SYNTACTIC CHANGE IN PORTUGUESE: RELATIVE CLAUSES AND

THE POSITION OF THE ADJECTIVE IN THE NOUN PHRASE

Maria Antonieta Amarante de Mendonça Cohen

Dissertação apresentada ao Departamento de Lingüística do Instituto de Estudos da Linguagem da Universidade Estadual de Campinas, como requisito parcial para obtenção do grau de Doutor em Lingüística.

Este exemplar é a redação final da tese defendida por ~~maria Antonieta~~ ~~Amarante de Mendonça Cohen~~ e aprovada pela comissão julgadora em 1986/1989

23 / 04 / 90.

~~Fernando Luiz Tarallo~~

Dr. FERNANDO LUIZ TARALLO
Presidente

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this dissertation is the examination of syntactic changes in the Portuguese Noun Phrase. The data on which it is based consist of successive texts which are taken as representative of consecutive periods of the Portuguese language, from the 14th C onwards. Some information about present-day Brazilian Portuguese is also given.

Firstly, the position of the Adjective with respect to the Noun in the Noun Phrase is investigated within a word order change framework. According to the statistical analysis of the Adjective, Old/Middle Portuguese has shown a predominant order Adjective/Noun (AN) whereas Modern Portuguese is predominantly Noun/Adjective (NA). The data available show a sharp decrease in the use of Anteposition of Adjectives around the 18th C. After that time Postposition replaced Anteposition as the preferred order.

A great deal of discussion is dedicated to Anteposition. This is due to the high frequency of two Adjectives <u>Bom</u> and <u>Grande</u> in the texts up to the 18th C and their almost entire absence from the modern texts. These Adjectives presented two characteristics: first, in the Old/Middle Portuguese texts their meaning was largely determined by the context; second, in some particular cases they have been retained in Set Phrases. This retention has proved to depend on features of both Adjective and Noun. A tentative explanation is given for both aspects.

Secondly, the relativizer <u>Que</u> present in Restrictive Relative clauses was examined in Modern and Old/Middle Portuguese in an attempt to justify its analysis either as a Complementizer or a Relative Pronoun. In this respect some comparative considerations between Portuguese and Spanish are made. Rivero's (1980,1982) analysis for Spanish, French and Catalan is rejected for Portuguese data as no evidence has been found in defence of a purely complementizer nature for the Portuguese <u>Que</u> .

Thirdly, Relative clauses introduced by the form <u>Quem</u> were

2

analysed. Different syntactic types of Relative clauses with Quem were identified. In the earlier texts Quem occurs only in Free Relatives and is considered to be indefinite. This form can be claimed to have undergone a process of syntactic reanalysis from Headless to Headed Relatives and to have been analogically extended to Headed Relative clauses with [+human] antecedents.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CONTENTS

List of Abbreviations

A- Anteposition

Br. M. Port.- Brazilian Modern Portuguese

Cat.- Catalan

CIL- Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum

CL- Classical Latin

DO- Direct Object

Eur. M. Port.- European Modern Portuguese

Fr.- French

Fut.- Future

Inf.- Infinitive

IO- Indirect Object

It.- Italian

Lus. - Os Lusíadas

M. Port.- Modern Portuguese

Obl.- Oblique

o.l.i.- other lexical items

O. Port.- Old Portuguese

P- Postposition

Port.- Portuguese

Pr.- Provençal

RC- Relative Clause

Roum.- Roumanian

RRC- Restrictive Relative Clause

SB- Subject

Sd.- Sardinian

Sp.- Spanish

Subj.- Subjunctive

VL- Vulgar Latin

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation deals with syntactic changes in the Portuguese Noun Phrase. Some aspects of the Noun Phrase were diachronically investigated in Portuguese texts from the 14th C up to the 20th C. It is a longitudinal investigation on the structure of the NP in the history of Portuguese. The time dimension therefore plays a major role in this study, since the linguistic phenomena are taken as embedded in and changing over time. Both the positioning of the adjective relative to the Noun it modifies (AN/NA)—mostly anteposability— and some aspects of the internal structure of the Restrictive Relative Clause (RRC), itself also a modifier to the Noun, are examined.

The guideline of the diachronic methodology employed in this dissertation develops directly from Bynon's (1977) views on Historical Linguistics, as in the passages quoted below:

"Historical Linguistics seeks to investigate and describe the way in which languages <u>change</u> or <u>maintain</u> their structure during the course of time; its domain therefore is language in its diachronic aspect.

(...)But that language does in fact change during the course of time soon becomes evident when documents written in the same language but at different periods in time are subjected to examination.(...) This means that it is possible to abstract the grammatical structure of the language of each period from the documents and in this way a series of synchronic grammars may be set up and compared. The differences in their successive structures may then be interpreted as reflecting the historical development of the language.

(...) however many language states are considered over a given period their succession will never provide a true picture of the unbroken continuity of a language in time. It is thus due to the limitation of our methodology that we are faced with the rather absurd situation that language evolution, although observable respectively in its results, appears to totally elude observation

as a process while it is actually taking place."

This work thus sets up synchronic successive grammars, in the sense of the above quotation, for the processes under investigation. In other words, synchronic grammars are set up not as a target in itself but rather as a methodological need to achieve the main diachronic goal. Various frameworks of linguistic data description are used as demanded by the data on the synchronic side of the analysis. It is thus an empirical work, since the data themselves suggest the theoretical path to be followed. (cf. Tarallo, 1986: 17/18).

The changes dealt with in this study are treated 'a posteriori'. Although dealing with the results of the changes, hypotheses as to how language has arrived at a particular form in a particular period of time are put forward. Conditions which determine the changes identified by a preliminary description of the data are postulated. Such conditions are established for the cases of reanalysis treated here in Chapters 1 and 3. As will be seen in these cases there seems to be an interplay of semantic, syntactic and pragmatic factors at work behind the purely syntactic result of the reanalyses processes.

This intersection of several grammatical levels in diachronic processes indicates a varied treatment of the material examined, so that it is not the case that only one framework would be sufficient to account for the changes. Since syntactic changes are the proper object under investigation in this dissertation, the use of different models/frameworks of data description and language change is justified. (See Bynon, 1985, for the interplay of several grammatical levels in diachronic processes).

The present work to some extent reflects this interplay of different levels of analyses in that it is not only one framework either of linguistic description or language change has been employed to account for the data. On the contrary: at least three frameworks or

framework fractions have been invoked to account for them. The choice of these apparatuses of linguistic description/change was itself governed by the data: this is one of the senses in which the present piece of work can be called data-oriented. Being so, attention was paid mainly to facts which stood out strikingly from the corpus and appeared to seek for a diachronic treatment.

Preliminarily, three facts called for a diachronic account within the Portuguese NP structure in the corpus analysed: 1) the relative positioning of the Adjective (A) and governing Noun (N) AN/NA; 2) the paradigm of QUE relativizers; 3) QUEM clauses governed by prepositions (Prep+Quem constructions), both 2) and 3) inside the relative clause proper.

As far as the position of the Adjective (A) relative to the Noun (N) is concerned (Chapter 1) I invoke a word order change typology framework (Lehmann, 1972; Vennemann, 1974, 1975) to account for the change AN>NA postulated here firstly on a purely quantitative analysis (Chapter 1- sections 3- 3.1 to 3.7 and 4- 4.1). Such a quantitative analysis stems mainly from Greenberg (1966) statistical universals 'in particular reference to the order of meaningful elements' and the word order change typologists' work cited above.

The mixed pattern of Adjective ordering (AN/NA) displayed by the data throughout the history of Portuguese, however, has called for a more detailed account than a crude word order change typology one. The work of Waugh (1977), based itself on Jakobson's, has been invoked to account for the semantics of the Noun/Adjective modification situation.[1]

In addition, Dixon's (1977) classification of adjectives into semantic classes, itself a universalistic taxonomy based on a considerable sampling of languages, has been used here as a device for the description of Portuguese adjective classes. His approach is thus in keeping with the previously mentioned universalistic typological point of view which I adopt to account for the general trend showed by the changes discussed in the adjective section of this work.

Also in the section on 'Latin Adjective Ordering' (Chapter 1-1.) the discussion was restricted to a typological point of view with Adams' approach (1977) and to a taxonomic account of adjectival classes by Marouzeau (1922).

Still within the modifier/modified relationship between constituents, which underlies all the discussion in this dissertation, is the linear modification of constituents on an informational level. Part of this aspect is discussed here following Bolinger (1952).

The existence of pairs such as GRANDE HOMEM/HOMEM GRANDE in Contemporary Portuguese is accounted for on the basis of diachronic evidence. In these pairs the role of the proper positioning of the adjective relative to the noun is maximized. A process of reanalysis (Timberlake, 1977) seems to be responsible for the fixing of some adjectives, with a particular meaning in a particular order.

Chapter 2 and 3 deal with RRC headed by QUE and headless ones with QUEM, respectively. At this point the data demanded a more accurate analysis of Relative Clauses than the one offered by word order change typologists, since the position of the RRC in relation to the Noun remained unchanged. Since the time of the first texts analysed here, ie. the 14th C, the RRC follows the Noun it modifies (N/RRC). Inside the relative clause itself, however, the relativizers QUE and QUEM have been shown to be in a process of change, not related to position, but rather to relativization strategies. On the synchronic side, the data are described by means of a standard TG approach as it would properly account for them.

Chapter 3 discusses Free Relative clauses with QUEM headed by a preposition (Prep+Quem constructions) and a description/explanation is proposed for the change occurred involving this syntactic type of clauses after the 17th C. Also in this chapter a TG analysis is used as a device for data description, although the change itself is accounted for in terms of reanalysis (Timberlake,1977) and traditional neogrammarian analogical extension (Bynon, 1977:35/43).

1. The corpus

The corpus consists of 14 excerpts of texts from the period between the 14th C- 20th C. Two texts have been chosen from each century. In the chapter concerning Adjective position, whenever possible 150 NP's with qualifying adjectives (preposed or postposed to the Noun) have been collected per text and recorded on cards. This made a total of approximately 2,100 occurrences of Adjectives in modifying positions in the NP's.

For the chapters on Relative clauses, all the occurrences of Relative Clauses with QUE and QUEM (and relevant contexts) have been collected from the same passages used for the study on Adjective/ Noun order and recorded on cards. The total of Relative Clauses analysed per century is as shown below. The massive majority of clauses show the form **Que.** **Quem** shows a low occurrence.

(i) 14th C: 316 RC - Only 3 occurrences of QUEM.

15th C: 289 RC - Only 2 clauses with the form **Quem**.

16th C: 214 RC - Only 2 occurrences of **Quem**.

17th C: 237 RC - 14 occurrences of **Quem**.

18th C: 197 RC - 18 occurrences of **Quem**.

19th C: 280 - 11 **Quem** in EQ

20th C:180 - 2 **Quem** in FG

Although not incorporated in the thesis, these cards are available for reference.

The style chosen is always Prose, although varying between narrative and edifying Prose. The first dated documents in Prose of the Portuguese Language are from the 12th C, such as the "Testamento"

'Will of Eluira Sanches' (1193). Other formulaic documents from the 13th C are also representative of this early period of the language, such as "Notícia de Torto" (13th C) and "Título de Compra" (13th C). Unfortunately only fragments of these texts were available to me and preference has been given to texts which could be handled as a unity, even if the entire text was not to be used as part of the corpus.

The first documents in Prose of the Portuguese Language available to me and which show a considerable unity are collected in the Portugaliae Monumenta Historica . The texts chosen as representative of the oldest periods of Portuguese analysed here date from the 14th C and have been extracted from this collection, such as Rei Ramiro , Batalha de Salado (ca.1361).

Two editions of the Portugaliae Monumenta Historica have been used in this work. The old one, edited by Herculano, dates from 1861. The new one, edited by Piel & Mattoso is from 1980. These editions gather texts which have been collated on the basis of various manuscripts and comprise texts of different dates and different themes. There is an ancestry book, for example, the Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro , from which excerpts like "Rei Ramiro" used in this work has been taken, which dates presumably from the 14th C, whereas Chronicas Breves e Memorias Avulsas de Santa Cruz de Coimbra , from the same collection, dates from the 15th C. In the same volume, under the same general name of Livro de Linhagens is inserted the description of a famous battle against the moors, Batalha de Salado , also chosen as one of our texts.

Many of the real authors and dates of these texts are unknown. These issues have given rise to extensive philological work and argumentation (see Piel & Mattoso (1980)) for detailed philological discussion). Therefore some of the texts used as data here may not be dated with precision, and although the 14th C has been chosen as the oldest chronological mark, some of the texts may belong to an earlier period.

Whenever possible the data have been limited to texts of narrative

Prose, such as the <u>Chronicas Breves e Memorias Avulsas de Santa Cruz de Coimbra</u> , from the 15th C, or the <u>Compêndio Narrativo do Peregrino da América</u> , from the 17th C.

A mixture of edifying and narrative Prose constitutes part of the data, since for certain periods, like the 18th C, purely descriptive/ narrative texts were not available. Soror M. Céu's <u>Aves Ilustradas</u> (18th C) and also to a certain extent, although basically utilitarian, Dom Duarte's <u>Arte e Ensinança de Bem Cavalgar Toda Sela</u> , from the 15th C, are examples of this mixed style.

Letters are also used in our corpus. The <u>Carta de Pero Vaz de Caminha</u> , from 1500, is actually an informative/descriptive report which Pero Vaz de Caminha, the scrivener of the Portuguese fleet which firstly came ashore on the Brazilian Coast, wrote to the King of Portugal describing the local scenery. It is included in the so-called 'discovery cycle' of Portuguese Literature.

The <u>Cartas dos Jesuítas</u> , from the 16th C, and <u>Cartas de Dom Pedro V</u> , from the 19th C, are also narrative, although sometimes formulaic as official correspondence between jesuit priests and their superiors in the former, and between the king D. Pedro V and his assessors in the latter.

The letters of <u>Catarina de Bragança</u> , from the 17th C, on the contrary, are more subjective and intimate. She continuously deplores her situation of living in a hostile society in England, despite her position as the Queen (Charles' II wife), and insists with her brother D. Pedro II, king of Portugal, to make possible her return to her home country.

Eça de Queiroz' <u>O Crime do Padre Amaro</u> , from the 19th C., is a romance which presents a critical view of Portuguese society, rather dominated by the clergy at this time.

Gabeira's text is a contemporary testimony of an amnestied Brazilian reporter involved in left-wing political activities in Brazil during

the sixties.

2. Texts in Chronological Order (Abbreviations in bold characters)

1361- "Batalha de Salado", "Rei Ramiro", "Maia", "Goncalo Maia", "Sanches" and "Pimentel" in Piel, J. & Mattoso, J. (eds.) (1980)-Portugaliae Monumenta Historica- Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro ; (PMH II)

1385- Cronica delrei Dom Joham by Lopes, F.,in Entwistle W. J. (ed.) (1945); (FL)

ca 1433- Livro de Ensinança de Bem Cavalgar Toda Sela que fez El-Rey Dom Duarte de Portugal e do Algarve e Senhor de Ceuta , Piel, M.(ed.) (1944); (DD)

1450 -"Chronicas Breves e Memorias Avulsas de Santa Cruz de Coimbra" in Herculano, A. (ed.),1861 Portugaliae Monumenta Historica-Scriptores ; (PMH I)

1500- A Carta de Pero Vaz de Caminha , Cortezão J. (ed.) (1943); (PVC)

1538-1553- Cartas dos Primeiros Jesuítas do Brasil , Leite, S.S.I. (ed.) (1954); (CJ)

1625-1684- "Das Novelas Exemplares" and "Constante Florinda" by Pires Rebelo, G. in Ferreira, J. P. (1981) (ed.) Novelistas e Contistas Portugueses dos Séculos XVII e XVIII ; (GPR)

ca 1680- Cartas de Catarina de Bragança a seu irmão D. Pedro II, Rei de Portugal , unpublished manuscript- Egerton 1534- British Library; (CB)

1727- "Do Compêndio Narrativo do Peregrino da América" by Pereira, N.M. in Ferreira, J. P. (1981) (ed.) Novelistas e Contistas Portugueses dos séculos XVII e XVIII ; (NMP)

1738- "Aves Ilustradas em Avisos para as Religiosas servirem os Ofícios dos seus Mosteiros" by Maria do Céu, S., in S.M. in Ferreira, J.P.(1981) (ed.); (SMC)

1855- Cartas de Dom Pedro V aos seus Contemporâneos , Leitão, R. A. (1961) (ed.); (PE)

1876- O Crime do Padre Amaro by Eça de Queiroz, J.M.; (EQ)

1980- Introduction to the Portugaliae Monumenta Historica by Piel & Matoso (ed.) (1980); (IPMH)

1981- Entradas e Bandeiras by Gabeira, F.; (FG)

NOTES

1) The combination Adjective/Noun has not been considered a very important factor in the semantics of adjectives in the specialized literature as, for example, Borges (1979) (and others) for Portuguese. For this reason the observations in this study were restrained only to accounts that took this factor into consideration.

POSITION OF THE ADJECTIVE IN THE PORTUGUESE NP

1. Latin Adjective Ordering

In this section we summarize some characteristics of Latin word order especially in regard to the relative ordering of Adjectives and Nouns (AN/NA).

We aim with this brief account to set up a starting point for the discussion on the Portuguese adjective ordering carried out in section 2,3 and 4.[1] We begin by first presenting some brief comments on Latin adjective ordering by traditional Romanists such as Väänänen (1967) and Maurer Jr. (1959), and secondly by presenting Adams' (1977) considerations on the typology of Latin adjective ordering. A more detailed analysis of the adjective positioning in Latin is also presented according to Marouzeau (1922).

Adams' work is typologically oriented and as such presents a general view on adjective ordering, which can be summarized as follows: despite the fact that there are alternative orders and despite the fact that a prehistoric change AN→NA is assumed to have occurred, as a generalization NA is considered to be the basic order in Latin from the time of the earliest texts, and AN the marked variant.

Adams' work is confined to the word order change typology framework developed as a consequence of the application of the synchronic word order universals established by Greenberg (1966) to diachronic studies. In these terms it seems worth recalling here Greenberg's universal 19: "When the general rule is that the descriptive adjective follows, there may be a minority of adjectives which usually precede, but when the general rule is that the descriptive adjectives precede, there are no exceptions."

Anyone working within this framework is then left, as far as adjective ordering is concerned, with two possibilities: as AN languages do not admit exceptions, any language displaying variation

in the positioning of the adjectives will be necessarily NA.

It is generally accepted that Latin was NA, an assumption which is in keeping with both the postulation of a Proto Indo European order AN (Lehmann,1974:69) and an early AN→NA change in Latin (Harris,1978:58).

On the other hand, one is hardly able to make generalizations from the work of Marouzeau, so detailed is his description of Latin adjective ordering. We shall return to both analyses later.

According to Maurer Jr. (1959:194 ff) both the most popular of Latin texts and the epigraphic sources show a word order which is simpler than that of the Classical writers, but the typically Romance word order, ie. SVO, is claimed to have been fixed very late. Based on the placement of the Adjective after the Noun in Roumanian, which shows a more regular preference for Postposition, on the one hand, and on its positioning in the Western Romance languages on the other, Maurer Jr. posits Postposition as the Vulgar Latin adjective ordering. Although being aware of Anteposition as a possible adjective ordering in the Romance Languages, he virtually disregards it by simply saying that the contexts in which it is possible are not easily identifiable. He further adds that the positioning of Adjectives in the Western Romance Languages is considerably influenced by literary styles.

According to Väänänen (1967: 242) the Latin adjective can be either preposed or postposed to the Noun depending on its meaning: the 'qualifying adjectives' normally precede the Noun, whereas the 'non-qualifying ones' ('determinatives') are usually placed after it. Inversion is nevertheless possible, especially with some of the 'determinative' adjectives, which acquire an affective and emphatic value when preposed. He seems to follow Marouzeau (1922), which we shall discuss later on.

In typological terms it seems possible that languages fall into two categories, according to the relative positioning of the Verb (V) and its Object (O): OV or VO. The order of Subject was considered by

Lehmann to be irrelevant from a typological viewpoint. In other words, the limiting (modifying) element may either precede or follow the limited (modified) element. An ideally 'consistent' OV language would place Genitives, Adjectives and Relative clauses before the Noun; would make use of Postpositions instead of Prepositions, etc. A 'consistent' VO language would show the reverse patterning. Few languages are 'pure' or 'consistent' in type, however. Classical Latin, for example, has been considered as one of these 'ambivalent' (Lehmannn,1972) languages. The general consensus is that it is SOV (see Lakoff (1968:100) for an alternative view),but as Vincent (1976) points out in the VP it has the characteristics of an OV language, namely, the Adverb precedes the Verb, Verbs precede Modals and Auxiliaries , whereas in the NP it seems to conform to the VO pattern: Relative clauses follow the Nouns, so do Genitives, at a certain point also Adjectives and Prepositions are used rather than Postpositions. Lehmann (1972:986) suggests that inconsistencies such as these should be examined individually and detailed syntactic studies should be carried out for different languages not only to determine their patterns, but also to account for them.

When a language shows a mixture of patterns, it may be undergoing change. This is the claim Adams (1977) made for Latin, that it was undergoing a readjustement from an OV type to a VO type before the time of the literary plays of Plautus (ca.251—184 BC).

The positioning of the limited after the limiting elements throughout the history of Latin, especially in the case Genitives, evidences a transition OV→VO. Genitives are said to have undergone a transition from a basic order GN, with NG as a stylistically marked variant, to an invariable order NG.

As mentioned above, with regard to the position of Adjectives, Adams argues firstly that Latin is NA from the time of the earliest texts, having AN as the marked variant, and secondly that a prehistoric transition AN→NA has occurred.

The postulation of this prehistoric change was made on the basis of the distribution of classes of adjectives before or after the Noun

and also of the existence of both a basic, 'unmarked' position and an emphatic, stylistically 'marked' one. The classes distinguished by Adams are borrowed from Marouzeau (1922). Adams calls 'objective' the class of adjectives to which Marouzeau attributes an 'objective value' ('valeur objective'), but which he calls 'determinatives' ('determinatif'). Adams' 'subjective' adjectives correspond to Marouzeau's 'qualifying' adjectives, which express a 'subjective value' ('valeur subjective'). The 'natural' order for 'objective' adjectives is Postposition, Anteposition being the 'natural' order for 'subjective' ones. This is assumed by Adams for all periods of the Latin language.

Adams uses indirect evidence for the change AN→NA, which he postulates for one class of adjectives, namely possessive adjectives. Some objective adjectives indicating possession, which survived into the historical period as the ones in CAMPUS MARTIUS, VIRGO VESTALIS, FLAMEN DIALIS, etc. were used emphatically in Postposition. This would suggest that Anteposition existed as an unmarked order for this class of adjectives in earlier times. The evidence given for the existence of this unmarked order is the adjective ERILIS 'of the household' which invariably occurs preposed in Plautus, in the formula ERILIS FILIUS. When the same adjective is used with other Nouns it occurs in Postposition, which is considered to be the 'new' unmarked order. After that time adjectives indicating possession are placed after the Noun, as in VIA APPIA, VIA FLAMINIA, COLONIA AUGUSTA, etc. Another example taken as an indication of this change is the existence of expressions such as VIR BONUS, where BONUS is placed in the 'new' unmarked position, not in its normal position before the Noun, as one would have expected for 'subjective' adjectives.

One should note that the acknowledgement of 'classes' of adjectives seems to be necessary for the discussion of changes in adjective positioning. Greenberg (1966:77,85,86,87) seems to employ the terms 'qualifying, attributive and descriptive adjective' indifferently, provided these were differentiated from Demonstratives, Articles, Numerals and Quantifiers. This is not the case here, however. It seems to us that the recognition of sub-classes within the general

class of adjectives is basic to study of changes in their position in the NP.

Marouzeau (1922) claims that the following types of adjectives, a)-c), can be postposed to the Noun in Latin, but in many cases inversion of the basic order is possible. They belong to a general class of 'determinatives' and convey a meaning which is basically objective:

a) Adjectives derived from proper names such as ROMANUS in POPULUS ROMANUS or LATINAE in LITTERAE LATINAE, CAMPUM MARTIUM, etc. Although usually postposed, these adjectives can be anteposed to the Noun to oppose their meaning to the meaning of other adjectives in the same sentence. In the same sentence CAMPUM MARTIUM (NA) and MARTIUM CAMPUM (AN) can occur as a way of opposing MARTIUM to VATICANUM in CAMPUM VATICANUM, which occurs in the same sentence (Marouzeau (op.cit.):17).

Adjectives belonging to this class could also be placed before the Noun, if employed in an 'affective' or even laudatory context, as in ROMANUM DUCEM or ROMANO IMPERIO, where the 'quality' of being Roman is emphasized.

b) Adjectives denoting appearance, colour, profession also convey an 'objective' meaning, Postposition being their unmarked order as in STATUA AUREA, VITA PASTORICIA, TRIBUNUS MILITARIS. Adjectives of this type could also be placed before the Noun, when in opposition to the same/different adjective in the same context.

c) Adjectives expressing dimension or form (CANALEM ROTUNDAM), temperature (UNGUEM CALDUM) ,flavour, (AQUAM SALSAM), physical constitution (GALLINAS TENERAS, PABULA MATURA) etc.

All these classes admit a stylistic inversion. This differs from the pattern of Postposition of adjectives derived from Nouns in Modern Portuguese, for example, where there is a general restriction on their preposing. Thus, *brasileiro povo is not possible, even in a laudatory register in the same way as *estadual deputado, *civil

2 3

presidente, etc.are disallowed. There is no alternative order for adjectives derived from Nouns in Modern Portuguese, in which Postposition is the only possibility. On the other hand, adjectives denoting colour, for example, for which the normal order is Postpositon may exceptionally be preposed as VERDES in VERDES MARES BRAVIOS 'green, wild seas'.

The second general class of adjectives proposed by Marouzeau for Latin comprises the 'qualifying' adjectives, which usually convey a personal judgement of the denotation of the following Noun, and are therefore 'subjective'. This group usually comprises adjectives which convey non-specific qualities as BONUS, MALUS, JUSTUS, IMPROBUS, NOBILIS, HONESTUS, SANCTUS, etc. Their unmarked order is Anteposition as in the following examples SANCTISSIMIS LUCIS 'holy light', INSANIS MOLIBUS 'insane crowd', HONESTI ET ORNATI ADULESCENTIS 'virtuous and honourable youngster', INSIGNEM POENAM 'great pain', etc.

There are cases in which some of these adjectives which are basically classified as 'qualifying' can acquire a new meaning if postposed to the Noun: NOBILIS, for example, although being basically a 'qualifying' adjective may be postposed to the Noun and be classified as a 'determinative', in pairs such as as NOBILEM PHILOSOPHUM and MULIERE NOBILE. In the latter, NOBILIS restricts the meaning of MULIER and means 'a noblewoman', ie. it has an objective meaning or is a 'determinative' adjective.

Some qualifying adjectives which are normally preposed to the Noun, forming with it a kind of compound or set phrase in which the adjectives are closely tied to the nouns, such as in INGENS METUS 'enormous fear', TURPIS FAME 'bad reputation', MALA MENS 'wicked mind', BONUS ANIMUS 'good spirit', can also be postposed so acquiring a restrictive meaning. Thus, METUS INGENS would be paraphrased as 'fears which are enormous'. Marouzeau claims that in such instances the adjectives convey new meanings, and express either a justification or a restriction. In these cases there is a pause after the noun, which allows for the insertion of another constituent between Noun and Adjective as in HOMO, [QUOD AD ME

24

ATTINET], NON INGRATUM (op.cit.:85).

Adjectives commonly associated with the same nouns in Anteposition
as MAGNUS in MAGNO OPERE, BREVIS in BREVI SPATIO, can acquire a
non-conventional meaning if placed after the Noun. An instance of
this process is the adjective GRAVIS, which usually occurs with
MORBUS 'a serious illness', and which gains an unexpected value when
postposed to nouns such as in SENATUS CONSULTUM GRAVE in which
context it has the meaning 'severe'.

When accompanied by other adjectives, qualifying adjectives like
MAGNUS may also be placed after the Noun, as in CIVITA MAGNA ATQUE
MAGNIFICA and in OFFICIUM JUSTUM, PIUM ET DEBITUM.

Subjective adjectives in the superlative may also be postposed:
AEQUO ANIMO 'friendly spirit' but ANIMO AEQUISSIMO; HONESTUM VERBUM
but VERBUM HONESTISSIMUM.

There is some statistical information on the placement of adjectives
which express a common meaning. Here Anteposition is predominant: in
the first four volumes of DE BELLO GALLICO (Caesar 100-44 BC) MAGNUS
precedes the noun in a massive frequency of 78 A against 7 P. Texts
of the republican times (Bergaigne (1878)) showed 29 A and 5 P and
other common adjectives such as INGENS, SUMMUS, VASTUS, etc.
proportions like 44 A X 4 P; 143 A X 10 P; 74 A X 8 P were found.

Marouzeau calls attention to the variable pattern of ordering of
the 'subjective' or 'qualifying' adjective. The ordering of these
adjectives in the NP seems to be much less constrained than that of
the 'objective' adjectives. Even carrying a basic 'qualifying'
meaning, some of these adjectives may be placed after the Noun, with
a different meaning or a different connotation.

According to Adams, this variability in the Latin adjective position
(along with other variable patterns as GN/NG, Po/Pr, and especially
OV/VO) indicates that Latin was undergoing a readjustment from an OV
type to a VO type. Two predominant orders are identified: OV for
Classical Latin and VO for late texts. The transitional character

25

between OV and VO would account for certain 'oddities' in the Latin word order. In this sense Latin would be undergoing change from an ideal pure type OV to an ideal type VO.

Any tentative explanation and motivation given for this change OV→VO does not take the placement of adjectives as a basic parameter as, for example, in Vincent's (1976). He claims that the inconsistencies that Latin presents, namely OV patterns in the VP and VO patterns in the NP, may be viewed as a reflex of a " half-way point along the path from SOV Indo-European. to SVO Romance" (op.cit.:58). This change is seen as perceptually motivated. Latin post-nominal Relative Clauses and SOV order give rise to centre-embedded structures, which lead all the NPs to be piled up on the left and all the verbs on the right. Perceptual difficulties are created by these centre-embedded structures. Two strategies were available as a way of avoiding this perceptual difficulty: 1) Extraposition from NP, in which the Relative Clause is separated from its head and moved to sentence final position; 2) Heavy NP Shift, in which the whole complex NP is moved to the end of the sentence. The former is assumed to maintain the original order SOV but the latter creates a SVO structure.

The ambiguity created by the contiguous positioning of Subject and Object in a verb final structure of a language, in which the morphological inflectional system has disappeared, has been invariably considered to be the cause of a change from an OV to a VO type in the literature concerned.

However, even being least well behaved statistically the relative position of Adjectives and Nouns is always included in the set of parameters which are mentioned in the literature concerned. Many doubts have been cast on the existence of a basic adjective order , as ,for example, by Comrie (1981:84), who says: ..."Here, as with most of the following parameters, there are only the possibilities for basic order (if there is a basic order), namely AN and NA. Vincent (1976) says that "this is one of the more 'fuzzy' criteria" (op. cit.:57) ie., typological criteria.

26

Returning now to Marouzeau one can easily observe that based on his analysis a unique basic adjective order may hardly be maintained for Latin. According to him, at least two basic orders can be claimed for adjectives in Latin: a basic order AN for the 'qualifying' adjectives, for which an alternative NA order is possible in particular environments; a basic order NA for the 'objective' class of adjectives, for which an alternative AN order is also possible in special environments. The positioning of the adjective seems to depend basically on its semantic features. To collapse the possibilities of positioning that they show into such a simple formula as 'dominant order NA with a minority AN' is an overgeneralization which conceals the fact that a basic order seems to be better justified if this order is associated with the basic meaning of the adjective.

If Latin is taken simply as NA, as some linguists tend to believe, or even if a change from AN→NA is claimed to have taken place throughout its evolution, from a prehistoric to a late period, this would put it in line with its descendant languages, which are also claimed to be NA as far as the NP is concerned.

We have no intention of discussing Latin adjective ordering further. We would rather turn our attention to adjective ordering in one of its descendant languages: Portuguese. We would like to stress some points made in the preceding summary on Latin , which might be relevant to our investigation into Portuguese, namely:

a) the fact that the only evidence Adams (1977) has given in support of a change AN→NA is based on one class of adjectives. A rearrangement of classes of adjectives seems also to have taken place in the history of Portuguese, according to the corpus analysed;

b) the inversion of the adjectives which, in Latin, according to Adams and Marouzeau, 'par excellence' belong to the class of 'determinative' or 'objective' adjectives , and are normally placed after the Noun, is not possible in Modern Portuguese. One can confidently say that constraints on Anteposition in Modern

27

Portuguese are much more powerful than they were in Latin. The existence of these constraints seems to be evidence for the assumption made by many Romanists that the ordering of adjectives in Romance is 'rigidifying' (Harris: 1978:59), although very little has been said about Portuguese.

Usually French is the language for which a more rigid order is claimed, especially evidenced by a small, limited set of anteposed adjectives (Harris, op.cit:59; Lehmann,1972:986). Anteposition in the history of Portuguese will be discussed in detail in sections 2, 3 and 4.

c) the postulation of a basic adjective order for any language which, like Latin, shows a considerable variability in this respect, should be postulated cautiously (as it has been in the literature) and taken rather as a general tendency. Detailed descriptions such as the one by Marouzeau would lead to the postulation of at least two basic orders AN and NA, for different classes of adjectives, which could not be taken as variants of each other but rather as two independent orders with semantic/lexical motivations.

2. Adjective Ordering in Present-Day Portuguese[2]

The traditional grammars of Modern Portuguese have little to say on word order. Modern Portuguese is said to have a 'direct order' ie., SVO, which, if compared with Classical Latin, shows less flexibility in the possible collocation of constituents. The word order is therefore considered to be 'rigid' or 'fixed', despite cases of Subject/Verb inversion, topicalized objects, variation in the placement of clitics, etc. The general consensus is that the absence of case marking is the reason for this rigidity. Why and how the word order has been fixed in this particular order SVO, as a consequence of the loss of Case Marking in the evolution from Latin to Portuguese, has not been explained by the traditional historical Portuguese Grammar, however.

Word order qualifies as a syntactic process in Portuguese. It is, apart from agreement and governance, one of the syntactic processes

that serves to interrelate the constituents of a sentence. According to Mattoso Câmara (1972:222) the principle which is at work in Portuguese word order is that " the last member of an utterance has the greatest information content." As far as adjective order in the NP is concerned he writes:

"The same basic principle is applicable to the relative placement of adjectives and nouns within noun phrases. An adjective may either be pre-posed or post-posed to the noun it modifies, but the latter is the more fundamental pattern because the adjective usually contains a new bit of information with respect to the noun. In essence, an adjective is a supplementary descriptive element that adds something to the noun's meaning. As a consequence, when two successive nouns are in a determiner-determined relationship and neither is formally marked as adjectival, it is the syntactic process of placement that identifies which element is functioning as the adjective- this element is always put in second place. Thus UM AMIGO URSO is an AMIGO 'friend' who is classified as an URSO 'bear' because he is false and ingrate. No one would ever think that this phrase could refer to a friendly bear, such an entity would be designated by the expression UM URSO AMIGO, with URSO preposed." (Mattoso Câmara, 1972:222)

For Epiphânio Dias (1918) the adjective is placed after the Noun when it is not a poetic or rhet̄foric̄ epithet, as in the following examples (adjective emphasized):

(1) olhos **azues** 'blue eyes'
(2) mesa **redonda** 'round table'
(3) criança **cega** 'blind child'

When the adjective is followed by a Prepositional Phrase, it obligatorily follows the Noun. The adjective CONTRÁRIA, in (4), is followed by a PP: À LIBERDADE. The preposing of either the adjective or of the Adjectival Phrase is unacceptable, as in (5a,b), respectively.

(4) lei contrária [ᵣᵣ à liberdade] 'law against liberty'

(5)a) * contrária lei à liberdade
   b) * contrária à liberdade lei

In Pereira (1923) Postposition is taken to be the normal order for adjectives denoting **colour, taste, origin,** as in (6a-d).

(6) a) céo **azul** 'blue sky'
    b) opiniao **comum** 'general opinion'
    c) egreja **lutherana** 'lutheran church'
    d) pátria **brasileira** 'brazilian homeland'

The preposing of adjectives, on the other hand, is possible when the adjective expresses an inherent or 'expected' attribute of the following Noun, as in (7). CORVOS 'crows', ROSAS 'roses' and OVELHAS 'sheep' are up to certain point expected to be 'black, fresh and shy', respectively. This is also the case in the environment with proper Nouns as in (8).

(7) a)negro corvo 'black crow'
    b)fresca rosa 'fresh rose'
    c)tímidas ovelhinhas 'shy lambs'

Anteposition is also the normal order for the adjective with Proper Nouns. Thus,

(8)a) o grande Camões 'the great Camões'
   b) a bela Paris 'the beautiful Paris'

Pereira also adds, following Diez, that the placement of the adjective before or after the Noun is a matter of stress and intonation, despite the general Romance tendency towards postpositioning. In a sequence such as HOMEM BOM 'good man', for instance, the stressed word is BOM, and HOMEM is unstressed. In BOM HOMEM, with the adjective preposed, the same rule obtains so that the second of the two words is the stressed one. Pereira assumes then that if the meaning of the adjective is merely inherent, in the

30

sense explained above, there is a tendency to place it in the weak, unstressed position ie., before the Noun.

There seem to be no constraints on the Postposition of adjectives in Present-Day Portuguese. NA is the basic order, for any class of adjectives, even for the 'qualifying' ones, such as MAU 'bad', BONITA 'pretty', LINDA 'beautiful',etc. a class of adjectives which in Latin seemed to be preferably anteposed to the Noun. In declarative sentences the unmarked, non-emphatic order is Postposition, as in the examples below:

(9)a)Sarah é uma menina bonita
    'S. is a pretty girl'

  b) Sarah é uma menina linda
    'S. is a beautiful girl'

In an emphatic, exclamative sentence adjectives of this class may also be placed after the Noun:

(10)a) Sarah é uma menina bonita!
   b) Sarah é uma menina linda !

However, adjectives belonging to this class are also the ones which may be anteposed to the Noun. This use is rather emphatic, and although the basic meaning of the adjective is, in some cases, the same as when it occurs after the Noun, it seems to be less precise, or looser, than when it is postposed.

(11) a) Sarah é uma bonita menina !
   b) Sarah é uma linda menina!

In (9) and (10) one understands that Sarah is a girl who is pretty/beautiful. The adjective seems to add a new bit of information to the Noun MENINA: in a set of girls Sarah is a girl who is pretty. In (11), on the other hand, one is admiring the girl not necessarily because she is a pretty girl, but also for any other characteristics which she may have as a girl and that can be

clarified by the context. In BONITA MENINA 'pretty girl' in (11a), the girl is BONITA insofar she is a GIRL, whereas in (9) and (10) the state of 'prettiness' could be true of any girl. In (11), one may be admiring the girl for her physical or mental attributes such as health, intelligence, liveliness, etc. which can be interpreted as 'beauty' on their own, but it does not necessarily mean that Sarah is beautiful. She is beautiful because she is healthy, clever, or has bright eyes, etc. In other words, the meaning of BONITA in (11) is more connotative or metaphorical than it is in (9) and (10). In (11) the adjective seems to be more linked to the Noun and does not add much information to it, it is merely non-restrictive. In (9), (10) 'Sarah is a girl and she is pretty'; in (11), 'Sarah is pretty insofar she is a girl'.

This 'qualifying/subjective' class of adjectives is the one which has more freedom of placement in Modern Portuguese.

Adjectives which have an 'objective' meaning, which are derived[3] from Nouns, or denote taste, temperature, shape, age, (physical properties), etc. may not be preposed to the Noun, such as the examples in (11).

(11a) escritor português / * português escritor
        'portuguese writer'   'portuguese writer'

b) mesa oval / * oval mesa
   'oval table'

c) ferro quente / * quente ferro
   'hot iron'

d) gosto picante / * picante gosto
   'spicy flavour'

f) comida francesa / * francesa comida
   'french food'

h) material genealógico / * genealógico material
   'genealogical material'

In some cases, adjectives which in Anteposition have a
'qualifying/subjective' meaning, in Postposition have a more precise
or definite meaning (see section 3, for details). This is the case
with the pairs listed in (11), for example.

(11) a) homem grande/grande homem
        'tall man'   'great man'

b) menino pobre / pobre menino
   'poor boy'   'unhappy boy'

c) amigo velho / velho amigo
   'a friend who is old'/ an old friend (of long standing)

d) livro novo / novo livro
   'a new book'. 'another book'

e) anedota simples / simples anedota
   'straighforward joke' / 'merely a joke'

The unmarked rule of adjective positioning in Modern Portuguese is
NA. AN is the marked variant for some classes of adjectives,
especially the 'subjective' class: Anteposition is still a
productive process in Present-Day Portuguese: the speakers have the
choice of preposing adjectives which belong to the 'subjective'
class. In addition, AN is the obligatory order for some adjectives
with specific meanings. On the other hand, AN is although
obligatorily forbidden for some particular particular for a third
class of adjectives, as shown above.

In typological terms, Portuguese, as a Romance language, is
classified as SVO/Pr/NG/NA (Greenberg 1966;109). The general
tendency in the Romance languages favours Postposition as the
unmarked adjective order. Anteposition is 'reserved for greater
emphasis' (Harris,1978:59). Anteposition is also said to be propfer

of a fairly small group of common adjectives , some of which became restricted to occurring in Anteposition and conveying a particular, fixed meaning in this position.

This is the situation especially in French, where this particular order seems to have rigidified more than in the other Romance languages, with certain adjectives such as BEAU, BON, COURT, LONG, PETIT, etc. (Lehmann, 1972:986). For a detailed analysis of adjective ordering in French see Waugh (1977).

Anteposition is considered to be dependent on semantic and/or lexical factors, which vary from language to language. (Harris op.cit.:59).

In the next sections, both a quantitative and qualitative analysis of adjective order in the history of Portuguese will be carried out. Since Postposition is the unmarked order, we shall concentrate our discussion mainly on the marked, constrained order Anteposition. Whenever possible, we will try to relate our findings to the general assumptions made for adjective ordering in Romance.

The corpus comprises approximately 2,100 occurrences of adjectives in attributive position in Portuguese texts from ca. the 14th C up to the 20th C. Two texts containing (whenever possible) 150 tokens of adjectives each have been selected per century. A tentative distribution of the adjectives in terms of classes and in terms of frequency of occurrence is made for each century. Special attention is given to BOM 'good' and GRANDE 'big/great', due to their high frequency within Anteposition.

3. Adjective Ordering from Old to Modern Portuguese

3.1. 14th C texts

The fourteenth century texts showed a high percentage of Anteposition, namely 63% of the total of adjectives in the PMH and 89% in FL. In the PMH 58% of the total of Anteposition falls on two

34

adjectives: GRANDE and BOO. The remaining are distributed in 16 other different lexical items. GRANDE and BOO occur in both A and P. GRANDE presents 93% A against 7% P and BOO 74% A against 26% P.

In FL 42% of the total of Anteposition lies on GRANDE and BOO. The remaining 58% are distributed in 66 different lexical items (see Fig. 1). No occurrences of these adjectives in Postposition were registered. Attention must be paid to the fact that Anteposition- although ranging over TWO specific adjectives in a considerably high percentage- is by no means restricted to this small group of adjectives. Several different lexical items may also be in Anteposition.

Firstly we shall observe the two adjectives predominantly preposed and secondly the other group of adjectives in Anteposition. A tentative classification of these adjectives into semantic types will be made, although no justification will be given for these classes. In this respect we shall be following Dixon (1977) and Marouzeau (1922). The labels used by them for English and Latin adjective types, respectively, will be, whenever possible, maintained here for Portuguese adjectives.

(I) BÕÕ (masc.)/ BOA (Fem.)

a) Anteposed

When preposed this adjective clearly can be classified either as a Subjective adjective, following Marouzeau (1922:15) or as a Value adjective, following Dixon (1977).

(1) bõõs fidalgos 'good noblemen'

(2) bõõs cavaleiros 'good knights'

(3) os bõõs conselheiros 'the good advisers'

b) Postposed

14th CENTURY

FIGURE 14

36
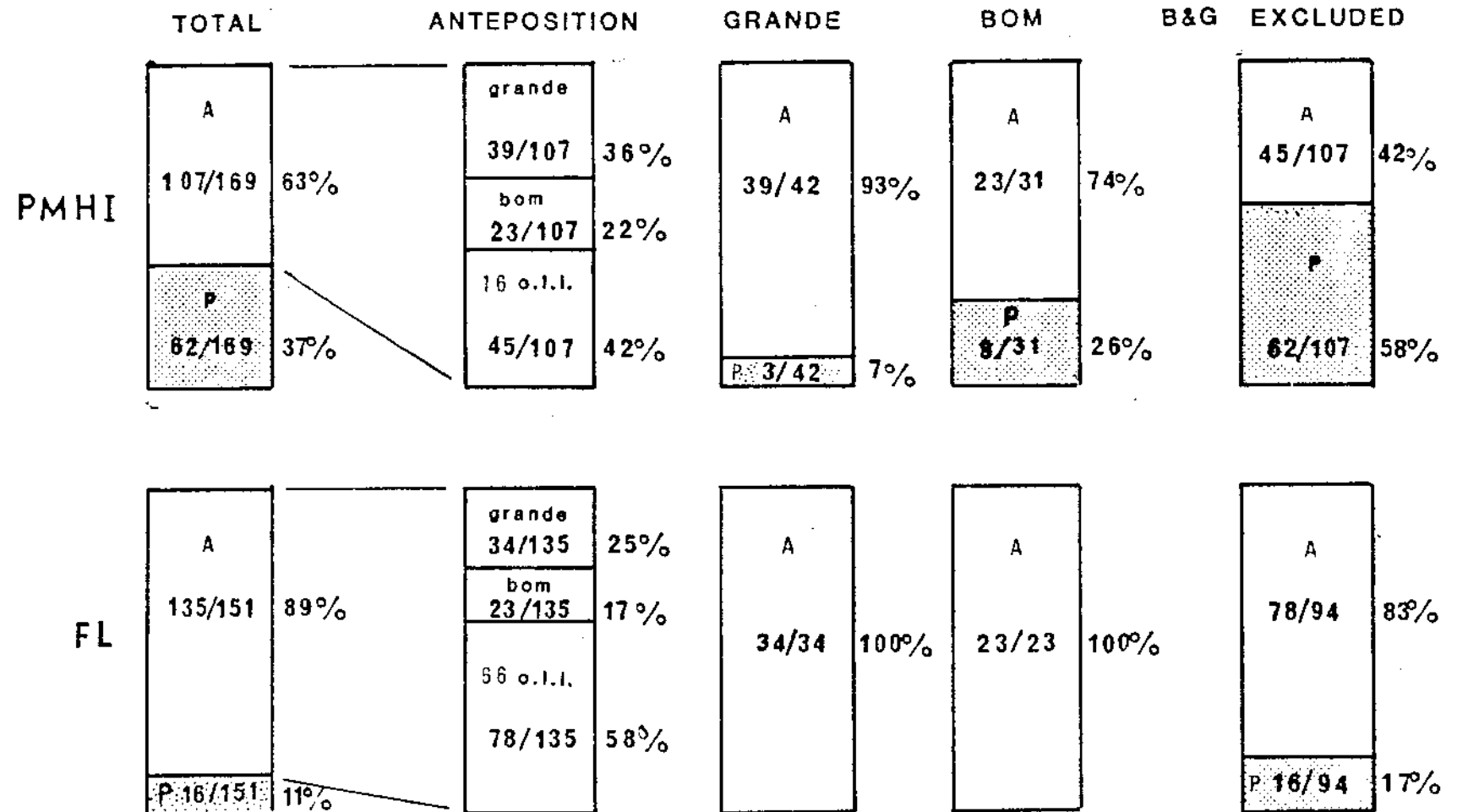
When it follows the Noun it has a restrictive and emphatic meaning.

(4) estes homeens boõs 'these good men'

(5) geraçom boa 'good generation'

(6) dous homeens boõs 'two good men'

(II) GRANDE (GRAM)

a) Anteposed

Subjective and Dimensional

When preposed it can in some cases be classified as a Subjective adjective; it carries also sometimes a dimensional connotation. In this case there seems to be an overlapping of these two classes.

(7) mui fremosa e grande hasta
'very-handsome-and-big/huge-lance'

(8) gram montanha
   'big/huge-mountain'

(9) grandes edificios
   'big/huge-buildings'

The 'bigness' of these examples is not figurative at all, it refers to the real size of the following noun referent. This dimensional meaning of GRANDE in Anteposition seems to depend on the existence of a Noun which is measurable. Thus, GRANDE HASTA means 'a lance which is very big', so far as 'lance' is measurable. The same applies to (8) and (9). As will be shown later on, the proper positioning of the adjective before the noun attributes a subjective meaning to it. The Anteposition of the adjective expresses the speaker's evaluation of the following Noun.

Subjective

When preposed it may also express a metaphorical and emphatic bigness. This type of construction differs from the preceding one because another type of noun appears in this case. The meaning of these nouns accepts a kind of gradation.[5] They are mostly abstract nouns such as LASTIMA 'sorrow' or PODER 'power', or [+human] nouns to which adjective with subjective meanings may refer.

(10) gram lastima 'great/deep regret'

(11) gram perda 'great loss'

(12) gram poder 'great power'

(13) gram cavaleiro 'great knight'

(14) grandes astrologos 'great astrologers'

Postposed

When postposed it means 'big',itis restrictive.

(15) hasta grande 'big lance'

(16) contenda grande 'big fight'

(7) and (15) form one of the rare minimal pairs (or near minimal pairs) which occurs in the corpus analysed. Postposition of GRANDE represents a very low percentage and contrasts with the high rate of its occurrence in Anteposition (see Fig. 1). Its combination with the same Noun in an oppositive pair (preposed/postposed) appears only twice in the whole corpus. The meaning of GRANDE in Postposition is 'big'. The context in which it appears is descriptive.

(15) E o prior dom Alvaro de Pereira mandou vestir uu crerigo de
    'And-the-prior-sir ~A -de P-   ordered-to dress up-a clergyman of

missa em vestimentas alvas, e a Verd Cruz em ua HASTA GRANDE, que
mass-in- vestments-white-and-the-V. cross-in-a -lance-big   that
a   podessem veer de todas partes ...
it-(they)could -see-of-all-parts   (PMH I:244)

'And the prior dom Alvaro de Pereira ordered   a clergyman to
be dressed in white vestments and (ordered) the cross to be put on
a lance so big that it could be seen from everywhere...'

The context in which GRANDE appears preposed to the Noun is also
descriptive, but emphatic and grandiloquent.

(7) E tragia en sas mãos ua mui fremosa e   GRANDE   HASTA,
'And-(he)brought -in-his-hands-a-very-beautiful-and-big/huge -lance

em cima dela ua cruz que esprandecia como o sol
 over-of it-a-cross-that   -shone-   like-the-sun   (PMH I: 253)

'And he brought in his hands a very beautiful and big/huge lance
that shone as the sunshine...'

The basic meaning of GRANDE in these two samples is the same: the
emphasis seems to be given by its positionig before the Noun. It is
not the same case as of the ·Modern Portuguese pair GRANDE HOMEM 'a
great man'/ HOMEM GRANDE 'a tall man', where the basic meaning
conveyed by the adjectives is different.

This is an example of the rigidifying of a particular order
(Anteposition), of a particular adjective (GRANDE) with a particular
meaning ('great'), which is a common feature of certain Romance
languages such as French, Spanish and Portuguese (Harris, 1978:59).
The fixing of an adjective in a particular order seems however to
depend not only on the adjective itself but also on the Noun it
modifies: the 'modification situation' (Waugh (1977:70 ff)) created
when certain adjectives combine with certain nouns is what seems to
make possible for a particular order to become rigid and for the NP
to be interpreted as a set phrase or compound. We shall return to
this point later.

III- Other Adjectives in Anteposition

In this case the categories in which the adjectives could fall cannot be easily identified. The large variety of lexical items which can be anteposed almost suggests that any class of adjectives may be preposed at that time (14th C).

(a) Subjective

Many of them are Value or Subjective adjectives.

(17) nobres fidalgos 'noble noblemen'

(18) fea cousa 'ugly thing'

(19) maa costalaçom 'bad luck'

(20) honrado rey 'honourable king'

b)Objective

Others are clearly objective in meaning but are used emphatically. Many sub-classes may be identified.

Age

(21) vedros cavaleiros 'old knights'

(22) antigos doutores 'old doctors'

Colour

(23) alvas lorigas 'white armour'

Physical Property

(24) frescos ramos 'fresh leaves'

(25) larga e espaçossa pramcha 'broad and spacious board'

(26) alta e clara voz 'loud and clear voice'

(27) fremoso batel 'beautiful boat'

Human Propensity

(28) leda vontade 'joyful will'

3.2. 15th C texts

Both the fifteenth century texts show a high percentage of anteposed adjectives, namely 82% for PMH II and the same value for DD.

In PMH II 50% of the 82% falls on two adjectives: BÕO (15%) and GRANDE (35%). 97% of GRANDE occurs in Anteposition, only 3% being left to Postposition. BOO is 100% in Anteposition. There are still 20 different lexical items in Anteposition, ie., 50% of the total of A.

In DD BOO and GRANDE take 73% of the total of A: 48% falls on BÕO and 25% on GRANDE. This adjective occurs 100% in A and a statistically meaningless 2% of BOO is postposed to the noun. The remaining 27% is distributed over 18 different adjectives (see Fig. 2).

It must be mentioned that although a large percentage of A is represented by these two adjectives, Anteposition is not at all restricted to them: several different lexical items can also be preposed (see Fig. 2).

We proceed now to discuss the individual occurrences of BOO and GRANDE, trying, whenever possible, to classify them roughly as belonging to a Subjective or Objective class of adjectives. Whenever adequate, existence of some sub-classes under these two general labels will be also distinguished. Other adjectives in Anteposition will also be analysed.

15th CENTURY

| | TOTAL | ANTEPOSITION | GRANDE | BOM | B&G EXCLUDED |

PMH II

TOTAL:
A
102/124 82%
P
22/124 18%

ANTEPOSITION:
grande
36/102 35%
bom
15/102 15%
20 o.l.l.
51/102 50%

GRANDE:
A
36/37 97%
P.1/37 3%

BOM:
A
15/15 100%

B&G EXCLUDED:
A
51/73 70%
P
22/73 30%

DD

TOTAL:
A
124/151 82%
P
27/151 18%

ANTEPOSITION:
grande
31/124 25%
bom
60/124 48%
18 o.l.l.
33/124 27%

GRANDE:
A
31/31 100%

BOM:
A
60/61 98%
P.1/61 2%

B&G EXCLUDED:
A
33/60 55%
P
27/60 45%
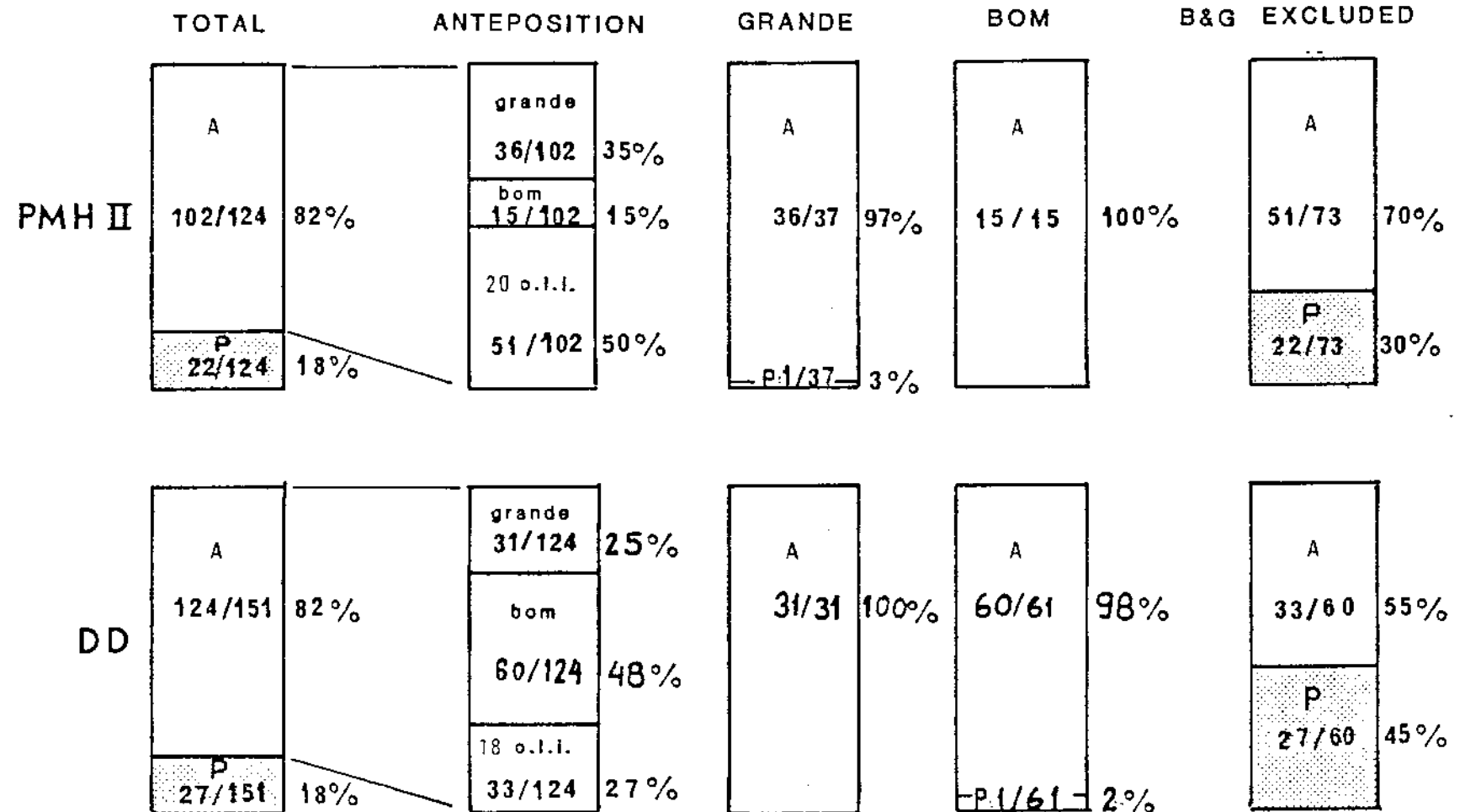
FIGURE 2

42

(I) BÕÕ

a) Anteposed

Subjective

When preposed this adjective can be classified as Subjective. It modifies any type of noun either [+human], as in BÕÕS CAVALGADORES 'good/great riders', or [-human] as in BOAS ESPERIENCIAS 'good/great experiences'. This preposed BÕÕ is employed in a laudatory and emphatic way, which has already been seen in the 14th C texts. All these NPs have a laudatory connotation:

(29) boas bestas 'good/great horses'

(30) bõõ remedio 'good/great medicine'

(31) boa ajuda 'good/great help'

(32) bõõs começos 'good/great beginings'

Set Phrases

Some cases of BÕÕ in Anteposition do not have this emphatic sense. On the contrary, they seem to be completely empty of any emphasis. Cases like BOA VIDA 'good and easy life', BÕÕ VINHO 'good wine' are understood like set phrases or compounds, in which the adjective seems to have lost its specific meaning (if any) and is interpreted as part of the noun. The same is true of BOA VONTADE 'good will'. We shall return to this point later.

(b) Postposed

BÕÕ occurs in Postposition only once: COUSAS BOAS 'good things'. Its meaning is non emphatic in this case, but simply restrictive.

(II) GRANDE

43

As noted for the fourteenth century, in the fifteenth century texts the preposed GRANDE also conveys a meaning which depends largely on the meaning of the referent of the noun it modifies. In all cases GRANDE is used in a sort of laudatory register as if the 'bigness' expressed were emphasized, it being a metaphorical 'bigness' or not, depending on the noun. Thus, when preposed to a noun like ONRRA 'honour', GRANDE is a simple Subjective adjective as it modifies a noun which accepts a kind of gradation in its meaning: ONRRA may be 'big' or 'small' in a figurative sense. Then, GRANDE ONRRA 'great honour'; GRANDE PODER 'great power'; GRANDE TEMOR 'big/deep fears; GRANDE PEZAR 'great, deep sorrow' must be differentiated or opposed to GRANDE BATALHA 'big and great battle'; GRANDE PELEJA 'big and great fight'; GRAM CAVALARIA 'big and great cavalry', which even being used in an emphatic meaning show also clearly a dimensional meaning. We suppose that features of the noun determine this dimensional connotation. In these cases the 'bigness' is not figurative at all.

(a) Anteposed

Subjective meaning

(33) GRANDE PEZAR 'deep sorrow'

(34) GRANDE PRINCIPE 'great prince'

(35) GRANDE ORGULHO 'great pride'

Subjective and Dimensional meaning

(36) GRANDE MORTANDADE 'very big slaughter'[6]

(37) GRANDES CAMPANHAS 'very big battles'

(38) GRANDE PERIGO 'very big danger'

(39) GRANDE DANO 'very big damage'

(b) Postposed

GRANDE occurs in Postposition twice in PMH II and is accompanied by MUITO 'much', which intensifies the 'bigness' of the concept expressed by the noun. Thus in HUMA BATALHA MUITO GRANDE means 'a battle which takes very long or which is very big'. The presence of an intensifier would not be necessary if GRANDE were placed before the noun: its anteposition would be enough to express 'how big', or 'how long' the battle is.

(III) Other adjectives in Anteposition

Most of them are used emphatically but have also a basic meaning which can be classified as follows:

(a) Subjective (Value)

(40) nobre rei 'noble and great king'

(41) leal cidade 'loyal and great city'

(42) virtuosa cruz 'virtuous and great cross'

(43) vãã gloria 'worthless glory'

(b) Objective

Physical Property

(44) infiinda multidom 'huge crowd'

(45) curtas estrebeiras 'small stirrup'

Human Propensity

(46) fraca disposição 'weak disposition'

(47) desordenada vontade 'disordered will'

45

(48) bolto cavalgador 'good and trained knight'

3.3. 16th century texts

The first text of the sixteenth century (PVC) shows a relatively low percentage of Anteposition (31%), if compared to the values of the previous texts, ie., 63%; 89%, 82% and 82%. Nevertheless within Anteposition itself the use of BÕÕ and GRANDE is still predominant: 69% of A is divided between these two forms: 44% falls on BÕÕ and 25% on GRANDE. The remaining of A is distributed into another 9 different adjectives (see Fig. 3).

In the other text (CJ) 65% of the adjectives is in Anteposition. 60% of the total of A falls on GRANDE (44%) and BOO (16%). 40% is left to 14 other different adjectives (see Fig. 3). Their distribution into classes is as follows:

(1) BÕÕ

(a) Anteposed

Three uses of BÕÕ were distinguished:

Subjective meaning-used emphatically

(49) bõõs homẽẽs 'very good men'

(50) um bom filho 'a very good son'

(51) boas linguas 'very good words'

(52) bõõs custumes ' very good customs, habits'

Set Phrases or Compounds

(53) boa quantidade 'a good quantity'

(54) bõõs ares 'good, healthy air'

46

16th CENTURY

	TOTAL	ANTEPOSITION	GRANDE	BOM	B&G EXCLUDED

PVC

TOTAL:
A 36/118 31%
P 82/118 69%

ANTEPOSITION:
grande 9/36 25%
bom 16/36 44%
9 o.l.i. 11/36 31%

GRANDE:
A 9/14 64%
P 5/14 36%

BOM:
A 16/16 100%

B&G EXCLUDED:
A 11/93 12%
P 82/93 88%

CJ

TOTAL:
A 90/138 65%
P 48/138 35%

ANTEPOSITION:
grande 40/90 44%
bom 14/90 16%
14 o.l.i. 36/90 40%

GRANDE:
A 40/43 93%
P 3/43 7%

BOM:
A 14/14 100%

B&G EXCLUDED:
A 36/84 43%
P 48/84 57%
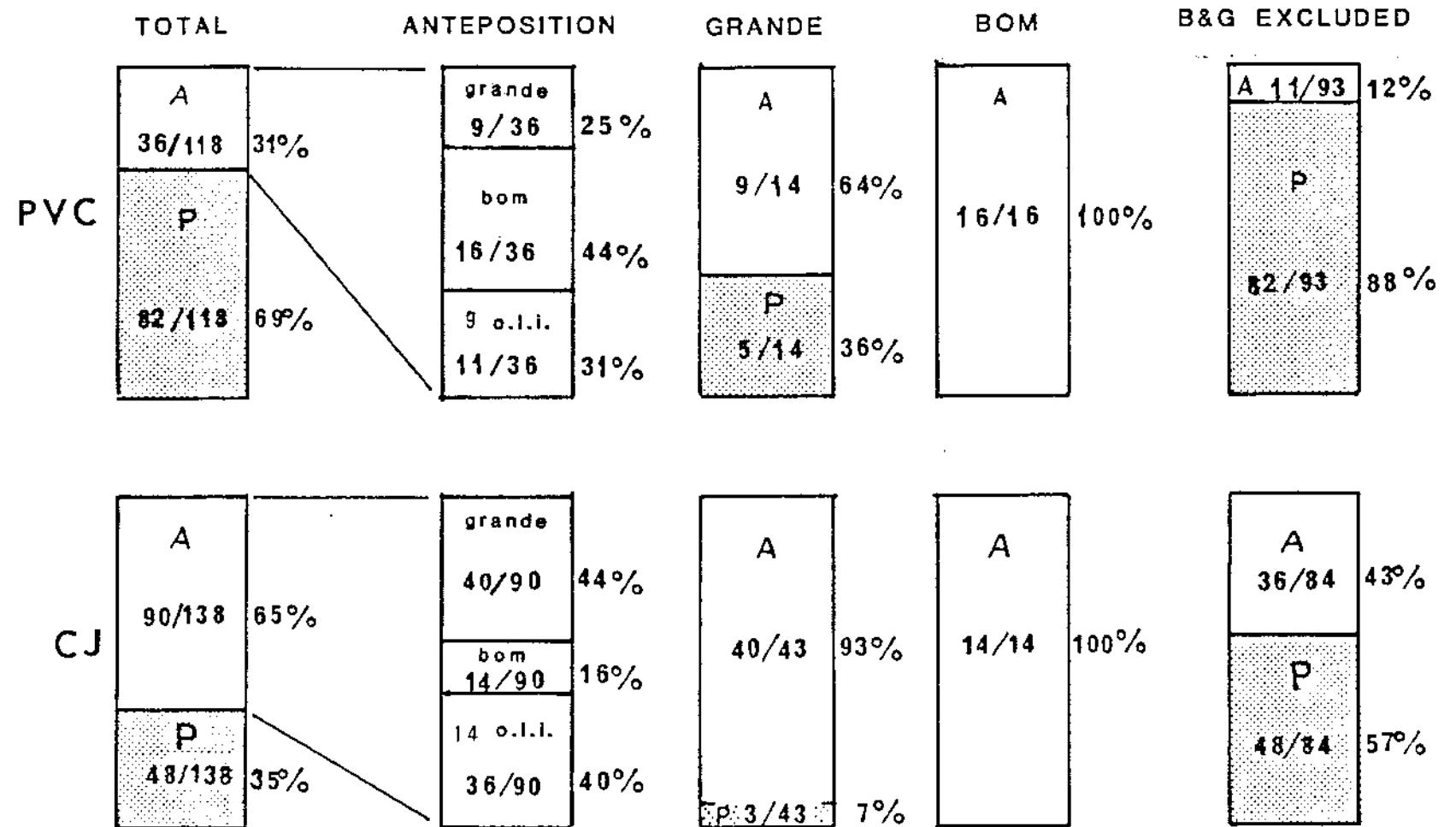
FIGURE 3

Objective

In these cases BOO seems to be more descriptive than subjective:

(55) bõõs corpos 'well built bodies'

(56) bõõs rrostros 'beautiful faces'

(56) bõõs narizes 'beautiful noses'

(II) GRANDE

Interesting to note that in PVC GRANDE expresses a material 'bigness' in all the cases as it modifies nouns which are 'physically measurable', although in an emphatic manner. In CJ both processes are found i.e., GRANDE referring to a 'material'bigness in really measurable nouns or denoting a figurative bigness.

a)Anteposed

Subjective and Dimensional

(57) grandes arvoredos 'very big bushes'

(58) grande monte 'very big mountain'

(59) grande camarã 'very big prawn'

(60) hũũ gram dedo polegar 'a very big thumb'

(61) grandes agoas 'large quantity of water'

Subjective

(62) grande pecado 'a serious sin'

(63) grandes desejos 'much desire'

48

(64) grande amor 'much love'

(65) grande musica 'beautiful music'

(b) Postposed

GRANDE occurs in Postposition as well (36% of its total occurrence
in PVC and 7% in CJ) with an objective connotation. The difference
between this use of GRANDE and the one under the label Subjective
and Dimensional above is the lack of emphasis which is
characteristic of the present case, but not of the previous one
adding to that the fact that in Postposition GRANDE has a
restrictive meaning. Emphatic GRANDE is translated here with the
preposing of an intensifier, as a way of showing the emphasis given
to the adjective in Anteposition. When it is restrictive, no adverb
is used in the translation. (66) rramal grande 'big leaves, foliage'

(67) hũa lagoa grande 'a big pond'

(68) hũũa armadura grande 'a big armour'

(69) hũũa ribeira grande 'a big stream'

(III) Other adjectives in Anteposition

Subjective (Value) -employed mostly with emphasis

(70) os pobres homens 'the unhappy, unlucky men'

(71) ma cousa 'very bad thing'

(72) prospera viagem 'successful journey'

Objective

Age

(73) nova cidade 'new town'

49

(74) novos convertidos 'recently converted'

Physical Property

(75) infindas maneiras 'infinite ways'

3.4. 17th C texts

The seventeenth century texts show both a high percentage of adjectives preposed to the nouns. GPR presents 64% of Anteposition. 39% of A is dedicated to GRANDE (13%) and BOM (26%) in GPR. The remaining 61% is distributed into 48 other adjectives.

CB shows 78% of the total of adjectives in Anteposition. 51% of A is divided into BÕÕ (30%) and GRANDE (21%). Another 12% is filled by MAIOR 'bigger'. The rest is distributed into 24 different adjectives (see Fig. 4). Their classification is as follows:

(I) BOM

a) Anteposed

Subjective (and emphatic)

(76) bom principio 'very good principle'

(77) bom moço   'nice guy'

(78) boa amizade   'close friendship'

Set Phrases or Compounds

(79) boa disposição 'good disposition'

(II) GRANDE

a) Anteposed

17th CENTURY

	TOTAL	ANTEPOSITION	GRANDE	BOM	B&G EXCLUDED

GPR

TOTAL:
A
96/150 64%
P
54/150 36%

ANTEPOSITION:
grande
12/96 13%
bom
25/96 26%
48 o.l.i.
59/96 61%

GRANDE:
A
12/12 100%

BOM:
A
25/25 100%

B&G EXCLUDED:
A
59/113 52%
P
54/113 48%

CB

TOTAL:
A
77/99 78%
P
22/99 22%

ANTEPOSITION:
grande
16/77 21%
bom
23/77 30%
25 o.l.i.
38/77 49%

GRANDE:
A
16/17 94%
P 1/17 6%

BOM:
A
23/23 100%

B&G EXCLUDED:
A
38/60 63%
P
22/60 37%

FIGURE 4

51
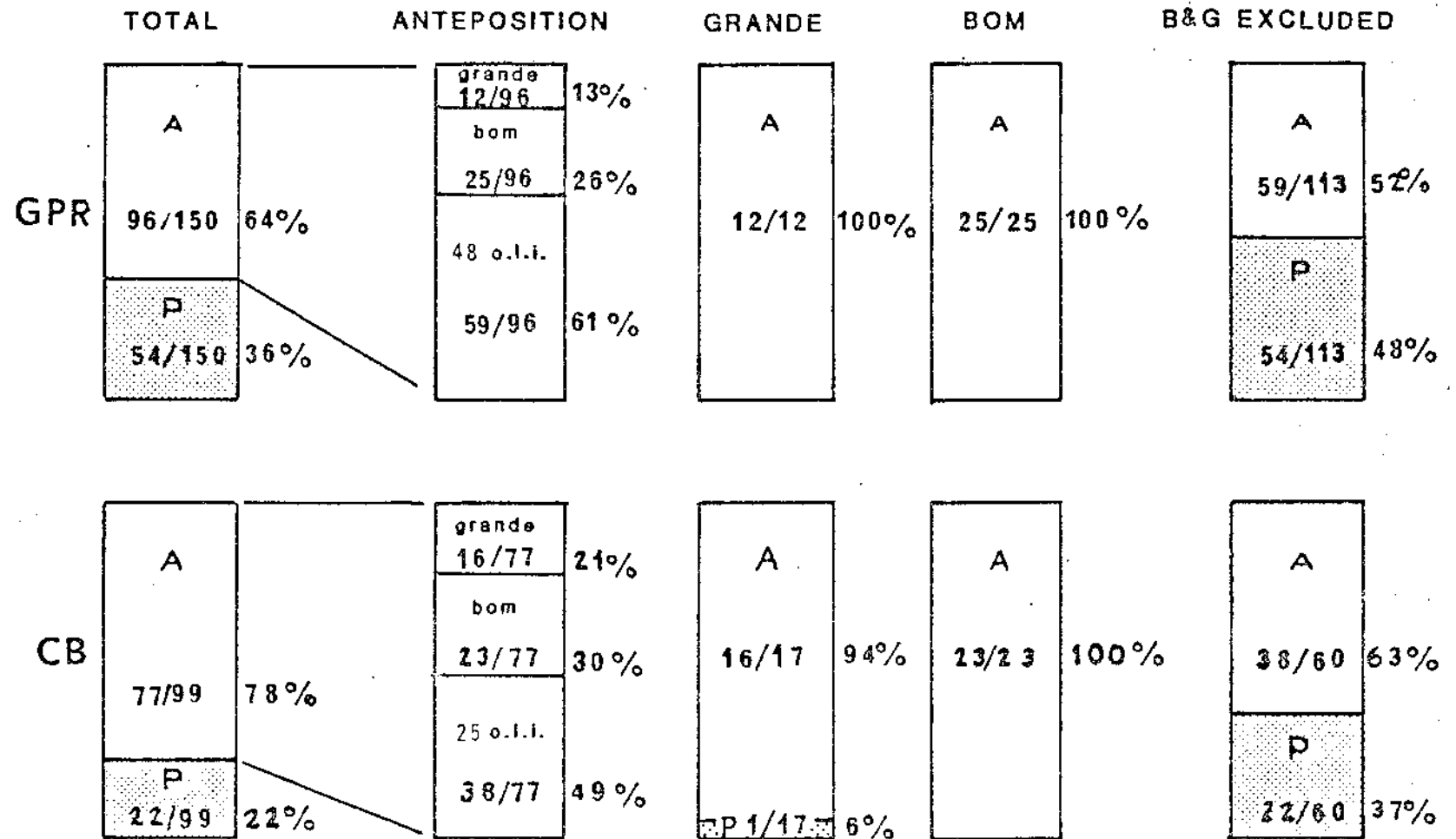
Subjective-in these cases it expresses a metaphorical bigness and is at the same time emphatic.

(80) grande cuidado 'much care'

(81) grande impaciencia 'very greatimpatience'

(82) grande penna 'deep sorrow'

b) Postposed

GRANDE occurs only once in Postposition. In addition to being restrictive, its meaning seems to be also emphatic.

(83) a penna grande 'the sorrow which is big'

One of the rare occurrences of a minimal pair (or a near-minimal pair) in the corpus studied is (82)/(83). As can be seen, there is no difference in the basic meaning of GRANDE in these two occurrences, as clarified by the respective contexts below.

(82)... e que me   da grande penna   verme   no risco
'(it) is-that-to me-(it)gives-deep-sorrow-to see myself-in the   risk

de não poder   eu livrarme delle
of-not-to be able-I-to get rid-myself-of him   (17th C.CB:40)

'It gives me deep sorrow to see myself in the situation of not being able to get rid of him...'

(83)... não me fica   mais que dizer senão segurarvos   da
'not-to me-(it)stays-more-that-to say-but-to assure you-of the

penna grande que tive...
sorrow -deep-that-(I)had...'(17th C, CB:64)

'There is nothing left for me to say but to assure you of the deep sorrow that I had...' This is not a case where the adjective shows a

different meaning according to its positioning before or after the noun, as in Modern Portuguese pairs such as HOMEM GRANDE 'big, tall man' and GRANDE HOMEM 'great man'; POBRE HOMEM 'unhappy man' and HOMEM POBRE 'poor man (not wealthy)'. It seems to be the case that it is not only certain adjectives that became fixed with a particular meaning before or after the Noun but that CERTAIN ADJECTIVES modifying CERTAIN NOUNS became a type of Compound Noun or Set Phrase.

The difference in meaning between (82) and (83) appear to be due only to the position of the adjective. As PENNA cannot be measured, (it can only be 'gradated'), it would be inadequate to say that it shows a dimensional meaning. It appears, from the Portuguese data discussed here, that the condition for Nouns+Adjectives being retained in Set Phrases, showing a difference in meaning, whether the adjective is placed before or after the noun, is that the noun+adjective fall in a 'modification' situation (Waugh (1977:70 ff)), in which the noun may be both 'measured' and 'gradated' in the way we have been discussing the Portuguese examples here. The 'fixing' of the adjective in either position, before or after the noun, would be a way of resolving the ambiguity: either the new syntagma has a meaning which can be gradated (Anteposition), or it has a meaning that can be 'measured' (Postposition). If this is correct, a noun like PENNA is unlikely to become trapped in oppositive Set Phrases like HOMEM GRANDE/GRANDE HOMEM, since it only bears a meaning passive of gradation but not of measurement.

Subjective

(84) amada irmã 'beloved sister'

(85) amorozas lembranças 'affectionate regards'

(86) formoso cavalo 'beautiful horse'

(87) mau marido 'bad husband'

(88) perfeito herói 'perfect hero'

53

Objective

Even showing an objective basic meaning they are used emphatically.

Physical Property

(89) altos edifícios 'very high buildings'

(90) caudaloso rio 'very long river'

(91) infinita bondade ' endless goodness'

(92) dobrado gosto 'double pleasure'

Colour

(93) encarnadas rosas 'dark red roses'

3.5 18th Century Texts

As can be seen in Fig.5 the two 18th century texts show contradictory values. The first of them NMP presents a high percentage of Anteposition: 72% and is in agreement with the general tendency of that time ie., of showing a predominance in Anteposition. The second text SMC shows surprisingly a very low percentage of A: 30%.

Despite this numerical discrepancy the data exhibit another fact which deserves attention: in both texts BOM and GRANDE play an insignificant role in the total of A. In NMP only 16% of A is devoted to GRANDE and 6% to BOM, the remaining 78% being distributed into 63 different adjectives. This is a remarkable fall in the role that BOM and GRANDE have been playing in the total of A in the preceding texts. Until the seventeenth century those values were' in a range between 39% and 69%. They fall sharply in the eighteenth century when only 21% of A is covered by GRANDE and BOM.

18th CENTURY

TOTAL ANTEPOSITION GRANDE BOM B&G EXCLUDED

NMP

A		grande 17/105 16%
105/145 72%		bom 6/105 6%
		64 o.i.i.
		82/105 78%
P 40/145 28%		

GRANDE: A 17/17 100%

BOM: A 6/6 100%

B&G EXCLUDED: A 82/122 67% / P 40/122 33%

SMC

A 44/150 30%		grande 4/44 9%
P		bom 5/44 11%
		33 o.i.i.
106/150 70%		35/44 80%

GRANDE: A 4/4 100%

BOM: A 5/5 100%

B&G EXCLUDED: A 35/141 25% / P 106/141 75%
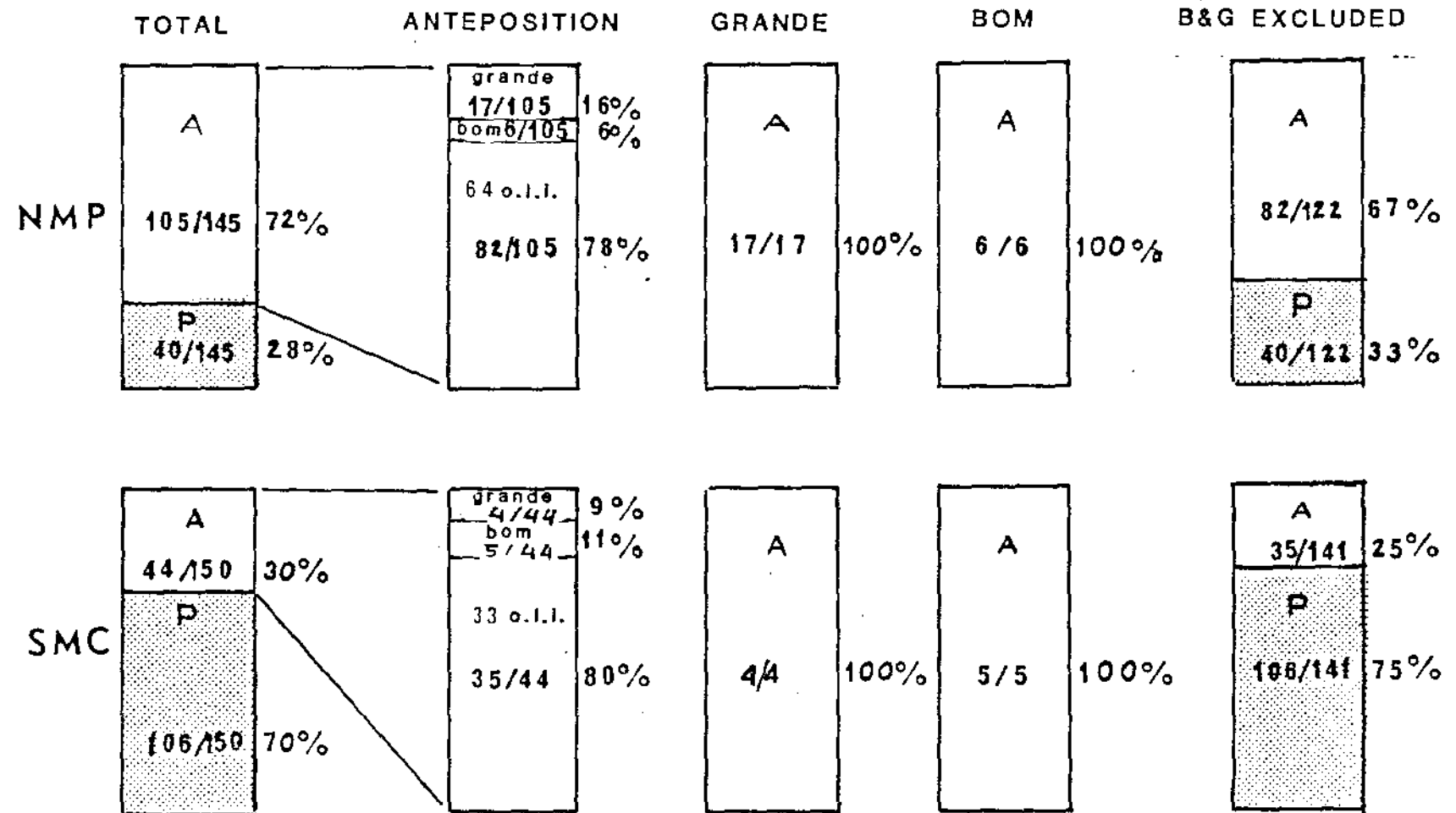
FIGURE 5

55

In SMC the same applies: altough A itself is low (30%) only 20% of it is dedicated to BOM (11%) and GRANDE (9%). (80%) of the total of A is distributed into 33 other adjectives (see Fig.5). Their classification is as follows:

(1) BOM

a) Anteposed

Subjective

(94) bom sucesso 'great success'

(95) boa religiosa 'good religious (nun)'

(96) bom tempero 'good seasoning'

Compounds or Set Phrases

(97) boa companhia 'good companionship'

(98) bom humor 'good temper'

(99) boa vontade 'good will'

GRANDE

Subjective

In both texts anteposed GRANDE is employed in an emphatic manner and expresses a metaphorical 'bigness':

(100) grande perigo 'very big danger'

(101) grande monarca 'great monarch'

(102) grande negócio 'great,profitable business'

(103) grande atenção 'much attention'

(104) grande semelhança 'much similarity'

GRANDE ATENÇÃO and GRANDE SEMELHANÇA must be translated by using 'much' to keep the original meaning. It seems to be a case of a Noun that can be 'gradated' as discussed above. In Modern Portuguese GRANDE ATENÇÃO and GRANDE SEMELHANÇA convey the same meaning as MUITA ATENÇÃO or MUITA SEMELHANÇA, with the adverb MUITO 'much'.

Other adjectives in Anteposition

Subjective

(105) alegres dias 'very happy days'

(106) galhardo talhe 'very smart posture'

(107) generosos portugueses 'very generous portuguese'

(108) bela ninfa 'very beautiful nymph'

Objective

Physical Property

(109) fino ouro ' fine gold'

(110) delgadissima casa 'very narrowhouse'

(111) opulentos pratos 'opulent dishes'

(112) abundantes restos 'copious rests'

Human Propensity

(113) invejosa fortuna 'envious luck'

3.6. 19th Century Texts

The two texts from the nineteenth century display a low percentage of A. PV presents 37% of A and EQ 31%. Nearly as for the eighteenth century texts, BOM and GRANDE do not play a role as prominent in the total of A, namely 31% in PV and 23% in EQ/. Lexical items other than BOM and GRANDE occupy an important place in A in both texts: 69% of A is distributed into 28 varied adjectives in PV and 77% of A is divided into 32 adjectives in EQ. Even excluding BOM and GRANDE A still remains low: 29% and 26%, respectively (see Fig.6). Their classification is as follows:

(1) BOM

a)Anteposed

Subjective

It expresses a subjective meaning which depends on the context and on the Noun it modifies.

(114) bom trabalho 'good work'

(115) bom servidor 'good servant'

(116) boas roupas 'good clothes'

Compounds or Set Phrases

(117) bom rapaz 'good guy'

(118) boa saúde 'good health'

(119) boa medida 'good measure (decision)

19th CENTURY

| TOTAL | ANTEPOSITION | GRANDE | BOM | B&G EXCLUDED |

P V

TOTAL:
A — 53/140 37%
P — 87/140 63%

ANTEPOSITION:
grande 8/53 15%
bom 9/53 16%
28 o.l.l.
36/53 69%

GRANDE: A — 8/8 100%

BOM: A — 9/9 100%

B&G EXCLUDED:
A — 36/123 29%
P — 87/123 71%

E Q

TOTAL:
A — 71/224 31%
P — 153/224 69%

ANTEPOSITION:
grande 9/71 13%
bom 7/71 10%
32 o.l.l.
55/71 77%

GRANDE: A — 9/9 100%

BOM: A — 7/7 100%

B&G EXCLUDED:
A — 55/208 26%
P — 153/208 74%
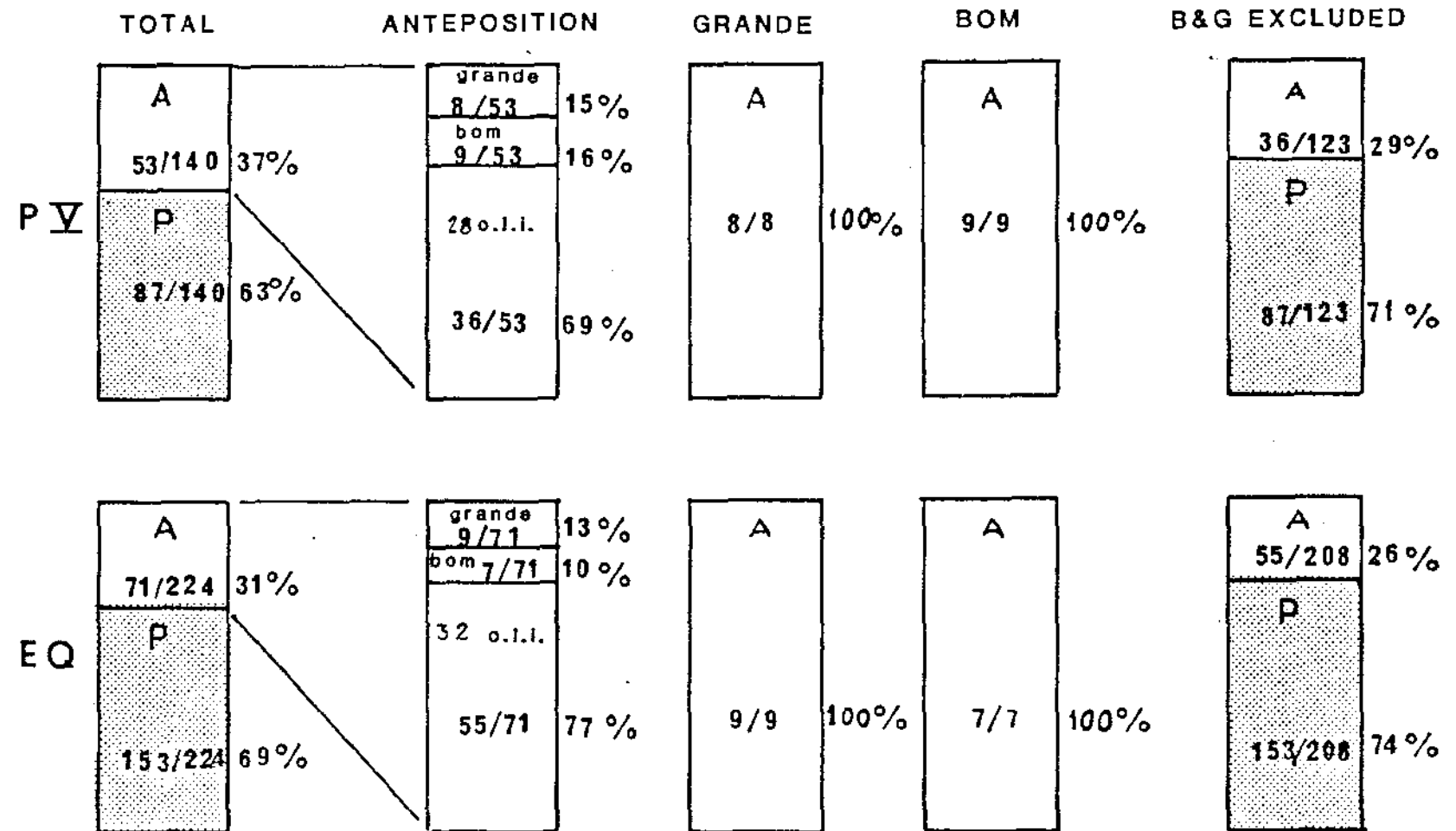
FIGURE 6

(11) GRANDE

Subjective

The majority of occurrences of GRANDE expresses a metaphorical 'bigness' added to the emphasis peculiar to Anteposition.

(120) grande respeito 'great respect'

(121) grande contentamento 'great contentment'

(122) grande benefício 'great benefit'

(123) grande economia 'great economy'

Objective

GRANDE meaning a 'material bigness' occurred only once. It is also emphatic.

(124) grande nariz 'very big nose'

Compounds or Set Phrases

(125) grande parte 'major part'

(126) grandes demoras 'long delays'

Other adjectives in Anteposition

Subjective

(127) desejado momento 'wished-for moment'

(128) desgraçado Macedo 'unlucky Macedo'

(130) belo rapagão 'handsome big guy'

Objective

Physical Property

(131) pequeno egoísmo 'very little selfishness'

(132) duro monte 'hard mountain'

Age

(133) pronta resolução 'prompt resolution'

(134) novas armas 'new weapons'

(134) actual sistema 'present system'

Colour

(135) negro caminho 'dark way'

(136) negras paredes 'dark walls'

Set Phrases or Compounds

(137) má fé 'bad faith'

(138) belo negócio 'good business'

3.7. 20th Century Texts

Anteposition is low in both twentieth century texts: 23% in IP and 18% in FG. BOM and GRANDE are not registered in FG: 23 varied adjectives are combined in 27 tokens. In IPMH only 6% of the total of A lies on GRANDE. BOM does not occur. The remaining 94% is divided into 34 other adjectives (see Fig. 7).

(I) GRANDE

20th CENTURY

FIGURE 7

62

TOTAL ANTEPOSITION GRANDE   B&G EXCLUDED

IPMH

A 66/292	23 %
P 226/292	77%

grande 4/66 6%

34 o.l.i.

62/66 94 %

A

4/4 100 %

A 62/288 22%

P 226/288 78%

FG

A 27/150	18 %
P 123/150	82%

23 differen l.i.

27/27 100 %
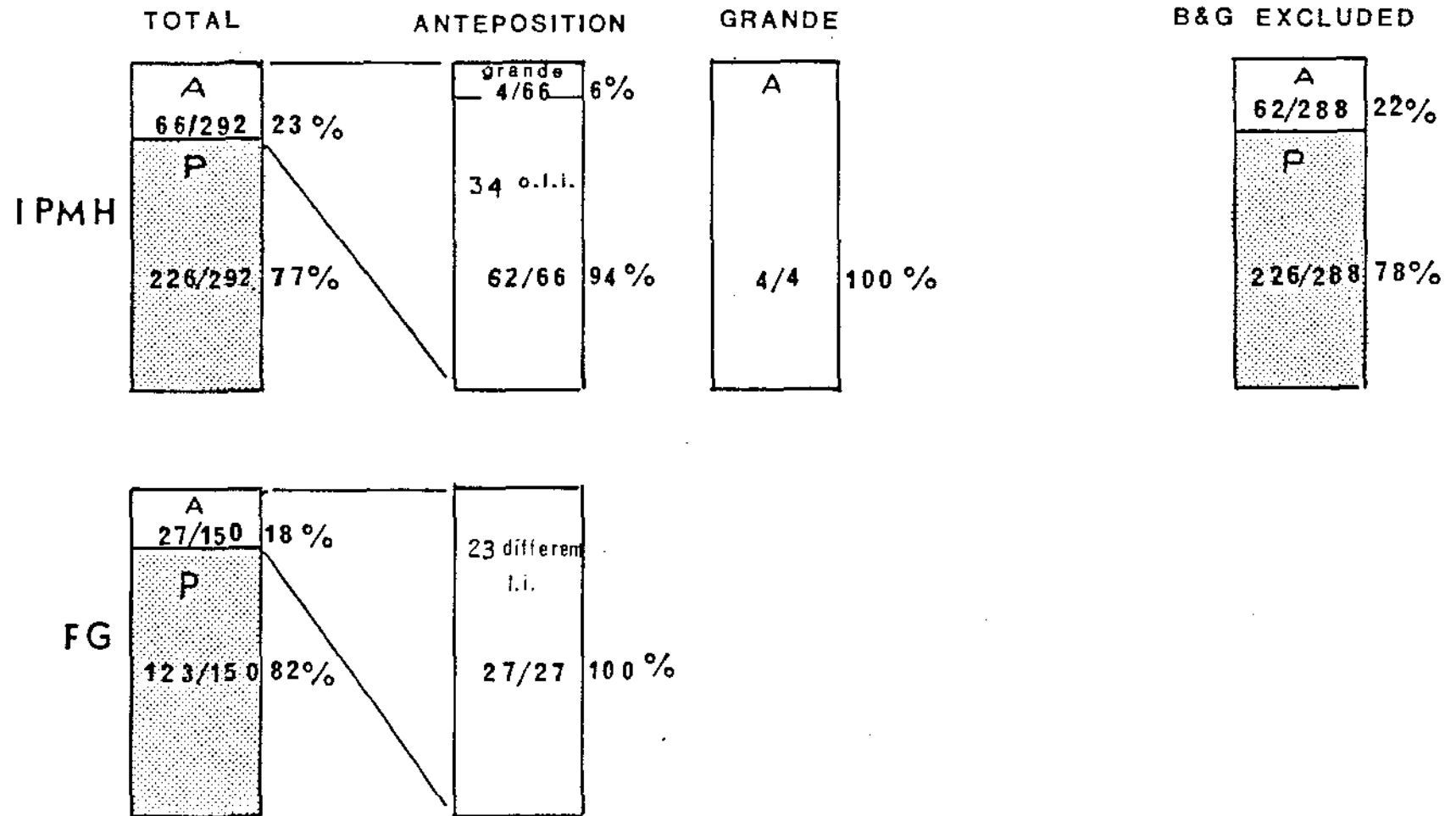
Subjective

(138) grande vantagem 'great advantage'

(139) grande quantidade 'large quantity'

(140) grande interesse 'great interest'

Other adjectives in Anteposition

Subjective

(141) belo dia 'beautiful day'

(142) feliz cochilo 'opportune nap'

Objective

Age

(143) eterna primavera 'eternal spring'

(144) novo trecho 'new part'

Physical Property

(145) pequena multidão 'small crowd'

(146) enorme esforço 'enormous effort'

(147) abundantes rubricas 'copious signatures'

CENTURY   **14**th   **15**th   **16**th   **17**th   **18**th   **19**th   **20**th

Total

%A | 63 | 89 | 82 | 82 | 31 | 65 | 64 | 78 | 72 | 30 | 37 | 31 | 23 | 18

%P | 37 | 11 | 18 | 18 | 69 | 35 | 36 | 22 | 28 | 70 | 63 | 69 | 77 | 82

distribution in A

%grande | 36 | 25 | 35 | 25 | 25 | 44 | 13 | 21 | 16 | 9 | 15 | 13 | 6 |

%bom | 22 | 17 | 15 | 48 | 44 | 16 | 26 | 30 | 6 | 11 | 16 | 10 | 94 | 100

%o.l.i. | 42 | 58 | 50 | 27 | 31 | 40 | 61 | 49 | 78 | 80 | 69 | 77 |

B & G excluded

%A | 42 | 83 | 70 | 55 | 12 | 43 | 52 | 63 | 67 | 25 | 29 | 26 | 22 | 18

%P | 58 | 17 | 30 | 45 | 88 | 57 | 48 | 37 | 33 | 75 | 71 | 74 | 78 | 82

FIGURE 8

64
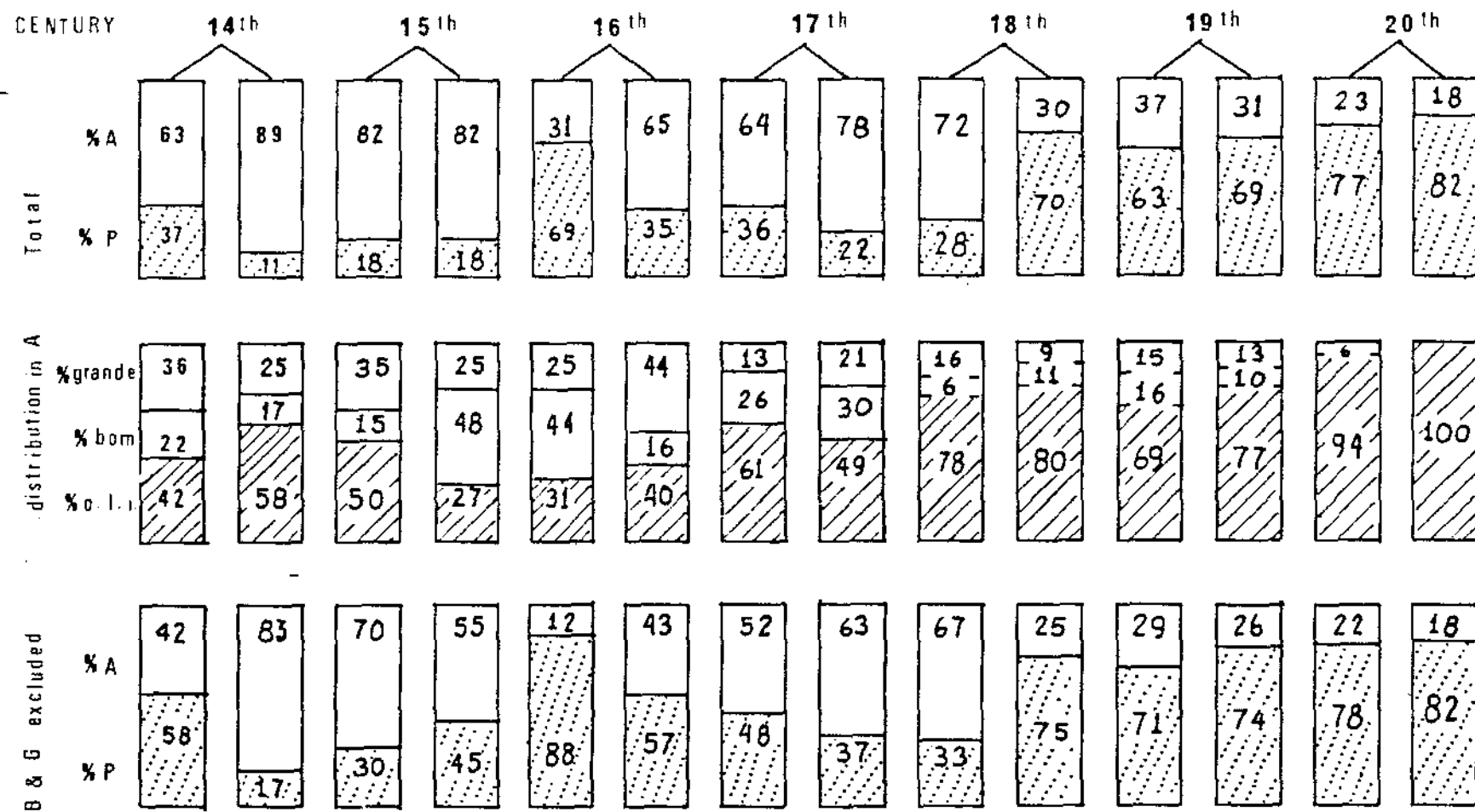
4. Discussion

In this section the quantitative analysis developed in section 3 will be discussed. This analysis shows a progressive decrease in the use of Anteposition of adjectives since ca. the 14th C and suggests a complementary increase in Postposition of adjectives throughout the history of Portuguese.

In qualitative terms, some striking aspects of the adjective behaviour, such as the prominent frequency of use of two Adjectives, namely BOM and GRANDE, have indicated the path to be followed.

4.1. Quantitative Analysis

The analysis of the data in terms of frequency of occurrence shows a general trend towards decrease in Anteposition (A), and a complementary increase in Postposition (P), in this period between the 14th and 20th century (see Fig.9). The linear regression analysis of Anteposition as function of Time shows an average decrease of about 55% over the period analysed (appr. 620 years), ie. 9% per century. The values fall from high rates such as 63%-89% in the 14 th C to values as low as 18%-23% in the 20 th C. The general trend is towards decrease in A.[8]

It is nevertheless around the 18th C that Anteposition sharply falls. Although relatively stable up to that time, A falls abruptly in the 18th C: from 72% (NMP) to 30% (SMC). Two different groups can be identified: one group in which the rates of A are high, which goes up to the 18th C; another one in which A shows a low rate, starting around the 18th C and extending up to the 20th C. The 18th C texts show contradictory values: NMP 72% is in keeping with the general tendency of high A shown by the texts up to this time (despite C 16 30% !), but SMC already displays a low rate of 30% of A, which is in agreement with the 'new' tendency of low rate of Anteposition. It seems to be a transitional stage between the two periods. The 19th/20th C texts show low rates of Anteposition too, namely, PV 37%, EQ 31% in C 19; IP 23% , GB 18% in C 20.
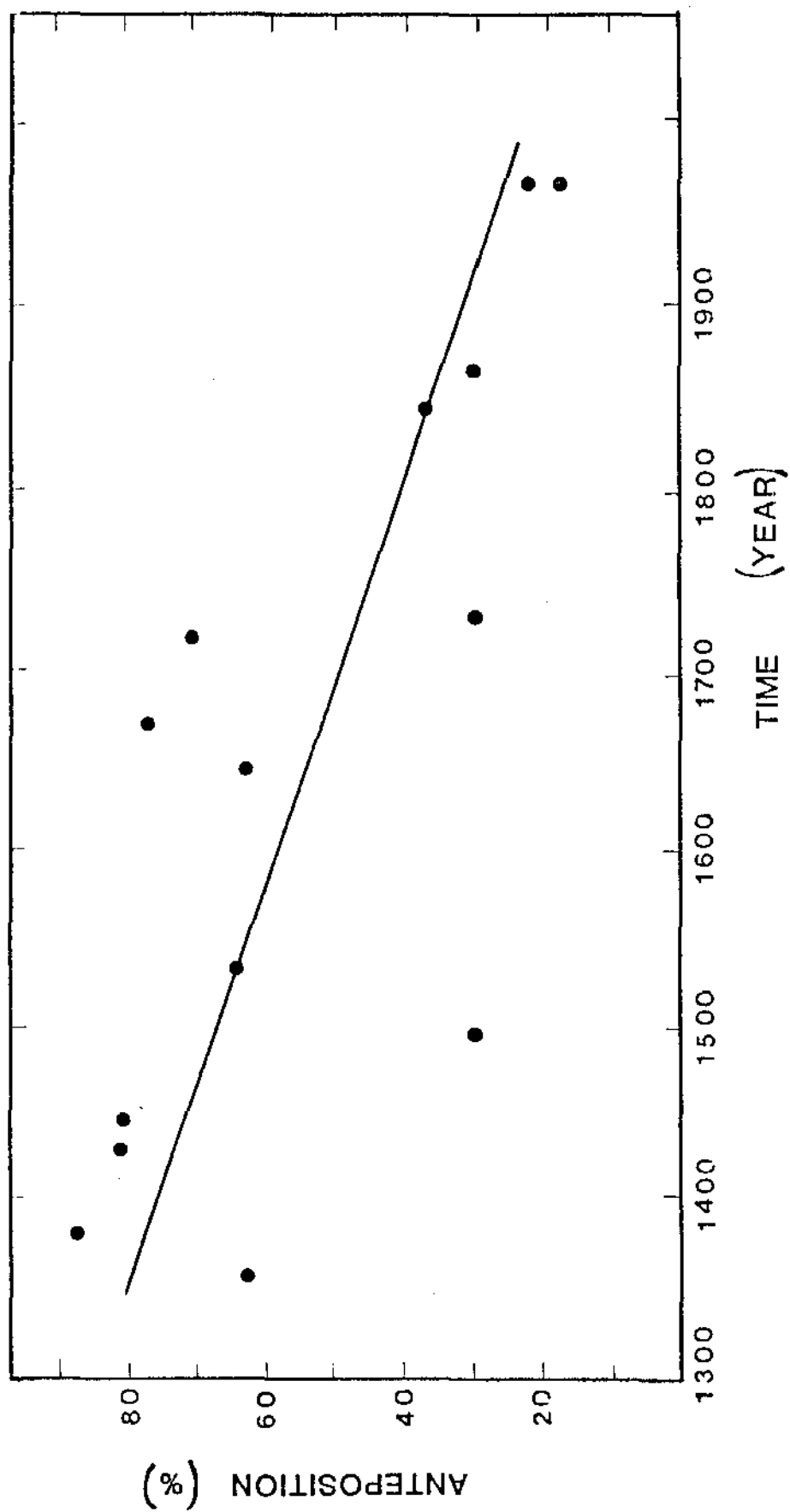
FIGURE 9

GRANDE and BOM occur in very high frequency in Anteposition (see histograms for precise values) until the 18th C texts. For example, in FL, 14th C A is at its highest: 89%. If A is magnified one sees that 42% of it is divided only into these two adjectives, namely 25% of BOM and 17% of GRANDE. The remaining of A, ie. 58% is distributed among 66 other adjectives; in the 16th C CJ has 65% of the total of adjectives in A, 60% of which falls on BOM (16%) and GRANDE (44%). From the 18th C the frequency of recurrence of BOM & GRANDE drops (see also Fig. 10).

The high frequency of these two adjectives and the high frequency of A appear to indicate that a correlation holds between the massive use of these two adjectives and A itself. In addition, the fall of A is concomitant with the decrease in the frequency of these two adjectives. The exclusion of these repetitive elements from A does not seem to alter the general trend of decrease in Anteposition, however (see histograms and Fig. 11) . After excluding the recurrent ones, the general trend still shows a gradual decrease.

Nevertheless, an examination of the use of GRANDE and BOM shows that in quantitative terms their decrease appears to be more even or more stable than the general tendency of decrease in A, as there are no contradictory values: before the 18th C their frequency is high (39% to 69%) , after that time their frequency is low: the highest percentage reached is 31% in the case of BOM & GRANDE.

As regards the general trend, PVC in the 16th C is at odds with the tendency of the time because it shows a relatively low percentage of A, namely 31%, when the average percentage was around 80%. The use of BOM & GRANDE in the same text however, keeps the same proportion shown by other texts by that time. CJ from the same century, for example, shows 65% A, of which 60% is dedicated to BOM and GRANDE. Although low in Anteposition (only 31%), in PVC 69% of A lies on these two lexical items. Even in a descriptive text such as PVC, in which not much use is made of preposed adjectives, BOM & GRANDE almost monopolize Anteposition.

67

15th C.

(P.M.H.II)

grande

35% = 36 / 102

bom

15% = 15 / 102

nobre

10% = 10 / 102

20 o.l.i.

40% = 41 / 102

50%

19th C.

(Eça de Queiroz)

grande

13% = 9 / 71

bom

10% = 7 / 71

alto

7% = 5 / 71

31 o.l.i.

70% = 50 / 71

23%
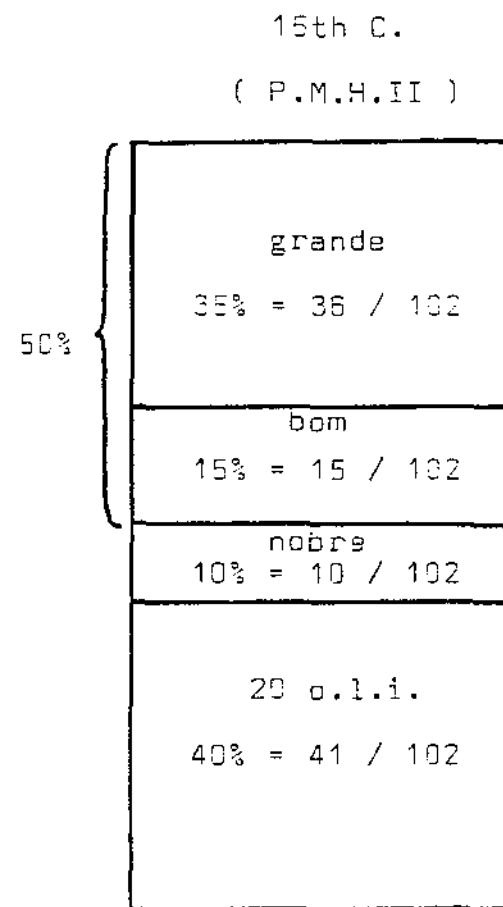
A=82% = $\frac{102 \text{ anteposition}}{124 \text{ occurrences}}$

A=31% = $\frac{71 \text{ anteposition}}{224 \text{ occurrences}}$

o.l.i. = other lexical items

FIGURE 10

68
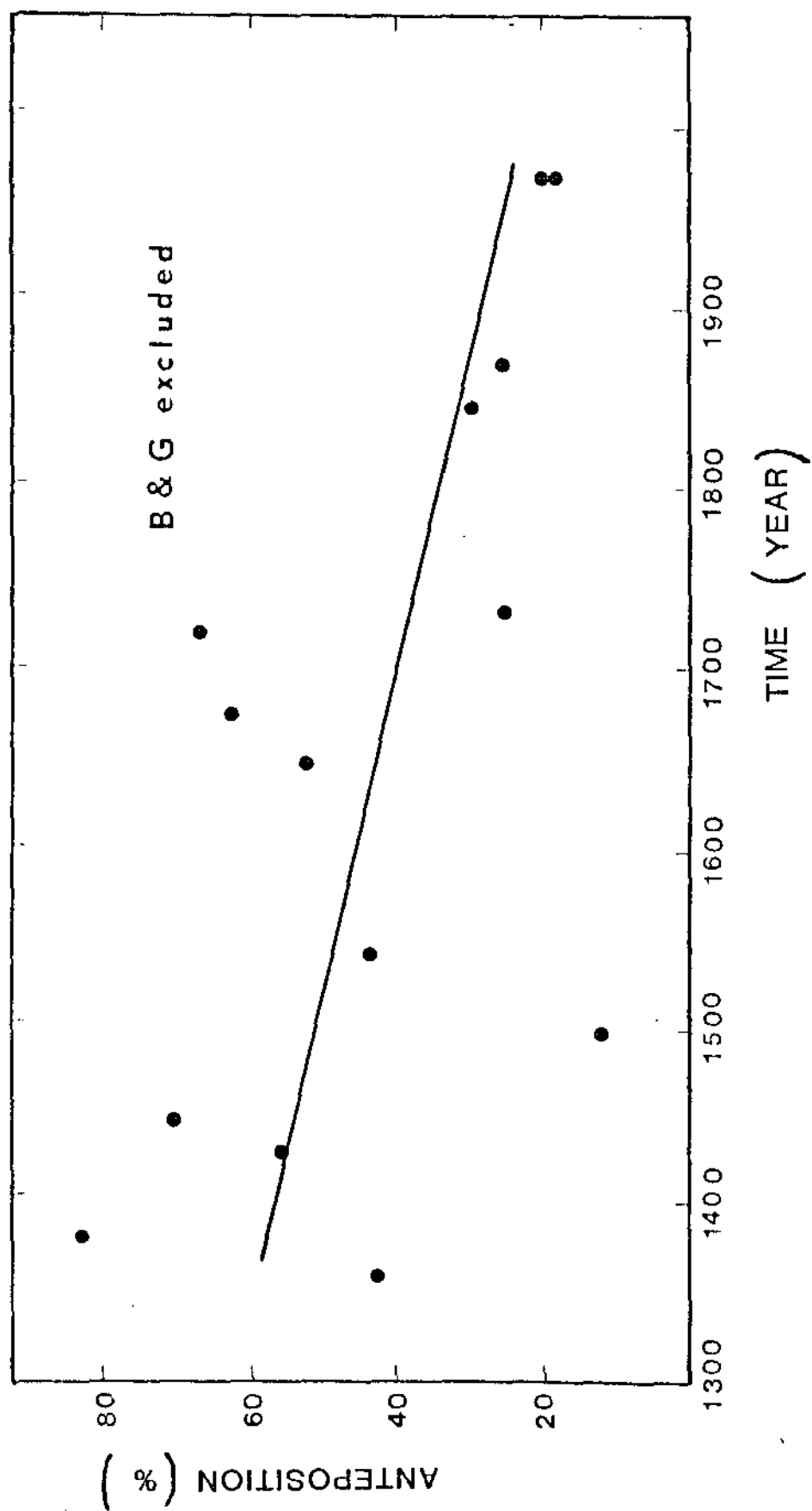
FIGURE 11

Another text which shows contradictory values is NMP, from the 18th C. It has high rate of A, namely 72% but BOM & GRANDE are not prominent within A itself. Only 22% of the total of A lies on these two lexical items; 78% of A falls on other adjectives. This text appears to show a mixture of patterns: Anteposition as a whole is as high as in the earlier texts and seems to be in agreement with the general trend of high A, typical of the earlier periods (14th C→18th C); BOM & GRANDE don't play any important role in it, however, as one would have expected. It does not conform to the pattern of older periods of the language which seems to be 'High Anteposition & High frequency of BOM & GRANDE'. It shows 'High Anteposition ' but low frequency of these two adjectives. Low rate of frequency of BOM & GRANDE is a characteristic of the 'new' period.

It seems that after the 18th C a 'new' pattern of low Anteposition & low use of BOM & GRANDE has emerged.

As a consequence of the disuse of GRANDE & BOM other lexical items seem to have taken over their place. It has been shown previously that although BOM & GRANDE were dominant in Anteposition up to the 18th C texts, lexical items other than these two could also be preposed (see histograms). With the decrease in the use of these two adjectives after the 18th C texts, Anteposition is left to the other set of adjectives. In the 19th C PV, for example, 69% of A is distributed into 28 different adjectives and in EQ 77% of A is divided into 32 different lexical items (see histograms). In one of the 20th C texts not even one occurrence of BOM is registered although GRANDE is retained in Set Phrases. Anteposition is left to any class of adjectives.

In quantitative terms it is clear that there is a sharp decrease in the use of BOM & GRANDE around the 18th C texts. Despite the correlation which seems to be held between Anteposition and the use of these two adjectives, ie. when A falls their use also decreases, it is not clear how their recurrent use could have influenced the general tendency of decrease in Anteposition and increase in Postposition shown by the present data.

70

4.2. Qualitative Analysis

The previous quantitative analysis has left the suggestion that the frequent recurrence in texts of BOM & GRANDE played a role in the change that appears to have occurred in Anteposition. In an attempt to find out how this could have influenced the pattern shown by our graphs, ie. of decrease in A, the classification into semantic types of the adjectives occurring (section 3) in our data will be taken up. All the classes of adjectives found in the present texts are summarized in Table 1.

In this section the term 'subjective' used in section 3 will only refer to the occurrences of BOM & GRANDE with subjective meaning. Other adjectives, although showing a subjective meaning, will be termed 'value' adjectives, after Dixon (1977). In all the texts 'subjective' and/or 'value' adjectives occur preposed to the Noun (see Table 1). Actually, the very preposing of any adjective attributes a subjective connotation to it. However the recognition of classes of adjectives within Anteposition seems to be relevant because, as already shown, some classes of adjectives (such as Denominals) cannot be anteposed to the Noun in Modern Portuguese.

The identification of these classes is not straightforward, however. Sometimes the identification of classes such as Dixon's Human Propensity and Value is not so clear. An adjective such as ALEGRE 'glad, happy ', for example, would properly be classified under Human Propensity, as far as 'gaiety/happiness' seems to apply basically to humans. Nevertheless, to say that ALEGRES in ALEGRES PAREDES (20th C) 'glad walls'   belongs to the Human Propensity class is at least odd. The same is true of GENEROSAS in GENEROSAS QUANTIAS DE DINHEIRO (20th C) 'generous amount of money'. Therefore, the classification of the Portuguese adjectives has been made cautiously, since the preposing of an adjective seems to alter its relation with the Noun, and appears to entail different connotations in the same basic meaning.

As can be seen from Table 1 and section 3, BOM & GRANDE carry in every text a 'subjective' meaning. In order to understand better

71

TABLE 1

Classes of Adjectives

century \ adj.	14th C	15th C	16th C	17th C
GRANDE	Dimension Subjective	Dimension Subjective	Dimension Subjective	Subjective
BOM	Subjective	Subjective Set Phrases	Subjective Set Phrases Objective	Subjective Set Phr.
Other adj.	Value Objective: Age Hum. Prop. Phys. Prop. Colour	Value Objective: Phys. Prop. Hum. Prop.	Value Objective: Age	Value Objective: Phys. Pr. Colour

century \ adj.	18th C	19th C	20th C
GRANDE	Subjective	Dimension Subjective Set Phrases	Subjective
BOM	Subjective Set Phrases	Subjective Set Phrases	---------
Other adj.	Value Objective: Phys Prop. Hum. Prop.	Value Objective: Phys. Prop. Age Dimension Colour Set Phrases	Value Objective: Phys. Prop. Age

72

this notion 'subjective' it is worth calling up the explanation Dixon (1977) gave for a similar class of adjectives ie., the 'Value' class.

Ordering the adjectives within the English NP Dixon mentions that Value adjectives must come before all other adjectives in a possible string of coordinate adjectives in English. Thus in a good strong box, good is in the correct position placed before strong and in good new fast car it is also well placed before new and fast. "Thus a good new fast car is a new car which is fast and in virtue of this good" and " a good strong box is a box which is good because it is strong. It is still possible to have good describing box without the inclusion of any other adjective. But a 'good box' is not an object which is good because it is a box. Rather the phrase a good box is vague being essentially an elliptical version of good for X where X ranges over all those properties for which it could be considered good by speaker and hearer ('good because it is strong, good because it is long, and so on). It is as if in 'a good box' good effectively qualifies some implicit non-value adjective, which itself qualifies box(...) Of course in normal usage the vagueness is likely to be resolved by the context (Dixon, 1977:39).

The same seems to be valid for BOM & GRANDE used as 'subjective' or 'value' adjectives in the present texts. Whenever BOM & GRANDE are 'subjective' their meaning is determined not only by the specific lexical meaning of the adjective itself and of the Noun it modifies but also by some 'qualities' which are implicit in the context. So in BÕÕ REMEDIO (15th C) 'very good medicine' REMEDIO is not BOM because it is a medicine, but because it has other properties for which it could be considered good: effective, tasty etc. The same seems to be valid for BÕÕS CAVALGADORES (15th C) 'very good riders'. The riders are good not because they are riders but because they have other qualities for which they could be considered good: light, skilled, have a good posture and so on.

This 'good for X' formula seems thus to obtain for preposed adjectives in Portuguese.

73

This seems also to be the case of GRANDE, although it carries a more precise basic meaning than BOM. In GRANDE PEZAR (17th C) 'very deep sorrow', for instance, the sorrow is big not because it is a sorrow but because it has other characteristics which make it big/deep: deep, intense, endless and so on.

As said above, the simple distribution of the adjectives in semantic classes which takes their basic meaning into account seems not to be enough to account for the positioning of adjectives in a language like Portuguese which is flexible in that respect. The alternative order AN is not entirely free, and entails some semantic nuances. As such the proper linear ordering of the adjective is a factor which seems to condition its meaning. I am in fact arguing in favour of an approach which is not exclusively lexical to the adjective positioning within the NP at least for the classes we've been calling 'subjective' or 'value' here: their meaning seems to depend on features of the context as described by Dixon's 'good for X'. This would mean that at least with the 'subjective' class an adjectival concept is in some sense related to a linear ordering of constituents ie. AN or NA, which determines at least part of its meaning. In other words, being a Modifier, it wouldn't be expected not to relate its meaning to the Nouns it modifies. The adjectival meaning seems thus to be determined by its proper position, by its lexical and grammatical value and by the context.

The Adjectives BOM & GRANDE under discussion here seem to reflect the facts mentioned above. It has been observed that these two adjectives have a very 'loose' meaning which depends to a great extent on the Noun they modify and on information given by the context. Especially for BOM this seems to be true: in the oldest texts it covers a wide semantic area. Indeed it seems to obtain for the Portuguese data that interpretation of phrases like BONS CAVALOS 'good horses', BONS CORPOS 'good bodies' is to a certain degree conditioned by the context. Horses are good not because they are horses but because they have other qualities which could be interpreted as such, because of their strength or because they are good runners, etc. 'Bodies' are good because they are well built or look healthy , etc.

From the 18th C on, therefore a change seems to have occurred involving BOM & GRANDE through which their meanings have become more and more sensitive to the contexts, or have become more 'empty', and other adjectives carrying a more precise meaning seem to have taken the place of BOM & GRANDE. It is the case that, as a general tendency, those adjectives convey explicitly concepts which have been implicit in BOM & GRANDE. Thus, for example, in a similar context the meaning conveyed by BOM MODO 'good manners' could be more precisely conveyed by adjectives such as REFINADO 'refined' in REFINADO MODO or POLIDO 'polite' in POLIDO MODO. This would explain on the one hand the disappearance of BOM & GRANDE and on the other their retention in Set Phrases.

4.3. Compounds or Set Phrases

A particular type of NP which occurs in the texts will be discussed in this section. They are the cases in which the adjective has no mobility, such as BOA VONTADE (15th C)'good will', BOA VIDA (15th C) 'good and easy life', GRANDES DEMORAS (19th C) 'very long delays', GRANDE PARTE '(19th C) the major part',etc. and are understood as Compounds. Some of them can be interpreted as particular cases of the positioning of BOM & GRANDE, although other adjectives also occur in this sort of expression, such as MÁ 'bad' in MÁ FÉ 'bad faith' (19th C) or BELO 'beautiful' in BELO NEGÓCIO (19th C) good business'.

In Modern Portuguese these cases can be identified with part of the 'minority' of adjectives which are supposed to be preposed to the Noun in NA languages (Greenberg's Universal 19). They seem to be a crystallized stage in the evolution of the Portuguese NP, in which the adjective became trapped / fixed or frozen in its positioning before the Noun. Both BOM & GRANDE are used in Postposition in Modern Portuguese and may be preposed to the Noun in an emphatic style. The Compounds seem to be the 'left overs' of an earlier stage, in which they probably occurred more frequently in Anteposition. This is confirmed by their massive use in the present data up to the 18th C.

75

The fixing of these adjectives before the Noun and their interpretation as part of it, in what is therefore Compound Nouns, may be interpreted as deriving from the semantic emptiness of these adjectives frequently used in Anteposition, as discussed above. These adjectives become so tied to the Noun that eventually they are interpreted as a part of it.

As already mentioned, the meaning of the adjective and/or of the whole NP appears to be at least partly determined by its linear position before or after the Noun. In order to clarify this some points raised by Waugh (1977) for the analysis of adjective ordering in French will be summarized here (her discussion is based on minimal/ near minimal pairs AN/NA):

(1) If two parts of speech are put in contiguity, one will modify the other creating what Waugh calls a 'modification situation'. In other words, modification of a Substantive (modified) by an adjective (modifier) takes place in the syntagmatic axis. Word order imposes a certain interpretation on the relationship between modifier/modified. In this sense, the dependency created by the modification situation of the adjective on the substantive seems to be much greater in pre-position than in post-position;

(2) in Anteposition the adjective deictically modifies (presupposes) not only the Substantive as a part of speech but also the Substantive with a specific lexical meaning, whereas in Postposition the adjective modifies the Substantive qua Substantive;

(3) in Anteposition the modified substantive is given as a part of speech and as a lexical meaning before the actual modification takes place. Only then the adjective starts modifying;

(4) as regards the specific lexical meaning of the adjective it is observed that some adjectives, for instance BEAU and JOLI, usually come before the Noun so because their lexical meaning is such that a deictic recognition of the Substantive is necessary.

76

(5) The following interpretation is given for minimal pairs such as HEUREUX POÈTE/POÈTE HEUREUX: "in post-position the adjective HEUREUX refers to a state of 'happiness' which could be true of any man, whereas in pre-position the lexical meaning of the substantive (in casu, poète) is crucial to the specific interpretation of HEUREUX. A 'succsessful poet' is 'happy' only insofar as he is a 'poet' (e.g. due to his successful writing), whereas UN POÈTE HEUREUX is not necessarily 'happy' in his capacity as a poet and may simply be happy as a person(...) Thus, we see again that the specific lexical interpretation of HEUREUX in pre-position is much more dependent on the lexical meaning of the substantive it modifies than in post-position " (Waugh, 1977:89).

This seems also to apply to the Portuguese data discussed here: in Anteposition the adjective presupposes the meaning of the Noun it modifies more than when in Postposition. It is so that in certain cases the adjective is interpreted as a part of the Noun, losing its independence, as with Compounds. In others the adjective is caught in Anteposition with a special meaning, which is basically determined by the semantic features of the Noun, as in the case of pairs such as HOMEM GRANDE / GRANDE HOMEM discussed in section 3.

Waugh (1977: 106) considering that the meaning of the Noun is presupposed in the modification situation AN (whereas in Postposition it is not) in a certain sense contests Bolinger's (1952: 34) observation that "when the qualifier precedes, it overshadows the whole of the following noun or verb, as we might expect from their relative positions in the horn of the sentence, when it follows, it splits noun or verb."

On an informational level, however, the anteposition of adjectives in Portuguese seems generally to conform to the principle of linear modification proposed by Bolinger. His claim is that in the commnunicative process 'elements' or 'words' which occur before others are broader in meaning than the ones which follow others. When successively words are laid end-to-end to form a phrase the postposed one will narrow the semantic range of the preceding until the communication is complete.

It seems that this principle is at work in the case of anteposed
adjectives in Portuguese as they proved to have a broad, loose or
less precise meaning, especially adjectives such as BOM & GRANDE, as
already shown.

Waugh worked on minimal or near minimal pairs of adjectives in her
attempt to establish the semantic rules governing Adjective/Noun
modification. Minimal pairs rarely occur in our data (14th C and
17th C only). Sometimes the same adjective appears both in A and P,
but not the same Noun. The rare occurrences of minimal pairs in our
data have been given a tentative explanation (section 3) and may be
considered to be one of the cases in which the dependency of the
adjective on features of the following Noun is maximized, the other
being the emergence of Compounds with preposed Adjectives. For the
cases analysed with the adjective GRANDE, the necessary features at
work seem to be 'Gradation' and 'Measurability'. For other pairs may
be-different features will emerge, although 'Gradation' seems to be
obligatory for the preposing of any adjective. The development of a
difference in meaning in adjectives which occur in minimal pairs
does not seem likely to occur with any pair of adjectives. The
emergence of this semantic differentiation has to meet the necessary
semantic specifications in the Noun and Adjective.

4.4 Other Classes of Adjectives in Anteposition

As can be seen from the histograms and table 1, since the 14th C
adjectives belonging to classes other than merely Subjective or
Value may occur preposed to the Noun, although the preposing of an
Adjective gives it a subjective connotation. Anteposition has not
been the privilege of Value adjectives only and other classes may
also be preposed in some special environments such as Adjectives
denoting Dimension, Colour, Human Propensity, Physical Property,
Age. Anteposition is forbidden in Modern Portuguese for some classes
of adjectives such as the ones derived from Nouns, or those denoting
Origin or Nationality. These classes of Adjectives occur
obligatorily in Postposition, and since the main focus of this study
has been Anteposition, little information has been given on these
constraints.

78

Our quantitative analysis has shown a general trend of decrease in A (and increase in P) circa the 18th C. Postposition is the preferred order from that time on, as one would have expected from a Romance language, which are assumed to be NA.

According to Greenberg's Universal 19, when the general rule is that the adjective follows the Noun there may be a 'minority' of adjectives which usually precede, but when the general rule is that the adjective precedes, there are no exceptions. Modern Portuguese is definitely NA, and an alternative AN order is allowed. In quantitative terms this alternative order can be considered a 'minority': in the 20th C texts examined values as low as 18% and 23% are found for Anteposition against 82% and 77% of Postposition.

This order AN, although subject to more restrictions in Modern Portuguese than it was in earlier periods of the language is still in the Present-Day language a productive strategy. In terms of classes little has changed from Old to Modern Portuguese (see Table 1). Strictly speaking, our search into Anteposition has proved that it only makes sense to speak of a real 'minority' of preposed adjectives either in purely quantitative terms or in one of the following cases:

a) when the Adjective is frozen in its position before the Noun, which entailed a difference in its basic meaning;

b) when the Adjective is fixed in its place before the Noun in Compounds.

Nevertheless there are other Adjectives which can be preposed to the Noun, which fall into classes. The class termed 'Value/Subjective' is the one which has constantly been preposed to the Noun since the 14th C. BOM & GRANDE are special instances of this class and the way they get into disuse may be a sign of how Anteposition has been emptied throughout the centuries.

NOTES

1) The order of adjectives in Latin is to be understood as a
starting point for the discussion on word order change in the
history of Portuguese, not as a purpose in itself. Taking into
account that word order change is slow, we consequentely need a
considerable time span to see the trend of changes. The topic of
adjective positioning is seen here mainly in a diachronic
perspective.

2) In this section we restrained ourselves to general observations
on the ordering of adjectives made by traditional grammarians of
Portuguese. Later studies, like Pires (1981), in which the adjective
is seen as transformationally derived from a relative clause, are,
in the main, irrelevant to the present discussion. Whenever
appropriate, reference will be made to some aspects of these
studies.

3) See Perini (1977) for denominal adjectives in Modern Portuguese.

4) The leftmost row (called "Total") of the histograms (fi. 1-7)
reads as follows:

(i) The total of occurrences of Adjectives of each text is given.
PMHI, for example, has 169 occurrences of Adjectives, 107 of which
are in Anteposition, and 62 in Postposition. The percentage is
worked out based on these values.

The second row (called "Anteposition") is a magnification of
Anteposition and is explained throughout the text.

The third row is a magnification of the values found for GRANDE, and
the fourth for BOM.

The fifth row gives the general percentage of A and P, excluding the
two recurrent adjectives BOM and GRANDE.

5) Pazini (1976) postulates the feature [+gradation] for adjectives

in Modern Portuguese.

6) Throughout this section 'very' has been used as a way of translating into English the adverbial like meaning conveyed by some adjectives.

7) Figure 8 is a summary of the previous histograms.

8) Linear regression is a statistical method which gives the best straight line which fits a set of points in a graph (see Harper (1982: 117 ff) for details).

CHAPTER 2

RELATIVE CLAUSES WITH QUE

1. General Comments on Relative Clauses

Within a typological framework such as that proposed by Comrie
(1981), a Relative clause consists of a head and a restricting
clause. This definition is claimed to be broader than the one
proposed by the traditional grammar for English, which does not
include non-finite participial constructions such as "Passengers
LEAVING on flight 738 should proceed to the lounge" in its inventory
of Relative clauses. The reason for that exclusion is that for the
Traditional English Grammar the term "clause" applies only to
constructions with a finite verb, ruling out non-finite
constructions such as LEAVING in the sentence above.

Traditional Portuguese Grammar has, however, always characterized
Relative clauses either as a "full adjectival clause", ie. a clause
which acts as an adjective to the Noun it modifies and whose verb is
a finite form; or as a "reduced adjectival clause", ie. a clause
which modifies a Noun as an adjective and whose verb is a non-finite
form such as Gerunds, Participles and non-inflected Infinitives. The
terminology used by Portuguese grammarians suggests that the
modifying function of a Relative clause is perhaps more relevant to
its comprehension than the fact that these clauses begin with a
Relative pronoun. Their approach is in this sense close to the
typological definition presented here since it links the concept of
Relative clause to clauses containing nominal forms of the verb.
Thus, constructions such as PEDINDO ESMOLA 'begging for money' in
"TEM UM MENINO LÁ FORA PEDINDO ESMOLA" 'There is a boy begging for
money outside'(Gerund), or its European Portuguese counterpart TEM
UM MENINO A PEDIR ESMOLA LÁ FORA" with the infinitive, or the Past
participle in AS MALAS DESPACHADAS NÃO CHEGARAM" 'The suitcases sent
(dispatched) did not arrive' are classified as Relative clauses in
the same way as the "Full Relative clauses" are, for example,
"MULHERES QUE FALAM ALTO NÃO SÃO BEM RECEBIDAS AQUI" 'Women who

82.

speak loudly are not welcome here' and the important fact is that both types act as a restricting predicate to their heads.

Thus, consisting of a 'head' and a 'restricting clause', a Relative clause has a head which has itself a potential range of referents delimited by the Relative clause. Assuming that the head can have a 'range' of referents is undoubtedly much broader than the condition of co-referentiality, non-distinctness, identity or co-indexing claimed for Relative clause formation in TG oriented analyses. In an early version of TG, for example, a condition of co-referentiality was necessary for the Relative clause formation rule to apply, as in Ross' (1967). From a more surface point of view it is straightforward that UMA MULHER in EU QUERO UMA MULHER QUE SEJA DIFERENTE 'I want a woman who is different' does not refer in reality to only one woman, or to a single NP UMA/A MULHER because it actually refers to the Relative clause as a whole. The 'wished woman' does not have the same referent as the head UMA MULHER in isolation could have, but it really refers to 'a woman who is different from the woman' to whom the unrestricted head noun refers to. Co-referentiality, identity or non-distinctness or even co-indexing of NPs (or Ns) as postulated by TG analyses would not in any case accommodate the idea of a 'range' of referents, and cases like the above one would certainly pose problems for the mechanisms of deriving Relative clauses. The typological approach seems to avoid these extremely mechanical problems typical of a TG approach and to better accommodate cases like the above, where the semantics of the construction is complex.

Another point which deserves attention is the way the 'head' of the Relative clause is postulated within the typological framework. The crucial point related to this notion is the fact that it establishes the encoding of a head WITHIN the Relative clause itself as an important typological parameter. To postulate the presence or absence of an internal head as a parameter is relevant in the sense that it turns our attention from the TG PS rule NP$\rightarrow$ NP,S or any more recent version of it, to focus on the Relative clause itself.

Provided that some mechanical devices were proposed to account for the lack of an antecedent NP (as for example, the analyses proposed for Free Relatives- See Chap. 3) or that the "Copying rules", "Shadow Pronouns" and the like, as proposed, for example, by Perlmutter (1972), for French, are a way of accounting for the existence of internal heads; or that languages such as Turkish and Japanese where Relative clauses are anteposed to the Noun could be accounted for by automatic reordering of constituents, as their surface Relative clause structure is the mirror image of NP→NP, S (ie., NP→S, NP), it seems also to be true that TG analyses better describe cases of the Relative Pronoun Type- viz., those which involve a Movement rule in their derivation- as other Relative clauses showing internal heads or non-Relative pronoun relativizers have controversial analyses in the literature.

To assume that the basic ordering of the RC in relation to the Noun is N/RC is biased in the sense that this basic order has been established based on languages like English which are N/RC. A surface approach to the process characterizes a RC straightforwardly by its 'real' (surface) structure and accounts for languages like Japanese and Turkish with no need of a basic structure or of an automatic reordering of constituents (Ross:1967:81/2).

Comrie (1981:139 ff.) describes cross-linguistically four types of RC based on the role played by the head within the Relative clause namely, the Non-reduced, Pronoun Retention, Relative Pronoun and Gap types but attributes more relevance to the Pronoun Retention type as a typological parameter.

Modern Portuguese presents three of the four types described by Comrie. The Non-Reduction type, which presents the head in its full form in the embedded sentence, does not exist in Portuguese but apart from this, all other types are present.

The first type I would like to discuss is the one most explored in the literature of Relative clauses, namely the Relative Pronoun type. According to Comrie this type presents two characteristics: 1) the Relative pronoun is in clause initial position, which in some

cases breaks the 'normal' word order. This is true of SVO languages, for example, in which the Relative pronoun is in clause initial position potentially breaking the unmarked order SVO; 2) the Relative pronoun must be case marked. This requirement of case marking excludes Portuguese sentences with QUE from the repertory of the Relative pronoun type, as QUE is not case marked. Thus, ESTE É O HOMEM QUE VEIO AQUI 'This is the man who came here' would not be classified as being of the Relative Pronoun type under this approach. That type would, in Portuguese, be restricted either to constructions in which QUEM is accompanied by a preposition, as the preposition is an indication of the function of the relative in the embedded sentence, as in O HOMEM EM QUEM VOCÊ CONFIA NÃO PRESTA 'The man who you trust is not reliable' or to constructions with CU·⸳, which clearly indicates possession . In these terms the Relative Pronoun type is restricted to oblique funtions in Portuguese.

As Portuguese is not marked for case sentences with the Portuguese relative marker QUE would be ruled out from the Relative Pronoun type. QUE is frequently used as a device of forming Relative clauses and it can refer$_/$ to either animate or inanimate antecedents. Although inflected for Gender and Number O/A QUAL/ OS,AS QUAIS do not belong to this type either, as they are not case marked.

Within this approach Portuguese Relative clauses with QUE could then be classified as belonging to Gap type, since the marker in the sentences above does not exhibit any of the characteristics of a Relative pronoun. Thus all the sentences below would be considered Gap type: a) O MENINO QUE SARAH CONHECE A MÃE É ESSE 'the boy whose mother Sarah knows (ie. that S. knows the mother of him) is this'. This is a typical case of Prepositional Phrase Deletion. b) A LATA DE BALAS PARA VIAGEM QUE SUZANA GANHOU É LINDA! 'The travel sweet box that S. got is lovely'; c) A MENINA QUE JOÃO SONHOU TINHA OLHOS AZUIS 'The girl that John dreamed of had blue eyes'; d) O TEXTO QUE A ELIANA IA TRABALHAR SUMIU 'The text that E. was going to use disappeared'.

The Gap type characteristic is that it does not provide any indication of the role of the head within the Relative clause, which

85

makes its recognition more difficult and this type consequently less explicit than the others. There are, however, some strategies which might be invoked to ease its interpretation one of which is word order. Thus, as Portuguese is predominantly SVO, in O HOMEM QUE VEIO AQUI QUERIA VENDER LIVROS 'The man who came here wanted to sell books' is by elimination relativizing the Subject, as the verb VEIO is intransitive. This strategy is not enough to clarify a), however, as the Relative clause already has its Subject (Sarah), Verb (conhece) and Object (a mãe) positions filled. What is QUE referring to then? The QUE in c) and d) seems to encode the Object, but they are only slightly more explicit than a).

The Pronoun Retention Type requires a pronominal internal head and accounts for Portuguese sentences like f) A ALUNA QUE VOCÊ GOSTAVA DELA ABANDONOU O CURSO 'The student that you liked abandoned the course'. Although it is clear that DELA anaphorically refers to A ALUNA it is not clear whether QUE is encoding any syntactic function in this type of sentence. DELA indicates the role of the head within the Relative clause but the word order strategy invoked to interpret sentences a), b), c) does not work as the positions SVO are already filled. What would QUE be referring to? It will be seen below that there is no unambiguous evidence at any time to say whether QUE in certain contexts does or does not encode the 'head'.

2.Relative Pronouns

In Modern Portuguese the inventory of relative pronouns is:

a) Unstressed QUE, realized as [kə] in Portugal and [ki] in Brazil, is the primary Relative pronoun. There is no restriction on its occurrence and it may refer to [+human] or [-human] antecedents. It also admits prepositions regardless of the feature [+human], which is a feature of the stressed form QUEM.(See Chap. 3)

(1) O secador   que ela ganhou é verde.
    [-human]
  'The-hairdryer-that-she-got   -is-green'
'The hairdryer that she received (as a gift) is green.'

(2) Os meninos que brincaram aqui quebraram a janela.
        [+ human]
    'The-boys- that-played- here- broke   -the-window'
'The boys who played here have broken the window.'

(3) Ela nem conhece o escritor de que tanto gosta.
                    [+ human]
    'She-not-even-knows- the-writer-of that-(she)so much-likes'
'She doesn't even know the writer who she likes so much'.

(4) Essa é a tese   de que lhe   falei.
                    [-human]
    'This-is-the-thesis-of that-you-(I)-told'
'This is the thesis that I told you about.'

b) QUEM is a stressed form, it refers to [+ human] antecedents and
in addition requires the presence of a preposition.

(5) A aluna   a quem   demos o prêmio se sentiu orgulhosa.
            [+ human]
    'The-student-to whom-(we) gave-the-prize-herself-felt-proud'
'The student to whom we gave the prize felt proud of herself'

(6)*A aluna quem você viu não é essa.
            [+ human]
    The-student-whom-you-saw-not-is-this'
'The student who(m) you saw is not that one.'

QUEM also occurs without an overt antecedent and in this case it may
or not be accompanied by a preposition.

(7) Não sei a quem dar o prêmio.
    'Not-(1)-know-to whom-to give-the-prize'
'I don't know to whom to give the prize.'

(8) Não vi   quem chegou.
    'Not-(1)-sew-who-arrived'
'I didn't see who arrived'.

87

Traditional grammar of Portuguese points to the indefinite nature of this QUEM (Said Ali 1971:110). Plann (1980) argues in favour of a relative clause status for sentences similar to (7) and (8) in Spanish by showing that they behave like NP'S and not like S's .(See Chap.3).

c) O/A QUAL (OS/AS QUAIS) may occur when preceded by a preposition. They are marked for gender and number and for this very reason are typical of non-restrictive relative clauses. Also, they do not take into account the 'animacy' of the antecedent and are used in a formal register.

(9) O problema para <u>o qual</u> devemos atentar   é o da
'The-problem-for the-which-(we)shall-pay attention-is-the(one)of the

infância abandonada.
childhood-abandonned'
'The problem to which we should pay attention is the one of the abandoned children.''

d) CUJO,(-A, -OS,-AS) belongs to a formal register- being completely absent from colloquial speech- and is analysed as having a preposition DE underlyingly. It also presents characteristics of a possessive pronoun such as agreement in gender and number with the possessed noun.

(10) Um homem cujas feições   não me eram estranhas fez o
'A-man- whose- face-features-not-to me-were-strange-me- made-the

discurso.
speech'
'A man whose face/features weren't strange to me gave the speech.'

A Relative pronoun is commonly assumed by traditional grammar of Portuguese to be a Qu-word which functions only in Relative clauses and is anaphorically related to a Noun or a Pronoun in the other clause, as was true of the Latin Relative pronoun QUI,QUAE,QUOD (Cf.Mattoso Câmara (1976:97)). It has a syntactic function in the

Relative clause: QUE, for example, may or may not be governed by a preposition and may be Direct Object, Indirect Object, etc. as in LEIA OS LIVROS QUE ESCREVI 'read the books that I wrote' or in OS LIVROS A QUE VOCÊ SE REFERE ' the books to which you refer', OS LIVROS COM QUE VOCÊ SE ENTRETEM 'the books with which you amuse yourself', OS LIVROS EM QUE SE ACHA ESTA EXPLICAÇÃO 'the books in which this explanation is found', etc.

The Wh-words which TG oriented analyses deal with are not incompatible with an uncontroversial notion of Relative pronoun such as the one proposed by Auwera (1985) for English. As regards anaphoric relations between the Relative and its antecedent, a Relative pronoun is assumed to 'represent' an antecedent Noun Phrase in the subordinate clause and to fulfill the syntactic function of a Noun Phrase (Subject, Direct Object, etc.). This corresponds roughly to what is called the 'substitution' analysis as opposed to the 'adjunction' analysis of Wh-movement under a TG approach.

The other two characteristics of a Relative pronoun mentioned by Auwera are, that it is a morpheme which signals subordination and that it forms a Noun or a Noun Phrase out of the subordinate clause it signals, or out of this clause and another Noun Phrase- its antecedent, which is to be the 'head' of the higher Noun Phrase. Again this is not incompatible with what is said about relativization in TG oriented analyses. The fact that the Relative signals subordination is shown in TG by the element COMP, a position filled by clause-introducing particles which can be Wh-words or particles such as That, for. (See Auwera, 1985, for a detailed analysis of the English That). The fact that a Relative clause is part of a complex NP is accounted for by the PS rule NP→NP, S'.

Regardless of the name given to this notion of 'representativeness' of the 'head' within the Relative clause: non-distinctiness, co-referentiality, indexing, etc. and of the implications that the choice of one of these labels would have for the present discussion, the general idea is that the Wh-word which is a Relative pronoun is somehow linked to another (overt or covert) constituent in the matrix sentence (called antecedent or head) and that it plays a

89

syntactic role in the embedded sentence. This aspect will be crucial to the present discussion of Portuguese relatives.

Thus, the Wh-word (Qu-word) QUEM accompanied by a preposition A, in (5), is the indirect Object (henceforth IO) of the verb DEMOS (past of DAR 'to give'). QUE in (1) can be understood as encoding the Direct Object (henceforth DO) of GANHOU (past of GANHAR 'to receive'), although not so straightforwardly as in (5). QUE is not accompanied by a preposition and there is nothing in it that would serve as an indication of its syntactic status in the embedded sentence. Nevertheless native speakers invariably interpret QUE in (1) as referring to 'O SECADOR' and as the complement of 'GANHAR'.

Sentences like (11) are less explicit than (1) in that respect. It seems reasonable to interpret QUE as referring to the antecedent O LIVRO, but, as in (1), there is nothing in the QUE itself that would serve as an indication of its syntactic status in the embedded sentence.

(11) Esse é o livro que eu falei.
    'This-is-the-book-that-I-talked'
'This is the book that I talked about.'

As FALAR subcategorizes for PPs: FALAR: +V, [----PP] and there is no preposition accompanying QUE, one wouldn't expect it to be interpreted as a complement (IO) to FALAR, but it is. Speakers 'know' that 'I talked about the book , even without any overt signalling of the existence of this PP sobre o livro 'about the book' . This information is somehow recovered from the subcategorization of the specific verb.

The same could apply indirectly and also by elimination for (12), at least to the extent that this verb precludes an additional PP argument.

(12) O menino que eu encontrei a mãe é esse.
    'The-boy-that-I- met -   the-mother-is-this'
'The boy whose mother I met is this one.'

90

QUE also appears in sentences like (13).

(13) O menino QUE eu encontrei a mãe   DELE é esse.
    'The-boy- that-I-met   -the-mother-of-him-is-this'
'The boy whose mother I met is this one.'

Apparently, the only difference between (12) and (13) is that (13) contains a a Prepositional Phrase DELE, which makes the coreferential relationship more explicit.

The same happens in (14). Although there is no overt indication of the function QUE encodes, it is interpreted as referring to O HOMEM and as the complement of VOTAR, which subcategorizes for PPs: VOTAR: +V , [——PP], but no preposition appears in the sentence.

(14) O homem QUE Maria votou   não presta.
    'The-man- that-M. -voted-(is)-not reliable.'
'The man who M. voted for is not reliable.'

(15) O homem QUE Maria votou NELE não presta.
    'The-man-that-M. -voted-in him-(is)-not-reliable'.
'The man who M. voted for is not reliable'.

In (15) the PP NELE makes clearer 'who Maria voted for'.

3. TG- Oriented Analyses of Restrictive Relative Clauses

3.1. Wh-Relatives and That-Relatives

TG analyses for English That-relatives propose that this type of Relative clause is generated by a movement rule, in the same way as Wh-relatives are, but that no Wh-word appears under Comp: it is deleted from COMP and another rule inserts the Complementizer That into the empty Comp. This is the current analysis found in TG manuals (Van Riemsdijk & Williams (1986:96 ff): Radford (1981:259 ff)). The possibility of That being inserted without the need of a movement rule is also aired. Under this hypothesis the Wh-word is deleted in its place of origin and no movement takes place. Emonds

(1976:142 ff) defends a similar analysis for English That-relatives, although different in details.

(16) The man THAT I was talking to

(17) The friend THAT I spoke to drove away.

Under a hypothesis that proposes a movement rule to account for That-relatives, the moved element cannot be THAT because it does not pied pipe as Wh-words do (Bresnan, 1972).

(18) The man *TO THAT I was talking

To maintain a movement analysis for That-relatives the postulation of a Wh-word and a subsequent Wh- Deletion rule is thus necessary. This analysis is roughly along the following lines: a) Wh-movement applies shifting the Wh-word from its original position into Comp; b) The Wh-word is deleted from Comp; c) The Complementizer is inserted in the unfilled Comp, as shown in (19). (Van Riemsdijk & Williams (1986:97)).

(19) (i)   The man Comp I was talking to who
     (ii)   The man who I was talking to
     (iii) The man   I was talking to
     (iv)   The man THAT I was talking to

The fact that the complementizer THAT does not pied pipe poses thus a problem to a hypothesis which postulates a movement rule in the generation of That-relatives because That cannot be the moved constituent.

It is not our purpose to discuss the complex theoretical issues involved in the adequacy of these hypotheses, as, for example, to what extent a principle such as 'Subjacency' is linked to the choice of one analysis or the other. We want rather to present, on general lines, how Restrictive Relative Clauses have been treated within a TG framework.

92

Spanish, Catalan and French Que-relatives have been given the same treatment as English That-relatives, as in Plann (1980), Rivero (1980, 1982). It will be discussed later whether these analyses can be maintained for Portuguese Que-relatives. The correspondence between the English and Portuguese relativizers is roughly the following: who, whom 'quem'; whose 'cujo'; which 'o qual, a qual; that 'que'.

Plann (1980) assumes that Relativization always involves Wh-movement in Spanish, not only for cases similar to the Portuguese example (5), where the relativized element is a PP but also for cases like (1) and (2), where the relativized element is an NP.

As proposed for English, when a W-word (Qu-word) does not appear in Comp position it is because it has been deleted after Wh-movement has applied, and the Complementizer Que is inserted.

Sentence (20) is thus analysed as having a Complementizer QUE, not a relative pronoun under COMP (Plann (1980:165)).

(20) El alumno QUE estudia aprende.
     'The-student-that-studies-learns'
'The student that studies learns.'

(21) is the partial underlying structure postulated for (20)

(21)
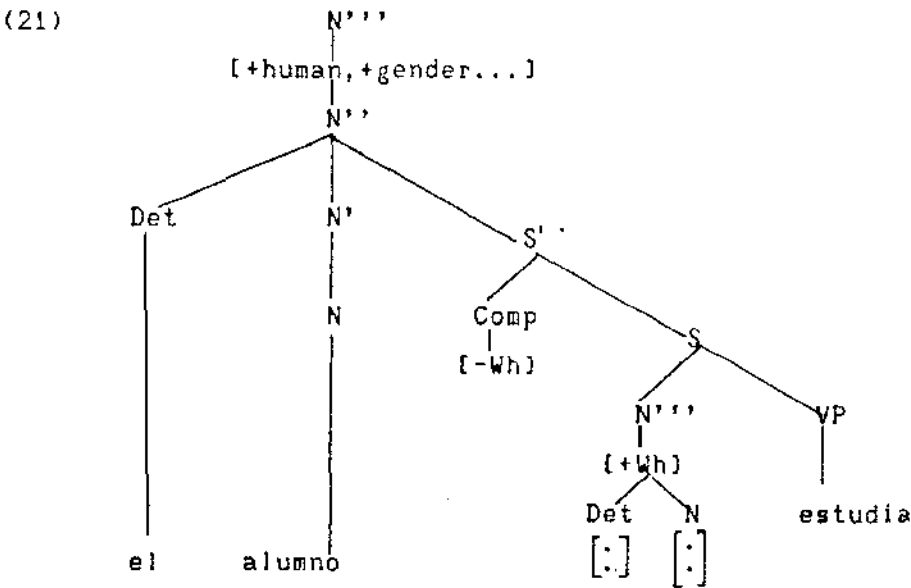
The relativized NP is moved into Comp by Wh-movement. The Det of the relativized NP becomes ∅ by rule and the relativized N becomes ∅ by rule. Another rule inserts the complementizer QUE, as no Wh-word appears in Comp as in (22).

(22)
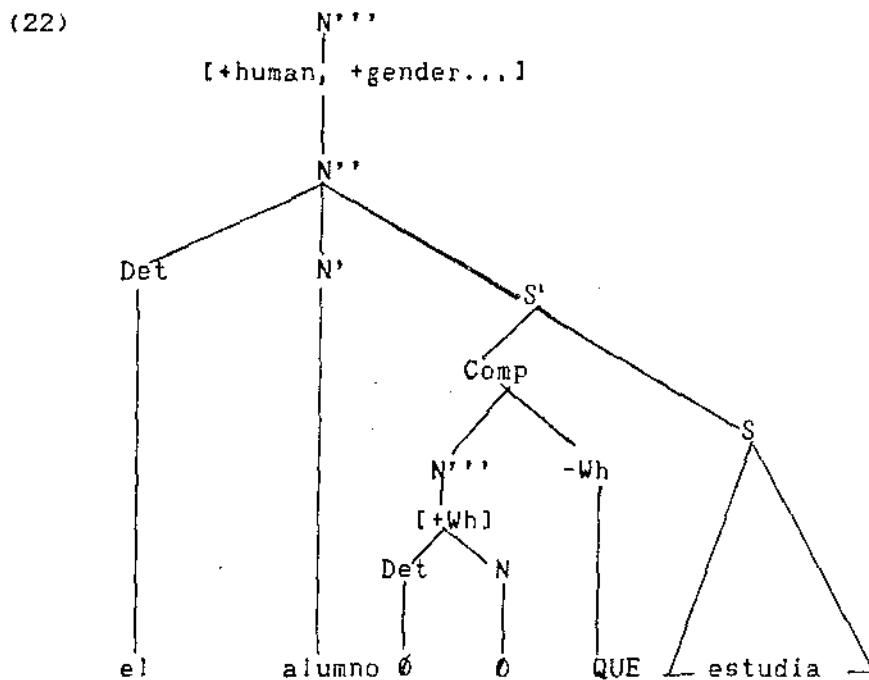
Rivero (1980,1982) also proposes an analysis which involves both Wh-movement and a subsequent rule of Deletion of the relative for present day Spanish, French and Catalan non-oblique relatives, as in (23) and (24).

(23) Non-oblique relatives (Object)

a. L'home (*qui, que) coneíxem és el su pare. (Cat.)
b. L'homme (*lequel, que) nous connaissons c'est son père.(Fr.)
c. El hombre (*quien, que) conocemos es su padre.(Sp.)

'The man (who, that) we know is his father.'

(24) Non-oblique relatives (Subject)

a. L'home (*qui, que) he vingut està malalt. (Cat.)
b. L'homme (*lequel, qui) est venue, est malade. (Fr.)

c. El hombre ⎰*quien, que⎱ ha venido está enfermo. (Sp.)
           ⎱*el cual ⎰

'The man (who,that) came is sick.'

In these cases Wh-movement applies and the relative is deleted from
Comp, the complementizer appears and there is no relative. Although
these cases are called 'non-oblique relativization' this does not
mean that the Qu-words themselves   are   the   non-oblique
relativized elements. The Qu-words are in these cases identified
with the complementizer. Under this hypothesis constituents which
had a non-oblique function in the embedded clause have been moved by
Wh-movement and subsequently deleted.

Rivero (1980) considers forms like EL CUAL as a 'true Relative
pronoun' and probably QUIEN and CUJO too. Although she neither gives
the reasons for that nor says what her notion of a 'true Relative
pronoun' is, she says that QUE and the Relative Pronouns (ie. forms
like EL CUAL, QUIEN, CUJO) are in complementary distribution in
Spanish, as shown by (24c).

This is one argument she gives for the position that QUE is the
complementizer. But as QUE in oblique positions alternates with the
'true Relative pronouns' as in sequences like EL CUCHILLO CON QUE
(CON EL CUAL) CORTAMOS 'The knife with that(with which) (we) cut'
the reverse could also be claimed, namely that QUE is a Relative
pronoun in all cases (non-oblique and oblique).

This would entail a radical complication in the analysis she wants
to maintain for reasons related to the prohibition of a doubly
filled COMP in Relative structures, and for economy of description,
which we will not discuss here. She proposes then a non-unitary
description of QUE ie., it is the complementizer in non-oblique
positions and it is the Relative pronoun in oblique positions.

Oblique relativization, thus, involves Wh-movement but no Deletion in
Comp. The Qu-words are analysed as Relative pronouns and no
complementizer appears in Comp. In this case the Qu-word encodes an
oblique function.

95

(25) Oblique relatives

a. L'home amb qui hem parlat es el su pare.(Cat.)
b. L'homme avec (lequel, qui) nous avons parlé, c'est son père.(Fr.)
c. El hombre con quien hemos hablado es su padre. (Sp.)

'The man with whom we talked is his father.'

Portuguese sentences like (26) could be analysed as proposed above
for (23) and (24). If we follow Rivero's terminology this would be a
case of non-oblique relativization, as the constituent which has
been moved and eventually deleted had a non-oblique function in the
embedded clause. QUE would be considered to be the complementizer,
not the Relative pronoun, and would have no syntactic function in
the Relative clause, as proposed for Spanish.

(26) O menino QUE estuda aprende.
    'The-boy-that-studies-learns.'
'The boy that studies learns.'

An alternative analysis seems to be possible for (26). Under this
new hypothesis QUE is the Qu-word moved by Wh-movement leaving a
co-indexed trace behind and QUE carries a syntactic function ie.,
Subject of ESTUDA. Nevertheless QUE is a neutral, unmarked form and
does not exhibit any formal marking of its function.

A strategy which might help to determine the syntactic function of
QUE in (26) is word order. Portuguese is basically SVO in
declarative sentences but according to the rules governing word
order a Direct Object may be preposed while the sequence SV is
preserved, as (i), where the Direct Object is topicalized:

(i) O livro de Física, ele quer hoje '
        DO   SB V
  'The-book-of-Physics-he-wants-today'

'It is the book of Physics that he wants today.'

This Direct Object preposing also seems to occur in dependent clauses like (1) where Que seems to be Direct Object of Ganhou as the Subject position is filled by ELA. On the other hand, if there is no constituent before V which could act as its Subject, QUE can be, by exclusion, interpreted as such. QUE in (26) can in this way be interpreted as the Subject of ESTUDA.

(1) O secador QUE ELA ganhou é verde.
             DO SB

(26) O menino QUE estuda aprende.
              SB

GANHAR subcategorizes for NP, and QUE may well encode the Direct Object, as the Subject is overtly realized. APRENDER in (26) is an intransitive verb, and as QUE cannot be its complement, it is interpreted as its Subject.

The above analyses account for the Portuguese data discussed here but so far as I am concerned, no convincing evidence has been given, which would rule out one of any of the two hypotheses. If the second one (in which QUE is a Relative pronoun) has the disadvantage of lacking a formal indication of the syntactic status of QUE in the embedded sentence apart from word order, the first one does not present any argument that justifies the Deletion of both Det and N, and these rules seem to be 'ad hoc.'

In addition to the problem of deciding which of the two analyses is better justified within a TG framework itself, as pointed out earlier for languages like English, we are faced here with another obstacle. While the English complementizer THAT does not resemble the Wh-words in its phonetic form and is consequently not confused with them, the Portuguese Relative Pronoun QUE is homophonous with the Complementizer QUE. In a complement clause like (27) the complementizer QUE is homophonous to the QUE under discussion here. The difference between these two types seems to lie in their syntactic distribution and the anaphoric relations they may or not hold with the antecedent.

(27)a) Quero QUE você vá embora.

   '(I)want-that-you-go-away'

'I want you to go away.'

In addition to the difficulties that this homophony poses to any analysis for these structures, the syntactic argument used for English in support of the claim that THAT is not the element moved by Wh-movement, ie., that THAT does not pied pipe, does not obtain in Portuguese, as QUE pied pipes in Portuguese relatives. Sequences like (28) and (29), in which QUE is accompanied by a preposition, are perfectly acceptable. Furthermore, in diachronic terms Prep+Que is the earliest strategy used to encode oblique relativization in Portuguese. (See Chap.3).

(28) O homem COM QUE eu estava falando desapareceu.

    'The-man-with-that-I-was-talking -disappeared'

'The man with/to whom I was talking disappeared.'

(29) O país EM QUE nós moramos fica na América do Sul.

'The-country-in-that-we-lived-is - in- the-South America'

'The country in which we lived is in South America.'

(28) and (29) can be analysed in the same way as the sentences in (25), ie., Wh-movement shifts a PP from its original position into Comp. In this case the moved constituent has an obvious function in the Relative clause due to the presence of the preposition and QUE can be identified with the Relative pronoun. In (28) COM QUE is an Indirect Object and in (29) EM QUE is a Locative complement. In both cases they refer back to the antecedent.

The following analyses have been discussed here for Portuguese Restrictive relative clauses, starting from the last mentioned:

a) oblique relativization in Portuguese involves Wh-movement and no Deletion of the moved constituent in Comp. It follows the same lines as the analysis suggested for Spanish, Catalan and French Que-relatives and English Wh- relatives;

b) non-oblique relatives can be accounted for by the rules of Wh-movement, Deletion of the moved constituent in Comp and Insertion of the complementizer QUE. It is the same analysis as the one proposed by Plann (1980) for Spanish and by Rivero(1980,1982) for Spanish, Catalan and French. This analysis seems to be inadequate for Portuguese Que-relatives for at least two reasons. Firstly, the Deletion of the moved constituent has to be justified elsewhere in the language. This rule seems to be 'ad hoc' here in the same way it is for English That-relatives. Secondly, if the QUE in Portuguese non-oblique relatives was purely a complementizer, it would not hold any anaphoric relationship with the antecedent. This can hardly be maintained: in Sentences like 'O MENINO QUE EU VI 'the boy who(m) I saw', QUE seems to refer to 'O MENINO'. The fact that QUE does not exhibit any signalling of case marking would not be strong evidence in favour of considering it a complementizer (henceforth in favour of the Deletion of the moved element from Comp) because Portuguese has no case inflection. Rather the word order and the use of prepositions are the two mechanisms which overtly indicate the function of a Noun or Pronoun in the sentence. In addition, subcategorization facts determine the syntactic function of the relevant constituents.

c) It is well known that the QUE found in Portuguese relatives has its origins in the accusative singular QUEM, QUAM, QUOD/QUID of the Latin relative/interrogative pronoun. As we said earlier, one of the characteristics of the Latin relative word was the anaphoric relation it held with a Noun or a Pronoun in the matrix clause (Ehrenkranz & Hirschbühler,1972). Apart from that it had a grammatical relation with the antecedent with which it agreed in Gender and Number. By assuming that the QUE in non-oblique relatives in Portuguese _is_ a complementizer, one would be implicitly proposing that QUE would have lost its anaphoric character and would have been reinterpreted or reanalysed as a link word or a complementizer. Is there any evidence in favour of such reanalysis? In other words has Portuguese replaced a strategy of relativization which used anaphoric Relative pronouns by another one which makes use of simple complementizers? Has the Latin relative lost, in its

evolution to Portuguese, its semantic referential ability together with the formal loss of Number, Gender and Case inflection?

d) non-oblique relatives can be derived by means of Wh-movement. Under this analysis Deletion of the moved constituent is not necessary. QUE would be the Relative pronoun, not the homophonous complementizer. This analysis is similar to the one proposed for oblique relatives.

It seems to us that the problem is much more complex than it looks. Firstly because Portuguese Que-relatives seem to show a variation in degree of explicitness, as shown in section 1. In this sense, non-oblique relatives seem to be less explicit as far as anaphoric relations and syntactic function held by the Relativizers are concerned than oblique relatives. Considering that a division between non-oblique and oblique relatives may be pertinent to the present discussion, it seems that additional data from colloquial Brazilian Portuguese could shed some light on that matter, too.

3.2. Relative clauses with Resumptive pronouns[1]

Before we turn to cases of oblique relativization let us examine another form that Brazilian Portuguese non-oblique relatives can take as shown in (30) and (31).

(30) O menino QUE ELE estuda aprende.
   'The-boy-that-he-studies-learns'
'The boy that studies learns.'

 (31) O menino QUE Maria ama ELE chegou ontem.
   'The-boy-that-M. -loves-him-arrived-yesterday'
'The boy that Maria loves arrived yesterday.'

If (30) is analysed taking into account facts of word order, QUE has (by exclusion) to be interpreted as a Complementizer, as the Subject position is already filled by ELE. As ESTUDAR is an intransitive verb, QUE cannot be its Object.

(32) O menino QUE ELE estuda aprende!

          ?   SB   V

This seems to be an argument in favour of a Comp-analysis for this
QUE. But to say it it is the Complementizer means that it has no
referent, which seems not to be true. QUE follows an NP, not a Verb
such as QUERER 'to want' or PENSAR 'to think', as Complementizers
do.

Another possible analysis for this type of sentences is the one in
which QUE is placed in Comp position by Wh-movement leaving a
co-indexed trace behind. Under this analysis QUE would then be
co-referential with the antecedent O MENINO 'the boy'. We see no
justification for Deletion of the moved constituent in Comp and
subsequent insertion of the complementizer QUE. We would rather
prefer to consider this QUE a Relative pronoun as it seems to hold
an anaphoric relation with the antecedent and to claim that the
trace left by Wh-movement may be realized or not: if it is not, we
get sequences like (26) discussed above; if it is, we get (3Ø),
where the function of QUE and its anaphoric relation with the
antecedent is reinforced by the pronoun ELE.

(26) O menino que estuda aprende.

(30) O menino que ele estuda aprende.

Let us now turn our attention to the type of Relative clauses
exemplified by (14)-(15).These sentences are characteristically
colloquial. (15) has been considered typical of substandard speech.

(14) O homem QUE Maria votou não presta.

(15) O homem QUE Maria votou NELE não presta.

The characteristic of (15) is the occurrence of a pronoun in the
embedded clause which is co-referential with the antecedent O HOMEM.
This resumptive pronoun is, in this case, part of a PP: NELE= EM+ELE
'in+ he'. As we said above VOTAR subcategorizes for PPs and in (15)
this PP is realized by NELE. The subcategorization requirements of

the embedded verb are thus satisfied by the PP NELE and QUE seems to have no syntactic function. In addition, it appears to have no referent.

Actually two analyses seem to be possible for this type of construction as far/co-referentiality of the QUE with the antecedent is concerned. One may suppose that in that case QUE has no referent and is not consequently the Relative pronoun but the homophonous complementizer and that NELE is a pronominal form co-referential with O HOMEM. This is, roughly, one of the possible analyses I suggested for Portuguese in a previous work (Cohen 1981), following Emonds'(1976) analysis for English That-relatives. Similar analyses have also been proposed for Portuguese colloquial relatives by Lemle (1978); Kato (1981). Spanish sentences with oblique resumptive pronouns have been also given the same analysis by Rivero (1980).

Emonds (1976:142ff.) proposes that relativization is accomplished in steps. Structures like (32) would then be in a stage of "pre-relativization", being the source of both That and Wh-relatives.

(32) The friend (that I spoke to him) drove away.

This pre-relativized structure would have the complementizer THAT and a pronoun which could either be deleted (33a) or relativized (33b, 33c).

(33) a. The friend (that I spoke to) drove away. (NP Deletion)
     b. The friend (who I spoke to) drove away. (NP Fronting)
     c. The friend (to whom I spoke) drove away. (PP Fronting)

From (33a) the feature Wh would be attached to the NP (or PP) and this constituent would be fronted obligatorily by a movement rule of Wh-Fronting into clause initial position, substituting for the complementizer. (33a) or (33b) would be the resulting structures.

Portuguese sentence (15) could be in this "pre-relativized" stage proposed by Emonds. The difference between English and Portuguese is

that in the latter, structures with resumptive pronouns are acceptable, while in English, NP Deletion would be more natural.

(15) O homem QUE Maria votou NELE não presta.
        Comp

NP Deletion does not apply in Portuguese, however. The preposition has to be deleted with the NP it accompanies, because as a general rule Portuguese does not allow structures like (34), where only NP has been deleted, leaving the preposition unaltered.

(34) * O homem QUE Maria votou EM não presta.

A rule of either Preposition Deletion or Prepositional Phrase Deletion seems to be necessary in the grammar of Portuguese to allow for structures like (14), where there is no preposition.

(14) O homem QUE Maria votou não presta.

This Preposition Deletion or Prepositional Phrase Deletion needs justification in Portuguese in the same way that the above rule of NP Deletion needs justification in English. We shall return to this point later.

Another possibility would be to admit that QUE is a Qu-word and is co-indexed or co-referential with O HOMEM.

(15) O homem QUE Maria votou NELE não presta.

Wh-movement would account for this structure. The aspects relevant to the present discussion are shown in diagram (35)[2].

(35)

```
                          S
                  _____/ _____
                 NP              VP
              __/  \__         _/  \____
            NP       S'      ⟨ não presta ⟩
           /  \     /  \
      0 homem_i  Comp   S
                  |    /  \
                 PP   NP   VP
                  |   |   /  \
                +Wh  Maria V   PP
                /  \       |   |
              em que_i   votar  t_i
```

Wh-movement would have left a trace co-indexed with the moved constituent.

(36) [[O homem] [[EM QUE]] [Maria votou t_i]] não presta]
    NP NP   S'comp   S

This structure would lead to (37), a Relative clause typical of a formal style.

(37) O homem EM {QUE Maria votou não presta.
              {QUEM

In order to derive a sentence with a resumptive pronoun like (15) the trace left by Wh-movement would be realized as a pronoun, matching the features of Gender and Number of the antecedent NP.

We would be left then with the question of whether the Deletion of the moved preposition occurs before or after the resumptive pronoun appears. Let us suppose it occurs prior to the realization of the trace left by Wh-movement. In this case we will be admiting that sentences like (14) are derived from (37) and that (15) would be understood as a subsequent stage, as a strategy used by the speaker to make explicit what the relation between QUE and the embedded verb

should be. By recovering the deleted preposition through the trace left by Wh-movement the information encoded by the PP would be more explicit than it is in (14).

(38) (i) O homem$_i$ EM QUE$_i$ Maria votou t$_i$ não presta. (=37)

    (ii) O homem$_i$ QUE$_i$ Maria votou t$_i$ não presta. (=14)

    (iii) O homem$_i$ QUE$_i$ Maria votou NELE$_i$ não presta. (=15)

This hypothesis presuposess that the preposition is deleted after Wh-movement but before the surface realization of the trace.

One could also suppose that the preposition is deleted after the surface realization of the trace, as in (39) and propose that the moved preposition was deleted under identity .

(39) (i) O homem$_i$ EM QUE$_i$ Maria votou t$_i$ não presta.

    (ii)*O homem$_i$ EM QUE$_i$ Maria votou NELE$_i$ não presta.

    (iii) O homem$_i$ QUE$_i$ Maria votou NELE$_i$ não presta.

If the Comp-analysis is taken as adequate for (15) it follows that a rule of Prepositional Phrase Deletion is necessary in Portuguese in order to account for (14). One assumes then that the analysis of sentences like (14) is dependent on the analysis given to sentences like (15). Are there arguments in favour of such a deletion rule?

On the other hand if the Relative pronoun-analysis is considered the correct one it follows that the deleted constituent is not a Prepositional Phrase but simply a Preposition. Do we have arguments favouring the existence of such a rule? The same comments made for non-oblique relatives are in order here. If the Comp-analysis for oblique colloquial relatives is correct it follows that QUE is in these cases the Complementizer and not the Relative Pronoun. Assuming that QUE in Portuguese Relative clauses derives from the Latin Relative pronoun QUE(M), as we said earlier, one would be admitting that this QUE has then been reanalysed as the homophonous Complementizer in Portuguese.

The present problem seems to be due to the existing homophony between the QUE which appears in oblique and non-oblique Relative clauses - traditionally analysed as a Relative pronoun - and QUE - traditionally called "conjunction", or "complementizer", in more recent terminology. Thus the question may now be asked whether this division Complementizer/Relative pronoun is justifiable synchronically in Modern Portuguese for Relative clauses and, furthermore, whether there is evidence and justification for a similar division in earlier stages of the language.

3.3 Preposition Deletion

As a general rule Pied Piping is obligatory for formal Portuguese oblique relatives. Sentences like (40) where the preposition is stranded are not possible.[3] However, as will be shown later the stranding of prepositions in Portuguese seems to depend on their phonological and semantic properties because a few prepositions can be stranded. In (40) it is forbidden.

(40)*A moça que eu conversei COM tratou-me de "senhora".
  'The-girl-that-I-talked-with- called-me-of-madam'
'The girl that I talked to called me Madam.'

Portuguese interrogative clauses also disallow preposition stranding.

(41)a)"Com quem Flávia estava falando?"
    'With-whom-F.- was talking'
'With whom was Flávia talking?'

  b) *"Quem Flávia estava falando COM?"
    'Whom-F.   -was talking-with'
'Who was Flávia talking to?'

                (Decat, 1978:20)

  c) De que Flávia estava falando?
    'Of-what-F.   -was talking'
'About what was F. talking?'

106

d)* Que Flávia estava falando DE?

  'What-F. -was talking-   of'

'What was F. talking about?'

Based on languages such as German, French, Italian, Russian and Finnish in which preposition stranding is forbidden Ross(1967: 132) proposes the following condition specifying the environment in which the Pied Piping convention (Ross 1967:126) is obligatory:

(42) NO NP may be moved out of the environment $[P-\cdots]_{NP}$

Although this seems to be the case with the formal Portuguese relatives and interrogatives exemplified above, it is also true that structures like (43), where a stressed preposition is not moved into Comp, are possible.

(43)a. A idéia QUE nós temos de lutar CONTRA é essa.

  'The-idea-that-we-have-of-to fight-against-is -this'

'The idea that we have to fight against is this.'

   b. O assunto que eu quero te falar   SOBRE é muito delicado.

  'The-topic-that-I-want-to you-to talk-about-is-very-delicate'

'The topic that I want to talk to you about is very delicate.'

As we can see the prepositions CONTRA 'against' and SOBRE 'about' are left behind. Prepositions like CONTRA, SOBRE, and to a lesser extent COM 'with', SEM 'without' appear to behave differently from DE , A, EM. The former carry stress, are disyllabic and have more semantic content than the latter and can be stranded. The same seems to be valid for Prepositional phrases like JUNTO DE 'by'; PERTO DE 'near'; A RESPEITO DE 'about'. In this case the actual preposition DE, which is part of the Prepositional phrase is deleted, while the stressed adverb which accompanies it is not. In these cases Pied Piping is not obligatory.

(44) É esse o seu irmão que   a sua mãe morava junto?

  'Is-this-the-your-brother-that-the-your-mother-lived-by'

'Is this your brother that your mother lived with?'

We turn now to the problem of Preposition deletion in colloquial sentences such as (14).

(14) O homem que Maria votou não presta.

So far two possibilities of Preposition deletion have been suggested: one in which Preposition is deleted in its place of origin along with the NP it accompanies. This would actually be a case of Prepositional phrase deletion, not only of Preposition deletion. It is part of the Comp-analysis for structures like (14), which would be derived from (15).

(15) O homem que Maria votou nele não presta.

Constructions like (45) present another environment where PP deletion seems to be possible in Portuguese.

(45) Sarah começou a chorar quando Suzana parou (de chorar).
    'S. -began-to cry -when- S.   -stopped-of crying'
'Sarah began to cry when Suzana stopped crying.'

The PP DE CHORAR can be deleted from the embedded clause, but one may not say that it is deleted under identity because the verbs are identical but the prepositions are not.

It seems that there are also arguments in favour of deleting a Preposition instead of a Prepositional Phrase. In this case the constituents in which the prepositions occur appear to have been moved from their original position. Questions, Topicalization, Indirect Object Inversion and Cleft sentences all involve reordering of constituents. The examples below show all these possibilities.

(46)a. Realmente, eu gosto muito DO SEU nome.
       'Actually- I -like-very much-of-your-name'
   'Actually I like your name very much.'

b. O SEU nome , realmente eu gosto muito.

'The-your-name-actually-I-like-very much'

'Actually I like your name very much.'

In (46b)   DO SEU NOME has been topicalized and the preposition DE seems to have been deleted.

The same appears to be true of interrogative clauses. The preposition COM does not appear in (47b) when the PP is reordered.

(47)a. Joana foi à aula COM QUE vestido?

'J.   -went-to-school-with-what dress'

b. QUE vestido Joana foi à aula?

'What-dress-J- went-to-school.'

'With what dress did J. go went to school?'

Cleft sentences allow Preposition deletion too.

(48)a.Ela gosta desse doce.

'She-likes-this-sweet'

'She likes this sweet.'

b. É ESSE doce que ela gosta.

'Is-this-sweet-that-she-likes'

It is this sweet that she likes.

With Indirect Object inversion the Preposition can be deleted too.

(49)a.Dei uma camisa PRO papai.

'(I)gave-a-shirt-for-the-daddy'

'I gave a shirt to daddy'

b. Dei PAPAI uma camisa.

'(I)gave-daddy-a-shirt'

'I gave Daddy a shirt.'

The verbs of the sentences above subcategorize for PPs: DAR,

V,+[——NP,PP]'to give'; Gostar , V, + [——PP] 'to like'; or can take optional oblique complement as in (47).

In simple declarative sentences with unmarked word order Preposition deletion is not allowed if the preposition is part of a PP which is complement to the verb. It seems therefore that if no constituent is moved the preposition may not be deleted, as in (50b) and (51b).

(50) a. Suzana gosta DOS doces de Cambuquira.
   'S.   -likes-of the-sweets-of -C.'

   b.*Suzana gosta OS doces de Cambuquira.
    'S.   -likes-the-sweets-of C.'
'Suzana likes the sweets from Cambuquira.'

(51) a. Ela não dorme com cobertor.
    'She-not-sleep-with-blanket'

   b.* Ela não dorme cobertor.
    'She-not-sleep-blanket'
'She does not sleep with a blanket.'

When the PP is reordered as in (46)-(49) Preposition deletion can cause difficulties in the decodification of the resulting strings in *the* case *that* it is not the only *preposition* which can occur with the verb in question. This is the case of (52). The first preposition recovered is COM 'with' but SOBRE 'about' is also possible.

(52) a. O médico que ela conversou é homeopata.
    'The-doctor-that-she-spoke- is-homeopath

   a'. O médico que ela conversou COM ele é homeopata.
    'The-doctor-that-she-spoke-with-him-is-homeopath'
'The doctor that she spoke with is a homeopath.'

a''.O médico que ela conversou sobre ele é homeopata.
'The-doctor-that-she-spoked-about-him-is-homeopath.'
'The doctor that she spoke about is a homeopath.'

COM is the only preposition admitted by SONHAR 'to dream' and consequently the only one recoverable.

(53)a. A menina que João sonhou tinha olhos azuis.
   'The-girl-that-J. -dreamt-had- eyes-blue'

   a'. A menina que João sonhou COM ela ...
      'The-girl-that-J. -dreamt-with-her...
'The girl that J. dreamt of had blue eyes.'

(54) however allows for the recoverability of several prepositions, but they have all a similar meaning 'about'.

(54)a. A rua   que ele falou fica perto daqui.
   'The-street-that-he-talked-is-near-of here'

   a'. A rua que ele falou DELA (DE)...
                        'of her (of)
                        NELA (EM)...
                        'in her (in)'
                        SOBRE ELA (SOBRE)...
                        'about her (about)'
                        A RESPEITO DELA (DE)...
                        'about of her (of)

'The street that he talked about is near here!

According to the proposals in the earlier part of the section *there are* three conditions on Preposition deletion.

1) When the verb accepts only one preposition such as gostar DE, 'to like'; morar EM 'to live'; precisar DE 'to need', etc., this preposition can be deleted without problem as it seems to function as part of the verb and will be automatically recovered from the context. The resulting structures are perfectly acceptable.

(55)a. A rua   que ele mora é barulhenta.
   'The-street-that-he-lives-is-noisy'

111

b. A rua que ele mora nela é barulhenta.

'The-stree-that-he-lives-in her-is-noisy.'

'The street in which he lives is noisy.'

MORAR only accepts EM and the preposition is not really necessary for the full comprehension of the sentence.

2) When the verb admits more than one preposition the most natural deletion is of the preposition which is more closely linked to the verb. Thus the more natural paraphrase of (56) would be (57a,b) whose prepositions keep the general meaning of this verb ie., FALAR DE 'to talk about'.

(56) O professor que ela falou não é esse.

  'The-teacher-that-she-talked-not-is-this'

(57) a.O professor que ela falou DELE (DE+ELE)...

  'The-teacher-that-she-talked-'of him'

    b.   NELE (EM+ELE)

                    'in him'

    c.   COM ELE

                    'with him'

    d.   SOBRE ELE

                    'about him'

There seems to be a gradation of acceptability of the sentences in which the prepositions appear recovered: (57a,b) are more acceptable that (57c,d) and any of the sentences in (57) is more explicit than (56). 3) When the preposition adds new information to the verbs it may not be deleted. This would be the case of CONTRA, SOBRE, and to a lesser extent COM and SEM (when in contrast); and of PPs like JUNTO DE, A FAVOR DE, PERTO DE .

The general hypothesis is thus that prepositions may be deleted when they do not add new information to the meaning of the verb with which they co-occur, revealed by the gradation of acceptability in the sentences in which these prepositions appear recovered.

112

This hypothesis about preposition deletion would be in accordance with the Relative pronoun analysis for the colloquial sentences (14)-(15) discussed above not with the Comp-hypothesis. One is thus arguing in favour of a rule which deletes Prepositions (under the conditions above) not Prepositional hrases. One relevant aspect of this deletion is that it appears to be linked to movement rules, as shown above.

It seems to be true that Preposition deletion is linked to reordering rules because when there is no reordering of constituents prepositions may not be deleted. In the case of examples (14)-(15) it is not clear however whether the preposition is deleted from Comp or from its place of origin ie., in both cases AFTER Wh-movement has taken place. Regarding this it seems that there are two possibilities: one may suppose that it is deleted from Comp, ie. AFTER Wh-movement due either to phonetic or semantic reasons or both; one may equally suppose that it has not been moved by Wh-movement with the NP it accompanies but has been deleted from its place of origin for phonetic or semantic reasons. In this sense stressed prepositions like CONTRA and SOBRE would not be deleted as they are necessary to the meaning of the sentence. On the other hand unstressed prepositions like DE, EM, A would be deleted because they are not essential to the meaning of the whole sentence.

If one assumes that Pied Piping is obligatory in the environments stated above then it follows that the preposition is deleted from Comp. If only NPs can be moved then the other possibility is automatically more adequate.

In the preceding sections I suggested a number of alternative analyses for Restrictive Relative clauses in present-day Portuguese. For oblique relatives an analysis which makes use of a movement rule was proposed. One major problem was however created by the fact that in an informal register Prepositions or whole PPs appear to be deleted under certain conditions, in the process of Wh-movement or in some other way. If the Preposition Deletion hypothesis is assumed to be the most adequate one, one would be arguing in favour of a rule of Deletion in Comp, although a similar rule for non-oblique

relatives still appears to be unjustifiable. The problem seems partly to lie in the anaphoric relations that QUE may hold with its antecedent: if the Preposition or the whole PP is deleted it is doubtful whether QUE has a referent or not.

Eventually we argued in favour of a Preposition Deletion rule instead of a PP Deletion rule. Under this hypothesis QUE holds an anaphoric relationship with its antecedent. Despite the presence of a resumptive pronoun in structures where the PP is recovered we still believe that QUE holds an anaphoric relationship with its antecedent, although weakened by the presence of the resumptive pronoun.

Another problem was created by the fact that different prepositions appeared to behave differently in relation to deletion/stranding. While stressed ones (which also have semantic content) could be stranded , unstressed ones such as DE or A could not.

How non-oblique relatives should be analysed was also discussed and no compelling reason seems to have been given either for a Comp analysis or for a Relative pronoun analysis. The main problem of a Comp analysis for non-oblique relatives seems to be the adequacy of a rule of Deletion in Comp for Portuguese data. Although it can be fully justified within the theoretical framework in which it is proposed, it seems to be inadequate for Portuguese.

To assume that Deletion of the Relative in Comp occurs in non-oblique relatives in Portuguese would imply:

a) that QUE is not a Relative pronoun but the homophonous Complementizer. As a Complementizer it would neither inflect for Gender and Number nor encode any syntactic function. The Relativizer QUE like the homophonous Complementizer is uninflected for Gender and Number. It does not follow from this however that it is not a Pronoun. There are in Portuguese other Pronouns invariable in respect to both Gender and Number, as the Demonstratives ISTO, ISSO, AQUILO 'this, that' and despite this they play syntactic roles in the sentence. In addition, Portuguese has no case inflection: word

order and verb subcategorization facts seem to be sufficient to determine the function of the constituents in the sentence. There is nothing in the QUE itself which could prevent it from being interpreted as a pronoun and consequentely of fulfilling syntactic functions;

b) that QUE has no referent, just like the homophonous conjunction. This is not the case. Native speakers recover the referent of QUE from the verb while the conjuction QUE is seen as devoid of any link with a possible antecedent.

All the sentence types with resumptive pronouns discussed above (oblique and non-oblique) belong to an informal or colloquial register. The non-oblique ones without resumptive pronouns, however, can be either formal or informal. The division into 'formal' and 'informal'(or standard and colloquial) Restrictive relative clauses appears to be more justified in cases of oblique relativization. A sentence like (38) is undoubtedly formal, while (26) could be either formal or informal. (14) is less formal than (38), but more formal than (15).

(38) O homem em que Maria votou não presta.

(26) O menino que estuda aprende.

(14) O homem que Maria votou não presta.

(15) O homem que Maria votou nele não presta.

It seems that there is no single analysis which could account for Portuguese Restrictive Relative clauses as a whole. At least two divisions appeared to be necessary: one between oblique/non-oblique relatives and another one between formal and informal relatives. At least two analyses have been suggested for the informal relatives. Either of the analyses suggested seems to be synchronically adequate. One may ask then whether there is evidence of a similar division in earlier stages of the language and whether any consequences would come from that for the choice between a Comp and

a Relative pronoun analysis.

As noted above the choice of a Comp analysis for non-oblique Portuguese relatives would imply that the QUE, which is taken to be originally a Relative pronoun, has been reanalysed as a Complementizer. Although it is homophonous with the Complementizer, each one has its particular syntactic environment and there is no evidence to suggest they occur in ambiguous structures, which would have led QUE to be reanalysed.

We may approach the diachronic aspect by first discussing the analyses proposed by Rivero (1982) for Spanish and second by discussing the origins of the Portuguese QUE.

4. Diachronic Analysis

4.1. Rivero's (1982) analysis for Spanish, Catalan and French

Rivero (1982) extends her previous synchronic analyses for present-day Spanish and Catalan (Rivero, 1980,1981), respectively, to earlier stages of Spanish, Catalan and French.

As presented in section 3.1, she postulates an obligatory rule of Deletion of the phrase which contains the Relative in Comp to account for non-oblique present day Spanish Que-Relative clauses. These clauses have, thus, the Complementizer QUE in sentence initial position not the Relative pronoun. On the other hand, no Deletion in Comp is proposed for oblique Que- Relatives and the form QUE which appears in these positions is identified with the Relative pronoun.

She proposes the same rule of Deletion in Comp to be also operative in earlier periods of these languages. The rule is however proposed to be optional in these early stages. Deletion in Comp was therefore reinterpreted as obligatory in the modern stages. Although there is a parallel evolution of Deletion which goes from optional to obligatory in the three languages, according to Rivero there is no general mechanism of change behind it. It is suggested that the change depends on particular conditions in the language. We will be

concerned here mainly with Spanish.

In 13th C Spanish Deletion in Comp is considered optional: both QUI
and QUE appear in oblique and non-oblique relatives as in (58).

(58) a. Si... ésti QUI me tiene non me fizer amor,/ d'aquend essir
        'If-this one-who-me-has-not-me-make-love-of here- exit

        non puedo
        not-(I)can

'If this one who has me does not love me, I cannot get out of this
place.'

                              (Berceo, Sto. Domingo 712c-d)

     b.   Era día domingo, una feria sabrosa, EN QUI la gent
          '(It) was-sunday- a holiday-flavorful- in which -the-people

          christiana toda anda gradosa
          christian-all-feel-happy'

'It was sunday, a flavourful holiday, in which the christians all
feel happy.'

                              (Berceo, Milagros 831 c-d)

In (58a) QUI, considered as a Relative pronoun, is in a non-oblique
position and has a [+animate] referent: ESTI 'this(one/person'); in
(58b) it is in an oblique position and has a [-animate] referent:
UNA FERIA SABROSA 'a flavorful holiday'.

At the same time QUE appears in oblique and non-oblique positions,
either with [+animate] or [-animate] antecedents. (59) is the
example given of oblique relativization with QUE. The antecedent
SENNOR 'lord' is [+animate].

(59) Auos sennor rey don Ferrando,... uesamos uestras manos como
     'To-you-lord-king- F.-   (we) kiss- your -hands-like

117

a sennor EN QUE esperamos merce.

to-lord-in-who-(we)expect-mercy'

(Documentos Lingüísticos de España 252, (1226)

In oblique positions it is straightforwardly considered as a
Relative. For non-oblique positions two analyses are proposed: a)
QUE can be always a Relative pronoun and no Deletion in Comp would be
necessary; b) it can be sometimes the Relative, sometimes the
homophonous Complementizer, and optional Deletion would be required.
The evidence against the first analysis, ie., that there is no
Deletion in Comp is partly given by the existence in the 13th C of
sentences like (60) and (61).

(60) ca   non cuidé   veerme   en esto QUE me   veo
'Because-not-(I) took care-to see myself-in this-that-myself-(I)see'

In (60) QUE is found instead of a PP EN+QUE; this PP is then
supposed to have been deleted under identity with the antecedent,
which is also a PP with an identical Preposition. The Deletion of
this PP appears to be the argument for a general rule of Deletion in
Comp. As the relative Wh-phrase has been deleted the complementizer
QUE appears.

(61) algunos avié   dellos QUE LES   pesava d'esto
    'Some-there were-of them-that-them-(it) pained-of this'
'There were some of them that it made them sad because of this.'
                            Berceo, Sto. Domingo 80 d

(61) is a Relative clause with a resumptive pronoun and the QUE is
interpreted as the Complementizer. In view of these two types of
sentences QUE is assumed to be the Complementizer even in
non-oblique positions and the rule of Deletion in Comp is considered
to be optional for the 13th C Spanish. The rule would apply to PPs,
Object and Subject NPs. The status of non-oblique QUE remains
unclear, however: It can be the unspecialized Relative moved into
Comp and not deleted; or the Complementizer after Deletion.

Further evidence for the Deletion in Comp is taken to be related to the features of the antecedent, ie. [+animate] or [-animate]. Before we try to clear up what is said about this feature we will present what is said about 14th C Spanish.

In the 14th C QUI, the form which was undoubtedly considered to be a Relative pronoun in the preceding period, has disappeared and QUE is the only form appearing as Subject or Object. QUE is also realized in oblique positions, but restricted to [-animate] antecedents. [+animate] antecedents are restricted to QUIEN. In oblique positions any form is analysed as a Relative. The question would be how to analyse QUE in non-oblique positions.

Regarding the features of the antecedent, a regular pattern seemed to have emerged: oblique QUIEN occurs only with [+animate] antecedents and oblique QUE with [-animate] ones. Both are Relative pronouns. A generalization that QUE always had [-animate] referents could be made but non-oblique QUE seems to contradict this: it does not take into account the features of the antecedent and occurs with either: [+animate] or [-animate]. In the case of [+animate] antecedents in non-oblique position its treatment as a Complementizer is understood as compulsory, as in the only other case where it is unambiguously a Relative, ie., in oblique positions, it is restricted to [-animate] referents. In the case of [-animate] antecedents non-oblique QUE is said to be open to a double analysis (Relative or Complementizer) as there is no positive evidence in favour of any of the positions. Even though a uniform analysis is assumed for all non-oblique positions: Deletion is obligatory and QUE is, in these positions always taken to be the Complementizer in the 14th C Spanish.

To summarize, Deletion in Comp was posited as an optional rule for 13th C Spanish and obligatory from the 14th C onwards. This change is assumed to be related to the specialization of the Relative QUE to [-animate] antecedents and to the disappearance of QUI- a form which has definitely been considered a Relative pronoun. On the contrary, a double analysis has been suggested for QUE, but it is eventually considered only as a Complementizer.

119

The same rule of Deletion in Comp is postulated for Catalan. It was optional in early periods of the language and became obligatory in Modern Catalan. QUI is also assumed to have disappeared in Catalan in non-oblique positions, althoughPar (1929) attests its existence in modern popular speech in Cataluña and Mallorca and also in sayings or some legal expressions. The form has survived in oblique positions.

For French the same evolution was proposed: Deletion in Comp changed from optional to obligatory. It involves in French the Que→Qui rule proposed by Kayne (1976). It is not our purpose to discuss here the complex evolution of French Relative forms. Although Rivero raises no doubts as regards the adequacy of such a rule and although there are theoretical reasons which are claimed to support it, Lefebvre (1979) holds a different position.

4.2 Origin of Portuguese QUE

4.2.1. The Relative pronoun QUE

Classical Latin possessed two series, Interrogatives and Relatives, identical except in the Nominative and Accusative of the Singular, which declined as follows (Elcock 1960:95; Gildersleeve Latin Grammar (1968: &105, &106). The plural of the interrogative coincides with the forms of the relative.

(62) Classical Latin

Relatives/Interrogatives

SG.				PL.		
	M.	F.	N.	M.	F.	N.
Nom.	QUĪ	QUAE	QUOD	QUĪ	QUAE	QUAE (Rel.)
	QUIS	QUAE/QUIS	QUID	QUĪ	QUAE	QUAE (Int.)
Gen	c ū i u⁶s			quōrum	quārum	quōrum
Dat.	c u ī			q u i b u s		
Acc.	QUEM	QUAM	QUOD	QUŌS	QUĀS	QUAE (Rel.)
	QUEM	QUAM	QUID	QUOS	QUAS	QUAE (Int.)
Abl.	quō	quā	quō	q u i b u s		

120

In Vulgar Latin QUI was often used for QUIS. In fact, the final -s early showed a tendency to disappear, as shown by some inscriptions. Old Latin actually attested both: the absence and the presence of a final -s. The first Latin inscription (600 B.C.) attests MANIOS with -s, whereas inscriptions from 259 B. C. attest its absence, as in CORNELIO (Nom.) instead of CORNELIUS. In formal speech the -s was pronounced in some phonetic environments, such as before vowels and certain consonants like [l],[m],[p],[n] until the 1st.C.B.C.

According to Wartburg (1950), this popular tendency to drop the -s provoked a learned reaction and it has been restored in the western parts of the Roman Empire from that time on. Consequently, the -s was reanalysed as a plural marker in the Western Romance Languages and is considered to be one of the features which distinguihes Western from Eastern Romance Languages.

This tendency to delete the final -s is often taken as one of the causes of the confusion between QUI and QUIS and consequently between M./F. and Sg./Pl. in the Vulgar Latin pronominal system. In addition, the fact that the Relative and Interrogative Systems were identical in all cases apart from the Nominative may have favoured levelling.

QUIS did not survive into Romance, not even in the Western Romance languages which preserved the final -s as the plural marker. QUI became thus the Nom.Sg./Pl. and M./F. for Relatives and Interrogatives, as the Nom./M. Pl. was also QUI and as the Masculine had assimilated the Feminine. This loss of the feminine appears in inscriptions from the 2/3rd C. B.C. such as PRIMAE FLORENTIAE FILIAE CARISSIMAE... QUI AB ORFEU MARITU IN TIBERI DECEPTA EST ...'who has died in the Tiber for her husband Orpheus', where QUI (Masc.) is used for the feminine QUAE (Väänänen (1967:201)). This absence of distinction between Masculine and Feminine is believed to be an extension of the same absence which existed in the Nominative of the Interrogatives. Table (63) summarizes the Nominative levelling. .

(63)   CL   VL

    Int. QUIS (Nom./Sg.; M./F.)   QUI (Rel./Int.;Nom. Sg./Pl.)

    Rel. QUĪ (Nom./Sg./Pl;M.)

This non-differentiation of Gender and Number has spread to other cases, so that the V.L Rel./Int. system was as in (64) as far as Nominative and Accusative are concerned.

(64) V.L. Rel./Int.

    Nom.M./F.;Sg./Pl.   QUI
    Acc.M./F.;Sg./Pl.   QUE(M)
    Nom./Acc.N.   QUID/QUOD

Inscriptions like FILIA QUEM RELIQUIT (from the 3rd. C B.C.) attest part of this change involving the category of Gender : the masculine QUEM is used for the feminine. At the same time QUOD was gradually ousted by QUID.

In phonological terms Portuguese Subject QUE may have originated from the V.L. Nom. QUI. This evolution is suggested for example by Lausberg (1973:295). Portuguese QUE in functions other than Subject may have its origin in the unstressed Acc. QUE(M) or in the neutral QUID. According to Lausberg there is no evidence to decide whether the QUE in Old Provençal, Catalan, Spanish and Portuguese, when it refers to inanimate antecedents comes from QUID, QUE(M), or QUI.

(65)   VL   Modern Portuguese

    Nom. QUI   QUE (Subject)
    Acc. QUE(M)(unstressed) QUE (other syntactic functions)
         QUID/QUOD

The elimination of the categories of Case, Gender and Number which took place in the Relative/Interrogative pronoun system in the evolution from VL to Portuguese led the QUE to be interpreted as an

unmarked form, a merging of forms that were contrastive in Latin. QUE is the Portuguese primary Relative pronoun, independent of its double origin, Subject Que having originated from the Nom. QUI and QUE in other syntactic functions from the Accusative.

In view of the Case system reduction throughout the evolution from VL to Romance- which brought about its nearly complete elimination, the Accusative being the immediate source of the Romance Nouns- it seems reasonable to say that the Relative system had undergone a similar reduction, and that Portuguese QUE is the result of a merging of Nominative and Accusative forms, the Accusative being its immediate source. The evolution would have been accomplished in steps, ideally in the hypothetical way shown in (66).

(66) 1) VL   2) VL   3) Port.

    Nom. QUI
    Acc. QUE(M)   Acc. QUE(M)   QUE(SB. and Oblique functions)
         QUID

Obviously, the process of change from VL to Portuguese particularly, and to Romance in general, has not been so straightforward and certainly did not happen in such neat consecutive stages as the sketch above might suggest. In the present study, for instance, differences between Portuguese and Spanish are shown by the fact that the Nominative QUI has been preserved in Spanish up to the 13/14th C , yelding to QUE after that time. QUI has not been registered in Portuguese; QUE is the only form attested already in the first Portuguese records from the 12th/13th C and there is no sign of QUI.

Par (1926, 1929) exhaustively studies the presence of the Nominative QUI in Spanish and Catalan. It is eventually replaced by QUE. This substitution is evidenced in written documents and varies geographically. In Spanish (Castilian), QUI disappeared from the written language around the 13th and 14th C. In some dialects (for example Rioja Baja, Castilla Del Norte) it ceased to be used earlier than in others (Murcia).

123

It seems that the Nominative survived longer in Spanish than in Portuguese but this fact does not seem to support the hypothesis that Portuguese Subject QUE comes from the Nominative.

4.2.2 The conjunction QUE

After having discussed the probable origin of the Portuguese Relative QUE, we shall look retrospectively at its homophonous subordinating conjunction QUE, which can introduce, for instance, a clause which is the Object or Subject of a matrix verb:

(67)a)Gostaria [QUE você ficasse].

           D. O.

  '(I)-would like-that-you-stayed'

 'I wish that you could stay'

  b) É melhor [QUE você fale logo].

         SB.

  '(It)is-better-that-you-say (Subj.)-soon'

 'It is better if you say it soon.'

This multifunctional particle is used in various types of structure in Portuguese, such as comparative constructions ELE É MAIS ESPERTO (DO) QUE INTELIGENTE 'He is more clever than intelligent' or as part of complex conjunctions such as AINDA QUE 'although', SEMPRE QUE 'whenever', and has been considered by Romanists to be the result of a conflation of the Latin conjunctions QUOD, QUIA and the pronominal form (Indefinite/Relative/Interrogative) QUID. Thus, while the Relative QUE is a coalescence of Case, Gender and Number within the interrogative/relative system, the conjunction QUE is also a convergence of different forms. The relevant aspects of this merger will be treated below.

QUOD in CL introduced complement clauses to affective verbs such as GAUDEO, DOLEO, MIROR: GAUDEO QUOD VALES 'I am pleased that you are well'. Verbs of saying and thinking such as CREDO, DICO, SCIO required the Accusative+ Infinitive construction as in the classic example CREDO TERRAM ESSE ROTUNDAM. Volitive verbs such as VOLO,

ROGO, JUBEO were construed with UT: VOLO UT MIHI RESPONDEAS 'I want
you to answer me'. The popular language innovated in that the saying
and thinking series of verbs also admitted QUOD complement clauses,
therefore, CREDO QUOD TERRA EST ROTUNDA. Verbs of volition resisted
this replacement longer (Bourciez, 1967: 122). QUOD is believed to
be initially the Accusative neuter of the Relative ((Väänänen
(1968:254); Bourciez (1967:122)).

QUIA was used initially to subordinate causal expressions and turned
out to be the major complement clause conjunction after the 3rd C
AD, taking the place of QUOD (Väänänen (1967: 255)). Both QUIA and
QUOD replaced the Accusative+infinitive construction.

According to Väänänen (op.cit.) QUIA was reduced to CA before
consonants as attested in Old Spanish, Old Italian, Sardinian and,
we shall add Old Portuguese, although in the Old Portuguese
documents analysed here it occurs preceding both consonants and
vowels. Before vowels a hypothetical QUI is postulated which, later
merged with QUID, would give the Romance QUE. In Modern Portuguese
CA was replaced by QUE.

(68)   CL   VL   O.Port.   M.Port.

        QUIA   *QUI /——V   QUE   QUE
                    *QUA /——C   CA (also in   ═══
                                O It.; O Sp.;
                                Sd.)

(69) Havede-vos por preso,   CA nom queremos   que aqui moirades
    'Have-yourself-as-arrested-that-not(we wanted-that-here-(you)die-

porque se os cristaos   em vos topam... nom   havedes defenson.
because-if-the-christians-in-you -meet-   -not-(you)have-defence'

'You are arrested, as we don't want that you should die here,
because if the christians find you, you don't have any defence.
                                            (14th C, PMH: 251)

125

The interrogative QUID started being used as a conjunction after the 5th C AD (Bourciez (1967:278)). Thus, QUID, usually used in questions: QUID CREDIS? started being employed in the answer: CREDO QUID, taking the place of QUOD.

According to Meyer-Lübke (1923:633 ff) QUID gradually replaced QUOD, and the fact that QUIA had lost the final -a before vowels, becoming QUI, reinforced the confusion between the two, ie. QUID and QUOD. Still Meyer-Lübke says that O.Fr. QUED. O. It. CHED, Prov. QUEZ, point to a Latin origin QUID, but like many Romanists he did not commit himself to one of these possibilities but rather quoted Jeanjaquet (1894), who claimed a multiple origin for the Romance QUE: a crossing between QUI, QUIA and QUOD.

To summarize the possible origins of the Portuguese QUE it seems reasonable to say that it was the fact that both QUOD and QUIA were used as subordinating conjunctions (with only a difference in the type of clause each one governed, ie. QUIA+ Indicative and QUOD+ Subjunctive), which acted as a trigger for QUID replacement. In addition, since QUID became a conjunction and due to its phonetic similarity to QUI(A), a further contribution was made to the already existing convergence, which culminated in the Romance QUE.

(70)   VL   Port.

         QUOD (Conj.)
         QUI(A) (Conj.)   QUE (Conj.)
         QUID (Ind./REl./Int.)

It is interesting to note that Mattoso Câmara (1972:160) seems not to include QUI(A) among the probable etyma of the conjunction QUE: "In Portuguese, as in other Romance languages, the whole system of subordinating conjunctions was profoundly remodeled. The most important fact to note in this connection is the appearance of the particle QUE 'that', homonymous with the Relative pronoun QUE, as the subordinating conjunction par excellence (O HOMEM QUE VEJO 'The man that I see'; DIGO QUE VEJO 'I say that I see'). The principal cause of this was a loss of pronominal meaning suffered by the

126

neuter indefinite-interrogative pronoun QUID and its coalescence
with neuter QUOD, a strictly relative form. Secondarily, there was
the convergence in phonetic evolution of the comparative particle
QUAM and the conjunction QUOD. Out of all this there arose a
multifunctional particle QUE, used in the most varied sort of
phrasal structures." (Mattoso Câmara (1972:160)).

Although QUE is used in the same way as the Latin conjunction QUOD,
ie. as a complement particle, it seems clear that Portuguese QUE
could not have QUOD as its immediate proto-form, because this
development would not be plausible in phonetic terms. On the other
hand, both QUI(A) and QUID are phonetically plausible sources.

CL ĭ and ē merged   into a single vowel /e/ both in stressed and
pretonic positions in VL and in final unstressed position in Old
Portuguese. The quantity was no longer distinctive in VL and O.Pt.
The vowel /e/ of O.Pt. has undergone further developments in both
Brazil and Portugal. In Portugal final unstressed /e/ became /ə/ and
in Brazil /i/ . This reduction is explained by the articulatory
weakness of the proclitic position that QUE assumed in VL. According
to Mattoso Câmara (1972:35) " the vowels of proclitics act both   as
the unstressed initial vowel of a phonological word and as the
unstressed particle itself." This is exactly the development that
can be claimed for QUE.

(71)   L a t i n   O.Port.   Eur. M Port.   Br. M.Port.

        QUID   QUE /e/   QUE /e/   QUE /ə/   QUE /i/
        QUI(A) .

4.3. Relative clauses with QUE in Old/Middle Portuguese

The form QUE, the 'universal relative', the form used for the
majority of syntactic functions in Portuguese is historically a
result of the conflation of the Latin Relatives/Interrogatives as
far as the categories of Gender, Number and Case are concerned, and
is homophonous with the conjunction QUE, which is also a development
from the Latin QUID/QUIA.

127

According to the general romance tendency of Case loss, elimination of the Neuter and reanalysis of the category of Number, the richly inflected Latin Relative/Interrogative Pronoun system developed in Portuguese into a system consisting of an unmarked QUE (morphologically) for the major syntactic functions; a less frequent QUEM accompanied by a Preposition for Indirect Objects and Nominal Complements; a marginal CUJO, (-A,-OS,AS) for Possessives and O(S)/A(S) QUAL, QUAIS, for Non-Restrictive Relatives.

This system has been reorganized throughout the centuries so far as the distribution of QUE/QUEM is concerned (See Chap. 3). Morphologically speaking, Portuguese QUE has been left with no formal way of showing the anaphoric relationship which holds between the Relative and its antecedent compared to Classical Latin where the Relatives agreed in Gender and Number with their antecedents.

Examples of varied syntactic relativized positions extracted from the 14th and 15th C texts are given below. QUE is the general form irrespective of the form of the antecedent as regards Gender, Number and of its own syntactic function in the Relative clause.

(72) a) Outrosy diserom que por quanto as cousas QUE   a todollos
                                         NP   SB

                              [-animate]
     'Also-(they) said-that-as far as-the-things-that-to-all the

     poboos perte(n)cem, e DE QUE todos sentem carego   e cuiydado,
                              IO
     people -belong- and of-that-all-feel- responsibility-and-care

     devem   ser chamados   a ello pera com seu acordo e comselho
     (they)should-be-called-to him-for-with-his-approval-and-advi$e

     se   fazerem.   (14th C, FL:6)
     oneself   -to be done'

'It was also said that as far as the things that belong to the
comunity and about which all are concerned they should be called to

him for   with his approval and advice to be done.'

        b) E himdo assy seu caminho, chegarom hum dia a oras de vespera
    'And-going-then-their-way-(they) arrived-one-day-at-times-of-vesper

      a par dhuum logar QUE chamam Neiva, QUE som (dez) legoas do Porto.
         PP   DO   SB
         [-animate]
         near-of-a-place-that-(they)call-N- that-is-ten-miles-of O Porto.'

                              (14th C, FL:15)

  'And going on their way, they arrived one day in the afternoon in a
  place that is called Neiva, that is ten miles from O Porto.'

        c)... El Rey Dom Fernando e a Raynha sua molher per cartas de
           'The-king-D. F.   and-the-Queen-his-wife-by-letters -of

      rogo faziam casar contra sa vontade assy   molheres veuvas
      plea-made-to marry-against-their-will-in this way-women-widows

        (...) nom semdo esses COM QUE casavom pertencemtes pera ellas
                         NP   IO
                    [+animate]
      not-being-these ones-with whom-(they)married-suitable-for them'

                          (14th C, FL:6)

  'The King D.F. and the queen his wife obliged widows by law to marry
  against their will then who were not suitable'

        d) E depois dhuum bom espaço (...) fallou (huum) cidadaao
                                                         NP

                                                    [+animate]
           'And-after-of-a good-time - spoke   -a- citizen

      A QUE   disto   era dado carego e disse...
         IO
      to whom-of this-was-given-charge-and (he)said' (14th C,
                                                (14th C, FL:19)

'And after some time a citizen to whom the charge of this was given spoke and he said...'

    e) Senhor, porque nos mostraste em como fezessemos egrejas

                                                           NP

                                                     [-animate]

      'Lord -why- us-(you)showed- in-how-(we)builded-churches

    EM QUE   te louvassemos e seguissemos?
    Loc. Comp.
    in which-(we)-you-worshipped-and-followed'

                          (14th C, PMH I:247)

'Lord, why did you show us how to build churches in which we could worship and follow you?

Modern Portuguese shows the same characteristics of Old/Middle Portuguese as far as QUE-Relatives are concerned. The use of QUEM in Headed Relatives is treated here as an innovation in the process of Relativization but this does not seem to have affected QUE-Relatives as such.

4.4. Relative clauses with Resumptive Pronouns in Old Portuguese and Old Spanish

Relative clauses with resumptive pronouns are not attested in the corpus under analysis in this work. Neither the Modern Portuguese texts nor the older texts registered this type of clause. Its existence in older periods of Portuguese and Romance in general is however attested elsewhere.[4]

According to Bourciez (1967:276) Relative clauses exhibiting a resumptive pronoun (demonstrative) existed already in Early Romance ("Phase Romane Primitive"). He attributes their existence to the indeterminacy of the atonic *QUE, a form resulting from QUE(M), QUID, QUAE. The examples given are: "Homem QUEM ego beneficiun EI feci" (Formulae Merowingici et Karolini aevi) 'The man whom I did

                          130·

him a favour'; "De Grimaldo, QUEM EI sustulisti sua uxore" 'De Grimaldo, to whom you got his wife'(Formulae Senonenses).

Väänänen (1967:253) cites the same expressions dated from 341 AD and classifies them as "Anacholutia"(CLI IX 10, Calabria 341 AD).

The same type of expression is documented in Old Spanish and Old Portuguese. These constructions have been interpreted as resulting from the conflation of the Relative QUE and the particle QUE which led to the appearance of a pleonastic pronoun as a way of clarifying the anaphoric relationship with the antecedent the overt signalling of which had been lost (Cf. Bourciez (1967:470)). For O. Sp. the example given is DOS PERROS QUE SE LOS HABIA VENDIDO UN GANADERO 'Two dogs that a herdsman had sold them.'

Maurer Jr. (1959:220) attributes the appearance of such expressions to the reduction in Latin of the Relative pronoun declension and to the difficulty in using the resulting form QUE with a preposition. The Relative would thus have been reduced to a simple particle which introduces the Relative clause. According to him, these constructions are pan-Romance, have a popular Latin origin and are predominantly typical of the medieval period.

Diez (1872:380) asks the question whether it was possible to distinguish between the Conjunction and the Pronoun. The case relation, which is not expressed by the QUE, is clarified later in the sentence by a Personal pronoun. The examples given are mostly from the 15th/16th C.: LAS FLORES QUE SUS MAYORES FAVORES SON QUEMADOS 'the flowers that their (whose) best qualities are burnt' (C. Gen. 218); QUE DE HOMERO A CÍTHARA PARA ELES SO COBIÇO 'For whom I only wish Homer's zither' (Lus.); UN VALLE QUE TODA COSA EN EL ME DABA GLORIA 'A vale that everything in it gave me glory.'

Meyer-Lübke (1923:702) also mentions this structure: when the Relative clause begins with QUE it is impossible to express the relation holding between the Verb and the Relative, unless by means of a Preposition. To avoid this ambiguity an atonic Personal pronoun expresses it later on in the sentence. E.g. A ESTO ME RESPONDIO CON

ESCUSAS QUE YO LAS TUVE POR BASTANTES 'To that he answered me with excuses that I took them as enough'.

Epiphânio Dias (1918:281) says that the replacement of the Relative following a Preposition A QUEM by QUE and a Personal pronoun QUE...LHE is typical of informal speech and old literary texts.

For Júlio Moreira (1907:37) the Preposition is omitted next to the QUE and appears, expressing the same syntactic relation, at the end or in the middle of the Relative clause and accompanied by a Personal pronoun. Cf. in sentences like O HOMEM QUE EU FUI COM ELE 'The man that I went with him' instead of O HOMEM COM QUEM EU FUI 'The man with whom I went'; O NAVIO QUE ELLA VEIO NELE 'The ship that she came in it' for O NAVIO EM QUE ELLA VEIO 'The ship in which she came'.

The conjunction QUE is thus understood as a merger between QUID and QUI(A). The Relative QUE ,on the other hand, seems to be the result of a conflation of the unstressed accusative QUE(M) and the neuter QUID/QUOD. There is no evidence that the Latin nominative QUI survived in Portuguese as it did in Spanish. The first dated documents ("Auto de Partilha" and "Notícia de Torto") of the Portuguese language are from the 12th C and do not register any occurrence of QUI. The development of the literary language is relatively late in Portugal, its first manifestations starting with the 'Cancioneiros' around the 13th C, whereas the Spanish "Cantar de Mio Cid" dates from the 12th C (1140). Nevertheless, by the time QUI appeared in Spanish documents ie. in the 12th C, Portuguese already had written manifestation, but QUI did not appear in these documents. There seems to be no evidence in favour of postulating a nominative origin for the Portuguese non-oblique QUE (section 3.3) In the same way as the conjunction QUE is a merger between QUID and QUI(A), the Relative QUE can be considered to be conflation of the unstressed accusative QUE(M) and the neuter QUID/QUOD.

From a phonological point of view, Modern Portuguese QUE can be either the Relative pronoun or the homophonous conjunction which is used in varied types of constructions, as mentioned above. This

categorial ambiguity has been treated or at least mentioned in Romance Linguistics/Philology since the last century.(Cf. Diez (1872:378ff); Jeanjaquet (1894, apud Meyer-Lübke (1923:633 ff)); Väänänen (1967:254); Bourciez (1967: 122); Maurer Jr. (1951:168); Perlmutter (1972); Kayne (1976); Lefeovre (1979); Lemle (1978); Kato (1981); Rivero (1980,1982), although so far as Portuguese is concerned no attempt has been made to discuss the issue on the basis of diachronic evidence. The confusion seems to date back to the Latin period. QUOD as a conjunction is believed to be a development of the neuter Relative QUOD used after volitive verbs or ·in constructions such as PRAETERO QUOD 'the fact that, in what ... is concerned'.This observation does not clarify our discussion of the Portuguese QUE, however, since Latin QUOD was replaced by QUID in its evolution to Portuguese and QUI(A)/QUID are taken to be the hypothetical ancestors of the conjunction QUE. It serves, however, as an indication that the categorial confusion between complementizers and Relative pronouns remounts to the Latin period, if not earlier.

The dispute is by no means new for non-Romance languages too, specially for English: the nature of the English THAT has been discussed since Jespersen (1924, apud Auwera (1985)), followed by many other linguists of different orientations and beliefs, for example Lightfoot (1979:314) and Romaine (1982). Romaine (1982:63ff) postulates that the subordinator þat replaces the Relative particle þe in Middle English. At the same time the Modern English Relative pronouns WHICH, WHO, etc.are assumed to have come from interrogative forms such as HWA, HWILC. She recognizes that there are actually two issues at stake in this discussion on the nature of the English THAT: "what a TRUE Relative pronoun is" and "what a TRUE Relative Clause is" op.cit.:58).

The distributional pattern of the Portuguese QUE is, at first glance, easily discernible: the conjunction (or Complementizer) appears in complement clauses like (67a), where it is undoubtedly a subordinating conjunction and has no referent; the Relative pronoun appears in clauses such as (73), and is supposed to refer back to an antecedent.

(67a) Gostaria QUE você ficasse.

 'I wish that you could stay."

(73) O livro de QUE falamos está esgotado.

 'The book that we talked about is sold out.'

Sentence types (74) and (75) and to a lesser extent (1), have, however, given rise to argumentation on the nature of their QUE, as shown in section 3.

(74) Essa é a rua   QUE ela mora.

 'This-is-the street-that-she-lives'

'This is the street where she lives.'

(75) O rapaz QUE Marcelo trabalha com ele é competente.

    'The-guy-that -M.   -works- with-him-is-competent'

'The guy that Marcelo works with is competent.'

(1) O secador QUE ela ganhou é verde.

'The hairdryer that she got is green.'

It is the QUE found in structures which correlate with the concept of a Restrictive relative clause ie., which have a head and a restricting clause (as 73,74,75) which gives rise to this issue, not the homophonous conjunction found in Complement clauses like (67a).

The rough dichotomy QUE (Comp)/ QUE (Rel. pr.) may be refined. It seems that there is a variation in the types of Relativizers which can occur in Relative clauses. A new status could be claimed for the QUE/some Relative clause types which are not registered by the traditional grammar of Portuguese. A RUA QUE ELA MORA' 'The street where she lives', for instance, has an adverbial (locative) meaning and is interpreted by the native speaker either as ONDE ELA MORA 'where she lives' or EM QUE ELA MORA 'in which she lives'. QUE in (75) is as invariable as the conjunction QUE : it does not inflect for Gender or Number, is not preceded by a Preposition and there is no formal indication of its syntactic function in the clause. It

could in this case be identified with the Complementizer. Nevertheless, as we have seen in section 3.3, whatever the rule postulated to account for the absence of a Preposition in this type of clause, ie., Preposition Deletion or Prepositional Phrase Deletion, native speakers always recover the correct Preposition from the context. QUE seems thus to have a referent A RUA, as well as a syntactic function and it would be inadequate to claim that it serves only as a complement particle.

Sentence (75) represents another type: in addition to the QUE, there is a resumptive pronoun ELE following the preposition COM which is connected to O RAPAZ in the matrix clause. We have been assuming that it is co-reference with an antecedent that distinguishes a Relative pronoun from its homophonous conjunction. In the case of (75), however, two interpretations seem to be equally possible: 1) QUE has no referent at all and is identified with the complementizer, as the anaphoric relations are held by the PP COM ELE; 2) Both QUE and the PP COM ELE are anaphorically related to the antecedent and QUE is identified with the Relative pronoun. However, it seems to have no syntactic function.

QUE appears to be more "pronominal" in some contexts than in others. Examples of the type (75) would be on one end of the scale: in it QUE is almost empty of any pronominal meaning. It seems to have a referent but it is doubtful whether it plays a syntactic role in the sentence.

QUE accompanied by Prepositions would be at the other extreme: it has a referent and its syntactic function is overtly shown by the presence of a preposition.

5. Concluding Remarks

In view of the origin of the Relativizer QUE and the Complementizer QUE, which was discussed in the preceding sections, the existence of Relative clauses with resumptive pronouns in older periods of the language and in Early Romance, and the analyses previously suggested for Portuguese oblique and non-oblique Que-Relatives, the following comments are in order:

a) The fact that in the evolution from Latin to Portuguese the Relative pronoun has lost its Case, Gender and Number inflection, becoming in this respect as invariable as the Complementizer QUE, does not necessarily mean that the resulting form QUE is devoid of any pronominal meaning. QUE in Modern Portuguese can refer to any type of antecedent as regards Number and Gender. Both Masculine/Feminine and Singular/Plural inflection which appear in other pronouns in Portuguese as, for example, with Possessives, do not exist in the case of Relatives. A distinction between [+animate]/[-animate] has been developed in the Romance pronominal systems and this development is evidenced by the restriction of the form QUEM to [+animate] antecedents (see Chap.3), but QUE itself has remained unaltered whatever its antecedent, whether [+animate]/[-animate]. The Case inflection has also been replaced by other mechanisms such as the use of Prepositions in some of the, traditionally termed oblique cases and QUE is neutral in this respect.

It is clear that QUE lost the signalling of these categories but not the anaphoric relationship which it (or its ancestor) cumulatively held with its antecedent. As we discussed above there are alternative analyses for the only case that would be reasonably accounted for by a Comp analysis, ie. oblique Relatives with resumptive pronouns. It is therefore not conclusive that QUE has become a Complementizer in these cases. In the others, its interpretation as a Complementizer is even less evident.

It is also clear that Relatives with resumptive pronouns are not an innovation of the Modern Romance languages as they are attested in earlier periods of Portuguese and Spanish and Early Romance. Nevertheless the fact that they existed in Early Romance does not also necessarily mean that the form QUEM which they show in Early Romance, for example, has no referent. In other words, the problems which a synchronic Comp analysis poses for this type of Relatives appears to be the same for Modern or Old periods of these languages.

b) There is no evidence that a Comp Deletion rule is or was

136

operative for non-oblique Portuguese Relatives. The form QUI is not registered in Portuguese as it is in Spanish and one cannot say that its disappearance led to the appearance of the Complementizer QUE. On the other hand, the reorganization of the Relative paradigm in terms of the animacy of the referent, ie. QUE being restricted to [-animate] antecedents in oblique positions, which is claimed by Rivero to have taken place in Spanish after the 14th C, did not occur in Portuguese. QUE in Portuguese still refers to both [+animate] and [-animate] antecedents in both oblique and non-oblique positions (See Chap.3).

Based on the fact that after that time oblique QUE-Relatives only occur with [-animate] antecedents, Rivero supposes that when QUE refers to either [+animate] or [-animate] antecedents (ie. in non-oblique positions) it is not the Relative. The regularized pattern as regards the features of the antecedent which is claimed for oblique Relatives is therefore broken by non-oblique ones: QUE refers to any antecedent. Since it does not distinguish the antecedent the solution she proposes is to consider it a Complementizer.

c)As previously discussed it seems that there are other characteristics of Relative pronouns which we take here to be more relevant to this discussion than simply its sensitivity to the features of the antecedent. Among other reasons the fact that non-oblique QUE fulfills a syntactic function in the Relative clause (Subject or Direct Object) and the fact that it is linked to (or represents) an antecedent NP seems to be sufficient to reject a Comp analysis for Portuguese non-oblique Relatives.

d) A rule of Deletion in Comp would be in our view adequate for Portuguese only in the cases of Preposition Deletion as discussed in 3.3. Its formulation and justification would need a detailed study of Preposition Deletion in Relative clauses in older periods of the language too, a task we do not undertake here.

We suggest that a Movement rule would account for all the cases of Relativization in Portuguese, for oblique and non-oblique positions,

137

for formal and informal registers. An alternative Comp analysis seems to be available for oblique Relatives with resumptive pronouns. In that respect no conclusive argument seems to have emerged. The possibility of multiple synchronic analyses (Hankamer, 1977) suggests that a syntactic change is in progress. We haven't been able to find any evidence for the completion of this change. If Rivero's assumptions for Spanish are correct, then Portuguese and Spanish are in different stages in relation to an hypothetical initial stage: if a rule of Deletion of the Relative phrase in Comp is at all justified in the history of Portuguese it would apply only in cases of oblique Relatives with resumptive pronouns. This would lead one to postulate it as optional, while in Spanish it is assumed to have changed from optional to obligatory.

NOTES

1) See Kato (1981) for the Resumptive Pronoun strategy in Portuguese. Also and specially, Tarallo (1983) for a detailed discussion (both synchronic and diachronic) of relativization strategies in the Spoken Brazilian Portuguese of São Paulo. Special attention is given to both the Resumptive Pronoun and the PP Chopping strategies.

2) Details irrelevant to the present discussion will be omitted from the diagrams.

3) See Cohen (1981) and Tarallo (1983) for Preposition and /or Prepositional Phrase Deletion. Tarallo's (1983) diachronic discussion has the PP Chopping strategy as its main focus.

4) Although in a low percentage, Tarallo's (1983) data testify to the existence of this type of construction from the 18th C onwards.

CHAPTER 3

QUEM CLAUSES

1. QUEM Clauses in Modern Portuguese

In Modern Portuguese the form QUEM occurs both in headed and headless Relative clauses. In headed relatives it must be accompanied by a preposition and must refer to a [+human] antecedent, as in (1); in headless ones it may or may not be accompanied by a preposition and is also invariably interpreted as [+human], as in (2) and (3).

(1)a)A aluna   A QUEM demos   o prêmio se sentiu orgulhosa.
  [+human]

 'The-student-to whom-(we)gave-the-prize-herself-felt-proud'
'The student to whom we gave the prize felt proud of herself.'

 b) A aluna A QUE demos o prêmio se sentiu orgulhosa.
  [+human]

 'The-student-to-which-(we)gave-the-prize-herself-felt-proud.'
'The student to whom we gave the prize felt proud of herself.'

(2) a) Não temos   A QUEM   dar o prêmio.
    [+human]

 'Not-(we)have-to-whom -to-give-the-prize.
'We have no one to whom to give the prize.'

 b) Não temos   A QUÊ   dar o prêmio.
    [-human]

 'Not-(we)-have-to-what-(we)-to-give-the-prize.'
'We don't have anything to which to give the prize.'

(3) a)Não vi QUEM chegou.
   [+human]

 'Not-(I)saw-who-arrived.'
'I didn't see who arrived.'

b) Não vi O QUÊ chegou.

       [-human]

   'Not-(I)saw-what-arrived.'

'I didn't see what arrived.'

By comparing (2)a) and (3)a) with their counterparts with QUÊ/ O QUÊ
(2)b) and (3)b, where no antecedent is overtly realized, it becomes
clear that in antecedentless constructions such as these QUEM is
interpreted as [+human], and QUÊ/ O QUÊ as [-human].

When an overt antecedent is present, as in (1a,b) both QUEM and its
antecedent must be [+human], otherwise the sentence is unacceptable.
The use of QUE in the same context is perfectly acceptable, however,
as in (1 b). An antecedent specified as [+human] can, thus, be
encoded by QUEM or QUE, but not the reverse, as far as QUEM is
concerned, ie., its antecedent must be [+human].

QUEM occurs also as an interrogative pronoun, as in (4), and is
understood as [+human] in this context too. In this case the
[-human] counterpart of QUEM without a preposition is O QUÊ, which
is a stressed form, as in (4c). Prep+QUE, also stressed, which would
be expected to be the [-human] counterpart of PREP+QUEM is, however,
not merely in oposition to the [+human] form Prep+QUEM. It expresses
purpose as in (4d).

(4)a) QUEM chegou?   b) Para QUEM são essas flores?

   'Who arrived?   'For whom are these flowers?'

   c) O QUÊ chegou?   d) Para QUÊ são essas flores?

   'What arrived?'   'For-what-are-these-flowers'

                   'What are these flowers for?'

It is probably worth paying attention to the fact that, in Modern
Spoken Brazilian Portuguese, headless constructions such as the ones
in (4) have a less formal or colloquial variant, as shown in (5),
whereas headed constructions such as (1a,b) don't have such an
alternative strategy.

(5)a) QUEM que chegou?   b) Para QUEM que são essas flores?

   'Who-that-arrived?'   'For-whom-that-are-these-flowers'

'Who is it that has arrived? Who is it that these flowers are for?'

   c) O QUÊ que chegou?   d) Para QUÊ que são essas flores?

      'What-that-arrived'   'For-what-that-are-these-flowers'

'What is it that has arrived? What is it that these flowers are for?'

The same is not possible for (1).

(6)a) *A aluna a QUEM que demos o prêmio se sentiu orgulhosa.

   'The-student-to-whom-that-(we)gave-the-prize-herself-felt-proud.'

It follows from that that QUEM is [+human] in all the contexts in
which it occurs in Modern Portuguese. Whenever a [+human] antecedent
is realized and a preposition accompanies it, QUEM can alternate
with QUE, ie., in this context QUE is not the [-human] counterpart
of QUEM.

If no antecedent is realized, ie.,either in interrogatives or in
Headless Relatives, QUEM may alternate with QUEM que,   and
Prep+QUEM with Prep+QUEM que, and the form QUÊ or O QUÊ   is
to be interpreted as its [-human] counterpart.

When it refers to an overt antecedent, as in (1), there are two
requirements for its occurrence: a) it must be the object of a
preposition; b) the antecedent must be [+human]. (7a) is
unacceptable because there is no preposition accompanying QUEM, and
(7b) because, in addition to the absence of a preposition, it refers
to a [-human] antecedent: A ESCULTURA.

(7) a) *A aluna   QUEM chegou do exterior não é essa.
          [+human]
        'The-student-who-came-of-the-abroad-not-is-that.'

   b) * A escultura QUEM demos   o prêmio   foi feita
          [-human]
        'The-sculpture-whom-(we)gave-the-prize(to)   -was-made

em três dias.

In-three-days.'

c)* A escultura A QUEM demos o prêmio foi feita em três dias.

'The-sculpture-to-whom-(we)gave-the-prize-was-made-in-three-days.'

We assume here that (1) comes from a structure like (8), where Wh Movement has taken place and left a trace in its place of origin.

(8)
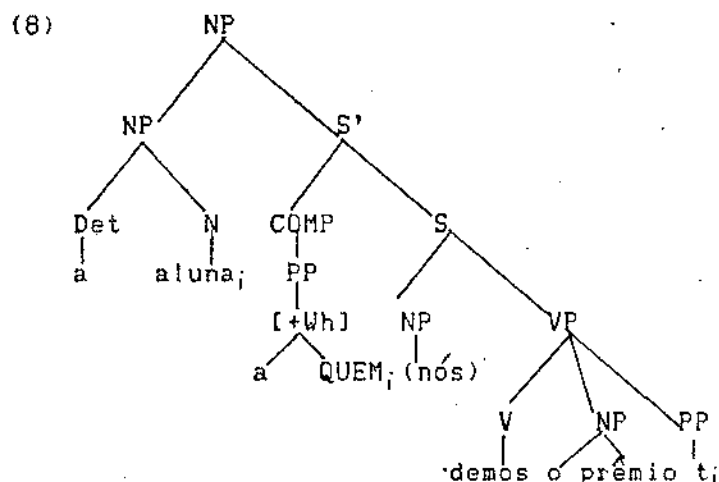
(2) and (3), nevertheless, do not fulfill the requirements mentioned above , as there is no antecedent which QUEM could be referring to, and if QUEM is [+human] in these cases, it has apparently no dependence on a [+human] antecedent.

As we said earlier, both (1a) and b) are possible with an overtly expressed [+human] antecedent, but if the antecedent is not [+human], the resulting sentence with QUEM is ungrammatical, as in (7c). There is thus a clear link between QUEM and a [+human] antecedent, whenever there is one, ie., QUEM is obligatorily interpreted as [+human] in this context; it also seems to be the case that QUEM without an antecedent is [+human].

Sentences (9) from Modern Portuguese are instances of the [+human] interpretation of QUEM. Notice that they have no antecedents.

(9) a) As notícias PARA QUEM ligou nos últimos dias, depois da
                [+human]
    'The-news   - for- who- phoned-in-the-last- days -after-of-the

    reforma econômica, são igualmente ruins. (1986,VEJA,12th March)
    reform-economic   -are- similarly- bad.

'The news (given) to whoever phoned in the last three days, after
the economic reform, is equally bad.'

b) Como o decreto não prevê uma regra PARA QUEM trabalha
                            [+human]
'As-the-decree -not -predict -a- rule-   for -who-   -works

    nessa base, os patrões não precisam mudar nada. (idem)
    in-this-scheme- the-employers-not-need-to change-anything.'
'As the act does not predict a rule for whoever works under this
scheme, the employers don't need to change anything.'

Two analyses appear to be possible for sentences like (2) and (3):
(2), for example, can either be described as in (10), for which an
antecedent position dominated by an NP is proposed in the underlying
structure but is not realized on the surface structure; or as in
(11), in which there is no intermediate NP between the verb TEMOS
'We have' and the complement sentence S' and no antecedent
whatsoever.

(10) Não temos

(11) Não temos

```
                    ⸱S'
                  /    \
              COMP      ⸜S
                |      /   \
               PP     NP    ⸜VP
              / \    (nós)  /  \
             a  QUEM       /    \
                        V   NP   \PP
                        |  / \    \
                       dar o  \    \
                           prêmio  t̂ⱼ
```
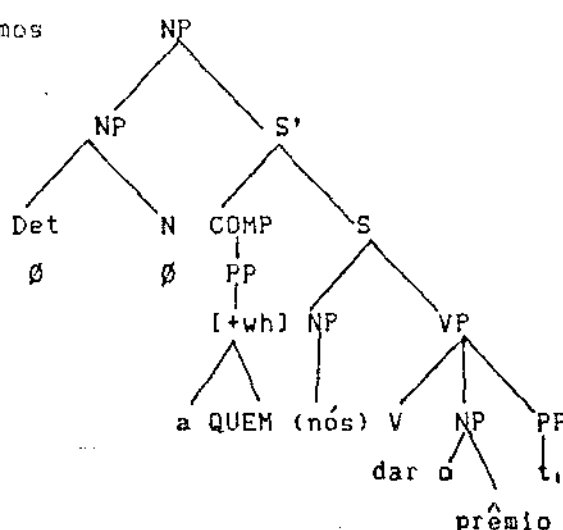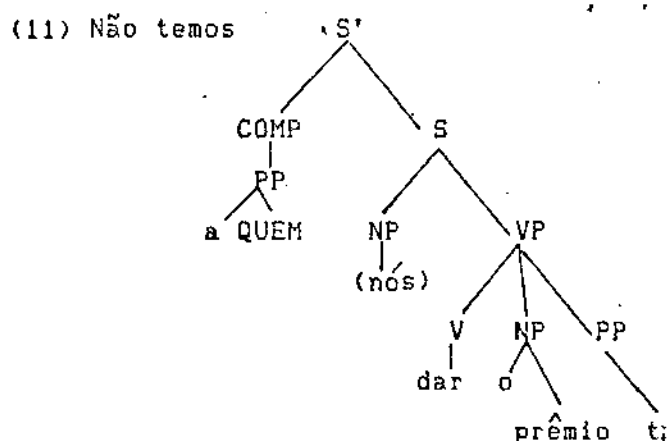
TER (v.) 'to have' seems to take both sentential and NP complements as in (12).

(12a) Não temos[$_{NP}$ dinheiro.]   b) Não tenho[$_{S}$ do que viver].
    'Not(we) have money.'   'Not(I) have of what to live'
'We don't have money'   'I don't have anything to live on'

It has been argued for Spanish (Plann, 1980:110ff.) that sentences with QUIEN, which is cognate with the Portuguese QUEM, as in (2) and (3), are best analysed as NPs. Spanish QUIEN sentences seem to differ depending on the tense of the verb in the embedded clause: in tensed QUIEN constructions, QUIEN originates as the Subject of the embedded clause, whereas in infinitival QUIEN constructions, QUIEN is generated either as the object of the verb or as the object of a preposition, as in the examples below.

(13) Aplaudirán a quien llegue primero. (Tensed) (DO)
    'They will applaud the one who arrives first.'

                                        (Plann, 1980:110)

Quien in (13) is a Direct Object and the preposition a which precedes it is considered to have been inserted before a [+human] Object and thus not to form part of the subcategorization requirements of the embedded verb.

In the following examples the embedded verbs are in the infinitive, and there is a preposition accompanying Quien.

(14)a) Maria no tiene de quien fiarse. (Inf.)

'M. doesn't have anyone to rely on.'

b) Mario no tienecon quien dejar los niños. (Inf.)

'Mario doesn't have anyone with whom to leave the children.'

c) Eulalia no tiene a quien contar sus penas. (Inf.)

'E.   doesn't have anyone to tell her woes to.'

"Furthermore, the infinitival QUIEN construction seems fully acceptable only if it occurs in a negative matrix sentence, and then only as the complement of a limited class of matrix verbs, namely HABER, TENER, ENCONTRAR..." (Plann, 1980:124).

As evidence against considering (13) as a Relative clause without antecedent (ie. against the S' analysis) it is argued that the Quien construction behaves like an NP, namely, that it can be the Subject of a passive sentence, as in (15), and can also be the object of prepositions like SOBRE and CONTRA, which subcategorize for NP objects but not for sentential objects, as in (16).

(15) Quien llegue primero será aplaudido.

'Whoever arrives first will be applauded.'

(16) Tiene mucho ódio contra quien le lleve la contrária.

'He hates (lit.has much hate against) whoever contradicts him.'

                              (Plann, 1980:116)

Therefore, (13) is analysed as a relative form whose antecedent NP does not occur overtly in the surface structure.

Our Portuguese examples (2) and (3) seem to fall into these two classes: (2) is an infinitival QUEM construction and (3), a tensed QUEM construction: in (2) A QUEM cannot be the Subject. It seems to be a characteristic of infinitival Portuguese constructions not to have an overt Subject but rather to have it deleted under identity with another Noun Phrase in the matrix clause (Cf. Quicoli,1982). In

146

(3) QUEM is the Subject of a tensed clause.

It seems that the QUEM clause in (3) also behaves like an NP, in the same way as the Spanish sentence (15), as it can be the Subject of an active sentence like (17).

(17a) Quem chegou não quis comer.
   'He who arrived didn't want to eat.'

In the same way as in Spanish, tensed QUEM clauses can be the object of prepositions like CONTRA and SOBRE:

(18)a)Não quisemos falar CONTRA QUEM chegou nem SOBRE QUEM não
   'Not-(we)wanted-to talk-against-who-arrived-nor-about-who-not

chegou.
arrived.'

'We didn't want to talk either against these who arrived nor about these who didn't.

Plann argues that infinitival QUIEN constructions with no overt antecedents are also NPs, based on the fact that this type of clause shares many properties with infinitival QUIEN constructions with lexical heads (which are undoubtedly NPs). There are two types of infinitival relatives with lexical heads in Spanish, those in which the relativized NP is the object of a verb, and those in which it is the object of a preposition. These properties are summed up below:

(i) "If the relativized NP is the object of an infinitive, the matrix NP may not be [+definite]:

(III.34)Ana no tiene$\begin{Bmatrix} \text{ningun abrigo} \\ \text{*el} \end{Bmatrix}$que ponerse.
   'Ana doesn't have any coat to put on'

This is not so if the relativized NP is the object of a preposition:

(III.35) Ana $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{no tiene} \\ \text{no pudo encontrar} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{ni un} \\ \text{el} \end{Bmatrix}$ lápiz con el que firmar el

contrato.

contract.'

'Ana $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{doesn't have} \\ \text{couldn't find} \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{even one} \\ \text{the} \end{Bmatrix}$ pencil with which to sign the contract.'

(Plann, 1980:129)

(19) Matrix NP   Rel. NP
        *Def.   <————— Obj. inf.

"(ii) If the relativized NP is the object of an infinitive, the
      matrix NP may not be the subject of a sentence, either active
      or passive:

(III.36)(Un libro (* que leer))ha llegado por correo.
        'A book to read has arrived by mail.'

Again this is not so if the relativized NP is the object of a
preposition:

(III.36)(Una maleta en la que meter los libros) ha llegado por
correo

        'A suitcase in which to put the books has arrived by mail.'"

(id.ib.p.128/9)

(20) Matrix NP   Rel. NP

        * Matrix Sub.<————— Obj. inf.
          Matrix Sub.<————— Obj. prep.

"(iii) If the relativized NP is the object of an infinitive, the

148

matrix NP may be the object of only a limited class of verbs, namely HABER, TENER, ENCONTRAR..., which must occur in a negative matrix sentence in order for the result to be fully acceptable:

(III.40) No/*∅ había (ni) un libro que leer.
     'There was (not) (even) a book to read.'

But this is not so if the relativized NP is the object of a preposition:

(III.41) No/∅ había una bolsa en la que guardar los libros.
     'There was no bag in which to keep the books.' "

(id.ib.p.129)

(21) Matrix NP   Rel NP

     Neg. HABER...<———.Obj. inf.
     HABER...and <——— Obj. prep.
     other vb.

As the restrictions on infinitival QUIEN constructions are shared by certain infinitival relatives with lexical heads (these ones being considered as NPs), Plann concludes that the former type, too, is an NP.

Let's now see how our Portuguese sentence (2) behaves according to these criteria.

(2) Não temos A QUEM dar o prêmio.

As we have pointed out earlier, (2) has an infinitival QUEM clause: a quem dar o prêmio , and QUEM is also the object of a preposition : A, is required by the subcategorization of DAR, which takes both an NP and a PP. (2) seems then to be in accordance with the three characteristics summed up below for Spanish:(a) the matrix NP appears not to be definite, which seems to be permitted by (1) above

(but see section 5.2.); b)it seems that a quem dar o prêmio can act as the Subject of a passive sentence, as in A quem dar o prêmio foi discutido 'To who(m) to give the prize was discussed'; c) it can occur either with the same verb TER in an affirmative construction, as Temos a quem dar o prêmio or with a different verb such as ACHAR : Acharemos a quem dar o prêmio . We conclude that the dependent clause in (2) is also an NP as it behaves like an infinitival headed Relative, which is an NP. (2) can be paraphrased as (22), where a [+human] lexical antecedent is in the antecedent position:

(22) Não temos uma (nenhuma) pessoa A QUEM dar o prêmio.
'Not-(we)-have-a-(any)-person-to-whom-to give-the-prize'

'We don't have anyone to whom to give the prize.'

Taking these criteria into consideration, structure (10)- where an NP which is not realized on the surface is postulated for antecedent position- would appear more adequate to account for (2) than (11).

2. QUEM/QUE Clauses in Old/Middle Portuguese

In general, the use of QUEM is very restricted in our texts up to the 17th C. It appears only without an antecedent and preferably not accompanied by a preposition. This is exemplified in (23) and (24).

(23a) Andando sempre por   real estrada, nunca desviou a nenhuma
      'Going -always-through-royal-road -never-(he)deviated-to-any

contraira parte, como quer que nom mynguou QUEM mordesse sua grande
contrary- part- how-ever-that-not-lacked-who- bit(Sub.)-his-great

fama com dentes de raivosa inveja. (14th C, FL:2)
fame-with-teeth-of-angry-envy.

'Behaving always in a honest way, (he, the king) never deviated to a wrong path. However, there was no lack of those who bit his   great

fame with angry envy.'

b)...Mas que mandasse QUEM recebesse os logares e logo lhos
   'But-tthat-(he)sent -who-received -the- places-and-soon-to them-

entregariam...(14th C, FL,p.16)
(they)(would) give-them-back.'

'...but that he should send who received the places and they would
give them back to them...'

(24)...que por homra da   dita   cidade lhe pediam   por merce
   '..that-by-honour-of- the-mentioned-city-them-(they)asked-by-favour

que os seus sellos encomendasse   A QUEM -sua merce fosse
that-the-his-seals-(he)(should)ordered-to whom-his-will-was

com tanto que fosse naturall da dita cidade... (14th C, FL:5/6)
provided-that-(he)was-born -of-the-mentioned-city...'

'That for the honour of the mentioned city (ie., Lisbon),they were
asking him a favour, that his seals he should order   from whoever
he wanted, provided that this person was from Lisbon...'

QUEM in (23a) is the subject of MORDESSE 'bit' and in (23b) of
RECEBESSE. MANDASSE normally takes   an   accusative-object   as
complement (see sec. 4).

Comparing antecedentless QUEM sentences found in this period between
the 14th and 17th C with Modern Portuguese which, as it has already
been shown, possesses at least two types of QUEM clauses (with and
without antecedents), and where QUEM, even if not always referring
to a [+human] antecedent, at least includes this feature in its
lexical specifications, it may be asked how [+human]/[+animate]
Nouns could be relativized in Old/Middle Portuguese, since no QUEM
with an antecedent appears in our texts up to the 17th C. Looking
into the rest of the Relative clauses, now excluding the ones with
QUEM, we find that whenever a [+human] Noun was the antecedent of a

Relative Clause, the relative which appeared was QUE, not QUEM, as shown in (25).

(25a) Este grande e muy honrrado senhor, mais excellente dos reis
'This- great-and-most-honourable-sir-more-excellent-of-the-kings

que em Portugal reinarom, foy sempre bem fiel cathollico em guisa
that-in-P. -reigned -was-always-well-faithful -catholic-in manner

que aquello que no principe mais esplandece, saber, dereita ffe,
that-what-that-in the-prince-more-shines -knowledge -right-faith

era em el compridamente, sendo mu devoto da preciossa Virgem,
                                                        [+human]
was-in-he-long-   (he)being-much-devoted-of the-precious-Virgin

EM QUE   auja singular afeiçom e devaçom. (14th C, FL:2)
in which-(he)had- singular-affection-and-devotion.'

'This great and most honourable Sir, the prime among the kings who reigned in Portugal, was always a faithfull catholic so that what shines most the princes as knowledge and faith, he had too much, being(he) much devoted to the precious Virgin for who(m) he had singular devotion and affection...'

   b)... o primeiro que per ella emtrou em cima de seu cavallo foy
        'the first-that-by-she-entered -on   -of-the-his-horse-was

aquell ardido e famoso fidalgo DE QUE em cima he feita mençom...
                          [+human]
that-ardent-and-famous-gentlemen-of which-above-is made-reference.'
                  (14th C, FL:22)

'...The first person who entered (the city) on his horse was that ardent and famous nobleman who was mentioned above...'

The possibilities of occurrence of QUEM/QUE with/without antecedents are summarized in (26).

(26) Old/Middle Portuguese QUEM/QUE (Up to the 17th C.)

1- WITH ANTECEDENT

Antec.	Rel:SB/DO	Obl.Func.(PP)
[-human]	QUE	Prep+QUE
[+human]	QUE	Prep+QUE

2-WITHOUT ANTECEDENT

Antec.	Rel:SB/DO	Obl.Func.(PP)
-----	QUEM	Prep+QUEM

Notice that no examples of QUEM with an antecedent were registered
in our sample up to the 17th C. QUE is the unspecified form with
reference to both the features of the antecedent, [+human] or
[-human], as well as the presence/absence of a preposition in this
period of time from the 14th to the 17th C. From that time on,
however, QUEM with a [+human] antecedent appears in our data, but it
is always accompanied by a preposition.

According to the exposition given above it would appear that from
the 17th C onwards the use of Prep+QUEM (undoubtedly [+human] or
[+animate]) was extended so as to include clauses with [+human]
antecedents also, resulting in a Relative clause structure with an
overt [+human] antecedent in which Prep+QUEM is the Indirect Object,
as required by the embedded verb.

Nevertheless,although QUEM with a preposition co-occurs with a
[+human] antecedent, QUEM alone, without a preposition (but with an
antecedent) still does not occur in the 17th C texts, and in fact
does not in Modern Portuguese.The position which should have been
occupied by QUEM without a preposition and with a [+human]
antecedent in table (26) has not been filled (see table (27)).

153

(27) Middle/ Modern Portuguese (17thC→20th C)

1- WITH ANTECEDENT

Antec.	Rel:SB/DO	Obl. Func.(PP)
[-human]	QUE	Prep+QUE
[+human]	QUE	Prep+QUE
[+human]	----	Prep+QUEM

2- WITHOUT ANTECEDENT

Antec.	Rel:SB/DO	Obl.Func.(PP)
-----	QUEM	Prep+QUEM

Compared to QUE, which is not now (in Modern Portuguese) sensitive to features of the antecedent and has not in fact ever been, QUEM has turned out to be a specialized form, sensitive to [+human] antecedent in headed Relatives.

It would seem to us, thus, that there has been a change in the lexical properties of the members of the relative paradigm, which now includes QUEM in a position previously occupied only by QUE, ie., accompanied by a preposition and referring to a [+human]/[+animate] antecedent. If QUEM in Relative Clauses with antecedents is always the object of a preposition, it follows that it cannot be a Subject or a Direct Object and that it is restricted to syntactic positions that can only be filled by PPs.

3. Origins of Portuguese QUEM

In the evolution from Latin to Portuguese the Relative/Interrogative pronoun system suffered drastic changes. Among these is the loss of Case Marking, which the whole Nominal system underwent, both Nouns and Pronouns. This has had innumerable consequences for the Syntax and Morphology of the descendant languages.

From a highly developed system consisting of 6 cases in Classical
Latin, Vulgar Latin and the Romance languages have been left with
the Accusative, eventually morphologically without a marker as such,
and fulfilling various syntactic roles in the Romance sentence, such
as Subject, Direct or Indirect Object, Adverbial Complement, etc.;
and with some scattered relics of other cases such as Dative and
Genitive, as attested, for instance, in the Relative Pronoun system.
Italian and Provençal have kept the Dative CUI (It. A CUI, Pr. CUI)
and Spanish and Portuguese have maintained the Genitive CUIUS (Sp.
CUJO-A, CUJOS,-AS; Port. CUJO-A, CUJOS-AS).

(28) Relative Pronoun

a) Classical Latin

Sg.	M	F	N	Pl.	M	F	N
Nom.	Quī	Quae	Quod		Quī	Quae	Quae
Gen.	C Ū I U S		.		Quōrum	Quārum	Quōrum
Dat.	C U Ī				Quibus		
Acc.	Quem	Quam	Quod		Quōs	Quās	Quae
Abl.	Quō	Quā	Quō		Quibus		

b) Vulgar Latin

M/F

Nom. Qui
Gen. Cuius
Dat. Cui
Acc. Quem/Que(m)

c) Vulgar Latin   Modern Portuguese

Qui/Quae
Quid(Int.)   Q U E
Que(m)
Qui(a)

d) Modern Portuguese

Que (all syntactic positions, with any antecedent)

Cujo-a(-os, -as)(possessive)

Quem (Obl. Func.+ [+human] antecedents)

O Qual, A Qual,(Os Quais,As Quais) <Lat. Qualis

Leaving aside the possible ancestors of the Portuguese QUE let us
turn our discussion to the origins of the Portuguese QUEM. Two
aspects will be under consideration here in connection with QUEM:
first, its phonological evolution from a Latin ancestor QUEM
(stressed); secondly the way the agreement between the Relative and
its antecedent was made in Latin, considering briefly for that
purpose the inflections of Gender and Number that the Latin Relative
Pronoun carried cumulatively with its Case Inflection.

3.1. Phonological Ancestor of the Portuguese QUEM

Portuguese QUEM, pronounced /kẽj̃/ in Brazil and /kãj̃/ in certain
areas of Portugal, (Lisbon and Coimbra) has its origins in the Latin
stressed QUÉM. Stressed and unstressed QUEM coexisted in Latin:
while unstressed QUEM merged with QUI, QUAE, QUID and QUIA,
culminating in the Portuguese QUE- following the general tendency of
eliminating the final -m, the Acc./Sg. ending - stressed QUÉM had a
different development. The final -m has been lost as a consonant but
its nasality was preserved and transferred to the preceding vowel
/e/, which developed into a diphthong /ẽj̃/, giving /kẽj̃/. Spanish,
Sardinian and Roumanian also possess forms derived from the Latin
stressed QUEM.

(29) | Latin | Port. | Sp. | Sd. | Roum. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| QUÉM (stressed) | QUEM | QUIEN | (O.Sd.)ken | cine |
| QUE(M) + { qui, qui(a), quid, quae } (unstressed) | QUE | QUE | ki | ce |

156

Fragmentary information on the development of the Latin stressed form QUEM is found in traditional manuals of Romance languages. It is generally mentioned that the stressed Latin accusative form of the Relative/ Interrogative QUÉM differed from that of unstressed QUEM.

Bourciez (1967:242) alludes to the stressed accusative QUÉM, which played an important role in the Iberian Peninsula and had a different evolution from untressed QUEM. Väänänen (1967:202) mentions the same for stressed QUÉM.

Said Ali (1971:108) refers to the stressed nature of the Portuguese QUEM in opposition to the unstressed QUE and also says that QUEM has its origin in the accusative of the Latin relative/ interrogative/ indefinite pronoun QUI, QUIS.

According to Mattoso Câmara (1972:98) QUEM "retained the nasal closure since it occurred in utterances in which a certain amount of stress was placed on the pronoun " and adds that "the restriction of QUEM to people is explained by the fact that emphasis was more usual in the case of a person."

This QUÉM is thus, the phonological ancestor of the Portuguese QUEM which appears in Relative clauses (accompanied by a preposition), Free Relatives and Interrogative clauses (Direct and Indirect).

3.2. Agreement between the Relative and its Antecedent

3.2.1. Case

Regarding the agreement between the Relative pronoun and its antecedent the aspect relevant to the present discussion is that in Latin the Relative agreed with its antecedent in Gender and Number, but not in Case, depended on the syntactic function that the Relative itself had within the Relative clause. So it is that QUAM in (30) is feminine and singular like its antecedent FILIA, but unlike FILIA it is accusative.

(30) Filia QUAM vixi...

'Daughter-whom-(I)-saw

Nom.X Acc.

Sg.=Sg.

Fem.=Fem.

As is well known, QUEM was Accusative masc./sg. in CL and
accusative/masc./fem./sg. in VL. In its evolution to Portuguese the
final -M has dropped, via -N in VL and nasalisation of the preceding
vowel in monosylables, as in IN> EM /ẽj̃/; NON >NÃO /NÃW̃/ and
QUEM>QUEM /kẽj̃/ (Williams (1973:101). Regarding this one may ask
whether the nasality present in the Portuguese QUEM could not be a
relic of the Latin accusative marker -M. In phonological terms this
seems to be plausible, but this would imply that QUEM may only be
Direct Object. Although it is true that Direct Object is one $\frac{of}{}$ the
functions that QUEM can have in the Portuguese sentence, it appears
also to be true that Direct Object is its more constrained function
in both Old/Middle and Modern Portuguese. As will be shown in
section 4, the basic function of QUEM appears to be that of Subject
in Headless constructions, and Indirect Object in Headed
constructions, in all the stages of the language analysed.

According to Meyer-Lübke (REW, 1972:575) the Object function which
QUEM had in Latin only survived in Logudorese, while in the other
Romance languages which employ QUEM, it is also used as a Subject.
The syntactic distribution of Portuguese QUEM will be treated in
detail in section 4.

Expanding this aspect one must point out that QUEM with an
antecedent never occurs as a Direct Object or Subject in Old/Middle
and Modern Portuguese. This can be easily checked in table (27) and
in section 4.This appears to be the situation in the 17th C and is
still now. Antecedentless QUEM, however, appears both as a Subject
and as a Direct Object, as in the dependent sentences below (Modern
Portuguese) and the same use is registered in earlier periods of the
language.

158

(31)a) Não vi QUEM voçê está procurando. D.O
       '(I) didn't see who you are looking(for).'

    b) Já sei QUEM voçê aprovou. D.O
       '(I) already know who you approved.'

    c) Adivinha QUEM eu vi hoje. D.O.
       'Guess (Imp.) who I saw today.'

    d) Não vi QUEM comeu o bolo. SB.
       '(I) didn't see who ate the cake.'

    e) Não sei QUEM viu QUEM. SB./D.O.
       '(I) don't know who saw who .

QUE is completely devoid of any signalling of case, which is in
accordance with the general Romance tendency of loss of Case
Marking. As it has been shown in this work, from early times in the
Portuguese language QUE has fulfilled any syntactic function in the
Relative Clause. The Latin mechanisms of Case Marking have been
replaced by other analytical processes such as word order and the
use of prepositions as a way of establishing the syntactic relations
within the Portuguese sentence.

3.2.2. Gender/Number

One of the attested changes in the evolution of the Latin Relative
pronoun system to the Romance languages is the loss of the feminine,
as in this example from the CIL,V 5933 (apud Bourciez, 1967:95):

(32) Filia QUEM reliquit...
     'Daughter-whom-he-left'

QUAM should be used instead of QUEM, if it were to agree with FILIA,
which is feminine, but the masculine QUEM is used instead. In this
example, the form QUEM clearly includes Feminine Gender, testifying
to its absorption by the masculine form.

The neuter was eliminated in Vulgar Latin partly because the formal marking of Gender had always been weak, the neuter singular endings being in many cases similar to the masculine singular ones and the plural desinences, in many cases, to the feminine singular ones. In general it has eventually disappeared from all the Romance languages, especially in Nouns.

The Portuguese pronominal system has kept some relics of the neuter, however. Demonstratives, for example, have an explicit neuter form derived from the nominative-accusative of the neuters of Latin ISTUD, IPSUM and ILLUM: ISTO, ISSO, AQUILO(=*ACCU+ILLU) in substantive use. Among the indefinites ALGO 'something' is also derived from the neuter ALIQUOD (via the replacement of the *kwi-theme of ALIQUIS, by *kwo).

The Portuguese Relative/Interrogative pronoun system didn't keep grammatical gender distinctions. So far as QUE is concerned no flexional or lexical gender marking has remained from the Latin system .The relative QUE is not marked at all, neither for Gender, Number nor Case.

Although the category of grammatical gender didn't survive in the Interrogatives and Relatives there exists a distinction between [+human]/[-human] or personsal/impersonal or [+animate]/[inanimate], which is revealed in pairs such as QUEM/QUE 'Who(m)/which,what'; and also in the Portuguese Indefinite pronouns ALGUÉM (< ALIQUEM, Acc. of ALIQUIS) /ALGO (< ALIQUOD) 'Someone/something', NINGUÉM (ne(c)+ QUEM) /NADA (<REM NATA) 'Nobody/Nothing', with cognates in many Romance languages: Sp. QUIEN/QUE; ALGUIEN/ALGO;NADIE/NADA .Fr. QUI/QUE, Roum CINE/CE; It.NIENTE/NULLA (Cf.Iordan y Manoliu (1972 vol 1:220 317) Mattoso Câmara(1972:82/98). (See (33) below).

(33) [+Animate]/Personal/   [-Animate]/Impersonal/
      [+Human] Pronouns   [-Human] Pronouns

      Port. Quem   Que
             Alguém   Algo
             Ninguém   Nada

      Sp.   Quien   Que
             Alguien   Algo
             Nadie   Nada

      Fr.   Qui   Que

      Roum. Cine   Ce

According to Mattoso Câmara (1972:96) "the masculine -feminine
accusative QUEM was restricted in Portuguese to the 'personal'
gender (only human beings)", which also manifests itself in the
Indefinites ALGUÉM, NINGUÉM. For descriptive purposes he considers
-EM in QUEM as a desinence as well as in the other indefinites. We
shall return to this point in section 5.

QUE does not show any marking for Gender nor Number, being itself
completely neutral in relation to these categories and referring
back to any type of antecedent: singular, plural, masculine or
feminine NPs as in the sentences below:

(34 a) Aprovamos e confirmamos todollos privillegios,liberdades
       '(We)approve-and-confirm- all the- privileges-   freedoms-

booms hussos, foros e costumes...QUE ataa aqui ouveram.
good-uses- -and-habits- that-until-here-(3rd.p.pl.)existed. '
                                                 (15thC, FL:8)

'We approve and confirm all the privileges, freedoms, good uses and
habits that until now have existed.'

In (34a) QUE refers to a masculine and plural complex antecedent.

161

b) As mulheres QUE se   inscreveram para o cargo não terão
   'The women-that-themselves-applied -for-the-post-not-will have

chance alguma. (20th C.)
any -chance.

'The women who have applied for the job will not have any chance.'

In (34b) Que refers to a feminine and plural antecedent but is not
marked for either Gender nor Number.

    c) O carro QUE Ricardo comprou é bem velho.   (20th C)
    'The car that R. bought is pretty old.'

In (34c) QUE has a masculine and singular antecedent, while in (34d)
it refers to a feminine and singular NP.

    d) A menina QUE João sonhou tinha olhos azuis.
    'The girl that J. dreamt (of) had blue eyes.'

QUEM is similar to QUE regarding Grammatical Gender
(masculine/feminine) and Number, ie., it does not mark any of these
two categories whatever its antecedent is: masculine/feminine;
singular/plural. It is, however, either restricted to [+human]
antecedents in Relative clauses with overtly realized lexical
antecedents or is interpreted as such in headless constructions, in
the way described above. In headed relatives it is restricted to the
function of Indirect Object, that is to say it is always the object
of a preposition.

Returning now to the Prep+Quem construction it would appear
plausible to say that this construction, which is attested without
an overt antecedent in our data up to the 17th C (but also with a
[+human] overtly realized referent from that time on), has been
extended to RCs with [+human] antecedents: the feature [+human] of
the antecedent being, thus, repeated and made explicit in the
already [+human]/[+animate] form QUEM. In this way a more
regularized paradigm in respect to the feature [+human] seems to

162

have emerged: [+human] NPs are no longer restricted to take a neutral form such as Prep+QUE in the RC but can count on the possibility of taking a [+human]/[+animate] Relative form, ie., QUEM, always with a preposition.

QUE has remained unaffected by the features of the antecedent, whatever these might be. It remains obscure, however, why headless QUEM, without a preposition, which was undoubtedly [+human] or, at least, [+animate], has not been extended to Subject and Direct Object functions with [+human] antecedent NPs (see table 27), in the same way as its counterpart Prep+ Quem has been extended. It is clear, therefore, that in addition to having a [+human] antecedent QUEM must also be accompanied by a preposition to occur in RCs with overt antecedents.

4.Syntactic Distribution of QUEM

The distribution of QUEM varies in our data according at least to two factors: the presence/ absence of an antecedent preceding the sentence in which it occurs and the presence/ absence of a preposition accompanying it. Regarding the presence of an antecedent we observed that headed constructions appear from the 17th century texts onwards, not before. Regarding the presence/ absence of a preposition, prepositionless QUEM appears in both periods, ie., from the 14th 16th century and from the 17th century on, as a Subject, and Prep+QUEM also occurs as an Indirect Object in both periods, in both cases with or without an antecedent. As a first approximation their distribution could be summed up as in (i) and (ii).

(i) 14th→16th century texts (inclusive)

Antecedent	-Prep	+Prep
Ø	QUEM (SB)	---------
Ø	---------	Prep+ QUEM (IO)

163

(ii) 17th c. texts

Antecedent	-Prep	+Prep
∅	QUEM (SB)	----------
∅	---------	Prep+ QUEM (IO)
[+ human]	---------	Prep+ QUEM (IO)

At first sight it appears that the only difference between the
constructions with Prep+QUEM in the two periods is that in the 17th
C. it co-occurs with a [+human] antecedent while in the preceding
period it is antecedentless. A closer look at the data shows,
nevertheless, that, in (i), the prepositions which appear contiguous
to QUEM satisfy the subcategorization requirements of the matrix
verbs and are better described as $Prep...[_{S'} QUEM...]$; and that, in
(ii), Prep+ QUEM can be described either as $Prep..[_{S'}QUEM...]$ -with
the preposition outside the dependent clause- or as $[_{S'}Prep +QUEM...]$
- with the preposition inside the embedded clause, as its verb
subcategorizes for PPs. Prepositionless QUEM also shows a different
distribution as shown below.

4.1. 14→16 th CENTURY

4.1.1. QUEM as Subject of a Matrix or of a Coordinate Clause

QUEM functions as the Subject of a matrix clause in sentences like
(35). In these cases its antecedent also seems to be a Subject,
forming, thus, the pattern SB/SB.

(35) a) E assy concludindo o que primeiramente disse: QUEM vyr
   'And-thus-concluding-the-that-firstly-(I said: WHO(ever)-see(Fut.)

   . estes bees suso dictos e folgança que se   desta manha
   these- goods-above-said-and-pleasure-that-one-from that art

164

segue, e outros muitos que mais poderom dizer se tal for
derives-and-others-many-that-more-can(fut.)-say-if-such-will be

que lhe perteeça ,bem tem   razom de a muyto dezejar.
that-to him-applies-well-(he) has-reason-of-it-much-desir (Inf.)

(15 th C, DD:9)

'And thus concluding what I previously said: WHO(EVER) sees these
above mentioned goods and the pleasure that derives from them, and
many others that they can talk about, if they have the chance to,
(he) has reason to want them (ie., to have good riding skills).'

b) Mas QUEM grande vontade tever e de todo esto bem souber, se
'But-WHO(ever)-great-will-have(Fut.)-and-of-everything-well-know
(Fut.)

nom for desaventurado nas bestas, com razom mais poderoso
not-is(Sub.)-unlucky-in-the-beasts-with -reason-more-powerful-

sera que   os outros pera as aver e governar .
will be-(than) that-the-others-for-them-to have-and-to govern.
(15 th C,DD:12)

'But the one who has great will(ie who is determined) and knows
everything about this (ie, the way of treating a horse) if he is not
unlucky with the horses,will certainly be more powerful than the
others for having and riding them.'

c) Mas QUEM se quiser guardar em todallas ditas cousas
'But -WHO(ever)-himself- want- guard-in-all-the-said- things-

que derribam pera deante, tenha sempre consigo avysamento
that-fall-for-forwards-have-always-with-himself-warning-

e, como a besta fezer, aperte as pernas,e firme os pees ,...
and- as- the beast-does-tighten-the -legs-and-firm-the-feet...
(15th C, DD:23)

165

'But WHO(ever) wants to protect himself from all those mentioned things that make you fall forwards(ie from the horse) should beware himself and according to what the horse does, should tighten the legs and firm the feet...'

QUEM has no overt antecedent in these examples. This being so the sentences in which it occurs can be classified as Free Relatives: one of the characteristics of this type of construction is the lack of an overtly realized antecedent. Hirschbühler and Rivero (1981:607), for example, give the following definition: "A free relative is a construction where the first constituent is a WH-phrase." At this point there may appear to be no cogent reason for postulating an empty NP as the antecedent of these clauses , as shown in (36), where NP is empty and QUEM appears under COMP after Wh-movement. The postulation of an antecedent (even empty) is nevertheless compulsory, if we are to maintain that their pattern is SB/SB. It is not clear either whether these QUEM should be interpreted as definite or indefinite. We shall return to these points later.

(36) Possible underlying structure of (35b).
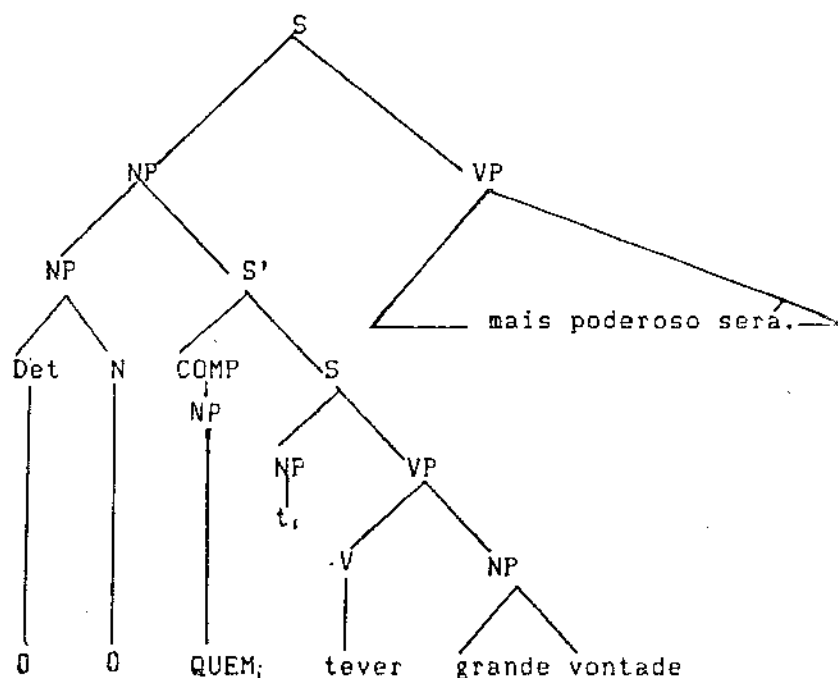
4.1.2. QUEM as Subject of the embedded clause

QUEM is also a Subject in sentences (37).

(37a) E movendo seu caminho pera lla, os homeens boons de Villa Nova
 'And-moving-their-way-towards-there-the-men   -good -of- Vila Nova

de Cerveira...sabendo como elle tomara por força Viana e o Castelo
of-C.   -knowing-how-he-took-   by-force-   V. and the-C.

de Neiva,que eram fortes, temendo-se de hir   sobrelles,mandaron-
of-Neiva-that-were-strong-fearing himself-of-go-over-them-sent -

lhe pedir   que o nom fezesse,   mas   que   mandasse
to him-to ask-that-it-not-did(Past Sub.)-but-that-(he)sent(Past Sub)

QUEM recebesse   os logares   e logo lhos entregariam.
Who-received(Past Sub) the places-and-soon-them-to him- (they would)
                                                         give.

                          (14th C.,FL:16)

'And going on their way there,the good men from V.N.de C....knowing
that he took V. and the Castle of N., which were strong, by force
fearing that he would come over them(ie over V.N.), sent someone to
ask him not to do it, but that he should send (someone)WHO should
receive the places, and soon they would give them to him.'

b) Ebem   creo   que se vosa alteza aquy MANDAR   QUEM
'And-well-(I)believe-that-if-Your Highness-here -send(Fut.Sub.)-who

mais antreles   de vagar ande. que todos seram tornados ao desejo
more-among them-slowly-goes-that-all-(will)be-changed-to the-will

de vosa alteza.   (16th C.,PVC:13)
of-Your-Highness

                    167.

'And I believe that if Your Highness sends someone who goes more slowly among them (ie. who stays longer with the Indians), that all will be changed to Your Highness's will (ie. they will be converted into Christianity).'

The difference between (37a) and the sentences in (35) is that in (37a) QUEM seems to be simultaneously the Direct Object of the matrix verb MANDASSE (v. Mandar) and the Subject of RECEBESSE (v.Receber), while in (35) it functions as the Subject of the VER 'to see'; TER 'to have' and QUERER 'to want'. MANDAR in (37a) and b) means 'to send (somebody)' and subcategorizes for NP. If this is taken into consideration, we can then say that the ambiguity between Direct Object and Subject that Quem exhibits could be due to the absence of an overtly realized complement to MANDAR. If this is correct (37a) would have the pattern OB/SB. RECEBER normally subcategorizes for NP and PP, although in (37a) only an NP complement appears. ANDAR is an intransitive verb.

(38a) MANDAR: V ,+[——NP]   b) RECEBER: V, +[——NP]
      'to send'   'to receive'

c)... MANDASSE [[∅] [[QUEM] [t$_i$ recebesse [os logares]]]]
              NP NP S'COMP   S   PP

According to these subcategorization facts both matrix and dependent verbs take an NP as a complement. It is clear that the subcategorization of RECEBER is satisfyed by OS LOGARES 'the places' but it is not so straightforward what the NP complement of MANDAR is, as said above.If an empty NP is postulated as the complement of MANDAR, (37a) would be described in the same way as a Headed Relative clause is, but without an overtly realized antecedent, as the bracketing in (38c) shows.

It is not so straightforward what the NP complement of MANDAR is, however, because QUEM seems to be concomitantly the Direct Object of MANDASSE, thus, satisfying its subcategorization requirements, and the Subject of RECEBESSE. It is also important to notice that the Subject of RECEBESSE and the Object of MANDASSE have the same referent or, in plain words, 'the person who would be sent' is the

same person 'who would receive the places'.

In Modern Portuguese the verb MANDAR is used with various meanings.
It can mean 'to give orders' and in this case it is intransitive:

(39) Quem manda aqui sou eu.
'It's me who gives the orders here'

It can also mean 'to give orders to somebody' and in this case it
subcategorizes for PP:

(40) Ele manda em todo mundo.   b) Mandar: V,+[——PP]
     'He gives orders to everybody'   'to give orders to'

It cam also mean 'to send', and in this sense it requires an NP and
a PP:

(41)a) Marinalva mandou uma carta para a amiga dela.
        'M.   sent   a letter to a friend of hers.'

    b)Mandar: V, +[——NP-(PP)]
    'to send'

A slightly different meaning is 'to order' as in (42):

(42a) Mandei   que   calassem a boca.
   '(I)-ordered-that(they) (should) shut up (the mouth)'
'I ordered them to shut up.'

    b) Mandei   que as crianças   calassem a boca.
     '(I)-ordered-that-the children-(should) shut up(the mouth).'
'I ordered the children to shut up.'

c) Mandei as crianças calarem a boca.

'(I) ordered the children to shut up (the mouth).'

It seems that in (42a) and b) MANDAR takes sentential complements: [que calassem a boca] and [que as crianças calassem a boca], which are introduced by the complementizer QUE. It is not clear, however, how to analyse (42c). Can we say that it is similar to (42a) and b) in which S' itself is the complement of MANDAR? Or is it the case that AS CRIANÇAS is at the same time the Direct Object of MANDAR and the Subject of CALAR? AS CRIANÇAS is undoubtedly the Subject of CALAREM (inflected infinitival form), as shown by the agreement between them (-EM- masc./fem., pl. ending).

It seems to me that MANDAR in (42) subcategorizes for S' not for NP. As can be checked in (43) the strings marked *[ ] do not function like NPs, ie., cannot be the Subject of a passive sentence and are better analysed as Ss, as shown by the diagrams in (44).

(43a) * Que calassem a boca foi mandado.

   b) * Que as crianças calassem a boca foi mandado.

   c) * As crianças calarem a boca foi mandado.

(44a)

b)

```
              S
           /     \
         NP       VP
         |      /    \
        (eu)   V      S'
              |      /   \
           mandei  COMP   S
                    |    /   \
                  [-Wh] NP    VP
                    |  /  \  /   \
                  que as cri-  V    NP
                     anças  calassêm / \
                                    a  boca
```

c)

```
              S
           /     \
         NP       VP
         |      /    \
        (eu)   V      S'
              |      /   \
           mandei  COMP   S
                    |    /   \
                    e   NP    VP
                      /  \  /   \
                    as cri- V    NP
                     anças calarem / \
                                  a  boca
```
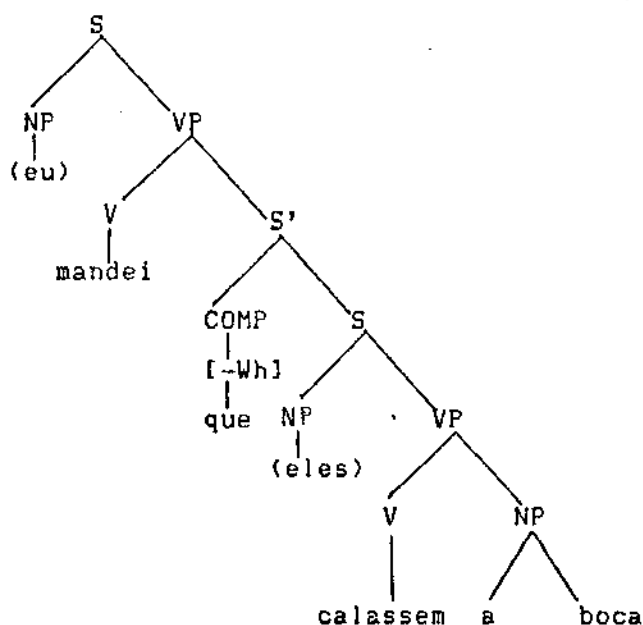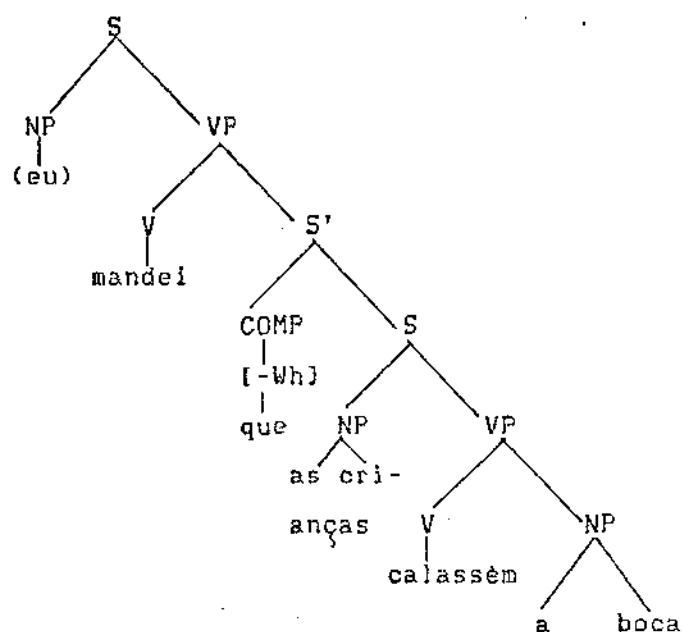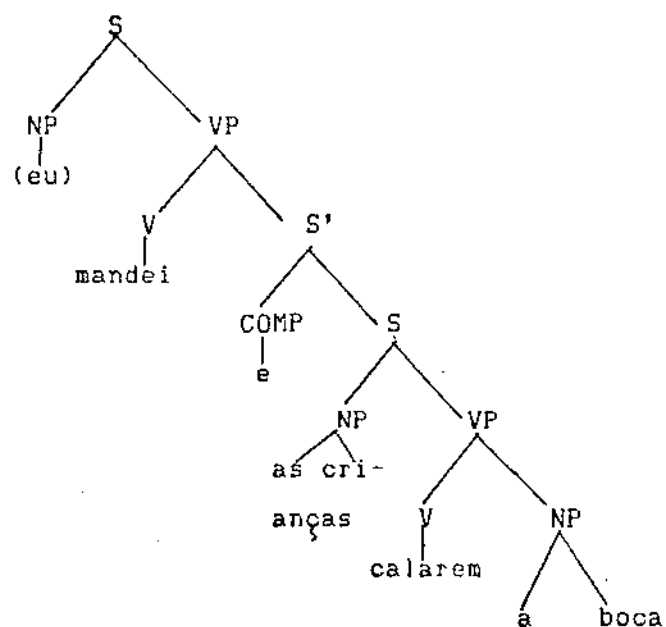
Returning now to example (37a) from Old Portuguese it seems that the meaning of MANDAR in that context is 'to send', not 'to order' and as such it takes an NP as complement not a Sentence as in the preceding examples. The issue is now turned in another direction: if it is correct that MANDAR subcategorizes for NP in (37a) would QUEM be its complement or is there any other candidate for it? (37a) can be paraphrased as in (45).

(37a)...Mandasse QUEM recebesse os logares e logo lhos entregaria...

(45)...mandasse ALGUÉM QUE recebesse os logares...

...(he) sent -SOMEONE who -received-the places'...

...'(he) (should) send someone to receive the places...'

One possibility is to consider (45) a RRC with ALGUÉM in the antecedent position. If (45) is similar to (37a) QUEM would also be in antecedent position. Compare (46) to (47):

(46)

```
                    S₂
                  /    \
                NP      VP
                |      /  \
              (ele)   V    NP
                      |    /  \
                 mandasse NP    S'
                          |    /  \
                       alguémᵢ COMP  Sᵢ
                               |    /  \
                             queᵢ  NP    VP
                                   |    /  \
                                   tᵢ   V    NP
                                        |    /  \
                                   recebesse os  logares
```

(47)

```
                    S₃
                  /    \
                NP      VP
                |      /  \
              (ele)   V    NP
                      |    /  \
                 mandasse NP    S'
                          |    /  \
                       quemᵢ COMP  S₄
                              |    /  \
                              e   NP    VP
                                  |    /  \
                                  ∅ᵢ   V    NP
                                       |    /  \
                                  recebesse os  logares
```

172
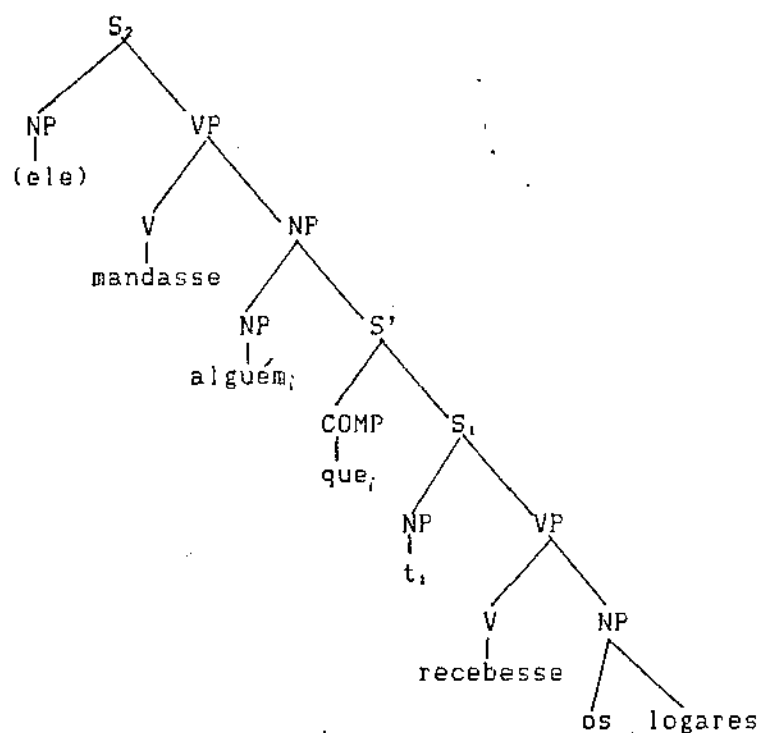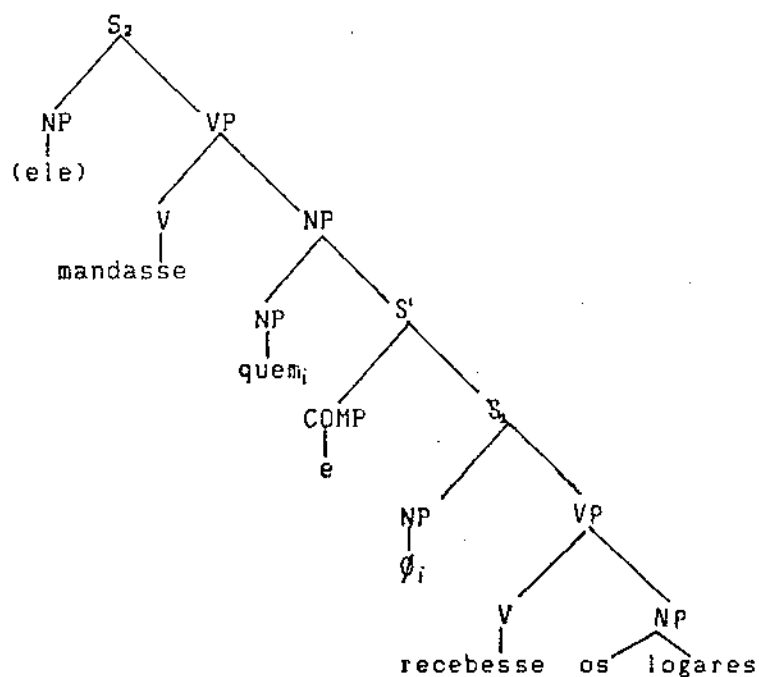
In (46) QUE is a Wh-word generated as the Subject of S_1 and then moved into COMP by Wh-movement, leaving a co-indexed trace behind. In (47) QUEM is generated as the Direct Object of MANDASSE and both the Subject position in S_1 and Comp are empty. No movement has taken place. Another possibility is to leave the antecedent position empty, as noted above, as an antecedent $\overset{\scriptstyle is}{\cancel{}}$ not overtly realized in (37a). This would, on the one hand, satisfy the subcategorization requirements of MANDAR and, on the other, describe the fact that QUEM has no overtly realized antecedent.

(48)

```
                    S₂
                  /    \
                NP      VP
                |      /  \
              (ele)   V    NP
                      |   /
                  mandasse
                        NP      S'
                        |      /  \
                        Øᵢ    /    \
                          COMP      S₁
                            |      /  \
                            NP    /    \
                           [+Wh] /      \
                            |   NP       VP
                          quemᵢ  |      /  \
                                tᵢ     V    NP
                                       |    / \
                                   recebesse
                                           os  logares
```
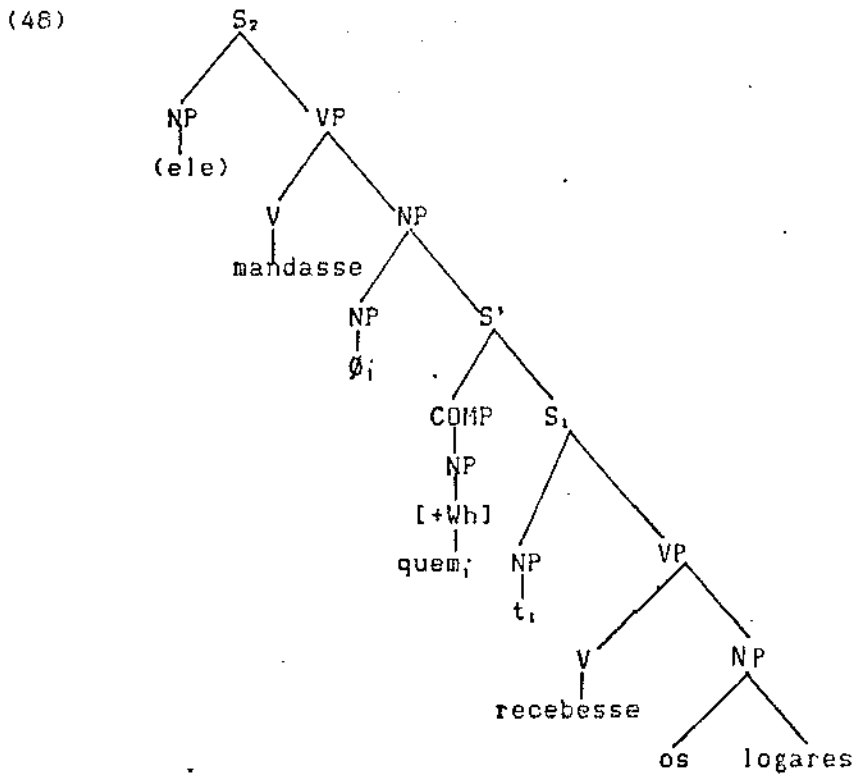
We shall return to this point in section 4.4.

4.1.3 Prep...[QUEM...]$_{S'}$

Prep...[QUEM...]$_{S'}$ is found in sentences like (49).

(49a)...quando a besta sobe per algua sobida muyto alta,...he boo
   '...when-the-horse-climbs-to -some-hill-very-high-...is-good-

   encolher as pernas, apertandoas, e levantar os pees atras,
   to contract-the-legs- tightening-them- and-to raise-the-feet-back

e corpo dereito; ca faz parecer que passa por lugar
and-body-straight-because-it-makes appear-that -passes-through-place

muyto mais chaao do que he, segundo a esperiencia bem   mostrará
much-more-flat -than-it-is- as- the-experience - well-(will)show

A QUEM o provar.   (15 th C,DD:24)
to WHO(ever)-it-(will) try (Fut. Sub.).

'...when the horse climbs up a very high hill it is convenient   (for
the rider) to contract and tighten the legs, to straighten the body
and to raise the feet backwards, because it gives the impression
that (the horse) passes through places much more plane than they
are, as the experience will show to whoever wants to try it.'

b)..e despois (o índio) retornou as contas   A QUEM lhas   deu.
'and after-(the Indian)-returned-the beads-to-whom-to him them-gave'
                            (16th C.,PVC:3)

'..and then (the Indian) returned the beads to the person who gave
them to him.'

The matrix verbs in (49) subcategorize for NP and PP so that the
preposition A which appears before QUEM must be interpreted as part
of the matrix verb subcategorization requirements, belonging to the
matrix not to the embedded clause. QUEM thus appears at the same
time to be the Subject of the dependent clause, as it was in (37a),
and the Indirect Object of the matrix clause, as required by
RETORNAR. The sentences in (49) are of the type IO/SB, and in terms
of category, PP/NP.

(50) a) mostrar: V,+[——NP-PP]   b) retornar: V,+[——NP-PP]
     'to show'   'to return'

     c) provar: V,+[——NP]   d) dar: V, +[——NP-PP]
     'to try'   'to give'

Although in (49b) both matrix and dependent verb take a PP

complement, demanding both the same preposition A, it is clear that the preposition A which precedes QUEM only satisfies the subcategorization requirements of RETORNAR provided that the PP complement of DAR is filled by an item other than QUEM, ie., by LHAS (=LHE+AS). (51b) is ungrammatical if we consider that A QUEM is the result of Wh-movement of the embedded PP: the embedded PP A ELE has not been moved to Comp and it is not co-indexed with the (boxed) empty NP which is the antecedent of the whole relative construction and consequently has not met the requirements for Wh-movement to take place. It is co-indexed with the Subject of the matrix clause.

(51b) *...o índio$_j$...retornou as contas a$[[\emptyset][[A QUEM] [t_i lhas_i deu]]]$.
$_{NP}$$_{PP}$ $_{S'COMP}$ $_{S_L}$

(51b)...o índio$_j$... retornou as contas A$[[\emptyset] [[QUEM] [t_i lhas deu]]]$.
$_{NP}$$_{PP}$ $_{S'COMP}$ $_i$ $_{S_L}$ $_j$

One of the important facts about (49a,b) is that the preposition A is not generated within S' but belongs to the matrix clause. Thus, (52a) is an adequate description of them not (52b), and the analysis is as in (53).

(52a) ...Prep...[QUEM...]   b) *...[Prep Quem...]
         $_{S'}$ $_{S'}$

(53a)

b)

```
                    S₂
            ┌────────┴────────┐
           NP                 VP
        ┌───┴───┐      ┌───────┼───────────┐
        o    índio_j   V      NP           PP₁
               retornou  as con-      ┌─────┴─────┐
                          tas_x       P           NP
                                      a     ┌──────┴──────┐
                                          [NP]           S'
                                           Ø_i      ┌─────┴─────┐
                                                  COMP         S₁
                                                   │      ┌─────┴─────┐
                                                   NP    NP          VP
                                                 [+Wh]   t_i   ┌──────┼──────┐
                                                 quem_r        V     NP     PP₂
                                                              deu   PRO  ┌───┴───┐
                                                                   as_x  P     NP
                                                                         a    ele_j
```
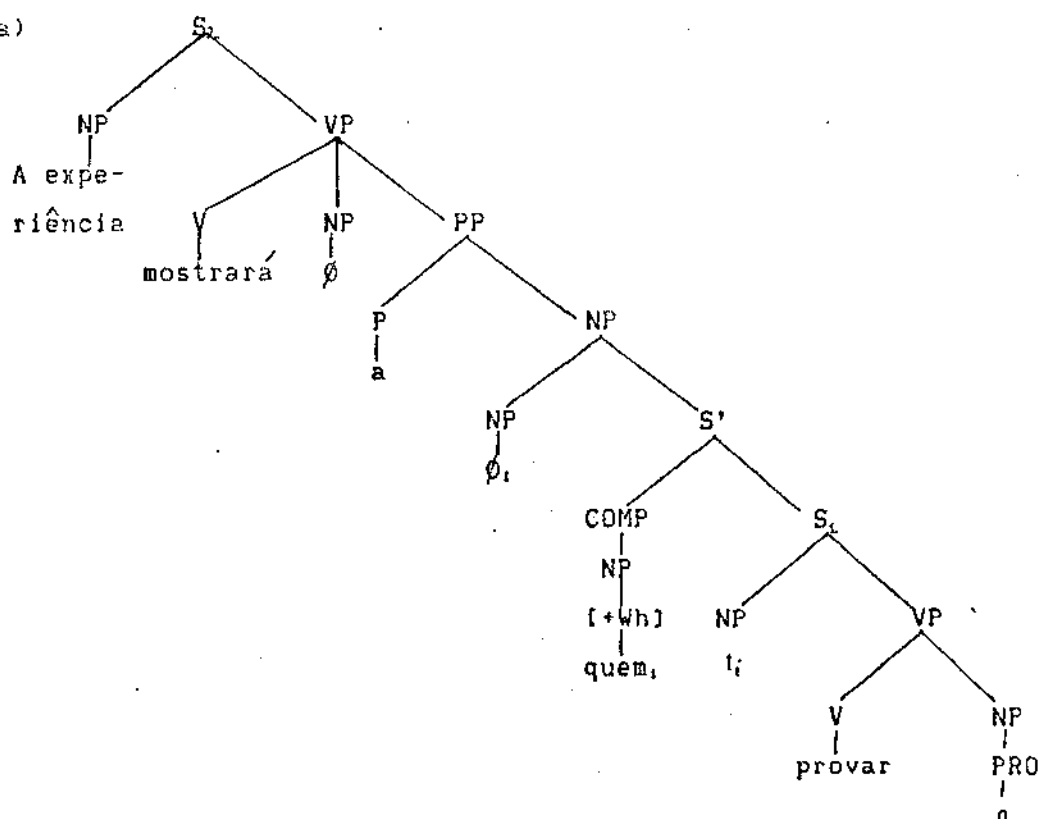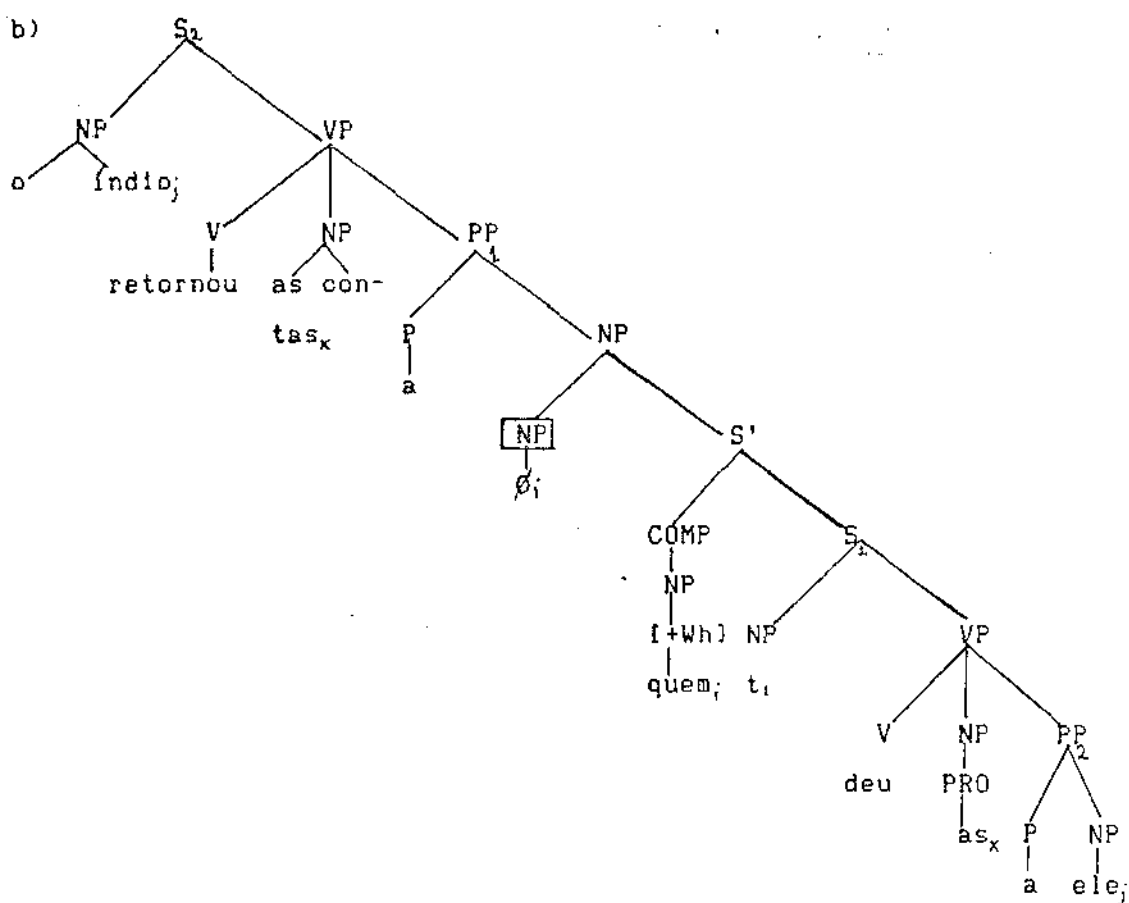
Taking these new facts into consideration, the distribution of QUEM
is now as in (54), for the period 14th-16th C. inclusive:

(54) Distribution of QUEM 14th C—→16 th C (inclusive)

   a) Coordinate Clauses

	Q U E M	
Antecedent	Prep	Coord. Cl.
Ø (SB)(NP)	-Prep	SB.(NP)

   b) Matrix/Dependent Clauses

	Q U E M	
Matrix Antecedent	Prep.	Dep. Cl.
Ø (D.O.) (NP)	-Prep	SB.(NP)
Ø (I.O.) (PP)	Prep...[Quem...]_S'	SB.(NP)

176

The existence of an empty node as a complement to the verbs of the sentence types classified in (54b) (ie. the antecedent $\stackrel{of}{\angle}$ QUEM) supplied us with a description that might account for the syntactic potential ambiguity of QUEM in these types. (54) shows that QUEM is always a Subject in the embedded clause but that its antecedent in the matrix clause has a function which is appropriate to the grammatical category required by the subcategorization of the matrix verbs: when the verb demands an NP, for example, this NP can be Direct Object; when it demands a PP, this PP can be an Indirect Object.

When a constituent is not overtly realized, as the DOs and IOs in our examples,its adjacent constituents are set in a contiguity that otherwise would not occur, ie.if the missing constituent was realized. In this way A + QUEM and MANDASSE+ QUEM, for example, have been set side-by-side, and it seems to us that it is this forced linear proximity which might have given rise to ambiguities such as the ones found in our sampling.

4.2. 17th CENTURY

4.2.1. QUEM as Subject of a Matrix or of a Coordinate Clause

QUEM appears as the Subject of a coordinate clause in the following examples:

(55) QUEM malfadado foi em a cura, sempre lhe dura.
    'Who -unlucky-was-in-the cure-always-to him-takes long'

'Whoever was unlucky in the cure, takes a long time for him to recover.

(56a) Vos sois só QUEM me podereis valer. (17th C, CB)
    'Thou -are -only-who-me-can- help'

'You are the only person who can help me.'

b) A Raynha de Castella ainda esta em Z'ellande, que não he
   'The-queen-of-   C.-still-is-in-Z.-   -that-not-is-

   das couzas mais facis do mundo, o sahir destas partes
   of the-things-more-easy-of the-world-the-leaving-of those-parts

   do Norte, QUEM em ella se acha prezente. (17th C, CB)
   of the-North-who-in-it-himself-finds-present.'

'The Queen of Castella is still in Z., because it is not the easiest
thing in the world, for whoever finds himself there, to leave the
North.

   c)...e algumas vezes em uma quinta sua tomava lições de esgrima
   '...and-sometimes-in-one-farm-his-took-lessons-of-fencing-and-
   e passeava em um cavalo, como QUEM se preparava para ir a praça
   rode-in-a horse-like-WHO himself-prepared-to-go to the-quarters

   do mundo.   (17th C, GPR:114)
   of the world.

'..and sometimes he had fencing lessons and rode a horse on one of
his farms, like someone who was preparing himself to go to the
quarters of the world (ie. for whatever could happen to him in the
world).'

The same comments regarding the presence of an antecedent empty NP
as in 4.1.1 are in order here. QUEM is a Subject, and so$_{/}$ its
antecedent (SB/SB).

4.2.2. QUEM as Subject of the Embedded Clause

In the following sentence, QUEM is the subject of the embedded
clause but seems to be also the Direct Object of the matrix
verb (DO/SB).

(57) Vos não tendes aqui QUEM com caractere o procure.(17th C.,CB)
     'Thou -not-have-here-who-with-determination-it- search'

178

'You don't have anyone here who looks for it with determination.'

TER usually takes an NP complement in Modern Portuguese and alternatively in some cases subcategorizes for a following Sentence. In Middle Portuguese it took an NP as complement, as can be seen in (58). In the same way we suppose that it subcategorized for Sentence.

(58a) ...[.a penna grande] que tive...(17th C, CB)
　　　 $_{YP}$
　　...'the great sorrow that I had'...

　　b)...tenho [[razão] [[de][[me queixar]]] (17th C, CB)
　　　　　 $_{NP}$ $_{YP}$　$_{PP}$ $_{P}$　$_{NP}$s'
　　　'(1) have-reason- of-me-to complain'

'I have reason for complaining.'
　　c)...tenho [[tudo] [o que me pode dar cabal satisfação...]].
　　　　　$_{NP}$ $_{PP}$ $_{P}$　$_{S'}$
　　'...I have everything that can give me complete satisfaction'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(17th C, CB)

In (59) TER takes a sentential complement:

(59a)　Eles não tem do que falar. (Mod. Port.)
　　　　'They-not-have-of what-to talk'
They don't have anything to talk about'

　　b) Eles não tem de comer / de beber. (Mod. Port.)
　　　　'They-not-have-of-to eat / of- to drink'
'They don't have anything to eat/ to drink.'

TER is ,thus:

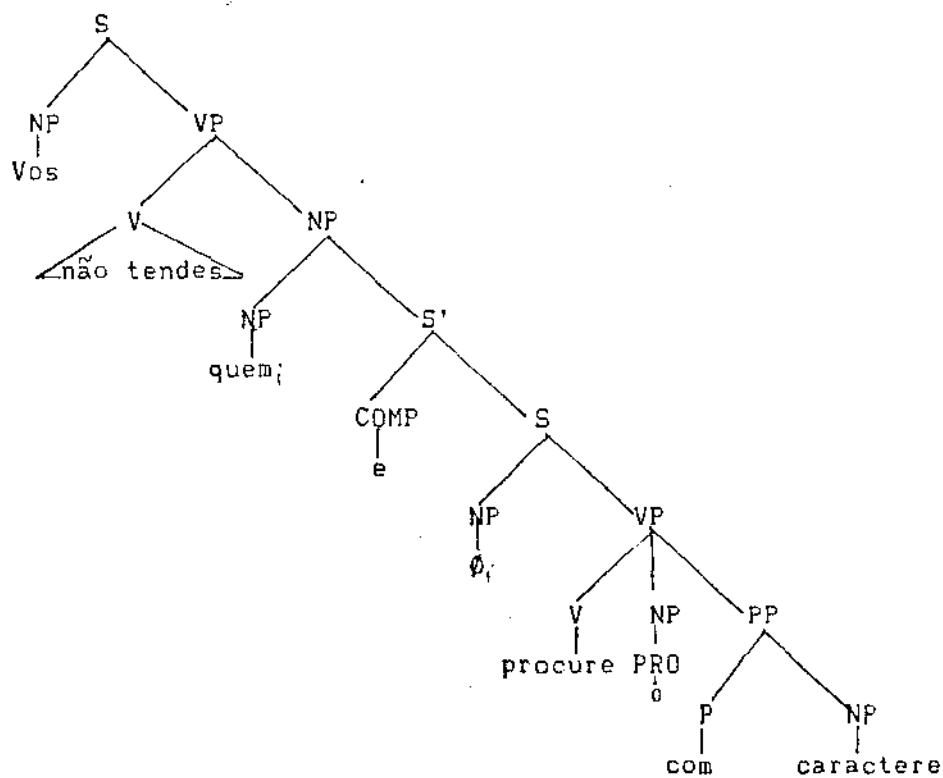(60a)　TER: V, + [———$\begin{Bmatrix} NP \\ S \end{Bmatrix}$]

Returning to (57) we can ask now: what complement does TER take in this case, an NP or a Sentence ? If it takes a sentential complement then its structure is as in (61), where QUEM has no antecedent whatsoever:

(61)

```
              S
           ___|___
          NP      VP
          |     ___|___
          Vos  V       S'
          <não tendes>  ___|___
                       COMP      S
                        |      ___|___
                       NP     NP      VP
                    [+Wh]]NP  t_i   ___|___
                        |           V    NP    PP
                      quem_i      procure PRO  __|__
                                         0    P    NP
                                              |    |
                                             com caractere
```
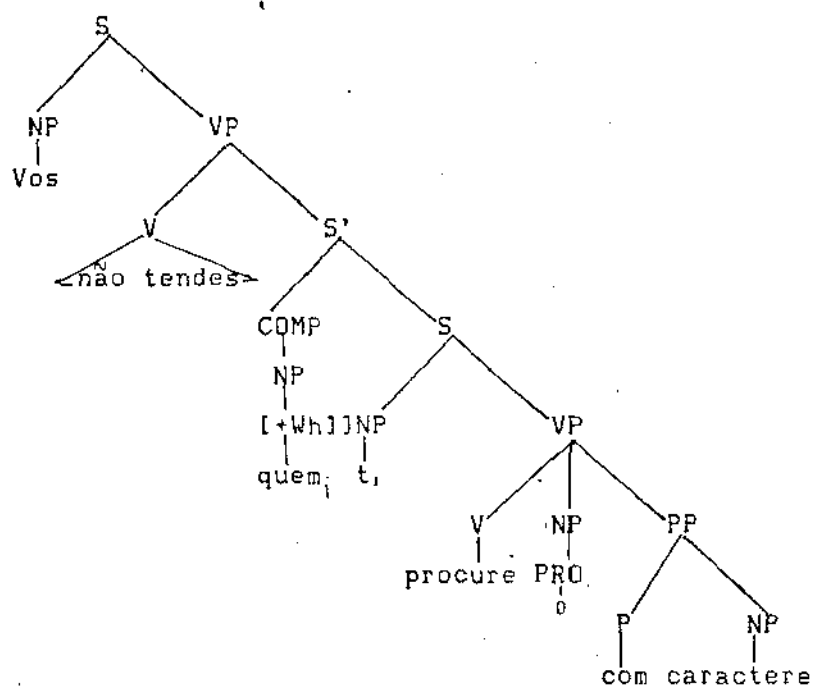
If it subcategorizes for NP, then there are two alternative analyses
as in the case of (37a): either QUEM is in the antecedent position
and COMP is empty, or QUEM is in COMP and the antecedent position is
empty (Cf. Rivero 1984 for details on Head and Comp proposals).

(62a)

```
              S
           ___|___
          NP      VP
          |     ___|___
          Vos  V       NP
          <não tendes>  ___|___
                       NP       S'
                       |      ___|___
                     quem_i   COMP      S
                               |      ___|___
                               e     NP      VP
                                     |     ___|___
                                    Ø_i    V    NP    PP
                                         procure PRO  __|__
                                                 0   P    NP
                                                     |    |
                                                    com  caractere
```

180

b)

S
NP — VP
Vos
V — NP
não tender
NP — S'
ϕ_i
COMP — S
NP
[Wh]
quem$_i$ t_i
NP — VP
com caractere o procurer
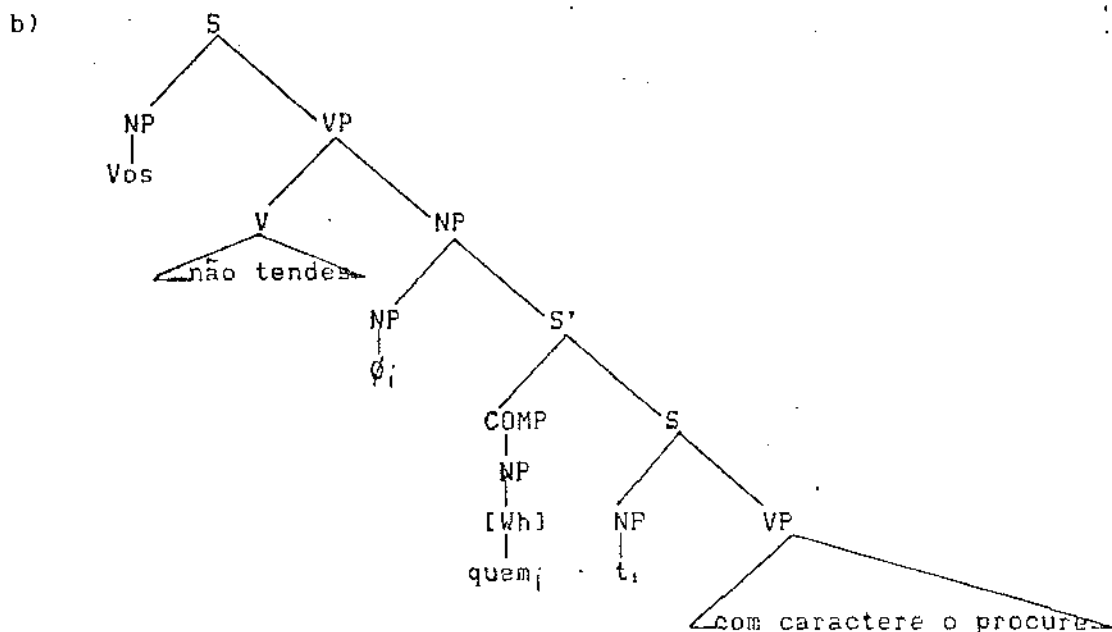
Description (62a) presents QUEM as the Direct Object of TER, COMP and Subject of S$_1$ being empty nodes. In (62b) the antecedent position is empty, QUEM is under COMP since it originated as the Subject of S$_1$ and moved into COMP by Wh-movement. A trace co-indexed with QUEM is left in its place of origin. In both structures the subcategorization requirements of the matrix verb are satisfed, the only difference being that in one case the NP is empty and in the other it is filled with lexical material. The same potential ambiguity as was discussed regarding the QUEM in the preceding period appears to exist in (57): QUEM seems to conflate two syntactic functions: Direct Object of the matrix verb and Subject of the embedded one (NP/NP).

4.2.3. Prep+ QUEM constructions

4.2.3.1. Prep...$[_{S'}$QUEM...]

This type appears only once in the 17th century sample:

(63) A este tempo me lembrou que o outro   disse A QUEM   lhe
      'By-that-time-me-reminds-that-the-other-said-TO WHO(M)-to him

    perguntou porque não trazia armas de noite...
    asked - why- not-brought-guns-in the evening'   (17th C, GPR:127)
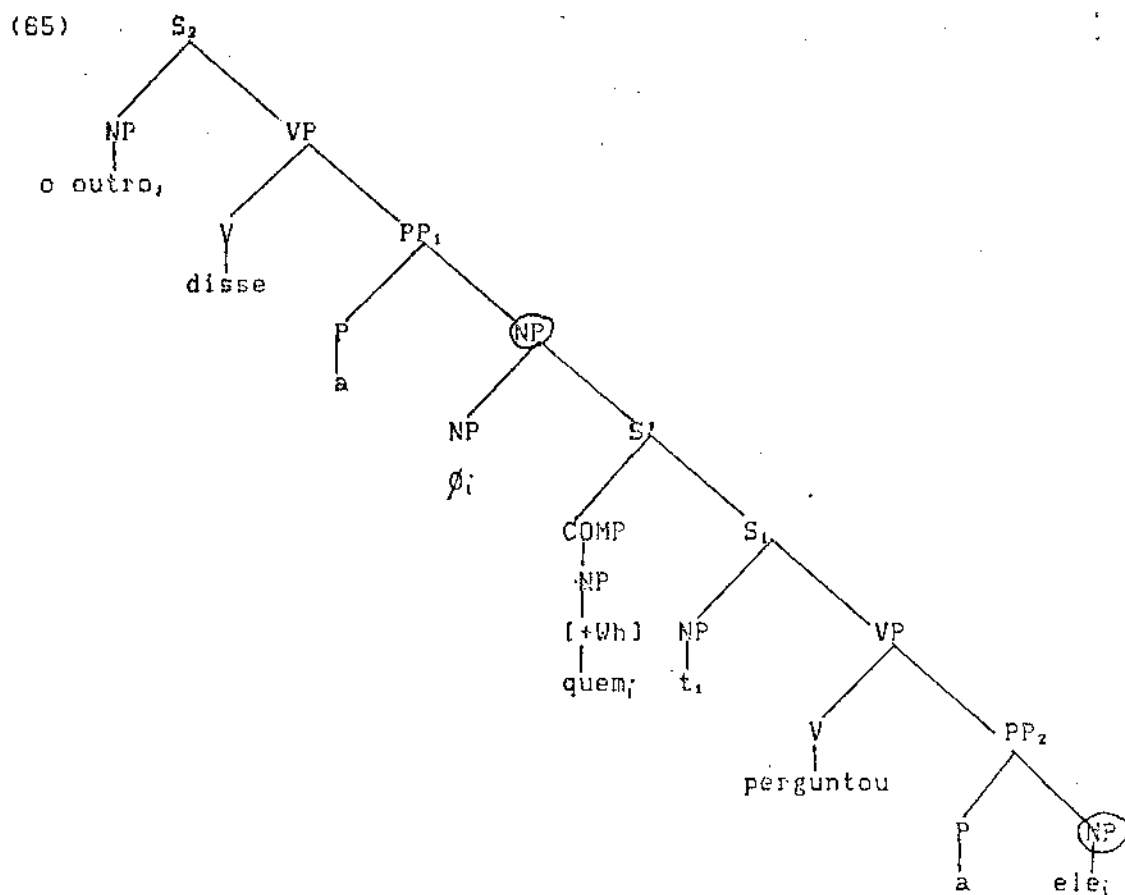
181

'By that time it reminded me what the other said to the person who asked him why he didn't bring guns in the evening'

Both matrix and embedded verbs take NPs and PPs as complements:

(66a) dizer : V,+[——NP-PP]   b)perguntar : V, +[——NP-PP]
     'to say'   'to ask'

The preposition A before QUEM is part of the subcategorization of DIZER not of PERGUNTAR as PERGUNTAR has LHE as its PP complement. Prep is, thus, outside the embedded clause. As in the sentences in (49) the antecedent NP in (63) is part of a PP but the Wh-phrase is an NP (PP/NP); in terms of syntactic function (63) is also similar to (49a,b): the antecedent PP seems to be an Indirect Object while the Wh-phrase is a Subject, falling, thus, into the pattern OJ/SB.

It is important to point out that the Wh-phrase in (63) has originated as the Subject of the embedded sentence and not as its Indirect Object, because there is no co-referentiality between the lowest PP A ELE and the antecedent of the Relative construction. A ELE has the same referent as O OUTRO 'the other', which is the Subject of the main clause. The highest and the lowest PPs (PP_1/PP_2) have the same preposition A, but one cannot say that one of them (the lowest) has been deleted under identity for two reasons: first, because the NP it accompanies is not co-referential with the antecedent NP and has not consequently been preposed by Wh-Movement in order to meet the necessary conditions for this Preposition Deletion to take place; second, it is also implausible that PP has been moved into Comp position leaving a co-indexed trace behind, which would give the status of a resumptive pronoun to LHE, because although the prepositions in both PPs are identical, the NPs they introduce are not co-referential. On the contrary, Prep. A + NP ELE have been converted into the oblique pronominal form LHE, and this is co-referential with O OUTRO (Subject of S_1).

(65)

S₂

NP — o outro,

VP
V — disse
PP₁
P — a
(NP)
NP — ∅ᵢ
S'
COMP — NP [+Wh] quemᵢ
Sᵢ
NP — tᵢ
VP
V — perguntou
PP₂
P — a
(NP) — eleⱼ

(63) is not the same as either the French sentence (66a) or its Portuguese (entirely acceptable) translation (66b).

(66a) J'ai donné ce livre A QUI tu avais fait allusion.
'I gave this book to whom you alluded(to)'

(Hirschbühler (1976:139)

b)Dei este livro A QUEM você fez alusão.
'I gave this book to whom you alluded (to)'

In these, both matrix and dependent verb take PPs as complements. The difference between the sentences in (66) and (63) is that in (66) the Wh-phrase and its preposition seem to have originated as the Indirect Object of the embedded clause having being shifted into Comp by Wh-movement, as shown in (67), whereas in (63) it is the Subject of S moved into Comp.

(67)

S_2

NP
eu

VP

V
d'el este

NP
livro

PP_1

P
a

NP

NP
$\emptyset_i$

S'

COMP

PP

P
a

NP
[+Wh]
quem$_i$

S_1

NP
você

VP

V
fez

NP
alusão

PP_2
t_i
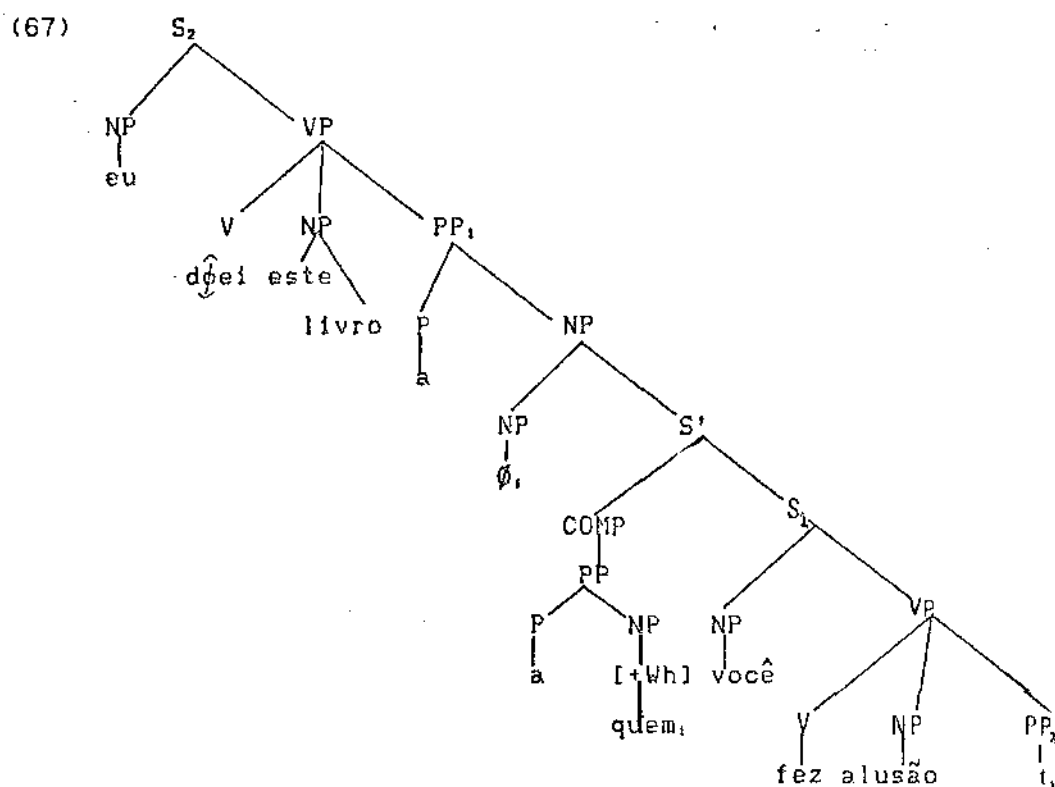
In this case the moved preposition A could either have been deleted under identity or assimilated by the preceding A. PP_2 is thus entirely identical to PP_1 not only in categorial and functional terms but is also co-indexed with it. A QUEM (or A QUI) would in this case be ambiguous between the IO of the matrix clause and the one of the embedded clause. There is no possibility here of QUEM being interpreted as the Subject of the embedded sentence as in (63) as its Subject is VOCÊ (or TU 'you').This latter type only occurs in our data in the 18th C but is classified as IO/IO (PP/PP).

4.2.3.2 $_{S'}$[Prep+QUEM...]

Another 'new' type of Prep+Quem construction appears in the 17th C texts in addition to the one ...Prep...$_{S'}$[QUEM...] already discussed. In this new type Prep+Quem is a constituent of the embedded clause functioning as the Indirect Object of the embedded verb and like the ...Prep...$_{S'}$[QUEM...] type it has no overt antecedent. Example (68) can be interpreted as having a Direct Wh-Question clause:

(68) Faltando-me   el rey   aqui[A QUEM e í de buscar])
                              $_{S'}$
   'Failing-to me-the king-here-to whom-shall(I)-of-seek(Fut. Sub.)

184

'As the king isn't here who shall I ask for help?'

The nature of (69) is not so clear, however:

(69) ...em ocaziões de tão manifestos perigos, como aos que aqui
'...in-occasions-of-so much-evident-dangers-as-the-ones-that-here

estou exposta, sem ter   [A QUEM recorrer]...
                         S'
(I)am-exposed-without-having-to whom- to recur to(infl. inf.)...'

'In dangerous times, such as the ones I am exposed to now, without
having anyone to recur to...'

In both examples (68) and (69) A QUEM is the Indirect Object of the
embedded verb and the preposition A is generated within the embedded
clause. The matrix verbs subcategorize as in (70) and those of the
dependent clause as in (71):

(70) a) TER: V, +[——{NP}]   b) FALTAR: V, +[——PP]
                   {S }

     'to have'   'to be absent'

(71) RECORRER: V, +[——PP]   b) BUSCAR: V, +[——PP]
     to recur to'   'to seek for'

FALTAR is different from TER in that it is not strictly the matrix
verb here of which the indirect question is an argument and does not
take an NP as a complement as TER does. It follows from this that
while (69) may or may not have an NP (empty or not) in antecedent
position, (68) has no antecedent whatsoever, which is in accordance
with its interrogative nature. Although apparently similar regarding
the presence of Prep+QUEM, both being the I.O. of the embedded verb,
(68) and (69) bring to light another point which must be taken into
account in the description of Headed Relatives, Free Relatives and

Interrogatives: namely that with regard to the presence/absence of an overtly realized antecedent, Free Relatives and Interrogatives appear to be similar, ie, both lack an antecedent in opposition to Headed Relatives. Despite this apparent similarity the nature of the interrogative constructions differs from that of the Free Relatives in that in Interrogatives the referent of the pronoun is really unknown to the speaker and is, therefore, more indefinite than it is in the case of Free Relatives.

Another difference is syntactic in nature: it is generally assumed that interrogative complements behave like sentences while relatives share syntactic properties with Nouns.

4.2.3.3. [Prep+QUEM] with a [+human] antecedent
S'

In the period from the 14th-16th C no occurrences of QUEM with overt antecedents have been registered in our data. This type is found in the 17th C. texts and onwards and is characterized by the presence of an antecedent which is [+human] and by the fact that [Prep+QUEM...] functions as an Indirect Object of the subordinate S' clause in all the cases attested. Sentences in (72) have a Headed Restrictive Relative whose Wh-phrases are Indirect Objects (PP) and whose antecedents are either PPs, as in (72a,b) or NPs, as in (72c,e).

(72a) Quase semelhante aO REI GENTIO A QUEM disseram os oráculos
                                    [+human]
    'Nearly-similar-to the-king-heathen-to whom-said-the oracle-
    que... (17th C, GPR:119)
    that...'
    'Nearly similar to the heathen king to whom the oracle said
    that...'

    b)E foi   que tomaram   maiores casas com UMA DONA A QUEM
                                                    [+human]
    'And-(it)was-that-(they)took-bigger-houses-with-a-woman-to-whom

186

deram   o nome de mãe...' (17th C, GPR:123)
 (they)gave-the-name-of-mother...'

'And then it happened that they moved into a bigger house with a
woman whom they called mother...'

   c) Sois   PESSOAS DE QUEM se pode fiar. (17th C, GPR:130)
            [+human]
   '(Thou) art-people-of-whom-one-can-trust
'You are people one can trust.'

   d) Neste lugar há   DOIS MANCEBOS, um A QUEM amo,
                  [+human]
    'In this-place there are-two-gentlemen- one-to whom-I love-
     o outro A QUEM aborreço...' (17th C, GPR:130)
    the-other-to whom-(I) hate...'

'In this place there are two gentlemen, one who I love and one who I
hate ...'

   e)...me   pareceu que ele era   o-que minha ama não amava
   ..'(To) me-(it)seemed-that-he-was-(the)one-who-my-lady-not-loved

  e O OUTRO   COM QUEM já   falara uma noite, queria...
and-the-other with whom-already-(she)had spoken-one night-wanted..'
                  (17th C, GPR:132)

'...It seemed to me that he was the one who my lady did not love and
the other, with whom she had already spoken one night, the one she
loved...'

Four of the embedded verbs in (72) subcategorize for PP:

(73a) Dizer: V, +[___ NP- PP]   d) Amar : V, +[——NP]
    'to say'   'to love'

  b) Dar: V, +[___ NP- PP]   e) Falar : V, +[——NP- PP]
    'to give'   .'to talk to'

c) Fiar: V, +[___ PP]

'to trust'

AMAR has a prepositional complement here. It usually subcategorizes for NP but whenever the Direct Object of AMAR is [+human] a preposition A appears before it. It is worth paying attention to the fact that all the prepositions in (72) are generated within the embedded clause, not outside it as in previous cases. Comparing these sentences with the headless ones, we shall see that the question of whether or not an empty NP should be postulated as the antecedent to the Quem clause does not apply for the sentences in (72) since their antecedent is overtly realized. Let us compare (72c) to (69):

(72c) Sois PESSOAS DE QUEM se pode fiar.

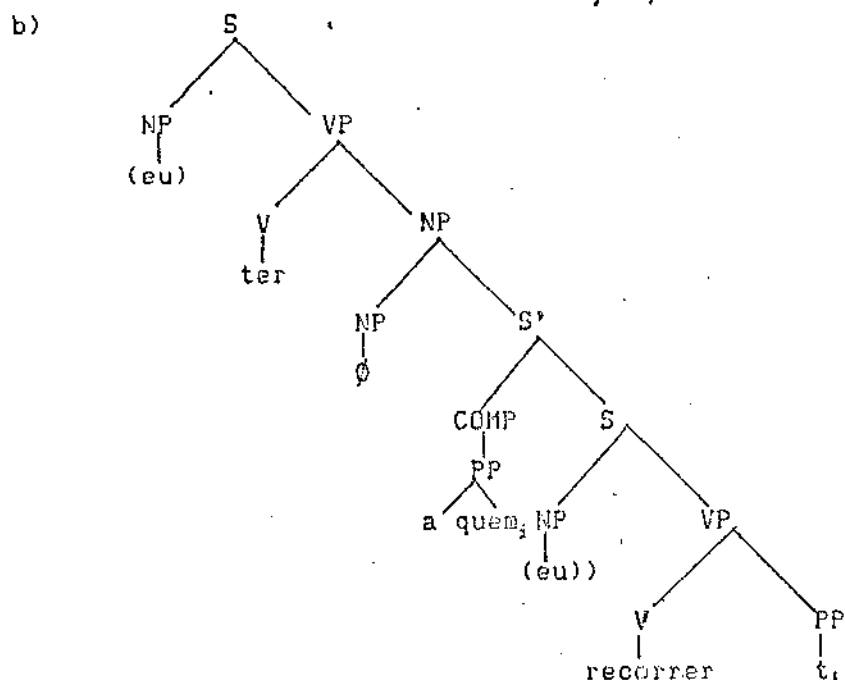(69)...em ocaziões de tão manifestos perigos, como aos que aqui estou exposta, sem ter A QUEM recorrer...

PESSOAS is the antecedent of [DE QUEM se pode fiar] but what is the antecedent of [A QUEM recorrer]? Is it the case that it has an empty antecedent or that it has no antecedent whatsoever? Both possibilities are shown in (74):

(74a)
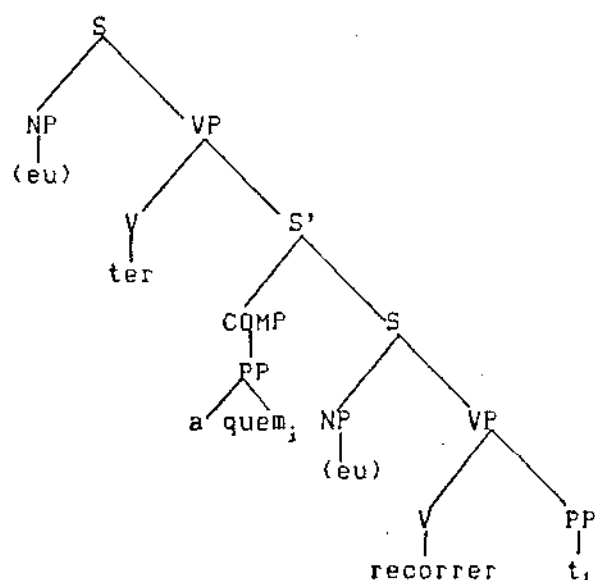
(74a) would be the description of an Indirect Question.

b)

```
                    S
                 /     \
               NP       VP
               |       /   \
             (eu)     V     NP
                      |    /   \
                     ter  NP    S'
                          |    /   \
                          ∅  COMP    S
                             |      /   \
                             PP    NP    VP
                            /  \   |    /   \
                           a  quem_i NP  V    PP
                              (eu))  |   |    |
                                    recorrer  t_i
```

The distributional pattern of the QUEM clauses is, thus, now:

(75) Distribution of Quem in the 17th C texts and onwards

a) Coordinate Clauses

	Q U E M	
(i) Antecedent	Prep.	Matrix /Coord. Cl.
∅(SB.)(NP)	-Prep	SB.(NP)

b) Matrix/Dependent Clauses

	Q U E M	
Matrix Antecedent	Prep.	Emb. Cl.
(ii) ∅ (DO)/(NP)	-Prep	SB.(NP)
(iii) ∅ (IO)/(PP)	Prep...[QUEM..]_{S'}	SB.(NP)
(iv) ∅ (IO)/(PP)	[Prep QUEM...]_{S'}	IO.(PP)
(v) ∅ (DO)/(NP)	[Prep QUEM...]_{S'}	IO.(PP)
(vi) [+human]{PP / NP}	[Prep QUEM...]_{S'}	IO.(PP)

189

(v) is a 'new' type of sructure where PP satisfies the subcategorization requirements of the embedded verb. In type (iii), PP satisfies the subcategorization requirements of the matrix verb. But the surface string of (v) is not different from that of type (iii): both types have a preposition contiguous to QUEM. The analysis only differs in that in the earlier type PP satisfied the subcategorization requirements of the matrix verb. This reanalysis was made possible by prepositions satisfying either verb, as in (iv). Although this type only shows up in our data in the 18th C it is presupposed by the existence of (v). (v) demonstrates that the reanalysis has in fact occurred, since it shows PP only satisfying the subcategorization requirements of the embedded verb. We have here, then, a classic case of syntactic reanalysis arising from ambiguous sentences in which the preposition could be assigned to either verb. (Details when type (iv) is discussed).

4.3. 18th→20th Century

From the 18th C texts onwards the pattern of occurrence of QUEM is as follows: there is a headless Prep+Quem type where PP seems to be ambiguous between the Indirect Object of the matrix verb and the one of the embedded verb, a decisive type to our analysis; headed relatives with QUEM with a [+human] antecedent are present in this period too, but there are two cases in which QUEM refers anaphorically to [-human] antecedents being apparent counter examples to the assumption previously made that QUEM is either [+human] itself, ie., has this feature included as part of its own lexical specifications, or that it can only accept [+human] antecedents. Examples of the types of sentences found in this period are given below.

4.3.1 QUEM as Subject of the Coordinate Clause

In this type the sentences are simply juxtaposed and QUEM is usually the Subject of one of them. If an empty antecedent is postulated for it, it will belong to the same category as the Wh-phrase; in our examples their function are also the same, as in (76)(SB./SB.).

(76a) QUEM vê   a mím, vê a meu pai.   (SMC, 18th C:368)

   ' Who -sees-to me-sees-to-my-father'

   ' Who(ever) sees me, sees my Father'

4.3.2 QUEM as Subject of the Embedded Clause

(77) Buscavam   a ver QUEM chamava tão a deshora e como não

   '(They)searchead-to-see-who-called- so out of time-and-as-not

   respondiam   logo se   tornavam ao coro.

   (they)answered   -soon-themselves-returned-to the-choir.'

                          (SMC, 18th C:381)

'They (the nuns) searched to see who called so out of time(so late) and as (they ie.,who was calling) did not answer soon they (the nuns) returned to the choir.'

(78) is similar to (77):

(78)...e dois oficiais ociosos, com a farda desapertada sobre o

   '..and-two-officers-idle- with-the-uniform-loose- over the-

   estômago, conversavam, esperando, a ver QUEM viria.

   stomach- chatted-   waiting   -to-see-who -would come'

                        (EQ, 19th C:39)

'...and two idle officers, with their uniforms loose over their stomachs, chatted, waiting, to see who would come.'

VER seems in principle to subcategorize for NP and S, as TER does. In (77) and (78) it seems to demand an NP complement; if this is the case, this NP is empty, as in the case of (57), and (77) and (78) classified as DO./SB.(NP/NP).

(57) Vós não tendes aqui QUEM com caractere o procure.

'You don't have anyone here who looks for it with determination'

4.3.3.Prep+QUEM Constructions

4.3.3.1 Prep...[QUEM...] Constructions
              S'

(79) Perdoe essa massada dada A QUEM ainda está doente
                                            (PV, 19th C:111)

   'Forgive-this-nuisance-given-to who-still-is-sick'
   'Excuse me for this nuisance to someone who is still sick.'

Regarding the preposition, (79) and (80) show the same pattern, ie.,
in both the preposition A is generated outside the embedded clause.
The matrix verbs DAR and EXPLICAR subcategorize for PPs. Both are
I.O/SB.(PP/NP).The same is true of (81).

(80)...Mas   se   quero   explica-lo   A   QUEM   me   interroga,
   '...But-if-(I)want-to explain -it- to who - me - asks

   entao não sei .   (FG,20th C:28)
   then-not-(I) know.

'But if I want to explain it to someone who asks me, then I don't
know (ie., how to explain it).'

(81)...(os hábitos) serão tais que   motivem   devoção A QUEM
   '...(the habits)will be-such-that-(they)motivate-devotion-to who

os vir e   se   edifique A QUEM as olhar. (SMC, 18th C:393)
them-see-and-one   -edify -to who-them-see'

'...(the habits) should be such that they motivate devotion in
who(ever) sees them and that who(ever) sees them (the habits or the
nuns who wear such habits) gets edified.'

MOTIVAR takes an NP and a PP as complements, but EDIFICAR takes only
an NP. According to this the preposition A after EDIFICAR seems   to
have been inserted in the same way as the preposition A after AMAR
is in (72d).

(72d) Neste lugar há dois mancebos, um a quem amo e um a quem aborreço.

4.3.3.2 [Prep+QUEM] constructions

(82) is the headless Prep+Quem (type iv) already mentioned in the previous section. It is different from type (v) in that there are two co-referential PPs, one in the embedded and another in the matrix clause: it is the case of (82) and (66) (already seen) and the dependent verb is tensed. This is the case in which the indirect Object satisfies the subcategorization requirements of both embedded and matrix verbs.
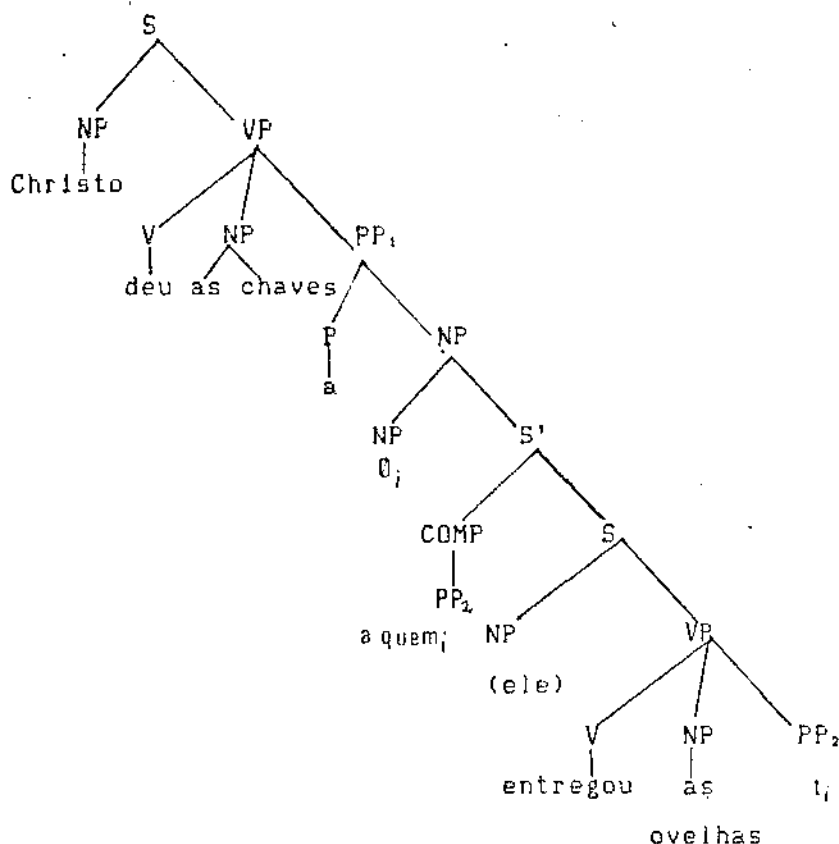
(82) Bem sabeis   que A QUEM Christo deu as chaves, entregou as
     'Well-(thou)know-that-to whom-C.- gave-the-keys -(he)gave-the-

ovelhas.   (18th C.,SMC:381)
sheep.'

'You know well that to whom Christ géve the keys (he) (also) commended the sheep.'

(82) is described as in (83).

(83)

```
                    S
                 /     \
               NP       VP
               |       /|\
            Christo   V NP  PP₁
                      |  \   / \
                  deu as chaves  P   NP
                               |   .
                               a   NP    S'
                                   Oᵢ   /  \
                                     COMP   S
                                      |    / \
                                     PP₂  NP   VP
                                   a quemᵢ (ele) /|\
                                              V  NP  PP₂
                                              |   |    |
                                          entregou as  tᵢ
                                                 ovelhas
```

As in (66), the moved preposition A could either be analysed as
being deleted under identity with the preceding preposition A or as
having been assimilated by it. There is total identity between the
involved categories PP₁/PP₂. As these PPs are co-referential and
the antecedent is empty, A QUEM can be ambiguous between the
Indirect Object of ENTREGAR or the Indirect Object of DAR. Both
verbs demand a PP.

Here we have the possibility of a reanalysis. As the PP also
satisfies the subcategorization requirements of the embedded verb,
we may now expect constructions in which it ONLY satisfies these, as
in type (v), which is an innovation in the 17th C. The existence of
(iv), ie., of Ss like (82), made the reanalysis possible.

Examples of [Prep Quem...] clauses with [+human] antecedents are
given below. Two occurrences of this type with [-human] antecedents
were also found in the 18th C.This type presents no restrictions
either on the syntactic function of the antecedent and of the
Qu-phrase nor on their categorial status. (84a) and c), for example,

194

are Predicative/IO.(NP/PP); (84d) is DO./IO. (NP/PP). It requires, nevertheless, a [+human]/[animate] antecedent.

(84a) Senhor, a esse homem avistei em uma légua e tomou a vereda
                    [+human]
       ' Sir- to- this-man-(I)saw -in-one-league-and-(he)took-the way

       para o Norte, e suponho, pelos apressados passos que levava ser
       to-the-North-and(I)suppose-by-the-quick-paces-that(he)brought-to be

       esse mesmo POR QUEM me perguntais.
                    [+human]   (' 18th C, NMP:306)
       this-the same-for who-me-(you)ask'

'Sir, I saw this man about three miles from here and he went northwards and I suppose by his quick paces that he is the one you are asking me about.'

PERGUNTAR subcategorizes for NP and PP (as in (63)). In the case of
(84) the preposition is POR , in (63)/is A.
                                      it

    b) Cheguei a Lisboa e de meus pais fui bem recebido como filho
                                                            [+human]
       '(I)arrived-to-L.-and-of-my-parents-(I)-was-wellcome-like -son-

       DE QUEM já   esperavam grandes fortunas e créditos
       of-whom-already-(they)-expected-great -fortunes-and-credits

       para sua casa,   pelos   famosos brios com que me
       for-their-house-because -of-the famous-pride-with-which-me-

       viam ostentar.   (NMP,18th C:309)
       (they)saw-show off.'

'I arrived in Lisbon and was welcomed by my parents, like a son from who they already expected great happiness and honour for their house for the obvious pride with which I showed off.'

c) É a pessoa DE QUEM lhe falei. (EQ, 19th C:56)
       [+human]
       '(He) is-the-person-of-whom-to you-(I) talked'
'He's the person I talked to you(about).'

d) Sendo assim, só se pode explicar por uma das duas hipóteses s
   Being-so-only-itself-can-explain-by-one of-the-two-hypotheses

   ou o Conde teve   ao serviço   um jurista A QUEM
                                       [+human]
   either-the-Count-had-to-his-service-a-jurist-to who(m) (he)

   encarregou de ordenar o material, ou...
   order- of-to order-the material-or...' (20th C, 1PMH:46)

'Being so,(the mentioned fact) can only be explained by one of the
two hypotheses: either the Count had a jurist whom he ordered to do
the ordering of the material, or...'

The two uses referred to as occurrences of QUEM with a [-human]
antecedent could be justified by saying that these are actually used
in a metaphorical sense and therefore should be understood as
[+human], if the context in which they occur is taken into
account.In this sense they are 'exceptions which justify the rule'.
In addition, one might perhaps also consider that in (85a) the
referent of QUEM is not [+human] but [+animate]. Comrie (1981:178)
proposes a hierarchy of animacy whose components are, from highest
to lowest: human, animal, inanimate. According to this parameter
AVES would, then, be classified as animal; OLHOS would be, in
principle, inanimate, but, could, according to the context, be
understood as animate.

If one thinks in terms of this hierarchy of 'animacy', one may
perhaps account better for these apparently contradictory examples
by simply saying that they may be higher or lower in the hierarchy
of animacy but that they do not reach the lowest level of
animacy,ie., inanimate.   The   distinction   made   between
[+human]/[-human] may well be replaced by a more general dichotomy

such as [animate]/[inanimate], since any [+human] or [animal]
occurrences are redundantly [animate].

(85a) Viam o verde no papagaio, o encarnado nas araras, o
'(They)saw-the-green-in-the-parrot-the-red- in the-macaws- the

    amarelo em o pintassilgo e a este teor as mais aves COM QUEM
                                                        [animate]
    yellow-in-the-goldfinch-and-to-this-way-the-more-birds-with who

    a natureza repartiu suas galantarias. (SMC, 18th C:393)
    the nature-divided-her-gallantry.'

'They saw the green in the parrot, the red in the macaws, the yellow
in the goldfinch and in same way (they saw) the other birds with
who(m) nature divided its beauties.'

    b)Não há olhos A QUEM pareça bem uma Religiosa   profana
              [animate]
      'Not-exist-eyes-to who-seems-well-a-religious(fem.)profane.'
'There are no eyes to who(m)a profane nun looks good.'
                                    (id.ib.:394)

It seems to us, then, that the hypothesis that QUEM is invariably
linked to the feature [+human] (ie,at least this is the state of
affairs in Contemporary Portuguese) is insufficient to account for
the described facts. We shall return to this point later on (sec. 5).

In this section we have confined ourselves to the observation of the
strictly syntactic distributional pattern of QUEM. Regarding this we
must notice that the same characteristics found in the 17th C texts
are present in the later texts. Except for the feature
[+human]/[animate] of the antecedent, table (75)(p.184) is valid for
the period 18th→20th C.

```
(86) Distribution of QUEM in the 17th C texts and onwards

    (a) Coordinate Clauses        Q U E M


            Antecedent          Prep            Coord. CL.


    (i)     ∅(SB.)(NP)          - Prep          SB (NP)
```

```
    (b)    Matrix /Embedded  Clauses
           Matrix                Q U E M


            Antecedent          Prep            Embd.Cl.


    (ii)    ∅(DO.)(NP)          -Prep           SB.(NP)


    (iii)   ∅(IO.)/PP(=P+NP)    + Prep...[Quem...]SB. (NP)
                                          S'

    (iv)    ∅ (IO.)/(PP)        +[Prep+Quem...]   IO.(PP) ⎫
                                  S'                      ⎪
                                                          ⎪
    (v)     ∅ (DO.)(NP)         +[Prep+Quem...]   IO.(PP) ⎬ PPs
                                  S'                      ⎪
                                                          ⎪
    (vi)    [+human]⎰(PP)⎱      +[Prep+Quem...]   IO.(PP) ⎭
                     ⎱(NP)⎰       S'
```

This table shows that QUEM has two basic functions in an embedded
clause: Subject and Indirect Object. When the antecedent position is
empty as in a) and in (i)-(v), the subcategorization requirements of
the matrix verb create an empty slot which the referent of QUEM must
be assumed to fill: QUEM, which is a Subject NP in the embedded
sentence in b(ii), for example, has also the necessary requirements
to be the DO. of the matrix verb, ie., it is an NP. In the same way,
Prep+QUEM, which is the embedded Indirect Object in (iv) can also be
the Indirect Object of the matrix verb as this subcategorizes for
PP. The existence of this empty slot is what makes possible this
'double reading of QUEM', ie., that the structure is transparent: it
is the Subject of the lower sentence and the Direct Object of the
higher, as in (ii), or the Indirect Object of either verb, as in

(iv). This interpretation is possible since the two NPs or PPs have the same referent.

Type (iii) is rather opaque, however. Although the NP which is the Subject of the embedded clause, ie., QUEM, could also fill the empty slot (=NP) in the higher sentence as they are co-referential, this structure does not lead to ambiguity as in (iv). QUEM in (iii) is the Subject of the lower clause, never its Indirect Object. Whenever the embedded verb demands a PP complement, this role is not carried out by QUEM, but by some other form. This type really does not lead to misanalysis and the creation of a new type, since, although QUEM comes into contiguity with a Preposition, the PP which should be co-referential to it has another referent, as for example, PP_2 (53b). This is the situation in (49b).

(49b) ...despois o índio retornou as contas A QUEM LHAS deu.

There seem to be thus at least three requirements for a reanalysis to take place: the existence of an empty slot in the matrix clause; co-referentiality, and a 'complete matching' between the categories involved, ie., the pertinent constituents must be 'matching' in terms of syntactic category and also in terms of syntactic function.

If these three conditions are correctly observed they would explain on the one hand why a reanalysis did not occur in type (iii), ie., as there is no categorial and 'functional matching' between the relevant categories, and there is no co-referentiality, although its surface was similar to the type where reanalysis occurred; and on the other hand, why it did occur in type (iv), namely due to 'complete matching' and co-referentiality of the relevant constituents, ie., PPs.

In type (v) Prep+Quem only satisfies the subcategorization requirements of the lower verb: the innovation is PP satisfying these requirements in the embedded sentence. It manifests itself first with ∅ antecedent and then with overt antecedents, as evidenced by type (vi).

199

Type (vi) has Prep+Quem in embedded clauses and in conjonction with overtly realized [+animate]/[+human] antecedents, which can be either NPs or PPs. There is no obligatory categorial or functional 'matching' between the relevant constituents, but these must be co-referential and must be 'matching' in terms of 'animacy': whenever Prep+Quem appears in this context its antecedent is [+human].

In view of the preceding syntactic distribution of QUEM we are now in a position to reformulate table (27)- our first approach to the innovative use of Prep+Quem with [+animate]/[+human] antecedents in oblique Relatives.

Table (27) suggests that Prep+QUEM has spread to resume overt animate antecedents but that QUEM (without a preposition) has not. This raises two questions respectively: how and why did Prep+Quem arise as a variant of Prep+Que influenced by a headless Prep+Quem, and how and why did thi not happen to headless Quem without a preposition?

The first question is already partly answered: in purely syntactic terms surface Prep+Quem has been reanalysed as belonging to the embedded clause in structures like (iv): under this label Prep+Quem three actual types were distinguished: 1) the one referred to as Prep... [Quem...] in which Quem originates as the Subject of the embedded clause; 2) one in which Prep+Quem originates as the Indirect Object of the embedded clause, but, that, after Wh-movement, is also interpreted as the Indirect Object of the main clause; 3) a third one in which Prep+Quem is unambiguously the Indirect Object of the embedded clause.

The surface string of these three types was identical and only their analysis differed. Since Prep+Quem could be interpreted as belonging to the lower clause too, we can say that a reanalysis has taken place. Type (v), where it is restricted to the embedded clause is, thus the 'actualization' of the reanalysis (Timberlake,1977).

Our hypothesis is that Prep+Quem which appears in headed relatives originates from a headless Prep+Quem. This change is partly accounted for in structural terms: we've been able to see how Prep+Quem arised in embedded clauses with $\emptyset$ antecedents. How and why it has spread to structures with [+human] antecedents will be dealt with in the next sections.

All the information we've been able to collect about the syntactic distribution of QUEM is summarized in (87).

In chronological terms table (87) presents two groups: before the 17th century (Group I) and after the 17th century (Group II). In each of these groups there are two sub-groups: headed Relatives and headless Relatives.

In group I oblique relativization in headed structures is restricted to Prep+Que. In the same period headless relatives occur with Quem (alone) and Prep+Quem. As we have already seen Prep+Quem in this period is really Prep...[Quem...] ie., there is an empty node S' between Prep and Quem, and Quem is a Subject NP.

In group II relativized PPs with [+animate]/[+human] antecedents alternate between Prep+Que and Prep+Quem. This seems to be an innovation in this context. The only restriction is that whenever Prep+Quem appears its antecedent is [+animate]/[+human].

In the same period QUEM occurs in headless relatives in the form of both Prep+Quem and Quem.

(87) QUEM CLAUSES

TYPE of RC	ANTECEDENT	FUNCTION		CENT.
		SB./Obj.	Oblique	
headed	inanimate	que	p + que	14th
	animate	que	p + que	to
				16th
headless	Ø(NP)(SB)	quem (SB)(NP)* (coord. or matrix)		Gr.1
	Ø(NP)(DO)	quem (SB)(NP)*		
	ØP(NP)(IO)	P...[quem](SB)(NP)* / S'		
headed	inanimate	que	p + que	17th
	animate	que	p + que	to
	anim.{ (PP) (NP) }		p + quem (PP)	20th
headless	Ø(NP)(SB)	quem (SB)(NP)* (coord. or matrix)		Gr.11
	Ø(NP)(DO)	quem (SB)(NP)*		
	Ø(NP)(IO)	P...[quem](SB)(NP)* / S'		
	Ø(NP)(DO)		(p+quem)(PP)(IO) #	
	Ø(PP)(IO)	(18th C)	(p+quem)(PP)(IO) *	

* matching

non-matching

202

4.4. The Head Proposal and the COMP proposal

In addition to the claim that Free Relatives are constructions whose first element is a Wh-phrase, as defined, for example by Hirschbühler and Rivero (1981), there is the assumption that Free Relatives are 'matching', ie., their initial constituent must be of the same category as the constituent that immediately dominates the clause, as in (88) (Grimshaw (1977), Bresnan and Grimshaw (1978), Hirschbühler and Rivero (1981,1983), Rivero (1984)).

(88a) I'll buy $_{NP}$[$_{NP}$[whatever] you want to sell.]

   b) I'll read [[whichever book] you give me.]
         $_{NP NP}$
                      (Grimshaw 1977:5)

If the Wh-phrase is an NP, as in (88), the node which immediately dominates the clause must be an NP. In general terms "when the matrix sentence requires a category XP, and there is a Free Relative occupying the position of that category, the relative must have an initial Wh-phrase of the category XP." (Hirschbühler and Rivero (1981:607).

One of the constructions classified as a Free Relative in the literature is the type whose characteristics fulfil both criteria. They are introduced by simple Wh-words which also appear in regular headed relatives, and they have no complementizers. Regarding these two aspects, the Portuguese Relative constructions discussed in this work would fall into this type, since QUEM is a Wh-word which is also present in headed relatives and since no complementizers appear in our structures. In this respect, our Portuguese sentences parallel the Catalan and Spanish ones below, respectively:

(89)a) Qui diu això, ment.

    'Who says that lies.'   (Hirschbühler and Rivero, 1981:607)

   b) Quien bien te quiere te hará   llorar
   'Who-well-you-loves-you-(will)make-to cry'

     'Who loves you will make you cry'   (Rivero, 1984:83)

As far as subcategorization facts are concerned, however, our Old/Middle Portuguese QUEM paradigm presents several types other than merely the one registered in Rivero's (1984) paradigm for Old Spanish exemplified in (89b), in which the Wh-phrase is in a non-subcategorized position (ie.,Subject).

The crucial point of our analysis is the discussion of structures where QUEM _is_ in a subcategorized position, ie., of types which seem to be absent from Old Spanish, at least as presented by Rivero(1984), but present in Modern Catalàn (Hirschbühler and Rivero,1981).

There have been two competing hypotheses for the analysis of this type of Relatives: the "COMP Proposal" and the "Head Proposal". The Head Analysis was first proposed to account for the 'matching' effect: the matching requirements follow automatically if the Wh-phrase is in antecedent position, since the head of the relative matches the features of the dominating category under the $\bar{X}$- Theory. Thus, under this Head Proposal (89b) would be analysed as in (90).

(90)
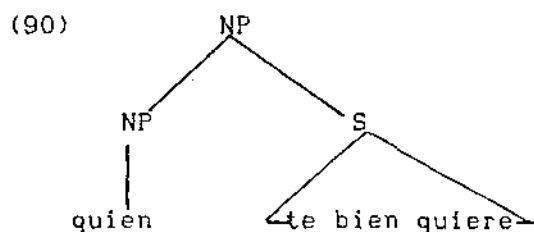
(Rivero 1984: 84)

Although this proposal seems to be, in principle, sufficient to describe structures like (89) it does not account for structures where a complementizer QUE follows the Wh-word, as in Sp. QUANTOS QUE, CUALQUIERA QUE, etc. The Comp Proposal, however, accounts not only for both structures, but also for headed Relatives.

Under the COMP proposal the Wh phrase is located either in antecedent position, namely if followed by a complementizer or a relative phrase, or in COMP position, namely if there is no other relative or complementizer, and the antecedent position is empty. In this way, a sentence like (91) is analysed as in (92).
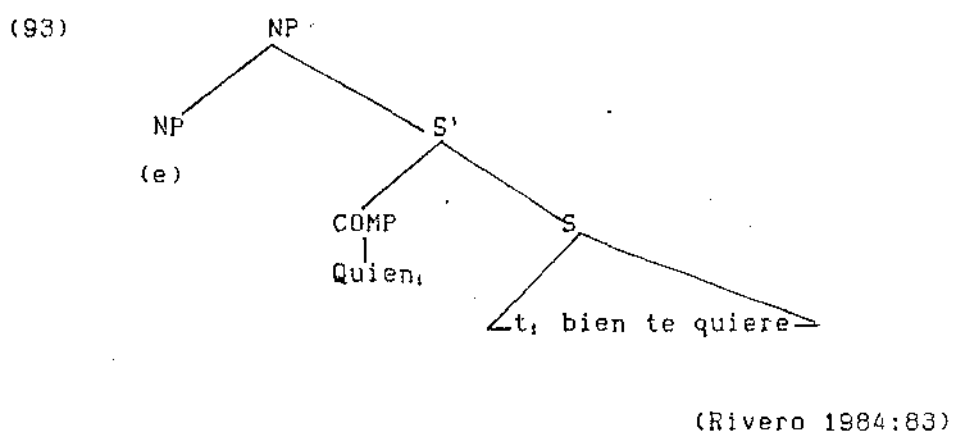
204

(91) Quantos qe la udieron   esta sancta razon todos a la gloriosa

    'All-who-that-it-(they)heard-this-holy-reason-all to-the-glorious

dizien su bendición   B. Milg.618a-b

said-their-prayers

'All who heard the holy reason said their prayers to the Virgin Mary

(92)

(Rivero 1984:101)
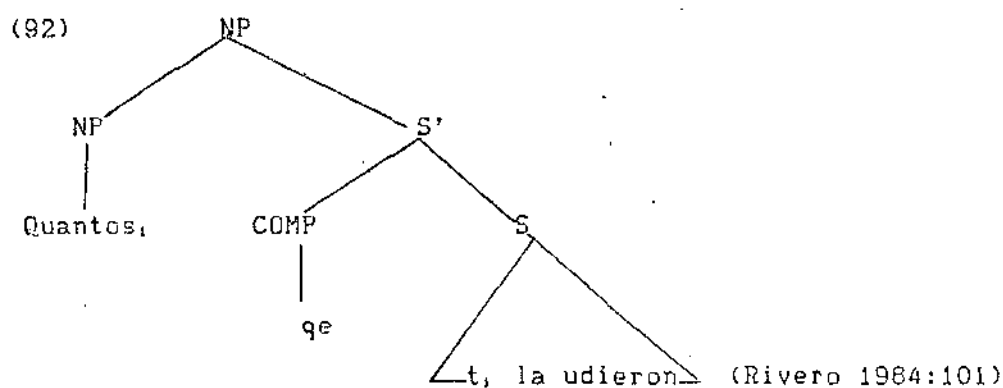
A sentence like (89b) would then be analysed as in (93).

(93)

(Rivero 1984:83)

As we can see, an empty node is postulated for the antecedent position when there is no complementizer, and the Wh-phrase is taken to be in COMP, as in (93). When both Wh-phrase and Comp are realized, the Wh-phrase is in antecedent position and QUE is under COMP, as in (92) and (94).

(94)a) Cualquiera que te escuche se convencerá.

    'Whoever that to-you listen himself will-convince'

    'Whoever listens to you will be convinced.'

b)
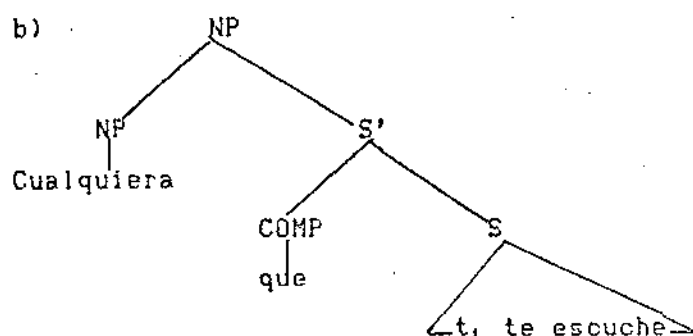
Rivero defends the correcteness of the COMP analysis for both Headed and Free Relatives taking into account matching phenomena and subcategorization facts.

In terms of subcategorization the COMP Analysis seems to be preferable to the Head Analysis partly due to examples like (95). Under the Head Analysis (95) not only would be non-matching but A QUI would be inadequately located, as it is required by the subcategorization of DIERON not by FUERON.
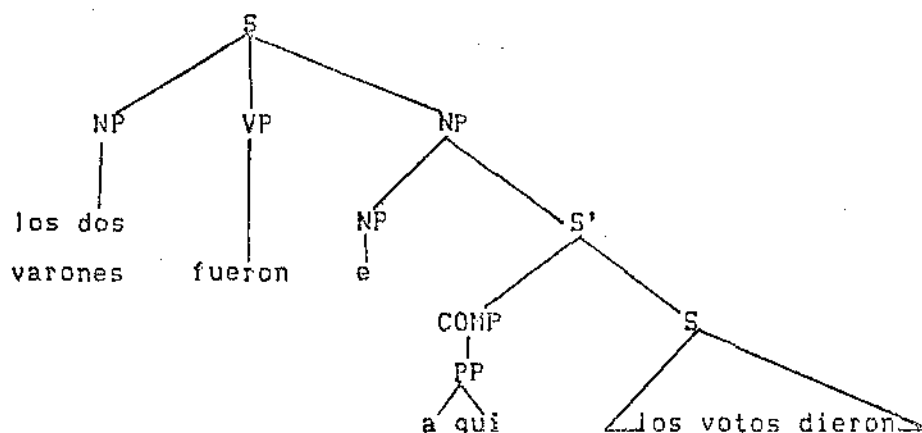
(95) Los dos varones fueron a aqui los votos dieron
    ' The-two- men-   were -to-who-the-offerings-(they) gave'
    'The two men were the ones they gave the offerings to' (B.S.446 c)

(96a) Head Analysis

206
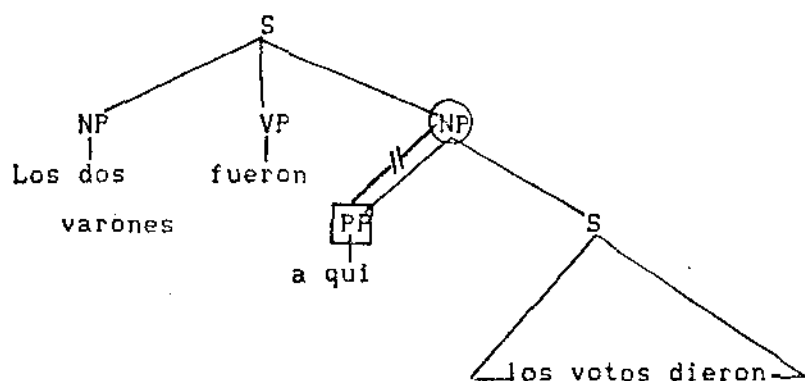
*96*b) Comp Analysis

Compare (96a) to (96b). Thus, the existence of non-matching Free
Relatives establishes   the need for the Comp Analysis. It
seems that all (or almost all) non-matching (and even the matching)
examples cited by Rivero (1984) are in nonsub@ategorized positions,
as Subjects, TOP or complements of 'To be'. She consequently
assumes that the absence of non-matching Relatives in 13 century
Spanish is a confirmation of the assumption that in subcategorized
position, a Free Relative must be matching because it is the
Wh-phrase in Comp that must satisfy the categorial requirements of
the main verb. Actually her corpus from Old Spanish does not show
any examples of matching relatives in subcategorized position. The
above mentioned assumption " that in subcategorized position a free
relative must be matching" is based on analyses carried out for
other languages than Old Spanish, ie., for Catalan (Hirschbühler and
Rivero 1981), Old English, Dutch and German (Hirschbühler and Rivero
1983).

In languages like German, Dutch, and Catalan, Free Relatives can be
constituents of the embedded S', ie., the Wh-phrase is generated in
the embedded clause and must be in Comp. (Hirschbühler and Rivero
1983, Groos and van Riemsdijk 1979). As the matching effects hold in
these structures too, the relative phrase must also fulfil the
subcategorization requirements of the matrix verb. This leads to the
conclusion that the Comp position is accessible to / of the matrix
clause in certain respects.

(97) is an example of this "accessibility to Comp".

(97)a) Invito qui has invitat.

   'I-invite who you have invited'

   b) Invito [[e] [[[qui] [has invitat]]]
       NP NP   S' COMP NP   S

                                    (Hirschbühler and Rivero 1983:508)
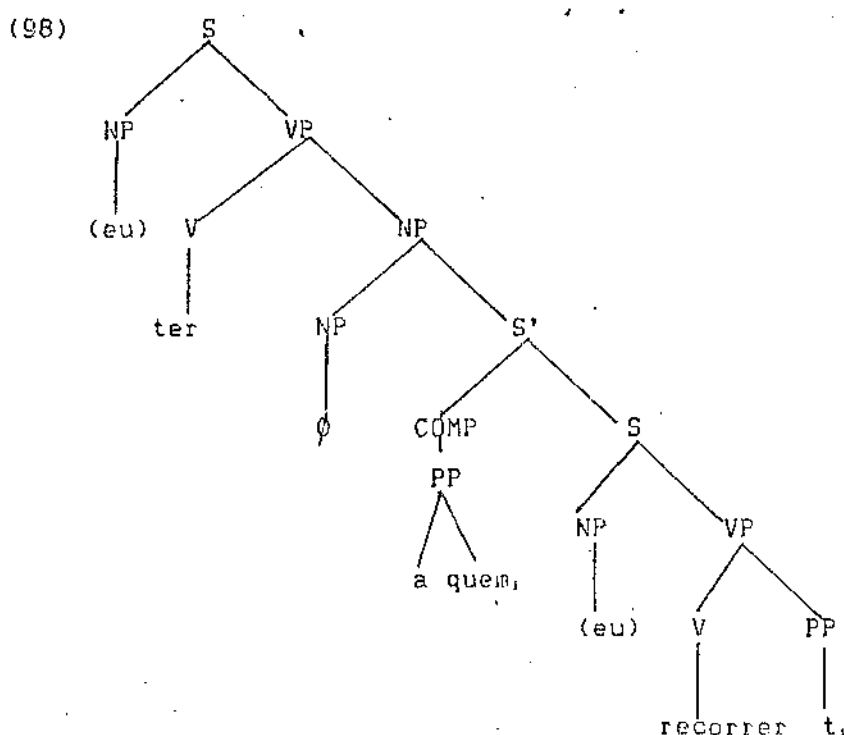

Invitar subcategorizes for a Direct Object NP, thus a Free
Relative with a Wh-phrase in initial position is grammatical as
Object of invito . It is relevant that qui 'who' in (97) is
ambiguous between the Direct Object of invito in the matrix
clause, and that of invitat in the subordinate clause. In this
case the matching effect holds not only between the categories
involved (NP/NP) but also between the functions(DO/DO). It is, thus,
a "complete matching".

In terms of matching, as we have already seen, a Free Relative in
subcategorized position must be matching, as in the above examples.
In these cases, the Wh-prase could, in principle, be either in
antecedent position or in Comp. Since there are arguments in favour
of the Comp analysis based on subcategorization facts, and there is
also a proviso which would guarantee the matching effect,ie., the
accessibility to Comp, the Comp proposal is preferable to the Head
Proposal. This seems to be the case of Catalan and as will be shown
below, of Old/Middle and Modern Portuguese too, but not of Old
Spanish.

In non subcategorized positions a Free Relative may be matching or
non matching.

However, although rare, Middle and Modern Portuguese appear to have
non-matching constructions with quem in subcategorized
positions, and in these cases the material in COMP does not satisfy
the subcategorization requirements of the matrix verb, but only the
ones of the embedded verb. (69) is our identificational type.

(69) ...em ocaziões de tão manifestos perigos, como aos que aqui
agora estou exposta,sem ter A QUEM recorrer...(17th C, CB)

(98)

```
              S
            /   \
          NP      VP
          |      /  \
        (eu)    V    NP
          |     |   /  \
         ter  NP    S'
               |   /   \
               ∅  COMP   S
                   |    /  \
                   PP  NP   VP
                  / \  |   /  \
               a quemᵢ (eu) V   PP
                         |    |
                      recorrer  tᵢ
```

(69) is clearly non-matching and appears to be a counter example to
Rivero's assumption that the material in COMP satisfies the
subcategorization requirements of the matrix verb, whenever the
relative lacks an antecedent and NP is in a subcategorized position.

Rivero(1984) does not include non-matching Free Relatives in her
discussion as, according to her, this type is rare in the 13th C
texts, but mentions it in a footnote (id.ib.p.100[9]). The examples
given are:

(i)"No tiene con quien hablar"
'(He)-not-has-with-whom-to talk'

'(He) has no one to talk to.'

(ii)"Los servos non avien de que les fiziesen emienda"
    'The-servants-not-had-of-what-them-they-would-make-compensation'

'The servants had no way to be compensated.' Fuero Juzgo 28b

No explanation is given for these non-matching Free Relatives in
Rivero (1984) but it is suggested (Hirschbühler&Rivero 1981b) that a

separate account of infinitival relatives is required in addition to the general hypothesis about subcategorization, and a possible relation between Free Relatives and Indirect Questions is also mentioned.

Notice that if (69) is interpreted as an ordinary RRC with a lexical antecedent, it will be also non-matching, as there is a PP under COMP-the complement of _recorrer_ fronted by Wh Movement- and the matrix verb _ter_ subcategorizes for NP in the same way as in the case where the antecedent is not realized.

(99)...sem ter $_{PP}$[$_{PP}$[uma pessoa] [$_{S'}$[$_{PP}$ A QUEM$_i$][$_S$- recorrer t$_i$]]]
     'without-having-a person -to whom-to recur (to) '

The embedded sentence in (69) is an infinitive construction: _a quem recorrer_ . As such, its Subject is not overtly realized but rather deleted under identity, ie. a rule of Complement Subject Deletion (Quicoli,1982) would have applied obligatorily as the embedded Subject (eu'I') is identical to an NP in the matrix clause, which in this case is its Subject. According to Quicoli (1982:60) "just in those cases where Complement Subject Deletion has applied and deleted its subject will the embedded sentence be reduced to an infinitive." This seems to be the case of (69): the 1st p.sg. of the Present Tense is easily identified in the ending -u of ESTOU'I am'.
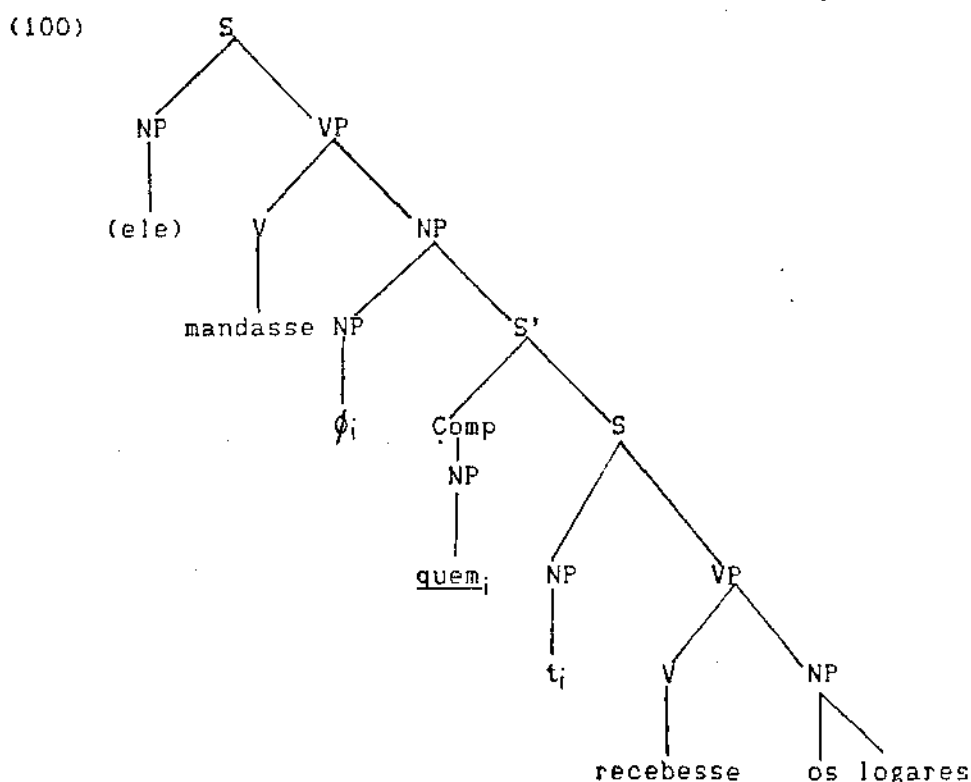
The existence of this nonmatching type in subcategorized position is, however, of prime relevance to the present study because it is this type of sentence that reflects a reanalysis of a 'matching' to a 'non matching' type. This type represents the _actualization_ of the reanalysis, in terms of Timberlake (1977).

Although the defence of the Comp Proposal is not a purpose that we undertake , it seems that this Proposal provides the Portuguese sentences with and without an overtly realized antecedent under analysis here, with an adequate description as it prer _poses the existence of a node in the matrix sentence which is required by the subcategorization of the matrix verbs in our examples, the empty node. This empty node plays a decisive role in the process of

reanalysis, explicating the subcategorization relationships which would not be straightforward under the Head analysis. All our examples for which we have conjectured the absence of an empty antecedent NP can now be more precisely described with this empty slot.

Types(37a) and (45) would be accounted for in the same way:

(37a)... mandasse Quem recebesse os logares e logo lhos entregaria.

(100)
```
                 S
              /     \
           NP         VP
           |        /    \
         (ele)     V       NP
                   |      /    \
               mandasse NP      S'
                         |     /   \
                        ∅ᵢ   Comp    S
                              |     /  \
                              NP   NP   VP
                              |    |   /  \
                           quemᵢ  tᵢ  V    NP
                                      |    / \
                                 recebesse os logares
```

Example (37a) is matching and is a case where the Free Relative is in a subcategorized position. The material in Comp is, thus, accessible to the matrix verb. The matching is only in categorial terms (NP/NP) as in terms of function the empty NP is a Direct Object while the NP in Comp is a Subject.

(45)...mandasse alguém que recebesse os logares...

(101) ...
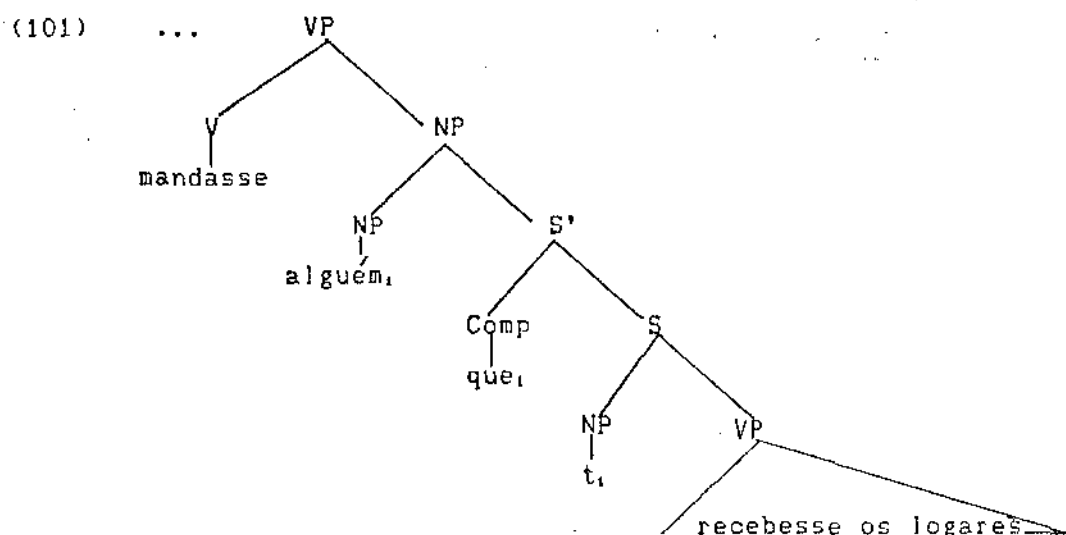
The same could be proposed for the sentence type exemplified by (57).

(57) Vós não tendes aqui Quem com caractere o procure.

(102) Vós não tendes [[∅]] [[QUEM₍] [t₍ procure o com caractere]]]..
$\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad_{PPPP}\quad_{S'CoMP}\quad\quad_{S}$

The type ...Prep...[Quem...] seems also to be properly accounted for
$\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad_{S'}$
by the same analysis, as in (103) for (80).

(80) Mas se quero explicá-lo A QUEM me interroga, então não sei.

(104)
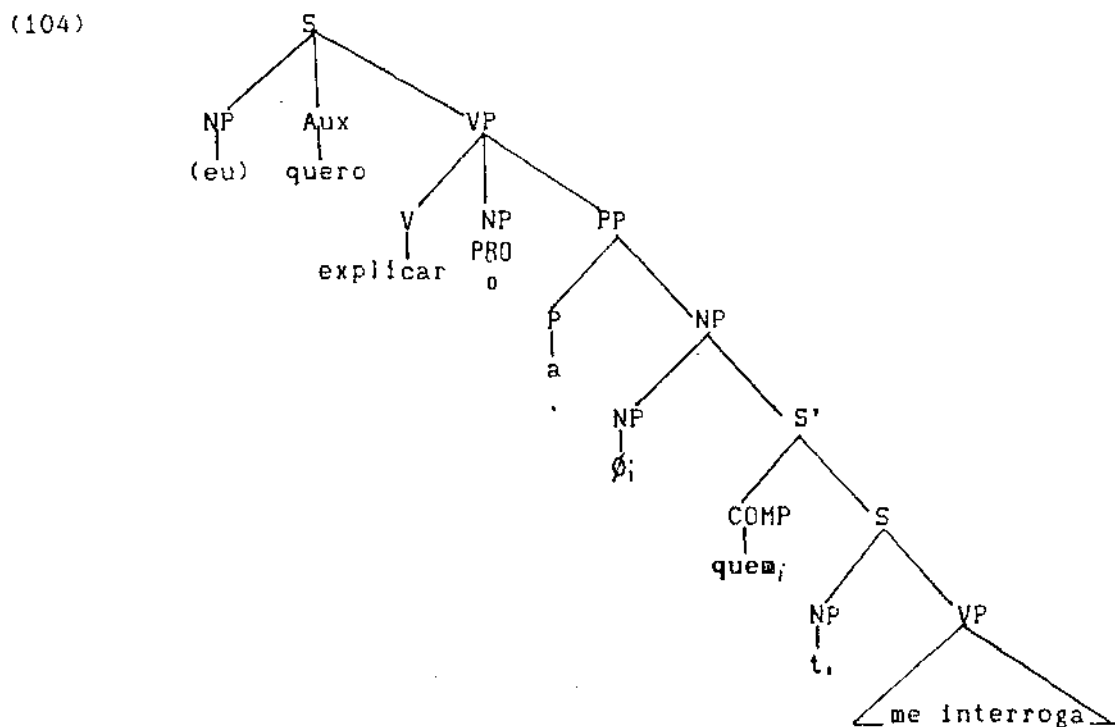
(80) is matching too (NP/NP), but in terms of function it is IO/SB.

Example (82) is also matching in categorial and functional terms:
(PP/PP), (IO/IO).

(82) Bem sabeis que a quem Christo deu as chaves entregou as ovelhas

All these types are matching and are also in a subcategorized
position.

5. Other characteristics of QUEM constructions

5.1. Animacy

In section 4.3.3.2. we discussed two examples (85a,b) which could be
considered as apparent counter-examples to the claim that
Prep+Quem is always interpreted as [+human]. In fact, two different
aspects to the question of 'animacy' of these constructions should
be clarified : first, what is the 'state of affairs' in Modern
Portuguese; second, what was the situation in Old/Middle Portuguese,
for Headed and Headless Relatives. This latter is important
because, as will be discussed below, Prep+Quem seems to have its
referential scope restricted from [animate] in Headless
constructions to [+human] in Headed ones, becoming, therefore, higher
in 'animacy'.

Basic to our dicussion are both the syntactic reanalysis of
Prep+Quem constructions discussed in section 4 and the recognition
that the existence of '[+human] antecedents' is a partial
manifestation of a 'hierarchy of animacy', which has been
independently taken as relevant in language change
(Comrie,1981:179), and which seems to be involved in the change
under analysis here.

The fact that up to the 17th C Prep+Que was the general way of
encoding oblique relativization in the case of overt antecedents,

either [-human] or [+human] appears to play a role in the present process of innovative change, too. Being the only strategy for oblique relativization until that time, it appears reasonable to equate it here with the surface syntactic model for the transfer of Prep+Quem from Headless to Headed structures.

In purely syntactic terms, Prep+Quem has been reanalysed as belonging to the embedded clause, the reanalysis from (categorial) 'matching' (type iv) to 'non-matching'(type v) structures being one of the aspects of the change. 'Matching effects' are irrevelant to Headed Relatives and in the specific case of Prep+Que constructions both types are found in our data: 'matching' and 'non-matching' ones. It is nevertheless true that 'non-matching' Prep+Que is the dominant type in terms of frequency of occurrence in our data. So it is that Prep+Que relatives with NP antecedents, ie., the 'non-matching' type, are far more frequent than with PP antecedents (the 'matching' type).

(104) Overt Antecedents   Relative Form

        NP (more frequent)   PREP+QUE
        PP (less frequent)

Prep+Quem started being used as a variant of Prep+Que in one of the contexts in which this latter previously occurred, ie., with [+human] antecedents. These [+human] antecedents could be either an NP which is itself part of a PP, or an NP which is not dominated by a PP. Syntactic type (v), ie., $\emptyset$ (NP)/Prep+Quem, would then be similar in structural terms to headed NP/Prep+Que, except that in the latter the antecedent NP is overtly realized, whereas in the former the antecedent NP is not. Taking only their categorial structure into consideration, one may thus perhaps suppose that type (v) has been extended first to the regular (dominant, unmarked) and structurally similar pattern NP/Prep+Que and then further to PP/Prep+Que, the marked one. This would be in accordance with the claim made by Timberlake (1977:143) that "a change will be actualized earlier in contexts which are unmarked (or more natural) with respect to the change and later in contexts which are marked

214

(or less natural) with respect to the change".

(105)

∅ Antecedents	Relative Form
(v) ∅ (NP)	Prep+Quem
Overt Antecedents	Relative Form
NP	Prep+Que Prep+Quem (1rst)
PP	Prep+Que Prep+Quem (2nd)

It is not clear, however, to what extent 'animacy', as an inherent
feature of the form QUEM or of the antecedent, is involved in this
syntactic change.

If we assume that Prep+Quem has spread to resume [+human]
antecedents on the analogy of its structurally similar
∅(NP)/Prep+Que, we might perhaps account for the oddity of the rare
examples to be discussed below, where Prep+Quem has a [-animate]
referent, along the following lines: if the initial motivation for
the spread of the change is taken to be purely syntactic, the
semantic specifications of the antecedent wouldn't really matter by
the time Prep+Quem had been firstly extended so as to include
overtly realized antecedents. It could enter either structure,
[+human] or [-human].

Later on, due to the fact that QUEM was (and is) undoubtedly
[+animate] in all other contexts in the language such as Free
Relatives , Interrogatives and the pronominal system, it would have
been restricted to [+human] antecedents, by a process supposedly
similar to what is traditionally called 'inverse attraction'
("attractio inversa"), preserving and enhancing in a more restricted
way, the 'animacy' which was present in both QUEM and the
antecedent.

In Latin the 'attraction of cases' was a phenomenon of quite frequent occurrence, but was 'marked' and considered a stylistic deviation from the standard rules. In the type called 'inverse attraction' the antecedent of a Relative Clause is attracted to the case of the Relative when it is supposed to be in another case, appropriate to its function in the matrix Clause.

We are drawing a parallel between this phenomenon of 'inverse attraction' and the change under discussion here because it is the antecedent in the present examples which seems to be attracted to the 'animacy' of the Relative, not the reverse. [+human] antecedents do not obligatorily co-occur with Prep+Quem, which is [animate], since Prep+Que, which is neuter in regard to 'animacy' in this context, is also possible with this type of antecedent. But Prep+Quem occurs only with [+human] antecedents. It is in this sense that we say that Prep+Quem spreads its 'animacy' to the antecedent or, in other words, that the antecedent is attracted to the 'animacy' of Prep+Quem.

In this sense too Prep+Quem with [+human] antecedents can be said to be 'matching', not in structural terms, as there is no necessary categorial and functional 'matching' between the relevant constituents any longer, but now in semantic terms. This semantic 'matching' could well be considered a 'relic' of the previous stages of the construction, where Prep+Quem was 'matching', serving as a clue to its origin, ie., indicating that Prep+Quem in Headed Relative clauses comes from Headless constructions.

Our initial hypothesis would therefore, have to be further specified. Instead of assuming that Prep+Quem had spread to resume [+human] antecedents, one could propose that it had, in an early stage, started to occur with overtly realized lexical antecedents which, afterwards, were obligatorily restricted to [+human].

In the preceding paragraphs we have postulated that although supposedly syntactic in origin the change under discussion seemed to include semantic factors in the mapping out of the consequences.

216

Another factor which also seems to be involved in the spread of this change is phonological in nature, the relevant aspects of which will be mentioned in 5.2.

In our Relative clauses with overtly realized antecedents (type vi) two occurrences of Quem with a [-human] but [+animate] antecedent were found in the 18th C texts. Considering a hierarchy of 'animacy' it has been shown that these examples are not really counter examples to the claim that Quem is a [+animate] form but rather the signal of a diachronic change in the degree of 'animacy' which might be in progress.

These two examples, (85a,b), occur side by side with constructions in which Prep+Quem refers to a [+human]/[+animate] antecedent and which are attested from the 17th C onwards. Before that time, as it has already been shown, no. occurrence of $\left[\text{Prep+Quem}\right]_{si}$ with or without any sort of antecedent is registered in our data: in oblique functions only Prep+Que appears up to the 17th C texts.

The fact that Quem could have a referent lower in the scale of 'animacy' in Old/Middle Portuguese has been briefly mentioned by a few traditional historical grammarians of Portuguese, such as Epiphânio Dias (1918:77).

"92a) QUEM, como simples pronome relativo, só se emprega antecedido de preposição: no Português Moderno refere-se geralmente a pessoas e ainda a animaes e a coisas personificadas, mas no Português Arcaico Médio referia-se a qualquer antecedente;

(i)Hum valle aprazivel, A QUEM entra pello meyo um ribeiro."

'QUEM, as a simple relative pronoun, is only employed if accompanied by a preposition: in Modern Portuguese it usually refers to persons, animals and personified things, whereas in Old/Middle Portuguese it referred to any antecedent:

217

Hum valle aprazivel, A QUEM entra pello meyo um ribeiro

A- vale-pleasant, to- whom-enters-through the middle-a small river

'A pleasant vale, in the middle of which runs a stream of water.'

A QUEM in this example refers to a [-animate] antecedent: um valle.

Said Ali(1971:109) also gives a few examples of Prep+Quem referred
to [-animate] antecedents .His examples are mostly excerpts from OS
LUSÍADAS (1572):

(ii) Desta vaidade, A QUEM chamamos fama
     'From this vanity, to whom we call fame'   (Lus. 4,95)

(iii)Eu sou aquelle oculto e grande cabo
   ' I am that occult and grand cape
     A QUEM chamais vós outros Tormentório.
     to whom you   call   Tormentório.'   (Lus. 5,51)

In (ii) A QUEM refers to VAIDADE which is [-animate] and in (iii) A
QUEM refers to "AQUELE OCULTO E GRANDE CABO" which is also
[-animate]. Nevertheless, as this latter passage renders the speech
of a mythological entity (Adamastor), which is the personification
of the Cape of Good Hope, and consequently possesses human
qualities, the referent can well be interpreted as
[+human]/[+animate]. As an epic poem, OS LUSÍADAS conforms to the
canons which ruled this literary form in the Portuguese Classicism:
it is a mimetic re-creation or re-adaptation of the great literary
models as Virgil's AENEID and Homer's ILIAD and ODYSSEY to a new
theme. The metrics and the proper facts which inspired an epic poem
were established by the Graeco-Roman literary tradition, and
mythological entities as Adamastor were a local interpretation of
the entities of Greek mythology.

Camões' examples date from the 16th C but Epiphânio Dias' is not
dated. See table (106).

(65) Prep+Quem and 'Animacy'

a) Before the 17th C

Antecedent	Relative in Oblique Functions

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+human] \\ [-human] \end{array} \right\}$$ Prep+Que

[-animate]   Prep+Quem (ex.(iii))

b) From the 17th C onwards

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+human \ ] \\ [-human \ ] \end{array} \right\}$$ Prep+Que

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [-human]/[+animate] \\ [+human]/[+animate] \end{array} \right\}$$ Prep+Quem

We may perhaps now understand better that (ii) and (iii) show that a change was under way in the hierarchy of 'Animacy' and that the fact that Prep+Quem had referents lower in 'Animacy' in earlier periods of the language does not contradict the claim that it has been basically a [+animate] form in the Portuguese language.

The use of QUEM instead of QUE in (ii) and (iii) seems to be reasonably justified in the preceding lines by the [+animate] reference that can be attributed to them, but phonological factors related to stress appear to be at work in these cases too.

QUEM in (i) is still in need of explanation, as versification cannot be invoked to account for it. It refers to a [-animate] antecedent and there is no reason to attribute a [+animate] reference to 'um vale'.

5.2. Stress

In section 3.1. the stressed nature and origin of the Portuguese
Quem constructions was discussed, the conclusion being that
Quem is a stressed form not only in Modern Portuguese but that it
also originates from a stressed proto-form. This would justify
further the existence of (ii) and (iii), as well as (i).

The use of Prep+Quem in (ii) and (iii) could be due to the
versification patterns which ruled epic poems like OS LUSÍADAS. The
verse used is the decasyllable with strong beats on the 6th and 10th
metric syllables. The foot used is ỵambic ᴗ–/ᴗ–. In the positions
where Quem occurs, a stressed word is necessary not to break the
rhythm of the verse. If QUE was used instead, the desirable effect
would not be achieved because it is unstressed. But QUEM is stressed
and fits perfectly in this position, not because the antecedent is
human or not human, but because a stressed word is needed by the
metrics of the verse:

(ii) Dĕs/tā/ vāi/dă/dĕ,/ a quēm/ chă/mā/mŏs/ fā/ma
     1 2   3 4 5   6   7 8 9   10

                                   (Lus. 4, 95)

(iii) Eŭ/ sōu/ ă/quē/lĕ o/cŭi/tŏ e/grān/dĕ/că/bo
     1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Ă/quēm/chă/māis/ vŏs/ou/trŏs/Tŏr/mēn/tŏ/rio.
1 2   3   4   5 6 7 8 9 10   (Lus. 5, 51)

(i) Hum valle aprazivel, a quem entra pello meyo um ribeiro.

The use of comma in (i) is the written signalling of a phonetic
pause, and in this position the stressed form would be more natural
than the unstressed Prep+Que.

The points brought up above, ie., that there might be phonological
factors involved in the transfer of Prep+Quem from Headless to
Headed Relatives seems to be linked to an observation made by Said
Ali (1971:108) for Modern Portuguese in relation to the occurrence

of the tonic form QUEM after a preposition when the antecedent is overtly realized. According to him there is a parallel between this tonic QUEM after a preposition and the fact that it is always the stressed form of the personal pronoun which is used after a preposition, never the unstressed one. The unstressed personal pronoun ME, for example, is never used with a preposition. If a preposition is present, the form used is its stressed counterpart MIM as in: PARA MIM, DE MIM, COMIGO, etc. He adds that the phenomenon is less general than it might appear, however, because there is another restriction on Prep+QUEM: it only applies to people. If Prep+QUEM applied to inanimates too, then it would seem that the only factor governing the choice between QUE/QUEM after a preposition was stress.

Another argument in favour of the existence of phonological factors intervening in the choice between Prep+Quem or Prep+Que is based on facts about Preposition stranding in Modern Portuguese.

In a transformational analysis, Modern Portuguese is said not to allow (see Ch.2) Preposition stranding in Relative clauses (as in other syntactic environments), unless the preposition is a tonic form and has some lexical (as opposed to grammatical) meaning, such as CONTRA 'against';'SOBRE' about','on'; SEM 'without'or when it constitutes the last element of a Prepositional Phrase whose first element is tonic, like JUNTO in JUNTO (DE) 'by', A RESPEITO in A RESPEITO (DE)'about', PERTO in PERTO (DE)'near'.

(44) Esse é o seu irmão   que a sua   mãe   morava JUNTO?
'This-is-the-your-brother-that-the your-mother-lived-together'
'Is this your brother that your mother lived with?

(107) O assunto que mais falamos À RESPEITO foi a greve.
  'The-topic-that-more-(we)talked-about-was-the-strike'
'The topic that we talked more about was the strike.'

This seems to indicate that its stress is contributing to QUEM being more acceptable after a preposition than the unstressed QUE. Add to this fact that the unstressed preposition is allowed to stay in its

place of origin only when it is followed by a resumptive pronoun-
which is normally a stressed personal pronoun- as in (108) (see Ch.2)

(108a) * O homem que você falou DE não chegou.
        'The-man-that-you-talked-of-not-arrive'
'The man that you talked about didn't arrive.'

    b) O homem que você falou DELE(DE+ELE) não chegou.
    'The man-that-you-talked-of him-did -not arrive'
'The man that you talked about didn't arrive'

It is clear that in Modern Portuguese Prep+Quem is restricted to
[+human] referents in headed Relative clauses. Speakers will always
interpret the sequence Antecedent+Prep+Quem as [+human] and
recognize that it is higher in animacy than its counterpart
Prep+Que. Evidence from our data led us to suppose that Prep+Quem
co-occurring with [+human] antecedents was an innovation, as it did
not occur in earlier periods of the language (ie., 14th-16th C) and
as another construction (Prep+Que) was used in the contexts where
Prep+Quem would have been expected.

Until now three points have been raised in our discussion on the
transfer of Headless Prep+Quem to Headed ones and the possible
causes of it. Firstly we considered that the structural and
functional similarity between $\emptyset$ (NP)/Prep+Quem and NP/Prep+Que was
what initiated the change, leading these two constructions to become
free variants. The change would have operated thus firstly
irrespective of the semantic features of both Quem itself, which was
already [+animate] by that time, and of the features of the
antecedent. Afterwards, Prep+Quem being [+animate] itself, it
started selecting only [+animate] antecedents, culminating in a
higher level of 'animacy', allowing only [+human] antecedents. All
the apparent counter-examples discussed above could be taken as a
reflection of this transitional stage between [+animate] and
[+human] reference. In this way, the fact that Prep+Quem turned out
to be restricted to [+human] antecedents in Modern
Portuguese could only be interpreted as a consequence of, and not as
the cause, of the whole change, as no semantic reason has been
cogitated as a probable cause of the change. We have been
assuming throughout this discussion that Headless

Quem (and Prep+Quem) ie., as in interrogatives and Free Relatives, always had, since earlier periods of the Portuguese language [+animate] referents, although this pressuposes that its Latin proto-form, the stressed accusative masculine/feminine (VL) interrogative pronoun Quem, has been reanalysed in Portuguese as [+animate]: a change that can only be inferred from its consequences but cannot be dated and proved. It is certainly true that many of the Romance languages show a formal distinction between [+animate] and [-animate] pronouns (see section 3.2.2.), and Quem is one of the manifestations of this but it goes beyond the purpose of this work to investigate further how this specific change came about. It is certainly suggestive that the Latin Masculine and Feminine genders are considered typically animate classes, with the Neuter being typically inanimate (Comrie, 1981:180), but it is undoubtedly also true that this distribution is random because counter-examples can be easily detected.

Despite these problems we take this assumption to be true.

Secondly we considered that phonological factors such as stress could be intervening in the change. But we couldn't specify at what stage of the whole process stress started being relevant and furthermore whether or not it was the initial motivation for the change.

In the next section we shall try to see if any semantic feature could be determining the spread of Prep+Quem from Headless to Headed structures, because the only semantic aspect investigated up to now, namely, 'animacy', has been considered a consequence not a cause of the whole change.

5.3. Definiteness and Specificity

Lehmann (1984:293 ff) distinguishes two types of Free Relatives: one in which the nucleus is missing and another one in which the nucleus is pronominal. The first of these types manifests itself in Portuguese in sentences like (109).

(109a) Senhor, OS   QUE   aqui ESTAM hoje, este dia
        'Sir   -the ones(Masc.Pl.)- which-here-are- today-this-day-)
               Pl.
        vos faram   VENCER.
        you make-(Fut.)to win.   (PMH I, 14th C:244)

'Sir, the ones who are here today, will make you win.'

    b) Senhor, os FIDALGOS que aqui estam hoje ...
       'Sir - the-noblemen-who-here- are-today...'

In (109) the nucleus is missing and from the context one can deduce
that it is [+animate], as [+animate] Nouns such as FIDALGO
'nobleman' or GUERREIRO 'warrior' fit in perfectly. (109a) can thus
be paraphrased by (109b).

In (110a), however, it is not so clear that the nucleus has been
omitted because in its only possible paraphrase-(110c)- the form O
seems to substitute for the nucleus and is not only a determiner to
the nucleus,as it is in (109a).

(110a) Pero os seus corações eram tam fortes e esforçados em FAZER
        'But-their-hearts -were-so-strong-and-wanting-in-doing

    O   QUE   cada um podia...   (14th C, PMH I: 247)
    the-which -each one-could

'But their hearts were so strong and wanting to do   what   each   one
could do ...'

    b)* Pero os seus corações eram tam fortes e esforçados em fazer
        'But -their -hearts were-so-strong-and-wanting-in-doing
       o ESFORCO que cada um podia
       Det Nucleus
       the effort-that-each one-could do ...'

    c) Pero ... em fazer AQUILO QUE cada um podia...
       'But... in doing what that each one could...'

Although (109a) seems to be a case of a Free Relative without nucleus (in Lehmann's terms), the same is not so easily maintained for cases like (110a) where O itself appears to be the [-animate] nucleus.

Comparing (109a) to (110a) one can see that the [+animate] interpretation of OS QUE aswell as the [-animate] interpretation of O QUE seems to be determined by the semantic restrictions which govern the selection of the pertinent constituents: OS QUE- the Subject of ESTAR 'to be' and FAZER VENCER 'to make (s.o./s.th.) to win' as in (109a), and O QUE- the Object of FAZER 'to make', in (110b), as there is formally nothing in these forms which could have led to them being interpreted as animate or not. Generally, FARAM VENCER could take either a [+animate] or a [-animate] Subject but this is [+animate] in (109a). In (110a), however, FAZER requires a [-animate] Object, which is the type of complement it usually selects.

The other type of Free Relative presented by Lehmann is characterized by the presence of a pronominal nucleus, which is represented in many languages by, or is at least homophonous with an interrogative pronoun, which is as such indefinite. This pronoun has a double role in a Free Relative: it is at the same time the Relative which acts as a subordinator and the indefinite which shows the determinateness of the nucleus.

Our Portuguese sentences with QUEM without an overtly realized ante- cedent seem to manifest this type. QUEM is in the first instance an interrogative pronoun and as such is indefinite, as in (111).

(111a) QUEM chegou?   b) Para QUEM são essas flores?
    'Who   arrived?'   'For whom are these flowers?'

In Relative clauses without antecedents QUEM can thus be considered an indefinite relative, as it combines these two characteristics of being indefinite and of having a subordinative function.

Sentences with QUEM like the ones analysed in this work could thus, in typological terms, be classified as Free Relatives with a pronominal (and internal) nucleus.This type is, according to Lehmann (1984: 299), always indefinite and may be either [+specific] or [-specific].

In this way, QUEM in a sentence like (37a),is taken to be the pronominal nucleus of a Free Relative construction and to be both [-definite] and [-specific].

(37a)...Mandasse QUEM recebesse os logares e logo lhos entregaria...

The Mood of the dependent verb indicates the specificity of the nucleus (or of the higher NP) of the relative construction, the correlation being that in general Subjunctive correlates with [-specific] forms and Indicative with [+specific] ones. In this way the referent of QUEM in (37a) would be understood as [-specific] as RECEBESSE, the dependent verb, is in the Subjunctive Mood (Past Subjunctive). In (77) it would be [+specific] as CHAMAVA is in the Indicative (Past Indicative).

(77) Buscavam a ver QUEM CHAMAVA tão a deshora....

From these examples we can see that, although always [-definite] QUEM can be either [+specific] or [-specific]' depending on the context in which it occurs.

The choice of QUEM, ie., of a [+animate] Subject, seems to be determined by the verb CHAMAR, which always demands a [+animate] Subject. O QUÊ (the [-animate] counterpart of QUEM) would be unacceptable in the place of QUEM.

(112) * Buscavam a ver O QUÊ chamava...

Being [-definite] and [+animate] (in both Old/Middle and Modern Portuguese) in headless Relatives, Quem seems, as such, to be selected by the verb with which it co-occurs, ie., by a verb which requires [+animate] arguments. Apart from that, it can be either

[+specific] or [-specific], which appears to be also determined by the verb but in this case rather by its Mood.

The proper degree of determinacy of these constructions seems to be dependent on the context in which they appear. According to Lehmann (1984:312) the degree of determinacy of the higher Noun Phrase in Free Relatives with an internal nucleus is idiosyncratic.

We shall try thus to specify for Portuguese what types of restrictions are held between QUEM and the verbs which select it in terms of semantic features such as Specificity and Definiteness.

In general all occurrences of headless QUEM found in our data seem to be [-definite]. In this particular respect we are taking as valid for our Portuguese data Lehmann's assumption that all the Free Relative constructions with a pronominal nucleus are indefinite (or [-definite]). We suppose that the Portuguese QUEM derives from the Latin interrogative and stressed indefinite form QUEM, because, among other reasons, the Latin unstressed relative QUEM has merged with other forms such as QUID, QUIA, etc. resulting in the Portuguese QUE, and is thus not a plausible source for it. Considering that the QUEM which appears in our Free Relatives derives from an interrogative/indefinite pronoun, whose referent is by the very nature of the construction unknown, this seems to be further evidence of the typological assumption that Free Relatives with a pronominal nucleus are, in principle, indefinite.

We take Lehmann's assumption to be superior to the analysis proposed by Plann (1980), for Spanish, in which it is argued that the Spanish QUIEN constructions could be either [+definite] or [-definite], depending on the context in which they occur.

As an example of the [+definite] reading of QUIEN, she gives the pair of sentences below, claiming that, if A QUIEN can occur in the same context that a [+definite] form AL QUE (=a+el que) can, it is consequently [+definite].

227

(13a) Aplaudirán A QUIEN llegue primero.

'They will applaud whoever arrives first'

  b) Aplaudirán AL QUE llegue primero.

      (I.E. A + EL ...)

    They will applaud the one who arrives first

                                    (Plann, 1980:110/1)

Examples of a [-definite] interpretation of the QUIEN are also given
by existential sentences such as (113).

(113a) No hay QUIEN te aguente.

    'There is not anyone who supports (can stand) you.'

  b)* No hay el que te aguente

  'There is not anyone who can stand you'

                                  (Plann,1980:113/4)

Both types (13) and (113) could be more adequately analysed, in our
point of view, if both were treated as having a [-definite] QUIEN
further specified as [-specific] in both cases, as LLEGUE and
AGUENTE are subjunctive forms.

We will assume therefore that the Portuguese QUEM which appears in
Free Relatives with an internal pronominal nucleus (or without an
overtly realized antecedent) in our data has the feature [+animate]
and [-definite] as part of its own lexical specification, ie., as
inherent features. If this is correct further features would be
necessary for any kind of differentiation that this form may acquire
in particular contexts, and we take it here that one of these
features is revealed by the oppositive pair [+specific]/[-specific].

In addition to the subcategorization of the verbs presented in
section 4, we shall try to specify certain semantic features of the
NPs or PPs with which they co-occur (i.e. the verbs) trying,
whenever possible, to determine the Mood of the verbs employed.

As we consider QUEM to be always [+animate] in headless constructions it follows that the choice of this form is to some extent governed by the verb, in the sense that it is the verb which selects [+animate] arguments for Subjects, and/or Direct /Indirect Objects.

The feature [+specific]/[-specific] on the other hand would relate to the verb in a different way: the Mood of the verb indicates whether QUEM is to be interpreted as [+specific] or not.

It its unlikely that the "Specificity" of a form can be defined as an inherent feature of it, since it seems to be a contextual feature which appears as a consequence of certain other features. Specificity does not seem to be a feature of a Noun or a Noun Phrase which is selected by the verb, as in the case of [+animate]/[-animate]. It seems rather to be correlated with the Subjunctive Mood.

We will try to determine below the correlation between the Mood of the relevant verbs in our Quem Clauses and the Specificity of the form Quem or of its antecedent.

(114) 1. Coordinate Structures

    14th-16th century texts

(35a)... QUEM vyr estes bees suso dictos e folgança que se desta
        [-Spec.] Subj.
manha segue...

(35b) Mas QUEM grande vontade tever e de todo esto bem souber...
        [-Spec]   [Sub.]

(35c) Mas QUEM se quiser guardar em todallas ditas cousas que ...
        [-Spec] Subj.

229

17th century texts

(55) QUEM malfadado foi ém a cura sempre lhe dura.
   [+Spec.]   Ind.

(56b) ...QUEM em ella se acha prezente
     [+Spec.] Ind.

18th-20th century texts

(76) QUEM vê a mim, vê a meu pai.
   [+Spec.] Ind.

2. Embedded structures

14th-16th century texts

a) Quem as Subject of the Embedded Clause

(37a)...que mandasse QUEM recebesse os logares e logo lhos
entregariam...   [-Spec] Subj.

(37b)...se vosa alteza aquy mandar QUEM mais antreles de vagar ande
                    [-Spec.]   Subj.

b) Prep+Quem Constructions

(49a) ...a esperiencia bem mostrará a QUEM o provar.
                         [-Spec.] Subj.

(49b) ...e despois (o índio) retornou as contas a QUEM lhas deu.
                         [+Spec.] Ind.

17th century texts

a) QUEM as Subject of the Embedded Clause

(57) Vos não tendes aqui QUEM com cáractere o procure.
                    [+spec.]   Ind.

b) Prep+Quem Constructions

(63)... o outro disse a QUEM lhe perguntou por que não trazia armas
                    [+Spec]   Ind.

(68) ...a QUEM   e i de buscar ?
        [+Spec.] Ind.

(69)...sem ter   · a QUEM   recorrer...
            [+Spec.] or [-Spec.]   Inf.

                18th-20 century texts

a) Quem as Subject of the Embedded Clause

(77) Buscavam a ver QUEM chamava tão a deshora...
            [+Spec.] Ind.

(78)... a ver QUEM viria.
        [+Spec.] Ind.

b) Prep+Quem constructions

(79) Perdoe essa massada dada a QUEM ainda esta doente...
                            [+Spec.]   Ind.

(80)...Mas se quero explicá-lo a QUEM me interroga...
                            [+Spec.] Ind.

(81)...motivem devoção a QUEM os vir e se edifique a QUEM as olhar.
                    [-Spec.] Subj.   [-Spec.]Subj.

(82) Bem sabeis que a QUEM Christo deu as chaves entregou as ovelhas
                [+Spec.]   Ind.   Ind.
                                1

                            231

In terms of specificity of the higher Noun Phrase, or of the relative itself, our data show that in Coordinate structures a [-specific] interpretation of the construction is only possible in the oldest texts examined, ie.,14th-16th C texts. The other two periods (from the 17thC on) registered only tokens of [+specific] reference. In this particular case we are considering that the Mood of the verb in the coordinate clause is defining the specificity of the Relative referent, as there is no embedded or dependent verb in these constructions. The Subjunctive Mood seems to have been predominant in these constructions only before the 17th C, and seems to have given place to Indicative forms after that time.

In embedded constructions the picture is neat for Quem as a Subject of the embedded clause (syntactic type ii: $\emptyset$ (NP)(DO)/ NP(SB), where [-specific] interpretation seems to be the preferred form before the 17th C, but [+Specific] after that time. For Prep+Quem constructions the picture is not so neat, however. See table (115).

(115) Specificity (in Free Relatives with QUEM)

    a. Coordinate Structures

14th→16th C	17th C	18th→20th C
[-Specific]	[+Specific]	[+Specific]

    b. Embedded Structures

14th→16th C	17th C	18th→20th C

    a) QUEM as SB of the Embedded Clause

[-Specific]	[+Specific]	[+Specific]

b) Prep+Quem constructions

Prep...[Quem...]
        S'

[+Specific]   [+Specific]   [+Specific]
[-Specific]?   [-Specific]?

[Prep+Quem]
S'

----------   [+Spec.]or [-Spec.]?   [+Specific]

It is interesting to notice that in both cases we suggested a [-Specific] reading for and also in those cases in which we've been unable to determine their specificity (marked in (115) with a ?), the embedded verb is either in the Future Subjunctive or in the Infinitive, forms which are regularly homophonous in some conjugations.

These two forms can be mistaken each for ~~each~~ *the* other in Modern Portuguese, especially as in (49a) and (81), where the form of the dependent verb is ambiguous between the Subjunctive Future and the Infinitive: PROVAR and OLHAR, respectively.

In a verb like VER 'to see' the same happens: the Future Subjunctive VIR prescribed by the Traditional Grammar never occurs spontaneously and is frequently replaced by the Infinitival form VER (it is the case of (81) in our examples).

In the cases where the embedded verb was undoubtedly an Infinitival form as (68) and (69) it seems to us that the interpretation can be either: [+specific] or [-specific].

(69) is exactly syntactic type (v), which we considered to be the actualization of the syntactic change (discussed in section 4). We conjecture whether this double reading in terms of specificity which this type allows would not be another mapping out of the consequences of the same change.

233

This investigation would demand a scrutiny of morphological verb classes in both Modern and Old/Middle Portuguese as well as further examination of the semantic property 'specificity'. In this respect we assumed here that it correlates with verbal moods. This raises the question that, if the Mood of the verb is altered for instance, from Subjunctive to Indicative does the specificity of the relative (or of the antecedent) change too? Or is it the change in specificity which determines the Mood? It seems to us that factors other than Mood appear to play a role in the specificity of the referent, and that the Mood is an indicator of Specificity rather than a determinant.

It is not our intention to examine these issues further. We will limit ourselves to the observations already made on the specificity of Free Relatives and we will not deal with the specificity of Headed Relative clauses.

NOTES

1) This type describes either cases in which QUEM is the Subject of a Coordinate or Correlative sentence or cases in which it is the Subject of a matrix clause.

CONCLUSION

In this dissertation I have investigated certain aspects of the evolution of the Portuguese Noun Phrase in written texts from C14 onwards. The two topics discussed, namely the order AN/NA and Relative Clauses are both realizations of the same basic substantive process of modification/predication to the Noun. It is relevant to reinforce the fact that the analyses were governed by the data. They have, thus, an empirical basis.

1. The AN/NA order

In terms of linear modification, within a word order change typology framework, a change in the pattern of Noun/Adjective ordering has been identified in the language around C18 (AN>NA) by means of a purely quantitative analysis. Secondly, other issues involved in the change were investigated, this time taking into account semantic/pragmatic features of the linear relation Adjective/Noun (Chapter 1).

The analysis of the Noun/ Adjective order was, thus, carried out in two turns: 1) a quantitative analysis and 2) a qualitative analysis, each of which I comment below:

1.1. The quantitative analysis

Diachronically, in quantitative terms, the data showed a change in the linear positioning of the Adjective relative to the Noun it modifies: AN was the predominant order in our Portuguese texts up to C18 and NA after that time. In this respect this study confirmed the general trend proposed by word order change typologists for the Romance languages, which are believed to be in a half-way between an ideally consistent Proto- Indo-European XV type and an also ideally consistent VX Romance type. Inconsistencies such as AN/NA would be the sign of a drift towards consistency: the language would be readjusting its patterns to the new Romance target order VX, itself having emerged through the gradual elimination of the Latin morphological case distinctions. Such inconsistencies

would then show that the NP is striving for realignment to the new VX type triggered by the change OV>VO.

Our quantitative analysis showed a trend of decrease of A that is in keeping with the claim made by word order change typologists that a language gradually gets rid of remnants from an old general pattern that is being abandoned on its way to achieving a new ideal type. In this sense, within a deeper time depth, going back to early Latin or Proto-Indo-European, AN could be the old type that is being left, and NA the new ideal type to be solidified.

Anteposition has been magnified in the quantitative analysis, which led to the discovery of striking facts: two adjectives- BOM & GRANDE- monopolize Anteposition, in quantitative terms, up C 18 (Figure 8). After that time their frequency in A is not so massive, and other adjectives than BOM and GRANDE seemed to have taken over their role. Their high occurrence raised the question whether this would be responsible for the high rate of A up to C18. Their exclusion from Anteposition showed, however, that the general trend of decrease in A (Figures 9 and 11) has not changed. Despite this, the rearrangement of the lexical items within Anteposition, ie. the observation that BOM & GRANDE fell into disuse while other adjectives took over their role, seemed to reveal the way by which Anteposability of Adjectives has emptied over time.

The decreasing pattern of the use of BOM & GRANDE (Figure 8) suggested that other factors might be invoked to account for the change, apart from the teleological explanation proposed by word order change typologists. I tried, then, to find out which conditions internal to the systems could supposedly account for the Anteposability decrease tendency. This was done in the qualitative analysis commented below.

1.2. The qualitative analysis

The need of recognition of semantic adjectival classes for particular languages was demonstrated by Dixon (1977) within a universalistic perspective. In typological change studies, Adams

237

(1977) made use of classes of adjectives in his discussion of Latin adjective ordering and a change AN>NA was postulated for an early Latin adjectival class, namely, the possessive class.

Our description of the adjective placement over time was also based on semantic classes (Chapter 1). In this sense, certain 'classes' of adjectives were associated to Anteposition, others, to Postposition. Although the classes as such appeared not to have changed over time in Anteposition— ie. they have been stable in the language since C14— a change within the 'subjective' class was observed. It is our claim that this change, internal to this class, indicated the way by which the overall tendency of Anteposition reduction was implemented in Portuguese and also points up how new changes might come about in the linear ordering of constituents within the Noun Phrase. Adams also postulated a change for a particular class of Latin adjectives. This process seems to be recurring in Portuguese.

Attention must be drawn to the fact that our analysis does not confirm the claim Lehmannn (1972) and Harris (1978:59) made for Romance, but based merely on French. They claim that in Romance Anteposition would be proper of a small number of the most common adjectives- "about a dozen in all" (Lehmann, 1972b: 272). Our empirical analysis has demonstrated that this is not true for Portuguese. Although from C18 onwards NA has been definitely the preferred order in our texts, Anteposition is by no means limited to a small number of the most common adjectives. It is undoubtedly the case that there are some adjectives 'trapped' in Anteposition, as the Set Phrases discussed in section 4.3, Chapter 1, but this must be understood as the result of a change that took place within a class of adjectives. This change is headed by the adjectives BOM & GRANDE, within the 'subjective class'. In addition to these cases, there are classes of adjectives which come in A, and even in purely numerical terms, Anteposition is not, and has not ever been, restricted to 'a small number of adjectives'. It is, thus, in our view, a crude overgeneralization to assert that, in Romance, Anteposability of adjectives is limited to a small number of adjectives. Portuguese data do not confirm this assertion, neither

does French, to the best of my knowledge (Waugh, 1977).

1.2.1. The "emptying" of Anteposition and "Set Phrases"

The emptying of Anteposition was explained through the fate of the adjectives BOM & GRANDE. Based on this analysis one expects the Adjectives in A to lose meaning, to become less specific and eventually empty and be replaced by other items with a more precise meaning. My analysis leads to the conclusion that the precise meaning of the adjectives in A cannot be inferred only either only from their own lexical, semantic and linear syntactic properties or from the properties of the Noun which they modify. In fact, it is the combination AN what matters. In addition, their meaning must be inferred from an interpretation of the context/passage in which they occur. This can be seen, here, in the analysis I Proposed for BOM & GRANDE based on Dixon's "good for X" formula.

One of the consequences of this Anteposition emptying are the Set Phrases. In these the adjective became semantically so empty and tied to the Noun that it ended up as part of the latter.

Another outcome is the existence in Modern Portuguese of pairs such as HOMEM GRANDE/GRANDE HOMEM in which the dependence between Noun and Adjective is maximized- GRANDE is frozen in Anteposition and in Postposition with different meanings. According to our hypothesis, the split of GRANDE into two different meanings is due to an ambiguity created by a modification situation in which GRANDE— an adjective with a dimensional meaning— is preposed to a Noun that includes in its own lexical specifications the 'measurable' and 'gradational' features. Thus, sometime in the past history of the language, GRANDE HOMEM must have been ambiguous between 'a man who is tall', where HOMEM could be 'measured', and 'a great man', where HOMEM could be 'graded'. The fixing of the Adjective in either position, before or after the Noun, with a 'gradational' meaning in A and a 'measurable' one in P, was a way of resolving the ambiguity. For other pairs, other features will emerge, although 'measurable' seems to be the necessary feature for this kind of reanalysis to take place. On the one hand, this analysis accounts for the fixing

239

of particular adjectives, with a particular meaning in a particular position within the NP, as in the pair GRANDE HOMEM/HOMEM GRANDE and, on the other, it elucidates why pairs like GRANDE PENNA/PENNA GRANDE did not develop a difference in meaning with GRANDE preposed or postposed to the Noun.

A main point raised by this analysis is that changes in this particular aspect of Syntax in fact involve much more than the simple linearity of the constituents concerned. The Syntax, Semantics and Pragmatics of some particular Adjectives combined with certain Nouns are intersected and cannot merely be accounted for, diachronically, with the dismissal of one of these aspects. It seems to be the case of "one of the diachronic processes which typically affect the intersection of several grammatical levels" (Bynon, 1985: 107). Although apparently the change produces an effect on the linearity of constituents, mainly in the case of GRANDE HOMEM/HOMEM GRANDE, their 'actualization' is not only linear: the tightening of the range of selectional restrictions between Adjective and Noun, evidenced by the above cases, led them to be interpreted either as a semantic unity or two separate elements.

These factors combined do not only account for changes 'A POSTERIORI', but also point up how new changes might come about, in the linear ordering of constituents within the Noun Phrase. The proposed analysis is thus predictive in the sense that the heavy incidence of two adjectives, side by side with loose meanings, that change whenever the context changes, provided clues as to how changes in this particular aspect of Syntax occurred in this particular case and may occur somewhere else. This analysis is thus both descriptive and predictive.

2. The Restrictive Relative Clauses

The ordering of the Relative Clause and its Noun has, however, remained unchanged since the time of the older texts analysed, i.e. the Relative Clause follows its Noun (N/RC). The relativizers QUE and QUEM, however, were proven to be undergoing a process of change related to relativization strategies. As regards QUEM clauses, the

new syntactic type appears in our data from the 17th C onwards. In Chapters 2 and 3 changes involving QUE and QUEM inside the relative clause were discussed.

The status of the relativizer QUE either as a Complementizer or a Relative Pronoun or both is investigated in Chapter 2. As a matter of fact, no indisputable evidence was found in favour either of a purely Complementizer or Relative Pronoun nature of QUE in all syntactic functions. In Modern Portuguese it appears to be more 'pronominal' in some contexts than in others: the QUE of the Resumptive Pronoun type would be on one end of the scale since it is almost empty of any pronominal meaning and it is doubtful whether it plays a syntactic role in the sentence; Prep+QUE would be on the other end of the scale. It has a referent and its syntactic function is overtly shown by the presence of a preposition.

In synchronic terms, there are alternative analyses for all the strategies of relativization examined. This multiplicity of synchronic analyses have suggested that changes which have not been completed yet are taking place in the relativization system. and, as a consequence, the issue called for a diachronic treatement. In diachronic terms the conclusion was that there has been a certain indeterminacy regarding the syntactic status of QUE all along its evolution.

In reference to the changes analysed in Chapter 3 involving Prep+Quem constructions the following points should be stressed: the diachronic change and the extension of this change.

2.1. The diachronic change

The basic change dealt with in this chapter is the emergence of the syntactic type [P+Quem...] and its innovative use, firstly in Relative structures with Ø antecedents and, secondly, in Relative structures with overtly realized antecedents.

The type P+Quem which existed in the first period of the language

241

analysed, ie, from C14 to C16, was proven to be in fact
P...+[Quem...], in which the form Quem has to be analysed as the
     S'
Subject of the dependent clause. Only in C17 the type [P+Quem...]
                                                       S'
appeared as such, with such an analysis. It is thus, an innovation,
especially when it occurs with overtly realized [+human]
antecedents. Up to that time, Relative constructions with [+human]
overt antecedents co-occurred only with P+Que but not with P+Quem.
Quem was restricted either to headless constructions in
non-subcategorized positions or to headless P...+ [Quem...]
                                                       S'
constructions.

This change has proved to be a process of reanalysis, in terms of
Timberlake (1977). A main point in his approach is that the
reanalysis is not observable in itself, but only by its
consequences. In this sense two steps are recognized: the reanalysis
itself, ie. 'the formulation of a novel set of underlying
relationships and rules' which is made possible by the potential
ambiguous character of surface output and 'the gradual mapping out
of the consequences of the reanalysis', its 'actualization'. The
'actualization' is meant to be systematic and governed by a number
of linguistic parameters, which can be formalized as hierarchies.
These hierarchies are supposed to obey one general principle: a
change will be actualized earlier in contexts which are unmarked (or
more natural) with respect to the change and later in contexts which
are marked (or less natural) with respect to the change.

In the case analysed here the reanalysis was made possible by the
surface similarity between structures with P+...[Quem...] and
                                                  S'
[P+Quem...] (p. 172). In the oldest type, ie, P+... [Quem...] Quem
S'   S'
is invariably the Subject of the dependent clause although its
contiguity to the preceding preposition might lead to a mis
analysis: one may suppose that the sequence P+Quem should be
interpreted as belonging to the dependent clause, which is not the
case. [P+Quem..], which satisfies the subcategorization requirements
       S'
of the embedded verb, is a type that only appears in our data in the
17th C (cf. sentence (69)), not before.

This 'new' type shows that reanalysis has taken place. The existence

242

of a really ambiguous type: the one in which the sequence P+quem can satisfy the subcategorization both of the dependent and matrix verbs (sentence (82)) made it possible. Through this type one may see that P+Quem can now satisfy the subcategorization requirements of the dependent verb, which is the environment for the creation of a new syntactic type.

Three factors appeared to be involved in this reanalysis: a) the categorial (PP/PP) and functional (IO/IO) matching between the two constituents concerned, as in type (iv) (ex.82) (reanalysis from matching to non-matching type); b) co-referentiality that is held between these two PP's; c) the existence of an empty slot. This PP is shared by the two clauses, or in other words, it simultaneously forms an argument of both verbs (See Bynon, 1985, for the intersection of several grammatical levels in diachronic changes).

2.2. The extension of the change

Now it comes into the discussion the actualization of the reanalysis. As said before, the actualization is meant to be governed by parameters understood as hierarchies. In our case it seems that there is one of hierarchy of 'matching effects': the reanalysis took place from 'matching' to 'non matching' structures. P+Quem started being used as an argument of the dependent verb firstly with ∅ NP antecedents, as evidenced by type (v), a 'non-matching' type, and after that with overt NP antecedents, also a 'non-matching' type.

Once reanalysed, the 'new type' has been analogically extended so as to resume [+human] antecedents. This change, as an analogical extension, increased alternation in the language (Bynon, 1977: 37, 42).So it is that an alternative relativization strategy has emerged in the language from the 17th C onwards in addition to the well attested Prep+QUE for Relatives with [+human] heads. From that time on it alternates with Prep+QUEM.

These analyses touched the problem of the periodization of the Portuguese language in so far as both in the case of adjective

243

positioning and Prep+Quem constructions the changes seem to have taken place after the 17th and 18th C. In the former, the data showed a sharp decrease in A after the 18th century. Coincidentally, the change involving Prep+Quem constructions presumably dates from the same period -after C17 and C18- as indicated by the data. In the case of the relativizer QUE one could not date any changes, as both the data and the indeterminacy of the analysis suggested that there is an ongoing change involving the paradigm of QUE relativizers and the environments where they occur. Despite the latter, the analyses proposed here would subsidize a new periodization of the Portuguese language in terms of Syntax, different from the traditional ones.

Also the syntactic change Tarallo (1983) postulated for the Portuguese pronominal system, in which the PP Chopping strategy of relativization is embedded, subsidizes a new periodization of the Portuguese language as, according to his analysis, the PP Chopping strategy was implemented in the language in the 19th century.

If the above changes are taken into account, then Modern Portuguese would have had its beginnings after the 17th C not before, in terms of historical syntax. These analyses point to a periodization where the Modern Portuguese period would have its beginnings later than the traditionally accepted 16th century.

The hypothesis put forward in this thesis is that diachronic processes cannot be accounted for only by 'one' framework of linguistic description. For one thing there seems to be always many different forces at work behind language change, in particular in the ones which apparently look purely syntactic: although the 'result' of the change, or its 'actualization', is in many cases syntactic, as in the case of Prep+Quem constructions analysed in Chapter III, factors of different nature seem to be involved in change processes. It seems to me that regardless of the theoretical framework of synchronic description employed to account for the data in an analysis that tentatively traces linguistic development through successive stages of texts, such as the one carried out in this work, the diachronic processes in question transcend the synchronic analyses, and cannot be justified within one single

framework. In this sense, any framework used in the description of synchronic linguistic stages in a work the main goal of which is basically diachronic, or, rather, in a work that has as a purpose primarily the search and description of mechanisms of linguistic changes, and secondarily their justification and explanation, is to be understood only as a device employed for data description. since in principle synchronic models do not make predictions about language change, and are not themselves 'models of language change'. Obviously, in order to reach the diachronic goal of such a task, the description must be as adequate to the data as possible, not the other way round, and the choice of only one synchronic framework for data description could jeopardize the chief diachronic goal. In my opinion, an adequate model of language change is made available. historical linguists will have to deal with different models of synchronic analyses in their endeavour to describe and explain language change.

With this dissertation I hope to have given a contribution to Historical Linguistics in general and hopefully to have contributed to an advance in the field of the diachronic syntax of Portuguese.

REFERENCES

Abreu Rocha, Antônio de (1983) " A Colocação das Palavras", in
    Estudos Românicos, no. 2, Imprensa Universitária, Belo Horizonte.

Adams, J.N. (1977) "A typological approach to Latin Word Order",
    Indogermanische Forschungen, Berlin: De Gruyter.

Aitchison, Jean (1981) Language Change: Progress or Decay? ,
    Fontana Paperbacks, Great Britain.

Ard, W.J. (1977) "Raising and word order in diachronic syntax",
    Indiana University.Linguistics Club.

Auwera,J. van Der (1985) "Relative that - a centennial dispute", JL
    21.

Bolinger, D.L. (1952) "Linear Modification", PMLA 67.

Borges Neto, José (1979) Adjetivos: Predicados Extensionais e
    Intensionais , unpublished MA dissertation, UNICAMP.

_____& Paula Müller, A.L. (1987) "Lingüistas ou
    Camaleões? Uma resposta a Tarallo", in D.E.L.T.A., vol. 3, no 1.

Bourciez, E. (1967) Éléments de Linguistique Romane, Paris:
    Klincksieck.

Bresnan, J. & Grimshaw, J. (1978) The Syntax of Free Relatives", LI,
    9, number 3.

Bynon, Theodora (1977) Historical Linguistics, Cambridge: CUP.

_____ (1983) "Syntactic Reconstruction: A Case Study", in
    Hattori & Inoue (eds.) Proceedings of the XIIIth International
    Congress of Linguists, August 29 - September 4, 1982, Tokyo,
    Tokyo: CIPL.

_____ (1985) "Serial Verbs and Grammaticalization" in Piepel/Strickel (eds.) Studia Linguistica Diachronica et Synchronica, Berlin: Mouton.

_____ (1985) "Historical Syntax and the Substance-Structure Dichotomy", Paper read at the VII International Conference for Historical Linguistics , Pavia, Italy.

_____ & Palmer, F.R. (1986) Studies in the History of Western Linguistics , CUP.

Câmara Jr, J. Mattoso (1972) The Portuguese Language, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Cartas de Catarina de Bragança a seu irmão D. Pedro II, rei de Portugal, unpublished manuscript, Egerton, 1534, British Library.

Céu, Soror M. "Aves Ilustradas em avisos para as religiosas servirem os ofícios de seus mosteiros" in Ferreira (ed.) (1981) Novelistas e Contistas Portugueses dos séculos XVII e XVIII, Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional.

Chomsky, N. (1977) "On Wh-movement" in Culicover, P. W. et al (eds.) Formal Syntax, Academic Press.

Cohen, M.A.A.M. (1981) Orações Relativas Restritivas em Português: Registro Formal e Informal, unpublished MA dissertation, UFMG.

Comrie, B. (1981) Language Universals and Linguistics Typology, Oxford: Blackwell.

Cortesão, Jaime (1943) A Carta de Pero Vaz de Caminha, Ed. Livros de Portugal, RJ.

Decat, M.B.N. (1978) Movimento de Sintagma Nominal Interrogado em Português, Unpublished MA dissertation, UFMG.

Diez, F. (1872) Grammatik der Romanischen Sprachen, Dritte Auflage, Vol. 3, Bonn.

Dixon, R.M.W., (1977) "Where Have All the Adjectives Gone?", Studies in Language 1:1.

Eça de Queiroz, J.M. (1876) O crime do padre Amaro, Lello & Irmão, Porto (1966).

Ehrenkranz J. & Hirschand E.C. (1972) "Latin Relative Clauses" in Peranteau, P.M. et al (eds.) The Chicago which Hunt, Chicago Linguistic Society.

Elcock, W.D. (1975) The Romance Languages, revised with a new introduction by J.N. Green, London: Faber.

Emonds, J.E. (1976) A Transformational approach to English Syntax: Root, Structure Preserving and Local Transformations, New York: Academic Press.

Figanière, Francisco de la (1853) Catálogo dos Manuscriptos Portuguezes Existentes no Museu Británico, Lisboa.

Gabeira, F. (1981) Entradas e Bandeiras, Rio de Janeiro: Codecri.

Gildersleeve, B.L. & Lodge, G. (1968) Gildersleeve's Latin Grammar, (3rd ed.) New York: Macmillan.

Grandgent, C.H. (1907) An Introduction to Vulgar Latin , USA: Heath & Co.

Greenberg, J. (1966) "Some Universals of Grammar with Particular Reference to the Order of Meaningful Elements" in Greenberg, J. H. (ed.) Universals of Language, The MIT Press.

Grimshaw, J. (1977) English Wh - Constructions and the Theory of Grammar, PhD Dissertation, University of Massachusetts.

Hankamer, J. (1977) "Multiple Analyses", in Li, C.N (ed)
Mechanisms of Syntactic Change, University of Texas Press.

Harper, W.M. (1982) Statistics (4th ed.), GB: Macdonald & Evans.

Harris, M. (1977) Romance Syntax: Synchronic and Diachronic
Perspectives, Salford: University of Salford.

_____ (1978) The Evolution of French Syntax, London: Longman.

_____ (1980) "Noun Phrases and Verb Phrases in Romance", ThPS.

_____ (1982) "On Explaining Language Change" in Ahlqvist, A.
(ed.) Papers from the 5th ICHL, John Benjamins Publishing Co.

_____ (1984) "On the strengths and weakeness of a typological
approach to historical syntax, in Fisiak, J. (ed) Historical
Syntax, Berlin: De Gruyter.

Hawkins, J.A. (1979) "Implicational Universals as Predictors of word
order change", Language 55, No 3.

Herculano, Alexandre (1856) Portugaliae Monumenta Historica -
Scriptores - Vol. I.

Hirschbühler, P. (1976) "Two Analyses of free relatives in French",
Montreal Working Papers in Linguistics, 6.

Hirschbühler, P. & Rivero, M.L. (1981) "Catalan Restrictive
Relatives: Core and Periphery", Language, 57, number 3.

_____ (1983) "Remarks on Free
Relatives and Matching Phenomena", LI, 14, 3.

Hock, Hans Henrich (1986) Principles of Historical Linguistics ,
Mouton DE Gruyter, Berlin.

Hornstein, N. and Ligtfoot D. (1981) <u>Explanation in Linguistics</u> ,
Longman, London & New York.

Hüber, Joseph (1933) <u>Gramática do Português Antigo</u> , trad.
portuguesa (1986), Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Coimbra.

Iordan I. and Manoliu, M. (1972) <u>Manual de Lingüística Românica,</u>
Madrid: Gredos.

Kato, M. (1981) "Orações Relativas: variação universal e variação
individual no Português". In: Estudos Lingüísticos V, Anais de
Seminários do GEL. São Paulo: PUC.

_____(1983) "A systematic Typological Contrast between English
and Portuguese", in PSCL, Vol. XVI, Posnán.

_____(1984) "A Sequência ADJ+N em Português e o Princípio da
Harmonia Transcategorial", mimeo, PUC, SP.

_____& Tarallo, F. (1987) "Harmonia Trans-sistêmica: Variação
Intra- e Inter-Lingüística, Paper read at the "2o. Encontro da
ANPOLL, UFRJ.

Koch, Monica (1974) " A Demystification of Syntactic Drift",
Montreal Working Papers in Linguistics, 3.

Kayne, R.S. (1976) "French Relative Que" in Luján, M. & Hensey F.
(eds.) <u>Current Studies in Romance Linguistics,</u> Austin:
University of Texas Press.

Labov, W. (1975) "On the use of the Present to explain the Past", in
<u>Proceedings of the Eleventh International Congress of</u>
Linguists, Bologna.

_____(1981) "Resolving the Neogrammarian Controversy", in
Language, Volume 57, N. 2.

Lakoff, R.T. (1968) Abstract Syntax and Latin Complementation, The M.I.T. Press.

_____ (1972) "Another look at Drift" in Stockwell, R. & Macaulay, R. (eds.) Linguistic Change and Generative Theory Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Langacker, R. (1977) "Syntactic Reanalysis" in Li, C.N. Mechanisms of Syntactic Change, University of Texas Press.

Lausberg, H. (1973) Linguística Românica", Madrid: Gredos.

Lefebvre, C. (1979) "Réanalyse de que/qui, inversion stylistique et mouvement de WH en francais", in Montreal Working Papers in Linguistics, 13.

Lehmann, Christian (1984) Der Relativsatz: Typologie seiner structuren; Theorie seiner Functionen; Kompendium seiner Grammatik, Tubingen: Narr.

Lehmann, W.P. (1972) "Contemporary Linguistics and Indo-European Studies", PMLA 87.

_____ (1972) "Converging Theories in Linguistics" Language, 48, n 2.

Leitão, R.A. (1961) Cartas de D. Pedro V aos seus Conteporâneos, Lisboa: Livraria Portugal.

Leite, Serafim S.I. (1954) Cartas dos Primeiros Jesuítas no Brasil I, (1538-1553), S.P.

Leite de Vasconcelos, J. (1970) Textos Arcaicos, Lisboa: Clássica.

Lemle, M. (1978) "Heterogeneidade dialetal: um apelo à pesquisa" in Revista Tempo Brasileiro, 53/54.

_____ (1979) " A Ordem dos Adjetivos no Sintagma Nominal Inglês e Português", in Anais do III Encontro Nacional de Linguística, PUC, RJ.

Leumann, M. & Hofmann, J.B. (1964) Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik Revised by A. Santyr, Munich.

Lightfoot, D.(1979) Principles of Diachronic Syntax, Cambridge: CUP.

_____ (1988) "Syntactic Change", in Newmeyer,F. (ed.) Linguistics: The Cambridge Survey Vol I. Linguistic Theory: Foundations, CUP.

_____(1988) "Modeling Language Change: Ontogenetic and Phylogenetic", mimeo.

_____(1989) "Obsolescence and Universal Grammar", mimeo, University of Maryland.

Livermore, H. V. (1947) A History of Portugal , Cambridge: CUP.

Lopes, Fernão (1385) Cronica delRei Dom Joham ,in Entwistle W.J. (ed.) (1945).

Marouzeau, J. (1922) L'Ordre des Mots dans la Phrase Latine 1: Les Groupes Nominaux , Paris: Champion.

Martins, Sant'Anna Nilce (1988) Historia da Língua Portuguesa V. Século XIX, São Paulo, Ática.

Mattos e SiLva, Rosa Virgínia (1988) "Fluxo e Refluxo: Uma Retrospectiva da Linguística Histórica no Brasil", in D.E.L. T.A., Vol. 4. no. 1.

Maurer Jr., Th. H. (1959) Gramática do Latim Vulgar , Rio de Janeiro: Acadêmica.

Meyer-Lübke, W. (1923) Grammaire des Langues Romanes, Paris: G.E. Stechert & Co.

_____ (1972) Romanisches Etymologisches Worterbuch, Heidelberg: Karl winter Universitätsverlag.

Mollica, M.C.M (1981) "La 'Copie' dans les Constructions Relatives en Portugais" in Sankof & Cedergren (eds.) Variation Omnibus, Linguistic Research Inc.

Moreira, Júlio (1922) Estudos da Língua Portuguesa 1, Lisboa.

_____ "Notas Philológicas", Revista Lusitana IX.

Naro, A. J. (1981) "Portuguese in Brazil", in Posner , R. & Green, J. (eds.) Trends in Romance Linguistics and Philology .

Par, A. (1926) "Qui" y "Que" en La Península Ibérica, RFE XIII.

_____ (1929) "Qui" y "Que" en La Península Ibérica, RFE XVI.

Paiva, D. Faria de (1988) História da Língua Portuguesa II. Século XV e meados do Século XVI , Ática, São Paulo.

Pazini, M.C.B. (1977) "A Posição do Adjetivo na Locução Nominal em Português", in Anais do II Encontro Nacional de Lingüística , PUC, RJ.

Perini, M.A. (1977) "Para a Análise dos Adjetivos Denominais", in Anais do II Encontro Nacional de Lingüística , PUC, RJ.

Pereira, E.C. (1923) Gramática Histórica, São Paulo: Monteiro Lobato.

Pereira, Nuno Marques - "Do Compêndio Narrativo do Peregrino da América" in Palma Ferreira, J. (1981) Novelistas e Contistas Portugueses dos Séculos XVII e XVIII .

Perlmutter, D. (1972) "Evidence for Shadow Pronouns in French Relativization", in Peranteau, P.M. et al. (eds.) The Chicago which hunt, Chicago Linguistic Society.

Piel J. & Mattoso J. (1980) Portugalise Monumenta Historica - a saeculo octavo post Christum usque ad quintundecimum, Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro, vol II, 1, Academia de Ciências de Lisboa.

Piel M.J. (1944) Livro de Ensinança de Bem Cavalgar a Toda Sela que fez El-Rey Dom Duarte de Portugal e do Algarve e Senhor de Ceuta, Lisboa: Livraria Bertrand.

Pinto, R. Morel (1988) História da Língua Portuguesa IV. Século XVIII , Ática, São Paulo.

Pinto, E. Pimentel (1988) História da Língua Portuguesa VI. Século XX , Ática, São Paulo.

Pires, M. S. Oliveira (1981) Os Adjetivos Atributivos em Português- Considerações sobre sua origem e seu comportamento sintático , unpublished MA dissertation, UFMG.

Pires Rebelo, Gaspar (1625) "Das Novelas Exemplares" e "Constante Florinda" in Palma Ferreira, J. (ed.) (1981) Novelistas e Contistas Portugueses dos Séculos XVII e XVIII .

Plann, S. (1980) Relative Clauses in Spanish Without Overt Antecedents and Related Constructions, University of California Press.

Posner, R. (1985) "Diachronic Syntax - free relatives in Romance", JL 21.

Price, Glanville (1971) The French Language: Present and Past, GB: Edouard Arnold.

Prior, M.H. (1985) ,Syntactic Universals and Semantic Constraints: Statistical and other Comparative Evidence from the Study of Verbs and Adjectives ', unpublished PHD thesis, University of London.

Quicoli, A.C. (1982) The Structure of Complementation Brussels: E. Story - Scientia.

Radford, A. (1981) Transformational Syntax - A Student's Guide to Chomsky's Extended Standard Theory , Cambridge: CUP.

Rivero, M.L. (1980) "That-Relatives and Deletion in COMP in Spanish", CLO 9.

_____ (1982) "Aspects of the Evolution of Relatives in Romance", in Ahlquist A. (ed.) Papers from the 5th ICHL , 21.

_____ (1984) "Diachronic syntax and learnability: free Relatives in thirteenth - century Spanish", J.L 20.

Romaine, S. (1982) Socio - Historical Linguistics , Cambridge: CUP.

Ross, J.R. (1967) Constraints on Variables in Syntax , Doctoral Dissertation, MIT (distributed by the Indiana University Linguistics Club, Bloomington).

Sankoff, G. & Tarallo, F. (1987) "Relativization and Anaphora in Spoken Language", in D.E.L.T.A. vol.3, no.2.

Said Ali, M. (1971) Gramática Histórica da Língua Portuguesa ,(7th ed.) Rio de Janeiro: Acadêmica.

Silva Dias, A. Epiphânio (1918) Syntaxe Histórica Portuguesa , Lisboa.

Spina, S. (1988) História da Língua Portuguesa III. Segunda metade do século XVI e século XVII , Ática, São Paulo.

Tarallo, F. L. (1983) <u>Relativization Strategies in Brazilian Portuguese</u> , Ph D dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.

_____(1984) "A Fênix finalmente renascida", in <u>Boletim Abralin 6.</u>

_____(s/d) "Variação Sintática na História: A Primeira Flor do Lácio", Mimeo, UNICAMP.

_____(1986) "Zelig: um camaleão-lingüísta", in D.E.L.T. A., vol. 2. no.1.

_____(1986) <u>A Pesquisa Sócio-Lingüística</u> , Ática, São Paulo.

_____(1987) "Por uma Sociolingüística Românica 'Paramétrica': Fonologia e Sintaxe", in <u>Ensaios de Lingüística</u> , Ano VII, vol 13.

_____(1988) "Uma Estória Muito Mal Contada", in D.E.L.T.A., vol. 4, no.2.

Timberlake, A. (1977) <u>Reanalysis and Actualization in Syntactic Change</u> , in Li, C.N. (ed.) <u>Mechanisms of Syntactic Change</u> , University of Texas Press.

Tovar, Pedro (1932) <u>Catálogo dos Manuscriptos Portugueses ou Relativos a Portugal Existentes no Museu Britânico</u> , Coimbra.

Väänänen, V. (1967) <u>Introducción al Latín Vulgar,</u> Madrid: Gredos.

Van Riemsdijk and Williams (1986) <u>Introduction to the theory of Grammar</u> , The MIT Press.

Vennemann, T. (1973) "Explanation in Syntax" in J. Kimball (ed.) (1973).

_____ (1974) "Topics, Subjects and word order: From SXV to SVX via TVX" in Anderson & Jones (eds.) Historical Linguistics 1 Syntax, Morphology, Internal and Comparative Reconstruction , Amsterdam: North Holland.

_____ (1975) "An Explanation of Drift", in Li, N. C. (ed.) Word Order and Word Order Change , University of Texas Press, Austin, London.

Vincent, N. (1976) "Perceptual Factors and word order change in Latin" in M.B. Harris (ed.)(1976) Romance Syntax: Synchronic and Diachronic Perspectives, Salford: University of Salford.

_____ (1982) "The Development of the Auxiliaries ESSE and HABERE in Romance" in Vincent N. & Harris, M. (eds.)(1982) Studies in the Romance Verb , London: Croom-Helm.

Wartburg, W. von (1971) Fragmentación Lingüística de la Románia , Madrid: Gredos.

Waugh, L. (1977) A Semantic Analysis of Word Order - Position of the adjective in French , Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Weinreich, U., Labov, W. & Herzog, M. (1968) "Empirical Foundations for a Theory of Language Change", in Lehmann, W. & Malkiel, Y. (eds.) Directions for Historical Linguistics (1975, 3rd. printing), University of Texas Press, Austin & London.

Williams, E.B. (1973) Do Latim ao Português Rio de Janeiro: Tempo Brasileiro.

Wright, R. (1983) "Unity and Diversity Among the Romance Languages", TPhS (1983).