
 DRAFT VERSION, September 2010 - *Comments welcome!*

[this is a written up version of the paper presented at the 6th *International Contrastive Linguistics Conference*, Freie Univ. Berlin, 01.10.2010]

Embedded subjects of causative infinitival constructions in Galician and Portuguese

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0. Overview

This paper focuses on the comparison and contrast between the Galician and the European Portuguese expression of overt subjects in causative infinitival complement constructions. We will specifically refer to European Portuguese, leaving aside considerations on the Brazilian Portuguese manifestation of these infinitival constructions and of their subjects, which would allow for additional variation (Duarte & Gonçalves 2001).

Galician and European Portuguese, which are very closely related, both of them allowing for inflected infinitives, provide an optimal ground for comparative inspection on infinitival clausal arguments and, more specifically, on the expression of the causee.

On the basis of dialectal corpus data, we will consider syntactic differences concerning:

- (i) the presence vs. the absence of inflection on the infinitival embedded verb;
- (ii) the presence of sentential negation in the infinitival complement;
- (iii) the casual expression of the subject of the infinitive;
- (iv) the doubling expression of the causee;
- (v) the position of this subject.

Such differences provide further empirical evidence for variation in the syntactic expression of causation, among Romance languages and between Galician and European Portuguese in particular. More specifically, variation is found in the syntactic complexity of the clausal (or quasi-clausal) argument (namely w.r.t. negation and nominative availability) and in the expression (form and position) of the subject of such arguments.

The variation found between Galician and European Portuguese permits us to reconsider well-known typological differences among causative constructions and among Romance causatives in particular. Besides, it also allows recasting attention on the interplay of (often neglected) language particular conditions with the syntactic general characterization of analytical causatives.

1. On Galician and European Portuguese causative constructions among Romance causatives

We are concerned here with clausal arguments that occur in analytical (a.k.a. syntactic) causative constructions. Causative constructions encode causative situations, which

involve two events occurring in temporal succession, the second of which could not happen if the first event had not happened (Shibatani 1976: 1). Thus, a causative construction generally expresses a situation consisting of two events:

- (i) the causing event (whereby a causer brings about -or fails to prevent- a second event); and
- (ii) the caused event (whereby a causee carries out an action or undergoes a change of condition or state as the result of the causer's action).

For the purpose of this presentation, we will consider causative constructions where a causing action (event 1) and its effect (event 2) are expressed through a complex sentence involving a semantically causative matrix verb (such as gl., pt. *mandar*, gl. *facer* / pt. *fazer* and gl., pt. *deixar*) in the relevant constructions, i.e. where these verbs take an infinitival complement expressing the caused action/effect (i.e. syntactic causatives, to be distinguished from lexical and morphological causatives).

The relevant example is represented in (2). Sentence (1) describes the event of Maria leaving:

(1) A Maria saiu.
the M left 'Maria left.'

(2) A Ana **mandou/fez/deixou** a Maria sair.
the A made let the M leave-INF 'Ana made Maria leave.'

Sentence (2) reports the event of Mary leaving (which is meant by the complement of the causative verb *mandar*, *fazer* or *deixar* – the causative complement), and, additionally, sentence (2) also expresses the fact that this event was caused by Ana.

Outside the scope of this work, causative constructions may alternatively involve finite complements, which we leave aside, for evident reasons:

(3) A Ana **mandou que/fez com que/deixou que** a Maria saise.
the A made that let that the M leave-INF

Contrasting Galician and European Portuguese w.r.t. the expression of the subject of infinitival complements in causative constructions has for us a two-folded interest: (i) to inspect the expression of subjects in infinitival complements in syntactic causatives as a domain of variation among languages; (ii) to explore the more fine-grained contrast obtained between close grammatical systems.

As the extensive literature on causatives lets us know, Romance causatives have the peculiar interest of sharing features with both analytical causatives (such as those found in English) and morphological causatives characteristic of other languages (such as Chichewa). Just like the former, Romance causatives contain two verbs: one that expresses causation (*fazer*, *mandar*...) and the other one expressing the effect of the causation. However, even if two verbs are displayed in Romance causatives, there exists syntactic evidence that both verbs often operate as a single complex verb, similarly to the case of morphological causatives (Song 1996, Guasti 1997). Also, Romance languages vary with respect to the “compactness” of the construction. Simone and Cerbasi (2001) distinguish between two types of causatives syntactically motivated by the position of the causee: (i) those that display a closer complex VV, which do not allow a causee to surface in-between them (the French-Italian type); and (ii) those that may show the causee between both verbs (the Spanish-Portuguese type). Galician and

European Portuguese, which are very close-related languages, would both enter this latter group.

With the present work, we further point out to aspects that distinguish these languages, with respect to causative constructions, and especially to the subject of their infinitival complements. Thus, Romance languages may provide additional pieces of evidence from systems that are closely similar but still differ in some respects.

2. Contrasting embedded subjects of causative infinitival constructions in Galician and European Portuguese

This section is dedicated to the systematic contrast of Galician and European Portuguese properties w.r.t. the expression of the causee (the embedded subject) in causative infinitival constructions. We thus inspect here a particular case of encoding overt subjects in non-finite clauses in causative constructions. Concomitantly, we also consider some aspects of the infinitival clause, such as the form and the position of the causee. The empirical support for this work has in part been provided by two dialect corpora, in Galician and in European Portuguese, respectively.

The Galician data are drawn from the *TILG* (*Tesouro Informatizado da Lingua Galega*¹), a corpus of modern Galician (oral and written texts), and from the orthographic transcripts of oral texts from the *Atlas Lingüístico Galego*.

For the Portuguese data, we rely on the *CORDIAL-SIN* (*Syntax-oriented Corpus of Portuguese Dialects*), a corpus that compiles a geographically representative selection of excerpts of spontaneous and semi-directed speech drawn from dialect interviews recorded for different linguistic atlases.²

2.1. Major differences in the infinitival clause in Galician and in European Portuguese

When we consider infinitival clauses in causative constructions in Galician (G) and in European Portuguese (EP), we shall first acknowledge two crucial distinctions:

(i) inflected infinitives are allowed in EP while they are not displayed in G causatives

Remark that this is a contrast particular to G and EP among Romance languages, in that both of these languages display inflected infinitives in other relevant contexts, as illustrated in (4) and (5):³

- (4) Peor foi dármoslle a noticia á nai. (GL, ex. em Álvarez & Xove 2002: 129)
 worse was give.INF.1PL .to.her the news to.the mother
 ‘Telling the news to his/her mother was the worse thing.’

¹ <http://www.ti.usc.es/TILG/>

² This *corpus* is available under different formats (*verbatim* transcripts, ‘normalized’ orthographic transcripts and morphologically tagged texts) at http://www.clul.ul.pt/english/sectores/variacao/cordialsin/projecto_cordialsin_corpus.php.

³ PT/GL inflected infinitive: vb. *lavar*: *lavar* (1sg), *lavares* (2sg), *lavar* (3sg), *lavarmos* (1pl), *lavardes* (2pl), *lavarem/lavaren* (3pl).

- (5) Eu espero até tu acabares o livro. (EP)
 I wait until you finish.INF.2SG the book
 ‘I’ll wait until you have finished the book.’

These examples show that the inflected infinitive may be used in both G and EP in contexts where the subject of an infinitival verb and that of a matrix verb are not correferential.

In the case of the infinitival clauses at stake here (i.e. in causative constructions), despite the fact that the matrix and the embedded subjects have disjoint reference, the inflected infinitive is allowed in EP, but not so in G. This is illustrated in examples (6) and (7):

- (6) A Ana fez os alunos saírem.
 the Ana made the students leave.INF.3.PL ‘Ana made the students leave.’
- (7) a. Ana fixo saír os alunos. / Ana fixo os alunos saír.
 Ana made leave.INF the students
- b. *Ana fixo os alunos saíren.
 leave.INF.3PL

Given the well-known historical and linguistic proximity of G and EP, this contrast seems in line with the idea that inflected infinitives in causatives are a fairly recent development in Portuguese (as mentioned by Martins 2004).⁴

It is not totally clear how frequent this kind of infinitival complement is in the Portuguese data. It is generally acknowledged that this type of causative construction is not as usual as the one involving a non-inflected infinitive (Gonçalves & Duarte 2001, a.o.).

We find in the Portuguese data examples such as (8), where the 3pl morphology in the infinitive *criarem* is unambiguous:

- (8) [...] porque a comida guisada faz muito bem. Faz os porcos criarem carne.
 [CORDIAL-SIN, CLH23]
 because the food stewed makes a.lot well makes the pigs gain.INF.3PL meat
 ‘... because stewed food is very good (for them). It makes pigs grow fatter.’

However, given the morphological ambiguity of some inflected infinitival forms, such as 1sg, 3sg (see footnote 3, above) and given some shared properties with causative constructions involving a non-inflected infinitive (namely, the position of the subject between the matrix verb and the infinitive, see (10)), examples such as (2) above, here repeated as (9), remain ambiguous:

- (9) A Ana **mandou** a Maria sair.
 the A made the M leave-INF ‘Ana made Maria leave.’
- (10) A Ana **mandou** os alunos sair.
 the A made the students leave-INF ‘Ana made the students leave.’

Anyway, the relevant contrast to our purpose here is the fact that EP but not G may display inflected infinitives in causative constructions.

⁴ So recently as the 19th century, inflected infinitives still were regretted by some grammarians as a disgraceful use of «modern purists» (Martin 1976).

(ii) the infinitival complement allows negation in EP but not in G

The second major contrast in the infinitival clause of causative constructions in EP and G concerns negation: while the infinitival verb may be negated in EP it may not in G, as shown in examples (11) and (12).

- (11) a. O polícia mandou os condutores **não** circularem/circular.
 the policeman made the drivers NEG circulate-INF.3.PL/circulate-INF
- b. O polícia mandou os condutores **não** estacionarem/estacionar os carros.
 park-INF.3.PL/park-INF the cars
- c. A Ana mandou os alunos **não** trazerem/trazer os livros.
 the Ana made the students NEG bring-INF.3PL/bring-INF the books

The Portuguese examples show that, independently from the matrix verb, negation may affect the embedded verb, be it a non-inflected or an inflected infinitive. By contrast, in Galician this kind of negation is not found:

- (12) a. *O policía mandou os condutores **non** circular.
 the policeman made the drivers NEG circulate-INF
- b. *O policía mandou os condutores **non** aparcar os carros.
 park-INF the cars
- c. *Ana mandou os alumnos **non** traer os libros

Such negation has to be expressed in Galician by means of a finite complement causative construction, which requires the subjunctive mode, as in (13):

- (13) a. O policía mandou que os condutores **non** circulasem.
 the policeman made that the drivers NEG circulate-SUBJ.3PL
- b. O polícia mandou que os condutores **non** aparcasen os carros.
 park-SUBJ.3PL
- c. Ana fixo que os alumnos **non** trouxesen os libros.
 Ana made that the students NEG bring-SUBJ.3PL the books

The differences between G and EP so far illustrated are connected to the already mentioned distinction in the degree of compactness of clauses in causative constructions. While both G and EP (together with Spanish) show in different respects a fairly flexible relation between the causative verb and the embedded verb (cf. Simone and Cerbasi 2001, a.o.), the above presented contrasts permit us to further distinguish inside this group of related languages.

2.2. The expression of the causee in G and EP

We turn now to the expression of the subject of these infinitival clauses in G and EP. For this purpose, we also rely on previous work investigating the expression of the causee, in a comparative perspective contrasting P, G and S (by Sousa 2004) and in the different types of EP causative constructions (as presented in Gonçalves 1999 and Gonçalves and Duarte 2001). To these, we add now a closer regard mediated by G and

EP corpora data, independently explored in Sousa 2010 and in Carrilho and Pereira 2010. As we will see, the contrast between G and EP is fairly sharp and may be found both in the form and in the position of the embedded subject. We begin by looking at the form that the causee may assume:

(i) EP displays nominative causees

Some EP data unambiguously show that the causee may bear nominative case, as expected for a subject; G, on the contrary, does not allow such casual expression.

As both EP and G have pronominal systems that display some morphological casual distinctions (such as Nom-Acc-Dat), this contrast can be illustrated by examples like (14) and (15), which are not found in G:

- (14) a. O policía mandou { os condutores / eles } circular_{em}.
 the policeman made the drivers they.NOM circulate-INF.3.PL
- b. O policía mandou { os condutores / eles } estacionarem os carros.
 the drivers they.NOM park-INF.3.PL the cars
- (15) a. O policía mandou { os condutores / *eles } circular.
 the drivers they.NOM circulate-INF
- b. O policía mandou { os condutores / *eles } aparcar os carros.
 the drivers they.NOM park-INF the cars

In EP, in the relevant position and with an inflected infinitive, the causee may occur as a nominal phrase or as a nominative pronoun. In G, a nominative causee may appear only in finite complements of causatives, as in (16b), otherwise the pronominal form bears Accusative (16c) or Dative (16d):

- (16) a. *Ana fixo eles saír.
 Ana made they.NOM leave-INF
- b. Ana fixo que eles saísen.
 Ana made that they.NOM leave.SUBJ.3PL
- c. Ana fíxoos saír.
 Ana made they.ACC leave-INF
- d. Ana fíxo lles traer a merenda.
 Ana made they.DAT bring-INF the snack

The nominative marking on the causee thus seems to be strictly connected with the manifestation of inflection within the infinitival clause: in EP, examples such as (17) do not usually allow for nominative embedded subjects (just like the Galician examples in (16)):

- (17) a. O policía mandou { os condutores / *eles } circular.
 the policeman made the drivers they.NOM circulate-INF
- b. O policía mandou { os condutores / *eles } estacionar os carros.
 the drivers they.NOM park-INF the cars

We turn now to a different form that distinguishes causees from ‘regular’ embedded subjects, one of the peculiarities of analytical causative constructions in many languages.

(ii) EP causatives of intransitive verbs do not display causees as PPs / dative pronouns

We first consider causees that are expressed as Prepositional Phrases. As is known, this option corresponds to a usual manifestation of the causee, available in all Romance languages, as illustrated below for French and Italian.

- (18) a. J'ai fait relire mon travail à Pierre.
I made read-INF again my work to Pierre
- b. Gianni ha fatto riparare la macchina a Mario.
Gianni made repair-INF the car to Mario

Dative forms are usual in causatives with transitive verbs, while those causatives that involve an intransitive infinitive more commonly have the causee as an accusative (Cerbasi 1998). In this respect, EP and G behave alike, both of them differing from Spanish (see Sousa 2004): in the latter, the preferred form of expression of the causee is the PP (with both transitive and intransitive verbs), as shown in (19).

- (19) a. Hizo salir a los niños.
made3SG leave-INF to the children
- b. Hizo lavar el coche a los niños.
made3SG wash-INF the car to the children

Although EP and G show a similar behavior in this respect, a minor difference arises between them: while the former does not allow PPs as the causee in intransitive infinitival complements (as in example (20)), this does not happen so strictly in G (although datives with intransitives are infrequent, Sousa 1999, and show a NW-limited geographical distribution, Sousa 2010) – see example (21).

- (20) a. A Ana fez saír {os meninos / *aos meninos }
the Ana made3SG leave-INF the children / to the children
- b. A Ana fez lavar o carro aos empregados.
the Ana made3SG wash-INF the car to the employees
- (21) a. A Ana fixo saír {os nenos / ós nenos }
the Ana made3SG leave-INF the children / to the children
- b. A Ana fixolles traer a merenda ós nenos.
the Ana made3SG.to.them bring-INF the snack to the children

When the causee is expressed by a pronoun, the same pattern occurs: i.e., accusative typically occurs with intransitive verbs and dative with transitive ones, even if some variation is allowed in G, where some NW Galician dialects also display the dative form in (23a):

- (22) a. A Ana {fê-los / *fez-lhes } saír.
the Ana made3SG.CL.Acc /CL.Dat leave-INF 'Ana made them leave'
- b. A Ana {fê-los / fez-lhes } lavar o carro.
the Ana made3SG.CL.Acc /CL.Dat wash-INF the car
'Ana made them wash the car'
- (23) a. A Ana {fixoos / fixolles } saír.

- the Ana made3SG.CL.Acc /CL.Dat leave-INF
- b. A Ana { fíxoos / fixolles } traer a merenda.
the Ana made3SG. .CL.Acc /CL.Dat bring-INF the snack

(iii) in G dative causees are usually doubled by a pronominal or PP form

In connection with this PP/dative form of the causee, we find yet another distinction between G and EP: G dative causees are usually doubled by a pronominal or PP form, while EP almost prevents it.

Accordingly, causees that are expressed as OIs are/may be regularly doubled:

(24) *María fíxolles traer a merenda ós nenos*

Actually, this kind of doubling of a dative cause corresponds to the regular, often mandatory, doubling of Indirect Objects in Galician (similarly to Spanish).

(iv) in G a PP causee may intervene between the causative verb and the infinitive

Finally, we contrast an issue related to the position of the causee. In the case of a PP causee, as in (25), G allows it to surface between the causative verb and the infinitival verb, while in EP the causee does not interrupt the sequence of verbs, as shown by example (26):

- (25) a. *María fíxolles traer a merenda ós nenos*
M made3SG.CL.Dat bring-INF the snack to.the children
- b. *María fíxolles ós nenos traer a merenda*
- (26) *A Ana fez lavar o carro aos empregados.*
the A made3SG wash-INF the car to.the employees

3. Conclusions

To conclude, the contrast here presented between Galician and European Portuguese in what concerns the embedded subject of causative infinitival constructions allows us to say that:

- (i) among Romance causatives, the characterization of infinitival complements can profit from a fine-grained comparison between very close languages;
- (ii) even though Galician and European Portuguese behave alike in many respects, the data contrasted here point out to differences concerning the compactness of analytical causative constructions;
- (iii) in particular, some features displayed by European Portuguese but not Galician (inflected infinitive, negation, Nominative case) appear to involve a looser integration of infinitival complements in causative constructions in European Portuguese;
- (iv) the differences found with the contrast of Galician and European Portuguese also show how language particular conditions may shape the syntactic general characterization of analytical causatives.

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