

Parameters, Passives, and Parsing: Motivating Diachronic and Synchronic Variation in Spanish and Portuguese

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1. Introduction

1.1 Synchronic In the past two decades, there has been considerable research on several aspects of the Romance causative construction. One reason for this interest is the diachronic and synchronic variation in case marking, clitic placement, lower clause *se*, and word order facts that the construction exhibits, as in the following examples from Spanish:

CASE MARKING:	DAT (w/ transitives)
(1a) le hicieron comer el pastel	
(1a') la hicieron venir	ACC (w/ transitives)
(1b) la hicieron comer el pastel	
"they made her eat the cake"	

CLITIC PLACEMENT:	[cl+cl]
(2a) me lo vieron comer	[cl-cl]
(2b) me vieron comerlo	
"they saw me eat it"	

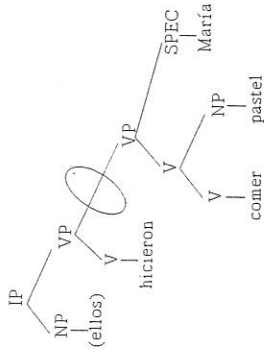
USE OF SE:	[-se]
(3a) lo dejaron sentar	[+se]
(3b) lo dejaron sentarse	
"they let him sit down"	

WORD ORDER:	V(O)S
(4a) le hicieron comer el pastel a Pedro	SV(O)
(4b) le hicieron a Pedro comer el pastel	
"they made Pedro eat the cake"	

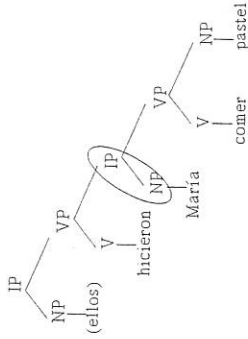
Researchers working in several syntactic models have attempted to explain why case marking is often sensitive to the valency of the embedded verb (1a-a'), why both clitics climb to the matrix verb (2a), why the pronoun *se* is absent from verbs that would otherwise require it (3a), and why the embedded clause subject is clause final (4a). The claim made in recent studies by Zubizarreta (1985), Goodall (1987), Rosen (1989), Pearce (1990) is that (1-4a) result from syntactic structures like (5a) below, in which the embedded clause is a 'reduced clause', meaning that it lacks some specific syntactic material (or 'node') that is otherwise

expected. Sentences (1-4b), on the other hand, derive from 'nonreduced' structures (5b), in which the 'node' is present.

(5) a. VP: reduced



b. IP: nonreduced



In this paper we will not examine these researchers' arguments for why reduced/VP clauses yield [DAT/cl+cl/-se/V(O)S] or why nonreduced/IP clauses yield [ACC/cl-cl/+se/SV(O)]. We will simply note that in these formal GB accounts, the common assumption is that it is the presence or absence of the embedded IP node that is the crucial factor in determining case marking, clitic placement, use of *se*, and word order ([CAS/CP/SE/WO]).

1.2 Diachronic It is only within the past twenty years or so that researchers have begun to look at general clause structure shifts to explain the four phenomena just discussed. These include TG and RG studies such as Radford (1976), Saltarelli (1980), and Strong (1983), as well as a handful from within the GB framework, including Pearce (1990) and Martineau (1990). The general conclusion of nearly all of these studies is that the Romance languages have been moving from nonreduced to reduced (IP to VP) complement clauses, which is evidenced by a shift from [ACC/cl-cl/+se/SV(O)] to [DAT/cl+cl/-se/V(O)S].

Although the pan-Romance construction has received a good deal of interest, there has been surprisingly little discussion of the diachronic Spanish and Portuguese facts, and the few studies that have looked at Spanish and Portuguese fail to take into account the older stages of the language (eg. Radford and Saltarelli). In addition, in spite of passing mention of the causative construction in traditional descriptive studies like Dias (1933), Pereira (1935), and Said Ali (1964) for Portuguese, and Beardley (1921), González Muela (1954), and especially Cano Aguilar (1989) for Spanish, most of the important questions regarding [CAS/CP/SE/WO] have remained unanswered. As a result, it has been impossible to know whether Spanish and Portuguese have also moved from nonreduced to reduced clauses, as French and Italian apparently have.

In an attempt to address the shortcomings of previous research, I have recently presented data that for the first time provides comprehensive data on diachronic shifts in [CAS/CP/SE/WO] in Spanish and Portuguese (Davies 1992, forthcoming a,b,c). These studies are based on more than 5,000 tokens taken

from a 3,000,000 word computer corpora of prose texts covering Old and Middle Spanish/Portuguese to the present time. The data from these studies, which are to date the most extensive for any of the Romance languages, shows that there are four unmistakable and parallel shifts in Spanish and Portuguese from [DAT/cl+cl/-se/V(O)S] towards [ACC/cl-cl/+se/SV(O)], or in other words from reduced (VP) to nonreduced (IP) clauses. It is important to note that this runs counter to what has commonly been accepted as the direction of shifts in French and Italian. The following table summarizes these four parallel shifts:

REDUCED/VP (OSP/Pt)	NONREDUCED/IP (ModSp/Pt)
1A. CASE MARKING [DAT w/tran V] <i>la buena letra . . . fazele alcançar lo que quiere</i> (Cient 24:2) "a good education . . . will have him achieve what he wants"	1B. [ACC w/tran V] <i>lo hace tomar, de repente, un camino diferente</i> (Caracas 42:1) "it makes him suddenly start on a different course"
2A. CLITIC PLACEMENT [cl+cl] <i>Deus me lhe leixe fazer tal serviço em esta demanda</i> (Demanda 221:3) "that God might let me carry out such a request on his behalf"	2B. [cl---cl] <i>E que podias fazer senão deixá-lo enganar-te</i> (Pobres 126:3) "and what could you do except let him deceive you?"
3A. PRONOUN SE [-se] <i>e non fue ninguno que lo asy viesse defender, que non asmasse que nunca fue ombre en el mundo que se podiese defender atanto como se el defendáto</i> (HisTroy 85:1) "there wasn't anyone who saw him defend himself that way, who wasn't astonished that there was someone in the world who could defend himself the way he did"	3B. [+se] <i>vieron encenderse dos triángulos amarillos</i> (Cantantes 136:9) "they saw three yellow triangles light up"
4A. WORD ORDER [VS w/intr] <i>o alcaide de Albana fez ayuntar todos os cidadãos da cidade</i> (Vespesiano 65:2) "the mayor of A. had all of the citizens of the city come together" "he made his son R. come before him"	4B. [SV w/intr] . . . faz a máquina funcionar (BrazFal 2:75:603)

The challenge that faces us, then, is motivating this general shift in clausal types, which results in the four parallel shifts in [CAS/CP/SE/WO]. In the sections that follow, we will present three different explanations, based on parameter shifts, the passive/active nature of the embedded clause, and general parsing strategies employed by native speakers of Spanish and Portuguese in

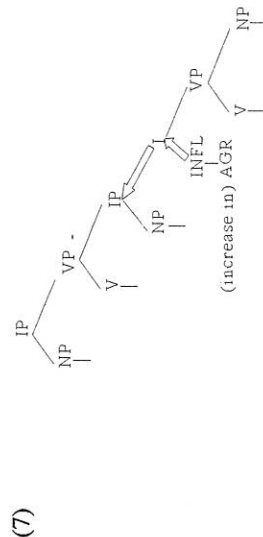
their interpretation of causatives. We will suggest that although all three theories are able to descriptively account for the shifts, it is the non-formal accounts that most realistically account for the data, and which can best be integrated in with other important aspects of the causative construction.

2. Parameters The most formal motivation for the diachronic shifts is that there has been a change in parameter settings from VP in OSP/Pt to IP in ModSp/Pt, which has then resulted in the four parallel shifts from [DAT/cl+cl/-se/V(O)S] towards [ACC/cl-cl/+se/SV(O)]. Of course the natural question is what has *motivated* ModSp/Pt and ModSp/Pt children to set the parameters differently than their counterparts in OldSp/Pt. In what follows, we present one plausible explanation for the shift in parameter settings, and also discuss the problems with such an analysis.

The motivation that we will consider deals with the inflected infinitive which Portuguese possesses:

- (6) *e não deixava eles saírem* (BrazFal 2:57:1653)
 "and didn't let them leave"

Speaking in very general terms, the agreement on the infinitive here indicates the presence of AGR in embedded clause, which in turn suggests some type of a nonreduced IP clause structure. In diachronic terms, the argument is that an increase in AGR leads to the emergence of an IP node:



Data from our corpus shows an increase in the use of the inflected infinitive that roughly parallels the emergence of features characteristic of nonreduced (and thus IP) clauses. For example, there is no use of the inflected infinitive with causatives in OPT. In all ten cases where we would expect to find it with *fazer*, *deixar*, and *ver*, the inflected infinitive is absent (8). In ModPt, however, the inflected infinitive is used in nearly all of the approximately ten cases in which we would expect its use (9):

- (8a) *que fezerom as lorigas desmalhar* (Demanda 205:8)
 "which made the coat of mail come undone"

- (8b) *não leixa os seus esperecer amtes lhes ajuda* (Arimatea 149v)
 "he doesn't let his own perish without first giving them aid"

- (9a) *deixa êles irem para a frente* (BrazFal 2:52:1423)
 "it lets them go ahead"
 (9b) *via as portas do casebre abrirem-se* (Vindima 179:1)
 "he saw the doors of the shack open"

There is a clear diachronic increase in the use of the inflected infinitive with causatives. As use of the inflected infinitive increased with causatives, the agreement of the embedded verb (VERB₂) with the preceding NP would be unequivocal evidence for the language learner that Portuguese had a SUBJ₂ and thus an IP₂ node. This would serve as a trigger that would cause the Portuguese language learner to set the parameter to the 'IP' position, rather than the earlier 'VP'. An important implication of this is that the evolution towards nonreduced features should occur more quickly in Portuguese than in Spanish, where there is no overt agreement. The data from the corpus shows this to be the case; in nearly every case we do find the evolution towards [ACC/cl-cl/+se/SV(O)] occurring more quickly in Portuguese.

The main problem with the inflected infinitive - IP link concerns the evolution of Spanish. Since Spanish does not have an inflected infinitive, why has it also evolved (albeit more slowly) towards IP clauses? A possible solution may take the following form. Although Spanish does not have an inflected infinitive, it has diachronically evolved more towards 'lexical subject + infinitive' constructions than have French and Italian (Harris 1978:197) (10). In some dialects of Spanish, there has even been an evolution towards 'infinitive + preverbal lexical subject (11):

- (10) *después de salir ellos, volvimos a nuestra ciudad*
 "after they left, we returned to our city"
 (11) *pasó antes de yo mudarme para acá*
 "that happened before I moved here"

Sentences (10) and especially (11) represent an intermediate stage between 'no lexical subjects with infinitive' to the Portuguese 'inflected infinitive'. Suñer (1986) suggests that the clause in sentences like (11) have an IP node, but that AGR is set to [-AGR]. Lipski (1991) goes even farther and claims that there is an abstract [+AGR], but that AGR marking on the infinitive is nonovert. For Lipski, the only difference between Portuguese and the Spanish dialects that allow (11) would be the surface realization of AGR. From a less theoretical standpoint, Maurer (1969) shows how sentences like (10)-(11) were important in the historical evolution of the Portuguese inflected infinitive, and Brakel (1980) suggests the same thing synchronically. All of this is evidence for a VP to IP shift in both Portuguese and Spanish, and suggests why the Portuguese causative has evolved more quickly than in Spanish.

In spite of the initial attractiveness of a motivation based on the inflected infinitive, there are some problems. First, although researchers like Suñer and Lipski can hypothesize the existence of nonovert AGR in Spanish, there is never overt evidence of this with causatives. Even the causative counterpart of

(11), in which there is a preverbal NP, does not necessarily give evidence for an underlying AGR feature:

- (12) *dejaron a Miguel mudarse aquí*
 "they let Miguel move over here"

And unlike Portuguese (13a), there are no NOM case forms in Spanish (13b) to signal the presence of a SUBJ₂ with which the VERB₂ agrees:

- (13a) *não deixaram êle comprar um canal de televisão* (BrazFal 2:115:662)
 * *no deixaron él comprar el canal de televisión*
 "they didn't let him buy the channel"

As a result, the rise in nonreduced structures in Spanish as a result of underlying AGR (and thus IP node) is not quite so plausible as in Portuguese, where overt marking of the inflected infinitive leaves no doubt that the underlying structure has an IP node.

The other problem with a motivation based on the inflected infinitive deals with the chronology of syntactic changes in Portuguese itself. As we indicated above, use of the inflected infinitive with causatives (even with the verbs of perception) was virtually nonexistent in OPt and only sporadic in MidPt. And yet the data from the corpus gives some evidence for nonreduced (and thus IP) structures in OPt, such as the following [+se] with order verbs, SV(O) with *fazer* and ACC case marking with *ver*:

- (14a) *ordenou de se partir de Narbona* (Cron 1344 242:2)
 "he ordered them to set sail from N."
 (14b) *elle faz aos seguos ver e aos surdos ouvir* (Arimatea 180r)
 "he makes the blind see and the deaf hear"
 (14c) *viu Galvam tal doo fazer* (Demanda 353:2)
 "he saw Galvam lamenting his fate"

If we hold to the strict view that occurrences of the inflected infinitive should precede the earliest evidence of nonreduced structure, then we cannot use the inflected infinitive as a motivation for the shift from VP to IP. It may be the case, however, that further research will show the emergence of the inflected infinitive with causatives being prior to cases of [ACC/cl-cl/+se/SV(O)].

A more serious problem with the parameters-based model, at least in the present case, is that it is unable to account for the gradualness of the shift in complement types or for the synchronic variation at different stages since OSp/Pt. Lightfoot (1991:160) argues that parametric shifts in the history of a language follow more or less an S-shaped curve (S), in which there is one stage in which there is an "abrupt" shift in the parameter settings, both preceded and followed by less noticeable shifts. Although there are several shifts in [CAS/CP/SE/WO] that took place rather quickly, there are others that

have been in progress for 400-500 years or more. For example, there were cases of the innovative ACC case marking with *fazer* already by OSp (15a), and yet the conservative DAT case marking is still very possible in even non-leista dialects of ModSp (15b). Likewise, the innovative [+se] was already possible in Portuguese by the 1400s (16a), but in ModPt [-sẽ] is still very common (16b).

- (15a) *fizieronlos yurar ... que non escusassen omne nin mugier*
(Ultramar 51:5)
'they made them promise that they would not excuse either
man nor woman'
- (15b) *tratamos de hacerles sentir un poco de angustia* (Caracas
110:1)
'we tried to make them feel at least a bit of sorrow'
- (16a) *fizeram todos 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'
- (16b) *perguntou numa voz tão calma que fez calar as guitarras*
(Minerva 234:4)
'he asked so quietly that even the guitars became silent'

According to Lightfoot, we should also be surprised to find much synchronic variation in the speech community, although we can explain this away by assuming that different individuals have different parameter settings in their internalized grammar. What is much more difficult to explain is variation at the level of the individual, and yet in our corpus we find many examples in which an author or speaker uses or accepts competing variants. The following cases of variation in [CAS/CP/SE/WO] within the same text or by the same speaker are just a few among the many examples that could be cited:

- (17a) *que o fez leixar a fe de Jhesu Christo* (Cron1344 198:1)
'which made him abandon the faith of J.C.'
- (17b) *que thes fez quebrantar os mãdados de seus senhores*
(Cron1344 117:3)
'who made them disobey their masters' order'
- (18a) *me la hizo vender* (Finnemann 399, Col4)
- (18b) *me hizo venderla*
'he made me sell it'
- (19a) *que le viera adelantarse de los suyos por se con él encontrar*
(Amadis 1099:1)
'who had seen him step forward from among the others to
meet him'
- (19b) *no vos vea apartar de mi compañía* (Amadis 1101:4)
'to not see you go away from my presence'

(20a)

que con miedos e amenazas fazen a las cuytadas errar
(Corbacho 262:12)

'who with threats and intimidation make [even] the careful
ones go astray'

(20b)

luego el hermitaño abrió las puertas, e fizo entrar a todos
(Corbacho 298:5)

'then the hermit opened the doors, and had everyone come
in'

Lightfoot deals with this type of variation by claiming that the speaker has in fact set the parameters, but that s/he has set them to two different positions, resulting in some type of internalized diglossia (Lightfoot 1991:138). The main problem with such a position, however, is that it presents us with a theory that is not falsifiable. What are the possible counterexamples that we could produce that would prove that innate and supposed parameters are not real? In summary, a large corpus-based study such as this presents some difficulty for a theory of diachronic syntax in which there are "abrupt" changes in parameter settings, and which are assumed to be set to only one position for a given speaker.

3. Passives As (5) above indicates, the basic difference between reduced and nonreduced clauses is the absence or presence of certain syntactic material roughly analogous to an IP node, in which the SUBJ₂ is either base-generated or to which it moves. In other words, the syntactic material present in the nonreduced clause is a SUBJ₂ in SUBJ position. If we were to show that there had been an independent and yet parallel increase in SUBJ₂ with causatives since OldSp/Pt, this would provide us with a needed motivation for the shift in clausal types. In addition, this motivation would be preferable to the parameters-based theory, in which the parallel increase in SUBJ₂ and nonreduced clauses would simply be coincidental.

As Muller (1912) and others have noted, Latin had both an active (21a) and passive (21b) infinitive, but there was 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 (22):

(21a) *qui [mihi domum aedificare] fecit* ACTIVE

'who made me build a house'

(21b) *[domum aedificari] fecit* PASSIVE

'he had a house built'

(22)

ACTIVE: aedificare
PASSIVE: aedificari

aedificare

As a result, the active infinitive now had two potential meanings attached to it, both an active and a passive sense. Although it was conceivable that one form could carry two different meanings equally as well, this is not what happened.

Chamberlain (1986) shows that already by Late Latin, nearly 70% (100/138) of all clauses with the active form infinitive lacked a SUBJ₂ (making them potentially passive), and this figure may in fact be much higher. In addition, he finds that while there are a few cases of intransitive clauses (23a), there are none that are transitive (23b):

(23a) [*mulierem venire*] *fecit*

'he made the woman come'

(23b) *qui [mihī domum aedificare] fecit*

'who made me build a house'

Pearce (1990) reports that nearly 60% of all such clauses with *faire* in OFr lacked a SUBJ₂, and Cano Aguilar (1989) shows the same thing for OSp. The data from our corpus shows that nearly 60% of all clauses with *fazer* in the earliest OSp texts were [-SUBJ]₂, and with *mandar* the figure was between 80-90%.

The facts indicate that once the active infinitive took on the functional load of both the active and the passive, then subjectless embedded clauses became the unmarked construction. Thus in OSp/Pt 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 (24a) to more like (24b) and (24c):

(24a) *fizo destruir el castillo*

'he had the castle destroyed'

(24b) *hizo trabajar a Maria*

'he made Maria work'

(24c) *le hizo a Maria comer el pastel*

'he made Maria eat the cake'

The data from our corpus indicates that this is precisely what happened. The percentage of [+SUBJ]₂ with *fazer* increased from 50% in OSp to 70% in MidSp and 92% by ModSp; in Portuguese it increased from 50% in OPt to 54% in MidPt, with the main increase to 88% by ModPt. Thus in ModSp/Pt [+SUBJ]₂ are now again the rule (25), and [-SUBJ]₂ are now the exception (26):

(25a) *lo hicieron actuar de una forma totalmente violenta* (Caracas 334:7)

'they made him act in a totally violent way'

(25b) *não é o vento que faz sair lágrimas* (BrazFal 2:21:164)

'it's not the wind that makes one cry'

(26a)

que estableciera un lista de precios justos si no hay maneras de hacerla respetar (Venezuela 9:21)

(26b)

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'

Note that our analysis relies not so much on the issue of active/passive clauses as it does the issue of [+SUBJ]₂. Saltarelli (1980), Chamberlain (1986) and others have argued that we can never know whether [-SUBJ]₂ are passive or whether they are active with an understood unspecified SUBJ₂. Although the ModSp data from Finnemann (1982) strongly suggests that speakers do give a passive interpretation to [-SUBJ]₂ sentences, our motivation for the rise in nonreduced [CAS/CP/SE/WO] relies only on the observable and undisputable shift from [-SUBJ]₂ to [+SUBJ]₂ in Spanish and Portuguese.

In summary, the high degree of [-SUBJ]₂ in Late Latin and into the early Romance languages was the result of a 'blind' phonological merger that forced the active infinitive to take on the load of both the active and passive infinitives. This led to an (unnaturally) high degree of [-SUBJ]₂ in the older languages, and there has been a shift back towards [+SUBJ]₂, which under normal circumstances would have never been the marked case with this active infinitive. Crucially, it is this gradual emergence of lower clause subjects that causes the shift from reduced VP to nonreduced IP clauses. This motivation also has two main advantages over the strictly parameters-based model. First, it insightfully relates shifts in clausal types to the increase in SUBJ₂, which would otherwise be purely coincidental. Second, the SUBJ₂-based account almost predicts a very gradual shift in clausal types, since the increase in SUBJ₂ is assumed to also be a very gradual shift back from a highly marked situation in OldSp/Pt. In a parameters-based model, syntactic change is (incorrectly) predicted to occur much more abruptly.

4. Parsing Although the preceding motivation, based on the increase in SUBJ₂, can descriptively account for the shift in clausal types, it is still difficult to see how speakers' changing use of [CAS/CP/SE/WO] was directly influenced by the increasing presence of SUBJ₂. In this section we will provide such a link. The analysis is based in large part on the finding of Finnemann (1982), which is a very extensive study of [CAS/CP/SE/WO] use by native speakers of Modern Spanish. The study is based on a large number of conversations with these speakers about not only the acceptability of competing variants, but also their intuitions about why unacceptable sentences seem to be so awkward. We will see that [CAS/CP/SE/WO] use by speakers is directly related to the degree to which they expect embedded clauses to have a subject (i.e. SUBJ₂). We will also see that their intuitions and processing strategies

provide us with valuable insight about what may have happened diachronically in the shift from [DAT/cl+cl/-se/V(O)S] to [ACC/cl-cl/+se/SV(O)].

Let us first consider case marking. For those speakers who most readily allow [-SUBJ]₂, sentences like (27a) with ACC will be avoided. Those speakers in Finnemann's study who readily accept [-SUBJ]₂ claim that since NP₂ can easily be a direct object, *la hice comprar* can easily be parsed as 'I had it bought'. A garden-path processing difficulty arises as the listener encounters the real direct object: *el libro*.

- (27a) [*la hice comprar*] *el libro*
 (27b) [*le hice comprar*] *el libro*
 "I made her buy the book"

As a result, [-SUBJ]₂ speakers prefer DAT (27b), in which case the actual SUBJ₂ cannot be misconstrued as the direct object. Thus diachronically, we can assume that DAT was an avoidance strategy, which avoided "garden path" type problems during the heavy [-SUBJ]₂ stage of OldSp/Pt. Once [+SUBJ]₂ became more common, this garden-path problem was diminished, and (27a) became more possible.

Turning to parsing strategies with clitic placement, Finnemann finds that for those speakers who avoid [-SUBJ]₂, they assign only one acceptable meaning to (28), in which *lo* is the SUBJ₂ and the clause is active (28b). For those speakers who accept either [-SUBJ]₂ or [+SUBJ]₂, however, either interpretation is possible: with *lo* either as OBJ₂ (28a) or SUBJ₂ (28b).

- (28a) *lo hice pintar*
 "I had it painted"
 (28b) *lo hice pintar*
 "I made him paint (something)"

The fact that [cl-] is ambiguous between OBJ₂ and SUBJ₂ has led many ModSp/Pt speakers to an innovative solution. Finnemann (1982:358-73), Brandão (1963:364-5) and Almeida (1979:548) show that many speakers now use [cl-] only for SUBJ₂ (28b), and that OBJ₂ clitics must take the innovative [-cl]:

- (29) *hice pintarlo*

In diachronic terms, when [-SUBJ]₂ was the norm, there was little ambiguity regarding the syntactic role of the NP₂. It is only with the increase in [+SUBJ]₂ that speakers attempt to deal with the ambiguity by having [cl-] position for SUBJ₂ and [-cl] for OBJ₂, which then leads to the innovative [cl-cl].

Turning now to the use of *se*, we note again that for those speakers who most readily allow [-SUBJ]₂, a single NP₂ is most likely to be seen as OBJ₂:

- (30) *lo hice sentar*
 "I had him seated / I had someone seat him"

Those speakers who reject [-SUBJ]₂, on the other hand, expect the NP₂ to be the SUBJ₂. Finnemann (1982:Chapter 6) notes that the acceptability of the 'reflexive' pronoun [+*se*] is related to the degree that the speakers feel that there is an independent, agentive SUBJ₂ who can act on himself:

- (31) *lo hice sentarse*
 "I made him sit down"

Diachronically, in OldSp/Pt, in which [-SUBJ]₂ is the norm, the NP₂ is not perceived as an agentive SUBJ₂ that can act on him/herself (thus prohibiting [+*se*]), but as agentive SUBJ₂ becomes more possible, so does [+*se*].

Finally, word order may also be related to processing facts associated with [+SUBJ]₂. In all periods of the languages, full NP OBJ₂ with causatives have occurred postverbally, in accordance with SVO word order:

- (32) *fiz construir a casa*
 "I had the house built"

Therefore, in the [-SUBJ]₂ period, the NP₂ was most usually an OBJ₂, and thus the NP₂ was most commonly postverbal. It may be that even full NP SUBJ₂ then adopted V-NP word order by analogy:

- (33) *fizeram trabalhar Maria*
 "they made Maria work"

It was only as [+SUBJ]₂ became more common (especially highly agentive SUBJ) that NP₂ began as a rule to occupy subject position (assuming basic SVO word order):

- (34) *fizeram Maria trabalhar*

To conclude this section, let us consider reemphasize the psychological reality of these processing constraints. A very large number of ModSp speakers interviewed at length by Finnemann (1982) describe how real the 'garden path' phenomena with ACC clitics is, why ambiguity between SUBJ₂ and OBJ₂ causes them to reject [cl-] for OBJ₂, and why the NP₂ must be 'agent-like' in order for them to accept the 'reflexive' pronoun *se*. Accepting the synchronic reality of these processing constraints, the only assumption that we must make is that these constraints are valid for speakers of Spanish at early stages (thus affecting diachronic developments) and for Portuguese speakers also.

5. Conclusion We have considered three possible motivations for the diachronic shift in Spanish and Portuguese causatives from reduced to nonreduced structures. The most formal account, based on changes in parameter settings, suggested an interesting link between the inflected infinitive and the rise of the IP node, but also presents a number of problems. Among these is the fact that there would be no overt marking of the inflected infinitive in Spanish that might cause learners to set the parameter differently. Second, although several shifts occurred quite rapidly, others are still incomplete after 400-500 years. Third, the synchronic idiolectal variation is difficult to explain, even with a theory of parameter-setting that allows for 'internal diglossia'. Fourth, it is impossible to integrate together the two most important shifts in causative syntax: the independent rise in [SUBJ]₂, resulting from a previous 'blind' morphological merger, and the phenomena of [CAS/CP/SE/WO].

Setting aside the parameters explanation, we are left with two possible motivations for the shifts in [CAS/CP/SE/WO]. The formal motivation presented in Section 3 is that [-SUBJ]₂ to [+SUBJ]₂ is directly related to the change from reduced to nonreduced complements, and that this in turn affected [CAS/CP/SE/WO]. The functional explanation that we just presented suggests that there is a direct link between [+SUBJ]₂ and [CAS/CP/SE/WO], and that there is no need to postulate the abstract shift in clausal types; everything occurs "at the surface". Thus, if we ignore the functional motivation in favor of the strictly formal reduced/nonreduced or VP/IP model, we will miss out on the interesting insights into the way that actual speakers process (at least ModSp) causatives.

Another advantage of this processing-based explanation is that it allows for some time lag between a new structural type and shifts in [CAS/CP/SE/WO]. If we strictly hold to the view that [+SUBJ]₂ translates into nonreduced/IP structures, our [+SUBJ]₂-based motivation will run into some problems. For example, the data that we and others have presented shows that [+SUBJ]₂ is clearly the norm in ModSp/Pt, meaning that ModSp/Pt should now have nonreduced/IP structures. We would be at a loss to explain any cases of [DAT/cl+cl/-se/V(O)S], which the data show are still common in many dialects of ModSp, at least with *hacer*. This is the problem we run into if we assume that in synchronic terms [-SUBJ]₂ directly relates to the VP/IP question.

The processing-based model, on the other hand, almost requires that there be some lag time between the increase in [+SUBJ]₂ and the shift from [DAT/cl+cl/-se/V(O)S] to [ACC/cl--cl/+se/SV(O)]. As we have discussed above, the use of [ACC/cl--cl/+se/SV(O)] is based on the speakers and listener's expectation that there is at least one NP₂ that is a SUBJ. For those speakers that still accept [-SUBJ]₂ sentences, there is a much lower expectation that one of the NP₂ need be a SUBJ₂. Since [-SUBJ]₂ sentences like (35a-b):

- (35a) hice revisar el coche
"I had the car looked at"

- (35b) oí hablar de ella
"I heard something said about her"

do not disappear overnight, and may linger in certain set phrases, there will be a long lag time between the increase of [+SUBJ]₂ and complete [ACC/cl--cl/+se/SV(O)]. Hence, the fact that there are still cases of [DAT/cl+cl/-se/V(O)S] with certain VERB₁ in certain dialects of ModSp/(Pt) does not invalidate a motivation based on the increase in [+SUBJ]₂. In summary, the parsing-based motivation almost predicts gradual diachronic shifts and synchronic variation, it relates shifts in [SUBJ]₂ to [CAS/CC/SE/WO], and it shows how these two sets of phenomena are intimately related at a rather concrete, nonabstract level of the grammar.

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Variation and Definiteness

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0. Introduction¹

The study of definiteness has been characterized by considerable debate as to whether the difference between the definite and indefinite articles is best formulated in terms of novelty/familiarity (Christophersen 1939, Heim 1982), uniqueness (e.g. Russell 1905, Kadmon 1990, Hawkins 1991), or identifiability (e.g. Chafe 1976, Du Bois 1980). In spite of their disagreements, all these approaches share one crucial assumption -- they take an essentially 'referential view' of definiteness. They focus exclusively on the articles' contribution to reference, that is, on the way the articles help NPs establish the existence of and individuate (pick out) entities in the universe of discourse. Thus, referential theories posit that the speaker chooses *the* when *s/he* assumes that the hearer has the requisite knowledge of a referent to successfully uniquely identify it. The speaker chooses *a* when *s/he* assumes that the hearer has no basis for uniquely identifying the referent. Sufficient grounds for uniquely identifying a referent are typically established through previous mention, presence of the referent in the situation of utterance, shared background knowledge, etc.

In this paper, I argue that rules formulated in solely referential terms do not account for the full range of uses of the articles in English. Although there is no doubt that the referential function of the articles is important, it is not the only function they fulfill. The main claim of the paper is that the articles are fundamentally 'multifunctional' elements: in addition to their referential function, they also possess an expressive function. Moreover, a single article may simultaneously fulfill both functions, i.e. speakers employ articles to both trace the identity of referents in the discourse (referential function), as well as to convey personal attitudes towards those very same referents (expressive function). This multifunctionality often gives rise to article alternations, that is, cases in which the definite and indefinite articles are both available to describe the same objective, referential situation. The choice of article in these contexts depends on whether the speaker wishes to use the articles for primarily referential or expressive purposes. In the referential mode, factors such as familiarity, uniqueness, or identifiability play a crucial role in this choice. In the expressive mode, though, these factors have little influence -- rather, factors such as prominence are chiefly relevant. In order to argue for this point, data drawn from naturally occurring discourse will be presented below showing, first, that speakers may felicitously use the definite article even when the hearer manifestly does *not* possess the requisite knowledge for uniquely identifying the referent in question, and second, that speakers may felicitously use the indefinite article even when they know that the hearer *does* have sufficient grounds for uniquely identifying the referent. The multifunctional nature of the articles therefore makes it appear as if they can "break" the rules proposed in referential theories. In all these cases, I claim, the articles are expressively motivated. The emphasis on reference (as well as on constructed data) has caused article alternations to receive little attention in the literature.

The paper is organized as follows: in section 1, a sketch of the multifunctional theory of the articles is given, along with preliminary arguments showing why it is

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