que estavam brevemente para sair à luz no idioma Português, ficam reservadas para serem obras póstumas, ...
(Matias Aires, Reflexões)

(414) … a mais ilustre acção fica infame pelo motivo. (Matias Aires, Reflexões)

(415) … o coração nunca fica indiferente, e sempre recebe com alvoroço a ideia de um ardor amortecido, e como que o reclama. (Matias Aires, Reflexões)

**Adverb – (Adverb) – Verb – Predicative - Subject**

(416) Persuadidos assim de que para mover o terror e a compaixão não é preciso derramar o sangue no teatro, fica menos dificultoso o conhecimento e a contemplação desta doutrina, ...
(Correia Garção, Obras)

(417) … apoderou-se de nós a soberba, cresceu o ódio, e, se não se reformasse a lei, já então ficaria despovoada a Arcádia, o Ménalo sem pastores, e nós, em vez de amigos e de companheiros, jurados inimigos uns dos outros. (Correia Garção, Obras)

(418) Razão? Em Vossa Majestade ficaram concordes, e fáceis aqueles impossíveis. (Matias Aires, Reflexões)
ADVERB – SUBJECT – VERB – PREDICATIVE:

(419) Na lei universal, ninguém ficou isento da dor, nem da tristeza; ... (Matias Aires, Reflexões)

VERB – PREDICATIVE – SUBJECT:

(420) ... então aparecerão opoizores que queira hir rezedir dentro do Colegio e fica tirada toda a dúvida sobre ser o naô Honrozo o emprego ... (Pina Manique, Cartas)

EXAMPLES WITH OTHER VERBS:

Here we find the only example from this period with interpolated subject.

(421) O outro barão, que dá sempre com o pé na peia, entrou acompanhado do conde a quem estas senhoras dizem que deu (Cavaleiro de Oliveira, Cartas)

(422) todos nascem sujeitos ao mesmo princípio, que é a vida, e ao (Matias Aires, Reflexões)

(423) No mesmo retiro temos todo o mundo no coração, e neste vivem as paixões então mais concentradas, e por isso mais vigorosas (Matias Aires, Reflexões)

4.3.6. Word order in predicative clauses in the 2nd half of the 18th century.

Again, the examples are few. In (429), (432) and (433) the post verbal subject is before the predicative. In all these sentences the subject is relatively short, and in two of them it is a pronoun. This seems to be the rule from now on: Not only is the order (A)VSP rare, it also has, with few exceptions, a pronoun subject. Also, an adverb between verb and predicative adjective, as in SVAP must be short as in (435) or (436) and is getting less and less common.

EXAMPLES WITH FICAR AND TORNAR-SE:

SUBJECT – VERB – PREDICATIVE:

(424) A doutrina que vem na carta de minha Mãe fica gravada no fundo da minha alma ... (Marquesa de Alorna, Cartas)

(425) Talvez, minha Senhora, que os dois inimigos do sossêgo de Vossa Alteza Real e os verdugos de uma filha e de uma irmã fiquem bem castigados, quando virem que o Príncipe, de acôrdo com Vossa Alteza Real, toma um partido que êles não esperam e que igualmente lhes tira a esperança de privar Dona Mariana dos bens que lhe pertencem. (Marquesa de Alorna, Cartas)

(426) Os Ílhavos ficaram um tanto abatidos; sem perderem a consciência da sua superioridade, mas acanhados pela algazarra. (Garrett, Viagens na Minha Terra)

(427) Os campinos ficaram abatidos; ... (Garrett, Viagens na Minha Terra)
(428) A conversação tornava-se interessante, especialmente para mim: ... (Garrett, Viagens na Minha Terra)

ADVERB – VERB – SUBJECT – PREDICATIVE:

(429) Só assim ficaria eu contente. (Marquesa de Alorna, Cartas)

ADVERB – VERB – PREDICATIVE – SUBJECT:

(430) também ficaram imortalizados o hirsuto João Burro, o desengonçado Raiz d’Abrota, o Mal Lavado e outros muitos desta pasmosa jerarquia, ... (Costa, 6 Entremeses de Cordel)

ADVERB – SUBJECT – VERB – PREDICATIVE:

(431) Se se desse o valor que merecem outras cousas, logo estas ficavam menos ponderáveis. (Marquesa de Alorna, Cartas)

VERB – SUBJECT – PREDICATIVE:

(432) E ao primeiro abrenuntio do santo, dissipava-se a beleza em muito fumo de enxofre, e ficava o diabo negro feio e cabrum como quem é, e sempre foi o pai da mentira. (Garrett, Viagens na Minha Terra)

(433) Dei a minha demissão desejada e suspirada, fizeram-me o favor de acceitar, e ficamos todos bons amigos como d’antes. (Garrett, Cartas)

VERB – PREDICATIVE – SUBJECT:

(434) o Conde de Gortz abalou o sistema geral da Europa, fez vacilar a tripla e quádrupla aliança e finalmente perdeu a cabeça sobre um cadafalso e ficaram frustrados os esforços com que soliciitava a causa justa da casa de Stuart. (Marquesa de Alorna, Cartas)

EXAMPLES WITH OTHER VERBS:

(435) Eu parto daqui persuadida que tenho inimigos, e poderosos. (Marquesa de Alorna, Cartas)

(436) A Senhora Infanta de Hespanha chegou aqui bastante doente, ... (Garrett, Cartas)

4.3.7. Word order in predicative clauses in the 1st half of the 19th century.

Again, very few examples, and again we find only one example of (A)VSP, also with a pronoun subject (439).

EXAMPLES WITH FICAR AND TORNAR-SE:

SUBJECT – VERB - PREDICATIVE

(437) Sua Alteza sahiu da audiencia, recolhendo-se á sua camara, acompanhado de todos os officiaes da sua casa, e eu fiquei entregue a Frei Claudio, meu patricio de Bemfica, ... (Marquês da Fronteira e d’Alorna. Memórias)
Simão Botelho tornou-se odioso aos condiscípulos, ... (Camilo, *Amor de Perdição*)

**ADVERB – VERB – SUBJECT – PREDICATIVE:**

Não **ficara** ela incólume da ferida que fizera no coração do vizinho: ... (Camilo, *Amor de Perdição*)

**SUBJECT (TOPIC) – ADVERB – VERB – PREDICATIVE:**

A Bertha desde que se apanhou com as rédeas do governo **tornou-se forreta** ... (Ramalho Ortigão, *Cartas a Emília*)

**EXAMPLES WITH OTHER VERBS:**

All these examples are SV(A)P.

Estes bons corações **passam** entre nós **mordidos, espavoridos**, com os dedos no nariz, e vão deixando os paletós nas mãos incontinentes das Zuleikas. Camilo Castelo Branco, Maria Moisés

O povoléu intacto **fugira espavorido**, ... (Camilo, *Amor de Perdição*)

O provinciano **saiu** das masmorras da Junqueira **ilhado** da infamante nódoa, ... (Camilo, *Amor de Perdição*)

**4.3.8. Word order in predicative clauses in the 2nd half of the 19th century.**

There are only three examples with a post verbal subject. This coincides with the statistics presented for unaccusative constructions. Only short adverbs and subjects can come between the verb and the predicative adjective.

**EXAMPLES WITH FICAR:**

**SUBJECT – VERB – PREDICATIVE:**

Riem-se, uma **fica cismática** e a patroa continua: ... (Raúl Brandão, *Os Pobres*)

E todos **ficaram românticos**. (Almada Negreiros, *Direcção Única*)

E todo aquele que queira encontrar dentro de si mesmo a sua própria personalidade, **ficará romanticamente sozinho** no meio das multidões, ... (Almada Negreiros, *Direcção Única*)

todavia, estas facilidades **ficavam bem subtraídas** quando acontecia ser a altura de atravessar uma dessas rochas gigantescas que há no subsolo. (Almada Negreiros, *O Cágado*)

Sócrates não **ficou mais inteiramente subjugado**, ao seu primeiro encontro com Alcibiades. (Botelho, *O Barão de Lavos*)

O homem que era muito senhor da sua vontade **ficou radiante**... (Almada Negreiros, *O Cágado*)
(450) E eu **fiquei passada**. (Raúl Brandão, *Os Pobres*)

(451) E a necessidade de inventar todos os dias **tornava-se-lhe tão dolorosa**, mais dolorosa ainda, do que a de pedir esmola. (Raúl Brandão, *Os Pobres*)

(452) A fascинаção **tornou-se completa, doida, quase dolorosa**. (Botelho, *O Barão de Lavos*)

**ADVERB – SUBJECT – VERB – PREDICATIVE:**

(453) Pouco a pouco os seus movimentos **se tornavam** mais **rápidos** até que por último, num espasmo, as suas bocas se uniram e ... (Sá-Carneiro, *A confissão de Lúcio*)

**VERB – SUBJECT – PREDICATIVE – ADVERB:**

(454) E **ficavam** os dois **resguardados** pelo mesmo guarda-chuva. (Botelho, *O Barão de Lavos*)

**PREDICATIVE – VERB – SUBJECT:**

(455) ... e quanto mais pobres, mais **necessário se torna** juntarem-se e arquitectarem uma mentira, ... (Raúl Brandão, *Os Pobres*)

Examples with other verbs:

**SUBJECT – VERB – PREDICATIVE – (ADVERB):**

(456) A sua grande paixão **passou despercebida** aos olhos de toda a gente. (Espanca, *A paixão de Manuel Garcia*)

(457) As palavras **caem perdidas** no chão. (Almada Negreiros, *Direcção Única*)

(458) Então, sem medo já que dessem por mim corri a abrir a lucarna, e o dia **entrou humedecido** pela neblina cheirosa da manhã. (Fialho de Almeida, *Contos*)

(459) Goethe **morreu velho**. (Almada Negreiros, *Direcção Única*)

(460) O homem **passa indiferente**, mas eu sinto-me enlouquecer diante das coisas mais simples: (Raúl Brandão, *Os Pobres*)

(461) O homem **passa inconsciente**, mas eu tremo de pavor. (Raúl Brandão, *Os Pobres*)

(462) As nossas vidas **passavam torturadas** de ânsias, e incomprenções, de agonias de sombra... (Sá-Carneiro, *A confissão de Lúcio*)

(463) Inclusive, a própria descoberta do centro da Terra, que tão bem podia servir de regozijo ao que se aventura pelas entranhas do nosso planeta, **passou infelizmente desapercibida** ao homem que era muito senhor da sua vontade. (Almada Negreiros, *O Cágado*)

(464) Tinham-lhe dado escritas, mas faltava a luz dos olhos, e a vida de expedientes **tornara, mais aziaga**. (Raúl Brandão, *Os Pobres*)

**ADVERB – VERB – PREDICATIVE – SUBJECT:**

(465) Num grito **existe** sempre **viva** uma porção de beleza. (Raúl Brandão, *Os Pobres*)
**SUBJECT** (TOPIC) – **ADVERB** – **VERB** – **PREDICATIVE:**

(466) O meu olhar, que sai da escuridão recente, ao encontrar-se de novo com o Mundo, *cerra-se aflito e atónito*. (Jaime Cortesão, *A batalha do Lys*)

**ADVERB** – **SUBJECT** – **VERB** – **PREDICATIVE:**

(467) No intervalo, o barão *saiu excitadíssimo*. (Botelho, *O Barão de Lavos*)

### 4.3.9. Word order in predicative clauses in the 1st half of the 20th century.

Only two examples were found from this period, both **SUBJECT** – **VERB** – **Predicate**

(468) Todo o eito se ria, a moça continuava a distribuir as tigelas, e a fome, a fadiga, a injustiça e as demais inclemências da natureza e dos homens, *ficavam esquecidas* por um momento. (Torga, *O leproso*)

(469) Os codessos *desapareciam devorados* pela boca das chamas ... (Torga, *O leproso*)

### 4.3.10. Word order in predicative clauses in the 2nd half of the 20th century.

The predominant word order in this period is **SVP**. All the examples in which the subject is preceded by the verb, both **AVPS** and **AVSP** have subjects carrying new information. This contrasts with what we found in the 16th century, where no such information structure was detected. The examples from the centuries in between are too few to point to any shift in the codification of information structure, but few as they are, they seem to show a gradual decrease in post verbal subject in general and in subjects that carry no new information in particular. There are numerous examples of **V3**, as in (511) - (518) and (296) - (297). This also coincides with the previous findings for unaccusative verbs.

**SUBJECT** – **VERB** – **PREDICATIVE:**

(470) Para já, a Comissão Europeia não será encurtada. Todos *ficam representados* (headline) (*Público online*)

(471) A automotora *ficou completamente destruída*. (*Público online*)

(472) Dois dos vagões do comboio de mercadorias *ficaram* também *viradas*, havendo ainda a registar importantes estragos nas catenárias. (*Público online*)

(473) A Albânia *ficou ontem entregue* a si própria, ... (*Público online*)

(474) O escândalo *ficou conhecido* por “caso Harrods”.... (*Público online*)

(475) O cenário *ficou composto* quando alguns jogadores aproveitaram a espera para falar entre si do mercado de capitais, ... (*Público online*)

(476) Os portugueses *ficaram satisfeitos*, conseguiram a sua melhor participação de sempre, ... (*Público online*)

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Jackson, Pippen e Jordan farão juntos mais uma época e depois será o fim de uma era: o técnico vai-se embora, Pippen ficará senhor do seu destino e Jordan pretende retirar-se. (Público online)

... a presença do Crédit em Portugal ficará reduzida ao mercado das grandes empresas e ao mercado de capitais. (Público online)

A instituição ficará, assim, esvaziada da sua vocação tradicional: a banca de retalho. (Público online)

A fábrica, situada numa zona afastada da povoação e muito perto do IP5, ficou totalmente destruída. (Público online)

O pedido de excepção fica completo com a solicitação de alterar a tripulação nos voos de médio curso ... (Público online)

A casa ficou abandonada por muito tempo mas "ouviam-se portas a bater, vozes, as cortinas mexiam, caíam pedras", conta Agustília. (Público online)

"O sogro maltratou a nora e desde então o marido ficou nervoso, e não consegue ter crianças". (Público online)

Ninguém ficou mais surpreendido do que ele por se ver com uma história daquelas nas mãos. (Público online)

... e a própria estação de Pinto Balsemão também não ficou isenta de críticas dos desembargadores. (Público online)

Três mulheres morreram ontem e outras duas ficaram gravemente feridas na explosão de uma fábrica de pirotecnia ... (Público online)

Duas pessoas ficaram feridas. (Público online)

Duas pessoas morreram e duas outras ficaram gravemente feridas. (Público online)

Andrew Vicari ficou conhecido nos anos 70 por ter sido o primeiro pintor autorizado a representar os membros da dinastia saudita. (Público online)

Os centrais ficam juntos, no meio, quando, muitas vezes, o seguro Gamarra podia dar conta do recado. (Público online)

A grande surpresa prometida para o intervalo ficou guardada para o fim, à espera de melhor ambiente. (Público online)

Artur Jorge ficou, naturalmente, pouco satisfeito com a operação de Vítor Baía. (Público online)

Houve um acidente, os senhores ficaram aborrecidos e foram-se embora. (Público online)

Ninguém ficou indiferente ao espectáculo alucinante que Meira Asher apresentou, sábado, no festival Ritmos/Festas do Mundo, que ontem terminou no Porto. (Público online)

A Quinta das Colinas ficava demasiado desprotegida no alto do monte ... (Viegas, Troca de correspondência)

Julie ficou encantada por ter visitas porque, como sabes, nas ilhas quer-se muito ter companhia. (Viegas, Troca de correspondência)
A sala ficou de repente muito fria, quando Rosário acabou de ler esta carta, escrita na mesma letra inclinada e miúda de sempre. (Viegas, *Trocada de correspondência*)

O percurso toalha-banho torna-se então uma grande dor de cabeça para os veraneantes. (*Público online*)

As fotografias tornam-se, assim, indispensáveis para a construção de uma relação ...

(500) os genes de resistência foram desactivados antes de poderem dar origem à produção de proteínas e as bactérias tornaram-se sensíveis aos antibióticos. (*Público online*)

... há o Tejo, claro, mas o rio tornou-se moda ...

O negócio tornou-se de tal forma próspero que os líderes da organização começaram ...

O ritmo de construção tornou-se de tal modo frenético, que não tardou que começassem a ...

ADVERB – VERB – SUBJECT – PREDICATIVE:

(504) Não ficava nada escrito, mas ...

(505) Sem dinheiro “fica tudo inviabilizado” no Pólo de Angra do Heroísmo bem como “a esperança” de se iniciarem as obras no Departamento de Oceanografia e Pescas, na cidade da Horta. (*Público online*)

ADVERB – VERB – PREDICATIVE – SUBJECT:

(506) Na última dessas reuniões, promovida pelo autarca social-democrata, em Maio de 1994, ficou decidido que, em vez da execução do plano de pormenor, se procederia a uma alteração de pormenor ao Plano de Urbanização da Costa do Sol ...

(507) Apesar destas duas excepções, ficou demonstrado que os licenciamentos de 1989 e 1995 do imóvel com quatro pisos de Abílio Gomes não se processaram em conformidade com PUCS. (*Público online*)

(508) Para já, fica também cancelada a construção de duas residências universitárias na ilha Terceira. (*Público online*)

(509) Em reunião geral de trabalhadores realizada segunda-feira ficou decidido aguardar até ao proximo dia 22 de Agosto uma resposta da administração da Portucel Viana relativamente ao cumprimento do acordo da empresa e ao arquivamento do processo disciplinar. (*Público online*)

(510) Desde logo ficou marcado novo plenário para 25 de Agosto ...

ADVERB – SUBJECT – VERB – PREDICATIVE:

(511) Há 13 anos, João Henrique Loja ... ficou surpreendido não só com o elevado consumo de álcool “per capita” no concelho como também pela forte correlação entre algumas causas de morte e a existência de “antecedentes alcoólicos” nas suas vítimas. (*Público online*)

(512) Neste cenário, a rotação ficaria adiada para depois do alargamento. (*Público online*)
(513) Das cerca de 30 pessoas que viajavam no barco, 27 ficaram feridas, ... (Público online)

(514) Quando os italianos subiram no terreno, Bruno Caires ficou perdido - e só - na suas zona de acção, deixando de defender e de atacar. (Público online)

(515) Depois de muitas alterações e algumas irritações, a polémica ficou finalmente ontem resolvida. (Público online)

(516) Ao longo dos séculos, as cidades tornaram-se sinónimo de prosperidade e de progresso. (Público online)

(517) No aeroporto de Barcelona, as coisas tornaram-se mais complicadas. (Público online)

(518) Para lá da retórica diplomática de conveniência, a independência do Kosovo tornou-se um dado irreversível e dele se deve partir para pensar (Público online)

VERB – PREDICATIVE – SUBJECT:

(519) Fica assim assumido o compromisso por parte do ... (Público online)

Examples with other verbs:

SUBJECT – VERB – (ADVERB) – PREDICATIVE:

(520) Quem procurava a festa - que também não chegou a acontecer na primeira parte, com a actuação dos Istanbul Oriental Ensemble a pautar-se por alguma monotonia - saiu machucado debaixo dos gritos de “Morram!” Morram! Morram!” (Público online)

(521) Este tipo de estratégia, normalmente acentuada em períodos de campanha, não passa, no entanto, desapercebida a alguns munícipes. (Público online)

4.3.11. Summary of the predicative clauses.

The predicative clauses behave in the same way as the unaccusatives with regard to verb-second phenomena in the 16th century as well as regarding the increasing number of preverbal subjects and ASV structures in the 20th century. The following points summarize this:

1. In adverb-initial clauses in the 16th century, the verb but not the predicative precedes the subject. This corresponds to structures in V2 languages. In terms of moving, it suggests that the verb has moved but the subject has stayed in place. While the 16th century post verbal subjects occurred mainly directly after the verb but before the predicative, 20th century ones occur after the predicative in the relatively few cases where they occur post verbally at all.

2. The number of post verbal subjects has decreased and they are, in the 20th century, restricted to those that carry new information only.

3. The number of V3 clauses that begins with Adverb – Subject – Verb has increased. While such V3 clauses normally had adverbial sentences in the earlier periods, in the
20th century they are just as often temporal and local adverbs that previously would have prevented the subject from occurring before the verb.

4.4. Information status of the subjects in main clauses

In modern Portuguese the information status of the subject is what determines the word order with unaccusative verbs. This was not the case in past stages of the language.

The information status of the subject has been analyzed as being either previously mentioned or referring to something previously mentioned, as part of a previously mentioned entity or as not previously mentioned in the text. As will be discussed later in Chapter 5 and 7, modern Portuguese does not have post verbal subjects that do not contain new information. This is what João Costa refers to as the “avoid focus” rule, which works for modern Portuguese, but does not apply to earlier stages of the language. The table below shows the information status of the subject in post verbal and preverbal position:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prev</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.18: Information status of the subject in post verbal (VS) and preverbal (SV) position. Prev means previously mentioned subject, ref means referring to a previously mentioned entity, part means that only part of the subject has been mentioned before and carries some new information and not means not previously mentioned. Predicative constructions are also counted in this table.

The figures in table 4.18 are illustrated in Diagram 4:
Diagram 4 Percentage of subjects that are in VS position in main clauses. We see a decrease in VS both for subjects that are old information and new information. For subjects that are old information, there is a decrease from 66% in the second half of the 16th century to 6% in the second half of the 20th century.

From table 4.18 and diagram 4 we can draw the conclusion that something other than information status alone determined the word order in earlier stages of Portuguese. While we will return to discuss discourse structures in Chapter 6, some tendencies can be pointed out already: While in the 20th century the previously mentioned subjects and the referential ones in VS sentences contain old information, they also contain some new information, in the form of a relative sentence or an adjectival modification of some sort. This allows them to stay in post verbal position. At the other end of the scale, in the first part of the 16th century, the preverbal subjects are almost all old information. Only very few have not been mentioned before, and they are special cases: One is a grammatical example taken from a grammar of the Portuguese language(522), another is a letter where the subject obviously was mentioned in previous correspondence (523) while a third is a clausal subject (524) that, even if it hasn’t been mentioned before somehow is built up in a way that evokes such an association.

(522) Vêrbo neutro, em nóssa linguágem, será aquele que se nam pôde converter ao módo passivo, e cuja auçâm nam pássa em outra cousa, assi como: estou, ando, venho, vou, fico, e outros que podemos conhecer per este exemplo: Os hómens que vam a Paris e estão no estudo pouco tempo, e fólgam de levár bôa vida, nam ficam com muita doutrina. (João de Barros, Gramática da língua portuguesa)

(523) DOM AMTONIO, amiguo. Eu, elRey, vos emvio muyto saudar. O voso criado, que me enviastes com vosas cartas de XIX e vinte de julho pasado, chegou aqui, segunda feira deradeira do dito mes. (D. João III, Cartas)

(524) E tudo o mais que restava do dia & da noite seguinte, se passou com assas de trabalho, & com boa vigia. (Fernão Mendes Pinto, Perigrinação)

In the centuries in between, the patterns are less clear, but we do see a gradual change towards a pattern where only new information can occur post verbally.
4.5. Type of verb

A theoretical assumption in this thesis is that unaccusativity is semantically based, and surfaces in syntax. However, unaccusatives are not one homogeneous group of verbs, and neither are transitives and unergatives. In Chapter 3, some subgroups of unaccusative verbs have been outlined, and we do not expect these groups to show the same behaviour. One thing that will vary, is the selection of arguments. As will be shown in section 4.6. below, some verbs are more likely to select animate subjects than others. The present section contains data about the information status of the subjects with verbs from different groups.

A subgroup of verbs of existence and appearance, are verbs of appearance. These verbs are the ones that originally were on Perlmutter’s (1976) list. Because these verbs often serve to introduce new topics, we would expect them to have more subjects that have not been mentioned before in the text, compared to for instance verbs of movement. Because of the correlation between information structure and definiteness, we would also expect them to have more indefinite subjects. These assumptions are confirmed by the data below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Verbs of Existence and appearance</th>
<th>Verbs of movement</th>
<th>Verbs of change of state</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prev. or ref.</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part. or not</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 4.19: In the first row, number of subjects that have been previously mentioned in the text or that refer to something previously mentioned, in the second row, number of subjects that have not been mentioned, or that have only partly been mentioned and therefore contain new information.*

In table 4.19 above, we see that there is in fact more new information with verbs of existence and appearance than with verbs of movement. If the material had been further analysed, to only deal with verbs of appearance, the pattern would have become even clearer.29

A similar pattern is found if we look at definiteness:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Verbs of existence and appearance</th>
<th>Verbs of movement</th>
<th>Verbs of change of state</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Definite</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indefinite</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 4.20: In the first row, definite subjects, in the second indefinites. Pronouns are not counted.*

In table 4.20 above, we find a surprisingly high number of definite subjects with existentials, considering what we found out about information structure. This can partly be attributed to a special type of use of generic definiteness, that we see in the following examples:

---

29 I leave this for future study.
Acabaram-se os chapéus dos mais variados modelos, ou as vestimentas coloridas (Público online)

Em comum existe a indefinição que teima em pairar nos cartazes autárquicos. (Público online)

Falta a licença de utilização (Público online)

porque não tínhamos forças, para lhes resistir; e ainda que tínhamos os antigos brios, faltavam os brios do governo, e o cabedal, que nos devorava Castella. (Manuel da Costa: Arte de Furtar)

We also see that for verbs of movement and verbs of change of state there is a great difference between the number of definites and the number of indefinites. In the next section I shall examine the relationship between the verb classes and animateness. We expect verbs of movement to have more animate subjects than verbs of existence and appearance and verbs of change of state when used in an unaccusative context.

4.6. Animateness of the subject in main clauses

Below are the results on animate vs. inanimate subjects with unaccusative verbs in the corpus. In the first table, table 4.21, is the total number of animate and inanimate subjects in all centuries. We see that there are somewhat more inanimate than animate subjects, and that they follow the general tendency to become more and more preverbal, whether they are animate or not. However, there is also a general tendency for animates to be relatively more preverbal than inanimates.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Animate</th>
<th>Inanimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SV</td>
<td>VS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1497-1549</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1550-1599</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600-1649</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1650-1699</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700-1749</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1750-1799</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800-1849</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850-1899</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-1949</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950-1999</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.21. Animate vs inanimate subjects in main clauses with finite verb
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Animate</th>
<th></th>
<th>Inanimate</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SV</td>
<td>VS</td>
<td>SV</td>
<td>VS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1497-1549</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1550-1599</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600-1649</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1650-1699</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700-1749</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1750-1799</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800-1849</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850-1899</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-1949</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950-1999</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>87</strong></td>
<td><strong>87</strong></td>
<td><strong>168</strong></td>
<td><strong>228</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.22. Animate vs inanimate subjects in main clauses with finite verbs of change of state (64 examples)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Animate</th>
<th></th>
<th>Inanimate</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SV</td>
<td>VS</td>
<td>SV</td>
<td>VS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1497-1549</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1550-1599</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600-1649</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1650-1699</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700-1749</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1750-1799</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800-1849</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850-1899</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-1949</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950-1999</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>141</strong></td>
<td><strong>103</strong></td>
<td><strong>105</strong></td>
<td><strong>124</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.23. Animate vs inanimate subjects in main clauses with finite verbs of existence (796 examples)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Animate</th>
<th></th>
<th>Inanimate</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SV</td>
<td>VS</td>
<td>SV</td>
<td>VS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1497-1549</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1550-1599</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600-1649</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1650-1699</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700-1749</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1750-1799</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800-1849</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850-1899</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-1949</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950-1999</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>353</strong></td>
<td><strong>248</strong></td>
<td><strong>351</strong></td>
<td><strong>248</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.24. Animate vs inanimate subjects in main clauses with finite verbs of motion (780 examples)

4.7. The word order in subordinate clauses

The subordinate clauses have been analysed according to the same patterns as the main clauses. In the following, we are interested in whether or not adverb placement affects the
subject position. The terms V1 and V3 refer to the position of the verb when we start counting after the subjunction or the relative.

In subordinate clauses the subject is often the same as in the main clause, or it is a relative pronoun. When the subject is the same as in the main clause, it is usually not expressed. When the subject is a relative pronoun, it will invariably occur in the same place. In the statistics below, relative pronouns have not been counted. If they had been counted, we would have had a larger proportion of SV clauses. Counting as we do, we expect a high number of V1, but most of all a high number of clauses with no explicit subject. In fact, while 69 % of the main clauses have a subject expression, only 48 % of the subordinate clauses have one. For this reason we expect not only a high number of V1, but also a lower number of V3 than we found in the main clauses. This is indeed confirmed by the data.

The following sections contain very many examples without a lot of comments, just like section 4.2. While this may seem annoying to some readers, others may find it useful to see all the data.  

4.7.1. Word order in the 1st half of the 16th century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Preverbal subject</th>
<th>Post verbal subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SV</td>
<td>SVA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(SVAA4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.25. Word order in texts from authors born between 1497 and 1549.

I am thinking that different introductions to subordinate clauses may for instance result in different word orders. It is not within the scope of this thesis to study all the different types of introductions. Pádua cites, among the introductions that provoke inversion in Old Portuguese, the following list

(1) The subordinate is introduced by declarative verbs
(2) The subordinate is introduced by sensing verbs
(3) The subordinate is introduced by the verb fazer
(4) The subordinate is introduced by the verb ter
(5) The verb is immediately preceded by an adverb
(6) The subject is “heavy”
(7) The subject is pronominal and the antecedent of a relative
(8) The subject is an interrogative pronoun introducing the next sentence.

Because we are interested not only in the subordinate clause itself but also in what precedes it, the examples are not only numerous, but also rather long.
ASV

(530) E mandava expressamente, que [...] em quanto durasse aquele negócio, nem navios nossos entrassem àqueles portos, nem os Turcos saíssem fôra deles com suas galés. (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(531) ... & de tal maneyra foraõ tratados, que do numero dos cinquenta & quatro que erão por todos, sós onze ficaraõ com vida, dos quais ao outro dia falleceraõ dous, que os Turcos fizeraõ em quartos,... (Fernão Mendes Pinto, Perigrinação)

(532) ... porque, como já disse quando tratei do açento, as cousas que compétem aos poétas ficarãm pera quando for restituído a este reino o uso das tróvas. (João de Barros, Gramática da língua portuguesa)

SAV

Of the 8 examples of SAV, only 2 are not with short adverbs:

(533) ... uma baía á maneira de concha, onde o mar em tempo dos Ponentes quebra, ... (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(534) ... e cõ taes dilligençias sam certo que as armadas, cõ ajuda de Noso Senhor, partiram a seus tempos. (D. João III, Cartas)

V1

VS

(535) ... e porque lhes faltavam mantimentos, embarcou-se o Villa-Lobos na galeota, ... (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(536) Após estas novas lhe chegaram outras, de como o Xircan era ido pera as partes de Bengalá a acudir a alguns Reinos, que se lhe rebelaram, e que ficava o de Deli, e todos os mais com pouco cabedal, ... (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(537) Os fidalgos que iam derredor dele, receando que lhe acontecesse algum desastre, ... (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(538) ... porque se lhe acontecesse um desastre se perderia tudo. (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(539) ... parece que lhe aconteceo um desastre, ou desgraça, de que envergonhado êle, porque era muito pontual, fugio da Corte e se foi a Salamanca, ... (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(540) E em quanto se passam êstes apercebimentos, é necessário que os deixemos um pouco,... (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(541) ... vendo que tinha o Senhor de Caez uma Ilha deserta, pegada a seu senhoria, chamada Gerum, por cuja porta passavam tôdas as náos, que entravam pera dentro do estreito; ... (Diogo do Couto Décadas)
(542) … matando em batalha o Califa de Babilónia, Mustassem Mubilo, em quem se
acabaram os Califas dos Arábios. (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(543) Boceta, onde se encerra a muito fina, e preciosa esmeralda. (Diogo do Couto
Décadas)

(544) Constituio um arrezoado Morgado, que deixou a seu filho Pero Lopes de Sousa, em
que entrava a Vila de Alcoentre. (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(545) … por quem lhe mandou um curioso, e rico presente de sedas, e brocados da Europa,
en que entrava uma peça, que custou a dez mil reis o covado. (Diogo do Couto
Décadas)

(546) … áquela parte, por onde diziam que entravam os inimigos, … (Diogo do Couto
Décadas)

(547) E assim ordenou outros dous batalhões de outros três mil homens cada um, e na testa
poz trezentos de cavallo, em que entravam os Portuguezes, querendo-se tambéem o
Imperador achar com eles, pedindo-lhe eles muito por mercê, que os deixasse sós.
(Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(548) E dando muita pressa a tudo, tanto que entrou o mez de Julho, deitou ao mar tôdas as
galés, e navios de remo, … (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(549) … e de como foi desbaratado o Hamau, e lhe nasceu seu filho herdeiro. (Diogo do
Couto Décadas)

(550) … herdeiro de seus Estados, dantre quem nasceu o Principe Carlos, de cujo parto ela
faleceu. (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(551) … sendo o primeiro que neles rompeum António Cardoso, criado d'ElRei, homem
nobre, que vendo o Capitão dos Mouros diante, enrestando a lança, o encontrou de
meio a meio, … (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(552) … e lhes deo por regimento, que fôssem áquelas Ilhas a buscar mantimentos, com
que tornaria a galeota, … (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(553) … e todavia nunca havia de passar a linha perpendicular da cabeça diante do pé,
porque caíra a fegura d’outra maneira, exceto quando corre muito que ha de passar
até quasi como que cae a fegura. (Francisco de Holanda, Da Pintura Antiga)

(554) As aselhas onde o pescoço acaba e começa o peito não se querem largas, …
(Francisco de Holanda, Da Pintura Antiga)

(555) Chamavão os antigos ao desenho que elles em muito tinhão, as linhas ou liniamentos
do corpo, que afirmavão ser mais que tudo, e onde se encerrava o fim da arte …
(Francisco de Holanda, Da Pintura Antiga)

(556) … trezentas peças de bater, em que entravam doze Basaliscos; … (Fernão Mendes
Pinto, Perigrinação)

(557) ao quál se segue vogálo como: … (João de Barros, Gramática da língua portuguesa)

(558) E poderes dizer, se vos parecer necessario, que me chegou esta nova, sem dizerdes
que o meu capitá he em busca das dita naaos francezes. (D. João III, Cartas)

(559) E porem, se o negocio estaa em termos que por estes dous ou tres dias posaes escusar
de dizer isto, asy o fazee, atee que vos chegou meu recado; o quál nõ pasara estes tres
dias de partyr d’aquy, e yra em toda diligência. (D. João III, Cartas)
E porém, se depois que vos dizer que o fará, o nom fizer, ou virdes que o dilata e nõ o quer fazer, lhe dires que vos parece já pouco necesaria la vosa estada, e vos vindes a me dar conta do que la pasastes, e que fica o doutor Gaspar Vaaz, meu embaixador, que a ele podera Responder ou mandar o que nõ ouver por seu serviço. (D. João III, Cartas)

E asy mesmo, quando lhe acabardes de falar como acima diguo, e vos nõ deber alguma palavra de milhor esperança, lhe dires logo que vos vindes, e que fica Guaspar Vaaz, que podem bem veer o que ele niso fezzer, e fãzer o que lhe eu mandar que faça. (D. João III, Cartas)

… averey por bem que pratiquestes lloguo com elle de que maneira fica a fortaleza, e com quantos homens, e como fica de mantimentos e das outras cousas necessarias, (D. João III, Cartas)

porque se ficaram tam poucos Portugeses e ella tam fraca, que lhes leyyxou mandado que, se fosem Franceses, se sallvasem pella terra, e os nom esperasem; e isto se podia fazer. (D. João III, Cartas)

… que não pareçia que fiquaria outra nenhuma cousa por fazer; … (D. João III, Cartas)

Cô esta vos vay provysã pera se arrecadar na casa, tanto que se acabar o arrendamento que corre. (D. João III, Cartas)

em caso que asentes o dito concerto, na spritura que d’iso se fizer teres grande lenbrança que nó entre nenhum proemio, nem palavra, que soy maneira de liga, nem confederaçam, nem aliança, crara nem duvidosamente, mas que vaa no mais chão modo, … (D. João III, Cartas)

… quanto me pesava de poder aver cousa antre nos de que se seguissem descontentamentos, … (D. João III, Cartas)

… mas depois das despezas feitas faleceo o Dom João de Alvarado de uma queda que deo de um cavallo, andando na conquista da Nova Galiza, pelo que ficou toda a Armada ao Viso-Rei, que elegeo pera ir nela Ruy Lopes de Villa-Lobos. (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

Depois, vendo Nuno da Cunha que aquele Guazil era vassalo do Rei de Ormuz, os carregou sobre ele, e os poz por regimento naquela fortaleza, com o que ficaram as pareas em cem mil xerafins de ouro. (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

Neste estado estavam as cousas de Ormuz, quando chegou Luiz Falcão com ElRei Torunxá, que foi muito bem recebido no Reino. (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

… e de como chegou Jordão de Freitas àquela fortaleza: … (Diogo do Couto Décadas) (overskrift)

E vendo agora que chegava o Governador àquele porto, … (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

… porque se não diga, que faltaram homens neste Estado pera vo-la fazerem com a liberdade com que o eu faço: … (Diogo do Couto Décadas)
(575) … que lhe mandasse o Secretário invernar a Goa, e que ficasse ele com Poderes de Veador da Fazenda”. (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(576) … que primeiro que fôsse mandava vêr se ficava sua mulher, e filhos⁴¹ em casa. (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(577) … com estas condições: … e que se passassem alguns Castelhanos a Ternate, ou Portugueses a Tidore, sem terem cometido delicto algum, se tornassem; … (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(578) Com sua chegada houve tantas divisões antre êles, que se passaram muitos Hespanhôes para Ternate. (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(579) … uma Ilha pequena, cujos naturaes lhes diziam, que esperassem um mez, que lhe entrariam ventos em popa, o que o piloto não quis fazer, … (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(580) … e vendo que lhe nasça um filho em tempo de tantas desaventuras, e trabalhos, … (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(581) O que andava mais depressa correndo, esta mesma maneira levava, mas trazia as pernas muito mais afastadas, e a cabeça um pouco por diante, de maneira que viesse perpendicular ao pé dianteiro, ou ao menos que ficasse a linha dentro do espaço e meio das pernas; … (Francisco de Holanda, Da Pintura Antiga)

(582) … e todavia nunca havia de passar a linha perpendicular da cabeça diante do pé, porquê caía a figura d’outra maneira, … (Francisco de Holanda, Da Pintura Antiga)

(583) … na travessa de meyo golfaõ lhe deu hum temporal tão rijo, que lhe dividiu a armada em muytas partes, de que se perderão algumas vellas, em que entrou a Galê bastard na barra de Dabul, de que hia por Capitão dom Aluaro de Noronha filho do Visorrey, & Capitão mór do mar, … (Fernão Mendes Pinto, Perigrinação)

(584) Tambem lembro aqui quão deficelmente e quão de uagar nasce um pintor em muitos annos. (Francisco de Holanda, Da Pintura Antiga)

(585) Encomendo-vos que mandeis fazer um Roll bem decrarado de quanta artelharia vay nestes navios que vam pera ficar na Imdia, cõ decraraça das peças e sortes d’ellas, e da maneira que hos ditos navios vam armados, e asy se fica alguma nos armazéns, pera vos enviar Recado … (D. João III, Cartas)

VSAA

(586) Belchior Fernandes foi sua derrota, e achou já os Castelhanos em Mindanáo com muitas menos, porque lhe morreram muitos de doença, e fomes em Saragão, … (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

VAS

(587) … e de como faleceo naquela fortaleza ElRei Dom Manoel, Rei de Maluco: … (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(588) … porque esperava todos os anos que tornasse de Gôa o irmão Tabarija. (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

⁴¹ Note the lack of agreement.
4.7.2. Word order in the 2nd half of the 16th century

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Table 4.26. Word order in texts from authors born between 1550 and 1599.

V3

SAV

(591) As armas (prosseguíu êle) é a insígnia que cada um tem de sua nobreza, conforme ao apelido com que se nomeia, e com o sinete delas sela as cartas de importância, ou com elmo e folhagens sôbre o paquife do escudo, ou com êle em tarja, como tenção; que estas, como são pensamento e dessenho particular, se abrem às vezes em redondo, ovado ou quadrângulo, e outras figuras, sem respeitar a do escudo. (Francisco Rodrigues Lobo, Côrte Na Aldeia e Noites de Inverno)

(592) Que, se este, com tão pouco remédio pera as passar, todavia não foge delas, respeitando o mandado do pai …(Frei Luís de Sousa, Frei Bertolameu dos Mártires)

ASV

(593) Bertolameu a aceitou com notável mortificação de espírito, porque, como nele nenhuma cousa tinha entrada nem lugar mais que Deus, aborrecia cortes e todo concurso de gente. (Frei Luís de Sousa, Frei Bertolameu dos Mártires)

(594) E assim é claro, que assistindo el-Rei na costa, a metade da Espanha lhe fica na mesma distância, … (Manuel Severino Faria, Discursos)

In all the examples beginning with two adverbs, one of them is always a “small” adverb.
… e por isso se pode comparar ao Jalissio de Protógenes, a quem faltou graça. (Manuel Pires de Almeida, Poesia e Pintura)

A copa (…), porque acontece serem mais as dívidas de seus donos do que val tudo o que nele enleia os olhos … (Frei Luís de Sousa, Frei Bertolameu dos Mártires)

E na verdade não se enganava, porque acontecia virem ao convento amiúde os príncipes que então havia no Reino, … (Frei Luís de Sousa, Frei Bertolameu dos Mártires)

as túnicas usou sempre de estamenha e vestidas a termos tão largos que acontecia perder-lhe a conta. (Frei Luís de Sousa, Frei Bertolameu dos Mártires)

… e ele de si sabia que lhe faltavam todas as partes necessárias para o cargo. (Frei Luís de Sousa, Frei Bertolameu dos Mártires)

… e assim ia bebendo e lançando mais água, de maneira a que, quando acabava a mesa, sempre ficava quasi meio daquela água avinhada … (Frei Luís de Sousa, Frei Bertolameu dos Mártires)

Quando entrou o verão seguinte, do ano de mil e quinhentos e cinquenta e nove, … (Frei Luís de Sousa, Frei Bertolameu dos Mártires)

Por sem dúvida se pode ter que faltarião algumas pessoas insignes, & soldados de muito valor, … (António Brandão, Da Monarchia Lusitana)

Acerca de Fernão Mendes de Bragança, & seus irmãos avemos de suppor que falta o principio de sua geração no Conde Dom Pedro. (António Brandão, Da Monarchia Lusitana)

São também descendentes de Diogo Gonçalves os Fidalgos do appellido de Vanlentes (como se colhe do livro do mesmo Conde título síncoenta & oito) de quem ficou o morgado da Povoa, o qual está incluido na illustre Casa de Villa Nova da família dos Castellos Brancos. (António Brandão, Da Monarchia Lusitana)

… lhe pareceu ensejo de mostrar seu valor e fazer uma cavalaria de que ficasse memória: … (Francisco Rodrigues Lobo, Côrte Na Aldeia e Noites de Inverno)

Veio ocasião de um assalto em que o bom soldado, envejoso e animado do que ouvia ler, lhe pareceu ensejo de mostrar seu valor e fazer uma cavalaria de que ficasse memória: … (Francisco Rodrigues Lobo, Côrte Na Aldeia e Noites de Inverno)

Neste dia estiverão as ruas, por donde passou a procissão, 1 adornadas de tudo quanto para a vista humana ha aprazível. (Manuel de Galhegos, Gazeta)

… e o Monsiur Baron cahio logo morto com o que acabou 1 a pendencia. (Manuel de Galhegos, Gazeta)

mas ficarão 1 mortos quatrocentos, entre os quais morreu Dô Inigo de 1 Baládria governador da cavalleria. (Manuel de Galhegos, Gazeta)

… Castelhanos entre os quaes morreu o Comissário da Cavalleria: (Manuel de Galhegos, Gazeta)
… e lhe matou muitos homens, entre os quais dizem, que morreu o Marques de Mala Espina, irmão de huma dama … (Manuel de Galhegos, Gazeta)

No encontro, que teve a armada de Olanda com a de Castella, se sabe de certo, que morrerão mais de 400 Castelhanos … (Manuel de Galhegos, Gazeta)

Porque como fica no meio da costa de Espanha pode igualmente ao mesmo tempo despeditar dela uma armada para a boca do Estreito de Gibraltar, e outra para o canal de Inglaterra, das quais se seguirá ficar o mar de Espanha seguro, … (Manuel Severino Faria, Discursos)

E como se seguirisse hum descontentamento exterior, manifestado pelos sinaes do rosto & praticas dos menos animosos, se veio a espalhar o temor, como mal contagioso, pela mayor parte do exercito. (António Brandão, Da Monarchia Lusitana)

E ultimamente outros (entre os quais entra Viperano, tratando em particular do decoro) assentam entre si constar … (Manuel Pires de Almeida, Poesia e Pintura)

… assim a notícia que se há de ter antes, para que nasça o deleite, … (Manuel Pires de Almeida, Poesia e Pintura)

… porquê eles com veemência forçosa e violentada talvez se pervertem e corrompem, de modo que se segue o furor. (Manuel Pires de Almeida, Poesia e Pintura)

Diziam contra o eleito … que lhe faltava experiência, sendo a juízo de todos um dos mais famosos letrados que então se sabia; … (Frei Luís de Sousa, Frei Bertolameu dos Mártires)

… e é parte, onde lhe falta o socorro de nossos contrários, e o amparo de suas fortezaes, … (Manuel Severino Faria, Discursos)

(A madeira)[…] dela se fizeram as maiores armadas, que nunca viu o mar Oceano: como foi a com que passou el-Rei Dom Afonso V à tomada de Arzila, de duzentas velas, … (Manuel Severino Faria, Discursos)

… do que havia de portas adentro era tão liberal que lhe aconteceu, em tempo de fome, acudindo muitos pobres à portaria, mandar repartir por eles o peixe que estava guisado e prestes pera o jantar da comunidade, … (Frei Luís de Sousa, Frei Bertolameu dos Mártires)

E não tinha dezasseis anos compridos, porque lhe faltava, pera os cumprir, o que há de Novembro até Maio.(Frei Luís de Sousa, Frei Bertolameu dos Mártires)

Não eram passados muitos dias depois de tomado o castelo de Sintra, quando amanhecem sobre a Roca um grosso número de velas que cobriam o mar. (Frei Luís de Sousa, Frei Bertolameu dos Mártires)

… e dava licença que entrassem a ela todos os negoceantes e requerentes que o buscavam. (Frei Luís de Sousa, Frei Bertolameu dos Mártires)
Na primeira jornada dizem nossos Historiadores, que **faltou** a elRey o fiel Ministro Ergas Moniz seu Aio, insigne Capitão, & prudentíssimo conselheiro, a cuja conta corria o pezo mayor dos negocios, cuja falta foi mui sentida delRey, & de todo o exercito. (António Brandão, *Da Monarchia Lusitana*)

De pouca importância foram todas estas boas qualidades, se **faltara** a Lisboa a saúde. (Manuel Severino Faria, *Discursos*)

**… veio a ser a regra entre os iguais que fique em branco a quarta parte do papel, …** (Francisco Rodrigues Lobo, *Côrte Na Aldeia e Noites de Inverno*)

E em nossos tempos, na Índia Oriental, sabemos que o Rei Mogor andou muitos anos fabricando uma casa de esmeraldas, por cujo respeito se **passavam** dêste Reino à nossa Índia as da Ocidental. (Francisco Rodrigues Lobo, *Côrte Na Aldeia e Noites de Inverno*)

**… do anno de 1146 em que falleceo Egas Moniz, atê o de 1154 em que entrou em seu lugar Fernão Cativo, filho do Conde Dom Gomes , & despois Gonçalo de Sousa.** (António Brandão, *Da Monarchia Lusitana*)

Da jornada delRey Dom Afonso às terras de Alentejo, como lhe **sairão** a encontro sinco Reys Mouros com grande exercito. (António Brandão, *Da Monarchia Lusitana*)

Vinhão ja entrando com grande copia de | gado, e alguns prisioneiros, quando lhes **sairão** ao encontro mais de trezentos Castelhanos de cavallo, que acodiram de Montijo, de la Puebla, de Vilhar del Rey, e de outros lugares circumvisinhos. (Manuel de Galhegos, *Gazeta*)

**…uma carta […] a qual diz que he partida l uma frot a cõ algumas naos de guerra, mas que estavao os l castelhanos temerosos de que lhe **saissem** ao encontro l os enimigos de Espanha,…** (Manuel de Galhegos, *Gazeta*)

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**4.7.3. Word order in the 1st half of the 17th century**

*Table 4.27. Word order in texts from authors born between 1600 and 1649.*
Of the eight examples with SAV, four have small adverbs between the subject and the verb.
The other examples are:

(634) Com arte repara huma mulher as ruinas, que lhe causou a idade, restituinto-se de cores, dentes, e cabello, com que a natureza no melhor lhe faltou. (Manuel da Costa, Arte de Furtar)

(635) … que todos os preceitos da lei de Deus em amar começam, em amar acabam. (Melo, Cartas Familiares)

(636) … porque a natureza, ao formar um corpo humano, começa do coração e mais entranhias e acaba na pele, … (Manuel Bernardes, Nova Floresta)

(637) … parece querer dar a entender, … que Cristo de tal modo morreu à sexta-feira que não ficou livre de tormentos ao sábado … (Manuel Bernardes, Nova Floresta)

ASV

Three of the examples with ASV are with também, as in the example below:

(638) Contudo, São João na sua primeira Epistola diz, que não só nós, os amadores do mundo, somos os que passamos, se não que também o mesmo mundo passa. (Vieira, Sermões)

The last example is:

(639) Consiste em que no dia do Juizo, se o mundo acaba para todos. (Vieira, Sermões)

AAVS

Of the nine examples with two adverbs preceding the verb, seven are with a short adverb, the two remaining examples are as follows:

(640) Dom Duarte temia que, humilhado, à pretensão faltasse o despacho; (Melo, Tácito Português)

(641) A primeira ordem se confere generosamente a todos os fidalgos de sangue ilustre, em tal maneira que para gozar desta mercê basta se justifique dos pais a legitimidade que deste fim, com boa energia, se seguia o título deste acto comum a todos os nobres daquela hierarquia (Melo, Tácito Português)
... e quando chegá os navios para tomar a carga, ... (Manuel da Costa, Arte de Furtar)

... em todas as partes, aonde chegá seus commercios. (Manuel da Costa, Arte de Furtar)

Mostra-se, até onde chegá unhas militares, e quando se pode fazer guerra. (Manuel da Costa, Arte de Furtar)

E o juramento do Reyno nas Cortes do Castelhano foy irrito; ... porque faltou o consentimento do Reyno livre, que foy extorto por medo do exercito, com que cá entrou. (Manuel da Costa, Arte de Furtar)

Dizia o Emperador Carlos V que ... até o mar se corrompe em si mesmo, onde lhe faltaõ as marés que o abalem; ... (Manuel da Costa, Arte de Furtar)

... constou que lhe faltaõ as mais das drogas, que tinha deixado, ... (Manuel da Costa, Arte de Furtar)

Por taes tenho os que escondem, e reprezaõ o paõ, para que naõ se veja abundancia, e appareça a carestîa, e suba o preço. (Manuel da Costa, Arte de Furtar)

... ainda que me falte a virtude, naturalmente me hei de achar bem com ela, ... (Vieira, Cartas)

... ainda que se dera o caso que vos aparecera um Cristo crucificado, tínheis obrigação de duvidar se o era e de lhe dizer: ... (Chagas, Cartas Espirituais)

Não diz o Apostolo, que passa o mundo, senão as figuras; ... (Vieira, Sermões)

Das primeiras acções do novo governo ... foi ordenar o duque Dom João se levantassem novas tenças, com que o duque seu pai socorria a alguns fidalgos pobres e chegados independentes de sua família, ... (Melo, Tácito Português)

E acabar um homem o seu mundo, quando se acaba o mundo: ... (Vieira, Sermões)

... acabar os seus dias, quando se acaba o tempo; ... (Vieira, Sermões)

... e ainda melhor depois que se acabar a pensão destas primeiras correspondências, que é o mesmo que depois que fôr mais noviço e mais meu. (Vieira, Cartas)

Mas que se acabe o mundo, e o tempo, e os dias para mim, quando ha mundo, e tempo, e annos para os outros? (Vieira, Sermões)

... e donde nasce o ser de muito pouco proveito. ... (Melo, Cartas Familiares)

... se todos os que se casam advertissem que então conservavam o nascer como nascem os que deles procedem, ... (Melo, Tácito Português)

Assi é que saiu um despacho, em que se anulava o que contra mi é processado. (Melo, Cartas Familiares)

Nunca na esfera das cortes se eclipsam os maiores luminares do principado, sem que se lhe sigam acidentes violentos e tristes. (Melo, Tácito Português)
(661) ¿que são mais que uns precipícios, donde se sobe a ignorância para despenhar-se a modéstia? (Chagas, Cartas Espirituais)

(662) Começa a ruina de huma Republica com o desprezo das Leys, onde acaba o exercicio das armas. (Manuel da Costa, Arte de Furtar)

(663) … o fatal Rey Dom Sebástiaõ, em quem se acabou esta linha. (Manuel da Costa, Arte de Furtar)

(664) … donde nasce naõ haver evidencia publica da razaõ de seus preceitos; … (Manuel da Costa, Arte de Furtar)

(665) … e acabemos de entender, que de nós nasce o mal, … (Manuel da Costa, Arte de Furtar)

(666) … outros por covardia meteraõ tanto panno, que quebraraõ os mastros32: (Manuel da Costa, Arte de Furtar)

(667) Por taes tenho os que escondem, e reprezaõ o paõ, para que naõ se veja abundancia, e apareça a carestîa, e suba o preço. (Manuel da Costa, Arte de Furtar)

(668) Bem podia dizer com Job: Antequam comedam, suspiro: Primeiro que entrem os bocados, saem os suspiros. (Manuel Bernardes, Nova Floresta)

(669) Gosto de conversar enquanto se passa a hora. (Manuel Bernardes, Nova Floresta)

(670) Ó enquanto passa a hora! (Manuel Bernardes, Nova Floresta)

VAS

(671) … se lhe faltar na botica a agua de escorcioneira, que receita o Medico para o cordeal, … (Manuel da Costa, Arte de Furtar)

(672) … e naõ levava em paciencia, que faltasse em Castella a successaõ Real. (Manuel da Costa, Arte de Furtar)

(673) … porque falta em ambos os casos a potestade da jurisdiçaõ; … (Manuel da Costa, Arte de Furtar)

(674) … Badajoz, por onde entraria em Portugal a duquesa de Bragança. (Melo, Tácito Português)

(675) … dêle saîstes, como sairam das entranhas do mar pelos meatos da terra todos os rios. (Chagas, Cartas Espirituais)

(676) A do Brasil he muito boa, e só poderia ter de mal, se entrasse nella alguma gente, que tratasse só de seu interesse, … (Manuel da Costa, Arte de Furtar)

(677) … mas que se permitta, … que se fechem com elle os ricos avarentos, para o venderem em quatro dobros, … (Manuel da Costa, Arte de Furtar)

(678) … e tendo causa justa, se seguirem da guerra mayores damnos á sua Republica, que lucros á sua vitoria, … (Manuel da Costa, Arte de Furtar)

(679) … porque ainda que se sigaõ della muitos males,… (Manuel da Costa, Arte de Furtar)

32 This sentence is actually ambiguous: mastros can be either subject of an unaccusative or object of a transitive verb.
VSA

(680) ... a voz de um anjo, o qual diga e apregoe, que se acabou o tempo para sempre:...
   (Vieira, Sermões)

(681) Dirá o Crítico, e também o Zoilo ... que isto naõ he gazûa, com que se abrem portas para furtar; ...
   (Manuel da Costa, Arte de Furtar)

(682) E se alguns politicos cuidavaõ, que melhoraria Portugal de forças contra inimigos, naõ foy assim; ...
   (Manuel da Costa, Arte de Furtar)

(683) e assim se estáão a pé quedo, até que volta hum delles com a reposta em efeito.
   (Manuel da Costa, Arte de Furtar)

4.7.4. Word order in the 2nd half of the 17th century

<table>
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</tr>
</thead>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.28. Word order in texts from authors born between 1650 and 1699. (VS only 13, SV only 4)

V3

SAV

All seven examples of SAV are with small adverbs. In other words, there are no examples of V3 in this period.

V1

VS

(684) Aqui tem corrido tão mal o tempo contra os frutos e bem da terra, que se abriu o túmulo ou chaisse da sua, insigne padroeira, Santa Genoveva, a onde vão em procissão tôdas as comunidades ... (Cunha Brochado, Cartas)

(685) ...nos domínios daquela sucessão em que entraria todo o Império de Ocidente, Colégio Eleitoral, Príncipes do Império e Vilas imperiais ... (Cunha Brochado, Cartas)

(686) Digo que será mais formidável, porque entrariam nela as duas Coroas do Norte, Suécia e Dinamarca, entrariam todos os Príncipes e Repúblicas de Itália, ...(Cunha Brochado, Cartas)
(687) Pois como se há de saber quando faltam as tais regras? (Contador de Argote, Regras da língua Portuguesa)

(688) Não importa que lhe faltem as fôrças próprias e interiores, … (Cunha Brochado, Cartas)

(689) Vendo-se Ignes grauemente apertada de sua enfermidade, consultou os Medicos, sem que lhe ficassem as sangrias que hauia levado; … (Maria do Céu, Madre Elenna da Crus)

(690) Tomara saber como ficou êste negócio do tabaco em que me parece que os efeitos não podem corresponder aos arbitrios. (Cunha Brochado, Cartas)

(691) De que se segue que o valor ou a cobardia provém depois da informação ou composição de alma e corpo… (Cunha Brochado, Cartas)

(692) Ainda me não consta que chegasse a resposta, mas para mais certeza mando este portador preguntá-lo ao Beneficiado Baptista, … (Alexandre de Gusmão, Cartas)

(693) … faço conta de fingir amanhã que chegou uma carta de Vossa Eminência na qual ordena que,… (Alexandre de Gusmão, Cartas)

VAS

(694) Digo que será mais formidável, porque entrariam nela as duas Coroas do Norte, Suécia e Dinamarca, entrariam todos os Príncipes e Repúblicas de Itália, e entraria, finalmente, o mesmo Turco com todos os domínios e dependências … (Cunha Brochado, Cartas)

(695) Digo que será mais formidável, porque entrariam nela as duas Coroas do Norte, Suécia e Dinamarca, (Cunha Brochado, Cartas)

(696) Com que fica entre o natural, e o mysterioso o entendimento para descursar, … (Maria do Céu, Madre Elenna da Crus)

(697) Isto, ao mesmo tempo que chegou a Sua Majestade a notícia das heróicas acções que Vossa Excelência obrara na guerra, … (Alexandre de Gusmão, Cartas)

VSA

(698) Suponhamos que entra o filho do Eleitor de Baviera como neto segundo de Felipe IV. (Cunha Brochado, Cartas)

(699) …que o mesmo cirurgiáo ficou sobre saltado, e dizia faltara só a grossura de hum tostaõ para tocar nelle. (Maria do Céu, Madre Elenna da Crus)

(700) … nem ainda permitindo ou tolerando que haja, nem passem contrabandos nos portos desse Reino, … (Alexandre de Gusmão, Cartas)
4.7.5. Word order in the 1st half of the 18th century

<table>
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<td>17</td>
</tr>
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<td>(SVAA 2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.29 Word order in texts from authors born between 1700 and 1749.

V3

SAV

Of the six examples with SAV, all are with “small” adverb

AAVS

Both examples are with small adverb.

V1

(701) … já podemos crer que chegou o tempo de cumprir-se, … (Matias Aires, Reflexões)

(702) …porque se chegar a minha bolsa dezenho compra-lo para ali fazer hum Collegio formal … (Pina Manique, Cartas)

(703) … porque pode ser que apareça alguém de habilidade que ajude a tocá-los; (António da Costa, Cartas)

(704) Não quero dizer nisto que se levantem teatros e que se desamparem os púlpitos: (Correia Garção, Obras)

(705) … que tal era o rumor que fazia com a rebeca, e tão desconcertado, que se me levantou uma dor de cabeça. (António da Costa, Cartas)

(706) … e fica sendo como um sacrilégio irremissível, e como um princípio de donde se originam tantas aversões hereditárias. (Matias Aires, Reflexões)

(707) … é o mesmo que abrirm-se os montes e sair um ridículo ratinho. (Correia Garção, Obras)

(708) … terrível qualidade, cujos efeitos, ou cujo mal, não se acaba, ainda depois que acaba quem o tem; … (Matias Aires, Reflexões)

(709) Entre nós, depois que acabaram os bons dias da poesia portuguesa, …(Correia Garção, Obras)

(710) Acabam-se as tradições muito antes que acabe o mundo; (Matias Aires, Reflexões)
(711) … algumas são incompatíveis entre si, por isso para nascerem umas é preciso, que acabem outras. (Matias Aires, Reflexões)

(712) Metem mãos à obra, oh nome de Deus, parece que caia a casa! (António da Costa, Cartas)

(713) parece que lhe foje o vento”! (António da Costa, Cartas)

(714) É verdade que fugiu o seu papagaio? (Cavaleiro de Oliveira, Cartas)

(715) É tão forte a preocupação de que nascem tão lastimosas desordens que muitos com vaidade e com soberba apontam e mostram os pensamentos ou ideias que roubaram ou traduziram. (Correia Garção, Obras)

(716) … é a perniciosa origem de que nascem todas as desordens. (Correia Garção, Obras)

VAS

(717) … a crítica é o único meio que temos de conseguir que cheguem à posteridade nossos escritos, … (Correia Garção, Obras)

(718) Haverá três semanas que chegou aqui um português dizendo que se queria baptizar; … (António da Costa, Cartas)

(719) Por isso Horácio manda que se passe por detrás da cena o que não deve aparecer em teatro. (Correia Garção, Obras)

VSA

(720) … eis que escarra Pulchinela, e cai a espada da mão do capitão Pantalone, … (António da Costa, Cartas)

(721) semelhante às aves, que nascem todas sem penas, (Matias Aires, Reflexões)

4.7.6. Word order in the 2nd half of the 18th century

<table>
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<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
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</table>

Table 4.30. Word order in texts from authors born between 1750 and 1799. (VS only: 14, SV only: 12)

V3

All the examples with SAV are with small adverbs. As is the one example with AAVAS. The one example with ASV is the following:
… porém se acaso uma só lágrima sai dos olhos de alguma pessoa das que lhe são subalternas … (Marquesa de Alorna, Cartas)

V1

… e quando chegar o instante da nova ruptura, já deve estar formada, … (Marquesa de Alorna, Cartas)

Éste pequeno remédio, que supriu a sangria indicada, mas para a qual faltavam forças, … (Marquesa de Alorna, Cartas)

… quando falta autorização positiva. (Marquesa de Alorna, Cartas)

Sei, porém, que ficámos, eu, êle e Dona M A, muito tempo comentando a multidão de intrigas que se tinham feito aqueles três dias, … (Marquesa de Alorna, Cartas)

… aonde estive fazendo versos e contando novelas às açafatas da Rainha tôda a noite, até que apareceu o famoso Arcebispo de Tessalónica, que entrou por ali dentro aos encontrões, como costumava, para ir rezar com a Rainha. (Marquesa de Alorna, Cartas)

Mas aqui é que me aparece uma incoerência inexplicável. (Garrett, Viagens na Minha Terra)

O ponto é que chegue um quartinho, resto de anel que se vendeu ontem de minha avó. (Costa, 6 Entremezes de Cordel)

Agora é que te chegou o medo? (Costa, 6 Entremezes de Cordel)

Vejam se passa a mulher dos repolhos. (Costa, 6 Entremezes de Cordel)

Antes que se feche a noite quero ir dar lição de picaria a meu filho. (Costa, 6 Entremezes de Cordel)

Logo que morreu nossa mãe, passados alguns dias, fizemos em casa a Comédia de Artaxerxes, em que eu entrei mais elas. (Costa, 6 Entremezes de Cordel)

… vendo que fogem os momentos da nossa redenção e da sua, … (Marquesa de Alorna, Cartas)

VAS

… vejo que lhe desagrada que entrasse neles o deus do Amor, …(Marquesa de Alorna, Cartas)

VASA

As suas ocupações e as nossas prisões contribuem muito para que nos falte muito socorro na sua conversação. (Marquesa de Alorna, Cartas)

É como hoje se faz tudo; é como se passou o tesouro para o banco, … (Garrett, Viagens na Minha Terra)

Eu gostei muito daquela que lhe rebentaram os atilhos da forma e lhe caiu no chão. (Costa, 6 Entremezes de Cordel)
4.7.7. Word order in the 1st half of the 19th century

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<td>VSA</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Table 4.31. Word order in texts from authors born between 1800 and 1849.

V3

SAV

The only example of SAV is with a small pronoun

A(A)SV(AA)

The three examples are the following:

(739) ... segue-se isto: - que quando a Gazeta chegue a Lisboa com artigo meu já esse artigo tem aparecido no Repórter há quinze dias, que é como se dissessemos há quinze anos; e quando Repórter chegue ao Rio de Janeiro com artigo meu, já esse artigo tem aparecido na Gazeta há quinze dias que é como se dissessemos há quinze séculos... (Eça & Oliveira Martins, Correspondência)

(740) Além disso a Fradiquice ficou em Londres, para onde, de resto, querendo Deus, eu volto amanhã. (Eça & Oliveira Martins, Correspondência)

V1

VS

(741) Já sei que chegou o Eduardo, mas ainda o não vi. (Ramalho Ortigão, Cartas a Emília)

(742) Se falta a luz que adelgaça e rompe a treva do homem bárbaro, ... (Camilo, Maria Moisés)

(743) Pelo que me dizes na tua carta de que passa muita gente - que passa tudo! (Ramalho Ortigão, Cartas a Emília)

(744) Pelo que me dizes na tua carta de que passa muita gente - que passa tudo! (Ramalho Ortigão, Cartas a Emília)

(745) O prólogo para o Mandarim mandá-lo-ei ao Mickiewicz diretamente, como tu indicas - apenas me passe uma crise de estupidez e névoa intelectual com que estou lutando. (Eça & Oliveira Martins, Correspondência)
O leitor urbano mal imagina como são estes pais e maridos rurais quando lhes morrem as filhas ou as mulheres. (Camilo, Maria Moisés)

Neste ano é que nasceu Simão, o penúltimo dos seus filhos. (Camilo, Amor de Perdição)

Dize quando sai essa Províncias - e, repito-o, enverniza-lhe os tamancos. (Eça & Oliveira Martins, Correspondência)

Irá essa remessa quando voltarem as pessoas que vierem com o Rei. (Ramalho Ortigão, Cartas a Emília)

Vas

Só desde que tu escreveste a História de Portugal é que eu sei que existiu, antes do Fontes, uma pátria portuguesa com os seus reis, os seus costumes, uma literatura telle quelle, uns heróis, um ideal comum, e um feitio próprio. (Eça & Oliveira Martins, Correspondência)

Vsa

... na Agra da Cruz, onde aparecera o cadáver de um estudante de Coimbra, muitos anos antes. (Camilo, Maria Moisés)

4.7.8. Word order in the 2nd half of the 19th century

<table>
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<th>Post verbal subject</th>
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<tr>
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<td>(AVSA 3)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.32. Word order in texts from authors born between 1850 and 1899.

V3

This period is when V3 becomes quite numerous in main clauses. The same does not happen to subordinates, however.

SAV

The examples with SAV are with small pronouns.

AS(A)V

There are two examples of AS(A)V

E se hoje o indivíduo não existe, isto é, se não tem nem pode ter acção própria,… (Almada Negreiros, Direcção Única)
… não reparei que pela porta aberta alguém **entrou**. (Raúl Brandão, *Os Pobres*)

**VI**

… seis grandes letras que juntam os povos mais independentes do mundo, até onde **acaba** a Rússia, que é debaixo das seis grandes letras da Europa, … (Almada Negreiros, *Direcção Única*)

… o importante é que **acabaram** os dois. (Almada Negreiros, *Direcção Única*)

todavia, estas facilidades ficavam bem subtraídas quando **acontecia** ser a altura de atravessar uma dessas rochas gigantescas que há no subsolo. (Almada Negreiros, *O Cágado*)

… para a bicha das pessoas que estão à espera de que lhes **chegue** a vez de irem buscar mais lenha para se queimarem. (Almada Negreiros, *Direcção Única*)

… nem mais nem menos do que a maneira como **começa** a História do Mundo. (Almada Negreiros, *Direcção Única*)

A maneira como **começou** o mundo e a humanidade é uma, … (Almada Negreiros, *Direcção Única*)

… deixando uma greta aberta por onde **entrava** uma coisa de que ele já se tinha esquecido há muito - a luz do sol. (Almada Negreiros, *O Cágado*)

E credes que **existam** montanhas, águias, o mar, crede-lo por ventura? (Raúl Brandão, *Os Pobres*)

… e creio também que **existe** uma misteriosa ligação entre o homem e os mundos. (Raúl Brandão, *Os Pobres*)

Não há indivíduos porque não existe a colectividade e não há colectividade porque não **existem** os indivíduos. (Almada Negreiros, *Direcção Única*)

Calcule, é uma mulher riquíssima que vive num palácio que propositadamente fez construir no local onde **existiam** dois grandes prédios que ela mandou deitar … (Sá-Carneiro, *A confissão de Lúcio*)

É como se me **faltasse** um sentido … (Sá-Carneiro, *A confissão de Lúcio*)

Dois estorvam-se um ao outro, é necessário que **fique** só um. (Almada Negreiros, *Direcção Única*)

… o robalo, que gosta das águas remexidas e dos sítios onde **rebenta** a onda … (Raúl Brandão, *Os Pescadores*)

Avaço até ao leito, donde **sai** um meio corpo inquieto e uma cabeça de face inchada … (Jaime Cortesão, *A batalha do Lys*)

E desse mar espezinhado nasciam clarões, as nebulosas donde **surgem** mundos. (Raúl Brandão, *Os Pobres*)

**VAS**

Faz-se dar voltas ao mundo, e quando **passe** diante de nós aquela das cinco partes em que se divide a geografia, e que nos parece a mais bonita … (Almada Negreiros, *Direcção Única*)
4.7.9. Word order in the 1st half of the 20th century

<table>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.33. Word order in texts from authors born between 1900-1950.

V3

Again, there is no increase in V3, similar to what we saw for the main clauses from this period.

SAV

Two of the examples of SAV are with “small” adverbs. The third example is:

(772)  Mas como ninguém, ao fim de um espaço que lhes pareceu de pesadelo, **apareceu** com sinais do mal, … (Torga, *0 leproso*)

ASV

There is one example of ASV:

(773)  era terrível acordar no mês de Maio, com a certeza de que no dia doze a minha mãe não **entraria** no meu quarto, … (Alegre, *Rosas Vermelhas*)

V1

(774)  E todos os anos, quando **chegava** o mês de Maio, … (Alegre, *Rosas Vermelhas*)

(775)  Quando **chegava** o mês de Maio, eu abria a janela … (Alegre, *Rosas Vermelhas*)

(776)  E era a paz, nesse tempo, em que todos os anos, quando **chegava** o mês de Maio, … (Alegre, *Rosas Vermelhas*)

(777)  Em que mistério se tortura um homem como eu, interrogava-se Lucas, mergulhado no mel de uns olhos de que **se sumira** o nome. (Moutinho, *Lucas depois do credo*)

(778)  O Isaque explicara-lhe que **se passavam** muitas noites nos cimos das árvores… (Moutinho, *Lucas depois do credo*)

(779)  como é que … se apaga as chamas onde **arderam** a cadeira, a mesa, os livros, a roupa? (Moutinho, *Lucas depois do credo*)
(780) E respirava o ar de todas as viagens, da minha janela, capital do Mundo, debruçado sobre o largo onde começavam todos os caminhos. (Alegre, Rosas Vermelhas)

(781) … era do monte que partiam as forças subtis que determinavam o ambiente do vale e o carácter dos aldeões que aí viviam. (Barreno, A solução)

(782) Por destino ou destinação sempre fora daquele tronco que saíram todos os fígaros da aldeia. (Arnaut: Os dois barbeiros)

4.7.10. Word order in the 2nd half of the 20th century

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<tr>
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<td>AVAS 2, AVSA 1,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AAVSA 2, AAAAAVSA 1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.34. Word order in texts from the last half of the 20th century.

V3

Still, there are relatively few examples of V3

SAV

Of the 16 examples of SAV, all are with a small adverb:

ASV

These are the examples of ASV(A)

(783) Teresa verificara isso mesmo nas vezes que durante as férias do liceu do Porto, o Verão abria e o calor incendiava as micas e derretia os quartzos. (Público online)

(784) Não deixa, contudo, de ser estranho que numa altura em que o clube necessita de fazer passar para a opinião pública uma imagem de confiança e tranquilidade, face à oferta pública de acções que está a realizar, a sua mais importante mostra - a equipa de futebol - se feche atrás de muros de silêncio. Confrontado com a mudez dos (Público online)

(785) A data escolhida foi a mesma em que, no ano de 1948, a OMS nasceu oficialmente. (Público online)

(786) Para este ano, o Grupo Mello prevê atingir um volume de negócios, no sector da saúde, da ordem dos 18 milhões de contos, quando há cerca de três anos este se ficava pelos 2,4 milhões de contos. (Público online)
(787) Não significa que só nessas condições isso aconteça. (Público online)

(788) É que, apesar de na época passada ter jogado no Sevilha, a transferência para a Lazio passou pelo Central Espanhol, do Uruguai, para poupar algum dinheiro. (Público online)

AA(A)VS
In all the examples with two adverbs preceding the verb, one is a small adverb.

V1

VS

(789) Desde que abriu a piscina oceânica, os problemas aumentaram … (Público online)

(790) “Hoje não é claro para ninguém onde começam e acabam as competências dos engenheiros técnicos, engenheiros e arquitectos”. (Público online)

(791) Preferia que acabassem os locais de engate … (Público online)

(792) O ano passado, quando começou a rebelião desencadeada pela Aliança das Forças Democráticas para a Libertação do Congo-Zaire … (Público online)

(793) Não se sabe há quanto tempo começou o romance de Diana com Dodi al-Fayed … (Público online)

(794) Foi ali que morreu, afogado, o barão de Forrester, o nome grande do Douro … (Público online)

(795) Aljustrel regista diariamente a visita de milhares de peregrinos que procuram conhecer a aldeia onde nasceram os pastores Lúcia, Jacinta e Francisco, … (Público online)

(796) A ligação rodoviária a Matosinhos passará a ser feita por um túnel, por cima do qual nascerá uma duna artificial e um largo passeio para esplanadas. (Público online)

(797) O movimento de autocarros na Casal Ribeiro, onde diariamente chegam e partem cerca de 300 carreiras, … (Público online)

(798) … comprometendo-se a negociar novos tempos de trabalho e repouso quando sair uma nova portaria. (Público online)

(799) Para já pensamos que aproximadamente 10 pilotos, desde que votassem aqueles a quem a TAP deu licença sem vencimento neste Verão. (Público online)

(800) O importante é que volte o conceito”, escreve um dos ouvintes. (Público online)

(801) … quando se discute … se existe anel de noivado. (Público online)

(802) A vítima banhava-se num local que não está concessionado e onde existe uma placa advertindo para o perigo do mar, … (Público online)

(803) … Cibéria, onde vivem os cibórios e existem cafés chamados Ciborga … (Público online)
(804) …que não há em Portugal nem condições, nem vontade, para que exista um mercado inteiramente livre … (Público online)

(805) … para reunir os operários a fim de se averiguar se faltava algum, … (Público online)

(806) … apenas porque faltou um punhado de escudos, … (Público online)

(807) Por mais que Ana, uma das animadoras, diga que não era a bruxa com que se cruzaram, que lhe falta33 o cabelo, o chapéu preto e pontiagudo, a ele ninguém o engana. (Público online)

(808) “É errado que apareça uma pessoa que destrua um casamento e uma boa família. (Público online)

(809) … Alardo sempre disse que desistia mal aparecesse “um comprador credível”. (Público online)

(810) É neste contexto, e perante estas realidades, que surge a nova convenção europeia, … (Público online)

(811) Mesmo assim, as reacções infantis superam a dos adultos a quem acontece o mesmo. (Público online)

(812) Para além da sauna e do banho turco, há uma sala onde passam filmes pornográficos, … (Público online)

(813) … esta é uma rara oportunidade para as … definir o quadro político global por onde passará a “europeização dos Balcãs”. (Público online)

(814) … a velha Quinta da Colinas, que encimava o monte onde ficava a aldeia. (Viegas, Troca de correspondência)

(815) Morreu no dia em que nasceu a minha neta… (Viegas, Troca de correspondência)

VAS

(816) Só a partir de terça-feira, dia 19, é que entram em palco os representantes da natação pura: Ana Francisco, José … (Público online)

(817) O internacional inglês acha que dificilmente será titular, já que chegaram ao Liverpool três jogadores para o meio campo - Paul Ince, Leonhardsen e Danny Murphy. (Público online)

(818) … é mesmo certo, dada a frequência de roubos, que passe pelo cidadão comum muito dinheiro de proveniência criminosa, … (Público online)

VSA

(819) … um estudo de prevalência e tipo de criminalidade, … permite concluir que existe uma relação significativa entre os problemas de álcool e a prática de crime … (Público online)

(820) Boaventura admite novas edições com correcções de datas e de acontecimentos que possam provar que existem erros de pormenor na cronologia. (Público online)

33 Note the lack of agreement.
(821) A excepção vai para o caso de se conseguir “demonstrar que existe uma diferença substancial entre as condições gerais de acesso” dos dois países. (Público online)

(822) … e para saber se existe alguma ilegalidade com os veículos e com os seus ocupantes. (Público online)

(823) Fica assim assumido o compromisso por parte do ME - que tutela a UA - de que não existirão atrasos no financiamento aos projectos actualmente em carteira para a edificação de várias estruturas nos três pólos da Universidade dos Açores. (Público online)

(824) LO segundo classificado é o canadiano Paul Tracy, que apenas tem 121 pontos, quando faltam quatro corridas para o fim do campeonato. (Público online)

(825) A Câmara Municipal de Lisboa (CML) admite que faltam mais de 50 piscinas na capital, … (Público online)

(826) Mais uma derrota a pesar na cabeça dos “encarnados”, quando faltam menos de duas semanas para começar o campeonato … (Público online)

(827) “Se não o fez nos últimos anos, até tenho medo que o faça agora, quando faltam poucos meses para as eleições … (Público online)

(828) … deixaram de falar em datas em que surgirá o paraíso na terra mas apenas para os “eleitos”. (Público online)

(829) Preferiu destacar que “estes acidentes não são comuns” e que é a primeira vez que acontece um caso destes com aviões do areoclube da Costa Verde. (Público online)

4.7.11. A summary of the findings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total number of examples</th>
<th>V3</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>V1</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1497-1549</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>3,1 %</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>35,6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1550-1599</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>4,9 %</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>48,1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600-1649</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>3,8 %</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>31,8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1650-1699</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>0 %</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>31,8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700-1749</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>0 %</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>30,9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1750-1799</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>1,7 %</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>27,6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800-1849</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>7,0 %</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>25,6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850-1899</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>3,5 %</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>31,6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-1949</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>5,7 %</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>25,7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950-1999</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>3,8 %</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>25,8 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.35. Subordinate clauses with finite verbs that are not V2. Unlike the previous tables, the “small” adverbs are not counted when they occur in SAV. However, when they are the first constituent in a phrase, with a post verbal subject, the phrase is counted as V2. In column three, the number of ASV are in parenthesis. The percentage of V3 and V1 are of the total number of clauses that have an expressed subject. As such, it does not tell us the possibility of V1 in general, only about clauses with a post verbal subject.

In table 4.35 we see that there are very few examples of V3 throughout the centuries. As was expected, V1 is quite abundant.. However, because these are subordinate clauses, referring to

34 Também is not included here
them as V1 may seem incorrect. One might argue that they are not verb first because a subjunction or relative begins the clause, and in addition to that, some verb or antecedent usually precedes the subjunction or relative pronoun. This is reflected by the preverbal placement of clitic pronouns in subordinate clauses. Because one of the main points in this section is to study the effect of adverb placement on subjects placement, I decided to count as outlined in the beginning of this section, that is, starting after the subjunction or relative pronoun.

The same table of information structure that was made for the main clauses is presented below for the subordinates:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>Prev 26</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ref 15</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Part 10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not 38</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV</td>
<td>Prev 39</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ref 21</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Part 2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not 10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.36: Information status of the subject in post verbal (VS) and preverbal (SV) position. Prev means previously mentioned subject, ref means referring to a previously mentioned entity, part means that only part of the subject has been mentioned before and carries some new information and not means not previously mentioned. Predicative constructions are also counted in this table.

The figures in table 4.36 are illustrated in the following diagram

Diagram 5 Percentage of subjects that are in VS position in subordinate clauses. We see a decrease in VS both for subjects that are old information and new information. For subjects that are old information, there is a decrease from 66% in the second half of the 16th century to 20% in the second half of the 20th century.

In table 4.36 and diagram 5 we see the same pattern as we saw for the main clauses: In modern Portuguese, post verbal subjects must contain new information, while both old and
new information are allowed in preverbal subjects. In Classical Portuguese, however, post verbal subjects that contain old information are quite common, while preverbal subjects with new information are less common.

4.8. Conclusion

In both main clauses and subordinate clauses, in all periods of the Portuguese language, information structure plays a part. In Modern Portuguese, there is a tendency not to have old information in post verbal position, whereas both old and new may occur preverbal. In Classical Portuguese it is the other way around: While both old and new information may occur in post verbal position, unaccusative verbs prefer to have old information preverbally. In this position, we seldom find subjects of unaccusatives that contain new information.

We have also seen that while V3 structures appear relatively infrequently in Classical Portuguese, and even then usually as SAV structures, they became more common in Modern Portuguese, especially as ASV. The large number of V2 sentences with the very small number of V3 support a claim that Classical Portuguese may have had a V2 stage, a claim that is strengthened by the number of inversions we find not only with unaccusative verbs, but also with predicatives, transitives and intransitives (inergatives). On the other hand the, albeit few, examples we do find of V3 as well as the numerous examples of V1 in main clauses, suggest that such a V2 analysis is at best somewhat imperfect. In Chapter 7, this will be discussed more thoroughly.

As for the relationship between post verbal subjects and post verbal adverbs, both information structure and heaviness restrictions work quite well at all times. In most of the examples with VAS, the adverb was both short and/or previously mentioned, while the subject was new information. In most of the examples with VSA, the subject was old information and shorter than the adverb which contained new information. Examples with old information that carried more phonological weight than the new information hardly ever occurred. Because of this, it is impossible to verify or falsify either hypothesis, although in some very rare examples, both theories were occasionally contradicted. In cases where information structure could apply because both subject and adverb had equal information value, heaviness served as a proper explanation.
In the following chapters, some of the data presented in this chapter will be discussed more thoroughly: In Chapter 5, I will examine the argument structure, in Chapter 6, the discourse structures and in Chapter 7 I will outline the development of the Portuguese word order, also taking into account prosody and stress patterns.
5. Argument structures

Because the argument of unaccusatives has both subject and object properties, it is likely that variation will occur in their mapping with syntactic structures. Sometimes they will behave as subjects, sometimes they will behave more like objects. In Portuguese we must suppose two different structures and two different lexical entries to account for the variation between agreement and lack of agreement. This chapter describes how the data in the corpus fits with previous analyses of Portuguese word order. It also contains a description of three different structures that are available for unaccusative verbs. These three structures have been available in all periods of the Portuguese language, however, there is no evidence from the corpus that unaccusative verbs patterned with all of them until the 17th century.

5.1. Word order with transitive verbs

There is general agreement between scholars such as Ambar (1992), Costa (2000), and Fiéis (2003) that in Portuguese transitive sentences, the unmarked word order is SVO.

(1) S V O

O João abriu a porta
John opened the door

The first comprehensive study on SV/VS word order in modern Portuguese, is Ambar’s (1992), Government and Binding Theory approach to inversion of subject and verb in Portuguese. With transitive verbs, she considers all six combinations of Subject – Verb – Object possible, as illustrated by example (2):

(2)

a) A Joana comeu a sopa. (SVO)

The Joanna ate the soup.

b) A Joana, a sopa, comeu. (SOV)
c) Ontem comeu a Joana a sopa. (VSO)
d) A sopa, a Joana comeu. (OSV)
e) A sopa, comeu a Joana. (OVS)
f) Comeu a sopa a Joana. (VOS)

Joanna ate the soup (my translation)

(Ambar 1992:43-44)

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35 Ambar (1992) defines basic word order as the one which is least marked. Costa (2004) considers the unmarked word order the one we find in contexts with sentence focus, that is, the one we get as the answer to the question: What happened?
According to Ambar, all these word orders, with the exception of (2)a) require prosodic elements like pause and contrastive accent or adverb in initial position. Because (2)a) is the least marked, the basic word order in Portuguese is SVO.

Of the six possible word orders listed by Ambar, Costa (2000:94) accepts only five:

\[(3) \quad (1) \quad O \ Paulo \ comeu \ a \ sopa \]
\[(2) \quad *O \ Paulo \ a \ sopa \ comeu \]
\[(3) \quad Comeu \ o \ Paulo \ a \ sopa \]
\[(4) \quad Comeu \ a \ sopa \ o \ Paulo \]
\[(5) \quad A \ sopa \ comeu \ o \ Paulo \]
\[(6) \quad A \ sopa \ o \ Paulo \ comeu \]

Paul ate the soup

(Costa 2000:94)

According to Costa, the only ungrammatical word order in Portuguese is SOV (*O Paulo a sopa comeu). However, all but a) show markedness and each order reflects a different discourse function. As such, Modern Portuguese is an SVO language where the SVO order may or must be overridden by pragmatic rules. I shall return to discourse functions in Chapter 6 and in this chapter concentrate on the syntactic structure of the arguments. I do not see discourse functions as an integrated part of syntax in the sense that topics and focus constituents are necessarily moved to functional projections. In Portuguese, topic may be a syntactic phenomenon, but focus is a prosodic one. The topic position is in the beginning of a clause and normally coincides with the subject. There is a general tendency found in many languages (see for instance Lambrecht (1994)), that subjects are topics. Any contradiction to these tendencies will be seen as markedness. Thus, a Portuguese sentence with SVO has an unmarked topic with no movement to a particular topic position involved. In the examples (3) above, we find topicalisation of the object in the phrases e) and f). Because they are not in their canonical object position they will also be phonologically marked. Focus is a prosodic phenomenon as argued by Frota (2000). There are two types of focus in Portuguese: a default sentence focus stress which is located at the end of the clause, and a contrastive focus, which can appear with different constituents, regardless of position. This will be further outlined in Chapter 6. In the phrases d) and e), o Paulo will have default focus stress, being in clause final position. All these phrases will then show markedness compared to phrase a). This

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36 Ambar (1999) and Duarte (1987) have discourse functions as an integrated part of syntax. There is a special place in the syntax reserved for topics and focus, and in order to be licensed as a topic or focus, an argument must move to this position. As will be discussed in Chapter 6, different types of topics are represented by different syntactic structures.
phrase would be the only felicitous answer to the question *What happened?*, where the whole sentence in the answer is focused, and not just one of its constituents.\(^{37}\)

As for the structuring of the arguments, Costa (1998) argues that a post verbal subject for transitive and intransitive verbs is in Spec, VP. The argumentation is as follows: In Portuguese, discourse constraints may override syntactic constraints to determine word order. Constituents move out of VP first and foremost in order to avoid focus, when they stay within VP it is to receive focus stress. If the subject is not in focus, it moves out of VP to IP and receive case. When there is sentence focus, that is when the whole sentence is new information, both the subject and the verb move out of VP. This is illustrated in (4)

\[
(4) \quad [\text{IP} \quad \text{O Carlos comeu \{VP \text{ta sopa}\}}].
\]

However, when both subject and object are focus, they both stay within VP while the verb moves:

\[
(5) \quad [\text{IP} \quad \text{Comeu \{VP \text{o Carlos \{ta sopa\}\}}].
\]

The subject in post verbal position may not receive case at all or may receive case in situ.\(^{38}\)

The following empirical facts support the claim that post verbal subjects stay within VP. They are taken from Costa (1998), the numbering is mine:

**A. Subjects follow a sequence of auxiliary and participle construction.** If the subject is moved to SpecIP in this sentence, the structure would require two heads above IP. This number increases with the number of auxiliaries.

\[
(6) \quad \text{Tinha comido o Paulo a sopa.} \quad \text{Paul had eaten the soup.}
\]

\[
(7) \quad \text{Tinha estado a comer o Paulo a sopa} \quad \text{Paul had been eating the soup.}
\]

**B. The subject obligatorily follows a VP-adverb**

\[
(8) \quad \text{Comeu bem o Paulo a sopa.} \quad \text{Paul ate the soup well.}
\]

\[
(9) \quad *\text{comeu o Paulo bem a sopa}
\]

---

\(^{37}\) Costa has three different landing sites for subjects: SpecIP, Spec, VP and left dislocated. While Barbosa (1995) and Agnostopolou (1998) argue that there is no A-position for the subject in null-subject languages. (See Costa (2004:3))

\(^{38}\) The following are alternative analyses of VSO: \([\text{FP} \ V\_i \ [\text{IP} \ \text{Subject}_k \ [\text{t}_i \ [\text{VP} \ t_k \ t_i \ \text{Object}]])]] / [\text{IP} \ V\_i \ [\text{XP} \ \text{Subject}_k \ [\text{VP} \ t_k \ t_i \ \text{Object}]]].\) Ambar uses the first, Martins e Duarte the second. In both cases the subject moves out of VP.
C. This order is possible both in main and embedded clauses (which obviates a V to C analysis for inversion)

(10) A Maria disse que comeu o Paulo a sopa

Mary said that Paul ate the soup.(my translation)

(11) A Maria disse que tinha comido o Paulo a sopa.

Mary said that Paul had eaten the soup.(my translation)

(Costa 1998:262)

Regarding A, the difference between earlier stages of Portuguese, both the medieval language and that of for instance Couto’s Décadas and modern Portuguese is apparent in examples (12), (13), and (14). In (12) and (13) we see that the subject is between the auxiliary verb and the main verb. In (14) we see the precursor to the verbal periphrasis, where ter (to ‘hold’, ‘have’) retains much of its full meaning ‘to hold’ while the participle agrees with the direct object. In fact, it is much more likely to find inserted elements between ter and the main verb in 16th century Portuguese than it is in Modern Portuguese. In my corpus of 20th century Portuguese, there are no instances like the ones we find in (12) and (13), with the subject inserted after the auxiliary. Only small adverbs, like já, não, ainda não and some adverbs on –mente occur in this position, as mentioned in section 4.1.1.

(12) assim quando o Imperador chegou, tinham êles feito mui grande estrago nos inimigos.
(Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(13) Surto Fernão Peres de Andrade na barra de Goa, tendo recado o Governador de sua chegada, dizem que dissera, que êle, e Diogo da Silveira eram bons para mús de carga, porque já sabiam o caminho. Isto disse, porque tinha cada um deles vindo à India por Capitàes móres tres vezes. (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(14) e com êle Ruy Gonzalves de Caminha, (irmão de João Alvares de Caminha, Tesoureiro do Reino, que tinha uma filha casada com Dom Diniz de Faro) (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

As for point B above, Costa (1998) argues that certain monosyllabic adverbs that behave differently from other adverbs may serve as verbal delimiters. One such adverb is bem (well), which has a different distribution than ordinary adverbs. While ordinary adverbs in Portuguese may appear almost anywhere, this is not the case with bem which only occurs directly after the verb:

(15) O Paulo (cuidadosamente) tinha (cuidadosamente) olhado (cuidadosamente) para aqueles quadros(cuidadosamente)

(16) O Paulo (*bem) tinha (*bem) olhado (bem) para aqueles quadros (*bem)

(Costa 1998: 127)
In contexts with VSO we find the same pattern, the adverb *bem* needs to follow directly after the verb (monosyllabic adverbs mark the left edge of VP):

(17) *Bem comeu o Paulo maçãs*

(18) *Comeu o Paulo bem maçãs*

(19) *Comeu o Paulo maçãs bem*

(20) Comeu bem o Paulo maçãs

In other words, the adverb has followed the verb out of VP, while the subject remains. In my 20th century corpus, I only find this adverb with VS in mediopassive contexts, which neither confirms nor denies Costa’s claims. Because there is only one argument, and that may be generated in post verbal position, a test with *bem* would render the same word order anyway.

(21) Não se percebe muito bem o porquê do sucesso de Beavis and Butthead…..

(22) Parkinson, doença para a qual ainda não se conhecem bem as causas….

This is contrary to what we find in for instance *Décadas*. Consider example (23):

(23) Acertou de passar por aquela parte um Portuguez de cavalo, chamado João Fernandes, da obrigação de Dom Christovão, (porque todos os mais iam no alcance dos Mouros), e vendo o valor com que os Turcos pelejavam, e que o seu Capitão andava diante pelejando como um leão, tendo já um monte de Abexins mortos diante dele, e enrestando a lança, quiz sua boa ventura que o tomou pelos peitos, dando com êle no chão muito mal ferido; e passando com aquela furia do encontro, porque lhe não parou o cavalo bem, se foi meter no meio dos Turcos, onde lhe deram uma cutilada por uma perna, de que depois ficou aleijado.

(*Diogo do Couto Décadas*)

There can be different reasons for the order in (23): The monosyllabic adverbs need not have the same properties in 16th century Portuguese, or we are dealing with a different use of the adverb. In any of these cases, the test is inapplicable because how do we know that the adverb serves as a delimiter? The third option is if we assume that the adverb does serve as a delimiter of VP, the subject *o cavalo* may have scrambled out of VP, behaving very much like an object (see section 5.2. for scrambling). A fourth option is that the subject may have moved to Spec IP, and the verb has moved even further up.

As for point C, we find VSO in both main and subordinate clauses in older texts as well as in (24) and (25):

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39 It does not confirm his claim, if we accept that subjects of unaccusatives are base generated in postverbal position, and bearing in mind that there is only one argument.
Looking at (25), we see that this will need a different analysis than the one Costa proposes for modern Portuguese. The subject o Hamau is old information, and would, in Modern Portuguese, have to occur in preverbal position. In fact, a verb second analysis would explain the position of the subject in this clause. While discourse factors are important in 16th century Portuguese, syntactic restraints such as a V2 order seem to override information structure.

5.2. Scrambling

Costa (2004) argues that in Portuguese, the object in VOS has scrambled from its base position in VP. This scrambling is prosodically driven\(^{40}\) so that the object may avoid focus stress. For the analysis of unaccusatives, this is important, because we can assume that such post verbal arguments, like objects, also may scramble.

The argument is along the following lines (Costa 2004: 39-40): Portuguese has V to I movement. As such, SVO may be analysed in the following ways:

\[(26)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
(\text{a}) & \quad [Ip S [IP V [VP t, t, O] ]] \quad \text{– no scrambling} \\
(\text{b}) & \quad [Ip S [IP V [VP O [VP t, t, t, t]]]] \quad \text{– adjoined to VP (scrambling as adjunct)} \\
(\text{c}) & \quad [Ip S [IP V [\text{AgrOP} O [VP t, t, t, t]]]] \quad \text{– moved to Spec, AgrOP (object shift)} \\
& \quad \text{(Costa 2004 :39)}
\end{align*}
\]

Assuming that some monosyllabic adverbs provide a test to check whether the object is inside or outside the VP, we can assume that the structures in (28) (a) and (b) represent the non scrambled and scrambled structures of the sentences in (27) (a)-(b) (while (c) is infelicitous)

\[(27)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
(\text{a}) & \quad \text{O Paulo fala bem francês} \\
(\text{b}) & \quad \text{O Paulo fala francês bem} \\
(\text{c}) & \quad *\text{O Paulo bem fala francês}
\end{align*}
\]

\[(28)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
(\text{a}) & \quad [Ip V [VP Adv [VP t, t, Non-scrambled Object} \\
(\text{b}) & \quad [Ip V [ Scrambled Object [VP t, t, t, \text{Scrambled Object} [VP t, t, t, t]]]]]
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{40}\) Costa quotes Reinhardt (1995) and Zubizarreta (1998)
A comparison with properties of scrambling in Dutch and German leads Costa to propose the same type of scrambling for modern Portuguese. These tests are not available for earlier stages of Portuguese, since they involve too construed question and answer pairs that are unlikely to occur in the texts. Negative evidence of these types of sentences would be relatively worthless. We must consider the option of analysing (23) as a scrambled object, rather than as a subject that has moved to SpecIP.

5.3. Word order with intransitive verbs

In Portuguese, unaccusatives and unergatives differ with regard to word order. With unergatives the unmarked order is SV (29), with unaccusatives it can be either VS or SV, cfr. Costa (2001) who claims that both (30) and (31) are felicitous answers to the question what happened?

(29) O João riu.
The John laughed-3SG
John laughed

(30) O João chegou.
The John came-3SG
John came

(Costa 2001:2)

(31) Chegou O João
Came the John

(Costa, 2001:2)

The syntactic structure of these sentences is illustrated in below:

(32) [IP O João, riu [VP,]]
(33) [IP O João, chegou [VP,]]
(34) [IP chegou [VP, o João]]

The argument of the unaccusative verbs behaves in very much the same way as that of passives and pronominal passives. According to Ambar (1992) Portuguese unaccusative (or “ergative”) verbs, pronominal passive constructions and passives with auxiliary verbs have almost the same restrictions on word order, and (citing Burzio (1981)) “appear in D-structure with a direct object and with a non thematic subject, i.e. with a non referential (generally empty) subject”.
Ambar points out that the sentences that normally have been the object of studies on unaccusative (or in Ambar’s terms, ergative) structures with post-verbal subject have often been restricted to simple sentences like (35)

(35) Chegaram os delegados alemães
    Arrived-PL the-PL delegate-PL German-PL
    The german delegates arrived. (my translation)
    (Ambar 1992:124)

where the sentence with the unaccusative verb has no other constituent. If, however, there are other constituents in the sentence, we find the other restrictions on the word order:

A. Definiteness: The phrase (36), with a definite subject is, if not entirely ungrammatical, at least somewhat dubious, whereas (37) with indefinite subject is grammatical.

(36) ?Chegaram os delegados alemães ontem.
    Arrived-PL the-PL delegate-PL German-PL yesterday
    The German delegates arrived yesterday (my translation)
    (Ambar 1992:124)

(37) Chegaram delegados alemães ontem.
    Arrived-PL delegate-PL German-PL yesterday.
    German delegates arrived yesterday. (my translation)
    (Ambar 1992:125)

B. If a “constituent that is not the verb is in initial position in the phrase”, rule A will not apply, and the word order VS_{[+Def]} is grammatical as in (38).

(38) Ontem chegaram os delegados alemães.
    (Ambar 1992:124)

C. If nothing is predicated of the subject, SV is not possible. Ambar cites Perlmutter’s example:

(39) Surgem controvérsias como essas
    Arise-PL controversy-PL like this-PL
    There arise controversies like that.
    (Perlmutter 1976:98)

(40) *Controvérsias como essas surgem
    Controversies like that arise.
    (Perlmutter 1976:98)

where he says that “if nothing is predicated of controvérsias como essas other than the verb itself, then the structure in which controvérsias como essas is the subject and the theme, is not possible.” If however, something is predicated of the subject, SV is possible, likewise if there is emphasis on the verb.
With regard to A, definite subjects are, in my corpus, relatively infrequent. As was shown in Chapter 4, VSA and VAS structures are even more uncommon. In fact, in the 20th century corpus, only three examples exist with post verbal definite subjects in VAS and one, with a pronoun, not a definite, in VSA. As we saw in Chapter 4, there are relatively few VAS and VSA examples anyway, even with indefinite subjects, so it is difficult to draw any conclusions. It does seem, however, that it is information structure and/or phonological heaviness rather than definiteness that determines the position of the post verbal subject in relation to the post verbal adverb.

There are no examples of the type in (37) which Ambar cites as felicitous. This is most probably related to heaviness restrictions as outlined by Frota and Vigário (2002). According to these authors, the phonologically heaviest constituent will come after the phonologically light constituent. This is why a sentence such as (43) is perfectly acceptable.

(43) Chegaram ontem os delegados alemães

As for the acceptability of (37), there are no examples in my 20th century corpus of a behaviour that contradicts Frota and Vigário (2002).

Regarding B. There is no competition around the placement of the subject in (38), the subject being the sole constituent in post verbal position. The preverbal adverb ontem is not an argument. Neither is it one of the monosyllabic adverbs such as bem or the small sentential adverbs like já, não, nunca (already, not, never). The position of this type of adverb, that does not belong to any of the above mentioned groups, is relatively free. They can occur pre or post verbally, although in my 20th century corpus not between the preverbal subject and the verb.

As for C., if we look at the corpus of O Público, there are in fact both definite and indefinite preverbal subjects with these types of verbs, where nothing is predicated of the subject other than the verb itself. In fact, they seem to map with (42) phonologically, with sentence stress on the verb. In these cases, the verb meaning itself becomes more prominent.
Durante a noite, um jipe de bombeiros voluntários vigiava, atento a isqueiros e fogueiras. **Nada se passou**, mas para a próxima talvez seja prudente organizar melhor a distribuição das tendas no terreno. *(Público online)*

**Essa função desapareceu**, e com ela a função política. *(Público online)*

Abriram as portas das prisões, libertando mais 1500 prisioneiros que continuam à solta. Os tribunais foram incendiados e **muitos documentos desapareceram**. *(Público online)*

É muito difícil fazer um balanço, porque a teologia da libertação e as comunidades eclesiais de base sofreram um impacto negativo nos últimos 15 anos, por causa de factores eclesiais, sociais, e das mudanças que ocorreram. **A semente boa ficou**. Havia uma semente boa - e há. *(Público online)*

Uma questão financeira, nada mais. **O projecto existe.** *(Público online)*

If unaccusativity in Portuguese is shown in the word order, one would expect the single argument of unaccusative verbs to occupy post verbal position and of unergative verbs the preverbal position. Preverbal subjects of unaccusative verbs would then be topicalised. However, Costa (2001) argues that “subjects of unaccusative verbs may be either preverbal or post verbal in contexts of sentence-focus”, in that both (30) and (31), repeated here as (49) and (50) below, are felicitous answers to **What happened?**

(49) **O João chegou**

(50) **Chegou o João**

*(Costa 2001:2)*

It is worth noticing, in connection to Costa’s analysis, that the optionality of VS:SV order doesn’t hold for all unaccusative verbs. Presentational and existential verbs like the ones in Perlmutter’s list do not all permit SV order in neutral contexts. In fact, some of them behave much like the impersonal verb *haver*, not only with regard to word order but also with agreement as we shall see below. Given the semantic properties of these verbs, this is hardly surprising. In the 20th century corpus, the presentational verbs *existir, faltar* and *sobrar* occur mostly in VS contexts, while the opposite is true for *chegar*.

In my corpus, however, there appears to be a difference between the unmarked word order of unaccusative verbs like *chegar* and that of some presentational verbs like *faltar* and *existir* where the subject is post verbal in unmarked contexts. This may have something to do with the nature of the verbs themselves and the type of discourse structures that automatically appear with presentational verbs, as was shown in Chapter 4. I will return to this in Chapter 6. In any case, the argument structure is the same.
For the time being, it is sufficient to see that while the order in (51) is acceptable, we cannot say (52) in an unmarked context:

(52) Dois pães faltam.

It is possible, however, to say any of the following:

(53) Os meus dois alunos faltam.
    My two students are missing.

(54) Faltam os meus dois alunos.

(55) Faltaram dois alunos
    Two students are missing.

(56) Dois alunos faltam.

In other words, it is not something inherent to the verb, rather it is connected to the properties of the subjects or the type of subject that is usually selected for this verb.

5.4. Word order and agreement

Normally, there is agreement between subject and verb in Portuguese sentences. In standard modern Portuguese, a subject in plural will have the verb in plural, whether it is preverbal or post verbal:

(57) As crianças comeram a sopa
    The children-PL Ate-PL the soup

(58) Comeram as crianças a sopa
    The children ate the soup

(59) Dois homens chegaram.

(60) Chegaram dois homens.
    Two men came

We find the same variation in another type of intransitive sentences with the so-called pronominal passive or mediopassive constructions. Basically they behave as unaccusative verbs: they have no subject and a deep structure object that will appear as subject in surface structure. Even though in the phrases (61) and (62), someone is selling the melons, in Portuguese, it is impossible to specify the agent in these sentences. There is no “underlying

41 The number of occurrences in main clauses for faltar, VS:SV is 15:1, for sobrar it is 2:0, for existir it is 23:6. For chegar it is 5:21.
agent” as there is in passive constructions that may be expressed by means of a prepositional phrase.

(61) Melões Vendem -se
Melon-PL sell-PL REFL

(62) Vendem -se melões
Melons are sold / Melons for sale

In reality, however, we tend to find the following in colloquial Portuguese⁴².

(63) Vende -se melões.
sell-SG REFL melon-PL
Melons are sold / Melons for sale

(64) Aluga -se quartos
rent-SG REFL room-PL
Rooms are rented / Rooms for rent

but not:

(65) *Melões vende-se
(66) *Quartos aluga-se⁴³

In (63) and (64), melões and quartos show no subject properties: they do not occupy the canonical subject position, it does not have any semantic properties connected to subjecthood, it is not in agreement with the verb, and as long as the verb is in singular, it cannot move to preverbal position. These are not accepted grammatical forms of Portuguese, but they exist none the less in informal speech and are frequently seen in shop windows and on message

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⁴² It should be noted that because my corpus is a written one with few colloquialisms, it does not have this type of structure. Nevertheless, it is important for the overall picture because it adds more importance and weight to the general theory in this study that word order plays a prominent role in the status of the arguments.

⁴³ This is “almost” true. In reality, we find advertisements with precisely this word order, like the one in the following ad, downloaded from the Internet 4th nov. 2004 www.fra.pt/index.php?visual=1&id=0&myself=4759&article=4068 where not only do we have a preverbal subject without agreement, it is followed by a postverbal subject agreeing with the verb! Note also that the agent is expressed by means of a prepositional phrase, although this is probably not indended as one sentence, rather that the ad has been posted by P Figueiredo:

Quartos aluga-se
Por Paula Figueiredo (2004-07-04 13:07:49)
Alugam-se quartos no centro de Corroios, a 2 minutos a pé da estação de comboios da Fertagus, transportes, centro médico, bancos, farmácias e comércio.
Totalmente mobilados, sala comum com lareira, cozinha equipada e música ambiente.
Paula Figueiredo à Tlm: XXXXXXXX
boards among other places. This is by no means a new phenomenon in Portuguese, nor a phenomenon restricted to Portuguese. Already in Latin, post verbal arguments did not always agree with the verb.\footnote{Cfr. Väänänen and Carrión (1988:256): “Algunos verbos y locuciones verbales, sobre todo al comienzo de la frase, tienden a fijarse en forma impersonal, particularmente hablando de medidas: Catón Agr. 135,4 In commissura abibit pedes III, reliquum erit pedes XLVI “para el nudo (de la cuerda) harán falta 3 pies y sobrarán 46 pies”; ibid. 144, 5 accedit oleae salsae modi V “se añaden 5 medidas de aceite salado” (Löfstedt, Syntactica I, pág. 1ss.) In fact, there is no reason to believe that we are dealing with a new phenomenon when there is lack of agreement. Rather, lack of agreement has been present through the history of the Latin and Portuguese languages.} Also in Latin this occurred with post verbal subjects of presentational, existential and other unaccusative verbs. While in Latin as well as in Portuguese, the lack of agreement is at best colloquial, if not ungrammatical, in some varieties of Spanish this type of construction has become somewhat more accepted as a grammatically correct form, at least by some grammarians.\footnote{Butt, (2000:391) refers to Molina Redondo (1974) and to the Chilean academy as an author and an institution which accept the use of passive se without agreement. However, Butt refers to Seco (1998:410) for this information.} A reanalysis has taken place, in which the “original” subject of the sentence is no longer marked as such, neither by word order nor in the verb form, and therefore functions more like an object. For some verbs, post verbal subjects that do not agree with the verb seem to be more accepted than for other verbs. In my corpus of *O Público*, I found this lack of agreement typically with *faltar* and *existir*, although the examples were too few to be of statistical significance. Also, the “plural” subjects were typically two or more singular entities that normally should produce a verb in plural, but are nevertheless not infrequent in post verbal position with singular verbs. This is illustrated in the examples (67), (68), and (69) below, the subject in (67), *a unidade e comunidade* occurs after a verb in singular, however the adjective that modifies these nouns is in plural.

(67) A mais comum refere que, devido à diversidade da Índia - 15 grandes línguas, cinco grandes religiões, inúmeras castas e subcastas - *falta* ao país *a unidade e comunidade necessárias* para que hajam programas efectivos à escala nacional para a educação e contra a pobreza. *(Público online)*

(68) Por mais que Ana, uma das animadoras, diga que não era a bruxa com que se cruzaram, que lhe *falta* o cabelo, o chapéu preto e pontiagudo, a ele ninguém o engana. Não é todos os dias que se vêem bruxas a usar numa orelha quatro brincos de argolas. *(Público online)*

(69) “*Existe* no Porto um respeito mútuo e uma vontade de entendimento entre os dois partidos que talvez não *exista* noutras partes do país”, lembrou o dirigente social-democrata, que se assume como um “convicto aliancista a favor de entendimentos a curto e médio-prazo com o PP”. *(Público online)*

Costa (2001) analyses lack of agreement with post verbal subjects of unaccusative verbs in the following manner, within the framework of optimality theory: Assuming that a] nominative case is assigned to the subject if there is subject-verb agreement, and that b] post
verbal subjects of unaccusative verbs may be assigned some other case than nominative, and that the difference between standard EP and colloquial EP is due to differences in the lexical properties in each register, and that in the register of colloquial Portuguese there are two possible inputs: one where the argument needs nominative case, and one where it doesn’t.

In preverbal position the subjects are in SpecIP, receive nominative case and are in agreement with the verb. In post verbal position, the subject may or may not receive nominative case. It can receive nominative Case and have agreement with the verb (even though it has not moved to SpecIP), as in (70):

(70) fecharam muitas fábricas.

Many factories closed down (my translation)

(Costa 2001)

Or it may be assigned some other case, perhaps partitive Case (as argued by Belletti (1988) for Italian) as in (71):

(71) fechou muitas fábricas

(Costa 2001)

Whether it receives Case or not is lexically specified. In my opinion, there is no need to assume that the argument in (71) is a subject. It does not receive nominative case, it is not in agreement with the verb and it is not in a canonical subject position. In fact, all surface manifestations of subjecthood are gone. The only reason for classifying it as a subject would be a requirement that all sentences need a subject. In a generative analysis, this requirement is met if we suppose an expletive pro. In the next section, examples of covert expletives will be given.

To conclude this section, we have seen that basic argument structure possibilities for unaccusative verbs in Portuguese, are the following:

(72) [IP O João, chegou, [VP t, t]]

(73) [IP chegou, [VP t, O João]]

In (72) the subject is generated post verbally in its base position but is moved out of VP for discourse motivated reasons. The post verbal argument receives case either by moving to SpecIP or it can receive case in its base position (73). Also, there is the possibility in (74) where, to solve the problem of subject and case, we suppose an expletive subject pro. The post verbal argument then receives some other case than nominative.
Another analysis, parallell to the one in (72) and (73) would be (75) and (76)

\[(75) \quad [IP \ o \ João, \ I_p \ chegou, \ [VP \ t, \ I_p \ ]]\]

\[(76) \quad [\text{chegou}, \ [IP \ o \ João, \ [I_p \ t, \ [VP \ t, \ I_p \ ]]]]\]

where the subject is preverbal and moves out of VP to receive nominative case and the verb moves out to receive inflection. In the case of a post verbal subject, the verb moves even further up. This analysis does not account for post verbal subjects that do not agree with the verb.

The data in this thesis support the first hypothesis that has been advocated by Costa (2004). This is largely due to discourse strategies that will be discussed in Chapter 6. Some supporting evidence for an analysis with two lexical entries is also presented in the next section.

5.5. Other verbs with parallel structural possibilities such as weather verbs and haver

Both haver in its impersonal use ‘there is’ and unaccusative verbs may appear with either subjects or objects. Where there is lack of agreement between the unaccusative verb and its argument, the sentence should be analysed as parallel to haver + NP.

As we have seen, Costa (2001), following Duarte (1987) and Ambar (1992), accepts the analysis that preverbal subjects in Portuguese move to SpecIP and thus receive nominative Case. Costa makes an exception for post verbal subjects of unaccusatives that remain base-generated in post verbal position to receive either partitive Case or nominative Case. When the subject receives partitive case the verb does not have to agree with it. These constructions become somewhat similar to constructions with the verb haver (and ter (B)) where the verb is not in agreement with its so-called “subject”. These “subjects” are usually post verbal and traditionally referred to as objects.

\[(77) \quad \text{Há pessoas que pensam desta maneira}\]
\[\text{There are people who think this way.}\]
\[\text{or: There’s people who think this way. (coll)}\]

\[(78) \quad \text{Há uma pessoa que pensa desta maneira: É o Zé Manel}\]
\[\text{There is one person who thinks this way: That is Zé Manel.}\]
*Haver* is supposedly a special case in Portuguese, there are no other verbs in the normative language that do not agree with their single argument. Note that the verb *haver*, meaning ‘there is’ does not, unlike unaccusative verbs, have personal pronouns as arguments agreeing with the verb in post verbal position:

(79) Há eles  
*There is them.*

(80) Chegaram eles.  
*They came.*

and not 46

(81) *hão eles  
(82) *cheou eles

The structure in (79) is by no means a common construction in PE. While there are numerous examples of *há ele* and *há eles* on Brazilian websites, the common structure in Portugal is the one we find in (83), with the clitic pronoun.

(83) Helena, Helena... caracóis há-os em todo o lado 47

However, there are some examples, especially from bloggers, of *haver*+personal pronoun.

(84) Concluo,afinal, que não há eles. Não sou perseguido por pássaros, acossado por homens mudos vestidos de negro, servos como eu de um amo desconhecido e fatal. 48

Traditional analyses, such as Moreira (1922), argue that because *haver* takes pronominal argument -*el-os* and not *ele(s)*, the single argument of *haver* is always interpretable as the object. 49 However, examples of *haver* + *ele/-a/-es/-as* such as the ones in (85), (86) and (87) would seemingly contradict Moreira.

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46 These may in fact be found in colloquial Spanish.


48 Downloaded 2.nov.2004 from [http://diferencial.ist.utl.pt/edicao/26/milao.htm](http://diferencial.ist.utl.pt/edicao/26/milao.htm)

49 “Sabe-se que as grammicas ensinam que o verbo *haver*, na significação de existir, é empregado impessoalmente, sempre no singular. Effectivamente, em frases como *ha homens* o substantivo *homens* não é sujeito, mas sim complemento directo. A grammatica pratica da nossa lingua não pôde entrar em minudencias ou desenvolvimentos a este respeito, limitando-se a consignar o facto da invariabilidade d’aquelle verbo; mas a falta da respectiva demonstração e a circunstancia de aparecerem, ainda nos mais esmerados escritores, devidas a descuido, construções erroneas em que o verbo *haver* ocorre no plural, tem levado muitos outros a suppór que tais construções representam a melhor syntaxe, aquella que devem preferir, sendo ainda arrastados a essa conclusão pela força da analogia.

Sem recorrermos ao auxilio de estudos historico-comparativos, poderemos demonstrar ser complemento directo a palavra que parece ser sujeito naquellas frases. Dentro da propria lingua, na sua phase actual, ha elemento para essa demonstração.
E fora D’Ele só há Ele\textsuperscript{50}.

Há ele e há o realizador, Dylan Kidd\textsuperscript{51}

Não para mim só há ele.

Since European Portuguese has no strong direct object pronoun forms, but only enclitic weak object pronouns, the need for an emphatic form sometimes provokes the use of the subject pronoun form. This use is common in Brazil (88), but not in standard EP (89). In (90) the object is repeated in a prepositional phrase which is the standard EP way of emphasizing an object pronoun.

(88) Vi ele passeando com a mulher.
(89) Vi-o a passear com a mulher
(90) Eu vi-o, a ele!, na casa aonde jurara jamais voltar\textsuperscript{52}

We might assume that what we find in colloquial European Portuguese is the same as we find in Brazilian, which uses the same forms as subjects and objects.

On the other hand, I believe the evidence that haver has both subject and object arguments in non standard language is strong enough whether or not we classify eles in há eles as a subject form or as an object form along the lines of BP. Consider the following examples from Portuguese web pages:

(91) Para esses não há coberturas televisivas\textsuperscript{53}
(92) Pessoas hão que esperam dois anos e mais ainda por uma acusação formal\textsuperscript{54}

As palavras que não têm fórm a diferente para distinguir do sujeito o complemento directo, podem desempenhar ambas estas funções sem que, de per si, determinem qual d’ellas exercem. Mas se com o verbo haver na acepção de existir, em logar de empregarmos algumas d’essas palavras, nos servirmos de uma que tenha ainda casos, isto é, fórm a distinctas para as suas diversas funções no discurso, como são alguns pronomes, veremos que só a fórm a de complemento se pode usar. Assim, às orações como ha homens, havia homens, houve homens, haverá homens, correspondem as seguintes com o pronomes: ha-os, havia-os, houve-os, hâv-los-ha. E ninguém substituirá nestas proposições a forma do complemento por a de sujeito, elles. Isto prova que o substantivo homens da primeira serie de exemplos, o qual na segunda é representado pelo pronomes, não pode deixar de ser, como este, um complemento (this is followed by the following note: Diez notou que no antigo francês e no provençal se reconhece ser complemento o substantivo que acompanha o verbo haver. Como mostrámos, o português actual tambem prova que efectivamente aquelle substantivo é regime e não sujeito.)

O mesmo succede, quando haver depende de outro verbo. Assim dir-se-ha: deve-os haver, ou deve havê-los; - pôde-os haver ou pôde havê-los. Igualmente se terá de dizer portanto: pôde haver homens, deve haver homens etc., e não: pôdem haver homens, devem haver homens.” (Moreira 1922:67-68)

\textsuperscript{50} Fernando Pessoa, 1888-1935
\textsuperscript{51} jornal.publico.pt/2003/12/12/magoo/Y/TAC99.html
\textsuperscript{52} Examples (88), (89) and (90) are taken from http://ciberduvidas.sapo.pt/php/resposta.php?id=6881 The first is from a question about the use of pronouns in Brazil vs. Portugal, the two last are from the answer to that question and are given as examples of correct European Portuguese.
\textsuperscript{53} http://grilinhablogs.sapo.pt/arquivo/113615.html
(93) Trata-se de um segmento com várias ramificações: hão-os radicais e há-os “civilizados”, como é o caso dos SUV.

(94) Helena, Helena... caracóis há-os em todo o lado.

(95) ...entrámos os quatro, os porteiros com ar de maus, mas a isso já estava habituada, hão-os em todo o lado.

(96) Outras hão, para quem estas histórias não têm significado nenhum.

(97) Outros há em outros domínios da arte.

(98) hão mudanças e hão metamorfoses.....quando há uma metamorfose, não é um processo.

(99) AFINAL O IRS JÁ DEVIA TER SIDO PAGO HÃO MESES!

(100) Hão [sic] dois tipos de mulheres: as que gostam, e as que dizem que não gostam.....

In examples (91) and (92), written by the same person, the first is an example of the standard use of haver, the second an example of haver used with agreement. Example (93) is of haver used, in the same sentence and in parallel constructions, once with agreement and once without. Example (94) is of the standard use of haver with a topicalised argument, in this case caracóis that is being repeated in the form of a weak object pronoun -os. The next example (95) is of the same construction, but with agreement, seemingly with the weak object pronoun, os porteiros being topicalised and outside the clause boundaries. Examples (96) and (97) are of plural argument with and without agreement but otherwise quite similar. The next three (98), (99) and (100) further exemplify haver with agreement.

The number of examples with agreement is relatively small compared to the number of examples found without agreement. On the other hand, even if they are not too common, they are not very unusual either. We find the following possible combinations with argument in plural:

(101) há + plural

(102) plural + há

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54 http://grilinha.blogs.sapo.pt/arquivo/113615.html
55 From http://www.guiadoautomovel.pt/Comprar_Novo/segmentos.htm
57 From http://malucaresponsavel.blogs.sapo.pt/
60 Dito por: dolphin.s no dia 29 de setembro 2004, às 11h38
62 Afixado por Charlie em setembro 22, 2004 08:56 AM

150
This indicates that we are dealing with two different structures the same way that we are dealing with two different structures with unaccusative verbs, only with the verb *haver* it is the agreement that is non-standard. One is with *haver* + object, the other is with *haver* + subject. We may or may not choose to analyse the type without agreement as having a covert expletive pro. Evidence for an expletive is found in Moreira’s example from Camilo Castello Branco cited below,

> Mas em certos casos, pelo contrário, conserva a mesma linguagem o verbo no singular, fazendo-o concordar com um sujeito que lhe junta, o pronome pessoal *elle* (cfr. Em francês *il* y *a*). Isto sucede principalmente em formulas que se deseja tornar emphaticas. De um engraçado passo de Camillo Castello Branco (A CORIA, p. 24), extrahimos o seguinte exemplo, que recordará ao leitor outros identicos, que de certo ha de ter ouvido:

> O canalha que me pilhou passante de quatrocentos mil réis de emprestimo! – dizia, batendo na coxa vasta, como se batesse nas costas do seu infame devedor Crispim. Não que *elle ha* marotos muito grandes na tropa! – obtemperou o padre João da Eira, rancoroso inimigo das armas sem que fosse notavel partidario das letras.

(Moreira 1922)

In the corpus, it occurs only once, in the correspondence of Pina Manique (106), which is the most colloquial of all the texts.

> “É uma tal parentela enrevesada a dessa gente da casa do vale!... dizem coisas, por aí que se eu as entendo!... E há um frade no caso, já se sabe”...
> – “Oh! *ele há* frade no caso”? (Pina Manique, Cartas)

It is common in colloquial Portuguese on the internet such as (107), (108) and (109):

> Ele há momentos em que um gajo se sente inseguro!63
> Ele há coisas assim!64
> Ele há semanas...65

With all the methodological problems concerning googling in mind, one point in particular relative to this thesis is worth mentioning: Of the examples found with plural subject in agreement with the verb, most of the subjects were preverbal and rather few post verbal. Considering that the most common word order with haver is *há*+NP, this is significant because it is the same pattern we find with unaccusative verbs, where lack of agreement is almost exclusively with post verbal subjects.

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Other early evidence for two structures with *haver* is in Moreira (1922), on describing the “popular” language in Portugal. He notes that the verb *haver*, in its existential meaning, is used in its plural form, as a hypercorrection.

Fica pois reconhecido que não ha razão para a concordancia do verbo com o substantivo que o acompanha, visto não ser este o seu sujeito; mas é frequente encontrar-se essa concordancia na linguagem popular e familiar, e ainda, como acima dissemos, em escritores menos cautelosos, bem como uma ou outra vez, certamente por lapso, nos mais primorosos prosadores.

Na boca do povo ouvem-se muitas vezes até expressões como *hão dois, hão muitos*. *(Moreira 1922:69)*

This text illustrates the following points:

A. Even though the verb *haver* is supposedly invariable, so-called hypercorrections do occur, and we have the same situation as the one we find with unaccusatives: There is one structure where the verb takes an object and one that has a subject that agrees with the verb.

B. *Haver* may occur with an overt expletive pronoun. According to Raposo and Uriagereka (1990) this is also possible with unaccusatives but not with transitives and unergatives.

In other words, we see a parallel in the possibilities of argument structures of the impersonal verb *haver* which occasionally may become personal, and unaccusative verbs which are “personal” as a rule but may become impersonal.66

Translations into Romance languages of the song *it’s raining men*67 reveal a difference in the structure of weather verbs that was not seen in the examples in Chapter 2, where they appeared in their usual form, without an argument. In translations of this song, the translator is forced to choose between a structure with agreement or one without agreement. Italian and Catalan translations have the verb in plural, Spanish has numerous translations with plural (110) as well as quite a few with singular (111):

(110) estan lloviendo hombres

66 For Spanish, António Quilis (Quilis 1983) makes the following observation on the monoargumental verbs *hacer* and *haber*: “Concordancia con los unipersonales “haber” y “hacer”. Los verbos *haber* y *hacer*, cuando se usan como unipersonales, se construyen como si fuesen verbos de tipo impersonal, de modo semejante a como lo hacen los verbos que expresan fenómenos de la naturaleza: *Hubo fiestas; Hace calor*, donde *fiestas* y *calor* funciona como complemento directo. En algunas regiones de España e Hispanoamérica estos verbos se interpretan como si fuesen sustantivos, diciéndose *Hubieron fiestas, Hicieron grandes heladas*; en estos casos, el verbo concierta con su complemento plural, porque no es sentido como complemento, sino como sujeto (With footnote to: V. Samuel Gili Gaya; *Curso Superior de Sintaxis*, pag.78).

En nuestros materiales, de 2.384 construcciones registradas de este tipo, sólo tenemos dos que presenten construcción irregular, con *haber*:

“*Habían muchas injusticias sociales*”

“*Habían programas…”*

67 This particular song is found in many different translations on the Internet.
Portuguese has only one example of the plural form (112), whereas (113) appears mostly on Brazilian pages and (114) seems to be the most current translation.

(112) chovem homens
(113) chove homens
(114) está chovendo homens

While the verb *chover* does appear in many contexts with agreement between the plural subject and the verb, the most normal use is without agreement. The point is that there is evidence for both uses. Weather verbs are, like *haver*, also frequently heard with an expletive pronoun. Again, this was noted by Moreira (1922).

"Nas orações impessoais o francês emprega um sujeito gramatical, como *il pleut*, chove; *il est dix heures*, são dez horas, etc. Entre nós não se usa na língua culta esta prática, mas a língua popular diz frequentemente: *<elle chove>*. *<elle agora não chove>* e assim por diante com outras expressões impessoais. (Cfr o que dissemos a respeito do verbo *haver* ... my comment: this is referred to in note x). Com a indicação das horas usa-se até familiarmente o pronome *isto*, dizendo-se: *<isto são horas>*. *<isto são horas de ir para casa>*. Já no século XVI assim se dizia também, como se vê no seguinte passo de Antonio Prestes, p 125:

Quando hei de ir á audiencia?

*Isto são dez horas já*”

(Moreira 1922:122)

As I mentioned earlier, Costa (2001) uses the fact that post verbal pronouns in PE must agree with the unaccusative verb to prove that there are two lexical variants of unaccusative verbs in colloquial Portuguese, there are two possible inputs: one where the argument needs nominative case, and one where it doesn’t.

The rather unusual cases of preverbal plural subject with the verb in singular, such as (115) and (116) are parallel to (117) where the object has been topicalised. The structure is best presented as XP#V or XP#SV, where XP is left dislocated and outside the clause boundary.

(115) casas vende-se
(116) caracóis há
(117) a sopa, o Paulo comeu

The most important point, however, is that the type of constructions with pro+verb+object has existed for a long time. Moreira describes it in 1922, and we find Latin precursors to the same structures (as mentioned in footnote 44). In other words, we may suppose that these structures
have been available at all times and that stylistic/normative usage has been a deciding factor for which structure to use under which circumstances. An expletive is found in Camilo. I do not know of attested expletives in Portuguese before the example (106) in Pina Manique. The fact that this construction existed around the middle of the 18th century indicates that it has at least existed from the earliest times of what is often referred to as Modern Portuguese.

5.6. Summary

There are (at least) two different structures available for unaccusative verbs: one with subject and verbal agreement, one with object and no plural agreement.

The subject may be either preverbal or postverbal in unmarked contexts. When preverbal, it is in SpecIP, when postverbal it is left within VP. In postverbal position, there may or may not be agreement with the verb. When there is no agreement, the argument does not need to be analysed as a subject. Rather, it has all the qualities of an object: it must remain postverbal in unmarked contexts, there is no agreement. There can even be an overt expletive that syntactically is the subject.

At all times, these three possibilities have existed: preverbal subject+inflected verb, inflected verb+postverbal subject, uninflected verb + post verbal (singular or plural) subject (although in my corpus this last structure was only attested with haver).

The first occurrence of an expletive was also with haver, in Pina Manique’s correspondence. This particular piece of written material is the first “very colloquial” text in the corpus. It is possible that there are earlier attested occurrences of this phenomenon that would imply a much earlier development of this type of structure. It does, however, coincide with the period that is often seen as the transition period between classical and modern Portuguese.

The structures have existed in Latin and in all periods of the Portuguese language. The mapping and acceptability of these structures is what varies: Whether or not unaccusatives can map into the structures of haver or not, with no agreement between subject and verb and with the possibility of occurring with an expletive pronoun.
6. Discourse structures

This chapter deals with the discourse motivated structures that were briefly discussed in Chapter 5 where I outlined different possibilities for landing sites in which the Portuguese subject may appear. In this chapter, the trigger-off mechanisms for topicalisation or “defocusing” will be discussed. My modern corpus is compared with what the theoretical works of Costa (2004), Ambar (1999) and Duarte (1987) have to say about discourse structures in Portuguese. I shall assume, with Frota (2000) and Costa (2004), that focus is a prosodically marked phenomenon in Portuguese while topic is mostly syntactically encoded. The 16th century corpus will then be compared to the 20th century corpus, and the differences in information structure between these two periods will be discussed.

There are two main goals in this chapter: The first is to discuss topic positions, the second is to determine what triggers the movement of the arguments of the unaccusative verbs. Different types of topics will be in different structural positions, and it is therefore important to establish what type of topic we are dealing with when the subject of unaccusatives is preverbal. It will be shown that preverbal subjects of unaccusative verbs are not necessarily topics in the traditional sense, and that Costa’s analysis of “avoid focus” serves best to describe the data from the 20th century.

The relationship between post verbal subjects and post verbal adverbials have already been established in Chapter 4 as having to do with both information structure and heaviness restraints. In this chapter, focus will be on the subject and on subject position in relation to the verb and in relation to preverbal adverbs. The relationship between preverbal subjects and adverbials or between the subject and the verb, can not be reduced to parsing principles.

6.1. Topic and focus in Portuguese

In addition to identifying subjects as unmarked topics, Duarte (1987) identifies four other types of topics in Portuguese. They all have in common that they may be analysed in terms of a topic-comment structure that is not homologous to a Subject-predicate structure. These four
types of topics\textsuperscript{68} are illustrated in the following examples from Duarte p.73-74, 4a-7c, here cited as (1) - (7), the translations are mine.

Tópico Pendente

(1) Bom … praias, adoro a Arrabida.
Well…beaches, I love the Arrabida

Deslocação à Esquerda de Tópico\textsuperscript{69}:

(2) O João … ouvi dizer que ele tinha ido passar férias a Honolulu.
John….I heard he’d gone to Honolulu on holidays

(3) A Maria, encontrei ontem aquele amigo dela que faz cinema.
Mary, yesterday I met that friend of hers who makes films.

Deslocação à Esquerda Clítica\textsuperscript{70}:

(4) Ao teu amigo, ainda não lhe pagaram os direitos de autor, pois não?
Your friend, they haven’t paid him his author’s fees yet, have they?

Topicalização

(5) Piscina não sabia que tinha (--) (Não sabia que tinha piscina.)
A pool I didn’t know they had.

(6) Qualquer prospecto que lhe ameaça, ele lê (--) (Ele lê qualquer prospecto que lhe ameaça.)
Any prospect that threatens him he reads.

(7) A esse político, podes crer que não dou meu voto (--) (Podes crer que não dou meu voto a esse político.)
To that politician you can well believe I will not give my vote.

(Duarte 1987 :74 and : 85)

The topics in the data that are analysed in the corpus are subjects. As such, they are expected to be unmarked topics and not of the type that we see in Duarte’s classification above. This is true even though these subjects are base generated in post verbal position and have been moved in front of the verb. In some cases, however, particularly in the 16\textsuperscript{th} century corpus, there are all types of adverbials and adverbial clauses between the subject and the verb, probably creating a pause after the subject. The question is whether this type of preverbal

\textsuperscript{68} The terminology around topics is just as confusing in Portuguese as it is in other languages. Ambar (1999) distinguishes between true topics and topic-like elements, where a topic-like element resembles Duarte’s topicalização and is a tarte in the following example from Ambar:

A tarte…. a Maria comeu

While a true topic is the same as Duarte’s clitic left dislocation as in the following example from Ambar:

O teu vestido, a Joana vestiu-o

\textsuperscript{69} This is often referred to as hanging topic or left dislocation

\textsuperscript{70} This is often referred to as clitic left dislocation
subject of an unaccusative verb can be classified as a topic according to the analysis in Duarte’s list, and be anything like the examples in (1) - (7) above\(^{71}\).

From Duarte’s list, the types of topic relevant for this thesis are *deslocação à esquerda de tópico* in (2) and (3) and *topicalização* in (5), (6) and (7). What Duarte refers to as *topicalização*, is “topicalisation” in the traditional sense within generative grammar, where a constituent in a clause is moved to another position inside the clause, leaving a “gap” in the original position. Clitic left dislocation is not relevant since the argument of an unaccusative verb cannot be replaced by a clitic. Left dislocation as in (2) and (3) can be argued for in some circumstances, especially in the 16\(^{th}\) century where the subject is not as closely knit to the verb as it is in modern Portuguese.

In the corpus, preverbal subject topics of unaccusative verbs can be one of the following: a] an unmarked subject topic, b] a topicalised subject of the kind in Duarte’s examples (5), (6) and (7). Or c] it can be interpreted as not part of the clause like in (2) and (3).\(^{72}\)

The structure in (8) can be analysed in two ways: Either the subject is within the clause in an SAV structure, or the structure is S#AV, where # marks the clause boundary. The two interpretations are illustrated in the translation in (9) where a pronoun may or may not be inserted. If there is a pronoun, we can suppose that the structure is S#AV, if there is not, the structure can be SAV.

\[
(8) \quad \text{El Rei de Zeilá, que era muito bom cavaleiro, vendo o desbarato dos seus, saiu do esquadrão, e se passou à dianteira, tendo os seus, animando-os, esforçando-os, e fazendo-os voltar; (Diogo do Couto, Décadas)}
\]

\[
(9) \quad \text{The king of Zeilá, who was a very good rider, seeing his men being defeated, (he) left his squadron, and …}
\]

While it is true that topic often coincides with old information and focus with new information, not all old information is necessarily topics. I repeat here Lambrecht’s (1994) definition of topic expression and topic referent already cited in Chapter 2:

\[
\text{TOPIC: A referent is interpreted as the topic of a proposition if in a given situation the proposition is construed as being about the referent, i.e. as expressing information which is relevant to and which increases the addressee’s knowledge of this referent.}
\]

\(^{71}\) There must be an audible pause between the subject and the verb. Otherwise, it will be impossible to distinguish between a subject in subject position and a topicalised one.

\(^{72}\) It is difficult to distinguish between b) and c) since the topicalised postverbal argument is at the same time a subject. The “gap” would be there anyway, whether the subject is in SpecIP or in a topic position.
TOPIC EXPRESSION: A constituent is a topic expression if the proposition expressed by the clause with which it is associated is pragmatically construed as being about the referent of this constituent.

(Lambrecht 1994:131)

In fact, not every constituent in a sentence is either topic or focus. For many constituents, it is irrelevant whether they are old or new information. Büring (1997) has a tripartite classification of discourse structure: some parts are topics and some parts of a clause may be focus, and the part of the sentence which is neither topic nor focus is background.

This can be seen in relation to the distinction between theme as defined by Halliday (1970) and topic, as illustrated by Duarte (1987) in (10).

(10) Ontem o João telefonou-me

*Yesterday John called me on the phone.*

(Duarte 1987 :57, note 12)

In (10) the theme is *ontem* and the given information is *O João*. In Büring’s classification *O João* in (10) is typically background. This will be the case for many of the subjects that have been “defocused” and placed before the verb: They are not preverbal for being topics but for being non-focus.

As pointed out by Ambar (1999) there are several types of focus in Portuguese. There is a prosodic focus, where there is no movement, and where only stress is assigned to the focused element. This is the type:

(11) O CARLOS beijou a Vera.

*Charles kissed Vera.*

(12) O Carlos beijou A VERA

(13) O Carlos BEIJOU O Pedro

where the focus is contrastive because it presupposes an opposition with other possible old information against which the new information is placed and it has an exclusive/restrictive value because the new information is exclusive or restricted to the entity or entities the focused element denotes. Contrastive focus can also be expressed preverbally, and may contain old information, as in (14)

(14) A tarte, a Joana comeu

*The cake, Joanna ate.*

In (14), depending on the interpretation, either *a tarte* or *a Joana* can be contrastive focus. Whichever it is, the arguments are not in themselves new information.
While recognising the existence of contrastive focus, we should also stress the fact that this type of focus is most commonly found in speech, and would be less inclined to appear in written language. The type of corpus studied here, does not contain enough examples of the contrastive type to serve as a material for serious study. However, we do find some examples that may very well be interpreted as contrastive focus, such as (15).

(15) Outra maravilha acontece também no mesmo tempo e dia, em que este valeroso Capitão (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

The most commonly occurring focus is the presentational type, which serves to introduce new information. In Portuguese, the presentational focus is marked with prosodic stress which is fixed at the end of the clause. In Chapter 5, arguments for unaccusative verbs were analysed as being either within VP in their base position after the verb, or in Spec IP. Costa (2004) claims that for unaccusative verbs the argument in sentence focus context may be in either of these positions. When the subject is old information, it cannot receive focus stress, however, and thus must move out of VP.

If we compare Portuguese discourse structures to English, French and Italian as outlined by Lambrecht (1994), Portuguese will lean towards the Italian type. Word order will change according to the information structure and is less bound to syntactic structure. The prosodic accent will remain in the same place (Costa 2004) and the arguments will place themselves according to whether they need to receive focus stress or not.

Two types of process can be at work when the subjects of unaccusatives are preverbal in Portuguese: When they are topics they are moved to a preverbal position, or, alternatively, when they are not new information, they must move out of VP in order to “defocus” (among others, Costa, (2004)) In other words, there can be two possible trigger off mechanisms for moving the argument of unaccusatives to a preverbal position.

A. The avoid focus rule which puts anything that is not focus to the front

B. A topicalisation trigger, which moves anything that resembles a topic to a special topic position.

As already mentioned, Costa (2004) argues that inversion with transitive verbs in Portuguese does not happen through verb movement across a subject moved to SpecIP, but that postverbal subjects in Portuguese are in Spec, VP and that the verb does not move above IP,
rather it stays in Iº. For unaccusatives, focused subjects stay in their (postverbal) base position and they move to SpecIP when they are not in focus.

6.2. The 20th century corpus.

Like in many other languages, topicalisation in Portuguese is linked to definiteness. However, definite forms need not be topics nor need topics be definite forms. The arguments of the unaccusative verbs in the corpus were checked for given vs. new information and for definiteness. The aim was to find out in what way these two interrelated concepts are important for determining word order in Portuguese.

In my 20th century corpus, definite subjects appear in VS position only when modified by a relative clause or by some other adjectival clause as in (16) or when they are of the type we see in (17), where there is a particular usage of the definite form that cannot be replaced with an indefinite one. Definite subjects that do not correspond to (16) or (17) are only found in SV. In both cases, the postverbal argument introduces new information. In (16) because something new is delimiting an already known entity, in (17) the subject has an almost generic value73. The subject in (18) can fit into any of the above mentioned categories.

(16) De fora ficaram os pilotos, cada vez mais isolados que recorreram ao provedor de Justiça. (Público online)

(17) Mas se os pilotos não cederem e o conflito laboral se intensificar, já que para os pilotos subsistirá um aumento de horas de voo inaceitável, sobrará ao Governo e à administração da TAP a utilização do chamado "regime sucedâneo". (Público online)

(18) Uma estátua que, em puro estilo realista-socialista, representava essa glorificação da mulher é um dos elementos de decoração a ser retirado na remodelação. Em seu lugar vão surgir as escadas rolantes em aço polido que conduzirão os passageiros até ao painel dos rostos femininos de Graça Morais. (Público online)

In fact, only new information may appear post verbally, whether definite or indefinite.

There is certainly a correlation between definiteness and topichood and topichood and old information. However, a large number of preverbal subjects were not previously mentioned in the text, and as such did carry new information. Most of these subjects were definite, although there were some indefinites that had not been mentioned previously nor did they refer to

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73 Generic value: a utilização is an abstract word, which always (or almost always) serves as a subordinate term in a syntagma. (it is always the use of something). As such it functions as a fac totum, and is almost generic. It is rarely used in plural or in in indefinite singular form. It is typical of generic expressions that they are definite singular: example: The wolf is the ancestor of the domestic dog. And not # A wolf is the ancestor of a domestic dog.
anything previously mentioned in the text. These were often, but not necessarily headlines and are not compatible with “avoid focus”

Examples with indefinite subjects:

(19) Primeiras obras **chegam** ao Guggenheim (headline) (*Público online*)

(20) Propostas de continuação do projecto **passam** pela Internet (headline) (*Público online*)

(21) Os pequenos concelhos limítrofes do distrito de Lisboa queixam-se com frequência da discriminação que sofrem em relação ao tratamento dos restantes municípios da Área Metropolitana. Agora, têm mais uma razão para protestar. Vestígios de pré-campanha electoral quase não **existem**. Sinal de que, definitivamente, os políticos têm outras prioridades. (*Público online*)

(22) Abriram as portas das prisões, libertando mais 1500 prisioneiros que continuam à solta. Os tribunais foram incendiados e muitos documentos **desapareceram**. (*Público online*)

(23) Durante a noite, um jipe de bombeiros voluntários vigiava, atento a isqueiros e fogueiras. Nada **se passou**, mas para a próxima talvez seja prudente organizar melhor a distribuição das tendas no terreno. (*Público online*)

(24) Só tivemos direito a um café ou a um guaraná”, conta **a**. “Então um rapaz **se levantou** e reclamou. Veio um comissário de bordo, houve quase agressão. Mas nós nos levantámos todos para dizer que se ele fosse preso, nós todos ficaríamos presos. (*Público online*)

Examples with definite subjects:

(25) A utilização da nossa paisagem rural e urbana para suporte publicitário, autorizada ou, no mínimo, consentida pelas autarquias, a troco de alguns contos de réis, só me faz pensar em prostituição. Sugiro aos autarcas uma visita à Câmara Municipal de Ourique. O amor pela nossa terra e a sensatez afinal ainda **existem** entre nós. (*Público online*)

(26) É muito difícil fazer um balanço, porque a teologia da libertação e as comunidades eclesiais de base sofreram um impacto negativo nos últimos 15 anos, por causa de factores eclesiais, sociais, e das mudanças que ocorreram. A semente boa **ficou**. **74** Havia uma semente boa - e há. (*Público online*)

(27) “Maxinquaye”**75**, o primeiro Tricky a solo em 1994, **surgiu** como uma mistura de hip hop, rock, dub e letras viscerais. (*Público online*)

(28) Tudo isso influenciou, mas o mais importante foi a mudança sócio-cultural na qual a Igreja também se coloca. Dou-lhe um exemplo: a época das mobilizações no Brasil já **passou**. (*Público online*)

The examples (19) and (20) are headlines, and headlines often have their own peculiar syntax, designed to draw attention to the text below. The first word is the most important, so in this case the information structure becomes the opposite of what it would normally be. The

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**74** While the subject of this sentence is not previously mentioned, and cannot be seen as referring to something previously mentioned, it nevertheless belongs to a common cultural background. The definiteness is conditioned by it being a Biblical reference.
examples (21), (22), (23) and (24), some of which have already been commented in Chapter 5, show the following pattern: When the subject is preverbal, the verb is focused and the verb meaning is more prominent. In (24), had the word order been different, the verb would simply have been presentational, rather than a description of a boy standing up. As for the examples with the definite subjects, we see the same thing: The verb receives sentence final focus stress and carries more lexical meaning. It becomes less presentational in the sense of simply introducing the new information given by the subject.

It seems that it is information structure alone that determines the word order with unaccusatives. Both definites and indefinites may occur either pre- or post verbally. The word order is determined by which element needs to receive focus stress. This again is determined by given versus new information, but also involves the possibility of keeping the verb in final position in order to give it stress, even when the subject does contain new information.

As for other preverbal constituents, adverbial expressions of all kinds may occur before SV, modal and temporal adverbs and expressions as well as adverbial sentences and PPs. This is a consequence of the “avoidfocus” rule applying to adverbs as well (Costa (1998) is only explicit about PPs).

SV sentences are also preceded by anaphoric expressions:

(29) em Ceuta o peixe **chega** de Marrocos por estrada (*Público online*)

(30) Assim, o FTSE 100 **chegou** aos 5075,8 pontos, um valor muito próximo do seu último máximo histórico. (*Público online*)

(31) Quando os atletas descem para o nível do mar, todos estes problemas **desaparecem**, mas também se perdem os glóbulos vermelhos suplementares. (*Público online*)

As we shall see in the next section, this is not true for the 16th century corpus.

### 6.3. The 16th century corpus

In Modern Portuguese, the number of preverbal subjects for unaccusative verbs that do not contain old information, suggest that the analysis of defocusing is the most probable one. Otherwise, the preverbal subjects that are not topics or old information may not be accounted

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75 Proper names have been grouped with definites.
for. Given the statistics presented in Chapter 4 on the distribution of given and new information, we see that focus was not encoded the same way in 16th century Portuguese as it is today. New information occurred mostly post verbally while old information could occur in any position. We must assume, then, either a different way of marking discourse structures or that other factors than information structure determine word order. As for topics, we often find the structure SAV. This could mean one of two things: either the structure is essentially the same that we have today with left dislocated subjects (only this was a more preferred structure in classical Portuguese) or we could assume a different structure, where the subject was not left dislocated and stayed within the clause boundary.

While focus in modern Portuguese is linked to old vs. new information, the same is not true for topics. In fact, according to Lambrecht’s definition of topics that we use here, topics can be new information, as long as the rest of the proposition is about the referent. Now, in 16th century Portuguese most new information is post verbal. While old information may occur both pre and post verbally, new information only rarely occurs in preverbal position. We thus need to study the few examples of preverbal new information found in the corpus as well as the post verbal old information. The following examples are with post verbal subjects that contain old information.

(34) Neste mesmo tempo chegou a galeota das Filipinas com muitos mantimentos ...(Diogo do Couto, Décadas)

(35) Desta vez ficou o Magor em seus Reinos; ... (Diogo do Couto, Décadas)

(36) Aqui surgio a Armada, ... (Diogo do Couto, Décadas)

(37) Na boca dela da banda do Norte tem um morro alto com pedras na ponta sôbre o mar; de longe dela entra o rio, e torna a voltar caminho do Sul-Sueste, alargando pera dentro cada vez mais. (Diogo do Couto, Décadas)

(38) E de então ficou Mestre Micael Angniolo em Roma até agora. (Francisco de Holanda, Da Pintura Antiga)

(39) Porque bem assi entram as lêteras pela vista como as palávras pelos ouvidos (João de Barros, Gramática da língua portuguesa)

What is striking in these examples are all the preverbal adverbials with demonstrative pronouns or deictic equivalents such as aqui, de então, assim. There are in fact two types of adverbials that precede the verb in the clauses where the post verbal subject is old information (old information being previously mentioned or referring to something previously mentioned): The types of adverbs in the examples above, that link a clause to the previous sentence and the type of adverbials that are clauses, such as in (40), (41), (42), (43) and (44).
mas depois das despezas feitas falece o Dom João de Alvarado de uma queda que deo de um cavalo, andando na conquista da Nova Galiza,... (Diogo do Couto, Décadas)

Depois de Fernão de Sousa de Tavora partido, chegou a Malaca Dom Jorge de Castro com ElRei Aeiro, e sabendo da morte do irmão, fez por êle grandes estremos. (Diogo do Couto, Décadas)

Depois de isto assi ordenado, se partio o Visorrey desta barra de Goa uma quinta feira pela menham ... (Fernão Mendes Pinto, Perigrinação)

E porque ja neste tempo erão catorze de Março, & a monçãode Malaca era ja chegada; se partio Pero de Faria para Goa, onde ... (Fernão Mendes Pinto, Perigrinação)

Feitas as preparações necessarias, partio o exercito dos Christãos da cidade de Coimbra, aonde se ajuntara.

Most, but not all of these adverbial clauses are also links to the previous sentence or paragraph, such as (40), (41), (42) and (43). A possible explanation to the above examples is therefore the V2 hypothesis as mentioned in Chapter 2 and studied in Chapter 4. One could argue that there is only one position above the verb, and since this position is already occupied by the linking adverb, the subject, even though it is old information, must stay in its base position. There are, however, also subjects that are old information, and even deictic as in (47), that occur post verbally, without a preverbal adverb to prevent the subject from moving.

Levantou-se Frei Bertolameu arcebispo e, com a mesma humildade com que se tinha prostrado na vénia, pediu licença pera falar e começou desta maneira: ... (Frei Luís de Sousa, Frei Bertolameu dos Mártires)

Cerrou-se o frade, arrimado a seu parecer, e, resoluto em não querer nada do mundo, sintia pouco ficar havido por mau cortesão e descortês. (Frei Luís de Sousa, Frei Bertolameu dos Mártires)

Faleceo êste Rei sem deixar filhos, e os povos levantaram por Rei a Ceidafim, filho de Xaués, aquele que o irmão lançou fora do Reino, que era então menino de dez anos. (Diogo do Couto, Décadas)

As we have seen, the “avoidfocus” rule which works well for modern Portuguese, does not work for 16th century Portuguese since old information occurs post verbally and in clause final position. A V2 hypothesis, while it explains the postverbal topics in (34) - (44), cannot account for (45), (46) and (47).

There are exceptions to the preverbal subjects always being old information, so we cannot derive a rule that says “move/keep all information that is not old to the right”. In the following examples from the 16th century, the subject has information that has not been previously mentioned in the text. The examples (48), (49) and (50) have already been mentioned in Chapter 4 as the only examples of preverbal subjects that contain new information in the first
half of the 16th century. They have also been analysed as exceptions because (48) is a grammar example, (49) is an example of contrastive focus and (50) has a subject that must exist as a presupposition in both the writer and the reader, even though we do not have the previous letter as part of the corpus. The examples (51) - (56) are from the second half of the 16th century:

(48) Os hómens que vam a Paris e estão no estudo pouco tempo, e fólgam de levár bôa vida, nam ficam com muita doutrina. (João de Barros)

(49) E tudo o mais que restava do dia & da noite seguinte, se passou com assas de trabalho, & com boa vigia. (Pinto)

(50) O voso criado, que me emviastes com vosas cartas de XIX e vinnte de julho pasado, chegou aquy, segunda feira deradeira do dito mes. (D.João III)

(51) Anos lhe faltavam pera chegar aos trinta, quando começou esta lição (Sousa)

(52) Duas grandes dificuldades me ocorreram acerca destes casamentos: a primeira he, que Egas Gomes de Sousa foi avó de Gonçalo Mendes de Sousa, o que floreçe em tempo delRey Dom Afonso Henriques, & este Gonçalo Mendes de Sousa he certo ser genro de Egas Monis o Ayo do mesmo Rey, casado com Dona Dordia sua filha de segundo matrimonio. (António Brandão)

(53) Também os Vândalos, Suevos, e Alanos, entraram em Espanha pela parte de França, mas isto não se … (Faria)

(54) Dom Antão de Almada (que foy por Embaixador l extraordinario a Inglaterra) fica assistente para tratar dos l negocios do Reyno. (Galhegos)

(55) O Conde de Alba de Liste, e o Marques de Alcanises | aos 19 de Octubro entrarão pella villa de Ifanes, … (Galhegos)

(56) A Armada, que o Christianissimo Rey de Frãça mãdou | a este Reyno de socorro, se retirou a varios portos | de Bretanha, por causa de hum temporal: e o General | com tres naos entrou na Rochella, e indo dalli por terra l para a (Galhegos)

The examples (48) - (56) above have subjects and verbs with new information, and can be interpreted as unmarked contexts. Because of this, we can conclude that in cases of sentence focus, the argument of the unaccusative can be either postverbal or preverbal. However, these subjects are also topics in Lambrecht’s definition: they are what the sentence is about. This is typical of classical Portuguese, in fact clearly topicalised subjects are much more common here than in the modern corpus. The examples of V3 from this period have the structure S#AV or SA#V, as has already been mentioned in Chapter 4. While this is a rather marked structure in modern Portuguese, and occurs less and less frequently in my corpus until it is almost nonexistent in the 20th century, it is comparatively more frequent in 16th century Portuguese.
The examples (48) - (56) can be contexts of sentence focus, which means that the subject in these contexts can be preverbal in 16th century texts. The question is why there are so few examples of this compared to the amount of subjects with new information that occur post verbally, contrary to what we find in modern Portuguese. Two explanations for this have been indicated, and the one does not necessarily exclude the other: a) A V2-like structure prevents more than one argument from occurring post verbally and b) there is no ‘avoidfocus’ rule.

The position of the postverbal arguments in Chapter 4, where new information is located at the end of the clause, indicates that this is a focus position in all periods of the corpus. We can thus assume a sentence final stress. However, there are elements that indicate a sentence initial stress in 16th century Portuguese as well:

In contexts of sentence focus, that is where both the verb and the subject are new information, (A)VS is the standard word order. As we have seen, examples of SV exist and these are with subjects that are topicalised. With SV the subject of unaccusatives is never background information, contrary to modern Portuguese. This indicates that the initial position in the sentence carries some sort of stress that is not compatible with background. The examples of V1 in (45), (46) and (47) were all with postverbal old information. In these sentences, the new information was in fact the verb. The verb in this position carries more prominence than a verb in second place. The clause final focus stress and the preverbal topics are similarities between the texts in the 16th century and the 20th century corpus. It is the order of the background constituents that changes. While only focused constituents can occur post verbally in Modern Portuguese, only topic arguments of unaccusatives can occur preverbally in the 16th century corpus. For arguments whose base position is postverbal, but that are neither topic nor focus this means that they must be fronted in Modern and stay in their base position in 16th century Portuguese.

6.4. Summary

In both periods there is clause final focus that we must presume has stress. However, there is no ‘avoidfocus’ movement in the 16th century like there is in modern Portuguese. Rather, there is a topicalisation movement that will move the most topic like element to the beginning of the clause. Because topics are usually old information, new information seldom occurs sentence initially. The new information subjects can move, however, if they are topics.
Subjects of unaccusatives that are neither topic nor focus but part of the background do not move but stay in their base position behind the verb.
7. The word order change in Portuguese

This chapter contains a summary of the changes in Portuguese word order from the medieval to the modern language. It starts with an introduction to the word order in Medieval Portuguese according to Pádua (1960), Schellert (1958), and Fiéis (2003). The results from these studies are used as a background for the study of the present corpus.

As mentioned earlier, many authors propose a V2 stage for Medieval and Classical Portuguese. The study of one text – Diogo do Couto’s Décadas – will show that there is at least one text that has this type of structure. On the other hand, other texts from the same period do not follow the same pattern. The statistics from Chapter 4 on V3 and V1 will be discussed.

The change in the word order pattern from a predominantly VS to a predominantly SV order took place around the same time that Galves (2002) and Galves, Britto et al. (2002) set for the transition from Classical to Modern Portuguese. The findings in this work will be compared to the findings in the works of on the history of clitic pronouns and prosody by those authors and Davies (1999) on the history of subject raising in Portuguese. Other indications of structural changes such as the construction with é que in interrogative sentences will also be seen in relation to a preferred SV structure in modern Portuguese. It will be argued that the change in word order that took place with unaccusative verbs should be seen not as a separate process but in relation to a stress shift at the end of the 18th century.

Finally, this chapter also contains a discussion around grammaticalisation and reanalysis in relation to subject and object properties of the argument of unaccusative verbs.

7.1. Old Portuguese

In Chapter 4, we saw that the frequency of VS:SV with unaccusatives changes, from being predominantly SV in Old Portuguese in Fiéis’ (2003) material to being predominantly VS in Classical Portuguese to being SV again in Modern Portuguese. Some authors, such as Salvi
(2004), Ribeiro (1995) and Torres Morais (1996) argue that Old Portuguese was a V2 language. Others either do not use V2 as a structural possibility (Pádua 1960) or argue against it (Fiéis 2003), (Kaiser 2002). Pádua’s (1960) description sometimes reveals Old Portuguese as a V2-like language but nevertheless includes examples of V3 that are not compatible with such an analysis. Fiéis’ (2003) systematic study of a possible V2 analysis of Old Portuguese refutes this hypothesis, ascribing the large number of inversions in Old Portuguese to unaccusativity. Kaiser (2002) has a similar analysis.

7.2. Word order typology in Old Portuguese

Pádua’s (1960) description of Old Portuguese has many traits that indicate a V2 structure, without ever really giving us enough evidence to prove that Portuguese was ever a V2 language. Portuguese inversion is compared to inversion in Old French: it happens when the sentence starts with an adverb or another argument that is not the subject. However, Pádua also cites examples that are clearly V3 thus making a V2 analysis more problematic. Whether or not we believe that Portuguese has passed through a V2 stage, there is little doubt that SVO has been the unmarked word order in both Old, Classical and Modern Portuguese. Pádua calls it ordem intelectual – the rational order while other word orders such as VSO are more likely to occur in contexts that convey emotions, such as questions, fear, doubt, hesitation, wish, order or surprise. Objects are preverbal in order to be given emphasis, and such preverbal objects as well as preverbal adverbs are likely to cause inversion. These objects and adverbs are very often connected to something or some place previously mentioned in the discourse and are often deictic which leads Pádua to characterise them as “psychological subjects”. These inversion triggers are found in both main and subordinate clauses, though not so much in relative clauses. The fact that Pádua does not always distinguish between noun objects and clitic pronoun objects makes it difficult to compare it to

76 All the examples from main clauses that Pádua cites as V3 with an XPSVO structure have a subject that is a personal pronoun. These subjects carry less phonological weight than full nouns. However, no V2 language known to me has such structures. Rather they contradict a V2 analysis that is syntactical in favour of a phonologically structured analysis. Other examples from Pádua that are V3 are found in subordinates where there were 2 instances of V3 in conjunctonals with conditional meaning, 2 instances of V3 in conjunctionals with causal meaning, both in uncommon stylistic surroundings.
77 I think this term, sujeito psicológico can be interpreted as a topic.
78 Pádua notes a difference in word order between the oldest version of Reg. de S. Bento and a newer one. The oldest is without inversion: Porque tu demostras as mihas iustiças…. The newer has: Por que contas tu e dizes as minhas iustiças... (Pádua p. 100). In a subordinate clause: ca per muitas vezes nostro Senhor demostra... vs. ..per que por muitas vezes demostra deus… (p.130). This indicates a drift towards the word order in Classical Portuguese.

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the present study where the clitics have not been analysed as ordinary arguments and are not expected to obey to the same rules.

The high number of inversions when something other than the subject precedes the verb, has led authors such as Ribeiro (1995) and Torres Morais (1996) and Galves (2002) to analyse Old Portuguese as a V2 language. As outlined in Chapter 2, in a V2 language, the verb is moved to C which only leaves room for one constituent before the verb, in SpecCP. A V2 analysis requires that both these elements be fulfilled: The verb must move to C and something must precede the verb. In Germanic V2 languages, this can be an expletive pronoun, even if there is no subject. Clauses that seemingly do not have the verb in second place, such as V1 and V3, require explanations. For instance, in null-subject languages, there is no expletive pronoun. However, it is thought that a pro can be covert and occur preverbally and thus satisfy the V2 requirement even though the verb seemingly occupies the first position in the clause.

Ribeiro (1995) analyses Old Portuguese as a V2 language, based on data from a 14th century text, Diálogos de São Gregório, as presented in Mattos e Silva (1989). The high number of inversions in the text, especially the main clauses were analysed as effects of a V2 structure. Ribeiro analyses the V1 and V3 structures in the following manner, drawing parallels between Adams’ (1989) and Vance’s (1989) analyses of Old French. The V1 clauses were analysed as either having a null operator in Spec/C’, a covert pro79, as unaccusatives or as “free subject inversion”.80 It is unclear how the last two groups fit into a V2 system, all the while Ribeiro proposes nothing, not even a covert pro, to suggest that the verb is interpretable as being in second position. While most of the clauses in Ribeiro’s corpus are either SVO or XPVS, 19 % of the main clauses and 45 % of the subordinate clauses in Ribeiro’s corpus have a V1 structure.

79 Ribeiro provides evidence from Old Portuguese that overt pro may be licensed either before (under agreement) or after (governed by) the verb. This can be extended to also apply to a covert pro, which can be assumed to occupy a preverbal position.

80 Ribeiro’s examples of V1 (p.121) are: (17) a. Conven, Pedro, que te cales, b. Ide-vos a bôa ventura, c. Diremos nós ora, padre, que… d. levaron-nos a pousada homens que hi estavan. (A Demanda do Santo Graal 1.28.31 em Ribeiro p.121) Of these, Ribeiro classifies a. and b. as directive constructions, calling them “root phenomena” “and the landing site of the Vº in these constructions is Cº.” Both c. and d. can be analysed as discursive, and d. can be analysed as “free” subject inversion in Demanda do Santo Graal. It is worth noting that the subject in d. is modified by a relative clause and that it appears after the prepositional phrase, thus is seemingly right-dislocated. Generally, verb first constructions in V2 languages are explained as having a phonologically null operator of some sort in Spec Cº.
As for V3 structures, they are, according to Ribeiro, analysable in the following manner: In V3 clauses with Adverb – Subject – Verb, the adverb can not be subcategorised by the verb. We do find V3 clauses where the adverb is not subcategorised by the verb, as is the case with the short adverbs of the type assim, pois, então. These adverbs are similar to the Old French adverbs that are cited in Vance (1997:61) as not provoking inversion.

Even in V2 languages, there are situations where what is seemingly V3 constructions occur, even when the adverb is subcategorised by the verb. According to Adams (Adams 1989), in some cases topicalisation or left dislocation can occur on top of V2, as illustrated in (1)

(1) De cele amor Dieus me gart (La Chastelaine de Vergi 91)
   *From this love God save me’
   (Adams 1989:4)

Adams analyses the adverb as being located outside the clause boundaries, adjoined to CP.

While this does happen in other V2 languages such as German and the Scandinavian languages, it is a phonologically very marked structure not found in written texts. If the sentence in (1) were to be translated word by word into Norwegian, the pause between the topicalised element and the subject would be very long indeed. The following examples are from Norwegian, a Scandinavian V2 language.

(2) V2: Kaken spiste jeg.
    lit: ‘the cake ate I’

(3) Left dislocation:
    Kaken, den spiste jeg.
    lit: ‘The cake, it ate I’

(4) Hanging topic:
    Kaken; jeg spiste ett stykke.
    lit: ‘the cake? I ate one piece’

While in (2) there is no pause between the object and the verb, in (3) there is a pause between the dislocated object and the verb. The pause between the topicalised element in (4) is even heavier than in (3). Both (3) and (4) are typical of the spoken language, which parallels Adams’ example in (1) since this is also a rendering of direct speech. V3 examples of this type could be expected if Portuguese were a V2 language, but only when rendering speech.

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81 This would in fact bear resemblance to an OSV structure. In modern Portuguese, there are also different restrictions on the placement of adverbs that are arguments and those that are not.
Also, a left dislocated topic may not occur without being repeated by means of a pronoun or an adverb in the main clause. Example (5) shows that (3) is not possible unless the object is repeated as a pronoun, (6), (7) and (8) are examples with an adverb.

(5) *Kaken, jeg spiste  
   lit: ‘the cake, I ate’

(6) V2: Til England dro jeg i går  
   lit: ‘to England went I yesterday’

(7) Left dislocated topic where adverb is not repeated:  
   *Til England jeg dro i går / i går dro jeg  
   lit: ‘To England I went yesterday / yesterday I went

(8) Left dislocated topic where adverb is repeated (dit):  
   Til England, dit dro jeg i går  
   lit: ‘To England, there I went yesterday’

It thus seems probable that the adverb in example (1) would have to be analysed as a hanging topic and not a left dislocated one, in which case we would not expect it to occur unless the text renders direct speech. This was not the case in the V3 examples in Classical Portuguese. This will be commented upon in the following sections, where there will be a further discussion around how a V2 language is classified.

Fiéis’ (2003) material suggests that Old Portuguese was predominantly an SVO language, with some remnants of an older SOV order. Theories suggesting that Old Portuguese had passed through a period of V2 was rejected. The large number of inversions which had led to such analysis were rather attributable to unaccusativity, since nearly all post verbal subjects were sole arguments of unaccusative verbs.

However, if we look at the examples of inversion that Pádua (1960) cites on pp. 120-121, the verbs are not unaccusative, in fact there are numerous examples of inversion following adverbs with both transitive and intransitive (unergative) verbs. Fiéis also has some examples of this, attributing the word order in these sentences to stylistic (pragmatic and discourse-related) and not structural organisation.

Fiéis’ (2003) material of more than 2000 examples suggests that the word order was relatively stable SVO during her period of study, (13th - 16th century) and likewise for the distribution of VS and SV. The only piece of statistics that may seem as an exception to this, were the data from the 16th century literary corpus, which indicated an equal distribution of SV and VS order with unaccusatives. The material for this century was too small, however, to draw any
important conclusions. Comparing it to the statistics from Chapter 4, it does point towards a trend that originates in the 16th century where subjects of unaccusatives are predominantly post verbal.

The language situation we are presented with previous to the present study points in different directions: The number of inversions seems to indicate that we are dealing with a V2 structure, however the number of V3 and V1 indicates that this is not the case. The fact that most post verbal subjects occur in unaccusative constructions may serve as a partial explanation to the large number of inversions, however the inversions with other types of verbs, which were rather numerous in Pádua’s corpus, indicate that an additional explanation is needed. These inversions could be related to pragmatic factors such as information structure, but further studies of Old Portuguese are needed to confirm this hypothesis.

7.3. The V2 hypothesis in Classical Portuguese

Previous literature around a possible V2 period for Portuguese has mainly looked to the syntax for evidence, considering V2 a mainly syntactically motivated phenomenon. Factors such as stress and intonation were not systematically taken into consideration in Fiéis (2003), Torres Morais (1996) and Ribeiro (1995). Galves (2002), however, did point to the correlation between the position of clitics and a stress shift that took place in the 18th century.

Fiéis (2003) concluded that Old Portuguese was not a verb second language, and that the analysis of unaccusatives is the same for Old and Modern Portuguese: the single argument of unaccusatives is generated in post verbal position. The difference in word order between these two periods is mainly stylistic.

Fiéis also points out that for a null-subject language such as Old Portuguese, the most common subject of an unaccusative as well as any other verb is in fact a null-subject. This coincides with the findings in the present study. If we then take into consideration the correlation Topic – Subject, very often the topic will not be overtly expressed. In fact, an expressed subject that has been mentioned previously in the discourse should theoretically either be at the beginning of a paragraph or there should be some other reason for it to be spelled out, such as change of topic (topic being what the sentence is about). Given this, a

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82 In my corpus, the number of null-subject clauses exceed the number of clauses with subject until the 19th century. It is only in the 20th century that this pattern changes and most clauses have an expressed subject.
subject topic expression in a null-subject language such as Portuguese would, on average have a higher information value than subject topic expression in a language that is not a null-subject language. 

Galves and Paixão de Sousa’s (2005) analysis of Classical Portuguese as a V2 language is argued along the following lines: The solution they follow is similar to the one Barbosa (2000) proposed for modern Portuguese and which is outlined in section 2.3.2. In null-subject languages, the preverbal subject is topicalised, and is located outside the clause boundaries. This is why we have enclisis in main clauses where the subject is not a quantifier, a wh-operator, or a focalised phrase. While this analysis has been refuted by Costa (2004) for modern Portuguese, Galves and Paixão de Sousa (2005) claim that it can be used to analyse Classical Portuguese. This is largely because of the placement of the clitic pronouns in this period. It is almost always proclitic even in contexts where modern Portuguese would have enclisis. The procliticisation of the pronouns is a phenomenon that increased during the period of Old Portuguese until it became almost obligatory in affirmative finite clauses at the beginning of the 16th century (Martins 2001). Proclisis was dominant for three centuries until its decline at the end of the 18th century (Galves, Britto et al. 2005). The basic theories regarding clitic placement, Tobler-Mussafia law and Wackernagel’s law was outlined in Chapter 2. In languages that obey to this restriction clitics may not appear sentence-initially. Galves and Sousa (2005) analyse this in accordance with Salvi’s (2004) proposal for the analysis of clitic placement. In Classical Portuguese there were two positions available for topics: one inside the clause and one outside the clause. The clause internal topic is the one found in V2 languages and an argument in this position will allow for proclisis. A clause external topic on the other hand will not lead to proclisis. The clause will be interpreted as V1 and enclisis will follow. Both topic positions were available for subjects as well as for other XPs.

83 Cf. Lambrecht’s terminology as outlined in chapter 2.
84 In Martins (2001), proclisis in affirmative finite clauses goes from 7,1% in the second half of the 13th century to 98,8% in the first half of the 16th century. However, Martins also points to the fact that some authors differ from the general pattern found in the documents her study is based on. While Fernão Mendes Pinto follows the general pattern and has 97% enclisis, Diogo do Couto has 72,5%, Fernão de Oliveira has 60% while João de Barros has only 32% (Martins (2001:34).
85 A search in my 16th century morphologically tagged corpus, reveals that the only example (out of 7579 proclitic pronouns) of a sentence beginning with a clitic is the following: El-Rei Dom João o Primeiro trazia na orla das Armas uma letra que dizia: Por bem. E a Rainha Dona Felipa de Alencastre, sua mulher, outra que respondia a esta em Ingrês que dizia: Me contenta. (Lobo, p 42)
Proclisis occurs with all types of adverbials, including subordinate clauses (9), (10) and locative expressions (11), (12) temporal expressions (13) as well as with ordinary subjects as in (14), (15), (16) and (17). (Contrary to what we find in Modern Portuguese, 16th century Portuguese is somewhat more similar to Modern Brazilian in that proclisis occurs with a large range of preverbal constituents.  

(9) Despedido o Governador, **se tornou** pera a fortaleza. (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(10) Recolhido pera o arraial, **se tornou** peras galeotas, e despedio uma delas com os feridos, que eram vinte e sete, pera se irem curar a Ternate. (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(11) **Nesta terra se faz** muito açucar candê, que vai a Cambaia, e dai pera todas as partês da India. (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(12) **Ali se fortificou**, e começou a combater a Cidade fortissimamente, por ver se a podia tomar primeiro, que o inimigo chegasse. (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(13) **Após estas novas lhe chegaram** outras (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(14) Êstes navios foram ter àquelas Ilhas, e a galeota carregou de mantimentos, e tornou a voltar pera a Armada, e o Fernão de la Torre **se ficou negociando**, e provendo pera sua jornada, e partio pera a Nova Hespanha entrada de Agosto, e de sua jornada adiante daremos razão. (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(15) **Éle se despedio** do Villa-Lobos, sem poder notar a gente que os navios tinham, nem o modo de como estavam, nem ele quiz perguntar cousa alguma, porque não lho haviam de dizer. (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(16) Dom Christovão da Gama **se recolheo** aos vallos o melhor que pôde, bem perseguido dos inimigos, e mandou a Manuel da Cunha, que com sua gente voltasse a êles, e trabalhasse pelos afastar; e que quando se viesse recolhendo, êle faria outro tanto, porque os inimigos não entrassem de mistura com êles. (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(17) Ruy Lopes de Villa-Lobos **o recebêo** com muita honra, e lhe entregou um daqueles Capitães pera ficar na outra corocora em refens, em quanto vinha falar com êle. (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

Proclisis also occurs after the conjunct e, often, but not necessarily, as in the case below, where something in the previous clause triggers proclisis, such as the prepositional phrase à porta in (18) or the subject Martim Afonso in (19).

(18) E assim quando desembarcou o foi esperar à praia, sem lhe fazer a ceremónia da entrega das chaves, como era costume em todas as fortalezas, a que os Governadores da India chegavam, sem ter com êle outro algum cumprimento, e o foi acompanhando até os aposentos que estavam pera êle, e à porta se despedio, e **se tornou** pera a fortaleza.

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86 In modern European Portuguese, there is proclisis in main clauses with finite verbs in wh-questions and after negation, after indefinite pronouns (alguém, ambos, cada, cada qual, cada um, pouco, qualquer, tanto, todo, tudo) and after the following adverbs (ainda, apenas, até, já, mal, quase, sempre, só, somente, talvez, também). In Modern Brazilian Portuguese, in addition to the situations already mentioned, there is also proclisis after demonstrative pronouns aquilo, isto, isso, personal pronouns, and after inverted objects or predicatives (Ex: A grande notícia te dou agora., Certa lhe parecia a decisão.) There is also a tendency for proclisis to occur after subjects and initially in the clause. (Ex: O usineiro **nos entregou** um relatório completo do projeto…)

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(19) Martim Afonso soube de sua ida, e o saiua receber fóra, mostrando-se-lhe Dom… (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

Proclisis does not occur, however, when the preverbal element is a topicalised constituent in the sense of Ambar’s (1999) TRUE TOPIC or Duarte’s (1987) clitic left dislocation, where the topicalised element is repeated within the clause in the form of a clitic pronoun, as in (20):

(20) O outro Bargantim, em que ia Frei Jerónimo de Santo Estevão, da Ordem de Santo Agostinho, acabaram-se-lhe os mantimentos, (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

Proclisis need not occur in the cases cited above. The following two examples illustrate how, in two very similar contexts since both (21) and (22) are introduced by a sentential adverb, the clitic may occur either as a proclitic or as an enclitic. In (23) the sentence is introduced by a temporal adverb.

(21) e encomendando-lhe muito o segredo, se tornou a embarcar, e voltou para a Armada… (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(22) E havendo quatro dias que estava em terra, tornou-se a embarcar com muita pressa, e dando à vela, se fez na volta do Leste, como que ia demandar a costa da Arabia; (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(23) Nisto gastou dous dias, e ao terceiro tornou-se pera o exército, levando uma grande preza de cavalos, mulas, gado, e de outras cousas. (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

An analysis of the kind Galves et al. (2005) proposes for Classical Portuguese will then analyse the adverb in (21) as being a topicalised element within CP, while the adverbial clause in (22) is an adjunct outside of CP. This accounts for the enclisis: The adverb being outside the clause, we are dealing with a V1 sentence. Because the clitic pronoun cannot occur in the beginning of a sentence, it must be enclitic to the sentence initial verb.

This explains the position of the pronoun. However, it also increases the number of V1 clauses in Classical Portuguese, while the number of V2 decreases, unless we suppose a pro or empty operator of some kind that fulfils the requirement that something precede the verb.

As far as I understand Galves’ analysis, the subjects are always post verbal unless they are topicalised. That must mean that a covert pro can be topicalised. When the pro is indeed the topic of the sentence, this is not necessarily problematic in itself. However, if this were true, we would not expect to find unaccusative clauses with an expressed subject that are V1. In fact, any clause with a clause initial verb and a post verbal subject in agreement with the verb would be evidence against a V2 analysis. If there is agreement between the subject and the transitive verb, this is proof that there is not even a pro that can account for a V2 structure.
With unaccusatives one can suppose a covert expletive. It is hard to see a covert expletive as a topic.

If we do postulate a topic expletive, this needs to be a covert locative expletive of the type Pinto (1997) describes for Italian unaccusatives because of the agreement between the post verbal subject and the verb. This is not the type of expletive which is found in some colloquial forms of modern Portuguese that was outlined in Chapter 5 where there is no agreement between the verb and the post verbal subject. There is no hard evidence for such an expletive, however. There is clearly no need for a phonetic representation of such an expletive since it never has surface manifestations, and it is therefore difficult to understand it as anything else than a theoretical requirement for Portuguese to be analysed as a V2 language. This type of analysis would not be compatible with a V1 clause with overt subject and locative adverb and a transitive verb. As we shall see below, there are such sentences, even in the most V2-like of all the text in the corpus, Diogo do Couto’s Décadas.

There are different ways of counting to three that will lead to different results. What is clear is that Classical Portuguese was not a V2 language of the modern Germanic kind. The analysis of what is seemingly V3 where an argument has been topicalised and dislocated outside the clause would be impossible in modern Norwegian as well as in German, as outlined by Kaiser (2002) and illustrated by the examples (24) and (25) from Schwartz and Vikner (1996).

(24) *[CP Letzte Woche [CP ein Buch hat [IP Peter [VP tatsächlich gelesen]]]]
lit. Last week a book had Peter actually read.

(25) *[CP Letzte Woche [CP Peter hat [IP [VP tatsächlich ein Buch gelesen]]]]

This is also true for some of the adverbs that Ribeiro cites as allowing two word orders in Old Portuguese in a V2 analysis. These adverbs would not be felicitous in modern Norwegian or German in the types of context that Ribeiro cites. In fact, evidence for a V2 stage in Classical Portuguese seems to consist of mainly two things: The word order in wh-clauses that are analysed as remnants of a previous V2 stage and the large number of inversions. It is possible to analyse Classical Portuguese as a V2 language if such an analysis is only dependant on a movement from V to C, and if we allow for left dislocated arguments outside of CP. However, this would allow for clauses that are not accepted in other V2 languages. An analysis along the lines of Adams (1989) where a combination of verb fronting and heavy

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87 These are adverbs of the type então, pois and assim. Pádua (1960) cites examples from Dialogo de São Gregório such as: … e assim o santo homem defendeu os seus discípulos. and E então üin homen siia en sa pousada …
initial stress leads to a V2 language does not seem sufficient. It seems that heavy initial stress
does not necessarily provoke a V2 effect of the Germanic kind, where left dislocated topics
are not allowed, as shown in (7) and in (24) and (25), where expletives are overt as in (26) and
(27), where V1 clauses are restricted to very specific circumstances such as imperatives (28),
questions (29) and conditions (30) and where auxiliaries are fronted and the main verb
remains in place as shown in (32) where the object of (31) has been topicalised.

(26) Es kommt ein Mann
       lit: ‘it comes a man’

(27) Det kommer en mann
       lit: ‘it comes a man’

(28) Spis kaken!
       Eat the cake!

(29) Spiste jeg kaken?
       lit: ‘Ate I the cake?’

(30) Hadde jeg spist kaken hadde jeg fortalt deg det.
        had I eaten the cake, I would have told you.

(31) Jeg hadde spist kaken
       lit: ‘I had eaten the cake’

(32) Kaken hadde jeg spist
       lit: ‘The cake had I eaten’

As indicated in Chapters 4-6, the difference between Classical and Modern Portuguese is very
much connected to a reorganizing of the information structure.

Fiéis (2003) suggested that the large number of inversions in Old Portuguese was largely
attributable to unaccusativity and should otherwise be regarded as stylistic effects. It is
therefore necessary to establish to what degree unaccusativity could account for inversions in
Classical Portuguese

7.3.1. Instances of V3

In order to establish whether 16th century Portuguese was a V2 language, it is necessary to
find an explanation to the examples in Chapter 4 that do not correspond to this pattern.

The fact that in my corpus there is VS with verbs of saying indicates that other factors than
unaccusativity alone determine this word order.
Ribeiro (1995) studies the phenomenon in a more systematic way for Portuguese. In order to explain certain word orders in Modern BP, she supposes a “verb second residue” as described in Rizzi (1991) in Portuguese. There are supposedly various remnants, or what we think are remnants of a verb second constraint in earlier periods of a language. In French and English, typical such remnants are the word order in WH phrases:

(33)  A qui as-tu parlé?  
To whom have you spoken  

(Rizzi 1991)

Ilza Ribeiro relates this to inversion in WH questions in Brazilian Portuguese (my translations):

(34)  Para quando querem os diretores esses relatórios?  
When do the directors want these reports?  
Com quem tinha Maria pretendido sair ontem à noite?  
With whom did Mary want to go out with last night?  

(Ribeiro, 1995:111)

Although there exists, in BP as well as in French, examples of the contrary:

(35)  A qui tu as parlé?  
(36)  Para quando os diretores querem esses relatórios?  
(37)  Com quem Maria tinha pretendido sair ontem à noite?  

Ribeiro assumes that the Brazilian sentences arise for the same reasons they exist in French and English, namely that they are supposedly residues of an earlier stage in the language that was V2, or, in the case of Portuguese, that had some sort of V2 restriction. It is worth noticing that inversion in modern BP is uncommon, whereas its use was almost exclusive in the first part of the 18th century. According to Ribeiro, this is an indication of a movement rule from Agrº to Cº in 18th century Portuguese, and that the “high frequency of Wh+VS constructions in the 18th century must be analysed as resulting from syntactical mechanisms related to the verb-second phenomenon. During the last two centuries, inversion has gradually become substituted by the order in (36) and (37) in Brazilian Portuguese. In modern European Portuguese inversion is still the norm in wh-questions.

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7.4. The word order in Diogo de Couto’s *Décadas*

Of all the texts in my corpus, Diogo do Couto’s *Décadas* is perhaps the one which most strongly confirms a verb second hypothesis. It has a small number of sentences with V3, that are relatively easy to explain since these sentences may be interpreted either as Subject topic # Adverb – Verb, in other words they still represent a verb second structure. Or, in the case of two sentence-initial adverbs, these may be interpreted as one constituent rather than as two.

The word order in this text (as in some of the other texts, however, this is the one I have studied more closely) is clearly not conditioned by syntax alone nor by the structuring of given vs new information alone nor by a mixture of these two. Rather the text seems to place the most referential constituent in the beginning of the sentence, even when such a constituent is not required for semantic reasons. When such an element is present in the beginning of the clause, it will influence on the word order of the rest of the clause, seemingly impeding subjects, and, in fact, other types of clause constituents as well, such as adverbs and predicates, to occur in preverbal position. The fact that we have inversion not only with unaccusatives but also with predicatives, transitives and intransitives, suggest that a basic VS order for unaccusatives is not sufficient to explain the word order in this period.

While Fiéis’ data for Old Portuguese suggested that the vast majority of inversions were found in unaccusative contexts, we cannot claim the same for the Portuguese we find in the 16th and 17th centuries. If that analysis was valid for the period in question in this thesis and that post verbal subjects of unaccusative verbs are simply base generated in that position, this would explain all the instances with V1. But then we would expect the same rules to apply to transitives and intransitives as well. These verbs should appear with “canonical” SV an SVO order in situations where unaccusatives would have VS. As we shall see below, this is not the case.

In Chapter 4 we saw a striking lack of V3 order with unaccusative verbs in the *Décadas* and the other texts from the 16th century. The only example found in main clauses with finite verb is the following in (38).

(38)  E **todavia sempre os Capitães ficáram** na antiga posse de tomarem tôdas as drogas pela avaliação, que é cousa que lhe importava muito. (Diogo do Couto *Décadas*)

The pure VS with nothing preceding the verb is also rather infrequent. Of the unaccusative verbs in my corpus, only two examples occur in a V1 context. (There are, however, too many
other examples of V1 that occur in intransitive and transitive contexts to classify them as exceptions of some sort, as is also exemplified in (39)):

(39) **Reinou** êste Groduxá no Reino de Ormuz trinta anos, **ficaram-lhe** dous filhos, o primeiro Torunxá, que reinou vinte e quatro anos, e o outro Mahamed Xá, que sucedeio ao irmão por não ter filhos, que reinou vinte e nove. A êste sucedeio Cobadixá seu filho, que reinou trinta anos; **ficaram-lhe** dous filhos, Ceifadixá, que reinou vinte anos, e Torunxá, que herdou o Reino, por não ficarem filhos ao irmão, que reinou trinta anos. (Diogo do Couto *Décadas*)

All other examples with VS in main clauses with finite unaccusative verbs are preceded by an adverbial, usually an anaphoric expression, but also other types of adverbial phrases. There is no doubt that these adverbs may be part of the sentence (inside CP) and that they need not have been moved outside the border of the sentence (outside of CP). This is indicated by the fact that clitic pronouns may occur in preverbal position when preceded by such adverbials.

The verb second sentences in this text begin with either adverb/adverbial clause or subject and in one sentence, the object. The V2 sentences have the following properties: When they begin with an adverb, regardless of whether the verb is transitive/intransitive, unaccusative or predicative, we have inversion. In almost all the sentences with inversion, the adverb in the beginning of the sentence refers to something that was mentioned in the previous sentence. They are often of the deictic type, such as *aqui, ali* or include a demonstrative pronoun such as *este*. The adverbial sentences even if they contain no demonstrative pronoun or deictic adverb, refer to the situation that was described immediately before.

Examples beginning with adverb:

**Unaccusative**

(40) Após estas novas lhe **chegaram** outras, de como o Xircan era ido pera as partes de Bengalá a acudir a alguns Reinos, que se lhe rebelaram … (Diogo do Couto *Décadas*)

(41) Aqui **surgio** a Armada, e se deteve trinta e dous dias, … (Diogo do Couto *Décadas*)

(42) Com esta segurança **foi** António de Almeida ao galeão, e o Capitão mór o recebeo a bordo; (Diogo do Couto *Décadas*)

(43) Desta vez **ficou** o Magor em seus Reinos; e o Xaholan, assim como se levantou de nada, assim desceo apressado, … (Diogo do Couto *Décadas*)

(44) Neste mesmo tempo **chegou** a galeota das Filipinas com muitos mantimentos … (Diogo do Couto *Décadas*)

(45) Por esta terra **passa** o rio Gange, e por ser baixa é muitas vezes alagada, … (Diogo do Couto *Décadas*)
(46) Quasi no mesmo tempo, a dezoito de Outubro, chegou ao porto de Talangame o galeão da carreira, em que ia Gil de Castro, … (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

Intransitive:

(47) Ali lhe deo um tempo da parte do Sul tão grosso, que lhe foi forçado correr em pôpa com um bolso de vela. (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(48) Aqui foi ter com êles uma galeota da sua companhia, que havia dias que se tinha desgarrado com tempo, que foi dar em umas Ilhas muito abastadas de mantimentos, onde se …(Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(49) Na Córte andou este Rei dous anos, dilatando-lhe o Ismael de dia em dia o socorro, sem acabar de concluir em alguma cousa. (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

Transitive

(50) Com a cubiça do cravo de Maluco, e com as grandezas que daquelas Ilhas contaram os da Armada passada, determinou Dom António de Mendonça, Viso-Rei da Nova Hespanha, mandar a elas uma Armada por sua conta, de que elegeo por Capitão Dom João de Alvarado, Adiantado da Provincia de Gatimara, …(Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(51) Ao outro dia, presentes os Oficiaes, lhe pediu Dom Jorge a carta de guia pera lhe entregar a fortaleza, …(Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(52) Chegada a corocora à Armada, poz a novidade daquela embarcação alvoroço em todos os dela, e entrando na Capitanea, lhe deo o recado de António de Almeida. (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(53) Chegado a Cabul, tomou o Hamau a rainha comsigo, com toda a gente que tinha feita, e foi entrando por seus Estados, senhoreando-se outra vez deles, …(Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(54) E vendo que por ali não tinham onde se provessem, e sabendo como nas Filipinas acháram os da Galeota muitos mantimentos, mandou [o] General um Bernardo de la Torre por Capitão de um galeãozinho, chamado São Joanilho… (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(55) Isto nos afirmou muito um homem Polaco, chamado Gabriel, que veio lá por Moscovia aos Husbeques…(Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(56) Partidos êstes navios, daí a oito dias o fez também o Villa-Lobos na sua náo…(Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(57) Tanto que foi de dia, mandou Estevão recado aos Vereadores, e Oficiais, …(Diogo do Couto Décadas)

Reflexive

(58) Com isto se despedio Belchior Fernandes, e os Castelhanos ficaram naquele lugar esperando pela galeota, …(Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(59) A êste Pagode se foi também oferecer ElRei Gelaldim Mamede, filho deste Hamau …(Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(60) Feito êste auto, despedio-se Dom Estevão do Governador, …(Diogo do Couto Décadas)
Nesta terra se faz muito açúcar cande, que vai a Cambaia, ...(Diogo do Couto Décadas)

Nesta obra se gastaram oito mezes, andando de continuo nela quarenta mil trabalhadores; ...(Diogo do Couto Décadas)

Nesta jornada se achou um Português, chamado Cosmo Correa, casado em Chaul, com mulher, e filhos, que ainda vivem, ...(Diogo do Couto Décadas)

Prestes o socorro, despedio-se o Hamau do Xá Ismael … (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

Predicative

E assim era êste bárbaro tão afeiçoado aos Cristãos, que onde os via (principalmente Portuguezes) lhes fazia muitas honras, e mercês. (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

Also, when there is a verbal periphrasis we would expect only the auxiliary to be fronted. This is indeed the case in many, but not all sentences. In the examples below, the auxiliary has retained much of its original meaning in the examples with subject interpolated between the two verbs as in (66), (67) and (68), whereas in (69) and (70) the auxiliary retains less of its original meaning.

Ali ficaram os Hespanhoes comendo alguns mantimentos que tinham, que se lhes acabaram logo, … (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

Com estas novas tornou o Villa-Lobos a mandar a galeota, e um bargantim, em que foi o mesmo Pero Ortiz, … (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

Neste lugar mandou êste Rei tambem fazer uns paços de tanta grandeza, e magestade, que se podem contar entre as maravilhas do Mundo… (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

Êste em certo modo tomou tambem pera si o poder do espiritual, que ficaram herdando todos, … (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

… que se começaram a ajudar ao Magor alguns Capitães … (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

The following examples with ter as an auxiliary are repeated from Chapter 5. While (71) is clearly V2, (72) requires a preverbal covert expletive to be analysed as a V2 sentence. Both, however, are examples of the auxiliary having been moved above the subject.

assim quando o Imperador chegou, tinham êles feito mui grande estrago nos inimigos. (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

Surto Fernão Peres de Andrade na barra de Goa, tendo recado o Governador de sua chegada, dizem que dissera, que êle, e Diogo da Silveira eram bons para mês de carga, porque já sabiam o caminho. Isto disse, porque tinha cada um deles vindo à India por Capitães móres tres vezes. (Diogo do Couto Décadas)
There were, even in this text, examples of V1 that seem difficult to analyse as part of a V2 structure. Such examples are (73) and (74) that are verb first and have an expressed subject and in (74) an expressed locative which is not compatible with a covert pro or loc. The clauses are narrative main clauses and do not have an empty operator of the sort we could propose for a yes/no question. While (74) could be argued to contain some sort of empty operator used in the so-called ‘narrative inversion’ used in Dutch in the opening of a story, this is not a valid interpretation for (73) because the sentence does not open or introduce a story or a paragraph.

(73) Mandou mais El Rei, que em tôdas as moedas, que dali em diante se batessem, fôssem cunhadas com uma figura de uma azemala, pela em que se salvou. (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

(74) Reinou êste Groduxá no Reino de Ormuz trinta anos. (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

7.5. Word order in other 16th century texts

A V2 system would explain the word order in the Décadas, however, in some of the other texts from the same period, we find an even larger percentage of post verbal subjects. These texts do not display a V2 pattern like the one we saw in the Décadas.

In Chapter 4, the first few pages of some of the texts from the corpus were, in addition to the general analysis of unaccusative contexts, also tested for V1, V2 and V3 in transitive and intransitive contexts. It was shown that all the texts had several examples that would not fit into a V2 analysis. In the selection, Fernão Mendes Pinto (born 1510) had no example of V1 that was not compatible with a V2 analysis, Couto (born 1542) had one such example, the one cited in (73) above. The other two authors from the 16th century, Luís de Sousa (born 1556) and Rodrigues Lobo (born 1579) had a larger percentage of V1 altogether. This is compatible with the analysis of unaccusative verbs which showed a large increase in V1 from authors born in the first half of the 16th century to authors born in the second half.

(75) Acudia-lhe o Senhor com santas inspirações e estava resoluto em buscar a Deus na religião. (Frei Luís de Sousa, Frei Bartolomeu dos Mártires)

(76) Detinha-o somente um pejo natural de acometer por si tamanho negócio. (Frei Luís de Sousa, Frei Bartolomeu dos Mártires)

(77) Começava em Domingos de Lisboa curso de Artes. (Frei Luís de Sousa, Frei Bartolomeu dos Mártires)

(78) Começou el-Rei a igreja de Vicente. (Frei Luís de Sousa, Frei Bartolomeu dos Mártires)
(79) **Fundaram** os estrangeiros a de Nossa Senhora; … (Frei Luís de Sousa, *Frei Bartolomeu dos Mártires*)

(80) **Começou** Frei Bertolameu seu noviciado desassombradamente, … (Frei Luís de Sousa, *Frei Bartolomeu dos Mártires*)

(81) **Criava-o** a mãe a seus peitos c’o cuidado de mãe, e mãe de grande virtude. (Frei Luís de Sousa, *Frei Bartolomeu dos Mártires*)

(82) **Desconfiava-o** e fazia-o temer uma profunda humildade com que avaliava tudo quanto fazia por baixo e imperfeito … (Frei Luís de Sousa, *Frei Bartolomeu dos Mártires*)

(83) **Notaram** isto os religiosos, advirtiram ao pai que ajudasse a boa inclinação do filho e não tardasse em o fazer estudar. (Frei Luís de Sousa, *Frei Bartolomeu dos Mártires*)

(84) **Pregavam** naquela freguesia os religiosos de São Domingos, via de contínua aquele hábito, ouvia aquela doutrina, ia-se-lhe afeiçoando. (Frei Luís de Sousa, *Frei Bartolomeu dos Mártires*)

(85) **Representava** a carne, naquele debuxo, um calo duro e relevado de cor branca, ou um debrum que fica em ferida mal curada, … (Frei Luís de Sousa, *Frei Bartolomeu dos Mártires*)

(86) **Sofria** Frei Bertolameu as honras que lhe dava a sua Ordem, por ver que era estilo dela, … (Frei Luís de Sousa, *Frei Bartolomeu dos Mártires*)

(87) **Apostarei** eu (disse Solino), que, se a Píndaro lhe armarem com poesia levantada sôbre os bons conceitos e versos (Francisco Rodrigues Lobo, *Côrte na Aldeia e Noites de Inverno*)

(88) **Descreve** o cavaleiro como era bem que os houvesse, as damas quão castas, os Reis quão justos, … (Francisco Rodrigues Lobo, *Côrte na Aldeia e Noites de Inverno*)

(89) **Diziam** os filósofos antigos que, se os Deuses falassem, seria em verso, … (Francisco Rodrigues Lobo, *Côrte na Aldeia e Noites de Inverno*)

(90) **Tem** Solino muita razão (disse Dom Júlio) … (Francisco Rodrigues Lobo, *Côrte na Aldeia e Noites de Inverno*)

(91) **Têm** do mesmo modo as Províncias suas armas. (Francisco Rodrigues Lobo, *Côrte na Aldeia e Noites de Inverno*)

The V3 clauses were not analysed according to transitivity. However, both unaccusative, transitive, intransitives and predicatives occur in V3 contexts as the examples (92)-(103) below show.

(92) Ao outro dia a tarde os sete que ficamos vivos *fomos postos* em leilão em uma praça, … (Fernão Mendes Pinto, *Perigrinação*)

(93) As tres naos, depois de venderem aly bem suas fazendas, *se foraõ* para Goa com sós os officiaes dellas, … (Fernão Mendes Pinto, *Perigrinação*)

(94) Assentado isto assi & jurado, & feito disso hum assento em que os mais assinaraõ, o Capitão mór *se levou* mais para dentro do rio, … (Fernão Mendes Pinto, *Perigrinação*)

(95) E satisfeito este concerto por ambas as partes, a Bata *se tornou* para sua terra, onde desfez logo o seu campo, & despidio toda a gente. (Fernão Mendes Pinto, *Perigrinação*)
Partida a não para Goa, Fernão de Moraíss com as suas tres fustas seguiu sua viagem na volta do porto de Dabul onde chegou ao outro dia … (Fernão Mendes Pinto, Perigrinação)

Onde havia agudeza de engenho com tantas outras boas calidades que temos apontado, fácil fica de entender quanto adiantaria nas letras, no descurso de tão estendido leiturado. (Frei Luís de Sousa, Frei Bertolameu dos Mártires)

De estudo sem devação e de pregação sem preceder oração, pouco proveito se pode esperar. (Frei Luís de Sousa, Frei Bertolameu dos Mártires)

E pera não haver cousa que o distraísse, todo seu cuidado era trazer sempre a Deus diante dos olhos d’alma, … (Frei Luís de Sousa, Frei Bertolameu dos Mártires)

Além disto, eu tenho para mim que aquela é melhor escritura que, … (Francisco Rodrigues Lobo, Côrte Na Aldeia e Noites de Inverno)

E, na verdade, nenhuma lição pode haver que mais recreie e aproveite que a que sei que é verdadeira, e, por natural, ao desejo dos homens deleitosa. (Francisco Rodrigues Lobo, Côrte Na Aldeia e Noites de Inverno)

E em nossos tempos, na Índia Oriental, sabemos que o Rei Mogor andou muitos anos fabricando uma casa de esmeraldas, … (Francisco Rodrigues Lobo, Côrte Na Aldeia e Noites de Inverno)

Primeiramente, nas histórias a que chamam verdadeiras, cada um mente segundo lhe convém, … (Francisco Rodrigues Lobo, Côrte Na Aldeia e Noites de Inverno)

There is great variety in word order from text to text, even from texts that are from the same century. While Lobo and Pinto had a large number of V3 sentences, Couto and Sousa had rather few. Also, the V3 orders in Couto and Sousa were largely Adverb – Adverb – Verb or Subject – Adverb – Verb and not Adverb – Subject – Verb as were common in Pinto and Lobo89. The adverb in second position may be seen as adjoined to the first element, whether that is another adverb or an NP. The order Adverb – Subject – Verb, however, is not open to this interpretation. In other words, it is easier to analyse the language in Couto and Sousa as V2 than to analyse Pinto and Lobo in the same way.

7.7. Other SV structures: subjects raising with parecer and interrogatives with é que.

While the present study is mostly concerned with unaccusatives, other studies confirm the fact that preverbal subjects are becoming more and more common, in other structures as well. This has been most clearly proved by Sousa (2004) whose statistics on subject placement reveal a

89 See also table 4.16 for a complete list.
marked increase in preverbal subjects in general\(^{90}\) at the end of the 18\(^{th}\) century. According to her, this is related to the loss of the V2-like structures found in Classical Portuguese.

Another indication that supports the claim that preverbal subjects in Classical Portuguese are either subjects or topics, is Davies’ (1999) article on subject raising in Portuguese. In modern Portuguese, as well as in Old Portuguese, we find constructions of the type in (104) and (105) (my translations).

\[(104)\] Parece que o João sabe a resposta  
*It seems that John knows the answer.*  
(Davies 1999:95)

\[(105)\] O João parece saber a resposta  
*John seems to know the answer.*  
(Davies 1999:95)

where the subject of the embedded clause has been “raised” to subject position of the main clause in (105). When the subject is in plural, as in (106), the subject may be raised to two different positions, one within the clause as in (107) and one where it is dislocated as in (108)

\[(106)\] Parece que os alunos sabem a resposta.  
*It seems that the students know the answer.*

\[(107)\] Os alunos parecem saber a resposta.  
*The students seem to know the answer.*

\[(108)\] Os alunos parece saberem a resposta  
*The students, it seems they know the answer.*

Phrase (108) is an uncommon structure in European languages, at least, because of the inflected infinitive.\(^{91}\) What is interesting from a diachronic point of view, is that this construction, which is in line with a Topic – Comment structure, although possible today, was more common in the 16\(^{th}\) and the 17\(^{th}\) centuries, coinciding with the topic – comment structure described in this thesis. It should be mentioned though, that raising of any kind only became as numerous as non raising in the 19\(^{th}\) century (Davies 1999). This suggests that it is an effect of the shift from Classical to Modern Portuguese which, according to Galves and Galves (1995) took place at the end of the 18\(^{th}\) century.

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\(^{90}\) Paixão de Sousa’s (2004) data does not distinguish between unaccusatives, transitives and intransitives.

\(^{91}\) Portuguese has what is known as “inflected infinitive” or “personal infinitive” forms because they agree with their subject. Unfortunately the 1SG and 3SG forms equal the uninflected infinitive, so in phrases like (105) we cannot tell which alternative we are dealing with. The subject must be in 1PL, 3PL or 2SG to see the inflection.
There has been a large increase in raising from the 1300s to the 1800s, from only 5% in the older texts to 50% in the later texts. In Modern Portuguese, raising is up 76% in the written language (Davies 1997). The development follows the general tendency towards preverbal subjects.

Ribeiro argued that the word order in wh-questions was a V2 remnant in Portuguese. Whether or not we accept a V2 analysis, V2 order in questions is becoming less common, not only in Brazilian Portuguese as Duarte (see footnote 88) argues, but also in European Portuguese. Here, a common structure is with é que in questions to retain the SV order. A correct Portuguese translation of the question Where does your father live? is the following sentence with a post verbal subject:

(109) Onde mora seu pai?

But in colloquial Portuguese there is a tendency to prefer:

(110) Onde é que seu pai mora?

The non-agreement between the “subject” of pronominal passives and the use of é que to retain SV word order, can be seen as reflections of a general tendency in Portuguese to prefer preverbal subjects.²

7.8. Prosodic features and diachrony: the history of clitics

In Chapter 2 I mentioned the problems concerning focus accent and other prosodic features when dealing with past stages of a language. Costa (2000) argues that while topicalisation in Portuguese is a syntactic phenomenon, focus is prosodic. While it was not possible to determine whether the word order of the post verbal arguments was determined according to heaviness restrictions or to information structure, because they coincided in most cases, it is still possible to argue that because the information which is located at the end of the clause is always new information, this is the canonical focus position. In this case, Classical Portuguese had the same focus position as Modern Portuguese. As for topics, according to Galves and Sousa (2005), there were two kinds of topic positions in Classical Portuguese, one outside and one inside the clause. The topics inside the clause cause procliticisation and we can assume that they carry some sort of sentence-initial stress. When a clause is V1, there is also stress on

² In BP, the situation is even more towards preverbal subjects, and the standard word order would be: Onde seu pai mora?
the verb. This can be formalized in the following two patterns, where the stress is marked with underline and clause boundary with #:

(111) (Top#) V X
(112) Top V X

The data from the corpus indicates that while the subjects in Classical Portuguese easily could be modified by an adverbial clause, such as in (113), this is uncommon in modern Portuguese.

(113) O Imperador na envolta dos nossos rompeo também nos inimigos… (Diogo do Couto Décadas)

This closeness between the preverbal subject and the verb in modern Portuguese indicates that the Classical T V X structure, where the theme or topic was loosely connected to the verb has become a Modern (XP) S V X. The position of the clitics in Modern Portuguese indicate that all subjects should not be analysed as being in the same position or with the same stress. However, exactly how they should be analysed is an ongoing discussion and it is not the aim of this thesis to engage in that debate.

The point that is made here is that in Classical Portuguese there was no non-stressed position available preverbally. We must suppose some sort of clause-initial stress, even though the argumentation for this supposition is somewhat circular: The topics are preverbal and have stress because they are sentence initial, and sentence initial elements have stress because they are topics. The preverbal topics must have stress because they attract the clitic, and they attract the clitic because they have stress.

Subjects of unaccusatives in modern Portuguese may be preverbal in unmarked contexts. In Classical Portuguese they may not be preverbal unless they are topics. The type of information that could occur preverbally in these contexts, was old information only as well as new information that was the topic of the sentence.

In modern Portuguese, the preverbal subject may receive special stress if it is topicalised or if it is contrastive focus, but it may also occur preverbally without particular stress. This allows for preverbal subjects that are background. In Classical Portuguese, this did not seem possible since background information occurred post verbally.

93 Except for conjunctions, like e and mas.
I have already mentioned how clitics may help to identify clause boundaries. They appear too sporadically in my Filemaker database of examples with unaccusative verbs (and when they would have been useful, mostly not at all) to give independently interesting data. However, Galves et al. (2002) provide data from the same texts from the Tycho Brahe Corpus. In some texts the percentage of proclitic pronouns is close to 100 in the 16th century. From the 17th century onwards, enclisis becomes more and more common again. However, there is no period in which one position is exclusive. Both forms occur in all periods of the Portuguese language. The changes Galves et al. point to in clitic placement co-occur with the change in information structure.

The position of clitics is important because for a V2 analysis to be acceptable, it is necessary to accept that several types of clauses and adverbials sometimes count as the first element in a clause, other times not. When they do not count, they must be seen as elements that have been topicalised “outside” of CP. It is clear from the placement of clitics, that these clauses and adverbials may allow proclisis. However, the variation in clitic placement also indicates that they need not do so.

7.9. Reanalysis

A change from the V2-like structure in Classical Portuguese to the SVO structure we find in Modern Portuguese is usually explained as a reanalysis where the preverbal subject, outside IP, possibly in SpecCP, is reanalysed as being in the canonical subject position which is SpecIP:

(114)  \[[CP S_j V_i [IP j O]] > [IP SVO]\]

Implicit in this analysis is that because the subject is usually topic and because topics are preverbal in a V2 language, subjects will usually be preverbal anyway. This is a valid analysis for languages that are not null-subject languages, such as French. For a language that allows for phonological null-subjects, such as Classical Portuguese, the empirical data for making such an assumption are simply not present. In fact, Sousa’s (2003) data on subject positions, which include subjects of transitive and intransitive verbs, indicate that in most clauses, the word order was not SV(O), due to both inversion and null-subject clauses.

On the other hand, Galves et al.’s (Galves, Britto et al. 2005) data on clitic placement do show that the sentence stress pattern changed. This change started early in the 18th century, thus
somewhat preceding the change in subject placement. It is then possible to assume that a weakening of sentence initial stress makes it possible for background information to remain unstressed in this position. This is compatible with the fact that in 16th century Portuguese, subjects of unaccusatives were preverbal for discursive reasons. In modern Portuguese this is not the case since we find SV in unmarked contexts.

For unaccusatives in Classical Portuguese, this type of restructuring could lead to two possible results, which we find in Modern Portuguese where unmarked word order can be either VS or SV. When the argument groups with subjects it is preverbal regardless of information structure because it can be preverbal even when it is new information. When it groups with objects it remains in its basic post verbal position. It is in this post verbal position that it need not be in agreement with the verb, parallel to for instance structures with *haver*.

Single arguments of unaccusative verbs have both subject and object properties. Faarlund (2000) notes that the object properties of some post verbal arguments of unaccusative verbs in Scandinavian languages are “structural, having to do with position and phrasal hierarchies. The subject properties have to do with reference and binding relations, besides of course, the semantic role” (p.131). In Modern Portuguese, a preverbal subject of an unaccusative verb is then likely to have lost some of its object properties such as its structurally object position and its ability to appear without agreement. On the other hand, when it remains in object position it may be reanalysed as an object and thus need not agree with the verb. The lack of agreement between verb and post verbal subject/object is the most obvious surface manifestation of a reanalysis where syntactic structures override information structure.

This type of reanalysis is more likely to occur in a language with an SVO structure than in a language with a TVX structure, where subjects of transitives, intransitives and unaccusatives alike, are likely to occur in post verbal position, seemingly in the same position as the objects. In an SVO language like Modern Portuguese, post verbal subjects with transitive verbs are relatively rare, and the placement of the argument has become more important in determining its syntactical function. In a TVX language, a post verbal subject of unaccusatives cannot be argued to have object properties simply because it is post verbal, since subjects of all types of verbs occur in this position. In an SVO structure, on the other hand, this is what may cause the re-mapping of the arguments of unaccusatives from post verbal subjects in agreement with the verb to arguments of an uncertain object-like syntactic status, without agreement.
In Brazilian Portuguese, there is more evidence for a formalization of syntactic functions in this way, than we find in its European counterpart that we are dealing with here. Although these two varieties of Portuguese differ considerably in this respect, since BP is much farther in its development into not allowing null-subjects, and in lack of agreement between the verb and its post verbal unaccusative argument, EP seems to have developed along some of the same lines.

According to Berlinck (1989) VS is becoming less and less common in BP. From around 1750 to 1987, there is a considerable decrease in this word order. Berlinck sees this as a result of a change from functional to formal word order as a result of reanalysis as defined by Langacker:\(^{94}\):

In European Portuguese we find that what Berlinck says about 18\(^{th}\) century Brazilian Portuguese still holds. Word order is still very much determined by both informational structure and syntactic structures. Berlinck notes that lack of agreement with post verbal subjects is very much related to what she labels “non-existential intransitives\(^{95}\)” (the existential being always or close to always V SN). The V SN order is a property of the predicator itself, and as such lack of agreement is not a factor that determines the word order, it is rather a result of the inherent properties of the verb.

### 7.10. Summary

In the thesis I have shown that Classical Portuguese should not be analysed as a Verb Second language, but rather as having a Topic – Verb – Background - Focus structure with a secondary sentence stress in the first element in the clause. In Modern Portuguese, we find the structure Topic – Background – Verb – Focus. In this structure, both topic subjects and background subjects occur preverbally, which is what causes the predominant SV pattern in Modern Portuguese as opposed to the predominantly VS pattern in Classical Portuguese.

I have based my claims on statistical evidence that word order with unaccusative verbs changed from being predominantly VS to predominantly SV and that this change took place

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\(^{94}\) Langacker’s, (1977:58) definition of reanalysis being “…change in the structure of an expression or class of expressions that does not involve any immediate or intrinsic modification of its surface manifestation”. And “Reanalysis may lead to changes at the surface level, but these surface changes can be viewed as the natural and expected result of functionally prior modifications in rules and underlying representations.”

\(^{95}\) I assume that the existential verbs that Berlinck refers to correspond more or less to the group of existential verbs in Levin and Hovav that are referred to in chapter 3.
at the end of the 18th, beginning of the 19th century. The change coincides with a change in clitic placement and in subject placement in general.

While Classical Portuguese can be said to have had a V2-like structure, it was not strictly speaking a V2 language, due to the rather large numbers of V1 and V3. The data was tested according to a set of different criteria, such as information structure, animateness, definiteness, heaviness and semantic classifications, as well as for the impact other types of elements might have on the placement of the arguments. I have shown that Portuguese has passed through a restructuring of the information structure. A Topic – Comment structure in classical Portuguese had the verb in first or second, sometimes in the third place in the clause. Only topics could move to a preverbal position. Background information, that is information that is neither topic or focus, was placed after the verb. The restructuring involved that only information that is new can occur post verbally, while background information is placed before the verb.

Corpus data confirms Costa’s (2004) claim for Modern Portuguese that arguments which do not contain new information will move to a place outside of VP to avoid focus.

For unaccusatives this implies a change from a predominantly VS pattern to a predominantly SV pattern. In Classical Portuguese, only subjects of unaccusatives that were topics could occur in preverbal position. In Modern Portuguese, on the other hand, subjects that are topics as well as those that are background and new information in sentence-focus contexts may occur preverbally. This means a large increase in preverbal subjects, especially since even the subjects that are new information are statistically more likely to be preverbal than post verbal. It is this last fact especially that indicates a change towards a word order that is less determined by information structure and more determined by syntactic functions of the arguments. This theory is supported by other facts such as the increase in preverbal subjects in general, as shown by Sousa (Sousa 2004), an increase in raising with *parecer* (Davies 1999), constructions with *é que* and the fact that only post verbal arguments of unaccusatives can be without agreement with the verb. It is also supported by the fact that definite subjects are only found post verbally in my corpus when they also contain some sort of new information, for instance when they have been modified by a relative clause.

The data illustrate how changes in information structure correlate with changes in syntactic structure. While a V2 analysis may account for the word order in some texts of classical
Portuguese, it does not work for all texts from that period. The change in the position of clitic pronouns that have been shown in the works of Galves support the supposition that there was initial sentence stress in classical Portuguese that is not there in Modern Portuguese.

It is the interaction between the different types of factors, prosodic, syntactic and pragmatic, that are the cause of the change. The exact nature of this interaction remains to be studied, even though a suggestion has been made here, that the prosodic change preceded the pragmatic change which in turn preceded the syntactic change, indicating that even syntactic change should be studied as a prosodically driven phenomenon.
The Corpus

From the Tycho Brahe Parsed Corpus of Historical Portuguese:

D. João III, Cartas
Diogo do Couto, Décadas Quinta Decada, Livro oitavo cap. 9 – Livro décimo cap. 11
Frei Luís de Sousa, A Vida de D. Frei Bertolameu dos Mártires, Livro I, Chapter I-XIV
João de Barros, Gramática da língua portuguesa, (from the beginning of the text until the use of tilde.)
Fernão Mendes Pinto, Perigrinação, Chaper I-XIV
Francisco de Holanda, Da Pintura Antiga Chapter I-XXIII
Manuel Pires de Almeida, Poesia e pintura.
Manuel da Costa, Arte de Furtar
António Brandão, Monarchia Lusitana Livro X, Cáp. I-IV
F. Rodrigues Lobo, Corte na Aldeia, Diálogo I-II
Manuel Severim de Faria, Discursos vários políticos: Carta ao leitor + Discurso primeiro
Manuel de Galhegos, Gazeta, Novembro-Dezembro 1941
António Vieira, Cartas, II-IV, VIII-XI
António Vieira, Sermão: Primeira Dominga do Advento Prégado na Capella Real, no Anno de 1652, I-IV
F. Manuel De Melo, Cartas Familiares 6-16
F. Manuel de Melo, Tácito Português Livro segundo
António das Chagas, Cartas Espirituais 1-9
Marquesa de Alorna, Cartas e outros Escritos.
José Daniel Rodrigues da Costa, 6 Entremezes de Cordel
Correia Garção, Dissertações 1-3, Oração Quarta
Almeida Garrett, Viagens na minha terra, cap. I-VII, Cartas 1-41
Matias Aires, Reflexão sobre a vaidade dos Homens, cap. 1-50
António da Costa, Cartas I-V
Cavaleiro de Oliveira, Cartas 1-4
Diogo Ignácio de Pina Manique, Pina Manique e a Universidade de Coimbra. Cartas do Intendente e de José Rodrigues Lisboa para o Doutor Francisco Montanha. (seleção e notas de Lígia Cruz), cartas 1-19
Ramalho Ortigão, *Cartas a Emília*, I-XIV


**Other texts from the 19th century**

Abel Botelho, *O barão de Lavos*

Fialho de Almeida, *Contos*

Raúl Brandão, *Os Pescadores*

Raúl Brandão, *Os Pobres*

Júlio Dantas, *Os serenins de Queluz*

Almada Negreiros, *O Cágado*

Almada Negreiros, *Direcção Única*

Florbela Espanca, *A paixão de Manuel Garcia*

Mário de Sá-Carneiro, *A confissão de Lúcio*

Jaime Cortesão, *As memórias da grande Guerra*

**Literary texts from the 20th century**

Manuel Alegre, *Rosas Vermelhas*

António Arnaut, *Os dois barbeiros*

Maria Ondina Braga, *Carta de Amor*

José Viale Moutinho, *Lucas depois do Credo*

Fernando Namora, *A mulher afogada*

Urbano Tavares Rodrigues, *Dias Coloridos*

Miguel Torga, *O Leproso*

Francisco José Viegas, *Troca de Correspondência*

Lídia Jorge, *António*

Maria Judite de Carvalho, *O diário de Saudade*

Maria Isabel Barreno, *A solução*
Bibliography


Galves, C., H. Britto, et al. (2005). “The Change in Clitic Placement from Classical to Modern European Portuguese: Results from the Tycho Brahe Corpus.” Journal of Portuguese Linguistics 4,1,(Special Issue on Variation and Change in the Iberian Languages: the Peninsula and Beyond, José Ignácio Hualde (org.)).


