The Evolution of the Spanish Causative Construction
Author(s): Mark E. Davies
Source: *Hispanic Review,* Vol. 63, No. 1 (Winter, 1995), pp. 57-77
Published by: University of Pennsylvania Press
Stable URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/474378
Accessed: 05-06-2020 17:46 UTC

THE EVOLUTION OF THE SPANISH
CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTION

MARK E. DAVIES
Illinois State University
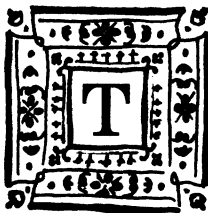
HIS study deals with an issue of diachronic Spanish syntax in which there has been comparatively little previous research: the diachronic evolution of nonfinite complements of causative verbs or verbs of perception:

1.1   (1)   a. **la gran tormenta . . . hazia los arboles sallir de tierra** (GrimGrad 430:1)
        b. **mandó luego armar su yent** por conbater la cipdat (Ultramar 44:9)
        c. y la muerte que no me diste, **dexa me la tomar** (GrimGrad 407:1)
        d. esto digo porque de tu pena **te veo gloriar** (Cárcel 74:1)

It is surprising that the diachronic Spanish construction should have received so little attention, considering the great amount of research that has been done on the diachronic pan-Romance construction. 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

57

traditional studies like those by Muller, Gougenheim and Norberg.

Regarding the diachronic Spanish construction, standard reference grammars such as those by Hanssen, Menéndez Pidal, and García de Diego give only passing reference to causatives. The two studies dealing specifically with nonfinite complements in OSp (Beardsley and González–Muela) are marred by methodological shortcomings that make their data unreliable. The study by Cano Aguilar is the only one to look specifically at diachronic Spanish causatives, but he looks only at the period 1200–1500 and considers only a small portion of the causative phenomena that this study will address.

In view of the lack of previous research on Spanish, some researchers of the pan-Romance construction have overgeneralized their findings to include Spanish, without looking at actual diachronic data from the language. Therefore, one purpose of this study is to consider the Spanish constructions in their own right, and to show how the Spanish construction has evolved differently from some of the other Romance languages. This study is based on an extensive computer-based corpus of historical Spanish prose. The data base comprises 1.5 million words of text in the thirty texts from Old/Mid/Mod Spanish listed below.[1] The corpus yielded nearly 3200 examples of causative-type constructions, which are

---

[1] The texts utilized in this study include all or portions of:
  OSp (1200s). 8 texts. 430,100 words.

Estoria de España, General Estoria (both from the Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, U Wisconsin-Madison), *Historia Troyana en prosa y verso, Gran Conquista de Ultramar, El Libro de los Engaños, Poridat de las Poridades, Castigos y Documentos, El Libro de los Cien Capítulos.*
MidSp (1438-1605). 10 texts. 454,800 words.

El Corbacho, La Celestina, Amadís de Gaula, Claros Varones de Castilla, Cárcel de Amor, Grimalte y Gradissa, Historia de Grisel y Mirabella, Guzmán de Alfarache, La Vida del Buscón, Don Quijote de la Mancha.
ModSp (1950-). 13 texts. 619,200 words.

(All from J. Halvor Clegg, Dept. Spanish and Portuguese, and Humanities Research Center, Brigham Young University): 128 newspaper articles from Latin America (1985-6); selections from nine Latin American and Spanish novels published 1950-1975; *El Habla Culta de Caracas; El Habla Popular de la Ciudad de México.*

distributed among the lexical and syntactic categories in the following table:

Table 1. Number of examples with each causative/verb of perception; and finite/nonfinite

	Nonfinite						Finite		
	fazer	mandar	dexar	ver	Vperc	order	fazer	mandar	dexar
OSp	429	343	77	86	19	92	27	122	2
MidSp	343	160	164	240	46	272	35	88	0
ModSp	118	46	130	66	32	245	24	0	25
Total	880	549	371	392	97	609	86	210	27

Vperc = oír, sentir; Order verbs = aconsejar, avisar, ayudar, consentir, constreñir, convencer, demandar, exigir, forzar, impedir, incitar, invitar, obligar, ordenar, permitir, persuadir, pregar, prohibir, recomendar, sugerir, suplicar.

The diachronic Romance/Spanish 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 (2a–5a) below:

CASE MARKING:
- (2) a. **le** hicieron comer el pastel DAT (w/transitives)
-    a'. **la** hicieron venir
-    b. **la** hicieron comer el pastel ACC (w/transitives)

CLITIC PLACEMENT:
- (3) a. **me lo** vieron comer [cl + cl]
-    b. **me** vieron comer**lo** [cl—cl]

USE OF *SE*:
- (4) a. lo dejaron **sentar** [–se]
-    b. lo dejaron **sentarse** [+*se*]

WORD ORDER:
- (5) a. le hicieron comer el pastel **a Pedro** V(O)S
-    b. le hicieron **a Pedro** comer el pastel SV(O)

Researchers working in several syntactic models have attempted to explain why case marking is often sensitive to the valency of the lower verb (2a-a'), why both clitics climb to the upper verb (3a), why the pronoun *se* is absent from verbs that would otherwise require it (4a), and why the lower clause subject is clause final (5a).

The second motivation for past research has been both the synchronic and diachronic variation between the (a) and (b) type of sentences in (2-5) 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 (2a-5a) are necessarily related and are in contrast to (2b-5b), 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 Spanish. We will find that there are parallel diachronic shifts from the (a) to the (b) type sentences, which in turn suggest 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 Spanish causative. Let us now consider in sections 2-5 the specific data that show the diachronic shifts in case marking, clitic placement, the use of lower clause *se*, and word order.

2. Case marking

In this section, we will discuss how data from our corpus give evidence for a shift in case marking of the S_2 subject (hereafter, S_2 = 'lower clause'), from unmarked DAT in OSp (6a) towards ACC in ModSp (6b):

(6) a. **le** hicieron comer el pastel   DAT
     b. **la** hicieron comer el pastel   ACC

In terms of past research on case marking with diachronic Spanish causatives, very little has been done. Beardsley (44), Hanssen (55), Keniston (506-8), and González-Muela all mention in passing that DAT was common in OSp, with Beardsley noting that ACC was

more common with verbs of perception (62–5). There is no discussion of general shifts from OSp to MidSp and ModSp.

As we turn to the data from our corpus, we find that a number of phenomena make it difficult to determine case marking. First, we noted above that only transitive S_2 distinguish between DAT/ACC based on syntactic factors, and thus we do not consider intransitive S_2:

    (7)   faziendo**le** andar como bestia por los montes (Corbacho 271:30)

Second, unlike in French, Italian, and Portuguese, the presence of the Spanish 'accusative a' means that both DAT and ACC full noun phrases have the same form. In (8a–b), the S_2 full noun phrase could either be DAT or it could be ACC with the 'accusative a':

    (8)   por fazer **a las yentes** perder la sospecha (EstEsp 80r)

The only potential marker of DAT/ACC are pronouns, and even here we must ignore first and second person pronouns, since they do not have different DAT/ACC forms:

    (9)   pues es menester que **te** haze buscar . . . otro más agudo cochillọ (GrimGrad 407:1)

Only third person pronouns differentiate between DAT (*le/les*) and ACC (*lo/la/los/las*). Fortunately, the ambiguity caused by 'leísmo' is not a problem for us, since it is the cases of the innovative ACC that interest us, not the conservative DAT. But even with third person pronouns, we often have problems in determining whether the pronoun refers to a lower clause subject, which is what interests us, or merely a S_2 indirect object:

    (10)   si se fuesse ante que **gelo** fiziesse saber que le prisiessen (EstEsp 157r)
            'that they might take him, if he should leave before they **[made it known to him/made him aware of it]**'

As a result of all of these factors, only a very small fraction of all sentences with two S_2 noun phrases clearly mark the subject for DAT/ACC. Even with these limitations, however, we find clear evidence for a diachronic shift from DAT to ACC with clear cases of third person pronouns referring to lower clause subjects. As the following examples indicate, DAT was clearly the norm with *fazer* in OSp and MidSp (11a–b), although in 3/32 cases in OSp and 4/40 in MidSp, ACC was used (12a–b):

(11) a. la buena letra . . . faze**le** alcançar lo que quiere (Cient
          24:2)
      b. el buen entendimiento y el coraçon grande . . . **le** fi-
          zieron poner tal diligencia (Varones 96:5)
(12) a. fizieron**los** yurar . . . que non escusassen omne nin
          mugier (Ultramar 51:5)
      b. **la** fazen forçosamente confessar el contrario de lo que
          sienten (Celestina 208:20)

By ModSp, however, 7/19 were the innovative ACC (13a), as opposed
to the conservative DAT (13b):

(13) a. **lo** hace tomar, de repente, un camino diferente (Caracas
          42:1)
      b. tratamos de hacer**les** sentir un poco de angustia (Car-
          acas 110:1)

Although there are fewer examples with other causatives, we
see the same diachronic shift from DAT to ACC. With *mandar*,
4/4 OSp and 3/4 MidSp are DAT (14a–b), while in ModSp 2/2 are
ACC (15):

(14) a. e nunca **le** mandava fazer cosa que la non fiziese (En-
          gaños 33:3)
      b. Calisto su amo, el cual **le** mandó abrir la puerta (Ce-
          lestina 193:5)
(15)   a los presos políticos **los** mandaban a hacer carreteras
          (Caracas 458:3)

With *dexar*, 1/1 OSp and 11/11 MidSp are DAT (16a–b), while
in ModSp 5/6 examples have the innovative ACC (17):

(16) a. e fueron ferir sobrel los sus uasallos, que non se**lo** dex-
          aron sacar del canpo (HisTroy 170:2)
      b. la escuridad de la noche no **les** dejaba ver cosa alguna
          (Quijote 269:2)
(17)   **lo** dejó clavar las cajas y poner sus iniciales (Cien 19:
          10)

Finally, as (18a) indicates, 1/6 MidSp examples with the verb
of perception *ver* have DAT (there are no relevant examples from
OSp), while 2/4 in ModSp are ACC (18b):

(18) a. quando **le** vee tomar armas e salir de casa (Corbacho
          249:11)
      b. nunca **la** había visto hacer eso con mayor entusiasmo
          (Hombre 375:10)

In addition to the data from our computer corpus, figures from other data-oriented studies of ModSp show the shift towards ACC in ModSp. Skydsgaard's data show not uncommon ACC in ModSp, and even more important are the figures from Finnemann's investigation of contemporary Spanish prose writings (222-42). He shows that 24% of (the 200) cases with *hacer* are ACC, 39% of (the 23 cases) with *dejar*, and nearly 60% (of 70 cases) with *ver*. Even more useful is Finnemann's data from interviews with native speakers of ModSp, many of whom prefer DAT only with *hacer* and with masculine lower clause subjects. In most other cases ACC is preferred to DAT, which is seen as being more 'elegant', and more representative of a 'formal, written' register (243-89).

3. Clitic placement

In this section we will consider the diachronic shift in clitic placement, from [cl + cl] in OSp (19a) towards [cl—cl] in ModSp (19b):

    (19)   a. **me lo** dejaron comer   [cl + cl]
               b. **me** dejaron comer**lo**   [cl—cl]

Although our corpus of texts gives clear evidence for [cl + cl] in OSp and MidSp, we will find that even a corpus of this size does not give us clear evidence for [cl—cl] in ModSp. For this we will turn to the generally overlooked data found in the studies by Skydsgaard and especially Finnemann. In addition, we will show not only a shift from the nonfinite [cl + cl] to [cl—cl], but also an increase in the use of finite complements at the expense of the older nonfinite option [cl + cl].

Previous research by Spaulding, Keniston, Wanner, and many others shows a general diachronic shift from [cl—] to [—cl] with all main verbs:

    (20)   a. **lo** quiero hacer   [cl—]
               b. quiero hacer**lo**   [—cl]

Therefore, the OSp and MidSp situation is one in which the S_2 object clitic 'climbs' to the main verb. Applied specifically to causatives, this will give [cl + cl]. Menéndez Pidal (407), Keniston (108), and Wanner (141) all note in passing that this [cl + cl] is probably the norm with causatives in OSp. However, unlike the issue of the general S_2 object clitic placement seen in (20a-b), there is no discussion of the diachronic shifts between [cl + cl] and [cl—cl] with

causatives, or any details on the precise extent of [cl + cl] in OSp and MidSp.

Data from our corpus confirms that [cl + cl] was the only option with nearly all causative verbs in both OSp and MidSp. With *fazer*, 20/20 of nonfinite clauses were [cl + cl] in OSp, and 17/17 in MidSp. Unlike ModSp, there are cases with both inanimate and animate objects:

(21)   a. fizo **gelo** beuer por fuerça (EstEsp 102v)
       b. la necessidad **me lo** ha hecho complir (Celestina 162:
          1)

(22)   a. . . .Aquella muger, e rrogóle que **ge la** fiziesse aver
          (Engaños 29:1)
       b. la dueña **se le** fizo conoscer, diziendole como ella era
          aquella que en mar lo echara (Amadís 1063:2)

As noted earlier, we see an increase in finite S_2 at the expense of nonfinite S_2, from 5/25 total cases of S_2 in OSp to 9/26 in MidSp, and 2/2 in ModSp:

(23)   a. fizo que ellos mismos **le** tolliessen la porpora (EstEsp
          121v)
       b. y vos hermano de Amadís, cómo se podía fazer que os
          amasse (Amadís 1073:10)
       c. y no te hacían la materia agradable, o sea, el mismo
          profesor hacía que tú **le** cogieras (Caracas 63:9)

With *mandar*, the preference for finite over nonfinite S_2 with an object clitic is even more pronounced, being 20/25 cases in OSp and 20/20 in MidSp:

(24)   a. [la sortija] & mandar ledes que **la** guarde & que **la** non
          pierda (EstEsp 92r)
       b. el Rey mandó que **le** diessen de comer y **le** hiziessen
          mucha honra (Amadís 1037:8)

The five OSp nonfinite S_2 are all [cl + cl]. By ModSp, there are virtually no examples of *mandar* with either finite or nonfinite S_2 in the case of a S_2 object clitic.

The shift from [cl + cl] to [cl—cl] is seen most clearly with *dexar*. Both OSp cases are [cl + cl], but by MidSp 2/5 are [cl—cl], and this increases to 5/5 of the nonfinite S_2 in ModSp (with one finite S_2). (25a–b) are cases of the conservative [cl + cl] from both OSp and MidSp, while (26a–b) are examples of the innovative [cl—cl] from MidSp and ModSp:

(25) a. mas trauo con ell El Conde Garci Fernandez & non
     gelo dexo fazer (EstEsp 96v)

   b. ¡Gracias a Dios, que **te me** dexó ver! (Celestina 60:10)

(26) a. dex**ame** mirar**te** toda, a mi voluntad, que me huelgo
     (Celestina 249:1)

   b. **nos** iba a dejar sacar**lo** (Gazapo 9:14)

The evolution towards [cl—cl] is also seen early on with the
'order' verbs, where there are cases of [cl—cl] already by OSp (27a),
and where they are the only nonfinite option by MidSp (12/12) and
ModSp (7/7) (27b-c):

(27) a. **les** ayudauan de **los** uencer & **los** desbaratar (EstEsp
     65r)

   b. obligándo**me** a decir**te** cosas mayores de mi vida (Guz-
     mán 197:1)

   c. y permít**ame** dar**le** un consejo (Peru 14:4)

The data from our corpus give clear evidence for increasing
[cl—cl] only with *dejar* and with the 'order' verbs. Nevertheless,
other corpora of ModSp such as Skydsgaard and Finnemann (319-
56) show that [cl—cl] is now possible with *hacer* in ModSp, and
that it is in fact on the increase. Finnemann's interviews show that
even with *hacer*, most speakers accept both [cl + cl] and [cl—cl]
and that for some, the innovative [cl—cl] is now the only option
(396). He also shows that many speakers avoid both the conser-
vative and the innovative nonfinite options in favor of the neutral
finite S_2 option.

4. Use of *se*

    In this section we will show a diachronic shift in the use of the
pronoun *se*, in which *se* with S_2 pronominal verbs was nearly always
deleted in Old/MidSp (28a), but is increasingly retained in ModSp
(28b):

(28) a. lo dejaron **sentar**   [*-se*]

   b. lo dejaron **sentarse**   [*+se*]

This is the aspect of causative syntax that has been studied the
least, especially with regard to the diachronic Spanish construction.
Menéndez Pidal (407-08) and Beardsley (72), both in passing ref-
erence, note that *fazer* often took [-*se*], whereas *ver* sometimes
took [+*se*]. Cano Aguilar dedicates somewhat more attention to the
problem, and states that [-*se*] was generally the ruled from at least

1200–1500 (319). None of these researchers looks at the full dia-
chronic scene from OSp to ModSp.

Turning to the data from our corpus we see that with *fazer*,
[*-se*] has been the only nonfinite option in all periods (OSp 29/29,
MidSp 6/6, ModSp 3/3):

(29)   a. E santa Siluestre . . . fizo much adur **callar** todas las
gentes que se estauan maravillando (EstEsp 116r)

    b. la hizo **sentar** sobre la cama (Quijote 236:3)

    c. el peso . . . los puede hacer **hundir** (Caracas 256:16)

Just as with clitic placement, however, the neutral finite option
has since been increasingly substituted for the nonfinite S_2 option,
at least since MidSp (OSp 0/29, MidSp 4/10, ModSp 5/8):

(30)   a. o faze **que se** esconde por desgayre (Corbacho 247:23)

    b. hace **que** todo el mundo **se** calle (Gazapo 170:26)

Similarly, all OSp and MidSp cases with *mandar* are either the
conservative nonfinite [*-se*] (OSp 21 cases, MidSp 13, ModSp 0) or
the substitute finite option (OSp 10, MidSp 9, ModSp 0):

(31)   a. et cuedando que se durmie, non le quiso mandar **des-
pertar** (EstEsp 148r)

    b. non gelo quisiese dar y le mandase **quedar** en su camara
(Varones 125:2)

(32)   a. quel mando **que se** leuantasse (GenEst 71v)

    b. mandar **que se** juntase con sus enbaxadores (Varones
131:2)

The first clear evidence that the corpus gives for a shift towards
[*+se*] comes with the verb *dexar*. While all OSp and MidSp examples
are [*-se*] (33a–b), there are three cases of [*+se*] by ModSp (34):

(33)   a. e fuesse para la mar e dio con el fijo dentro e dexól
affogar (Ultramar 54:4)

    b. luego la Pobreza dexó a la Fortuna **levantar** (Corbacho
333:4)

(34)   habían dejado **irse** la tarde y la noche del domingo
(Rayuela 28:1)

The clearest evidence for a shift from [*-se*] to [*+se*] comes with
the verb of perception *ver*. In OSp, all of the examples are [*-se*]:

(35)   e non fue ninguno que lo asy viese **defender**, que non
asmase que nunca fue onbre en el mundo que se podiese
defender atanto commo **se** el **defendio** (HisTroy 85:1)

This example is a particularly nice one. In all cases, the verb is

pronominal, **defenderse,** except when it is embedded under the verb of perception, where it becomes **defender.**

The first cases of the innovative [+*se*] with *ver* appear in the early 1400s (36a), and the last cases of the older [−*se*] are found soon after (36b). By ModSp, [+*se*] is the rule in 10/10 cases (36c):

(36) a. veemos **levantarse** dende enemistades capitales (Cor-
          bacho 61:7)
      b. viéndome **quedar** sola (Cárcel 101:4)
      c. vieron **encenderse** dos triángulos amarillos (Cantantes
          136:9)

The data with *ver* give a nice example of a causative/perception verb which triggered [−*se*] in the older stages of the language, but which has moved towards [+*se*] in the modern languages.

Turning finally to the 'order' verbs, all OSp (8/8) and MidSp examples are finite (17/17):

(37) a. Et sus uasallos conseiaron le que **se tornasse** al Rey
          (EstEsp 152r)
      b. auísale **que se** aparte deste propósito (Celestina 180:
          5)

By ModSp, 13/28 cases take the innovative [+*se*]:

(38)   un sistema de unidades que nos permitió . . . **gra-**
          duarnos (Caracas 89:1)

Our corpus provides evidence of [+*se*] with *dejar* and *ver* in ModSp, but little evidence yet for [+*se*] with *hacer*. However, the possibility of [+*se*] with the complete range of causatives in ModSp is confirmed by other data-oriented studies. For example, Skyds-gaard finds that *hacer* takes [+*se*] in 16/40 cases, and *dejar* (12/13) and *ver* (37/37) nearly always take [+*se*]. Finnemann finds nearly 50 cases of [+*se*] with just *hacer* in his corpus of written prose, and also finds acceptance of [+*se*] with *hacer* in spoken ModSp, although not to the same degree as with *dejar* or *ver*.

5. Word order

This section will consider the diachronic shifts in the word order, from unmarked V(O)S in OSp (39a) towards SV(O) in ModSp (39b):

(39) a. (le) dejaron comer (el pastel) **a Pedro**   V(O)S
      b. (le) dejaron **a Pedro** comer (el pastel)   SV(O)

In terms of past research, Beardsley and González-Muela are the only two researchers to have looked at word order with OSp caus-

atives, and their research on this point is marred by methodological problems. For example, they group together clitics and full noun phrases, as well as lower clause subjects and objects. Therefore in their studies all of the following sentences are SV, although the three noun phrases have little in common:

(40)   a. et fizo**la** uenir
       b. et fizo**la** destruir
       c. et fizo **la muger** uenir

As a result, the findings from our corpus represent the only data available on word order with the diachronic Spanish causative.

Turning first to word order with transitive S_2, we find that one problem in determining word order is deciding whether the S_2 noun phrase of transitive clauses is the subject or an indirect object:

(41)   a. fizo tomar cirios encendidos **a todos,** y hincados de ro-
          dillas rogavan a Dios que guardasse aquel cavallero
          (Amadís 1140:1)
          'she had lighted candles passed out **to everyone,** and
          kneeling, they implored God to protect that knight'
          'she had **everyone** take some lighted candles'
       b. e que faga entender **al torpe** las cosas que yerra (Cient
          10:1)
          'and which [make known **to the fool**/make **the fool**
          understand] those things in which he errs'

For example, if the S_2 noun phrase in (41a) is a subject, then we have VOS word order; but if it is only an indirect object, then it is not relevant to our study of the position of the S_2 subject. The majority of cases in the corpus in which there are two S_2 noun phrases are ambiguous between subject and indirect object. How-ever, in the following discussion of word order with transitive S_2, we deal only with those cases in which the S_2 noun phrase is clearly the subject.

The data show that by far the most common transitive S_2 word order, with all causative verbs in all periods, is SVO:

(42)   a. la donzella fizo **a sus escuderos** desliar el lío (Amadís
          1038:8)
       b. mandara dios a **Jheremias** asconder las piedras
          (GenEst 31v)
       c. dexaua **al pueblo** auer grand mengua (EstEsp 72r)

      d. ver **a uno** ponerse la camisa de doce veces (Buscón
         801:1)

The second most common word order is the hybrid VSO, which
often occurs when the S_2 object is a sentential complement headed
by *que:*

   (43) a. haciendo creer **a los frailes** que es más devoción que
         necesidad (Buscón 794:1)

      b. que hacen sentir **a la gente** que están vivos y que (Ca-
         racas 326:5)

In cases where the S_2 noun phrase is clearly the subject and not
the indirect object there are no examples of VOS word order.

    Turning to word order with intransitive S_2, we find on the sur-
face a very confusing diachronic picture. First, we discover that
with nearly all causative verbs in all periods, there is a minority
of SV among the dominant VS. With *fazer*, although VS is the
norm in OSp and MidSp (44a–b), there are 5/42 cases in OSp and
6/35 in MidSp (44c–d) in which SV is the rule. By ModSp, however,
all of the 21 cases have the dominant VS word order (45):

   (44) a. las mugeres fazen errar **al omne sabidor** (Castigos
         78:1)

      b. lo qual fizo crecer **la fama** que tenía de grand letrado
         (Varones 131:2)

      c. la cobdicia faze **a omne** pedir (Cient 58:2)

      d. la gran tormenta . . . hazia **los arboles** sallir de tierra
         (GrimGrad 430:1)

   (45)   para hacer llegar **otras cosas** (Caracas 182:1)

Likewise, with *dexar* VS is the norm in OSp and MidSp (46a–
b), but 3/8 cases in OSp and 5/25 in MidSp are SV (46c–d). By
ModSp, however, VS is the clear majority, occurring in 13/14 cases
(47):

   (46) a. non dexaua subir **las oraciones** al cielo (Ultramar 47:
         5)

      b. levántela, y deje dormir **a los demás** (Buscón 786:1)

      c. non dexaua **a ninguno** estar quedo nin sin contienda
         (GenEst 9r)

      d. cierra la ventana y dexa **la tiniebla** acompañar al triste
         (Celestina 35:5)

   (47)   no deje entrar **a ninguno** (México 405:3)

Finally, the situation is much the same with *ver.* Aside from

the normal VS of OSp and MidSp (48a–b), 12/34 cases in OSp and 13/69 in MidSp have SV word order (48c–d). But by ModSp, VS is the word order in 22/24 cases (49):

(48) a. vio estar **vn rey muy noble** asentado sobre vna silla (Castigos 82:1)

b. y jurasen al rey que vieron hablar **a Leriano** con Lau-reola (Cárcel 86:1)

c. vio **al rey Menalao** andar tan acera (HisTroy 91:1)

d. quando veen **a algunos** sallir de alguna casa do ay mu-ger (Corbacho 131:17)

(49)   vieron pasar por encima **un enorme pájaro** (Camino 65:14)

With the 'order' verbs, virtually all of the causatives in all periods take SV word order:

(50) a. por ende, permite **los buenos** ser castigados (Corbacho 303:31)

b. obligaron **a los huéspedes** . . . a volver por mí (Buscón 754:4)

If we go beyond our corpus and look at other data-oriented studies of ModSp, we find that in written prose VS is clearly the norm. Skydsgaard shows that 50/52 cases with *hacer* are VS, 26/27 with *dejar*, and somewhat less (65/79) with *ver*. Unlike with case marking, clitic placement, and S_2 *se*, Finnemann does not have a chapter dedicated specifically to word order. But we note, quite significantly, that the word order of many, if not the majority, of intransitive S_2 with even *hacer* produced by native speakers are SV:

(51) a. el jefe hizo **a José** salir del despacho (267)

b. su padre hizo **a María** entrar en la sala (259)

The possibility of SV in spoken registers of ModSp is also supported by grammarians like Cano Aguilar (249), Hernanz Carbó (266), Espinosa and Wonder (266), and others. In summary, while VS has been the main word order with intransitive S_2, there have been cases of SV with all verbs in all periods. By ModSp, written prose has moved even more towards VS, while spoken Spanish still allows cases of SV.

6. Explaining 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. 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 Spanish 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 features for case marking, clitic placement, use of *se*, and word order. The consensus of the research by Zubizarreta, Goodall, Rosen, Pearce, and others is that the basic opposition is between so-called 'reduced' and 'non-reduced' S_2. In a very simplified and atheoretical sense, 'nonreduced' S_2 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, or at least the syntactic node in which this subject could be placed (see (52) below).

Although we will not discuss the particular mechanisms that are involved, the claim in most recent research is that reduced structures (those without lower clause subjects) 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 case marking, [cl—cl] clitic placement, [+*se*], and SV(O) word order:

(52) a.	[Main clause [---- [embedded clause]]	REDUCED STRUCTURE
	DAT (case), [cl + cl] (clitics), [−*se*] (use of *se*), V(O)S (word order)	
b.	[Main clause [**SUBJ** [embedded clause]]	NONREDUCED STRUCTURE
	ACC, [cl—cl], [+*se*], SV(O)	

The data from our corpus shows four parallel shifts, from DAT case marking, [cl + cl] clitic placement, lack of lower clause *se*, and V(O)S word order in OSp to ACC case marking, [cl—cl] clitic placement, presence of lower clause *se*, and SV(O) word order in ModSp. In the syntactic model just presented, these shifts provide evidence for the more basic shift from reduced to nonreduced S_2, and also the shift from S_2 without subjects to S_2 with subjects. Our task is to now identify the motivation for this basic diachronic shift in the lower clauses of Spanish causatives.

6.2   We propose that the shifts in complement types in the history of Spanish find their roots in a simple Late Latin morphological

merger. Latin had two infinitives, an active form that ended in /e/, and a passive form that ended in /i/:

(53) a. qui [**mihi** domum **aedificare**] fecit   ACTIVE
         'who made **me** build a house'   + [Lower clause subject]
    b. [domum **aedificari**] fecit   PASSIVE
         'he had a house built'   -[Lower clause subject]

As indicated, in the active (53a) there is a lower clause subject, while in the passive (53b) there is no such subject.

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:

(54)   ACTIVE: aedificar<u>e</u>

                        > aedificar<u>e</u>

      PASSIVE: aedificar<u>i</u>

As a result, the active infinitive now had two potential meanings attached to it, both an active and a passive sense (i.e. either having or not having a S_2 subject). Although it was conceivable that one form could carry two different meanings equally as well, this is not what happened. Evidence shows that the active form (*aedificare*) in large part lost the active sense, and took on a primarily passive sense.

Research by Chamberlain shows that already by Late Latin, nearly 70% of the nonfinite S_2 with causatives lacked subjects, 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_2 lacked subjects, and Cano Aguilar (318-19) shows the same thing for OSp. The data from our corpus support these findings. Over 50% of all cases with *fazer* in OSp lack S_2 subjects, and in conservative historical writings the figure is as high as 73% (55a). With the causative *mandar*, the figure increases to 86% of S_2 without subject in the OSp texts (55b):

(55)   a. e don Hector **fizo** traer sus armas (HisTroy 127:1)
        b. le gradeciessen de que los no **mandaua** matar (EstEsp 110v)

Thus in OSp we have a strange situation in which infinitives that are active in form did not normally have S_2 with subjects.

Diachronically, the natural tendency would be to have an increasing percentage of S_2 with subjects with this active infinitive, or in other words a shift from mainly sentences like (56a) to more like (56b) and (56c):

(56)   a. fizo destruir el castillo
       b. hizo trabajar **a María**
       c. le hizo **a María** comer el pastel

The data from our corpus indicate that this is precisely what happened. With *fazer*, the percentage of S_2 with subjects increased from 50% in OSp to 70% in MidSp and 92% by ModSp, where S_2 with subjects is now the rule (57a), and lower clauses without subjects are now the exception (57b):

(57)   a. **lo** hicieron actuar de una forma totalmente violenta
          (Caracas 334:7)
       b. estableciera un lista de precios justos si no hay maneras
          de hacer**la** respetar (Venezuela 9:21)

The important point is that this increase in S_2 subjects is synonymous with the shift from reduced to nonreduced structures, which then motivated the shifts in case marking, clitic placement, use of *se*, and word order. As S_2 subjects became more common with a given causative verb, then so did the accompanying ACC case marking, [cl—cl] clitic placement, presence of lower clause *se*, and SV(O) word order:

(58) a. [Main clause [---- [embedded clause]] $-$[S_2 subject]/REDUCED
DAT (case), [cl + cl] (clitics), [$-se$] (use of *se*), V(O)S (word order)
b. [Main clause [**SUBJ** [embedded clause]] $+$[S_2 subject]/NONREDUCED
ACC, [cl—cl], [$+se$], SV(O)

Our claim that the presence or absence of a S_2 subject is related to case marking, clitic placement, use of *se*, and word order is a new one. Some past researchers like Pearce have simply ignored the question of the presence or absence of S_2 subjects. 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 clauses without subjects are actually passive in meaning. It might simply be a case of an active sentence with an unspecified subject:

(59)   hicieron comprar las flores
        'they had the flowers bought/they had (someone) buy
        the flowers'

Our explanation, however, does not rest on the active/passive se-
mantic distinction per se, but simply on the presence or absence
of a S_2 subject, which directly translates into a difference in the
complement type.

6.3   Now that we have established the shift from S_2 without sub-
jects to those with subjects as the motivating factor behind shifts
in case marking, clitic placement, use of *se*, and word order, let us
examine the issue of why these shifts gradually spread across the
range of causatives. We have seen that in nearly all cases the four
shifts in causative syntax that we are investigating originated with
the 'order' verbs and the verbs of perception, then spread to *dexar*
and finally to *fazer/hacer*, where they are still in progress in ModSp.
Therefore we see that in ModSp, the verbs of perception and the
'order' verbs have become almost completely biclausal, *dejar* is
mostly there, and (most noticeably in the spoken registers) the
innovative features are on the rise with *hacer*.

    How is the semantic nature of the causative verb related to the
presence or absence of S_2 subjects, and thus case marking, clitic
placement, use of *se*, and word order? We will apply Givón's ar-
gument that there is a universal of causative type constructions
which states that the degree to which a potential S_2 noun phrase
is seen as a subject is iconically related to the semantic 'binding
force' that the particular causative or verb of perception exerts on
that S_2 noun phrase. Consider:

    (60)   a. **hicieron** a María trabajar
           b. **dejaron** a María trabajar
           c. **vieron** a María trabajar

The degree of influence exerted on the S_2 noun phrase (*"María"*)
in (60a) is greater than in (60b), which is in turn greater than in
(60c). This means that the S_2 noun phrase with *ver* is semantically
more independent than with *hacer*, and according to Givón's theory,
more likely an independent S_2 subject.

    The diachronic predictions should be obvious. As Spanish
evolved towards S_2 with subjects, these subjects would first have
been possible with those verbs in which there was the least binding
of the S_2 noun phrase by the main verb, such as many of the order

verbs and the verbs of perception. Since the binding is strongest with *fazer* and *mandar*, the S_2 noun phrase would less likely have been seen as an independent subject, and thus the evolution towards S_2 with subjects 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 Spanish causatives should be gradual, as it in fact is.

6.4   In summary, we have sought to provide a comprehensive account of the diachronic evolution of causatives in Spanish. We have provided extensive data on case marking, clitic placement, use of lower clause *se*, and word order, which is something that has been lacking for Spanish. We have shown parallel and roughly simultaneous shifts in these four phenomena, which argue for a more basic and underlying shift in complement types. We have provided a motivation for this basic shift in complement types, which is based on a simple morphological merger in Late Latin, and the subsequent effect that this had on the presence or absence of a lower clause subject. If we have been successful in all of these points, we will have provided valuable descriptive and explanatory insight into one important issue of diachronic Spanish syntax that has been largely neglected, vis-à-vis the other Romance languages.

WORKS CITED

Beardsley, Wilfred A. *Infinitive Constructions in Old Spanish.* New York: Columbia UP, 1921.

Cano Aguilar, Rafael. "Construcciones factitivas e innovación léxica en español." *Beiträge zur Romanischen Philologie* 28 (1989): 317–28.

Cano Aguilar, Rafael. *Estructuras sintácticas transitivas en el español actual.* Madrid: Gredos, 1981.

Chamberlain, Jeffrey T. *Latin Antecedents of French Causative Faire.* Diss. U of IL, 1981. New York: Peter Lang, 1986.

Espinosa, Aurelio M. Jr. and John P. Wonder. *Gramática analítica.* Lexington, MA: Heath, 1976.

Finnemann, David A. "Aspects of the Spanish Causative Construction." Diss. U of MN, 1982.

García de Diego, Vicente. *Gramática histórica española.* 2nd ed. Madrid: Gredos, 1961.

Givón, T. "The Binding Hierarchy and the Typology of Comple-
    ments." *Studies in Language* 4 (1980): 33–77.

González Muela, Joaquín. *El infinitivo en El Corbacho del Arcipreste
    de Talavera.* Granada: U de Granada, 1954.

Goodall, Grant T. *Parallel structures in syntax.* Cambridge: Cam-
    bridge UP, 1987.

Gougenheim, Georges. *Étude sur les périphrases verbales de la lan-
    gue française.* Paris: Les Belles Letres, 1929.

Hanssen, Friedrich. *Gramática histórica de la lengua española.*
    Halle: Niemeyer, 1913.

Hernanz Carbó, María Luisa. *El infinitivo en español.* Bellaterra:
    U Autónoma de Barcelona, 1982.

Keniston, Hayward. *The Syntax of Castilian Prose: The Sixteenth
    Century.* Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1937.

Martineau, Frances. "La construction 'accusatif avec infinitif' avec
    les verbes causatifs et de perception en moyen français." *Revue
    Quebecois de Linquistique* 19 (1990): 77–100.

Menéndez Pidal, Ramón. *Cantar de Mio Cid: texto, gramática, y
    vocabulario.* Vol 1. 3rd ed. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1954.

Muller, Henri-François. *Origine et histoire de la preposition 'à' dans
    les locutions du type 'faire faire quelque chose à quelqu'un'.* Poi-
    tiers: Masson, 1912.

Norberg, Dag. " 'Faire faire quelque chose à quelqu'un': recherches
    sur l'origine latine de la construction romane." *Uppsala Univ-
    ersitets Arsskrift* 12 (1945): 65–106.

Pearce, Elizabeth. *Parameters in Old French Syntax: Infinitival
    Complements.* Diss. U of Illinois, 1985. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1990.

Radford, Andrew. "On the Non-transformational Nature of Syntax:
    Synchronic and Diachronic Evidence from Romance Caus-
    atives." *Romance Syntax.* Ed. Martin Harris. Salford: U of Sal-
    ford P, 1976. 76–95.

Rosen, Sara Thomas. "Argument Structure and Complex Predi-
    cates." Diss. Brandeis U, 1989.

Saltarelli, Mario. "Syntactic Diffusion." *Papers from the Fourth
    International Conference on Historical Linguistics.* Ed. Elizabeth
    C. Traugott. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1980. 183–91.

Skydsgaard, Sven. *La combinatoria sintática del infinitivo español.*
    2 vols. Madrid: Castalia, 1980.

Spaulding, Robert K. "Puedo hacerlo versus lo puedo hacer and Similar Cases." *Hispania* 19 (1927): 343–48.

Strong, David R. "Aspects of the Diachrony of the Italian Causative Construction." Diss. U of MI, 1983.

Wanner, Dieter. "A History of Spanish Clitic Movement." *BLS 8.* Berkeley: Berkeley Linguistics Society, 1982.

Zubizarreta, María Luisa. "The relation between morphophonology and morphosyntax: the case of the Romance causatives." *Linguistic Inquiry* 16 (1985): 247–89.