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RELATIVE CLAUSES IN PORTUGUESE LANGUAGE: A DIACHRONIC STUDY

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Abstract: The aim of this text is to present an investigation about the relative clauses in Portuguese language, analyzing the types of constructions, the relative pronouns found and respective syntactic function, besides the relativization strategies. This analysis establishes as material to study the produced texts on the 17th and 18th centuries, comprising three periods – 1650 to 1656, 1700 to 1710 and 1744 to 1750. Among the established criteria to the material of the analysis selection, are official documents and author diversity to cover more different written production from the same period. This research takes as a starting point some studies realized about the relative clauses in the history of Portuguese language, such as Tarallo (1985, 1996), Brito (1988), Ribeiro (2009) and Mattos e Silva (2015). The data show the occurrence of relative pronouns in all syntactic functions (and its predominance), including preposition movement, with little difference among the periods. Concerning the relativization strategies, it's striking to point out that two constructions similar to those defined by Tarallo (1985, 1996) and that characterize Brazilian Portuguese were found: one chopping relative and a copying one.

Keywords: Diachrony; Syntax; Relative clause; Portuguese language.

INTRODUCTION

The relative clauses have been discussed in several studies and researches, among the reasons, because they share characteristics with the interrogative-wh, due to the movement of the relative pronoun, and they also exhibit syntactic behavior subordinate to a noun, with which they are morfossyntactly and semantically connected.

In relation to the Portuguese language, there are various researches that reveal the changes of these constructions through the history and also the syntactic differences according to the variety in which they occur, as Brazil and Portugal. This can be found in the studies developed by Brito (1988), Tarallo (1985, 1996), Braga, Kato e Mioto (2009), Ribeiro (2009), Mattos e Silva (2015), and others.

Following these perspectives, this work aims to do a descriptive analysis of the relative clauses focusing on their characteristics, their types, the relative pronoun syntactic functions and the relativization strategies, in a diachronic retrospective, delimited to two periods in the history of the language, located in three moments: second half of the 17th century (classical Portuguese) and first and second half of the 18th century (modern Portuguese).

The establishment of these periods is justified by the consolidation of the commercial and economic relationship between the Portuguese Crown and Brazilian colony in these centuries. The effective Portuguese dominion begins in 1549, when the first General Governor arrives in Brazil – Tomé de Sousa – and so the relationships strengthens through the 17th and 18th centuries. (FAUSTO, 2006).

Due to political and economic facts, there was an increasing of the Portuguese migration to Brazil Colony and also abundant linguistic production to register the commercial and administrative relations – the official documents –, mainly from the 17th century on. Based on this, we raise the hypothesis that it's probable to find, in these texts, registers of the relative clauses similar to the produced in nowadays Brazilian Portuguese, following what is showed by Tarallo (1985). This hypothesis is supported by two facts: 1st Castilho's proposal (2003): she believes that the syntactic constructions in Brazilian Portuguese may have been derived from the language of 15th century, spreading through the following centuries arriving in present days. 2nd Inês Duarte's proposal: she defends that the Brazilian Portuguese relativization strategies are not restrict to this variety. The author reveals that it's possible to find such

constructions in European Portuguese, mainly in data of unschooled persons, as children, for example. So, starting from these ideas, we suppose that the strategies described by Tarallo (1985, 1996) are characteristics traces that were built through the history of this language since its transformation from Latin, and, if so, they may have been produced in previous periods, such as 17th or 18th centuries – object of investigation of this work.

To reach the hypothesis here proposed, we establish the following aims: to search for relative clauses with expressed antecedents; to identify the relative pronouns occurrences; to verify the syntactic function frequency of these pronouns under Comrie and Keenan's hierarchy (1979); to analyze the relativization strategies and if there are relation to the Brazilian ones.

The choice of the analysis of data from 17th and 18th centuries lies on the fact that there are few descriptive works about Portuguese language in this period. There are, however, many works produced about the grammatical facts that began on 19th century and raised the differences between European and Brazilian Portuguese, promoting the peculiar traces of the last one. It's necessary, then, to fall back to previous centuries to investigate if some constructions have registers in the past. If that could be proved, we can consider that the innovative Brazilian constructions, in fact, wouldn't be so new. The tracking about the data in the 17th and 18th centuries can confirm or refute the hypothesis. This research may expand the debates about the diachronic Portuguese syntax, either keeping what has been done or bringing some new grammatical fact.

To reach the proposed aims, this text has the following division: on the second section, there is the methodology, with the procedures and description of the material of analysis; on the third section, it is discussed the relative clauses types and the relativization strategies; on the fourth, the data analysis is done, discussing the relative pronouns types and respective syntactic functions, besides the relativization strategies; on the fifth, and last section, there are the final considerations.

METHODOLOGY

This research can be considered descriptive because the relative clauses data were collected to be analyzed and set the description of its characteristics. To this task, we followed the deductive method, departing from a general premise – the Brazilian Portuguese constructions have its origin in the archaic Portuguese – to get to a probable result that may confirm such premise. In relation to the procedure method, it is historical, because we're investigating previous century texts, looking for data that may have triggered those constructions.

The text selected fits the pre-established criteria: 1st the textual genre (official mail); 2nd the writers should work on the public administration; 3rd same author, but different month – at least three documents of each author (if possible); 4th diversity of author; 5th identified author; 6th dated documents; and 7th the size of the text: from 10 lines on.

Trying to cover a wide range of time, it was chosen the following periods: first: 1650 a 1656; second: 1700 a 1710; and third: 1744 a 1750. Considering the language periodization proposed by Galves and Paixão de Sousa (2017), the texts can be classified as belonging to Classical Portuguese[1] (17th) and Modern Portuguese (18th). But, different from their proposal, the identification of the period of the texts is based on the date they were produced, not on the authors' birth date, even because we couldn't track it.

The selection of the documents occurred in Casa dos Contos, located in Ouro Preto city, with the books[2]:

1. There are other proposals of classification in Mattos e Silva (2015).

2. The complete bibliography of the books is at the end of the text, on the Reference section.

- General Governors Mail: Castello Melhor Earl, Athouguia Earl, Francisco Barretto, from 1648 to 1661, volume III of the serie and I from the National Library Documents, published in 1928;

- Real de Santos Farm Documents, volume I, from National Archive, published in 1928.

- Real de Santos Farm Documents, volume II, from National Archive, published in 1928.

The distribution of the authors by period and amount of analyzed documents are set in the charts below:

Authors	Date of the documents analyzed
Castelo Melhor Earl (João Rodrigues de Vasconcelos e Sousa) (JRVS)	26/3/1650; 30/4/1650; 9/6/1650; 6/8/1650; 21/4/1651; 5/1/1652; 21/6/1652
Atouguia Earl (Jerônimo de Ataíde) (JA)	28/2/1654; 25/4/1654; 30/5/1654; 11/8/1654; 14/9/1654; 1/10/1654; 15/11/1654
Bernardo Vieira Ravasco (BVR)	6/12/1654; 12/3/1655; 30/11/1655; 11/7/1656

Chart 1: Relation of the authors and documents of the 1st period: 1650 a 1656

Source: chart created by the text writer.

Authors	Date of the documents analyzed
Mathias Miranda de Oliveira (MMO)	11/9/1700
El-Rey (Pedro II de Portugal) (P.II)	22/2/1703; 10/1/1704; 12/6/1706; 3/7/1706
Francisco Lamberto (FL)	11/6/1704
Rey (João V de Portugal) (J.V)	21/2/1707; 6/2/1709; 17/9/1709; 6/11/1710
Theodoro de Castro Moraes (TCM)	12/7/1710
Manoel Pegado (MP)	31/7/1710

Chart 2: Relation of the authors and documents of the 2nd period: 1700 a 1710

Source: chart created by the text writer.

Authors	Date of the documents analyzed
Antonio de Cobellos Pereira (ACP)	19/4/1744
Caetano Ricardo da Silva (CRS)	24/9/1744; 28/8/1745; 13/10/1747
Theodoro de Abreu Bernardes (TAB)	26/9/1744; 23/11/1744; 26/4/1745; 1/4/1746; 15/7/1748
Luiz Manuel (LM)	4/9/1745
Theodosio de Cobellos Pereira (TCP)	13/4/1746; 5/5/1746
Pedro Alexandrino de Abreu Bernardes (PAB)	14/4/1747
Gomes Freyre de Andrada (GFA)	10/1/1749

Chart 3: Relation of the authors and documents of the 3rd period: 1744 a 1749

Source: chart done by the text writer.

In sum, 16 authors were analyzed: three in the first period; six in the second; and seven in the third. As for their origin, two of the first period were Portuguese and spent some time in Brazil while they were working in the public administration; the third – Bernardo Vieira Ravasco – was born in Brazil, but all members of his family were Portuguese. Concerning the authors of the second period, some of them set residence in Brazil, as Manoel Pegado, who lived in São Paulo, and others resided in Lisbon, as the Kings – D. Pedro II and D. João V, both from Portugal). The authors of the third period lived in Portugal, except Gomes Freyre, who resided in Rio de Janeiro. From these authors, 45 documents were selected: 18 in the first period; 12, in the second; and 15, in the third – according to the criteria defined in the beginning of this section.

At the end of each example, it will be used the following notation: localization of the document: D.v2: document of volume 2; indication of the page: p.4; date: 19/4/1744; the author's name with the initial letter: ACP – Antonio de Cobellos Pereira.

Example: (D.v2_p.4_19/4/1744_ACP)

For the analysis, manual reading of the texts was done, with posterior selection of the relative clauses, identification and classification of the relative pronouns syntactic functions.

In the section to come, there is a theoretical discussion about the relative clauses, followed by the analysis of the data. All the exemplification is from the analyzed texts, that's why the methodology section is in the beginning.

CARACTERIZATION OF THE RELATIVE CLAUSES

There is plenty of linguistic studies discussing the relative clauses. Due to the object of investigation of this work, it's not our intention to bring a compilation of all proposal about this content, because of limited time and space, or impossible task. We cannot, however, skip exploring some theoretical consideration around the relative clauses.

Chomsky (1977, p. 81), analyzing the wh--movement in syntax, considers that

> the relative be taken as an open sentence satisfied by the entity referred to by the NP in which it appears; hence there must be an NP in the relative that is interpreted as having no independent reference – i.e., a pronoun with the appropriate inflections that can be given the "anaphoric" interpretation. (CHOMSKY, 1977, p. 81)

It's necessary, then, an NP inside which the relative clause is placed and the head relative pronoun is not independent, but coreferent to a noun of this NP.

Braga, Kato e Mioto (2009, p. 242) consider that "a relative is an embedded sentence that is characterized by sharing with the matrix sentence a constituent, which is the relativized constituent"[3].

From the explanations above, we can say that the relative clause is an embedded clause (or subordinate) that occurs inside a Noun Phrase (NP), headed by a relative pronoun, whose reference is an antecedent noun inside this NP[4], as it can be seen in the example:

(1) "mas eu lhes ficarei agradecendo **todo o cuidado** que nisto se puzer." (D. v3_p.206_7/4/1654_JA)

(but I will keep thanking you **all the care** that into this is put)

In the example, there is one NP containing a relative clause [$_{NP}$ todo o cuidado que nisto se puzer]. This phrase makes part of a clause [*mas eu lhes ficarei agradecendo* [$_{SN}$]], that's why the relative clause is considered embedded. The relative pronoun *que* is joined to the noun with which it is semantically indexed [*todo o cuidado*], i. e., the relative pronoun keeps a semantic connection with the antecedent noun – both have the same reference and the same meaning.

But some authors question the semantic relation between the relative pronoun and the antecedent noun. Vries (2020), for instance, although considering the semantic property as essential to the relative clause, doesn't believe this property arises from coreference or coindexation, because this last one can occur between two elements that are not in a relative clause[5]. This author defends that "a relative clause is connected to surrounding material by a pivot constituent" (VRIES, 2020, p. 14), whose semantic properties are stronger than the coreference, because, independent of the position, the semantic relation will happen between the relative pronoun and the antecedent noun. It means that the search for the antecedent surpasses linearity and adjacency[6], as we can see in the example (2):

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3. "uma relativa é uma sentença encaixada que se caracteriza por partilhar com a sentença matriz um constituinte, que é o constituinte relativizado". (BRAGA; KATO; MITO, 2009, p. 42)

4. A different perspective is found in Kayne (1994), who believes the antecedent noun is part of the relative clause.

5. Example in Vries (2020, p. 14): "I saw Johni. Hei looked sad."

6. Cardoso (2009) studies this content as relatives extraposition, showing the differences between ancient Portuguese and contemporaneous European Portuguese.

(2) "Quanto á carta se serviu resolver que se não entendia a permissão que se havia dado para virem **as farinhas**$_i$ senão na forma do bando, que era segurando-se sempre primeiro as de presente, e de futuro, **que**$_i$ esse povo deve ir dando daquelle numero que a cada um tocar" (D.v.3_p.351_11/7/1656_BVR)

(As for the letter, it served to resolve that the permission that was given for the **flour**$_i$ to come was not understood, except in the form of the group, which was always holding on to those of the present first, and those of the future, **that**$_i$ these people should go giving from that number that suits to each one.)

By linear reading of the excerpt in (12), we could conclude that the relative clause (underlined) is referring to the noun "futuro". The interpretation of the context, however, shows the relative pronoun *que* is indexed to the noun "farinha" – the pivot, in Vries's terms (2020) –. The pronoun is not immediately adjacent to the noun "farinha", but semantics was able to capture the relation between them in spite of the distance.

It's necessary to stress that, although the relative clauses are characterized by adjacency to the antecedent noun,[7] e, consequently, by linearity, the semantic connection goes beyond. This idea is defended by Chomsky (2017), who considers semantic relations in general in such way:

> Structure-dependence holds for all relevant constructions in all languages. That universal property would be paradoxical if linear order were available to GEN, since linear distance is far more easily computed than structural distance. The only plausible conclusion is that linear order is simply not available to generation of the core semantic properties at CI. (CHOMSKY, 2017, p. 201).

To the author, the relations between the conceptual-intentional system (the semantic area) and the sensory-motor system (the phonetic area) are completely asymmetric. The computational system allows the generation of an infinite number of structural expressions in the conceptual-intentional system in a nonlinear way, but, to be externalized, these expressions need to be adjusted to the sensory-motor system, that requires the linear order. Chomsky (2017) argues that, despite of different language types in relation to the word order (whether VO or OV), the semantic relations are identical in all of them: they are not linear and overpass the structural relations, and as result it's hard to explain them only on syntactic bases. This can be seen in example (2).

RELATIVE CLAUSE TYPES

Braga, Kato and Nascimento (2009) and Ribeiro (2009) consider two more large divisions for the relative clauses: *i)* with expressed antecedent noun – restrictive and appositive; e *ii)* without expressed antecedent noun – the free and semi-free relatives[8].

The relatives with antecedent noun expressed can be divided into:

a) restrictives – they function as a nominal adjunct, restraining the noun meaning breadth. This way, the noun and the relative clause constitute all together one block of signification and cannot be separate:

(3) "e bem assim que se não metta alli sentinella n**os barcos** que vierem" (D. v3_p.45_26/3/1650_JRVS)

(and so that nobody put sentinel on **the boats** that come)

In this example, "os barcos" is an antecedent whose meaning is broad, but its signification is restrained by the relative clause (*que*

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7. In fact, this rule applies to appositive relatives, not to restrictive ones. But it is possible to find restrictive relatives in which the relative pronoun is not immediately adjacent to the antecedent noun, as in example in (2).

8. There are more classifications besides the ones presented in this work. We suggest checking Vries (2002) and Kayne (2015), among others, for more information.

vierem), avoiding generic interpretation. The person is not talking about boats in general, but just about the ones "that come". This clause has the syntactic function of nominal adjunct of *os barcos*;

b) **appositive** (or **explicative**) – these clauses don't restrain the meaning of the noun, they add information, as a comment or an observation. They function as an apposition.

According to Brito and Duarte (2003, p. 671), there are conditions to the existence of an appositive relative clause: "the antecedent of an appositive is, by itself, semantically defined"[9]. This requirement is attended by proper nouns, personal pronouns and the nouns modified by demonstrative or possessive pronouns.

(4) "com fianças seguras e abonadas na forma do Regimento, a contento do **Almoxarife**, a quem se ha se entregar e carregar em receita o preço delles" (D.v1_p.9_11/9/1700_MMO)

(with secure and guaranteed bonds in the form of the Regiment, to the satisfaction of the **Almoxarife**, to whom the price of these must be delivered and loaded in revenue the price of them)

In this example, the relative clause adds information to the "Almoxarife", functioning, therefore, as an apposition to the noun. Besides, the noun satisfies the condition of being specific, semantically determined to the person who wrote the text, as Brito and Duarte (2003) propose.

As to constructions without antecedent noun expressed, there are the following types:

a) **Free relatives** – this type of relative is different from the others above because there is not an antecedent noun realized in the sentence. To Ribeiro (2009), the reference for this type of relatives occurs in the field of abstraction or infinitude. The following example can show this idea:

(5) "e faça guardar esta ordem nessa fortaleza donde ficará a quem succeder a VM." (D.v1_p.45_26/3/1650_JVRS)

(and make [someone] keep this order in this fortress from where it will stay to whoever succeeds to VM)

The relative pronoun *quem* in the clause *a quem succeder a VM* does not have an expressed antecedent. Its semantic connection may occurr with any person. It´s not especific.

b) **Semi-free**: in this type, according to Ribeiro (2009), the relative pronoun used is *que*, preceded by a demonstrative pronoun. The noun, in most cases, may be deduced in the context of the sentence, as it happens in (6):

(6) "e dos que vêm na esmaca que VM. diz ficava para partir a que faltar para 600 sirios" (Dv.3_p.352_11/7/1656_BVR)

(and from those who come on the esmaca that VM. said was to leave the one that lacks for 600 sirios)

The demonstrative pronoun – **a** – has its reference on the noun "esmaca" that is in the context but not adjacent to the relative clause. The pronoun shows morphological agreement with the elliptic noun to which it refers (feminine and singular).

These types are frequently cited in the literature that treats about this theme, however, we decided to analyze just relative clauses with expressed nouns, without exploring the difference between restrictive and appositive. This option is justified for two reasons: the difference is not relevant for the analysis realized here and also there is flotation of punctuation in old Portuguese what makes it hard to identify each type. So, it's been chosen to select just relative clauses with expressed nouns or pronouns.

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9. "o antecedente duma apositiva é, por si só, semanticamente definido". (BRITO; DUARTE, 2003, p. 671)

THE RELATIVE PRONOUN POSITION

Following the generative theory perspective, Radford (2006) assumes that relative clauses contain a relative pronoun, a wh-element, which undergoes movement to the left edge of the clause so as to stay close to the noun with which it is semantically indexed. The pronoun goes to C Specifier[10], on CP layer[11].

According to Radford (2006), the relative clauses are similar to the exclamative clauses because both exhibit wh-movement and are a CP that contains a head C, carrying on an edge feature (EF), but no tense trace. The author argues that the evidence the relative clause does not have the tense trace comes from English, because, in this type of construction, the language does not make the expected verb inversion as when C contains this trace. Under this perspective, the relative clause has the following structure:

CP
Spec   C'
that /which/whom
          C   TP
   [EF, +wh-, - T] | ...

(7)
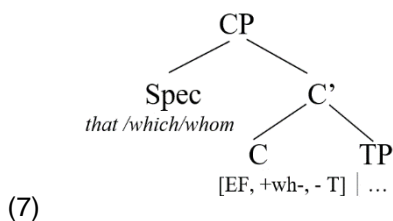
The relative pronoun, because carries the EF, é moved from TP[12] to C, Spec where it makes the trace checking with C head. This head remains empty for not being tense marked, and so it cannot receive a verb to check traces.

The following sequence for the clause *that you bought[13]* can show the derivation steps.

1st merge EF in C and, then, TP turns out to be C complement. It's important to observe that, in this situation, although C is marked for EF and +wh features, it is not marked for tense (T):

(8) a. $[_C$ Ø $_{EF, wh-, - T}]$ $[_{TP}$ you $[_T$ bought$]$ $[_{vP}$ $[_v$ buy $[_{DP}$ **that**$]]]$

2nd to check EF, the relative pronoun undergoes movement to C, Spec:

(9) b. $[CP_{spec}$ **that** $[_C$ Ø $_{EF, wh-, - T}]$ $[_{TP}$ you $[_T$ bought$]$ $[_{vP}$ $[_v$ buy $[_{DP}$ that$]]]$

It is necessary to point out that this movement can happen from any internal position of TP. Besides, if the NP is headed by a preposition it may occur pied-piping – the movement of the relative pronoun carries the preposition together to satisfy the Stranding Condition[14] – a condition that avoids, in some languages, the abandon of the preposition, as example in (10) shows, analyzed in (11):

(10) a person <u>to whom you gave a book</u>

(11) $[_{CP}$ **to whom** $[_C$ Ø $_{EF, wh-, - T}]$ $[_{TP}$ you $[_T$ gave$]$ $[_{vP}$ $[_V$ give $[_{DP}$ a book$]$ $[_{PP}$ com quem$]]]$
Represented in the structure in (12):

CP
Spec   C'
to whom
          C   TP
   [EF, +wh-, - T]   ...

(12)
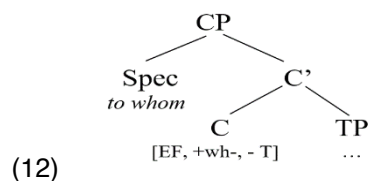
The movement (or not) of the relative pronoun is related to the relativization strategies that a language bears, as shows Tarallo (1985, 1996) about Brazilian Portuguese.

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10. C = complementizer.

11. CP = Complementizer Phrase.

12. TP = *Tense Phrase*.

13. To a supposed construction: *Someone took the book <u>that you bought</u>*.

14. "The answer suggested by Chomsky (1995, p.264) is that in formal styles of English, there is a **Stranding Constraint** which 'bars preposition stranding'. This constraint means that (in formal styles) the interrogative pronoun *whom* cannot be preposed on its own, since this would leave the preposition *to* stranded and thus lead to violation of the Stranding Constraint." (RADFORD, 2006, p.129)

RELATIVIZATION STRATEGIES

Tarallo (1985) developed a study about the relative constructions in Brazilian Portuguese diachrony, involving 18th and 19th centuries, divided into four 50-year periods: 1725 (Time I), 1770 (Time II), 1825 (Time III) and 1880 (Time IV). As a result, the author reveals the existence of three relativization strategies possibilities: the standard, including the pied-piping movement; the relative with a resumptive pronoun (the copying); and the relative PP-chopping.

The first type has a gap in the original position of the moved phrase, also including prepositional phrases. The author considers this type movement relative or standard relative. They occur in subject and direct object position and with prepositional phrases: *os alunos preferem professores que dão aula* (the students prefer teachers who give classes) / *As pessoas com quem trabalho me ajudam* (people with whom I work help me).

The copying relative – the second type – does not have movement of the phrase neither a gap. In fact, the place for the gap is filled by a resumptive pronoun referent to the antecedent noun – that's why it is called a copying relative. This type of relative may occur in all syntactic functions: ***o aluno** que o professor falou com **ele** saiu mais cedo* (**the student** that the teacher talked to **him** left earlier). Besides, Tarallo (1985, 1996) argues that, in this kind of construction, the connective *que* does not function as a relative pronoun, but as a complementizer.

The third type "occurs only with NPs preceded by a preposition: indirect objects, obliques, and genitives. This strategy, hereafter referred to as P(repositional) P(hrase)-chopping, is very common and consists of erasure of the entire prepositional phrase in the relative clause" (TARALLO, 1985, p. 357-358): *é uma pessoa que a gente conversa muito* (it's a person that we talk a lot). In the example, both – preposition and relative pronoun – are absent, as we can see in the standard construction: *é uma pessoa **com quem** a gente conversa muito* (it's a person **with whom** we talk a lot). According to the author, this type of relative clause gained force in Brazilian Portuguese due to the changes in the pronominal system, as the data show in the table below.

Following the author's analysis, we come to some conclusions related to the information expressed in table: the three types of strategies are met through the periods studied (from 1725 to 1880). We call the attention to the standard relative, whose realization is superior to the others, but it begins to show decrease from one period to the other; it's possible to understand that the copying relative was in variation in the analyzed period; the chopping relative exhibit growing data, mainly on Time III e IV, exactly on the period the Brazilian Portuguese is established and it is concomitant with the decrease of the standard relative. For Tarallo (1985), the chopping strategy becomes one characteristic of the Brazilian Portuguese, mainly because of pronominal changes that happened in this language.

Other studies related to the relative constructions in Brazil confirm the tendency of the spreading and keeping of the copying and chopping relativization strategies in detriment to the standard one, even with people belonging to group with university level, that's what is showed by Braga, Kato and Nascimento (2009).

Inês Duarte (2011), based on a search realized with data of language acquisition, argues that such constructions can also be found in European Portuguese, but they are early eliminated by schooling. This author believes that the higher the level of education, the greater the production of standard relatives. This last fact is not confirmed in the studies developed about Brazilian Portuguese.

The development of this research, therefore, involving three previous periods – 1650 to 1656, 1700 to 1710, and 1744 to 1750 – may bring more contributions about these strategies in the material analyzed: official documents.

Table 6: Frequency of use of 3 relativization
strategies across times periods

	I	II	III	IV
PDP	99(89.2%)	89(88.1%)	73(91.3%)	63(35.4%)
RP	11(9.9%)	8(7.9%)	1(1.3%)	9(5.1%)
PP	1(0.9%)	4(4.0%)	6(7.5%)	106(59.5%)

Key: PDP = piedpiping, RP = resumptive pronoun,
PP = prepositional phrase-chopping

Source: Tarallo (1985, p. 371)

DATA ANALYSIS

To proceed the analysis of the selected material, all the relative clauses with antecedent noun (or pronoun) expressed were detached, as it was indicated in the methodology. After that, it was realized a syntactic description, involving identification of the relative pronouns and their syntactic function, and identification of the relativization strategies. The sections to come will explore these matters.

RELATIVE PRONOUN TYPE

As we proceeded the material analysis, we separated the relative pronouns according to their types in the three periods to identify if there was difference of occurrence from one period to another. The synthesis of what was found is placed on the table that follows:

Pronoun	1st period (1650-1656)		2nd period (1700-1710)		3rd period (1744-1748)	
	quant.	%	quant.	%	quant.	%
QUE	196	92,5%	69	90,8%	73	89%
ONDE	7	3,3%	2	2,6%	2	2,4%
QUEM	6	2,8%	1	1,3%	-	-
CUJ_	2	0,94%	-	-	1	1,2%
QUAL	1	0,47%	4	5,3%	6	7,4%
Total	**212**	**100%**	**76**	**100%**	**82**	**100%**

Table 1: Types of relative pronouns found in three analyzed periods

Source: table created by the text writer

According to the Table 1 data, we can see the predominance of *que* pronoun over the others through all the periods: 92,5%, in the first; 90,8%, in the second; e 89%, in the third. Comparing the percentage, it is possible to understand the maintenance of preference for *que* pronoun. This datum reinforces Câmara Jr.'s comment (1976, p. 114), that considers *que* "the primary relative pronoun in Portuguese"[15].

The distribution analysis of the produced pronouns by period shows that the first one has more occurrence diversity of the relative pronouns – 5 types in total: *que*, *onde*, *quem*, *qual* and *cujo*. No occurrence of *cujo* was found in the second period neither *quem* in the third.

As for the detected pronouns through the three periods, we believe it's necessary to bring some considerations about their characteristic and syntactic behavior.

- **Que**: through the three periods, this pronoun presents diversity in the use, with or without preposition, assuming several syntactic functions[16]. The exception is the cases in which the referred noun carries the human trace, as the indirect object. Brito (1988, p. 257), however, argues that *que* "is not sensible to the antecedent noun [-human] nature in the relatives of SU and of DO"[17]. It means

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15. "o pronome relativo primário em português" (CÂMARA JR, 1976, p. 114)

16. This fact was also identified by Mattos e Silva (2015) in archaic Portuguese data.

17. "não é sensível à natureza [-humana] do SN antecedente nas relativas de SU e de OD" (BRITO, 1988, p. 257)

que can occur in all syntactic functions independent of the antecedent noun semantic trace. The realization of *que* and its occurrence in different syntactic function can be seen below:

Subject:

(13) "e o dito Francisco da Silva Lisboa, **que** presente estava, disse o aceitava" (D.v2_p.4_19/4/1744_ACP)

(and the aforementioned Francisco da Silva Lisboa, **that** present was, said he accepted it)

Direct object[18]:

(14) "E porque no Regimento **que** lhe dei lhe mando dar doze soldados dessa fortaleza" (D.v.3_p.44_26/3/1650 _JRVS)

(And because in the Regiment **that** I gave you I order you to give twelve soldiers from that fortress)

Oblique complement[19]:

(15) "para que animados com esse bem, possam tolerar os males **a que** só o favor divino pode dar socego" (D.v3_p.13_21/6/1652_JRVS)

(so that, encouraged by this good, they may tolerate the evils **to that** only divine favor can bring peace)

Predicative:

(16) "Muita he a satisfaçam **com que** fico de tudo o que Vm. me escreve" (D.v3_p.5_2/4/1651_JRVS)

(A lot is the satisfaction **with that** I stay of eveything Vm. write to me)

Nominal adjunct:

(17) "se me fez a petição **de que** com esta se vos remette a copia" (D.v2_p.22_28/8/1745_CRS)

(it was a done a petition **of that** with this a copy is sent to you)

Nominal complement:

(18) "terem elles o trabalho **de que** Vm. fica livre." (D.v3_p.9_5/1/1652_JRVS)

(having they the work **of that** Vm. stays free)

Adverbial adjunct:

(19) "e visto seu requerimento **sobre que** foi ouvido o Procurador de minha fazenda." (D.v2_p.13_26/9/1744_TAB)

(and seen your requirement **about that** was heard the Attorney of my farm)

It is noteworthy the use of *que* with several types of preposition, situations in which the pronoun *qual* would be expected, as the registers from (16) to (19) show:

- **Onde**: the pronoun *onde* was also met through all the three periods, but much of its realization is in the former, though distant from the amount of *que*. Considering the semantic trace of the referred noun, we observed a complementary distribution between *onde* (where) and *em que* (in which): the first is used to refer to a specific geographic space (cf. examples in (20), (22) and (24)), and the second is preferred to nouns with different semantic traces, as abstract nouns, time or physical space (non geographic) (cf. examples in (21), (23) and (25)).

1st period:

(20) "Vm. se venha logo para a **Villa do Cairú** donde estará mais commodamente para isso" (D.v3_p.63-4_9/6/1650_JRVS)

(Vm. come soon to Villa do Cairú from where you will be more comfortable for this)

(21) "para tomar o conhecimento dos **casos** em que ahi se não procede com a justiça" (D.v3_p.9_5/1/1652_JRVS)

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18. To Brito (1988), in the syntactic function of subject or direct object, no prepositional, *que* behaves as a complementizer, not as a relative pronoun.

19. In this text, we opted by differing the prepositional verbal complements according to Rocha Lima (2011 [1957]) and Eugênia Duarte (2007). So, the indirect object must carry the person trace, has to be headed by *a* or *para* preposition, and can be pronominalized in *lhe*. The oblique complement, otherwise, has no semantic restrictions and cannot be pronominalized in *lhe*.

(to become aware of cases <u>in which there they are not according to the justice</u>)

2nd period:

(22) "vendendo-o por excessivo preço de **conventos** <u>aonde o têm occulto contra as minhas ordens</u>" (D.v1_p.30_21/2/1707_Rey_J.V)

(selling it by excessive convents price <u>where they have it hidden against my orders</u>)

(23) "E pareceu-me ordenar que por se escusar **condições** <u>em que sempre ha gastos</u>" (D.v1_p.13_22/2/1703_El-Rey_P.II)

(And it seemed to me to order that by excusing conditions <u>in which there are always expenses</u>)

3rd period:

(24) "nos Paços de Sua Magestade, e **Casa** <u>onde se faz o Conselho Ultramarino</u>" (D.v2_p.3_19/4/1744_ACP)

(in the Palaces of His Majesty, and the House <u>where the Overseas Council is held</u>)

(25) "que se viu **a vossa carta de seis de Outubro de mil setecentos quarenta e quatro**, <u>em que daveis conta, que na frota passada me fizereis presente o grande detrimento</u>" (D.v2_p.24_4/9/1745_LM)

(that your letter of six of October of one thousand seven hundred and forty-four was seen, <u>in which you reported that in the last fleet you made me aware of the great detriment</u>)

- **Quem**: the use of this pronoun, in first and second periods, occur when the referred noun has the [+human] feature:

1st period:

(26) "tambem me paresse melhor se lhe de o contrato, e nam a **Paulo Vas**, <u>de quem nam tenho tam boas informações</u>." (D.v3_p.6_2/4/1651_JRVS)

(It also seems better to me if you give him the contract, and not to Paulo Vas, <u>of whom I don't have such good information</u>)

2nd period:

(27) "com fianças seguras e abonadas na forma do Regimento, a contento do **Almoxarife**, <u>a quem se ha se entregar e carregar em receita o preço delles</u>" (D.v1_p.9_11/9/1700_ MMO)

(with secure and guaranteed bonds in the form of the Regiment, to the satisfaction of the Almoxarife, <u>to whom the price of these must be delivered and charged in revenue</u>)

Brito (1988) compares <u>quem</u> to the Castilian pronoun *quien*, that exhibits number inflection, and raises the following hypothesis:

> Hypothesis about the relative <u>quem</u>:
>
> Quem is a relative morpheme with a nominal nature, with features of agreement proper of a morpheme of this type – φ-features – but they don't have morphophonological realization, that is, <u>quem</u> has abstract agreement features, among them the [+sing] feature. (BRITO, 1988, p. 250 – author's highlighting)[20]

Following Brito's hypothesis (1988), we found in the material data from 17th century with *quem* referring to singular and plural nouns. This fact reinforces the author's idea that *quem* carries abstract agreement features. That means the number feature updates in the context, as the examples with singular show in (26) and (27) and with plural in (28):

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20. "Hipótese sobre o relativo <u>quem</u>:

Quem é um morfema relativo com uma natureza nominal, com traços de concordância próprios de um morfema com essa natureza - traços φ - mas que não chegam a ter **realização morfofonológica, isto é, <u>quem</u> tem traços** de concordância abstractos, entre eles o traço [+sing]". (BRITO, 1988, p. 250 – grifos da autora)

(28) "mas nam se pode por hora tirar esta jornada **aos capitaens Domingos e Antonio de azeuedo** a quem SMg.<u>de</u> a tem encarregado" (D.v3_p.7_2/4/1651_JRVS)

(but for now we cannot take this journey away from captains Domingos and Antonio de Azeuedo, <u>to whom the SMg.<u>de</u> has entrusted it</u>)

- **Cujo**: the register of this pronoun (and its inflections) appears in the first and third periods, but in a few number: just 3 occurrences:

1st period:

(29) "Para se tirarem as duvidas sobre a venda dos generos pelo meudo, vae essa copia do assento <u>em cuja forma se pratica nesta cidade</u>" (D.v3_p.10_5/1/1652_JRVS)

(To clear up the doubts about the sale of goods by retail, there goes this copy of the accord <u>in whose form we practice in this city</u>)

3rd period:

(30) "se me fez **a petição** <u>cuja copia com esta se vos remette assignada pelo Secretario do meu Conselho Ultramarino</u>" (D.v2_p.34_1/4/1746_TAB)

(it was made me the petition, <u>whose copy is sent to you with this signed by the Secretary of my Overseas Council</u>)

In the third period, however, we observed concurrence between *de que* (of which) and *cujo* (whose) in nominal adjunct function. From six data met with *de que*, in three there was the possibility of using the pronoun *cujo*, registered in examples (31) to (33):

(31) "mandaram fazer **este contracto** no livro delles, em que todos assignaram com o dito Francisco da Silva Lisboa, <u>de que se lhe deu uma copia assignada</u>"[21] (D.v2_p.4_19/4/1744_ACP)

(they ordered to make this contract in their book, in which they all signed with the dictum Francisco da Silva Lisboa, <u>of which a signed copy was given to him</u>)

(32) "se me fez **a petição** <u>de que com esta se vos remette a copia</u>"[22] (D.v2_p.22_28/8/1745_CRS)

(it was made a petition to me of which with this it is sent you the copy)

(33) "por parte de Miguel das Aguias Cordeiro se me fez **a petição** <u>de que com esta se vos remette a copia</u>"[23] (D.v2_p.65_13/10/1747_CRS)

(from the part of Miguel das Aguias Cordeiro it was made a petition to me of which with this it is sent you the copy)

- **Qual**: regarding the use of this pronoun, it is interesting to point out there was an increasing of its occurrence when we compare the registers in the three periods. In the first two, the use of *qual* (and morphological variations) occurs, in most cases, prepositioned:

1st period:

(34) "Quanto a **esta** me parece mui justo que VMs. a façam <u>á qual darei o despacho</u> que mais convier" (D.v3_p.208_30/5/1654_JA)

(As for this, it seems very fair to me that VMs. do <u>it to which I will give the dispatch that is most appropriate</u>.)

2nd period:

(35) "e juntamente por se achar nessa provedoria registada **uma de 22 de Fevereiro de 1703** <u>pela qual fui servido mandar applicar as obras desse Almoxarifado</u>" (D.v1_p.31_17/9/1709_Rey_J.V)

(and jointly for finding in this office one registered from February 22 1703 <u>by which I was served to order to apply the works of that Warehouse</u>)

21. (Expected construction: *cuja cópia assinada se lhe deu* – (whose signed copy was given to you))
22. (Expected construction: *cuja cópia se vos remete com esta* – (whose copy is sent to you with this))
23. (Expected construction: *cuja cópia se vos remete com esta* – (whose copy is sent to you with this))

3rd period:

(36) "vindo do Cuyabá contra **José Alvares da Silva** contractador dos dizimos daquellas Minas, <u>o qual por certidão do official</u>, que fôra a requerel-o pela quantia na mesma precatoria mencionada <u>constava que do Rio de Janeiro embarcara para este Reino</u>" (D.v2_p.25_4/9/1745_LM)

(coming from Cuyabá against José Alvares da Silva, contractor of the tithes of those Minas, <u>which, by official certificate</u> … <u>stated that he had embarked from Rio de Janeiro to this Kingdom</u>)

In sum, after analyzing the relative pronouns, it is possible to say that they remained throughout the language historical course between the 17th and 18th centuries, but *que* pronoun stands out because of the volume of occurrences. This fact confirms the consensus among the authors who study Portuguese language history: *que* is a universal relative pronoun. (MATTOS E SILVA, 2015)

As for the absence of some pronoun in a period, it is worth pointing out it does not mean disappearance of the pronoun. For instance: *cuja/cujo* was not found in the second period, but there is a register in the third; and *quem* was not met in the third, but it is largely used in nowadays language. On the other hand, some relative pronouns cited by traditional grammars, as *como* (how) or *quando* (when), were not found in any period here analyzed. The absence of register of some pronoun in the periods may be attributed to the type of the studied material or by pure chance. This fact reinforces the idea of the relation between textual genre and linguistic occurrence.

SYNTACTIC FUNCTIONS OF THE RELATIVE PRONOUNS MET IN THE MATERIAL

In the analysis, we raised the syntactic functions of the relative pronouns. This identification will be shown in the following table.

	1st period 1650-1656		2nd period 1700-1710		3rd period 1744-1749	
Funções	Quant.	%	Quant.	%	Quant.	%
SU	89	41,8%	31	40,8%	24	29,3%
DO	61	28,6%	21	27,6%	24	29,3%
ADV ADJ	40	18,8%	19	25%	24	29,3%
OC	10	4,7%	3	4%	3	3,6%
N ADJ	2	0,94%	1	1,3%	6	7,3%
IO	7	3,3%	1	1,3%	-	-
NC	3	1,4%	-	-	-	-
PREDI-CATIVE	1	0,46%	-	-	-	
PASS AG	-	-	-	-	1	1,2%
Total	**213**	**100%**	**76**	**100%**	**82**	**100%**

Table 2: Syntactic functions of the relative pronouns in three periods

Source: Table created by the text writer

In general, it was found relative pronouns in nine types of syntactic functions, as: subject (SU), direct object (DO), adverbial adjunct (ADV ADJ), oblique complement (OC), indirect object (IO), nominal complement (NC), nominal adjunct (N ADJ), predicative e passive agent (PASS AG). Examples of them will be placed below, covering the three periods:

SU:

(37) "pois se faz tão importante para a defesa daquella dita Praça de Santos, porto principal, e **que** <u>defende todas estas Capitanias</u>." (D.v1_p.34_31/7/1710_MP)

(because it is so important for the defense of that mentioned Santos Square, the main port, **which** defends all these Captaincies)

DO:

(38) "a cumprirdes a ordem **que** <u>recebestes do Governador do Rio de Janeiro</u>" (D.v1_p.31_17/9/1709_Rey_J.V)

(to comply with the order **that** you received from the Governor of Rio de Janeiro)
ADV ADJ:

(39) "Remettendo-me certidão pela Provedoria-mor, do preço **por que** ultimamente se fez a dita arrematação" (D. v1_p.9_11/9/1700_MMO)

(Sending me a certificate from the Chief Provedoria, of the price **by which** the mencioned auction was recently made)
OC:

(40) "e quarteis dos soldados **a que** primeiro se deve acudir" (D.v1_p.16_21/1/1704_El-Rey_P.II)

(and soldiers' quarters, **to which** must be reached first)
N ADJ:

(41) "e sendo que vossa mercê tenha impossibilidade para o fazer assim, poder eu dar os meios, **de que** não possa haver o referido descaminho" (D.v2_p.89_10/1/1749_GFA)

(and since your mercy is unable to do so, I can provide the means **of what** there cannot be the aforementioned deviation)
IO:

(42) "será com esta para Luis da Silva **a quem** se ordena que faça descer quatrocentos Indios." (D.v3_p.246_6/12/1654_BVR)

(It will be with this one for Luis da Silva **to whom** it is ordered to bring down four hundred Indians)
NC:

(43) "tambem me paresse melhor se lhe de o contrato, e nam aPaulo Vas, **de quem** nam tenho tam boas informações." (D.v3_p.7_2/4/1651_JRVS)

(It also seems better to me if you give him the contract, and not to Paulo Vas, **of whom** I don't have such good information)

Predicative:

(44) "Muita he a satisfaçam **com que** fico de tudo o que Vm. me escreve" (D. v3_p.5_2/4/1651_JRVS)

(A lot is the satisfaction **with which** I stay with everything Vm. write to me)
PASS AG:

(45) "appareceu Francisco da Silva Lisboa, **pelo qual** foi dito fazia lanço (como effeito fez) no Contracto das Passagens antigas de Santos e São Paulo" (D.v2_p.3_19/4/1744_ACP)

(Francisco da Silva Lisboa appeared, **by which** it was said he made a bid (as in effect he did) in the Contract for the old Passages of Santos and São Paulo)

In general terms, when analyzing Table 2, it is possible to raise the following considerations:

i) in the three periods, it is maintained the preference of relativization of three syntactic functions: subject, direct object and adverbial adjunct, in this order. But, supposedly, there seems to have been, through the time, an approximation in the amount of realization of relative pronouns in these three functions, as it can be seen in the data of the third period, when the subject is not the leader;

ii) other two syntactic functions are also constant – oblique complement and nominal adjunct, even in low quantity;

iii) the indirect object was found in the first and second periods, but not in the third;

iv) nominal complement and predicative only occur in the first period;

v) the passive agent only occurs in the third period.

Applying the Noun Phrase Accessibility proposed by Comrie and Keenan (1979), we can say Portuguese language, in the analyzed periods, is according to this hierarchy, but with different order in the prepositioned functions. The authors defend that,

The primary aim of NPA was to present a single generalization of human language: namely, that the accessibility to RC-formation of certain NP's is given by the following:

ACCESSIBILITY HIERARCHY (AH)

SU > DO > IO > OBL > GEN > OCOMP

(KEENAN; COMRIE, 1979, p. 650)

The idea is that there is a hierarchy in the syntactic functions that can go through by the relativization process. The order would begin by the subject, the most universal, going to one no prepositioned sequence, depending on the function.

As we can see in the hierarchy above, the indirect object is in a position lower than the direct object. Under this perspective, a language that can relativize the indirect object can also relativize the previous functions, but not the contrary. There would not be any possibility of a language relativizing the indirect object and being impossible to relativize the subject. That's what the authors present in the following chart:
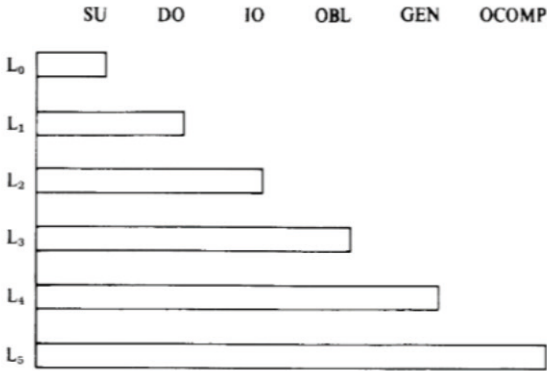

TABLE 1. Accessibility to relative clause formation.

Chart 4: List of the order of syntactic function relativization in languages

Source: Keenan and Comrie (1979, p. 651)

The authors interpret the chart this way: L_0 is the conjunct of all human languages and all of them can relativize the subject. L_1 is a subset of L_0, this means some languages can relativize both – subject and direct object; in sequence, only a subset can also relativize indirect object, and so on.

In the analyzed data, the hierarchy order observed in Portuguese language is, in part, consistent with the authors' proposal, mainly when it comes to subject and direct object. In fact, both functions follow the positions set in the hierarchy. But the third position is occupied by adverbial adjunct, followed by oblique complement, nominal adjunct and after the indirect object. In a broad perspective, we can interpret that the authors' proposal does not impose an order for relativization in a language, but it tells about the relativization possibilities a language permits.

In other words, according to the authors' idea, if a language permits, for instance, relativization of nominal adjunct (the genitive – GEN), it will also permit the relativization of higher functions, as subject, direct object, indirect object and oblique complement. Following this idea, the Portuguese language in the analyzed periods attends the hierarchy proposed because it brings all syntactic function relativized, as it was seen in the examples

If a function was not found in relativized construction, as the indirect object in the third period, for instance, it does not mean the language does not permit its relativization. Perhaps the analyzed material did not bring such constructions.

RELATIVIZATION STRATEGIES

As for the relativization strategies, the analyzed data shows that there is no difference among the three periods concerning the movement or standard relative: in all of them this kind of construction was present in large number, but not the other strategies, as we can see in Table 3:

The data in Table 3 are in agreement with what was observed in the syntactic functions: the relatives with a gap (or the standard) related to subject and direct object are predominant followed by the other prepositioned functions (including pied-piping). Examples of standard relatives with pied-piping are put below:

	1st period (1650-1656)		2nd period (1700-1710)		3rd period (1744-1748)	
Strategy	quant.	%	quant.	%	quant.	%
Standard relative	149	70,3%	52	68,4%	44	53,7%
Gap (SU and DO)						
Prepositioned (pied-piping)	62	29,2%	23	30,3%	38	46,3%
Copying relative	-	-	1	1,3%	-	-
Chopping relative	01	0,5%	-	-	-	-
Total	**212**	**100%**	**76**	**100%**	**82**	**100%**

Table 3: Relativization strategies in the data

Source: Table created by the writer

1st period:

(46) "e que tão apertadamente encarrega a VM. pelo zelo e actividade <u>com que VM. costuma obrar tudo</u>." (D.v3_p.299_30/11/1655_BVR)

(and which so closely entrusts to VM. by the zeal and activity **with which** <u>the VM. usually carries out everything</u>)

2nd period:

(47) "a necessidade que tem essa praça de casa de Alfandega, e Armazem para a polvora <u>a que se deviam applicar os rendimentos que ja hoje havia</u>." (D.v1_p.16_21/1/1704_El-Rey_P.II)

(the need that this square has for a Customs house and a warehouse for the gunpowder **to which** <u>the income that already existed today should be applied</u>)

3rd period:

(48) "e sendo que vossa mercê tenha impossibilidade para o fazer assim, poder eu dar os meios, <u>de que não possa haver o referido descaminho</u>" (D.v2_p.89_10/1/1749_GFA)

(and since your mercy is unable to do so, I can provide the means **of what** <u>there cannot be the aforementioned deviation</u>)

As for special constructions, we found some different from nowadays language: the relative pronoun appears without preposition in a context where it is expected to be used:

1st period:

(49) "**Sobre os engenhos** <u>que Vm. me fala</u>" (D.v.3_p.10_5/1/1652_ JRVS)

(As for the engenhos (farms) that Vm. talk to me)

(50) "Vejo o que Vm. me diz acerca da repugnancia dos mesmos administradores sobre o darem o dinheiro dos Vinhos para a Infanteria **na forma** <u>que Vm. lhe pediu</u> (D.v3_p.10_5/1/1652_JRVS)

(I see what you tell me about the repugnance of the same administrators about giving the money from the Wines to the Infantry **in the way** <u>that you asked them</u>)

2nd period:

(51) "**de todo o tempo** <u>que nelas têm assistido</u>" (D.v1_p.31_6/2/1709_Rey_J.V)

(**of all the time** <u>that in them they watched</u>)

3rd período:

(52) "pedindo-me fosse servido mandar que fosse pago dos soldos de capitão por inteiro, **na mesma forma** <u>que se observa com os mais entretidos dessa Praça e da do Rio de Janeiro</u>" (D.v2_p.55_14/4/1747_PAB)

(asking me to be served with the order that the captain's salary be paid in full, **in the same way** <u>that is observed with the most entertained in this Square and in Rio de Janeiro</u>)

(53) "fazendo o pagamento do dito ordenado **de todo o tempo** que o supplicante serviu o dito officio" (D.v2_p.66_13/10/1747_CRS)

(making payment of the said salary **for the entire time** that the applicant served in the said office)

The examples from (49) to (53), in all three periods, would be contexts for the relative pronoun being headed by a preposition. At least, it is what happens in nowadays language. We could suppose that, in these periods, when the antecedent noun is prepositioned, it was not possible to use prepositioned relative pronoun. The following examples, though, deny this assumption because prepositioned relative pronoun is preceded by a prepositioned antecedent noun:

1st period:
(54) "VM. a acabe **com Toda a prudencia com** q' Vm. tem procedido nas summa breuidade" (D.v.3_p.6_2/4/1651_ JRVS)

(VM. end it **with** all the prudence **with** which Vm. have proceeded in the utmost brevity)

2nd period:
(55) "Viu-se a vossa carta de 15 de Maio do anno passado em que daes conta **do preço por** que se arrematou o contracto dos dizimos" (D.v1_p.13_22/2/1703_El-Rey_P.II)

(We saw your letter of May 15th of last year in which you give an account **of the price by** which the tithe contract was sold)

3rd period:
(56) "quando elles os principiou a pedir **pelo requerimento a** que eu lhe deferi na forma da provisão" (D.v2_p.66_13/10/1747_CRS)

(when they began to ask **by the request** to which I granted in the form of the provision)

So we can suppose the examples from (49) to (53) exhibit chopping relatives, maybe in its beginning. Lacking more information, we decided not to consider this amount in Table 3. We had no doubt, however, about the construction in (57):

(57) "Vm. o faça dar com effeito a sua deuida execuçam: & com essa cobrança se ficará alimentando, com menos oppressam do pouo esse prezidio, q' Vm. procurará acresentar por todos os meyos possiveis. parcialidades dos capitaens Antonio do Canto & Manuel de Almeyda do Canto" (D.v3_p.7_2/4/1651_JRVS)

According to our analysis, the relative clause in example (57) should be headed by a preposition because it is an oblique complement. Considering the syntactic functions inside the relative clause around the verb *acrescentar* (to add), it is met the subject: Vm.; the DO: *parcialidades dos capitaens* (partialities of the captains…); and the Adv. Adj: *por todos os meyos possiveis* (by all possible means). The verb *acrescentar* (to add) is bitransitive and, therefore, it selects three arguments: one external and two internal. So, the subject and the direct object are realized inside the relative clause, and the third argument (the oblique complement) is the relative pronoun *q'* (that) which occurs without being headed by the preposition *em* (in) or *a* (to). The full reading with the inclusion of the antecedent would be something like this: *Vm. procurará acresentar por todos os meyos possiveis parcialidades dos capitaens* ao presídio / no presídio (Vm. will seek to increase by all possible means the partiality of the captains to the prison / in the prison); or with the relative pronoun prepositioned: (*esse prezidio*) em / a que *Vm. procurará acresentar por todos os meyos possiveis parcialidades dos capitaens* ((this prison) in / to which Vm. will seek to increase by all possible means the partiality of the captains).

Under this perspective, it was found, then, one case of chopping relative, because the oblique complement realized on the relative pronoun was not headed by a preposition. This construction was produced in the second half of 17th century, so before the first Tarallo's finding.

Furthermore, it is worth pointing out this datum was produced by a Portuguese person, who worked in the public administration for a period in Brazil Colony: Castelo Melhor Count (or João Rodrigues de Vasconcelos e Sousa)[24]. He was born in 1593 in Portugal and was a general Governor in Brazil between 1650 and 1654. He died in 1658, in Portugal.

As for the example in (58), below, we can consider a case of copying relative, with a resumptive pronoun:

(58) "remetta uns pinhões tirados das pinhas sem fogo por serem para se semearem no Reyno dos quaes irá parte **delles** em frascos de vidro" (D.v1_p.17_11/6/1704_FL)

(send some pine nuts taken from the pine cones without fire because for they are to be sown in the Kingdom, of which will go part **of them** in glass jars)

In spite of having a pied-piping construction and, therefore, similar to a standard relative, there is a resumptive pronoun inside the clause, right in the gap left by the prepositional phrase movement. In fact, it is a copy of this phrase, but with a pronoun.

If it were an standard construction, we would have: "dos quaes$_i$ irá parte ($Æ_i$) em frascos de vidro" (from which part ($Æ_i$) will go in glass jars). The insertion of a pronoun, even if it prepositioned, constitutes an example of the second type of relativization strategy: the copying relative (or a relative with a resumptive pronoun), proposed by Tarallo (1985). There is, however, one difference in comparison to Tarallo's evidences: the construction also has a copy of the preposition.

Considering the examples in (57) and (58), and, mainly, the fact of having been produced in a formal context writing, we can suppose there were more occurrences of chopping and copying relatives in the analyzed period. Anyway, the results found here reinforce Tarallo's findings: the standard and the copying relatives make part of the Portuguese strategies. And according to the data presented in this work, we can also say that the chopping relative is part of these. So, we cannot agree that this last type of relative is an innovation of Brazilian Portuguese because it was found in a writing production of a person who was born in Portugal in 1593. But we agree with Tarallo (1985) that this type of relativization strategy expanded in Brazil because of other syntactic changes. And this has been shown by several studies related to this Portuguese variety. The main fact is: if the formal writing, that is conservative, presents some type of a construction, it means the orality would have much more.

FINAL REMARKS

The data analysis about the relative clauses in the selected period – 1650 to 1656, 1700 to 1710 and 1744 to 1748 – shows its syntactic characteristics, including the types of relative pronouns, their syntactic functions, and the relativization strategies. In general terms, it is possible to say that we found relative pronouns distributed in all syntactic functions, but with difference among the periods and in the types of pronouns used.

As for the relativization strategies, the constructions with left dislocation are predominant, including the prepositional phrase, as the pied-piping. Just two constructions similar to those described by Tarallo (1985) were found: one chopping relative, in the second half of the 17th century, and a copying one, in the beginning of 18th century. These data may indicate that perhaps the origin of these constructions is just somewhere in the past of Portuguese language.

24. Taken from: https://bndigital.bn.gov.br/projetos/200anos/condesCastelo.html

As for the hypothesis set in the beginning of this work, we can say that they were partially reached: perhaps it's true, as says Castilho (2003), the Brazilian Portuguese origin is in 15th century. This work also confirms Inês Duarte's idea that the strategies set by Tarallo (1985) are not specific to this Portuguese variety. More studies are necessary to clear up these matters.

This study reaches the objectives proposed because it contributes to discuss the Portuguese language history, adding some information to the existing researches while brings other syntactic facts that may be considered in the periodization and characterization of this language.

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