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The Evolution of Causative Constructions in Portuguese

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1. Introduction

One of the most dominant issues of diachronic Romance syntax over the past two decades has been that of causative constructions. Beyond several book-length studies such as those by Strong, Chamberlain, and Pearce, there have been important articles by Radford, St-Amour and Morin, Saltarelli, and Martineau. These recent works complement a number of traditional studies like those by Muller, Gougenheim, Norberg, and others.

Nearly all of these studies, however, have dealt mainly with the diachronic French construction, as well as some Italian, but there has been virtually no discussion of the Ibero-Romance causative. This is particularly true with regard to Portuguese, which is typically the least studied of the Romance languages in terms of diachronic syntax. While a number of traditional historical grammars such as Dias, Pereira, Juca Filho, Said Ali, and Tarallo make passing reference to the construction, there have been no studies

dedicated specifically to the diachronic Portuguese causative or even to diachronic Portuguese infinitival complements in general.

Due to the lack of previous research on Portuguese, some researchers of the pan-Romance construction have overgeneralized their findings to include Portuguese, without looking at actual diachronic data from the language. Therefore one purpose of this study is to consider the Portuguese constructions in their own right, and to show how the Portuguese construction has evolved differently from some of the other Romance languages.

This study is based on an extensive computer-based corpus of historical Portuguese prose. The data base comprises nearly one million words of text in 31 texts from Old/Mid/Mod Portuguese, which yielded nearly 2500 examples of causative-type constructions. A list of the texts used in the study, as well as the number of examples with particular causative verbs and verbs of perception, is found at the end of this study.

The diachronic Romance/Portuguese causative is of interest for two main reasons. The first is the unusual case marking, clitic placement, lower clause *se*, and word order facts that the construction has exhibited at certain stages in its development. This is represented in (1a-4a) below:

CASE MARKING:

1. (a) *êles l~~he~~ fizeram comer o bolo*
 'they made her eat the cake'
 (a') *êles a fizeram vir*
 'they made her come'
- DAT** (with
transitive VERB_t)

- (b) *êles a fizer comer o bolo* ACC (with
transitive VERB₂)

CLITIC PLACEMENT:

2. (a) *êles mo vieram comer* [cl+cl]
 (b) *me vieram comê-lo* [cl--cl]
 'they saw me eat it'

USE OF SE

3. (a) *êles o deixaram sentar* [-se]
 (b) *êles o deixaram se sentar* [+se]
 'they let him sit down'

WORD ORDER:

4. (a) *fizeram comer o bolo ao Paulo* V(O)S
fizeram (a)o Paulo comer o bolo SV(O)
 'they made Paulo eat the cake'

The second motivation for past research has been both the synchronic and diachronic variation between the (a) and (b) type of sentences in (1-4) above. A very important claim in most of the recent research on the Romance causative (such as the work by Zubizarreta, Goodall, Rosen, and Pearce) is that the (1a-4a) are necessarily related and are in contrast to (1b-4b), and that the opposition between the (a) and (b) sentences are due to one basic opposition in the underlying structure of these sentences. This is something that we will return to in section 6.

Most previous studies of the diachronic Romance causative have looked at either one or two of the four phenomena shown above. In sections 2-5 of our study, we will examine the diachronic shifts in all four of these phenomena in Portuguese. We will find that there are parallel diachronic shifts from the (a) to the (b) type sentences, which in turn suggests a more basic underlying shift in

the language. Section 6 will move beyond descriptive concerns and examine plausible motivation for this one underlying shift with the diachronic Portuguese causative. Let us now consider in sections 2-5 the specific data that show the diachronic shifts in case marking, clitic placement, the use of lower clause *se*, and word order.

2. Case Marking

In this section, we will discuss how data from our corpus gives evidence for a shift in case marking of the SUBJ₂, from unmarked DAT in OPT (5a) to ACC (5b) and even NOM (5c) in ModPt:

- | | | |
|--------|--------------------------------------|------------|
| 5. (a) | êles lhe fizeram comer o bolo | DATIVE |
| (b) | êles a fizeram comer o bolo | ACCUSATIVE |
| (c) | êles fizeram ela comer o bolo | NOMINATIVE |
- 'they made her eat the cake'

There has been very little previous research on diachronic case marking with Portuguese causatives. Said Ali (58-9) argues for general DAT with *fazer*, *mandar*, and *deixar* with transitive VERB₂ in OPT, whereas Dias (336), Pereira (285), Juca (133-34), and Brandão (61-63) all note a minority of cases with ACC. None of these studies, however, provides more specific data on OPT or discusses the evolution from OPT to Mid/ModPt. Our data, therefore, represents the first detailed look at this issue.

In the following discussion of the data from our corpus, we will only consider the case marking of SUBJ₂ of transitive VERB₂. In the total of 330

cases of a full noun phrase (NP) SUBJ₂ and the 256 cases of a clitic SUBJ₂ with intransitive VERB₂, ACC is the rule in virtually all instances:

6. (a) *fêz ante si vir seu filho Recarredo* (Cron1344 199:1)
'he had his son Recarredo come before him'
(b) *que sua vontade era se o Deus leixara viver* (Fernando 281:1)
'what his desire was if God should let him live'

Even with transitive VERB₂, however, not all case marking clearly distinguishes between DAT/ACC. First and second person pronouns do not have separate DAT/ACC forms (7). In addition, a substantial number of DAT ambiguously refer to either SUBJ₂ or IO₂ (8a-b):

7. (a) *E Rogote que me façás veer oInfante pera lhe dar esta pedra* (Barlaam 59:1)
'and I beseech of you that you let me-DAT/ACC see the infante to give him this stone'
(b) *lhe fêz saber a irrazom por que era chegado a sua terra* (Fernando 249:2)
'he [let him know / made known unto him] the reason that he had come into his land'
(b) *como el rrei dom Fernando fêz saber a el rrei de Castella que nom podia casar com sua filha* (Fernando 203:1)
'how he [let the king know / made it known to the king] that he could not marry his daughter'

Even with these limitations, however, we are still able to discern a diachronic shift from DAT to ACC. Turning first to the cases of full NP, we see that 10/10 cases with *fazer* and *mandar* in Old/MidPt were DAT (9a-b), while in ModPt 2/4 take the innovative ACC (10):

9. (a) *te digo que no façás perder a teu senhor tal cousa como esta* (Barlaam 60:1)
'I'm telling you to not have your master miss out on such a thing as this'
(b) *faz a um povo honrar muito ao seu principe* (Soldado 177:2)

10. 'it truly makes a people respect their prince'
 fizera **muita gente boa** esquecer os seus deveres (BrazSS 202:5)
 'it had made a lot of good people forget their duty'

With *deixar* and the verb of perception *ver*, there was one case of DAT with each verb in OPT (11a-b), as well as some cases of ACC (11c) (1 case with *deixar*, 3 with *ver*).

11. (a) *nô* leyxasse mais **ao Jfante** fazer seu planto (Barlaam 72:1)
 'that he not let the infante complain anymore'
 (b) o mal que vira padecer **aas outras almas** (Tündalo 233:1)
 'the punishment that he had seen the other souls suffer'
 (c) viu **Galvam** tal doo fazer (Demanda 353:2)
 'he saw G. carry on in such a way'

Already by MidPt, however, the innovative ACC was the rule (12a-b) (2 cases *deixar*, 3 cases *ver*), and this has continued on into ModPt (13a-b) (14/14 Mid/ModPt = ACC):

12. (a) leixa Deus **alguus homees** fazer alguus peccados públicos (Virgeu 26:5)
 'God lets some men do their sins in public'
 (b) vemos **o capitão** liberal render gravisimas fortalezas (Soldado 181:2)
 'we see the captain conquer such imposing fortresses'
 13. (a) *não* deixa **a rapariga** ter um namoro (Minerva 257:4)
 'he doesn't allow the girl to have a boyfriend'
 (b) vi **ese tipo** fazer uma figura (Vindima 191:9)
 'I saw that guy making a face'

When we turn to case marking with clitic SUBJ_J, we find that the data indicates even more clearly a shift from DAT to ACC. With *fazer*, 28/29 cases in OPT and 8/8 cases in MidPt were DAT (14a-b), but by ModPt 10/20 are the innovative ACC (15):

14. (a) fêz**lhe** adorar a figura da cara (Vespesiano 21:1)
 'he made him worship the carving of the face'
 (b) e fêz-**lhe** mui bem pensar da perna (Henriques 202:3)
 'and it made him think a lot about his leg'
 15. faziam-**na** tomar o cavalo e seguir o marido (BrazSS 153:3)
 'they made her take her horse and follow her husband'

Although there are fewer examples with the other VERB_J, the shift from DAT to ACC is still discernible. With *mandar* 8/8 Old/MidPt cases are DAT (16a), while in ModPt 4/6 are ACC (16b):

16. (a) **lhes** mandara Platus comer todo o thesouro (Vespesiano 52:1)
 'P. had ordered them to eat all of the treasure'
 (b) mandando-**o** estender a prancha (BrazSS 322:5)
 'having him put out the gangplank'

With *deixar*, the corpus shows a shift away from DAT (3/6 cases in Old/MidPt) to ACC and even NOM in ModPt (6/6 cases):

17. (a) que **lhe** nom leixarom trazer nehuua cousa (Fernando 186:1)
 'that they would not let him bring anything'
 (b) **não** deixaram **ê**le comprar um canal de televisão (BrazFal 2:115:662)
 'they didn't let him buy a TV channel'

Finally, the verb of perception *ver* also shows a clear shift, from 4/4 DAT in OPT to 4/4 ACC in ModPt:

18. (a) quando **lhe** viu seu doo fazer (Demanda 383:1)
 'when she saw him carrying on that way'
 (b) **a** viu fechar, mansamente, a porta atrás de si (Fria 123:4)
 'he saw her gently close the door behind her'

In summary, both full NP and clitic SUBJ_J have undergone a shift from DAT to ACC. In most cases this shift started with the verbs of perception and then spread to *deixar*, and only finally to *fazer* and *mandar*.

3. Clitic Placement

In this section we will consider the diachronic shift in clitic placement, from [cl+c] in OPt to [cl--cl] in ModPt:

19. (a) *êle mo fêz comprar* [cl+c]
 (b) *êle me fêz comprá-lo* [cl--cl]
 'he made me buy it'

Nearly all previous research on diachronic Portuguese, including the traditional historical grammars, has centered on the placement of the OBJ₂ clitic in general, with almost no discussion of the causative construction per se. Dias (317) and Almeida (500) both make passing reference to the relative frequency of the three possible positions of the OBJ₂, while Doria considers it much more in-depth:

20. eu (o) queria (o) fazer (o)
 X Y Z
 'I wanted to do it'

Unfortunately, these researchers are not in agreement on the diachronic shifts in general OBJ₂ placement, and there is the question of whether, in any case, the frequency of different OBJ₂ placement could be directly applied to causatives:

21. (a) *me+o fêz-o comprar-o*
 (b) *(mo) fê-(lo) comprá-(lo)*
 X Y Z
 'he made me buy it'

One way that general clitic placement can be applied to causatives, however, deals with the gradual and general rejection of double clitic sequences in some dialects of Portuguese (cf. Thomas 111-12, Camara 84-86):

22. ??*êle mo deu* (mo < me+o)
 'he gave it to me'

This independent shift means that in these dialects, [cl+c] with causatives will by definition be ruled out:

23. ?? *êle mo fêz comer*

This should leave [cl--cl] as the only possibility in those dialects of ModPt that reject double clitic sequences. The shift towards [cl--cl], however, is obscured by an additional diachronic shift, which is the general deletion of OBJ₂ clitics:

24. *êles vieram -- na TV ontem*
 'they saw ~~her~~ on TV last night'

This OBJ₂ deletion is discussed in diachronic terms by Williams and Spitzer and in synchronic terms by Wheeler, Raposo, and others. Applied to causatives, it means that ModPt often disallows [cl--cl], but for reasons independent of the causative construction:

25. *êle me fêz (-) comprar (-)*
 'he made me buy it'

What all of this means is that we can find clear evidence for [cl+c] with causatives in Old/MidPt. When we turn to ModPt data in our corpus, however, these two independent factors often conspire to conceal the shift towards

[cl--cl]. As a result, we have had to confirm the acceptability of [cl--cl] in ModPt through interviews with native informants.

As mentioned, the data clearly shows [cl+c] to be the rule in older stages of Portuguese. With *fazer*, 7/7 cases of nonfinite S₂ in OPT (26a-b) and 2/2 in MidPt (26c) are [cl+c]. This includes even cases of animate OBJ₂ (26a):

26. (a) [vosa filha] peço que **ma** ffaçades aver (Arimatea 182v)
'[your daughter] I ask that you let me have her'
(b) o diaboo **lho** fez fazer (Demanda 162:4)
'the devil made him do it'
(c) dizendo que covardice de coração **lho** fezera fazer (Fernando 255:1)
'saying that a cowardly heart had made him do it'

When we turn to *mandar*, we find that neither the conservative ([cl+c]) nor the innovative ([cl--cl]) nonfinite option has ever been common. In 8/8 cases in OPT, 20/20 in MidPt, and 1/2 in ModPt, the neutral finite complement has been the norm (27a-b). The one nonfinite ModPt example takes the innovative [cl--cl] (27c):

27. (a) este foi o primeiro emperador de Roma que mandou que **o**
adorassem assi como Deus (Boosco 233:2)
'this was the first emperor of Rome who ordered the people to
worship him as a God'
(b) e com nome de Pai nosso mandou que **o** adorássemos
(Henriques 205:1)
'and in the name of God our Father he ordered us to worship
him'
(c) e colocou-o em minhas mãos, mandádo-**me** dar **o** fora
(BrazSS 121:2)
'and he placed it in my hands, telling me to throw it out'

There are very few examples with *deixar*, but they show [cl+c] to be the case in the one OPT example (28a), while in ModPt 2/4 of the nonfinite S₂ take the innovative [cl--cl] (28b), and three additional ModPt examples take the neutral finite option (28c):

28. (a) Deus **me lhe** leixe fazer tal serviço em esta demanda (Demanda 221:3)
'that God might let me carry out such a request on his behalf
(b) E que podias fazer senão deixá-**lo** enganar-**te** (Pobres 126:3)
'and what could you do except let him deceive you?'
(c) deixou que o Emir **a** conduzisse pela alea do jardim (Cegos 167:5)
'she let the emir take her around the garden'

Finally, the data with the 'order' verbs (see endnote 2 for a complete listing of order verbs) shows that in no stage of Portuguese was [cl+c] ever the rule, and that since about 1500 the innovative [cl--cl] (29a) has gradually increased with respect to the neutral finite option (29b) (MidPt 5/7 finite, but 0/2 in ModPt):

29. (a) o rei **lhe** obrigou por isto a **o** defender (Peregrinação 165:1)
'for this reason, the king ordered him to defend him'
(b) aconselharonlhe que **lhes** derribasse as fortellezas (Cron1344 294:3)
'they advised him to tear down their fortifications'

In summary, we find clear evidence for general [cl+c] with causatives in OPT. Starting in about 1500 we find emerging cases of [cl--cl], first with the 'order' verbs, then with *deixar*, and only later with *mandar* and *fazer*. Finally, in those periods in which [cl+c] and [cl--cl] were most in opposition, the neutral finite option was most prevalent.

4. Use of the Pronoun *se*

In this section we will show a diachronic shift in the use of the pronoun *se*, in which *se* with S_1 pronominal verbs was nearly always deleted in Old/MidPt (30a), but is increasingly retained in ModPt (30b):

30. (a) *êle a fêz **sentar*** [-se]
 (b) *êle a fêz **se sentar*** [+se]

As with case marking and clitic placement, there is very little research that has been done on the use of *se* with diachronic Portuguese causatives. Pereira (489) states that [-se] is the norm with *fazer*, *deixar*, *ver* and *ouvir* in OPT, and Juca (133-4) remarks that MidSp writers like Camões occasionally had [+se], although [-se] was probably still the norm. There are no studies, however, that give more precise data on the OPT situation or describe more in detail the overall diachronic shift from OPT to MidPt and ModPt.

Just as there were independent syntactic shifts that partially concealed the clitic placement facts, such is the case also with the use of *se*. As Kliffier and others have pointed out, Portuguese has diverged from the other Romance languages in that many pronominal verbs no longer take the pronoun *se*:

31. *o povo tambem gosta de ir a festa e **divertir***
 'and people like to go to parties and have fun'

Therefore, when we find persistent cases of [-se] with causatives in ModPt, the strong probability is that this is due to the independent and general increase in [-se]:

32. *então precisa colocar no terreiro e deixar **secar** no sol* (BrazFal 3:21:172)
 'then you have to place it on the ground and let it dry out'

Thus in spite of the fact that we do find increasing [+se] over time, we should be aware that a much larger increase is masked by the independent increase in [-se] with pronominal verbs generally.

Looking first at [+se] with *fazer*, we find that [-se] was the rule in 43/43 OPT cases, and 16/17 cases in MidPt (33a-b). While there are two isolated cases of [+se] in even MidPt (34a), the main increase comes in ModPt, where 3/4 examples have the innovative [+se] (34b):

33. (a) *nehuua cousa daquellas que fazem ao home **entristecer***
 (Barlaam 56:1)
 'none of those things which make men sad'
 (b) *me fêz **deter** e esteve falando comigo* (Itinerário 51:1)
 'he had me stop, and he was talking to me'
 34. (a) *fizeram todosos Mouros **ajuntar-se** onde estava o seu pendão*
 (Henriques 231:2)
 'they made all of the Moors come together in the place where their banner was'
 (b) *o sistema que faz a raça humana **se desenvolver*** (BrazFal 2:52:1409)
 'the system which makes the human race evolve'

In addition, it is in ModPt that the two nonfinite options ([±se]) are most in conflict, and this is where we find that the neutral finite option becomes the most common solution (5/9 of the total S_2 cases):

35. *fazer com **que** a indivíduo **se** qualifique* (BrazFal 2:117:757)
 'which makes it so the individual qualifies'

Turning to [+se] with *mandar*, we find a situation that is very similar to what we found with clitic placement. Unlike what happens in the case of other main verbs, the majority of S_2 with *mandar* are finite (13/17 in OPT, 13/19 in MidPt) (36a-b). Of the few nonfinite S_2 in Old/MidPt, all four are [-se] (37a), although there are increasing cases of the innovative [+se] in ModPt (37b) (1/2 cases):

36. (a) e mandou Pilatus que todos de pee e de cauallo **se armassem**
(Vespesiano 36:1)
'and Pilatus ordered that both those on foot and on horseback
arm themselves'
(b) mandando Cristo que **nos nembremos** del, ora sejamos
enfermos, ora saãos (Christi 1426)
'and Christ commanding us to remember him, whether we are
sick or in good health'
37. (a) o meeestre mandou **calar** todos e calaron-**se** (Alvares 63:4)
'the teacher ordered everyone to be quiet, and they were'
(b) un instintivo impulso . . . mandava-a **antecipar-se** a todos os
possiveis ataques (Vindima 208:3)
'an instinctive urge made her protect herself against all
possible attacks'

With *deixar* and the verbs of perception, we once again see the shift from [-se] in older stages of Portuguese to [+se] in ModPt. Although the number of examples with *deixar* is quite small, we find that all four of the Old/MidPt cases are [-se] (38a), while both of the ModPt examples are [+se] (38b):

38. (a) e leixássemos **fartar** d'agua (Cron1344 123:1)
'and that he let us drink until we were full'
(b) e não deixássemos **se destruir** a documentação (BrazFal
1:85:590)
'and that we not let the documentation be destroyed'

With the verbs of perception, we find a persistent case of [-se] even in MidPt (39a), although our first case of [+se] is found as early as OPT (39b), and by ModPt 20/20 are [+se] (39c):

39. (a) não **se espante** ninguem . . . como ja vi **espantar** alguns
(Henriques 87:2)
'don't let anyone become frightened, as I have already seen
some do'
(b) porque o vi **doer se** bem de seus pecados (Demanda 353:3)
'because I really saw him suffer, on account of his sins'
(c) o via **sentar-se** perto dos arraiais (Cegos 116:2)
'she saw him sit down near the edge'

Example (39a) is a particularly nice one, because it shows how the verb is the pronominal *espantar-se*, except when it is embedded under the verb of perception.

Finally, the 'order' verbs also took some cases of [+se] in OPT (40a), and by ModPt it is the rule in 11/12 cases (40b). In the MidPt period, when the two nonfinite options were still in conflict, the neutral finite option was used in 19/19 cases (41).

40. (a) ordenou de **se partir** de Narbona (Cron1344 242:2)
'he ordered them to set sail from Narbona'
(b) para que ela aconselhe o marido a **manter-se** no campo (Corça
191:2)
'so that she might advise her husband to stay out in the
country'
41. ordenou **que** a alma **se** conservasse (Christi 1313)
'he ordered that the soul should be protected'

To summarize, we see a diachronic shift from [-se] in OPT to [+se] in MidPt and especially [+se]. It originates with the 'order' verbs and verbs of

perception, and gradually spreads to *deixar*, *mandar*, and *fazer*. Finally, the neutral finite option is often used instead of either [-se] or [+se] in the periods in which these two options are most in conflict.

5. Word Order

This section will consider the diachronic shifts in the word order of the SUBJ₂, with either postverbal V(O)S or preverbal SV(O) placement:

42. (a) eles fizeram comer (o bolo) (a) **o João** V(O)S
 (b) eles fizeram **o João** comer (o bolo) SV(O)

There are no specific studies on word order with the diachronic Portuguese causative construction, and virtually no historical grammar touches on the question. Said Ali (344-5) gives examples of both V(O)S and S(O)V with different VERB₁ as he considers word order and the personal infinitive, and other historical grammars may give examples of one or the other word order with certain VERB₁; but there is no discussion of which word order is more common or whether there have been any diachronic shifts.

As we examine the data from our corpus, we find that although the diachronic word order with transitive S₂ is rather uncontroversial, this is not the case with intransitive S₂. On this note, let us turn first to the more straightforward transitive examples. The major challenge in determining word order with these S₂ is to determine whether the S₂ NP is SUBJ or IO (Indirect Object). Since we are concerned with only the position of SUBJ₂, we need to

ignore cases where the S₂ NP is IO. In the majority of the cases, however, there is ambiguity between SUBJ/IO:

43. (a) te digo que no faças perder **a teu senhor** tal cousa como esta
 (Barlaam 60:1)
 'I'm telling you to not have such a great thing as this slip by your master'
 'I'm telling you to not let your master lose such a great thing as this'
 (b) e fariam conhecer **ao poboo** aquella grande mal (Cron1344
 292:1)
 'and would [make known to the people / have the people find out about] this horrible deed'

In the following discussion, therefore, we will concentrate on only those cases where the S₂ NP is clearly SUBJ.

As mentioned, word order with transitive S₂ is fairly uncontroversial, being mainly SVO in all periods and with all VERB₁:

44. (a) esta he aquella que fez **a Deos** perder sanha do home (Virgeu
 47:4)
 'this is she which made God lose his anger towards men'
 (b) nõ leyxasse mais **ao jfante** fazer seu planto (Barlaam 72:1)
 'to not let the infante make his complaint'
 (c) quando virmos **alguu servo de Deus** fazer provisom das cousas
 necessárias (Christi 1333)
 'when we see a servant of God making use of that which is necessary'

The second most common word order is the hybrid VSO, which mainly occurs when the OBJ₁ is an extraposed sentential complement headed by 'que', or else the word order que-VS, with the OBJ₂ as a relative pronoun:

45. (a) Emitam fizez acordar **Celidonjs** que hajmda dormja (Arimatea
 145v)
 'then he reminded Celidonis that she was still sleeping'

- (b) segundo o mal **que** vira padecer **aas** outras **almas** (Tündalo 233:1)

'according to the suffering that he had seen the other souls go through'

Finally, the VOS word order occurs no more than once in the corpus:

46. fezesse fazer concelho **aos** **bispos** em que se corregesse todo torto (Cron1344 280:1)

'to have the bishops convene a council in order to rectify all laws'

It is when we turn to the intransitive S₂ that the diachronic picture is rather unclear. In general, we find the predominant word order to be VS, but with every VERB₁ in every time period we also find a persistent minority of SV.

For example, with *fazer* 8/28 cases in OPt have the marked word order SV (47a), decreasing to 1/16 in MidPt (48a), but up to 7/45 again in ModPt (49a):

47. (a) elle faz **aos** **seguos** ver e **aos** **surdos** ouvyr (Arimatea 180r)

'he makes the blind see and the deaf hear'

- (b) fêz ante si vir **seu** **filho** **Recarreido** (Cron1344 199:1)

'he made his son R. come before him'

48. (a) e nenhuma outra cousa fêz **o** **grande** **Cesar** subir a monarquia do mundo (Soldado 177:1)

'and there was nothing else that allowed Cesar to ascend to the throne over the whole world'

- (b) ela faria logo vir pera ele **seu** **filho** **Fernam** **Pereira** (Alvares 52:1)

'she would then have her son F. P. come to him'

49. (a) êle . . . faz **a** **maquina** funcionar (BrazFal 2:75:603)

'he made the machine work'

- (b) de se fazer chegar ao publico **as** **peças** **teatrais** (BrazFal 3:116:517)

'to have these works of theater come before the public'

More examples of the persistent yet not dominant word order SV come from the VERB₁ *deixar*, where 4/13 are SV in OPt (50a), 4/7 in MidPt (51a), and 7/41 in ModPt (52a):

50. (a) leixou **meu** **irmão** morrer per sua covardice (Demanda 181:2)

'he let my brother die, because of his cowardliness'

- (b) nom leixes morrer **tam** **fremosa** **creatura** como esta donzella (Demanda 374:8)

'don't let such a beautiful creature as this die'

51. (a) leixa Deos **o** **home** cair e mayores peccados (Virgeu 26:5)

'God lets man commit even greater sins'

- (b) que nom leixassem per elas [as portas] sair **nenhuua** **da** **gente** **d'armas**

'that they should not let any of those who were armed go out the doors'

52. (a) [item] dexado **os** **negros** atuarem a vontade (BrazFal 2:53:1480)

'they've let the blacks do as they want'

- (b) não deixava trabalhar na Província **um** **dentista** **estrangeiro** (Corça 101:2)

'they didn't let an outside dentist work in the Provincia'

Finally, with *ver* we see that although the percentage of SV is somewhat higher than with the other VERB₁, it still remains just a persistent minority of all cases. More precisely, we find that SV occurs in 12/56 cases in OPt (53a), 8/18 in MidPt (54a), and 20/43 in ModPt (55a):

53. (a) e quando viu **o** **padre** **e** **o** **filho** jazer mortos e o cavaleiro ferido . . . (Demanda 129:3)

'and when he saw both father and son lying there dead, and the knight wounded . . .'

- (b) vjo ao pee de huu monte andar **hua** **côpanha** **de** **santos** **hermjtaões** (Barlaam 75:1)

'he saw a company of monks walking along the foot of the mountain'

54. (a) porque, quando virmos **nosso** **próximo** errar, nõ o julgemos logo (Virgeu 64:3)

'so that, when we see our neighbor go astray, we do not judge him'

- (b) e vyo ecima do lago andar **luas luas** (Orto 203:4)
'and he saw moons floating across the lake'
55. (a) foi com uma ponta de receio que vi o **Zacarias** desaparecer
(BrazSS 219:13)
(b) 'it was not without some fear that I saw Zacarias disappear'
Bernardo via passar os **pares que dançavam** (Minerva 222:20)
'Bernardo saw the couples that were dancing pass by'

What makes the diachronic Portuguese word order facts even more confusing is that in our interviews with native speakers from both Brazil and Portugal, the only acceptable word order with any VERB₁ is the supposedly marked SV. The data from our corpus confirms that the more the written ModPt corpora reflect the spoken language, the more common SV is, and other studies of the ModPt causative like those by Thomas, Arrais, and Franchi hint at the same thing. All of this suggests that there has been a diachronic split in which the written language favors the conservative VS, while the spoken language has clearly moved toward uniform SV.

6. A Motivation for Change

6.1 We have now demonstrated that there were parallel shifts in the four phenomena of case marking, clitic placement, use of lower clause *se*, and word order ([CAS/CP/SE/WO]). In addition, we find that these four shifts occur in a parallel fashion even at the level of individual main verbs. Hence our task is to describe and motivate this one underlying change in the syntax of the Portuguese causative.

As suggested in section 1, recent syntactic research on the Romance causative suggests that two opposing structures are responsible for the two different sets of [CAS/CP/SE/WO] features. The consensus of the research by Zubizarreta, Goodall, Rosen, Pearce, and others is that the basic opposition is between 'reduced' and 'nonreduced' S₂. In a very simplified and atheoretical sense, 'nonreduced' S₂ contain certain syntactic material that is lacking in the 'reduced' structure. In most recent research, the syntactic material in question is roughly equivalent to a lower clause subject (SUBJ₂), or at least the syntactic node in which a SUBJ₂ could be placed (see (56) below).

Although we will not discuss the particular mechanisms that are involved, the claim in most recent research is that reduced structures ([-SUBJ]₂) naturally lead to DAT case marking, [cl+cl] clitic placement, the absence of lower clause *se*, and V(O)S word order. The nature of nonreduced structures, on the other hand, leads to [ACC/cl-cl/+*se*/SV(O)]:

[Main clause [---- [embedded clause]]	REDUCED
56. (a) [DAT/cl+cl/- <i>se</i> /V(O)S]	STRUCTURE
[Main clause [SUBJ [embedded clause]]	NONREDUCED
(b) [ACC/cl-cl/+ <i>se</i> /SV(O)]	STRUCTURE

conceivable that one form could carry two different meanings equally as well (57a-b), this is not what happened. As we will see, the active form (*aedificare*) in large part lost the active sense ([+SUBJ]₂), and took on a primarily passive sense ([-SUBJ]₂).

The argument might be made that since by Late Latin the analytic passive (*esse(re) aedificatus*) had replaced the synthetic passive (*aedificari*), then the analytic passive should have been the logical successor with causatives (*[domum essere aedificatus] fecit*). This would mean that there would not be both a passive and active sense associated with the active form infinitive. However, in our corpus we find no cases of the analytic passive with Portuguese causatives until MidPt, and even then only very infrequently.

The data indicates that only the active form infinitive (*aedificare*) was used from Late Latin to Old/MidPt, and that it for a time carried the functional load of both the older Latin active and passive infinitives. Previous research indicates, however, that very early on, this infinitive largely lost the active sense ([+SUBJ]₂) in favor of the passive sense ([-SUBJ]₂). Chamberlain shows that already by Late Latin, nearly 70% of the S₂INF with causatives were [-SUBJ]₂, and that figure may in fact be much higher. Moving to the Old Romance languages, Pearce (205-6) shows that by OFr nearly 60% of all S₂ were [-SUBJ]₂, and Cano Aguilar (318-19) shows the same thing for OSp.

The data from our corpus shows parallel shifts from [DAT/cl+cl/-se/V(O)S] to [ACC/cl--cl/+se/SV(O)], which in this model provides evidence for the more basic shift from reduced to nonreduced S₂, and also the shift from [-SUBJ]₂ to [+SUBJ]₂. Our task is to now identify the motivation for this basic shift in Portuguese causative S₂ types.

6.2 We propose that the shifts in complement types in the history of Portuguese find their roots in a simple Late Latin morphological merger. Latin had two infinitives, an active form in /-e/, and a passive form in /-i/:

57. (a) qui [mihī domum **aedificare**] fecit
'who made me build a house' [+SUBJ]₂/ACTIVE
- (b) [domum **aedificari**] fecit
'he had a house built' [-SUBJ]₂/PASSIVE

In the active (57a) there is a SUBJ₂, while in the passive (57b) there is no such SUBJ₂.

As Muller and others have noted, a Late Latin phonological merger of final /e/ and /i/ reduced the active and passive infinitives to just one form.

The active form survived, while the passive form was lost:

- (58.) aedificare
aedificari / aedificare

As a result, the active infinitive now had two potential meanings attached to it, both an active ([+SUBJ]₂) and a passive ([-SUBJ]₂) sense. Although it was

The data from our corpus of Portuguese texts supports these findings. Over 50% of all cases with *fazer* in OPT are [-SUBJ]₂, and in conservative historical writings the figure is as high as 65% [-SUBJ]₂. With the causative *mandar*, the figure increases to 90% [-SUBJ]₂ overall in the OPT texts:

59. (a) e os outros fez escabeçar (Cron1344 174:1)
'and he had the others decapitated'
(b) elle a mandou lloguo meter em sua camara (Arimatea 174r)
'he had her put into his bedchamber'

Thus in OPT we have a strange situation in which infinitives that are active in form did not normally take the expected (active) [+SUBJ]₂. Diachronically, the natural tendency would be to have increasing [+SUBJ]₂ with this active infinitive, or in other words a shift from mainly sentences like (60a) to more like (60b) and (60c):

60. (a) fez destruir o castelo
'he had the castle destroyed'
(b) fez trabalhar Maria
'he made Maria work'
(c) fez (a) Maria comer o bolo
'he made Maria eat the cake'

The data from our corpus indicates that this is precisely what happened; there was a fundamental diachronic shift from sentences like (60a) to those in (60b-c). The percentage of [+SUBJ]₂ with *fazer* increased from 50% in OPT to 54% in MidPt, with the main increase to 88% by ModPt, where [+SUBJ]₂ are now the rule (61a), and [-SUBJ]₂ are now the exception (61b):

61. (a) não é o vento que faz sair lágrimas (BrazFal 2:21:164)
'it's not the wind that makes one cry'

- (b) houve uma época em que se costumava fazer plantar árvores (BrazFal 3:18:137)
'there was a time when it was customary to have trees planted'

The important point is that this increase in [+SUBJ]₂ is synonymous with the shift from reduced (62a) to nonreduced (62b) structures, which then motivated the shifts in [CAS/CP/SE/WO]. As [+SUBJ]₂ became more common with a given VERB₁, then so did the accompanying [ACC/cl--cl/+se/SV(O)] features.

[Main clause [---- [embedded clause]][-SUBJ]₂

62. (a) [DAT/cl+cl/-se/V(O)S] REDUCED
STRUCTURE

Main clause [SUBJ [embedded clause]]

- (b) [ACC/cl--cl/+se/SV(O)] [+SUBJ]₂
NONREDUCED
STRUCTURE

Our claim that the shift from [-SUBJ]₂ to [+SUBJ]₂ is directly related to the four shifts in [CAS/CP/SE/WO] is a new one. Some past researchers like Pearce have simply ignored the [-SUBJ]₂ issue (205-6). Other researchers of the diachronic Romance causative, like Norberg, Saltarelli, and Chamberlain, have rejected an active/passive explanation because it is impossible to prove

that [-SUBJ]₂ are actually passive in meaning. It might simply be a case of an active sentence with an unspecified SUBJ₂:

63. (a) *fizeram comprar as flores*
 'they had the flowers bought'
 (b) 'they had (**someone**) buy the flowers'

Our explanation, however, does not rest on the active/passive semantic distinction per se, but simply on the presence or absence of a SUBJ₂, which directly translates into a difference in the complement type.

6.3 Now that we have proposed the [-SUBJ]₂ to [+SUBJ]₂ shift as the motivating factor behind shifts in [CAS/CP/SE/WO], let us examine the issue of why these shifts gradually spread across the range of VERB₁. We have seen that in nearly all cases the shifts in [CAS/CP/SE/WO] originated with the 'order' verbs and the verbs of perception, then spread to *deixar* and finally to *fazer*, where at least in some dialects they are still in progress in ModPt.

How is the semantic nature of the VERB₁ related to the degree of [+SUBJ]₂ and thus the [CAS/CP/SE/WO] facts? We will apply Givón's argument that there is a universal of causative type constructions which states that the degree to which a potential NP₂ is seen as a SUBJ is iconically related to the semantic 'binding force' that the particular VERB₁ exerts on that NP₂.

Consider:

64. (a) **fizeram** *Maria trabalhar*
 'they made Maria work'
 (b) **deixaram** *Maria trabalhar*
 'they let Maria work'

- (c) **vieram** *Maria trabalhar*
 'they saw Maria work'

The degree of influence exerted on the NP₂ in (64a) is greater than in (64b), which is in turn greater than in (64c). This means that the NP₂ with *ver* is semantically more independent than with *fazer*, and according to Givón's theory, more possibly an independent SUBJ₂.

The diachronic predictions should be obvious. As Portuguese evolved towards [+SUBJ]₂, SUBJ₂ would first be possible with those verbs in which there was the least binding of the (potentially SUBJ) NP₂ by the VERB₁, such as many of the order verbs and the verbs of perception. Since the 'binding' is strongest with *fazer* and *mandar*, the NP₂ would less likely be seen as an independent SUBJ₂, and thus the evolution towards [+SUBJ]₂ would be slower with these verbs. In addition, the fact that the 'binding' is non-discrete and semantic suggests that its effect on the diachronic evolution with Portuguese causatives should be rather gradual, as it in fact is.

6.4 In this study we have provided data on the diachronic shifts in [CAS/CP/SE/WO] and [+SUBJ]₂ with Portuguese causatives, a topic in which there has been very little previous research. The data from our one million word corpus of historical Portuguese prose shows a clear shift from [DAT/cl+cl/-se/V(O)S] to [ACC/cl--cl/+se/SV(O)], as well as from [-SUBJ]₂ to [+SUBJ]₂, which thus provides evidence for a shift from reduced to nonreduced complement clauses. We have suggested that this underlying shift is motivated

by the Late Latin merger of active and passive infinitives, and the gradual shift back towards [+SUBJ]. All of these findings represent insight into an important area of diachronic Portuguese syntax that has been largely ignored vis a vis the other Romance languages.

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Notes

1. The texts utilized in this study include all or portions of:
Old Portuguese (1300s). 7 texts. 248,400 words.

Crônica Geral de Espanha de 1344, Joseph de Arimatea, Barlaam e Josephat, Estória do muy noble Vespesiano, Vida de Tündalo, Vida de Santa Pelágia, A Demanda do Santo Graal.

- Middle Portuguese** (1400-1500s). 12 texts. 272,100 words.

Crônica de D. Fernando, C. do Condestável Nuno Alvarez, C. de D. Afonso Henriques, C. de D. João II, C. de D. João, Boosco Deleitoso, Orto de Esposo, Virgeu de Consolação, O Livro de Vita Cristi, Itinerário, Peregrinação, O Soldado Prático.

- Modern Portuguese** (1900s). 12 texts. 462,300 words.

Selections from ten novels published in Portugal in the 1900s; O Conto Fantástico (a collection of Brazilian short stories); A Linguagem Falada da Cidade de São Paulo.

2. Number of examples with individual VERB_i; finite/nonfinite S₂

	Nonfinite S ₂						Finite S ₂		
	fazer	mandar	deixar	ver	Vperc	order	fazer	mandar	deixar
OPT	312	193	103	122	16	22	11	90	3
MidPt	143	317	42	43	7	144	6	107	1
ModPt	152	99	182	104	75	165	23	2	4
Total	607	609	327	269	98	331	40	199	8

Vperc = *ouvir, sentir, Order* verbs = *aconselhar, avisar, ajudar, consentir, constringer, convencer, convidar, demandar, exigir, forçar, impedir, incitar, insistir, obrigar, ordenar, permitir, persuadir, proibir, recomendar, suplicar.*

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