

Embedded subjects of causative infinitival constructions in Galician and Portuguese

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0. Topics

Syntactic differences:

- (i) the presence, in European Portuguese (EP) vs. the absence, in Galician (G), of inflection on the infinitival embedded verb;
- (ii) the presence (EP) vs. the absence (G) of sentential negation in the infinitival complement;
- (iii) the possible (EP) vs. the impossible (G) expression of the cause as a nominative pronoun;
- (iv) the possible expression of the cause as a Prepositional Phrase (PP) or a dative pronoun with both transitive and intransitive infinitival verbs (G) or only with transitive ones (EP);
- (v) the frequent (G) vs. pervasive (EP) doubling expression of the cause;
- (vi) the obligatory (EP) vs. optional (G) post-position of a PP cause to the sequence causative verb-infinitival verb.

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

- (1) A Maria saiu. (EP)
the M left 'Maria left.'
- (2) A Ana mandou/fez/deixou a Maria sair. (EP)
the A made let the M leave-INF 'Ana made Maria leave.'
- (3) A Ana mandou que/fez com que/deixou que a Maria saísse.
the A made that let that the M leave-INF

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

The data (oral corpus)

- Portuguese: CORDIAL-SIN (*Syntax-oriented Corpus of Portuguese Dialects*) [http://www.clul.ul.pt/english/sectores/variacao/cordialsin/proyecto_cordialsin_corpus.php]
- Galician: *Tesouro Informatizado da Lingua Galega* (dialogue and narrative) and *Atlas Lingüístico Galego* (narrative) [http://www.ti.usc.es/TILG/]

2.1. Major differences in the infinitival clause in Galician and in European Portuguese**(i) inflected infinitives are allowed in EP while they are not displayed in G causatives**

- (4) Peor foi dámoslle a noticia á nai. (G)
worse was give.INF.1PL .to.her the news to.the mother
'Telling the news to his/her mother was the worse thing.'
- (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.'
- (6) A Ana fez os alunos saírem. (EP)
the Ana made the students leave.INF.3.PL 'Ana made the students leave.'
- (7) a. Ana fixo sair os alumnos. / Ana fixo os alumnos saír. (G)
Ana made leave.INF the students

- b. *Ana fixo os alumnos saíren. (G)
leave.INF.3PL

- (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.'
- (9) A Ana mandou a Maria sair. (EP)
the A made the M leave-INF 'Ana made Maria leave.'
- (10) A Ana mandou os alunos saír. (EP)
the A made the students leave-INF 'Ana made the students leave.'

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

- (11) a. O polícia mandou os condutores não circularem/circular. (EP)
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 (EP)
- c. A Ana mandou os alunos não trazerem/trazer os livros. (EP)
the Ana made the students NEG bringINF.3PL/bringINF the books
- (12) a. *O polícia mandou os condutores non circular. (G)
the policeman made the drivers NEG circulate-INF
- b. *O polícia mandou os condutores non aparcar os carros. (G)
park-INF the cars
- c. *Ana mandou os alumnos non traer os libros (G)
- (13) a. O polícia mandou que os condutores non circulassem. (G)
the policeman made that the drivers NEG circulate-SUBJ.3PL
- b. O polícia mandou que os condutores non aparcasen os carros. (G)
park-SUBJ.3PL
- c. Ana fixo que os alumnos non trouxesen os libros. (G)
Ana made that the students NEG bring.SUBJ.3PL the books

2.2. The expression of the causee in G and EP**(i) EP displays nominative causees**

- (14) a. O polícia mandou {os condutores / eles} circularem. (EP)
the policeman made the drivers they.NOM circulate-INF.3.PL
- b. O polícia mandou {os condutores / eles} estacionarem os carros. (EP)
the drivers they.NOM park-INF.3.PL the cars
- (15) a. O polícia mandou {os condutores / *eles} circular. (G)
the drivers they.NOM circulate-INF
- b. O polícia mandou {os condutores / *eles} aparcar os carros. (G)
the drivers they.NOM park-INF the cars
- (16) a. *Ana fixo eles saír. (G)
Ana made they.NOM leave.INF
- b. Ana fixo que eles saíssem. (G)
Ana made that they.NOM leave.SUBJ.3PL

- c. Ana fixos sair. (G)
Ana made_{they}.ACC leave.INF
- d. Ana fixolles traer a merenda. (G)
Ana made_{they}.DAT bring.INF the snack
- (17) a. O policía mandou { os condutores / *eles } circular. (EP)
the policeman made the drivers they.NOM circulate-INF
- b. O policía mandou { os condutores / *eles } estacionar os carros. (EP)
the drivers they.NOM park-INF the cars

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

- (18) a. J'ai fait relire mon travail à Pierre. (FR)
I made read-INF again my work to Pierre
- b. Gianni ha fatto riparare la macchina a Mario. (I)
Gianni made repair-INF the car to Mario
- (19) a. Hizo salir a los niños. (SP)
made_{3SG} leave-INF to the children
- b. Hizo lavar el coche a los niños. (SP)
made_{3SG} wash-INF the car to the children
- (20) a. A Ana fez sair { os meninos / *aos meninos } (EP)
the Ana made_{3SG} leave-INF the children / to the children
- b. A Ana fez lavar o carro aos empregados. (EP)
the Ana made_{3SG} wash-INF the car to the employees
- (21) a. A Ana fixo saír { os nenos / ós nenos } (G)
the Ana made_{3SG} leave-INF the children / to the children
- b. A Ana fixolles traer a merenda ós nenos. (G)
the Ana made_{3SG}.to.them bring-INF the snack to the children
- (22) a. A Ana { fê-los / *fez-lhes } sair. (EP)
the Ana made_{3SG}.CL.Acc /CL.Dat leave-INF 'Ana made them leave'
- b. A Ana { fê-los / fez-lhes } lavar o carro. (EP)
the Ana made_{3SG}.CL.Acc /CL.Dat wash-INF the car
'Ana made them wash the car'
- (23) a. A Ana { fixos / fixolles } sair. (G)
the Ana made_{3SG}.CL.Acc /CL.Dat leave-INF
- b. A Ana { fixos / fixolles } traer a merenda. (G)
the Ana made_{3SG}.CL.Acc /CL.Dat bring-INF the snack

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

- (24) María fixolles traer a merenda ós nenos. (G)
M made_{3SG}.CL.Dat bring-INF the snack to.the children

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

- (25) a. María fixolles traer a merenda ós nenos. (G)
M made_{3SG}.CL.Dat bring-INF the snack to.the children
- b. María fixolles ós nenos traer a merenda. (G)

- (26) A Ana fez lavar o carro aos empregados.
the A made_{3SG} wash-INF the car to.the employees
- (27) a. O policía mandou estacionar os carros aos condutores. (EP)
park-INF the cars
'The policeman made the drivers park their cars.'
- b. *O policía mandou aos condutores estacionar os carros. (EP)
park-INF the cars

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