## Márcia Cristina de Brito Rumeu

# Variation in the paradigms of tu and você

Subject and complements in letters from Minas Gerais, Brazil, 1860–1989

**Abstract:** This chapter presents a quantitative analysis of the use of Portuguese second person singular (2SG) address pronouns tu and  $voc\hat{e}$  in correlation with second person verbal complements (te, a ti, prep. + ti,  $voc\hat{e}$ , a  $voc\hat{e}$ , para  $voc\hat{e}$ , prep. +  $voc\hat{e}$ , lhe, o/a, zero (Ø)). We analyse the diversity of 2SG verbal complements in accusative, dative and oblique structures in letters written by individuals from the state of Minas Gerais, Brazil, between 1860 and 1989. The results show that oblique verbal complementation functions as a syntactic context that tends to favor the use of  $voc\hat{e}$  (Rumeu & Oliveira 2016), whereas the dative and accusative functions are seen as survival contexts for the clitic pronominal te.

**Keywords:** second person singular, verbal complement structure, personal pronouns

# 1 Introduction

In present-day Brazil, the pronominal forms tu and  $voc\hat{e}$  coexist as forms of the second person singular (2SG) subject. These pronominal forms are distributed geographically in six subsystems of address forms (see Scherre et al. 2015), and also throughout the dynamics of social relations. The six subsystems currently used in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) as described by Scherre et al. (2015) can be further reduced to three subsystems, if subject-verb agreement is not taken into consideration (see Lopes & Cavalcante 2011).  $Voc\hat{e}$  (also present in the variant forms  $oc\hat{e}$  and  $ce)^1$  is the dominant 2SG form in the city of Belo Horizonte, in the state of Minas Gerais. Brazil.

Given that historically  $voc\hat{e}$  was introduced later than tu, the present study tackles the question of how this layering process was realised over time, particularly during the 19th and 20th centuries. In addition, the subsequent layering in

**<sup>1</sup>** According to Peres (2006), in 2002, in the spoken language in Belo Horizonte  $c\hat{e}$  amounted to 72.6 percent (10/1453) of the data tokens, followed by  $voc\hat{e}$  with 23.5 percent (342/1453) and  $oc\hat{e}$  with 3.9 percent (56/1453).

dependent functions such as direct and indirect object will also be studied. A corpus of letters written by individuals from Minas Gerais during the 19th and 20th centuries provides the data for an investigation of the functional potential of new pronominal forms of the *você* paradigm (prep. + *você*, *você*, *lhe*, *o/a*) co-related to the  $voc\hat{e}$  and to the tu paradigms (prep. +ti, te). Given that the arrival of  $voc\hat{e}$  in the BP address system did not take place to the same degree in all morphosyntactic contexts (see Lopes et al. 2009), this study analyses the diversity of forms of verbal complementation of the 2SG that occur in accusative, dative and oblique contexts of verbal complementation for the period between 1860 and 1989.

This chapter is organised as follows. Section 2 summarises the history of the emergence of você in the pronominal system of BP. Section 3 gives an overview of the criteria used to identify accusative, dative and oblique structures of verbal complementation. Section 4 describes the corpus of letters written by individuals from Minas Gerais representative of the evolution of address forms in BP. Section 5 discusses the results of the correlation between the  $tu/voc\hat{e}$  forms functioning as subjects and the 2SG complement pronouns in the corpus. The conclusion summarises the study's findings on the use of 2SG pronominal forms in verbal complementation contexts (accusative, dative and oblique).

# 2 The emergence of você in the pronominal system of BP

Analyses of tu/você alternation between the 18th and 20th centuries have been based on different types of text. These include letters (Rumeu 2004; Lopes & Machado 2005; Barcia 2006; Lopes & Marcotulio 2011; Lopes & Cavalcante 2011; Pereira 2012; Silva 2012; Rumeu 2013), notes (Lopes, Marcotulio & Rumeu 2011), theatre plays (Lopes & Duarte 2003; Machado 2006, 2011) and movie scripts (Lopes, Couto & Duarte 2005). These studies have provided evidence that você, which originated from the grammaticalisation of vossa mercê 'your grace', primarily took on the functions of *subject* and *complement* in the pronominal system of BP. Furthermore, the second quarter of the 20th century, more specifically between 1925 and 1945, was the period when você became the most productive, as it took over the 2SG subject function (see Rumeu 2013: 278).

Based on letters written by individuals from the city of Rio de Janeiro (carioca) and exchanged during the 19th and 20th centuries (1870-1970), Souza (2012: 90) mapped the emergence of *você* in BP's pronominal system, identifying three clear phases in this process. By the end of the 19th century (1870–1890, phase 1), the pronoun tu, which denoted intimacy, was more productive than the form você. The

latter maintained the semantics of distance/formality, which is typical of its origins in the formal *vossa mercê* as observed by Rumeu (2013). The turn of the century (1900–1930, phase 2) represents a transitional period: as the pronoun *você* began to compete for the same functional space as tu, its use extended to relations characterised by informality. From 1940 onwards (1940–1970, phase 3), the pronoun tu took the opposite direction to that observed at the end of the 19th century, as *você* began to prevail and *tu* fell into disuse. The widespread use of *você* forced the desemanticisation or bleaching of the term, that is, the loss of distance/formality. This led to a *neutral* form of address, which neither showed distance nor specified intimacy, at least within the scope of the city of Rio de Janeiro society between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century (see Souza 2012; Rumeu 2013).

The starting point of the present analysis is the proposal of Scherre et al. (2015) regarding the synchronic productivity of the six subsystems of 2SG subject address forms in current BP, reduced by Lopes & Cavalcante (2011: 39) into three subsystems: (i) the tu-only subsystem, (ii) the você-only subsystem and (iii) the mixed-tu/você subsystem, exemplified in examples (1) to (3) respectively from the corpus of Minas Gerais letters.

#### (1) Letter exclusively using *tu* in subject position:

A., meu presadíssimo filho [...] Bôa saude e satisfação em tudo e por tudo, é o que desejo. Louvando incessantemente a Deus, dou-te os meus sinceros parabens pela tonsura clerical, que a 28 do passado mez te **foste** conferido pelo santo Arcebispo, meu respeitavel e amigo, em Jesus Christo [...] (RAAP. Lagoa Santa, 06.04.1914)<sup>2</sup>

'A., my mostly esteemed child [...] I wish good health and satisfaction in everything and for everything. Incessantly praising the Lord, I give you [te] my most sincere congratulations for the clerical tonsure, which you [te] re**ceived** on the 28th of the past month by the saintly Archbishop, my respectful and friendly, in Jesus Christ'

#### (2) Letter exclusively using *você* in subject position:

Minha H. Antes d. hontem te escrevi por um cartão mandando a chave da caixinha que o Comendador-mor A. levou com o serviço do chá. [...] Como é que **você** diz que eu não lembro do nosso bemsinho? [...] e por isso

<sup>2</sup> The examples are followed by the abbreviated reference to the name of the writer, as well as the place and date of writing of the missives.

lembrando a todo o momento de ti, minha H., eu lembro do nosso bemsinho. (IPS, RI, 09.11.1890)

'My H. The day before yesterday I wrote you [te] a card with the little key to the box that the Supreme Commander A. brought with the tea service [...] How can you [você] say that I do not remember our little darling? [...] and for this reason every time I think of you [de ti], my H., I think about our little darling'

(3) Letter with mixed- $tu/voc\hat{e}$  in subject position:

Muito te agradeço a parte que **estás** tomando em meus soffrimentos [...] Tenho fé em Deus que você há de ser muito feliz em tua melindrosa carreira sacerdotal [...] (FAP. Caeté, 03.07.1917)

'I thank you [te] very much for the sympathy you [tu estás] show towards my suffering. I have faith in God that you [você] will be very happy in your [tua] sensitive priestly career'

Considering the forms of address currently used in Minas Gerais (você in subject position) (see the work by Lopes & Cavalcante 2011, based on Scherre et al. 2015), this chapter describes the extent to which the forms of the *você* paradigm (prep. + você, você, lhe, o/a) exemplified in examples (4) to (6), are used in verbal complementation instead of the forms of the tu paradigm (prep. + ti, te), as in examples (7) and (8). Verbal predicates which govern address forms are indicated in bold while the pronouns that accompany them are presented in italics.

(4) **Confio** *em você*, para suprir a orfandande moral da nossa L. (OLR. Bruxelas, 30.07.1959)

'I **trust** you [em você] to remedy our L.'s moral orphanage'

(5) Não **convocamos** *Você* para ficar lá conosco porque não há commodo [...] (AR. BH, 07.03.1940)

'We have not **summoned** You [Você] to stay with us because there is no chamber'

(6) Você não aparece por estas bandas? Não vem a Paris? Ou só a Itália o tenta? (OLR. Bruxelas, 29.01.1959)

'Are you [Você] not coming [aparece] around? Not coming [vem] to Paris? Or only Italy **tempts** you [o tenta]?'

- (7) Antes d. hontem te escrevi por um cartão... Hontem estando a ler deitado na cama jornaes e com o pensamento de *te-escrever* [...] (JPS. RJ, 09.11.1890)
  - 'The day before yesterday I **wrote** you [te] a card... Yesterday I was reading newspapers while lying on my bed and thought about **writing** to you [te-]'
- (8) Realmente seria dificil citar as poesias de que mais gostei, tantas são elas, por êste ou aquele motivo: Em infancia pus-me a **lembrar** *de ti*, não tanto em casa a olhar o rio [...] (MJLB. Lambari, 04.08.1941)
  - 'It would be really hard to quote all the poems I liked the most, they are so plentiful, for one reason or the other. As a child, I **remembered** you [de ti], not so much as a result of staring at the river'

# 3 2SG pronominal forms in accusative, dative and oblique verbal complements

This section focuses on describing the pronominal forms of the *você* and tu paradigms used in verbal complementation in the accusative (direct object of the verb), dative (indirect object of the verb, whether or not preceded by a preposition) and oblique functions (a non-cliticisable prepositional complement).

## 3.1 The accusative (direct) object

The accusative (direct) object appears in a verbal predicate with two arguments, that is, subject and direct object (direct transitive verb [SUV **DO**]), three arguments ([SU V **DO** OBL<sub>COMPI</sub>] and ditransitive [SU V **DO** IO]).<sup>3</sup> From a formal perspective, the accusative verbal complement represents the formally cliticisable 2SG direct object in atonic pronominal forms in the tu (te) and  $voc\hat{e}$  (o/a, lhe) paradigms. Semantically, the accusative takes the thematic role of a patient or theme. From the perspective of the grammatical tradition, the complement pronoun te is the only form to comply with the subject pronoun tu, in agreement with a uniform address. However, the emergence of *você* as subject pronoun in the BP pronominal system led to a confusion of paradigms characterised by the coexistence of

<sup>3</sup> The abreviations are as follows: SU= subject, V= verb, DO= direct object, OBL<sub>COMP</sub> = oblique complement, IO = indirect object.

forms of the tu (te) paradigm alongside forms of the  $voc\hat{e}$  (o/a,  $^4$  lhe) paradigm, as well as by the absence of the direct object ( $\emptyset$  = null 2SG direct object) and by the use of 3rd person possessives linked to *você*, e.g. seu. Evidence of accusative pronominal 2SG forms are illustrated in examples (9) to (13).

- (9)Mal você volta ao govêrno, cá estou eu para **chateá**-lo. Desculpe. Mas o caso é importante e urgente. O meu irmão G., que o está **procurando**, foi nomeado nos últimos dias do govêrno MC [...] (OLR. RJ, 14.02.1951)
  - 'You [você] have barely returned to government and here I am **bothering** you [-lo]. I am sorry. But the issue is important and urgent. It is my brother, G., who **is looking for** you [o], he was nominated in the last days of the MC government'
- (10) Você deve me mandar, com urgência, os seus elementos [...] Depois **procurarei** *você* para conversarmos. (AG. 20.02.1943)
  - 'You [Você] must urgently send me your [seus] elements [...]. I will look out for you [você] afterwards so that we can talk'
- (11)Da filha que *lhe* **beija** as mãos, H. (HL. RJ, 30.08.1933) 'From your daughter, who kisses your [lhe] hands, H.'
- (12)Abraça [tu] por mim a tia Sinhá e as meninas. **Beija**-te com carinho e saudades a prima e comadre muito amiga [...] (L. Thebas, 24.01.1925)
  - 'Give [Abraça (tu)] Aunt Sinhá and the girls a hug from my part. Your cousin and friend [comadre] **kisses** you [-te] with affection'
- (13) Appareça por aqui. Hoje escrevi para G. para saber suas noticias. Deus que te **abençoe** e Ø **felicite** [...] (RAAP. BH, 03.04.1925)
  - 'You should come around [Apareca (Você)]. Today I wrote to G. in order to hear news from you [suas]. God bless you [te] and greet  $\emptyset$ '

<sup>4</sup> Phonologically conditioned variant forms lo/la and no/na also exist and are subsumed under o/a here.

# 3.2 The dative (indirect) object

The dative encompasses syntactic constructions traditionally identified as indirect object. These are so named because they are indirectly linked to a verb through a preposition. In the present study, the dative grammatical relation is interpreted as a term which takes a preposition; it is clitisable as lhe, and appears in a verbal predicate with two arguments (indirect transitive verbs – [SU V IO]), or three arguments (ditransitive verbs [SU V DO IO]), see Duarte (2006: 296, 298–299), which refer to the target, the source or the beneficiary of the action with the semantic feature [+animate]. Examples (14) and (15) from the MG corpus illustrate 2SG datives linked to the tu (te, a ti) paradigm, while examples (16) through (19) illustrate them in the você (lhe, a você, para você)<sup>5</sup> paradigm. The absence of the dative complement ( $\emptyset$  = null 2SG indirect object) is shown in example (20).

(14) a prova és que ainda não te pude arranjar nada, nenhuma quantia de dinheiro ainda não *te* pude **mandar** [...] (RAAP. Lagoa Santa, 18.05.1915) 'you are [(tu) és] the proof that I could not **offer** you [te] anything, I could

not **send** you [te] any sum of money yet'

- (15) **Agradeço** a ti muito o gentil offerecimento prova segura da amizade que me dedicas. (FAP. Caeté, 19.08.1917)
  - 'I **thank** you [a ti] very much for kindly offering a safe proof of the friendship you commit [(tu) dedicas] to me'
- (16) Querida H., Promessa é dívida: aqui estou para cumprí-la. Prometi com efeito **mandar**-lhe uma foto de Jorge Guillén: ei-la. (MM. Roma, 06.12.1961) 'Dear H., a promise made is a debt unpaid: and I am here to pay it. I actually promised to **send** you [-lhe] a picture of Jorge Guillén: here it is'
- (17) **Mando** *a você* uma cópia do meu livro que pretendo publicar [...] (JAG. 20.02.1943)
  - 'I **send** you [a você] a copy of my book that I am planning to publish'

<sup>5</sup> The choice of separating the prepositions para and a from other prepositions was motivated by that fact that, in Brazilian Portuguese, the preposition a is in process of being replaced by the preposition para in dative structures (see Gomes 2007).

- (18) Ingrid, que **manda** muitos abraços *para você*, ficou de devolver-me os originais. (AM. RJ, 01.06.1941)
  - 'Ingrid, who **sends** you [para você] many hugs, is yet to send me back the originals'
- (19) Querida Titia [...] Andamos de bicicleta no Parque Novo e depois fomos no outro parque beber água. Mamãe e papai **mandam** abraços *para você*. Um abraco para V. (M. Campanha, 30.08.1968)
  - 'Dear Auntie [...] We rode our bikes through the New Park and then we went to the other park to drink some water. Mommy and Daddy **send** you [para você] hugs. Hugs to V.'
- (20) O G. vai fazer a secção de crítica na Folha, a partir de amanhã, domingo. Foi anunciado. Tenho um palpite de que possa começar a série com a nota sobre o seu livro. Se assim for, **mandarei**  $\emptyset$  amanhã o recorte. [...] Logo que Você possa ir ao Vargas, avise. (JCL. MG, Lambari, 21.06.1941)
  - 'G. will be writing the critique section of the *Folha* [newspaper] from tomorrow, Sunday, onwards. It has been announced. I have an intuition that he might start his series with the note about your [seu] book. If this is the case, I will **send**  $\emptyset$  the newspaper clipping tomorrow. If You [Você] are able to go to Vargas's, let me know'

# 3.3 The oblique (prepositional) object

The *oblique* form is syntactically linked to a verbal predicate in the form of a (non-cliticisable) non-dative prepositional phrase, e.g. comtigo 'with you (tu)'. Following Duarte & Brito (2006: 169-170), the oblique is interpreted as the argument that, when linked to a verbal predicate in the form of a non-dative prepositional phrase, is a complement to the verbal predicate in a nuclear (nuclear oblique) or optional form (non-nuclear oblique).6 The latter is projected as an adjunct, while the former is projected as a complement, as discussed by Rumeu &

<sup>6</sup> According to the Rocha Lima, the nuclear oblique can be labelled as a relative complement given that it determines the structure of the complementation (COMP), but also as a result of the specificity of the argument that provides meaning to its predicator (which is a relative transitive verb, in the terms of Rocha Lima), usually through two-argument verbs [SU V OBL<sub>COMP</sub>] (see Duarte & Brito 2006).

Oliveira (2016), Cruz (2017) following the works of Duarte & Brito (2016) and Ilari et al. (2015). Examples (21) to (24) provide samples of the nuclear and non-nuclear oblique 2SG structures with pronominal forms of the tu and você paradigms.

- (21) Quando você telefonou, eu estava no banho. Logo em seguida, o H. que **leva** *sôbre você* a vantagem [...] (OLR. RJ, 02.08.1950)
  - 'I was showering when you [você] called. Soon after, H. who has advantage over vou [sobre você]'
- (22) Pudesse eu **viver** isolado *comtigo* e meu filho bem longe d. tudo d. todos e eu teria uma immensa alegria. (JPS. RJ, 15.02.1891)
  - 'If only I could **live** with you [comtigo] and my child, isolated, very far away from everything and everyone I would be immensely joyous'
- (23) Realmente seria dificil citar as poesias de que mais gostei, tantas são elas, por êste ou aquele motivo: Em infancia pus-me a **lembrar** *de ti*, não tanto em casa a olhar o rio [...] (MJLB. Lambari, 04.08.1941)
  - 'It would be really hard to quote all the poems I liked the most, they are so plentiful, for one reason or the other. As a child, I **remembered** you [de ti], not so much as a result of staring at the river'
- (24) Encantei-me e **aprendi** muita cousa *com você*, principalmente sobre A. de G. (HL, 29.03.1979)
  - 'I have been mesmerised by and have **learned** a great deal from you [com *você*], especially about A. de G.'

The following section will proceed with the description of historical samples of correspondence written by individuals from the state of Minas Gerais (19th and 20th centuries).

# 4 Analysing the samples of historical correspondence and the informants

Human languages follow a dynamic of ordered heterogeneity from which linguistic manifestations can be described and analysed from a structural and social perspective (Weinreich, Labov & Herzog 1968; Labov 1994). If the objective is to

reconstruct linguistic realities of past synchronies, it is important to bear in mind the possible obstacles to working with historical data, such as those related to the authorship as well as the historical and social validity of historical texts. This has led to the construction of a specific methodology for approaching historical corpora (see Hernández-Campoy & Conde-Silvestre 2014; Conde-Silvestre 2007).

The present study is based on the analysis of two hundred thirty-four personal handwritten letters from the period 1869 to 1989, by individuals born in the state of Minas Gerais in Brazil. These letters reveal the intimacy of love, family, and friendship relationships, see Table 1, through social relations that are informed by various degrees of affective proximity between the sender and the receiver.

Table 1: Types of personal letters.

CORPUS OF PERSONAL LETTERS				
Love letters	04			
Family letters	127			
Friendship letters	103			

The *corpus* consists of love, family and friendship letters written by IPS,<sup>7</sup> a wellknown political figure in Minas Gerais, and were produced between 1869 and 1908. The love letters were exchanged between him and his wife H. He also wrote to his uncle (family letters) and other authorities of the state's political scene (friendship letters) (see Luz 2015). There are also letters exchanged by the AP family, dating from 1907 to 1944. The letters were directed to the priest A., and were written by the parents, siblings, a (female) cousin, and a brother-in-law. This correspondence is characterised by a sense of proximity amongst family members. We know that the family members were from Minas Gerais because their biographical details were reconstructed from the letters. Particularly with regard to the father and the brother (the men of the AP family), it is known that they were educated informants as one was a professor of languages and the other a professor of medical pathologies. The intimacy of family relations allows them to express how they miss one another (saudades), to exchange news (notícias) and to make the most varied requests. In addition, the corpus contains letters written by local poets between 1917 and 1989, which illustrate relations of friendship and family ties.

With the goal of constructing an historical sociolinguistics of BP, a set of methodological steps have been adopted. They work as premises to confirm the

<sup>7</sup> Only the letter writers' initials are referred to here in order to ensure anonymity.

authorship and historical and social validity of the letters written by well-known or public figures from Minas Gerais. The steps are as follows:

- (i) the reconstruction of the social profile of the letter writers, based on the identification of their origin (nationality and place of birth), gender (sex), age group, schooling background, and social role;
- the comparison of various letters written by the same person, enabling us (ii) to determine the respective authorship of the handwritten letters (love, friendship and family related);
- (iii) the conservative editing of letters written by individuals from Minas Gerais, which consists of the facsimile reproduction and transcription of the manuscripts without any intervention by the editor with regards to spelling, punctuation or other textual practices specific to the 19th and 20th centuries.

Following the presentation of these historical samples with regards to writers from Minas Gerais and the subtypes of personal letters (love, family and friendship related), we proceed to the analytical description of accusative, dative and oblique 2SG contexts linked to the subject pronouns tu and você.

# 5 Accusative, dative and oblique 2SG verbal complements used with tu and você

As we have seen, pronominal variant forms of the tu and  $voc\hat{e}$  paradigms can be used in accusative, dative and oblique 2SG contexts in BP. The letters in the corpus were controlled for pronouns used in the subject function and for pronouns used in the verbal complement function, as well as for variant forms of the 2SG paradigms. The goal was to quantify the use of variant pronominal forms from the tu and você paradigms in accusative, dative, and oblique verbal complement structures, and to discover whether these pronominal forms matched the use of tu or você in subject position.

# 5.1 The accusative (direct) object

The results show that among the pronominal forms used in the accusative function (present in 26/436 or five per cent of the letters analysed), te was the one most frequently used, with levels varying between 80 and 97 per cent of the letters. Te shares its functional space mainly with the clitic accusative form o/a, which also had productivity levels of over 70 per cent. Figure 1 presents the distribution of

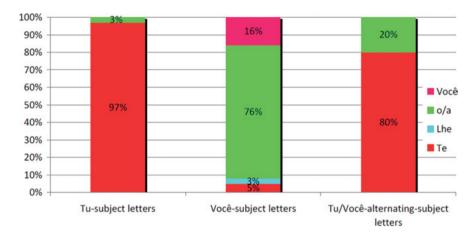


Figure 1: Accusative forms employed with 2SG subject pronouns.

accusative pronominal forms in relation to each specific pronoun used in 2SG subject function (*tu*-only letters, *você*-only letters and mixed-*tu*/*você* letters).

The te form is predominant in tu-only missives as well as in letters with mixed- $tu/voc\hat{e}$  in subject position, as illustrated in examples (25) and (26). These results confirm those of other studies that show that the use of tu and  $voc\hat{e}$  is identical in relation to the semantic person they refer to ([-EU]<sup>8</sup> = 2SG) (Lopes & Rumeu 2007; Rumeu 2006). Conversely, however, in letters with  $voc\hat{e}$  as the exclusive subject, the direct object clitic o/a is prevalent in 76 per cent of the data in reference to 2SG, as illustrated by examples (27) and (28). Given that the accusative clitic o/a was etymologically geared towards 3SG, its use in reference to 2SG seems to constitute an innovation in BP, which was already evident in the writing of educated individuals from the state of Minas Gerais between the 19th and 20th centuries.

#### (25) Tu as exclusive subject:

Não fôras tu, minha terna companheira e a vida para mim seria detestavel! [...] Eu *te-***conheci**, minha esperança carinhosa, eu *te* **conheci** em São Paulo! [...] (JPS. RJ, 14.02.1891)

'If it were [(tu) foras] not for you [tu], my dearest partner and life would be detestable to me! [...] I **met** you [te], my loving hope, I **met** you [te] in São Paulo!'

**<sup>8</sup>** This refers to the specific semantic notion of pronominal forms in the second person singular:  $tu/voc\hat{e} =$  "you-sg".

#### (26) Mixed-tu/você as subject:

Muito te agradeco a parte que estás tomando em meus soffrimentos [...] Tenho fé em Deus que você há de ser muito feliz em tua melindrosa carreira sacerdotal [...] Aguardo com ansiedade recebimento de tuas amaveis cartas. **Abraça-***te* apertadamente Teu tio e Amigo grato [...] (FAP. Caeté, 03.07.1917)

'I very much thank you [te] for the sympathy you show [(tu) estás] towards my suffering. I have faith in God that you [você] will be very happy in your [tua] sensitive priestly career [...]. I anxiously await your [tuas] lovely letters. I **hug** you [-te] tight, Your [Teu] uncle and grateful friend'

## (27) *Você* as exclusive subject:

Se você vier antes, espero **reencontrá**-lo aquí depois, após minha volta de Minas [...] (OLR. RJ, 26.07.1951)

'If you [você] come earlier, I hope to **see** you [-lo] here again afterwards, after I have returned from Minas'

#### (28) *Você* as exclusive subject:

Fazendo-lhe uma visitinha muito afetuosa venho **convida**-la para assistir à festinha da entrega dos diplomas no próximo dia 30. Terei muito gôsto que você venha. (CLB. Lambari, 25.11.1941)

'Paying you [-lhe] a short and very affectionate visit, I hereby **invite** you [-la] to attend the little party in which we will handle the diplomas on 30th. I will be very pleased should you [você] come'

In relation to the context of letters using only *você*, the forms *te*, *lhe* and *você* as direct complements occurred less frequently – see examples (29) to (32).

#### (29) *Você* as exclusive subject:

Chegando eu hontem de B. Horizonte encontrei aqui sua preçioza carta a qual me trouçe uma tão bôa notiçia. Deus que te ajude em tudo e por tudo [...] Joãozinho inda não veio é posivel que você desta vez veja elle [sic] pois até o mez de Junho voçe já está em ferias. (RAP. Caeté, 05.04.1915)

'As I arrived yesterday from B. Horizonte I found your [sua] precious letter, which brought me such good news. May God **help** you [te] in everything and for everything [...]. Joãozinho has not come yet and it is possible that this time you [você] will meet him since you will be [voce esta] on holiday until the month of June'

### (30) *Você* as exclusive subject:

Você recebeu a minha carta em resposta á que me escreveu em Agosto? [...] Basta de **amolar**-lhe [...] (MA. Serra Azul, Itaúna, 10.01.1917)

'Have you [você] received my letter in response to the letter you wrote [escreveu] me in August? [...] Enough with **bothering** you [-lhe]'

## (31) *Você* as exclusive subject:

Está claro que, para mim, seria extraordináriamente simpático e agradável **ter** *Você* como companheiro de exílio. Você me atrai mais a Madrid do que o Museu do Prado [...] (OLR. Bruxelas, 01.12.1958)

'It is clear that, for me, it would be extraordinarily agreeable and pleasant **having** You [Você] as my company in exile. You [você] are attracting me to Madrid more than the whole of the Prado Museum'

## (32) *Você* as exclusive subject:

Para **distrair** *você* da doença, vou tocando em outros assuntos [...] (AM. RJ, 01.10.1945)

'In order to **distract** you [você] from the illness, I will address other topics'

In tu-only letters and in mixed- $tu/voc\hat{e}$  letters, the clitics te and o/a share the same functional field of reference to the 2SG, as shown in examples (33) and (34) respectively.

#### (33) Mixed-tu/você as subject:

Por que havia esta desgracada fatalidade d. *te*-**ferir** assim *a Você*, a tua santa esposa e aos teos filhinhos?! (JPS. Caeté, 29.12.1896)

'Why must this disgraceful tragedy **hurt** you [-te-], you [a você], your [tua] saintly wife and your [teos] little children so much?!'

In the original example, it is possible to see evidence of the accusative  $a \ voc\hat{e}$  in a redoubling structure already present in Minas Gerais writing from the late 19th century. This structure is productive in contemporary Minas Gerais spoken language, as shown by the following examples from Duarte & Diniz (2012: 92). Eu vou te; levá ocê; lá 'I will take you, take you, there'. Uma coisa eu vou te; falá com ocê; 'I will tell you something to you'. Eu vou te; contá pro ocê; um pouquim da minha vida 'I will tell you something to you a bit about my life'.

### (34) Mixed-tu/você as subject:

E entretanto a minha H. sempre deixa para me escrever quando o Paulo não a deixa escrever. Se soubesses a afflicção com que espero o correio para ler as tuas cartas [...] Quando eu te telegraphar você manda fazer a mudanca [...] (JPS. RJ, 15.02.1891)

'And meanwhile my H. always begin [(tu) deixa] to write to me when Paulo does not **let** you [a] write. If you only knew [(tu) soubesses] how afflicted I feel while waiting for the post in order to read your [tuas] letters [...] When I send you [te] a telegraph you [você] should send orders to begin with the move'

## 5.2 The dative (indirect) object

In dative verbal complements (328/436, 77 per cent of the samples), te shares its functional contexts with the clitic *lhe*, as well as with the prepositional phrase *a* você and para você. The clitics te and lhe are the most frequently used verbal complement pronominal forms. Figure 2 presents the distribution of these pronominal forms across the subsystems of forms of address in *tu*-only letters, *você*-only letters, and mixed-tu/você letters.

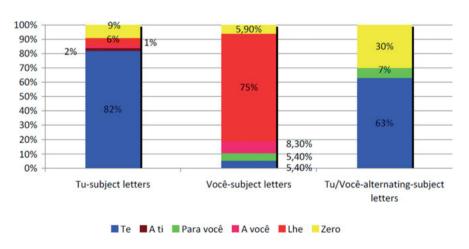


Figure 2: Dative forms employed with 2SG subject pronouns.

Generally speaking, the dative form *-te* is predominant not only in the *tu*-only letters (82 per cent, 80 occurrences), but also in mixed-tu/você letters (63 per cent, 17 occurrences), as illustrated by examples (35) and (36). On the other hand, *lhe* is the preferred strategy (75 per cent, 152 occurrences) in  $voc\hat{e}$ -only letters, as illustrated by examples (37) and (38). The phrases preceded by prepositions a $voc\hat{e}$ ,  $para\ voc\hat{e}$ , the clitics te and  $zero\ (\emptyset)$ , in turn, are present in the you-subject letters with low levels of productivity (8.3 per cent, 5.4 per cent, 5.4 per cent, and 5.9 per cent, respectively). In short, the *você*-only context seems to boost the use of the *lhe*-dative, while the *tu*-only letters and the *você*-only letters are productive contexts for the *te*-dative in letters written by individuals from Minas Gerais.

### (35) Tu as exclusive subject:

Quanto á escola, é como bem pódes avaliar. Tenho recebido tuas cartas com muito prazer e contentamento; e, si não te escrevo sempre, peço-te dar me desconto: pouco ou nenhum tempo para escrever com tranquillidade e socêgo [...] (RAAP. Lagoa Santa, 30.10.1912)

'As to the school, it is as you might [(tu) podes] evaluate it. I have received your [tuas] letters with much pleasure and satisfaction, and, if I do not write to you [te] more frequently, I ask you [-te] not to be so hard on me: I have little to no time to write with tranquillity and quietness'

#### (36) Mixed-tu/você as subject:

Adelaide, como sabes, é nervosa em excesso e está em uso de remedios; eu; por minha vez, sou tambem nervoso, a nossa casa é pequena e mal nos comporta; o que has depois fazer?! **Peço**-te escreva-me a respeito [...] Você não deixe de vir aqui passar uns dias connosco. (FAP. Caeté, 02.08.1913)

'Adelaide, as you know [(tu) sabes], is excessively nervous and under medication; I, in my turn, am also a nervous man, our house is small and barely accommodates us, what is there else to do? I **ask** you [-te], write me about it [...] Please do not refrain [Você não deixe] from coming here and spending a few days with us'

#### (37) *Você* as exclusive subject:

Sem mais, **peço**-lhe velho irmão mui sigilo. Como já lhe **disse**, você e o Fernando, sim? (WF. BH, 10.11.1949)

'Without further ado, I ask you [-lhe] much secrecy, my old brother. As I have **told** you [*lhe*] already, you [*você*] and Fernando, right?'

#### (38) *Você* as exclusive subject:

Você continua satisfeita com o servico da Vicentina? [...] Ia esquecendo de **contar**-lhe que Marília está cada vez mais parecida com você [...] (MAVP. Campanha, 17.12.1961)

'Are you [você] still satisfied with Vicentina's work? [...] I have almost forgotten to **tell** you [-lhe] that Marília looks everyday more like yourself [você]'

The coexistence of forms of the tu (te) paradigm and forms of the você (você, lhe and o/a) paradigm, as in example (36), is yet another indication of the fusion of second and third person paradigms since the emergence of  $voc\hat{e}$  in the BP pronominal system.

## 5.3 The oblique (prepositional) object

In oblique verbal complements (82/436, 18 per cent), pronominal phrases preceded by a preposition (prep. + ti and prep. +  $voc\hat{e}$ ) had the highest levels of productivity in the contexts of the *tu*-only and *você*-only letters, respectively. This illustrates a symmetry between the pronominal choices used in the 2SG subject and verbal complement positions.

Figure 3 reveals that the subject pronoun seems to determine the oblique 2SG pronominal form, replicating the patterns observed in the accusative and oblique 2SG structures. Consequently, we can assert that the forms that follow a preposition, prep. + ti and prep. +  $voc\hat{e}$ , are predominant in tu-only letters and in *você*-only letters, respectively, as illustrated in examples (39) and (40).

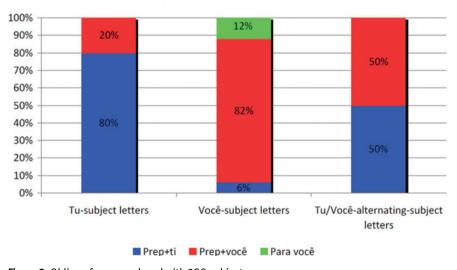


Figure 3: Oblique forms employed with 2SG subject pronouns.

#### (39) Tu as exclusive subject:

Estou em falta contigo, não tendo ainda agradecido o livro que nos enviastes [...] Realmente seria dificil citar as poesias de que mais gostei, tantas são elas, por êste ou aquele motivo: Em infancia pus-me a **lembrar** de ti, não tanto em casa a olhar o rio [...] (MJLB. Lambari, 04.08.1941)

'I still owe you [contigo] for not having thanked you for the book you sent us [(tu) enviastes] [...] It would be really hard to quote all the poems I liked the most, they are so plentiful, for one reason or the other. As a child, I remem**bered** you [de ti], not so much as a result of staring at the river'

## (40) *Você* as exclusive subject:

O Astrogildo pediu-me que **obtivesse** *de você* que está ficando famosa no assunto, um pequeno ensaio (de dez a doze páginas) sobre "literatura para criança" [...] Será que você topa, L.? Não quero que se sacrifique [...] (AM. RJ, 18.10.1946)

'Astrogildo told me to **get from** you [de você], since you are [(você) está] getting famous in this area, a short essay (from ten to twelve pages long) on "children's literature" [...] I wonder if you [você] would do it, L.? I do not want you [(você) se] to make too much of a sacrifice'

Oblique forms structured with the innovative use of  $voc\hat{e}$  (as in prep. +  $voc\hat{e}$ ) have a slight advantage (over prep. + ti), which describes the oblique grammatical relation as a more favourable context for pronominal forms than the *você* paradigm. This can be observed in example (41), which shows para você in a letter with você as the sole subject pronoun.

#### (41) *Você* as exclusive subject:

H., **Quebro** *para Você* o meu habito carranca de não felicitar qualquer, por motivo nenhum [...] a nave que você pilota ha de erguer vôo seguro elevando você às alturas onde quizer ficar. (JLJ. Lambari, 23.10.1924)

'H., for You (para Você) I would even **dispose** of my grumpy custom of congratulating no-one, for whichever reason [...] the ship you pilot will certainly take off safely, raising you [você] to the heights where you [você] want to be'

In the letters where tu and você coexist in the subject function, the variant form of the  $voc\hat{e}$  paradigm, prep. +  $voc\hat{e}$ , is evident in example (42), although coexisting with the variant form of the tu paradigm, prep. + tu, as can be seen in example (43).

### (42) Mixed-tu/você as subject:

Pudesse eu **viver** isolado *comtigo* e meu filho [...] Se soubesses a afflicção com que espero o correio para ler as tuas cartas, me mandarias menos cartões! [...] Você não quiz mandar medida para um vestido [...] (JPS. RJ, 15.02.1891)

'If only I could **live** with you [comtigo] and my child, isolated [...]. If you only knew [(tu) soubesses] how afflicted I feel while waiting for the post in order to read your [tuas] letters, you would send [(tu) mandarias] me less cards! [...] You [você] didn't wish to send me your measurements for a dress'

#### (43) Mixed-tu/você as subject:

Nem sei, meo infeliz amigo, que palavras d. consolação nesta hora para você tão escura, possa eu descobrir que te levassem o conforto de que precisas. [...] **chorando** com Você meo amigo! a tua immensa desgraca! [...] e que você não deixaria também nunca soffrer nunca um filho meo [...] (JPS. Caeté, 29.12.1896)

'I do not even know, my unfortunate friend, which words of solace for you [para você] in such a dark hour I could come up with in order to give you [te] the comfort you need. [...] **crying** alongside you [com Você] my friend! in this immense tragedy of yours [tua]! [...] and you [você] would never let [(você) deixaria] a son of mine suffer'

## 6 Conclusion

After the analysis of the forms te, a ti, prep. + ti, a  $voc\hat{e}$ , para  $voc\hat{e}$ , prep. +  $voc\hat{e}$ , *lhe*, o/a, zero ( $\emptyset$ ) in verbal complement structures, it is possible to make some brief generalisations about the use of these pronouns in accusative, datives and oblique structures in letters with *tu*-only used in subject position, *você*-only, and mixed-tu/você.

Accusative pronominal forms diachronically follow their respective nominative forms, since it was shown that the clitics te and o/a (corresponding to the pronominal forms of the paradigms tu and você) are predominant in the tu-only and *você*-only letters respectively. In letters where the pronouns *tu* and *você* alternate as subject, accusative te also prevails. This indicates the neutral character that the clitic te has acquired (see the debate by Oliveira 2014 and Cruz 2017 in relation to letters from the states of Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais, respectively).

As for 2SG dative structures, pronominal forms also follow their respective nominative options. This is shown by the prevalence of te (dative) in tu-only missives and of *lhe* (dative) in *você*-only letters. The absence of pronominal forms in 2SG dative structures (zero dative) occurred infrequently, regardless of the pronoun used in the nominative function. On the other hand, the forms para você and a você in dative structures are evident in limited numbers: contexts of *você*-only and mixed-tu/você letters. In short, te – the pronominal form of the tu paradigm – persists in the accusative and dative structures of tu-only letters and mixed-tu/você letters (see Lopes & Cavalcante 2011; Oliveira 2014; Souza 2014; Cardoso 2017).

Two specific characteristics of letters written by individuals from Minas Gerais are related to the fact that *lhe* (originally the third person dative clitic) functioned in dative structures with 2SG reference. This is evidence of the high level of formality between the writers, but also of the innovative role of the clitic o/a (originally the third person accusative clitic) in 2SG accusative structures.

As was also observed for accusative and dative structures, oblique structures are guided by the nominative forms (tu subject  $\rightarrow$  prep. + ti; você subject  $\rightarrow$  prep. +  $voc\hat{e}$ ). The variant form prep. +  $voc\hat{e}$  is highly productive in oblique structures in the você-only letters.

To sum up, these results confirm the hypothesis that the emergence of *você* in the pronominal system of BP has not reached all syntactic contexts to the same degree (Lopes et al. 2009). In the letters written by individuals from Minas Gerais in the 19th and 20th centuries, the oblique grammatical relation of the verbal complement favours the diffusion of você (Rumeu & Oliveira 2016), while the dative and accusative grammatical relations are the syntactic contexts where the tu is maintained, consolidated through the high productivity of the clitic te.

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