

# Elucidating the transition period in linguistic change: The expression of the future in Brazilian Portuguese<sup>1</sup>

SHANA POPLACK AND ELISABETE MALVAR

## Abstract

*This paper examines the trajectory of a spectacular change in the development of future temporal reference in Brazilian Portuguese over five centuries. Focusing on four competing exponents of futurity, we show how the incoming form gradually expropriates the preferred contexts of the older variants, prior to ousting them from the sector. These results confirm that the transition period in linguistic change is not abrupt, but proceeds as a series of small adjustments, as incoming and outgoing variants jockey for position in the system. As a variant recedes, constraints on its selection do not remain constant, though the distinctions it conveyed may be transferred to another exponent. These findings challenge some widely-held assumptions (i.e., that change affects all contexts simultaneously, or that the grammar remains invariant during the course of change).*

## 1. Introduction

In this paper we revisit a fundamental question first raised by Weinreich et al. (1968: 100) in their seminal work on language change: If a language must be structured to function efficiently, what happens to its functions as structure changes? In contrast to accounts which construe change as *abrupt*, and

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therefore unobservable during its course, we focus on the *process* of replacement, exemplifying with a spectacular change in the expression of future time in Brazilian Portuguese which took over five centuries to achieve completion. In so doing, we shed light on two of the key problems in the study of linguistic change: the “transition” problem, i.e., the means by which a language moves from state to state, and the “embedding” problem, i.e. the effects of this process on the surrounding system of linguistic relations (Weinreich et al. 1968; Labov 1982).<sup>2</sup>

Because future temporal reference was variable from its earliest attestations, we make use of variationist methodology to trace over time the trajectory of its competing expressions across the functions and contexts constituting this domain. Claims in the prescriptive and descriptive literature about which conditions favored the choice of one variant over another at each stage are operationalized as factors and tested against contemporaneous usage. The diagnostic is the *constraint hierarchy*, construed as the grammar giving rise to variant selection. Independent multivariate analyses of the contribution of these factors in each time period reveal how the labor of expressing future temporal reference is divided. Comparison of significant effects across variants and over time enables us to trace the progress of the change in considerable detail, charting the behavior of variant forms as they accommodate to incoming and outgoing counterparts, and thereby bringing new data to bear on the transition and embedding of linguistic change.

In the remainder of this paper we first sketch out the facts of future expression in Portuguese, then describe a method for studying language change capable of accounting for rampant variability over long periods of time. In so doing, we develop novel uses of traditional data sources, and an analysis that confronts standard accounts of these phenomena with the facts of actual usage. Section 5 presents the results of these analyses century by century. In Section 6 we offer some conclusions on the nature of the transition and embedding of linguistic change, and in Section 7, the relationship between the ideology of future reference and norms of usage.

### 1.1. *Future temporal reference in Portuguese*

The lexico-grammatical apparatus associated with the future is never limited to a single exponent, and nowhere is this more evident than in Portuguese. Most accounts identify four variant expressions: the synthetic future (SF, as in (1)), the *haver*-periphrasis (HP; (2)); the futurate present (P; (3)) and the *ir*-periphrasis (IR; (4)). The synthetic future (1) appears in conjugation tables, and

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2. Both problems obviously include a social dimension, which will not be the focus here.

is typically identified as the “default” form conveying primary future meaning; the other variants are associated with a wide array of modalities (e.g., certainty, doubt, resolution, necessity, probability) and/or contexts of use (e.g., affirmative sentences, monosyllabic verbs, proximity in the future).

- (1) *Senhor, eu o servirei (SF) e não quero outro senhor.*  
‘Sir, I will serve you and I do not wish another master’. (Vicente 1526/1975. Ourives: 83)<sup>3</sup>
- (2) *Pois aonde o hei de pôr (HP)?*  
‘Well, where shall I put it?’ (Silva 1737/1980. Semicúpio: 54)
- (3) *São nove horas e o ofício de ramos principia (P) às dez e meia.*  
‘It’s nine o’clock and the Palm procession begins at ten-thirty.’ (Pena 1853/1972. Ambrósio: 12)
- (4) *Ano que vem eu vou tirar (IR) a Cleide dessa escola e colocar na escola pública.*  
‘Next year I’m going to take Cleide out of this school and put her in a public school.’ (Vânia/B: 30/1992)

Analysis of a large corpus of 20th-century Brazilian Portuguese (Malvar 2003), however, revealed almost no variation at all. On the contrary, nearly all references to future time were expressed by the *ir*-periphrasis (4). The synthetic future (1) is vanishingly rare, the futurate present (3) at best a minor contender, and the *haver*-periphrasis (2) is virtually non-existent. How can these contradictory accounts be reconciled? Are they due to abrupt linguistic change? The gulf between prescription and usage? Divergence between speech and writing? To answer these questions, we investigate how future temporal reference was expressed at earlier stages of the language.

### 1.2. A method for studying language change

The empirical study of linguistic change has always represented one of the linguist’s greatest challenges. Though this is sometimes overlooked, a basic requirement is that the outcome be compared with an initial (or at least a prior) stage, but locating the relevant diachronic evidence is no easy matter. Since most putative changes originate in spoken vernaculars, the most appropriate comparison point would logically be a precursor to those vernaculars. Written documents, even the most “speech-like”, often turn out to be poor approxima-

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3. Codes in parentheses indicate the source of the example: Playwright, date, character and page number in the *Corpus of popular Portuguese plays* (Appendix A); speaker, counter number and date of recording in the *Corpus of vernacular Brazilian Portuguese* (Malvar 2003).

tions of speech, either because they lag far behind or fail to represent it at all (Van Herk and Poplack 2001).<sup>4</sup> As Labov (1994: 11) observed,

Historical documents survive by chance, not by design, and the selection that is available is the product of an unpredictable series of historical accidents. The linguistic forms in such documents are often distinct from the vernacular of the writers, and instead reflect efforts to capture a normative dialect that never was any speaker's native language. As a result, many documents are riddled with the effects of hypercorrection, dialect mixture, and scribal error.

Data representing both an "earlier" stage and vernacular speech necessarily offer a time depth too shallow to assess the full course of change. Thus most available materials are not pertinent to the goal of tracing variable usage over long periods of time. In this paper we describe the methods we have been experimenting with at the University of Ottawa Sociolinguistics Laboratory to make the best of the poor data (Labov 1994) of language history. We show that access to sufficient time depth, coupled with the tools of variation theory, reveal unexpected facts about the transition period in linguistic change.

## 2. Data

Our confrontation of the present with the past is based on three complementary sources of data, diachronic and synchronic, prescribed and used, spoken and modeled after speech. Assessment of the normative treatment of future temporal reference is based on a corpus of grammars published between the 16th and 21st centuries, details of the contemporaneous spoken vernaculars are inferred from analysis of a corpus of popular theatre, and both of these are validated through comparison with data on late 20th-century spoken Brazilian Portuguese. Though none of these data sets in and of itself is ideally suited to address the questions we raised in the introduction to this paper, comparison amongst them validates each as a valuable source of information on language variation and change.

### 2.1. *Diachronic data*

2.1.1. *Popular theatre.* To tap into the spoken Portuguese of earlier centuries, we compiled a corpus of 22 comedies, farces and satires, published

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4. This problem is exacerbated in colonial situations. In Brazil, for example, only European Portuguese was recognized for literary and official purposes until the early 19th century. As a result, the first bona fide Brazilian plays and grammars (i.e., written by a Brazilian and written, published and/or produced in Brazil) date only from that time.

between 1509 and 1999 (Appendix A), specifically intended for popular consumption. We sampled the *oeuvre* of (largely social realist) playwrights like Gil Vicente, Martins Pena and França Júnior, among others, reputed for their ability to represent the everyday speech of their lower- and working-class characters (e.g., Entwistle 1973: 351–352; Hamilton-Faria 1976: 75–96; Sletsjöe 1965: 13; Ferraz 1980: 29–30; Veríssimo 1998: 361–362; Prado 1999: 56–59). But the main criterion for retention in our corpus was explicit linguistic evidence in the dialogue of the social origins of the character. Much of this involved non-standard lexical or phonological features, as in (5) and (6) respectively. Particularly revealing were the relatively rarer morphosyntactic features, like lack of pronominal infixation with SF, as in (7), or nonstandard preposition usage, as in (8). Among the well-documented nonstandard morphosyntactic features of 20th-century vernacular Brazilian Portuguese, we find lack of subject-verb agreement (9), nonstandard pronoun placement (10), and 3rd person subject/object pronoun alternation (11).

- (5) *Se o doente estivesse em tuas mãos, já há muito que tinha espichado a canela.*  
 ‘If the patient had been in your hands, he would have *croaked* a long time ago.’ (Pena 1844/1968. Cautério: 271)
- (6) *Ou você consegue um lugar num [*< em um*] desses prédios da Corporação, pra [*< para*] essa gente se abrigar ou eles vão morrer de frio, de fome.*  
 ‘Either you find shelter in one of the Corporation buildings for those people, or they’re going to die of cold, of starvation.’ (Labaki 1999/2000. Verônica: 55)
- (7) *Dará-se [*< dar-se-á*] caso que eu tenha dito alguma asneira?!*  
 ‘Will anyone notice that I said something stupid?’ (França Júnior 1870/1980. Matias: 115)
- (8) *Chega na [*< à*] porta e acena com lenço.*  
 ‘Come into [to] the door and wave with a handkerchief.’ (Pena 1837/1968. Narrator: 39)
- (9) *Olha, Tião, são dois anos que tu não acerta [*< tu acertas*] as contas comigo.*  
 ‘Look Tião, you haven’t paid me back for two years.’ (Buarque 1978. Max: 57)
- (10) *Me deixa [*< deixa-me*], Cipriano! E fica sabendo, não vou a passeata nenhuma!*  
 ‘*Me leave [leave me] alone, Cipriano! I’m not going to any protest, and that’s that!*’ (Guarnieri 1961. Américo: 71)

- (11) *Olha, lá, tá sangrando! Vamos tirar ele [< tirá-lo] de lá.*  
 ‘Look, he’s bleeding! Let’s take *he* out of there.’ (Guarnieri 1961.  
 Américo: 76)

To what extent, if any, does the language contained in these plays represent the vernacular(s) spoken at the time they were written and/or performed? How faithful was the actors’ delivery to the original scripts? In the absence of a spoken control (i.e., prior to the 20th century), we can only speculate. A reasonable working hypothesis, based on the facts that the plays targeted popular audiences, featured characters from the same social classes and the non-standard linguistic forms associated with them, is that the language of the performers bore at least some resemblance to that of the intended audience. As we show in Section 5.4, explicit comparison of 20th-century popular theatre with 20th-century popular speech supports this assumption.

*2.1.2. Normative discourse.* A second window on the past comes from a meta-analysis of the evolution of normative discourse on the expression of the future, culled from a corpus of 41 Portuguese grammars and usage manuals published between 1536 and 2005 (see Appendix B and Malvar (2003) for details of corpus constitution). To maximize coverage, we retained not only traditional prescriptive (e.g., Silveira Bueno 1968) and descriptive (e.g., Azeredo 2000) works, but also usage manuals (e.g., Amaral 1920), second-language grammars (Justice 1701/1970; Thomas 1974), and popular compilations of grammatical questions and answers (e.g., Figueiredo 1941). Any effort at representativeness is of course sharply limited by accessibility, especially through the 17th century. For each of the other periods, at least three works were consulted, where possible chosen from the beginning, middle and end of the century. Most grammars were published in the 20th century, especially post-1950, and this is reflected in increased representation for that period. Though not intended as an exhaustive survey of the Portuguese grammatical tradition, most of the more influential grammars are included here.

The normative and variationist views of language would seem to be diametrically opposed, especially as concerns the identification and acceptance of the kind of form-function asymmetry exemplified in (1)–(4). When properly exploited, however, a corpus like this can provide valuable diachronic information (Poplack, Van Herk and Harvie 2002; Poplack, Jarmasz, Dion and Rosen 2004). We use it to: (1) infer the existence of prior variability (from citations of alternative forms), (2) trace the evolution of grammatical dictates associated with each, and perhaps most revealing, (3) discern hints of the linguistic conditions contributing to their selection. In the case at hand, for example, in addition to the plethora of semantic readings assigned to each of the future temporal reference variants, we learn that grammarians have at one time

or another associated SF with monosyllabic verbs, HP with relative clauses, and P with disambiguating temporal adverbs. We can incorporate these conditions as factors in a multivariate analysis of variable usage over time, and use them not only to test whether older constraints remain operative in contemporary varieties (i.e., whether *change* has taken place), but equally instructive for present purposes, to elucidate the transition from one stage to the next.

## 2.2. *Synchronic data*

As a check on both of these diachronic data sources, 20th-century spontaneous speech data were collected from 34 urban working-class residents of Brasília, the capital of Brasil, using standard sociolinguistic techniques (Malvar 2003). Built as recently as the 1960s and settled by immigrants from various parts of the country, the speech of the capital is often regarded as a microcosm of Brazilian Portuguese (Bortoni-Ricardo 1991). To assess the extent to which the normative tradition is successfully promulgated by its major conduit, the school, informants, aged 10–30 at the time of the interview, were stratified according to level of formal instruction (primary, secondary, university). Detailed comparison of constraint hierarchies enables us to validate the diachronic data as representations of contemporaneous spoken vernaculars. As detailed in Section 5.5, our findings converge in showing that popular plays provide a surprisingly good representation of speech (see also Cyrino 1994; Duarte 1996; Roberts and Kato 1996), while the grammatical tradition, early or contemporary, bears little relation to usage.

## 3. **The trajectory of the future variants throughout the Portuguese grammatical tradition**

We begin with a review of the trajectory of the competing expressions of future temporal reference, as instantiated in five centuries of Portuguese grammatical tradition. Table 1, which summarizes the readings and uses attributed to each variant, suggests that this sector has always been characterized by variability. This is evidenced not only by the number of variants cited (between two and four in most periods), but also, more subtly, by the readings they are assigned, as we explain below. Each date on the horizontal axis represents the grammar(s) published in that year; the vertical axis displays the readings and/or contexts of use they associate with each variant.

From the 16th through the 18th centuries, only two future variants are attested. SF is identified as the basic exponent of futurity; HP is variously thought to express intention and obligation or necessity, as illustrated in (12).



| Variant                                | Century   |     |    |     |   |
|--|-----------|-----|----|-----|---|
|  | XVI-XVIII | XIX | XX | XXI |   |
| 2005                                   |           |     |    |     | x |
| 2004                                   |           |     |    | x   | x |
| 2003                                   |           |     |    |     |   |
| 2000                                   |           | x   |    | x   |   |
| 1996                                   |           |     | x  |     |   |
| 1989                                   |           |     | x  |     | x |
| 1986                                   |           |     |    |     |   |
| 1984                                   |           |     | x  | x   |   |
| 1983                                   |           | x   | x  | x   | x |
| 1974                                   |           |     |    |     |   |
| 1969                                   |           | x   | x  | x   | x |
| 1968                                   |           |     | x  | x   |   |
| 1967                                   |           |     |    |     |   |
| 1965                                   |           | x   |    |     |   |
| 1964                                   |           |     | x  |     |   |
| 1945                                   |           |     |    | x   |   |
| 1944                                   |           | x   |    |     |   |
| 1920                                   |           | x   |    |     |   |
| 1887                                   |           |     | x  |     |   |
| 1852                                   |           |     |    |     |   |
| 1809                                   |           | x   |    |     |   |
| 1783                                   |           |     |    |     |   |
| 1771                                   |           |     |    |     |   |
| 1767                                   |           |     |    |     |   |
| 1701                                   |           |     |    |     |   |
| 1671                                   |           |     |    |     |   |
| 1608                                   | x         |     |    |     |   |
| 1574                                   |           |     |    |     |   |
| 1540                                   | x         |     |    |     |   |
| 1536                                   |           |     |    |     |   |
| <i>Contexts of use</i>                 |           |     |    |     |   |
| Relative clauses (future participle)   |           |     |    |     |   |
| <b>Present</b>                         |           |     |    |     |   |
| <i>Readings</i>                        |           |     |    |     |   |
| Futurity                               |           |     |    |     |   |
| Indeterminacy                          |           |     |    |     |   |
| Certainty, necessity                   |           |     |    |     |   |
| High probability                       |           |     |    |     |   |
| Proximity/ imminence                   |           |     |    |     |   |
| Emphasis, firm intention, promise      |           |     |    |     |   |
| Unfeasibility, impossibility           |           |     |    |     |   |
| <i>Contexts of use</i>                 |           |     |    |     |   |
| Politeness                             |           |     |    |     |   |
| With (disambiguating) temporal adverbs |           |     |    |     |   |
| <b>ir-periphrasis</b>                  |           |     |    |     |   |
| <i>Readings</i>                        |           |     |    |     |   |
| Futurity                               |           |     |    |     |   |
| Certainty, necessity                   |           |     |    |     |   |
| Intention, determination, volition     |           |     |    |     |   |
| Proximity/ imminence                   |           |     |    |     |   |
| Movement towards a goal                |           |     |    |     |   |
| <i>Contexts of use</i>                 |           |     |    |     |   |
| With temporal adverbs                  |           |     |    |     |   |

- (12) *Hei d'amar (h). (h) i.e. actualmente hei ou tenho obrigação d'amar em certo tempo futuro (...). Quem attender a que a nossa língua está cheia d'abreviações, ou supressoens pella figura Sillepsi, não duvidará subintender a dicta palavra obrigação.*  
 'Hei d'amar (h). (h) i.e., at present, I have an obligation to love at some future time (...). Those who know that our language is full of abbreviations, or omissions, will undoubtedly infer the word "obligation" from the periphrasis.' (Melo Bacelar 1783/1996: 56)

The 19th century sees the introduction of a third variant, P, into the future temporal reference paradigm (Vieyra 1809; Silva Junior 1887), which by 1887 came to be associated with proximity, as in (13).

- (13) *"Emprega-se o pres. pelo futuro quando a acção tem de effectuar-se em época proxima, que quasi entesta com o presente (vou logo)"*  
 'The present is used for the future when the action has to take place soon, almost in the present (I'm going soon).' (Silva Junior 1887: 633–634)

This is the first harbinger of the contemporary proliferation of semantic and structural associations involving all four competing forms. For example, though SF continues to be associated with futurity, secondary readings are now also assigned, e.g., *indeterminacy*, as in (14), and *imperative*, as in (15).

- (14) *Futuro Absoluto (1). Sing. Eu louvarei, Tu louvarás (...)* (1) *É indeterminado, mas exprime de uma maneira positiva.*  
 'Absolute Future (1). Sing. I will praise, You will praise (...). (1) It is indeterminate, but expresses [the future] in a positive way.' (Soares Barboza 1852: 62)
- (15) *"às vezes póde ser empregado pelo imperativo (tomarás uma espingarda e irás ver quem é)"*  
 'Sometimes it can be used for the imperative ([you] will take a sword and [you] will go see who it is).' (Silva Junior 1887: 636)

HP was likewise associated with meanings of *possibility*, *necessity* and *intention* to perform a future action (Vieyra 1809; Soares Barboza 1852), as in (16).

- (16) *... principiada na tenção, e futura na execução, como Haver de louvar.*  
 '... [actions] initiated in intention, but executed in the future, like Haver de louvar 'will praise'.' (Soares Barboza 1852: 67)

At this stage, the *ir*-periphrasis, soon to sweep the future temporal reference sector, had only been cited by one grammarian (Justice 1701/1970: Dddd), and then only in future-in-the-past contexts.<sup>5</sup>

It is not until 1969 that all four variants are invoked in connection with future temporal reference, although the role of primary future tense marker remains restricted to SF. However, many grammarians now also associate SF with secondary readings of *uncertainty*, *doubt*, *probability* and *possibility*.<sup>6</sup> Others<sup>7</sup> take it to imply *certainty* of the realization of a future event or action. *Politeness* (Arruda 2000: 136; Bechara 1968: 338; Said Ali 1964: 319, 1969: 165), *intention*, *determination* to perform an action and *promise* (Mateus et al. 1983: 173; Thomas 1969: 123; Van Achter et al. 1996: 155) figure among new readings attributed to SF in the 20th century. Other contexts for SF include the *imperative*,<sup>8</sup> *contingency* (Mateus et al. 1983: 122; Cunha and Cintra 1984/1999: 448) and *monosyllabic* verb stems (Thomas 1969: 123, 1974: 117).

This plethora of meanings attributed to SF, especially post-1960, is particularly curious in view of the fact that by this time SF had for all intents and purposes already *disappeared* from the spoken language. Even the few grammarians who mention its rarity in actual usage<sup>9</sup>, as in (17), are silent in this regard until well into the second half of the 20th century.

- (17) *Na língua falada o futuro simples é de emprego relativamente raro ...*  
 ‘In the spoken language, the simple future is *relatively rare*.’ (Cunha and Cintra 1984/1999: 459) (emphasis added)

HP, on the other hand, which like SF has disappeared from speech, continues to be associated with all its original readings: *intention* (Arruda 2000: 136; Cegalla 2005: 587; Corrêa 1964: 31; Cunha and Cintra, 1984/1999: 459); *doubt*, *probability*, *possibility*, *conjecture* or *supposition* (Barreto 1944: 148; Thomas

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5. One wonders to what extent Justice’s grammar, targeting English learners of Portuguese, was influenced by association with the English periphrastic future, also thought to have entered the future temporal reference sector via future-in-the-past contexts.

6. Amaral 1920: 55; Arruda 2000: 135–136; Azeredo 2000: 167; Bechara 1968: 338; Cegalla 2005: 587; Cipro Neto and Infante 2004: 184; Cunha and Cintra 1984/1999: 457–458; Kury 1989: 135; Rossi 1945: 203; Said Ali 1964: 319, 1969: 164; Thomas 1969: 123; Van Achter et al. 1996: 155.

7. Azeredo 2000: 130; Cipro Neto and Infante 2004: 184; Cunha and Cintra 1984/1999: 457; Kury 1989: 134.

8. Arruda 2000: 136; Bechara 1968: 339; Cegalla 2005: 587; Cipro Neto and Infante 2004: 184; Cunha and Cintra 1984/1999: 458 and 477; Kury 1989: 135; Rossi 1945: 203; Said Ali 1964: 317, 1969: 164; Silveira Bueno 1968: 345; Van Achter et al. 1996: 151.

9. Arruda 2000: 136; Cipro Neto and Infante 2004: 184; Cunha and Cintra 1984/1999: 459; Kury 1989: 136; Thomas 1969: 123, 1974: 117; Van Achter et al. 1996: 155.

1969: 124); *volition* (Kury 1986: 43), as well as implications of *promise, determination, certainty*,<sup>10</sup> *necessity* (Said Ali 1964: 162, 1969: 73; Cegalla 2005: 608), and *obligation*.<sup>11</sup> This is illustrated in (18).

- (18) *Nenhuma novidade existe no uso dêste tempo que continua a ser o mesmo, hoje, qual fôra no tempo antigo. (...) Em forma composta haverá o significado de absoluta obrigação,*  
 ‘There is nothing new in the use of this tense, which is the same today as it was in olden days. (...) In compound form it will have the meaning of *total obligation*.’ (Silveira Bueno 1967: 156) (emphasis added)

The use of P in future temporal reference contexts is also now associated with *certainty*<sup>12</sup>. Other readings include *firm intention, emphasis, promise*,<sup>13</sup> *necessary occurrence, high probability, impossibility, imminence* (Mateus et al. 1983: 120–121), *politeness* (Said Ali 1969: 162) and *proximity*.<sup>14</sup> Some of these are exemplified in (19) and (20) below:

- (19) *Emprega-se o presente: (...) (b) pelo futuro do indicativo para indicar com ênfase uma decisão: Amanhã eu vou à cidade.*  
 ‘The present is used: (...) (b) for the indicative future to indicate an *emphatic decision*: Tomorrow I go to the city.’ (Bechara 1968: 336)
- (20) *Muitas vezes emprega-se o tempo presente para designar o ato inexistente, mas de realização próxima.*  
 ‘Often the present tense is used to designate a non-existent action, which will be accomplished soon.’ (Said Ali 1969: 161)

The prescriptive requirement that the reference of the state or event expressed by P be temporally disambiguated by an adverb,<sup>15</sup> exemplified in (21), further serves to distinguish P from the other variants.

10. Cegalla 2005: 587; Corrêa 1964: 31; Kury 1989: 136; Mateus et al. 1983: 153; Rossi 1945: 202; Said Ali 1964: 319; Sardinha and Ramos 2000: 142; Thomas 1969: 124; Williams 1944: 70.

11. Barreto 1944/1980: 513; Bechara 1968: 136; Mateus et al., 1983: 153 and 285; Rossi 1945: 203; Said Ali 1969: 73; Silveira Bueno 1967: 156; Thomas 1969: 124, 1974: 117.

12. Cipro Neto and Infante 2004: 182; Cunha and Cintra 1984/1999: 449; Kury 1989: 130; Lapa 1968: 157; Said Ali 1964: 311; Thomas 1969: 116; Van Achter et al. 1996: 167.

13. Bechara 1968: 336; Kury 1989: 136; Mateus et al., 1983: 173; Said Ali 1964: 162; Thomas 1969: 116.

14. Arruda 2000: 126; Cegalla 2005: 585; Cipro Neto and Infante 2004: 182; Cunha and Cintra 1984/1999: 448; Said Ali 1969: 161; Silveira Bueno 1968: 343.

15. For example, Cunha and Cintra 1984/1999: 448; Mateus et al. 1983: 120; Thomas 1969: 116, 1974: 49; Van Achter et al. 1996: 155.

- (21) Instead of the future tense, to express future action. The simple present may be used whenever the time of action is made clear by an adverb of time, by any other expression of time, or by the context. (Thomas 1969: 116)

Though IR is by far the dominant variant in 20th-century speech, it was not attested until mid-century. As with *go*-futures in other languages (Fleischman 1982; Bybee and Pagliuca, 1987; Bybee et al. 1994) some grammarians (Bechara 1968: 136; Thomas 1969: 125, 1974: 29; Said Ali 1964: 174) assign the meaning of *movement towards a goal* to this form, as in (22). Others ascribe readings of *intention, desire, firm resolution, certainty* and *necessity*.<sup>16</sup> Yet other nuances commonly associated with *go*-futures are *proximity*,<sup>17</sup> as in (23), and *imminence* (Mateus et al. 1983: 120). Remarkably few 20th-century grammars acknowledge that IR may simply be used to express futurity.<sup>18</sup>

- (22) A combinação de *ir* + infinitive pode designar locomoção ou também simples intento de pôr alguma coisa em efeito, ou ainda, um fato que não tardará a realizar-se: *Vou tomar o trem.*  
 ‘The combination of *ir* + infinitive may designate motion or simple intention to accomplish something, or even a fact that will be realized before long: *I’m going to take the train.*’ (Said Ali 1964: 174)
- (23) Auxiliares (...) indicando, entre outros, os seguintes “aspectos”: (...) e) momento futuro próximo: *ir* + infinitivo: ‘VOU viajar para a Catalunha.’  
 ‘Auxiliaries (...) indicating the following aspects, among others: (...) e) proximate future moment: *go* + infinitive: ‘[I]’ m going to travel to Catalonia.’ (Kury 1986: 42)

Our meta-analysis of the treatment of the variants throughout the Portuguese normative tradition confirms that alternate expressions of the future have been attested in grammars since the earliest times. But beyond acknowledging the variant *forms*, grammarians never explicitly identify them as alternate expressions of the same referential meaning. On the contrary, by ascribing to each

16. Cunha and Cintra 1984/1999: 395; Kury 1989: 136; Mateus et al. 1983: 120 and 173; Said Ali 1964: 174; Thomas 1969: 125; Van Achter et al. 1996: 155.

17. Arruda 2000: 136; Cunha and Cintra 1984/1999: 459; Kury 1986: 42; Said Ali 1964: 174; Thomas 1969: 125.

18. But see Cegalla 2005: 587; Cipro Neto and Infante 2004: 184; Mateus et al. 1983: 284; Neves 2000: 65; Rossi 1945: 99.

a specific nuance or context of occurrence, they effectively rule out the possibility of variability. Thus SF has always been viewed as the basic exponent of futurity, while the other variants are prescribed to convey secondary readings, which only parenthetically occur in future time.

The temporal category of future is traditionally associated with a variety of irrealis or nonfactive modalities (Fleischman 1982: 14, Poplack and Turpin 1999), so it is not coincidental that many of the readings invoked refer to the speaker's psychological state at the time of the utterance. This of course cannot be tested, let alone confirmed. This indeterminacy permits grammarians to explain the alternation of variants in the same context as resulting from differences in the way the future eventuality is *envisaged*, thereby imposing form/function symmetry on the apparent chaos of inherent variability. It also explains the persistent lack of agreement over which forms convey which readings. Table 1 confirms that each of SF, HP and P has been assigned the reading of probability. HP, P and IR have all been assigned readings of proximity/imminence and necessity. All four of the variants have been associated with certainty and intention. Why is there so little agreement on what these readings are, and which forms convey them, whether from one period to the next or even within the same period (or occasionally, grammarian!)? All of these facts, taken together, suggest the existence of prior variability, whether acknowledged or not. As we will show in ensuing sections, actual use of the future variants, then or now, bears little resemblance to grammatical ideology.

#### **4. A variationist perspective on the alternation among SF, HP, P and IR**

Even if the different readings played a role in variant selection, the distinctions they imply need not be operative every time one of the variant forms is used. Indeed, the hypothesis underlying the study of morphosyntactic variability within the variationist framework is that "for certain identifiable sets of alternations, these distinctions come into play neither in the intentions of the speaker nor in the interpretation of the interlocutor" (Sankoff 1988: 153). This is because distinctions in referential value or grammatical function among different surface forms can be *neutralized* in discourse. Such neutralization is the fundamental mechanism of variation and change.

In this paper we test competing hypotheses about variant selection by means of systematic analysis of the distribution and conditioning of SF, HP, P and IR in Portuguese, diachronic and synchronic, written and spoken. We will demonstrate that within the specific domain of future temporal reference, they function as classical variants of a linguistic variable, although at no period in history did all four of them actually coexist. Rather, the variants gradually entered and exited the sector, assuming the functions of their erstwhile counterparts

in the process, or abandoning them altogether. As in other well-documented situations of variability, at no time during the development of the Portuguese future temporal reference system was variant selection free or idiosyncratic; on the contrary, each was regularly conditioned by elements of its preferred context(s) of occurrence. Nearly all of these have now been colonized by IR, which represents the new, though largely unacknowledged, default future.

#### 4.1. Circumscribing the variable context

The systematic study of inherent variability requires that not only the variant forms, but also the contexts in which differences among them are neutralized, be identified. Our analysis takes as its point of departure, not the forms themselves, but rather the future temporal reference sector per se. By examining the distribution and use of forms across the different configurations of contexts constituting this sector, we can ascertain not only which of the variants are used preferentially in each, but also the nature of the factors promoting or inhibiting their selection. This requires that the locus of variation be carefully defined. We thus begin by circumscribing the *variable context* (i.e., the context(s) in which all variants may co-occur): any and all unambiguous reference to a state or event occurring posterior to speech time.

#### 4.2. Exclusions

This entails excluding from the quantitative portion of the analysis *false futures* (which may feature future morphology, but do not refer to future time), as well as true future contexts which admit no variation.

False futures include imperatives (e.g., directives), as in (24); hypothetical questions (25); and use of *ir* + infinitive to indicate movement in space (26), to denote habitual actions or general truths (27), in the 1st p. pl. present (*vamos*), corresponding to English ‘*let’s*’, as in (28), and in protases of hypothetical *se* complexes (where future subjunctive is prescribed), as in (29). Such uses were not considered here.

- (24) *Sim, Esopo, tu hás de ensinar a esta rapariga a ler, e a escrever; aí t’a entrego.*  
 ‘Yes, Esopo, *teach* this girl to read and write; then I’ll give her to you.’  
 (Silva 1734/1957. Xanto: 37)
- (25) *Tá muito quieto mesmo. Será que ele está bom?*  
 ‘It’s really too quiet. *Will* he *be* [do you think he’s] okay?’ (Guarnieri 1961. João: 37)

- (26) [Aonde vais?]  
 Vou mudar *de camisa, que entendo, que estou mijado com alguma coisa mais.*  
 ‘[Where are you going?] I’m *going to change* my shirt, because I think I’m soaked with something else. (Silva 1734/1957. Esopo: 122)
- (27) *Você lê, todo mundo lê o livro, aí depois vamos debater, aí debate o livro. Isso é uma aula boa porque tá debatendo.*  
 ‘You read, everybody reads the book; then we *debate*, we debate the book. It’s a good class because we’re debating.’ (Salvador/A: 25/1992)
- (28) *Vamos ler um pouquinho pra gente relaxar, né. Porque dois horários de Português é da pesada.*  
 ‘Let’s read a little just to relax, OK? Because two periods of Portuguese is too much.’ (Vânia/A: 21/1992)
- (29) *Não sou nenhum canalha. Se minha presença aqui vai lhe causar algum problema, faz de conta que a gente não se conhece.*  
 ‘I’m no scoundrel! *If* my presence here *is going to cause* you any problem, just pretend we don’t know each other.’ (Gomes 1963/1990. Roque: 425)

Non-productive uses of future morphology, e.g., in frozen expressions like *vai ver* ‘you’ll see’ and *vou te contar* ‘let me tell you’ in (30) and (31); proverbs (32) and quotations from or allusions to the Bible (33), were also not considered in the quantitative analysis.

- (30) *Beleza, você vai ver (IR) se não tomar cuidado.*  
 ‘Girl, if you’re not careful, you’ll *see*.’ (Guarnieri 1961. João: 33)
- (31) *Você deve tá com solitária, compadre. Você come que eu vou te contar (IR)!*  
 ‘You must have a tapeworm, buddy. *Let me tell* you how much you eat!’ (Guarnieri 1961. Operário 1: 67)
- (32) *Diz o exemplo da velha: /“o que não haveis de comer (HP)/ deixai-o a outrem mexer”.*  
 ‘The old wives’ saying goes: /what you *will not eat*/ leave to others.’ (Vicente 1523/1998. Inês: 199)
- (33) *Porque de pedra será (SF) minha igreja e você será (SF) seu fundamento.*  
 ‘Because my church *will be* of stone and you *will be* its foundation.’ (Labaki 1999/2000. Ricardo: 13)

We retained for this study a total of 2365 tokens of verbs making unambiguous reference to future time via one of the four morphological forms exemplified in (1–4).

#### 4.3. Operationalizing motivations for variant choice

Our summary of the evolution of the prescriptive treatment of the variants revealed that the lion's share of variant choice is ascribed to subtle semantic or pragmatic distinctions in the message the speaker wishes to convey. As already observed by Poplack and Turpin (1999) with regard to an analogous situation in French, however, such distinctions are difficult, if not impossible, to operationalize: psychological notions like *intention*, *certainty*, *probability* and *doubt* cannot be identified in the absence of some overt contextual clue. Distinctions that *can* be operationalized are those based not on the meaning said to be embodied by a variant (which would be circular), but on supporting contextual indicators of that meaning, where present. Thus for example, notions like agentivity, subjectivity and volition, often associated with selection of future variant, can be captured by factors like grammatical person and animacy.

Accordingly, the linguistic hypotheses we investigate instantiate a number of lexico-semantic and morphosyntactic properties of the contexts in which the variants appear. Some relate to the verb (lexical identity, stativity, number of syllables); others to the subject (grammatical person and number, animacy). At the syntactic level, we investigate type of sentence (declarative, interrogative, negative), type of clause (main, subordinate, relative). At a broader semantic/discourse level, we examine the temporal distance between speech time and the event predicated (distal, proximal), contingency of the future eventuality (contingent, assumed), polarity (negative vs. affirmative), and presence and type of disambiguating adverbial specification (specific vs. non-specific). Each of these has been claimed, historically, synchronically or both, to affect variant choice, as explained below.

*4.3.1. Factors relating to the subject.* Each of HP, IR and P has been associated with readings of certainty, conviction, intention and volition.<sup>19</sup> Certainty has also been cited as a reading of SF.<sup>20</sup> Assuming that these are related to agentivity, one way of operationalizing these notions is by distinguishing subjects according to *animacy*. Human subjects exercise the highest degree of agentivity, and could thus be expected to favor the variants associated with these attitudes.

Likewise, to the extent that variant choice is related to speaker intent, grammatical person/number of the subject should also play a role, with 1st p. subjects favoring the relevant variants (as found by Baleeiro (1988) and Santos

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19. Arruda 2000; Bechara 1968; Cipro Neto and Infante 2004; Corrêa 1964; Cunha and Cintra 1984/1999; Kury 1989; Lapa 1968; Mateus et al. 1983; Said Ali 1964; Sardinha and Ramos 2000; Soares Barboza 1852; Thomas 1969; Van Achter et al. 1996.

20. Azeredo 2000: 130; Cipro Neto and Infante 2004; Cunha and Cintra 1984/1999; Kury 1989.

(1997) for formal Brazilian Portuguese). We tested these hypotheses by distinguishing, for each subject of a verb referring to future time, humanness, animacy, number (singular, plural) and grammatical person (first, second, third). Because there is so much overlap amongst these factors (virtually all 1st and 2nd persons are human; inanimates occur only in 3rd p.), we collapsed them into 1st p. animate (34), 2nd p. animate (35), 3rd p. animate (36), and 3rd p. inanimate (37).

- (34) *Quando eu for em Petrópolis, eu vou gostar (IR).*  
‘When I go to Petrópolis, I’m going to like it.’ (Cláudio/A: 02/1992)
- (35) *Mas já que sua filha casou mesmo, você não vai dar (IR) um presentinho?*  
‘But since your daughter did get married, aren’t you going to give her a little gift?’ (Buarque 1978. Geni: 39)
- (36) *O presidente lançou um comunicado lá dizendo que [ele] não vai reclassificar (IR) ninguém.*  
‘The president sent a memo saying that [he] is not going to promote anybody.’ (Alessandra/A: 04/1992)
- (37) *Se eu fizer isso, a notícia vai se espalhar (IR) e em menos de uma semana vai ter uma multidão querendo entrar aqui.*  
‘If I do that, the news is going to spread, and in less than a week, there’s going to be a mob trying to get in here.’ (Labaki 1999/2000. Ricardo: 58)

4.3.2. *Factors relating to the verb.* Because even forms that are not otherwise productive may persist in specific types of lexical hosts,<sup>21</sup> we pursued this possibility in three ways. We first noted the *lexical identity* of each verb separately to determine whether there were associations between specific verbs and variants. Perhaps the best known lexical effect in the future temporal reference sector involves avoidance of the *go*-future with verbs of motion until the former has been bleached of its original semantic content of movement toward a goal, and grammaticized as a future marker. If, as some grammarians (e.g., Bechara 1968; Said Ali 1969; Thomas 1969) claim, the Portuguese IR-periphrasis retains its original meaning of movement, it should be less likely to occur with other verbs of motion (see Poplack and Tagliamonte, 2001 for such a finding in Early African American English). We therefore distinguished *verbs of motion*, as in (38), from other verbs, as in (39):

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21. Two well-documented examples are the retention of French subjunctive morphology (Poplack 1992) and English irregular past-tense morphology (Bybee et al. 1994; Poplack and Tagliamonte 2001) with a small set of verbs.

- (38) Vão **vir** (*IR*) agora em abril pra nos visitar, devem passar um mês, um mês e meio, entendeu?  
 '[They] are going to **come** in April to see us, [they] are supposed to stay a month, a month and a half, see?' (Rodrigo/B: 185/2003)
- (39) Só que tem muita gente que vai **reprovar** (*IR*), por causa de bagunça e de nota.  
 'But there are a lot of people that are going to **fail**, because of behavior and grades.' (Priscila/A: 14/1992)

Finally, to test the claim (Thomas 1969, 1974) that SF is mainly restricted to monosyllabic verbs, we coded each verb referring to the future according to the *number of syllables* in its stem, distinguishing monosyllabic verbs, as in (40), from those with two (41), or three or more syllables, as in (42):

- (40) Tá bom, num vou **ler** (*IR*), não.  
 'OK, I'm not going to read it.' (Erica/B: 13/1992)
- (41) Senhor, eu o **ser+vir+ei** (*SF*) e não quero outro senhor.  
 'Sir, I will serve you and I do not wish another master.' (Vicente 1526/1975. Ourives: 183)
- (42) Não me **le+van+tar+ei** (*SF*) enquanto mo não deres.  
 'I won't get up until you give it to me.' (Pena 1853/1972. Ambrósio: 98)

4.3.3. *Syntactic factors.* *Sentence type* has also been considered relevant to the selection of the future forms: SF is said to express uncertainty, doubt, and politeness in questions (e.g., Amaral 1920; Said Ali 1964). Soares Barboza (1852) ascribed an affirmative reading to SF. Poplack and Turpin (1999) found that the single strongest predictor of SF in Canadian French was negative polarity. Accordingly, we distinguished each token according to whether it occurred in an affirmative declarative sentence, as in (43), an interrogative, as in (44), or a negative sentence (45).

- (43) Marido, sairei (*SF*) eu agora / que há muito que não saí.  
 'Husband, I will go out now / because I haven't been out for a long time.' (Vicente 1523/1998. Inês: 226)
- (44) E eu como é que fico? Vou virar (*IR*) Teresinha Pinto? Deus me livre!  
 'And what about me? I'm gonna turn into Teresinha Pinto? God forbid!' (Buarque 1978. Teresinha: 58)
- (45) Daqui a dois dias não sabe (*P*) mais falar Português.  
 'In another two days he doesn't [won't] know how to speak Portuguese anymore.' (Pena 1842/2000. Clemência: 47)

Though *type of clause* in which the future forms appear is not typically considered relevant by grammarians to variant selection, HP was originally said to be used to translate the Latin active future participle (e.g., Barros 1540/1971: 93–94; Leão 1608/1983: 298), corresponding to a relative clause in Portuguese. Tokens were distinguished according to whether they occurred in a main (46), subordinate (47) or relative (48) clause.

- (46) *Eu salvarei (SF), mas debaixo de certas condições.*  
‘I will save [you], but only on certain conditions.’ (Pena 1853/1972. Carlos: 96)
- (47) *Então diga ao teu marido que nós não vamos precisar (IR) do dinheiro dele, não.*  
‘Then tell your husband that we’re not going to need his money.’ (Buarque 1978. Teresinha: 74)
- (48) *Tolerância demais das autoridades que vão permitir (IR) essa imoralidade.*  
‘Too much lenience from the authorities who are going to allow this immorality.’ (Gomes 1963/1990. Padre: 446)

*Infixation of clitic pronouns* with SF is a distinctive feature of Portuguese (cf. Cunha and Cintra 1984/1999; Figueiredo 1941; Huber 1933; Machado Filho 1938; Melo 1957; Williams 1944, 1968). Prescriptive grammar dictates that clitic pronouns be inserted between verb stem and SF inflection in some contexts (e.g., *dar-lhe-ei*, literally ‘give – **it to you** – I will’). But as this construction is viewed as pompous and artificial (e.g., Nunes 1910), SF might in fact be avoided here. Accordingly, we distinguished among tokens occurring with direct object clitics, as in (49); indirect object clitics, as in (50); neither, as in (51); both, as in (52), and reflexive or passive pronouns, as in (53):

- (49) *Mais quero eu quem me adore/que quem faça com que chore. / Chamá-lo-ei (SF), Inês.*  
‘I prefer someone who adores me/ to someone who makes me cry. / I will call **him**, Inês.’ (Vicente 1523/1998. Leonor: 189)
- (50) *Ela **lhe** dará (SF) o recado.*  
‘She will give **you** the message.’ (Silva 1737/1980. Periandro: 34)
- (51) *Eu que falo com ela, e muito, sei que ela não há de aceitar (HP) proposta de casamento sem estar muito bem coberta.*  
‘Since I talk to her a lot, I know she won’t accept a marriage proposal without guarantees.’ (Buarque 1978. Vitória: 32)
- (52) *Não **vo-lo** hei de negar (HP): *fazei-me uma petição.*  
‘I won’t deny **it to you**: make your request.’ (Vicente 1526/1975. Fidalgo: 176)*

- (53) *Ora, faça-me um favor! Então esse pessoal que já enfrentou metralhadora vai se assustar (IR) por causa de cinco tiras!*  
 ‘Oh, please! Guys who’ve stood up to machine-guns are going to be scared of five cops?!’ (Guarnieri 1961. Agileu: 28)

4.3.4. *Semantic/discourse factors.* One of the most persistent readings of both *go*-periphrases and the futurate present is that of proximity in the future (e.g., Arruda 2000; Cegalla 2005; Cipro Neto and Infante 2004; Cunha and Cintra 1984/1999; Kury 1986; Said Ali 1969; Silva Junior 1887; Silveira Bueno 1968; and Thomas 1969 for Portuguese; Bentivoglio and Sedano 1992 for Spanish; Poplack and Turpin 1999 for French; Poplack and Tagliamonte 2001 for English). To test these claims, we distinguish *proximal* events and states (here defined as those predicated to occur within the same day of the utterance), as in (54), from *distal* events and states (occurring thereafter), as in (55):

- (54) *Aí agora, eu num sei hoje, né, não, porque hoje eu num vou (P) pra escola. Vou fazer (IR) o exame no ouvido.*  
 ‘Well, **today** I don’t know, no, because **today** I’m not going to school. [I’m] going to have an ear exam.’ (Ana/A: 13/1991)
- (55) *Ano que vem eu vou tirar (IR) a Cleide dessa escola e colocar na escola pública, do governo.*  
 ‘**Next year**, I’m going to take Cleide out of this school and put her in a public school, a government school.’ (Vânia/B: 30/1992)

Future variants are often associated with different degrees of specificity. Soares Barboza (1852) ascribes to SF a reading of indeterminacy. Thomas (1969, 1974), Cunha and Cintra (1984/1999), Mateus et al. (1983) and Van Achter et al. (1996) claim that P conveys specific future time when accompanied by a temporal adverb. If this is the case, specific adverbs could be expected to favour selection of P, and non-specific (or no) adverbs should favour SF. To test this hypothesis, we coded for type of *adverbial specification*, distinguishing among specific, non-specific and no modification, as in (56)–(58) respectively.

- (56) *Tá certo. Hoje eu faço vista grossa, mas amanhã eu te caço (P), viu?*  
 ‘OK, today I’m letting it go, but **tomorrow** I catch you, see?’ (Buarque 1978. Max: 57)
- (57) *Periandro, logo falaremos (SF), não te ausentes.*  
 ‘Periandro, [we] will talk **soon**. Don’t leave.’ (Silva 1737/1980. Filena: 39)

- (58) *Não tou pagando nada, então não vou estudar (IR) não. Num precisa.*  
 ‘I’m not paying anything, so no way I’m going to study. I don’t have to.’ (Salvador/A: 24/1992)

It has often been noted that SF expresses notions of doubt, probability and possibility (e.g., Amaral 1920; Arruda 2000; Azeredo 2000; Bechara 1968; Cegalla 2005; Cipro Neto and Infante 2004; Cunha and Cintra 1984/1999; Kury 1989; Rossi 1945; Said Ali 1969; Van Achter et al. 1996), readings which have also been assigned to HP (Barreto 1944; Thomas 1969). In addition, Thomas (1969) claims that P conveys the sense of promise in future contexts (e.g., *se você me ajudar, eu lhe pago bem* ‘If you help me, I’ll pay you well’). We may capture these observations by distinguishing events assumed to have a high likelihood of occurring from those whose occurrence is contingent on other events. Following Fleischman (1982) and Poplack and Turpin (1999), we coded as *contingent* events whose realization is dependent upon the fulfillment of a condition, as in (59), in contrast to those whose realization is *assumed*, as in (60):

- (59) *Se eu fugir, eles me alcançam (P) em dois tempos.*  
 ‘If I run away, they’ll get me in a minute’. (Labaki 1999/2000. Ricardo: 65)
- (60) *Ninguém vai saber (IR). Você sabe. A imprensa só publica o que deixam publicar.*  
 ‘Nobody is going to know. You know. The press only publishes what they let them publish.’ (Labaki 1999/2000. Verônica: 59).

4.3.5. *Extralinguistic factors.* In addition, where possible (i.e., in the 20th century), we examine the contribution of the extralinguistic factors of *medium* (spoken vs. written), and speaker exposure to *formal instruction* (primary, high school, university). According to Santos (1997), SF is the preferred variant in formal written Brazilian Portuguese. If the (written) plays retained for this study are representative of the spoken language, their use of the variants should reflect that of speech. We test this hypothesis statistically by comparing rates and conditioning of variant selection in theatre and speech of the 20th century, the only century for which spoken data is available.

To the extent that the Brazilian school system is successfully promulgating the prescriptive standard (here, SF), level of education should also contribute a significant effect to variant choice. The expectation is that use of SF will be positively correlated with university-level instruction.

Each of the 2365 tokens retained for analysis was coded for each of these factors. In this way we test claims about the uses of the exponents of future

temporal reference against the way they are actually employed unreflectingly by speakers.

#### 4.4. *Coding and analysis*

The coding system described above represents a series of hypotheses, relating mainly to the meaning and/or function of specific variants, about the choice mechanism. To determine which of these factors contribute a statistically significant effect to variant choice when all are considered simultaneously, we analyzed the materials using Goldvarb 2.0 (Rand and Sankoff 1990), a variable-rule application for the Macintosh. Variable rule analysis helps determine how the choice process is influenced by the factors constituting the environment in which the variant form occurs. We adduce two lines of evidence deriving from variable rule analysis in interpreting the results: *statistical significance* (at the .05 level) of the effect, and *constraint hierarchy*, or direction of effect, as inferred from the ordering of factor weights within a factor group. We interpret the detailed picture afforded by variable rule analysis as a snapshot of the way the variants divide up the labor of expressing the future at a particular stage in the course of the development of this grammatical sector. Comparison of these snapshots reveals the movements of the variants both over time and across the contexts constituting the future temporal reference domain. In ensuing sections, we review the results of these analyses.

## 5. Results

Table 2 displays the distribution of the future temporal reference variants by century.

In contrast to what could be inferred from grammarians' characterizations (Table 1), Table 2 shows that at any given period, basically only two variants, one analytic and one synthetic, are actually used. During the 16th and 18th centuries, these are SF and HP, which represent over 90% of the data in each period. They continue to predominate throughout the 19th century, though by this point IR has infiltrated the system, and together with P, now accounts for nearly a third of the temporal reference contexts. The 20th century sees an abrupt reversal: IR has virtually replaced the older variants, with P continuing to play the same (minor) role as in the previous century, returning full circle to a two-variant system. Comparison of 20th-century popular plays with speech confirms that this dramatic change cannot be attributed solely to differences in medium. Although the older variants still persist in the plays, albeit at very low rates, variant proportions follow those of speech remarkably closely. This is a

Table 2. *Distribution of future temporal reference variants by century<sup>a</sup>*

| Century    | Synthetic future |    | <i>Haver-</i> periphrasis |    | Present |    | <i>Ir-</i> periphrasis |    | Total |
|------------|------------------|----|---------------------------|----|---------|----|------------------------|----|-------|
|            | N                | %  | N                         | %  | N       | %  | N                      | %  |       |
| 16th       | 198              | 66 | 91                        | 30 | 10      | 3  | 3                      | 1  | 302   |
| 18th       | 169              | 57 | 103                       | 35 | 19      | 6  | 5                      | 2  | 296   |
| 19th       | 276              | 53 | 104                       | 20 | 66      | 13 | 72                     | 14 | 518   |
| 20th Plays | 46               | 9  | 5                         | 1  | 93      | 18 | 384                    | 73 | 528   |
| Speech     | 4                | 1  | –                         | –  | 104     | 14 | 613                    | 85 | 721   |
| Total      | 693              | 30 | 303                       | 13 | 292     | 12 | 1077                   | 45 | 2365  |

- a 17th-century plays are not included here because (1) during the Spanish rule of Portugal (1580–1640) most Portuguese literature was written in Spanish or Latin (Rebello 1989), (2) few comedies corresponding to our criteria were produced in Portugal (*ibid.*) and (3) there is no record of play production or performance in Brazil during this period (Prado 1999).

first suggestion that the dialogues in our popular theatre corpus do in fact represent contemporaneous speech, despite the lag in rates of incoming variants.

How was this change implemented? To answer this question we examine the state of the future temporal reference sector period by period, performing independent multivariate analyses of the factors contributing to variant selection in each. Comparison across periods yields a graphic view of the role of each variant over the course of the change. We make use of this information to determine the trajectory by which the incoming variants infiltrated the system, eventually to oust their older counterparts. In each of Tables 3–7, the higher the figure, the greater the probability the variant in question will be selected in the environment under consideration.

### 5.1. *Period I: 16th and 18th centuries*

Table 3 shows the results of three independent variable rule analyses of the contribution of linguistic factors selected as significant to variant choice in the 16th and 18th centuries. We note first that of the 10 linguistic factors investigated, only two or three were found to be significant to the choice of each variant.

Comparison of factor weights across analyses confirms that in Period I, the task of expressing future temporal reference is largely divided between SF and HP. With a *corrected mean* (or overall tendency of occurrence) of .63, at this stage SF does in fact appear to be the default variant it has been characterized as for so long. Consistent with this role, it is preferred in frequent, neutral or

Table 3. Variable rule analyses of the contribution of factors selected as significant to variant choice: 16th/18th centuries. For the statistical analyses in this and ensuing tables, the 16th and 18th centuries are treated together. The factor Negative includes declarative and interrogative sentences. Reflexives and passives were treated together due to sparse data.

|  | SF  | HP  | P   | IR |
|--|-----|-----|-----|----|
| Total N:                                   | 367 | 194 | 29  | 8  |
| Corrected mean:                            | .63 | .32 | .05 | –  |
| <b>Sentence Type</b>                       |     |     |     |    |
| Declarative                                | .55 | .44 | [ ] | –  |
| Negative                                   | .37 | .62 | [ ] | –  |
| Interrogative                              | .31 | .70 | [ ] | –  |
| <b>Contingency</b>                         |     |     |     |    |
| Contingent                                 | .68 | .30 | [ ] | –  |
| Assumed                                    | .48 | .52 | [ ] | –  |
| <b>Verb Type</b>                           |     |     |     |    |
| Non-motion                                 | .54 | [ ] | .37 | –  |
| Motion                                     | .35 | [ ] | .88 | –  |
| <b>Temporal Distance</b>                   |     |     |     |    |
| Distal                                     | [ ] | [ ] | .36 | –  |
| Proximal                                   | [ ] | [ ] | .71 | –  |
| <b>Grammatical Person/Animacy</b>          |     |     |     |    |
| 1st Animate                                | [ ] | [ ] | .70 | –  |
| 2nd Animate                                | [ ] | [ ] | .21 | –  |
| 3rd Animate                                | [ ] | [ ] | .39 | –  |
| 3rd Inanimate                              | [ ] | [ ] | .58 | –  |
| <b>Adverbial Specification</b>             |     |     |     |    |
| Non-Specific                               | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | –  |
| No Adverbial                               | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | –  |
| Specific                                   | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | –  |
| <b>Type of Clause</b>                      |     |     |     |    |
| Subordinate                                | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | –  |
| Main                                       | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | –  |
| <b>Presence of Clitics</b>                 |     |     |     |    |
| No clitic                                  | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | –  |
| Object clitic                              | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | –  |
| Reflexive/passive clitic                   | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | –  |
| <b>Factors not selected as significant</b> |     |     |     |    |
| Sentence Type                              |     |     | ×   | –  |
| Contingency                                |     |     | ×   | –  |
| Verb Type                                  |     | ×   |     | –  |
| Temporal Distance                          | ×   | ×   |     | –  |
| Grammatical Person/Animacy                 | ×   | ×   |     | –  |
| Adverbial Specification                    | ×   | ×   | ×   | –  |
| Type of Clause                             | ×   | ×   | ×   | –  |
| Presence of Clitics                        | ×   | ×   | ×   | –  |

unmarked contexts, such as declarative sentences (probability .55) and with most lexical verbs (.54). But SF is also clearly favoured in contingent contexts, as in (61), thereby assuming a reading which would not come to be explicitly

associated with it until the 20th century. HP, in contrast, is favored in *assumed* contexts, as in (62), as well as in negative (63) and interrogative (64) sentences.

- (61) *Não senhora; eu virei (SF) logo nessora, se m'eu lá não detiver.*  
 'No mother; **if** I don't have to stay there, I *will come* right at that time.'  
 (Vicente 1509/1975. Moça: 382)
- (62) *Aqui te hei de fazer (HP) em picado com os dentes.*  
 'Here [I] *will tear* you to shreds with my teeth.' (Silva 1734/1957.  
 Eurípedes: 61)
- (63) *Porém não hei de casar (HP) / senão com homem avisado; / ainda que pobre e pelado, / seja discreto em falar.*  
 'But I *will not get married* / except to an educated man; / even if poor and naked, / as long as he is discreet.' (Vicente 1523/1998. Inês: 186)
- (64) *Pois aonde o hei de pôr (HP)?*  
 'Well, where *shall I put* it?' (Silva 1737/1980. Semicúpio: 54)

P is very rare in the early popular plays we have studied, accounting for no more than 6% of all future temporal reference throughout the 18th century. Despite its rarity, however, it can be seen from Table 3 to have already staked out its preferred loci of occurrence. The most important factor conditioning its selection is *verb type*: motion verbs favor P highly, with a probability of .88. (Indeed, well over half the verbs instantiated as P correspond to main verb *ir* 'to go', a harbinger of what would develop into a categorical association between verb and variant.) Proximal future contexts, traditionally associated with futurate presents, and 1st and 3rd person inanimate subjects (not so associated) also favor P. The example in (65) illustrates the basic future temporal reference uses of P until the 19th century. At this stage, the *ir*-periphrasis was barely incipient (N=8), and so does not figure in the quantitative portion of the analysis. One of the few examples of IR in this period is reproduced in (66).

- (65) *Vai tu, filho Joane, e dize que logo vou (P), que não faz tempo que cá estou.*  
 'Go, my son Joane, and say that I **go** soon, because I haven't been here long.' (Vicente 1512/1998. Velho: 83)
- (66) *Deixe-o enforcar, que eu também vou fazer (IR) o mesmo.*  
 'Let him hang himself, for I am also *going to do* the same thing.'  
 (Silva 1734/1957. Esopo: 132)

5.1.1. *Prescription vs. praxis: Period I.* How do these results compare with the prescribed usage of the time? The relationship is tenuous at best, largely because grammarians still have relatively little to say. Comparison of Tables 1 and 3 shows that the reading of simple futurity, which every grammar assigns to SF, is not inconsistent with either its overall preponderance, or its tendency to be preferred in unmarked, “default” contexts. The readings of determination and obligation assigned to HP do not lend themselves readily to empirical test, though the preference for HP in “assumed” contexts can reasonably be associated with the notion of certainty. The other associations entertained by HP (i.e., with interrogative and negative constructions), as revealed by the variable rule analyses of Table 3, do not figure in grammatical literature, nor are the contexts prescribed by grammarians (proximity/imminence, relative clauses) selected as significant to variant choice by the stepwise multiple regression procedure. The other future variants used in the plays are not mentioned at all.

5.2. *Period II: 19th century*

We now examine the variable expression of future temporal reference in the 19th century (the first period in which specifically *Brazilian* Portuguese is represented in popular theatre). Recall from Table 2 that while SF and HP continue to predominate, all four variants are clearly in competition at this time. Note that IR, only incipient in previous centuries, has undergone a substantial rate increase, and together with P now accounts for nearly a third of the future temporal reference data. Table 4, which displays four independent variable rule analyses of the factors selected as significant to variant choice in the 19th century, reveals the first subtle shifts the future temporal reference sector underwent to accommodate the new variant. The factors examined are the same as for previous centuries.

Focusing first on the emergent variant, we see that like other *go*-periphrases, IR also entered the system via proximate future contexts, as in (67). In Period I, these were the domain of P; with a probability of .79, selection of IR is now strongly favored here.

- (67) *Ái a mãe dela falou assim, “pois agora você vai levar (IR) uma surra, menina; porque eu não disse que não era pra você sair?!”*  
 ‘Then her mother said, “**now** you’re going to get it, girl, because didn’t I tell you not to go out?!”’ (Tiago/B: 189/1991)

Though IR accounts for less than 15 % of the data at this time, it is noteworthy that proximity in the future represents the only “specialized” context of occurrence for this variant. Elsewhere, the distribution of IR foreshadows its eventual role as default future marker: it is preferred in the more frequent,

Table 4. *Variable rule analyses of the contribution of factors selected as significant to variant choice: 19th century*

|  | SF  | HP  | P   | IR  |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Total N:                                   | 268 | 104 | 48  | 72  |
| Corrected mean:                            | .55 | .21 | .10 | .15 |
| <b>Sentence Type</b>                       |     |     |     |     |
| Declarative                                | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | .59 |
| Negative                                   | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | .10 |
| Interrogative                              | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | .31 |
| <b>Contingency</b>                         |     |     |     |     |
| Contingent                                 | [ ] | .26 | .85 | [ ] |
| Assumed                                    | [ ] | .52 | .47 | [ ] |
| <b>Verb Type</b>                           |     |     |     |     |
| Non-motion                                 | .52 | [ ] | .44 | [ ] |
| Motion                                     | .31 | [ ] | .87 | [ ] |
| <b>Temporal Distance</b>                   |     |     |     |     |
| Distal                                     | .56 | .54 | [ ] | .36 |
| Proximal                                   | .38 | .40 | [ ] | .79 |
| <b>Grammatical Person/Animacy</b>          |     |     |     |     |
| 1st Animate                                | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] |
| 2nd Animate                                | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] |
| 3rd Animate                                | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] |
| 3rd Inanimate                              | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] |
| <b>Adverbial Specification</b>             |     |     |     |     |
| Non-Specific                               | .70 | [ ] | .46 | .15 |
| No Adverbial                               | .46 | [ ] | .45 | .62 |
| Specific                                   | .43 | [ ] | .89 | .27 |
| <b>Type of Clause</b>                      |     |     |     |     |
| Subordinate                                | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] |
| Main                                       | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] |
| <b>Presence of Clitics</b>                 |     |     |     |     |
| No clitic                                  | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] |
| Object clitic                              | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] |
| Reflexive/passive clitic                   | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] | [ ] |
| <b>Factors not selected as significant</b> |     |     |     |     |
| Sentence Type                              | ×   | ×   | ×   |     |
| Contingency                                | ×   |     |     | ×   |
| Verb Type                                  |     | ×   |     | ×   |
| Temporal Distance                          |     |     | ×   |     |
| Grammatical Person/Animacy                 | ×   | ×   | ×   | ×   |
| Adverbial Specification                    |     | ×   |     |     |
| Type of Clause                             | ×   | ×   | ×   | ×   |
| Presence of Clitics                        | ×   | ×   | ×   | ×   |

less marked contexts of declarative affirmative sentences (the former domain of SF), as well as those with no adverbial specification. These are exemplified in (68).

- (68) Vou transmitir (*IR*) *essa ordem ao porteiro porque eu posso não estar na ocasião.*  
 ‘I’m going to give this order to the doorman, because I may not be here for the occasion.’ (Azevedo 1897/1965. Gerente: 23)

How did P react to the incursion of IR? Although at 14 %, P is now quantitatively on par with IR, comparison of their variable conditioning reveals that the former remains more structurally restricted than its emergent counterpart. The fact that P is heavily constrained to co-occur with *specific* adverbs (probability .89), as in (69), suggests that it is still necessary to disambiguate its temporal reference. Moreover, in addition to co-occurring almost categorically with main verb *ir* (which was therefore excluded from the calculations in Table 4), it continues to entertain a strong association with other motion verbs, as in (70). Finally, it appears to have inherited from the receding SF the role of expressing *contingent* events, as in (71), in contrast with HP, which continues to be the variant of choice in assumed/certain contexts.

- (69) *O livro que te prometi, mando (P) amanhã.*  
 ‘The book I promised you, I send **tomorrow**.’ (Pena 1842/2000. Cecília: 50)
- (70) *Se fôr possível, muito que bem, se não fôr, paciência; a gente arruma as mala e amanhã memo volta (P) pra fazenda.*  
 ‘If it’s possible, fine, if not, so be it; we pack our bags and tomorrow we **return** to the farm.’  
 (Azevedo 1897/1965. Eusébio: 94)
- (71) *Se eu fugir, eles me alcançam (P) em dois tempos. E aí vão me manter dopado o resto da vida.*  
 ‘If I run away, they **catch** me in a minute. Then they’re going to keep me on drugs for the rest of my life.’ (Labaki 1999/2000. Ricardo: 65)

Summarizing, rates of P have doubled since the 16/18th centuries, but rather than spreading across the future temporal reference domain, the use of this variant has become more entrenched in the relatively infrequent, more specialized contexts of motion verbs, contingent contexts and disambiguating adverbs. As for the older exponents of future temporal reference, with one exception each (non-motion verbs in the case of SF, and assumed contexts in the case of HP), as SF and HP recede from the sector, their erstwhile preferred domains either disappear, are transferred to another variant, or are replaced by new domains.

Sentence type, which distinguished between SF and HP in the 16/18th centuries, no longer plays a role in their selection. Contingent predications, formerly the domain of SF, have now been transferred to P. Incursion of P and IR into contexts with specific (69, 70) and no adverbial (68) modification respectively, relegated SF to the remaining contexts, those modified by non-specific adverbs (72). Likewise, the novel but strong association of IR with proximal eventualities left both SF and HP to express distal states and events.

- (72) *Que impertinência! Logo* conversaremos (SF)  
 ‘What nerve! We’ll talk **later**.’ (Pena 1842/2000. Mariquinha: 25)

Only one relationship, the propensity of P to co-occur with motion verbs, and the resulting (weak) association of SF with the remaining verbs, has remained unchanged since preceding centuries. The future temporal reference system of the 19th century is one in which the variants are in opposition in almost all contexts. They are not necessarily the same variants as those competing in these very contexts in previous centuries, but the constraints on their selection remain in place.

5.2.1. *Prescription vs. praxis: Period II.* To what extent does 19th-century usage, as instantiated by the results of our analyses reflect the normative characterization of the situation at the time? Comparison of Tables 1 and 4 shows that none of the main effects on variant choice we uncovered were recognized. We do note, however, the proliferation of readings attributed to HP, just as this variant is receding from the sector. Moreover, only now is P acknowledged in the grammatical literature, despite having been used with future reference since the 16th century. Toward the end of Period II, it accrues the reading of proximity, despite the fact that it is IR – still not recognized as a future marker! – that was shown in Table 4 to assume this function.

### 5.3. *Period III: 20th-century theatre*

Table 5 compares the results of three independent variable rule analyses of the contribution of the same factors to variant selection in 20th-century popular plays. These results, when compared with those of Table 2, illustrate the trajectory by which the expression of future temporal reference resolved itself in contemporary usage.

Of the outgoing variants, HP has disappeared altogether. The use of SF, now very rare, is also highly constrained. First, the 19th-century association of SF with distal future has disappeared, as inferred from the result that temporal distance is not a statistically significant predictor of variant choice (itself a likely consequence of the fact that P is no longer associated with proximity).

Table 5. *Independent variable rule analyses of the contribution of factors to the probability that SF, P and IR will be selected in future temporal reference contexts in 20th-century popular plays.*

|  | SF  | HP | P   | IR  |
|--|-----|----|-----|-----|
| Total N:                                   | 35  | 5  | 61  | 373 |
| Corrected mean:                            | .08 | –  | .13 | .81 |
| <b>Sentence Type</b>                       |     |    |     |     |
| Declarative                                | [ ] | –  | [ ] | [ ] |
| Negative                                   | [ ] | –  | [ ] | [ ] |
| Interrogative                              | [ ] | –  | [ ] | [ ] |
| <b>Contingency</b>                         |     |    |     |     |
| Contingent                                 | [ ] | –  | .73 | .27 |
| Assumed                                    | [ ] | –  | .48 | .52 |
| <b>Verb Type</b>                           |     |    |     |     |
| Non-motion                                 | [ ] | –  | .47 | .52 |
| Motion                                     | [ ] | –  | .78 | .29 |
| <b>Temporal Distance</b>                   |     |    |     |     |
| Distal                                     | [ ] | –  | [ ] | [ ] |
| Proximal                                   | [ ] | –  | [ ] | [ ] |
| <b>Grammatical Person/Animacy</b>          |     |    |     |     |
| 1st Animate                                | [ ] | –  | .65 | .39 |
| 2nd Animate                                | [ ] | –  | .14 | .72 |
| 3rd Animate                                | [ ] | –  | .46 | .54 |
| 3rd Inanimate                              | [ ] | –  | .51 | .50 |
| <b>Adverbial Specification</b>             |     |    |     |     |
| Non-Specific                               | .70 | –  | .61 | .33 |
| No Adverbial                               | .48 | –  | .45 | .55 |
| Specific                                   | .30 | –  | .76 | .33 |
| <b>Type of Clause</b>                      |     |    |     |     |
| Subordinate                                | [ ] | –  | [ ] | [ ] |
| Main                                       | [ ] | –  | [ ] | [ ] |
| <b>Presence of Clitics</b>                 |     |    |     |     |
| No clitic                                  | [ ] | –  | [ ] | [ ] |
| Object clitic                              | [ ] | –  | [ ] | [ ] |
| Reflexive/passive clitic                   |     | –  | —   | —   |
| <b>Factors not selected as significant</b> |     |    |     |     |
| Sentence Type                              | ×   | –  | ×   | ×   |
| Contingency                                | ×   | –  |     |     |
| Verb Type                                  | ×   | –  |     |     |
| Temporal Distance                          | ×   | –  | ×   | ×   |
| Grammatical Person/Animacy                 | ×   | –  |     |     |
| Adverbial Specification                    |     | –  |     |     |
| Type of Clause                             | ×   | –  | ×   | ×   |
| Presence of Clitics                        | ×   | –  | ×   | ×   |

Likewise, the longstanding association of SF with non-motion verbs, dating back to its earliest (16th century) uses, is no longer operative either. Only the propensity of SF to occur with non-specific adverbs remains. Thus, as SF nears

extinction in the 20th century, it is relegated (in popular plays) to only one of its former preferred contexts, those with non-specific adverbial modification.<sup>22</sup>

By way of contrast, despite little more than a marginal rate increase over the centuries, P not only retains all of its earlier associations (i.e., with motion verbs, contingent predications and specific adverbs), it is now also associated with the non-specific adverbs formerly the domain of SF. In addition, P now displays the same distinct tendency to co-occur with 1st p. subjects (and an even stronger avoidance of 2nd p. subjects) that was last seen to be operative in the 16/18th centuries (Table 3). It disappeared in the interim, only to reemerge now, for reasons which are unclear. IR occurs everywhere else.

#### 5.4. *Period III: 20th-century speech*

Having reviewed the constraints on variant selection in 20th-century plays, we are now in a position to validate them with 20th-century speech, the first period for which we have access to such data (Table 6).

Comparison of Tables 2 and 6 shows that of the outgoing variants, HP has disappeared from speech as well, and at 1 % of the data, SF is vanishingly rare. With few exceptions, the expression of future temporal reference has by now basically been assumed by IR, which has infiltrated all the contexts formerly dominated by other variants. As a result, most of the factors once implicated in variant selection no longer contribute statistically significant effects to variant choice. The only two barriers to the colonization by IR of the entire future sector are those in which P has become entrenched: contingent contexts, and those modified by specific adverbials, as exemplified in (66), (67) and (68). Contingent contexts, once the domain of SF, were transferred to P in the 19th century. Those modified by specific adverbs have been associated with P since then as well. The strong preference for P with motion verbs, dating back to its earliest (16th century) uses, has now resolved itself in a near-categorical association with main verb *ir*, as illustrated in Figure 1.

Though all other motion verbs can occur freely with the IR-periphrasis in contemporary Brazilian Portuguese, as can be seen in (73a) and (73b), there remains a widespread, albeit informal, constraint against collocating main verb *ir*

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22. Closer inspection of the data (not shown here) suggests that SF also tends to occur in *be*-passive constructions, as in (70), which are rare in speech.

- (i) *Isso será esclarecido (SF) no decorrer da nossa estória.*  
'This will be clarified as our story plays out.' (Gomes 1963/1990. Malta: 382)
- (ii) *Me liberte e todos os seus pecados serão perdoados.*  
'Free me and all your sins shall be pardoned.' (Labaki 1999/2000. Ricardo: 68)

Table 6. *Variable rule analyses of the contribution of factors selected as significant to variant choice: 20th century speech*

|  | SF | HP | P   | IR  |
|--|----|----|-----|-----|
| Total N:                                   | 4  | 0  | 47  | 611 |
| Corrected mean:                            | –  | –  | .07 | .93 |
| <b>Sentence Type</b>                       |    |    |     |     |
| Declarative                                | –  | –  | [ ] | [ ] |
| Negative                                   | –  | –  | [ ] | [ ] |
| Interrogative                              | –  | –  | [ ] | [ ] |
| <b>Contingency</b>                         |    |    |     |     |
| Contingent                                 | –  | –  | .87 | .13 |
| Assumed                                    | –  | –  | .45 | .55 |
| <b>Verb Type</b>                           |    |    |     |     |
| Non-motion                                 | –  | –  | [ ] | [ ] |
| Motion                                     | –  | –  | [ ] | [ ] |
| <b>Temporal Distance</b>                   |    |    |     |     |
| Distal                                     | –  | –  | [ ] | [ ] |
| Proximal                                   | –  | –  | [ ] | [ ] |
| <b>Grammatical Person/Animacy</b>          |    |    |     |     |
| 1st Animate                                | –  | –  | [ ] | [ ] |
| 2nd Animate                                | –  | –  | [ ] | [ ] |
| 3rd Animate                                | –  | –  | [ ] | [ ] |
| 3rd Inanimate                              | –  | –  | [ ] | [ ] |
| <b>Adverbial Specification</b>             |    |    |     |     |
| Non-Specific                               | –  | –  | .57 | .43 |
| No Adverbial                               | –  | –  | .42 | .58 |
| Specific                                   | –  | –  | .80 | .20 |
| <b>Type of Clause</b>                      |    |    |     |     |
| Subordinate                                | –  | –  | [ ] | [ ] |
| Main                                       | –  | –  | [ ] | [ ] |
| <b>Presence of Clitics</b>                 |    |    |     |     |
| No clitic                                  | –  | –  | [ ] | [ ] |
| Object clitic                              | –  | –  | [ ] | [ ] |
| Reflexive/passive clitic                   | –  | –  | —   | —   |
| <b>Factors not selected as significant</b> |    |    |     |     |
| Sentence Type                              | –  | –  | ×   | ×   |
| Contingency                                | –  | –  |     |     |
| Verb Type                                  | –  | –  | ×   | ×   |
| Temporal Distance                          | –  | –  | ×   | ×   |
| Grammatical Person/Animacy                 | –  | –  | ×   | ×   |
| Adverbial Specification                    | –  | –  |     |     |
| Type of Clause                             | –  | –  | ×   | ×   |
| Presence of Clitics                        | –  | –  | ×   | ×   |

with the IR-periphrasis. Such constructions are heavily stigmatized and overtly corrected. The utterance in (74), of a 10-year old boy, is the only such example in more than 650 references to the future in 20th-century speech.

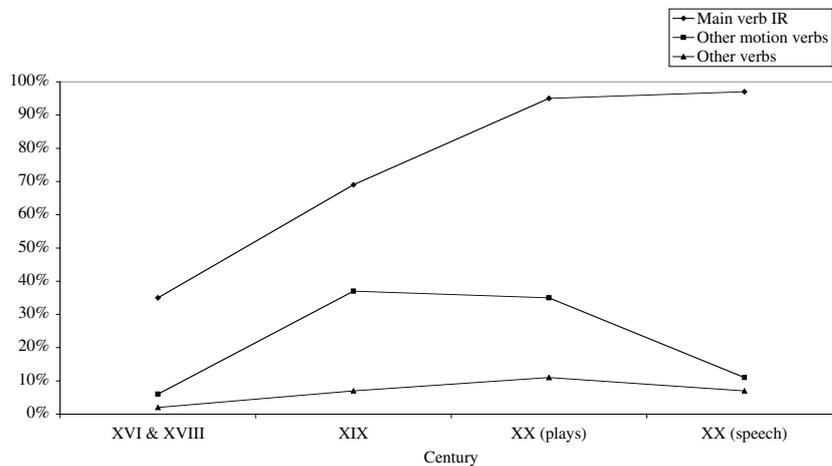


Figure 1. Association of lexical verbs with P

- (73) a. *Isso é um pesadelo. Eu vou **correr** (IR) aqui e vou ver até onde vou*  
 ‘This is a nightmare. I’m going to **run** and [I’m] going to see how far I get.’ (Eduardo/B: 39/1992)
- b. *Você não pensa muito assim: ah, eu **vou sair** (IR) na rua. Não **vou sair** (IR) com roupa de marca porque se não ali na esquina vão me roubar (IR).*  
 ‘You don’t really think: oh, I’m **going to go out**, but I’m not **going to go out** in designer clothes because if I do, [they’re] going to rob me, right on the corner.’ (Érica/A: 27/1992)
- (74) *Aí, agora, a gente vai **ir** (IR) agora é num do bombeiro. Conhecer lá uns negócios que o bombeiro usa pra apagar o fogo.*  
 ‘Now where we’re **going to go** now is to the fire station. See the stuff the fireman uses to put out the fire.’ (Tiago/A: 67/1991)

In view of the assumption by the IR-periphrasis of virtually all the contexts and functions of its erstwhile competitors, its aversion to main verb *ir* is curious at best. *Go*-futures tend not to co-occur with motion verbs early in the grammaticization process (Bybee et al. 1994), while lexical identity of the verb has little effect on variant selection at later stages (Poplack and Tagliamonte 1999). There can be little doubt that IR has now grammaticized into the major (and for many speakers, virtually the *only*) exponent of future temporal reference, and our analyses reveal no constraint against its co-occurrence with other motion verbs. Yet in contrast to French, where the periphrastic *go*-future is also

on the rise (Poplack and Turpin 1999), and even English, where its use is far more moderate (Poplack and Tagliamonte 1999; Poplack and Walker 2003), the Portuguese IR-periphrasis is still avoided in conjunction with main verb *ir*:

### 5.5. *Speech and the representation of speech*

We may now ask what relationship, if any, spoken Brazilian Portuguese entertains with the facsimiles of speech instantiated by dialogues of popular plays written in the same century. Table 2 shows remarkable parallels in *rates* of variant use (despite some overrepresentation of the outgoing variants and concomitant underrepresentation of the emergent variant). The variable rule analysis in Table 7 reveals that there are also remarkable parallels in *conditioning* of variant selection. This emerges from comparing, across media, the hierarchy of constraints, which reveals the underlying structure of the variability, even when the factor is not statistically significant.<sup>23</sup> Note the remarkable parallels between the patterning of variation in the plays and speech. The only discrepancy involves the effect of grammatical person/animacy, noted in Section 5.3. This effect, manifested as a strong aversion to P in 2nd p. animate contexts (*você(s)*), is not relevant to speech; it neither constrains variant selection nor shows consistent effects. The fact that IR has advanced further in actual usage than in the dialogue of the plays explains why variant choice is less constrained in the former.

### 5.6. *Prescription vs. praxis: Period III*

How does prescription correspond to usage? Table 1 shows that with the advent of the 20th century, the readings assigned to each of the variants have multiplied, particularly since mid-century. The majority by far is assigned to SF, a fact which is particularly striking in view of the fact that this variant is now virtually nonexistent in speech (at 1%), and barely reaches 10% in the dramatic texts assumed to represent speech. HP, no longer extant in informal speech *or* writing, likewise receives a large number of readings. On the other hand, IR, the undisputed default variant, is not even cited as a future marker devoid of further connotation until 1945 (75). Only six additional grammars (out of 28 consulted for the century), most published after 2000, followed suit, though half (Mateus et al. 1983; Cipro Neto and Infante 2004: 184 and Cegalla 2005) also cite other non-existent periphrases in this connection, as in (76).

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23. Weights for non-significant factor groups, given in square brackets here and in ensuing tables, are derived from an analysis in which all factors are included in the regression (the first “stepdown” run in Goldvarb 2.0).

Table 7. Variable rule analyses of the contribution of factors selected as significant to variant choice: 20th-century plays vs. speech

|  | P     |        | IR    |        |
|--|-------|--------|-------|--------|
|  | Plays | Speech | Plays | Speech |
| Total N:                                   | 61    | 47     | 373   | 611    |
| Corrected mean:                            | .13   | .07    | .81   | .93    |
| <b>Sentence Type</b>                       |       |        |       |        |
| Declarative                                | [ ]   | [ ]    | [ ]   | [ ]    |
| Negative                                   | [ ]   | [ ]    | [ ]   | [ ]    |
| Interrogative                              | [ ]   | [ ]    | [ ]   | [ ]    |
| <b>Contingency</b>                         |       |        |       |        |
| Contingent                                 | .73   | .87    | .27   | .13    |
| Assumed                                    | .48   | .45    | .52   | .55    |
| <b>Verb Type</b>                           |       |        |       |        |
| Non-motion                                 | .47   | [ ]    | .52   | [ ]    |
| Motion                                     | .78   | [ ]    | .29   | [ ]    |
| <b>Temporal Distance</b>                   |       |        |       |        |
| Distal                                     | [ ]   | [ ]    | [ ]   | [ ]    |
| Proximal                                   | [ ]   | [ ]    | [ ]   | [ ]    |
| <b>Grammatical Person/Animacy</b>          |       |        |       |        |
| 1st Animate                                | .65   | [ ]    | .39   | [ ]    |
| 2nd Animate                                | .14   | [ ]    | .72   | [ ]    |
| 3rd Animate                                | .46   | [ ]    | .54   | [ ]    |
| 3rd Inanimate                              | .51   | [ ]    | .50   | [ ]    |
| <b>Adverbial Specification</b>             |       |        |       |        |
| Non-Specific                               | .61   | .57    | .33   | .43    |
| No Adverbial                               | .45   | .42    | .55   | .58    |
| Specific                                   | .76   | .80    | .33   | .20    |
| <b>Type of Clause</b>                      |       |        |       |        |
| Subordinate                                | [ ]   | [ ]    | [ ]   | [ ]    |
| Main                                       | [ ]   | [ ]    | [ ]   | [ ]    |
| <b>Presence of Clitics</b>                 |       |        |       |        |
| No clitic                                  | [ ]   | [ ]    | [ ]   | [ ]    |
| Object clitic                              | [ ]   | [ ]    | [ ]   | [ ]    |
| Reflexive/passive clitic                   | _____ | _____  | _____ | _____  |
| <b>Factors not selected as significant</b> |       |        |       |        |
| Sentence Type                              | ×     | ×      | ×     | ×      |
| Contingency                                |       |        |       |        |
| Verb Type                                  |       | ×      |       | ×      |
| Temporal Distance                          | ×     | ×      | ×     | ×      |
| Grammatical Person/Animacy                 |       | ×      |       | ×      |
| Adverbial Specification                    |       |        |       |        |
| Type of Clause                             | ×     | ×      | ×     | ×      |
| Presence of Clitics                        | ×     | ×      | ×     | ×      |

- (75) When a future act or state is expressed. Use either the future tense of the main verb, or else the verb *ir* followed by the infinitive of the main verb. (Rossi 1945: 99)

- (76) Futuro do Presente: (...) d) Pode ser substituído, sobretudo na linguagem coloquial, por locuções constituídas pelo presente do indicativo dos verbos *ir*, *ter* ou *haver* + *infinitivo* do verbo principal: Olga *vai casar* no mês que vem. [*vai casar* = *casará*] (...).  
 ‘Future of the present [i.e. SF]: (...) can be replaced, especially in colloquial speech, by constructions formed by the present tense of *ir*, *ter* or *haver* + infinitive of the main verb: Olga *is going to get married* next month. [*is going to get married* = will get married] (...)’ (Cegalla 2005: 587) (emphasis added)

## 6. The transition period in language change

Examining an apparently abrupt change in the expression of future temporal reference, we traced the trajectory of its exponents over five centuries of development. We documented a system which was overwhelmingly dominated by SF and HP until the 19th century, at which time the emergent IR began infiltrating the sector, predictably, via proximate future contexts. Although accounting for no more than 15 % of the data at that time, IR had also already established a foothold in unmarked affirmative and adverbially unspecified contexts. By the 20th century, it had expanded into *all* of the contexts formerly associated with the older and far more robust variants, effectively ousting them from this domain. We showed how this change was driven by the gradual expropriation of the preferred contexts of the older variants by the incoming IR, and how it culminated in the contemporary situation in which the latter has become the default choice everywhere but in the few remaining bastions of the (rare but incredibly tenacious) P: contingent and adverbially specified contexts and the lexical verb *ir* ‘to go’.

Our focus on the variability inherent in the system confirms that the transition period in linguistic change is not abrupt, as most generative (and some historical) accounts portray it to be. Rather, change proceeds as a series of small adjustments, as incoming and outgoing variants jockey for position in the system. In support of this claim, we summarize the trajectory of the outgoing variants from Period I, when they accounted for nearly all of the data, through their disappearance in Period III (Tables 3–6).

SF, initially favored in contingent constructions and affirmative declarative sentences, had by Period II lost both effects (transferring the first to P, and the second to IR). Despite substantial reduction in frequency, SF was still the majority variant at this time; this may explain why it also *acquired* new constraints: an aversion to proximate contexts, (now transferred to IR from P), and an association with non-specific adverbials. As we suggested earlier, however, SF was more likely simply *relegated* to the residual contexts created once the

other variants had staked out their respective niches (IR with proximity; P with motion verbs). Its novel association with non-specific adverbs now places it in opposition to the other two variants in this context. Thus, over the duration of the change, SF lost, transferred, and acquired constraints, the latter mostly as a reaction to the activity in the remainder of the future temporal reference system. By Period III, it had disappeared.

HP followed a similar trajectory. In Period I, it was favored in assumed and negative/interrogative contexts. As it receded (Period II), it lost the latter, but acquired a novel association with distal future (likely, as with SF, in response to the strong propensity of the incoming IR to occur in proximal contexts). By Period III, HP too was lost. The proximity distinction, formerly captured by the opposition between SF and HP (expressing distal future) on the one hand, and IR (proximal future) on the other, had no further *raison d'être* once the variants associated with one pole of the opposition had disappeared. In Period III, IR does basically all the work of future temporal reference, except in the two contexts in which P has remained entrenched: overt adverbials and contingent contexts.

A widely documented characteristic of the development of the Romance languages is the replacement of Classical Latin synthetic structures with analytic structures. The developments detailed above shed light on how this came about. The change from synthetic to analytic was not abrupt. Setting aside P, the only variant to have persisted over the duration, the competition may be seen to occur between the analytic forms, with the emergent IR driving out its older counterpart, HP. SF, the older synthetic form, disappears thereafter. As a result, the Portuguese future temporal reference sector, initially constituted of a synthetic and analytic form, has come full circle. Only the exponents are not the same!<sup>24</sup>

Such accommodations to variant movements over time do not exhibit the Constant Rate Effect (Kroch 1989, 2001). According to the latter account of the transition between language states in linguistic change, when one variant replaces a competitor across a set of linguistic contexts, the rate of replacement is the same in all. Some contexts may favor the incoming form over its competitors; others disfavor, but they all acquire it at the same time (albeit at different initial frequencies), and crucially, they maintain the same pattern of favoring and disfavoring effects as the change proceeds. Thus, “a constant rate of change across contexts is mathematically equivalent to fixity of contextual effects, in direction and size, across time periods” (Kroch 1989: 206).

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24. We are grateful to Mary Kato for calling this pattern to our attention.

The trajectory of change presented here is at odds with this view. Contextual effects on variant choice, as expressed by the constraint hierarchies associated with each variant and context in the multivariate analyses we have presented, rarely remain constant across time. And this result is not merely an effect of loss of statistical significance; even when factors no longer significant are “forced” into the regression (Footnote 23), they do not display the same constraint hierarchies as previously, tending instead toward .5, or reversing direction altogether. Rather, four variants, each with its own characteristic propensity of occurrence, enter and exit the system at different periods and different speeds (as measured by the increase, from one period to the next, in the corrected means, or overall rates of variant use, in Tables 3–6). As a variant disappears, the constraints on its selection (whether assessed by statistical significance or factor values after they have lost significance) do not remain the same. Nonetheless, the important distinctions conveyed by a factor group may endure, though they eventually distinguish different sets of variants. This is what has occurred with the factors of verb type, adverbial specification and contingency in the expression of future time in Portuguese.

The Constant Rate Effect is an outgrowth of the general principle that contextual effects are independent. Whether or not this is true of the two-variant situations generally adduced in its support (e.g., Kroch 1989; Santorini 1993; Taylor 1994; Shi 1989), it cannot be projected onto the complex multi-variant case we have examined. Here the binary system is perturbed each time a variant appears or disappears. And since such cases are far from uncommon – TMA distinctions, for example, are frequently expressed by three or more competing variants – the applicability of the Constant Rate Effect must be restricted to periods in which the repertoire of variants remains stable, i.e., periods which feature neither incipient nor moribund forms. To generalize to the multi-variant situation studied here, the requirement that constraint remain associated with variant would have to be relaxed, and transfer of constraints from outgoing to incoming variants be permitted.

Kroch (1989: 237) further invokes the Constant Rate Effect to reject the (widely accepted) idea that language change proceeds context by context, with new forms appearing first in a restricted context and spreading to others only later. Instead, Kroch claims, all contexts acquire the new form at the same rate, favoring ones as well as disfavoring ones, albeit at lower initial frequencies in the latter case. Our results contradict this claim. They show that forms *do* appear first in restricted contexts. They may proceed to spread to others, as eventually happened with IR, or they may remain entrenched in their restricted contexts (as occurred with P). Indeed, this study suggests that the type of contexts associated with a variant can provide valuable information about their trajectory. For example, the fact that IR entered via (or quickly infiltrated) unmarked contexts was a harbinger of its eventual assumption of the role of de-

fault future marker. P, on the other hand, has remained entrenched in the same restricted contexts for over five centuries!

Two other related assumptions of the Constant Rate Effect will need to be reconsidered in light of the findings presented here. One is the claim that grammar remains homogeneous during the course of change. It may contain a variable structure (as instantiated by the constraint hierarchy of favoring and disfavoring factors), but this structure remains constant, because the factor weights remain the same. We have shown that constraints on variant selection do not remain fixed as the repertoire of competing forms changes. This is of course not visible in the cases studied by Kroch and associates, precisely because the repertoire consists of the same two variants at all times. And contrary to the claim that only when one form displaces the others *entirely* will there be a reorganization of the grammar (Kroch 1989: 133), we have seen that in fact, the grammar continues to reconfigure each time a variant enters or exits the system.<sup>25</sup>

These results suggest that if the grammar does remain fixed (in Kroch's sense) over the course of change, it is only while the set of variants remains stable. Nonetheless, it is clear that reference to the future has been made in essentially the same way over the duration: the major distinctions (semantic, contextual) continue to be expressed, albeit by different exponents! This is evidenced by the transfer of constraints amongst variants in successive centuries. Thus, in response to Weinreich et al. (1968)'s question posed at the outset regarding the effects on linguistic structure of language change, we can confirm that there is nothing dysfunctional about the process.

## **7. An excursus on the role of normative institutions in promulgating the standard**

Our comparison of prescription and praxis in preceding sections has pointed up the gulf between the two. Is this simply a peculiarity of the vernacular speech studied here, not applicable to more educated (and presumably, elevated) styles? To address this question, we now consider the role of the school, the major vehicle of the prescriptive tradition, in transmitting the prescribed norm.

Figure 2 graphs the rates of variant usage among sample members according to level of education (primary, secondary, university). To the extent that the

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25. To the objection that the replacements we have documented are not properly syntactic changes, we would counter that removing such a spectacular change such as this, involving the total disappearance of forms, from the purview of the Constant Rate Effect would be like throwing out the baby with the bath water.

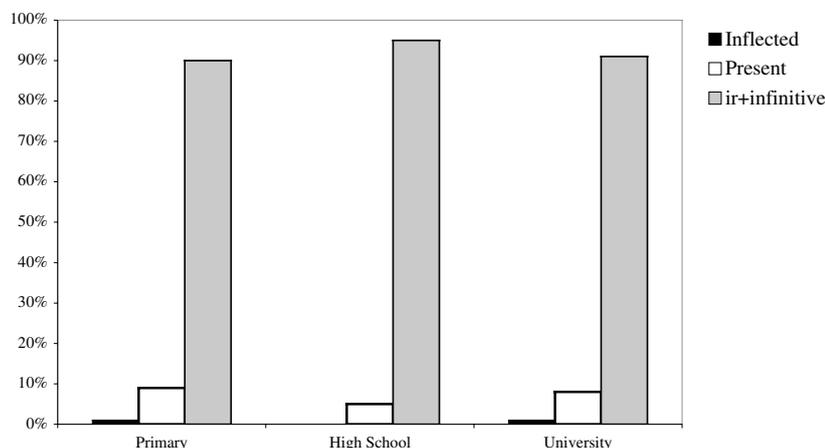


Figure 2. Usage of variants according to speakers' level of education

school is successful in promulgating the standard, we would expect highest use of SF among speakers with most formal instruction. Results show, however, that educational attainment plays no role in variant selection, since the proportion of SF never exceeds 1%, regardless of cohort. Any (non-significant) distinctions among speakers are due to fluctuations in the rate of *P* (itself likely due to discrepancies in use of *contexts* associated with this variant, as found by Poplack (1997) in connection with the French subjunctive).

In view of the major discrepancies revealed by our analyses, not only between prescription and usage, but also amongst the very proponents of the prescriptive norms, this finding should come as no surprise. Indeed, it is bolstered by results of other empirical studies of variant use in 20th century Brazilian Portuguese. Table 8 contrasts reported proportions of variant use according to medium and speech style.

Strikingly, the rates of IR in the formal speech of university students (Baleeiro 1988) exactly parallel those in the dramatic representation of popular informal speech in the plays. Only in formal writing (Santos 1997) is SF in the lead; interestingly, at a rate (73%) far exceeding its oral use at any period in history, including the 16th and 18th centuries, when it was indisputably the majority variant. The striking contrast between media, even when style and time period are held constant, confirms that while the prescriptive tradition has clearly impinged on the rules for formal writing, it has failed to alter the course of change in natural usage. On the contrary, even the most highly educated speakers have resisted SF in spontaneous speech, though they may well use it in their most formal writing. This is because for *all* speakers, the norm is IR. Herein lies

Table 8. Distribution of future variants according to medium and style in 20th-century Brazilian Portuguese

| Variants          | Medium                               |                                       |                                       |                                      |
|-------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
|                   | Formal Writing<br>Santos (1997)<br>% | Formal Speech<br>Baleeiro (1988)<br>% | Informal Writing<br>(this study)<br>% | Informal Speech<br>(this study)<br>% |
| IR                | 22                                   | 77                                    | 77                                    | 92.5                                 |
| P                 | 2                                    | 9                                     | 14                                    | 7.0                                  |
| SF                | 73                                   | 13                                    | 9                                     | 0.5                                  |
| Irei + infinitive | 3                                    | 1                                     | –                                     | –                                    |

the explanation for the centuries of lag between prescribed usage (and formal writing) on the one hand, and actual usage on the other.

In conclusion, variation in the future sector has been attested since the publication of Barros' *Gramática da Língua Portuguesa* in 1540. This fact has not been acknowledged in the prescriptive literature on the topic, other than incidentally. Yet as we have demonstrated, very few of the motivations ascribed to variant choice in the (prescriptive or descriptive) literature are now, or ever have been, relevant to actual usage. Grammarians have been silent on the role of the operative contextual factors, focusing instead on semantic, psychological and other motivations which have no basis in empirical fact. They have also remained seemingly oblivious to the dramatic rate changes that have occurred in this sector, continuing to attribute to SF (and to a lesser extent, HP) a prominence that is now several centuries out of date.

Why should this be? Despite the fact that SF was ratified as the standard primary future, it is noteworthy that no stigma has ever been attached to any of its counterparts. Given these facts, the reluctance of normative instances to legitimize IR as the default future, in keeping with its status as its sole remaining productive marker, is all the more puzzling. Instead, grammarians (and linguists) have responded to the disappearance of the archaic variants by ascribing ever *more* nuances and readings to them, a development that, in this context, seems little short of incredible. (See Poplack and Turpin 1999; Poplack and Dion 2004 for a similar situation in Canadian French.) The trajectory of the variant expressions of future temporal reference in Brazilian Portuguese is testimony to the idealized, invariant and unchanging nature of prescriptive dictates, and a cautionary note to linguists that the data of the way language *should* be used cannot be conflated with the way it actually *is* used.

University of Ottawa

**Appendix A: Corpus of Popular Portuguese Plays (1509–1999)**

| Century | Year | Title                                    | Author                          | Provenance |        |
|---------|------|--|---------------------------------|------------|--------|
|         |      |  |                                 | Play       | Author |
| XVI     | 1509 | <i>Auto da Índia</i>                     | Gil Vicente                     | PRT        |        |
|         | 1512 | <i>O Velho da Horta</i>                  | Gil Vicente                     | PRT        | PRT    |
|         | 1517 | <i>Auto da Barca do Inferno</i>          | Gil Vicente                     | PRT        |        |
|         | 1523 | <i>Farsa de Inês Pereira</i>             | Gil Vicente                     | PRT        |        |
|         | 1526 | <i>Farsa dos Almoçreves</i>              | Gil Vicente                     | PRT        |        |
|         | 1533 | <i>Romagem dos Agravados</i>             | Gil Vicente                     | PRT        |        |
| XVIII   | 1734 | <i>Esopaiada ou A Vida de Esopo</i>      | Antonio José da Silva (o Judeu) | PRT        | BR     |
|         | 1737 | <i>Guerras do Alecrim e da Mangerona</i> | Antonio José da Silva (o Judeu) | PRT        |        |
| XIX     | 1837 | <i>O Juiz de Paz da Roça</i>             | Martins Pena                    | BR         | BR     |
|         | 1842 | <i>Os Dous ou O Inglês Maquinista</i>    | Martins Pena                    | BR         |        |
|         | 1844 | <i>Os Três Médicos</i>                   | Martins Pena                    | BR         |        |
|         | 1853 | <i>O Noviço</i>                          | Martins Pena                    | BR         |        |
|         | 1870 | <i>O Defeito de Família</i>              | França Júnior                   | BR         | BR     |
|         | 1872 | <i>O Tipo Brasileiro</i>                 | França Júnior                   | BR         |        |
|         | 1883 | <i>Dois Proveitos em um Saco</i>         | França Júnior                   | BR         |        |
|         | 1885 | <i>A Lotação dos Bondes</i>              | França Júnior                   | BR         |        |
|         | 1897 | <i>A Capital Federal</i>                 | Artur Azevedo                   | BR         | BR     |
| XX      | 1961 | <i>A Semente</i>                         | G. Guarniere                    | BR         | BR     |
|         | 1962 | <i>O Bem Amado</i>                       | Dias Gomes                      | BR         | BR     |
|         | 1963 | <i>O Berço do Herói</i>                  | Dias Gomes                      | BR         |        |
|         | 1978 | <i>Ópera do Malandro</i>                 | Chico Buarque                   | BR         | BR     |
|         | 1999 | <i>A Boa</i>                             | Aimar Labaki                    | BR         | BR     |

**Appendix B: Corpus of Portuguese Grammars (1536–2005)**

*16th century*

Oliveyra, F. (1536/2000). *Gramática da Linguagem Portuguesa*. In: A. Torres and C. Assunção (eds.) Lisboa: Academia de Ciências de Lisboa.

Barros, J. (1540/1957). *Gramática da Língua Portuguesa*. 3rd. ed. Lisboa: Sociedade Astoria Ltda.

Barros, J. (1540/1971). *Gramática da Língua Portuguesa: cartinha, gramática, diálogo em louvor da nossa linguagem e diálogo da viciosa vergonha*. Lisboa: Publicações da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa.

Gândavo, P. (1574/1981). *Regras que Ensinam a Maneira de Escrever e a Ortografia da Língua Portuguesa. Edição Fac-similada*. Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional.

*17th century*

- Leão, D. (1608/1983). *Ortografia e Origem da Língua Portuguesa*. Portugal: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda.
- Barreto, J. F. (1671). *Ortografia da Língua Portuguesa*. Lisboa: Oficina de Joam da Costa.

*18th century*

- Justice, A. (1701/1970). *A Complete Account of the Portuguese Language*. A Scholar Press Facsimile. England: The Scholar Press Limited.
- Monte Carmelo, L. (1767). *Compendio de Orthografia*. Lisboa: Off. Antonio Rodrigues Galhardo.
- Reis Lobato, A. (1771). *Arte da Grammatica da Língua Portuguesa*. Lisboa: Regia Officina Typografica.
- Melo Bacelar, B. (1783/1996). *Gramática Filosófica da Língua Portuguesa*. Reprodução Facsimilada da Edição de 1783. Lisboa: Academia Portuguesa da História.

*19th century*

- Vieyra, A. (1809). *A New Portuguese Grammar in Four Parts*, 7th. ed. London: F. Wingrave.
- Soares Barboza, J. (1852). *Compendio de Grammatica Portuguesa*, 2nd ed. Pernambuco: Typ. Dos Editores Proprietarios Santos & C.<sup>a</sup>.
- Silva Junior, M. (1887). *Noções de Grammatica Portuguesa*. Rio de Janeiro: J. G. de Azevedo Editor.

*20th century*

- Amaral, A. (1920). *O Dialecto Caipira*. São Paulo: Casa Editora "O Livro".
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- Rossi, P. (1945). *Portuguese: The Language of Brazil*. New York: Henry Holt and Company.
- Corrêa, G. (1964). *O Programa de Vernáculo: Curso Ginasial*, 2nd ed. Rio de Janeiro; Livraria Francisco Alves.
- Said Ali, M. (1964). *Gramática Secundária e Gramática Histórica da Língua Portuguesa*, 3rd ed. Brasília: Ed. Universidade de Brasília.
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- Bechara, E. (1968). *Moderna Gramática Portuguesa: Curso Médio*. 13th ed. São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional.
- Lapa, M. (1968). *Estilística da Língua Portuguesa*, 5th ed. Rio de Janeiro: Acadêmica.
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- Kury, A. (1986). *Novas Lições de Análise Sintática*. São Paulo: Editora Ática.
- (1989). *Para Falar e Escrever Melhor o Português*, 2nd ed. Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira.
- Van Achten, E., J. Monteiro, J. Teixeira, and M. Duarte (1996). *Estudar o Verbo – Exercícios Práticos para Estrangeiros*. Coimbra: Minerva Editora.

### 21st century

- Arruda, L. (2000). *Gramática de Português para Estrangeiros*. Porto: Porto Editora.
- Azevedo, J. C. (2000). *Fundamentos de Gramática do Português*. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar Editor.
- Neves, M. H. (2000). *Gramática de Usos do Português*. São Paulo: Editora UNESP.
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