STRESS PLACEMENT IN –*MENTE* ADVERBS IN PORTUGUESE: DISCUSSION OF PROSODIC AND RHYTHMIC ASPECTS

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▪ ABSTRACT: This article aims to discuss the prosodic behaviour of adverbs ending in –*mente* in Archaic Portuguese (AP) and Brazilian Portuguese (BP) from the perspective of Prosodic and Metrical Phonology. In order to describe the prosodic status of such adverbs, especially in AP, 420 cantigas [a genre of poetry], known as Cantigas de Santa Maria (CSM) in praise of Virgin Mary, were chosen, as well as 1251 secular cantigas (510 cantigas de amigo, 431 cantigas de escárnio e maldizer and 310 cantigas de amor). On the other side, a selection of the "Cospus Online do Português" [Online Corpus of the Portuguese Language] database, jointly elaborated by Georgetown University's researcher Michael Ferreira and Brigham Young University's Mark Davies, was chosen as the corpus of study of BP. The collection and analysis of –*mente* adverbs in the corpora made it possible to conclude that these adverbs are, from a prosodic point of view, compounds (having a primary and a secondary stress) both in AP as well as BP, since they can be considered structures formed by independent parts of each other, in which the Stress Placement Rule operates in different domains: in the already inflected bases and in the –*mente* "suffix".

▪ KEYWORDS: -*mente* adverbs. Stress placement. Prosody. Archaic Portuguese. Brazilian Portuguese.

Introduction

This article[1] presents a comparative study[2] of the adverbial forms ending in –*mente* in two synchronies of the Portuguese language – Archaic Portuguese (henceforth AP)

and Brazilian Portuguese (BP) - in order to observe and describe the possible changes regarding the prosodic status of those forms. Based on the description and analysis of data through Prosodic and Metric Phonology, the conclusion is that such adverbs bear two stresses (one primary and one secondary), as verified in the following sections. The primary lexical stress is positioned when the word is formed and is thus also called word stress. The secondary stress is a prosodic prominence that may occur either by effect of the eurhythmy rules of the language – an excessively long sequence of unstressed syllables is not acceptable in Portuguese and, thus, some of these syllables get strengthened (MASSINI-CAGLIARI; CAGLIARI, 2001, p.114), in words such as "Àraraquára" ou "Pìndamònhangába" [names of cities] – or by lexical (morphological) factors in words derived from the suffixes –íssim(o,a), -mente and –zinh(o,a).

Therefore, the focus of this work fell upon the attempt of delimitating the phonological and prosodic status of linguistic forms (in this case, the *–mente* adverbs) of a period of the Portuguese language from which one can no longer find living native speakers (AP) and, from then on, describe whether there were changes related to the prosodic status of these forms in the current synchrony.

Due to the difficulty in working with phonological phenomena (in this case, the *–mente* adverbs) from the archaic period of the Portuguese language, we took poetic metrified texts as the AP corpus, namely the secular cantigas (510 cantigas de amigo [friend songs], 431 cantigas de escárnio e maldizer [satirical songs] and 310 cantigas de amor [love songs]) and the 420 religious cantigas in praise of the Virgin Mary, named Cantigas de Santa Maria (CSM). According to some researchers of archaic Portuguese (MASSINI-CAGLIARI, 1995; MATTOS E SILVA, 2006), these types of texts are richer for the study of prosody of a language and its data, once they reveal "clues" regarding stress and rhythm from a period in the Portuguese language of which we have no oral registers from speakers, thus enabling the description of prosodic phenomena.

Thus, this work's methodology started with the scansion of the poem in poetic syllables, in which we can see the boundaries of the phonetic syllables. For example: through poetic scansion and the definition of the boundaries of phonetic syllables, it is possible to locate the poetic stresses and, consequently, the stress in the words, facilitating the investigation of their prosodic structure and allowing – in the case of the adverbial forms in *–mente* – the formulation of hypotheses regarding whether these words were, in the archaic period of Portuguese, derived (one lexical stress) or compound (two lexical stresses).

In order to map the adverbial forms in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, the Mettmann's (1986- 1988-1989) edition was used. The religious *cantigas* were compiled under the order of the Wise King of Castile, Alfonso X, in the thirteenth century, and were passed down to us through four old manuscripts (called "codices"). For the *cantigas de escárnio e maldizer*, we use Lapa's (1998) edition. Such cantigas were passed down to

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periods of Portuguese. Thus, data, not corpora, was compared qualitatively, given the specificity of each.

us through two old manuscripts. One of them is the *Cancioneiro da Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa*, also known by the abbreviations B or CBN and formerly denominated *Cancioneiro Colocci Brancuti*. The other manuscript is the *Cancioneiro da Vaticana*, known by the abbreviations V or CV. Finally, the *cantigas de amor* were extracted from three Cancioneiros: *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* (A or CA), facsimile edition of 1994, *Cancioneiro Colocci Brancuti* (B) and *Cancioneiro da Vaticana* (V); the *cantigas de amigo* were extracted from B, in the facsimile 1982 edition.

On the other side, the BP corpus choice was made owing to the *Corpus do Português[3]* database presenting several texts written in Brazil and in Portugal, from different sources and genres, from literary to journalistic.

The *Corpus do Português* [Portuguese corpus] was elaborated jointly by the researchers Michael Ferreira, from Georgetown University, and Mark Davies, from Brigham Young University. It consists of over 45 million words in almost 57 thousand Portuguese texts from various sources, from literary to journalistic, encompassing a time period from 1300 to the end of the 20th century. Thus, it spans a vast variety of themes, genres and approaches, allowing a more comprehensive investigation about the phonological phenomena in present-day Portuguese. However, while mapping the adverbial forms in this corpus, it was impossible to find occurrences of *–mente* adverbial forms in poetic context. For that reason, in a subsequent moment, we chose to use some examples of occurrences of such adverbs in BP extracted from a collection of *cordel* literature poems.

The collection chosen was a critical edition of Lopes (1982), published by the Banco do Nordeste, which presents an analysis of twenty-two classics of cordel literature, by sixteen different cordel authors. According to Lopes (1982), cordel literature can be defined as visual poetry, with popular themes and pressed in pamphlets. Vestiges of this type of literature were found initially in 15th and 16th century Germany, in loose pamphlets that presented, in verses to be sung, information about events of that time. Observing the information brought by Lopes (1982), one can notice that our option for the cordel literature corpus was correct since, from its origin, this type of literature presented a dynamic between poetry and music, and it is known that this fact favours prosodic studies, as it is the case of the work presented in this article.

Brief notes on Prosodic Phonology and the phonological word

Prosodic Phonology is a non-linear phonological theory that deals with a hierarchical organisation of prosodic constituents. Differently from what occurred in the Chomsky and Halle's generative phonology (1968), in which phonological descriptions were

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[3] We mention a "selection" of the database, once this database was used only for the checking of the adverbs in *-mente* mapped in AP, so as to know whether some change occurred in the two synchronies of the Portuguese language: the origin (AP) and the current. That being so, not all occurrences of *–mente* adverbs found in this BP corpus were mapped; only the current adverbial form was checked in comparison with the old mapped form to describe possible changes.

characterised by a linear organisation of the segments, in the prosodic theory the organisation of the constituents in hierarchical levels is able to explain the gradient character of stress, that is, its capacity of presenting different degrees of prominence. As an example of different prominence degrees that a word might present, let us think of the BP vocable *pós-graduação*, in which there is one prominence in the prefix *pós* and two prominences in the word *graduação*, one represented by the primary stress in the syllable *ção* and another (eurhythmic in nature) placed in the syllable *du*, in the case of the sequence *du-a* being syllabified as an hiatus, or *gra*, in the case of this sequence being syllabified as a diphthong, as shown by the following schema:

(1) pós + graduação = pós-gra.dù.a.ção   'Graduate studies'
      pós + graduação = pós-grà.dua.ção

Starting from this new dimension in linguistic studies (organisation of prosodic constituents in hierarchical levels), Selkirk (1980) initiated the Prosodic Phonology studies. Another renowned work of the author was published in 1984, bringing a more refined version of her 1980 study.

Selkirk (1980) begins her texts affirming that her study's aim is to present a theory that takes into consideration a suprasegmental hierarchical organisation for the utterance, not a simple linear arrangement of segments. From then on, the author exposes the prosodic categories that may exist in languages, organising them in hierarchies (Table 1):

Table 1 – Prosodic constituents according to Selkirk's proposition (1980)

Selkirk's proposition (1980)		
PROSODIC CONSTITUENTS		
Constituents	**Portuguese translation**	**Symbols**
phonological utterance	enunciado fonológico	U
intonational phrase	grupo entoacional	I
phonological phrase	grupo fonológico	Φ
phonological word	palavra fonológica	ω
foot	pé	Σ
syllable	sílaba	σ

Source: Massini-Cagliari (1995, p.102).

The element we shall highlight in the prosodic hierarchy is the Prosodic Word or Phonological Word (ω), an element of foremost importance for our study, since it is from the delimitation of ω that we shall be able to describe the status of adverbial forms

in –*mente*, as shall be shown in the data analysis section. Selkirk (1980) affirms that in the prosodic word level what is taken into consideration is the stress prominence.

The author devotes a chapter of her 1984 work to word stress in English, studying this suprasegment taking as a basis the concept from Siegel (1974) of this language's neutral affixes and nonneutral affixes.[4]

Other studies approaching the prosodic word are Vigário's (2007, 2003, 2001). According to Vigário (2003), when discussing the Prosodic Word (ω), one must also pay attention to the fact that it can be further divided into two types: the *Minimal Prosodic Word* – which bears only one primary stress and is composed by incorporated structures (words with suffixes or hosts plus enclitics) or adjoined structures (words with prefixes or hosts plus proclitics) – and the *Maximum or Compound Prosodic Word* – which is formed by two Prosodic Words (the case of compound words that do not form a phonological syntagma), but has only one prominent element which bears the main prominence of this domain. In the case of the adverbs studied, this main prominence would be placed in the –*mente* element.

The Maximum Prosodic words are subdivided into six types:

i) Morphosyntactic compounds and some syntactic compound (word + word), such as *salto alto* 'high heels' [[salto]W[alto]W]PWMAX, *verde-água* 'water green' [[verde]W[água]W]PWMAX[5];

ii) Derived words with suffixes which constitute stress domains independent of their base, such as *francamente* 'quite frankly' [[franca]W[mente]W]PWMAX;

iii) Derived words with stressed prefixes, such as in *pré-estreia* 'pre release' [[pré]W[estreia]W]PWMAX;

iv) Morphological compounds (root+root), such as *socioeconômico* 'socioeconomic' [[sócio]W[econômico]W]PWMAX;

v) Mesoclitic structures, as in *falar-te-ei* 'I will speak to you' [[falar-te]W[ei]W]PWMAX;

vi) Abbreviations, as in *CD* [[se]W[de]W]PWMAX;

vii) Sequence of Prosodic Words consisting of (a) pairs of letter names, as in *RN* [[erre]W[ene]W]PWMAX; (b) letter names followed by numeral, as in *P-dois* 'P-two' [[pe]W[dois]W]PWMAX; and (c) some numerals followed by frequent words *horas* 'hours' and *anos* 'years', as in *onze horas* 'eleven hours' [[onze]W[horas]W]PWMAX.

Considering the subtypes previously presented, the adverbs approached in our study (-*mente* adverbs) fit into the second subtype: derived words with suffixes that constitute stress domains independent from their base, as we shall see in the results analysis section.

It is therefore possible to understand that the phonological word (ω) is an extremely important constituent for the theme developed in this article, once the determinant

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[4] These concepts will be better discussed in the data description and analysis section, based on the examples of adverbs mapped in AP and BP.

[5] In her 2001 work, Vigário affirms only that the constructions *salto-alto* 'high heels' e *verde-água* 'water green' do not behave clearly as compounds and does not tackle the concept of maximum prosodic word.

factor to know whether we have a ω is the presence of an independent stress domain, that is, the presence of a primary word stress. By defining the number of phonological words in the occurrences mapped in the medieval *cantigas*, it is possible to classify them in simple or compound forms, thus determining the prosodic status of –*mente* adverbs in Portuguese.

Metric Phonology and stress placement rules

Besides emphasizing the elements that constitute a syllable, the metric model also deals with rhythmic phenomena, such as the stress. According to Hayes (1995, p.8), the central claim of metrical theory is that stress is the linguistic manifestation of the rhythmic structure:

> The central claim of metrical stress theory, argued in Liberman 1975 and Liberman and Prince 1977, is that stress is the linguistic manifestation of rhythmic structure. That is, in stress languages, every utterance has a rhythmic structure which serves as an organizing framework for that utterance's phonological and phonetic realization. One reason for supposing that stress is linguistic rhythm is that stress patterns exhibit substantial formal parallels[6] with extra-linguistic rhythmic structures, such as those found in music and verse.

Considering that stress can be defined as a linguistic manifestation of rhythmic structure, Hayes (1995), based on Liberman (1975) and Liberman and Prince (1977), affirms that the metrical theory postulates that stress is not a feature, but rather a constituent that may be represented in a rhythmic structure hierarchically organised, once languages may present properties in stress that indicate a hierarchy. Such is the case, for example, of the Rhythmic Distribution property, which posits that stresses in a sequence tend to occur in even distances, creating alternating patterns and, moreover, the hierarchical property of stress, in which it is noted that most languages present several degrees of stress: primary, secondary, tertiary, among others.

Hayes (1995) also presents some types of stress rules. The first of them refers to the notion of fixed stress and free stress. Also, this first features predictable placing and derives from some rule, such as the stress in Spanish, which is limited to the last three syllables of words, whereas the second one presents no predictable placing and is assigned lexically.

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6   The fact that the stress pattern presents formal parallels with extra-linguistic rhythmic structures (music, verse) is something one can also observe in Massini-Cagliari's (1995, 2005) and Daniel Soares da Costa's (2006, 2010) works on AP, and something that assists the determination of the prosodic status of the adverbials in –*mente* in the moment of origin of the Portuguese language.

The second type of stress rule is the one that distinguishes rhythmic stress and morphological stress. Rhythmic stress is based on purely phonological factors, such as syllable weight, and morphological stress is the one that reveals the morphological structure of a word.

According to Hayes (1995), there are two types of morphological stress systems: (1) the morphological stress system similar to the English language, in which main stress is assigned in the stem level and most affixes are subordinated to this main stress, and (2) the system in which morphological stress results from a complex interaction between the kind of radical (stressed x unstressed) and the affixes properties (affixes that can be inherently stressed or unstressed, affixes that can remove stress from the domains in which they can be assigned, affixes that can assign stress to the preceding syllable).

Finally, the third type of stress rule presented by Hayes (1995) is the one that does or does not take word boundary into consideration, thus also being called Bounded and Unbounded Stress. In the bounded stress system, stress is assigned within certain distance from word boundary or from another stress; such is the case of stem stress in English. On the other side, in the Unbounded Stress system, stress can be assigned in an unlimited distance from the boundary or from another stress, provided they have appropriated conditions for it. An example of such system, according to Hayes (1995), is the following: stress can be assigned to the heaviest syllable to the right of the word. If syllable weight is not considered,[7] stress lands on the first syllable.

By observing the types of stress rules presented by Hayes (1995), it is possible to notice that both notions of rhythmic stress as well as morphological stress are important for the theme dealt within this article. In the formation of –*mente* adverbs, it is possible to observe the interaction mentioned by Hayes (1995), in which –*mente*, which is an "affix" (using traditional morphological terms) is assigned stress in the penultimate syllable for rhythmic reasons and when joining a base (in all of the cases mapped, a ready word, as in *fremosamente* 'beautifully' – example (3) in which the "ready" character, that is, already inflected, of the first base can be vouched for by the presence of a mark of singular feminine gender), can preserve stress in the base or shift it, as we will see in more detail in the next section.

The –*mente* adverbs: rhythmic aspects

The purpose of this section is to analyse the results found during the mapping of adverbial forms in –*mente* in medieval *cantigas*, namely the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, the *cantigas de escárnio e maldizer*, the *cantigas de amor* and also the *cantigas de amigo*, adding up to 175 occurrences. In addition, with the data from medieval *cantigas*, comparative examples extracted from the *Corpus do Português* are also presented, which show occurrences of the present-day synchrony.

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[7] Syllable weight is attributed based on the notion of heavy syllables (-) vs light syllables (˘).

The description and analysis of AP's data began with the division of occurrences of –*mente* adverbs in two groups: the occurrences which preserve the stress on the base when –*mente* adjoins (group 1) and the ones that shift stress (group 2), as can be examined as follows:[8]

(2)
Group 1

abertamente	'openly'
afficadamente	'insistently'
alongadamente	'distantly'
apostamente	'properly'
apressurosamente	'hastily'
avondadamente	'in a satisfied way'
brevemente	'briefly'
certamente	'certainly'
compridamente	'extensively'
cruamente	'roughly'
dereitamente	'rightly'
devotamente	'devotedly'
enganosamente	'deceptively'
esforçadamente	'conscientiously'
espessamente	'thickly'
falsamente	'falsely'
feramente	'fiercely'
firmemente	'firmly'
fortemente	'strongly'
francamente	'frankly'
fremosamente	'beautifully'
inteiramente	'entirely'
ligeiramente	'slightly'
malamente	'badly'
maravillosamente	'marvelously'
mederosamente	'fearfully'
omildosamente	'humbly'
onrradamente	'honourably'
ousadamente	'boldly'
primeyramente	'firstly'
quitamente	'entirely'
ricamente	'richly'
saborosamente	'tastefully'
seguramente	'safely'

(3)
Group 2

comũalmente	'currently'
lealmente	'loyally'
mortalmente	'deadly'
naturalmente	'naturally'
sotilmente	'subtly'

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[8]   Massini-Cagliari (2015, 2005, 1999, 1995) considers proparoxytone stress extremely rare in AP, and it also was not found in the *cantigas de amigo* corpus. Reinforcing the author's previous results, no proparoxytone bases in the formation of –*mente* adverbs were found in the corpus on which this research is based.

simpremente	'simply'
soberviosamente	'superbly'
verdadeyramente	'verily'
vergonnosamente	'shamefully'
vilanamente	'villainously'

The examples show that most occurrences mapped in the medieval *cantigas* belong to the first group, adverbs that preserve the stress on the base. Following are the scansions of some of said occurrences to confirm the preservation of such stress on the base.

(4)
Cantiga de Santa Maria 205, verses 7-11

"Ca/a/*ques*/tas/ *du*/as/*cou*/sas | *fa*/zen/ *mui*/con/*pri*/da/*men*/te   3-5-7| 1-3-5-7
 ga/a/*nnar*/ a/*mor*/ e/ gra/ça | *de*/la/, se/ de/*vo*/ta/*men*/te   1-3-5-7| 1-5-7
 se/ *fa*/zen/ e/ *co*/mo/ *de*/ven;| e/ a/*ssi*/ a/*ber*/ta/*men*/te,   2-5-7| 1-3-5-7
 pa/*re*/ce/ a/ *ssa*/ ver/*tu*/de | *so*/bre/ to/d'o/me/ coi/*ta*/do.   2-5-7| 1-3-4-7
 O/ra/*çon*/ con/ *pi*/a/*da*/de | *o*/e/ a/ *Vir*/gen/ de/ *gra*/do..."[9]   1-3-5-7| 1-4-7

(METTMANN, 1988, p.251)

(5)
Cantiga de Santa Maria 341, verses 55-58

"*Des*/que/a/*ques*/t' *ou*/ve/ *di*/to, | *lo*/g' *an*/te/*to*/da/ a/ *gen*/te   1-4-5-7| 1-2-4-7
 so/*biu*/ en/*ci*/ma/ da/ *pe*/na, | cor/*ren*/do/ es/for/*ça*/da/*men*/te,   2-4-7| 2-6-8
 e/*di*/ss'a/*mui*/*gran*/des/*vo*/zes:|"*Ma*/dre/da/*quel*/que/non/*men*/te,   2-5-7|1-4-7
 val/ – me/, ca/ tu/ *sen*/pre/ *va*/les | *a*/os/ que/ *tor*/to/ non/ *fa*/zen."[10]   5-7| 1-4-7

(METTMANN, 1989, p.191)

(6)
Cantiga de Santa Maria 309, verses 35-36

"E/ po/*ren*/ te/ *ro*/gu' e/ *man*/do | que/ *di*/gas/ a/ *es*/ta/ *gen*/te   3-5-7| 2-5-7
 de/ *Ro*/ma/ que/ *mia*/ ei/*gre*/ja | *fa*/çan/ *lo*/go/ *man*/te/*nen*/te,   2-5-7| 1-3-5-7
 u/ *vi*/ren/ me/*an*/t' a/*gos*/to | ca/*er*/ ne/v' es/*pe*/ssa/*men*/te,   2-5-7| 2-3-5-7
ca/a/*ly*/ quer/o/*meu*/*Fi*/llo | Jhe/*su*/-Cris/t, e/ *Deus*/ seu/ *Pa*/dre.[11]   3-4-6-7|2-3-5-7

(METTMANN, 1989, p.115)

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[9] 'For these two things more surely win Her love and blessing, if they are done devoutly, as they should be, and thus Her power is freely shown to everyone in need. The Virgin gladly hears […]' (KULP-HILL, 2000, p.246). [For the translation of the *cantigas*, we will adopt the "official" translation to English published by Kulp-Hill, 2000.]

[10] 'When she had said this, she climbed at a run to the top of the cliff before all the people and said loudly: "Mother of Him Who does not lie, help me, for you always help those who do no wrong." (KULP-HILL, 2000, p.415).

[11] "Therefore, I bessech and command you that you tell these people of Rome that they build my church at once where they see snow fall thickly in the middle of August, for it is there that my Son, Jesus Christ, and God, His Father, wish it." (KULP-HILL, 2000, p.374).

In the example (4), three occurrences of –*mente* adverbs are verified: *compridamente* 'extensively' *devotamente* 'devoutly' and *abertamente* 'openly', all of them in rhyme position. According to Massini-Cagliari and Cagliari (1998), words in rhyme position bear the strongest stress of the verse. Thus, by observing the meter of the verse in which these occurrences appear, the strongest stress is found on the last poetic syllable *men*, as shown by the previous example.

Through this verse, one can also verify that all verses present seven poetic syllables and, in most verses, their stresses fall on 1-3-5-7. For stress placement, the period's versification precepts were followed, as established based on the reading of *Poética fragmentária* [Fragmented Poetry] and the manuals consulted, to aid verse scansion. A very interesting fact was verified, pointing towards the existence of two prosodic prominences in these occurrences, once through metrification it is possible to notice that stresses always land on the fifth and seventh poetic syllables. This means that in the verses in which –*mente* adverbs are found, such tonic syllables are in the same position of the word (com<u>pri</u>da<u>men</u>t, de<u>vo</u>ta<u>men</u>t e a<u>ber</u>ta<u>men</u>t), that is, the two prominences are placed in –*mente* and in the word that served as the base for the adverb.

Comparing the information from Daniel Soares da Costa's work (2010) with the scansion of verses in which the adverbs in question appear, it is possible to notice that, in the focused occurrences, the derivational bases stresses (*comprida*, *devote* and *aberta*) were preserved, even after the junction of the –*mente* element. The same occurred in the examples (5) and (6), with the words *esforçadamente* 'strenuously' (in the context of the poem, it was translated by Kulp-Hill, 2000, as 'loudly') and *espessamente* 'thickly', which preserved their bases stress, respectively on the syllables *ça* and *pe*.

Therefore, based on Hayes (1995), these occurrences of the group 1 would be part of the rhythmic stress, once the forming bases of group 1 occurrences are all paroxytones ending in light syllables (standard stress pattern of AP's non-names, according to MASSINI-CAGLIARI, 1999) and, hence, tend to attract the stress to the word's penultimate syllable.

It must also be emphasised that, once these occurrences' basis stress does not undergo stress clash with the stress of the –*mente* element, there is no need to shift the stress from the base. Consequently, one can infer that the group 1 occurrences (which preserve the base stress) are bearers of two lexical stresses: the base and the form –*mente*'s. This indicates that each of the constitutive parts of the adverbs in –*mente* would be a distinct phonological word, a fact that shall be further discussed in the following section.

BP presents an analogous situation, with some occurrences found in the cordel literature poems. Some examples:

(7)

"As/ *da*/mas/ da/ *al*/ta/ *côr*/te	2-5-7
tra/*ja*/vam/ de/*cen*/te/*men*/te	2-5-7
tô/da/ *cor*/te im/pe/*ri*/al	1-3-6
es/pe/*ra*/va im/*pa*/ci/*en*/te [12]	1-3-5-7
[...]"	

<div align="right">(LIMA apud LOPES, 1982, p.28)</div>

(8)

"No/ *di*/a/ se/*guin*/te a/ *voz*	2-5-7
da/ la/*go*/a/ *no*/va/*men*/te	3-5-7
di/sse a/ Jo/*ão*/: te/ pre/*pa*/ra	1-4-7
[...]	
pe/ço/ por/ fa/*vor*/ não/ *dur*/mas	1-5-7
fa/ças/ por/ *ser*/ di/li/*gen*/te". [13]	1-4-7

<div align="right">(SILVA apud LOPES, 1982, p.7).</div>

In examples (7) and (8), two occurrences with *–mente* adverbs are seen: *decentemente* 'decently' and *novamente* 'again', both in rhyme position. From these examples, we can verify that most verses present seven poetic syllables and the stresses, in most of them, land on 1-3-5-7, that is, an alternating rhythmic pattern is favoured. It is also noticed that the scansion in poetic syllables points towards the existence of two prosodic prominences in these occurrences, once, since the stressed syllables land in 5 or 7 most of the time, the two prominences are on *–mente* and on the word that served as basis for the adverb (*de*cen*te*men*te* e no*va*men*te*).

The complete scansion allows us to notice that, in the occurrences, the derivational basis stresses (*decente* and *nova*) were preserved, even after the junction of the *–mente* element.

Let us now go forward to the analysis of adverbial forms of the group 2 (which shift stress from the basis), starting from the metrification of such occurrences:

(9)

Cantiga de Santa Maria 247, verses 36-39

"A/*ques*/to/*viu*/ben/a/*gen*/te | *mui*/ *gran*/de/que/ *y*/es/*ta*/va,	2-4-5-7| 1-2-5-7
que/ *to*/da/ *co*/mu/nal/*men*/te | *San*/ta/ Ma/*ri*/a/ lo/*a*/va	2-4-7| 1-4-7
que/ *tal*/ mi/*ra*/gre/ fe/*ze*/ra; | *e*/ a/ *mo*/ça/ *y*/ fi/*ca*/va	2-4-7| 1-3-5-7
va/*rren*/do/ *sem*/pr'a/ei/*gre*/ja |*co*/mo/ lle/ *fo*/ra/ man/*da*/do." [14]	2-4-7| 1-4-7

<div align="right">(METTMANN, 1988, p.346).</div>

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(10)

Cantiga de amor 307, verses 31-35

" Por/*que*/ *sol*/ di/*zer*/ a/ *gen*/te   2-3-5-7
   do/ *que*/ *a*/ma/ *le*/al /*men*/te: 2-3-5-7
   «**se**/s'én/ *non*/ *quer*/ en/fa/*dar*,   1-3-4-7
   na/*ci*/ma/*gua*/lar/*don*/*pren*/de,»   2-4-6-7
   a/*m' eu*/ e/ *sir*/vo/ por/ *en*/de."   2-4-7

(MICHAËLIS DE VASCONCELOS, 1904, p.614-615).

In the examples (9) and (10), two occurrences of adverbs formed by the *–mente* are verified: *comuãlmente* ('currently') and *lealmente* 'loyally'. By checking Daniel Soares da Costa's work (2010) along with the previous scansions carried out, we can notice that in such occurrences the derivational basis stress (*comu*a̱l e *le*ál) was not preserved after the junction of *–mente*, even though these adverb's forming bases are oxytones, ending in a closed syllable (a syllable with a consonant) and, therefore, attract the lexical stress to themselves.

What happened in the previous scansions was a stress shift to the previous syllable due to stress clash of the base accent with that of the *–mente* element. Given it some thought, it is possible to infer that, if a stress clash occurred, in fact it means that, at first, the base lexical stress was preserved, and, by reasons of language eurhythmy, they were later shifted. Hence, we can affirm that the occurrences of the group 2 shift their basis stress precisely because, at first, they preserve such stress and, by eurhythmic factors (stress clash) end up shifting it. A similar fact occurs in BP, as Lee's (1995) and Basílio's (2006) works have previously shown; it is possible to notice this behaviour change in *–mente* adverbs occurrences extracted from some poems of the cordel literature collection.

(11)

"Cho/*ran*/do/ di/*zi*/a/ e/la   2-5-7
   oh!/ meu/ *Deus*/, oh!/ *pai*/ cle/*men*/te   1-3-5-7
   tra/*zei*/ con/*fôr*/to e/ con/*sô*/lo   1-4-7
   a/ *u*/ma/ *po*/bre i/no/*cen*/te   2-4-7
   que/ *sem*/ fa/zer/ *mal* / a/ nin/*guém*   2-5-8
   vi/ve a/ so/*frer*/ *cru*/el/*men*/te".[15]   1-4-5-7

(MELO apud LOPES, 1982, p.376).

---

[15] 'She said crying, Oh my God, Oh clement father, bring me comfort and solace to a poor innocent, who does nobody harm and lives to suffer cruelly.' [Translated by Authors]

(12)

"Com/ *e*/ssa/ ra/*pa*/zi/*a*/da   2-5-7

 é/ que/ *an*/do a/*tu*/al/*men*/te   1-3-5-7

 o/ mais/ *fra*/co/ do/ meu/ *gru*/po   1-3-7

 bri/ga/ com/ *dez*/ e/ não/ *sen*/te".[16]   1-4-7

<div align="right">(SILVA apud LOPES, 1982, p.411).</div>

The examples (11) and (12) show two occurrences of adverbs formed by the –*mente* element: *cruelmente* 'cruelly' and *atualmente* 'currently'. With the scansions conducted above, we notice that in such occurrences the stress of derivational bases (*cru*él e *atu*ál) was not preserved after the junction of –*mente*, even though the forming bases of these adverbs are oxytones, ending in a closed syllable (syllable ending with a consonant) and, therefore, attract the lexical stress to themselves. Thus, we can say that the adverbial forms of the group 2, both in AP as in BP, can be realised phonetically with two stresses: one lexical, in the syllable *men*, and another, secondary, in some of the base syllables.

Secondary stress, according to Massini-Cagliari and Cagliari (2001), is a prosodic prominence that may occur either by effect of the language's eurhythmy rules or by lexical factors. In the case of the two adverbs on which this study is focused, secondary stress occurs by lexical factors (as we could see from the example of the group 2 words), because the occurrence of secondary stress is given by the word's morphological structure, in the moment these adverbs are formed. Secondary stress by eurhythmy (rhythmic secondary stress), on the other hand, occurs because:

> Once, in Portuguese, an excessively long sequence of unstressed syllables is not acceptable, some of these syllables get an extra reinforcement, forming a more regular rhythmic wave. Thus, the occurrence of secondary stresses can be considered an effect of the language's eurhythmy rules. (MASSINI-CAGLIARI; CAGLIARI, 2001, p.114, translation ours).[17]

Regarding secondary stress, Daniel Soares da Costa (2010) also states that, when two stresses clash in AP, the linguistic system of this period of the language prefers a binary pattern, that is, "secondary stresses occur in a rather regular interval, every second syllable" (COSTA, 2010, p.179). And this is precisely what we observe in the group 2 examples, as in the word *lealmente* 'loyally'. We notice that secondary stress lands on the second syllable before the tonic, that is, the syllable *le*. In this formation, secondary stress is not realised phonetically over the stress of the base itself, seeing

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[16] 'With this band of boys I currently walk, the weakest of my group brawls with ten and feels nothing.' [Translated by Authors]

[17] "Como, em português, uma seqüência muito longa de sílabas átonas não é aceitável, algumas dessas sílabas passam a ter um reforço extra, formando uma onda rítmica mais regular. Dessa forma, a ocorrência de acentos secundários pode ser considerada um efeito de regras de eurritmia da língua." (MASSINI-CAGLIARI; CAGLIARI, 2001, p.114).

that the base's stress is originally on the syllable *al*. Due to the stress clash between the *–mente* element and the base word's stress on the *al* syllable, the stress position is shifted from this syllable to the syllable *le*.

To illustrate better some of the questions related to whether there is stress shift in the adverbial forms mapped in the corpora, let us now represent some of them, both from the group 1 (adverbs that preserve the base stress) as well as from the group 2 (adverbs that shift stress from the base), through bracketed metrical grids. Let us begin with the group 1 occurrences, in which prominences of the line 0 represent, at the same time, the foot supporting main stress, generated by the main stress rule, non-iterative and, in relation to the first word, also feet that support secondary prominences, built through an iterative rule (COLLISCHONN, 1994).

(13)

(			x	)	linha 2
(	x	)	(x	)	linha 1
(x)	(x	.)	(x	.)	linha 0
a	ber	ta	men	te	

'openly'

(14)

(			x	)	linha 2
(	x	)	(x	)	linha 1
(x)	(x	.)	(x	.)	linha 0
de	vo	ta	men	te	

'devoutly'

(15)

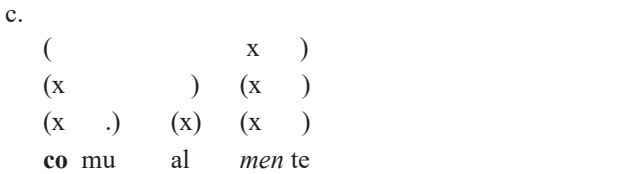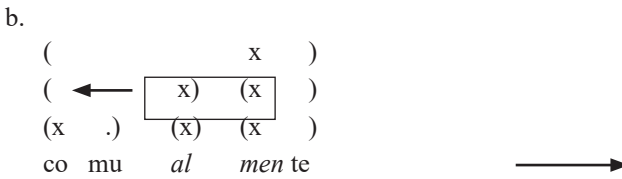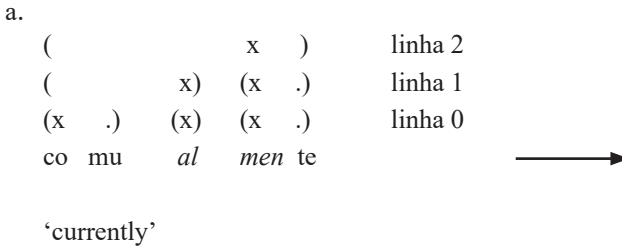| (			x	)	linha 2
(	x	)	(x	)	linha 1
(x)	(x	.)	(x	.)	linha 0
es	pe	ssa	men	te	

'thickly'

The previous examples show that on line 0 we have the foot level, on line 1 the word level and on line 2 the level establishing the prominence between the bases. Line 1 is particularly important to this study, since it is where we observe the presence of two
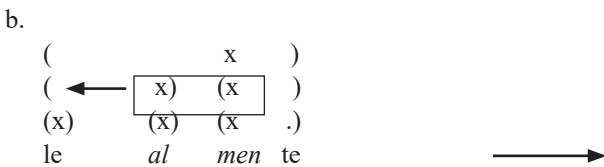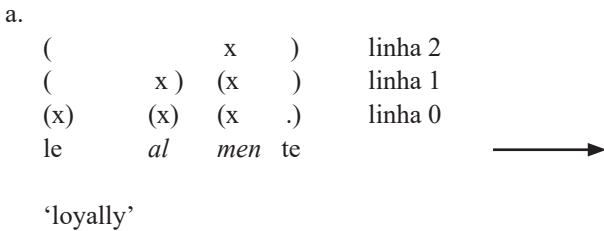
distinct words, with independent stresses. Because they are occurrences from group 1, we also verify on line 1 that base stresses were preserved in each of the occurrences displayed, once there is no need for shift, because there is *no* stress clash.

Let us now observe from now on the bracketed grids of some of the occurrences from group 2:

(16)

a.
```
(                    x    )        linha 2
(            x)   (x    .)        linha 1
(x     .)    (x)   (x    .)        linha 0
co   mu      al    men te                        ⟶
```

'currently'

b.
```
(                      x     )
(   ⟵    [ x)    (x    ] )
(x     .)      (x)   (x      )
co   mu      al    men te                        ⟶
```

c.
```
(                      x     )
(x              )   (x     )
(x     .)    (x)   (x     )
co  mu        al    men te
```

(17)

a.
```
(                    x     )        linha 2
(          x )   (x      )        linha 1
(x)        (x)   (x    .)        linha 0
le          al    men   te                        ⟶
```

'loyally'

b.
```
(                     x     )
(   ⟵    [ x)    (x     ] )
(x)      (x)   (x      .)
le          al    men   te                        ⟶
```

c.

```
(                x     )
(x         )    (x     )
(x)      (x)    (x    .)
le        al    men  te
```

The previous grids show the stages of application of Hayes' *Move X* rule (1995), used when there is stress clash in the moment of formation of a determined language structure. In the b stage, line 1, we verify the stress clash between the last syllable base and –*mente*'s *men* syllable. To solve the stress clash, we observe in stage c, line 1, the stress shift from the base to a syllable to the left of the word.

We saw that both the adverbial occurrences preserving the base stress as well as the ones shifting it present in their formation two distinct phonological words, with independent stresses. In the next section, we shall adduce several arguments that prove the existence of two distinct phonological words in the –*mente* adverbs' structure.

Another factor that allows us to state that said adverbs present different ω is the type of metrical foot observed in the adverbial occurrences, especially regarding the –*mente* element, whose suffix status can be put into question. In the case of this study, we observe that the adverbs' forming bases and the –*mente* element present one foot each and, consequently, one stress, as the following example shows:

(18) fremosa   mente 'beautifully'
```
     (x  .)  (x  .)
      ˘  ˘    ˘  ˘
```

The type of foot observed, both the basis' as –*mente*'s, is the *moraic trochee*, Portuguese's canonical foot, also in AP (MASSINI-CAGLIARI, 1995). The *moraic trochee* is a type of foot that presents the head to the left and takes syllable weight into consideration, as is the case of –*mente*, in which the head is on the left (on the syllable *men*) and, the last syllable (*te*) being light, the penultimate one is regularly stressed. In the case of the bases, those that do not shift stress (group 1) present the canonical type of the non-verbs in AP: paroxytones ending in light syllables. On the other side, the adverb's forming bases from group 2 are oxytones ending in closed syllables and, therefore, bear the stress on that syllable. Thus, the occurrences of the adverbs studied show that AP was sensitive to the syllable quantity in foot construction, that is, syllable weight determined stress placement. Therefore, as verified up to this moment, if each of the –*mente* adverbs' constituent parts form separate feet, with individual stresses, each of these parts is thus a distinct phonological word.

We can also affirm that stress shift due to stress clash is similar to the shift occurring in phrases. Let us see the example of the J̀o̱rnal H̱ójé 'Today News' phrase, uttered every day by host Sandra Annenberg, from television newscast *Jornal Hoje*. In this phrase, two stresses of two independent words are attributed: one on the syllable *nal*,

from *jornal*, and another on the syllable *ho¸* from *hoje*. When the phrase is formed, a stress clash occurs between these syllables and, as a result, a stress shift from the syllable *nal* to the syllable *jor*, as shown by the following schema:

(19)

      Jornál Hóje → Jòrnal Hóje

Other examples of phrases similar to the one aforementioned are:

(20)

      computadór rápido → compùtador rápido or còmputadór rápido 'fast computer'
      anél gránde → ànel grande 'big ring'

Therefore, we notice that the phrases shown in the examples (19) and (20) present a similar behaviour to group 2 *–mente* adverbs, since, just like said adverbs, the phrases undergo stress clash that is solved by the stress shift from one of the syllables on the right to one of the syllables to the left. Thus, if the adverbial forms in *–mente* present the same type of stress shift of the phrases (two-stress structures), it can be inferred that such fact is only one more argument to consider said adverbs as structures with two independent stresses. However, it must be noted that, unlike phrases, adverbs in *–mente* present no number inflection between their parts and, due to that, cannot be inserted in the Portuguese phrase group, but into the group of structures with two distinct phonological words, that is, words with independent stresses and that may be classified as compounds, from a prosodic point of view.

Adverbs in *–mente*: prosodic status

This section presents the description and analysis about the prosodic status of adverbial forms in *–mente*, both in AP as well as present-day Portuguese.

In the first place, aspects of the prosodic theory capable of describing some of the characteristics of the *–mente* element will be described.

As seen in the section devoted to Prosodic Phonology, Selkirk (1984) studies English word stress based on the concept of neutral affixes and nonneutral affixes. The latter always being in words, and hence also called root affixes. On the other hand, neutral affixes are always out of nonneutral affixes, that is, they do not attach to a base, but rather to a word, being thus called word affixes, but words are not always within roots, only within other words.

Based on Selkirk's idea (1984) for English affixes, one can think of something similar for *–mente* in Portuguese, since such affix could have a neutral affix, that is, is a *fellow* of the category 'word', as can be noticed in the following examples, both for AP as well as present-day Portuguese:

(21)

	AP		Present-day Portuguese	
abertamente	→ *abertmentea	abertamente	→ *abertmentea	'openly'
certamente	→ *certmentea	certamente	→ *certmentea	'certainly'
fremosamente	→ *fremosmentea	formosamente	→ *formosmentea	'beautifully'
saborosamente	→ *saborosmentea	saborosamente	→ *saborosmentea	'tastefully'

Regarding neutral and nonneutral affixes, Selkirk (1984) also affirms that nonneutral (root affixes) fit the canonical English stress pattern, once they can be attached before the stress placement rule, that is, within word boundary. On the other hand, neutral affixes (word affixes) do not follow this pattern and may be attached after the application of the stress placement rule. This means that stress placement in words formed by these affixes does not occur within the word formed, but rather between words.

Therefore, it is possible to think that the –*mente* affix, which forms adverbs studied in this work, by being a neutral affix, *fellow* of the category "word", may have an independent stress domain and, consequently, when attaching to already inflected bases (also with their own stresses), forms compound elements, from the prosodic point of view, because the *Stress Placement Rule* occurs between distinct prosodic words, as we will further observe.

It was also seen that the phonological word (ω) is the prosodic constituent that presents the relation between the morphological and phonological components. According to Nespor and Vogel (1986), the morphological notions used to discuss the formation of the prosodic word are not the same in all languages. Thus, depending on the language being studied, the domain to the definition of prosodic word takes diverse aspects into consideration.

A phonological word may have Q as domain, that is, a terminal syntactic knot. But according to Nespor and Vogel (1986), it can also present as domain: (a) a root; (b) some element identified by morphological and/or phonological criteria; (c) some element marked with the [+W] diacritic; (d) any loose element in Q that is part of the adjacent ω closest to the root.

Based on the concept of domain explained in the previous paragraph, it is possible to think that, in the case of this study, the pertinent domain could be: (b) some element identified by morphological and/or phonological criteria, since the bases that form adverbs in –*mente* would have as morphological criteria the fact of being a structure that forms a foot[18] - moraic trochee, as seen in the previous section. Thus, taking such theory of the ω domain into consideration, we can suppose that the –*mente* adverbs investigated in this study can be considered elements formed by parts which are independent from each other, in which the Stress Placement Rule acts in distinct domains: in the already inflected bases and in the –*mente* "suffix". Each of these parts, therefore, can be considered a distinct phonological word.

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[18] For more information about the metrical foot in the context of the –*mente* adverbs, check the previous section, regarding the analysis of these adverbial forms from a Metrical Phonology perspective.

Still regarding the prosodic word domain, Nespor and Vogel (1986) state that syllables and feet can be readjusted in ω. Despite the claim that there is no isomorphism between prosodic structure and morphosyntactic structure, some languages present isomorphism between prosodic word and morphological word (W). It was found with the data collection that, in the case of most of –*mente* adverbs bases' case, this also happens, both in AP as well as BP:

(22)

$$[[aberta]_W]_{PW} \quad \text{'open'}$$
$$[[fremosa]_W]_{PW} \quad \text{'beautiful'}$$
$$[[leal]_W]_{PW} \quad \text{'loyal'}$$
$$[[natural]_W]_{PW} \quad \text{'natural'}$$

The bases shown in the previous examples may show the phonological independence within them, since, if such bases are phonological words, the presence of a primary stress in them becomes clear and, as seen in the section about the prosodic word, *one of the criteria for the delimitation of the prosodic word is the presence of a word stress*. So, it can be inferred that adjective bases that form –*mente* adverbs, be them feminine or without apparent gender inflection, were in AP and are in BP bearers of their own stress and, consequently, independent from a prosodic point of view, once they are, by themselves, phonological words.
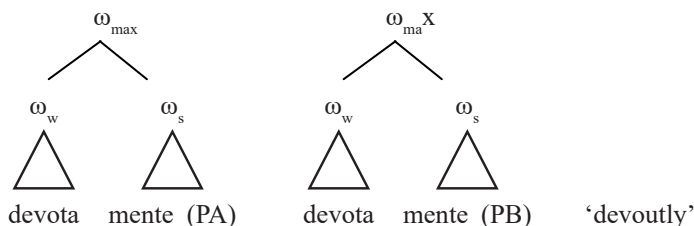
As we have already shown, the Prosodic Word (ω) can be subdivided, according to Vigário (2003) in two types: the *Minimal Prosodic Word* – which bears only one primary stress and is composed of incorporated structures (words with suffixes or hosts plus enclitics) or attached structures (words with prefixes or hosts plus proclitics) – and the *Maximum* or *Compound Prosodic Word* – which is formed by two Prosodic Words (the case of compound words that do not form a phonological phrase), however, has only one prominent element that bears the main prominence of this domain.

In the case of the adverbs studied, it was observed that such adverbial forms present the maximum or compound prosodic word, more precisely the subtype II: derived words with suffixes that constitute stress domains independent from their base, such as "francamente" 'frankly' [[franca]W[mente]W]PWMAX, as the following representation, extracted from Vigário (2003, p.227) shows:
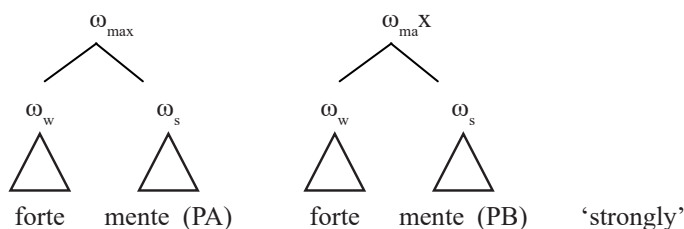
(23)
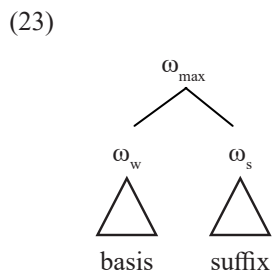
For AP and BP, the same structure previously proposed by Vigário (2003, p.227) is verified:

(24)

ω_{max} — ω_w: devota / ω_s: mente (PA)

ω_{max} — ω_w: devota / ω_s: mente (PB)   'devoutly'

(25)

ω_{max} — ω_w: forte / ω_s: mente (PA)

ω_{max} — ω_w: forte / ω_s: mente (PB)   'strongly'

The previous examples show that, in the formation of *–mente* adverbs in Portuguese, within the Maximum Prosodic Word there is a more prominent element to the right of these forms, in the case, *-mente*. This makes it possible to suppose that this element bears the word stress or the main stress. We can also verify that the maximum prosodic word bears a weaker prominence, represented by ω_w, which is found in the bases that form these adverbs.

Still regarding the phonological word, Vigário (2007) states that, when there is such dominance relation between two prosodic words, there is what the author calls *Prosodic Word Group*. Among the constituents that form this group, we can mention: derived words with suffixes that form lexical stress domains independent from their basis, derived words with stress prefixes, morphological compounds, morphosyntactic compounds, some syntactic compounds, mesoclitic structures, acronyms, pronunciation of sequences of letters, sequences of letters and numbers and certain sequences of numerals and names.[19]

Based on Vigário's proposal (2007) regarding the *Prosodic Word Group*, Ferreira (2012) proposes a division of Portuguese affixes in primary affixes and secondary affixes. According to the author (FERREIRA, 2012), secondary affixes such as *–mente* can only be attached after inflection suffixes. For example, in a case like *fremosamente* 'beautifully', we verify that the inflection gender suffix appears before the *–mente* suffix:

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[19]   Massini-Cagliari (1992, p.130) shows that these sequences' pronunciations forms compounds in BP.

fremos-a-*mente*. This same reasoning is valid for adverbs formed by non-feminine bases, such as *lealmente* 'loyally', in which the inflection morpheme zero (ø) for gender does not occur at the end of the word, but rather before the attachment of the –*mente* suffix: *leal-* ø –*mente*. This fact shows that we do not face a suffix derivation process, but rather independent words that tend to be classified as compound, from a phonological point of view.

So far, we have observed two important concepts related to the prosodic word which serve as diagnosis for the delimitation of this prosodic constituent: the domain and word stress placement. Besides these, there are other diagnoses for the delimitation of prosodic words such as: fonotactic generalisations, erasure under identity, clipping, minimal word requirement and syllabification. It should be noted that, in the case of this research, among the criteria for ω delimitation previously mentioned, we only tested erasure under identity, once other purely phonological phenomena were not found in –*mente* adverbs formation in AP.

Erasure under identity is a process in which one element within complex words in coordinate structures can be erased without jeopardising comprehension of said structure. About this issue, a great part of specialised literature (BECHARA, 2005; BASÍLIO, 2006; COSTA, J., 2008) states that –*mente*, in BP, is an element susceptible to erasure in structures such as: *Ele chegou vagarosa e tranquilamente* 'He arrived slowly and calmly'. For AP, it was impossible to apply this criterion to the adverbial forms mapped because, even though the data mapped in medieval *cantigas* provided one coordinative structure, the first adverb in the coordination (*bem* 'well' and *mal* 'badly') – as the next examples show – do *NOT* have –*mente* ending (*malmente e *benmente), and such fact leads us not to use this criterion to define autonomous elements in the formation of adverbs in –*mente* in the archaic period of the Portuguese language.

(26)
Cantiga de Santa Maria 192, verses 46-48

"Ena Groriosa,
  e a razoar
  mal e soberviosamente..."[20]

(METTMANN, 1988, p.220)

(27)
Cantiga de Santa Maria 305, verses 72-73

 "[...] per que sempre viviria
  ben e avondadamente..."[21]

(METTMANN, 1989, p.108).

---

[20] 'the Glorious One and to reason erroneously and stubbornly' (KULP-HILL, 2000, p.229).

[21] 'so that she could Always live well and comfortably' (KULP-HILL, 2000, p.370).

(28)

Cantiga de Santa Maria 335, verses 51-52

"[...] mas ele per sy fez as papas
  mui *ben e apostamente*..."[22]

(METTMANN, 1989, p.176).

(29)

Cantiga de Santa Maria 369, verses 47-48

"[...] e pagaron seus dynneyros
  ben e muy compridamente..."[23]

(METTMANN, 1989, p.251).

Up to now, this section described and discussed evidence leading to the claim that adverbs in –*mente*, both in AP as in BP, are formed by independent words, from a prosodic point of view. However, it must be highlighted that, among the occurrences mapped, one caught our attention due to its structure. It is the form *bõa mente* 'good mind'. Every time this occurrence was mapped, it was next to the preposition *de*, as shown by the next example, and such fact did not occur with the other adverbial forms mapped.

(30)

Cantiga de Santa Maria 67, verses 26-30

"E vẽo pera el logo | manss' e en bon contenente,
  e disse: «Sennor, querede | que seja vosso sergente,
  e o serviço dos pobres | vos farei de *bõa mente*,
  pois vejo que vos queredes | e fazedes y bondade;
  A Reynna gloriosa | tant' é de gran santidade..."[24]

(METTMANN, 1986, p.226).

Observing the example (30), we can see that the expression *de bõa mente* means *goodwill* (used as a modifier), a fact showing already in the semantic level that this form does not correspond to an adverb of manner.

Based on Toneli (2009), it is possible to infer that the presence of the preposition *de* (a functional word that, therefore, behaves prosodically as a clitic, once it does

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[22] 'and he himself made the porridge well and properly' (KULP-HILL, 2000, p.407).

[23] 'and they paid [...] her money to the full amount' (KULP-HILL, 2000, p.451).

[24] 'and came to thim with gentle manners and benign countenance and said: "My lord, take me for your servant, and I shall gladly do service for the poor, for I see that you are doing worthy things." (KULP-HILL, 2000, p.88).

not form a foot and does not receive primary stress) may indicate that we face a phonological phrase. Observing attentively the structure above, we can classify the *de* from *de boa mente* as a free clitic, because such word is linked directly to the phonological phrase, not attached to the prosodic word or even incorporated to it, as the following schema shows:

(31)
     (func (lex)PW)PPh
     (de (bõa)PW (mente)PW)PPh

Back to Toneli (2009), we verify the existence of some Prosodic Word Alignment Restrictions and, from these restrictions, we can affirm that, to delimitate a Prosodic Word, its left boundary (L) must coincide with the left boundary of some lexical word (Lex). Considering the author's study, the difference between a lexical word and a functional word is that functional words do not have the status of the Prosodic Word in phonological representation. Thus, we can think that the case of the *de bõa mente* structure the preposition *de* would not have the status of prosodic word, because being a functional word, its boundary is not aligned with the boundary of the prosodic word *boa* and, consequently, such structure could be considered a phonological phrase.

By the end of this section, it was possible to infer that the occurrences of adverbs in –*mente* both in AP as in BP present some evidence to be classified as independent, autonomous forms. One of them regards the fact that these forms present, in most of the cases mapped, the following morphological structure: feminine adjective base + *mente*. From there, taking Selkirk's (1984) idea for English affixes as basis, we can think of something similar to -*mente* in Portuguese, once such affix could be a neutral affix, that is, *fellow* of the 'word' category, because it does not appear within roots; it is a subcategory for categories of the word kind. Thus, it can have independent stress domain and, consequently, by attaching to inflected bases (also with their own stresses), form compound elements, from the prosodic point of view since the *Stress Placement Rule* occurs between distinct prosodic words.

We can, therefore, suppose that the adverbs in -*mente* investigated in this study are considered elements formed by independent parts from each other, in which the *Stress Placement Rule* acts in distinct domains: in the bases already inflected and in the "suffix" -*mente*. Thus, each of these parts can be considered a distinct phonological word, each with its own stress.

Conclusion

This article sought to present evidence regarding stress placement in the adverbial forms in –*mente* in AP and BP, in order to define them as compound forms, from a prosodic point of view. One of them regards the fact that these forms present, in most

cases mapped, the following morphological structure: *feminine adjective base + -mente*. From then on, taking Selkirk's idea (1984) for English affixes as basis, it was possible to think of something similar for *–mente* in Portuguese, once such affix would be a neutral affix, that is, it does not appear within roots. Thus, it can have an independent stress domain and, as a consequence, when attaching to the bases already inflected (also with their own stresses), form compound elements, from a prosodic point of view since the *Stress Placement Rule* occurs between distinct prosodic words.

Finally, we can say that this study has contributed, in a more general context, to show whether the processes occurring in word formation in the Portuguese language have been modified or preserved, which can help to enlighten facts of the current linguistic structure.

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■ *RESUMO: Este artigo objetiva apresentar uma discussão a respeito do comportamento prosódico dos advérbios em –mente no Português Arcaico (PA) e no Português Brasileiro (PB) sob o viés das Fonologias Prosódica e Métrica. Para a descrição do estatuto prosódico desses advérbios, sobretudo no PA, elegeram-se como corpus as 420 cantigas em louvor à Virgem Maria, conhecidas como Cantigas de Santa Maria (CSM), e as 1251 cantigas profanas (510 de amigo, 431 de escárnio e maldizer e 310 de amor). Por outro lado, elegeu-se como corpus de estudo do PB um recorte do banco de dados do "Corpus Online do Português", elaborado em conjunto pelos pesquisadores Michael Ferreira, da Universidade de Georgetown, e Mark Davies, da Brigham Young University. A partir da coleta e da análise dos advérbios em -mente nos corpora, concluiu-se que tais advérbios são, do ponto de vista prosódico, compostos (um acento lexical e um secundário), tanto em PA como em PB, visto que podem ser consideradas estruturas que são formadas por partes independentes entre si, em que a Regra de Atribuição do Acento atua em domínios distintos: nas bases já flexionadas e no "sufixo" –mente.*

■ *PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Advérbios em -mente. Atribuição do acento. Prosódia. Português Arcaico. Português Brasileiro.*

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