The Evolution of Causative Constructions in Portuguese

Mark E. Davies

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) éles lhe fizeram comer o bolo
   'they made her eat the cake'
   (a) éles a fizeram vir
       'they made her come'

DAT (with
transitive VERB)

(b) éles a fizeram comer o bolo
   ACC (with
transitive VERB2)

CLITIC PLACEMENT:

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

USE OF SE

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

WORD ORDER:

4. (a) fizeram comer o bolo ao Paulo
    V(OS)
   (b) 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 ser, 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) eles lhe fizeram comer o bolo
(b) eles a fizeram comer o bolo
(c) eles fizeram ela comer o bolo

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 VERB₃ 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 VERB₃. In the total of 330 cases of a full noun phrase (NP) SUBJ₂ and the 256 cases of a clitic SUBJ₂ with intransitive VERB₃, ACC is the rule in virtually all instances:

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

Even with transitive VERB₃, 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 façam 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) como el rei dom Fernando fez saber a el rei 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 fazas 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 príncipe (Soldado 177:2)
'it truly makes a people respect their prince'  
10. *fizera* **muta 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) *nó lexyasse mais* **ao Jfante** fazer seu planto (Barlaam 72:1)  
'that he not let the infante complain anymore'
(b) *o mal que vira padecer* **as outras almas** (Tündalo 233:1)  
'the punishment that he had seen the other souls suffer'
(c) *vii Galvam* tal d'oo 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* **alguns homees** fazer alguns peccados públicos (Virgcu 26:5)  
'God lets some men do their sins in public'
(b) *vemos o capitão* liberal render gravísimas 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 esse tipo** fazer uma figura (Vindima 191:9)  
'I saw that guy making a face'

When we turn to case marking with clitic SUBJ\_1, 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) *fezlhe* adorar a figura da cara (Vespesiano 21:1)  
'he made him worship the carving of the face'
(b) *e fez-lhe* mul 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\_1, 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) *lhs mandara* Pilatus 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)  
'bringing 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 leixaram trazer nehuua cousa (Fernando 188:1)  
'that they would not let him bring anything'
(b) *não deixaram* **él** comprar um canal do 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* viii seu d'oo fazer (Demanda 383:1)  
'when she saw him carrying on that way'
(b) *a vii 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\_1 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+cl] in OPt to [cl--cl] in ModPt:

19. (a) ele mo fez comprar [cl+cl]
(b) ele me fez 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 OBJ, 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 OBJ, 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 OBJ, placement, and there is the question of whether, in any case, the frequency of different OBJ, placement could be directly applied to causatives:

21. (a) me+o fez-o comprar-o
(b) (mo) fez-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. ??ele mo deu (mo < me+o)
    'he gave it to me'

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

23. ?? ele no fez 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 OBJ, clitics:

24. eles vicram _ na TV ontem
    'they saw her on TV last night'

This OBJ, 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. ele me fez (-) comprar (-)
    'he made me buy it'

What all of this means is that we can find clear evidence for [cl+cl] 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
There are very few examples with deixar, but they show [cl+cl] to be the case in the one OPT example (28a), while in ModPt 2/4 of the nonfinite S 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 azeia 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+cl] 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) conselharam-lo que lhes deriasse as forteseas (Cron1344 294:3)
   'they advised him to tear down their fortifications'

In summary, we find clear evidence for general [cl+cl] 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+cl] 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 S₁ pronominal verbs was nearly always deleted in Old/MidPt (30a), but is increasingly retained in ModPt (30b):

30. (a) ele a fêz *sentar* [-se]
    (b) ele 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 Klifier 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 **seca**r no sol (BrazPal 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) nehua cousa daquelas que fazem ao home **entrístecer** (Barlaam 56:1)
    'none of those things which make men sad'
    (b) me fêz *deter* e esteve falando cômigo (Itinerário 51:1)
    'he had me stop, and he was talking to me'

34. (a) fizeram todos os 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** (BrazPal 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 nonfinite option becomes the most common solution (5/9 of the total S₁ cases):

35. fazer com que a individuo **se** qualifique (BrazPal 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 S2 with mandar are finite (13/17 in Opt, 13/19 in MidPt (36a-b)). Of the few nonfinite S2 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 embremos del, ora sejamos
    enfermos, ora sãos (Christi 1426)
   'and Christ commanding us to remember him, whether we are sick or in good health'

37. (a) o meestre mandou calar todos e calaron-se (Alvares 63:4)
   'the teacher ordered everyone to be quiet, and they were'

(b) un instinctivo impulso . . . mandava-a antecipar-se a todos os possíveis 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 leixassemos partir d'agua (Cron1344 123:1)
   'and that he let us drink until we were full'

(b) e não deixassemos 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 arraias (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 SUBJ, with either postverbal V(OS) or preverbal SV(O) placement:

42. (a) eles fizeram comer (o bolo) (a) João \ V(OS)

(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(OS) and S(O)V with different VERB, 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 VERB,; 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 $S_2$ is rather uncontroversial, this is not the case with intransitive $S_2$. On this note, let us turn first to the more straightforward transitive examples. The major challenge in determining word order with these $S_2$ is to determine whether the $S_2$ NP is SUBJ or IO (Indirect Object). Since we are concerned with only the position of SUBJ, we need to ignore cases where the $S_2$ NP is IO. In the majority of the cases, however, there is ambiguity between SUBJ/IO:

43. (a) te digo que no façais 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 aquelle 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 $S_2$ NP is clearly SUBJ.

As mentioned, word order with transitive $S_2$ is fairly uncontroversial, being mainly SVO in all periods and with all VERB,

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) no leixasse mais ao fiante fazer seu planto (Barlaam 72:1)
  'to not let the infante make his complaint'

(c) quando virmos algu servo de Deus fazer provisim 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 OBJ, is an extraposed sentential complement headed by 'que', or else the word order que-VS, with the OBJ, as a relative pronoun:

45. (a) Emtam fez acordar Celidonjs que hajmda dormja (Arimatea 145v)
  'then he reminded Celidonis that she was still sleeping'
More examples of the persistent yet not dominant word order SV come from the VERB, *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 criatura* como esta donzella
   [Demanda 374:8]
   'don't let such a beautiful creature as this die'

51. (a) leixa *Deos o home* cair e maiores pecados [Virg. 26:5]
   'God lets man commit even greater sins'
   
   (b) que nom leixassem per elas [as portas] sair *nenuhua da gente d'armas*
   'that they should not let any of those who were armed go out the doors'

52. (a) [tem] deixado *os negros* atuarem a vontade [Brazal 2:53:1480]
   'they've let the blacks do as they want'
   
   (b) não deixava trabalhar na Provincia *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 VERB, 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 pec de huu monte andar *hua cópanha de santos hermjtaëes* [Barlaam 75:1]
   'he saw a company of monks walking along the foot of the mountain'

54. (a) porque, quando virmos *noso próximo* errar, nõ o julguemos logo [Virg. 64:3]
'so that, when we see our neighbor go astray, we do not judge him'
(b) e vóo ecima do lago andar huanus huanas (Orto 203:4)
'and he saw moons floating across the lake'
55. (a) foi com uma ponta de receto que vi o Zacarias desaparecer (BrazSS 219:13)
'It was not without some fear that I saw Zacarias disappear'
(b) 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 VERB, 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' $S_p$. In a very simplified and atheoretical sense, 'nonreduced' $S_p$ 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 (SUBJ.), or at least the syntactic node in which a SUBJ 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],) 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)]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main clause [---- [embedded clause]]</th>
<th>REDUCED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[DAT/cl+cl/-se/V(O)S]</td>
<td>STRUCTURE</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main clause [SUBJ [embedded clause]]</th>
<th>NONREDUCED</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ACC/cl--cl/+se/SV(O)]</td>
<td>STRUCTURE</td>
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(b)
The data from our corpus shows parallel shifts from [DAT/CL/ol/-se/V(O)] to [ACC/CL/ol/+se/SV(O)], which in this model provides evidence for the more basic shift from reduced to nonreduced S, and also the shift from [-SUBJ] to [+SUBJ]. Our task is to now identify the motivation for this basic shift in Portuguese causative S, 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 [mihi domum aedificare] fecit [+SUBJ]/ACTIVE 'who made me build a house'
(b) [domum aedificari] fecit [-SUBJ]/PASSIVE 'he had a house built'

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

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  \(\rightarrow\) aedificare

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

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 esse 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]) in favor of the passive sense ([-SUBJ]). Chamberlain shows that already by Late Latin, nearly 70% of the S,INF with causatives were [-SUBJ], 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 S, were [-SUBJ], and Cano Aguilar (318-19) shows the same thing for OSp.
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]₁ overall in the OPt texts:

59. (a) e os outros fêz escabechar (Cron1344 174:1)
'and he had the others decapitated'
(b) elle a mamalou 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]₁.
Diachronically, the natural tendency would be to have increasing [+SUBJ]₁ with
this active infinitive, or in other words a shift from mainly sentences like (60a)
to more like (60b) and (60c):

60. (a) fêz destruir o castelo
'he had the castle destroyed'
(b) fêz trabalhar Maria
'he made Maria work'
(c) fêz (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]₁ with fazer increased from 50% in OPt to
54% in MidPt, with the main increase to 88% by ModPt, where [+SUBJ]₁ 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]₁ is synonymous with
the shift from reduced (62a) to nonreduced (62b) structures, which then
motivated the shifts in [CAS/CP/SE/WO]. As [+SUBJ]₁ became more common
with a given VERB₁, then so did the accompanying [ACC/cl–cl/+se/SV(O)]
features.

[Main clause [---- [embedded clause]]] [-SUBJ]₁
62. (a) [DAT/cl–cl/-se/V(O)S] REDUCED STRUCTURE

Main clause [SUBJ [embedded clause]] [+SUBJ]₁
(b) [ACC/cl–cl/+se/SV(O)] NONREDUCED STRUCTURE

Our claim that the shift from [-SUBJ]₂ to [+SUBJ]₁ is directly related to
the four shifts in [CAS/CP/SE/WO] is a new one. Some past researchers like
Peare have simply ignored the [+SUBJ]₁ 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]\(_n\) are actually passive in meaning. It might simply be a case of an
active sentence with an unspecified SUBJ\(_n\):

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 SUBJ\(_n\) which
directly translates into a difference in the complement type.

6.3 Now that we have proposed the [-SUBJ]\(_n\) to [+SUBJ]\(_n\) 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 VERB\(_n\). 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 VERB\(_n\) related to the degree of
[+SUBJ]\(_n\) 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 NP\(_n\) is seen as a SUBJ is Iconically related
to the semantic 'binding force' that the particular VERB\(_n\) exerts on that NP\(_n\).

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 NP\(_n\) in (64a) is greater than in (64b),
which is in turn greater than in (64c). This means that the NP\(_n\) with ver is
semantically more independent than with fajar, and according to Givón's
theory, more possibly an independent SUBJ\(_n\).

The diachronic predictions should be obvious. As Portuguese evolved
towards [+SUBJ]\(_n\), SUBJ\(_n\) would first be possible with those verbs in which
there was the least binding of the (potentially SUBJ) NP\(_n\) by the VERB\(_n\), such as
many of the order verbs and the verbs of perception. Since the 'binding' is
strongest with fajar and mandar, the NP\(_n\) would less likely be seen as an
independent SUBJ\(_n\), and thus the evolution towards [+SUBJ]\(_n\) 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]\(_n\) 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/VI(O)S] to [ACC/cl-cl/+se/SV(O)], as well as from [-SUBJ]\(_n\) to
[+SUBJ]\(_n\), 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.

Notes

1. The texts utilized in this study include all or portions of:

**Old Portuguese** (1300s). 7 texts. 248,400 words.

- Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344
- Joseph de Arimatea, Barlaam e Josephat
- Estória do muy nobre Vespasiano, Vida de Tundalo, Vida de Santa Pelágia, A Demanda do Santo Graal.

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

- Crónica de D. Fernando, C. do Condestável Nuno Alvarenga
- C. de D. Afonso Henrique, C. de D. João II, C. de D. João, Boosco Delectoso, Orto de Esposo
- Virgeu de Consolação, O Livro de Vita Christi, 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; finite/nonfinite S

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nonfinite S&lt;sub&gt;f&lt;/sub&gt;</th>
<th>Finite S&lt;sub&gt;f&lt;/sub&gt;</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fazer</td>
<td>mandar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opt</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MidPt</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ModPt</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>607</td>
<td>609</td>
</tr>
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Vperc = ouvir, sentir; Order verbs = aconselhar, avisar, ajudar, consentir, constranger, convencer, corredor, demandar, exigir, forçar, impedir, incitar, insistir, obrigar, ordenar, permitir, persuadir, proibir, recomendar, suplicar.
Muller, Henri-François. *Origine et histoire de la préposition 'à' dans les locutions du type faire faire quelque chose à quelqu'un.* Poitiers: Masson, 1912.


