

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF SUBJECT RAISING IN PORTUGUESE: A Corpus-Based Approach

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THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF SUBJECT RAISING IN PORTUGUESE

A Corpus-Based Approach

RESUMEN. – Este es un estudio de la evolución de las construcciones de “elevación del sujeto” (subject raising) en portugués (*o João parece saber a resposta / parece que o João sabe a resposta*), que se basa en casi 1500 ejemplos de más de 2,800,000 palabras en 147 textos del siglo XIV al siglo XIX. Los datos indican que no ha habido cambios abruptos o “paramétricos” con esta construcción, sino que el aumento en el uso de elevación del sujeto ha ocurrido en varias etapas – tanto semántica como sintácticamente. En los periodos históricos más tempranos, la elevación del sujeto ocurría con un grupo limitado de verbos que tenían un significado muy sencillo, como *ser*, *estar*, y *haver*, lo cual servía de nexo a construcciones anteriores (*isso parece bom / isso parece ser bom*). En cuanto a la sintaxis, la construcción en que todavía había concordancia entre el sujeto elevado y el verbo subordinado (*eles parece estarem doentes*) servía de “puente sintáctico” en las primeras etapas de la construcción. En último lugar, los cambios de correferencia en la construcción del objeto indirecto (*pareceu-me ver um fantasma*) plantean ciertas preguntas sobre la influencia del español en la construcción portuguesa.

1. Introduction

1.1 Along with many other languages, Portuguese allows “subject to subject raising”, which is the movement of the subject of the embedded clause (1a) into the subject position of the main clause (1b):

- | | | |
|------|---|------------|
| (1a) | ___ parece [que o João sabe a resposta]
it seems [that John knows the answer] | non-raised |
| (1b) | <i>o João</i> parece [___ saber a resposta]
John seems [___ to know the answer]. | raised |

This construction has been of great interest to syntacticians working in different theoretical frameworks because of the insights that it gives into the basic nature of clauses and movement between clauses, such as the movement of the subject from the embedded clause into the subject position of the main clause.

While the construction has been studied a great deal for languages such as English and certain other Romance languages such as Spanish (cf. Bolinger 1972, García Pinto and Luján 1974, Fernández Leboráns and Díaz Bautista 1992, Davies 1997a, and Davies 1997b), it has received very little attention for Portuguese. In a work devoted to a general theory of clausal structure, Quicoli (1982) discusses different models for analyzing the construction, but provides very little actual data. Besides this, there are occasional isolated comments in passing in the standard descriptive grammars of the language, but no in-depth discussion (e.g. Dunn 1928:431, Pereira 1946:345, Silveira Bueno 1951:361–2, Mendes de Almeida 1963:465; Said Ali 1964:178). In terms of the historical development of the construction in Portuguese, there is even less information available. There are no studies that have the historical development of subject raising as a primary or even secondary focus, and in the standard historical grammars there are only a handful of passing references to the construc-

tion, such as Silva Dias 1954:346, Brandão 1963:455–6, Said Ali 1964:364, and Maurer 1968:109.

This neglect of subject raising in Portuguese is unfortunate, because without the Portuguese data it is difficult to construct a pan-Romance description of subject raising and to see what similarities exist across all of the languages and what are the fundamental points of contrast. For example, Portuguese appears to be the only Romance language that has what we might call the “split agreement” construction, in which the raised subject still triggers verbal agreement with the embedded verb:

- (2) *Os soldados viviam tão contentes, que parecia desejarem a guerra* (Diófanos A131 [1752, Brazil])
 ‘the soldiers lived so happily that it actually seemed that they preferred war’

While this is obviously a result of the more general phenomenon of the “inflected infinitive” in Portuguese, its effect on the subject raising construction may be of interest in a pan-Romance perspective, in order to see whether there are structures in the other languages that are functionally similar.

From a historical perspective, the Portuguese data would be especially useful in order to see whether the mechanisms for change in the other Romance languages were operative in Portuguese as well, and thus help to create a more general theory of syntactic change. Taking Spanish as an example, studies such as Davies (1997a) show that the majority of the early examples of raising involved the semantically simple verb *ser* (3b), which was minimally different from the earlier cases of *parecer* with adjectives (3a). It was only later that raising with more semantically complex verbs became common (3c).

- (3a) *aquellas aues que les parecieron tan malas & tan contrallas* (Estoria de España 87r [1270])
 ‘those birds that seemed so poor and undesirable’
 (3b) *si a vosotros plaze & parece ser buen consejo* (Troyana 54v [c1350])
 ‘if this pleases you and seems to you to be good advice’
 (3c) *lo qual parece atestiguar la diuina scriptura* (Mujeres 49v [1494])
 ‘which the divine word seems to confirm’

In addition, Spanish subject raising occurred first with third-person singular verbs (4a) and has only recently begun to spread to first and second person subjects (4b), although in other languages such as English these are now readily accepted: *I / we seem to have offended them*.

- (4a) *a quien la ventura parece mostrar su cara alegre* (Sumas 115r [1300–50])
 ‘on whom Fortune seemed to have smiled’
 (4b) *Unicamente ellos y yo parecíamos haber quedado en la casa.* (México 2: Tario: 128)
 ‘just they and I seemed to have stayed at home’

In Spanish there have also been a number of interesting changes with subject raising constructions involving an indirect object. In the earliest stages these constructions nearly always had the referent of the indirect object as observer or “judge” (5a), but in the last two or three hundred years the most common reading has the referent as “experiencer” (5b), which is hypothesized to be important in the overall evolution of the construction (Davies 1997a:406–9).

- (5a) una torre de altura tan grande que *me parecía llegar* al cielo (Carcel 55:2 [1492])
- (5b) *me parece sentir* alguna sequedad de espíritu durante la oración (Pepita 31 [1874])
 ‘I seem to feel an emptiness during the prayer’

The general question, then, is which of the mechanisms for change in a related language like Spanish have also been present in Portuguese. For example, we might ask whether the earliest cases of raising in Portuguese occurred with the semantically simple *ser* and only later spread to other verbs. We could consider whether raising first started with third person singular verbs, and only then spread to other persons. We might also investigate whether the Portuguese construction involving indirect objects has gone through the same evolution leading to “experiencer” constructions as have the constructions in Spanish. Finally, we will briefly address the question of how to explain similarities in the evolution of the construction in the two languages. Was there direct influence (stylistically or otherwise) from one language on the other, or were the “seeds of change” sown in Latin or even earlier (cf. Sapir 1941), with the changes being “parallel”, yet “independent”.

1.2 In order to address these more general questions involving how and why Portuguese subject raising has evolved in certain ways, we need to create a large database of tokens with *parecer* from past stages of the language, which is something that has not been provided in any previous study. In this study, we have used the largest corpus of historical Portuguese texts currently available, which is summarized in the following table and which is described more fully in Appendix 1:

Table 1. Composition of the corpus

	# texts	# words	# tokens (±raising)
1300s	7	479,300	59
1400s	12	463,400	267
1500s	30	465,900	308
1600s	44	452,200	293
1700s	37	416,900	220
1800s	17	574,100	293
TOTAL	147	2,800,000	1449

As the table indicates, the corpus is composed of more than 2,800,000 words in 147 texts from the 1300s through the 1800s. In order to provide an accurate description for each time period and ensure that one irregular text from a certain period does not dominate, we have designed the corpus so that no one text accounts for more than about ten percent of the total words from any given century except for the 1300s, where there are a very limited number of lengthy prose texts. In addition, the 1700s and 1800s component of the corpus is divided about equally into texts from Portugal and Brazil, to identify syntactic splits that may already be underway at that stage.

In order to extract the 1400+ tokens, we first needed to convert the 147 texts into electronic form, which was done by scanning the texts into the computer and then editing them. At this point, we were able to use the *WordCruncher* program to create an every-word index of the corpus, which permitted us to perform complex proximity and Boolean searches on the data. Proximity searching meant that we could find every case of *parecer* immediately followed by either an infinitive or *que*. Boolean searching meant that we could combine and limit searches, such as all cases of *parecer* followed by an infinitive where the infinitive was not *ser*. Needless to say, without the computer corpus and *WordCruncher*, extracting the 1400+ tokens from the 2,800,000+ word corpus would have been virtually impossible.

2. General increase in raising

2.1 The first question that we will consider is the basic contrast between the non-raised and the raised constructions.:

- (6a) *hũũ logar que lhe pareceo que era bõõ* (Cron1344 2:29 [c1344]) –raised
 ‘a place that seemed to him that it was good’
- (6b) *lhe nom pareceria seer mui razoado* (Nuno 41 [c1431]) +raised
 ‘it did not seem very reasonable to him’.

While a number of historical grammars note the existence of both constructions in earlier stages of Portuguese, none provide data on which was more common or whether there was a historical shift from one construction to the other (e.g. Silva Dias 1954:220, Brandão 1963:455–56, Said Ali 1964:346, and Maurer 1968:109). Our questions, then, are whether there has been a historical shift from one construction to the other, and if so, when and how did this shift originate?

As the following table shows, the 1400+ tokens in the corpus show a clear increase in raising, starting especially in the late 1700s and early 1800s:

Table 2. Raising / non-raising (1300–1900)

	A	B	C	D	E	F
	-raising	+raising	% raising	<i>ser</i>	% of raising with <i>ser</i>	% raising (w/o <i>ser</i>)
1300s	56	3	.05	3	1.00	0.00
1400s	262	21	.07	7	.33	0.05
1500s	254	39	.13	14	.36	0.09
1600s	262	31	.11	13	.42	0.06
1700s	195	25	.11	7	.28	0.08
Luso	162	13	.07	6	.46	0.04
Braz	33	12	.27	1	.08	0.24
1800s	145	148	.51	3	.02	0.49
Luso	70	76	.52	1	.01	0.51
Braz	75	72	.49	2	.03	0.48
TOTAL	1174	267				

The table shows the number of tokens with raising and non-raising in each of the centuries from the 1300s to the 1900s (divided into Portugal and Brazil in the 1700s and 1800s), and the percentage of raising during these periods.

Looking at Column F (which excludes the cases with *ser*, and which will be explained shortly), the data show that raising was relatively uncommon through the 1700s. There were no cases without *ser* in the 1300s, and the first token in the corpus does not occur until about 1430 (a). It remains relatively uncommon at less than 10% throughout the 1400s–1700s (7b), and it is not until the 1800s that it reaches approximately 50% of all cases in both Portugal and Brazil (7c):

- (7a) tanto mylhor *parece andar* quedo e seguro na sella (Cavalgar 484 [c1430s])
‘he seems to ride so much more safely and securely in the saddle’
- (7b) *me pareceu referir* aqui a opinião de Platão (Companhia 69 [1663])
‘it seemed [better] for me to make reference here to the opinion of Plato’
- (7c) Finalmente Otávio *pareceu tomar* uma resolução (Loiro 223 [1845])
‘finally O. decided to make up his mind’

Thus we see that at least in the 1400 or so tokens from the 147 texts in our corpus, widespread subject raising is a fairly recent phenomenon in Portuguese. It is interesting to note that this corresponds quite closely with Spanish, where the sharpest increase in subject raising (to approximately current levels) occurred in the 1800s as well (Davies 1997a:401–3).

As just mentioned, in Table 2 we have identified the number of tokens in each period that have *ser* as the embedded verb. Column D shows the number of cases with *ser* in each century, and Column E shows the corresponding percentage of all cases of raising that involve *ser*. As the data show, all of the cases of raising in the 1300s and 1400s occurred with *ser* (8a). It was not until the early 1500s that there were cases with other verbs, and it was only in the 1800s, when raising became quite common, that the percentage of cases with *ser* decreased appreciably to 5% or less (8b):

- (8a) *pero que fossem feitos grandes invernos e taes que parecia seer o deluuyo*
(Cron1344 3:332 [c1344])
'but they had such rainstorms that it seemed to be the flood'
- (8b) *Essa parece ser uma das grandes vantagens do estudo* (Pernambuco 97.08.07)
'that seems to be one of the main advantages of the study'

Let us consider briefly one explanation for why *ser* was such a common verb in the raising construction, especially in the earliest periods. In a study of subject raising in Old Spanish, Bolinger (1972:72–73) noted that *parecer* with noun phrases and adjectives was relatively common in the early stages of the language (9a–b). From these type of sentences, there would then be a natural transition to *parecer* + verb, especially with the semantically simple *ser* (9d–e):

- (9a) *por que lhes pareceu logar esquyvo* (Cron1344 2:38 [c1344])
'because it seemed to be a very unpleasant place for them'
- (9b) *na ymsola estaua hũ castello que parecia fremoso* (Arimatea 240 [1300s])
'on the island there was a castle that looked quite beautiful'
- (9c) *sua palavra parecia ser mansso e homildoso* (Cron1344 2:219 [1344])
'his words seemed to be so soft and mild'
- (9d) *a fortuna lhes parece seer contraira* (Conselheiro 362 [1430s])
'fate seems to be unkind to them'

As suggested in the examples above and more than 850 cases of *parecer* in the corpus from the 1300s and 1400s, we find that Bolinger's hypothesis applies to Portuguese as well. The vast majority of all of the occurrences of *parecer* in the 1300s and 1400s are with nouns and adjectives, after which it slowly spreads to analogous constructions with *ser*, and from there to other verbs. This then appears to be the origin of subject raising in Portuguese and Spanish, and most likely many other languages as well.

3. Raising with non-3SG subjects: *eles parecem estar doentes*

Let us now consider a certain subset of raising, involving subjects other than third person singular subjects (non-3SG). In this section we will consider whether the shift toward increased raising was in part a function of the nature of the subject, and whether raising became common with certain types of subjects before it did with others. As Bolinger points

out (1972:73–74), data from Modern Spanish and English suggest that different languages may vary in the degree to which raising has spread to all persons. For example, raising is now common in English almost irrespective of the person and number of the subject (10a), whereas non-third person subjects are still rather awkward in Spanish (10b):

- (10a) John / you / I seem(s) to have offended Mary
(10b) Juan parece / (?) tú pareces / (??) yo parezco haber ofendido a María.

Bolinger hypothesizes that the lower incidence of raising with non-3SG subjects is due to the fact that raising in Spanish may have started as cleft constructions:

- (11) *Juan, parece que ha ofendido a Marta*

In cases of non-third person subjects, however, there is a morphological mismatch between the fronted noun phrase and the following third person singular *parece*, and for this reason there are fewer cases of raising with these subjects.

- (12a) *ellos, parece que han ofendido a Marta*
(12b) *tú, parece que has ofendido a Marta*

There has been no explicit discussion of the presence of non-3SG subjects in older stages of Portuguese. Although researchers have provided examples of raising with third person plural subjects (Silva Diaz 1954:220, Brandão 1963:455–6, Said Ali 1964:346, Maurer 1968:109), none of these studies suggest how common the non-3SG might have been. In addition, none of the studies either provides examples of, or discusses, cases of raising with first or second person subjects (*eu pareço / nos parecemos ter ofendido Maria*).

Our corpora provide useful data on non-3SG subjects in older stages of Portuguese, and in addition they shed some light on Bolinger's hypothesis that subject agreement morphology may be an important factor. First, the data show that historically, there has been little difference between 3SG and 3PL subjects. In each of the centuries from the 1400s–1700s, there are between one and three cases of 3PL subjects (13a–b) (1400s 1, 1500s 2, 1600s 3, 1700s 1), and then just as with 3SG subjects, there is a large increase to 30 cases in the 1800s (13c).

- (13a) *por que parecãam seer dictas com spyritual teençom* (Conselheiro 337 [1430s])
'because they seemed to have been said with a spiritual meaning in mind'
(13b) *que mais pareciam voar polos ares* (João 298 [1631])
'which seemed to fly through the air'
(13c) *uma dessas estátuas que parecem orar sobre os sepulcros* (Monasticón 152 [1844])
'one of those statues that seem to pray over the graves'

Although there are cases of 3PL subjects in the corpus, we do not find any cases at all of non-third person subjects (*eu pareço / nós parecemos ter ofendido a Maria*). An informal study shows a few examples of these subjects from some Modern Portuguese newspapers (14a–b), but they are clearly a very recent phenomenon, as is the case in Spanish as well (Davies 1997b:43–48).

- (14a) Acho que não *pareço ter* 93 anos (D. Pernambuco 97.10.29)
 ‘I think that I don’t look like I’m 93 years old’
- (14b) *que parecemos nunca saber* quantas coisas existem (Gazeta do Povo 1997.03.25)
 ‘we seem like we never know how many of these things there are’

In terms of explaining the data, it appears that Bolinger’s explanation is only partially adequate. As explained above, he argues that it is the morphological mismatch between left-clefted non-3SG subjects and the 3SG “*parece que*” that inhibits non-3SG subjects as raising is becoming common in the language (“*nós, parece que...*”). In order to explain the 3PL subjects (“*eles parecem...*”) we would need to either relax his argument somewhat and say that 3SG [*parese*] and 3PL [*parese*] are still more similar than 1SG [*pareso*], 1PL [*paresemos*] and 2SG [*pareses*]. Perhaps a better alternative is to argue that by the 1800s (when there is the largest increase in 3PL subjects), the morphological mismatch was no longer problematic, since the raising construction was no longer seen as being a type of clefting.

An alternate explanation relies on semantic / pragmatic factors. As both Bolinger (1972:74) and Fernández Leborans and Díaz Bautista (1990:367) note, the typical reading with *parecer* is that something seems a certain way *to me*, in which I am the observer. It is awkward, then, to have a first person subject, which would mean ‘it seems to me that I (or we) have done a certain thing’, in which I am both the doer and the observer (“*?? eu pareço ter ofendido Marta*”). Although this would explain the lack of first person subjects in the historical corpus, it would be less helpful in explaining the lack of second person subjects. At any rate, the data seem to indicate that the locus of the shift towards raising started with third person subjects, but that raising is still not as common as in English, where raising occurs freely with first, second, and third person subjects.

4. “Split agreement” : *os homens parecia estarem doentes*

4.1 One of the most unique aspects of the raising construction in Portuguese, and one that may have played an important role in facilitating increased raising, are those cases that we will call “split agreement”. In these constructions there is agreement between the raised subject of *parecer* and the embedded verb (15a), rather than with *parecer* itself (15b). Although the standard historical grammars provide examples of the construction, there is no real discussion of it *per se*, in terms of how common it was at different periods (e.g. Silva Dias 1954:346, Brandão 1963:455–6, Said Ali 1964:364, and Maurer 1968:109).

- (15a) *os resultados parece* [___ *confirmarEM* isso] split agreement
 (15b) *os resultados parecEM* [___ *confirmar* isso]
 ‘the results seem to confirm that’

Looking first at the data, we find that there have been isolated cases of the split agreement construction since the 1400s, but that there was a strange increase in the 1500s and 1600s, followed by a decrease that has persisted to the present day. The data show three cases in the 1400s, eleven in the 1500s, seven in the 1600s, and then just two in the 1700s and four in the 1800s:

- (16a) *leerom epistolla e avangelho* que me pareceo gram parte *fazerem* a meu proposito
 (Conselheiro 309 [1430s])
 ‘they read some scriptures that to me seemed to support my position’
- (16b) *homens e mulheres e moços . . .* que parecia *serem* ali mortos (Henriques 151 [1500s])
 ‘men, women, and children . . . who seemed to be dead’
- (16c) *os corpos bem feitos e enxutos . . .* que parecia *estarem* na primeira inocência natural.
 (João 263 [1631])
 ‘the noble bodies . . . which seemed to be in their original, innocent state’
- (16d) *As vozes do povo* parecia *quererem* chegar à presença dos Deuses
 (Diófanos A131 [1752, Brazil])
 ‘the voice of the people, which seemed to reach the gods’
- (16e) *olhava para as casas altas e velhas* que parecia *curvarem-se* para a verem passar
 (Dinis 607 [1860s, Portugal])
 ‘she looked at the tall, old houses, which seemed to bend down to watch her walk by’

What is perhaps more useful in terms of comparison is to see what percent of the constructions that could have taken the “split agreement” in fact did so. In other words, in all of the examples above it would have been possible to have agreement on *parecer*, as seen in the following examples:

- (17a) *e de bons edifícios*, que *pareciam* ser feitos de cristãos (Itinerário 137 [1529])
 ‘and of beautiful buildings, which seemed to have been made by Christians’
- (17b) *e aqueles ovos* que *pareciam* ser necessários (Academia 342 [1732, Portugal])
 ‘and however many birds as seemed to be necessary’

The corpora show 67% split agreement in the 1400s (2/3 cases), 85% in the 1500s (11/13), 70% in the 1600s (7/10), and 67% in the 1700s (2/3). In the 1800s, however, when subject raising becomes common in Portuguese, the figure drops dramatically to just 9% (3/33).

Looking more carefully at the data, we find that the cases of split agreement may provide important clues into the general evolution towards increased subject raising in Portugal. Recall that in Old Portuguese (1300s and even 1400s) there were very few cases of raising, and even less with plural subjects (*eles parecem estar doentes*). There were only one to three

of these in each of the centuries through the 1700s (see (13) above). In these cases, the norm was for the subject to stay in the embedded clause:

- (18a) Já ouviste e sabes os maaes e os perigoos daqueles que *parece que ham* o melhor enesta vida (Boosco 144 [1400–1450])
‘you already know of the misfortunes of those who seem to have everything in this life’
- (18b) e assi *parecia que nom sentiam* nada (Flos Sanctorum 156 [1513])
‘and thus it seemed that they couldn’t feel anything’

We might argue, then, that split agreement served as a type of “syntactic bridge” between [–raising] in Old Portuguese and [+raising] in Modern Portuguese:

- (19a) ___ parece que [os *homens* estão doentes] [–raising]
- (19b) os *homens* parece [___ *estarEM* doentes] split agreement
- (19c) os *homens parecEM* [___ *estar* doentes] [+raising]
‘the men seem to be sick’

In (19b) the subject has raised into the main clause, but there is still “linkage” with the lower clause, which triggers verbal agreement. Recall Bolinger’s argument (1972) that initial cases of raising with non-3SG subjects would be awkward since there would be a “mismatch” between the raised subject and the 3SG marking on *parecer*:

- (20) *os homens parece* [___ *estar* doentes]

In Portuguese, however, the personal infinitive comes into play, since it allows the raised subject to still agree with the embedded verb (19b). This is what was happening in the 1500s and 1600s, where we find the most cases of “split agreement”. Once this construction has fulfilled its role, however, it becomes less common, to the point that it is now considered quite awkward in Modern Portuguese, at least according to the judgments of most native speakers (see also the standard descriptive grammars, such as Pereira 1946:345, Mendes de Almeida 1963:455, Said Ali 1964:178).

This scenario is quite similar to what has been suggested for the older stages of Spanish (Davies 1997a:403–4). In Spanish, of course, there is no personal infinitive such as in (19b). What happened in Spanish was that the “partial raising” construction served as a “syntactic bridge” between [–raising] and [+raising]:

- (21a) ca muchos *parescen que fazen* buenas obras (Lucanor 257 [1330])
‘because many people look like they are doing good works’
- (21b) les *parescian que podian* inpedir & estoruar su casamiento (Esopo 34r [1482])
‘it seemed to them that they would be able to prevent their marriage’
- (21c) grandes humos que *parecían que querían* abrasar todo el campo (Clariseo 160 [1552])
‘great clouds of smoke, which seemed to consume the entire countryside’

In the cases of “partial raising” in Spanish, the subject moves into the main clause and triggers agreement with the main verb *parecer*, but also still triggers agreement with the embedded verb. The constructions were particularly common in the 1300s and 1400s as raising (especially with non-3SG subjects) became possible in Spanish. But again, once they had fulfilled their function they became much less common in Spanish, with only isolated cases in the 1700s, 1800s, and in Modern Spanish, where they occupy much the same “awkward” status as the cases of “split agreement” in Portuguese. The important point is that each language selected a construction that would serve as a “bridge” between [–raising] and [+raising], which suggests that the evolution towards raising is not a binary, parametric shift, but rather takes place or is aided by means of intermediate structures.

5. Partial raising: (??) *eles parecem que estão doentes*

We have just mentioned cases of “partial raising” in Spanish, and the role that they may have played in older stages of that language. Because the “split agreement” construction in Portuguese fulfills essentially the same role by allowing linkage between the raised subject and both the main and lower clause verb, we might expect that the “partial raising” construction has historically played a less significant role in Portuguese, which is in fact the case.

The partial raising construction in Portuguese has rarely been mentioned explicitly. Silva Dias (1954: 220) gives one example from Camões in passing (*os cabelos . . . bem parecem que nunca brando pentem conhecerão*), but besides this there is no discussion of the construction in the standard historical grammars. Our corpus suggests that partial raising was never especially common in any stage of the language, but the corpus does provide examples of the construction in every century since Old Portuguese (one token in each of the 1300s, 1400s, 1500s, three tokens in the 1600s, and one in each of the 1700s and 1800s):

- (22a) *os marmores pareçiam que eram todos cubertos de ouro* (Arimatea 260 [1300s])
‘the statues, which seemed that they were covered with gold’
- (22b) *quando parecem que estas cousas antre ssi am debate* (Ofícios 824 [1430s])
‘when it looks like these two things are in opposition’
- (22c) *cousas . . . que pareçiam que não tinham debaxo o ferro* (Lendas 570 [1561])
‘things . . . that looked like they didn’t have any iron underneath’
- (22d) *que pareçião que andauão alli os demonios do inferno* (Naufragio 81 [1601])
‘it seemed that the very demons of hell were there’
- (22e) *quando lhes pareçiam que executavam os golpes os empregavam no ar*
(Diabinho 330 [c1730s])
‘when it seemed that they connected with their blows, they were actually just swinging in the air’
- (22f) *Vocês parecem que têm nojo dos meus cobres* (Senhora 132 [1875])
‘you look like you are disgusted by my money’

Although the construction probably did not play the same role in the history of Portuguese that it did in Spanish (due to the alternate “split agreement” construction), it is nonetheless interesting to note that the one time period in which there was a slight increase in its use was the 1600s (three cases), which is more or less where we would expect it to be, as Old Portuguese [–raising] evolves towards the [+raising] Modern Portuguese.

6. Indirect object constructions

6.1 The final raising construction that we will consider is one which involves a main clause indirect object, as in the following:

(23a) *Pareceu-lhe sentir* primeiro renascer todo o seu amor por Teresa (Ano 129 [1850, Portugal])
‘he seemed to feel his love for T. come alive again’

(23b) *pareceu-me ouvir* muito ao longe um choro sentido misturado com gritos agudos (Monasticón 59 [1844, Portugal])
‘I seemed to hear in the distance the sound of sobbing, mixed with sharp cries’

We will see that there have been interesting changes in this construction which parallel the changes in Spanish (perhaps more than might be expected), which raises some questions about whether the evolution of the subject raising construction is a strictly syntactic phenomenon or whether, in the tradition of the nineteenth-century German historical linguistics, syntactic shift is best seen as a conscious stylistic shift.

In terms of the data, there are 66 examples of the indirect object construction in the corpus (1300s = 1, 1400s = 7, 1500s = 20, 1600s = 11, 1700s = 18, 1800s = 9). Rather than the number of tokens, however, what is important is an analysis of the semantics of the construction, in terms of the possible coreference of the indirect object. In the earliest periods (1300s–1400s), the common interpretation is one in which the referent of the indirect object is the “observer” or “judge” of a given action or state, and there is often an accompanying adjective or noun describing the opinion of the observer.

(24a) *pareceme bem dar* estes conselhos pera cadahuu delles proveitosamente se poder ajudar (Cavalgar 521 [1430s])

“I feel it is appropriate to give this counsel . . .”

(24d) *parece-me erro passar* assim por ele (Henriques 91 [1500s])

“I feel that it is wrong to overlook him”

Interestingly, this corresponds well with the Spanish data, in which these constructions were most common 1400s–mid1500s (Davies 1997a:406–9).

In the 1500s the strong sense of implied opinion on the part of the indirect object was still present in some cases (as it still can be in Modern Portuguese), but there were many more cases in which there was no accompanying adjective and the role of indirect object was more one of observer rather than judge:

- (25a) *tão enganada és tu que te parece haver no mundo alguém . . .* (Rópica 122 [1532])
“you are so deceived to the point that it seems to you that there is in fact someone in the world that . . .”
- (25b) *acharam na barra um junco surto que lhes pareceo ser vela da outra costa* (Peregrinação 155 [1570s])
“on the beach they found an anchored junk that seemed to them to be a ship from another coast”

The examples from the latter half of the 1600s show a rather strange and short-lived reading in which there was an implied adjective with the meaning of “bem”, and this seems to have been based in part on the equivalent construction in Spanish, which was common from the mid-1500s to the mid-1700s (cf. Davies 1997a:406–9):

- (26a) *Depois de todas as opiniões . . . me pareceu referir aqui a opinião de Platão . . . porque por meio desta (se é verdadeira) se responde com muito mais facilidade* (Companhia 89 [1663])
“after all the opinions that have been given . . . it seemed [best] to refer back to the opinion of Plato . . .”
- (26b) *Parece-me lembrar a V. Rev.md que é necessário lembrar a V. RCv.ma (sic) que os nossos governadores observem uma grande e boa inteligência* (Brochado 125 [c1690s])
“it seems [best] to remind Your Majesty that it is necessary . . .”

Starting in the mid-1700s there arose a particular use of the indirect object construction in which there is obligatory coreference between the indirect object and the embedded verb, and the referent has the role of “Experiencer”. These type of constructions were the most common type of indirect object constructions from 1750–1900, but especially in the 1800s:

- (27a) *me via no escuro da noite pelos campos, que algumas vezes me parecia ouvir desordenados gritos* (Diófanos, A:181 [1752, Brazil])
“at times I seemed to hear strange cries”
- (27b) *Aquela melodia cálida, muito arrastada, encantava-a.. Parecia-lhe estar em Málaga, ou em Granada, não sabia* (Primo 44 [1878, Portugal])
“She seemed to be in Malaga . . .”
- (27c) *Mas, a ideia de que andam nas tuas pisadas, não me deixa o espirito. A cada canto parece-me ver inimigos e perseguidores* (Lourenço 168 [1881, Brazil])
“at every turn I seem to see enemies and persecutors”

Again, these constructions also began to be quite common in Spanish in the mid-1700s, or approximately the same time as Portuguese (Davies 1997a:406–9).

What seems strange is that the Portuguese and Spanish raising constructions with indirect objects should parallel each other so closely. It seems that it would be hard to propose a model of syntactic change in which the two languages are evolving independently, but in which in the late 1600s they both pass through a stage in which there is an understood but missing adjective (26), and that later in the mid-1700s there would be an increase in the

“experiencer” type of constructions in both languages. Yet if it were strictly a conscious, stylistic borrowing in one language (probably Spanish to Portuguese, based on the chronology of the shifts), it seems strange that Portuguese speakers would have been sensitive to an increase in obligatory coreference (“*me parecia ver*”) and mimic this in their own language. For example, informal discussions that I have had with speakers of Brazilian Portuguese suggest that they have difficulty in deciding whether cases of obligatory coreference are more common in Brazilian or European Portuguese, which suggests that this is quite a subtle phenomenon for speakers to imitate in another language.

7. Summary

This study, which is based on a large corpus of historical Portuguese texts composed of more than 2,800,000 words of text from the 1300s to the 1800s, analyzes more than 1400 tokens of the subject raising construction with *parecer*, and is thus the first comprehensive corpus-based study of historical Portuguese subject raising. The study suggests that some of the same mechanisms that were operative in the evolution of Spanish were also present in Portuguese. Examples of this are the fact that raising first started with the semantically simple verbs such as *ser* and only later spread to more complex verbs, and the fact that raising started with third person singular subjects and has only very recently begun to extend raising to first and second person subjects.

As with Spanish, the shift towards raising in Portuguese was not a “binary” shift in which *parecer* was suddenly marked [+raising] or something of that sort. Rather, there was an intermediate construction involving “split agreement”, in which the embedded clause subject could climb to the main verb, but still triggered agreement with the embedded clause verb. Finally, changes with the indirect object construction raises certain questions about the extent to which parallel shifts in different languages are independent, and the degree to which speakers are aware of subtle shifts in the other language and can apply those changes to their own language.

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APPENDIX 1. LIST OF TEXTS

Information is given for: [the date of the text], the title / author, and { the number of words }. In most cases, the citations given in the paper refer to the specific text and page within the text. More complete information, including publication information for each of the texts, can be found online at: <http://138.87.135.33/personal/portugues.htm>

- 1300 [7 texts / 479,300 words]:** [c1344] Crónica general de Espanha { 163,800 }; [1300–1400] Joseph de Arimatea { 60,500 }; [1300–1400] Barlaam e Josephat { 22,800 }; [1300–1400] Historia do muy noble Vespesiano { 18,000 }; [1300–1400] Vida de Túndalo { 6,800 }; [1300–1400] Vida de Santa Pelágia { 4,500 }; [c1400] Demanda do santo graal { 202,900 }.
- 1400 [12 texts / 463,400 words]:** [1400–1450] Orto de esposo { 47,500 }; [1400–1450] Boosco deleitoso { 40,800 }; [c1431] Cron. do condestável Nuno Alvarez / ?? Fernão Lopes { 37,500 }; [1430–1440] Livro de montaria { 45,100 }; [1430–1440] Leal conselheiro { 39,400 }; [1430–1440] Livro de bem cavalgar { 39,700 }; [1430–1440] Virtuosa bemfeitoria { 36,700 }; [1430–1440] Livro dos ofícios { 36,400 }; [1431–43] Crónica de D. Fernando / Fernão Lopes { 44,600 }; [1446 (translated)] Livro de vita Christi / tr. Fr. Bernardo de Alcobça { 42,700 }; [1400–1500] Vida e feitos de Júlio Cesar { 42,300 }; [1400–1500] Livro de silolôquio de Sancto Agostinho { 24,300 }.
- 1500 [14 texts + 2 anthologies (11 + 5 authors) / 465,900 words]:** [c1500] Cron. de D. João II / Rui de Pina { 21,500 }; [c1500] Virgeu de consolação { 24,400 }; [early 1500s] Cron. de D. Afonso Henriques / Duarte Galvão { 24,700 }; [1513] Flos sanctorum { 50,900 }; [1520] Cron. do imperador Clarimundo / João de Barros { 38,900 }; [1528] Estrangeiros / Sá de Miranda { 31,200 }; [1533] Vilhalpandos / Sá de Miranda { 21,000 }; [1529] Itinerário... / Antonio Tenreiro { 19,100 }; [1532] Rópica pnefma / João de Barros { 28,000 }; [c1555] Menina e moça / Bernadim Ribeiro { 46,500 }; [1567] Cron de D. João / Damião de Góis { 23,400 }; [1570–78] Peregrinação / Fernão Mendes Pinto { 18,400 }; [c1588] Soldado prático / Diogo de Couto { 17,300 }; [1589] Diálogos / Amador Arrais { 43,400 }; Anthology 1 { 64,000 } Novelistas e cronistas portugueses do século XVI, ed. João Palma Ferreira, Anthology 2 { 27,500 } Textos literários: século XVI, ed. M. Ema Tarracha Ferreira { 52,400 }.
- 1600 [9 texts + 2 anthologies (9 + 26 authors) / 452,200 words]:** [1601] Naufrágio / Bento Teixeira { 13,500 }; [1619] Corte na aldeia / Francisco Rodrigues Lobo { 38,100 }; [1630] Casamento perfeito / Diogo de Paiva de Andrada { 35,300 }; [1631] Anais de D. João III / Frei Luís de Sousa

{37,900}; [1650] Cartas familiares / Francisco Manuel de Melo {39,100}; [1650] Sermões / P. Antonio Vieira {33,100}; [1652] Arte de furar / {40,700}; [1663] Crónica da companhia de Jesus / Simão de Vasconcelos {38,500}; [c1690s] Cartas / José da Cunha Brochado {29,900}; Anthology A: Textos literários: século XVI, ed. M. Ema Tarracha Ferreira {52,400}; Anthology B: Novelistas e cronistas portugueses do século XVII e XVIII, ed. João Palma Ferreira {97,900}.

1700 [12 texts + 1 anthology (12 + 13 authors) / 416,900 words]: Portugal: [c1730s] Obras do diabinho da mão furado / Antõnio José da Silva {24,300}; [c1736s] Cartas familiares / Francisco Xavier de Oliveira {36,100}; [1746] Verdadeiro metodo de estudar / Luís António Vernei {28,100}; [1752] Reflexões sobre a vaidade dos homens / Matias Aires {40,000}; [c1760s] Obras completas / Correia Garção {20,800}; [1760] Cartas sobre a educação da mocidade / António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches {23,500}; [1700s] Anthology: Naufrágios, viagens, fantasias, & batalhas {15,000}; Anthology: Novelistas e cronistas portugueses do século XVII e XVIII, ed. João Palma Ferreira {64,900}.

Brazil: [1730] História da américa portuguesa / Rocha Pita {39,700}; [1752] Aventuras de Diófanes / Teresa Margarida da Silva e Orta {36,500}; [1757] Desgravos do Brasil e glórias de Pernambuco / D. Domingo do Loreto Coutto {36,900}; [c1770s] Nobiliarquia paulistana histórica e genealógica / Pedro Taques de Almeida Paes Leme {25,500}; [c1790s] Obras econômicas / J. J. da Cunha Azeredo Coutinho {32,100}.

1800 [17 texts / 574,100 words] Portugal: [1844] O monasticon: Eurico o presbítero / Alexandre Herculano {33,800}; [1850] Um ano na corte / João de Andrade Corvo {33,800}; [1852] A mocidade de D. João V / Rebelo da Silva {35,300}; [c1860s] Obras (Vol 2) / Júlio Dinis {33,500}; [c1860s] A última dona de S. Nicolau / Arnaldo Gama {34,300}; [c1860s] A Mantilha de Beatriz / Manuel Pinheiro Chagas {34,100}; [1875] A viúva do enforcado / Camilo Castelo Branco {35,500}; [1878] O primo Basílio / Eça de Queiros {38,700}; [1882] A cidade do vício / Fialho d'Almeida {34,800}.

Brazil: [1845] O moço loiro / Joaquim Manuel de Macedo {35,900}; [1872] Inocência / Alfredo D'Escagnolle Taunay {29,100}; [1872] Historia e tradições da província de Minas Gerais / Bernardo Guimarães {35,600}; [1875] Senhora / José de Alencar {33,800}; [1881] Lourenço / Franklin Távora {30,100}; [1890] O cortiço / Aluísio Azevedo {35,800}; [1890] Dom Casmurro / Machado de Assis {37,300}; [1902] Os sertões / Euclides da Cunha {35,200}.