

Variation and change in the Romance *faire-par* causative

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Abstract

This chapter considers the extent to which the *faire-par* causative (FP) is available in Italian, French, Catalan, and varieties of Spanish and Portuguese. While French and Italian (like some Spanish varieties) permit FP with an optional by-phrase, Catalan permits FP only where the by-phrase is suppressed. Although some Spanish and Portuguese varieties display something superficially resembling the Catalan FP, closer consideration reveals the construction in question to have quite distinct properties. Taking Portuguese as a case study, we trace the diachronic development of FP, proposing that the obligatory suppression of the by-phrase combined with the possibility of ECM/inflected causative complements permitted reanalysis, leading to the loss of FP in some Portuguese (and Spanish) varieties.

Key words

Causatives, *faire-par*, passive, clause union, clitic climbing, nominalisation, microparameters, diachrony, Portuguese, Spanish, French, Italian, Catalan

1. Introduction: Romance causatives

Romance causatives come in many different guises. This is perhaps best exemplified across Spanish varieties in which the causative verb *hacer* ‘to make’ can select for variously: a finite subjunctive clause (1a); an exceptional case marking (ECM) complement with the possibility of negation and a preverbal/accusative causee (1b); a *faire-infinitif* (FI) complement with a postverbal/dative causee and no position for negation (1c); or (with various caveats to be discussed below) a *faire-par* (FP) complement (1d-e) (see Bordelois 1974, Cano Aguilar 1977, Davies 1995, Goodhall 1984, 1987, Moore 1991, Ordóñez 2008, Ordóñez & Roca 2014, Saab 2014, Sheehan 2016, Torrego 1998, 2010, Treviño 1992, 1993, Tubino Blanco 2010, 2011):

- (1) a. *Juan hizo [que María cantara].*
Juan made [that María sang.SUBJ]
‘Juan made María sing.’ (Tubino Blanco 2011, 214)
- b. *Juan la hizo [rechazar el premio]*
Juan 3SF.ACC=made reject.INF the prize
‘Juan made her reject the prize.’
- c. *Juan le hizo [leer el libro a Ana].¹*
Juan 3S.DAT= made read.INF the book A Ana
‘Juan made her/him read the book.’
- d. *Hicieron [construir una casa(%por un grupo de*

made.3PL build a house by a group of
arquitectos].²

architects

‘They had a house built by a group of architects.’

- e. *Se hicieron [construir una casa (por un grupo
SE=made.3PL build a house by a group
de arquitectos)].*

of architects

‘They had a house built by a group of architects.’

Not all of these possibilities are equally available in all varieties, and some varieties have constructions with mixed properties (see especially Treviño 1993, Ordóñez 2008, Torrego 2010, Ordóñez & Roca 2014, Tubino Blanco 2011 and Sheehan 2015 for comparative studies).

European Portuguese (EP) *fazer* ‘to make’ and also *mandar* ‘to order’ also permit both ECM and FI complements as well as inflected infinitival and finite subjunctive complements (Raposo 1981, Gonçalves 1999). While FP with an overt by-phrase is accepted by some EP speakers (see Gonçalves 1999), the speakers we have consulted uniformly reject it:³

- (2) a. *O João mandou [os miúdos comer(em) o bolo].*⁴ (EP)
the João ordered the kids eat.INF(3PL) the cake
b. *O João mandou [comer o bolo aos miúdos].*

- the João ordered eat.INF the cake to-the kids
- c. *O João mandou [que a Maria pintasse o desenho].*
 the João ordered that the Maria painted.SUBJ the picture
 ‘João made Maria paint the picture.’ (Gonçalves1999,325)
- d. *%O João mandou [construir o palácio pelo arquitecto].*
 the João ordered build.INF the palace by-the architect
 ‘João had the palace built by the architects.’
 (Gonçalves 1999, 318)

The equivalent verbs in other Romance varieties are more limited in their complementation possibilities, however: with French *faire* and Italian *fare* ‘to make’, neither ECM nor finite complements are generally permitted.⁵

- (3) a. **J’ ai fait Marie manger. (Fr.)*
 I have made Marie eat.INF
- b. **Sa mère fait que Marie mange.*
 her mother makes that Marie eat.SUBJ
- (4) a. **Maria ha fatto Gianni riparare la macchina. (It.)*
 Marie has made Gianni repair the car
 (Burzio 1986, 232)
- b. **Maria face che Carlo mangi bene*
 Maria makes that Carlo eat.SUBJ well

Brazilian Portuguese (BP) is the most restrictive of all the languages under discussion, having lost FI, and disallowing FP of the Italian/French type. We discuss these changes in section 3.

There is thus considerable variation concerning the selectional properties of these semi-functional causative verbs in Romance, which must, presumably, be lexically specified to some extent. In addition to this lexical variation, however, there is also (synchronic and diachronic) *syntactic* variation regarding the properties of the various complement types as they are manifested in varieties of French, Spanish, Catalan, Italian and Portuguese.⁶ Because of the extent of the attested variation, we limit ourselves here to a discussion of FP (see Sheehan 2015 on FI). In section 2, we introduce FP, outlining the properties that are apparently shared across Romance varieties as well as those which vary. Section 3 then proposes a path of diachronic change that accounts for these various instantiations of FP focusing on Brazilian Portuguese, where the changes have been most pronounced. Finally, Section 4 concludes.

2. Synchronic variation in FP

FP has mainly been described in relation to French and Italian, where it behaves fairly uniformly, displaying the following core characteristics:

- (i) Restrictions on the **complement predicate** (ban on: inalienable possession; non-passivisable idioms (Kayne 1975, Burzio 1986); unaffected objects (Guasti 1993, Folli & Harley 2007)).
- (ii) Properties of the **causee** (can be inanimate/omitted, unable to bind PRO/anaphor (Kayne 1975, Burzio 1986))
- (iii) Properties of **causer** (must be agentive, can bind a SE anaphor (Kayne 1975, Burzio 1986))

In this section, we illustrate these properties for French and Italian, before using them to diagnose the availability of FP in Ibero-Romance varieties.

2.1 FP in French and Italian

Kayne (1975) notes that FP, unlike FI, shares a number of properties with the passive. Firstly, whereas FI permits its complement to be a predicate expressing a relation of inalienable possession, FP, like the passive, does not (though see Folli & Harley 2007 for exceptions to this in Italian where more context is provided):

(5) **Elle fera lever la main *par Jean/à Jean*

she make.FUT.3S raise.INF the hand by Jean/to Jean

Intended: ‘She will make Jean raise his hand.’

(Kayne 1975, 236-7)

(6) **Maria farà alzare la mano *da Gianni /a Gianni. (It.)*

Maria make.FUT raise the hand by Gianni /to

Gianni (Burzio 1986, 265)

Secondly, certain idioms that are not possible in passives are also banned in FP (Kayne 1975, Pearce 1990, Guasti 1993, 1996). Consider, for example the idiom *prendere la medicina* in Italian, meaning ‘to take the medicine’.

(7) *La maestra ha fatto prendere la medicina (da Maria). (It.)*

the teacher has made take.INF the medicine by Maria

‘The teacher has made (someone) take hold of the medicine’

(adapted from Guasti 1996, 296)

Only the non-idiomatic reading is available in (7). The same is not true in FI, where the idiomatic reading is retained. This is the same effect first noted in French by Kayne (1975, 236) for comparable idioms (e.g. *casser la croûte* ‘to eat’). The fact that the idiomatic reading is also lost where the causee is omitted further suggests that it is possible to omit a by-phrase in FP (as in a passive) but not a dative causee in FI, as Guasti (1993) notes.

There are also properties of FP that distinguish it from both FI and the passive, however, making it more similar to nominalisations according to

Guasti (1993, 1996) and Folli & Harley (2007) (see also Bordelois 1988). Firstly, FP appears to be limited to contexts where its complement verb takes an affected object. These are objects that change as a result of the event denoted by the verb phrase. In an event of consumption of an apple, for example the apple changes radically, whereas in an event of winning a race, the race itself remains unchanged. While this notion remains poorly understood in linguistic theory, it is known to be relevant to the constraints on middles and passive nominalisations. As such, verbs like *vincere/gagner* ‘to win’ and *perdere/perdre* ‘to lose’ cannot surface in FP in French or Italian, even though these verbs *do* passivise (Guasti 1993, 1996):

(8) *Maria ha fatto vincere il premio a Gianni/*da Gianni.*

Maria has made win the prize to Gianni/by Gianni

‘Maria made Gianni win the prize.’ (Guasti 1993, 104)

As Guasti (1993) notes, passive nominalisations are also subject to the affectedness constraint:⁷

(9) a. **Her purse’s loss (by Mary)*

b. **The race’s loss (by Mary)*

Folli & Harley (2007) note similar facts for verbs of perception. Secondly, the fact that unlike the by-phrase/implicit argument in the passive, the causee in

FP *cannot* bind PRO (Burzio 1986, Guasti 1993, 1996) also makes it more similar to a passive nominalisation (see Williams 1985, 1987, Safir 1987):

- (10) **The city's destruction (by the army) to impress the general.*

Compare the FP in Italian:

- (11) *Il sindaco_i ha fatto costruire il monumento IMP*
The mayor has made build the monument IMP
*(dall'architetto Nervi)_j per PRO_{i/*j} ottenere appoggi politici*
by.the architect Nervi to obtain supports political
'The mayor has had the IMP monument built by the architect
Nervi to obtain political support.' (Guasti 1993, 100)

Burzio takes this as evidence that the causee is an adjunct, something which, he claims, also explains why it cannot bind anaphors (Kayne 1975, Burzio 1986):

- (12) *Ho fatto riparare la propria_i macchina*
have.1s made repair the own car
*a Gianni_i/*da Gianni_i*
to Gianni/by Gianni
'I have made Gianni repair his own car.' (Burzio 1986)

As the passive-like properties of FP also hold of passive nominalisations, the latter parallel provides a more explanatory account of FP (Guasti 1993, 1996, Folli and Harley 2007). We return to the precise implementation of this parallel below.

The syntactic/semantic properties of the causer in FP further distinguish it from FI. For example, in FP, the causer must be an agent (see (13)-(14)) and can bind *se/si*, (not illustrated here) unlike in FI:

- (13) *La rabbia fece rompere il tavolo a/*da Gianni*
the rage made break.INF the table to/by Gianni
‘Rage made Gianni break the table.’ Burzio (1986, 268)
- (14) *La famine a fait manger des rats aux/*par*
the famine has made eat.INF some rats to.the/by
les habitants de la ville.
the inhabitants of the town
‘The famine made the people of the town eat rats.’
(Kayne 1975, 242)

This property follows, Folli & Harley (2007) claim, if *fare/faire* is v_{do} in FP, which selects a nominal complement and requires an agentive subject.

2.2 FP in Rioplatense Spanish

Rioplatense Spanish, like French and Italian but unlike peninsular varieties, permits FP, even with an overt by phrase (Bordelois 1988):

- (15) *Hicieron destruir la ciudad por los soldados. (RPSp.)*
made.3PL destroy the city by the soldiers
'They had the city destroyed by the soldiers.' (Bordelois 1988, 58)

As in French and Italian, FP is impossible where the embedded predicate involves inalienable possession and with non-passivisable idioms:

- (16) **El profesor hizo levantar la mano (por sus alumnos). (RPSp.)*
the teacher made raise the hand by his pupils
- (17) **El pelo me fue tomado por Juan ayer. (RPSp.)*
the hair me was taken by Juan yesterday
- (18) **la cabecilla hizo tomarme el pelo (por todos).*
The ringleader made take=me the hair by all

Furthermore, as in Italian and French, FP is impossible where the embedded predicate has an unaffected object (again FI would be fine in all cases) (see Bordelois 1988 for an early observation of the relevance of affectedness and

the connection to nominalisations):

- (19) **El entrenador hizo perder el partido (por su equipo) a*
the trainer made lose the game by his team at
propósito. (RPSp.)
purpose
- (20) **El entrenador hizo ganar el partido (por su equipo)*
the trainer made win the game by his team

Again, as in French and Italian, the causee in FP cannot bind PRO:

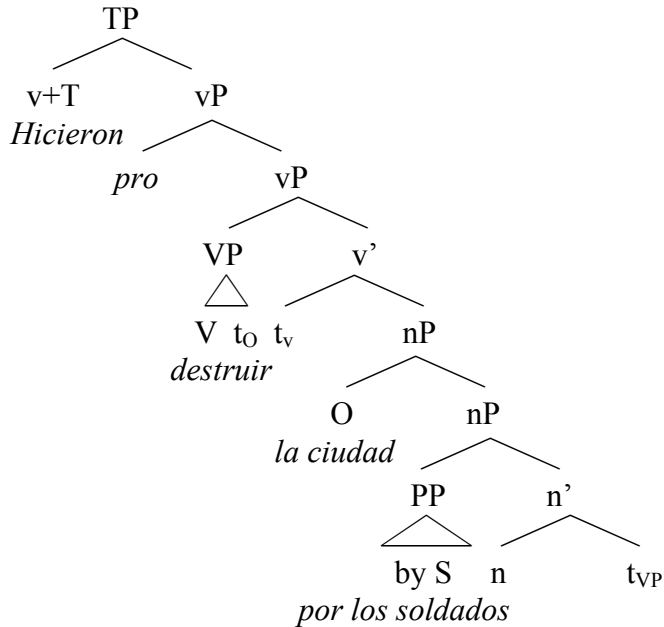
- (21) **El profesor hizo entregar todas las tareas*
the teacher made hand.in all the assignments
(por sus alumnos)_i para PRO_i pasar el curso. (RPSp.)
by his pupils for pass the course

FI would be fine here, as in French and Italian. These deep parallels strongly suggest that a single analysis applies to these three Romance varieties.

2.2 Proposed structure in French/Italian/ RP Spanish

Adapting proposals by Guasti (1993, 1996) and Folli & Harley (2007) (F&H), we adopt the following analysis of FP in French, Italian and RP Spanish (ignoring the final position of the causer *pro*):

(22) *FP in French/Italian/RP Spanish*



Our analysis adopts from F&H the proposal that, in these languages, the light verb v_{do} selects a nominalization in FP. It diverges from F&H, however, in rejecting the idea that the postverbal causee is right-adjoined. Rather, VOS order, we propose, is due to movement of both O and V past the causee (object scrambling to an outer spec nP, followed by remnant VP movement to spec vP in the matrix clause). By hypothesis VP movement of this kind (complex predicate formation) is forced because V to v movement is blocked (by the presence of an intervening n) (Travis 1984). Variable binding contrasts

show that O c-commands the PP, contrary to the structure in F&H and in line with this proposal:

- (23) a. *Ho fatto leggere [ogni libro]_i dal suo_i autore. (It.)*
 have.1SG made read each book by.the its author
 ‘I had each book read by its author.’
- b. **Ho fatto leggere il suo_i libro da [ogni autore]_i*
 have.1SG made read the his book by each author

Where O is a full DP it remains in spec nP, but where O is a clitic, we propose that scrambling to spec nP has the effect of triggering obligatory clitic climbing (see also Sheehan 2015 on FI). Abstracting away from details, assume that cliticisation is a PF-operation and that a clitic can attach to any c-commanding verbal host in the same spell-out domain (phase). In most restructuring contexts, this accounts for the optionality of clitic climbing (in Italian/Spanish/EP – French lacks optional clitic climbing), as both the restructuring and lexical verb c-command the clitic. In (22), on the other hand, clitic climbing is obligatory in all three languages because only the $v_{do}+T$ verbal complex c-commands O.

- (24) *Esta casa, mis padres {la} hicieron construir{??la}*
 this house my parents it=made build =it
 (por un grupo de arquitectos). (RPSp.)

by a group of architects

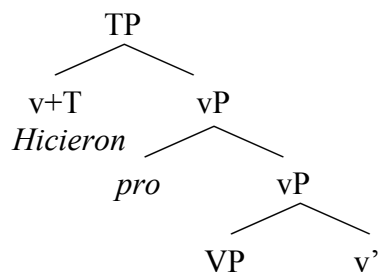
While only transitive *n* selects for a PP specifier (an ‘ergative’ effect), transitive/intransitive *n* can also surface without a specifier, in which case, it projects no external argument. In either case, the causee cannot bind PRO as either (a) it fails to c-command outside of PP or (b) it is not syntactically projected at all. In this much it differs from the demoted subject in a passive which is always syntactically projected (see Roberts 1987).

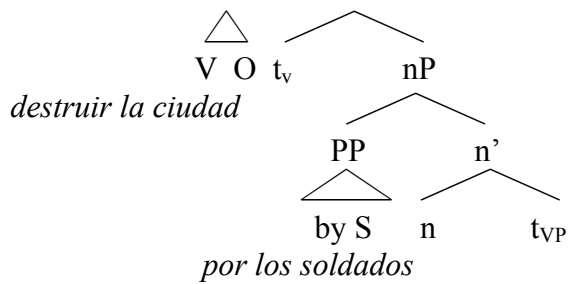
Other Romance varieties differ minimally with respect to (22). In Mexican Spanish, for example, FP is also possible but clitic climbing of O is optional (Treviño 1992):

- (25) *Pedro hizo repararla por Juan. (Mex. Sp.)*
Pedro made repair=it by Juan (Treviño 1992: 311)

To accommodate this variation, we propose that *nP* lacks an EPP feature in Mexican Spanish, so that objects fail to raise to spec *nP*:

- (26) *FP in Mexican Spanish*





While this still yields VOS word order, this has the effect that both V and the v+T verbal complex c-command O at the point of transfer to PF, meaning that O can cliticise onto either host. This makes further predictions regarding the c-command relations between O and the cause which require further investigation.

2.3 FP in Catalan

It has been reported that Catalan does not permit FP with an overt by-phrase (Villalba 1992, 359, fn 9; 328, fn 17) (our example):

- (27) **Els meus pares van fer construir una casa per*
 the my parents go.3PL make build a house by
 aquests arquitectes (Cat.)
 these architects

What *is* permitted, however, is something which looks akin to FP where the by-phrase is obligatorily suppressed:

(28) *Els meus pares van fer construir una casa. (Cat.)*

the my parents go.3PL make build a house

The question arises, then, whether (28) is a genuine example of FP with a suppressed by-phrase or rather an instance of FI with a null cause or even some other construction entirely. Using the diagnostics discussed by Kayne (1975), Burzio (1986) and Guasti (1996) it can be shown that it is indeed an instance of FP.

The fact that suppression of the causee is possible only with transitive and unergative verbs, but not unaccusatives is the first indication that this is a genuine example of FP:

(29) *El professor va fer estudiar en silence. (Cat.)*

The teacher go.3S make study in silence

‘The teacher made them study in silence.’

(30) **Amb el seu sistema de multes, el professor va fer*

with the his system of fines the teacher go.3S make

arribar a temps. (Cat.)

arrive on time

Although, by-phrases are possible only with transitive embedded verbs, Burzio shows that optional suppression of the causee is possible with both

transitive and unergative verbs in FP. On the current analysis, this follows if n is permitted simply not to project a specifier (i.e. nominalisations are permitted simply to lack an external argument). As the single arguments of unaccusatives are internal arguments they are not subject to this effect.

The second indication is that it is not possible to omit the causee where the embedded predicate describes a relation of inalienable possession, as in FP:

- (31) **El professor va fer aixecar la mà.* (Cat.)
 the teacher go.3S make raise the hand

Furthermore, omission of the causee is also sensitive to affectedness, again, as with FP:

- (32) *L'entrenador va fer perdre el partit*
 the trainer go.3S make lose the game
 **(al seu equip) expressament.*
 to.the his team deliberately
 ‘The trainer made his team lose the game deliberately.’
- (33) *L'entrenador va fer guanyar el partit*
 the trainer go.3S make win the game
 **(al seu equip).*
 to.the his team

‘The trainer made his team lose the game.’

Finally, idioms that are not possible in passives or nominalisations are also banned where the causee is suppressed, again suggesting that these examples are instantiations of FP. The following idioms display this behaviour:

(34) *Catalan idioms which are banned in passivisation and in causatives with null causees*

- a. *Posar-hi la mà al foc.* Lit. ‘to put the hand in the fire for someone’, i.e. to demonstrate you trust/believe someone.
- b. *Prendre el pèl.* Lit. ‘to take the hair’, i.e. to take the mickey.
- c. *Posar-hi el coll.* Lit. ‘to put the neck (there)’, i.e. to put one’s neck on the line
- d. *Fer un merder.* Lit ‘to make a shit’, i.e. to make a mess.
- e. *Fer-ne una de grossa.* Lit. ‘to make a fat one of something’, i.e. to make a big deal of something

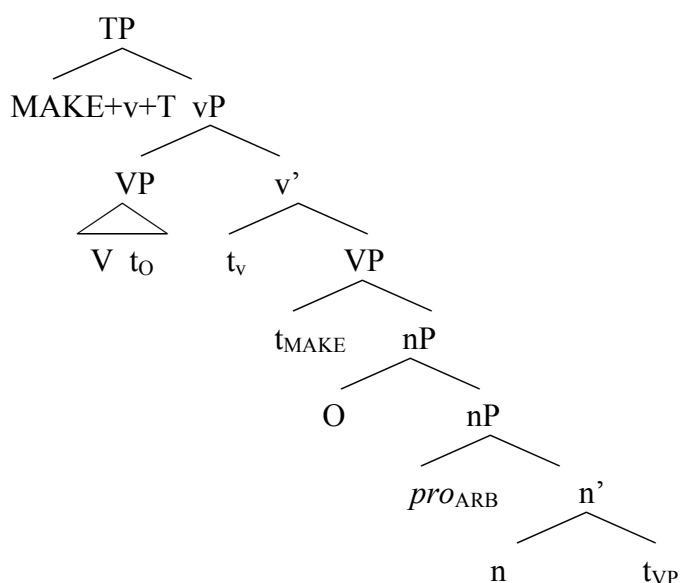
In all cases, these idioms fail to permit passivisation and do not permit suppression of the causee:

(35) **La mestra em va fer prendre el pèl.*
The teacher me go.3S make take the hair

Thus far, then, it appears to be the case that Catalan does permit FP on the condition that the by-phrase be suppressed.

To account for the obligatory suppression of the PP in Catalan FP, we propose that while *n* can optionally project a specifier (i.e. have a subject) it cannot s-select for a prepositional specifier in this language. Where spec nP is projected, then, only DPs rather than PPs are possible and as there is no Case available only *pro*_{ARB}, a minimally specified Caseless pronoun (roughly in the sense of Hornstein 1999), can function as the subject of nP (i.e. the causee):

(36) *FP in Catalan*



This also serves to explain an important difference between the FP in Catalan vs. French/Italian/RP Spanish. The suppressed causee *can* bind PRO in Catalan, as illustrated by the following:

- (37) *El professor va fer pro_i entregar tots els deures*
 the teacher goes make hand.in all the homeworks
per PRO_i aprovar el curs
 for pass the course
 ‘The teacher made them hand in all the assignments in order to
 pass the exam.’

This follows if spec *nP* is optionally projected and filled by *pro_{arb}*. In Catalan then, unlike in French/Italian/RP Spanish, there are cases where (transitive) *nP* has a specifier which c-commands into VP, explaining why it can function as a controller. Essentially, the impossibility of by-phrases gives rise to the possibility of *pro_{ARB}* as a controller.

2.4 FP in European Portuguese

It is reported in the literature that many EP speakers do not accept FP with an overt by-phrase (Gonçalves 1999, Martins 2006). This is certainly the case for the speakers we have consulted.⁸

- (38) * *Os meus pais mandaram construir uma casa*
 the my parents ordered.3PL build.INF a house
por um arquitecto.

by an architect

Moreover, while all the speakers we consulted accept examples like the following, with a suppressed causee, it appears that, unlike their Catalan equivalents, such examples do not have the properties of FP, at least with *mandar*:

- (39) *Os meus pais mandaram construir uma casa. (EP)*
the my parents ordered build a house
'My parents had a house built.'

This is evident in the fact that unaccusative as well as unergative verbs are possible here, unlike in Catalan and Italian:

- (40) *O professor mandou chegar a tempo*
the teacher ordered arrive on time
'The teacher ordered people to arrive on time.'
- (41) *O maestro mandou cantar.*
the conductor ordered sing
'The conductor ordered people to sing.'

Fazer behaves differently in this respect, as an anonymous reviewer points out, as (39) would be ungrammatical with *fazer*. We have no explanation for this

difference at present and the differences between the two verbs require further careful investigation.

Idioms that do not passivise, moreover, *do* permit suppression of the causee:

(42) * *As mangas foram arregaçadas para resolver o problema.*

the sleeves were rolled.up for solve the problem

(43) *Como era tarde, o professor mandou*

as was late the teacher ordered

arregaçar as mangas e começar a trabalhar

roll.up the sleeves and begin to work

‘As it was late, the teacher ordered people to get stuck in and start working.’

Furthermore, predicates of inalienable possession also permit suppression of the causee, unlike in Catalan, Rioplatense Spanish and French:

(44) *O professor mandou levantar a mão.*

the teacher ordered raise the hand

‘The teacher ordered people to raise their hands.’

The construction is not generally sensitive to affectedness, although some such examples are mildly degraded:

- (45) ? *O treinador mandou perder a partida de propósito.*
the trainer ordered lose the game of purpose
‘The coach ordered them to lose the game on purpose.’
- (46) ? *O treinador mandou ganhar a partida.*
the trainer ordered win the game
‘The coach ordered them to lose the game on purpose.’
- (47) *O juiz mandou dizer a verdade.*
The judge ordered say the truth
‘The judge ordered people to tell the truth.’

What seems to be relevant here, however, is not affectedness per se, as (46) is perfectly grammatical, but rather direct causation, triggered by the semantics of *mandar* (see Treviño 1993, Torrego 2010 on direct causation).

From these data we can conclude that modern EP lacks FP. Apparent examples of FP with a suppressed causee involve an inflected infinitival complement, which is known independently to be possible (Gonçalves 1999, Martins 2006). As the 3s inflection is zero, inflected infinitival complements are indistinguishable from uninflected infinitives. In section 3, we argue that this has led to the reanalysis of FP in both EP and BP.⁹ There is one thing which remains mysterious, however, under this account: all our informants agree that the suppressed causee *cannot* bind PRO in such examples in EP:

- (48) * *A professora mandou pro_i entregar todas as tarefas para*
 the teacher ordered hand in.INF all the assignments to
PRO_i poder passar de ano. (EP)
 may pass the year

This is surprising if such examples involve an inflected infinitival clause with a *pro* causee. We leave this loose end as a matter for future research.

2.5 FP in Peninsular Spanish

For the three Peninsular Spanish speakers we consulted, variants of FP with an overt by-phrase are strongly rejected, but the causee can nonetheless be suppressed in some contexts for some speakers. As in Catalan, this is possible only with transitive and unergative complements and not unaccusatives for the speakers we consulted:¹⁰

- (49) *Mis padres hicieron construir una casa.*
 my parents made build a house
 (**por un grupo de arquitectos*) (PSp.)
 by a group of architects
- (50) *El profesor hizo estudiar en silencio (*por sus alumnos).*
 The teacher made study in silence by his students
- (51) **Con su sistema de multas, el profesor hizo llegar a tempo.*

with his system of fines the teacher made arrive in time

(por sus alumnos) (PSp.)

by his students

Unlike in Catalan, the causee *can* somewhat marginally be omitted where the embedded verb is one which expresses inalienable possession:

(52) ?*El profesor hizo levantar la mano (*por sus alumnos).*

The teacher made raise the hand by his students

Furthermore, there is no sensitivity in these Peninsular Spanish varieties to the affectedness of the object, omission of the causee is possible in (52)-(53):

(53) *El entrenador hizo perder el partido (*por su equipo)*

the coach made lose the game by his team

a propósito.

at purpose

(54) *El entrenador hizo ganar el partido (*por su equipo)*

The coach made win the game by his team

Moreover, idioms which do not permit passivisation can nonetheless surface as the complement of *hacer* with a suppressed (causee) subject, albeit somewhat marginally:

- (55) **El pelo me fue tomado por Juan ayer.*
 the hair me was taken by Juan yesterday
- (56) *?La cabecilla hizo tomarme el pelo (*por todos).*
 The leader made take.me the hair by everybody

Finally, the causer in such contexts can be inanimate, unlike in FP in French and Italian:

- (57) *La hambruna hizo comer ratas (*por los*
 the hunger made eat mice by the
habitantes de la ciudad)
 inhabitants of the city

Finally, the suppressed causee can also bind PRO, unlike in FP in Italian and French:

- (58) *El profesor_i hizo pro_j entregar todas las tareas*
 the teacher made hand in all the assignments
[para PRO_j pasar el curso]
 to pass the course

All in all, then, it appears to be the case that many peninsular varieties of Spanish lack FP (but see Torrego 1998 for a variety that appears to retain it). The question remains, though, what the status of examples with suppressed causees is, as Peninsular Spanish lacks an inflected infinitive. Note that it cannot be the case that such examples involve FI with the dative causee omitted as clitic doubling of (true) datives is usually obligatory. Rather it seems that such examples involve an ECM causative where the accusative causee is suppressed and receives a generic interpretation in the manner described by Rizzi (1986) for Italian. In these terms, the fact that unaccusatives do not allow suppression of their causee subjects follows from the fact that they also cannot surface in ECM constructions for these same Peninsular Spanish speakers, hence the impossibility of SV order in (59c):

- (59) a. *Ana hizo a Juan llorar.*
 Ana made A Juan cry.INF
 ‘Many made Juan cry.’
- b. *Ana hizo a Juan comer el pastel.*
 Ana made A Juan eat.INF the cake
 ‘Ana made Juan eat the cake.’
- c. ??*Ana hizo a Juan caer.*
 Ana made A Juan fall.INF
 ‘Ana made Juan fall over.’

An anonymous reviewer points out that for him/her, omission of the causee is only possible with transitive predicates and not with unergatives, so that (50) is as ungrammatical as (51). Interestingly for him/her, it is also the case that only transitive predicates surface as ECM-type complements of *hacer*, so (59a) is also ungrammatical. The connection between ECM and suppressed causees that we propose for Spanish thus holds up, though it is obscured by further dialectal variation in ECM causatives. As such it seems fair to conclude that while some Spanish varieties retain FP (e.g., RP), others have lost it altogether but nonetheless allow suppression of the generic causee in ECM causatives.¹¹

2.6 FP in Modern Brazilian Portuguese

Modern BP has lost the *faire-infinitif*, but there is some controversy as to whether it retains a version of the *faire-par* construction (Cyrino 2010, 2011, Torres Morais & Salles 2010, Salles 2010).

(60) a. **A Maria fez comer o bolo ao menino. (BP)*

the Maria made eat.INF the cake to.the boy

(Torres Morais & Salles 2010, 193)

b. **Maria mandou/fez trabalhar os funcionários.*

Maria ordered/made work.INF the workers

(Salles 2010, 4)

Speakers freely accept examples like the following with *mandar* (and to a lesser extent with *fazer*), where the causative selects a non-finite verb with an unexpressed causee subject, however:

- (61) a. *A Maria mandou [chegar a tempo]. (BP)*
 the Maria ordered arrive.INF at time
 Lit. ‘Maria ordered to arrive on time.’
- b. *A Maria mandou [cantar].*
 the Maria ordered sing. INF
 Lit. ‘Maria ordered to sing.’
- c. *A Maria mandou [comprar pão].*
 The Maria ordered buy. INF bread
 Lit. ‘Maria ordered to buy bread.’

Unlike in Spanish, Catalan and Italian, there is no sensitivity to verb type here: transitive, unergative and unaccusative verbs are permitted in the complement domain. These are argued by Salles (2010) to be examples of FP with a suppressed by-phrase.

There is reason to believe, however, that this is a misanalysis and that these are simply examples of an inflected infinitive with a null generic causee subject (as is more generally possible in BP), as seen in (62):

(62) *No Brasil, usa saia comprida. (BP)*

in-the Brasil wear skirt long

‘In Brazil, one wears long skirts.’

There are many reasons to opt for this account rather than the FP proposal. Firstly, verbs expressing relations of inalienable possession are possible in this construction in BP:

(63) *A professora mandou [levantar a mão]. (BP)*

The teacher ordered raise.inf the hand

Secondly, non-passivisable idioms are also possible in this BP construction:

(64) a. *abrir o coração* ‘to open up’ (BP)

O Pedro mandou abrir o coração na conversa.

The Pedro ordered open.INF the heart in-the talk

‘Pedro ordered people to open up in the chat.’

b. *bater na mesma tecla* ‘to insist’

Para convencer o tio, o Pedro mandou

to convince the uncle the Pedro ordered

bater na mesma tecla.

beat.INF in-the same key

‘So that his uncle would be convinced, Pedro ordered

people to insist (on the subject).’

Moreover, there is no sensitivity to affectedness:

- (65) a. *A Maria mandou perder a corrida de propósito.* (BP)
the Maria ordered lose.INF the race of purpose
‘Maria ordered people to lose the race on purpose.’
- b. *A Maria mandou ganhar a corrida.*
the Maria ordered win.INF the race
‘Maria ordered people to win the race.’

Finally, the unexpressed causee can bind PRO in this BP construction:

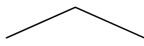
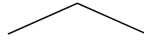
- (66) *A Maria mandou entregar todas as tarefas*
The Maria ordered hand in.INF all the assignments
para PRO poder passar de ano.
to may pass of year
‘Maria ordered people to hand in the assignment to be able to
pass the year.’

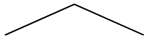
These properties follow if modern BP lacks FP so that such examples involve a relic inflected infinitival complement with a nominative causee subject. Although BP generally lacks unbound referential null subjects, it does permit

null generic subjects, as shown by several studies (see Duarte 1995, Galves 2001, among others – see (62)). Such examples must involve a null nominative cause in a relic inflected infinitive rather than accusative (ECM) causee because null objects in BP can be referential and are not limited to a generic reading:

- (67) *Pedro comprou aquele casaco sem experimentar \emptyset .*
 Pedro bought that coat without try
 ‘Pedro bought that coat without trying (it) on.’

We can model variation in FP across these Romance varieties via the following parameter hierarchy (see also Roberts 2012, Sheehan 2014, to appear b).¹²

- (68) **Basic alignment parameter: P1: Can FARE select nP?**
- 
 N Y –FP possible
- No FP **Object scrambling parameter: P2: Does n bear EPP?**
- (BP, EP, P. Sp)
- 
 N Y – obligatory clitic climbing
- (Mexican Spanish)* **PP selection parameter:**
 P3: Does n s-select a PP specifier?


 Y - Φ realised as da/por/par N –no-by-phrase
 (*RP Spanish, French, Italian*) (*Catalan*)

3. Diachronic change in the Portuguese FP

Davies (1992) reports a morphological merger in Late Latin between the active and passive (agentless) infinitives of most verbs. He also points out that, in Spanish and Portuguese, subjectless FP does not elicit a passive interpretation for the infinitives, and this has changed over time. In fact, he relates this behaviour to the rise of ECM causatives in the language: the active interpretation of the subjectless FP is then related to the expression of the agent in causatives.

Martins (2006) argues that Old Portuguese, in addition to the FI, had ECM causatives (69). Interestingly, the inflected infinitive becomes common in complement clauses of ECM verbs from the 16th century on.

(69) *O professor mandou os meninos apagar(em) o quadro.*

The teacher ordered the boys erase.INF the blackboard

‘The teacher had the boys wipe the blackboard.’

According to her, the inflected infinitive under ECM causatives appeared because of the possibility of an independent inflected infinitival clause, used in coordination and ellipsis contexts. Therefore, in 16th century Portuguese, there are three types of causatives: FI, FP and ECM.

Sentences as (70) were then highly ambiguous:

(70) *João mandou o menino sair.*

João made the boy leave

‘João made the boy leave’.

The learner had to face the following ambiguity: in (70) do we have

- a. Accusative with non-inflected infinitive?
- b. Nominative with inflected infinitive?

For BP, unlike in EP, there was independent evidence that nominative subjects could occur with ‘poor’ morphology, because of the much discussed weakening of BP agreement morphology and the subsequent loss of referential null subjects. Cyrino (2010, 2011) argues that the BP C-T came to have a reduced set of phi features in finite sentences: BP lost [person] (cf. Galves 1993) and has now only [number] (see also Nunes, 2007), a consequence (or cause) of the loss of null subjects, and she proposes that this can be seen also in infinitives. In other words, non-finite Ts were reanalyzed in BP in parallel with what happened with finite Ts (see Nunes 2007).¹³ In the constructions under analysis, in fact, it seems that BP infinitives behave as if

inflected although no morphological inflection is present (= relic of Inflected Infinitives)

In order to track the diachronic change in the BP FP, we survey a corpus consisting of official letters from the 18th to 20th century (<https://sites.google.com/site/corporaphpb>). The results are striking. First, we find a large number of FP examples with a suppressed by-phrase, in the 18th - 20th data:

	<i>Faire-par</i>	<i>Faire-par</i> (no by-phrase)
18 th century	7%	93%
19 th century	5%	95%
20 th century	0	100%

Table 1. Distribution of *Faire-par* and *Faire-par* with suppressed by-phrase

Second, we find an increase in *faire-par* without a by-phrase with the verb *mandar*, and a decrease with the verb *fazer*:

	18 th /1 st half		18 th /2 nd half		19 th /1 st half		19 th /2 nd half		20 th /1 st half	
	N.	%	N.	%	N.	%	N.	%	N.	%
<i>Mandar</i>	37	80	135	62	48	59	19	83	2	100
<i>Fazer</i>	9	20	82	38	34	41	4	17	0	-
TOTAL	46	100	217	100	82	100	23	100	2	100

Table 2. *Faire-par* with null subjects

The difference between these two causative verbs is interesting, and requires further careful investigation. An anonymous reviewer points out that *fazer* occurs frequently in EP, especially in *faire-infinitif* with inanimate subjects, which are not possible with *mandar*. As for the FP, the suppression of the causee is impossible with unaccusatives but may be possible with transitive and unergative with *fazer* in generic sentences as in (71):

- (71) *O pó faz espirrar.*
 The dust makes sneeze
 ‘Dust makes one sneeze.’

In this way, the loss of FP in BP was led by the possibility of inflected infinitival complements (involving ‘poorly inflected T’), which occurred with both overt (72) and arbitrary null subjects (73):

- (72) *O professor mandou o menino levantar a mão.*
 the teacher ordered the boy raise.INF the hand
 ‘The teacher ordered the boy to raise his hand.’
- (73) *O professor mandou pro_{arb} levantar a mão.*
 the teacher ordered raise.INF the hand
 ‘The teacher ordered people to raise their hands.’

4. Conclusion

It has been shown that FP is subject to substantial microparametric variation across Romance varieties. While French, Italian and RP Spanish display the ‘canonical’ FP, Catalan has an FP where the by-phrase must be suppressed and Mexican Spanish has FP with optional clitic climbing. While other Spanish and Portuguese varieties might appear to have a version of FP akin to that observed in Catalan, closer examination reveals that they do not. Instead, Spanish allows the accusative causees in ECM causatives to be suppressed and Portuguese varieties allow nominative causee subjects of inflected infinitival causative complements to be suppressed. These differences can be attributed to what amounts to reanalysis of the Catalan FP, at least in Portuguese.

Endnotes

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¹ In so-called *leísta* dialects, the accusative and dative are morphologically indistinguishable where animate specific arguments are concerned. As Ordóñez (2008) and Ordóñez & Roca (2014) show, however, it is possible to show that this clitic has the properties of a genuine dative in such varieties.

² Torrego reports such examples to be grammatical with an overt by-phrase but other peninsular speakers seem to reject them. See also Treviño (1992) who reports them to be acceptable in Mexican Spanish. Such examples are also reported to be fully grammatical by Bordelois (1988) and by our Rioplatense speaker.

³ With *fazer*, finite complements can optionally be introduced by *com* ‘with’:

- (i) *O João fez [(com) que os miúdos comessem o bolo].*
the João made with that the kids eat.SUBJ the cake
‘João made sure that the the kids ate the cake.’

⁴ The availability of inflected infinitives here is an innovation, attested from the 16th century onwards (Davies 1995, Martins 2006).

⁵ Burzio (1986, 232), citing Radford (1979), notes that (4a) improves for some speakers if the accusative causee is pronominal. See Miller et al. (1997) who point out the same for French:

- (i) *Le professeur les fera lire Proust.*

the teacher them=make.fut read.inf Proust

‘The teacher made us read it.’ (Miller et al. 1997, 65)

A further complication is that the causee can be passivized in Italian:

(ii) *Giovanni fu fatto [t riparare la macchina]*

Giovanni was made repair the car (Burzio 1986, 232)

⁶ We use the term semi-functional in an informal sense here to denote the fact that these verbs take reduced complements. An anonymous reviewer raises the important issue of how to marry the necessity of an agentive specifier with the specification of the causative verb as functional. Following Folli & Harley (2007), we assume that (functional) light verbs can be specified to require an agentive subject: v_{do} selects for an agent whereas v_{cause} selects a causer.

⁷ It should be noted, as an anonymous reviewer reminds us, that this constraint applies only to passive nominalisations. As such, it is fully grammatical to have unaffected objects in active nominalisations in English and Romance languages:

(i) *la pérdida de su hijo*

‘the loss of his/her son’

⁸ The EP judgments come from five native speakers. As an anonymous reviewer notes, there are both semantic and syntactic differences between *mandar* and *fazer*. We focus mainly on *mandar* here, for reasons of space, but mention important distinctions as they arise. In Brazilian Portuguese, *fazer* is no longer productive as a causative verb, having been displaced by *mandar*.

⁹ An anonymous reviewer points out that generic 2nd singular subjects are ungrammatical/marginal in EP in such contexts:

(i) *??/*O professor mandou chegares a tempo.*

The teacher ordered arrive.2sg on time

‘The teacher ordered you to arrive on time.’

He/she claims that this provides additional support for our claim that the missing subject is arbitrary *pro* in such contexts.

¹⁰ What does seem to be possible for these peninsular Spanish speakers and also for Catalan speakers is the following variant of FP involving the clitic *es/se*:

(i) *Mis padres se hicieron construir una casa por*

my parents SE made.3PL build a house by

un grupo de arquitectos. (Sp.)

a group of architects

‘My parents had a house built by a group of architects.’

(ii) *els meus pares es van fer construir una casa per*

the my parents SE go.3s make build a house by

aquests arquitectes (Cat.)

those architects

‘My parents had a house built by those architects.’

This construction appears to share many of the properties of FP, but we leave a full consideration of its properties to future research.

¹¹ The same anonymous reviewer also notes that he/she finds (56) ungrammatical. We have no explanation for this fact at present.

¹² Víctor Acedo-Matellán notes that the ability of causative FARE to select for nP might be connected to its ability to function as a light verb selecting a nominal complement elsewhere in the language. We leave this as a matter for future research.

¹³ In fact, the morphological paradigm for inflected infinitives in BP is also poor now, containing only the inflected form for the 3rd person plural, *-rem*: eu (I), você (you), ele/ela (he/she), a gente (we), *comer* (eat); eles (they) *comerem* (eat.PL)

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