

HISTORY OF  
PORTUGUESE PASSIVES AND IMPERSONALS

by

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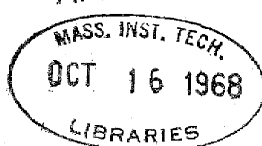
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History of Portuguese Passives and Impersonals

Anthony J. Naro

Submitted to the Department of Modern Languages and  
Linguistics on August 1, 1968 in partial fulfillment  
of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

In this thesis the diachronic syntax of the passive voice and related constructions in Portuguese are studied and from the results of this study certain conclusions about the nature of linguistic change are drawn. The first chapter, which is meant to be introductory, treats the synchronic syntax of the modern ser-passive, the modern se-passive and the modern se-impersonal in Portuguese. In the second chapter the diachronic syntax of these same constructions from the twelfth to the seventeenth century is discussed. The third chapter concerns the conclusions which may be drawn from the data of the second chapter, principally the dependence of linguistic change on phenomena outside grammar proper.

Thesis supervisor: R. P. V. Kiparsky  
Title: Assistant Professor of Linguistics

Apenas a gramática é mais do que  
bastante para nos enfastiar durante  
toda nossa vida.

-Erasmus de Rotterdam  
Elogio da Loucura

## BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The author was born on November 12, 1942 in Nashville, Tennessee. After attending Stuyvesant High School in New York, he studied pure mathematics at the Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn, graduating with honors in 1963. He held Corporation and NSF scholarships in the Departments of Mathematics and Chemistry, was a Reader in the Department of Mathematics, an Assistant in the Department of Modern Languages and completed a summer course at the University of Salzburg. Upon receiving his B. Sc. he was awarded Woodrow Wilson, NDEA and NIH Fellowships for study at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where he was also a teaching assistant. He spent one year at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro and studied Portuguese and Arabic at Harvard University in addition to his studies at MIT.

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## Chapter One

### Synchronic Syntax of the Passives and the Impersonal

Constructions of the type

1. vende-se esta casa this house for sale  
have long been the subject of heated disputes among  
the philologists. Since such constructions are  
generally considered to involve the reflexive pro-  
noun se it is appropriate to discuss the true  
reflexive before discussing ex. 1 itself.

#### 1.1 The True Reflexive<sup>1</sup>

In the case of transitive verbs like lavar,  
to wash, the subject may either execute an action  
upon itself or upon an entity distinct from itself.  
Thus one finds:

2i. eu lavei êle → eu lavei-o (a êle)<sup>2</sup>

2ii. êle lavou eu → êle lavou-me (a mim)

and

3i. eu lavei eu → eu lavei-me (a mim mesmo)

3ii. êle lavou êle → êle lavou-se (a si mesmo)

where in exs. 3 the subject and object pronouns  
refer to the same person. However, if the two  
occurrences of êle in ex. 3ii were understood as  
referring to different individuals one would have:

4. êle lavou êle → êle lavou-o (a êle)

In order to differentiate cases like ex. 3ii from ex. 4 it is necessary to introduce a system of subscripts<sup>3</sup>. Thus, let all nouns having the same subscript, say  $i$ , have the same reference and those having different subscripts, say  $k \neq i$ , have different reference:

Maricota <sub>$i$</sub>  and ela <sub>$i$</sub>  refer to the same person

Maricota <sub>$j$</sub>  and ela <sub>$k$</sub>  refer to different people

In this notation exs. 3ii and 4 are, respectively:

$\hat{e}le_i$  lavou  $\hat{e}le_i$   $\longrightarrow$   $\hat{e}le_i$  lavou-se <sub>$i$</sub>  (a si <sub>$i$</sub>  mesmo)

$\hat{e}le_j$  lavou  $\hat{e}le_k$   $\longrightarrow$   $\hat{e}le_j$  lavou-o <sub>$k$</sub>  (a  $\hat{e}le_k$ )

Notice, however, that any reasonable grammar

which generates sentences of the form:

$ela_i$  lava  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{João} \\ \text{os pratos} \\ \text{eu} \\ \text{você} \\ \text{ela}_k \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \longrightarrow \\ \longrightarrow \\ \longrightarrow \end{array} \begin{array}{l} \text{ela lava-me} \\ \text{ela lava-o} \\ \text{ela}_i \text{ lava-a}_k \end{array}$

she <sub>$i$</sub>  washes  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{John} \\ \text{the dishes} \\ \text{me} \\ \text{you} \\ \text{her}_k \end{array} \right\}$

will also generate

5.  $ela_i$  lava  $ela_i$   $\longrightarrow$  \*  $ela_i$  lava-a <sub>$i$</sub>

since, apart from this case, there is no reason to make such rules sensitive to reference subscripts.



In the second clause the reflexive can refer only to the subject of the second clause (rapaz<sub>j</sub>) and the non-reflexive can refer only to the subject of the first clause (Maricota<sub>i</sub>). Thus, in English and modern Portuguese, reflexivization occurs only between nouns which are in the same proposition<sup>5</sup>, although this restriction is known to be invalid for some languages, such as Polish and Latin, in certain cases. Thus, for some languages, tó must be restricted to operate only when both occurrences of NP<sub>i</sub> are dominated by exactly the same occurrences of S. Both medieval and classical Portuguese, unlike Latin have this restriction.

The emphatic long forms, enclosed in brackets in exs. 2 and 3, are derived by transformation from the deep object:

9.        NP    V    NP  
                +anim
- 1    2    3
- 1    2    3    a    3  
                + pro

Thus, for example, one has

eu beijei o João    —————>    eu beijei-o (ao João)  
 I kissed John                            John, I kissed him

It is clearly preferable to derive the long forms by

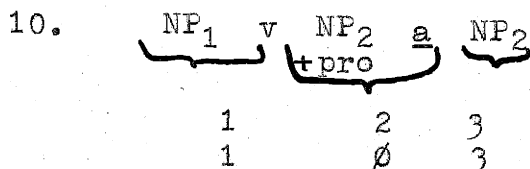
a transformation like t9 rather than generating them directly in the base since in the latter case one would have to give ad hoc restrictions to account for the absence of forms like

\*eu beijei-o (a elas)

\*tu beijaste-as (a ti)

and so on.

In archaic, but not modern, Portuguese there is also a late rule (after case-marking) which optionally deletes the original pronoun and the preposition a, leaving behind the deep object in the prepositional (rather than accusative) case:



Thus, in the old language there are derivations like:

- 11i      eu lavei tu
- eu lavei tu a tu            t9
- eu lavei tu a tu            case-marking
- +acc +prep
- eu lavei tu            t10
- +prep

which gives

eu lavei ti.

In case the subject and object have the same reference

t6 will also apply:

11ii.	êle <sub>i</sub>	lavou	êle <sub>i</sub>		
	êle <sub>i</sub>	lavou	êle <sub>i</sub>		t6
			+ reflex		
	êle <sub>i</sub>	lavou	êle <sub>i</sub>	a	êle <sub>i</sub>
			+ reflex		+ reflex
					t9
	êle <sub>i</sub>	lavou	êle <sub>i</sub>	a	êle <sub>i</sub>
			+ reflex		+ reflex
			+ acc		+ prep
					<u>case-marking</u>
	êle <sub>i</sub>	lavou	êle <sub>i</sub>		t10
			+ reflex		
			+ prep		

which gives

êle lavou si mesmo.

Derivations like 11i and 11ii account for the presence in the old language of sentences of the following types:

12i.	Bíblia/212	assy como ( <u>eu</u> ) matey <u>eles</u> just as I killed them
	Graal/51r	E <u>galuam</u> saluou <u>ella</u> And Galvam greeted her
	Graal/63v	q̃ ( <u>tu</u> ) mates <u>m̃</u> that you kill me
12ii.	Boosco/cxliii	& per esto ( <u>eu</u> ) entendi <u>mi meesmo</u> & through this I understood myself
	Boosco/lvii	E depouys que ( <u>tu</u> ) conhoçeres <u>ty meesmo</u> And after you have met yourself
	Orto/193-37	( <u>elle</u> ) fere <u>ssy meesmo</u> he wounds himself
	Aves/XI-2	mais ( <u>elles</u> ) amã <u>si meesmos</u> but they love themselves

Boosco/cxxv

& (ella) hordena si meesma  
and she ordains herself

Lenda/28-7

e (ellas) enganassẽ si meesmas  
and they deceive themselves

## 1.2 Reflexive Passives

### 1.2.1 The Passive - Impersonal Distinction

In constructions of the type of ex. 1 the verb may agree in number with the deep object. Thus, if casa is replaced by its plural, casas, there are two possibilities:

13a. vende-se estas casas

these houses for sale

13b. vendem-se estas casas

The form in which the verb agrees with its logical object, ex. 13b, is in general preferred by the grammarians although both types are accepted by speakers, ex. 13a being slightly preferred.<sup>6</sup>

Normative grammarians, who want to rule out ex. 13a on the grounds that it is a corruption of ex. 13b, consider the former to be a variant of the latter in which agree has not been applied. More recently grammarians have come to recognize two constructions, at least in some cases.<sup>7</sup> Thus, while ex. 13a is still viewed with suspicion, it is admitted as an example of "impersonalization" while ex. 13b is called "passivization". The former is

said to extend to occurrences with intransitive verbs, such as

assim se vai aos astros  
thus one goes to the heavens

which could not, of course, be said to be passive in the usual sense.

In generative terms, asserting that exs. 13 a and b are "variants of the same construction" amounts to claiming that both are derived by the same transformation, se-formation, from (roughly) the same deep structure and that the difference in number agreement is due to failure to apply the ordinary agreement transformation. Since casas is clearly the object in the deep structure this means that it will have to switch to subject at some point so that agree may (or may not) apply to derive ex. 13b (or ex. 13a).

Although I am unable to completely rule out a derivation of this sort, such a solution seems unlikely. Thus, it has been observed<sup>8</sup> that ordinarily nouns within relative clauses which are themselves subjects cannot be relativized while those which are in object clauses may be relativized:

mencionaram que ela usou o chapéu  
they mentioned that she wore the hat

eu vi o chapéu que mencionaram que ela usou  
I saw the hat that they mentioned that she wore



but not

que ela usou o chapéu foi mencionado  
that she wore the hat was mentioned

\* eu vi o chapéu que que ela usou foi mencionado  
mencionado  
(I saw the hat that that she wore  
was mentioned)

nor (with inversion, the Portuguese version of  
extra-position)

foi mencionado que ela usou o chapéu  
it was mentioned that she wore the hat

\* eu vi o chapéu que foi mencionado que  
ela usou  
(I saw the hat that it was mentioned  
that she wore)

In the first case the noun chapéu may be relativized  
because it is in a clause que ela usou o chapéu which  
is the object of mencionar. In the second case it  
is the subject of this same verb and cannot there-  
fore suffer relativization. Notice then that relat-  
ivization is permitted with the se-construction:

crê-se que ela usou o chapéu  
it is believed that she wore the hat

eu vi o chapéu que crê-se que ela usou  
I saw the hat that it is believed that  
she wore.

This shows that que ela usou o chapéu, which is the  
deep object of crêr, is still the object of the se-  
construction (crêr-se), at least at the point when  
the relative clause formation rule applies. How-  
ever, as D. M. Perlmutter<sup>9</sup> has shown, relative may

well be post-cyclical so that it would follow agree, as has in fact been assumed in most generative treatments. But since, as was seen above, the deep object must have switched to subject before agree, this is impossible. Thus, it seems clear that the two se-constructions are not a single construction with optional agreement but rather must be viewed as two separate constructions. Other features which differentiate exs. 13 a and b will be discussed later.

Nevertheless, the constructions do seem to have the same (deleted) deep subject. Although neither construction may have an expressed agent:

\* vende-se casas por alguém  
(houses for sale by someone)

\* vendem-se estas casas pelo dono  
(these houses for sale by the owner),

there is in both a strong intuition that a human logical subject is to be understood.<sup>10</sup> Correspondingly neither se-construction may be used with verbs that do not admit human subjects:

\* alguém implica as teorias de Einstein  
(somebody implies Einstein's theories)

estas teorias implicam as teorias de Einstein  
these theories imply Einstein's theories

\* implica-se (or\* implicam-se) as teorias de Einstein  
(Einstein's theories are implied)

\* alguém chove muito no Rio  
(somebody rains a lot in Rio)

chove muito no Rio  
it rains a lot in Rio

\* chove-se muito no rio  
(one rains a lot in Rio)

\* alguém mugiu no quintal  
(somebody mooed in the yard)

a vaca mugiu no quintal  
the cow mooed in the yard

\* mugiu-se no quintal  
(one mooed in the yard).

\* alguém transcorreu  
(somebody elapsed)

duas horas transcorreram  
two hours elapsed

\* transcorreu-se or \*transcorreram-se  
(one elapsed)

This suggests that the underlying form of exs. 13 has alguém, somebody, as subject since the restrictions given above would follow automatically. This would, however, be incorrect since alguém can occur only in frames where a singular subject is possible:

15a. \* alguém saiu em diversas direções  
(somebody left in different directions)

êles saíram em diversas direções  
they left in different directions.

saiu-se em diversas direções  
people left in different directions

15b. \* alguém trocou saudações  
(somebody exchanged greetings)

êles trocaram saudações  
they exchanged greetings

trocou-se (or trocaram-se) saudações  
people exchanged greetings

This is not to say, however, that the se-constructions are possible in all cases where a plural human deep subject is possible:

16a. êles são amigos  
they are friends

\* é-se (or \*são-se) amigos  
(people are friends)

16b. êles falaram um após o outro  
they spoke in order

\* falou-se um após o outro  
(people spoke in order)

Exs. 15 differ from exs. 16 in that the predicates of the former admit group-interpretation<sup>11</sup> subjects while those of the latter do not. Since the indefinite group-interpretation pronoun is a gente one has:

17a. a gente saíu em diversas direções  
people left in different directions

saíu-se em diversas direções

17b. a gente trocou saudações  
people exchanged greetings

trocou-se (or trocaram-se) saudações

17c. \* a gente é (or \*são) amigos  
(people are friends)

\* é-se (or \*são-se) amigos

17d. \* a gente falou um após o outro  
(people spoke in order)

\* falou-se um após o outro

Notice that if the se-constructions were somehow related to an underlying occurrence of a gente and/or alguém it would then not be necessary to set up an ad hoc feature [± se-construction] in order to specify which verbs may occur in these constructions. In addition, the intuition that the underlying subject is human would be explained.

However, if the Katz-Postal theory that transformations preserve meaning is correct then alguém cannot be the deep subject since

alguém fala muitas línguas  
somebody speaks many languages

simply does not have the same meaning as

falam-se (or fala-se) muitas línguas  
people speak many languages.

Another difference can be seen in the interpretation of compound sentences. Thus, the sentence

alguém fala muitas línguas e alguém as  
fala bem  
somebody speaks many languages and  
somebody speaks them well

does not imply that the person referred to in the

first conjunct as a speaker of many languages is the same person referred to in the second conjunct as speaking them well. However, the interpretation of the corresponding se-constructions,

falam-se (or fala-se) muitas línguas e falam-se (or fala-se) bem  
many languages are spoken and they are spoken well,

is that the same person (or people) who speak the many languages speak them well. Thus alguém must be ruled out as the deep subject of the se-constructions since it does not even meet the Katz-Postal conditions<sup>12</sup>.

On the other hand, the problems mentioned above do not arise in the case of a gente since the normal interpretation of sentences with a gente is the same as the corresponding se-sentence. Thus, if a gente is the deleted deep subject of the se-constructions not only will the Katz-Postal condition be satisfied but also the ad hoc feature [±se-construction] can be eliminated from the grammar and the intuition that the deep subject is human will be formally represented in the grammar.

### 1.2.2 The Se-passive

Consider now only the se-passive, ex. 13b. As noted above, it will be derived from roughly

the same deep structure as underlies

a gente vende estas casas

and will have the effect of deleting the deep subject, a gente, making the deep object into the surface subject and providing for the enclitic reflexive particle se. Notice that this will entail that reflexive be ordered after the transformation which forms the se-passive in order to disallow derivations like:

18. a gente viu retratos da gente (base)  
people saw pictures of people

a gente viu retratos de si mesmo reflex  
people saw pictures of themselves

\* viram-se retratos de si mesmo se-passive  
(pictures of themselves were seen)

In fact, the se-passive and the ordinary reflexive are mutually exclusive. But if  $t_6$ , reflex, is ordered after the deep subject is deleted by se-passive no reflexive will be possible since one of the two identical noun phrases required by reflex will have been deleted. Agree will, of course, also have to follow se-passive.

Since se-passive must move the deep object to subject position, the reflexive particle se can be obtained by leaving behind a pronominalized copy of the deep object in its neutral position so that reflex will apply. Thus se-passive has the form:

19. se-passive

<u>a gente</u>	V	NP
1	2	3
3,∅	2	3
		+pro

The derivation of ex. 13b would then be:

a gente vender estas casas	(base)
+pres	
estas casas vender estas casas	t19
+pres	+pro
estas casas vender estas casas	<u>reflex</u> &
+pres	+pro <u>agree</u>
+pl	+reflex

After low-level morphological rules not considered here the last line results in:

estas casas vendem-se .

In real usage inversion<sup>13</sup> is almost always applied to shift the object back to its neutral position (as in ex. 13b) although the non-inverted form is perfectly acceptable.

Notice that in the above derivation the passivizing particle se is derived by the ordinary reflex transformation, that is, the reflexive pronoun se and the passivizing particle se are identified. This is made possible by the circumstance that reflex must follow se-passive in order to rule out derivations like 18. However, the passivizing se, unlike the reflexive se, does not have a long form (V. ex. 3ii):



\* estas casas vendem-se a si mesmas

Although at first glance this seems to be evidence against the identification of the two se's, it can in fact be accounted for simply by ordering t9 before t19. Then if t9, which is optional, is applied the structural description of t19 will not be met since the extra element a NP will be present.<sup>14</sup> Thus, the non-existence of a long form of the passivizing se is not counter-evidence to t19.

However, it might be argued that while the derivation of the passivizing se through reflex does no harm, it also does no good; that is, t19 could be replaced by:

19'. a gente V NP

1            2    3  
3,∅        2+se ∅

Then the derivation of ex. 13b would be:

a gente	vender	estas casas	(base)
	+pres		
estas casas	vender-se		t19'
	+pres		
estas casas	vender-se		<u>agree</u>
	+pres		
	+pl		

This results in the same surface form as the first derivation.

Notice in the first place that both t19 and

t19' predict certain ungrammatical sentences in the case where the deep object is a first or second person pronoun. Consider for example the effect of t19 and t19' on the deep structure which underlies a gente lavou-me:

base: a gente lavar eu  
+ past

i. derivation by t19:

eu lavar eu t19  
+ past

eu lavar eu reflex & agree  
+ past + acc  
+ 1st + reflex  
+ sing

(\*eu lavei-me)<sup>15</sup>

ii. derivation by t19':

eu lavar-se t19'  
+ past

eu lavar-se agree  
+ past  
+ 1st  
+ sing

(\*eu lavei-se)

Both derivations result in ungrammatical strings. If t19' is adopted I can see no way of preventing the derivation of \*eu lavei-se other than an ad hoc statement restricting the object NP to third person only. On the other hand, I believe that a more in-

sightful solution is available in the case of t19.  
In this connection, notice that a direct object  
may be moved to the front of the sentence for em-  
phasis, leaving behind a pronominalized copy:<sup>16</sup>

eu beijei Maricota  
I kissed Maricota

Maricota, eu beijei-a  
Maricota is the one I kissed

or

eu beijei-a  
I kissed her

ela, eu beijei-a.  
her I kissed

The formal statement of this rule, called pleonasm,  
is roughly:

NP	V	NP
1	2	3
3,1	2	3
	+pro	

Notice, however, that in Portuguese pleonasm<sup>17</sup> is  
restricted to the third person:

beijaste-me  
you kissed me

\* eu, beijaste-me  
(me you kissed)

or

eu beijei-te  
I kissed you

\* tu, eu beijei-te  
(you I kissed).

But pleonasm and t19 have almost the same form, that is, both move the deep object to the front of its sentence and leave behind a pronominalized copy. Since the two transformations have these features in common they might fall together into a generalized form or there might be some way of stating a general restriction in Portuguese that transformations which move object NP's to the left and leave behind pronominal copies apply only to the third person.<sup>18</sup> There do not, however, seem to be any transformations other than the two mentioned above which are of this type. In any case, such a solution, based on these observations, would be far less ad hoc than simply restricting t19' to the third person, so that the formulation in t19 is to be preferred.

### 1.2.3 The Se-impersonal

Consider now the se-impersonal, that is, the non-agreeing form, ex. 13a. As pointed out in section 1.2.1 the se-impersonal, like the se-passive, is derived from a deep form in which a gente is the subject. However, in this case there is no need to move the deep object into subject position since the verb does not agree with it. Furthermore, the se-impersonal occurs with verbs which cannot have any

object, as in the example

assim se vai aos astros  
thus one goes to the heavens.

Thus, the se-impersonal transformation need only delete the deep subject and provide for the enclitic particle se:

20. se-impersonal

<u>a gente</u>	V	X
1	2	3
∅	2+ <u>se</u>	3

The derivation from a deep occurrence of a gente will obviate the necessity for a feature [±se-impersonal] in the lexicon, in just the same way as the corresponding feature in the case of t19 and accounts for the fact, noted in (Barreto, 27) p. 151, that a verb in the se-impersonal has exactly the same regimes as in the active. To account for the singular verb in the surface form agree must be ordered before t20. Notice also that since t20 does not require the presence of a deep object, se-impersonal forms will be generated for all appropriate verbs, although if a deep object is present t20 will not move it from its neutral position, as is correct.<sup>19</sup>

In all the published discussions on the se-constructions it has always been assumed that the passive and impersonal differ syntactically in only

two respects -- agreement and occurrence with intransitives. Both of these features are satisfactorily treated by the transformations given above. However, there is another difference, which turns out to be quite crucial: reflexivization is permitted with the impersonal but not with the passive:

\* geralmente não se pintam quadros de si mesmo  
(pictures of oneself are usually not painted)

\* escreveram-se cartas a si mesmo?  
(were letters written to oneself?)

não se vota em si mesmo  
one does not vote for oneself

compra-se livros para si mesmo  
one buys books for oneself

As has already been seen, the result in the case of the se-passive follows naturally from the formulation of t19, which is justified independently. In the case of the se-impersonal, since the enclitic se is not derived through application of the reflexive rule, this rule may be ordered before t19, giving derivations like:

base: a gente pintar quadros de a gente  
+pres

reflex: a gente pintar quadros de a gente  
+pres + reflex

agree & case-mark : a gente pintar quadros de a gente  
 +nom +pres +acc +prep  
 +sing +reflex

se-imper : pintar-se quadros de a gente  
 +pres +acc +prep  
 +sing +reflex

At this point a morphological statement of the type

a gente → si mesmo, exactly parallel to êle →  
 + prep +prep  
 + reflex +reflex

si mesmo, will be required. The last line of the derivation will then give

pinta-se quadros de si mesmo  
 one paints pictures of oneself,

which is correct.<sup>20</sup> The non-existence of the corresponding se-passive has already been treated in the last section.

It is important to realize that these results about the distribution of the reflexive are predictions which are entailed by t19 and t20 even though the transformations were not set up to account for these data. Thus the data give important empirical evidence in favor of the transformations as stated above.

It has already been seen that the se-imper-sonal transformation must follow agree and reflex. Since the transformation of the passive must precede

agree it follows that passive must also precede se-impersonal so that occurrences of a gente in object position in the deep structure will lead to se:

o diabo tenta a gente diariamente  
the devil tempts people every day

a gente é tentado pelo diabo diariamente  
people are tempted by the devil every day

é-se tentado pelo diabo diariamente

which is correct. Exactly the same argument can be given for replacement and also leads to the correct conclusion:

parece que a gente foge da realidade  
it seems that people flee from reality

a gente parece fugir da realidade  
people seem to flee from reality

parece-se fugir da realidade

Although the ordering of equi-NP deletion is not clear, it also must precede se-impersonal:

quer-se comer peixe  
one wants to eat fish

\* quer-se comer-se peixe

From these facts one concludes that se-impersonal is a late rule. In fact, no transformations, except late rules of clitic placement, are known to crucially follow it.

Notice, however, that t20 as formulated will



generate unacceptable strings if the deep object is pronominal:

a gente viu êle	(base)
+ past	
a gente viu êle	<u>agree &amp;</u>
+ past + acc	<u>case-mark</u>
+ 3rd	
+ sing	
ver-se êle	<u>se-imper</u>
+ past + acc	
+ 3rd	
+ sing	

which gives

21i. \* viu-se-o  
(one saw him)

Similar derivations will give strings of the same sort:

a gente vende-as  
one sells them

21ii. \* vende-se-as

a gente beijou-me  
people kissed me

21iii. \* beijou-se-me

and so on. Although such combinations of enclitics are rejected by native speakers there is apparently no principled way to exclude them. In ex. 21i, for example, the combination of se with the third person accusative enclitic is out. However, non-enclitic accusatives are allowed in this position,

viu-se {o rapaz}  
          {êlé }  
one saw {the boy}  
          { him } }

as are non-accusative enclitics,

deu-se-lhe licença  
one gave him permission<sup>21</sup>.

Recent investigations of D. M. Perlmutter and E. W. Browne<sup>22</sup> have shown that in general such situations are best treated by output conditions which eliminate those strings which are unacceptable in surface structure but still must be generated by the transformational component. In standard written Portuguese the rule is that no more than two enclitics are permitted and must be in the order indirect object - direct object. However, if an indirect object is present the direct object may only be third person:<sup>23</sup>

22. deu-dei-to  
      I gave it to you  
      êlé entregou-mas  
      He gave them to me  
      \*êles entregaram-te-me  
      (they gave you to me)  
      \*tu vendeste-lhe-nos  
      (you sold us to him)

This output condition could not be represented in simple tabular form but would have to be expressed

by the <,,> notation, where elements inside brackets bearing the same index may co-occur. The rule is:

$$\langle i, \rangle \quad \langle \overset{d}{\text{+3rd pers}}, \rangle$$

This restriction is of a form which is rather unusual and complex compared to the more usual simple table. On the general principle that languages tend to change toward "simplicity" one might expect such a system to break down. This has in fact occurred -- in spoken Portuguese there may be only one enclitic in sentences of the type considered, so that one now has a table of one column:

- i
- d.

Considering now the combinations which are possible with the enclitic se it is found that it may co-occur only with indirect objects:

23.      acrescenta-se-lhe a farinha  
          one adds the flour to it

          deu-se-me licença  
          one gave me permission

\*entregou-se-me ao Vietcong  
          (I was turned over to the Viet Cong)

Notice, incidentally, that there was no need to state this restriction in the case of the se-passive. The fact that it also can occur only with

indirect objects follows from the fact that the deep object becomes the particle se by reflex. In any case, the restriction must be stated for the se-impersonal and it turns out to be quite complex, requiring the use of negative brackets:<sup>24</sup>

<u>written</u>	<u>spoken</u>
$\langle \underset{1}{\text{se}} \rangle \langle \underset{1}{i} \rangle \langle \underset{2}{d} \rangle$ $\langle [3rd\ pers] \rangle$	$\langle \underset{1}{\text{se}} \rangle \underset{2}{i}$ $\langle \underset{1}{d} \rangle$

The restriction for se is doubly complicated in that it requires the use of both brackets and negatives. Again, by the "simplicity" criterion, one would expect such a system to fall, leaving behind the systems:

<u>simplified written</u>	<u>simplified spoken</u>
$\text{se} \langle i \rangle d$ $\langle [+3rd\ pers] \rangle$	$\text{se} \quad i$ $\quad \quad d$

In the written language both systems are attested. They are, in the terms of footnote 21, dialects Barreto and Mello, respectively.<sup>25</sup> The status of the simplified spoken system is not clear to me.

In the quotation from J. M. Rodrigues given in footnote 7 it is suggested that the se is the subject of the se-impersonal construction. This idea has been put forward by some grammarians and attacked by others. In general the attackers make two mistakes -- first, they make no distinction between deep and surface structure and second they

make no distinction between the se-passive and the se-impersonal. Consider as a typical example the arguments of Mello Carvalho, a Brazilian grammarian:

Se desempenhasse o se o mistér de sujeito, seria lícito dizer-se em português: se diz, se conta, ... ,se sabe, se brinca, porque os sujeitos dos verbos a estes podem antepor-se; em todas as hypotheses, na língua portuguêsa.

If se took on the duties of a subject it would be possible to say se diz, se conta, ... ,se sabe, se brinca in Portuguese because the subject of a verb can always precede that verb in Portuguese.

(Carvalho, 21), p. 150. While this statement is no doubt true of the deep structure it is patently false in the surface structure. For example, in a passive like Maricota foi beijada por João, Maricota was kissed by John, João is the subject of beijar but could not precede it. It would certainly be possible for se to be the deep subject of the construction and be moved by a later obligatory rule to post-verbal position. In fact, se need only be marked as obligatorily undergoing the ordinary rule of clitic placement. Thus the surface position of se proves nothing about the deep structure.

The other argument usually given against considering se to be the subject is:

Se o se lograsse exercer função subjectiva não teriam as linguagens verbaes tomado a forma de plural ... pois ... serviria o se, por ser sujeito ... de manter a linguagem no singular.

If se had managed to assume the function of subject the verb would never have become plural since se, being the subject, would be sufficient to keep the verb singular.

(Carvalho, 21), p. 150. Here the author is referring to cases like ex. 13b in which the verb is plural. But this fact about ex. 13b is, of course, meaningless within the context of a discussion of ex. 13a since it is exactly in this respect that the two differ.

Since the traditional arguments against the idea are apparently invalid it is important to examine the possibility of making se, rather than a gente, the deep subject. At first sight this does in fact seem correct -- as mentioned above one need only mark se as being an enclitic and the ordinary rule of enclitic placement will put it in the right place. Furthermore, it is clear that clitic placement is a late rule and that it certainly follows all the rules which must precede the one which forms the se-impersonal.

However, the distribution of se and of the reflexive in sentences containing it would be

extremely difficult to state in terms of a deep occurrence of se. Consider first the distribution of se itself. It occurs in the surface forms only if it was immediately in front of a given verb before clitic placement. However, in the deep structure it must have free privilege of occurrence for otherwise one could not generate such sentences as é-se tentado pelo diabo in which se must have been the deep object, moved into subject position by passive and correctly placed by clitic placement. Thus one must now give a method for ruling out:

\* o diabo tenta-se  
(the devil tempts one)

\* beijei-se  
(I kissed one)

while allowing

livros vendem-se  
books are sold

comeu-se  
one ate.

Since the se is in exactly the same position in both sets this could not be done by surface structure conditions, the surface structure being the same in both cases. Rather it would have to be done some time before clitic placement and would thus be a shallow structure condition, in

some unclear sense of shallow. Of course, none of these problems arise in the case of derivation by t20 since se's are never put into object position in the first place. The distribution of the reflexive would also have to be explained in some way. It is these difficulties which force the rejection of the hypothesis that se occurs as a subject NP in the deep structure.<sup>26</sup>

### 1.3 The Periphrastic Passive

Unlike the reflexive passives, the periphrastic passive has been discussed extensively in generative literature, although the results have been far from conclusive. Since this discussion has been mainly in and about English, that language (rather than Portuguese) will be used in most of the examples that follow.

Passives of the type

The fish was eaten by John

were once considered to be examples of the most obvious and clearly understood of all transformations. In Syntactic Structures (1957) Chomsky noted that if passives were to be generated directly in the base it would be necessary to include the element (be EN)



in the Aux:

24i. Verb  $\longrightarrow$  Aux V

24ii. Aux  $\longrightarrow$  (Modal) (have EN) (be ING) (be EN)

In conjunction with a rule to attach the affixes EN and ING to the following verbal the first three choices in rule 24ii provide for forms like have eaten, be eating, have been eating, may be eating, may have eaten, may have been eating and so on. The fourth choice would give passive forms like be eaten, have been eaten, may have been being eaten and so on. Chomsky then went on to observe that the fourth element of Aux was unlike the others in that there are heavy restrictions on its use. Thus, it cannot be selected if the following V is intransitive (\*be occurred) nor if it is transitive and has an object (\*be eaten fish). Furthermore if V is intransitive and is followed by the phrase "by NP" then the fourth element must be chosen in some cases (be eaten by John, but not \*be eating by John) and cannot be chosen in others (\*be gone by John). Such simple facts, which carry over directly to Portuguese, show that the passive auxiliary cannot be generated directly in the base along with the other auxiliaries without the statement of many ad hoc restrictions. For this reason Chomsky

proposed excluding the passive from the base and generating it instead by means of a transformation of the form:

25.        NP<sub>1</sub>    Aux    V    NP<sub>2</sub>

             1        2     3     4

             4    2 be EN 3    by 1

For example the base form

John have EN eat the fish  
+ pres

NP<sub>1</sub>        Aux        V        NP<sub>2</sub>

would be converted to

The fish have EN be EN eat by John  
+ pres

which, by application of the affix attachment rule and certain morphological rules not considered here, results in

The fish has been eaten by John.

If passives are generated by transformation the element (be EN) can be left out of the Aux constituent and none of the problems mentioned above arise. In addition the selectional restrictions will come out correctly, although it is now known that this result can also be achieved through lexical rules.

In the years after 1957 various previously unnoticed facts about the passive were discovered. Principal among these was the non-occurrence of

certain verbs (have, cost, weigh, etc) in the passive voice. In Aspects of the Theory of Syntax (1965) Chomsky attempted to explain these exceptions by postulating that passive sentences are to be derived from underlying strings of the form:

26. NP<sub>1</sub> Aux V NP<sub>2</sub> by  $\Delta$

where  $\Delta$  is a dummy (that is, "place-holder") and the phrase "by  $\Delta$ " is an adverb of manner. Passives would then be derived by stating a transformation to convert ex. 26 to

NP<sub>2</sub> Aux (be EN) V by NP<sub>1</sub>

The essential difference between the Aspects and Syntactic Structures formulations is in the postulation of an underlying dummy agent-phrase which is used to trigger the passive transformation, which then becomes obligatory. In Aspects Chomsky made the claim that verbs that take manner adverbials freely and only these can be passivized and thus that the dummy agent-phrase, which must co-occur with all verbs which may appear in the passive voice and only these, must also be an adverb of manner. Lakoff<sup>26</sup> and others objected to this analysis but the debate is not of interest here since some of the data of both sides do not carry over to Portuguese. What is important, however, is the idea that the passive

is not to be derived directly from the deep form underlying the corresponding active but rather from a similar form, with a dummy agent-phrase, as in ex. 26.

In his latest paper Remarks on Nominalization<sup>27</sup> Chomsky again discusses the passive, this time in connection with several other issues which are not of direct interest here. In this formulation Chomsky proposes factoring the passive transformation into its components:<sup>28</sup>

...the underlying structure for passives is roughly NP-Aux-V-NP by  $\Delta$ , where by  $\Delta$  is an agent phrase related, in ways that are still unclear in detail, to adverbials of means and manner. The passive operation, then, is an amalgam of two steps: the first replaces  $\Delta$  by the subject noun phrase; the second inserts in the position vacated by the subject the noun phrase that is to the right of the verb.

He then goes on to suggest that each of the components of the passive is needed elsewhere in the grammar, namely, internal to the NP in order to derive forms like the destruction of the city by the Army and the city's destruction. Most of these arguments carry over to Portuguese, except that NP's of the second type occur only with pronominal deep objects.

The Remarks analysis of the passive may be

formalized as follows:

27. agent-postposing

i. agent-copying

NP <sub>1</sub>	Aux	V	NP <sub>2</sub>	prep	△
1		2			3
1		2			1

ii. NP-dropping

NP <sub>1</sub>	Aux	V	NP <sub>2</sub>	prep	NP <sub>1</sub>
1				2	
△				2	

followed by

28. NP-preposing

△	Aux	V	NP <sub>2</sub>	prep	NP <sub>1</sub>
1	2	3	4		5
4	2	3	∅		5
			+ pass		

where prep is the preposition of the passive, in English by and in modern Portuguese por.

Although the analysis given above derives from a synchronic treatment of English, it had independently become apparent to me as early as the summer of 1967 that a two-part analysis of the passive was necessary to account for the diachronic facts treated in the next chapter. The fact that such an analysis is required for the diachronic study is strong evidence in its favor.

The formulations of t19, t20, t27 and t28 given here are intended to provide a rough outline for developments taken up later, where these formulations will be somewhat modified.

footnotes:

1. The type of analysis outlined here was first suggested in (Lees & Klima, 63).

2. Morphological rules of the type

êle → o  
+ acc

eu → me  
+ acc

and so on are assumed without discussion.

3. See, for example, (Chomsky, 65) p. 145.

4. Note that such sentences (like ex. 5) must be ruled out for all three persons, not just the third. For example, one must distinguish the reflexive me from the non-reflexive me because the former and not the latter can have the expanded form:

eu me lavo a mim mesmo  
I wash myself

\*você me lava a mim mesmo  
(you wash myself)

5. See, for example, (Chomsky, 65) p. 146:

The reflexivization rule does not apply to a repeated N dominated by an occurrence of S that does not dominate the "antecedent" occurrence of N.

It is well known, however, that the two identical NP's need not start out in the same S in the deep structure:

She thinks herself pretty ←

She thinks that she is pretty

Ela se acha bonita ←

Ela acha que ela é bonita

The requirement is that the two NP's be dominated by the same S when reflex applies.

6. Most grammarians reject ex. 13a entirely. For example Mário Barreto wrote:

Pondo de lado discussões teóricas, complicadas e difíceis, todos, na prática, estamos de acordo, sábios e leigos, em que viu-se muitas desgraças, ..., aqui se vende jornais, na passiva com se, são concordâncias absolutamente intoleráveis em português.

Setting aside all complicated and difficult theoretical discussions, in practice everyone, learned and unlearned, agrees that viu-se muitas desgraças, ..., aqui se vende jornais, which are in the se-passive, are instances of absolutely intolerable concordances in Portuguese.

(Barreto, 27) p. 296. Despite this statement Barreto himself used the construction at least once in his own writings and publicly apologized afterwards (V. (Barreto, 44) p. 388). He approvingly quotes Rui Barbosa as having written that

...o emprego do se, partícula apassivadora, com o verbo no singular é das mais lastimáveis nódoas que podem macular o português.

...the use of se, a particle which has the effect of passivization, with the verb in the singular is one of the most deplorable blemishes which may defile the Portuguese language.

(Rui Barbosa in Réplica, apud (Barreto, 44) p. 389)

All this aside, however, Barreto did admit (in a parenthetical remark):

(contudo, na fala vulgar, usa-se a-miúdo impessoalmente o verbo com se: compra-se livros, onde livros é objecto, em vez de compram-se livros)

(however, in popular speech the se construction is often used as an impersonal: compra-se livros, where livros is the object, instead of compram-se livros.)

(Barreto, 44) p. 294. The situation with most other grammarians, on both sides of the ocean, is the same. Only one grammarian, as far as I know, has come to the defense of the non-agreeing form and even his conclusions are somewhat weak:

Em conclusão: as construções do tipo vê-se sinais aparecem, embora com muita parcimônia, em alguns dos nossos melhores escritores ... Não devem, portanto rejeitar-se in limine. Mas o seu uso, que aliás é dispensável, deve ser muito restrito.

In conclusion, constructions of the type vê-se sinais occur, although very infrequently, in some of our best writers. Therefore they should not be rejected in limine. But since they are non-essential their use should be severely restricted.

(Rodrigues, 13) p. 186. This is one of the classic cases in which grammarians are a few centuries behind the facts.

7. For example,

Mas, além destas orações passivas de agente indeterminado ... outras há em que o se tem antes o valor de um pronome indefinido, a servir de sujeito.



But, aside from the passive sentences with indefinite agent ... there are others in which se is rather like an indefinite pronoun, serving as subject.

(Rodrigues, 13) p. 182

O pronome se pode funcionar numa frase como: ... e) partícula apassivadora, f) índice de indeterminação do sujeito.

The pronoun se can function in a sentence as: ... e) a passivizing particle, f) an indication of an indeterminate subject.

(Ribeiro, 28) p. 39

8. (Ross, 66) pp. V-1 to V-3

9. personal communication

10. Thus, speaking of the se-constructions Said

Ali says:

...se tem em mente o conceito de alguém como agente, como sujeito psicológico.

...one has in mind the concept of somebody as the agent, as the psychological subject.

(Ali, 64) p. 179. Other grammarians have made

similar remarks:

...se tomarmos para sujeito ... o indefinido a gente, ou qualquer equivalente, como, por exemplo, alguém, qualquer, homem, não briga a gramática com a lógica.

...if we take as subject ... the indefinite a gente (people) or any other equivalent, say, alguém (somebody), qualquer (anyone at all), homem (man, one) then grammar will not do violence to logic.

(Carvalho, 21) p. 157

11. By this term I mean substantives which, while singular, denote a set of objects. Examples are group, set, platoon, pack, flock and so on. Some

verbs allow only group-interpretation or plural subjects:

\*John disbanded

{ they  
the group } disbanded

12. One could give a syntactic argument by finding a transitive verb which cannot take a plural or group-interpretation subject and also does not occur in the se-passive. Unfortunately, I do not know of any verbs which meet the requirements of the first conjunct. There are, however, some verbs which usually take strictly singular (non-group) subjects and these sound very strange in the se-construction:

{ alguém  
\* a gente } casou com a Maricota

\* casou-se com a Maricota

{ alguém  
\* a gente } sucedeu ao rei

\* sucedeu-se ao rei

where usually only one person "marries Maricota" or "succeeds the King" and so on.

13. Inversion is a transformation which inverts the subject NP around the VP. In some cases it is obligatory, in others optional. The reason why inver-

sion is almost always applied in actual speech will be discussed later.

14. This problem and its solution emerged in discussion with E. W. Browne III and D. Perlmutter.

15. This form, of course, exists but only with the true reflexive meaning. Since it cannot have the passive meaning predicted by t19 it must be considered ungrammatical in this connection.

16. R. de Rijk has pointed out that this rule is similar to left dislocation. V. (Ross, 67) p. 422 ff

17. Pleonasm results in sentences of the type

i. o João, beijeio

while t9 gives sentences like

beijeio ao João

which, by optional fronting of the prepositional phrase can become

ii. ao João, beijeio.

Thus while i may seem to be derived from ii by deletion of the preposition a, this cannot be true since ii exists for all three persons while i exists only for third person.

18. This is, however, not true of other languages, nor is it true of right dislocation.

19. It is, perhaps, due to the influence of the much more idiomatic se-impersonal that the object also

occupies its neutral position in the se-passive.

20. The sentence

pinta-se quadros da gente

is also correct but then the understood deep subject cannot have the same reference as the occurrence of a gente in the surface form; that is, a gente, like the other pro-forms, must bear reference indices.

21. The "standard" dialect, which has been treated so far, allows a pronominal (deep) object to occur in the surface structure only in the nominative case:

vende-se a casa

ela vende-se or vende-se ela

\* vende-se-a

There is, however, another dialect which allows an object in the accusative case:

vende-se a casa

?ela vende-se or ?vende-se ela

vende-se-a.

Let these two dialects be called Barreto and Mello, respectively, in honor of two early twentieth century grammarians who maintained a sustained polemic on their relative merits. The status of the nominative in dialect Mello is not clear to me. Dialect Barreto is far more popular; in fact dialect Mello has been condemned in print by no fewer than 14

grammarians (for a partial list see (Barreto, 21) p. 90), one elder statesman (Rui Barbosa), one cardinal (Saraiva), and one surgeon (Pedro Pinto). It really does sound pretty bad. None the less, examples can be found in the best modern authors:

Temo que se me argua de comparações extraordinárias  
I am afraid that people will accuse me of making unusual comparisons

(M. de Assis in Esau e Jacob, apud (Silveira, ) p. 53

Parece um rio quando se o vê escorrer mansamente  
It looks like a river when one sees it flowing tamely

(Lima Barreto in Vida e Morte de Gonzaga de Sá, apud *ibid*)

...e se ouvem violinos e flautas de todas as partes e se os vêem falando alto e rindo  
...and one hears violins and flutes everywhere and one sees them talking in loud voices and laughing

where os (them) is the pronominalization of os cegos (the blind ones). (J. Ribeiro in Coração, apud (Carvalho, 21b) p. 153.

This is not to say, however, that the Barreto camp is without examples, sometimes from the same authors:

...mandado de prisão...se é a primeira vez que ê se expede...  
...an arrest warrant...if it is the first time it is issued...

(M. de Assis in Páginas Escolhidas, apud (Silveira, sd)  
p. 51)

Um crime ... pode unir-nos ... E porque não  
se cometerá êle?  
One crime can unite us. And why should it  
not be comitted?

(A. Herculano in Eurico, apud (Barreto, 21) p. 99)

Also cited in (Silveira, 60) p. 154.

...não percamos o tempo. E perde-se ele,  
quando...  
...let us not waste time. And it is wasted  
when...

(Heitor Pinto in Imagem, apud (Silveira, 60), p. 154.

It is important to realize that it is the  
Barreto dialect which most closely approximates  
real speech. The Mello dialect sounds strange and  
would not occur in popular speech. Barreto's ex-  
planation of the opposing dialect is not too enlight-  
ening:

A origem do tremendo dislate que só consegue  
acolhimento por parte dos maus literatos  
brasileiros de hoje em dia ... devemos ir  
buscá-la, por variar, na ignorância dos que  
vertem para péssima linguagem portugûesa  
novelas francêsas.

The origin of this tremendous folly, which  
manages to gain acceptance only from charlatan  
men of letters in modern Brazil ... must, for  
a change, be credited to the ignorance of  
those who translate French novels into cheap  
Portuguese.

(Barreto, 21) p. 101. Thus he claims that such  
ignorant types would translate on le sait by \*sabe-

se-o, etc. Although I do not doubt that this is true it is difficult to see how such ignorance could be attributed to Machado de Assis, Lima Barreto, and João Ribeiro, among others. Rather I believe that the cause of the new construction's use by such people is due precisely to the fact that it is fairly close to perfectly good sentences but still sounds a bit strange and would not occur in everyday writing. Therefore its use serves as a sort of a mark of separation from the popular dialect.

22. See (Perlmutter & Browne, to appear)

23. See (Barreto, 11) p. 135 for a typical statement of this rule. It is generally accepted in standard Portuguese and is not the subject of dispute. In exs. 22 to and mas are bi-morphemic.

24. The notation  $\langle ;x ; \rangle \langle ;y ; \rangle$  is interpreted to mean "if x is chosen, y may not be chosen". Both versions given below rule out strings with two se's since the second one would be a direct object.

25. Notice that the formalization of dialect Mello predicts that ternary combinations should be possible, provided only that the direct object be third person. This prediction is correct -- Mello did in fact give such examples:

Notou-se-lh'o na discussão....

One noticed about him in the discussion...

(Filinto Elycio, apud (Carvalho, 21a) p. 91. He also approvingly quotes J. Ribeiro's remark that:

Alguns escriptores usam a combinação terciaria ou de três pronomes: Dê-se-lh'a, a esmola.

Some writers use a ternary combination: Dê-se-lh'a, may it be given to him, a esmola, the alms.

Barreto was quick to reply that the example from Filinto was ruim, lousy, (Barreto, 21) p. 91, and went on to say:

A língua repugna estes grupos de três pronomes. The tongue abhors these groups of three pronouns.

(ibid, p. 99)

26. The situation may not really be as bad as all that since the facts are quite easy to state in an ad hoc manner. Se, like man in German, comes through to the surface in only two instances:

either i. it is the nominative of its sentence.

or ii. it is reflexive.

Thus, the sentences given below are bad because se and man are non-nominative non-reflexive:

\* eu beijei-se                      \* ich habe man geküsst

\* nós demos-se o livro \* wir haben man das Buch gegeben

\* tu falaste de si                \* du hast von man gesprochen

while the following sentences are good since se



and man meet at least one of the requirements:

comeu-se	man hat gegessen
* beijou-se-se	man hat sich geküsst
dá-se livros a si mesmo	man gibt sich Bücher
falou-se de si mesmo	man hat von sich ge- sprochen

The second Portuguese sentence above is ruled out because two se's cannot occur, a condition which has nothing to do with conditions i and ii and is therefore not a counter-example to them. See the surface conditions of pp. 25-28.

27. See (Lakoff, 65) p. F-1.

28. See (Chomsky, to appear). The quotation given below is from the mimeographed "uncorrected" version (MIT, Nov. 1967).

## Chapter Two

### Diachronic Syntax of the Passives and the Impersonal

#### 2.0 Introduction

##### 2.0.1 Limitations

Before beginning the historical section it may be well to warn the reader of some of the limitations inherent in any study based on texts. In the first place texts are only imperfect records of items of performance so that they contain at least two layers of mistakes - performance mistakes and recording mistakes. The latter type is usually of considerable magnitude since most of the presently extant texts are only copies of earlier ones, which are in turn copies of still earlier ones and so on. At best there is at least one more layer of mistakes on each step. At worst the copier might have completely modernized the texts, with the exception of a little archaic spice. In practice most texts seem to have fared better than might be expected but it is unquestionably true that, perhaps inadvertently, each copier introduced some contemporary constructions in older texts. This is not

to mention the opposite process, the introduction of so-called "archaisms" by later writers, a particularly striking example of which will be discussed in section 2.1.2.

Such considerations lead to the conclusion that not all sentences found in a text can be accepted as evidence as to the state of the language at the time the text was written, or at any other time for that matter. Thus there are certain inherent difficulties in obtaining half the data necessary for a generative study, namely, the grammatical sentences. The other half of the data, the ungrammatical sequences, is nearly unobtainable since there are no native speakers and, in the case of Portuguese, no contemporary grammatical treatises of any use. All one can do is to make guesses based on knowledge of the modern language and putative universals and then look for counter-examples. Furthermore, as anyone who has worked in generative grammar knows, the grammatical judgments required for a syntactic study are often so fine that even linguists are unable to agree as to just what are the data in their own native languages. The situation is of course many times worse when one is dealing with a dead language. I might also point out that in

the case of Portuguese there is an almost total lack of reference works of any sort. The only dictionary of archaic Portuguese ever published only got half way through the letter A! The only text for which there is an acceptable concordance is the Lusiadas of Camões and that was not available to me until the end of 1967. In general all my studies have therefore been carried out using the original texts, which are at best a mass of unorganized data.

The moral to be drawn is that until the texts are better organized it will be unthinkable to obtain enough data to support an analysis which attempts to settle disputed points in the theory of grammar. Furthermore, it is doubtful that such an analysis would be possible even if the texts were organized because of the difficulties mentioned above, especially the unobtainability of ungrammatical sequences. None the less, it is possible to obtain certain interesting results concerning the nature of syntactic change.

#### 2.0.2 Diachronic Linguistics

Language, unlike old clothes, is not handed down more or less intact from father to son nor

is it entirely innate to each child. Languages must be "learned" by the people who eventually come to speak them. The rapidity and uniform success with which children learn languages make it quite evident that language acquisition is not a wholly random, haphazard process; that is, children must be in some way innately predisposed to learn languages. Proponents of empiricist and rationalist philosophies have traditionally held differing opinions about the extent and type of predisposition which is brought into play in language learning (as well as in other processes of knowledge acquisition) but its existence has never been seriously questioned.

Thus children learn languages by applying their innate predisposition to the primary data, which consists of the speech samples they happen to hear (and perhaps some samples of non-grammatical sentences in the form of corrections). Evidently the predisposition must include information of at least two sorts: 1) a general linguistic theory which distinguishes human language from other possible systems and 2) a heuristic method for practical grammar construction. Traditionally rationalists have tended to emphasize 1 while empiricists have emphasized 2 and, occasionally,

denied existence of 1.

Although children are able to learn languages with truly astounding efficiency, adults find it almost impossible to do so, that is, the innate predisposition to language acquisition is lost as one grows older. In other words, the channels leading inward to the adult's language control center (presumably in the brain somewhere) are blocked and, even with determined effort, what is stored there cannot be significantly added to or changed. Thus, the adult's language knowledge is relatively static.

Despite this relative stability of adult language it has often been observed that languages change, which is to say that the "received" grammar of a language at a certain time  $t_1$  may differ from the "received" grammar of the same language at another time  $t_2$ . Kiparsky (see (Kiparsky, 67)) has noted that all linguistic change is of two basic types: addition of new rules and simplification, the first of which he attributes to changes in adult language and the second of which he attributes to the learning process. The relative stability of adult language suggests that rule addition will play a minor role and this is indeed true of the changes to be studied in this chapter.

If it is true that most change occurs during

acquisition, there should be two basic causes for this change - the predisposition and the primary data. Generative grammarians have tended to emphasize the former, or at least I can see no other way to understand such statements as "languages tend toward simplicity" or "the feeding order is preferred", which usually carry with them the proviso "all other things being equal". It seems to me that these are really statements about the heuristics of language learning, for example that the learner will always set up the "simplest" rules to account for the data he knows about or that he will always heuristically assume rules to be in the "feeding order". The proviso mentioned above is necessary because these heuristic assumptions may be contradicted by the facts at some later stage of learning.

On the other hand, generative grammarians have tended to ignore changes in language which may be introduced through changes in the primary data, that is, changes in linguistic performance which do not themselves imply a change in the grammar of the speaker, where both of the terms "performance" and "grammar" are used in the senses they currently have in the generative literature. In particular stylistics has always been assumed to be a matter of performance, although it is quite clear that the

former is quite different from, say, false starts or mistakes. Presumably the learning mechanism is predisposed to ignore such gross performance factors; otherwise hiccups, sneezes, half sentences and the like would eventually enter at least some human languages.

As an idealized example, consider a language in which two constituents A and B can always occur either in the order AB or BA, with only a slight stylistic difference. It might well happen that one of the orders, say AB, falls out of use, say because it comes to be considered by the community as a sign of lack of education. Although it would be very interesting to inquire into the reasons for such stylistic changes, it seems to me that this is outside of the domain of linguistics and is probably closely related to such matters as general social behavior. Whatever the reason for such a stylistic change might be, the net result would be a decrease in the frequency of AB and a corresponding increase in that of BA. Depending on the extent to which this occurs a child learning the language might not hear AB at all, or only infrequently, so that it would not enter significantly into his primary linguistic data. Unless some feature of the linguistic predisposition predicts AB on the basis of



the rest of the primary data, this construction would not enter the child's grammar; that is, it would disappear from the language. Although this example is overly simple, it does suggest that generative grammarians have neglected an important aspect of language change.

In discussing change it has become customary to speak in terms of "generations", although the notion has never been used in a linguistically critical way. Thus, quite typically linguists speak of generation  $i$  as having grammar  $G_i$ , in which there occur innovations  $inn_i$ , leading the next generation to have grammar  $G_{i+1}$  and so on. The validity of this terminology has occasionally been questioned but the issue has, so far, been largely academic. However, for performance based change there seems to be no other terminology possible. In the hypothetical AB-BA case given above, for example, there must be a time when almost all the language learners do not have AB in their primary data. They constitute a new "generation", the one which does not have AB in their grammars. Furthermore, if generalizations of the "simplicity" or "feeding order" type are to be understood to be a result of the heuristics of language learning then here too the generation concept is appropriate. In fact, the underlying reason for the

use of this terminology by so many linguists is probably the intuition that linguistic change arises in the learning process. I shall therefore continue to use the concept of generation in the traditional way, except that I shall understand by the term "the innovated grammar of generation  $i$ ,  $G_i$ , the grammar  $G_i$  with  $inn_i$  added as a sort of appendage. Note that since  $inn_i$  may be a stylistic innovation  $G_i^1$  may not really be a grammar, in the technical sense.

## 2.1 Per-agents

The aim of the next sections is to give a diachronic account of the syntax of the periphrastic and reflexive passives. Since both constructions involve agent phrases headed by the prepositions de or per<sup>1</sup> it is necessary to discuss these prepositions before taking up the passives.

### 2.1.1 Syntax of Active Per-agents

Said Ali considered per to be a "means" preposition:<sup>2</sup>

Tinha per, como em latim, o valor de "através de"

Per, as in Latin, meant "by means of"

He gives several examples, a typical one being:

1. Esopo/53      Nom devemos cõostranger nenhũa perssoa  
que digua nenhũa cousa per força nem  
per medo.  
We should not make anyone say anything,  
using either force or fear.

Similarly Epifânio says:<sup>3</sup>

Por (per) designa o meio em algumas combinações

Por (per) designates the means in some combinations

and gives as an example:

2. Esopo/23 Per este exempro este doutor nos amostra que as cousas d'este mundo nom sson estauces.  
By this example the doctor shows us that the things of the world are not durable.

Typically, both philologists consider per to be a preposition of means which occurs with inanimate objects. Huber apparently went a little further when he observed that per is used:<sup>4</sup>

...zur Angabe des Mittels (durch, mit); per força mit Gewalt; per quem? durch wen?"

Thus he obviously permitted animate nouns as per-agents although it is not clear just what type of construction he had in mind since there are no examples given. However the translation by durch as well as the reference to "means" suggest that he accepted the usual statements as correct and was referring to examples in which an animate entity fulfills the same sort of function as the inanimate ones do in exs. 1 and 2, that is, they serve as an instrument or tool of the subject. Compare, for example, exs. 3 i and ii below:

- 3i. Fuero/I-46 ...e esta sancta trijdade ante da incarnaçõ de nostro Senhor ihesu christo deu lee e ensinamento a seu poboo per moysẽ e per llos outros seus prophetas e per seus sanctos.  
...and this holy trinity, before the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ gave laws and instruction to his people through Moses, the other prophets and the saints.

- 3ii. Fuero/I-615 Se algũu der outro por seu parsoeyro  
per carta...  
If someone names someone else as his  
proxy in a letter...

Here one can really sense the meaning of durch or through - the prophets are viewed as mere instruments or tools which the trinity used in its teachings, quite in the same way as the letter is used in ex. 3ii.

The only other mention of animate per-agents that I know of refers to a presumably different type of construction in which the agent is reflexive, as in the English expressions by myself, yourself, himself or the modern Portuguese expression por si (third person only). Thus Epifânio says:<sup>5</sup>

É de notar a locução por mim, por ti, por si,  
falando-se do que se faz sem cooperação alheia.

The expressions por mim, por ti, por si, which denote that which is done without external co-operation, should be noted.

As he gives no examples it is once again unclear what was meant but presumably he had in mind examples like the following:

4. Esopo/41 E quando o elle pode fazer per ssy...  
And when he can do it by himself...

In short, the philologists viewed per as having two separate roles, the primary one being "means", as exemplified in exs. 1, 2 and perhaps 3i above. Secondarily it also occurred in certain fixed reflexive expressions, as in ex. 4.

It seems to me, however, that this view is incorrect in several respects. In the first place it fails to

recognize the full generality of the per-agents in the active voice. There are many examples with non-reflexive per-agents in which the agent could in no sense be said to be an instrument or tool of the subject:

- 5i. Greg/51-1 Como o speritu maaõ saya d'uũ homẽ  
demoniado per Sã Ffortunado  
On how the evil spirit came out of  
a bewitched man through (the agency  
of) Saint Ffortunado
- 5ii. CV/186-10 eporẽ creede p mĩ que nõ ey de uos  
bẽ fazer  
and therefore believe (because of me)  
that I shall not do your will
- 5iii. Biblia/340 e os seus gaados pereceram per serpentes  
and their cattle perished because of  
the serpents

In these examples the per-agent is actually working against the subject.

Furthermore the traditional view is wrong in implying that the agent phrases in exs. 1 and 2 are not the same construction as those in exs. 4 and 5. In English, for example, one has

he notified Mary {by himself  
by letter}

but not

\* he notified Mary by himself and by letter.

The conjunction of the two by-agents is ruled out by the general principle that only like constituents can conjoin.<sup>6</sup>

However, such conjunctions are quite common in medieval Portuguese:

- 6i. Fuero/II-636 mandamos que nenhun escomungado nõ  
possa per sy nõ per outri demandar  
nenhũa cousa en juyzo

we order that no excommunicate shall bring suit in court, either personally or through someone else.

- 6ii. Fuero/I-437 E sse algũa cousa entregar ou penhorar per sy ou per seu mādado...  
And if he gives or takes anything, either personally or by means of an order
- 6iii. Orto/49-15 E muytas uezes o leedor engenhoso perde per sy meesmo e per sua negligencia a sabedoria.  
And often the clever reader loses wisdom, either on his own account or through negligence.
- 6iv. Fuero/II-725 ...aprazeo per sinal que lly pare ou per carta do alcalde ou per seu omẽ conoçudo  
...and cite him by means of an indication or a letter from the mayor or through his acknowledged agent.
- 6v. Boosco/cxi O seõor ds ... ensinou pollas suas santas escituras: & pollos santso homeẽs<sup>7</sup>  
The Lord God taught by means of his holy scripture and through his saints

These examples cover the three possibilities - reflexive and non-reflexive (i), reflexive and inanimate (ii,iii) and non-reflexive and inanimate (iv,v) - and show that they are all like constituents.

As far as I can tell the per-agents occur quite freely with all types of verbs. In particular they can be found with both non-stative (any of the verbs in exs. 6) and stative verbs (ex. 7 below) and with passivizable (again, any of exs. 6) and non-passivizable verbs (ex. 8 below):

- 7. Orto/231-10 Oo, Basyllio ... per ty creo e hũũ Deus todopoderoso.  
Oh, Basyllio ... through you I believe in one omnipotent God.
- 8. Orto/277-34 ...e depois ouuerom per ella muyta riqueza.  
...and afterward they had many riches, through her intervention.

The general semantic content of the per-agent is that it intervenes in the action or state described by the predicate and has some effect on it. Correspondingly, in the case in which the per-agent is reflexive the semantic content is that there is no intervention other than that of the subject, which is to say that there is no "external cooperation". The philologists' notion of "means" is entirely inadequate because it is correct in only part of the cases, namely, in examples like exs. 1, 2, 3i and perhaps 3i. The notion is entirely irrelevant to cases like exs. 5, which the philologists ignored.

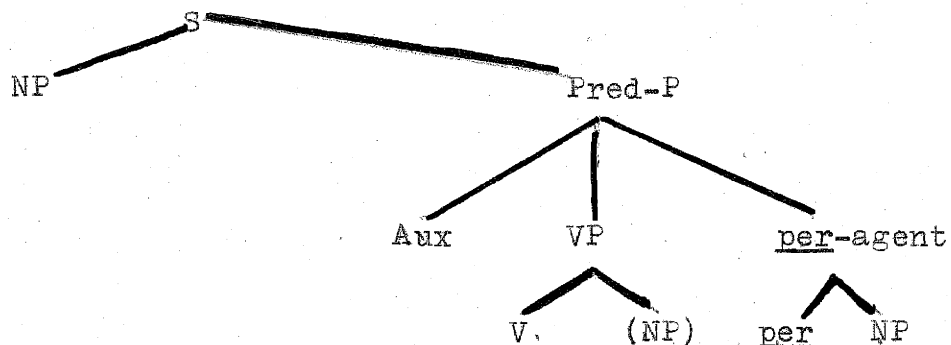
It is important to realize that although any given intervention may be viewed as being either causative or non-causative there is no basis for introducing a causative pro-verb in the deep structure of sentences containing per-agents. Whichever way one might choose to introduce "cause" into such a derivation it would require having different derivations for sentences of the type of exs. 1, 2 and 3 versus the type of exs. 5, which therefore ought to have different syntactic and semantic properties. There is no evidence to suggest that this is true; quite to the contrary there seem to be no syntactic differences at all and the meaning given above seems to be correct in all cases.

The fact that the per-agent is reflexive when it is identical to the subject implies that these two nouns must

be in the same proposition when reflex applies. Since there is no reason to derive the agents transformationally this requirement can be met simply by generating them in the base as one of the adverbials. Given that the per-agents occur freely with all verbs, Chomsky's principle of strict subcategorization<sup>8</sup> implies that they are outside of the VP. Thus, modifying the illustrative fragment given by Chomsky in Aspects one has:<sup>9</sup>

9.        S → NP    Pred-P  
           Pred-P → Aux    VP    (per-agent)  
           VP → { V    (NP)    (de Δ) }  
                   { ser    Adj            }  
           per-agent → per    NP                    etc.

The grammar in 9, which is a fragment of the grammar of Portuguese in the medieval period, will be called G<sub>2</sub>. It generates structures of the form:



For an extensive list of examples of this type see the appendix.



The system represented in 9 suffered various changes at the close of the medieval period, as did many other parts of the grammar. The changes which occurred in the per-phrases can best be understood intuitively as a three way split; that is, the animate reflexive, animate non-reflexive and inanimate agents became disassociated with each other and the conjunctions of the type in ex. 6 disappeared from the language. Upon examination of late medieval texts it is found that there is a marked decrease at around this time in the frequency of occurrence of per-agents in the case when the agent's intervention is not direct, or in slightly more formal terms:

13.            innovation: animate per-agents which are not identical to the deep subject decrease in frequency of occurrence.

Thus the innovated medieval grammar  $G_2'$  is  $G_2$  plus the innovation in 13. In it sentences of the type of exs. 5 and 3i are severely restricted in occurrence, although those of the type of exs. 1, 2 and 4 continue to occur as before. Since conjoined sentences of the type in ex. 6 were always less frequent than the non-conjoined ones, the former become vanishingly infrequent if either per-agent is of the type of 13.

Furthermore, the combination of reflexive with inanimate always had a very small frequency.

Thus a language learner confronted with the output of  $G_2^1$  would conclude that some form of agent phrase with per existed but there would no longer be any reason to associate the three types into one constituent, exs. 6 having vanished. Consider first the case of animate agents not identical to the deep subject. The learner will hear such agents now and again, each time with a particular verb. Since these agents will therefore not appear to be any more generalized than any of the other verbal governments (with a, com, etc.) the learner may come to associate them with particular verbs. In the long run, then, the per-agent would have a better chance to survive with verbs with which it occurred frequently.

In fact this is exactly the situation one finds in the classical language, where the agents are in close association with the verb and are generally considered to depend on it. Because of this dependency the classical descendents of the per-agents are called regimes of the verb and are said to be governed by it. Although meaningful frequency studies are out of the question at the moment, the prediction of the last paragraph seems to me correct. At least it is true that the verbs which appear most often in the appendix are amongst those

that retained the agent, as for example saber.

I shall return to inn 13 in more detail below, but in the meantime it should be noted that since the per-regime induces a subcategorization of verbs in the classical language, Chomsky's strict subcategorization principle implies that it must be a member of the VP.

Thus the base of  $G_3$  consists, in part, of:

14.      $S \longrightarrow NP \quad \text{Pred-P}$   
            $\text{Pred-P} \longrightarrow \text{Aux} \quad \text{VP}$   
            $\text{VP} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} V \quad (\text{NP}) \quad (\text{de } \Delta) \\ \text{ser} \quad \text{Adj} \end{array} \right\} (\text{per-regime})$   
            $\text{per-regime} \longrightarrow \text{per} \quad \text{NP} \quad \text{etc.}$

#### 2.1.2 Comments on João de Barros and Active Per-agents

The reader who is familiar with Portuguese literature will notice that the vast majority of the examples given in the appendix are taken from texts dating from before the classical period. It is therefore interesting to note that the per-agents appear in the (first decade of) the Ásia of João de Barros. This text, which was written in 1549 and published in 1552<sup>11</sup>, is about a century later than the texts of the appendix.

João de Barros was the official historian of Portugal and his Ásia was intended to be the official account of the Portuguese discovery of India. It is written in the pompous style typical of the sixteenth century; in fact, it

is so full of constructions modeled after the "belas formas da idade áurea do latim"<sup>12</sup>, beautiful constructions of the golden age of Latin, that it earned for its author the title of "Pontífice dos classicos de mil e quinhentos"<sup>13</sup>, Pope of the sixteenth century classicists. Having been born in 1496, Barros was 53 years old when he wrote the Ásia, his opus magnum. In his youth he wrote the Crónica do Imperador Clarimundo (1520), a purely imaginary and fanciful novel which claims to be a history of the descent of the first royal house of Portugal from the lineage of the emperors of Hungary. The Clarimundo, quite unlike the Ásia, is written in a clear and simple style, as the philologists have remarked:<sup>14</sup>

But the most remarkable feature of this work, written in eight months when the author was little over twenty, is its inexhaustible flow of clear, smooth, vigorous prose, entirely free from awkwardness or hesitation.

(Aubrey Bell in Portuguese Literature). Now, although the active animate per-agents are used with alarming frequency in the Ásia (1549), there are no examples of it in the rather voluminous Clarimundo (1520). This is certainly a strange situation since it is already known that the per-construction is old and one might therefore expect just the opposite of what is in fact found.

Barros' most famous predecessor as historian of Portugal was Fernão Lopes, who is noted for his simple, straight-forward style:<sup>18</sup>

A artística espontaneidade de Fernão Lopes é o seu supremo título de glória.

The artistic spontaneity of Fernão Lopes is his claim to glory

(Álvaro J. da Costa Pimpão in Idade Média). The exact date of the composition of Lopes's works is not known but the philologists have concluded that he flourished between 1435 and 1450, that is, at the very end of the medieval period. They consider him still "medieval" whereas Barros is considered "classical". It therefore seems strange that the per-agents, which are found only very infrequently in the "medieval" Lopes, occur so frequently in the "classical" Barros. When texts dating from the period 1450-1550, such as the Livro de Marco Polo (1502) and Ho Preste Joam das Indias (1540), are examined it is found that these do not have active per-agent constructions. The last text (with the exception of the Asia) that I know of which still makes fluent use of the per-agents is the Livro de Vita Christi, published in 1495 but written in 1445.

One can explain all these facts by postulating that by about 1450 the animate per-agents occurred very infrequently in the speech of the vast majority of cultured speakers - the unpretentious Fernão Lopes (flourished: 1435-1450) can serve as a paradigm example. Despite this the construction continued to be used in religious treatises, written by con-

servative old priests, for some time - the Livro de Vita Christi (1445) serving as the paradigm example. Therefore, since the construction did not exist at the time of João de Barros' childhood (1500), it did not enter his grammar and is not used in the Clarimundo (1520). However, when he was appointed to his official position Barros began to read through old documents, as would be required for his researches, and mistook the vulgar per-phrase construction for one of the "belas formas da idade áurea do latim" and took to using it in later works, such as the Ásia (1549). This is a very neat explanation of the construction's re-appearance after a century's absence and, incidentally, throws some light upon the style and technique of João de Barros. It might be added that the per-agents enjoyed a certain popularity with such sixteenth century super-sophisticates as Frei Amador Arrais.

## 2.2 De-agents

Having already investigated one of the prepositions of the passive it is appropriate now to turn to the other: de. In this connection a very interesting statement is found in the Gramática Histórica of Said Ali:<sup>16</sup>

O conceito de procedência dá à locução de si o sentido "sem causa exterior", "sem influência vinda de fora", "espontaneamente" e pode algumas vezes interpretar-se como "pessoalmente".

The concept of origin gives the expression de si the sense "without exterior cause", "without outside influence", "spontaneously" and it can sometimes be interpreted as "personally".



As a synonym of after and alternating with it the adverb desi (also written deshi and dessi), which resulted from the combination of the preposition des with the adverb i (hi or ahi), was used in Old Portuguese. It is still found frequently in João de Barros...

He then gives examples from the Demanda do Santo Graal, from the Crónica de Dom João I of Fernão Lopes and from the Clarimundo. The first of these is:

17. Graal/32r      ...ferio aq̃l meu filho ... Edepois  
ao out<sup>o</sup> dessi ao terceyro dessi ao  
quarto dessi aoq̃nto.  
...it wounded that son of mine, and  
then another, and then the third,  
then the fourth, then the fifth.

This is a particularly well chosen example, showing clearly the sequential meaning of dês i. However, when Said Ali says that it is found in João de Barros he must be referring to the Clarimundo, from which he gave an example, because the expression does not occur in the Asia, except with the spelling de sy, which he interpreted as de si. Typical examples are:

18. Asia/52      O capitam Lançaróte em dous dias ...  
fez sua aguáda & matança de cábras:  
& de sy passouse á terra firme...  
Captain Lancelot in two days took on  
water and killed some goats and then  
moved to the main land...
19. Asia/76      ...acabáda a fála, pregou os ólhos  
no chão per hũ pequeno espaço, &  
de sy disse:...  
...the speech finished, he nailed his  
eyes to the floor for a little while  
and then he said:...

In these examples it seems clear from context that Barros





chegouse ao zambuco delrey...  
But, Vasco da Gamma, noticing that they were uneasy, ordered a signal to be given, at which the sound which frightened them stopped and then he approached the King's boat...

Considering these more extensive versions of Said Ali's examples it is seen quite clearly that Barros actually is describing a time sequence of events so that dês i fits the context perfectly.

The remaining example, ex. 16ii, would not make sense if its occurrence of de sy were read dês i since there is no time sequence of events. It is therefore necessary to examine clear occurrences of de si in other texts and compare these with ex. 16ii. Typical examples are:

21. Vita/44b Ex ã foge xpõ & de nocte foge portal ã afugida aãl dessy he deficiuel ou maa de fazer . fosse ajnda mais deficel por aazo de nocte escura. Lo! Christ does flee. He flees at night so that the flight, which is in itself difficult and of evil doing, be yet more difficult because of the darkness of night.

22. Pere/III-118 ...cascas de laranjas secas, que servem para nas tavernas se cozerem cõ a carne do caõ, para lhe tirar o mao cheyro que de sy tem... the rinds of dried oranges, which they boil with dog meat in the taverns in order to remove the bad smell which the meat alone has...

23. Ciceram/59-11 ...empero que elle de ssi meesmo nom seja bom ...even if he himself is not good

Although these three examples (plus the three in the appendix) are not sufficient evidence for firm conclusions, it seems that the de-agents occur only with stative verbs and adjectives and then only in the third person, that is, one does not find:

\* eu resolvi de mim mesmo

\* tu foste de ti mesmo

and so on. The semantic content of the de-agent is difficult to state but it apparently involves the idea that the noun in question be considered in and of itself, without any outside intervention or modification. Apparently ex. 16ii has these general properties (dar conselho is stative, at least with inanimate subjects) so that it must be accepted as a valid example. However, this is not true of exs. 16i and iii since their verbs are not stative. Thus there are three reasons for rejecting these examples:

i. they do not have the same properties as clear occurrences of de si

ii. they describe time sequences of events and thus fit the meaning of dês i perfectly

iii. they are from the Ásia

For the purposes of the discussion which follows it is important to note that in the valid examples the de-agents occur only with a restricted class of verbs and only in the third person. Thus they do not have anywhere near the generality of the per-agents.

### 3.1 The Periphrastic Passive

Not very much is known about the history of the passive in Portuguese, aside from the fact that it used to occur more frequently with de. Typical examples are:

27. Vita/70b (osenhor) ... quis seer baupuzado  
de johanne  
(the Lord) ... wanted to be baptized  
by John
28. Vita/56c ...recebia os pera seerem baupuzados  
per xp̄o.  
...he received them in order that  
they might be baptized by Christ

The circumstance that the passives with de are more frequent in the old language, combined with the apparent synonymy of sentences like exs. 27 and 28, has led the philologists to the conclusion that both de and per were passive voice agent prepositions and continue to be, the frequency of occurrence having changed amongst other things. Thus, Said Ali writes:<sup>19</sup>

Estando o verbo na passiva, o nome do agente se dizia, quer em português antigo, quer em linguagem da Renascença, de ordinário com a preposição de... sendo relativamente poucas as vezes em que se deu preferência à preposição por. No falar hodierno aparece invertida a situação; predomina por, ao passo que de ou é de uso ocasional, ou se reserva para certos e determinados verbos.

In the passive voice, in both medieval and classical Portuguese, the agent ordinarily took de, the instances in which preference was given to por being relatively infrequent. In present day speech the situation turns out to be just the opposite - por is dominant while de is either used infrequently or only with certain determined verbs.

In generative terms this amounts to saying that agent-postposing was and continues to be exactly as in the modern case with por replaced by  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{de} \\ \text{per} \end{array} \right\}$  and that the change from old to modern Portuguese is in certain restrictions on the choice of preposition in agent-postposing.

### 3.2.1 The Medieval Period

In investigating the ser-passive with de-agents I have been unable to find any respect in which it differs significantly from the modern passive with por. Typical examples are:

- |            |                                                                                                                                                  |
|------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Graal/32v  | Como juã foy chagado do caualeiro<br>da besta<br>Of how John was wounded by the<br>Knight of the Beast                                           |
| Graal/33r  | Como ocaualeiro da besta chagou<br>Gilfret<br>Of how the Knight of the Beast<br>wounded Gilfret                                                  |
| Greg/40-8  | ...aquelas cousas que nõ forõ<br>ordinadas nõ sabudas de nostro<br>senhor<br>...those things which were neither<br>ordained or known by our Lord |
| Greg/41-15 | ...aquelas cousas que Deos ordinou<br>e soube<br>...those things which God ordained<br>and knew                                                  |

In such cases the de-agent is always the deep subject, the

deep object is always the nominative of the sentence with which the verb agrees and so on.

The set of verbs which may appear with de-agents seems to me to be the same as in the modern case.

Epifânio, however, implies that there is a restriction in certain instances:<sup>22</sup>

O agente da passiva designa-se com por; todavia com um grandissimo numero de verbos - pode dizer-se que se exceptuam unicamente os que exprimem a idea de construir e fabricar - pode empregar-se de...

The passive agent takes por but with a very large number of verbs -- one may say that the only exceptions are verbs of constructing and fabricating -- de may be used.

Although I have not been able to check thoroughly on this point, it seems to me that this statement is not correct:

Orto/287-13      todo he criado e geerado de Deus  
 everything is created and generated  
 by God

It will therefore be assumed that there are no restrictions, other than the expected ones, on the de-passive and that it is to be derived by the analogues of t27 (combined) and t28, chapter 1:

29.      medieval agent-postposing

NP <sub>1</sub>	Aux	V	(NP <sub>2</sub> )	<u>de</u>	△
1		2		3	4
4		2		3	1

30.      NP-preposing

△	Aux	V	NP <sub>2</sub>	<u>de</u>	NP <sub>1</sub>
1	2	3	4	5	
4	2	3	∅	5	
	+ pass				

Although ex. 28 has the same surface form as ex. 27, the two constructions are actually quite different. Note in the first place that the so-called past participle has a strictly adjectival sense in addition to its verbal use in the passive:

- 31i. João foi aborrecido pela presença da sua sogra  
John was annoyed by the presence of his mother-in-law
- 31ii. João está aborrecido  
John is angry

Intuitively the participle in 31i is a form of the verb aborrecer, to anger, which in turn is related to the meaning "to cause to be angered", in which the adjective is considered basic. There is also a corresponding resultative aborrecer-se, to get angry, which has the same meaning as ficar aborrecido,<sup>20</sup> with the resultative ficar, to get or wind up, and the adjective. Lakoff<sup>21</sup> has proposed that in series of this type it is the adjective that is basic, the causative verb and the resultative reflexive being transformationally derived from the adjective. Notice that there is a similar series based on true adjectives, except that in this case the resultative is not reflexive: rico, rich; enriquecer alguém, to enrich someone; enriquecer, to get rich. Although (for lack of proof) one may not accept Lakoff's contention that the relationship is a true syntactic

one, it none the less seems correct that the adjective enters in the base, rather than being syntactically derived from the verb since the adjective can have none of the verbal complements:

- |                        |   |              |   |
|------------------------|---|--------------|---|
| a roupa está lavada    | { | *todo dia    | } |
|                        |   | *na pia      |   |
|                        |   | *com sabão   |   |
|                        |   | *rapidamente | } |
| the clothes are washed | { | *every day   | } |
|                        |   | *in the sink |   |
|                        |   | *with soap   |   |
|                        |   | *quickly     | } |

If the adjective were to be transformationally derived from the verb (regardless of its deep subject) it would be necessary to give some form of ad hoc restriction to account for the lack of verbal complements, as has been pointed out by Lakoff in the article cited above. Thus it will be assumed in what follows that participial adjectives are to be entered directly in the lexicon, although it will not be necessary to assume any particular derivation for the causative or resultative (reflexive) verbs. In more intuitive terms this amounts roughly to claiming that there is one class of adjectives, which has two subclasses -- participial (lavado) and true (rico).

Recall that in section 2.1.1 it was shown that in the medieval period active per-agents did not induce a subcategor-



ization of the verb and it is therefore not surprising that they can be found with the substantive verb ser:

32. Boosco/58-2 nom som nobres per sy nẽ per sua geeraçom  
they themselves are not noble nor are their families

Orto/296-10 Asy foy liure pella bẽẽta Uirgẽ da morte do corpo e da alma  
Thus he was free from corporal and spiritual death, through the agency of the Blessed Virgin

Since participial as well as true adjectives are found with ser it would not be surprising to find examples of the type of exs. 32 with participial adjectives. However such sentences would have the same surface form as the presumed passive, ex. 28, and in fact this example might be considered a case of exs. 32. There is strong evidence to support this conclusion in at least some instances. In the first place the presumed passive appears conjoined with true adjectives even when agents are present:

33. Orto/18-25 soom ãçuyada e fea e corrupta e chea de desonrra pellos maaos prelados  
I am dirtied and ugly and corrupt and full of bad fame, through the agency of the evil priests

Virgeu/29-61 E assy como son gabãdos e sobervos per suas gabanças...  
They are flattered by their own praise and are therefore made proud...

These conjunctions show quite clearly that in the medieval language a participle could be adjectival even when followed by an agent phrase. Furthermore, consider only the first conjunct of each of exs. 33:

soom ãçuyada pellos maaos prelados

son gabados per suas gabaņas

in which the forms soom and son are first singular present and third plural present of ser, respectively. Seemingly these have passive form. But notice that quite generally the real passive is entirely unacceptable with a present tense auxiliary, except if it is understood as generic<sup>23</sup> and this is true, in particular, of the modern English and Portuguese passives:

Maricota is seen by John \*at this moment  
every day at 5:00

Maricota é vista por João \*neste momento  
todos os dias às 5.00

This also seems to be the case for the archaic de-passive. Thus, since exs. 33 have a present tense auxiliary and are clearly not intended to be generic, it is clear that they are not passives. Rather they are constructions of the type of exs. 32 with participial adjectives and are generated directly in the base by the categorial rules 9.

With this sort of a derivation it does not make sense to talk about the "logical subject of the Participle", that is, "the Verb" since it starts out as an adjective in deep structure. In fact there is no reason to expect the per-agent to bear any particular relation to the participle and there are examples in which the agent clearly cannot be understood to be the logical subject. One such example is:

34. Lenda/38-19 ...e sō achado per ti<sup>24</sup>  
...and I am found through thee

Notice in the first place that ex. 34 is not a passive since the auxiliary is present tense. Although it is not known precisely which version of the Barlaam legend served as a basis for the Portuguese translation, from which ex. 34 is taken, there can be no doubt that it is, more or less directly, connected with the Greek text attributed to St. John of Damascus because the Portuguese translator mentions him in the text:

(Lenda/49-9) Ora diz Joã Demaçeno que esta estoria escreveu ã lingoagẽ grego...  
Now John of Damascus, who wrote this story in Greek, says...

Although the Portuguese and Greek do differ substantially in certain passages, it happens that they agree quite closely in the passage of which ex. 34 is a part. The original of ex. 34, thus, seems to have been:

StJD/538      καὶ εὐρέθη διὰ σοῦ  
and I am found through thee

where διὰ is unambiguously not the passive agent preposition so that thou is not the logical subject. Inspection of context shows that the meaning of the sentence is quite clearly:

I am found, you having intervened in this

It makes as much sense to ask "who found me?" concerning ex. 34 as it would to ask "who lost me?" concerning "I am lost"! Thus since both the Greek original and the context require readings in which ti in ex. 34 cannot be understood to be the deep subject, it may be assumed that it indeed is

not. Notice that this example destroys the assumption that sentences of the forms of exs. 27 and 28 were synonymous.

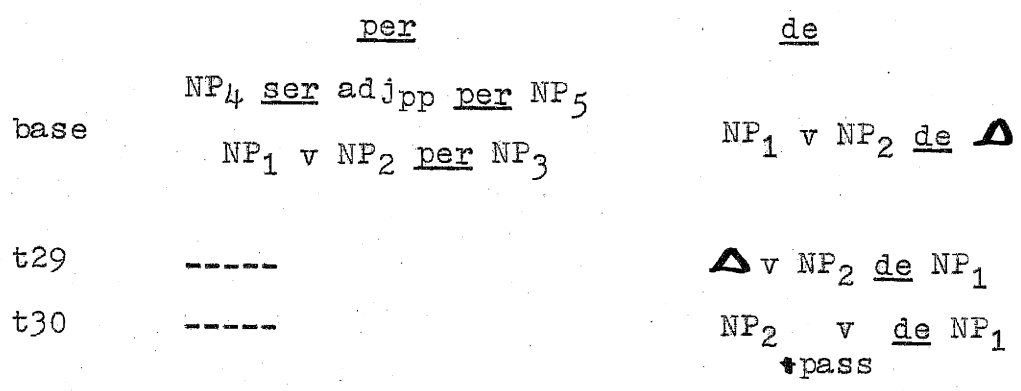
Despite this it is perfectly clear that a real passive with per exists even in the same texts in which exs. 33 occur, although very infrequently:

35. Orto/112-29 Outrossy, o ãperador Julio Cesar foy morto a treyçõ pellos seus...  
Even so, the emperor Julius Caesar was treacherously murdered by his own men...

in which the participle could not be adjectival since it occurs with the complement a treyçõ. The meaning of the sentence is clearly the normal passive one and differs from exs. 33 and 34, which describe a state rather than a process.

Thus sentences of the form of ex. 28 were presumably ambiguous between the constructions of exs. 33-34 and ex. 35. However exs. 33-34 quickly disappeared from the language and were certainly lost by the beginning of the classical period. Since there is no reason to believe that the normal development from Latin to Portuguese would give a per-passive like that in ex. 35 directly, exs. 33-34 are probably earlier. It is reasonable to postulate then that there was a stage of Portuguese, pre-medieval, in which only rules 9, t29 and t30 existed, that is, a stage at which the per-passive, ex. 35, had not yet been formed. At such a stage the derivations would be as represented below:

36. pre-medieval



where the third line under de and the first line under per would have similar surface forms since the passive of the auxiliary is ser followed by the participle.<sup>25</sup> Sentences of the following types would be allowed:

37.      sou  
          fui            ensujada            pelos prelados  
          era            feia  
          serei
38.      \*sou  
          fui            ensujada            dos prelados  
          era            \*feia  
          serei

Choosing the preterite of the Aux and the participle these would mean, respectively:

I was dirtied (adj), the prelates having intervened in this

I was dirtied (verb) by the prelates

where the adjective describes the result of the process described by the verb. Notice that this is the only difference in meaning between the two sentences in the case where the prelates intervention is direct. Thus, since both the meanings and shape of exs. 37 and 38 are quite close it

would be expected that they might become confused. In fact this seems to have happened, the passive meaning has been extended to ex. 37 as was seen above in ex. 35, in which the deep subject appears as the per-agent. The question of whether the per-agent in such examples really is the passive agent is a very difficult one to answer for a dead language. None the less there are some bits of evidence. The first of these is given by sentences in which the per-agent is not the deep subject, despite the fact that the participle is clearly not adjectival. Consider, for example, the following two sentences, which are found less than ten lines apart in the Fuero Real:

39. Fuero/I-48 (esta sancta trijdade) ... deu lee e ensinamento a seu poboo per moysẽ...  
(this holy trinity) ... gave laws and teaching to its people through Moses...
40. Fuero/I-54 ...a ley que foy dada primeyramẽte per moysẽ  
...the laws which were first given through Moses

The fact that these two sentences are found so close together and that they refer to exactly the same event shows that in ex. 40 it would be wrong to assume that Moysẽ is the deep subject of dar. The sentence is, however, quite clearly passive rather than adjectival.

Another bit of evidence is given by passive sentences like the following:

41. João I/270 esto nunca foi falado per nos, nem  
per noso mandado  
such a thing was never said by us,  
nor did we order that such be said

where the animate agent, which is the deep subject, is conjoined with an inanimate one which could not possibly be the deep subject. Thus if per nos really were the passive agent ex. 41 would be ungrammatical since passive agents cannot conjoin with adverbials.

Examples 40 and 41 together show that the analogy went only so far as the participle and did not reach the per-agent, which retains the same status as in the active voice. Thus the innovation<sup>26</sup> from pre-medieval to medieval is, apparently, that in sentences of the form "NP ser adj<sub>pp</sub> per NP" the participial adjective becomes passive, as in the de-passive. The innovated language contains sentences of the types in exs. 37 (including exs. 33 and 34) and ex. 38, plus exs. 35, 40 and 41. The speakers of the next generation must then construct maximal grammars  $G_2$  which generate this language.

The key to  $G_2$ , that is, the grammar of the medieval texts, is in the observation that the participle may be passive while the agent is of the type of the normal active animate per-agents discussed in section 2.1.1. However,

it would be wrong simply to allow per-agents to occur in the base form of passives thereby deriving double agents:

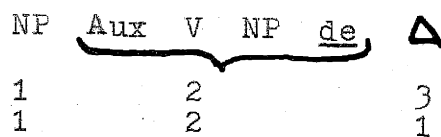
Deus deu lei per Moisés →

\* a lei foi dada per Moisés de Deus  
 because such double agents are never found in the texts and for this reason an ad hoc deletion rule would be required.

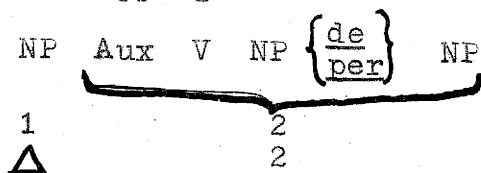
Recall that agent-postposing consists of a combination of two subparts, agent-copying and NP-dropping, as formulated in t27 of chapter 1 (p. 37). Since it has been shown that the per-agent is not a passive agent it is clear that agent-copying applies only to de, not per. However, if NP-dropping were to apply with both prepositions a derivational stage  $\Delta$  V NP<sub>2</sub> per NP<sub>3</sub>, parallel to  $\Delta$  V NP<sub>2</sub> de NP<sub>1</sub>, would be generated. If then NP-preposing were also allowed to apply with both de and per the forms NP<sub>2</sub> V per NP<sub>3</sub> and NP<sub>2</sub> V de NP<sub>1</sub> + pass would be generated, as is correct. Thus, in order to include the per-construction one need only modify t29 and t30:

43. agent-postposing (medieval)

i. agent-copying



ii. NP-dropping





44. NP-preposing (medieval)

△	Aux	V	NP	{ <u>de</u> } { <u>per</u> }	NP
1	2	3	4	5	
4	2	3	∅	5	
	+ pass				

The grammar of the medieval period, G<sub>2</sub>, will then consist of:

medieval

base: rules 9

transformations: agent-copying, t43i  
 NP-dropping, t43ii  
 NP-preposing, t44

The derivations provided by the above system will be of the types:

45. medieval

	<u>per</u>	<u>de</u>
	NP <sub>4</sub> <u>ser</u> adj <sub>pp</sub> <u>per</u> NP <sub>5</sub>	
base	<u>and</u>	NP <sub>1</sub> V NP <sub>2</sub> <u>de</u> △
	NP <sub>1</sub> V NP <sub>2</sub> <u>per</u> NP <sub>3</sub>	
t43i	-----	NP <sub>1</sub> V NP <sub>2</sub> <u>de</u> NP <sub>1</sub>
t43ii	△ V NP <sub>2</sub> <u>per</u> NP <sub>3</sub>	△ V NP <sub>2</sub> <u>de</u> NP <sub>1</sub>
t44	NP <sub>2</sub> V <u>per</u> NP <sub>3</sub> + pass	NP <sub>2</sub> V <u>de</u> NP <sub>1</sub> + pass

Sentences of the type of ex. 37 (including exs. 33 and 34) and ex. 38 are derived as before and those of the types of exs. 35 and 40 by t43 followed by t44.<sup>27</sup> It is worthwhile to follow the latter derivations carefully. Notice that



which is of the form of exs. 4, 6i, 6ii, and 6iii.  
Applying the transformations indicated below one  
gets, successively:

t43i: does not apply  
t43ii:  $\Delta$  matar César per Brutus  
+ past  
t44: César matar per Brutus  
+ past  
+ pass

which gives

César foi morto per Brutus.

Such derivations will account for sentences of the  
types of ex. 35, in which the per-agent is the deep  
subject.

The system illustrated in table 45, which is the  
one attested in the medieval texts, is quite complex  
and involves several minimal semantic distinctions re-  
presented by little or no difference in the surface  
structure. Thus each example (except in the pre-  
sent) is ambiguous between the passive and adjectival  
senses and the agent itself may or may not be the deep  
subject, leading to four minimally distinct readings  
for one surface structure. On the other hand, the  
de-construction, whose surface form differs from that  
of the per-construction only in the choice of pre-  
position is unambiguously a true passive so that  
corresponding to each surface structure there is only  
one reading.

### 3.2.2 The Classical Period

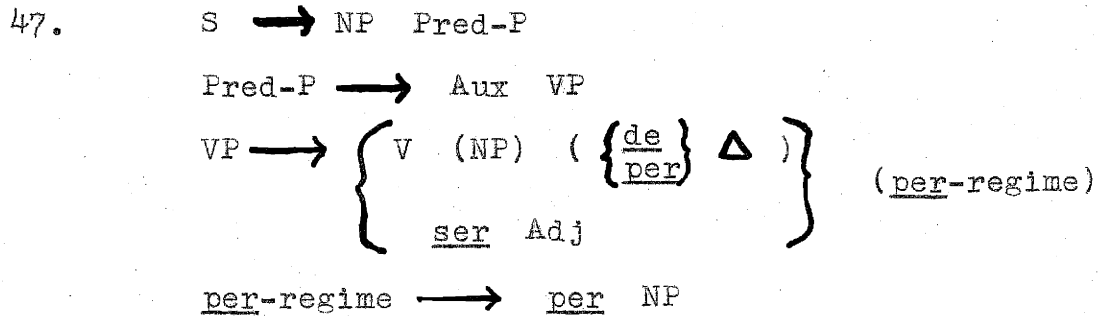
Consider now the effect of inn 13 on the medieval grammar. As pointed out above it caused the reduction of the per-agent to a verbal regime and thus necessarily eliminated the participial adjective with agent construction (exs. 33, ex. 34) since such adjectives do not occur with verbal regimes. In the case of the passive inn 13 removes the possibility of agents which are not the deep subject of the verb (ex. 40), making the per-passive equivalent to the already established de-passive, as is empirically correct.

The innovated grammar of the medieval period,  $G_2^1$ , consists then of rules 9, and t43, t44 and the innovation in 13.  $G_2^1$  is quite obviously not a maximal grammar since it requires the generation of forms which are not used. In fact it generates only sentences of the type:

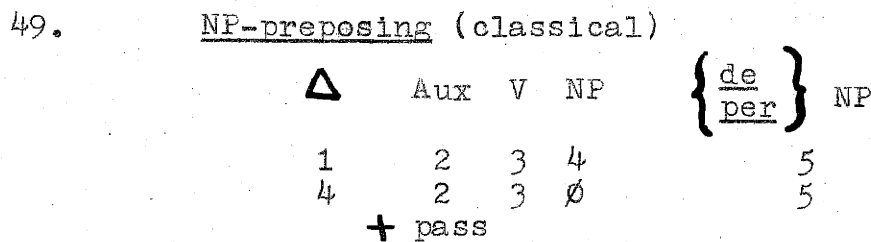
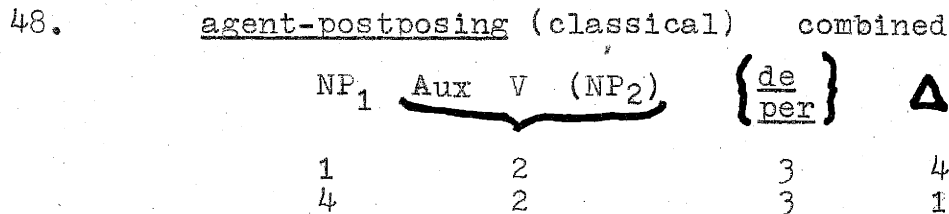
* sou			
fui	ensujada	dos	prelados
era	*feia	pelos	
serei			

in which the choice of preposition is immaterial. The next generation, that is, the speakers of the classical language with grammar  $G_3$  seeing such data will of course conclude that there is only one passive construction which happens to involve a choice of preposition. This requires a change from the base of  $G_2$  in order to allow for the choice of de or per in

front of  $\Delta$ . Thus the new base will be:



This will be followed by a version of agent-postposing which allows for the choice between de and per in both parts. No such modification is necessary for NP-preposing since this choice was already established in the medieval period.



Consider once again inn 13. Notice that in the surface structure there is no way to distinguish sentences of the type of ex. 40 from those of ex. 35 so that if inn 13 is to be expressed within G<sub>2</sub> the restriction must be on base forms. Then it will eliminate

the underlying forms necessary for derivations of the type in 46 and sentences of the type of ex. 40 will not be generated. Putting aside for the moment the issue of frequency, this means that inn 13 must be restated as follows:

50. innovation animate per-agents which are not identical to the deep subject are eliminated from the base.

Intuitively inn 50 is exactly correct in that the animate per-agents, which it removes, are the essential elements of which the base forms are made. Once the base form vanishes, so does the transformed version.

However, there is no way that inn 50 can be expressed as a rule of the base or a restriction thereon because the base consists of context-free rewriting rules. Furthermore there is obviously no way to state frequency restrictions with a formal grammar.

After the reflexive constructions have been discussed in the next paragraph I will return to this problem.

#### 4. The Reflexive Passive

##### 4.1 Introductory Comments

In the first chapter it was shown that modern Portuguese has a reflexive passive as well as a reflexive impersonal, neither of which may appear with a surface agent. The only fact about the se-constructions in the old language which was noted by the philologists is that the latter restriction did not apply:<sup>29</sup>

(o pronome se) ... forma a voz passiva, mas com uma diferença notável entre o português moderno e antigo: neste podia expressar-se o agente da voz passiva pronominal, no português moderno é obrigatório calá-lo.

(the pronoun se) ... forms the passive voice, but with one notable difference between Old and Modern Portuguese: in the old language the agent of the reflexive passive could be expressed while in Modern Portuguese it must be "left out."

Two more or less standard examples, taken from Os Lusíadas were given by Epifânio:<sup>30</sup>

52. Lus/I-52           ...o Mar remoto nauegamos,/que so  
                          dos feos Focas se nauega...  
                          ...we navigate the distant sea, which  
                          is navigated only by the ugly seals
53. Lus/VII-55        Aqui se escreuerão nouas historias,/  
                          por gentes estrangeiras...  
                          Here new stories will be written by  
                          foreign people...

Such examples have led the philologists to the conclusion that, no matter what its status in the modern language may be, the se-construction was once a true passive, in the same sense

as the modern ser-passive. This conclusion is made more plausible by the (alleged) fact that the non-agreeing case (as in ex. 13a, chapter 1) is not found in the oldest texts. In general it is assumed that the true passive gradually lost its agent and agreement, leading thus to the se-impersonal.

The traditional analysis outlined above is inadequate in several respects, perhaps the most important of these being that the agent phrase in ex. 53 may not be the passive agent at all, as was shown in sections 2.1.1 and 3.2.2. The analysis is, however, also based on inadequate knowledge of the facts. Thus it has never been clearly established whether the non-agreeing case was indeed ungrammatical in both periods and correspondingly it is also unclear when exs. 52 and 53 became grammatical. Thus, before discussing the grammar of the se-construction it is necessary to establish clearly the data to be accounted for.

#### 4.2 the data

##### 4.2.1 agreement

Even the philologists themselves have questioned the supposed non-existence of the non-agreeing case. In point of fact sentences of this type can be found, although only infrequently. J. M. Rodrigues<sup>31</sup> has given examples covering the period 1552-1665 to which can be added examples from much earlier times:



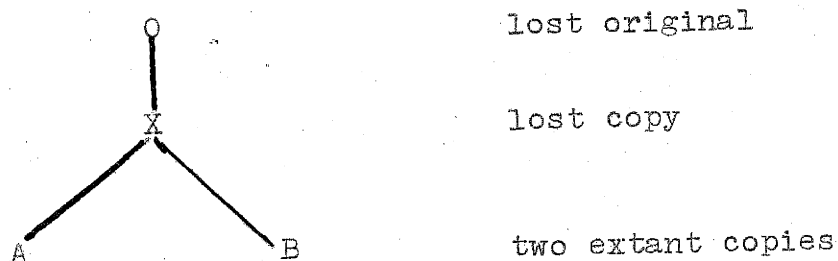
54. Orto/121-19 e passarõ pello Mar Royuo, per que  
se entende as deleytações carnaes  
and they went by the Red Sea, which  
signifies carnal delight
55. Fuero/123-1426 aquellas cousas que se podẽ uender  
aquellas se possa apenhorar  
those things which may be sold, may  
be pledged

Exs. 54 and 55 are from ca. 1375 and the thirteenth century, respectively. Since, however, there seem to be very few such occurrences in the earlier texts the philologists have come to the conclusion that the non-agreeing se-construction was not acceptable in the old language.

My own view is that the issue is undecidable given the present state of knowledge of Old Portuguese. In the first place, in order for examples like exs. 54 and 55 to be taken seriously it would have to be shown that their frequency of occurrence is greater than that which could be expected if they were pure and simple mistakes. The two main components of the mistake frequency would be ordinary linguistic mistakes, as when one utters sentences with incorrect concordances, and recording (and re-copying) mistakes. The latter factor would, of course, be much greater in the hand written medieval texts. As an example of the first kind of mistake consider the following string taken from the Orto:

56. Orto/192-39 \*E foy-lhe dados muytos cabellos ãnas  
sollas ~~dos~~ pees.  
And they were given a lot of hair on  
the soles of their feet.

This string is ungrammatical because the surface subject muytos cabellos is plural while the finite verb foy is singular, precisely the same sort of mistake in concordance which might account for the occurrence of sentences of the type of ex. 13a, chapter 1 when only ex. 13b, chapter 1 was grammatical. It is interesting to note that this patently obvious error is present in the two manuscripts of the Orto which survive. Professor Bertil Maler has established the following family tree for the Orto:<sup>32</sup>



The fact that the mistake is found in both A and B suggests that it goes back at least to X. In fact it probably goes back to O since ex. 56 is a translation of:

Anglico/LXV      Data est etiam sub pedibus multa  
pillorum villositas

Apparently the writer of the Orto first translated the est of data est as foy (singular for singular) and then looked ahead and realized that pillorum villositas would have to be plural in the translation and then finished the rest of the sentence with plural concordances. Thus it seems that this obvious error twice survived at least two successive copyings. All of which shows that, quite independently of any peculiarities of the se-construction blatant errors in

concordance were established and transmitted in the texts of the medieval period. Such mistakes seem to have been less frequent in the classical period.

The second component of the mistake frequency is given by recording and copying mistakes. Notice that for most tenses the difference between the agreeing and non-agreeing cases is simply the absence or presence of nasalization of the final vowel, represented in the present orthography by a final -m. In the texts, however, any nasalization could be represented by m, n or the diacritic til, ~, a slightly wavey line written above the nasalized vowel. The latter was quite frequently used in the earlier hand written texts since it is easier to write. However, the til is often "missing" or "erased by time" in the presently available texts. There are two possible explanations for this. First, like the dot on the i and the cross on the t they might simply sometimes have been omitted because of sloppiness or forgetfulness on the part of the scribe or, second, they might have faded away. Whatever the reason may be, the absence of a mark of nasalization is not at all unusual and indeed one of the favorite pastimes of modern day editors is adding n or m in appropriate places. Typical examples are:

Virgeu/64-543 e el no deu logo o juizo

which was emended by the editor to read

e el nõ deu logo o juizo.

Similarly the phrase

Orto/206-21 e a rrazom asy lho coselha

was corrected to

e a rrazom asy lho conselha.

Naturally there are cases in which it is impossible to tell whether one is dealing with an incorrect concordance or a missing til:

Graal/56r

...atodos aq̃lles q̃ se fazem afora da  
carreira do pecado & torna adireita  
carreira

...to those who leave the road of sin  
and return to the road of righteousness

Here the subject aq̃lles is plural so both verbs should be also.

However, the lack of agreement might simply be a missing til.

I have tried to show above that the mere presence of sentences of the non-agreeing type cannot be sufficient evidence to conclude that they were grammatical and that, in fact, such examples cannot even be taken seriously until it is shown that they occur more frequently than the corresponding mistakes do. It seems to me that this is the correct way to understand the philologists' notion of "arbitrariness", which arose because of their failure to make the langue - parole distinction. Thus since they noticed that sentences like ex. 56 above occurred in the texts they concluded that grammar used to be a part-time affair: 33

O português arcaico apresentava, com freqüência,  
falta de concordância entre o predicado e o

sujeito ... A língua moderna, sobretudo na sua modalidade popular, ainda revela vestígios dessa antiga arbitrariedade.

The old language frequently showed lack of agreement between the predicate and the subject ... The modern language, especially the popular dialect, still reveals traces of this archaic arbitrariness.

However, it is clear that in the modern language, even in the literary dialect, the non-agreeing case is firmly established as an independent construction with its own properties, as was seen in chapter one. The question then is: when did the non-agreeing se-construction become acceptable? A partial answer could be provided by detailed frequency studies to determine when its frequency came to exceed the mistake (or "arbitrariness") frequency. Since such studies are out of the question at the moment, one must rely on more intuitive criteria, such as noting when the construction was first used regularly by respected authors who are believed to have used natural prose in their works. For example, the construction is used so often by Pe. António Vieira in letters dated between 1665 and 1680 that it would seem to have been quite natural at that time, as has been shown by J. M. Rodrigues<sup>34</sup>. The same is probably true for Palmeirim (1567) in which such examples are used quite freely. Typical examples are:

Palm/I-70

...destes assinalados principaes,  
de que se então não sabia nenhuma  
novas.

...of these illustrious magnates,  
about whom no news was known at  
that time.

Palm/III-392 No sentimento de sua morte se  
fez mais sinalados extremos  
In sorrow caused by his death  
people went to remarkable ex-  
tremes

I do not believe that these examples can be passed off as mistakes since errors in number concordance between subject and verb are vanishingly infrequent in Palmeirim.

On the other hand, I know of no occurrences of the non-agreeing construction in the Clarimundo (1520), which, as was shown in section 2.1.2, is written in an extremely flowing natural style and can probably be taken as faithfully representative of the language Barros (b. 1497) learned as a child. The fact that the construction is not found in Clarimundo suggests that if it existed at the turn of the sixteenth century it still sounded a bit strange. It does, however, occur in Barros's later works, in which he used all sorts of constructions (see section 2.1.2) in an attempt to achieve a "Latin" style. This circumstance leads to the conclusion that although the non-agreeing se-construction was probably minimally present at the turn of the sixteenth century, it did not become fully acceptable until the middle of that century. Thus, some authors who were born at the turn of the century, for example Fernão Mendes Pinto (b. 1510), did not participate of the change and thus do not use the construction, as would be expected.

Although I have thus fixed the date of entry of the non-agreeing construction at about 1550 it should be borne in mind that for any particular period before this one can find a few examples in most texts and, in fact, some enthusiastic philologists have even claimed that the construction goes back to Vulgar Latin. As I can see no basis for such claims I have discounted them.

Notice that it is quite important to distinguish between true occurrences of the non-agreeing construction, like those given above, from verb-complement (or aux-complement) constructions such as:

Marco/49r

...e fazem ymagẽes de lyões e de dragoões e de aues muy sotilmente . as quaaes som assi firmes na pelle que nunca se pode tirar ...and they make very delicate drawings of lions, dragons and birds, which are so fixed on the skin that they can never be removed

where as quaaes (ymagẽes) is the object of tirar.

Simplifying the rather long citation given above, one has:

57.       pode-se tirar as imagens

where the proposition tirar as imagens is the deep object of poder. It is this whole proposition which is the surface subject of poder, which is therefore

singular. Notice, however, that Portuguese has a rule of verb-raising<sup>35</sup>, after which the se-passive rule may apply to give:

58.        podem-se tirar as imagens.

Many philologists, noting exs. 57 and 58 seem to have concluded that ex. 57 is a case of the non-agreeing construction, despite the fact that it involves only the ordinary se-passive rule. Sentences of the type of ex. 57 are relatively easy to find, even in the early texts.

It is, incidentally, typical of the present state of knowledge of Portuguese of the medieval and classical periods that such simple facts should still be in doubt and that a construction which appears very clearly and quite regularly in the texts as early as 1550-1650 is still considered bad by some grammarians, who persist in insisting on the agreeing construction.

#### 4.2.2 Nominative vrs. Accusative

In the first chapter it was seen that there is considerable confusion about the case of the deep object



in the modern language. There is no such confusion in the archaic language, however, where only the nominative is found:

Clar/I-211      a valentia ... nem se fez ela  
para os fracos.  
valour ... nor was it made for  
the weak.

Pere/II-50      fazer fazenda ... aquelle lugar  
onde estavamos não era o onde  
ella se fazia.  
to trade goods ... the place where  
we were was not where they were  
traded.

Naturally this is exactly the result one would expect for a period when only the agreeing construction was acceptable, since in Portuguese verbs do not ordinarily agree with nouns which are accusative. The absence of accusatives in the later period will be discussed later.

#### 4.2.3 Intransitives

Another property of the modern se-constructions which does not seem to hold in the earlier periods is the occurrence of intransitive verbs. Thus, in the medieval period the se-construction seems to be permissible only for transitive verbs and apparent exceptions to this statement can be accounted for by deletion of a deep object. This is not surprising since, as was seen in section 4.2.2, the deep object occurs in the surface only in the nominative and could therefore be deleted by the

ordinary rules of subject ellipsis. A typical example is:

JoãoI/433      ...a paaz simplez, diziam elles,  
                  posto que se arrazoe por algũs...  
                  ...simple peace, they said, even  
                  though it may be defended by some  
                  people...

where the pronoun ela, referring to a paz, has been deleted.

There are also some apparent counter-examples involving assi como, as is, but these are merely cases in which the sentential object has been moved forward:

Orto/84-33      ...e porem caae o homẽ em muytos  
                  peccados, de que o mũdo he cõprido,  
                  asy como se mostra ã este recõtamẽto...  
                  ...and therefore man falls into  
                  many sins, of which the world is  
                  full, as is shown in this story...

where the proposition caae .... cõprido has been preposed.

The first occurrences of the se-construction with intransitives that were noticed by the philologists date from around 1550, although I happen to have found one from 1532:

Ropica/8      Onde se trata de pecado e viçios...  
                  Where sin and vice are treated

Even though there may be a few such examples before 1550 the philologists' conclusion is probably basically correct.

Thus the facts are:

60!	medieval	classical	
		before 1550	after 1550
intransitives in <u>se</u> -cons.	no	?	yes

4.2.4 agent prepositions

Although it is quite true that in the classical period both de-and per-agents could occur with the se-construction, the de-agents do not seem to occur in the medieval period, or at least not until the very end of this period. The earliest example I know of is from a text written in 1445 but published in 1495, nearly a half century into the classical period:

Vita/13c            odia da sua naçença nõ soo se  
                     festeja & honrra dos xpããos,  
                     mas dos mouros & doutros.  
                     the day of his birth is celebrated  
                     and honored not only by the  
                     Christians but also by the Moors  
                     and others.

The next earliest example is from 1520:

Clar/III-70        ... a Ilha das Maias ... nunca  
                     se verá de ninguém senão por  
                     este dia.  
                     ... Maya Island ... will never  
                     be seen by anyone except on this  
                     day.

Thus, the most important point in the traditional analysis, the occurrence of the se-construction with **passive** agents, is entirely invalid for the medieval period since de-agents do not occur and per-agents were not necessarily passive.

The data, then, are:

61.		medieval		classical
	<u>de</u> -agents	no		yes
	<u>per</u> -agents	yes		yes

### 4.3 The Medieval Period

In section 4.2 it has been shown that the medieval se-construction had the following properties:

- i. the verb agrees with the deep object
- ii. the deep object is in the nominative
- iii. only transitive verbs occur
- iv. only per-agents are permissible

Since the deep subject does not appear in the surface form it is rather difficult to determine if it is restricted as in the modern language. Although I have been unable to find any of the critical examples of the types discussed on pp. 10 - 13 there are examples in later periods, when the deep subject could appear as an agent, in which these restrictions do not hold. For this reason it will be assumed that there were no special restrictions on the deep subject, although there is really little evidence either way.

The fact that the subject is deleted suggests that NP-dropping has applied. This must be followed by an object fronting rule in order to account for i, ii and iii above. As in the case of t19, chapter 1, a pronominal copy of the object is left behind so that the reflexive particle may be derived by application of reflex. The argument given in chapter 1 for this type of derivation in the modern case also applies to the medieval one.

In addition, it accounts automatically for the lack of accusatives in the se-construction, without statement of surface conditions, since the non-agreeing form did not exist in this period. Thus the statement of the medieval se-passive rule is:

63.        medieval se-passive

$\Delta$	Aux	[ V	NP <sub>2</sub> ]	VP	( <u>per</u> NP <sub>3</sub> )
1	2	3	4		5
	4	2	3	4	5
			+pro		

As in the modern case t63 would be followed by agree, reflex and so on. Thus the grammar of the medieval period, G<sub>2</sub>, will include:

64.        medieval grammar

base:                    rules 9

transformations:    medieval agent-copying, t43i  
                                  medieval NP-dropping, t43ii  
                                  medieval NP-preposing, t44  
                                  medieval se-passive, t63

These rules give derivations of the following types, where the derivations of table 45 are repeated for convenience:

65.        medieval derivations

	<u>per</u>		<u>de</u>
base:	NP <sub>1</sub> V NP <sub>2</sub> <u>per</u> NP <sub>3</sub>		NP <sub>1</sub> V NP <sub>2</sub> <u>de</u> $\Delta$
	<u>and</u>		
	NP <sub>4</sub> <u>ser</u> adj <sub>pp</sub> <u>per</u> NP <sub>5</sub>		
t43i	---		NP <sub>1</sub> V NP <sub>2</sub> <u>de</u> NP <sub>1</sub>

t43ii:	$\Delta$ v NP <sub>2</sub> <u>per</u> NP <sub>3</sub>	$\Delta$ v NP <sub>2</sub> <u>de</u> NP <sub>1</sub>
t44:	NP <sub>2</sub> v <u>per</u> NP <sub>3</sub> +pass	NP <sub>2</sub> v <u>de</u> NP <sub>1</sub> +pass
	<u>or</u>	
t63:	NP <sub>2</sub> v NP <sub>2</sub> <u>per</u> NP <sub>3</sub> +pro	---

where the ser-passive derivations are unchanged. Just as in the case of the ser-passive, 43ii will be limited by the universal deletion conditions to two cases: either NP<sub>1</sub> is indefinite or it is identical to NP<sub>3</sub>. It is worthwhile to follow the derivations carefully in each case. Consider first a simple instance of the former type:

66. Boosco/65-2 as cousas que se podẽ compreender pellos çinque sentidos do corpo...  
the things which can be understood by (means of) the five senses...

where the meaning is clearly that people (one, somebody) understand things through the agency of the five senses.

Thus the derivation of ex. 66 is:

base:	a gente compreender as cousas pelos cinco sentidos
t43ii:	$\Delta$ compreender as cousas pelos cinco sentidos
t63:	as cousas compreender as cousas pelos cinco sentidos + pro
<u>agree</u> & <u>reflex</u> :	as cousas compreender as cousas pelos cinco sentidos +pl +pro +reflex

which gives, after re-ordering:

Compreendem-se as cousas pelos cinco sentidos

Derivations like this one will account for se-passives in which the per-agent is not the deep subject. Examples of this type are not uncommon, even with human per-agents.

A typical example is:

67. Ciceram/48-10 ...assy como se mostrou per Marco Catom na terceira guerra que ouvemos com os de Cartago  
...as was shown in the case of Marcus Cato in the third Punic War

If Marco Catom were the deep subject of mostrar ex. 67 would mean "as was shown by Marcus Cato...". It can be seen, however, that this is not correct by consideration of the Latin original:

68. Cicero/80-78 ...ut M. Catonis bellum tertium Punicum

Evidently, the verb mostrar was added by the translator in the sense shown by the English gloss, so that Marco Catom cannot be the deep subject in ex. 66. Another example of this type with an animate, although not human per-agent is:

- Aves/xvi assi aq̄stes luxuriosos q̄ see  
entendē pelo mioto...  
thus these lustful men, who  
are meant by the buzzard...

where mioto is clearly not the deep subject of entender, (literally) to understand or represent.

The second case in which t43ii can operate is when the subject is identical to the per-agent. As pointed out earlier, a deep structure of this type would lead to an active with reflexive per-agent if other





which the two transformations seem to have in common, should be factored out and stated separately. Any such proposal will run into one fundamental problem: the conditions on the object-subject change are different in the two cases. In the se-passive only third person objects may be fronted and, as was pointed out in chapter 1, this restriction is shared with pleonasm, a transformation which is of the same general type as se-passive. For this reason I have not attempted to generalize t44 and t63 into one transformation.

#### 4.4 The Classical Period

##### 4.4.1 before 1550

The main development in the se-passive at the beginning of the classical period was the introduction of de-agents, which are always equivalent to the deep subject. Simultaneously with this development se-passives in which the per-agent is not the deep subject, as in ex. 67, vanished from the language, thus making de- and per-agents equivalent as in the classical ser-passive. The latter change is already implied by innovation 50 since it eliminates the deep structures necessary to generate sentences of the type of ex. 67. The former is simply the result of a slight generalization of t63 to allow for a choice of de or per in the agent phrase,

so that it will be applicable to the second derivational stage in the de column of table 65, a change which may be related to Kiparsky's "feeding order" generalization.

Thus  $G_2^1$ , the innovated grammar of the medieval period, consists of the grammar in 64, the innovation in 50 and the generalization in t63 mentioned above. It generates reflexive passives of the types:

NP<sub>1</sub> se verb  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{de} \\ \underline{per} \end{array} \right\}$  NP<sub>2</sub>

in which de and per are equivalent. Clearly  $G_2^1$  is in no sense an optimal grammar, either in respect of the ser-passive or the se-passive.

It has already been postulated that the grammar of the classical period,  $G_3$ , consists in part of the categorial rules in 47 followed by t48 and t49. In order to derive the se-passive one need only add a version of t63 generalized to include both de and per:

70. classical se-passive

△	Aux	V	NP <sub>2</sub>	(	$\frac{\underline{de}}{\underline{per}}$	NP <sub>3</sub> )
					⏟	
1	2	3	4		5	
4	2	3	4		5	
			pro			

$G_3$  will then consist of

71. classical

base:	rules 47
transformations:	classical agent-postposing, t48
	classical NP-preposing, t49
	classical <u>se</u> -passive, t70



second part of the classical period that such sentences became grammatical. Simultaneously intransitive verbs began to appear in the se-construction. These two properties alone represent a rather radical departure from the se-passive since the former suggests that the deep object should no longer be moved into subject position (if it were the verb would agree with it) and the latter shows that an object is no longer even necessarily present in the deep structure. Thus classical se-passive, t70, could not have any connection with the new construction. These considerations do not, however, show anything about the relationship of agent postposing to the non-agreeing construction. Thus, although such forms as

\*vê-se as ilhas pelos marinheiros  
(the islands are seen by the sailors)

\*navega-se os mares dos focas  
(the seas are navigated by the seals)

\*foi-se {pela  
da} rainha  
(there was a going {by  
of} the Queen)

are imaginable and could be easily generated they simply do not occur and in fact seem completely wild. Thus, agent postposing, t48, also has no connection with the new construction.

In Portuguese the passive is marked either by a

process of agentization or by a process of object fronting or both. Formally, as has just been seen, the new se-construction does not involve either part of the passive. Correspondingly the new construction is no longer felt to be a passive but simply an active with an indefinite subject, as in the modern se-impersonal. Thus the acceptance of the non-agreeing form into the language does not represent a modification of the se-passive but rather the introduction of an entirely new rule into the grammar.

It is difficult to determine if the new construction differed in any way from the modern se-impersonal discussed in section 1.2.3 (chapter 1) since the critical examples are not of the type which one would expect to occur frequently in texts. In particular I have been unable to find data of the type given on pp. 10-14 for the modern case which force a decision as to which indefinite or what type of indefinite occurs in the deep structure. The data on reflexivization and occurrence with passives given for the modern case on pages 22 and 24, respectively, are also unavailable to me at this time. However, in reading the texts of the period one is not struck by odd sounding se-impersonals and indeed the old construction seems to occur in exactly the same way and with exactly the same meaning as the modern one. Thus it seems reasonable

to assume that the old rule was of the same form as the modern one, namely:

73. classical se-impersonal

Ind V X

1 2 3

∅ 2+se 3

where Ind is one of the indefinites, perhaps a gente as in the modern case or the archaic homem, which is similar to modern French on. This case would seem to be one in which the innovation is identical to the change.

As was noted in chapter 1, a rule of the type of t73 leads to the generation of se-impersonals with pronominal objects, not all of which are acceptable. In fact, no pronominal direct object may occur with se in the archaic language, as was shown in section 4.2.2. However, just as in the modern case, pronominal indirect objects are allowed:

Lus/9-6            O dano, sem razão, que se lhe ordena,  
pela maligna gente Sarracena  
The harm, without reason, which is prepared for them by the evil Sarracens

Vieira/29-6-65    Não se me tira da memória as muitas  
vezes que...<sup>36</sup>  
One cannot rip from my memory the many time that...

Thus the surface conditions for the archaic language are exactly the same as the system under "written" on p. 28.

notes:

1. It should be mentioned that there is some confusion in the texts between per and por (not to mention the extra confusion added by modern editors, who seem to feel called upon to change that which the centuries have preserved). In general it is plain that in the vast majority of cases the "means" preposition is per, not por. In fact, it is not at all clear to me that the confusion is linguistic; that is, it might be a performance feature (of scribes or printers). Or again, there might have been a vowel reduction rule which made the two sound alike in unstressed position.

Here are two examples of the confusion:

Fuero/IV-660 ...que tenha que a perdeo per furto  
ou por outra cousa qualquer

Vita/75r Quarenta se fazem d quatro vezes dez .  
por quatro se entende onouo testamento  
que he de quatro euangelhos . per dez  
se entende otestamento antiijgo porque  
se contem em dez mandamentos.

2. (Ali, 64), p. 215
3. (Epifânio, 59), p. 152
4. (Huber, 33), p. 236
5. (Epifânio, 59), p. 153
6. This principle was established in (Chomsky, 57), p. 35.

The argument is based on the fact that constituents and only constituents can conjoin:

eu - falei - com Maria

eu - falei - com João

eu falei com Maria e com João

but not:

- o - rapaz conhece a - moça
- o - filósofo ama a - moça
- \* o rapaz conhece e filósofo ama a moça

The reason the second conjunction is not allowed is that rapaz conhece a and filósofo ama a are not constituents. Chomsky then went on to note that only like constituents can conjoin, that is, one has

- o filósofo - caiu - no Leblon  
the philosopher fell in Leblon
- o filósofo - caiu - no chão  
the philosopher fell on the floor

but not

- \* o filósofo caiu no Leblon e no chão.

The latter sequence is not allowed since no Leblon is an adverb of place while no chão is an adverb of direction. Thus, they are not like constituents.

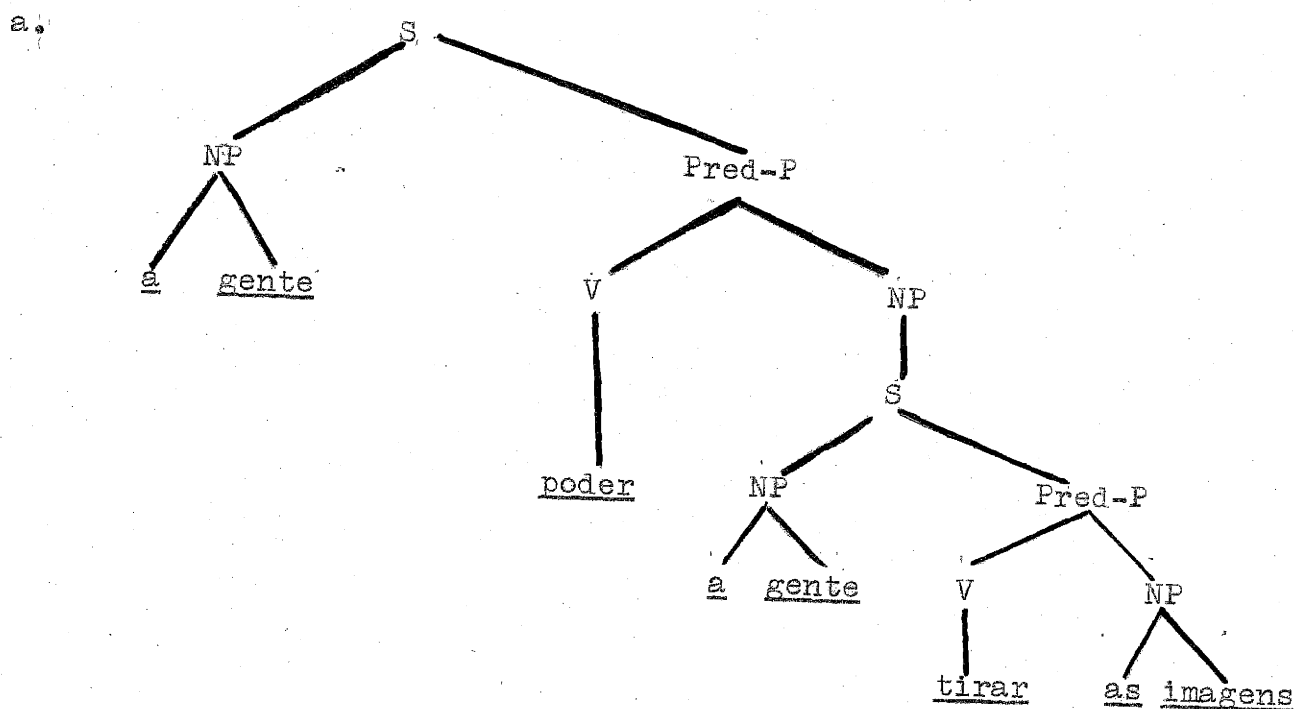
7. pollos is the contraction of por with the article os. The Boosco was published about one hundred years after it was written and therefore shows a relatively higher percentage of por over per. santso is an obvious misprint for santos.

- 8. (Chomsky, 65) p. 96
- 9. (Chomsky, 65) p. 102
- 11. (Baião, 32) p. lvi
- 12. (Braga, 53) p. xxxi
- 13. (Baião, 32) p. xlvii



14. (Bell, 22) p. 192
15. (Pimpão, 59) p. 301
16. (Ali, 64) p. 207
17. (Ali, 64) p. 193
18. Mr. E. Wayles Browne III has called to my attention several similar cases, e.g., Middle English a neutx (newt, a small salamander) from an eute and Old French orange (orange, a fruit) by faulty separation from une norenge (cf: Spanish naranja)
19. (Ali, 64) p. 205
20. See (Ali, 64) pp. 176-180
21. See (Lakoff, 65) pp. IV-4 to IV-17
22. (Epifânio, 59) p. 129
23. Or, as a "historical present", as in stage directions
24. In this example "found" is used in a spiritual sense, as when one speaks of sinners as being "lost".
26. I have not formulated this innovation in formal terms because it is not attested in the texts, sentences like ex. 35 being found even in the oldest texts.
27. A comparison of tables 45 and 36 shows that the net result of the postulated change from pre-medieval to medieval is increased applicability of some of the components of the passive, a change which may be related to Kiparsky's "feeding order" observation.
29. (Sousa, 60) p. 264

- 30. (Epifânio, 59) p. 106
- 31. (Rodrigues, 13)
- 32. (Maler, 64) p. 12
- 33. (Sousa, 60) p. 218
- 34. (Rodrigues, 13)
- 35. The deep structure is:



to which equi-NP deletion applies to delete the embedded occurrence of a gente. This deep structure is necessary in order to account for sentences like the one below in which the pro-S o stands for the underlined embedded proposition:

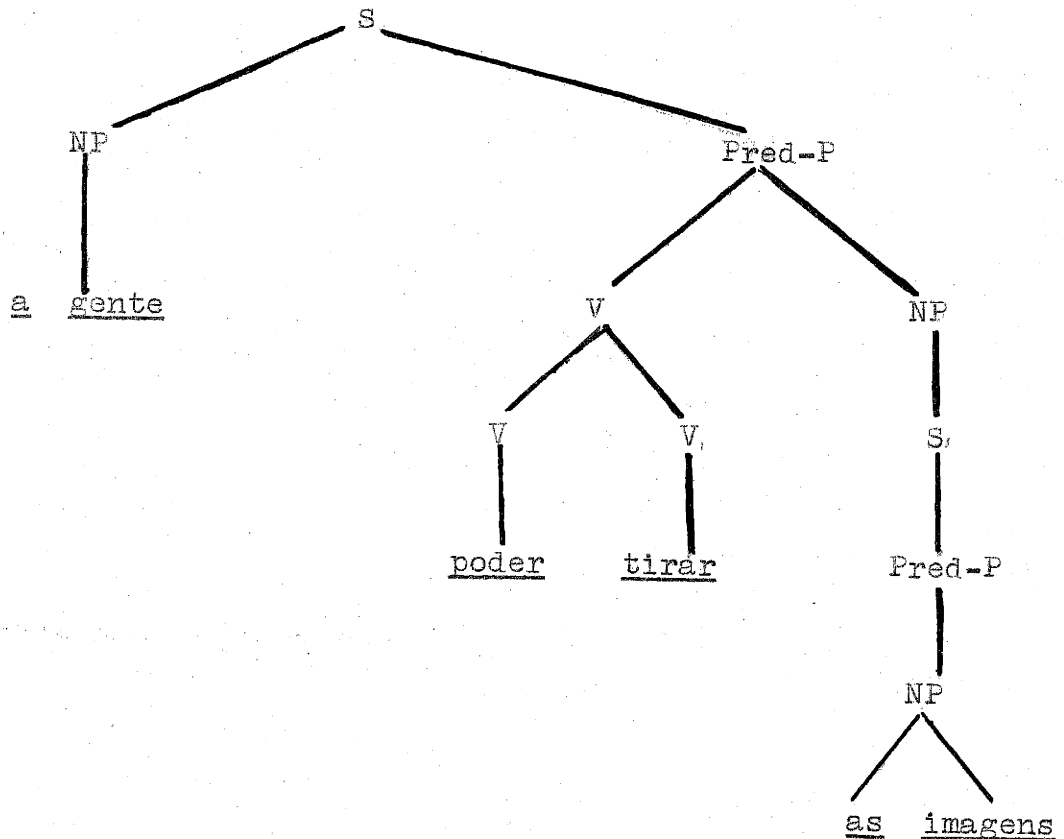
João consegue comer certos peixes fritos, embora eu não o consiga

John manages to eat certain fried fishes, although  
I can't manage it

As mentioned in the text t19 may apply after equi-NP del.,  
with the observation that the proposition behaves like  
the neuter pronoun under reflex.

There is also a rule of verb-raising which Chomsky-  
adjoins the verb of the embedded S to that of the top S.  
This gives structures like:

b.



Such structures are necessary to account for the deletion  
of both verbs in certain cases:

João escreve espanhol melhor do que eu russo  
John writes Spanish better than I do Russian

parallel to

João consegue escrever espanhol melhor do que eu russo

John manages to write Spanish better than I do Russian,

as well as for rules of clitic placement:

- i. não poder visitá-los  
not to be able to visit them
- ii. não podê-los visitar  
not to be able to visit them
- iii. não os poder visitar  
not to be able to visit them

The first case, in which the pronoun is enclitic to the verb of its own proposition, is derived from structure a. However, if verb-raising has applied the pronoun can be enclitic to the auxiliary (ii) or proclitic to it (iii), depending on the usual conditions.

Notice that if verb-raising has applied, t19 can then apply to structure b to derive ex. 58.

36. apud (Rodrigues, 13) p. 179

Appendix

A2.1 Active voice per-agents

acabar	fazendo per outrem o que de acabar per mỹ entonções era embargado (Virtuosa/2)
achar	per ti achamos folgança de todos nossos males (Lenda/41-7)
acusar	nõ possam acusar outrĩ per si nẽ per outrĩ (Fuero/158-1012)
alimpar	atees ã venha aq̃lle ã laue as almas & as alimpe p ospũ sctõ (Vita/63b)
alumear	assi alumeou o infante Josaphate pello Santo Espirito (Lenda/15-18)
	Sam joham nem os sanctos nom sam luz &feitiua & que per sy allumee (Vita/59c)
ameaçar	quando o ameaçou Deus pelo profeta (Bíblia/296)
	Onde o Senhor Deus ameaça pello propheta Ysayas (Orto/327-27)
aprazar	ou aprazeo per sinal que lly pare ou per carta do alcalde ou per seu omẽ conocudo (Fuero/72-725)
aprender	aquelas cousas que eu aprendi per mĩ meesmo (Greg/4-27)
	Moyses no deserto polo angeo aprendeu aquelas cousas que depois amostrou aos filhos d'Israel e nõ per homẽ (Greg/8-25)
arreferir	e nostro Senhor arreferia pelo Anjo todos os bẽes (Bíblia/170)
aviir	Esta coyta ... me aueeo em huã ora p aq̃lla besta (Dem/32r)
	ja p uos nom auera tam fremossa auentã (Dem/68r)

batizar	& asy paulo baptizou poucos p sy (Vita/88c) (&restaua aly & bauprizaua) p seus discipolos (Vita/88c)
coitar	nõ p ti quero coytar mjnha morte (Dem/15r)
comer	E iaz ora o astroso / Mui doante mui noioso / E cõmendo p ssy caga (CCB/413-14)
comprar	peroo se molher for que uenda e que compare per si (Fuero/126-1561)
conhecer	jamais coraçom mortal nom as podera conhoçer se pillo santo spũ nom he (Dem/56r)  per ti conhecemos o Nosso Senhor Deus (Lenda/41-6)
crecer	e creceu muy aginha o moço per Deus (Bíblia/183)
crer	eporẽ creede p mĩ que nõ eyudeuos bẽzfazer (CV/186-10)  per ty creeo ẽ hũũ Deus todopoderoso (Orto/231-10)
dar	Deus deu a nos victoria per Jhesu Christo (Orto/80-26)  e per si meesmo de o juyzo e nõ per outro (Fuero/75-805)
defender	e glorificawa muito Nosso Senhor Deos que defendia a sua verdade pello inimigo da verdade (Lenda/28-17)  Nosso Senhor que queria defender a nossa parte pellos seus contrairos (Lenda/27-21)
demandar	e damandou-lhe conselho per Abyatar Sacerdote (Bíblia/223)  mandamos que nenhuu escomungado nõ possa per sy nẽ per outrĩ demandar nehũa cousa en juyzo (Fuero/70-636)
derrubar	o diaboo prouou de o derrubar da sancta vida que fazia per molher (Orto/308-15)
dizer	Desta consollaçom diz o senhor per nahũ propheta (Vita/79b)  Onde diz nosso senhor Jesu Cristo per Moyses (Virgeu/55-174)

	onde ella meesma diz per Salamõ (Orto/40-16)
embargar	e quando virom que eles per sy nom podiam embargar (Bíblia/356)
emprazar	Se o alcalde per querella dalguu ome emprazar outro, quer per si quer per carta ou per sello ou per seu home conoçudo (Fuero/58-237)
ensinar	e ensinou pollas suas santas escrituras: & pollos santos homeẽs (Boosco/cxi)
entregar	E sse algũa cousa entregar ou penhorar per sy ou per seu mãdado torneio tudo dobrado (Fuero/40-437)
enviar	e enviou outrossy Rey Dario os vasos do templo a Jerusalem per Zoroabel (Bíblia/358) Entam lh emviou diz p dous caualeiros (Dem/35v)
escrever	e escreua as palavras que disserẽ pello scriuã da uilla (Fuero/66-500)
espedir-se	ata que se espeça de seu senor quer per sy quer per outri mãdadeyro filho dalgo (Fuero/110-995)
falar	onde diz Salamõ ãno Cantar do Amor, falando pello Spiritu Sancto (Orto/21-18) segundo falou per Helyas profeta (Bíblia/297)
fazer	E esto nom faz elle senam per sy meesmo (Vita/59d) ca nom fez elle saluo ho mũdo per messegeyro mays elle soo fez saluo ho seu poboo (Boosco/lxxxiii)
ficar	Per deqssenhor poys per uos nõ ficou / de mi fazer bẽ eficou per mi (CV/154-1) nom ficou per mỹ (Dem/71v)
honrar	os santos & nobres homeẽs q onrrarõ per sy meesmos ho hermo (Boosco/lxi)

ir	se tu per ty meesmo nom fores ante nós, nom nos tyres deste logar (Bíblia/118)  Ca assi como ocorpo uay pelo homẽ hu quer (Aves/v)
levar	per si meesmo leva os livros sanctos em que estudava (Greg/24-8)
livrar	ha graça de ds per jhũ xpõ te liurara (Boosco/ii)
mandar	mandou-lhe muitas dõas pelo seu filho (Bíblia/236)
mover-se	que se nõ podia mouer senõ per outrem (Orto/347-9)
nembrar-se	aq̃lles q̃ per ella se nẽbram e pẽsam ẽ ha groria q̃ am dauer (Boosco/lxv)
obrar	nem se obrares per ti meesmo (Ciceram/9-17)  o padre todallas cousas obrou per oseu vnigenito filho (Vita/8c)
passar	p̃ mĩ nõca tall cousa passou (Dem/88r)
pensar	ora jrmaõm pensa p̃ ty meesmo (Boosco/lxxx)
perder	q̃ pdi p̃ ella meus ffilhos (Dem/42v)  pois perdeu o ffilho per aquel que recebera (Greg/51-21)  o leedor engenhoso perde per ssy meesmo e per sua negligencia a sabedoria (Orto/49-16)
perecer	totalas verças do seu orto pereciã per aqueles bestos que o comiam (Greg/49-8)  e os seus gaados pereciam per serpentes (Bíblia/340)
prender	p̃nder desonrra p̃ hufi caualeiro soo (Dem/27r)
prometer	Esta consollaçoẽs promete ds per ysayas (Vita/79c)



provar	segundo de my aprēderō & prouarom per sy meesmo (Boosco/xiii)
quebrantar	os de Cartago quebrantassem a ffe per o cruel Anibal
remiir	ca per ty ds remiijo omūdo (Vita/16c)
reynar	e os Reys per el reynã (Fuero/34-251)
saber	E quãdo ujrō q̄ nō podiam p ssy saber rrem chamarō morgaym (Dem/98r) Como soubera nouas de sa viŷda p huū seu ompanheiro (Dēm/67r) aqueel laurador ... soube per aqueles que o conheciã quē era (Greg/32-14) e sabia oRey d'Israel per Helyseu (Bíblia/292)
sair	Como o speritu maaç saya d'uū homē demoniado per Sã Ffortunado (Greg/51-1)
satisfazer	& se ohomē p sy nō pode satisfazer por os pecados (Vita/68c)
seguir	nen seguir o alçamento per si ou per seus persoeyros (Fuero/78-898)
ser	nom som nobres per sy nē per sua geeraçom (Boosco/li) asy foy liure pella bēēta Uirgē da morte do corpo e da alma (Orto/296-10)
spertar-se	sptouse pŷto cauallo de lionel (Dem/60v)
tornar-se	E se per uentura per mādadeyro se quiser tornar uassalo (Fuero/110-984)
ver	Eesto ueras p ti ē esta demanda (Dem/14r)
vingar-se	& cujdaua se ende uingar p ssi (Dem/39v) se eu a deo mal mereci ben se uinga per uos en mi (CV/132-5)

vir e dano ueer a algũa das partes per el,  
peyteo todo (Fuero/42-505)

E conhoçe q̃ todo vem p ds (Vita/54Ab)

A2.2 De-agents

Pere/I-61 & não duvidão cometer cousas que de sy  
saõ arduas & difficultosas

Pere/IV-138 o repouso que o tempo & o estado em q̃  
estavamos de sy nos davão

Ciceram/33-29 E o primeiro he a natureza humanal que  
de ssi meesma tal companhia requiere

A2.3 Se-passives with de-agents

Pere/VI-98 aquelle Senhor que com verdãde se deve  
conhecer de todos por senhor

Pere/III-12 pelo qual de todos se julgou q̃ devia  
isto...

Pere/V-127 as brallas dos seus pagodes se frequentarão  
de penitentes

Clar/II-238 fama, quanta se nunca alcançou de ninguem

Clar/III-70 a Ilha das Maias ... nunca se verá de ninguem

Vita/13c odia da sua naçença nõ soo se festeja &  
honrra dos xpããos, mas dos mouros & doutros

Preste/lxxij & que isto se fizera por seruir a deos &  
honrar as festas, & asi por se hos panos  
nã danarem & comerem de bicho

A2.4 Se-passives with per-agents

Bíblia/70 Como Josep se conheceu pelos irmãaos

- Orto/68-24      aquel deus por que se fezerõ aquellas  
treeuas
- Fuero/89-288    e nõ se possa desfazer pellos mays poucos  
a partiçõ
- Fuero/124-1464   ueera se a demanda se pode iuygar per  
ele o nõ
- Fuero/47-675    ca nõ e razõ que nenhun preyto se razõe  
per muytos uozeyros
- Fuero/29-73     come sacrificio de nostro senhur ihesu  
christo que se faz subello altar pello  
sacerdote
- Greg/41-11      o acrescõtamẽto do liagẽ d'Abrãõ se avia  
de fazer per Isaac
- Greg/6-6        d'uñ homẽ muito onrrado per que se regia  
a vila de Roma
- Dem/21r         Eel disse q̃ a honrra do seu linhagem nõ  
se pderia p elle
- Ciceram/154-18   Mas quando se faz algũa cousa pellos meos  
officios
- Vita/14c        Onde xpo cõcebido foy na .vj. ydade . porq̃  
per elle se auia de acabar todas as cousas
- Vita/17a        porq̃ asaude do linhagem humanal auia de  
se fazer per jesu
- Vita/81d        cree-se empero p alguñs que era sam johã  
euãgelista
- Vita/37d        E esto se tem comunmente per os doutores
- Lenda/29-22    E o santo saçerdote entendeo que aquelo  
se fazia per Deos
- JoãoI/393      a primeira cousa que se fallou per Micer  
Ambrosio
- JoãoI/326      se fizeram roubos e malles per hũs naturaees  
de hũ Regnno ao outro

- JoãoI/395 os lugares que estavam no cabo dos Regnos podyamse pesuir e perescrever per tall pesoa
- JoãoI/408 salvo se se por elles torvase a paaz
- Marco/xiiij e aynda pellos jograes e nigromantes se fazem grandes jogos e solazes ante ho rey
- Preste/xxxix Esta igreja he como anexa da grãde de Aguaxumo, & seruese pellos coneguos della
- Clar/III-277 e dentro no ventre traz uma espada ... e não se pode de ali alcançar senão per vós
- Clar/III-273 Tanto que a Ilha Perfeita se ganhar por um cavaleiro
- Theo/85 muitas prisões, que cada dia se fazião pelo sancto officio
- Theo/31 & pedindo ao dito Dom Nuno por sua carta, quizesse em pessoa na forma do Concilio examinarsse pellos examinadores synodaes
- Theo/30 por ver que se gastauão os fructos da igreja per pessoas que a não seruião actualmente
- Theo/48 para o que se tinha feita diligencia pellos Curas das igrejas
- Pere/III-95 se fundou esta cidade & se povoou este emperio Chim por este principe filho da Nancaa
- Pere/I-7 & se determinou por todos que ...
- Pere/VI-143 & fazendose assento do voto de cada hũ per Baltesar Ribeiro escrivão da alfandega
- Pere/IV-140 com grandes assentos que se fizeraõ sobre isso por esrivaes publicos
- Pere/III-61 pena daçoutes de q̃ logo se fez nelles execução pelos ministros do braço da ira

- JoãoIII/64-9 consentiu que de novo se visse a antiga  
delineação por fidalgos, honrados e  
matemáticos d'ambas as corôas
- JoãoIII/127-21 Assinaram-se estas condições por el-rey  
e D. Luis e o governador Xarafo

A2.5 Ser-passives with de-agents

- Vita/82b porã melhor & mais perfeitamẽte podessem  
delle seer ensinados
- Orto/335-38 hũũ monge dhũũ mosteyro era desprezado  
do abbade
- Orto/178-18 carreyras ... que som trilhadas dos homẽes
- Virgeu/56-214 son-lhes outorgadas do fisico as cousas  
que cobijçam
- Virgeu/95-903 reprehender o seu amigo e del ser  
reprehendido
- Greg/20-25 quando foy cõvidado do rey
- for more examples see the standard references

A2.6 Ser-passives with per-agents

- Vita/65a por tal que seendo elle julgado per sy  
nom seja julgado per deus
- Vita/69c amjnha vida ... se com dilligẽcia he per  
mim scoldrinhada
- Orto/152-2 o homẽ pella vista dos olhos he roubado
- Greg/1-5 ca este livro foy feito pelo nobre San  
Gregorio

for more examples see the standard references

## Chapter Three

### Conclusions

#### 5.1 Received Doctrines

##### 5.1.1 Philological Explanations

Of all the examples of linguistic change discussed in the last chapter the only one which was noticed by the philologists was the appearance of the se-impersonal (V. section 4.4.2, chapter 2), a construction whose existence they were more interested in disproving than explaining. This negative attitude led them to view the construction as a deplorable error which was the result of arbitrariness, aided by the circumstance that the deep object often remained in post-verbal position. Their explanation for the appearance of singular verbs with plural deep objects in the se-construction is exactly parallel to that given for ex. 56 on pp. 97-98:<sup>1</sup>

...quando o sujeito do plural vem depois do predicado: tende êste a ficar no singular como se, empregando primeiro o predicado, a pessoa que fala o deixasse no singular por ainda não ter pensado em que número vai dizer o respectivo sujeito ... Ora, entre as construções em que o sujeito vem posposto ao predicado, as mais comuns são as de verbo na voz passiva sob a forma reflexa: daí o encontarem-se alguns exemplos de verbo no singular e sujeito no plural.

...when the plural subject comes after the verb the latter tends to remain singular as if, having used the predicate first, the speaker left it in the singular since he had not yet thought about the number of the subject. Now, amongst the constructions in which the subject is post-posed to the verb the most common one is the reflexive passive. Thus it is that one can find a few examples of a singular verb with a plural subject in this case.

There are several things wrong with an explanation of this type, not the least of which is that there is absolutely no evidence to suggest that the actual performance description of parole will be left-to-right generation. In other words, even for individual acts of parole, there is no reason to assume that first one chooses the verb, utters it and only then chooses the subject. The only possible validity for explanations of this type is in left-to-right translation when it is quite literally true that one does not know what the subject is until one reaches it.

However, even if the hypothesis of left-to-right generation is accepted, still the idea that verbs do not agree with following subjects is patently false since in ordinary Portuguese sentences in the active voice this order is found quite frequently with no consequent lack of agreement. For example, "long" subjects almost always follow the verb, as in:

{ Estão }  
{\* Está } aqui as moças que eu conheci o ano  
passado na cidade de Gladbach-Rheydt

The girls whom I met last year in the city  
of Gladbach-Rheydt are here.

There is almost never any mistake in agreement in such sentences. The final proof of the matter lies, of course, in the comparison of the frequency of mistakes in agreement in all types of constructions in which the surface subject is post-posed to the verb with the frequency of occurrence of the se-impersonal. There is no reason to doubt that the former will turn out to be many times smaller than the latter.

Moreover, arbitrariness can offer no explanation of two further crucial facts: the use of intransitive verbs and the lack of agentization in the se-impersonal. Thus, if the appearance of the non-agreeing case were really simply the result of a degeneration of the agreeing case one would expect to find examples of the type

escreve-se histórias pelos poetas  
(there was a writing of stories by poets),

derived by arbitrariness from the corresponding agreeing se-construction. Such examples are not found.<sup>2</sup> Notice also that there simply is no se-passive source for sentences of the type foi-se, one went, so that they could not possibly be derived by arbitrariness.



Thus the arbitrariness derivation is not only based on an unacceptable theory (left-to-right generation); even accepting this theory there are still three reasons for rejecting the derivation anyway. This ought to bury once and for all the idea that the se-impersonal is merely an erroneous form of the se-passive.

### 5.1.2 Structural Explanations

Although the structuralists never discussed any of the historical facts of the last chapter, their explanation for these facts would quite evidently have to be "analogic change" since they had no other appropriate mechanisms of syntactic change. Bloomfield, after noting that "our" descriptive technique in syntax has been retarded by "philosophical habits of approach", gives the following example, which he apparently regarded as defining analogic change in syntax:<sup>3</sup>

From the sixteenth century on, we find English subordinate clauses introduced by the word like. We can picture the innovation in this way:

to do better than Judith	:	to do better than Judith did
to do like Judith	:	x

where the outcome is the construction to do like Judith did.

Sources of analogy for the changes discussed above are relatively easy to find. For the lack of agreement the obvious source is an opposition of the type in exs. 58 and 59 of chapter 2:

podem-se tirar as imagens	:	pode-se tirar as imagens
tiram-se as imagens	:	x

where the outcome would be the non-agreeing se-construction, i.e., tira-se as imagens.

Unlike arbitrariness, analogic change can even take care of the occurrence of intransitives in the se-construction:

alguém vê a ilha somebody sees the island	:	vê-se a ilha the island is seen
alguém vai aos astros somebody goes to the stars	:	x

where x would be vai-se aos astros, as required.

However, analogic change also predicts agent-phrases in the non-agreeing construction, even with intransitives:

o marinheiro viu a ilha the sailor saw the island	:	viu-se a ilha { pelo } marinheiro { do } the island was seen by the sailor
o marinheiro foi à ilha the sailor went to the island	:	x

where x would be \*foi-se à ilha { pelo / do } marinheiro, which never occurs. In fact, it is generally true of analogic change that it predicts many changes which never occur.

For example,

as palavras foram escritas pelo escrivão	:	as palavras foram escritas do escrivão
the words were written by the scribe	:	the words were written by the scribe

o juiz escreveu as palavras : x  
pelo escrivão  
the judge wrote the words  
through (the agency of)  
the scribe

where the result should be \*o juiz escreveu as palavras do escrivão (with agent meaning). Many similar examples are easily imaginable.

Analogic change also fails in the opposite way, that is, not only does it predict changes which never occur, it is also powerless to explain some of those which do occur. For example, it fails in the case of any syntactic change which does not involve a change in surface form. The changes in the ser-passive from the pre-medieval to the medieval period and from the medieval to the classical period are exactly such cases. Thus it seems that analogic change does not explain in any way the diachronic facts of Chapter 2.

### 5.1.3 Insertion

In previous diachronic generative studies, mostly

in the fields of phonology and morphology, it has become apparent that insertion and dropping of rules is one of the principal types of syntactic change. The introduction of the se-impersonal seems to be a typical example of insertion. As has been seen above, the se-impersonal cannot in formal terms be viewed as the modification of some construction previously extant in the grammar but must be described as the addition of t73 of chapter 2 to the grammar. The addition of rules to the grammar seems to be a fairly common phenomenon which occurs both globally, resulting in a change in language, and individually, resulting in a change in idiolect.

The changes which occurred in the ser-passive at the close of the medieval period cannot, however, be satisfactorily accounted for in this way. If insertion-deletion is the only mechanism allowed at least the following statements would have to be made:

- i. in the expansion of Pred-P in the base "per-agent" is deleted
- ii. in the expansion of VP in the base "per-regime" is added in brackets
- iii. in the expansion of VP "de  $\Delta$  ) is replaced by " $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{per} \\ \text{de} \end{array} \right\} \Delta$  )"

- iv. in t431 de is replaced by  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{per} \\ \text{de} \end{array} \right\}$
- v. in t63 per is replaced by  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{per} \\ \text{de} \end{array} \right\}$

Notice, however, that this description of the facts is entirely unacceptable since it gives no explanation of why i-v, which are intuitively related, occurred at the same time, that is, it misses the generalization that each of i-v is part of the same change. This would remain true even if iii-v could be combined under the heading of replacement of per or de by

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{per} \\ \text{de} \end{array} \right\}$  since i and ii would not be covered. In any case, there are other uses of both per and de in which this change did not occur.

#### 5.1.4 Feeding Order

In a paper cited earlier Kiparsky<sup>4</sup> has examined several types of phonological change and has shown that insertion and deletion of rules does not lead to an understanding of the data considered. He argues that re-ordering of rules must be admitted as a possible phonological change and postulates that the direction of the re-ordering is given by the following principle:

1. feeding order principle:<sup>5</sup> rules tend to shift into the order which allows their fullest utilization in the grammar.

Although the changes in the ser-passive do not involve re-ordering, a modified version of 1 is applicable. Consider in this connection table 65 (p. 109), which gives a summary of the derivations of the medieval grammar, 63. In this period agent-copying applied only to de and se-passive applied only to per, while NP-dropping and NP-preposing were applicable to both per and de. In effect, part of the change to the classical period was the extension of the first two transformations to apply to both prepositions (V. t47 (p. 93), t70 (p. 114)), thus allowing a "fuller utilization" of the rules by providing more input for them. This accounts for iv and v directly and implies iii since the latter change was necessary in order to make iv effective. However, principle 1 can in no way account for i and ii, the change of the per-agent into a verbal regime, and thus fails in the same way as insertion-deletion, although not quite as badly since it does at least group together iii-v.

## 6.1 Re-analysis

### 6.1.1 The Se-impersonal

It has been argued above that none of the recognized mechanisms of change are adequate to







by Kiparsky<sup>6</sup> under the name re-analysis and he has postulated that it is one of the basic types of allowable change.

Notice that the re-analysis of the se-passive as an active would be blocked if an agent-phrase were present since it would then be obvious that there had indeed been a subject-object switch. This accounts for the absence of an agent-phrase in the non-agreeing construction. Notice also that this blocking means that only se-passives with deleted deep subject are eligible for re-analysis as actives. According to the universal deletion conditions, the deletion could occur only if the deep subject were an indefinite since there is no other NP in the sentence to which the deep subject is in general identical. These observations explain all the facts of the se-impersonal which are known to me at this time<sup>7</sup>. None of other mechanisms of change have this much power.

The form of change implied by the above considerations is a re-analysis caused by factors of parole. It is only by consideration of the facts of the actual output of the previous generation that the direction, timing and type of the re-analysis can be understood.

### 6.1.2 The Ser-passive

It has already been noted in inn 13 (p. 65) that in the late medieval period there was a marked decrease in the frequency of occurrence of active per-agents not identical to the deep subject and it was shown how this led to the re-analysis of the per-agent as a verbal regime. This in turn implies the disappearance of the adjectival pseudo-passive since adjectival participles do not occur with verbal regimes. This same innovation, extended to the passive voice, explains the re-analysis of the per-phrase as the passive agent (implying the disappearance of conjoined agents of the type of ex. 41, p. 87) since it requires the agent-phrase to be the deep subject, that is, it makes the agent-phrase completely equivalent to a passive agent-phrase (V. p. 92).

The changes in the reflexive passive at the close of the medieval period are also a consequence of this innovation. In the medieval period the surface form

4.        NP<sub>1</sub> se V per NP<sub>2</sub>

was derived by se-passive with no process of agentization, that is to say, the NP in the agent-phrase in ex. 4 could either be identical to the deep subject (as in ex. 69, chapter 2) or different from it

(as in ex. 67, chapter 2). The innovation eliminates the latter possibility so that ex. 4 becomes a passive in the sense that the deep subject and object are interchanged in the surface form. Then the learners of the next, that is the classical, generation will conclude that there is a process of agentization involved in the surface form in ex. 4 in the same way as they would for the ser-passive. However, the only other construction in the language which involved agentization was the ser-passive, which allowed de-agents in addition to per-agents. Since there was no evidence to the contrary the learners identified the two processes of agentization and thus extended the de-agents to the ser-passive.

Thus, the re-analysis mechanism not only satisfactorily accounts for each of the changes but, since they all follow from the same performance factor, it also explains why they are intuitively parts of the same change. Since it has already been shown that, even frequency aside, the innovation (in the form of inn 50) cannot be stated within the medieval grammar, it follows that either the fact that i-v are a single change must go unexpressed or the idea that change arises solely internal to the innovating grammar must be given

up.

Although performance based re-analysis is quite different from the received philological and structural doctrines, it is not entirely without precedent in traditional grammar. Writing in 1913 J. M. Rodrigues, who has been cited above as one of the early defenders (or, more accurately, "accepters") of the se-impersonal, explained the construction's unpopularity by stating:<sup>8</sup>

...elas não são, por assim dizer, um produto primário da língua, mas resultam de um processo mental um pouco longo. Foi preciso que o pronome reflexo se passasse a particula apassivativa e que depois a oração assim tornada passiva se considerasse transposta para a activa, ficando o se a servir de sujeito indeterminado.

...it is not, so to speak, a primary product of the language but is the result of a rather drawn-out mental process. It was necessary for the reflexive pronoun to become a passivizing particle and that the sentence thus made passive be considered active, se then serving as an indefinite subject.

The notion of performance-based re-analysis also underlies many other types of historical explanations. Notice that although before the re-analysis of the per-phrases, per was a preposition with its own lexical meaning and relatively free privilege of occurrence, after the re-analysis it became an essentially meaningless grammatical marker with restricted occurrence<sup>9</sup>, namely, in the two passives. This sort of process, i.e.,<sup>10</sup>

...le passage d'un mot autonome au rôle d'élément grammatical

has been called "grammaticalization" by Meillet, who viewed it, together with analogy, as the only types of linguistic change. Meillet had in mind such examples as the negative pas or the future tense in French and viewed grammaticalization as a sort of linguistic degeneracy brought about by constant repetition:<sup>10</sup>

La constitution de formes grammaticales par dégradation progressive des mots jadis autonomes est rendue possible par les procédés ... qui consistent ... en un affaiblissement de la prononciation, de la signification concrète des mots et des groupes de mots.

At first glance the grammaticalization of per seems to be quite different from what Meillet envisaged since it was not brought about by repetition or phonological weakening of any sort. None the less, the two cases are really quite similar: a change in performance causes a re-analysis, as a result of which a previously autonomous word becomes a grammatical marker. In the case of the future tense in French, for example, the performance factors which Meillet cites led to the re-analysis of an autonomous verb as a conjugational ending, resulting in its grammaticalization. Thus the essential difference between the case of per and what Meillet had in mind is the performance cause of the re-analysis. In fact, grammaticalization can be viewed as a special case of re-analysis.

1. (Sousa, 60) pp. 218-219
2. The only (apparent) exception to this general rule is:  

Ásia/Dec 3           ...se nota pelos mercantes, que  
                          as descorbrem, os perigos do mar.

(apud (Rodrigues, 13) p. 176) However, since this example is from the Ásia (V. section 2.1.2) it should probably be viewed as just one more indication of the unreliability of this text.
3. (Bloomfield, 33) p. 407
4. See (Kiparsky, 67)
5. (Kiparsky, 67) p. 33
6. In lectures in course 23.756T (second term, 67-68) at MIT
7. I have not considered here the question of whether the deep subject of the se-impersonal is necessarily [human] and [group-int] as in the modern case since the data are not available at this time.
8. (Rodrigues, 13) pp. 184-185
9. Only the "agency" meaning of per is considered here.
10. (Meillet, 38) p. 131
11. (Meillet, 38) p. 139

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