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GONE WITHOUT THE VERB: CLITIC INTERPOLATION AND CLITIC CLIMBING IN THE HISTORY OF EUROPEAN PORTUGUESE*

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ABSTRACT: Previous studies have reported that clitic interpolation and clitic climbing change according to three stages in the history of European Portuguese. In this paper we develop the idea that these phenomena are deeply intertwined, once they are related through the notion ‘clitic position’. In order to provide a unified explanation for interpolation and climbing, we follow a quantitative methodology using the *Tycho Brahe Corpus of Historical Portuguese*. Considering that clitic position reflects the category hosting the clitic, we argue that the availability of XP interpolation and of obligatory clitic climbing in Old Portuguese reflect more basic structural principles, such as V-to-Fin movement and cl-to-Force movement, which is dependent on the role of left-peripheral elements in Old Portuguese grammar. In other words, clitics could occur either in Force or in Fin, in order to mark their relative presuppositional nature with respect to different left-peripheral elements. In Classical Portuguese, we argue that XP interpolation was replaced by Neg interpolation because of the loss of V-to-Fin movement in embedded contexts, a period when clitic climbing started to reflect a number of criteria related to topicality. Finally, in Modern European Portuguese the gradual loss of Neg interpolation and the marked status of clitic climbing can be understood as consequences related to the loss of V-to-Fin movement across the board.

Keywords: Portuguese language; clitics; Diachronic Syntax

RESUMO: Estudos anteriores relataram que os fenômenos da interpolação e da subida de clíticos sofrem mudanças de acordo com três fases da história do português europeu. Neste trabalho defendemos a hipótese de que ambos os fenômenos estão profundamente interligados, sendo relacionados por meio do conceito ‘posição de clíticos’. A fim de fornecer uma explicação unificada para interpolação e subida, seguimos uma metodologia quantitativa usando o *Corpus do Português Histórico Tycho Brahe*. Considerando que a posição do clítico reflete a categoria que o hospeda, argumentamos que a disponibilidade de interpolação de XP e a subida obrigatória do clítico refletem princípios estruturais mais básicos, tais como o movimento V-para-Fin e o movimento cl-para-Force, que depende do papel dos elementos da periferia esquerda da sentença na gramática do português antigo. Em outras palavras, clíticos podiam ocorrer tanto em Force como em Fin, de tal forma a marcar sua relativa natureza pressuposicional face a elementos na periferia esquerda da sentença. No português clássico, defendemos que a interpolação de XP deu lugar à interpolação de Neg por causa da perda do movimento V-para-Fin

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em contextos encaixados, quando a subida de clíticos passa a refletir uma série de critérios relacionados à topicalidade. Finalmente, no português europeu moderno, a perda gradual da interpolação de Neg e o estatuto marcado da subida de clíticos podem ser vistos como consequências relativas à perda do movimento V-para-Fin em todos os contextos sintáticos.

Palavras-chave: língua portuguesa; clíticos; sintaxe diacrônica.

In this paper we examine the relationship between clitic interpolation and clitic climbing in the history of European Portuguese, phenomena illustrating a clitic appearing in a separate head from its thematic assigner, as in the following examples (from H-001 *1579, s.796; M-003 *1608, s.1951). All sentences are identified by text code (whose full reference can be found in the primary sources list in end of the text), by author year of birth (preceded by an asterisk '*') and by sentence number (s.):¹

- (1) a. ...*para saber o quanto **lhe** a coisa diminue ao longe.*
 ...to know the much 3SG.DAT the thing decreases to.the far.
 ‘...so as to know how much the thing decreases to him at a distance.’
- b. ...*se o devo esperar, eu o sei.*
 ...whether 3SG.M shall.1SG wait.INF, I 3SG know.
 ‘...I know whether I shall wait for him.’

We believe these two phenomena are related through the notion ‘clitic position’, which refers to the head the clitic attaches to (GALVES, TORRES MORAES AND RIBEIRO 2005). This has been adopted in other studies (NAMIUTI 2008; DE ANDRADE 2010), that have arrived at the conclusion that interpolation and climbing change according to three stages in the history of (European) Portuguese, as proposed in Galves, Namiuti and Paixão de Sousa (2006): Old, Classical and Modern, having the years 1450 and 1700 as turnpoints.

In order to further develop the idea that interpolation and climbing are deeply intertwined, we follow a quantitative methodology using a database made up from sentences obtained from the *Tycho Brahe Corpus of Historical Portuguese* (GALVES & FARIA 2010). Besides, we couch a qualitative analysis in the scope of the Principles-and-Parameters framework, and more specifically the minimalist approach for syntactic derivations (CHOMSKY 2001; 2008), besides the approach of distributed morphology (HALLE & MARANTZ 1993). More specifically, we put forward a formal approach to the diachronic change having taken place between Old Portuguese and Classical Portuguese, developing some ideas about the Force-Fin system (RIZZI 1997).

¹ For the abbreviations in glosses, he have followed the list in <http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php> with the following addenda: IMP.CL = impersonal clitic; INH.CL = inherent clitic; REFL.CL = reflexive clitic. Only inflexional information lacking in the English words was marked. The database is available for consultation in the workbook at: https://dl.dropboxusercontent.com/u/1097038/Corpus-interpolation_climbing_Port.xlsx.

The text is organised as follows. In section 1 we present the state of the art on clitic position. Section 2 presents the methodology that guided the quantitative research. Section 3 presents the discussion on the quantitative results. Section 4 then develops the qualitative analysis, following a formal approach for diachronic syntax. Finally, the conclusions are presented in section 5.

1. THE STATE OF THE ART ON CLITIC POSITION

There are a number of proposals for clitic placement in Modern European Portuguese, which can be divided into those that make use of syntactic derivations only, and those that consider postsyntactic derivations as well. According to Galves, Torres Moraes & Ribeiro (2005), all proposals reflect some kind of sensitivity to phonological information: some suppose that enclisis is a last resort operation, triggers PF properties and is derived by verb movement (cf. RAPOSO 2000); some others consider that proclisis is the marked derivation holding whenever a heavy functional word precedes the clitic, being derived by clitic movement (cf. DUARTE, MATOS & GONÇALVES 2003). Finally, Galves, Torres Moraes & Ribeiro (2005) itself assumes a view according to which enclisis is derived by some sort of postsyntactic operation affecting the clitic, which moves to the right of the verb in the path to PF (for a recent proposal explaining the specific operation taking place, cf. GALVES & SANDALO 2012 and references therein).

According to this “separationist view” on clitic placement, the role of syntax is limited to the determination of clitic position, i.e. the head the clitic attaches to. Although clitics naturally adjoin to the left of the verb (in Infl), some variable phenomena (either in cross- or intra-linguistic terms) show that clitic position may be distinct from verb position. This is the case of clitic climbing, which is available in European Portuguese, but is generally not derived in Brazilian Portuguese, where clitics usually keep adjoined to the (infinitival) verb. This can be illustrated in the following versions of *The Alchemist*, a novel by Paulo Coelho written in Brazilian Portuguese and “translated” into European Portuguese (from GALVES, TORRES MORAES & RIBEIRO 2005: 150):

- (2) a. *Por que me quis ver ? – disse o rapaz.* [Portuguese version]
 why 1SG wanted.2SG see.INF – said the boy
- b. *Por que quis me ver ? – disse o rapaz.* [Brazilian version]
 why wanted.2SG 1SG see.INF – said the boy
 ‘Why did you want to see me, asked the boy.’

Subsequently, other works have detailed the properties not only of clitic climbing, but also of clitic interpolation, thus giving a clearer picture of the notion ‘clitic position’, as we shall detail in the following.

1.1. Clitic interpolation

In clitic interpolation the clitic is not adjacent to the verb, thus appearing further to the left. Namiuti (2008) has proposed to set apart two types of interpolation: *XP interpolation* (with any XP between clitic and verb) and *Neg interpolation* (where *não* is between clitic and verb). While the former is more typical of Old Portuguese, the latter is active in Classical Portuguese texts, and these two possibilities contrast with verb-adjacent clitics (examples respectively from H-001 *1517, c.796; S-001 *1556, s.1880; H-001 *1517, s.1570):

- (3) a. ...*para saber quanto **lhe** a coisa diminui ao longe...*
 ...for know.INF how.much 3SG.DAT the thing shrinks to.the far...
 ‘... in order to know how much the thing shrinks at a distance...’
- b. ...*enquanto Vossa Reverência **lhe** não der os ditos mil...*
 ...while Your Reverence 3SG.DAT NEG give.SBJV.3SG the said thousand...
 ‘...while Your Reverence does not give him the mentioned thousand...’
- c. ...*não quero que por mi **a** percaes.*
 ...neg want that for me 3SG.F loose.2SG
 ‘I do not want that you lose it(=your faith) because of me.’

A relevant distinction between the two types of interpolation relates to their distribution: XP interpolation is typical of obligatory proclisis contexts, and more specifically of embedded clauses, whereas Neg interpolation is found both in embedded contexts and in variation contexts for clitic placement; this latter fact is illustrated in the following examples, where the clitic is preceded by a non-focused subject – cf. (4a) – and by coordinating conjunction – cf. (4b) (examples from H-001, *1517, s.104; C-007 *1542, s.252):

- (4) a. ...*mas **a** natureza **d’**ella **o** não consintio.*
 ...but the nature of.her 3SG.M not consented
 ‘but her nature did not allow it.’
- b. ...*ficou isto fazendo confusão, **e** **o** não podemos averiguar*
 ...stayed.3SG this making mess, and 3SG.M NEG can.1PL ascertain.INF
 ‘this kept making a mess, and we cannot ascertain it.’

In order to account for this variation, Namiuti (2008) proposes that XP interpolation is the result of clitic movement to C (with a further movement step to the right of the complementizer). On the other hand, Neg interpolation is the natural output from the syntax, clitic and Neg behaving as syntactic clitics to the verb.²

² Dialectal interpolation is possible in Modern European Portuguese (cf. MAGRO 2008), but it is still open to debate whether it is an innovation or an archaism.

1.2. Clitic climbing

Clitic climbing, a widespread phenomenon among pro-drop Romance languages, consists of a clitic appearing with an auxiliary or quasi-auxiliary verb in a complex predicate, although it is selected by a non-finite verb. It occurs in two constructions of Classical and Modern European Portuguese, where it is in variation with non-climbing options: “restructuring”, where V_{fin} is a (quasi-) auxiliary verb³ as in (5a); and “clause union”, where V_{fin} is a causative or a perceptive verb, with two subtypes: *Fazer*-infinitive and *Fazer-por*, as in (6a-b) (examples from H-001, *1517, s.634; M-003 *1608, s.1984; S-001 *1556, s.1053; C-007 *1542, s.1019; B-008 *1651, s.269):⁴

- (5) a. *As imagens invisíveis [...] muitas vezes as devemos de buscar...*
 the images invisible.PL [...] many times 3PL.F shall.1PL of seek.INF...
 ‘(As for) the invisible images [...] many times we shall seek them.’
- b. *...para gastar em juramentos falsos deviam de deixar-me.*
 ...for spend.INF in oaths false.PL should.3PL of leave.INF-1SG
 ‘They should leave (it [= my life]) to me only to be spent in false oaths.’
- (6) a. *... e o pão o mandava dar em grão.*
 ...and the bread 3SG.MASC make give.INF in grain
 ‘... and (as for) the bread he made give it in grain...’
- b. *[o Governador] as mandou actualmente tomar por Dom Garcia de Castro...*
 [the Governor] 3PL.FEM had actually occupy.INF by D. Garcia de Castro...
 ‘[the Governor] had D. Garcia de Castro actually occupy them(=the land)’
- c. *Quere o Embaixador [...] fazer esperá-lo ...*
 wants.3SG the Embassador... make.INF wait.INF-3SG ...
 ‘The Embassador wants (to)... make (him) wait for him.’

The difference between the options in (6a-b) regards the level of demotion of the causee: while in *Fazer*-infinitive it is realised as an accusative or dative argument (depending on the transitivity of the embedded verb), in *Fazer-por* the argument is downgraded to an adjunct (*por Dom Garcia de Castro*) or is completely removed from the structure. Besides, (6c) is attributed to a different structure called *Exceptional Case Marking*, once the causee (the embedded subject) is Case-licensed by the matrix verb.

³ A verb expressing any of the following notions: mood, aspect or tense. In the case of *bona fide* auxiliary verbs (forming compound tenses with a participle or a gerund), climbing is obligatory in Classical Portuguese, and still is in Modern European Portuguese (cf. DE ANDRADE 2010; BRITO, DUARTE & MATOS 2003, respectively).

⁴ Cf. de Andrade (2010) and references therein for the choice of the terms “restructuring” and “clause union”. Similar terms to *Fazer*-infinitive and *Fazer-por* were first coined in Kayne (1975) to refer to the respective French constructions.

In this context, de Andrade (2010) has proposed that the infinitive verb projects a reduced structure, and climbing results from clitic movement to Infl (which is only projected in the domain of the auxiliary or quasi-auxiliary verb). He has also pointed out that somehow climbing is connected to interpolation, given the following list of trends corresponding to the three stages of Portuguese marked to the right:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| (7) a. Old Portuguese | <i>XP interpolation</i> <i>Obligatory climbing</i> |
| b. Classical Portuguese | <i>Neg interpolation</i> <i>Unmarked climbing</i> |
| c. Modern Portuguese | <i>Cl-V adjacency</i> <i>Marked climbing</i> |

However, a detailed explanation of this relation has not been provided so far. It is this investigation that we intend to tackle in the present paper.

2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY

From the previous presentation, we arrive at the following research question: *Can we provide a unified explanation for interpolation and climbing?* In order to answer it, we propose the following questions related to interpolation and climbing:

- (i) Do they really change in similar moments?
- (ii) Which syntactic positions are activated?

We have studied the first question by means of a systematic comparison of both phenomena on the same texts. To this end, we have queried 18 texts from the *Tycho Brahe Corpus of Historical Portuguese* (GALVES & FARIA 2010), most of them available in Part-of-Speech versions, by means of the software *CorpusSearch 2* (cf. RANDALL 2005).⁵ The texts are distributed in the following way: 2 from Old Portuguese, 10 from Classical Portuguese, and 8 from Modern European Portuguese. The texts are classified according to the author's year of birth, and span from the 14th century till the 19th century, thus giving a clear picture of change in both aspects.

⁵ The oldest text by Fernão Lopes (L-002 *1380) was manually searched, due to lack of a revised Part-of-Speech version. For this text, references to specific examples point to chapter number (ch.) instead of sentence number (s.).

In order to answer the second question, we have conducted a separate multivariate study on clitic interpolation in one Old Portuguese text, because this could show where it was sensitive to pragmatic criteria, similarly to what had been already observed for clitic climbing. In this step the data included variation contexts for clitic interpolation, i.e. those where intervening elements separate a complementiser or similar element from the embedded verb. We have not included data from non-finite contexts, with passive or impersonal *se* and with a sequence of three verbs.⁶ Some of the data are repeated for the two phenomena because they involve both interpolation and climbing, as in (8) (from L-002, *1380 ch. 45):

- (8) *receando-se que os nam fossem roubar...*
 fearing-REFL.CL that 3PL.M NEG go.SBJV.3PL steal.INF
 ‘by fearing that they would not steal them.’

3. DIACHRONIC SHIFTS IN CLITIC POSITION

The temporal distribution of the two types of interpolation is shown in Figure 1, where XP interpolation can be found in texts by authors born up to the 16th century, where the phenomenon functions much as a remnant of a previous grammar where this phenomenon was the rule.

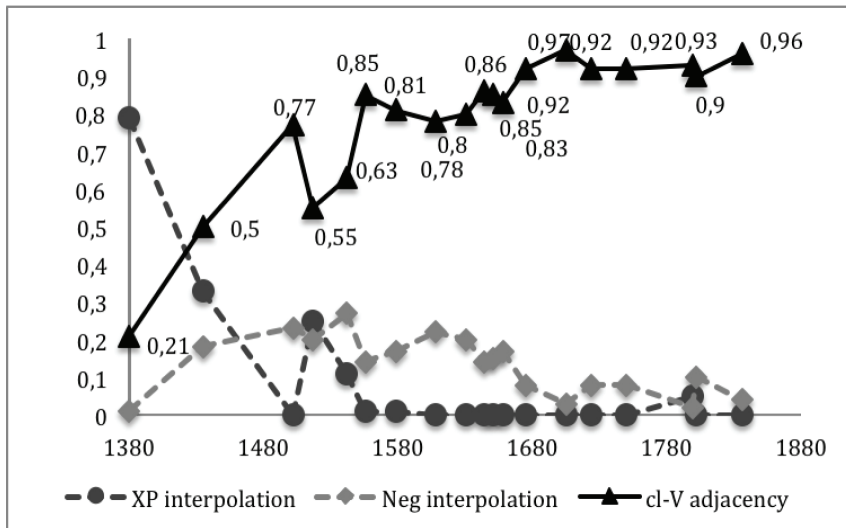


Figure 1. Clitic adjacency and two types of clitic interpolation in CIP tagged texts.

⁶ The last two selection criteria are intended to create a more homogeneous database. The decision on clitic *se* was based on the fact that impersonal *se* seems to be generated upstairs (cf. Brazilian Portuguese data such as *Isso não se pode prever* ‘One cannot foresee that’), because in all other contexts clitic climbing is unnatural; besides, passive and impersonal *se* are very hard to distinguish.

Taking a more detailed view on the data leads us to notice that the real Old Portuguese grammar is found in the first text by Fernão Lopes (L-002 *1380), where XP interpolation is the unmarked option. Already in Duarte Galvão's text (G-009 *1435) there is a transition, in that XP interpolation, Neg interpolation and clitic-verb adjacency show a balanced distribution.

The difference between Classical and Modern European Portuguese relates to the relative frequency of Neg interpolation: while it varies from about 10% to 20% in Classical Portuguese, variation ranges from 0% to 10% in Modern European Portuguese. Notice though that this is a significant difference: in most of the texts written by authors born after 1700, there is less than 5% of Neg interpolation, an amount that can be classified as a remnant of an older grammar, once it is inside the threshold of statistical significance.

Now, consider the results for clitic climbing in “restructuring” and “clause union” contexts in Figure 2. It is clear that the latter data set did not change significantly: in all the texts, “clause union” represents at least 90% of the results, the rest representing cases of Exceptional Case Marking (ECM). This may be a consequence of the fact that together with the firm cases of “clause union” we have included the ambiguous data between “clause union” and ECM, which are numerous in some texts.

Focusing now on the “restructuring” data, the results once again point at first glance to a change in the 16th century, but this is misleading. Whereas in the texts written by authors born after 1450 (the beginning of the Classical Portuguese period) non-climbing occurs in different contexts as in (9), all cases of non-climbing in 1380 occur with inflected verbs selecting a preposition *a* or *de*, which could be analysed as a complementiser, as shown in (10) (examples from G-008, *1502 s.796; L-002, *1380 ch.23):

(9) ...*porque não costumam dá-la a nenhum cativo*
 ...because NEG use give.INF-3SG.F to no captive
 ‘...because they do not usually give it no any captive’

(10) ...*as gentes, porém, não leixavam de o seguir*
 ...the peoples, however, NEG stop.PAST.3PL of 3SG.M follow.INF
 ‘...the peoples, however, did not stop following him.’

If the force of parallelism to a developed embedded clause is taken into account for the analysis of examples such as (10) (cf. WANNER 1982), non-climbing is virtually inexistent in the Old Portuguese texts studied; besides, they represent less than 5% of the cases.⁷

⁷ Another type of exception involving non-climbing found in Duarte Galvão's text (G-009 *1435) is found with the verb *vir*, which varies between a basic movement usage and a grammaticalised usage indicating aspect.

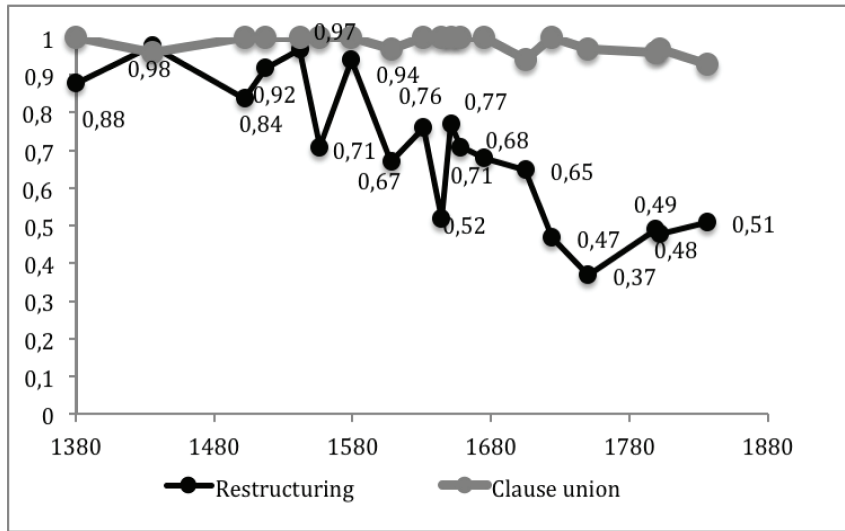


Figure 2. Clitic climbing in two complex predicate types in CIP tagged texts.

As for the difference between Classical and Modern European Portuguese, where climbing was variable, one notices a high variability between authors in the first stage, whereas variation between texts is more stable in the second stage. Besides that, climbing is unmarked in Classical Portuguese, because it shows more than 50% (reaching sometimes almost 100%) of the cases, whereas it is marked in Modern Portuguese, where it varies between about 30% and 50%.

These results from the same texts show that, as it had been pointed out above, clitic interpolation and clitic climbing change in similar moments, which coincides with the periods proposed in Galves, Namiuti & Paixão de Sousa (2005). Now, we should enquire whether the similar dynamics between these phenomena stems from a more basic structural relationship.

4. THE VARIATION IN CLITIC INTERPOLATION IN OLD PORTUGUESE

Before we address our second question related to clitic position (i.e. which syntactic positions are activated), we must look more deeply at the nature of variation in clitic interpolation in Old Portuguese.⁸ This is so because XP interpolation did

⁸ We have only selected examples from finite contexts. However, notice that interpolation is also possible in non-finite contexts, where the clitic moves to the head where the prepositional complementizer sits:

- (i) *...que tinha ordenado de o cedo oferecer à morte*
 ...that had.3SG commanded of 3SG.M early offer.INF to.the death
 '...that he had commanded to offer him (very) early to death.'

not apply categorically even in this period, and because it can help us identify the sort of processes that led to the purportedly related shifts in clitic climbing and clitic interpolation. To this end we have worked only with Fernão Lopes's text *Crônica de Dom João I* (L-002 *1380), which is more representative of Old Portuguese.⁹ We have considered clitic position as the dependent variable, the variants being clitic interpolation and clitic adjacency. The independent variables considered were: (i) the informational value of the preverbal XP (possibly or effectively interpolated); (ii) the grammatical function of clitics; (iii) clausal type, and (iv) subject position. However, from these four factor groups, only the first two were kept, a choice that raised remarkably the significance level while still keeping the first group in the variation model.

Once the cases involving stylistic fronting show categorical interpolation, we have ignored them for the counting. We have run a multivariate analysis in *Goldvarb X* (cf. SANKOFF, TAGLIAMONTE & SMITH 2005) and the results, presented in Table 1, have pointed out the relevance of factor group (i) only. For it, we have classified the possibly interpolated material (between the complementiser/relative pronoun and verb) according to its informational value (cf. KRIFKA 2007 for the notion of 'delimiter' and FRASCARELLI & HINTERHÖLZL 2007 for different types of topics) into the following factors: delimiters (or frame-setting topics); shifting topics; contrastive topics/foci; continuing topics, and informational foci. Regarding the second factor group, we have considered the following grammatical functions: dative clitics; accusative clitics, and inherent or reflexive clitics. The latter decision was previously identified as relevant for this kind of study in de Andrade (2010: 72ss).

Table 1. Multivariate analyses of the contribution of internal factors selected as significant to the probability of clitic interpolation; factor groups not selected as significant in square brackets

Fernão Lopes's <i>Crônica de Dom João I</i>			
Corrected mean			.813
Log likelihood			-55.906
Total N			153
	<i>Factor weight</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>
Informational value: preverbal XP			
Shifting Topics	.80	94.6	37
Contrastive Topics/Foci	.65	89.2	74
Informational Foci	.31	66.7	9
Delimiters	.06	22.2	9
Familiar Topics	.05	20.8	24
Grammatical function: clitic			
Dative	[]	81.1	53
Accusative	[]	74.1	54
Inherent/Reflexive	[]	67.4	46

⁹ Whenever only the chapter information is informed, please assume that the respective example was selected from Fernão Lopes's text. Its examples are presented in modernised form.

As already mentioned, the table shows that only the informational value of the XP is relevant to explain the variation, not the grammatical function of the clitic, although the percents in the latter factor group follow the expected order.¹⁰ We analyse the results in the following.

First, consider the data where the preverbal XP is a verbal argument. They show the following distribution: shifting topics and contrastive (topics)/foci generally trigger interpolation, whereas continuing topics and informational foci don't (examples respectively from ch. 43, ch. 7, ch. 21, and ch. 8):¹¹

- (11) a. ...*começaram de ver aquilo, que lhe a rainha escreveu.*
 ...started.3PL of see.INF that.N, that 3SG.DAT the queen wrote.3SG
 '...that (thing) that the queen wrote him.'
- b. ...*quem se a tal feito houvesse d'aventurar...*
 ...whoever INH.CL to such deed shoud.3SG of-adventure.INF...
 '...whoever should adventure him/(her)self into such deed...'
- (12) a. ...*ca **eles** o queriam tomar por Senhor*
 ...once they 3SG.M wanted take.INF by Master
 '...once they(the people from the city) wanted to take him as (their) master.'
- b. *e se **algã** cousa se receava em vida d'el-rei Dom Fernando...*
 and if some thing IMP.CL feared.3SG in life of-the-king Don Fernando...
 'and if something was feared during the life of king Don Fernando...'

On the other hand, adjuncts show a greater variability between interpolation and the lack of it, and this seems to be a consequence of their ambiguity between delimiters or contrastive foci. As a rule of thumb, adverbs modifying the whole proposition were classified as delimiters, such as *ligeiramente* ('rapidly') and *largamente* ('largely') (examples respectively from ch. 6 and ch. 33):

- (13) a. ...*aqueles que tem tal honra, e estado, que **ligeiramente** o podem fazer.*
 ...those that have such honour, and state, that rapidly 3SG.M can.3PL do.INF
 '...those that have so much honour and state, that they can rapidly do it.'
- b. ...*quem **largamente** o quiser ver, busque o livro da linagem...*
 ...whoever largely 3SG.M want.3SG see.INF, search the book of.the lineage...
 '...whoever largely wants to see him, (should) search in the book of lineage...'

On the other hand, aspectual adverbs (which still trigger proclisis in contemporary European Portuguese) and locatives are usually interpolated, because they seem to presuppose a contrastive reading, unlike *bona fide* delimiters (examples respectively from ch. 63 and ch. 26):

¹⁰ It may be the case that the results on grammatical depend on a higher number of tokens. Only future work may verify this possibility.

¹¹ For the following examples, material that is effectively interpolated is underlined, whereas material that could be interpolated is boldfaced.

- (14) a. ...*que lhe já Martim Affonso de Melo tinha dado*
 ...that 3SG.DAT already Martim Affonso de Melo had.3SG given.PTCP
 ‘...that Martim Affonso de Melo had already given it to him.’
- b. ...*não me pesa, doutra cousa, que me lá ficasse*
 ...NEG 1SG.DAT regret, of.another thing, that 1SG.DAT there stayed.SBJV.3SG
 ‘...I don’t regret anything else, that stayed there for me.’

A noticeable exception to the generalisation linking aspectual adverbs to contrastive foci relates to the behaviour of *nunca* (‘never’), which is never found interpolated. More interestingly, such adverbs can trigger partial interpolation, which is similar to Neg interpolation but where the interpolated material is different from negation (examples respectively from ch. 36 and ch. 40):

- (15) a. ...*ca ele nunca se doutros contentava...*
 ...once he never REFL.CL of.others contented.3SG...
 ‘...once he never contented himself with other people...’
- b. ...*que nunca lhe bem quisera...*
 ...that never 3SG.DAT good wanted.3SG...
 ‘...that (she) never wished him well...’

This can be shown to be an apparent exception, if *nunca* depends on the linguistic context in order to delimit the time span of negation (cf. WRIGHT 2012 for an investigation comparing the semantics of English *never* and *not yet*). In this sense, the pair *nunca/sempr*e (‘never’/ ‘always’) must be deemed informationally distinct. However, more investigation about this discrepancy must be done in order to confirm this hypothesis.

Now consider the cases with stylistic fronting, i.e. the movement of a lexical verb before the position where the auxiliary verb is found. Notice that, interestingly, all cases where with stylistic fronting is taking place trigger XP interpolation, suggesting that the preverbal subject *Deus* (‘God’) moves together with the infinitive *dar* in (13a) (examples respectively from ch. 6 and ch. 11):

- (16) a. ...*poendo-me à ventura, que me [Deus dar] quisera.*
 ...putting-INH.CL to.the chance, that 1SG.DAT God give wanted.3SG
 ‘...as I left myself to the chance that Gof wanted to give me.’
- b. *Dizey [...] que Deus me guarde de mal...*
 tell [...] that God 1SG keep of evil...
 ‘Tell [...] that may God keep me from evil...’

Embedded vP movement including the infinitive was put forward in de Andrade & Fischer (to appear), in view of the fact that even subcategorised prepositions can move to the pre-finite verb position (example from LOPES 2004[1436~1443] in DE ANDRADE & FISCHER to appear):

- (17) ... *entregou as terras que lhe [de dar] avia*
 ... handed.3SG the lands that 3SG.DAT of give.INF had.3SG
 ‘...(he) handed the lands that he would give him (anyway).’

Following Fischer’s (2010) analysis for stylistic fronting (SF), the authors maintain that this phenomenon has a focus/foregrounding function. Once the SF-ed constituent codifies a narrow focus domain, the clitic cannot stay inside it, because it is an inherently presupposed element. A natural consequence of this fact is that the clitic may move independently to a higher head in the left periphery.¹²

Unlike with clitic climbing, clitic topicality (indirectly ascertained from its grammatical function) seems to be not relevant at all to explain the occurrence of clitic interpolation. Related to that, in many of the relevant examples with clitic-verb adjacency showing inherent or reflexive clitics, which are less topical, can also be explained from the information status of the preverbal XP (example from ch. 30):

- (18) ...*e porque as gentes desta vila se levantaram antes desto...*
 ...and because the peoples of.this village INH.CL got.up.3PL before of.this...
 ‘...and because the people of this village got up before this...’

In this example, *as gentes desta vila* (‘the people of this village’) is a continuing topic because it is coreferent to *os da cidade* (‘those of the city’), present in the context.

In sum, the results relating to Fernão Lopes’s use of XP interpolation suggest that the phenomenon is sensitive to the information status of the preverbal XP constituent, in that more topical constituents are more likely interpolated, similarly to what has been noticed for clitic climbing. However, the grammatical function of the clitic is not clearly significant for interpolation, thus showing that there are differences between the distribution of the two phenomena.

5. A FORMAL ANALYSIS RELATING INTERPOLATION AND CLIMBING

In this section, we try to grasp the similarities and differences relating clitic interpolation and clitic climbing. In order to do so, we adopt the following representation for the left periphery of Old Portuguese, adapting ideas from Rizzi’s (1997) and Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl’s (2007) models:¹³

¹² This movement may be string-vacuous. The authors propose that indeed the availability of stylistic fronting is inter-related to obligatory clitic climbing, thus offering an alternative proposal to the one presented here, developed in terms of phi-features. We leave the connexion between that pragmatic approach and the syntactic approach shown here for future work.

¹³ We have used the term ‘continuing topic’ instead of ‘familiar topic’ because the latter does not reflect the changes argument structure from Old/Classical Portuguese into Modern European Portuguese, once in the former there was no clear position for subjects. Cf. Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007: 111ff) for this kind of solution. We interpret that their familiar topics correspond to (older) shifting topics and co-occurrence issues are dealt with by means of the category ‘delimiter’.

- (19) $[_{\text{ForceP}} \text{Comp}_1 [_{\text{DclimP}} \text{Delimiter} [_{\text{TopicP}} \text{ShiftingTopic}_{\text{[±CONTRAST]}}$
 $[_{\text{FocusP}} \text{Focus}_{\text{[±CONTRAST]}}, [_{\text{FinP}} \text{ScrambledXP Verb} [_{\text{Tp}} \text{ContinuingTopic} \dots$

In this representation, COMP_1 stands for the position where complementisers are generated in Old Portuguese (relative pronouns are inserted in the adjacent Spec,ForceP). Notice that, according to Ribeiro & Torres Morais (2012), recomplementation (doubling-*que*) in Old Portuguese is a consequence of the filling up of Force and Fin in the same embedded clause. They also propose that three strategies are available crosslinguistically for the licensing of Fin: V-to-Fin; Fin-to-Force or merge of *que*₂ (either overt or covert) in Fin. Based on a number of supporting evidence, they consider that V-to-Fin is the strategy chosen in most Old Portuguese embedded clauses, merge of *que*₂ being possible in some cases, though.

We suppose that this choice is formally explained by the presence of a V-feature in Fin during the Old Portuguese period.¹⁴ Being also a phase head, Fin^0 keeps its phi-feature, which is responsible for clitic climbing (cf. ROBERTS 2010). We propose, besides, that Force^0 could duplicate this uninterpretable phi-feature bundle, thus leading to clitic interpolation.

According to Namiuti (2008), the clitic was able to move up to C in the syntax, and went through prosodic inversion to the right of C in the postsyntactic component, as in the derivations below, where C is replaced by Force:

- (20) a. $[_{\text{ForceP}} \text{cl-C} \quad [_{\text{FinP}} \text{cl-V-Fin-T} \dots]]$ (*syntactic derivation*)
 b. $[_{\text{ForceP}} \text{cl-C=C} \quad [_{\text{FinP}} \text{V-Fin-T} \dots]]$ (*morphological derivation*)

A piece of evidence for this high position of the clitic is the availability of contraction between some prepositional complementisers and clitics, as shown in (21) (from MARTINS 1994: 222):

- (21) *Poila o seu esposo non leixasse...*
 for+3SG.F the her husband NEG leave.SBJV.3SG
 ‘For her husband did not leave her...’

In this context, clitic climbing was obligatory because there was no context where it could be “trapped” inside a lower phase domain. In this sense, we adopt Den Dikken’s (2007) proposal of phase extension, where phase domains are defined by the projection to which the verb moves.

On the other hand, for Classical Portuguese Antonelli (2011) argues that the active strategy for the licensing of Fin^0 is either Fin-to-Force (whenever there is a null complementiser) or merge of *que*₂ (normally a covert complementiser). We represent this latter position as COMP_2 below. Consequently, the verb in embedded contexts must occur lower, in T (cf. ANTONELLI 2011). In our system this is derived by the lack of the erstwhile obligatory V-feature in Fin:

¹⁴ The lack of V2 effects in many sentences can be explained by the rich left periphery, together with the fact that the respective movements are not required by the formal features, but by criterial features (ANTONELLI 2011).

(22) [_{ForceP} **Comp**₁ [_{DelimP} *Delimiter* [_{TopicP} *ShiftingTopic* [_{±CONTRAST}]

[_{FocusP} *Focus* [_{+CONTRAST}]] [_{FinP} **Comp**₂ [_{TP} *ContinuingTopic (=subject) Verb ...*

In this context, only Neg interpolation is possible, and clitic climbing becomes optional because it depends on the occurrence of a phi-feature in Infl, marking its role as a *secondary topic*, understood as “an entity such that the utterance is construed to be about the relationship between it and the primary topic” (NIKOLAEVA 2001: 26). Notice that Fin⁰ is not a phase head in this stage and does not have phi-features.

According to Namiuti (2008), Neg interpolation is derived from a series of syntactic movements involving the X⁰ elements clitic and *não* and the complex head formed by clitic, *não* and verb, in the following way: (i) *não* moves from Adv⁰ to the verbal head, due to its clitic status; (ii) the clitic moves to the complex head *não-V* (cf. NAMIUTI, GALVES & SANDALO 2011).¹⁵ The derivation below illustrates the case where the whole complex head moves to Fin:

(23) The derivation of clitic-*não-V*

- a. [_{FinP} Fin [_{TP} [V+T] [_{AdvP} *não* [_{vP} ... cl]]]] ® [*não* moves]
- b. [_{FinP} Fin [_{TP} *não*+ [V+T]] [_{AdvP} *não* [_{vP} ... cl]]]] ® [*cl* moves]
- c. [_{FinP} Fin [_{TP} cl+ [*não*+ [V+T]]] [_{AdvP} *não* [_{vP} ... cl]]]] ® [*cl-neg-V* moves]
- d. [_{FinP} [cl+ [*não*+ [V+T]]] + Fin [_{TP} cl+ *não*+ V+T] [_{AdvP} *não* [_{vP} ... cl]]]]]

Therefore, clitic adjacency is the result of a morphological process, adjusting the position of the clitic to the right of *não*.

An implication of the proposal on Old/Classical Portuguese presented further above is that XP interpolation should be impossible in doubling-*que* clauses, a restriction that, up to our knowledge, was not mentioned before. This forecast is explained from the fact that phi- and V-features are lacking in Fin⁰ (and, by hypothesis, also in Force⁰); thus the clitic cannot move further up. This is indeed obtained in the texts we have consulted, there being just one case of Neg interpolation, shown below (from H-001 *1517 s.846):

(24) ...*também lhes responderei que, quando mais me deleitava desta*
 ...also 3SG.DAT answer.FUT.1SG that, when more INH.CL delighted.1SG of this
ciência e arte, que me não ficou talhar ao borril
 science and art, that 1SG.DAT NEG remained.3SG grave.INF to.the chisel
em lâmina de cobre...
 in blade of copper

‘I will also answer them that, when I delighted more in this science and art, it was not left to me (even) engraving [with a chisel] in a copper blade...’

¹⁵ In Namiuti (2008), the proposed structure is simpler, where the verb sits in Σ, a functional head between C and T encoding polarity (cf. also MARTINS 1994).

In this clause, Neg interpolation interacts nicely with recomplementation because verb and clitic share the same position, in Infl, unlike with XP interpolation.

6. CONCLUSION

We have intended to show that the preference for proclisis on the one hand, and the availability of XP interpolation and of obligatory clitic climbing are different consequences of more basic structural principles, such as V-to-Fin movement in Old Portuguese, which is dependent on the role of left-peripheral elements in this grammar.

Clitic position reflects the category hosting the clitic. In Old Portuguese, the clitic could occur either in Force or in Fin, depending on the occurrence of left-peripheral elements, thus making necessary to mark the clitic's more presuppositional nature with respect to these elements somehow. In Classical Portuguese, XP interpolation was replaced by Neg interpolation because of the loss of V-to-Fin movement in embedded contexts; by then clitic climbing started to reflect a number of criteria related to topicality. Finally, in Modern European Portuguese the gradual loss of Neg interpolation and the marked status of clitic climbing can be seen as further consequences of the loss of V-to-Fin movement.

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