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The Diachronic Interplay of Finite and Non-finite Verbal Complements in Spanish and Portuguese

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1. This paper deals with the synchronic and diachronic alternation between non-finite (INF) and finite (FIN) complements of causative verbs in Spanish and Portuguese. This alternation is seen in (1-3) below, in which the (a) sentences are non-finite (INF) and the (b) sentences are finite (FIN):¹

- (1) a me (lo) permitieron **vender**(lo)
b permitieron **que** (yo) **lo vendiera**
- (2) a deixaram o Paulo (se) **sentar**
b deixaram **que** o Paulo **se sentasse**
- (3) a le hicieron (a María) **comer** el pastel (a María)
b hicieron **que** María **comiera** el pastel

A great many prescriptive and descriptively oriented studies² have discussed which main clause causative verbs take INF and which take

1 In (1-3) and in subsequent examples that do not have a text citation, the examples are idealized sentences, as opposed to actual tokens from our corpus. In addition, throughout this paper we will sometimes present idealized examples for only Spanish or only Portuguese as evidence for a particular phenomenon, with the assumption that the examples from the one language serve as evidence for the other language as well. For example, the Spanish examples in (1-3) above have equivalents in at least some dialects of Portuguese, as is also the case for Spanish in the Portuguese examples in (2) above.

2 A partial listing of prescriptive grammars dealing with [INF/FIN] includes Juan Alcina Franch and José Manuel Blecau, *Gramática española* (Barcelona: Editorial Ariel, 1975), 990-91; John Butt and Carmen Benjamin, *A New Reference Grammar of Modern Spanish* (London: Edward Arnold, 1988), 223-24; Celso Cunha and Luís F. Lindley Cintra, *Nova gramática do português contemporâneo* (Lisboa: Edições João Sá da Costa, [2nd ed.] 1984), 470; Joseph Dunn, *A Grammar of the Portuguese Language* (Washington, D.C.: National Capital Press, 1928), 484; Aurelio M. Espinosa Jr and John P. Wonder, *Gramática analítica* (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath & Co., 1976), 234-35; Maria Helena Mira Mateus, *et al.*, *Gramática da língua portuguesa* (Coimbra: Livraria Almedina, 1983), 421-25; Earl W.

FIN. Unfortunately, there is little agreement among the studies regarding the finite/non-finite alternation with specific causative verbs, and even less discussion of why a given verb would take one type of verbal complement rather than the other. Indeed Spaulding,³ who was until recently the only researcher to look exclusively at the alternation with causative verbs from a corpus-based perspective, concluded that the two variants were in nearly free distribution with most causative verbs, and that it was virtually impossible to come up with any reliable rules of distribution.

In terms of explaining the alternation (as opposed to merely describing it), formal syntactic theory has likewise been somewhat weak. As we will see later on, the only study to provide real insight into the alternation relies on functional, pragmatic factors.⁴ With models of formal syntax, such as in earlier generative models, the [INF/FIN] contrast was a result of (non)application of a rule (Subject to Object Raising, Equi Noun Deletion, or Verb Raising) which was usually optional, and which had the effect of transforming an underlying finite sentence into a non-finite one.⁵ In more recent Government and Binding studies, these optional rules are replaced by subcategorization features on the particular causative verb, and so the optional contrast is at the level of the lexicon.⁶ However, there is still very

Thomas, *The Syntax of Spoken Brazilian Portuguese* (Nashville: Vanderbilt U. P., 1969), 140-48; M. Stanley Whitley, *Spanish-English Contrasts: A Course in Spanish Linguistics* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown U. P., 1986), 282; and R. Clive Willis, *An Essential Course in Modern Portuguese* (London: Harrap, 1971), pp. 269, 292-93. Descriptive studies include C. Telmo Arrais, 'As construções causativas em português', *Alfa*, XXIX (1985), 48-49; Lee H. Dowling, 'An Investigation of the Spanish Causatives *hacer ver*, *hacer creer*, *hacer pensar*, *hacer saber*', *Hispania*, LXIV (1981), 588-94; Larry D. King, 'On Predicting the Portuguese Infinitive', in *Proceedings of the Tenth Anniversary Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages*, ed. Heles Contreras and Jürgen Klausenburger (Seattle: Univ. of Washington, 1981), 135-36; Paulette Levy de Podolsky, *Las completivas objeto en español: un estudio distribucional* (Diss. Colegio de México, 1981), 79-80; and M. Stanley Whitley, 'Cláusulas e infinitivos con verbos y preposiciones', *Hispania*, LXIX (1986), 669-76.

3 Robert K. Spaulding, 'Infinitive and Subjunctive with *hacer*, *mandar*, *dejar* and the Like', *Hispania*, XVI (1933), 425-32.

4 David A. Finnemann, *Aspects of the Spanish Causative Construction*, (Diss., Univ. Minnesota, 1982).

5 For example, see Judith Aissen, *The Syntax of Causative Constructions* (New York: Garland, 1978); Ivonne Bordelois, *The Grammar of Spanish Causative Constructions* (Diss., MIT, 1974); Richard S. Kayne, *French Syntax: The Transformational Cycle* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1975); Mário A. Perini, *Gramática do infinitivo português* (Rio de Janeiro: Editôra Vozes, 1977); Andrew Radford, 'On the Non-transformational Nature of Syntax: Synchronic and Diachronic Evidence from Romance Causatives', in *Romance Syntax*, ed. Martin Harris (Salford: Univ. of Salford Press, 1976), 69-95.

6 Ivonne Bordelois, 'Causatives: From Lexicon to Syntax', *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, VI (1988), 57-93; Grant T. Goodall, *Parallel Structures in Syntax* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. P., 1987); Elizabeth Pearce, *Parameters in Old French Syntax:*

little discussion of why a given causative verb selects one option over the other, why many verbs allow both, and why the lexical specifications should change (or even be reversed) over time.

One possible explanation for synchronic variation in general is that there is a diachronic shift that is under way, but not yet completed, which produces synchronic alternation. Applied to the case at hand, some have argued that the Romance languages as a whole are undergoing a generalized diachronic shift from FIN to INF,⁷ and there is evidence that this shift is more pronounced in Spanish and Portuguese than in the other languages.⁸ The problem with this explanation is that other researchers have claimed that causative verbs, the subject of our inquiry, have experienced the reverse shift,⁹ which is from INF to FIN. Unfortunately, there is very little information in the standard historical reference grammars of Spanish and Portuguese that clarifies the situation, by providing additional information on the historical shifts with causative complements.¹⁰

Infinitival Complements (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1990); Sara Thomas Rosen, *Argument Structure and Complex Predicates* (Diss., Brandeis Univ., 1989); and María Luisa Zubizarreta, 'The Relation between Morphophonology and Morphosyntax: The Case of the Romance Causatives', *Linguistic Inquiry*, XVI (1985), 247-89.

7 Francisco da Silveira Bueno, *A formação histórica da língua portuguesa* (Rio de Janeiro: Acadêmica, [2nd ed.] 1958), 193-94; Harri Meier, 'Infinitivo flexional português e infinitivo personal español', *Boletín de Filología*, VIII (1954-55), 290; Martin Harris, *The Evolution of French Syntax: A Comparative Approach* (London: Longman, 1978), 206; A. C. Jennings, *A Linguistic Study of the Cartulario de San Vicente de Oviedo* (New York: S. F. Vanni, 1940), 197; Jeffrey T. Chamberlain, *Latin Antecedents of French Causative 'Faire'* (New York: Peter Lang, 1986), 130; and Pearce, *Parameters*, 204-05.

8 Harris, *French Syntax*, 197; Bueno, *Língua portuguesa*, 193-94; Meier, 'Infinitivo flexional', 290; and Thomas, *Brazilian Portuguese*, 189.

9 Michael D. Kliffer, 'The Infinitive in Portuguese: A Generative Approach', *Orbis*, XXVII (1978), 91; Maria de Piedade Canães e Mariz de Pádua, *A ordem das palavras no português arcaico* (Coimbra: Univ. de Coimbra, 1960), 109.

10 Among the standard historical reference grammars consulted are Friedrich Hanssen, *Gramática histórica de la lengua española* (Halle a.S.: M. Niemeyer, 1913); Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de Mio Cid: texto, gramática, y vocabulario*, vol. I (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, [3rd ed.] 1954); Vicente García de Diego, *Gramática histórica española* (Madrid: Gredos, [2nd ed.] 1961); Augusto Epiphânio da Silva Dias, *Syntaxe histórica portuguesa* (Lisboa: Livraria Clássica Editôra, [2nd ed.] 1933); Eduardo Carlos Pereira, *Gramática histórica* (São Paulo: Editôra Nacional, [9th ed.] 1935); M. Said Ali, *Gramática histórica da língua portuguesa* (São Paulo: Edições Melhoramentos, [3rd ed.] 1964); and Fernando Tarallo, *Tempos linguísticos: itinerário histórico da língua portuguesa* (São Paulo: África, 1990). Books and articles dealing specifically with diachronic infinitival constructions include Wilfred A. Beardsley, *Infinitive Constructions in Old Spanish* (New York: Columbia U. P., 1921); Joaquín González Muela, *El infinitivo en El Corbacho del Arcipreste de Talavera* (Granada: Univ. de Granada, 1954); and Rafael Cano Aguilar, 'Construcciones

2. Our model will rest on the hypothesis that the synchronic [INF/FIN] variation is a result of diachronic shifts that are still in progress. However our study, unlike previous ones, does not rely on more general shifts between FIN and INF as the motivation for the more specific shifts with causative verbs. We will argue that the basic diachronic contrast has been between competing variants of INF, and that synchronic increases in the use of FIN results primarily from its use as a neutral substitute for the two competing INF options.

In order to understand the mechanisms involved, we first note that nearly all researchers of the Romance causative have argued for two opposing variants of INF with these causative constructions.¹¹ One type yields the facts seen in the (a) sentences below (hereafter referred to descriptively as 'Type A' constructions), with dative case marking of subjects of transitive embedded verbs, raising of both subject and object clitics, the absence of the *se* with pronominal verbs, and Verb-(Object)-Subject word order. The opposing 'Type B' sentences (see [b] below) yield accusative case marking, non-movement of the object clitic, presence of *se*, and Subject-Verb-Object word order:

CASE MARKING:

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------------------------|------------|
| (4) a | eles lhe fizeram comer o bolo | DAT |
| b | eles a fizeram comer o bolo | ACC |

CLITIC PLACEMENT:

- | | | |
|-------|---------------------------------------|----------------|
| (5) a | me lo permitieron comer | [cl+cl] |
| b | me permitieron comer lo | [cl-cl] |

USE OF *SE*

- | | | |
|-------|----------------------------------|--------------|
| (6) a | eles o deixaram sentar | [-se] |
| b | eles o deixaram se sentar | [+se] |

WORD ORDER:

- | | | |
|-------|--|--------------|
| (7) a | le hicieron comer el pastel a Pablo | V(O)S |
| b | le hicieron a Pablo comer el pastel | SV(O) |

factivas e innovación léxica en español', *Beiträge zur Romanischen Philologie*, XXVIII (1989), 317-28.

11 See, for example, the studies by Zubizarreta, 'Romance Causatives'; Goodall, *Parallel Structures*; Rosen, *Argument Structure*; and Pearce, *Parameters*. Without going into much detail, we can summarize these and other researchers' claims by saying that the 'Type A' Romance causative complements are 'reduced', in the sense that they lack some syntactic material that is present in the 'non-reduced' 'Type B' structures. It is the presence or absence of this syntactic material that directly influences clitic placement, the use of *se*, case marking, and word order. For our purposes in this study, however, we will ignore the underlying theoretical distinction between the two clause types and will simply concentrate on the descriptive level, on looking at the diachronic shifts and the synchronic variation.

The first claim that we will make in this paper, and one that is essential to our understanding of [INF/FIN] alternation, is that there have been parallel diachronic shifts from the 'Type A' toward the 'Type B' sentences, and these four parallel shifts provide evidence for one single, more basic shift in Spanish and Portuguese causative syntax. The highly summarized data that we will present for this shift comes from Davies,¹² which is the first study to provide a strongly data-oriented investigation of all four phenomena from OSp/Pt to ModSp/Pt. This study is based on 2.5 million words of text from 42 separate prose selections, which yielded 5,700 examples of causative constructions.¹³

12 Mark E. Davies, *The Diachronic Evolution of Causative Constructions in Spanish and Portuguese*, (Diss., Univ. Texas at Austin, 1992), chapters 3-6.

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

Old Spanish (1200s). 8 texts. 430,100 words.

Estoria de España, General estoria (both from the Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, Univ. 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 cient capítulos.*

Middle Spanish (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.

Modern Spanish (1950-). 13 texts. 619,200 words.

(All from J. Halvor Clegg, Dept. Spanish and Portuguese, and Humanities Research Centre, Brigham Young University): 128 newspaper articles from Latin America (1985-86); selections from nine Latin-American and Spanish novels published 1950-1975; *El habla culta de Caracas; El habla popular de la Ciudad de México.*

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

Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344, Joseph de Arimatea, Barlaam e Josephat, Estória do muy nobre Vespesiano, Vida de Túndalo, Vida de Santa Pelágia, A demanda do Santo Graal.

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

Crónica de D. Fernando, Crónica do Condestável Nuno Alvarez, Crónica de D. Afonso Henriques, Crónica de D. João II, Crónica de D. João, Boosco deleitoso, Orto de esposo, Virgeu de Consolação, O livro de Vita Cristi, Itinerário, Peregrinação, O soldado práctico.

Modern Portuguese (1900s). 12 texts. 462,300 words.

Selections from ten novels published in Portugal in the 1900s; *O conto fantástico* (a collection of Brazilian short stories); *A linguagem falada da cidade de São Paulo.*

To collect the 5,700 examples, the 42 texts were scanned into a computer and then an every-word index of the 2.5 million word corpus was constructed. Using this index, all relevant cases of causative verbs with either FIN or INF were extracted and organized to provide the data base for the study.

Owing to the limited focus of this paper, we will not discuss either the motivation for this shift in INF types, nor the reason why the shift has spread more quickly with certain causative verbs than with others. We will note, however, that the 'order' verbs (*aconsejar*, *permitir*, *obligar*, etc.) have been the first to undergo the shift, followed by the permissive *dexar*, and only finally with *fazer*.¹⁴ We also note that with certain causative verbs in certain dialects (eg. with *hacer* in many dialects of ModSp), the shift is still underway, so that it is still common to find cases of the conservative 'Type A' sentences.

The crucial point is that as these four surface phenomena are shifting from 'Type A' towards 'Type B', there is synchronic variation between the two INF options. In order to avoid using either the conservative 'Type A' or the innovative 'Type B' options at the stages in which they are most in competition, speakers opt for the neutral, substitute FIN, in which there is no contrast in case marking, clitic placement, use of *se*, or word order (as in 8a-d). The model is outlined in Table 1, which follows.¹⁵

14 Throughout the paper, we will use the lexical item *fazer* to refer to Old/MidSp *fazer/hazer/hacer*, ModSp *hacer* and Portuguese *fazer*; *dexar* for Old/MidSp *dexar*, Mid/ModSp *dejar*, OPt *leixar*, and Old/Mid/ModPt *deixar*; and the Spanish form of 'order' verbs like *obligar* and *aconsejar* to refer to the Portuguese forms also (*obrigar*, *aconselhar*). We should note also that in this present study we ignore in large part all cases of [INF/FIN] with the causative verb *mandar*. In earlier stages of Spanish and Portuguese, *mandar* was nearly as common as *fazer*, but this verb was highly idiosyncratic in its behaviour. As we discuss in Section 4.3, the majority of INF with *fazer* in older stages of Spanish and Portuguese lacked a subject. With *mandar* this was even more common, so that subjectless lower clauses like (1a) were the norm in 90% of all OPt cases, 93% MidPt, 56% ModPt; in Spanish the figures are OSp 86%, MidSp 68%, ModSp 64%. Partially because of the high degree of passivity in INF with *mandar*, there was a very narrow range of INF possible, and therefore *mandar* took FIN much more readily than *fazer* or *dexar* when certain lower clause elements were present (such as animate objects and certain lexical items like *ir*, *ser*, *haber/tener*) (1b):

- (1) a o emperador mandou fazer huma ygreja em Roma e mandou poer o sancto pano de Veronica em ella (*Vespesiano*, 24:1)
 b mando uos que dedes la Villa **al Rey don Sancho** (*EstEsp*, 152v).

15 While we suggest that the opposition in INF types is a major (if not the principal) factor influencing [INF/FIN] distribution, we should not ignore the fact that there are other factors that are at play. For example, independent (non-causative) restrictions on clitic sequences disallow any possible INF in cases like (1a), and the only possibility is a FIN (1c):

- (1) a I made her give it to me
 b *(**me se/le lo**) hice dar(**me se/le lo**)
 c hice que me lo diera

In addition, FIN are the norm when there is an auxiliary like element in S₂ (2a), and with certain embedded clause verbs (such as *ir*, *ser*, *tener*) with certain verbs at certain stages of Spanish and Portuguese (2b):

eles
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 Pablo

for
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(2) s
 l

Typo

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------------------------|------------------|
| (8) a | fizeram (com) que comesse o bolo | CASE MARKING |
| b | permitieron que yo lo comiera | CLITIC PLACEMENT |
| c | deixaram que se sentasse | USE OF <i>SE</i> |
| d | hicieron que Pablo comiera el pastel | WORD ORDER |

Table 1

Shifts in INF types and use of neutral FIN

INF : TYPE A	DIACHRONIC SHIFT	INF : TYPE B
eles lhe fizeram comer o bolo me lo permitieron comer eles o deixaram sentar le hicieron comer el pastel a Pablo	—————> NEUTRAL FIN SUBSTITUTE	eles a fizeram comer o bolo me permitieron comerlo eles o deixaram se sentar le hicieron a Pablo comer el pastel
	eles fizeram (com) que comesse o bolo permitieron que yo lo comiera eles deixaram que se sentasse hicieron que Pablo comiera el pastel	

We should note that the increase in FIN due to its use as a substitute for the two competing INF options will occur at different times with different causative verbs. As we noted above, the shift from 'Type A' to 'Type B' sentences has occurred at varying rates with different causative verbs for reasons discussed by Davies, who bases his diachronic analysis on a synchronic model of causatives given by Givón.¹⁶ Therefore, it is at the stage in which the two INF options are most in contrast with a given causative verb that FIN will be used most. This stage of maximum [INF/FIN] contrast has taken place at distinct periods since OSp/Pt with the different classes of causative verbs (occurring, for example, with the 'order' verbs earlier than it did with *dexar* and *fazer*).

We have now outlined a model of diachronic [INF/FIN] variation, which in turn affects variation in [INF/FIN] at the synchronic level. In order to prove the validity of our model, we will need to provide evidence for the following five claims: 1) that there has been a shift from 'Type A' to 'Type

(2) a mandamos que **pueda haber** algunos oficiales públicos desta arte (*Buscón*, 777:4)
 b esto ... hace que **sea** muy difícil para él lograr una personalidad equilibrada (*Caracas* 11:2).

¹⁶ Davies, *Diachronic Evolution*, 234-37; T. Givón, 'The Binding Hierarchy and the Typology of Complements', *Studies in Language*, IV (1980), 33-77.

B' INF in Spanish and Portuguese; 2) at the older stages of Spanish and Portuguese in which 'Type A' was the norm, there was little use of the substitute FIN option; 3) as there was a shift from 'Type A' towards 'Type B' with a given causative verb, there was a corresponding increase in FIN; 4) once the innovative 'Type B' INF is accepted as the norm, there is a decrease in the use of the substitute FIN; 5) our model is synchronically plausible, in the sense that we have evidence that speakers of ModSp/Pt really do use FIN as a neutral substitute for the competing conservative and innovative INF. If we can document each of these five phenomena, we will have provided some insight into both the diachronic shifts between [INF/FIN] and the synchronic variation that this produces.

Before entering into a discussion of the data, we should make a few additional comments regarding some assumptions upon which our model is based, and some limitations inherent in it. First, we will argue for parallel shifts in Spanish and Portuguese, but will not consider in detail exactly why the changes are parallel in the two languages. Second, to facilitate the presentation of the data, we will refer to time periods in which we find similar data, such as Old/MidSp (Old-Middle Spanish) or MidSp/Pt (Middle Spanish-Portuguese). Likewise, we conveniently refer to Spanish and Portuguese as though each language was a consistent whole, and was not comprised of individual dialects (such as European Portuguese and Brazilian Portuguese). We do not assume, however, that these temporal and categorial entities are necessarily one completely coherent whole, but simply that there is consistent data from these time periods and dialect groups. Finally, we make repeated reference to supposed 'contrast', 'competition', and 'opposition' in speakers' use of the two INF options. For the present time, however, it is probably sufficient to note that there is 'variation in use'. Nevertheless, in section 5 we will provide certain synchronic evidence that lends credence to our claim that there was actual 'opposition' between the two INF options, which served as a motivating factor in the diachronic shifts.

3. Understanding these limitations, let us now consider our first goal, which is to demonstrate that there have been parallel shifts from the 'Type A' to 'Type B' INF with case marking, clitic placement, use of *se*, and word order. Showing that there has been opposition in INF types throughout the history of Spanish and Portuguese is a necessary prerequisite to arguing that this opposition is what has in part motivated the increase in FIN. Therefore, in this section we will provide evidence for these four shifts, and will base our somewhat simplified conclusions on the much

more complete data found in Davies.¹⁷ As we proceed through this section, we should also note how these four shifts have commenced with the 'order' verbs, have then spread to *dexar*, and finally to *fazer*. In Section 4 we will see how this correlates quite nicely with the diachronic distribution of FIN with these verbs.

The following table indicates the general shifts in case marking, clitic placement, and the use of *se* (with word order being considered later). Although these results are based on 5,700 examples of causatives from 2.5 million words of text, we none the less find that at times the number of examples of a certain construction from a given period is either non-existent, or is quite small (indicated here with the symbol **). As we will see later, the scarcity of INF examples is in many cases due to the fact that the two INF options are in conflict, and the majority of cases are the neutral FIN. In addition, we will see that the crucial data for the shift in INF types in ModSp/Pt sometimes comes from corpora separate from ours (also indicated by **; further discussion is provided in following sections). In general terms, however, we find that the direction of the shift is still from 'Type A' constructions to those of 'Type B'; in no case has there been a change in the opposite direction.

Table 2

Diachronic shifts in case marking, clitic placement, and use of *se* in non-finite clauses.

A CASE MARKING (DAT / ACC)

DAT: Conservative: eles **lhe** fizeram comer o bolo

ACC: Innovative: eles **a** fizeram comer o bolo

	OSp	MidSp	ModSp	OPt	MidPt	ModPt
fazer	65/7		7/12	41/1		12/12
dexar	12/0		1/5	4/4		0/8

¹⁷ *Op cit.*, chapters 3-6.

B CLITIC PLACEMENT ([cl+cl] / [cl-cl])[cl+cl]: Conservative: **me lo** permitieron comer[cl-cl]: Innovative: **me** permitieron comerlo

	OSp	MidSp	ModSp	OPt	MidPt	ModPt
fazer	37/0		**	9/0		**
dexar	2/0	3/2	0/5	**	1/0	2/2
order	12/1	0/11	0/15	**	0/2	0/2

C USE OF SE ([-se] / [+se])[-se]: Conservative: eles o deixaram **sentar**[+se]: Innovative: eles o deixaram **se sentar**

	OSp	MidSp	ModSp	OPt	MidPt	ModPt
fazer	29/0	6/0	3/0**	43/0	16/1	1/3
dexar	10/0	3/0	0/2	8/0	0/4	1/2
order	**	0/1	0/13	**	0/1	0/11

3.1 Turning first to case marking, there is a clear shift from DAT to ACC, across all causative verbs in both Spanish and Portuguese. As Table 2 indicates, DAT was the rule in nearly all Old/MidSp cases (9a), but in ModSp a good percentage are the innovative ACC (9b). Part of the increase in ACC in Spanish may be due to the composition of the corpus, in which the ModSp texts are mainly from Latin America (*loísta*), as opposed to the pre-ModSp texts from Spain (mainly *leísta*). But a closer look suggests that even with the added presence of *leísmo*, one can find some evidence for a shift towards ACC.¹⁸ Regarding Portuguese, we find clear evidence for a shift from DAT towards ACC. Whereas virtually all Old/MidPt cases were DAT (10a), half of the ModPt cases are the innovative ACC (10b):

¹⁸ *Leísmo* was not generalized in Spain until about the 1500s, and even then was common only in parts of Spain (Rafael Lapesa, *Historia de la lengua española* [Madrid: Gredos, 1984], 405; Hayward Keniston, *The Syntax of Castilian Prose: The Sixteenth Century* [Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1937], 64). We find that in the still largely *loísta* period of OSp, only 3/32 cases were ACC. In ModSp, most of the texts come from largely *loísta* Latin America, and yet the percentage of ACC has increased to 7/19. Thus, although the increased presence of *leísmo* in Spanish complicates the case marking facts with causatives, there is tentative evidence for the DAT to ACC shift in Spanish.

- | |
|-----|
| dPt |
| ~* |
| 1/2 |
| 1/2 |
- (9) a & fizoles fazer sus Juegos & tanner sus instrumentos
(*EstEsp*, 80v)
b para hacerlos aceptar las posturas, gestos, y ademanes
que a uno se le puedan ocurrir (*Hombre*, 373:21)
- (10) a entom lhefez cõffessar todollos arrtigos da ffe
perffeitamete (*Barlaam*, 69:1)
b fazia-o sentir mais o silencio que havia por toda a parte
(*Fria*, 137:2)

The shift with *dexar* is even more apparent. In Spanish, half of the cases in Old/MidSp were ACC (11a), and nearly all are in ModSp (11b). In Portuguese, half of the OPt cases still had the conservative DAT (12a), but since MidPt all cases are ACC or even NOM (12b):

- | |
|------|
| odPt |
| 1/3 |
| 1/2 |
| 1/11 |
- (11) a e dexóle limar el cerrojo de la ventana e abrirla
(*Corbacho*, 102:9)
b ellos no los dejan mirar televisión, y leen mucho
(*Caracas*, 529:3)
- (12) a que lhe nom leixarom trazer neh a cousa (*Fernando*,
186:1)
b não deixaram êle comprar um canal de televisão
(*BrazFal*, 2:115:662)

The one exception to the shift from DAT towards ACC is with the 'order' verbs, with which a given causative verb takes either DAT or ACC from OSp/Pt to ModSp/Pt with little, if any, change in case marking.

3.2 Turning next to clitic placement, we find that there has been a clear diachronic shift from the conservative [cl+cl] to the innovative [cl-cl]. With *fazer*, all cases of INF in OldSp/Pt and MidSp/Pt took the conservative [cl+cl] (13a-b):

- (13) a ell amor de la grand fremosura de la duenna gelo fiziera
fazer (*EstEsp*, 70r)
b o diaboo foi que mo fêz fazer (mo = me + o) (*Cron1344*,
255:1)

As with case marking, use of *se*, and word order, the shift in clitic placement with the causative *fazer* occurs only after it does with all other causative verbs. Therefore, we find that there are not yet any relevant cases in the corpus of INF with two clitics in ModSp/Pt; all of the examples

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have the intermediate FIN. But other data-based studies¹⁹ do give examples of the innovative [cl-cl].

The shift is more clearly seen with *dexar*, where all OSp are [cl+cl] (14a), which decreases in MidSp, and by ModSp all cases are the innovative [cl-cl] (14b). In Portuguese, all the Old/MidPt cases are [cl+cl] (15a), but half of the ModPt cases are the innovative [cl-cl] (15b):

- (14) a que non **gelo** dexaron sacar del campo (*HisTroy*, 170:2)
 b **nos** iba a dejar sacarlo (*Gazapo*, 9:14)
- (15) a Deus **me lhe** leixe fazer tal serviço em esta demanda:
 (*Demanda*, 221:3)
 b E que podias fazer senão deixá-**lo** enganar-**te** (*Pobres*
 126:3)

The most complete shift towards [cl-cl] is with the 'order verbs' (*aconsejar*, *impedir*, *obligar*, etc.) where there are cases of [cl-cl] already in OSp (16a) and where it is the only INF option by Mid/ModSp (16b). These facts hold for Portuguese also, where [cl-cl] has been the only option since MidPt (17):

- (16) a **les** ayudauan de **los** uencer & **los** desbaratar (*EstEsp*
 65r)
 b cuando me vieron cargado de maletas **me** ayudaron a
 subirlas (*Caracas*, 82:3)
- (17) não houve modo de persuadí-**lo** a vender**me** os quadros
 (*Diabo*, 120:5)

3.3 Looking next at the use of *se*, we will see that there has been a clearly discernible shift from [-*se*] in OSp/Pt to [+*se*] in ModSp/Pt, at least with most causative verbs. Since the shift towards [+*se*] occurs with *fazer* only after all the other causative verbs, we find that all cases with *fazer* in the corpus are [-*se*] (18), but other data-based studies²⁰ provide evidence for [+*se*] with *fazer* in ModSp. In Portuguese the shift is much clearer, from nearly complete [-*se*] in Old/MidPt (19a) to a majority of cases being [+*se*] in ModPt (19b).

- (18) & fizol ende levantar por fuerça (*EstEsp*, 98v)

19 Sven Skydsgaard, *La combinatoria sintáctica del infinitivo español*, 2 vols (Madrid: Castalia, 1980), 274-81; Finnemann, *Spanish Causative*, 319-424.

20 For example, Skydsgaard, *Infinitivo*, 274-81; Finnemann, *Spanish Causative*, 446-61.

- give (19) a **e o caualeyro feze o astar** (*Esposo*, 203:4)
 b o sistema que faz a raça humana **se desenvolver**
 +cl] (*BrazFal*, 2:52:1409)

the With *dexar*, all of the OSp/Pt and MidSp/Pt cases are [-se] (20), but [+se] is
 +cl] the unmarked option in ModSp/Pt (21):

- (20) a e fuesse para la mar e dio con el fijo dentro e dexól
affogar (*Ultramar*, 54:4)
 b e leixassenos **fartar** d'agua (*Cron1344*, 123:1)
- nda (21) a que la dejaran **podrirse** en el marabú (*Dónde*, 136:3)
 res, b que vão tentar não deixar êle **se repetir** (*BrazFal*,
 2:48:1265)

Finally, with the 'order verbs' in Spanish, all embedded clauses are FIN in
 Old/MidSp, but in ModSp all thirteen of the INF are [+se] (22a). In
 Portuguese, [+se] has been the rule with the order verbs since MidPt (22b):

- (22) a le permitió a la compañía **igualarse** con el paso del rival
 (Venezuela, 13:13)
 b ordenou de **se partir** de Narbona (*Cron1344*, 242:2)

3.4 Looking finally at word order shifts, we find that in diachronic terms
 this is the most problematic of the four phenomena that researchers use to
 determine underlying clause type. OSp/Pt (which had DAT case marking,
 [cl+cl] clitic placement, and [-se]) should have had V(O)S word order. But
 with transitive verbs in all periods of both languages, SV(O) is without
 doubt the statistically dominant word order:

- (23) a La donzella fizo **a sus escuderos** desliar el lío (*Amadís*,
 1036:8)
 b que faz **a um povo** honrar ao seu príncipe (*Soldado*,
 177:2)

With intransitive verbs, the expected shift is from VS to SV. However, we
 find cases of both SV and VS in nearly all periods, as these examples from
 OSp and ModPt indicate:

- (24) a e dexa **la tiniebla** acompañar al triste (*Celestina*, 35:5)
 b No dexemos passar **el tiempo** en balde (*Celestina*, 62:10)
- (25) a é por ali que o vento entra e faz **o sino** tocar (*BrazSS*,
 223:8)
 b que foi de fazer rir **as pedras** (*BrazSS*, 204:2)

If we take into account data from beyond the corpora, however, we do find
 that SV is now the rule in spoken (but not written) Portuguese, and that

SV is an option with most causative verbs in ModSp also.²¹ In summary, the data from at least case marking, clitic placement, and the use of *se* (and possibly word order also) show a clear shift in INF types. We have seen that the shift typically started with the 'order' verbs and then spreads to the permissive verb *dexar*, and only at the end to *fazer*.

4. In order to show that shifts in INF are at least a partial motivation for shifts in the use of FIN, we will want to demonstrate that the increase in the use of neutral, substitute FIN ([c] below) began once there was competition between the conservative (a) and the innovative (b) INF options:

- | | | | |
|------|---|--|--------------------|
| (26) | a | me lo permitieron vender | CONSERVATIVE |
| | b | me permitieron vender lo | INNOVATIVE |
| | c | permitieron que (yo) lo vendiera | NEUTRAL SUBSTITUTE |
| (27) | a | deixaram o Paulo sentar | CONSERVATIVE |
| | b | deixaram o Paulo se sentar | INNOVATIVE |
| | c | deixaram que o Paulo se sentasse | NEUTRAL SUBSTITUTE |

Although we know that the fundamental shift was one single underlying change in INF types, the surface manifestations of this shift to speakers of Spanish and Portuguese were the concrete and readily visible changes in case marking, clitic placement, use of *se*, and word order. One complication at the synchronic level might be that speakers would not perceive the (a) and (b) options to be conservative and innovative features of causative constructions *per se*, but rather as a contrast based on independent (and probably pragmatic) factors. For example, some researchers have noted that word order in the complement clause partially responds to constraints on new *vs.* old information (28), so that *Paulo* is the new information in (28a) and is phrase final, while the phrase final element in (28b) is the new information *comer o bolo*. Others have noted that case marking partially signals dominance relations between the agent and the causee (29), so that the subject of *comer* in (29a) has more control or autonomy from the agent of *hacer* than does the corresponding subject in (29b):²²

21 Thomas, *Brazilian Portuguese*, pp. 146-48, 189-93; Arrais, 'Construções causativas'; Regina Celi Franchi, 'Correlação entre estruturas causativas e estruturas ergativas', *Cadernos de Estudos Lingüísticos*, XVII (1989), 163-85; Rafael Cano Aguilar, *Estructuras sintácticas transitivas en el español actual* (Madrid: Gredos, 1981), 249; María Luisa Hernanz Carbó, *El infinitivo en español* (Bellaterra: Univ. Autónoma de Barcelona, 1982), 266.

22 For the data on word order, see Larry M. Hyman and Karl E. Zimmer, 'Embedded Topic in French', in *Subject and Topic*, ed. Charles N. Li (New York: Academic Press, 1976),

- (28) a fiz comer o bolo (a) **o Paulo**
 b fiz **o Paulo** comer o bolo
- (29) a **le** hizo comer el pastel
 b **la** hizo comer el pastel

Therefore, with case marking and word order we might expect that shifts in INF affect the use of the neutral FIN less than is the case with clitic placement and the use of *se*. Nevertheless, we should still expect to find some increase in FIN resulting from from 'Type A' to 'Type B' with case marking and word order. Our data does in fact show that the vast majority of all FIN not resulting from shifts in clitic placement and the use of *se* do occur where case marking and word order would be in contrast. In other words, most of these other FIN have a full noun phrase embedded subject (which affects word order) or else the embedded clause is transitive (thus affecting case marking):

- (30) a fazer que oluide el mio pueblo el mio nombre (*GenEst*,
 86v)
 b o dejarlo que haga todo para ver hasta dónde llega
 (*Caracas*, 155:3)

This finding from the corpus data also agrees with the findings of some researchers²³ who note that the more 'complex' an embedded clause is (with full noun phrase subjects, with object pronouns, or with transitive verbs), the more common it is to find FIN. What we would not expect to find is a high percentage of FIN (31b) used as an alternative to 'simple' INF like (31a):

- (31) a y lo hicieron salir bien
 b y fiziesse que saliesse bueno (*GenEst*, 4v)

This is verified by researchers like Spaulding,²⁴ who finds that only 125/707 cases of intransitive embedded clauses like (31) are FIN, but that 11/21 with both a lower clause subject and object (such as [30] above) take FIN. The data from our corpus also support this conclusion, in that we find relatively few FIN in opposition to 'simple' clauses like (31a). In summary, although we do find that the use of FIN is affected to some degree by variation in INF types resulting from competition in case marking and word order, in the following discussion we will focus on FIN

189-211; for case marking, see Erica C. García and Ricardo Otheguy, 'Dialect Variation in *Leísmo*: A Semantic Approach', in *Studies in Language Variation*, ed. Ralph W. Fasold and Roger W. Shuy (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown U. P., 1974), 65-87.

²³ Willis, *Modern Portuguese*, 269; Spaulding, 'Infinitive and Subjunctive', 425-32; M. Ramsey, *A Textbook of Modern Spanish*, [1894], revised by Robert K. Spaulding, (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1956), 349.

²⁴ Spaulding, 'Infinitive and Subjunctive', 425-32.

resulting from variation with clitic placement and the use of *se*, where the effect is the most pronounced.

4 In the following table, we see the results from our corpus that show the interplay between INF and FIN with causative complements in Spanish and Portuguese. In the discussion that follows, we find that the use of the neutral FIN option increased in the periods in which the two INF options were most in competition.

Table 3

Interplay of non-finite (INF) and finite (FIN) complements.

A CLITIC PLACEMENT (INF / FIN)

Opposing INF: me (lo) permitieron comer(lo)

Neutral FIN: permitieron que yo lo comiera

	OSp	MidSp	ModSp	OPt	MidPt	ModPt
fazer	20/5	17/9	0/2	7/3	2/1	**
dexar	2/0	5/0	5/1	1/0	**	4/3
order	13/1	11/12	15/7	0/2	2/5	2/0

B USE OF SE (INF / FIN)

Opposing INF: eles o deixaram (se) sentar

Neutral INF: eles deixaram que se sentasse

	OSp	MidSp	ModSp	OPt	MidPt	ModPt
fazer	29/0	6/4	3/5	43/0	17/0	4/5
dexar	10/0	3/0	2/4	8/0	4/0	3/0
order	0/8	1/17	13/15	1/1	0/19	11/2

4.1 To discuss more fully the figures in Table 3, let us turn first to clitic placement, where we should see increasing cases of FIN as [cl-cl] becomes a possible alternative to the older INF option [cl+cl]. Recall that this shift occurs last with *fazer*, and so this is where we should see the most recent increase in the use of the substitute FIN. We have seen that all OSp/Pt and MidSp/Pt INF with *fazer* were the conservative [cl+cl], and since there was little avoidance of INF, only a small percentage of the OSp/Pt cases were FIN (32), and this increases slightly in MidSp/Pt (33). By ModSp/Pt, however, where there is finally some contrast between [cl+cl] and [cl-cl] with *fazer*, there are no examples of the INF option, but rather all are FIN (34):

- he (32) a Et fizo les que **le** obedesciessen (*EstEsp*, 109v)
 b fez fazer aos d'Esanha que **o** tomassem por rei
 (*Cron1344*, 301:1)
- he (33) a hice que **las** despidiesen y así se fueron (*Guzmán*, 431:5)
 sh b o medo ... fará que **lhes** pareçamos muitos mais do que
 he somos (*Henriques*, 195:1)
- ns (34) y no te hacían la materia agradable, o sea, el mismo
 profesor hacía que tú **le** cogieras (*Caracas*, 63:9)

The results with *dexar* are similar. As we saw above, all OSp/Pt INF are still [cl+cl] and thus there are no FIN. Although there are some innovative [cl-cl] already in MidSp it is not the unmarked option until ModSp, and this is when we first find cases of FIN with *dexar*, in both ModSp and ModPt:

- (35) a pero no: dejó que **me** castigaran (*Mexico*, 217:13)
 b deixarem que **me** ponha em cima delas (*Convento*, 234:1)

The most interesting data, however, is with the 'order' verbs. Recall that with these verbs the shift to the innovative [cl-cl] occurred much earlier than with *dexar* and *fazer*. Therefore, we should expect to find that in ModSp/Pt the use of the neutral, substitute FIN is already in decline, in contrast to those other causative verbs in which there is still a great deal of contrast in INF. In fact this is exactly what we do find. While there were still vestiges of the conservative [cl+cl] with order verbs in Old/MidSp, there were also FIN (36a). However, with [cl-cl] now the norm with order verbs, the percentage of FIN has decreased markedly from MidSp to ModSp (36b). Likewise in Portuguese all OPt cases were the substitute FIN (37a), but only some were in MidPt (37b), and by ModPt (where there are no more of the conservative [cl+cl]) there are no examples of FIN in the corpus:

- (36) a conseiaronle que **los** carcaueasse (*EstEsp*, 42r)
 b que parece permitir Dios que **las** digan (*Guzmán*, 397:2)
- (37) a demandou el rey Egiça que **o** absolvessem dalgũas cousas
 que fezera (*Cron1344*, 286:3)
 b não te aconselho que **a** desembarques em terra
 (*Peregrinação*, 166:2)

Recall that in Section 2 we claimed that the proportion of FIN should increase to the extent that the innovative 'Type B' INF was on the rise. But once this option has become the norm, there should then be a subsequent decrease in the use of FIN. The data with 'order' verbs proves this to be the case.

4.2 We will now show how the percentage of FIN increased to the extent that the innovative [+se] came into opposition with the conservative [-se]. Recall that with *fazer* all OSp/Pt INF were [-se], and thus we are not surprised that there are no cases of FIN. By MidSp, however, there are finally some cases of FIN (38). In ModSp/Pt, where the two INF are in conflict, the neutral FIN is now the unmarked option (39):

- (38) o faze que **se esconde** por desgayre (*Corbacho*, 247:23)
- (39) a que hace que un hombre **se detenga** en su camino
(*Caracas*, 364:6)
- b fazendo com que **se calassem**, sob a tensão do perigo
(*Minerva*, 247:3)

Turning to *dexar*, we noted above that all Old/MidSp INF were the conservative [-se], and thus it follows that we find no cases of the substitute FIN. By ModSp, however, the innovative [+se] is now possible, and we find that the majority of all cases are now FIN (40). As noted above, there are very few examples of INF with *dexar* in Portuguese with [se]-type sentences, and in our corpus there are no cases of FIN either.

- (40) y dejaba que **se frotara** contra un árbol (*Hombre*, 369:3)

Finally, as we turn to the 'order' verbs with [se]-type sentences, we find the same interesting results as we did with clitic placement. As we saw above, the shift towards the innovative [+se] became the rule early on with the order verbs, and thus we already see a decrease in the use of the substitute FIN since the period in which the innovative [+se] became the norm. FIN accounted for nearly all cases Old/MidSp (41a), but now almost half of all cases in ModSp are INF (41b). Likewise in Portuguese, nearly all Old/MidPt cases were FIN (42a), but now INF is clearly the norm in ModPt (42b):

- (41) a Et sus uasallos conseiaron le que **se tornasse** al Rey
(*EstEsp*, 152r)
- b pero al fin le convencieron de que **se quedara** en tierra
(*Dónde*, 132:1)
- (42) a ordenou que a alma **se conservasse** (*Christi*, 1313)
- b recomendou-lhes que **se acautelassem** com a comida
(*BrazSS*, 68:3)

This data with 'order' verbs shows once again that FIN will increase to the extent that the two INF options are in opposition. This is still under way with *fazer* and *dexar*. However, once the innovative option ([+se]) becomes the unmarked option, as has happened with the 'order' verbs, then the use of the substitute FIN decreases.

4.3 We have now discussed how opposition between the conservative and innovative forms of INF with case marking, clitic placement, use of *se*, and word order has influenced the use of FIN in the history of Spanish and Portuguese. Before leaving the topic of INF influence on FIN, however, let us consider two other facts. First, Zubizarreta and others have argued that the conservative Type A structures tend to favour lower clauses that lack a subject, and which thus have a passive feel to them:

- (43) a hizo llevar a María
 'he had María brought'
 b la hizo llevar
 'he had it/her brought'

Although these sentences with subjectless lower clauses are ambiguous, in that the lower clause subject might be overtly absent but implicitly understood (they had *someone* bring Mary), for most speakers they also have a strong passive feel. This is different from 'Type B' structures, which favour lower clauses that have an overt subject:

- (44) la hizo venir
 'he made her come'

The data from our corpus shows that at older stages of Spanish and Portuguese, the subjectless type of complements seen in (43) were indeed quite common, but that with the shift towards 'Type B' INF, they have become less common. For example, with *fazer* 50% of all OPT INF examples lack a subject (45a), but this decreases to 46% in MidPt. With the shift towards 'Type B' INF, only 12% of all INF in ModPt lack a subject (45b):

- (45) a E o emperador logo fez coroar seu filho Titus emperador
 (*Vespesiano*, 22:2)
 b a gente pode tentar fazer ai analisar esse aspecto
 (*BrazFal*, 2:81:863)

In Spanish the decrease in subjectless INF has been from OSp 50% (46a) to MidSp 30%, and ModSp 8% (46b):

- (46) a e fizo luego enterrar al rey (*Ultramar*, 13:3)
 b en el cementerio hice limpiar la bóveda (*Hombre*, 261:15)

As subjectless INF become less common, however, the only other INF option is an analytic passive:

- (47) a deixem-me **ser desgraçado** a minha vontade! (*Pobres*,
 154:5)
 b será traducido a una lengua eslava, que le permitirá **ser
 leído** en Europa Oriental (*Venezuela*, 15:2)

None the less, there are no more than a handful of such sentences in the corpus, even including ModSp/Pt. Since there is no other significant INF alternative with subjectless embedded clauses, what we should expect is that there is a diachronic increase in the use of the substitute FIN when the embedded subject is unspecified (48). In Section 5 we will provide some evidence from ModSp/Pt for such an increase in FIN.

- (48) a esto ha hecho que **se establezca** esa especie de anarquía
(*Caracas*, 117:4)
- b hicieron que **se organizaran**, en el Ateneo de Caracas,
unas conferencias (*Caracas*, 590:1)

One final context in which FIN and INF have been related diachronically is with embedded clauses containing negation:

- (49) a e fazede que **nom** prendam desonra per vos (*Demanda*,
160:3)
- b tanta turbación de plazer, que me haze **no** sentir todo el
gozo que poseo (*Celestina*, 116:15)

Various researchers have suggested different reasons why the (conservative) 'Type A' INF cannot have negation,²⁵ and the data from our corpus provides evidence that there are in fact very few examples with INF. There are over fifty examples of embedded clauses with negation in the corpus and, with the exception of two cases with *fazer* in the *Celestina* (one of them being [49b] above), all of the cases in OldSp/Pt and MidSp/Pt are the substitute FIN. The expectation is that to the degree that there is a shift towards the Type B INF, we will find more cases of negated INF. The corpus indicates that there is an emerging use of negation with INF, but it is not common until ModSp/Pt, and it occurs only with the order verbs, which is where all of the other changes have started also:

- (50) a aconselhava-a a **não** deixar cair no vazio a sugestão da D.
Etelvina (*Corça*, 93:4)
- b y crear hábitos que le permitan **no** escapar del stress
pero sí disminuir su acción nociva (*Venezuela*, 6:24)

In summary, we have shown that there is interplay between FIN and INF when there are competing case marking, clitic placement, use of *se*, and word order phenomena with INF. In addition, we have seen that there

25 For example, Bordelois, 'Causatives: From Lexicon to Syntax', 60; Karen Zagana, 'Evidence for VP Complements in Spanish', in *Proceedings of the Tenth Anniversary Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages*, ed. cit., 185-93; Francesco D'Introno, *Sintaxis transformacional del español* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1979), 171-76; Rosen, *Argument Structure*, 85-92.

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is also interplay between FIN and INF in terms of subjectless embedded clauses, as well as those with negation.

5. We have repeatedly made the claim that speakers use the neutral FIN as a substitute for the two opposing INF, and our diachronic evidence suggests that this is the case. Nevertheless, it would be nice to find data showing that this is an actual synchronic strategy utilized by speakers of Spanish and Portuguese. Fortunately, there is a very detailed and thorough synchronically-oriented study which also provides support for our hypothesis. The data gathered by Finnemann²⁶ deals with the intuitions that Spanish speakers have regarding causative constructions, and is based on extensive taped interviews with over twenty native speakers of Spanish.

Finnemann documents at length the speakers' repeated avoidance of INF and preference for FIN in cases of subjectless embedded clauses (51a),²⁷ and in cases of competing INF with clitic climbing (51b),²⁸ [+se] (51c),²⁹ and case marking (51d).³⁰ The corresponding substitute, neutral FIN cases are seen in (52a-d).

- (51) a (la) hizo traer
- b Pedro me (la) hizo interrogar(la)
- c el sol la hizo derretir(se) (la = la nieve)
- d el jinete **le/lo** hizo girar la cabeza (= el caballo)

- (52) a hizo que la trajeran
- b Pedro hizo que yo **la** interrogara
- c el sol hizo que **se** derritiera
- d el jinete hizo que girara la cabeza

The preference for FIN over INF in these cases is not limited to isolated examples with certain informants; rather it is the norm with these speakers, who are quite conscious of the awkwardness of both of the competing INF options. To summarize, the data from Finnemann's detailed study of Modern Spanish causatives provides us with the synchronic insights of native speakers that we need in order to back up the data from our corpus, which includes all historical stages of Spanish and Portuguese.

²⁶ Finnemann, *Aspects of the Spanish Causative Construction*.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 358-81.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 446-61.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 380-425.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 243-89.

6. The main question we have dealt with in this study has been the opposition between finite and non-finite complements of causative verbs. We noted that current theoretically-oriented studies provide little insight into the reason for the variation, or why a given verb would favour one type of complement over the other. Our approach has been to argue that the best motivation for synchronic variation relies on a diachronic explanation. In diachronic terms, the (temporary) shift towards FIN with causative verbs goes against the more general shift towards INF in Spanish and Portuguese. To explain the strange data with causatives, we have suggested that at least one motivation for this 'against-the-stream' shift with causative verbs is that there has been a temporary increase in FIN due to its role as a neutral substitute to opposing types of INF, which have come into conflict mainly since OSp/Pt. With those verbs in which the shift to the innovative INF structures is now nearly complete, resulting in little conflict in INF types (the 'order' verbs), there has been a general resumption of the trend towards INF. In general terms then, the results of our study show that at least in this case the best explanation for difficult synchronic variation is to look at the more long-term diachronic shifts that are involved.