ASPECTS OF INFINITIVAL CONSTRUCTION IN THE HISTORY OF PORTUGUESE[*]

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The central issue discussed in this paper is the appearance of the inflected infinitive in the clausal complements of Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) verbs in Portuguese. This change is related to other changes (which also characterize Control and Raising structures) that affected the infinitival complements of ECM verbs, namely, the emergence of predicative negation in the infinitival clause and the loss of obligatory clitic climbing. The goal of the paper is to establish the chronology of the innovations and motivate the change. Having as background the cue-based theory of acquisition and change proposed by Lightfoot (1999), a local trigger for the acquisition of the new structures will be sought for. The account suggested for the change draws on the idea that particular situations of structural ambiguity promoted by ellipsis in coordination contexts may constitute a trigger for change.

1. *Introduction*

In Modern Portuguese, both simple infinitives and inflected infinitives can be embedded under causative and perception verbs, as examples (1) and (2) below show. Sentences such as (2), however, are not attested in the early Portuguese texts and are barely attested in the fifteenth century.[1]

(1) *Mandei/Vi os polícias **prender**   o   ladrão*   (MP/OP: OK)
    sent/saw the cops   arrest-INFIN the thief
    "I sent/saw the cops (to) arrest the thief"

(2) *Mandei/Vi os polícias **prenderem**   o   ladrão* (MP: OK; OP: *)
    sent/saw the cops   arrest-INFL.INFIN-3PL the thief
    "I sent/saw the cops (to) arrest the thief"

The Portuguese inflected infinitive becomes common in complement clauses of Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) verbs from the sixteenth century on (see Maurer (1968) and section 3 below). Other divergent traits of Old and Modern Portuguese with respect to the infinitival complements of ECM predicates appear to correlate with the ban on inflected infinitives, namely, the absence of negative operators in the relevant kind of infinitival clauses in Old Portuguese, and the fact that in Old Portuguese, with few exceptions, embedded object clitics moved out of the infinitival complement clause and cliticized to the main verb. In Modern (European) Portuguese, the relevant infinitival clauses can in turn be (independently) negated, and clitic climbing is optional, embedded object clitics either being extracted from the embedded infinitival clause or staying inside it. So while all the sentences under (3) and (4) below are

[1] The earlier documents date from late 12th and early 13th centuries. The Old Portuguese period extends up to the first half of the sixteenth century. Some authors subdivide Old Portuguese into Early Old Portuguese (12th-14th centuries) and Middle Portuguese (15th century and first half of the 16th century).

grammatical in Modern Portuguese (MP), only the type of sentences given in (3a) and (4a) are commonly found in Old Portuguese (OP).

(3) a. *O médico **não** o mandou beber vinho* (MP/OP: OK)
    the doctor not him-ACC sent drink-INFIN wine
    "the doctor didn't send him drink wine"

   b. *O médico mandou-o **não** beber vinho* (MP: OK; OP: *)
    the doctor sent-him-ACC not drink-INFIN wine
    "the doctor sent him to not drink wine"

(4) a. *Mandou-**lho** entregar* (MP/OP: OK)
    sent-3SG-him-DAT-it-ACC give-INFIN
    "He/she sent to give it to him"

   b. *Mandou entregar-**lho*** (MP: OK; OP: [?]*)
    sent-3SG give-INFIN-him-DAT-it-ACC
    "He/she sent to give it to him"

The diachronic path displayed by the infinitival complements of ECM verbs is also observable with Control and Raising verbs. While the inflected infinitive is never an option in this case, since Control and Raising structures do not allow a referentially independent embedded subject (putting aside adjunct Control), embedded negation is only found from the sixteenth century on and cliticization within the infinitival clause is scarcely attested throughout the Old Portuguese period. So only sentences (5a) and (6a) below – respectively a Raising structure with the modal verb *poder* 'may' and a Control structure with the volition verb *querer* 'want'– are common both in Old and Modern Portuguese, whereas sentences like (5b), without clitic climbing, and (6b), with a negative infinitival clause, are in general not found in Old Portuguese.

(5) a. *Cuidado! Podes-**te** magoar.* (MP/OP: OK)
    watch-out may-2SG-you-ACC hurt-INFIN
    "Watch out! You may hurt yourself"

   b. *Cuidado! Podes magoar-**te**.* (MP: OK; OP: [?]*)
    watch-out may-2SG hurt-INFIN-you-ACC
    "Watch out! You may hurt yourself"

(6) a. ***Não** quero fazer isso* (MP/OP: OK)
    not want-PRESENT-1SG do-INFIN that
    "I don't want to do that"

   b. *Só quero **não** fazer isso* (MP: OK; OP: *)
    only want-PRESENT-1SG not do-INFIN that
    "I just want not to do that"

This set of facts, which is summarized in table 1, can be straightforwardly accounted for if we analyze the Old Portuguese infinitival complements of ECM, Control, and Raising verbs as having a reduced structure.

Old Portuguese	Modern Portuguese	Range
+ simple infinitive	+ simple infinitive	ECM, Control, Raising
- inflected infinitive	+ inflected infinitive	ECM
- predicative negation	+ predicative negation	ECM, Control, Raising
+ clitic climbing	± Clitic climbing	ECM, Control, Raising

Table 1: *Infinitival complements of ECM, Control and Raising Verbs*

In previous work on clitic climbing, I took such reduced clauses as being TPs (i.e. Tense Phrases, lacking Agr(eement); see Martins (1995, 2000)).[2] Elizabeth Pearce (1990), who observed a similar set of facts in Old French, analyzes the reduced infinitival complement clauses of the verbs under consideration as VPs (i.e. Verbal Phrases, thus lacking functional structure). Regardless of whether the correct structure is a VP or a TP,[3] ECM, Control, and Raising verbs selecting infinitival complements would have a more auxiliary-like character in Old Romance than in Modern Romance and, in general, would not support complement structures containing agreement, negation or a position for 'syntactic' cliticization.

As the view that we are dealing with a change from more reduced to less reduced (functional) clause structure is well grounded in the work of different authors (see Davies (1994, 2000), Fresina (1982), Goodall (1984), Martins (1995, 2000), Moore (1994), Pearce (1990), Picallo (1990), Strozer (1986), among others), I will adopt it here without further discussion. My goal in this paper will actually be to motivate the change under consideration (see section 4). I will take coordinate structures in tandem with the Old Portuguese independent inflected infinitival clauses expressing a stipulation or a desideratum to provide the kind of ambiguous configurations that triggered the change. In ambiguous contexts (with coordination at the text level) the independent inflected infinitive came to be interpreted as an infinitive embedded under a finite verb subject to ellipsis – ellipsis being licensed by syntactic coordination. Before I address this matter, I will need to clarify the status of causative and perception verbs in Old Portuguese, showing how these verbs entered both *faire*-inf structures and ECM structures (see section 2). The latter, not the former, are to be considered in this paper. Moreover, I will establish the approximate chronology of the change (see section 3), as this will be shown to be a relevant issue in understanding the rationale of the change. Section 5 concludes the paper with some observations on the affinity and contrast between Portuguese and the other Romance languages with respect to the relevant infinitival structures.

2. *A preliminary note on ECM verbs*

In Modern Portuguese, ECM verbs, like the causative *mandar* in the examples below, select as their complement either an inflected infinitival clause (see sentence (7)) or a simple infinitival clause (see sentence (8a)). In the former situation, the embedded subject is Case marked by the inflected infinitive, while in the latter it is Case marked by the finite verb of the main clause. So in (7) the infinitival clause subject is

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[2] The reduced infinitival complements of ECM, Control and Raising verbs would have later developed into full Inflectional Phrases containing functional heads higher than T(ense), namely Agr(eement) and Pol(arity). Adopting the *Minimal Structure Principle* of Bošković (1996), Martins (1995, 2000) analyzes Control infinitivals as IPs, not CPs.

[3] Or something in between, such as *v*P (see Chomsky 1995).

Nominative, but in (8) it is Accusative. This becomes clear when the relevant subject is a clitic pronoun (see (8b) below). Thus only the structure represented by the sentences (8a-b) displays Exceptional Case Marking of the embedded subject.[4]

(7) *O juiz   mandou **os   advogados deixarem**   a   sala*
    the judge sent-3SG the-PL lawyers   leave-INFL.INFIN-3PL the room
    "The judge sent the lawyers out of the room"

(8) a. O *juiz   mandou **os   advogados deixar**   a   sala*
     the judge sent-3SG the-PL lawyers   leave-INFN the room
     "The judge sent the lawyers out of the room"
   b. *O juiz   mandou-**os**   **deixar**   a   sala*
     the judge sent-3SG-them-ACC leave-INFIN the room
     "The judge sent them out of the room"

The verbs allowing the ECM structure (which I will refer throughout the paper as ECM verbs) and the embedded inflected infinitival structure are additionally found in the *faire*-inf(initive) construction (see Kayne (1975), Burzio (1986), Gonçalves (1999), Gonçalves and Duarte (2001), among others). This is a 'clause union' structure where the finite and the infinitival verb restructure into a verbal unit with its own Thematic and Case properties. In the *faire*-inf construction the infinitival subject (of the bi-clausal structures) manifests object properties being Case marked as Accusative or Dative depending on the transitive or intransitive nature of the infinitival verb. Sentence (9a) below exemplifies the *faire*-inf construction with the causative *mandar* 'send, order' plus an intransitive verb. Sentences (9b) and (9c) below exemplify the *faire*-inf construction with the causative *mandar* plus a transitive verb; these sentences display 'Subject Dativization' (Kayne 1975) – contrast *os advogados* 'the lawyers' (in (8a)) with *aos advogados* 'to the lawyers' (in (9a)). The same contrast is highlighted by the clitic pronouns in *mandou-os* 'sent them-ACC' (see (8b)), versus *mandou-**lhes*** 'sent them-DAT' (see (9b)). Given its Object nature, the Accusative or Dative full Nominal Phrase in the *faire*-inf construction always surfaces after the verbal complex (see (9a) and (9b)).

(9) a. *O   juiz   mandou   sair   os advogados*
     the judge   sent-3SG go-out-INFIN the lawyers
     "the judge sent the lawyers out"
   b. *O   juiz   mandou   deixar   a   sala **aos   advogados***
     the judge   sent-3SG leave-INFIN the room to-the lawyers
     "The judge sent the lawyers out of the room"

   c. *O   juiz   mandou-**lhes**   deixar   a   sala*
     the judge   sent-3SG-them-DAT leave-INFIN the room
     "The judge sent them out of the room"

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[4] European Portuguese speakers diverge in their appreciation of inflected infinitival clauses with accusative subjects (which are non standard). Judgments on sentences like (i) below by European Portuguese speakers range from 'ungrammatical' to 'fully acceptable'.
  (i) */?/3 *O juiz   mandou-os   deixarem   a sala*
       the judge sent-3SG-them leave-INFL.INFIN-3PL the room
       "The judge sent them out of the room"

The ECM construction on the one hand and the *faire*-inf construction on the other have different properties with respect to clitic placement and predicative negation. In the *faire*-inf construction clitic climbing is obligatory, whereas in the ECM construction an infinitival clitic subject climbs but an embedded clitic object necessarily cliticizes within the infinitival clause (see Gonçalves (1998, 1999), Duarte and Gonçalves (2001), Mateus et alii (2003:640ss), among others). As for negation associated with the infinitival predicate, the ECM structure allows it (as sentences (10a)-(10b) below show) but the *faire*-inf construction does not (thus the grammaticality of (10a)-(10b) contrasts with the ungrammaticality of (10c)-(10d)).

(10) a. *O   juiz   mandou-os   **não** deixar   a   sala*
       the judge   sent-3SG-them-ACC not leave-INFIN   the room
       "The judge ordered them not to leave the room"

    b. *O   juiz   mandou os advogados **não** deixar   a   sala*
       the judge   sent-3SG the lawyers   not   leave-INFIN   the room
       "The judge ordered the lawyers not to leave the room"

    c. **O   juiz   mandou-lhes   **não** deixar   a   sala*
       the judge   sent-3SG-them-DAT not leave-INFIN   the room

    d. **O   juiz   mandou **não** deixar   a   sala aos   advogados*
       the judge   sent-3SG not leave-INFIN   the room to-the lawyers

Having in mind that the *faire*-inf construction makes clitic climbing necessary and excludes negation from the infinitival domain, the Old Portuguese scenario described in section 1 above could be interpreted as a consequence of the inexistence of the ECM construction during this period. Under this hypothesis, the diachronic change affecting causatives (and perception verbs) would thus consist in the ECM construction coming into play after a period when only the *faire*-inf construction would be allowed. If this were the case, the change affecting ECM predicates (causative and perception verbs) would be distinct from the change affecting Control and Raising predicates. As I will show next, this is not the right scenario as there is clear evidence showing that both the *faire*-inf and the ECM constructions are available in Old Portuguese. The ECM structure however does not display in Old Portuguese the same set of properties it does in Modern Portuguese, that is, cliticization and negation are in general not allowed within the infinitival domain of the ECM structure just like what happens in Control and Raising structures.[5]

The *faire*-inf construction is attested by the Old Portuguese sentences in (11) and (12) below. The characteristic post 'verbal unit' placement of the non clitic 'objectivized' subject shown by (11) in tandem with the fact that 'Subject Dativization' is manifested both in (11) with a strong pronoun and in (12) with a clitic pronoun makes it clear that these sentences are instances of the *faire*-inf construction.

(11) *fazendo-o   primeiro ssaber   **a elas***
      making-it-ACC   first   know-INFIN to they-FEM
      "letting them be the first to know it"
      (Legal document, year 1447. Martins 2002:499)

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[5] I have not been able to attest an unambiguous example of clitic climbing of an object pronoun in an ECM structure in Old Portuguese. Nevertheless, it is clear that cliticization within the infinitival complements of ECM verbs was in general not an available option although the ECM structure was allowed.

(12) *que **lhes** fez quebrantar os mãdados de seus senhores*
that them-DAT make-3SG break-INFIN the orders of their masters
"that it made them disobey their masters' orders"
(*Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*. Quoted by Davies 1994:52)

On the other hand, sentences (13) and (14) below can only represent the ECM construction. This is shown by the fact that the infinitival clause subject is not assigned Dative even though the infinitival verb is transitive. The Accusative nature of the infinitival subject is clear in sentence (14) which displays a clitic pronoun subject. Moreover, in sentence (13), with a full nominal subject, the Noun Phrase appears in the interverbal position that is typical of the ECM structure.

(13) *viu **Galvam** tal doo fazer*
saw-3SG Galvam such lament do-INFIN
"He saw Galvam lamenting his faith"
(*Demanda do Santo Graal*. Quoted by Davies 1994:51)

(14) *que **o** fez leixar a fe de Jhesu Christo*
that him-ACC made abandon-INFIN the faith of Jesus Christ
"that made him abandon the faith of J. C."
(*Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*. Quoted by Davies 1994:52)

In Old Portuguese one also finds intriguing sentences such as (15) below. In (15), the boldfaced constituents appear to be Case marked in such a way as to signal the *faire*-inf construction. However, the position of this constituent preceding the infinitival verb is only expected in the ECM construction.

(15) *elle faz **aos seguos** ver e **aos surdos** ouvyr*
he makes to-the blind see-INFIN and to-the deaf hear-INFIN
"he makes the blind see and the deaf hear"
(*José de Arimateia*. Quoted by Davies 1994:51)

Sentence (15) displays structural ambiguity as it may represent either the *faire*-inf construction or the ECM construction. In the former case, the boldfaced constituents are the Dative complements of the verbal complexes (respectively, *faz ver* 'makes see' and *(faz) ouvyr* 'makes hear'). Their position preceding the infinitival verb is allowed because IP-scrambling, which derives the order OV, is a grammatical option in Old Portuguese (see Martins (2002) for details). Sentence (16) below illustrates unambiguously the *faire*-inf construction and thus confirms that in Old Portuguese a scrambled object may intervene between the causative verb and the infinitive.[6]

(16) *mandarey **as vossas carnes** espedaçar a cães*
send-FUTURE-1SG the your flesh tear-to-pieces to dogs
"I will send dogs to tear your body"
(*Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*. Cintra 1961:171)

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[6] In Old Portuguese, displacement induced by IP-scrambling may affect one verbal complement leaving the other verbal complement 'in place', deriving the order OVO as in sentence (16).

Nevertheless, sentence (15) above may also instantiate an ECM structure. In fact, the presence of the preposition *a* 'to', which introduces the boldfaced constituents, does not necessarily indicate that they are marked as Dative. Sentence (17) below exemplifies how the preposition *a* 'to' is allowed in Old Portuguese preceding an Accusative object bearing a [human] feature.[7]

(17) *tu   matas   cruelmente e   sem   misericordia aos   seruos   de deus*
     you kill   cruelly   and without mercy   to-the servants of god
     "You kill cruelly and mercilessly the servants of God"
     (*Barlaão e Josafá*. Quoted by Abraham 1938:49)

Compelling evidence that the ECM construction may display an infinitival subject introduced by the preposition *a* 'to' in Old Portuguese is offered by sentences (18)-(19) below. In sentences (18) and (19) we find the reflexive clitic pronoun *se* within the infinitival clause selected, respectively, by the causative *mandar* 'send, order' and by the perception verb *ver* 'see'. As has been observed by different authors, reflexive *se* is disallowed in the *faire*-inf construction. Thus sentences (18) and (19) can only be ECM structures.[8]

(18) *E   un   dia que dormindo a   achou   soa, a un seu mouro*
     And one day that sleeping her-ACC found-3SG alone to a his Moor
     *logo   mandou deitar-**sse**   con   ela*
     immediately sent-3SG lie-down-INFIN-himself with she
     "And when one day he found her sleeping alone, he ordered at once a Muslim servant of him to sleep with her"
     (*Cantigas de Santa Maria*. Quoted by Sousa Fernández 1998:68)

(19) *vejo   a um escravo comprado por cinco*
     see-PRESENT-1SG to a   slave   bought   for five
     *xerafins   fazer-**se**   senhor de muitas rendas.*
     xerafins [an old currency] make-INFIN-himself owner of many   rents
     "I see a slave bought at a low price become the owner of much property"
     (*Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque*. Pato 1884:35)

The contrast between the ECM and the *faire*-inf construction with respect to their compatibility with the reflexive pronoun *se* is illustrated by (20) versus the set of sentences in (21). While the ECM structure exemplified by (20) allows the reflexive pronoun, the *faire*-inf construction bans it. In fact in the *faire*-inf construction (see (21a)) the same meaning as in the ECM structure in (20) is obtained in the absence of the reflexive *se* − compare (20) with (21a). The presence of *se* in the *faire*-inf construction produces ungrammatical sentences (see (21b-c)).

(20) *Mandou o   menino deitar-**se***   ECM
     sent-3SG the child   lie-down-INFIN-himself
     'He sent the child to bed'

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[7] This turn is found from Old Spanish to contemporary Spanish. See Torrego (1999), Keniston (1937:7ff), and Lapesa (2000:93ff), among others.
[8] Sentences (18) and (19) offer rare examples of cliticization within the infinitival clause in Old Portuguese (see section 3 below).

(21) a. *Mandou deitar o menino faire*-inf
   sent-3SG lie-down-INFIN the child
   "He sent the child to bed"

  b. **Mandou deitar-se o menino faire*-inf
   sent-3SG lie-down-INFIN-himself the child
   (ungrammatical under the intended reading)

  c. **Mandou deitar-se ao menino faire*-inf
   sent-3SG lie-down-INFIN-himself to-the child

3. *The chronology of the change*

  The decrease in clitic climbing in favor of the option for cliticization within the infinitival clause that is diachronically observed in Portuguese is one of the manifestations of the change from more reduced to less reduced infinitival clauses (in Control, Raising and ECM structures). The state of affairs in Old Portuguese with respect to clitic climbing is similar to what is found in the other Romance languages in the medieval period. In his seminal work on the development of Romance clitic pronouns from Latin to Old Romance, Dieter Wanner (1986) depicts the Old Romance scenario as follows:

> It can be affirmed that the Italian CM [clitic movement] pattern of the 13th century is quite typical for all Old Romance languages. They all share the pervasive presence of +CM strings with the same kind of governing verb meanings, and with the other characteristic features of Old Italian, be the language Old Portuguese, Old Spanish, Old Catalan, Old French, Old Provençal, or Old Sardinian. (…) On the competence level, the option of not applying CM with a potential V(cm) [verb admitting clitic movement] does exist, but it may have been considerably marked or even marginal (Wanner 1986:290-301)

The 'marginal' option referred to by Wanner (1986) is attested by sentences (22) and (23) below, which display cliticization within the infinitival clause – in sentence (22) clitic climbing is attested as well. The option for cliticization within the infinitival clause appears to have no significant quantitative expression in the Old Portuguese written sources as no more than a dozen examples could be identified by the different authors who dealt with clitic placement in Old Portuguese.[9]

(22) *E quando quiser espedir-se del*
  and when want-FUTURE-SUBJ-3SG say-goodbye-INFIN-himself of-he
  beige-lhy a mão [...] ao senhor de que
  kiss-PRESENT-SUBJ-3SG-him-DAT the hand [...] to-the lord of who
  se espede e diga-lhy:
  himself says-goodbye and say-PRESENT-SUBJ-3SG-him-DAT
  foan tal caualeyro uos mãda beygar a maao
  such-person such knight you-DAT sends kiss-INFIN the hand
  "And when you want to say goodbye to some lord, you shall kiss his hand and say: such knight sent me to kiss your hand"
  (*Foro Real*. Quoted by Silva 2003:324)

(23) *Onde os que morã a cabo destas eygreias nõ podẽ*

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where the-ones that live-3PL at top   of-these churches not can-3PL
*hyr   confessar-**sse**   de sseus pecados ao   clerigo*
go-INFIN confess-INFIN-themselves of their sins   to-the clergyman
doutra   jgreja
of-another church
"So that the ones that live close to these churches cannot go to confession with a father of another church"
(*Primeira Partida*. Quoted by Silva 2003:147)

The decrease in clitic climbing from the sixteenth century on is tracked down in the investigation carried out by Costa (2002). The data gathered from texts written in between the early sixteenth century and the nineteenth century is given in Table 2 below. The clitic subjects of the infinitival complements of ECM verbs were discarded since clitic subjects in the ECM construction display obligatory clitic climbing in Old as well as in Modern Portuguese. In Table I below '+CC' stands for 'clitic climbing', '-CC' stands for 'cliticization within the infinitival clause'. Table 2 is extracted from Costa (2002).

Authors (birth date – death date)	+CC	-CC
Afonso de Albuquerque (1462?-1515)[10]	40/42 (95%)	2/42 (5%)
Damião de Góis (1502?-1574)[11]	50/50 (100%)	0/50 (0%)
Fernão Mendes Pinto (1510-1583)[12]	104/107 (97%)	3/107 (3%)
Diogo do Couto (1542-1616)[13]	29/31 (94%)	2/31 (6%)
António Vieira (1608-1697)[14]	23/28 (82%)	5/28 (18%)
Luís António Verney (1713-1792)[15]	13/39 (33%)	26/39 (67%)
Almeida Garrett (1799-1854) [16]	27/49 (55%)	22/49 (45%)
Oliveira Martins (1845-1894)[17]	0/12 (0%)	12/12 (100%)

Table 2: *Clitic climbing from the late15th century to the 20th century*

The data in Table 2 show that the option for cliticization to the infinitival verb is still parsimoniously taken in the sixteenth century, though most sixteenth century authors already make use of it. In the seventeenth century the absence of clitic climbing becomes quantitatively more significant. From the eighteenth century on the contemporary situation is established with both options being equally used. Different authors however manifest different tendencies, sometimes giving rise to considerable idiolectal variation. The 100% of cliticization within the infinitival clause found in Oliveira Martins is not to be taken to represent the final output of the change. Although cliticization to the infinitival verb is taken to be the standard option for written language by prescriptive grammarians, clitic climbing is attested in nineteenth, twentieth and

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[10] Data gathered from Baião (1957:2-51).
[11] Data gathered from Rodrigues (1977:12-61).
[12] Data gathered from Pinto (1995: folios 1-25).
[13] Data gathered from Cruz (1993:21-70).
[14] Data gathered from Vieira (1997:4-53).
[15] Data gathered from Pires (1991:43-92).
[16] Data gathered from Braga (1904:5-54).
[17] Data gathered from Martins (1954:1-50).

contemporary Portuguese authors. Both options for clitic placement in clitic climbing contexts are fully productive in contemporary spoken Portuguese.[18]

The sixteenth century is the time when the inflected infinitive becomes significantly attested in the clausal complements of ECM verbs.[19] It is also from the sixteenth century on that predicative negation is attested in the infinitival complements of Control, Raising and ECM verbs. (Examples of both innovative structures will be given in section 4.3 below). So although the decrease in clitic climbing in the sixteenth century is slight I will take it in tandem with the facts just mentioned to mark the turning point with respect to the change from more reduced to less reduced infinitival clauses in Control, Raising and ECM structures. In the next section I will handle the issue of the rationale of change. In addition, I will propose that the scarce examples of clitic climbing found in some medieval texts are compatible with an analysis of the corresponding infinitival clauses as reduced clauses.

4. *Motivating the change*

As far as I know, among the authors who studied the change under consideration only Mark Davies faced the issue of the rationale of change. Davies (1994), who deals with causative structures only, proposes that the increasing use of overt referential infinitival subjects throughout the Middle Ages is to be seen as the motivation for the change. The fact that null arbitrary subjects are highly frequent in ECM structures at earlier times can be explained under the hypothesis that there was a morphological merger in Late Latin between the active and passive infinitives of most verbs (passive clauses being often agentless). As the active interpretation gained ground, the expression of the agent subject became a gradually more common option. The fact that the infinitival clause frequently displays an overt referential subject would have favored its reanalysis as a nonreduced clause, paving the way for the emergence of the inflected infinitive.

Davies' insight is an important contribution to understand the path of the change involving ECM structures. It seems to me, however, that it cannot be the whole story. On the one hand, overt referential subjects are allowed within functionally defective infinitival clauses in Old Portuguese. On the other hand, and more crucially, the kind of reasoning offered by Davies (1994) cannot account for the change that affected Control and Raising structures with clitic climbing verbs. As I wish to maintain that we are dealing with the same change in ECM, Control and Raising structures, I will propose an alternative approach, which nevertheless incorporates Davies' insight. Before I present

[18] Besides Costa (2002), Salvi (1990) also offers quantitative data with respect to clitic climbing throughout the history of Portuguese. The three nineteenth century authors taken under scrutiny by Salvi (Almeida Garrett, Camilo Castelo Branco and Eça de Queiroz) all show variation between clitic climbing and cliticization within the infinitival clause. The data presented by Salvi (1990) confirm that there is a small but significant decrease in clitic placement in the sixteenth century. With respect to the seventeenth century however the data in Salvi (1990) are not consistent with the data presented by Costa (2002), although both Salvi and Costa looked at texts written by the same author, António Vieira. On Salvi's table VI (see Salvi (1990:202)) there is no decrease in clitic climbing in the seventeenth century when compared with the preceding century. Salvi (1990) and Costa (2002) worked with different texts written by Vieira; moreover, Salvi (1990) observed only a subset of the verbs allowing clitic climbing. These are possible sources for the different results reached by Salvi (1990) and Costa (2002) with respect to the seventeenth century author António Vieira (who displays 82% of clitic climbing according to Costa's data but 96% according to Salvi's). Be it as it may, further scrutiny of sixteenth and seventeenth century texts will be necessary in order to obtain a better picture of the diffusion path of the change.
[19] Maurer (1968:58-59) quotes three examples of inflected infinitival clauses as complements of ECM verbs from fifteenth century manuscripts. The author points out that such sentences are 'rare' and 'late' in the medieval texts.

my proposal I will need to introduce two preliminary topics: (i) clitic placement in certain coordinate structures; and (ii) independent inflected infinitives.

4.1 *Coordinate structures*

Coordinate structures licensing ellipsis of a main verb constitute a particular kind of configuration with respect to clitic placement. Because ellipsis of a finite verb selecting an infinitival complement clause makes clitic climbing unavailable, cliticization within the infinitival clause is generally attested in such configurations throughout the period of pervasive clitic climbing. Sentences (24) to (26) below illustrate the relevant structures involving coordination, verbal ellipsis and cliticization to the infinitival verb.

(24) *mandando o   dicto moesteiro sseu certo procurado estar   aa*
        sending   the said monastery his   known solicitor be-INFIN to-the
        mjdida   delles   na   eira   e   reçebe-llo   aa
        measure of-they in-the cereal-ground and receive-INFIN-it-ACC to-the
        dicta portagem
        said gate
        "sending the said monastery his solicitor to watch the cereal mixing in the
        cereal ground and to receive the tax payment at the gate"
        (Legal document, year1472. Martins 2002:515)

(25) *E   nos deuemos de põer   a   meyatade da   semẽte e*
        and we must-1PL of put-INFIN the half   of-the seed   and
        dar-uos   mays hũu sesteyro de pam   meyado
        give-INFIN-you-ACC more one measure of cereal mixed
        "And we shall provide you with half of the necessary seed and give you one
        measure of mixed cereal as well"
        (Legal document, year 1381. Martins 2002:458)

(26) *E   nos   posades   tomar   o dicto casal e*
        and us-DAT can-PRESENT-SUBJ-2PL take-INFIN the said farm   and
        da-lo   A quem   por bem teuerdes
        give-INFIN-it-ACC to who   by good have-FUTURE-SUBJ-2PL
        "And you are to be allowed to take the said farm from us and rent it to whoever
        you may wish"
        (Legal document, year 1381. Martins 2002:459)

Given that an account of clitic placement in infinitival clauses embedded under an elliptic clitic climbing verb is beyond the scope of this paper, I will just advance an idea stripped of any technical implementation. We have been working with the hypothesis that the infinitival clauses selected by ECM and certain Control and Raising verbs are functionally defective in Old Portuguese, this being the reason why clitics climb in order for 'syntactic' cliticization to take place. If we further assume (in line with Kayne (1991)) that 'syntactic' cliticization is clitic adjunction to a high functional head within the Inflectional Phrase (IP) domain, we are led to the conclusion that cliticization to the infinitival verb is not 'syntactic' cliticization in Old Portuguese. This must be the case in view of the fact that the relevant infinitival clauses are not (full) IPs. I will thus suggest that when ellipsis of a main verb licensed by syntactic coordination makes clitic climbing unavailable 'morphological' cliticization obtains as a last resort strategy. In contrast to 'syntactic' cliticization (which resorts to a functional head to mediate the

relation between clitic and verb), 'morphological' cliticization is a lexical process consisting in the direct merge between the clitic and the verb.

Under this perspective the marginal option for cliticization within the infinitival clause in configurations where clitic climbing was permitted (which is illustrated in section 3 above) would result from a limited spreading of 'morphological' cliticization in contexts that did not make it necessary. This is why lack of clitic climbing is attested with a very low frequency throughout the Old Portuguese period. These earlier examples of cliticization within the infinitival clause are unconnected with the change from more reduced to less reduced infinitival clauses that took place later on.

Nevertheless, coordinate structures involving verbal ellipsis will have an important role in the change that is visible in the sixteenth century. Before we can see how, I will need to bring into play Old Portuguese independent infinitival clauses.

4.2 *Independent inflected infinitival clauses*

In Modern European Portuguese, aside from some marked or fossilized expressions, inflected infinitives occur in embedded clauses, being excluded from independent or matrix clauses. In Old Portuguese, however, inflected infinitives are commonly found in unembedded domains. The relevant clauses have in general an imperative import and are either independent clauses or the matrix part of a conditional construction. These infinitival clauses expressing a stipulation or a strong wish are well attested in legal documents from the late twelfth century up to the sixteenth century. Sentences (27) to (30) below are relevant examples, showing that unembedded infinitival clauses alternate with subjunctive clauses in Old Portuguese.

(27) *e   se achassem   que Moor Eanes siia no   plazo*
and if find-IMPERFECT-SUBJ-3PL that Moor Eanes was in-the contract
*con   seu marido **ualer**-lj   seu plazo*
with her husband hold-INFL.INFIN-3SG-her her contract
"and if they found that Moor Eanes and her husband actually had a contract, the contract should hold (to her advantage)"
(Legal document, year 1273. Martins 2002:120)

(28) *e   se achassem   que non siia no   plazo   (...) que*
and if find-IMPERFECT-SUBJ-3PL that not was in-the   contract (...) that
*lhe **fezesse**   o   abade plazo*
her make-IMPERFECT-SUBJ-3SG the abbot contract
"and if they found that Moor Eanes did not have a contract, the Abbot should make a contract with her"
(Legal document, year 1273. Martins 2002:120)

(29) *E   **ffazerem**   a   dita   cassa e*
and build-INFL.-INFINITIVE-3PL the mentioned house and
***reffazerem**   de   todo casso fortoyto*
rebuild-INFL.INFIN-3PL from any   event accidental
"and they will build and rebuild the house after any accidental bad event"
(Legal document, year 1407. Martins 2002:472)

(30) *E   a **faça**   e   **refaça***
and it build-PRESENT-SUBJ-3SG and rebuild-PRESENT-SUBJ-3SG
de   todo caso   furtuyto

from any   event   accidental
"and he will build and rebuild the house after any accidental bad event"
(Legal document, year 1414. Martins 2002:477)

Note that the sentences of the pairs (27)-(28), on the one hand, and (29)-(30), on the other, diverge minimally, making it clear that the alternation between inflected infinitives and subjunctives is not context-dependent. In Modern Portuguese this alternation is lost and so sentences (27) and (29) above would be ungrammatical, only (28) and (30) being admitted.

An analysis of the Old Portuguese independent inflected infinitive is provided in Martins (2001a). For the purposes of the present paper the important fact to retain is that independent inflected infinitives with imperative import leave the stage when ECM inflected infinitives and the other associated manifestations of the change affecting infinitival structures come into play. The sixteenth century is the crucial period to look at.

4.3 *The ambiguous status of some inflected infinitives in coordinate structures*

The thirteenth century excerpt given below (see example (31)) includes an independent 'stipulative' inflected infinitival clause (underlined in the example) followed by a 'stipulative' subjunctive clause, thus further illustrating the kind of variation discussed in the previous section.

(31) *e   sobre todo esto   mandamus   e   houtorgamus*
      and upon all   this   order-PRESENT-1PL and confirm-PRESENT-1PL
      que se algũu de nos ueher   que aquesta nossa
      that if some of us   come-FUTURE-SUBJ-3SG that this   our
      partizõ queyra   britar   ou desfazer,
      sharing want-PRESENT-SUBJ-3SG break-INFIN or   undo-INFIN
      peyte   áá   outra parte aguardante. C. mrs.
      pay-PRESENT-SUBJ-3SG to-the other   part dependable C *maravedis*
      uelhus da   moheda corredia en Portugal
      old   of-the coin   running   in Portugal
      <u>*e   o   prazo   ficar   en sa forteleza*   *e*</u>
      and the contract stay-INFL.INFIN-3SG in its strong-ness and
      uala   pera todo senpre
      be-worth-PRESENT-SUBJ- 3SG for   all   ever
      "And besides we order and confirm the order that the one of us who should try to break or annul this contract will have to pay to the other part one hundred *maravedis* of the old coin current in Portugal. And the contract is to be kept. And it should be valid forever"
      (Legal document, year 1287. Maia 1986:250)

In addition, example (31) also involves coordination and displays the kind of ambiguous configuration that may have fed the reanalysis of certain independent inflected infinitival clauses as embedded clauses.

For clarification purposes let us consider the reconstructed sentence(s) in (32). There are two possible interpretations for (32a): either "o prazo ficar em sa forteleza" is analyzed as an independent sentence introduced by a coordinate conjunction, in which case there would be coordination at the textual/inter-sentential level (see (32b)); or (32a) is analyzed as the second member of a (bi-clausal) coordinate structure that licenses

verbal ellipsis – see (32c) where the ellipsis site is signaled with the symbol '[–]' and the ellipsis antecedent is boldfaced.

(32) a. *mandamos   peytar   áá   parte aguardante C maravedis*
　　　order-PRESENT-1PL pay-INFIN to-the part dependable C *maravedis*
　　　e   o   prazo   ficar   en sa forteleza
　　　and the contract stay   in its strong-ness
　　b. *Mandamos   peytar   áá   parte aguardante C maravedis.*
　　　order-PRESENT-1PL pay-INFIN to-the part dependable C *maravedis*
　　　E   o   prazo   ficar   en sa forteleza
　　　and the contract stay-INFL.INFIN-3SG   in its strong-ness
　　　"We order that the one of us who should try to break this contract will have to pay to the other part one hundred *maravedis*. And the contract is to be kept".
　　c. **Mandamos**   *peytar   áá   parte aguardante C maravedis*
　　　order-PRESENT-1PL pay-INFIN to-the part dependable C *maravedis*
　　　e [–] o   prazo   ficar   en sa forteleza
　　　and   the contract stay-INFIN in its strong-ness
　　　"We order that the one of us who should try to break this contract pay to the other part one hundred *maravedis* and (we order that) the contract be kept".

As the inflected infinitive may bear overt agreement marking (see the reconstructed example (33) where the boldfaced morpheme *-em* expresses third person plural) the interpretation of an independent inflected infinitive as an infinitive embedded under an elliptic causative verb would imply accepting an ECM structure with an inflected infinitival complement as a grammatical option.

(33) *mandamos   peytar   áá   parte aguardante C maravedis*
　　order-PRESENT-1PL pay-INFIN to-the part dependable C *maravedis*
　　*e   os   prazos   ficar**em**   en sa forteleza*
　　and the contracts stay-INFL.INFIN-3PL in its strong-ness

We may ask at this point why inflected infinitival clauses did not become a grammatical option as complements of Control and Raising verbs, given that the kind of structural ambiguity just described is also found with such verbs (see example (34) below).

(34) *outorgarõ   que o   dito martjm ãnes e   sua molher e   pesoa*
　　confirmed-3PL that the said Martim Anes and his wife   and person
　　os   posam   auer   pera sj   e
　　them-ACC can-PRESENT-SUBJ-3PL have-INFIN for themselves and
　　os   demãdar   E se   lograrem   delles   em
　　them-ACC demand-INFIN and themselves benefit-INFL.INFIN of-them in
　　suas vidas
　　their lives
　　"they confirmed that the said Martim Anes and his wife, as well as a third person they name, can have and demand the right to the property. And they shall take profit from it as long as they live"
　　(Legal document, year 1417. Martins 2002:481)

The answer to this question takes us back to Davies' account of the change with respect to causatives (cf. Davies (1994)). The relevant distinction between ECM structures, on the one hand, and Control and Raising structures, on the other, is that the former allow an autonomous embedded subject but the latter do not.[20] Thus Control and Raising structures does not exhibit the kind of configuration (with an overt infinitival subject) that according to Davies favored the emergence of inflected infinitival clauses as complement of ECM verbs.

Nevertheless, the structural ambiguity between an independent inflected infinitival clause and an embedded infinitival clause in coordinate structures is also relevant to understand the change from more reduced to less reduced complement clauses selected by Control and Raising verbs. Sentence (35) below shows how the reanalysis of an independent negative inflected infinitival clause as an infinitival clause embedded under an elliptic modal verb would have made way for the appearance of predicative negation within the clausal complements of Control verbs.

(35) a. *E   quando sayr   desse logar deue-sse logo*
     and when   exit-FUTURE-SUBJ-3SG of-that place must-SE immediately
     a carpir   e   braadar   pela   rua e ir   logo
     to cry-INFIN and shout-INFIN by-the street and go-INFIN   immediately
     a justiça dereita.mente <u>e   nõ entrar   ẽ outra casa   e</u>
     to justice straight   and not enter-INFIN in other   house and
     dizer   ueedes que me   fez foaao   per nome
     say-INFIN see-2PL what me-DAT did such-person by name
     (*Primeira Partida*. Quoted by Silva 2003: 150)

   b. *E   quando sayr   desse logar deue-sse logo*
     and when   exit-FUTURE-SUBJ-3SG of-that place must-SE immediately
     a carpir   e   braadar   pela   rua e ir   logo
     to cry-INFIN and shout-INFIN by-the street and go-INFIN   immediately
     a justiça dereita.mente. <u>E   nõ entrar   ẽ outra casa</u>
     to justice straight   and not enter-INFL.INFIN-3SG in other house
     e   dizer   ueedes que me   fez foaao   per
     and say-INFL.INFIN-3SG see-2PL what me-DAT did such-person by
     nome
     name
     "When you will come out of that place you ought to go down the street crying and screaming, and you ought to go straight to court to press charges. You shall not enter other people houses and complain, saying: 'see what he did to me?' (naming the person)?

   c. *E   quando sayr   desse logar **deue**-sse logo*
     and when   exit-FUTURE-SUBJ-3SG of-that place must-SE immediately
     a carpir   e   braadar   pela   rua e ir   logo
     to cry-INFIN and shout-INFIN by-the street and go-INFIN   immediately
     a justiça dereita.mente e [–] <u>nõ entrar   ẽ outra casa   e</u>
     to justice straight   and   not enter-INFIN in other house and
     dizer   ueedes que me   fez foaao   per nome

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say-INFIN see-2PL what me-DAT did such-person by name
"When you will come out of that place you ought to go down the street
crying and screaming, and you ought to go straight to court to press charges,
and (you ought) not to enter other people houses and complain, saying:
'see what he did to me?'(naming the person)"

Costa (2002) attests the innovative structures resulting from the change in the writings of the sixteenth century author Afonso de Albuquerque, born in the second half of the fifteenth century. In A. de Albuquerque's letters sent from India to the king of Portugal the new nonreduced infinitival complement clauses are found in tandem with the old independent inflected infinitival clauses expressing a stipulation or desideratum – see sentence (36) below. This is evidence to show that the independent inflected infinitival clauses lasted enough to allow the proposed reanalysis process.[21]

(36) *e   aly   nos   ajumtarmos   todos e*
       and there us-RECYPROCAL assemble-INFL.INFIN-1PL all   and
       tornarmos   sobre gooa e fazermos   o que podermos
       return-INFL.INFIN-1PL over Goa and do-INFL-INF-1PL the what can-1PL
       "And we shall converge on there, all of us, and we shall force our way back
       into Goa and we shall do everything we can"…
       (*Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque*. Pato 1884: 23)

In addition, inflected infinitival clauses as complements of ECM verbs are often found in A. de Albuquerque's letters in coordinate structures involving ellipsis. This fact appears to support the view that such configurations are crucial to understand the change. Example (37) below attests the occurrence of predicative negation and of an inflected infinitive in an ECM structure with the perception verb *ver* 'to see'. Moreover, it displays two embedded inflected infinitival clauses in ellipsis contexts.

(37) *Vejo,   senhor, tambem nam me   mamdardes*
       see-PRESENT-1SG lord   also   not me-ACC send-INFL.INFIN-2PL
       armas nem jemte nem nenhum aparelho de guerra; vejo
       weapons nor people nor none apparatus of war see-PRESENT-1SG
       vossos capitãees que de   laa vem,   muy isemtos,
       your   captains that from there come-PRESENT-3PL very uncommitted L
       e omde me   nam acham   em pessoa
       and where me-ACC not find-PRESENT-3PL in   person
       [–] darem   muy pouco por minha determinaçõees e
       give-INFL.INFIN-3PL very little for my   resolutions   and
       mandados e [–] pórem-nas   em conselho e   em
       orders   and   put-INFL.INFIN-3PL-them-ACC in council and in
       vozes
       voices
       "I regret to see, my lord, that you also do not send me weapons, or soldiers, or
       any war equipment. I regret to see that when your captains arrive, they behave

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very wildly, and in my absence they do not execute neither my resolutions, nor my orders; instead, they gather in councils and debate those resolutions"
(Afonso de Albuquerque. Pato 1884:35)

From the sixteenth century on, predicative negation is also attested in the infinitival complements of modal verbs, as sentence (38) below shows.

(38) *soo   pello   que   virão,   e   ouvirão   àquelles religiosos*
     only by-the what saw-3PL and heard-3PL to-those friars
     <u>*poderão   não temer*</u>   *outro   poder muito mayor*
     could-3PL not fear-INFIN other   power very bigger
     "because of what they saw and what they heard from those friars they were able not to fear a much greater power"
     (Diogo do Couto, *Década Oitava da Ásia*. Cruz 1993:34)

5. *Conclusion*

I have shown in this paper how structurally ambiguous sentences involving coordination, ellipsis and independent inflected infinitival clauses with imperative meaning triggered the emergence of the inflected infinitive in the clausal complements of ECM verbs. The change has further consequences with respect to predicative negation and cliticization, which became available in the infinitival complements of ECM as well as Control and Raising verbs. In ambiguous contexts (with sentence initial coordination) the independent inflected infinitive came to be interpreted as an infinitive embedded under a finite verb subject to ellipsis.

In the sixteenth century prose inflected infinitival clauses are often found as complements of ECM verbs precisely in coordinate structures involving ellipsis. This is in accordance with the view that such configurations were the locus of change.

The Old Portuguese independent inflected infinitive with imperative meaning disappears from the records after the inflected infinitive embedded under ECM verbs comes into play. This relative chronology suits the proposed scenario for change.

Finally, it is worth noting that the change under scrutiny may explain why contemporary Portuguese differs from the other Romance languages in the preference it shows for the ECM construction over the *faire*-infinitive construction.[22] As the new

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[22] European Portuguese displays a particular behavior among the Romance languages in two main respects:
a) In European Portuguese, ECM structures are pervasively found with causative verbs. In the other Romance languages, only some causative verbs allow ECM constructions (to a certain degree). Sentences (i) to (v) below show the contrast in question – examples (iii) to (v) are borrowed from Gonçalves (1999:461).
b) The *faire*-inf construction with perception verbs and transitive infinitives is not allowed in European Portuguese. Besides, some European Portuguese speakers find the *faire*-inf structures with causative verbs and transitive infinitives marginal. In general, these speakers prefer the ECM construction (or the inflected infinitive option) over the *faire*-inf construction, with both causative and perception verbs. The opposite scenario has been described for the other Romance languages, where the ECM structures do not appear to be the preferred option. See Kayne (1975), Burzio (1986), Hernanz (1999), among others.
Also of relevance is the fact that in the Old Portuguese texts the *faire*-inf construction is more frequently attested than the ECM one.

   Portuguese (i) a. *O   sol   fez   secar a(s)   roseira(s)*   *faire*-inf: OK
                  the sun made fade the-SG/PL rose-bush(es)
                  "The sun made the rose bush(es) fade"
             b. *O   sol   fez   a(s)   roseira(s)   secar*   ECM: OK

inflected infinitival structures with causative verbs are more akin to ECM than to *faire*-infinitive structures, their emergence may have contributed towards marginalizing the *faire*-infinitive construction which prevails in the other Romance languages.[23]

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			the sun made the-SG/PL rose-bush(es) fade	
Spanish	(ii)	a.	*El sol hizo brotar el/los rosal(es)*	*faire*-inf: OK
			the sun made sprout the-SG/PL rose-bush(es)	
			"the sun made the rose bush(es) sprout"	
		b.	**El sol hizo el/los rosal(es) brotar*	ECM: *
			the sun made the-SG/PL rose-bush(es) sprout	
Catalan	(iii)	a.	*L'elefant fa riure les hienes*	*faire*-inf: OK
			the elefant makes laugh the hyenas	
			"The elefant makes the hyenas laugh"	
		b.	**L'elefant fa les hienes riure*	ECM: *
			the elefant makes the hyenas laugh	
French	(iv)	a.	*Jean a fait partir son ami*	*faire*-inf: OK
			John has made leave his friend	
			"John made his friend leave"	
		b.	**Jean a fait son ami partir*	ECM: *
			John has made his friend leave	
			"John made his friend leave"	
Italian	(v)	a.	*Gianni ha fatto parlare Maria*	*faire*-inf: OK
			John has made speak Mary	
			'John made Mary speak'	
		b.	**Gianni ha fatto Maria parlare*	ECM: *
			John has made Mary speak	
			"John made Mary speak"	

[23] Galician is problematic for the analysis put forth in this paper because it did not evolve in the same direction as Portuguese although Old Galician and Old Portuguese appear to have similar syntactic features in the relevant aspects. In fact Galician does not allow the inflected infinitive as complement of causative verbs (see Gondar (1978), Álvarez & Xove (2002)). The fact that independent inflected infinitival clauses are not attested from the fifteenth century on in the Galician texts (see Maia (1986)) is potentially relevant.

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