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**Analytic Causative Constructions in Medieval Spanish:
The Origins of a Construction**

by

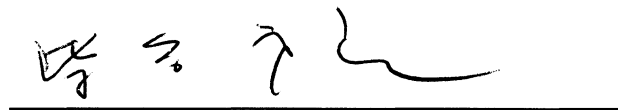
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ABSTRACT

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The goal of this study is to provide an inventory of the Analytic Causative constructions that were in use in Peninsular Spanish from the 12th to the 16th centuries from the constructional perspective of Cognitive Grammar. A detailed profile of each construction was made including its constructional schema along with relevant semantic, syntactic, lexical, pragmatic, and socio-cultural information. Fifteen different constructions involving the verbs *mandar* 'command', *fazer* 'make/do', and *enviar* 'send' were recorded and described. Moreover, several of the evolution paths constructions followed and the way constructions influenced and interacted with each other forming constructional networks were identified. The importance of semantic factors triggering change, as well as the role that prototypical exemplars, collocations, and analogy play in the emergence and conservation of constructions are discussed.

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1. Introduction

Some studies on the diachrony of Old Spanish causative constructions have been developed by Davies (1992a, 1992b, 1995, 1998, 2000) and Alfonso (1998, 2006). While Davies studies have focused on the syntactic properties of the constructions and the integration of their clauses from a generative perspective, Alfonso has described some of the semantic and syntactic properties the constructions had over time. None of these analyses has shed light on the nature, formation, or organization of the initial system of causative constructions in Old Spanish.

Other analyses of causative constructions (Thomas 1992, Belvin and Arnaiz 1994, Guasti and Moro 2001,) have assumed that modern Spanish causatives behave as causatives in other Romance Languages, such as French, Portuguese, and Italian. As Curnow (1993), Davies (1995), Cerbasi (1997) and Sousa Fernández (2004) suggest, Spanish causatives have to be understood on their own nature, thus causatives in other languages are not equivalent to Spanish causatives and vice versa.

It is well known that the causative constructional system of Modern Spanish includes lexical causatives as those in (1), morphological causative markers as those in (2), and analytic constructions of three types, [causative verb + infinitive] (example 3.a), [causative verb + complementizer + clause] (3.b), [causative verb + purpose marker + infinitive] (3.c), all of them headed by a series of different verbs (4).

1. a. *meter* 'put inside/in'
- b. *fusilar* 'shoot, execute'
- c. *actualizar* 'update, bring to date'

2. a. *a-grand-ar* 'to make bigger'
CAUS-big-INF¹
- b. *a-caramel-ar* 'to give something the texture of caramel, or cover with
CAUS-caramel-INF caramel'
- c. *en-venen-ar* 'kill using poison'
CAUS-poison-INF
- d. *en-suci-ar* 'to dirt'
CAUS-dirty-INF
3. a. *María me hizo trabajar hasta tarde*
Mary causee hacer.3PST work.INF until late
'Mary made me work late' (hacer + infinitive)
- b. *María hizo que Juan trabajara hasta tarde*
Mary hacer.3PST COMPL John work.SUBjunctive until late
'Mary made John work late' (hacer + complementizer+ subjunctive clause)
- c. *María me puso a limpiar la casa.*
Mary causee put. 3PST Purpose clean the house
'Mary had me clean the house'
4. a. "Me tocó a mí llevar tamales a la oficina. Compramos 150 y los_{Dobj}
mandamos hacer [CONinstrumental una señora]causee [que los hace riquísimos
por la colonia Madero]Relative CL." Mexico 2010
'It was my turn to bring tamales to the office. We bought 150 (tamales), and we had
them made by a lady that makes them delicious around the Madero area.'
- b. "Fuentes de la empresa aseguran que se *mandaron a reparar aviones al*
exterior por más de US\$15 millones" Argentina 2010
Sources from the company claim that planes were made repair outside (of
Argentina) for 15 million US dollars.
- c. [*Una de las unidades*]_{affectee} *que nos*_{causee} *pusieron a reparar estaba muy*
dañada con la fuente conmutada parcialmente destruida" Panama 2009
One of the units they had us repair was severely damaged with the switch-mode
power supply partially destroyed.
- d. "Cuatro niñas catalanas *obligaron a mi hija a besarles los pies*" Spain 2008.
Four Catalan girls forced my daughter to kiss them their feet.

¹ INF stands for 'infinitive suffix'. This morpheme has three forms -ar, -er, -ir.

Looking at these data brings about the following questions, (a) what were the first analytic causatives in Spanish? (b) Did those constructions have the same syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic components they have today? (c) Did some constructions influence the structure of the others? (d) How did they evolve?

This study aims to answer some of these questions. The general objective of this study is to create an inventory of the analytic causative constructions that were in use in Peninsular Spanish from the 12th to the 16th century. Such inventory includes a detailed profile of each recorded construction considering different types of data: semantic, syntactic, lexical, discourse-relevant, pragmatic, and socio-cultural. Also, the identification of the constructional schemas inherent to the constructions (Langacker 1987, 1991, 1995, 2000a, 2000b, 2006) is intended. Finally, by comparing the data from different centuries, it will be possible to observe the way constructions interacted with each other and changed over time.

In order to identify the analytic causative constructions in use during the period under study, 24 texts (Table 1.1) written in those centuries were read searching for scenes where causative events were described. The scenes met the profile of causative situations proposed by Shibatani (1976), Comrie (1989), and Lehman (2007) (described in Section 2.1). Scenes depicting permissive causatives (letting, allowing) were not included. No restriction was set with respect to the type of caused event involved; therefore the frequency reported here for the caused event types in the data clearly reflects the content of the texts, and possibly some of the historical paths of evolution the Spanish causative constructions followed. Once the scene describing a causative event was located, the construction used to express the causative event was added to a data base for further analysis.

12 Century	CODE	WORD COUNT
<i>El cantar de Mío Cid</i> (1100)	MIO	32,780
13 th Century		
<i>La vida de Santa Maria Egipciaca</i> (1215)	EGIP	7,500
<i>Libro de Alexandre</i> (1230-1250)	ALEX	74,928
<i>Calila e Dimna</i> (1251)	CED	65,892
<i>Poema de Fernán González</i> (1250-1266)	FERG	26,844
<i>La gran conquista de Ultramar</i> (1284-1295)	ULTRA	23,997
<i>Libro de Apolunio</i> (1240-1250)	APOL	16,678
<i>Estoria de Alexandre el Grand, General Estoria (quarta parte)</i>	GRALE	53,400
<i>Milagros de Nuestra Señora</i> (1250)	MILS	26,500
14 th Century		
<i>Libro del Caballero Çifar</i> (1320)	CIF	158,741
<i>Libro del Conde Lucanor</i> (1325-1335)	LUCA	78,390
<i>Libro de Buen Amor</i> (1330-1343)	BUENA	51,173
<i>Las Mocedades de Rodrigo</i> (1360)	RODR	10,991
<i>La vida de San Alejo</i> (late 1300)	ALEJO	4,726
15 th Century		
<i>Cárcel de Amor</i> (1483-1492)	CARCEL	26,789
<i>La Crónica de Adramón</i> (1492)	ADRA	237,471
<i>Libro de los Gatos</i> (early 1400)	GATOS	17,199
<i>La Celestina: tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea</i> (1499-1518)	CEL	69,762
16 th Century		
<i>Amadís de Gaula</i> (1510)	GAULA	493,812
<i>La Comedia Thebaida</i> (1521)	COM	71,610
<i>Amadís de Grecia</i> (1530)	GRECIA	406,700
<i>Platir</i> (1533)	PLAT	256,658
<i>Febo el Troyano</i> (1535-1546)	FEBO	183,783
<i>Segunda parte de Espejo de príncipes y caballeros.</i> (1580)	ESPE	194,764
	TOTAL	2,590,988

Table 1.1 Corpus of Texts from the 12th to the 16th century

The 24 texts used are non-electronic study editions compiled by recognized Hispanic researchers. All together, the texts sum up almost 2.6 million words. It was decided to use non-electronic texts in order to have full access and understanding of the situational details of the events and stories described, their discursive situations, and their semantic subtleties.

The genres and topics of the texts in this corpus reflect the literary production of the time. They are mostly poems and narratives. Some of them retell the stories and adventures of the famous characters such as important knights, kings, and saints. Some others are chronicles of important historical events such as battles, religious pilgrimages, and the development of political events. Two plays were included as well as a couple of treatises that aimed to teach people about morals or activities such as hunting and carpentry.

In order to warrant that the reported results from one century could be compared to those from another century, random samples of text, equivalent in size, were created for each century. Therefore, a reported change in the frequency a construction shows in different centuries is not due to the fact that different amounts of text were analyzed. The text samples ranged between 257 000 and 258 000 words. This number of words was chosen to make it humanly possible to analyze all the instances of the construction to the finest detail possible and also to facilitate the comparison of frequencies and ratios across centuries in a very simple one-to-one way.

It is important to mention that since the numerical analysis of the whole set of texts of each century was done too; it was possible to compare the tendencies found in the 250 000 words samples against its corresponding whole set of texts per century. And it was confirmed that the tendencies in both data sets pointed in the same direction, making the data described here comparable and the tendencies found reliable within the scope of this study.

The findings of this personal corpus were also corroborated using a second set of electronic corpora of Old Spanish. The corpora included are, on one hand, the

Diachronic Corpus of Spanish (CORDE) created by the Royal Academy of the Spanish Language. It holds 250 million words of text written in all the locations where Spanish was spoken and written from the 12th century and until 1975. And, on the other hand, the Corpus del Español created by Mark Davies and holds 100 million words of text written from the 13th to 20th centuries. Although these electronic corpora were consulted frequently, the quantitative data as well as all the examples and tendencies presented in this study come from the non-electronic corpus exclusively.

Finally, it is important to mention the limitations of this study. As in any other historical analysis, I am not dealing with a representative sample of the way people in Spain spoke during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. It is necessary to keep in mind that most people at the time were illiterate and did not write books. In consequence, the tendencies presented here should be taken with caution. It is in the data from the centuries following and Modern Spanish that we will be able to corroborate or reject the patterns of evolution presented here.

The content of this study is organized as follows. First, a review of important notions and concepts on causatives and previous historical work on Spanish causatives is made in Chapters 2 and 3 respectively. Then chapter 4 deals with basic notions about constructions and their evolution. From Chapters 5 to 7, the tendencies and patterns observed in the data studied here are presented. Chapter 8 summarizes and discusses the patterns found over the centuries and closes with some conclusions and comments on further research.

2 A Brief Review on Causatives

Causative constructions are the linguistic expression of causative events or situations in the world. To start this review of the basic properties causative constructions show in the languages of the world, let of begin by defining what a causative situation is.

2.1 Causative situations and their participants

My understanding of *causative situations* is an eclectic one, based on the proposals made by three different authors, Shibatani (1976), Comrie (1989), and Lehman (2007).

Following Shibatani (1976) a causative situation is one in which one event taking place at time₂ (i.e. the caused event) is understood as being caused by another event that took place previously, i.e. at time₁ (i.e. causing event).

The speaker believes that the occurrence of the caused event is due to the occurrence of the causing event. Therefore, a dependency relation is established between both events. The caused event could never take place without the previous occurrence of the causing event. See diagram below.

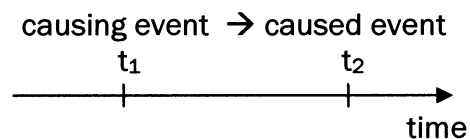


Diagram 2.1 Causing and Caused Events according to Shibatani (1976)

Comrie (1989) proposes that a causative situation involves two micro-situations: the cause and its effect. Both components combine forming a macro-situation, i.e. a causative situation. Languages around the world will vary in the way they express that macro-situation, either by expressing it fully, i.e. describing both the

cause and the effect, or by abbreviating one of the micro-situations, usually the cause.

Lehman (2007) provides the following definition:

- I. A situation is causative (C) if it is complex in the following way:
 1. There is a base situation (B) such that C includes B.
 2. There are at least two participants, *a, b...n*.
 3. C includes all participants.
 4. B includes participants *b ...n*; *a* is not an element of B.
 5. Participant *a* controls C.
 6. Participant *b* has most control in B.
 7. C\B can be more or less autonomous with respect to B, in the limiting case an autonomous situation with participants (especially *a*) of its own.
 8. Accordingly, the participation of *a* in C can be more or less peripheral.
 9. Accordingly, influence of *a* on B and also on *b* can be more or less mediate.

Where *a*: causer; *b*: causee; B: base situation; C: causative situation;
C\B: causing situation.

Causative situations usually involve a set of core participants. As Kemmer and Verhagen (1994) have pointed out, the first participant is the CAUSER. It is the entity instigating the causing event. The second participant is the CAUSEE. It is the entity that carries out the activity desired or instigated by the causer. The third participant is the AFFECTEE, which is the entity that serves as the endpoint of the energy exerted.

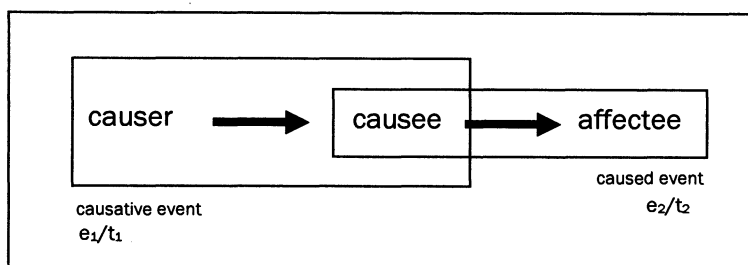


Diagram 2.2 The Participants of the Causative Event Chain

On this ground, the causative events selected from the texts of Old Spanish met the following requirements:

- (a) Each of them was a complex event (Comrie (1989); Lehman (2007));
- (b) Each of them comprised two component events (Shibatani (1976), Comrie (1989), and Lehman(2007)), which I will refer to as *causing event* and *caused event*;
- (c) The component events stand in a dependency relationship (Shibatani 1976). The caused event depends on the occurrence of the causing event to take place.
- (d) The component events must be subject to time sequencing (Shibatani 1976), the causing event occurring always before the caused event.
- (e) The component events could be mentioned fully or in an abbreviated ways (Comrie 1989).
- (e) The participation of the causer could be more or less peripheral (Lehmann 2007).
- (f) The influence of the causer on the causee could be more or less mediate (Lehman 2007).

2.2 Causative Construction Types

As Comrie (1985, 1989), Dixon (2000), and Shibatani and Pardeshi (2002) show, languages around the world follow different formal strategies to express causative situations. Some languages follow a verbal strategy that involves the use of causative verbs, derivational morphemes (applied to non-causative verbs to increase or decrease their valency), or complex sentences where two or more predicates combine.

Other languages use a nominal strategy which has an effect on the coding of the participants of the event without changing the valency or the form of the verbs involved in the sentence². Among nominal strategies we can find the use of prepositions, case markers, verbs and/or particles (all called *relators*³ (Lehmann 2007)).

Typological studies have differentiated these strategies in finer detail proposing a three way distinction (Comrie 1989): analytical, morphological, and lexical. Comrie (1985, 1989) suggests the difference among these types is not clear cut, as intermediate types are also found within and across languages. These different types form the following continuum:

ANALYTICAL CAUSATIVES ----- MORPHOLOGICAL CAUSATIVES ----- LEXICAL CAUSATIVES
+ analytic+ synthetic

² See Lehman (2007) for an analysis of the nominal strategy in Latin.

³ According to Van Langendonck (to appear) "A *relator* is a free or bound morpheme that has basically two syntagmatic slots (*relata*) in its semantic-syntactic structure such that the relator defines a specific semantic-syntactic relation between the two *relata*. The first *relatum* is more general in nature, has a freer position in the sentence, and can sometimes be dropped; the second *relatum* is usually obligatory and has a fixed position because it has a tighter bond with its relator. Therefore it is normally not omitted. [...] We can distinguish two major subclasses of relator: *coordinative* and *subordinative* relators. The latter further subdivide into *predicative* and *non-predicative* relators. [...] Predicative relators are verbs [...]. Non-predicative relators include adpositions (i.e. pre- or postpositions), subordinating conjunctions, and certain particles. [...]"

A prototypical analytical causative, according to Comrie (1989), is one where separate predicates express the notions of cause and effect, as in English example *I caused John to go* (Comrie, 1989:167) or Spanish examples 3. and 4. Comrie suggests that even though pure analytical causatives have been the focus of attention for linguists, they are not highly frequent across languages.

A prototypical morphological causative is attached to a non-causative predicate by any morphological means available in the language (i.e. internal change, consonant repetition, vowel lengthening, tone change, reduplication, prefix, suffix, circumfix (Dixon 2000)). Ideally, the causative morpheme is fully productive and it be added to virtually any predicate (Comrie 1989). Some examples of the Spanish causative prefixes *a-* and *en-* were presented in example 2.

Comrie (1989:169) provides an example of an intermediate case between purely analytical causatives and morphological causatives, the French construction with *faire*, as in *j'ai fait courir Paul* 'I have made John run'. Although at first sight this construction seems to involve two separate predicates expressing cause and effect, these verbs behave as a single compound predicate. Hence, it is not possible to insert noun phrases between the two components. Also, if the infinitive is a transitive verb, the grammatical relation of the causee has to accommodate the valency of the compound predicate as a whole. The causee will not take the direct object relation that *faire* by itself would provide.

Lexical causatives according to Comrie (1989) encode causative situations that are not systematic, hence languages handle them lexically, in suppletive pairs. Some Spanish examples are *caer* 'fall down' vs. *tirar* 'push down'; *quebrar* 'break by itself' vs. *romper* 'break, tear apart'; *morir* 'die' vs. *matar* 'kill'; *entrar* 'enter' vs.

meter 'put, bring, push inside'; *salir* 'exit, leave' vs. *sacar* 'take, pull out'; *comer* 'eat' vs. *alimentar* 'feed'.

2.3 The Syntax of Analytical Causative Constructions

Dixon (2000:42) explains that periphrastic causatives apply to intransitive, transitive, and/or ditransitive verbs. When it applies to an intransitive verb, usually the original subject (S) becomes the object (O) of the causative construction (Dixon 2000:45). However, in some languages, like Japanese (example 5 from Dixon 2000:65-66) the subject can take the object function being marked with the accusative marker or the dative marker. Dixon (2000:45) explains that the use of the dative marker means that the causee was willing to do the action (5.c), whereas the presence of the accusative marker means the causee's intentions were ignored by the causer (5.b).

5. a. *Taroo ga konsaato e it-ta*
Taroo NOM concert to go-PST

Taroo went to a concert.

- b. *Ryooshin ga Taroo o konsaato e ik-ase-ta*
parents NOM Taroo ACC concert to go-CAUSE-PST

(His) parents made Taroo go to a concert.

- c. *Ryooshin ga Taroo ni konsaato e ik-ase-ta*
parents NOM Taroo DAT concert to go-CAUSE-PST

(His) parents let Taroo go to a concert.

This same contrast is observed in Modern Spanish. In the following examples the causee forced to act against his will takes the accusative (6.a) whereas the causee acting by will in (6.b) takes the dative case.

6. a. *Un profesor de educación física y su esposa fueron asaltados en su casa de Ramos Mejía por cuatro ladrones que, luego de robarles, se llevaron como rehén al hombre hasta un cajero automático, donde lo_{ACC} obligaron a sacar*

dinero. Argentina 2010

A physical education teacher and his wife were assaulted in their house at Ramos Mejía by four burglars, who, after robbing (in the house), took the man as a hostage to an ATM where they forced him to get them money.

- b. *Luego de terminar sus estudios, sintió una atracción por los estudios técnicos los cuales le_{DAT} obligaron a ir a Chile para proseguirlos.* Chile 2000

After finishing his basic education, he felt attracted to do technological studies which forced him to go to Chile (to study).

When a periphrastic causative takes a transitive verb, languages show more variation. A transitive clause already has two core arguments. The arguments can be retained as in *He gave the bone to the dog* > *Mary made him give the bone to the dog*. The causee in these constructions can surface in three different ways:

In the first type, the causee maintains its original function in the subordinate clause. In the Macushi example (Dixon 2000:36), the causee Jesus retains the ergative marker it had in the subordinate clause.

7. [imakui'pî kupî Jesus-ya] emapu'tî yonpa-'pî makui-ya teuren
bad do Jesus-ERG CAUS try-PST Satan-ERG unsuccessful

'Satan unsuccessfully tried to make Jesus do bad'

In the second type, the causee maintains both, its normal function in the subordinate clause, and it is also marked as the object argument of the causative verb. The example below comes from Canela-Kraho, a Brazilian language (Dixon 2000:36).

8. Capi te [i-jõt na] i-to
Capi PST 1sgSUBJ-sleep SUBORDINATOR 1sgOBJ-CAUS

'Capi made me sleep'

In the third type, the causee is coded with the accusative case, as the object of the causative verb. Dixon's examples (9. below) come from English (2000:36).

9. *I_{SUBJ} forced him_{OBJ/ACC} to go.*
I_{SUBJ} allowed her_{OBJ/ACC} to go.
I_{SUBJ} made him_{OBJ/ACC} go.

In his description of morphological causatives with transitive verbs, Dixon (2000:48) provides the following typology. Since the case number (v) is relevant to the Spanish causatives, I will elaborate it briefly below.

Causative of Transitive (Dixon 2000:48)			
Type	causer	Original Agent (causee)	Original Object (affectee)
(i)	A	special marking	O
(ii)	A	retains A marking	O
(iii)	A	has O marking	has O marking
(iv)	A	O	non-core
(v)	A	non-core	O

Table 2.1 Morphological Causative of Transitive (Dixon 2000)

In type (v) the original object remains as object, the original agent (causee) moves out of the core. According to Dixon (2000:54) there are two different subtypes:

SUBTYPE A: The marking of the original A is motivated by a hierarchy of grammatical relations. The A goes into the first empty slot on the hierarchy. Dixon makes reference to Comrie's (1975) hierarchy:

subject>direct object>indirect object >oblique >genitive>object of comparison

Some examples of modern Spanish where the agent takes the indirect object position and is coded with dative case are presented below.

10. a. *Yo soy de Argentina, y una amiga tiene la piel con mucho acné, y fue al*

médico y le_{DAT} hicieron comprar [un remedio]_{OBJ}... Argentina 2010

I am from Argentina, and I have a friend who has acne. She went to the doctor and (they) made her buy a remedy...

- b. *Como deberes les_{DAT} mandé preparar [la portada]_{OBJ}, elegir el mejor trabajo y explicar por qué es el mejor. Spain 2009*

As their homework, I had them prepare the front sheet, choose the best paper, and explain why it was the best.

SUBTYPE B: The original A is assigned a fixed non-core function irrespective of whether the underlying clause is simple transitive or ditransitive. The possibilities include dative, instrumental, locative, allative, adessive, and possessive. The instrumental is the option in modern Spanish. See examples 11.

11. a. *Mi celular se descompuso. Lo_{OBJ/ACC} hice reparar [con_{INSTR} un técnico] y me costó \$25 dólares. Bueno, ahora funciona bien. USA 2010*

My cell phone broke down. I had it repaired by a technician. It cost USD\$25. Well, it now works well.

- b. *Nuestros disfraces fueron hechos con materiales reciclados. Los_{OBJ} mandamos hacer [con_{INSTR} costureras] porque ninguno de nosotros sabe corte y confección. Mexico 2010*

Our costumes were made with recycled materials. We had them put together by dressmakers because none of us knows dressmaking.

- c. *En nuestro caso, sacamos los modelos de mueblerías y los_{OBJ} mandamos hacer [con_{INSTR} un carpintero] y salió más económico. . Argentina 2010*

In our case, we got the models from a furniture store, then we had them made by a carpenter and it was more economical (this way).

Finally, for the causatives of bitransitive verbs, Dixon (2000) explains that languages may or may not allow two dative noun phrases. Spanish follows different strategies. First, the recipient of the subordinate clause can be demoted to oblique (example 12. a). Second, Spanish allows the presence of two dative pronouns, if one is disambiguated by being duplicated with a prepositional phrase (12. b). Also, the

dative marker that corresponds to the causee precedes the causative verb, whereas the dative that corresponds to the recipient of the caused action remains in the subordinate clause. Finally, the causee may be expressed in accusative thus accusative markers allow the inclusion of gender (feminine-masculine) and such piece of information clarifies the ambiguity (12.c-d).

12. a. *El niño estaba disfrutando su pan cuando [su mamá]_{causer} [le]_{causeeDAT} hizo compartir [un trozo]_{OBJ affectee ACC} [con_{comitative} su hermana]_{recipient}.*

The kid was enjoying (eating) bread when his mother made him share a bit of it with his sister.

- b. *El niño estaba disfrutando su pan cuando [su mamá]_{causer} [le]_{causee DAT} hizo dar-[le]_{recipiente DAT i} [un trozo]_{object ACC} [a_{Prep} su hermana]_{recipient i}.*

The kid was enjoying (eating) his piece of bread when his mother made him share a bit of it with his sister.

- c. *El niño estaba disfrutando su pan cuando [su mamá]_{causer} [lo]_{causee ACC masculine} hizo dar-[le]_{recipiente DAT i} [un trozo]_{object ACC} [a_{Prep} GOAL su hermana]_{recipient i}.*

The kid was enjoying (eating) his piece of bread when his mother made him give a bit of it to his sister.

- d. *La niña estaba disfrutando su pan cuando [su mamá]_{causer} [la]_{causee ACC feminine} hizo dar-[le]_{recipiente DAT i} [un trozo]_{object ACC} [a_{Prep} GOAL su hermana]_{recipient i}.*

The girl was enjoying (eating) her piece of bread when her mother made her give a bit of it to her sister.

2.3.1 Song's Typology

From the diachronical and typological perspective introduced by Song (2001, 1996), causative constructions typically fall within three general types: the AND type, the PURP type, and the COMPACT type. The prototypical AND and PURP types involve two clauses, whereas the prototypical COMPACT involves only one clause. These types form a continuum.

PURP —————> COMPACT <————— AND

The COMPACT type is monoclausal. It includes morphological causatives that range from causative affixes to serial verb constructions where independent verbs work together as a single causative unit. Song (2001:12) exemplifies this last type with French *faire* causatives. The COMPACT type shows the contiguity of [V_{cause}][V_{effect}], no other elements can intervene between these components, their order is language specific. The formulas Song (2001:7) proposes for this type of construction are:

$$S_1 (... [V_{cause}] + [V_{effect}]...) S_1 \quad \text{or} \quad S_1 (...[V_{effect}] + [V_{cause}]...) S_1$$

The AND type constructions include two clauses, one containing a verb of cause [V_{cause}] followed by a clause containing a verb of effect [V_{effect}]. The boundary between clauses is marked by an element that connects them. In most cases a clause coordinator represented by the word AND. The order of the clauses is implicational and fixed, and cannot be reversed. The ordering of the clauses is iconic of the temporal sequencing of events. The formula Song (2001:13) proposes for this type of construction is:

$$S_1 (S_2 (.....[V_{cause}]...) S_2 + \text{AND} + S_2 (...[V_{effect}]...) S_2) S_1$$

Where S stands for sentence, S₁ stands for the higher clause level, i.e. main sentence; S₂ stands for the lower clause level. V stands for verb, V_{cause} stands for all verbal elements of cause, i.e. causer's causing action; V_{effect} stands for all verbal elements of effect, that is the elements denoting the caused action or state brought about by the causer. Some examples of AND causatives taken from Song (2001) are:

13. a. *n gbā le yò-ò ò* (Vata, Ivory Coast)
 I speak CONJ child-DEF eat
 'I make the child eat'

b. *me ngè-é ε wan bee-lé* (Noni)
 I make-PROgressive SEquential child cry-PROG
 'I am making the child cry'

The PURP type constructions consist also of two clauses. However, these clauses are joined by an element that indicates goal or purpose. Therefore, in the construction a clause stands for an event that is carried out for the purpose of having another event, expressed with another clause (the [Vcause]), happen. Unlike the AND type constructions, the cause and effect verbs in this construction can appear in either order, thus the location of the purpose marking clarifies the direction of the events. The formulas proposed by Song (2001:21) for this type are:

$S_1 (S_2 (...[V_{effect}]...)S_2 + PURP + ... [V_{cause}]...)S_1$ or

$S_1 (... [V_{cause}]... S_2 (...[V_{effect}]...) S_2 + PURP)S_1$

The PURP marking may be realized in the form of (a) a case marker mainly associated with nominal arguments, (b) verbal markings of future tense, irrealis or subjunctive mood, or incompletive aspect, or (c) a separate particle or marker carrying the meanings of goal or purpose. Some examples are:

14. a. *na waa vε-bavara* (Houailou in Song 2001:23)
 3sg do PURP-flat
 'He flattens it'

b. *na waa vε-a* (Houailou in Song 2001:23)
 3sg do PURPose-good
 'He improves it'

c. *ékana ton Jáni na fiji* (Greek in Song 2001:32)
 made-1sg/Act the John SUBJunctive leave-3sg
 'I make John leave'

Song (2001:22) explains that “spatial/directional notions serve as a vehicle for metaphorical extension to dative/benefactive or on to such highly abstract notions as goal or purpose.” This is the case of the preposition *a* in Spanish. It does indicate goal (GOAL), direction (DIR), purpose (PURP), dative (DAT), and benefactive (BEN).

15. a. Quiero ir a México a comprar los libros que necesitamos.
 want1sgPRES go GOAL Mexico PURP buy the books REL need3plPRES
 ‘I want to go to Mexico to buy the books we need’
- b. *Nos dirigimos a la salida a buscar a María.*
 walk3plPRES DIR the exit PURP look for GOAL Maria
 ‘We walked to the exit to look for Maria’
- c. Entregaré esta carta a María.
 Hand-in1sgFUT this letter DAT Maria
 ‘I’ll hand in this letter to Maria’
- d. Le escribí esta carta a María.
 BEN write1sgPST this letter BEN Maria
 ‘I wrote this letter for Maria’

Languages tend to fall along the continuum either between PURP and COMPACT or AND and COMPACT (Song, 2001:6). The deviations observed in causatives of the AND and PURP types relate to the different degrees of reduction of the biclausal structure into one clause. The presence of constructions of all the three types in a language may be a sign of historical shift in the language.

I consider Song’s approach relevant because it is the only framework that includes all the types of causative constructions available in modern Spanish. Within this approach, the system of Spanish causatives can be observed as a whole including morphological, lexical, and periphrastic forms.

2.4 The Semantics of Analytical Causative Constructions

From a typological point of view, Comrie (1989) proposes that the formal distinctions among causative constructions correlate with the distinction between direct and indirect causatives. “The continuum from analytic via morphological to lexical causative correlates with the continuum from less direct to more direct causation” (Comrie 1989:172).

Analytic ----- Morphological ----- Lexical
- direct causation ----- + direct causation

For Comrie (1989), the distinction between direct and indirect causation has to do with the mediacy of the relationship between cause and effect. Instances where the occurrence of the cause is temporally close to the effect to the extent that it is hard to differentiate between the two events are examples of direct causation. Instances where the cause happened much earlier in time than the effect are examples of indirect causation.

Dixon (2000) relates directness of causation to a different set of properties. For him, indirect causation involves the presence of an intermediary agent, in such case the causer does not act directly upon the causee, but by means of a second agent. Direct causation entails the causer acting directly upon the causee.

Shibatani (2002) and Shibatani and Pardeshi (2002) elaborate on this distinction in a finer way. They explain (2002:89) *“it is a good first approximation to define direct causation as a situation involving an agentive causer and a patientive causee and indirect causation as one involving two agentive participants, one an agentive causer and the other an agentive causee. When the causee is patientive, the execution of the caused event is wholly dependent on the causer’s action. In most cases this dependence*

entails a spatiotemporal overlap of the causer's activity and the caused event, to the extent that the two relevant events are not clearly distinguishable. This spatiotemporal overlap of the causing and the caused event motivates conceptualization of the entire direct causative situation as a single event. On the other hand, when the causee is an agent with its own volition, a degree of autonomy is accorded to the caused event. Although the causer is the ultimate source of the caused event, both the caused and the causing event enjoy some degree of autonomy. Moreover, because the caused event has its own agent, it may have its own spatial and temporal profiles distinct from those of the causing event. This separability of the caused event from the causing event, captured by the term 'distant causation', resists integration of the two, disallowing the construal of the whole causative situation as a single event."

On the basis of these concepts it is possible to state that the constructions under study in this document entail the expression of indirect causation. As it will be shown in Chapters 5 to 7, analytic causatives in Old Spanish made reference usually to events where (1) an intermediary agent was present, (2) the caused and causing events have their own spatio-temporal profiles, which make them autonomous and easy to conceptualize as two separate events.

From a language specific perspective, Wierzbicka (1998) and Kemmer (2001) offer a semantic approach to English causative constructions. Wierzbicka (1989) identifies four basic English causatives, "HAVE", "GET", "INTO" and "MAKE", this last one having several sub-constructions (see Table 2.2 below).

Wierzbicka (1998)	
HAVE	Having someone do something
GET	Getting someone do something
INTO	Manipulating someone into doing something
MAKE	Making something happen to someone
	Making someone feel something
	Making someone think something

	Making someone cry (or have an involuntary emotional response)
	Make someone do something (under coercion)
	Make someone do something (subject to necessity)

Table 2.2 English Causative Constructions Wierzbicka (1998)

The analysis made by Wierzbicka (1998) under the Natural Semantic Metalanguage approach focuses on the semantic properties of the causative situations and their participants. She provides simple constructional templates and semantic descriptions of each construction. Kemmer (2001), on the other hand, offers a cognitive analysis of the *make* causatives. She observes the distributional tendencies of animacy and volition of the construction and claims that the *make* causative is strongly associated with causation affecting humans; animacy is more relevant to the construction than volition.

Kemmer (2001) also observed the distribution of specific predicates in the construction finding a strong preference for some verbs over others. Such preferences led to the positing of three salient, entrenched senses of the construction: (1) *experiential make*, (2) *mechanical action make*, and (3) *compulsion make*, and a schematic sense of the construction. Kemmer (2001) highlights the fact that the distinctive lexical clusters and the asymmetrical distribution of animacy make perfect sense in a constructional framework in which the meaning of constructions is unitary and related to cognitive ideal models.

In this Chapter I have briefly presented the concepts about causativity that result of most relevance in the present study. In the following Chapter, the most relevant diachronic work done in Spanish is reviewed.

3. Previous work on analytic Spanish causatives

Spanish causatives have been studied from different theoretical approaches. Bordelois (1974, 1988) and Zubizarreta (1985) worked in the framework of Government and Binding; Aissen and Perlmutter (1983) on Relational Grammar; Paris (1999) on Role and Reference grammar; and Alsina (1992, 1996) worked using Lexical Functional Grammar.

A few basic descriptions aimed to provide language teachers and Spanish students with clear, understandable data and explanations were written by Spaulding (1933), Dowling (1981), Graupera (1981), Mourelle de Lema (1981), and Curnow (1993). Although most of these analyses are semantic, they are also superficial since they broadly describe the structure of the causative sentences and provide examples.

Many studies have been done on Romance causatives, especially French causatives⁴. Those studies encouraged other researchers to study not only French, but also Italian, Portuguese and Spanish. Guasti and Moro (2001) did a study based on Modern Italian causatives and suggested the same phenomena were happening in Spanish and other Romance languages; however, further research (Cerbasi 1997; Sousa Fernández (2004) has shown that those generalizations were inaccurate. Thus causative constructions in Modern Spanish and Modern Portuguese did not follow the behavior of Italian causatives.

Other comparative synchronic studies have been done by Cerbasi (1997) who compared Modern Spanish, Modern Portuguese and Modern Italian; by Sousa

⁴ See Davies (1992a, 1992b, 1995) for references.

Fernández (2004) who compared Modern Galician, Modern Portuguese and Modern Spanish; and by Belvin and Arnaiz (1994) comparing English and Spanish.

3.1 The Diachrony of Spanish Causatives

3.1.1 Early approaches to Old Spanish causatives

The earliest mentions of causative constructions in Old Spanish come from materials in which the infinitival constructions were studied in detail (González Muela 1954; Beardsley 1966). Those materials provide some examples of the causative constructions under study in this document. However, since their objective was not to describe causative constructions, none of these authors engaged in describing the causative properties of the examples they provided involving the verbs *mandar*, *hazer*, and *enviar*. They did not deal with issues typical to causative constructions either. What these authors did was to include in their descriptions of infinitival constructions and their complements, those infinitival constructions that occurred with *mandar*, *hazer*, and *enviar*.

Also, some grammars of old Spanish (Hanssen 1913; Menéndez Pidal 1954) do briefly mention the use of *mandar*, *hazer*, and *enviar*, but again they do not approach them as causative constructions but rather as verbs that take infinitives; they also focus on the prepositions preceding the infinitives.

This tendency is observed also in studies done on Modern Spanish (Cano Aguilar 1981, Hernánz Carbó 1982, Fernández de Castro 1999, Alonso Ramos 2004) where causative constructions are presented as instances of (a) transitive constructions, (b) infinitive constructions, (c) periphrastic constructions, and (d) light verb constructions.

When focusing on the search for studies analyzing causative constructions of Spanish diachronically, only two sets of studies were found. One set done by Davies (1992a, 1992b, 1995) who compared causative constructions in Old Spanish and Old Portuguese. And a second set of studies carried out by Alfonso (1998, 2006) who worked exclusively on the causative constructions of Old Spanish. I describe the work of these authors in detail in the following Sections.

3.1.2 Davies' work

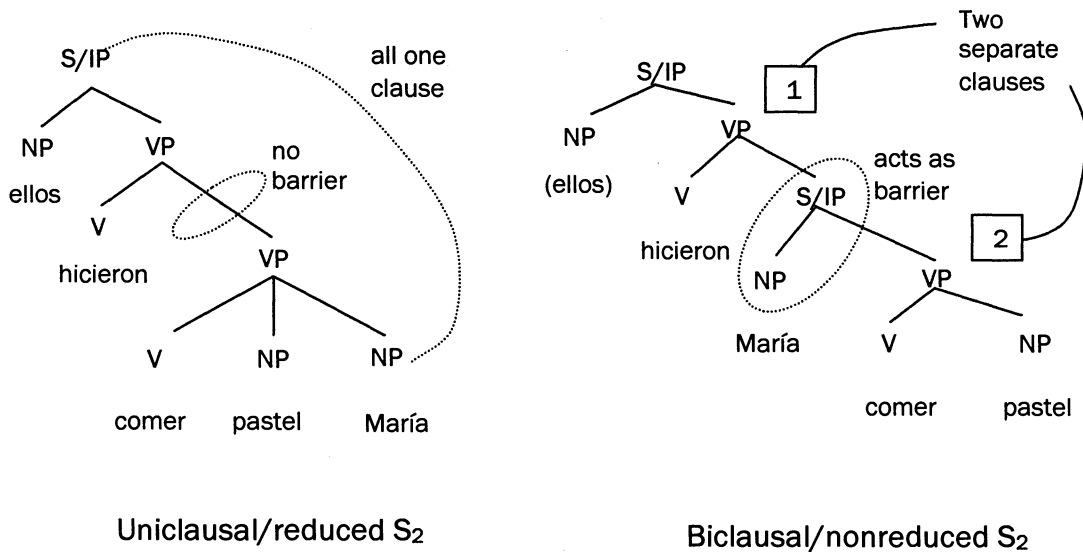
Davies (1995, 1992a, 1992b) provides a formal syntactic analysis of the diachronic evolution of analytic causative constructions in Old, Middle, and Modern Spanish and Portuguese. His objective is to observe the historical development of four syntactic features of the analytic constructions in order to prove if these constructions emerged from a reduced/uniclausal deep structure associated with Romance causatives, or if their origin is a more typical non-reduced/biclausal underlying structure.

His data comes from two corpora: (a) A Portuguese database that sums up 982,000 words divided in three sections: (i.) 248,000 covering 14th century Portuguese; (ii.) 272,100 for Middle Portuguese that covered the 15th and 16th centuries; and (iii.) 462,000 words for Portuguese from the 20th century; and (b) a Spanish database that sums up 1.5 million words divided as follows: (i.) 430,000 words covered the 13th century; (ii.) 454,000 words covered the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries; and (iii.) 619,000 words that covered the second part of the 20th century.

Davies (1992a, 1992b, 1995) claims that Spanish as well as Portuguese causative constructions have moved from being essentially uniclausal in the earlier stages to biclausal in Modern Spanish. The shift from one to two clauses can be

observed in the changes four syntactic features have experienced over time: (a) case marking, from Dative to Accusative; (b) clitic placement, from a climbing clitic to a clitic that remains in its original position; (c) the use of *se*, from not existent to including it; and (d) word order from V(O)S to SV(O).

Davies came up with this explanation by putting together the analyses different generativists (Zubizarreta 1985, Goodall 1987, Rosen 1898, Pearce 1990, among others) had done on monoclausal and biclausal structures. His model (Davis 1992a:4) is presented below:



The syntactic structure of the left depicts a causative sentence (S) where a reduced clause (S₂) was embedded. A reduced clause is a clause that lacks some specific material, in this case a superior node (S/IP). The lack of this node caused the arguments of the lower VP to be encoded as arguments of the upper VP.

In consequence, the lower subject was coded as the dative (IO) of the upper VP. If the lower DO was cliticized, this clitic moved upwards too, and preceded the

upper VP. The use of *se* was omitted since there was no external argument it could “delete” or pronominalize. And, the basic word order of the causative expression was V(O)S. Examples of uniclausal causatives according to Davies are: *le_{DAT} hicieron comer [el pastel]_{DO}* ‘(they) made him eat the cake’; *le_{DAT} dejaron sentar* ‘(they) allowed him to sit’; *se_{DAT} lo_{ACC} hicieron saber* ‘(they) made him_{DAT} know it_{ACC}’.

The syntactic tree diagram on the right depicts a biclausal structure in which the embedded clause has all its components fully specified. The clause node of the embedded clause (S/IP) served as a barrier between the upper (S₁) and lower (S₂) clauses. This barrier prevented the arguments of the lower clause from moving upwards into the upper clause. In consequence, the subject of the lower clause was encoded as the direct object of the upper clause, hence coded with Accusative marking. If the DO of the lower clause was cliticized, it attached to the lower V. If the subject of the lower clause was omitted, since it was an external argument, then it could be pronominalized using *se*. And, the basic word order of the constructions would be VS(O).

Although Davies’ explanation for the changes he proposes sounds perfectly logical at least according to the process of event integration and clause union proposed by Givón (2001), it encounters several difficulties. The first one has to do with the verbs the generative tradition considers causative. In his analyses, verbs of perception *ver* ‘see’ and *oír* ‘hear/listen’ as well as the permissive *dejar* ‘allow’ are analyzed along with *hacer* and *mandar* regardless of their important semantic differences.

Even though it was clear for the author that such verbs were peripheral to the causative construction, and showed a lower frequency compared against *mandar*

and *fazer*, he centered his study on those verbs and suggested that changes moved from the periphery to the core of the causative category. In consequence, for all the syntactic rubrics he covers, “change” always took place in perception verbs first, in the permissive *dexar* next, later and less frequently in *fazer*, and seldom in *mandar*. Although these results are accurate, what they show us are not the properties of the causative constructions per se, but rather different stages in the process of event integration and clause union.⁵

A second difficulty his analysis faces has to do with the origin of the uniclausal structure. In his analysis it is not clear how Spanish causatives came to have or develop this uniclausal structure in the first place. In my opinion, this is the result of a neglected analysis of the uses of the verb *mandar*, which was also highly frequent in Portuguese. By focusing on peripheral causatives in the generative tradition, i.e. the verbs ‘see’ and ‘hear’, the author did not notice the bitransitive properties of *mandar* that could have originated the “Romance uniclausal structure’ he referred to.

Also, the lack of a detailed semantic analysis of the use of clitics and case in Old Spanish prevented the author from knowing that some of the alternation between Dat and Acc could also be motivated by pragmatic and cultural factors (Flores 2007) as well as by the degree of agentivity shown by the causee. Therefore, even in the oldest Spanish texts we find examples where both clitics and cases were used with uniclausal structures: *el qu'en buen ora nació, a todos los sos vasallos ESTAR QUEDOS LOS mandó* ‘the one who was born at good time, to all his vassals to be quiet ACC he commanded’; *Mio Cid, a doscientos cavalleros mandóLES exir* ‘Mio Cid, to 200 knights commandedDAT to leave’.

⁵ See Givón (2001) for a detailed account of this process.

The alternation in these examples is due, on one hand, to a difference in social status, where vassals are lower in status than knights. Even in modern Mexican Spanish, this alternation persists: *Siento haberLO/LE hecho esperar* 'I'm sorry I've made you wait'. In these examples, the dative *le* would address the person with much more respect than the accusative *lo* in the Mexican dialect. The second possible reason for the alternation is the fact that the causee of being quiet is less agentive than the causee of leaving. Therefore, the least active one takes the accusative case and the most agentive one takes the dative case (Cole 1983).

Another problem of Davies' analysis is the way the data was divided into the categories of Old, Middle, and Modern Spanish. The Old Spanish data included texts from the 13th century exclusively. However, for Middle Spanish he put together data from the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries. And again, the Modern Spanish category included data from the last part of the 20th century only. In consequence, changes that may have taken place during the 16th century may have not been even noticed, or tendencies from the 15th century may have been mixed with those from the 17th century. Therefore, there is not an accurate chronology to date the changes the author wants to prove.

Moreover, the formal nature of Davies' analysis prevented him from describing the evolution of the causative constructions per se. His analysis centered on providing the necessary evidence to support the appropriateness of his selection of the four syntactic factors that showed the change from uniclausal to biclausal structures. In consequence, this work lacks the descriptive components that may allow us to understand how causative constructions were used in Old Spanish.

3.1.3 Alfonso's work

Alfonso's works (1998, 2006) describe the behavior of Spanish analytical causatives throughout the Middle Ages, namely the 13th to the 15th centuries. The objective of her study was to describe the syntactic patterns and the semantic properties analytic causatives showed over those centuries. Since the nature of her study was descriptive, Alfonso did not explain any of her findings according to any theoretical framework. Her work simply pointed out recurrent syntactic patterns as well as semantic properties she observed across her data.

Alfonso's database comprised six texts –two per century- which together constituted less than half million words. Her methodology was quite simple: she collected all the instances of the analytic causative construction found in her database. Then, she observed recurrent syntactic behavior among those expressions as well as semantic properties, and proceeded to describe them. She supported her claims with plenty of examples taken from her corpus; however, none of her claims was confirmed or supported by any statistical analysis. Unfortunately, her samples were by no means comparable as they differed importantly in size.

Also, in her first work (1998), Alfonso's goal was to describe the syntactic and semantic properties of analytic causatives in the Middle Ages, therefore she worked with all the instances she got from different centuries all together as a single undifferentiated data base. Such methodology prevented her from observing possible relations or historical sequencing of the properties the constructions exhibited from one century to the others.

In her (2006) study, Alfonso went over her data one more time, but this time she described syntactic and semantic patterns for each century separately. Her

results seemed to confirm some of the claims she made in her previous study. In the following sections, I present her most important findings.

3.1.3.1 Alfonso's findings: general use tendencies, inventory of causative verbs, their semantic classes, and their frequency over time.

In her sample, Alfonso (1008, 2006) found a total of 2,867 causative analytic expressions, out of which 2,217 had an infinitive (i.e. 77%), and 650 included a complementizer followed by a finite subjunctive clause (i.e. 23%). According to the author, these figures showed that causative situations tended to be expressed more frequently with the combination [Causative Verb + Infinitive]. However, the frequencies for each century and each verb were not provided, in consequence it is impossible to observe whether this preference increased, decreased or remained stable over time.

The causative verbs she found in the construction [causative verb + infinitive] are listed in the following Table.

<i>causative verb (CV)</i>		
<i>constreñir</i> 'force'	<i>inducir</i> 'induce'	<i>dar</i> 'give'
<i>forzar</i> 'force'	<i>tornar</i> 'turn'	<i>mover</i> 'move'
<i>obligar</i> 'oblige'	<i>ayudar</i> 'help'	<i>consentir</i> 'consent'
<i>ordenar</i> 'order'	<i>meter</i> 'get into'	<i>permitir</i> 'allow'
<i>enviar</i> 'send'	<i>mandar</i> 'send, command'	<i>fazer</i> 'make'
<i>dexar</i> 'let'		

Table 3.1 Causative verbs found by Alfonso

Alfonso considers that the semantic difference among these verbs had to do with the different degrees of coercion the causer exerts upon the causee. Therefore, considering coercion as the most important parameter for classification, Alfonso proposed three semantic classes of causative verbs:

i. *Maximally coercive causative verbs*: In the events depicted by these verbs, the causee could not avoid carrying out the commands given to him by the causer. He had no choice but to act according to the causer's will. This class includes the verbs *constreñir*, *forzar*, and *obligar* meaning 'to force' and *ordenar* and *mandar* meaning 'to command'.

ii. *Reduced-coercion causatives*. These verbs implied a lower degree of coercion. The causer allowed, triggered, or provoked the action of the causee. The causee was led into action by what the causer did, but not by his command. This class includes the verbs *dexar*, *consentir*, and *permitir* meaning 'to let' or 'to allow'; *induce*, *mover*, and *meter* meaning 'to induce', and *ayudar* which means 'to help'.

iii. *Lexically-neutral coercive verbs*. The causative verb under this category was *fazer* 'make'. According to Alfonso, it did not suggest any kind of coercive force exerted by the causer. The presence of a coercive force was usually suggested by complements of different kinds (adverbial, mainly) that preceded or followed the analytic causative expression.

The Table 3.2 below shows the members of the classes just described and their subclasses. Alfonso suggests that this table includes all the verbs involved in analytic causatives during the early part of the medieval time; however, it is important to keep in mind that the sample used to get these results is extremely limited. Therefore, it is possible that some verbs may have been excluded.

SEMANTIC CLASSES OF CAUSATIVE VERBS IN MEDIEVAL SPANISH (Alfonso 2006,1998)		
<i>Maximal coercion</i>	<i>Reduced coercion</i>	<i>Neutral coercion</i>
obligation verbs <i>forzar</i> 'force' <i>obligar</i> 'oblige' <i>constreñir</i> 'restrict, constrain, force'	permissive verbs <i>dexar</i> 'let, allow' <i>consentir</i> 'consent' <i>permitir</i> 'allow'	factitive verbs <i>fazer</i> 'make'
command verbs <i>mandar</i> 'command, send' <i>enviar</i> 'send' <i>ordenar</i> 'command, order'	collaboration verbs <i>ayudar</i> 'help' <i>meter</i> 'get into' <i>dar</i> 'give' <i>mover</i> 'move, get into' <i>inducir</i> 'induce' <i>tornar</i> 'turn'	

Table 3.2 Semantic classes of causative verbs in Medieval Spanish according to Alfonso

The causative verbs in the Table above did not occur with the same frequency. According to Alfonso (2006:1037), the most frequent verbs in descending order were *mandar*, *fazer*, *enviar*, *dexar*, *ordenar*, and *obligar*. Observe the table below, taken from Alfonso (2006:1037). The figures in the Table 3.3 correspond to raw frequency, i.e. total number of instances in her sample.

Alfonso (2006:1037)			
causative verb	13th Century	14th Century	15th Century
<i>constreñir</i>	0	0	5
<i>forzar</i> 'force'	0	2	10
<i>obligar</i> 'oblige'	0	4	29
<i>ordenar</i> 'command'	0	34	5
<i>enviar</i> 'send'	83	244	122
<i>mandar</i> 'send, command'	327	537	375
<i>fazer</i> 'make'	374	351	149
<i>dexar</i> 'let'	35	61	41
<i>consentir</i> 'consent'	0	7	10
<i>permitir</i> 'allow'	0	0	2
<i>ayudar</i> 'help'	8	11	4
<i>meter</i> 'get into'	2	0	0
<i>dar</i> 'give'	9	12	2

<i>mover</i> 'move'	0	1	7
<i>inducir</i> 'induce'	0	1	0
<i>tornar</i> 'turn'	3	0	0
total	841	1265	761

Table 3.3 Frequency of causative verbs (Alfonso 2006)

Although the data in the Table 3.3 seems reasonable, it is necessary to take it with caution because raw frequencies are being compared without taking into account the fact that the sample size varies from one century to the other. Such variation makes it impossible to compare the instances of the construction without carrying out some statistical analysis that homogenizes the samples and makes them comparable.

Summing up, it is important to take Alfonso's findings with caution, especially when: (a) claims are based in the analysis of the sample as a whole, (b) the data of all centuries is clustered in a single sample, and (c) her claims are based in raw frequencies.

3.1.3.2 Syntactic patterns observed by Alfonso

With respect to syntactical patterns, Alfonso claimed that some verbs tended to appear more frequently in the expression [CV+Infinitive] than in [CV+Rel+finite clause]. Again, she presented the data in raw frequencies, or collapsing the data from all centuries in a single sample, therefore it is impossible to observe the sequencing of preferences over time.

It is clear that some verbs (*fazer*, *dexar*, *enviar*, *obligar*, and *forzar*) preferred the infinitive expression, whereas verbs like *mandar*, and *constreñir* show a more balanced tendency. The verb *ordenar* is the only one that showed a preference for the relative + finite clause expression.

Alfonso suggested that the choice of either the infinitive or the relative clause complement was motivated by the semantic properties of the verbs. However, it was not clear how that happened or what semantic properties were those that motivated the selection of one expression over the other.

Alfonso considered that transitivity played an important role in the expression of causative events. Her general results stated that 76.1% of the analytic causatives observed had a transitive verb as the caused event. 19% had an intransitive verb, 0.4% showed an attributive verb, and 4.2% presented verbs of other kinds. Some other observations she made with respect to transitivity can be summarized as follows:

- i. Expressing the causation of actions was preferred over the expression of caused states.
- ii. The causee was typically animated and agentive.
- iii. Causees were typically highly volitional and had the capacity to control the development or occurrence of the caused event.

Although I agree with the statement (ii.), I would reconsider statement (i.) because the causation of states was carried out using other constructions that fell beyond the scope of Alfonso's study. I would also reconsider statement (iii.). Although causees were highly agentive in Old Spanish as the claim in (ii.) suggests, they were not volitional. Alfonso's statement leads us to believe that the causees had the choice to act or not. In the present study, I will show that it was typical to the causees of the constructions to be subject to the will of the causer; the causee could not decide whether or not to carry out the caused action. In fact, there was no instances

recorded where the causee did not carry out the assigned action, he hesitated about doing it or made something different following his own will.

3.1.3.3 *The nature and expression of causees*

With respect to causees, Alfonso showed that 50% of the causees were left undetermined, 22% were expressed by means of a clitic, 13% were expressed in a prepositional phrase, and only 6% by means of a nominal phrase. These tendencies were stronger with the infinitive complement. The Table 3.4 the different types of phrases used to express the causee in each construction. (Alfonso 2006:1013).

Causee	CV + infinitive		CV+ Rel + finite clause	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
NP	52 (frequency)	2%	107	17%
PP	143	6%	236	36%
Undetermined	1372	62%	72	11%
Omitted	100	5%	49	7%
Clitic	477	22%	135	21%
Others	73	3%	51	8%
Total	2217	100%	650	100%

Table 3.4 Codification of causee (Alfonso 2006)

Table 3.4 shows that whereas the complement finite clause [que + CL] allowed the full elaboration of the participants of the caused event, the use of the infinitive complement reduced dramatically the elaboration of the causee.

Alfonso analyzed the difference between NP causees and PP causees in further detail. She observed that every time the caused event was transitive, the causee was expressed using a prepositional phrase. However, when the caused event was an intransitive infinitive, 53% of the causees were expressed with a PP, and 47% with an NP; the distribution of the causees with intransitive infinitives was more balanced between NPs and PPs. Alfonso explained also that in the case of

transitive verbs, the Accessibility Hierarchy proposed by Comrie (1976) applied clearly and regularly in medieval Spanish, which explains the use of PP to express causees. However, she did not provide any explanation with respect to the balanced tendency observed for intransitives.

3.1.3.4 *Other claims*

Alfonso compared also the tendencies she found in the data from the medieval times against the Latin version of these constructions. Although she did not include that comparison in her study, she claimed that the most evident changes undergone by causative verbs took place early in the development of Spanish. She does not provide an approximate date although she explains that she means the stage when Spanish was closer to Latin forms. She also stated that through later centuries changes were less prominent. However, as she did not present data of any other later centuries, this statement turns highly speculative.

The author also claimed that over the centuries, the class of causative verbs increased in the number of lexical items, while the general syntactic structure remained the same over time. The use of clitics also spread to include not only the accusative clitic but also the dative one. Finally, the prepositional phrases used to express causees also changed through time. In the early stages, the most frequent preposition was *de* 'of/genitive', whereas in later stages, the most frequent preposition was *a*.

After reviewing Alfonso's research among others, it is clear that despite the methodological and statistical problems the analyses may have, in general, authors described the syntactic patterns the expressions showed with a high degree of detail and accuracy. However, none of the analyses provides information that could help us

understand the motivations that caused the changes or the way all those syntactic and semantic properties were put together in constructions.

Moreover, the synchronic and diachronic analyses of Spanish causatives done so far have reduced the analysis to the observation of the verbs *hacer* and *dejar* exclusively. None of the analyses I have reviewed includes more verbs or makes sense of the whole array of analytic causative constructions. None of them shows a reasonable system or organization among them either. In consequence, the understanding of analytic causative expressions in Spanish is limited, scattered into multiple isolated pieces, and confusing since our understanding is based on a list of properties of different kinds.

In response to this situation, it is necessary to observe analytic causative expressions in a broader and more inclusive way. It is mandatory to approach the problem with different, more meaning oriented tools, so we attain a better understanding of the ways constructions encode different construals of causative situations, and the differences among constructions cover a well-organized semantic continuum of causativity. I am certain that a cognitive, constructional approach will lead us to a better understanding of the data.

4 Constructions and their evolution

During the last three decades, constructions have attracted the attention of the international linguistic community giving rise to different constructional frameworks (Fillmore's (1988, 1993), Langacker's (1987, 1991a, 1991b, 2000b, 2003), Goldberg's (1995, 2006), Croft's (2001)) that have become a viable alternative to more formal approaches to language and linguistic structure. Constructional analyses have mostly been focused on synchronic, comparative, and typological data; however, the beginning of diachronic construction studies was marked by Israel's (1996) influential paper on the development of the way construction in the history of English.

Since then, diachronic constructional work has been done on the English analytic causatives (Stefanowitsch 2001; Hollmann 2003), the development and historical variation of case marking in Germanic (Barðdal 2001, 2009; Berg-Olsen 2009), the development of pragmatic particles in Czech (Fried 2007, 2009), the future constructions in Germanic (Hilpert 2008), the possessive constructions in Russian (Eckhoff 2009), the raising constructions in English and Dutch (Noël and Coleman 2010), and the *there* construction in English (Jenset 2010), among others.

Also, theoretical work on the diachrony of constructions (Bybee 2006), grammaticalization (Traugott 2007, 2008a-b; Noël 2007; Trousdale 2008a-b; Bisang 2010), and historical-comparative reconstruction have been done (Barðdal & Eythórsson 2010; Cariban languages (Gildea 1997, 1998, 2000), Iranian languages (Haig 2008)). As well as work on collocations and corpus (Stefanowitsch and Gries 2003; Gries and Stefanowitsch 2004).

In this section, I intend to explain in an extremely succinct way the basic constructional and cognitive notions that frame this study. My purpose is to share the general vision I have of language, grammar, and its organization in the clearest and briefest way possible. This presentation is by no means exhaustive; it includes basic notions of Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1987, 1991, 2000a, 2000b, 2008), and recent work about the evolution of constructions (Bybee 2006).

4.1 What is a construction?

Langacker (2005) explains that grammar and lexicon form a continuum of assemblies of symbolic structures. A symbolic structure is a pairing of semantic content and phonological content. The semantic structure is formed by conceptual content and the way that content is construed, i.e. from what perspective it is construed, at what degree of specificity or schematicity, and profiling or giving prominence to different elements of that content.

Individual symbolic structures combine and form symbolic assemblies or *constructions*. Any symbolically complex expression, be it fixed, novel, regular or irregular, or any schematic pattern for assembling complex expressions constitutes a construction. A minimal construction consists of two component structures integrated forming one composite structure. The Spanish word *niñ-a-s* is a good example of this. From Old Spanish *ninno*⁶ (REA 2001) originated the root *niñ-* meaning 'child, infant', it combines with the notion of gender, coded by a suffix and forms one construction; then that construction gains unit status [*niña*] and becomes a component of a second construction which combines with a number component, a

⁶ According to Corominas (1961) and Corominas and Pascual (1981) the word *niño* was shared by Catalan and Castilian, originated from the old Romance **nīnnus*. The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language (2009), on the other hand, states that the source is Vulgar Latin: *nīnnus* 'child'.

plural marker. The result is another unit, a feminine plural noun. The Diagram below depicts the semantics of these constructions.

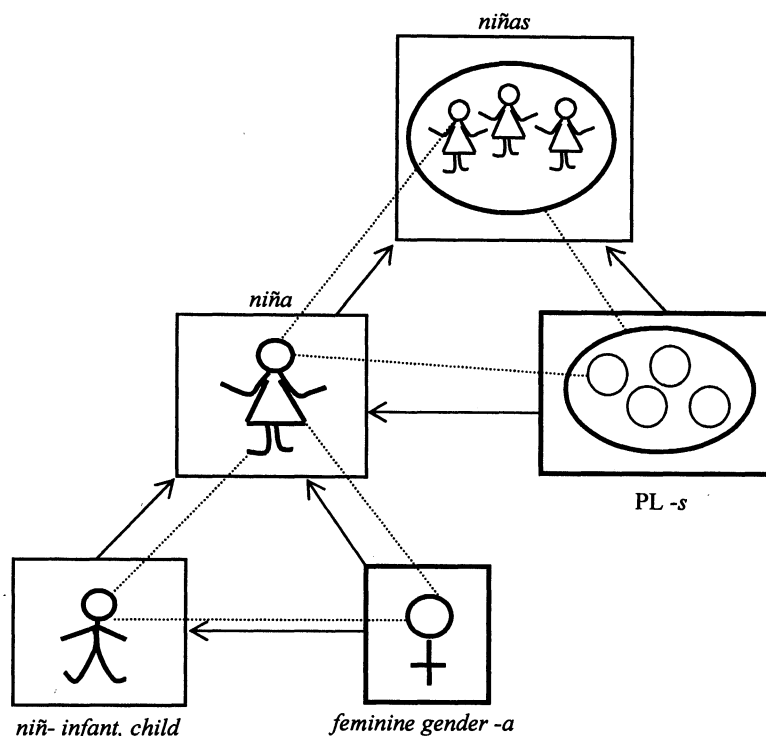


Diagram 4.1 Semantic pole of *niñas*

Diagram 4.1 depicts the semantic content of the composite structure *niñas*. At the bottom of the diagram, we have the noun root *niñ-* ‘child’ with all its necessary specifications. Next to it stands the gender profile determinant with all its specifications as well. The profile determinant is a component structure whose profile prevails at the composite structure. Therefore, the feminine gender is elaborated by the noun; the result is a type of noun: a feminine noun, in this case, a feminine child. The semantic correspondences, indicated by dotted lines, between these components, and the relation of elaboration (solid arrow) occurring between them, assembles them together forming a unit. That unit –the feminine noun- combines

with the profile determinant –s for plural⁷, giving rise to another composite structure, a plural feminine noun.

Bold lines point out the elements in profile, bold boxes stand for the profile determinants, dotted lines stand for correspondences, and arrows indicate a symbolic relation of *elaboration* (solid arrow), where the constructional schema is instantiated fully and in complete accordance with the specifications of the schema, or *extension* (dashed arrow), where some of the specifications of the constructional schema must be modified or suspended⁸.

Correspondences between component structures represent conceptual overlap; component structures should not be seen as building blocks put together, but as overlapping fragments of conceptualization; as Langacker describes it: “a construction is like a collage, where pieces do overlap and areas of the canvas are often left blank. The component conceptions *evoke* the whole, and *motivate* it to varying degrees (reflected in the categorization arrows), but they do not constitute it” (Langacker 2005:172).

Diagram 4.2 below shows the phonological structure of the semantic pole in Diagram 4.1. Notice that the profile determinants not only include phonological content (-a, -s), but also a pattern that specifies the way the component elements will combine or accommodate with one another. Those specifications correspond to syntactic properties (i.e. requirements and restrictions) such as word order. Therefore, the small rectangle with three dots inside located within the profile

⁷ For further information about plurals in Cognitive Grammar see Langacker (1987), and for a comparison of the expressions of singular and plural in Spanish and Portuguese within the framework of CG see Farrell (2000).

⁸ For further information about the relations of elaboration and extension see Langacker (1987) Chapter 10.

determinant represents the slot that has to be filled with a noun, which is also called an *elaboration site* or *e-site*. The noun, in this case ‘feminine child’ elaborates that “slot” giving rise to a new composite structure ‘plural feminine child’.

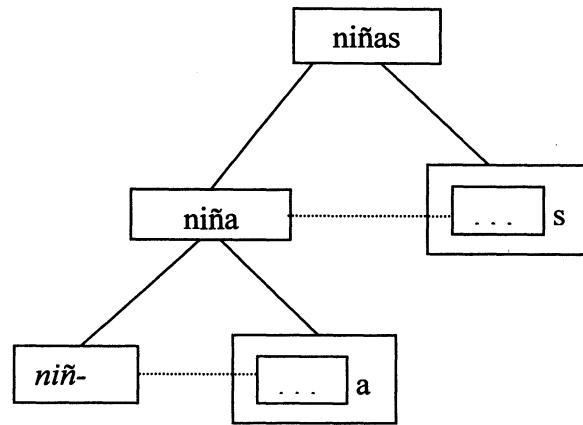


Diagram 4.2 Phonological pole of *niñas*

The phonological and semantic poles integrate in one linguistic unit. Grammar consists then of schematized patterns for assembling complex expressions (such as *niña*, *niñas*). Those patterns are called *constructional schemas*. A constructional schema represents the commonality shared by numerous complex expressions and serve as templates for the construction and evaluation of novel expressions (Langacker 2005).

The constructional meaning, i.e. the meaning of the construction, sets its own profile determinants as well as the semantic values that will be highlighted and overlapping in the construction as a whole, independent from the particular specifications of its individual components. In consequence, as the construction gets entrenched while being used, its conceptual integration tightens up; its meaning becomes specific to the construction, and its phonological pole (syntactic restrictions

and requirements) tightly fixed. This process grants constructions a schematic idiomatic and/or grammatical status.

4.2 Constructional Networks

Constructional schemas of different degrees of entrenchment interact with each other and form *networks*⁹. A network is defined by a set of nodes and a set of arcs that connect those nodes. The arcs connecting the nodes are categorization relationships (elaboration and extension). A node can be a structure with any degree of internal complexity (Langacker 1987), i.e. a schema, a constructional subschema, a lower-level subschema, or specific instances (Langacker 2000).

A particular schema can be seen as prototypical when it is frequently instantiated and it is easily evoked to create new expressions. It thus becomes the category center, and the less frequent constructions departing from it are constructional variants of it (Langacker 2008). The concept of prototype (Rosch 1975; Langacker 1987, Taylor 1995) is central to the organization of constructions. Although it is schematic, the prototype is grounded in experience; it embodies the recurrent commonalities in our everyday experience, giving rise to conceptual archetypes that will be subsequently applied to other more abstract domains (Langacker 2000).

Bybee (2006) has worked on the application of the theory of exemplars and provides further details on the organization of the constructional networks. According to this theory, “new tokens of [linguistic] experience are not decoded and then discarded, but rather they impact memory representations. [...] A token of linguistic

⁹ For a detailed explanation on networks see Langacker (1987) Section 10.2, and for further details on networks of constructions see Langacker (2008) Chapter 8.

experience that is identical to an existing exemplar is mapped onto that exemplar, strengthening it. Tokens that are similar, but not identical (differing in slight ways in meaning, phonetic shape, pragmatics) to existing exemplars are represented as exemplars themselves and are stored near similar exemplars to constitute clusters or categories” that can be arranged hierarchically (Bybee 2006:716).

Constructions emerge according to Bybee (2006) when phrases (instances of a construction in Langacker’s terminology) that bear some formal and/or semantic similarity are stored (in our memory) close to each other.

Clusters of exemplars (or networks in Langacker terms) can be organized hierarchically according to their degree and kind of shared similarities. For example, words with similar meaning but different forms can form a semantic cluster; expressions with similar context of use can form a pragmatic-functional cluster, and words sharing similar inflections or other morphological properties can form syntactic or morphological clusters.

In consequence, a single exemplar encompasses a lot of information – syntactic (phonological pole), semantic, contextual, functional, and social (semantic pole)- and can integrate with a wide variety of clusters according to the highlighted similarity it may share with the cluster where it will be integrated. Also, clusters and the exemplars themselves will vary, and will reorganize according to the changes taking place in the on going language.

Three important aspects of the exemplar model are given in Bybee (2006:717):

- a. Exemplar representations allow specific information about instances to be retained in representation.

- b. Exemplar representations provide a natural way to allow frequency of use to determine the strength of exemplars.
- c. Exemplar clusters are categories that exhibit prototype effects. They are organized in terms of members that are more or less central to the category, rather than in terms of categorical features.

4.3 How do constructions emerge?

Cognitive Grammar is a usage-based model. A usage-based model is one in which the speaker's linguistic system is fundamentally grounded or based on 'usage events'. Usage-events are instances of speakers producing and understanding language. Such instances are the experiences from which the system is initially abstracted. The linguistic system builds up gradually from abstracting more general representations –*schemas*– from the repetition of similar instances of use (Langacker 1987, Kemmer and Barlow 2000).

The link between general patterns, i.e. *schemas and constructional schemas*, and their instantiations, i.e. usage events, is of great importance because the language system is not fixed but dynamic. Schemas are extended creatively, restructured, and reshaped with use (Kemmer and Barlow 2000). Constructions emerge, then, from the conventionalization or entrenchment of individual instances, which involves the conventionalized pairing of their "vocalization" (phonological pole) and the conceptualization they impose. The latter includes not only lexical or basic meaning, but also all necessary information about their contextual use, pragmatic and discursive implications, and secondary metaphoric meanings when present.

According to Bybee (2006) constructions can emerge from clusters of exemplars when tokens map consistently onto an exemplar or a specific part of it. If

the whole exemplar was repeatedly mapped, then an idiomatic expression arises. If certain part of the exemplar has been mapped consistently and the mapping elements share similarities, then a construction with an open slot that will be filled in with items from a certain category is created.

Bybee and Scheibman (1999) support the idea that constituent structure is determined by frequency of co-occurrence: the more often two elements occur in sequence, the tighter their constituent structure will be. Therefore, tight constituency is the result of items occurring frequently together. If we take a look at child language, it is clear that children acquire very specific expressions and routines that only later on become productive and show evidence of a more schematic representation (Bybee and Hopper 2001; Tomasello 2003).

Bybee (2006) claims also that constructions can emerge from a process of grammaticization in which a new construction emerges from a particular instance of an old construction. In other words, an existing construction becomes more frequent, changes in various ways and becomes a new construction. The English example provided by Bybee (2006) shows that a construction of purpose during the sixteenth century used to take different movement verbs (*traveling, journeying, returning, going*) and was sometimes used in the progressive. As time went by, the use of the progressive of *go* became more frequent, separated itself from the original construction, and developed pragmatic implications of its own, which gave rise to the future meaning and the future construction we know nowadays.

Frequency plays an important role in grammaticization: frequency results in (1) the phonological reduction of the construction, (2) the attainment of autonomous

status, (3) the loss of specific meanings which allows (4) gradual semantic change, and later on (5) gradual changes in constituency due to a process of reanalysis.

However, Bybee (2006) recognizes that the emergence of constructions does not have to follow the pattern of grammaticization; new constructions can be created when speakers notice secondary implications to a linguistic unit. Then speakers conventionalize that secondary implicational meaning and use it as a construction itself. This is the case of idioms formed on a metaphorical basis, conventionalized prefabs that have a transparent meaning, and cases where constructions acquire further meanings because of the activation of pragmatic implications without necessarily being highly frequent.

4.4 The role of frequency in the emergence and change of constructions

Frequency is a relevant factor in the emergence of constructions (Bybee 2006) for several reasons. On one hand, it allows the conventionalization or entrenchment of exemplars, the reduction of forms, the formation of the categories that fill in constructional slots, the change of functions, and enables constructions to resist change (Bybee 2006; Bybee and Hopper 2001).

Different frequency effects are observed according to the degree of frequency (Bybee 2006):

- i. low levels of repetition lead to conventionalization only (as in prefabs and idioms)
- ii. higher levels of repetition can lead to the establishment of a new construction with its own categories

- iii. extremely high frequency leads to the grammaticization of the new construction, the creation of grammatical morphemes, and changes in constituency

Let us look now at other frequency effects in detail.

4.4.1 Phonetic reduction

According to Bybee (2006), high-frequency words and phrases undergo phonetic reduction at a faster rate than low- and mid-frequency sequences. This effect results from the brain's ability to form routines and carry them out automatically (Thompson 2007; Langacker 2000a; Kemmer and Barlow 2000). The higher the rate of repetition of the routine, the more increased fluency is attained in performing it, and higher the capacity to find ways to perform even better, which results in reduction leading to the simplification of the routine. Examples of this effect can be observed in expressions like *going to* reducing into *gonna*, *want to* into *wanna*, *what are you going to do?* into *watcha gonna do?* or *I don't know* reducing into *dunno*.

Thompson (2007) explains also that phonological reduction promotes the loss of internal structure along with semantic bleaching because words or phrases that are frequently repeated lose their semantic force, or semantic specificity, and that allows them to be used more frequently, and consequently become even more bleached. Therefore, in Thompson's terms, phonological reduction, loss of internal structure, and semantic bleaching occur together, prompted by frequent repetition.

4.4.2 Category formation

Bybee (2006) explains that the lexical items that are used in an open slot of some constructions can either be highly generalized, i.e. the slot can be filled in with any element of a lexical category, or semantically constrained. Semantic constraints arise from the frequent occurrence in one slot of lexical items that share strong similarities. From those similarities, a category –something like “movement verb”, “mass noun”, “adverb of quantity”, etc.- is created.

The most frequent member is central to a category. Larger, more productive categories, i.e. those with the highest type frequency, are organized around a frequent member (Bybee 2006:727). The productive uses of the category occur on the basis of semantic similarity to a frequent member. Also, family resemblance structure takes the most frequent member as central. (Bybee 2006:727)

4.4.3 Resistance to change: conserving effect

Bybee (1985) and Thompson (2007:271) explain that “the more a form is used, the more its representation is strengthened, making it easier to access next time. Words that are strong in memory and easy to access are not likely to be replaced by new forms....” A well-known example is the irregular past forms of some English verbs that have retained their form and meaning over time. Hopper (1976) claims that highly frequent forms resist analogical change, such as regularization, because their frequency makes them easy to access as wholes, they would not be sensitive anymore to other rules, and therefore would be resistant to re-formation.

4.4.4 Autonomy, semantic bleaching, and functional shifts

Another effect of token frequency is autonomy (Bybee 2006). The frequent repetition of an item associates it with a particular outcome (Haiman 1994; Bybee and Hopper 2001). Such association pushes the item away from its initial source, and that prompts the loss of its most specific semantic properties, which become opaque. Also, the internal structure of highly-frequent and morphologically complex strings becomes opaque as well.

Opaqueness causes speakers to dissociate the components of the string from their etymological sources and also from the behavior their components originally had on their own. For example, in Spanish the adversative conjunction *sin embargo* is nowadays constituted by two elements: the adverb *sin* 'without' and the noun *embargo* 'restriction, confiscation, seizure'. The nature of each of these components originally from the legal Latin expression *sine ullo embargo* 'without a confiscation order/restriction' (Gómez de Silva, 1988) is not visible for speakers anymore. To them, the combination *sin embargo* constitutes a unit that means 'however' exclusively, and it would require us to give them an explanation about the lexical category of its components (preposition and noun) and its historical origin as a conjunction to have them notice both of its components.

4.4.5 What token and type frequency tell us about constructions

Token frequency is understood as the frequency of occurrence of a unit, i.e. a word or morpheme, in a construction (Bybee 2003). For example, the number of

occurrences the construction *feel like* is used followed by a gerund is 3,764 in the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA)¹⁰.

Type frequency, on the other hand, corresponds to the total of different lexical items with which a construction can be used (Bybee 2003). In our example, the total of different gerunds with which the construction *feel like* is used. In the COCA, the construction is used with 65 different gerunds (i.e. types), with a minimum frequency of 15 occurrences each. The most frequent of those gerunds (or types) are: *going* (578 occurrences); *getting* (228); *talking* (127); etc. In conclusion, the construction [*feel like* + gerund] has a token frequency of 3,764 instances and a type frequency of 65 different gerunds in a sample constituted by the COCA.

According to Thompson (2007), type frequency refers to the number of distinct lexical items that can be substituted in a given slot in a construction. If plenty of lexical items fill in a certain position in a construction, the more difficult it will be to associate the construction with a particular, or central lexical item, and the harder it will be to form a semantically constrained category for that position. The more items the category includes, the more general its defining features are and the easier it is for new items to be incorporated to and used in that construction.

High type frequency ensures also that a construction will be used frequently, it will be frequently accessed, and its representation (constructional schema) will be strengthened, or *entrenched* in Langacker's terms.

Bybee (2003) agrees with Thompson (2007) on type frequency and adds that when there is an increase in type frequency, a grammaticizing phrase increases the

¹⁰ Davies, Mark. (2008-) The Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA): 400+ million words, 1990-present. Available online at <http://www.americancorpus.org>.

contexts where it is appropriate and moves from very specific uses to very general. Moreover, type frequency also triggers an increase in token frequency. Token frequency affects the nature of the cognitive representation inherent to constructions, and triggers changes in their form and function.

Highly frequent tokens develop strong, autonomous representations, and do not need to be understood in terms of other neighboring tokens of the construction. Such autonomy (Bybee 2003) leads speakers to associate those tokens to further pragmatic implications or functions that will result in new constructions or new constructional meanings.

Summing up, high type frequency relates to the degree of productivity of a construction: High type frequency results in a highly productive construction with highly general categories filling its slots, whereas low type frequency leads to semantic specific infrequent constructions whose constructional slots take semantically restricted categories.

While type frequency affects the generality or specificity of a construction, token frequency on the other hand promotes changes in the meaning and functions of the construction which may lead to the creation of new neighboring constructions.

5 Causative constructions in Early Spanish

The earliest sample of Old Spanish in this study corresponds to the epic poem of *Mio Cid*. Unfortunately, its historical background and properties make it difficult to take it as a central and completely reliable source of data. The poem contains 35,000 words approximately; therefore, any observations or tendencies suggested by this material cannot be supported by quantitative data.

Moreover, this material has to be taken with caution because during its history, several copies of it existed and some of them underwent a series of editions at different points in time. Those editions have posed a real challenge to philologists who have struggled to separate the exact portions of the text that belong to the first and original version of the poem from the additions made centuries later. This is the reason why some Hispanic linguists nowadays prefer not to include the poem in their analyses. In my case, I have decided to include it in this study it regardless of the inconveniences it presents because it still represents the oldest source of written literary Spanish available. My aim is to get a glimpse of the earliest array of causative constructions in use during the 12th century, hoping that it will provide us with a foundation that eases our understanding of the data from later centuries and the sequence of emergence of the causative constructions in Spanish.

In this section, I will present the tendencies I found in the poem. I will remain cautious and will avoid making any strong claims about them. Nevertheless, it is important to state that the tendencies I found in the poem of *Mio Cid* do not run contrary to any of the patterns attested in the materials covering the later centuries.

The first thing that caught my attention about the data found in Mio Cid was the fact that causative constructions involving *fazer* ‘make/do’ (example 16) were almost nonexistent. Ten instances of [*fazer* INF] were recorded in the whole text and none of [*fazer que* CL]. The absence of these constructions led me to read the text carefully looking for other constructions expressing causation. It was found that the verb *mandar* ‘order, command’ was involved in most of the expressions of the causation of action (example 17), and the verb *enbiar* ‘send’ was used in a couple of instances as well (example 18), suggesting that these verbs should be included in my analysis and tracked over time as well.

16. *Mio Cid con esta ganancia dentro en Alcocer está,
fizo enviar por la tienda, ésta que dexara allá.*

Mio Cid is in Alcocer with all his booty,
he had (someone) sent to pick up the tent that he had left there.
(i.e. he had the tent picked up by someone at a different location)

17. *¡Dios, cómo alegre fue el rey, nunca non viestes atanto!
Mandó cavalgar apriessa a todos sos fijosdalgo.*

God, how happy was the king! You never saw him so (happy)!
He had his gentlemen ride quickly.

18. *E a vos, rey muy ondrado, enbía esta presentaja,
e enbíame besarvos los pies e las manos amas...*

And to you, honorable king, he (Mio Cid) sends this present,
and sends me to kiss both your feet and hands...

The frequency of use that *fazer*, *mandar*, and *enbiar* had in the Poem of Mio Cid can be observed in Table 5.1. The first column includes all the occurrences of each verb through the poem in all their functions, i.e. causative and non-causative. In the second column all the cases where each of these verbs expressed causation were included regardless of the syntactic configuration they presented. The rest of

the columns separate those causative instances according to the attested syntactic configurations: [causative + INF], [causative + *que* + CL], and [causative + prep + INF] in the poem.

	Total occurrences	Causative uses	Causative INF	Causative <i>que</i> CL	Causative Prep INF
Mandar	111	58/111 ¹¹ 52% ¹²	45/58 78% ¹³	13/58 22%	0/58 0
Fazer	187	10/187 5%	10/10 100%	0/10 0	0/10 0
Enviar	28	7/28 25%	1/7 14%	3/7 43%	3/7 43%

Table 5.1 Frequency of *mandar*, *fazer*, and *enviar* in Mio Cid (12th century)

The frequency of total occurrences of the verbs in this data from the 12th century (in Table 5.1) is different with respect to the frequency these verbs have in Modern Spanish. Whereas in the 12th century *mandar* and *fazer* had similar frequencies with respect to each other (110 and 187 instances) and both were more frequent than *enviar* (28 instances), in Modern Spanish *hacer* (2778 instances in one million word sample¹⁴) is more frequent than *mandar* and *enviar*; the latter having similar frequencies with respect to each other (about 110 instances each in a one-million word sample).

Notice also (Table 5.1) that whereas *mandar* is already highly entrenched in causative uses in the poem of Mio Cid (52% of its occurrences), *fazer* is rarely used in causative constructions at that time. Moreover, the data in the rest of the columns suggests that *mandar* had already built up an inventory of causative constructions

¹¹ 58/111 should be read and understood as 58 causative occurrences out of 111 instances (causative and non causative) of *mandar*.

¹² This figure corresponds to the percentage of causative instances from the total use of the verb.

¹³ This percentage represents the instances of the construction out of the total causative instances.

¹⁴ In a 1 million sample taken from CREA the overall frequencies of the verbs under study were: 2778 instances of *hacer*, 113 instances of *mandar*, 105 instances of *enviar*.

which included [*mandar* INF] and [*mandar que* CL], whereas the causative use of *fazer* was restricted to a single construction ([*fazer* INF]) which was parallel to [*mandar* INF] but not as frequent. The differences in frequencies and constructional inventories of these verbs suggest that the causative use of *fazer* was in its early stages of development during the 12th century.

The frequencies in Table 5.1 also suggest that the causative use of *enviar* was at an early stage of its development as well. However, the development of *enviar* seems to be taking a different route with respect to the development of *fazer*. Notice, from the figures in the table, that the inventory of causative constructions of this verb is clearly different from the inventories of the other verbs. Whereas *mandar* and *fazer* tend to include infinitives in their causative constructions, *enviar* not only disfavors the infinitive but shows a clear preference in its causative uses for prepositional (example 19) and clausal complements (20).

19. *¡Merced, ya señor Alfonso, por amor del Criador!
A vos me quiso **enbiar** Mio Cid el Campeador
A **besarvos** pies e manos como a rey e buen señor...*

Mercy, oh lord Alfonso, for the love of God!
To you, Mio Cid el Campeador desired to **send me**
To **kiss your feet and hands** as (it is done to) a king and a good lord...

20. *Ellos en esto hablando, **enbiól'** el rey Bucar
que le dexasse Valencia e que se fues' dend en paz,
si non, quanto avía fecho, todo avría de pechar.*

While they were talking, the king Bucar **sent him** (a message)
that he give up Valencia and to leave it peacefully,
otherwise, he would make him pay for all he had done.

This fact gains relevance if we consider that in Modern Spanish the causative inventories of *mandar* and *hacer* include prepositional and clausal complements: [*mandar* INF] (21), [*mandar* PREP INF] (22), [*mandar que* CL] (23), and [*hacer* INF]

(24), [*hacer que* CL](25). Therefore, it could be the case that the causative constructions of *enviar* provided some of the constructional schemas for the causative configurations of *mandar*. If this was indeed the case, it will be important to identify the factors that motivated the use of such structural model (Kemmer and Verhagen 1994). In any case, the data from consequent centuries will provide evidence either to confirm or reject this possibility.

21. [...] *los sondeos que mandamos hacer indican que podemos sacar más votos*
[...] Argentina 1997 CREA

The polls we got (done) indicate that we can get more votes

22. *Para no distraerse, decidieron no mandar a comprar comida sino que sólo degustaron unos bodadillos.* Honduras 1997 CREA

Not to get distracted, they decided not to have food delivered, but to only eat some snacks.

23. [...] *el doctor Chinchilla Moreno mandó que le inyectaran dos tranquilizantes que le produjeron un efecto inmediato...* Spain 1989 CREA

Doctor Chinchilla Moreno had them inject him two tranquilizers that had an immediate effect...

24. *La preocupación de los médicos se centró en lo mucho que sangraba la mano, lo que hacía pensar que la arteria debía estar afectada...* Madrid 1997 CREA

The doctors' concern centered on the profuse bleeding of his hand. It made (them) think that the artery should be affected.

25. *Eddy Palmieri, sin intentarlo, hizo que la salsa tomara un auge inesperado...* Colombia 1992 CREA

Eddy Palmieri, without intending it, made Salsa (music) reach an unexpected peak.

5.1 Mandar

According Corominas and Pascual (1981) *mandar* comes from the Latin verb *mandare* which means to entrust something to someone. Gómez de Silva (1988)

agrees saying that *mandar* comes from the Latin word *mandare* and adds that it is also the combination of the Latin words *manus* 'hand' and *dare* 'to give'. The combination literally meant 'to put or leave something in the hands of someone' or, in other words, to assign or entrust an important task or thing to someone who was trustworthy. Moreover, Del Rosal (1992 (1560)) and García de Diego (1954) claim that in Old Spanish *mandar* also meant 'to order' or 'to command'. Cejador Frauca (1929) adds that it also meant 'to promise' or 'to grant' and provides this example taken from the Poem of Mio Cid: "*este don que me avedes mandado*" 'this present that you have granted to me'.

In the examples below, I show the basic meaning *mandar* had throughout the poem. See that in both cases one person decides the kind of action that will take place and makes it known to its executer by means of a strong command. The action is highly constrained by the participant in charge since he decides not only what action will be carried out, but also who will be involved and when it will happen. Therefore, the realization of the action depends completely on the causer. See the examples in 26.

26. a. -"*Quedas sed, ya mis mesnadas, aquí en este logar,
e non derranche ninguno fata que yo lo mandar*"

¹⁵-"*Be quiet, my troops, here in this place,
and do not disband until I command it*"

b. *Como lo mandó Mio Cid, así han todos a far.*

As Mio Cid commanded it, so will everybody do.

¹⁵ A note with respect to the translation of the examples: (a) the translations were done as close to the literal meaning of the Spanish original as possible; therefore, an unusual wording of the English causatives may result in some cases; (b) words between parentheses were added in order to ease the reading of the English version of the examples, or to provide, in some cases, further contextual details; (c) words in bold highlight the construction under study and their equivalent counterparts in English.

The causative uses of this verb were organized around three well-differentiated constructions. The first two use the same syntactic configuration: [*mandar* INF], although their constructional properties are quite different. In the first construction, the causative verb *mandar* retains its lexical meaning ‘to order’, which results in the constructional meaning ‘to order someone to do something’ (example 27). The second construction departs from the literal meaning of its constituents and shows the constructional meaning of ‘getting something done (by someone)’ (28).

27. “...*el qu’en Buena ora nasco, mandó mover de Bivar a Burgos....*”

The one that was well-born had (everyone) move from Bivar to Burgos...

28. “*Vengo ya Campeador [...] mandad coger la tienda e vayámosnos privado a San Pedro de Cardeña ante que nos cante el gallo.*”

I am here oh Campeador, get the tent picked up and let’s go quickly to San Pedro de Cardeña before the rooster crows (at dawn).

The third construction, involves the verb *mandar* followed by the complementizer *que* and a finite clause in subjunctive mood: [*mandar que* CL] (example 29).

29. *Essora mandó Mio Cid, el qu’en buena ora nasco, [que d’aquesta grant batalla [que todos han arrancado]_{relative clause}]_{relative clause}, que cada uno prissiesen el so derecho contado.*

Right away Mio Cid, the one who was well-born, had everyone take his part (of the booty obtained) in that battle they all had just won.

The main characteristic of this construction is that the clause following the complementizer *que* elaborates in detail the caused event. Compare examples (29) vs. (27) & (28). Whereas in (29) specific reference to the causee is made by *cada uno* ‘everyone; each one’ and the event, winning the battle, is elaborated with two

relative clauses []_{rel}, in (27) no details about the causee are given, and in (28) no details of the caused event or its doer are provided. In (27) and (28) the reader has to infer that the causee corresponds to Mio Cid subordinates.

In the following sections each of the constructions here mentioned are presented in detail.

5.1.1 *Mandar* INF

5.1.1.1 *Construction [mandar 'command' INF]*

This construction was attested 17 times (17 out of 45 instances of [*mandar* INF]) in the sample. In all cases, the causer was a male human being who enjoyed social recognition and power such as Mio Cid, kings, and noblemen. In (30.a) we see the king making his gentlemen –*todos sos fijosdalgo*- go faster. In (30.b) Mio Cid is ordering his men –*doscientos cavalleros*- to leave quickly.

30. a. *¡Dios, cómo alegre fue el rey, nunca non viestes atanto!*
Mandó cavalgar apriessa a todos sos fijosdalgo.

God, how happy was the king! You never saw him so (happy)!
He commanded his gentlemen to ride quickly.

- b. *Alegráse Mio Cid, [...] [a doscientos cavalleros]_{causee}*
mandó-les_{causeeDAT} exir privado...

Mio Cid got happy, [...] he made 200 knights leave quickly.

The causee, on the other hand, was always a human being as well. He received oral instruction directly from the causer and acted accordingly, even if he was not completely happy with the task (example 31). Even in the two instances where the causee showed some resistance to carry out the instructed action, it was not necessary for the causer to exert any type of physical direct force or control over the causee; his social authority and status were so high with respect to those of the

causee, that the latter was morally and socially obliged to carry out the assigned action. In (30.a), we see the nephew of Mio Cid, Felez Muñoz, acting against his will when he was under the command of the Infants of Carrion who were leading the cortege.

31. *Mas yo agora vos diré d' aquel buen Felez Muñoz,
aquel sobrino era de Mio Cid Campeador.
Mandáronle ir delante, mas de su grado non fo;...*

But now I will tell you about the good Felez Muñoz, he was a nephew of Mio Cid. (They) commanded him to go at the front (of the retinue), but that was not pleasing to him;...

Also, as a consequence of the direct oral commanding, the identity of the causee was usually known, i.e. it was clearly stated in the construction. In (30.a) *todos sos fijosdalgo* is part of the construction as well as *doscientos cavalleros* in (30.b). In (31) the identity of Felez Muñoz is fully expressed prior to the construction and included pronominally in it (*mandáronle*).

Although only 17 instances of this construction were recorded, the incipient preference for collocations with semantically related verbs was observed. The verbs this construction took were verbs of movement, verbs that referred to actions carried out by soldiers (handling objects, making arrangements, executing people), and verbs to control people's behavior. All the verbs (below) are compatible with orders and commands in general. No verbs that made reference to spontaneous events, mental processes or emotional reactions were recorded. The verbs attested are:

- (a) Verbs of movement: *ir* 'go'; *mover* 'move, leave'; *cavalgar* 'ride, go'; *salir* 'exit, leave'; *enbiar* 'send'; *espolonar* 'spur the horse in order to leave'; *escurrir* 'ride along someone in order to guard him'.

- (b) Actions carried out by service people and soldiers: *guardar* ‘guard’; *ferir* ‘injure, attack’; *adobar* ‘make arrangements, prepare’; *quitar* ‘move away objects or people from a location’.
- (c) Controlling states or behavior: *vedar* ‘prohibit’, *aguardar* ‘wait’.

With respect to the syntactic configuration of the construction, 5 out of the 17 instances were causee-less, i.e. the causee was not mentioned and had to be inferred from the context (example 32).

32. “...*el qu’en Buena ora nasco, mandó mover de Bivar a Burgos....*”

The one that was well-born had (everyone) leave from Bivar to Burgos...

In 6 instances (out of the 17) the causee was coded with the prepositional phrase [a NP] (examples 30). The prepositional phrase tended to be placed before the causative verb and the infinitive (example 30.b) and only once it appeared after the infinitive (example 30.a).

The causee was coded as a pronoun seven times. In one instance, example (33. a.), the causee was doubled, i.e. it is coded by the prepositional phrase [a NP] and the dative pronoun *les*. In instances where the causee was not doubled, it was coded with a dative pronoun attached to the causative verb [*manda-DAT*] (33. b-c).

33. a. *Alegrácase Mio Cid, [...] [a doscientos cavalleros]_{causee} mandó-les_{causeeDAT} exir privado...*

Mio Cid got happy, [...] he made 200 knights leave quickly.

b. “*Señor, muchos omnes e aguisados avedes en vuestra cort: Mandad-les_{causeeDAT} espolar, ferlo han a gran sabor*”

(Mio Cid speaking:)(My) Lord, you have plenty of men and (all of them are)

prepared/ready in your court; make (any of) them ride, they will be pleased to do it.”

- c. *Mio Cid aguijó el cavallo, adelante se llegó e fue a besarle la mano a so señor don Alfonso: “Vós mandastes-me_{causeeDAT} mover a Bavioca el corredor: en moros ni en cristianos non y ha otro tal hoy, yo vos le dó, rey, en don, mandadlo tomar.”*

Mio Cid rode the horse, (then) he came to the front and kissed the hand of his lord Don Alfonso. (Mio Cid said:) “You had me ride Bavioca ‘the runner’; among Moors or Christians there is not another horse like him; I give it to you, my king, as a present, have (someone) take it.”

The coding of the causee with a dative pronoun requires further explanation thus according to the Causative Hierarchy of Grammatical Relations (Comrie 1989) we should expect the use of an accusative pronoun instead. Comrie (1989) states that the grammatical encoding of the causee corresponds to the highest (leftmost) position that is not already filled on the hierarchy: Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object > Oblique Object. Since the examples in (33.a-b.) have an intransitive infinitive the direct object position is available. However, the indirect object marker is preferred.

In my opinion the dative marker is chosen because the construction profiles the bitransitive nature of the causative verb *mandar*, which is also a verb of communication. Therefore, the person that receives the oral instruction and carries it out is conceptualized as a recipient. Recipients take dative marker in constructions where communication verbs are used. However, not all communication verbs in Spanish form analytic causative constructions. Compare examples in (34). *Mandar* can take the analytic configuration, however *decir* cannot (34. c.).

34. a. *Le mandó que trajera el caballo.*

'He ordered her to bring the horse'

b. *Le dijo que trajera el caballo.*

'He told her to bring the horse'.

c. *Le mandó traer el caballo.*

**Le dijo traer el caballo*

'He had her bring the horse'

In summary, the following properties were observed throughout the instances of this construction:

1. The CAUSER was a male, human participant, socially powerful, and in charge of other people who accept and value his authority.
2. The CAUSEE was a male human participant as well. He was subordinated to the authority of the causer. He carried out the assigned action even if he did it against his will.
3. The causative event was expressed as an oral command.
4. The most recurrent situational contexts related to this construction were battlefields and castles where the king or an important knight instructed the people under his charge to do something.
5. The syntactic configuration of the construction included the full coding of causer and causee (i.e. using full NPs), which results in explicitly mentioned and well-identified causees. When causees were pronominalized they took the dative pronoun which attached to the causative verb.
6. Caused events included movement verbs as the most frequent type, followed by actions associated typically with soldiers and guards.

5.1.1.2 Construction [*mandar* 'have' INF]

This construction was attested 28 times (28 out of 45 causative [*mandar* INF] occurrences). Its meaning was 'to have something done by ordering it'. The causer was usually a male that enjoys a high social status and power. He was a leader that had under his command people that worked for him. Therefore, giving orders was closely associated to this character.

The causee, on the other hand, was also a human being, not necessarily male, usually a servant or any other type of service provider, whose individual identity was overlooked and left unknown in the construction. This construction is causee-less (Kemmer & Verhagen 1994). Usually, the construction suggested that there was not direct contact between causer and causee. The causer ordered something he wished to get done, but he did not get involved directly with the causees or the supervision of their labor.

Also, it is clear in this construction that the action the causer desired was in fact carried out by his servants or soldiers. See the example in (35. a.), the Infants of Carrion get their tents set up in order to spend the night; whoever sets up the tents remains unmentioned, although it is clear the tents were actually set up and they spent the night in them. In (35. b.), two knights of Mio Cid let him know that they are ready to depart to fulfill his will whenever he desires and gets them provided with horses; the actual person Mio Cid will command to bring them the horses remains unmentioned; however, those knights are indeed given the horses and sent to investigate something for Mio Cid. In (35. c.), Mio Cid has some candles made to be set on the altar of the church.

35. a. *Y fallaron un vergel con una muy limpia font,*

*do mandan fincar la tienda los Infantes de Carrión,
e con cuantos ellos traen y yazen aqueça noç.*

And they found an orchard with a very clean spring,
where the Princes of Carrión **have the tent set up**
and, with all those (men) they bring along, they stay there over night.

- b. *“Si vos ploguiere, Mio Cid, de ir somos aguisados,
mandadnos dar de las bestias, cavalgaremos privado”*

“Whenever it pleases you, Mio Cid, we are ready to depart,
have the horses be given to us, and will leave quickly”
(Lit. order (unspecified) to give us the horses)

- c. *...e Mio Cid Campeador es posado en San Serván.Y mandó fazer candelas
e conjunction poner en el altar...*

... and Mio Cid Campeador is staying in San Servan. And he had some
candles made and set on the altar (of the church)...

Since this construction was more frequent in the poem than the construction [mandar ‘command’ INF] previously described (28 vs 15 instances), it was easier to observe the different types of caused events preferred by this construction. All the collocations found made reference to activities carried out by servants, messengers, and other subordinate people. See the caused predicates below:

- (a) Activities that are typical of servants¹⁶: *vestir* ‘dress someone up’; *servir* ‘serve food’; *librar* ‘clear out a place’; *coger* ‘pick up objects that someone else used such as tents, clothes, dishes, etc. in order to clean the place’; *tomar* ‘pick up, take, hold’; *partir* ‘distribute goods among people’; *quitar* ‘clear out, put objects away’; *recibir* ‘welcome, receive’; *cargar* 2 (instances) ‘load a ship, carry objects’, *fincar* ‘set (tents)’; *ensillar* ‘saddle up a horse’; *fazer* 2 ‘make (food), build’; *echar* 2 ‘remove, discard’; *dar* 6

¹⁶ All verbs were translated according to the meaning they had in the texts analyzed. Therefore, it should not surprise the reader to notice that the translations provided do not correspond to the current meaning of the verbs.

'hand something, give, distribute'; *nombrar* 'count'; *tornar* 'turn a sign pointing to a different direction'.

- (b) Activities that are typical to messengers: *juntar* 'call people and bring them together before the causer'; *venir* 'bring someone before the causer'; *recabdar* 'meet with, unite to'; *levar* 'deliver something'.

The syntactic configuration of this construction differs from the construction [*mandar* 'command' INF] in which the causee was mentioned explicitly or pronominally with a dative pronoun. In the construction [*mandar* 'have' INF], the causer takes the subject position, the causee is omitted, and the affectee is expressed with an accusative pronoun. See the examples in (36).

36. a. *Al otro día mañana, él con ellos cavalgó con doscientos caballeros e escurri-los_{affectee ACC} mandó.*

Next morning, Mio Cid_i rode with them_j along with 200 knights and he_i had them_{affectee ACC_j} escorted all the trip (by some of the 200 knights).

- b. *Besaron al rey las manos e entraron a posar; muy bien los_{affectee ACC} mandó servir pora cuanto huebos han.*

They kissed the hands of the king (in gratitude) and entered to spend there the night; the king had them very well served since they are in real need.

Summing up, the following properties constitute the defining properties of this construction during the 12th century:

- 1) The CAUSER was a human participant, who enjoyed social recognition, power and authority.

- 2) The CAUSEE was a human participant as well, typically a servant. However, the causee's identity was usually left unknown and unmentioned in the construction.
- 3) The construction highlighted the caused result obtained; it did not focus on the origin that triggered the event or the process that brought about the result. What is profiled was the fact that the result was obtained. Therefore, the meaning of the construction is "to have something done".
- 4) The most recurrent situational context related to this construction was the environment where kings or important knights lived. Thus, the caused events related to the basic needs they required to have satisfied, such as getting dressed or armed, being served their meals, having the necessary arrangements made to begin journeys or ride their horses, or receive visitors, etc.
- 5) The syntactic configuration of the construction included the full coding of causer, the optional coding of the affectee in accusative, and the total omission of the causee (examples 36).
- 6) A few strong (i.e. frequent) collocations of the caused events were observed, although it was not possible to identify clear lexical classes of verbs. However, it was evident that what the verbs had in common was the fact that they made reference to activities that service people usually carry out for someone else (examples 35).

5.1.2 Construction [*mandar que* CL]

This construction appeared 13 times throughout the poem. If we consider that the construction [*mandar* 'command' INF] described previously (Section 5.1.1.1)

appeared 17 times in the same text, then it becomes clear that this construction was not rare during this century, since it was almost as frequent as [mandar 'command' INF]. These constructions not only shared a similarity with respect to their frequency; they also preserved the literal meaning of the causative verb 'to order, instruct or command', which shaped the meaning of the construction as a whole.

Moreover, in this construction, the caused event was the most salient part of the chain of events involved and it was elaborated in more detail than the rest of the event chain. In other words, the caused event could be known and understood clearly because its participants were explicitly mentioned. The presence of a subordinate clause in this construction also allows mentioning the way the action had to be carried out and the circumstances surrounding the event. This amount of information was not available when an infinitive followed the causative verb. Compare example (37. a.) below against (31), (32) and (33. a.).

The meaning of this construction entailed the presence of a causer instructing the causee about what he had to do. The causer was someone socially powerful who had control over the causee. The causee was always a human being as well, who was at the service of the causer. He did not give any resistance and carried out the instructed action as expected. See the examples (37.) below. In all of them the causer is giving instructions to the causee. Notice that the causees do not resist the command.

37. a. *¿O eres tú, mio sobrino, ó eres, Félez Muñoz,
primo de mis fijas amas e d'alma e de coraçón?
Mandot' que vayas con ellas fata dentro de Carrión
e veas las heredades qu' a mis fijas dadas son.*

Where are you, my nephew? Where are you, Felez Muñoz,

cousin of my beloved daughters, owners of my soul and heart?
*I command you to go with them inside Carrión
and see the dowry that is given to my daughters.*

- b. *La compañía del Cid crece e la del rey amengó:
grand es la yente que va con el Cid Campeador.
Adeliñan a Valencia, la qu'en buen punto ganó:
a don Fernando e don Diego Mio Cid guardarlos mandó
e a don Pero Vermuoz e a don Muño Gustioz [...]
que sopiessen las sos mañas d'infantes de Carrión.*

The company of the Cid is growing while the one of the king is diminishing in size: the people who go along with the Cid are big (i.e. respectable) people.

They head to Valencia, the city that the Cid won;
to don Fernando and don Diego, Mio Cid had them **guarded** (during the journey), and to don Pero Vermuoz and don Muño Gustioz
(Mio Cid had them go and) **learn** about the bad habits of the Infants of Carrion.

- c. *E mandó a Pero Vermuoz que fuesse allá con Minaya.*

And he had Pero Vermuoz to go there with Minaya.

Some instances of *mandar* found in the poem suggest what could be the origin of this construction. In those examples, the caused event was expressed as a direct quoted statement made by someone of authority (example 38); in the example, the will of the jury.

38. *“Si esso ploguiere al Cid, non ge lo vedamos nós;
mas en al nuestro juvizio, assí lo mandamos nós:
qu' aquí ge los entreguedes estando dentro en la cort.”*

“If that pleases Mio Cid, we won't deny it to him,
but to our own judgment, this is how we **command** it:
that you give them to him here in the court.”

The presence of *que* occurred in [*mandar* INF] constructions as well. In those cases (examples 39) *que* was functioning as a coordinating particle that united a second more elaborated caused event to the already causative construction. That

second event was presented as the indirect report of an oral instruction given by the causer. The structure observed (examples 39) was:

[*mandar* INF_(1st caused event), *que* coordinating element CL_(2nd caused event, indirect report)].

39. a. *Alegrábase Mio Cid, como nunca más ni tanto, ca de lo que más amava ya le venía mandado. A dozientos cavalleros mandóles [exir privado]^{caused event 1}, que [reciban a Minaya e las dueñas fijasdalgo]^{caused event 2}.*

Mio Cid cheered up, like he usually wouldn't, because what he loved the most was on its way to him. He had 200 of his knights [leave quickly]^{caused event 1}, and [welcome Minaya and the ladies]^{caused event 2}. (Cid's wife and daughters)

- c. *Otro día mandó el Cid a todos los sos [s'armar]^{caused event 1} e que [salieran al campo]^{caused event 2} pora con moros lidiar.*

The next day, Mio Cid instructed all his men [to get armed]^{caused event 1} and [to go to the field]^{caused event 2} to battle with Moors.

These examples suggest that as time went by, the once coordinated expression acquired constructional status, and the complementizer and the causative verb gained unitary status. When that happened, the construction lost the implication of reported speech and became fully causative (example 40).

40. a. *Essora mandó partir todas aquestas ganancias, e mandó [a sos quiñoneros] que ge los diesen por carta*

In that moment (Mio Cid) had the booty shared, and he had his men (quiñoneros) give them (i.e. the riches) with a written statement.

- b. *Essora mandó Mio Cid a cuantos qu'ha y en su casa que guardassen el alcázar e las otras torres altas...*

In that moment Mio Cid had all the men he had in his house guard the fortress and the high towers.

The development sequence suggested is:

Stage 1: Report of a quoted statement: (two separate sentences)

mandar : “*que* statement as it was said” (ex. 38)

Stage 2: Indirect Report: (one sentence with coordination)

mandar [INF] *que*_{coordinating element} [indirectly reported statement] (ex. 39)

Stage 3: fully causative construction *mandar que*, no speech is reported here.

mandar que [caused event elaborated in detail] (ex. 40)

As it can be observed in example (40) nominal phrases can still be placed between the causative verb and the complementizer. However, it will be shown with data from later centuries that the cohesion between these two elements will increase and instances like those in (41) from the 15th century will become more frequent.

41. a. ... *pasados ocho dyas, el rrey partyó para Rrogena; hechas otras muchas provysiones mandó que dexasen un tercyo de la vylla syn apoderarse de nadye...* (ADRAMÓN)

... after eight days, the king left to Rrogena;
once many arrangements were made,
(he) made/ordered that one third of the village be left uncontrolled (i.e.free)

b. (la reina quería ir a un monasterio a pie)
Hazía calor y la gente hazya mucho polvo: mandaron que la gente fuese mucho adelante o quedase atrás. (ADRAMÓN)

(The queen wanted to walk to a monastery)
It was very hot and the people produced a lot of dust (when walking)
they had the people go ahead of the queen or fall behind.

5.2 *Fazer*

Ten instances of a causative construction were recorded for *fazer* in this sample. All of them followed the same structure: [*fazer* INF]. In all of them, the participants –causer and causee- were human beings; however, contrary to the *mandar* causative constructions, not all the causers were powerful and not all the

causees were servants. The reason for this may be the fact that the lexical meaning of *fazer* does not impose the power asymmetry typical of the verb *mandar*. So, whereas *mandar* imposed a hierarchical distinction between the person who gave the order –high in the hierarchy- and the one who followed it –lower in the hierarchy-, the lexical meaning of *fazer* did not impose that kind of difference between the participants.

When each of the instances was analyzed in detail, it was possible to observe different shades of causative meaning among them. For instance, in the example (42) below, the meaning of the construction is ‘have something done by an unknown or unidentified participant (i.e. causee)’. In this case, Mio Cid had someone build and set up some good structures that were used to practice with lances.

42. *Muy ricas fueron las bodas en el alcázar e
Mio Cid al otro día fiz fincar siete tablados...*

Very abundant were the weddings at the fortress and
Mio Cid next day had seven wooden targets set up...

In some instances, the construction also meant ‘to manage to get someone to do something’. When this meaning was observed, the causer was not more powerful than the causee; in fact, the causer was a subordinate of the causee.

43. *Fasta passados tres días, non lo pueden acordar;
los del Cid partiendo están aquestas ganancias grandes
e non le pueden fazer comer un muesso de pan.*

For the last three days, they haven’t been able to move him into reason;
the men of Cid are distributing the great booty
and they cannot get him to eat a bit of bread.

In (43), Mio Cid was undergoing a deep depression after learning that his daughters had been abused by their just wed husbands, the Infants of Carrión. He did not want to eat anything because he wanted to die of starvation. The construction expressed that his knights failed to make him eat. Notice that the causers fail because there is no way they can overcome the resistance put up by the causee since he is their superior. This shade of meaning was not attested in any of the constructions involving the verb *mandar*.

Besides having something done and managing to get someone to do something, this construction also meant 'to bring something about'. Consider the sentences in (44).

44. a. *E firme ruego a San Pedro qu' a mí m'ayude a rogar
por Mio Cid Campeador que Dios le curie de mal:
¡cuando agora nos partimos, en vida nos faz juntar!*

And strongly I beg to Saint Peter that he helps me pray
for Mio Cid so may God protect him from evil:
we now go separate, may (God) **make us come together** in this life!

- b. *¡De mios yernos de Carrión Dios me lo faga vengar!*

Of my sons in law, the Carrions, God may aid/make me take revenge.

In these cases, the causer is a divine entity expected to influence the lives of the participants of the event in an unnatural way which will enable the causee to do something he strongly desires but could not make happen naturally by himself. The caused event is portrayed as something impossible to attain without the participation of the external, divine energy. Again, this shade of meaning was not attested in any of the constructions using *mandar*.

Finally, the last meaning observed was 'to cause'. These cases (2 of them) are special because in both of them the causer was not really a human being but the action a powerful human being carried out. Such action triggered a reaction from the causees. In the example (45), a discussion was taking place at the court. It was loud, everybody was speaking at the same time; however, at the moment the king stood up, everybody in the room got quiet and paid attention to what he was about to say. The king did not ask the court to keep quiet; it was his standing that caused people to pay attention.

45. *Allí levantós' el rey e fizo callar la cort:*
"Ruégovos agora, Cid,..."

In that moment, the king stood up and made the court be silent:
"I beg you now, Cid,..."

Summing up, in the poem of Mio Cid, only ten cases of a causative construction using the verb *fazer* were found. Those cases showed different shades of a causative meaning: 'have something done', 'manage to get something done', 'bring something about', and 'cause'. Also, in all the instances where *fazer* was present, the causer acted directly upon the causee. This differs from the constructions with *mandar*, where it was possible for the causer to get something done without necessarily being in direct contact with the causee. For instance, in the example (36. b.) the king had a group of people fed and served, but he did not have direct contact with the cooks and maids to get the event happen. There was an intermediary between the causer and the causee, i.e. between the king and the servants. In the constructions involving *fazer*, that intermediary was not present.

Another property that is important to note is that in two instances of the constructions with *fazer*, the causer was not a human being, but the action carried out by him (example 45). This is a tendency typical to the causative constructions of *fazer* that will get stronger over time and will extend to include events related to natural forces such as wind, storms, and the like, besides physical and abstract objects such as emotions.

The small amount of data available for this century suggests that the constructions with *fazer* were at an initial stage of their development at this period of time, and limits my capacity to create an accurate profile for each of the constructions attested. However, this limitation will be overcome in the analysis of subsequent centuries where the data is abundant.

5.3 *Enbiar*

According to Del Rosal (1992 (1560)), Corominas and Pascual (1980), Gómez de Silva (1988), and García de Diego (1954), *enviar* comes from the late Latin word **inviare*, composed by *in-* 'on' and *via* 'road', meaning 'on the way' 'send someone down a road'. It was used to say that a person had been sent to a different location either to do something or deliver something, typically a message. The examples in (46.), from the Poem of Mio Cid, show that a message is sent to different places.

46. a. *Por Aragón e Navarra los pregones mandó echar
e a tierras de Castiella enbió los sus mensajes:*

He had the announcements made in Aragón and Navarra
And to the lands of Castilla he sent his messages:

- b. *El qu'en Buena ora nasco non lo quiso detardar
e fablóse con los sos, aviendo su poridat:
a Castiella, al rey Alfonso pensó el mandado enviar.*

The well-born one didn't want to delay (the news)

and talked with his (people), secretly:
to Castilla, to king Alfonso, he thought of sending the message.

The location where the object is to arrive, was expressed in a prepositional phrase headed by the preposition a 'to'. See examples (47) below.

47. a. *Enbiarvos quiero yo a Castiella con mandado
d'aquesta batalla tal qu'avemos aquí arrancado...*

I want to send you to Castilla with a message
about this battle that here we have won...

- b. *Si a vos ploguiere, Minaya, e non vos caya en pesar,
agora enbiarvos quiero do avemos las heredades,
a la cort del rey Alfonso,*

If it pleases you, Minaya, and does not bother you,
now I want to send you where we have our properties,
to the court of king Alfonso

An expression that imposes a causative meaning and takes also a prepositional phrase as a complement was registered. Its structure was: [*enviar por* NP]. The literal meaning of this configuration is 'send by NP'. The constructional meaning of the expression is 'to send someone to get something at different location, (and bring it to the original location)'.

In all the attested cases, the causer was a powerful human being sending one of his subordinates to bring a person or an object to him. The situations where the construction was used required that the causee traveled a long distance in order to fulfill his assignment. The causee was never mentioned, it is unspecified. The example (48. a.) shows Mio Cid sending someone to find his relatives and bring them before him; example (48. b.) shows Mio Cid telling his messenger the message he

has to deliver to the king. In that message Mio Cid states that if the king allows him to get his wife and daughters out of the castle, he will send someone to pick them up.

48. a. *Mio Cid enbió por todos sos parientes e vasallos
díxoles cómo del rey de la tierra era echado*

Mio Cid sent for all his relatives and vassals (lit. Mio Cid send for all his relatives and vassals)
he told them how by the king he was being thrown out from that land...

- b. (Habla Mio Cid)
*Por mí besadle la mano e firme ge lo rogad:
mi mugier doña Ximena e mis fijas las infantas,
que si fuere su merced, que me las dexen sacar:
luego enbiaré por ellas...*

(Mio Cid is speaking:)
Kiss his hand on my behalf and firmly you ask him that
if it is his will to let me get my wife Doña Ximena and my daughters out
I will immediately send (someone) to get them.

Since the syntactic configuration of this construction is not analytic because the construction does not include two verbs (main verb and infinitive), these instances will not be included in the analyses of the subsequent centuries. It may be sufficient to mention that this construction remains in use in Modern Spanish where it alternates with its more recent counterpart: [*mandar por NP*]. See examples (49).

49. a. *Decidí contar lo sucedido a mis socios, les pareció una historia magnífica y claro, no me creyeron cuando les dije que todo era real.
Enviaron por los mejores dibujantes, y mientras yo narraba la historia de la mujer que amaba, ellos hicieron una historia, de ésas que se narran con dibujos. (2007 Spain)*

I decided to tell what had happened to my partners. They thought it was a wonderful story, but they did not believe me when I told them it was all real. They sent for the best draftmen and while I narrated the story of the woman I loved, they made a tale, one of those that are narrated using pictures.

- b. *Odio que Anita me mande por los víveres, es una injusticia y lo peor del caso es que ni siquiera me ha quedado cambio para comprarme un dulce.*

I hate it when Anita **has me get the groceries**, it is unfair, and the worst part of it is that I cannot keep any of the change to buy myself a candy bar.

- c. **Hicieron por los mejores dibujantes...*
**Odio que Anita me haga por los víveresi*

Nowadays, the difference between these constructions is the profiling of the power asymmetry between the participants. When the power asymmetry is non-existent or reversed, i.e. the causee is perceived as being more powerful than the causer, *enviar por* is used (49.a.). However, when the asymmetry is sustained and the causer is higher in social status or authority than the causee, then *mandar por* is used (49.b). None of these constructions renders a grammatical sentence when *hacer* is used (49.c.).

5.3.1 *The causative uses of enbiar*

Throughout the poem, *enbiar* appeared 28 times, out of which seven instances had a causative meaning. One of those 7 instances had the configuration [*enbiar* INF] (example 50).

50. *E a vos, rey muy ondrado, enbía esta presentaja,
e enbíame besarvos los pies e las manos amas...*

And to you, honorable king, he (Mio Cid) sends this present,
and sends me to kiss both your feet and hands...

In this construction the causee reports to a recipient participant what the causer at a far away location sent him to do and does it right away. In the example (50), the causee was sent to go before the king of a foreign land and salute him with all honors, i.e. kissing the king's hands and feet on behalf of his king (the causer).

Three instances (of the 7) correspond to a construction where the infinitive was preceded by the preposition *a* 'to' [*enbiar a* INF]. As it was explained earlier, the preposition made reference to a goal location (as in the examples in 47). The data suggests that by analogy to the simple sending construction, the activity coded by the infinitive constituted the goal of the journey engaged by the causee. This interpretation is also compatible with the example in (51).

51. *¡Merced, ya señor Alfonso, por amor del Criador!
A vos me quiso enbiar Mio Cid el Campeador
A besarvos pies e manos como a rey e buen señor...*

Mercy, oh lord Alfonso, for the love of God!
To you, Mio Cid el Campeador desired to send me
To kiss your feet and hands as (it is done to) a king and a good lord...

This construction is important because all causative constructions that depart from the prototypical causative verbs *hacer* and *mandar* will follow the syntactic and conceptual configuration this construction shows. Some examples of Modern Spanish are listed and exemplified in (52), data from the 15th and 16th centuries will be presented in Chapter 7.

52. a. [*enviar a* INF] 'send/have someone get something'

Nos dijeron que sólo era un dolor en el pecho y nos enviaron a comprar la medicación correspondiente. Buenos Aires 2005

'We were told (by the doctors) that it was just chest pain and we were sent to buy the necessary medicine'.

- b. [*mandar a* INF] 'have someone get something'

"Mis camaradas me mandaron a preguntar cuándo vas a abrir la escuela"
México 2007

'My comrades sent me to ask when you are going to open the school'

[*obligar a* INF] 'force someone to do something'

La crisis nos obliga a pensar cómo va a ser el futuro. Spain 2009

- 'The crisis forces us to think how the future will be'
- c. **[forzar a INF]** 'force someone to do something'
El deseo nos fuerza a amar lo que nos hará sufrir. Mexico 2010
 'Lust forces us to love what will make us suffer'
- d. **[ayudar a INF]** 'aid/help someone to do something'
Oxitocina: Una hormona que nos ayuda a ser más felices. Spain 2009
 'Oxytocin: A hormone that helps us to be happier.'
- e. **[inducir a INF]** 'induce someone to do something'
Aldo Valle sostiene que su madre lo indujo a robar desde pequeño.
 Peru 2009
 'Aldo Valle claims that his mother led him to steal since he was young'.
- f. **[poner a INF]** 'have someone do something'
Ahora sí, la jefa me puso a trabajar! Nicaragua 2009
 'This time the boss did get me to work!'

Since none of the verbs in (52) was attested in Mio Cid in a causative construction of any type, it is possible that the construction [*enviar a INF*] is the source that provided the adequate conceptual and structural schema for those constructions to emerge centuries later. However, the data of the following centuries will allow us to accept or reject this possibility.

Finally, three instances of a causative construction involving the complementizer *que* [*enviar que CL*] were also attested. It is impossible to provide an accurate description of the construction on the basis of those three instances. What I can perceive from the examples available is that the verb *enbiar* implies sending someone to a different location to do something. The clause following the complementizer elaborates the action the causee has to carry out. This can be seen in examples (53).

53. a. *Todo el recabdo en Medina, Minaya muy bien lo trae:*

*enbió dos cavalleros que sopiessen la verdad;
éstos non lo detardavan, ca de corazón lo han:*

All the booty from Medina, Minaya brings it well (safe):
he sent two knights to find out the truth;
they don't delay doing it, because they act from their hearts...

- b. *Al quinto día venido, Mio Cid el Campeador
a Álvaro Fáñez delante con mandado l'enbió
que le besase las manos como a so rey e señor:
"e bien lo sopiesse el rey, qu'y sería aquessa noch"*
Once the fifth day arrived, Mio Cid el Campeador
sent Alvar Fañez ahead to kiss the hands (of Alfonso) as his king and lord
and let (lit.should) the king very well know that Mio Cid would be there that
night.

5.4 Summary

During the 12th century, the causative constructions listed below were in use. Unfortunately, due to the small amount of data available during that period of time it is not possible to create a strong descriptive profile for each of the constructions attested. However, since these constructions became highly frequent in later centuries, it is important to list them now in order to understand their sequence of appearance and development.

- Three causative constructions using the causative verb *mandar*:
 - *Mandar* INF imposing a meaning of 'commanding someone to do something'. The causer instructs the causee directly. There is a power asymmetry between causer and causee, where the former is more socially powerful than the latter. (Examples 30 and 33)
 - *Mandar* INF imposing a meaning of 'getting someone to do something'. The identity of the causee remains unknown, although he/she is usually a servant. The causer does not necessarily instruct the causee himself. The asymmetry between causer and causee remains. (Examples 35)

- *Mandar que CL* holds the basic meaning of ‘commanding’, however it is clear that the caused event is ‘being announced right after the complementizer. The asymmetry between causer and causee holds, and the identity of the causee is well known. (Examples 37, 38)
- *Mandar INF... que CL* imposes the basic ‘commanding’ meaning. The presence of the complementizer enables the coordination of a second caused event to the main causative verb. In this case, the speaker is essentially listing the caused events one or different causees are expected to carry out. (Examples 39)

The constructions involving *enviar* and *fazer* cannot be described in the same detail due to the limited amount of data available for this century. Therefore, I will confine myself to providing a list of the constructions attested.

- Four possible causative constructions using the verb *fazer*:
 - *Fazer INF* imposing the following meanings:
 - ‘to have something done by an unspecified participant’ (ex. 42)
 - ‘to manage to get someone to doing something’ (examples 43)
 - ‘to bring something about’ (examples 44)
 - ‘causing something to happen’ (examples 45)
- Three possible causative constructions with *enviar*:
 - *Enviar INF* imposing the meaning: ‘sending/commanding someone to do something’ (example 50).
 - *Enviar por FN* imposing the meaning ‘send someone to get something’ (example 48)

- *Enviar a* INF imposing the meaning 'sending someone to do something'.
The caused action is a goal. (Example 51)
- *Enviar que* CL imposing the meaning 'sending/announcing/commanding someone to do something'. (Example 53)

In the following Chapter, the constructions are tracked during the Middle Ages comprising the 13th and 14th centuries.

6 Analytic Causatives in Medieval Spanish (13th and 14th centuries)

During the Late Middle Ages¹⁷ a series of changes took place. On one hand, the overall frequency of the verb *mandar* began its decrease during the 14th century; notwithstanding, its causative uses increased from 52% during the 12th century to 75% in both of the medieval centuries.

The expression of causality continues to be the most important function of this verb during this period. Its construction with infinitive [*mandar* INF] shows a decrease in its frequency from the 13th to the 14th century, although it still remains highly frequent with more than half of the instances of *mandar* occurring in this construction. The construction with complementizer [*mandar que* CL] increases its frequency considerably from 25% in the 13th century to 46% during the 14th century.

At the same time, the frequency of the use of *fazer* in all its functions increased considerably from the 13th century to the 14th century. However, its causative use remained low 13% and 8% in each century respectively, which is not a surprising tendency if we consider that *fazer* had and still has other numerous functions as well. Even in Modern Spanish, the causative use of *hacer* represents only 11% of its total use¹⁸.

With respect to its causative constructions, [*fazer* INF] became more frequent. It went from 10 instances in the 12th century, to 344 tokens in the 13th century and 239 tokens in the 14th century. The construction [*fazer que* CL] was non-existent

¹⁷ I am following the time line provided by Power (2006) who divides the Middle Ages in the following periods: (a) 500-1000 Early Middle Ages; (b) 1000-1300 High Middle Ages; (c) 1300-1500 Late Middle Ages; and (d) 1500-1800 Renaissance.

¹⁸ In a corpus of 160 million words of Modern Spanish that contains samples from all Spanish speaking countries in the world (CREA), 444, 475 instances of *hacer* were recorded, out of which only 50,417 occurred in causative constructions. In other words, 11.3% of the uses of *hacer* are causative.

during the 12th century, but was attested with an extremely low frequency during the medieval time. This same tendency is observed with the construction [*enviar que* CL] that had three tokens during the 12th century and increased to 11 tokens in the 13th century and then went down to 4 occurrences in the 14th century.

These tendencies support the idea that the causative construction with the complementizer *que* emerged initially within the constructional inventory of *mandar*. [*Mandar que* CL] went from 13 tokens in the 12th century to 97 tokens during the 13th century and 126 tokens in the 14th century. When we consider the gradual increase of the frequency of [*mandar que* CL] over time, it becomes clear *mandar* was the source of this construction.

Enbiar, on the other hand, showed a steady increase in its overall frequency as well as some adjustments in its causative use. Whereas the constructions [*enviar* INF] and [*enviar a* INF] increased their frequency in both centuries, the complementizer construction [*enviar que* CL] decreased from 18% during the 13th century to 5% in the 14th century. This tendency points to the disappearance of the construction, which is expected since this construction is not in use in Modern Spanish.

Table 6.1 summarizes the frequencies of each of the verbs under study and their frequency of use in causative constructions in the 13th and 14th centuries. In the sections to follow, each of the causative verbs in this Table and their causative constructions are presented in detail.

	13 th century		14 th century	
Total words in the sample	257,222 words		257,355 words	
Mandar				
total instances	521		363	
causative instances	389 = 75% ¹⁹		273 = 75%	
Causative uses of <i>mandar</i>				
	tokens	%	tokens	%
mandar INF	292	75	147	54
Mandar que [CL]	97	25	126	46
Hazer				
total instances	2,809		3,053	
causative instances	357=13%		244=8%	
Causative uses of <i>hazer</i>				
	tokens	%	tokens	%
hacer INF	344	96	239	98
Hacer que [CL]	13	4	5	2
Enbiar				
total instances	237		277	
causative instances	61=26%		84=30%	
Causative uses of <i>enviar</i>				
	tokens	%	tokens	%
enviar INF	35	57	59	70
enviar a INF	15	25	21	25
enviar que [CL]	11	18	4	5

Table 6.1 Frequencies of *mandar*, *fazer*, and *enviar* in the 13th and 14th centuries

6.1 Mandar

During the 12th century, *mandar* was used in three constructions: (a) *mandar* INF meaning ‘instruct someone to do something’; (b) *mandar* INF meaning ‘have someone do something’; and (c) *mandar que* CL. During that century, the frequency of these constructions was not large enough to allow the detailed formulation of a construction profile. During the 13th and 14th centuries, these constructions were more frequent; in consequence, in the following sections a richer profile for each of them will be presented. It is important to say that during these centuries the

¹⁹ % of total instances, i.e. 75% of all the uses of *mandar* were causative.

entrenchment of the constructions already identified was observed, no further parallel constructions with the causative *mandar* were formed.

6.1.1 *Mandar* INF

The frequency of [*mandar* INF] from the 13th to the 14th century diminished from 75% to 54%. When we look at the more specific constructions [*mandar* INF] encompasses, [*mandar* 'command' INF] and [*mandar* 'have' INF], we see that the frequency of the former decreased, whereas the frequency of the latter increased over time.

In other words, the construction [*mandar* 'command' INF] that was closer to the lexical meaning of the causative verb reduced its frequency, whereas the construction that developed a meaning on its own, [*mandar* 'have' INF] got more entrenched over time. Look at their frequencies in the Table 6.2 below. Notice the gradual strengthening of the construction [*mandar* 'have' INF].

	12 th century	13 th century	14 th century
[<i>mandar</i> 'command' INF]	17/45 37%	100/292 34%	32/147 22%
[<i>mandar</i> 'have' INF]	28/45 63%	192/292 66%	115/147 78%

Table 6.2 Frequency of the [*mandar* INF] constructions

As we will see in the following sections, the construction [*mandar* 'get' INF] not only became more frequent, it also developed a set of clearly preferred collocations which differs from the construction [*mandar* 'command' INF] which neither increased in frequency or presented a strong set of collocations. Let us look now at the constructions in detail.

6.1.1.1 Construction [*mandar* 'command' INF]

The causative event in this construction reduced to giving oral instructions. The causer ordered the causee to do something and he carried it out. The relation between them was direct. There were no intermediaries between them, no messengers or servants. Causer and causee were at the same location in space and time and the causer talked directly to the causee, who carried out the action right away (see examples in 54.)

54. a. *Desí enbió el rey por quantos sabios avía en todo su regno que viniesen a él e que catasen la ora e el punto en que naciera su fijo. E después que fueron llegados, plógole mucho con ellos e mandó-les_{causee DAT} entrar ant'él, e díxoles:* (Sandebbar)

Then the king sent for all the wise men that were in his kingdom so that they went to him and predicted the exact time when his child would be born. And once they all arrived, (the king) was very happy with them and ordered them to come before him, and told them...

- b. ... *do nos_{causee DAT} manden ir, por fuerça alla iremos, nuestros fijos e hijas jamas non los veremos...*(Poema de Fernán González)

(soldiers talking) ... where they order us to go, there by force we'll go, our daughters and sons we may never see again...

The caused event of this construction, on the other hand, showed a preference for verbs of movement, the handling of objects, executions, and communication, i.e. actions servants and soldiers did for their lord. However, with the exception of the verbs *fazer* 'do' and *matar* 'kill', no recurrent or highly frequent types were observed. In other words, the construction did not present clear recurrent collocations.

Table 6.3 below shows the predicates attested in the construction; the number following some of the lexical entries indicates their frequency in the studied sample. Verbs were grouped as the categories in the rows indicate.

	13th century	14 th century
verbs of movement	<i>mover</i> 10 'leave', <i>ir</i> 8 'go', <i>tornar</i> 5 'turn', <i>caualgar</i> 3 'ride', <i>salir</i> 2 'go out/leave', <i>entrar</i> 2 'enter', <i>andar</i> 'walk', <i>guiar</i> 'lead', <i>venir</i> 'come', <i>llegar</i> 'arrive', <i>desbolver</i> 'return', <i>ayuntar</i> 'gather together', <i>alcanzar</i> 'reach'	<i>sobjir</i> 'go up', <i>desçender</i> 'descend',
verbs of handling	<i>fazer</i> 8, <i>llevar</i> 3 'take', <i>tañer</i> 2 'hold', <i>sacar</i> 'take out', <i>traer</i> 'bring', <i>soltar</i> 'release', <i>cobrir</i> 'cover', <i>tomar</i> 'take', <i>dar</i> 'give', <i>retener</i> 'hold', <i>coger</i> 'collect', <i>desponer</i> 'take away', <i>tener</i> 'posses/hold', <i>fincar</i> 'set', <i>toller</i> 'tear down'	<i>fazer</i> 7, <i>apartar</i> 'put apart', <i>dexar</i> 'leave', <i>soltar</i> 'release'
combat related actions	<i>matar</i> 6 'kill', <i>prender</i> 2 'imprison', <i>guardar</i> 3 'protect', <i>atormentar</i> 2 'torture', <i>guarnir</i> 2 'protect', <i>ferir</i> 'injure', <i>lidiar</i> 'combat', <i>desguarnir</i> 'unprotect',	<i>matar</i> 2, <i>guardar</i> , <i>complir</i> 'keep a promise'
verbs of communication	<i>llamar</i> 'call', <i>fablar</i> 'speak', <i>rezar</i> 'pray', <i>maestrar</i> 'confess',	<i>fablar</i> 'speak',
verbs of rest	<i>folgar</i> 'rest', <i>posar</i> 2 'rest', <i>ser quedo</i> 'be quiet'	<i>esperar</i> 'wait', <i>callar</i> 'keep quiet, avoid telling'
verbs of labor and service	<i>vestir</i> 2 'dress', <i>armar</i> 2 'put armor on'	
mental verbs	<i>atender</i> 'listen to/pay attention', <i>escuchar</i> 'hear'	

Table 6.3 Predicates of the [*mandar* 'command' INF] construction in the 13th and 14th centuries

The causer and causee in this construction were always human beings. The causer usually belonged to a high social class or was at the top positions in a power hierarchy; he enjoyed social recognition and authority. The typical causers in the data were kings, outstanding knights, heads of the clergy, and the royal counselors. In very few cases, like (55.) below, the causer and the causee shared the same social status; however, even in those circumstances, causers still remain more powerful than the causee, by acting several of them together. In the example, Teofilo was a counselor, close to the king, and other counselors wanted to expose him before the

king because they thought he was lying. With that goal in mind, they joined and all together ordered Teofilo to go before the court and the king and explain what had happened.

55. *Por prouar bien la cosa, la uerdat escobrir,
mandaron [ha Teóffilo] al conçejo venir;
que ant' el rey, de miedo, non osarié mentir,
avrié ante todos la uerdat a dezir.* (Libro de Apolonio)

In order to prove the situation (lit. thing), to discover the truth, (they) **ordered** Teoffilo to **attend** the meeting, since before the king, out of fear, he wouldn't dare to lie, he would have to tell the truth before everybody.

The causees in this construction were male human beings, which tended to be encoded as full noun phrases preceded by the preposition *a* (example 55) or as a dative pronoun (examples 54 and 56). The causee did not give resistance to the instructions of the causer, on the contrary, he willingly accepted the instruction given, and in cases like (54.b.) the commitment and conviction the causee had with respect to the fulfillment of the task was evident.

56. a. *E non vos quexedes, ca quando el plazo llegare, vos veredes que ellos
fablaran mas de quanto vos queredse, pero quando **les**^{causee DAT}
mandaredes callar, callaran, e quando **les^{causee DAT} **mandardes fablar,**
fablaran, e asi en todas las otras cosas que quisierdes.*** (Libro del
Cauallero Çifar)

And don't complain, because when the time comes, you'll see that they will speak more than you wish, but when you **order them to shut up**, they will, and when you **order them to speak**, they will, and they will do like that in every other thing you wish.

- b. *Et después, fallamos omnes en el camino que nos dixieron que non era
bien, et **mandate yo subir en la vestia et finqué de pie...*** (Libro del Conde
Lucanor)

(father speaking to his child) And later, we found men on the road who told us that (what we were doing) wasn't good, and I **ordered you to get on the**

beast and I remained (going) on foot...

Diagram 6.1 below, based on the tenets of Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1991), aims to portray the causative event this construction encodes. The largest outer rectangle stands for the causative event encoded by [mandar 'command' INF]. Inside the rectangle we see the causer in bold instructing the causee. The bold single arrow stands for the instructing, the bold circle at the end of the arrow stands for the causee and it takes the dative case. The causee connects with a dotted line to the agent participant of the event inside the small bold rectangle to indicate it is the same entity, i.e. the causee is recipient (of the instruction) and agent (of the infinitive). The smaller bold rectangle stands for the caused event encoded by the infinitive. In the diagram a transitive caused event is depicted, but it could be an intransitive event instead.

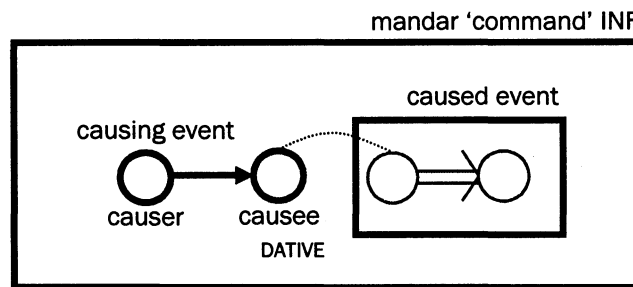


Diagram 6.1 [Mandar 'command' INF] Construction

6.1.1.2 Construction [mandar 'have' INF]

The general meaning of this construction is 'having something done by the order of someone'. The presence of the main verb, *mandar*, added two important qualities to the meaning of the construction. First, it specifies the manner of

causation; that is, that by means of an oral instruction the caused event came to take place. See examples in (57).

57. a. *Otro dia manana apres de los aluores*
el rey por la hueste mando ferir pregones (Libro de Alexandre)

Next morning after dawn
the king had the announcements made through the camp

- b. *Mando luego el rey prender los mensajeros*
mando-los_{affectee} enforcar sobre sendos oteros (Libro de Alexandre)

Soon the king had the messengers captured,
he had them hung at the top of the hills.

The caused event was always the intended result of instruction, and without the instruction, the caused event would have never taken place. The caused event was never the result of some unintentional or accidental activity or the reaction triggered by a stimulus of some kind.

Second, this construction expressed in a summarized way what could be a long chain of events. The construction highlighted the beginning and the end of the event chain and stated that such chain of events took place by the order of the causer. In consequence, the construction leaves some participants un-profiled.

One of them is the participant who received the instruction directly from the causer, the intermediary between causer and causee. He is always someone close to the causer, an assistant, a servant, a knight of higher rank who instructs the troops, etc.. His role as an intermediary is to let know the causee what he has to do. Causees on the other hand, are always service people and soldiers. Both the causee and the intermediary remain un-profiled in the construction, therefore unmentioned. (See examples in (57) above.) In the cases where the intermediary is mentioned, the construction [*mandar* 'command' INF] explained in the previous section is the result.

The causers in this construction were usually people located at the top of social hierarchies, such as kingdoms, army, and clergy. Intermediaries were lower in rank than the causer; however, they are very close to him and enjoyed some privileges as well. A special preference for personal assistants, best friends, and counselors was attested. The causees were the people who carried out the action, such as soldiers, servants, cooks, masons, messengers, and other service providers. Their identity was never known, what was relevant in the construction was the action they realized.

Diagram 6.2 below depicts the causative event expressed in this construction. The intermediary and the causee are in gray because their presence is clearly implied by the meaning of the main verb, but their semantics is unprofiled, i.e. those elements are offstage. Also, observe that the actions excerpted by the causer and the intermediary do not imply the exertion of strong force therefore they are depicted with a single arrow, since they reduce to communicating. The action produced by the causee, on the other hand, is physical (therefore the double arrow) and direct upon the affectee.

This means that whereas the action of the former reduces to giving oral instructions, the latter is in fact acting upon something, i.e. building, creating, changing, fixing, moving, killing, beheading, announcing, etc. Finally, the dotted line connecting participants is a correspondence line in Cognitive Grammar terms which means that the entities it links are the same entity in different events and moments in time. In the diagram that the areas in bold represent the components of the event chain that are in profile are therefore, mentioned in the construction.

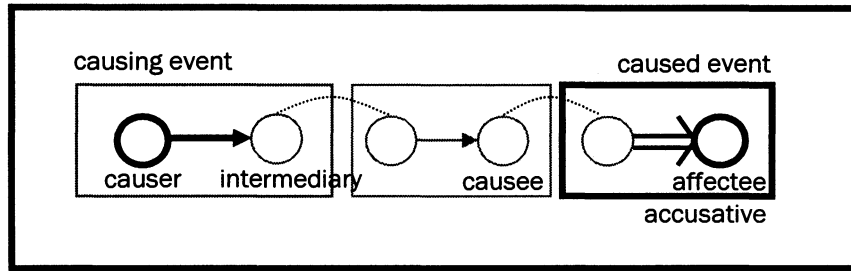


Diagram 6.2 [Mandar 'have' INF] Construction

In the following examples from the 13th century, a marquis had the doors of the city closed (58.a.), Alexander the Emperor had the hand of a robber cut off (58. b.), and the king had meals prepared for all his people (58. c.). It is important to say that the action was indeed carried out in all these cases.

58. a. *E desde que el marques sopo que uinie el rey a la çipdad de Sur, fizo guisar su yent e mando cerrar las puertas.* (La Conquista de Ultramar)

And since the marquis learned that the king was coming to the city of the South, he made his people prepare and had them close the doors.

- b. *Fue preso el mal ome ouo a manifestar como era uenido poral rey matar mando-le Alexandre la mano diestra cortar* (Libro de Alexandre)

The bad man was captured, he confessed how he had come to kill the king, Alexandre had his right hand cut off.

- c. *E quando amaneció otro día, mandó el rey guisar de comer a todos los de su regno...* (Sandeban)

And the next day at the break of dawn, the king had meals prepared for all the people of his kingdom...

The following examples from the 14th century show (59. a.) a lady having beds prepared and food provided for her guests, (59. b.) a man having his birds grilled for dinner the birds, and (59. c.) a knight asking a Lady have someone provide him with a horse.

59. a. *E en la noche mando les fazer a amos su cama bien grande e muy buena, e mandoles dar muy bien de comer.* (Cauallero de Çifar)

And at night, (the lady) had a large and very good bed prepared for them, and (she had) good food given to them to eat.

- b. *Estonçe don Ilán dixo al Papa que pues al non tenía de comer, que se avría de tornar a las perdices que mandara assar aquella noche...* (Libro del Conde Lucanor)

Then Mr. Ilán told the Pope that since they didn't have anything to eat, he would have to make use of the partridges, that he would have them grilled that night...

- c. *Dixo le Roboan: "Señora, mandad me dar vn escudero que guje a vn mj cauallero que quiero enviar al rey de Brez..."* (Libro del Cauallero Çifar)

Roboan told her: "Milady, have a squire be given to me, so that he guides the knight I want to send to the king of Brez..."

With respect to collocations and preferred lexical items filling spots in the construction, [*mandar* 'get' INF] showed clear preferences for certain types of caused predicates, i.e. infinitives. On a semantic basis, it took verbs of handling objects, killing, communication, and making arrangements. On the basis of specific collocations, this construction took *dar* 'give', *fazer* 'do', *llamar* 'call', *traer* 'bring', *poner* 'put', and *matar* 'kill'. In the following table (Table 6.4), all the collocations and attested predicates are shown. Verbs in bold were taken by the construction also during the 12th century. The number following the verb stands for its frequency in the medieval database.

Notice that the verbs of movement and handling that were so typical of the [*mandar* 'command' INF] construction (section 6.1.1.1) are not frequent in this construction. This construction shows a tendency to use verbs of communication and labor, which make reference to chores done at home, as well as tasks soldiers carry out.

	13 th century	14 th century
verbs of communication	<i>llamar</i> 13 'call', <i>andar pregon</i> 4 'go announcing', <i>pregonar</i> 4 'announce', <i>fer pregones</i> 2 'make announcements', <i>decir</i> 'say', <i>reçitar</i> 'recite', <i>pesquerir</i> 'ask, find out'	<i>llamar</i> 7, <i>pregonar</i> 2
combat related actions	<i>matar</i> 7 'kill', <i>justiciar</i> 2 'execute', <i>prender</i> 3 'imprison', <i>enforçar</i> 2 'behead', <i>retener</i> 'hold', <i>desprender</i> 'release', <i>soltar</i> 'release', <i>dexar</i> 'release', <i>atormentar</i> 'torture', <i>destroyr</i> 'destroy', <i>alçar</i> 'rise against', <i>desafiar</i> 'challenge', <i>combater</i> 'combat', <i>feryr</i> 'injure', <i>guardar</i> 6 'protect', <i>guareçer</i> 'protect', <i>quemar</i> 'set on fire'	<i>matar</i> 23, <i>prender</i> 4, <i>enforçar</i> , <i>soltar</i> 3 'release', <i>ençerrar</i> 'imprison', <i>alçar</i> 'release', <i>guardar</i> 2, <i>quemar</i> 'burn/set on fire'
verbs of labor and service	<i>escribir</i> 'write', <i>sacodir</i> 'shake/dust', <i>criar</i> 2 'raise', <i>labrar</i> 'work the land', <i>ençender fuego</i> 3 'set the fire', <i>vestir</i> 'dress', <i>cozer</i> 'cook', <i>armar</i> 'wear armor', <i>cavar</i> 'dig', <i>soterrar</i> 'bury', <i>servir</i> 'serve', <i>calentar</i> 'heat', <i>comprar</i> 'buy', <i>enferventar</i> 'boil'	<i>guisar</i> 'prepare'; <i>escrivir</i> 5 'write', <i>vender</i> 'sell', <i>leer</i> 'read', <i>assar</i> 'grill'
verbs of movement	<i>salir</i> 3 'go out', <i>venir</i> 5 'come', <i>entrar</i> 'enter'	<i>entrar</i>
verbs of handling	<i>dar</i> 20 'give'; <i>finçar</i> 3 'set up', <i>cortar</i> 'cut',	<i>dar</i> 24 <i>finçar</i> 'set up', <i>cortar</i> 5 'cut', <i>prestar</i> 'hold/grasp'
verbs of body posture	<i>sentar</i> 'sit', <i>parar</i> 'stand'	

Table 6.4 Predicates for the [*mandar* 'have' INF] construction in the 13th and 14th centuries.

6.1.2 Construction [*mandar que* CL]

This construction was on one hand the strategy used to paraphrase the [*mandar* INF] constructions and add more detail to them. In many of its instances, the communication event involved is more evident than in the examples of [*mandar* INF] and could be considered non-causative from a strict syntactic perspective. However, I consider it is necessary to describe the properties of this construction here because, as the figures in the Table 6.1 show at the beginning of this chapter,

this construction was significantly more frequent than the construction [*fazer que* CL] which was emerging during this period of time. Therefore, it is my belief that this construction may have provided the speakers with an already well-articulated schema to formulate and elaborate the [*fazer que* CL] construction. This hypothesis will be supported or rejected with the data of the following centuries 15th and 16th.

The construction [*mandar que* CL] elaborates the causative events in more detail than the constructions taking the infinitive; therefore, the causer and the circumstances surrounding the causative event are included in the construction.

Compare the following examples (60).

60. a. *E de aquí es que Maria Prophetisa, hermana de Moysén, fue herida de lepra, [...] e la mandó el señor hechar siete días fuera del real...*(La vida de Sanct Isidoro)

Here on Prophet Mary, Moysen's sister, got sick with leprosy, and the lord had her thrown out of the kingdom...

- b. *Entonçe mandaron los enperadores Honorio e Archades que echasen oro e prata por las praças e por el puebro por que las gentes por tomar el aver dexarían yr el cuerpo.* (La vida de San Alejo)

Then the emperors Honorio and Archades had gold and silver thrown all over the squares and the town because (that way) the people would hand over their bodies in order to take the money.

In (60. a.) Maria is thrown out of town because she fell ill. Notice that the sentence does not provide detailed information about the causer or the circumstances under which the event takes place. Compare that sentence against example (60. b.) where the proper names of the causers are provided, the affectee (gold and silver) is described, the places where the affectee will be thrown are mentioned and the reason why the money is thrown everywhere is provided as well.

The presence of the complementizer *que* allows the inclusion of subordinate classes at will, which results in the full description of the chain of events involved.

In previous constructions, [*mandar* 'command' INF] and [*mandar* 'have' INF], there is a social asymmetry between causer and causee according to which the causer is on a socio-political higher rank than the causee, and often times the causee is a service provider. In this construction, the asymmetry is preserved; however, it is not necessarily based on nobility or social power. In this construction the asymmetry can be based on knowledge (61. a.), divinity (61. b.), and even power in the beyond (61. c.).

61. a. ... e vino un físico muy sabio que era ciego, et dixéronle la dolencia de la niña, et mandóles que le diesen a beber cierto xarope... (Calila e Dimna)

... and a very wise doctor/chemist, who was blind, came over and they told him the illness and symptoms of the girl, and he had them give her a particular syrup...

b. ...*mande* Dios que se arrepienta ende por esto que a fecho... (Los siete infantes de Salas)

...may God make him repent thereafter for this which he has done...

c. *dize la muerte*
a todos los que aquí no he nombrado,
de cualquier ley, estado o condyçion,
les mando que vengan my toste priado
a entrar en mi dança syn escusaçion. (Danza General de la Muerte)

The Death says
to all those I haven't named
regardless of creed, marital status or social condition,
I order that you come promptly to me
and enter in my dance without excuses.

The flexibility given to the power asymmetry in this construction led to the inclusion of atypical causers that had not been registered in the data from earlier centuries. Causers in this construction included the typical powerful entities, such as

kings, emperor and the like and also women, the death (example 61. c.), God (61. b.), in some cases personified animals (62. a-b.), and even personified seasons like Easter (62.b.). It is important to mention that in the data from the 12th century, only two cases of a divine causer, God, were recorded (examples 44.) and they were observed in the construction [fazer INF] in section 5.2.

62. a. *Mandó'l el león al lobo con sus uñas derechas
que lo guardase todo mijior que las ovejas;* (Libro de Buen Amor)

The lion instructed the wolf showing him his right paw (in a threatening way) to guard everything in a better way than he did with the sheep...

- b. *El león dixo luego que merced le faría,
mandó que le llamasen, que la fuesta onrraría
que quanto él demandase, tanto le otorgaría...* (Libro de Buen Amor)

(Context: the animals are at a party and the donkey is entertaining everyone, but he is very loud and his jokes are bad. So the lion, who has a headache already, will honor all those in the party, and will ask the donkey to stop with the promise that he will give him all what he demands.)

The lion said that he would reward him,
he would honor the party, he had him called (and brought before him),
whatever he asked, he would grant him.

- c. *Mandó Doña Cuaresma que a Carnal guardasen
e a doña Cecina en el tocino colgasen.
Mandólos colgar altos e que a descolgarlos ninguno ay no vaya;* (Libro de Buen Amor)

Mrs. Easter had (Mr.) Meat stored and Mrs. Dry Meat hung with the bacon. She ordered to have them hung very high and nobody to go there to take them down.

Also, whereas in the [*mandar* 'get' INF] construction the causee is usually omitted, and in the construction [*mandar* 'command' INF] it is often pronominalized; in this construction the causee is not only mentioned, but expressed in such a way that the exact type of service provider or person is made known. For instance, in (63.

a.) the causee is an announcer (underlined section), in (63. b.) the causees are the second and the third sons of the king, in (63. c.) it is a sheriff, and in (63. d.) a porter.

63. a. *Estonçes mando el rey a so pregonero que fuesse por la hueste pregonando que se armasen todos e que siguiessen la seña de la sancta cruz.* (La Conquista de Ultramar)

Then the king had his announcer go around the camp announcing that everybody should get armed and follow the sign of the holy cross.

- b. *...mandó el rey al fijo mediano que viniessen a él otro día mañana. Et a cabo de otros días, mandó al infante menor que fuesse con él...*(Libro del Conde Lucanor)

... the king had his second son come to him next day in the morning. After a few days, he had his youngest son go with him...

- c. *A cabo de dos o tres días, mandó a su alguacil que fuesse veer aquel paño.* (Libro del Conde Lucanor)

After two or three days (the king) had his sheriff go and see that shred.

- d. *E desde esto dixo el portero al rey mandol que fuesse llamar et ge lo troxiesse.* (Libro del Conde Lucanor)

And once the porter told the king that, the king had him call (someone else) and bring him before him).

Also, by using the verb *mandar* the construction continues to elaborate the manner of causation. In other words, the construction still describes that the caused event was brought about by the oral instruction of the causer. Therefore, the causee takes the dative case (see examples 63. a-c. above) and the affectee, when present, takes the accusative usually within the sentence linked by the complementizer. See example (64) below.

64. *...un papa que vino acomendó [este fecho]_{affectee ACC} [a un cardinal]_{causee DAT} et mando-_{causee DAT} que lo_{affectee ACC} librasse de una guisa o de otra.* (Libro del Conde Lucanor)

... A pope that visited assigned [this situation]_{affectee ACC} [to a cardinal]_{causee DAT} and had him_{causee DAT} resolve it_{affectee ACC} in one way or another.

The last property observed exclusively in this construction is the use some form of negation in the caused event clause. Four instances of negation were attested, in them the caused event entails preventing something to happen. In (65. a.), for example, the affectee would be prevented from getting married; in (65. b.) no harm should be done to the causer's friend.

65. a. *Et agora ruégovos que me conseiedes
si [le mandaré que case con aquella muger], [...]
o si-[l mandaré que lo non faga].* (Libro del Conde Lucanor)

And now, I beg you to advise me
Should I have him marry that woman
or should I have him not to do it.

- b. *Almançor con duelo que avie del,
mando que nol fiziessen ningun mal.* (Los siete Infantes de Salas)

Almanzor with all the sorrow he felt for him_i (his friend),
instructed that he_i was done no harm.

- c. *E el emperador, quando lo oyo, plogole de coraçon
e mando que non matase a ninguno dellos commoquier
que este postrimero meresçiese la muerte.* (Libro del Conde Lucanor)

And the emperor was very pleased when he heard/learned (about) that,
and instructed none of them to be killed
regardless of how much they deserved to die.

Following the principles of Cognitive Grammar, the diagram below (Diagram 6.3) aims to depict the causative event expressed in this construction. The diagram begins with the causer at the left. Then, the verb *mandar que* is represented by the double arrow, which implies the mandatory nature of the instruction given and the fact that the caused event depends on the occurrence of the instruction causing event.

The arrow is followed by the clause depicted by the rectangle. This rectangle corresponds to the instruction given by the causer and also to the caused event produced by the causee. The causee sits at the end of the energy flow of *mandar que*, as the recipient of the instruction, and also at the interior of the instruction, or caused event, as the agent. This double role of the causee (as causee and recipient) is indicated in the diagram by the correspondence line (i.e. dotted line) linking the recipient and the agent.

Notice that all the elements are profiled, i.e. they are drawn in black and onstage. This allows the elaboration of any section of the event chain in detail, which is one of the main characteristics of this construction (example 60.)²⁰.

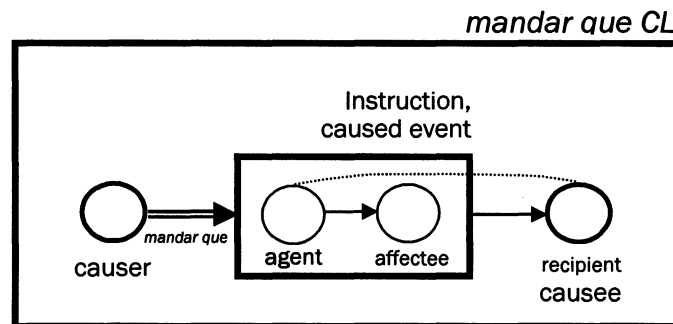


Diagram 6.3 [*Mandar que CL*] Construction.

With respect to collocations and semantically preferred caused verbs, this construction is similar to the construction [*mandar* 'command' INF]. Both constructions tend to use verbs of movement, handling, and combat more than other verbal classes. What distinguishes the construction [*mandar que CL*] is the use of mental verbs which was not frequent in the constructions [*mandar* 'command' INF] and [*mandar* 'have'INF]. In Table 6.5, the verbs in bold were observed in both

²⁰ Cfr. Diagram 2 where the causee is not profiled; i.e. drawn in gray, offstage.

centuries. The number following the verb corresponds to the occurrences of that verb in the data covering these centuries.

	13 th century	14 th century
verbs of movement	<i>yr</i> 12 'go'; <i>entrar</i> 4 'enter'; <i>mouer</i> 3 'leave'; <i>tornar</i> 'turn, return'; <i>partyr</i> 'leave'; <i>cruzar</i> 'cross'; <i>huyr</i> 'run away'; <i>trasladar</i> 'move'; <i>vagar</i> 'wander'	<i>yr</i> 20 'go'; <i>venir</i> 4 'come'; <i>apartar</i> 2 'separate' 2; <i>subir</i> 'go up'; <i>salir</i> 5 'leave, get out'; <i>partir</i> 'leave'; <i>correr</i> 'cover, travel'; <i>entrar</i> 4 'enter'; <i>pasar</i> 'pass by'; <i>andar</i> 'go, walk'; <i>mouer</i> 'leave'; <i>caualgar</i> 'ride'
verbs of handling	<i>tomar</i> 6 'take'; <i>dar</i> 5 'give'; <i>meter</i> 2 'put inside'; <i>poner</i> 2 'put, place, set'; <i>echar</i> 2 'throw out'; <i>traer</i> 'bring'; <i>dexar</i> 'leave'; <i>fincar</i> 'set up';	<i>dar</i> 4 'give'; <i>tomar</i> 3; <i>tornar</i> 2 'bring back'; <i>echar</i> 'throw'; <i>fynçar</i> 'set up'; <i>traer</i> 6; <i>guardar</i> 2 'store'; <i>llevar</i> 5 'take'; <i>abrir</i> 'open'; <i>coger</i> 'collect'; <i>poner</i> 'set up'
verbs of communication	<i>dezyr</i> 3 'tell, say'; <i>preguntar</i> 2 'ask'; <i>fablar</i> 'speak'; <i>llamar</i> 'call'	<i>dezyr</i> 10; <i>consejar</i> 'give advice'; <i>llamar</i> 'call'
combat related actions	<i>matar</i> 6 'kill'; <i>combater</i> 2 'fight'; <i>guardar</i> 2 'guard, protect'; <i>ferir</i> 'injure'; <i>prender</i> 'catch, imprison'; <i>armar</i> 'arm'; <i>velar</i> 'watch over'	<i>guardar</i> 3 'guard'; <i>matar</i> 2 'kill'; <i>prender</i> 2 'catch, imprison'; <i>desafiar</i> 'challenge; defy'; <i>enforçar</i> 2 'hang'; <i>librar</i> 'free'; <i>endereçar</i> 'get ready for combat'; <i>fazer mal</i> 'harm'; <i>furtar</i> 'steal'; <i>cortar cabeza</i> 'behead'; <i>armar</i> 'get ready for combat';
mental verbs	<i>pensar</i> 2 'think'; <i>encantar</i> 'fascinate'; <i>saber</i> 'know, learn';	<i>pensar</i> 2; <i>arepintar</i> 3 'regret'; <i>temer</i> 'fear'
verbs of rest and body posture	<i>posar</i> 'stay, place'; <i>quedar</i> 'stay'; <i>durar</i> 'last';	<i>assentar</i> 'sit'; <i>detener</i> 'stop';
verbs of labor and service	<i>servir</i> 'serve';	<i>servir</i> 'serve'; <i>escribir</i> 4 'write'; <i>trabajar</i> 'work'; <i>vestir</i> 2 'dress someone'; <i>enterrar</i> 'bury'; <i>recercar</i> 'fence in'
miscellaneous	<i>comer</i> 'eat'; <i>cantar</i> 'sing'; <i>haber</i> 2 'possess';	<i>comer</i> 3; <i>fazer</i> 2 'do, make'; <i>dançar</i> 'dance'; <i>casar</i> 'marry';

Table 6.5 Predicates for the [*mandar que* CL] construction in the 13th and 14th centuries.

6.2 Fazer

During the Late Middle Ages, the overall frequency of the verb *fazer* (i.e. causative and non-causative uses) increased from 187 occurrences in our sample from the 12th century, to 2,809 tokens in our sample from the 13th century and 3,053 tokens in the 14th century sample.

The use of *fazer* in causative constructions went from 5% of the data of the 12th century sample to 13% in the data of the 13th century, and then down to 8% in the 14th century sample.

The use of the construction [*fazer* INF] was dominant over this period of time. During the 12th century, it was the only *fazer* causative construction used (i.e. 100% of causative uses of *fazer* were in the construction [*fazer* INF]). Then in the 13th and 14th centuries, this construction was used in 96% and 98% of the causative uses of *fazer* because the construction [*fazer que* CL] emerged at that time with an extremely low frequency, 4% and 2% in the 13th and 14th centuries respectively, which translates into 13 and 5 instances in each century. In the following sections, each of the constructions is presented in detail.

6.2.1 Fazer INF

This construction appeared 346 times in the 13th century corpus and 239 times in the corpus of the 14th century. A fine semantic analysis of those instances resulted in the identification of six semantically and syntactically different constructions; four of them productive (i.e. with a slot that was filled in with different verbs), and two of them fully lexicalized.

The productive constructions, which will be described in detail in the following sections of this chapter, are: (1) 'have something done' construction (example 66.

a.), (2) 'force someone to do something' construction (66. b.), (3) 'cause something to happen' construction (66. c.), and (4) 'lead someone to do something' construction (66. d.). The lexicalized constructions are [*hazer saber*] (66. e.), and [*hazer entender*] (66. f.).

66. a. *Fizo fer una capa de muy fuertes maderos
que bien cabrien so ella quinientos caballeros* (Libro de Alexandre)

He had a shelter built with very strong lumber.
It could easily fit 500 knights inside.

- b. *Quando vido su ora que lo podryé pasar,
con otras melezinas qu'él sopo hí mesclar,
engargantól' el oloyo, físogelo pasar,
ouo de la horrura la dueñilla a porgar.* (Libro de Apolonio)

When he saw that she could swallow it,
with the other medicines that he had skillfully mixed,
he introduced the oil into her throat, **made her swallow it,**
(and) got the lady purged from the impurity.

- c. *El que ha el diente podrido que le faze doler nunca fuelga fasta que lo
saca...* (Calila e Dimna)

He who has a rotten tooth that makes him suffer, does not rest until he
pulls it out...

- d. *La dueña por este fecho fue tan envergonzada,
que por tal que muriese non quería comer nada;
mas una ama vieja que la hobo criada
fizol' creyer que no era culpada* (Libro de Apolonio)

The lady was ashamed of her actions,
in order to die, she didn't want to eat anything;
but an old woman who raised her (when she was a child)
led her to believe (helped her to understand) that she was not guilty.

- e. *Dixo el marido: -Pues éste es tu acuerdo, non lo fagas saber a ninguno lo
que tenemos en corazón de fazer.* (Calila e Dimna)

The husband said: -This is (your part of our) agreement: do not tell anyone
what we plan to do (lit. do not make anybody know what we have in our
hearts to do).

- f. *Entro pora la uilla, fizo conçeio fer*

Fizo-les commo era la cosa entender... (Libro de Alexandre)

He arrived in the village, called for a general meeting,
He **explained** them what the situation was. (lit. made them understand)

The motivation to separate the lexicalized constructions [*fazer saber*] and [*fazer entender*] from the rest of the analyzed data is that these expressions did not profile the causative meaning in the way the productive constructions did. The meaning and syntactic structure of these constructions were already fixed and stable throughout the data. These expressions were used as units already, resembling the communication verbs 'tell', in the case of [*fazer saber*] (example 66. e.), and 'explain' in the [*fazer entender*] construction (example 66. f.). Therefore, in order not to skew or alter the tendencies of the data (i.e. the frequencies and properties of the productive constructions), the instances of these constructions were counted aside.

Other mental verbs were not included in this group because they did not show the unitary status nor had gained any alternate meaning as the lexicalized constructions had. Compare examples (66. e-f.) against (67).

67. *'Dime trasechador, tu que demuestras vno por al e fazes creer a los ombres lo que non es njn podrie ser, ¿podries fazer me a mj que semejase aue e que pudiese bolar?'* (Libro del Caballero Çifar)

'Tell me sorcerer, you who can show one thing for another and **make men believe** what is not and could not possibly be, could you make me be like a bird so I could fly?'

In (67) the causative meaning of the construction 'lead someone to do something' is evident. Its meaning can be paraphrased as 'lead men to believe what is not and could not be'. Whereas in (66. e-f.), the constructional meaning is not observed anymore. For instance, the meaning of (66. f.) cannot be paraphrased as

'[...] This is your part in our agreement: do not lead anyone to know what we plan to do' or 'do not make anyone know what we plan to do'. Rather a lexical alternative is more adequate: 'do not tell anyone what we plan to do'. Therefore, only [*fazer saber*] and [*fazer entender*] were separated from the data.

Table 6.6 and Diagram 6.4 show the distribution of all the *fazer* constructions during the 13th and 14th centuries. Notice that the construction [*fazer* 'have' INF] increased its frequency from one century to the other. Meanwhile, the frequency of all the other constructions reduced from the 13th to the 14th century. In the following sections each of these constructions is described in detail.

Meaning of The construction	Instances 13 th century	Distribution 13 th century	Instances 14 th century	Distribution 14 th century
Have	99	29%	140	59%
Cause	76	22%	40	17%
Force	59	17%	20	8%
Lead	58	17%	25	10%
Saber & Entender	54	15%	14	6%
TOTAL	346	100%	239	100%

Table 6.6. Frequency of the [*fazer* INF] constructions during the 13th and 14th centuries.

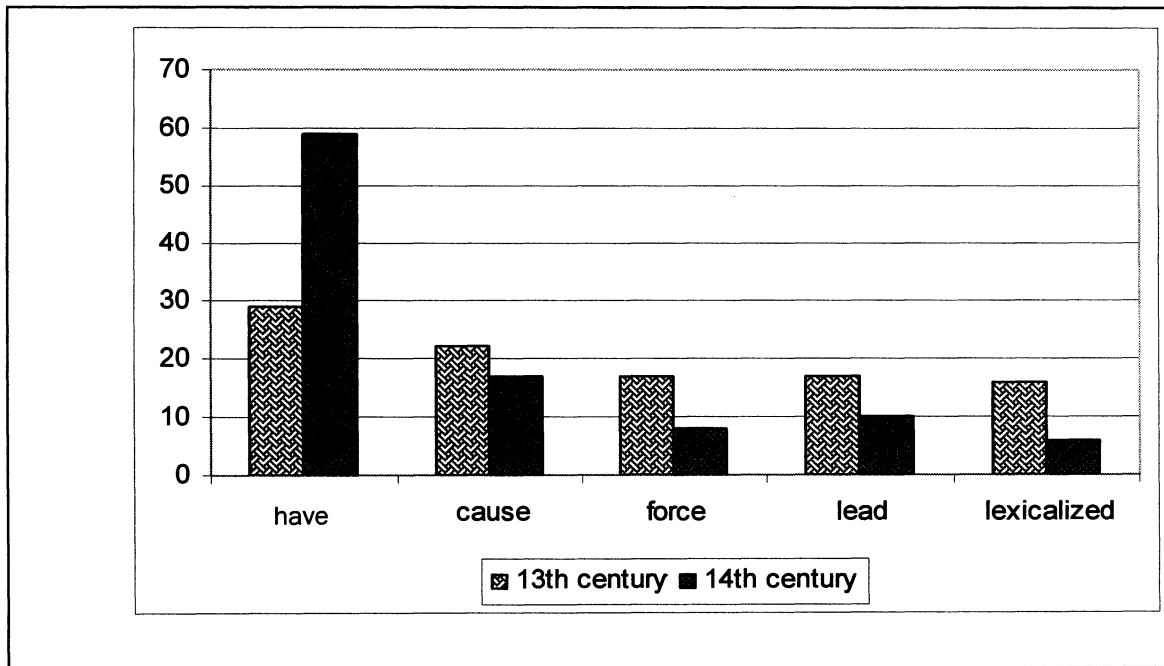


Diagram 6.4 Comparison of the frequency (%) of [fazer INF] in the 13th and 14th centuries

6.2.1.1 Construction [fazer 'have' INF]

The causer in this construction was always a human being, male (examples 68. a-b.) or female (68. c.), who enjoyed a good economic position, i.e. he could afford to have service people getting things done for him/her, or was powerful and of recognized authority. Although in many cases, the causer belonged to the top levels of the social and political hierarchies, people from lower social status fit the construction too as far as they had the economic means or authority to afford and request services.

68. a. *E estonces el conde fizo cerrar [las puertas de la ciudad]_{affectee} porque sus compannas non se arrebatassen e saliessen fuera a enbaratarse con los moros. (Conquista de Ultramar)*

Then the count had the doors of the city closed so that his troops couldn't get angry and eager to get out and meet the Moors.

- b. *...un genués era muy rico [...] et de que entendió que non podía escapar de*

la muerte, fizo llamar [a sus parientes et a sus amigos]_{affectee}; et desde todos fueron con él, envió por su muger et sus fijos; [...] et fizo traer ante sí [todo su tesoro e todas sus joyas]_{affectee}... (Libro del Conde Lucanor)

Lit. a man from Genoa was very rich [...] and since he understood that he couldn't escape death, he had his relatives and friends called; and once they were with him, he sent for his wife and all his children; [...] and had all his treasure and jewels brought before him...

- c. *La madre de San Alexo fizo alçar huna cortina delante de huna finiesta de la cámara do ella jazía...* (La vida de San Alejo)

San Alexo's mother had a curtain hung in a window of the room where she was staying...

The causee, on the other hand, was also a human being. It is possible to infer from the activity described in the construction that the causee was usually a specialized worker or service provider, such as personal assistants, smiths, carpenters, grooms, cooks, soldiers, etc. However, in all the instances of this construction in the data the causee was omitted. (See examples in 68 and 69).

69. a. *Fizo fer [una capa] de muy fuertes maderos que bien cabrien so ella quinientos caballeros* (Libro de Alexandre)

He had a shelter built with very strong lumber
It could easily fit 500 knights inside.

- b. *Fizo en una carta Dario fer [la figura]_{affectee}...* (Libro de Alexandre)

Dario had his face drawn on one of his letters.
(His portrait in the letter was equivalent to his signature; Dario had a person to draw his face for him.)

The affectee on the other hand was usually part of the construction. It received its case marking from the infinitive. Therefore, it was expressed either using a full noun phrase (examples 68. a. and c., 69. a-b.) or an accusative pronoun (*lo, la*) (examples 70) when it was the direct object of the infinitive. In this construction the

pronoun attached to the verb *fazer*. No cases were found where the pronoun was attached to the infinitive.

70. a. *Et entendiendo don Juan que [estos enxemplos]_{affected} eran buenos, fizo-los_{affected ACC} poner en este libro...* (El Conde Lucanor)

And Don Juan, understanding that these examples were good, had them included in the book.

- b. *Entonçe, por le fazer plazer, mandó el rey henchir de agua rosada aquella [albuhera de córdova]_{affected} en logar de agua, et en lugar de tierra, fizo-la_{affected ACC} henchir de açúcar et de canela et de todas las buenas espeçias...* (El Conde Lucanor)

Then, in order to please her, the king had the reservoir of Cordoba filled with water of roses instead of plain water, and instead of dirt, he had it filled with sugar, cinnamon and all good spices...

- c. *... a tiempo de la muerte de Garçi Ferrandes, priso a doña Lambla, et fizo-la quemar.* (Los siete Infantes de Salas)

... around the time of the passing of *Garçi Ferrandes* he took *Mrs. Lambla*, and had her burned (at the stake).

When the infinitive was a bitransitive verb, the affectee was coded either using a prepositional phrase [a NP] (examples 68. b. and 71) or the dative pronoun *le* (examples 72). *Le* preceded the verb.

71. *Quando el Mal esto oyó, fue al Bien et díxol, riendo et burlando, que fiziesse dar [la leche]_{affected} [a su fijo.]_{recipient}* (El Conde Lucanor)

When Evil heard that he went to Good and told him, laughing and making fun of him, to have the milk be given to his son.

72. a. *E ella mando a este cauallero_i que le_{recipient} fiziesse dar muy buena posada e que le fiziesen mucha onrra. E aquel cauallero_i fizo lo assy.* (El Cauallero Çifar)

And she instructed a knight_i to have him (i.e. another knight) receive a good reception and honors. And that knight_i did so.

Lit. She instructed a knight to have him_{recipient} be given a good reception...

- b. *E el tyo de la señora de la villa le_{recipient} mando dar el palafren e el le_{recipient} fizo dar gran auer.* (El Cauallero Çifar)

And the uncle of the lady of the village had him given a horse and (later) he had him given great riches.

In a few instances the construction included a benefactive. Benefactives, as shown in Shibatani (1996), are cognitive extensions of the image schema of the verb GIVE. They convey the intention of transfer of a concrete or metonymic object to a beneficiary. Benefactives in Modern Spanish are coded using a prepositional phrase [*para* 'for' FN] as in *bailó para su mamá* 'she danced for her mom' (Modern Spanish). In the data from the 14th century the following example was recorded. In it the causer is also the benefactive.

73. *E [la buena dueñai]_{causer} fizo comprar [bestias]_{affectee} [para sy; e para aquellas mugeres]_{benefactive} en que fuesen my onrradamente.* (Libro del Cauallero Çifar)

And the good Lady had animals bought for herself and the other women who were honorable.

The causative event this construction describes is depicted in Diagram 6.5 and 6.6. Diagram 6.5 shows the construction when it takes a transitive infinitive; Diagram 6.6 shows it using a bitransitive infinitive. The highlighted portions of the event (in black lines) correspond to those elements elaborated by the construction. Unprofiled elements (i.e. omitted in the sentences) are drawn in gray.

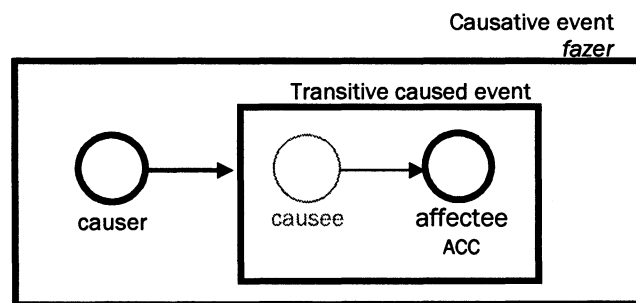


Diagram 6.5 The Transitive [*fazer* 'have' INF] Causative Construction

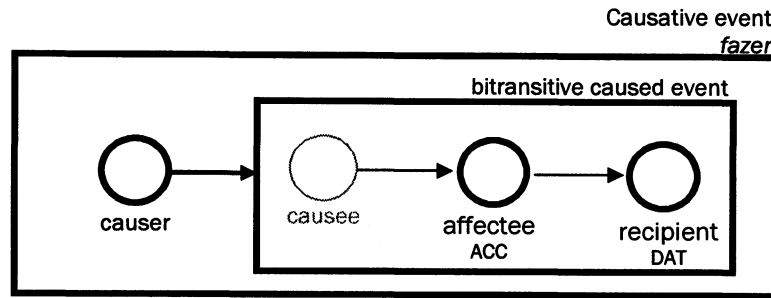


Diagram 6.6 The Bitransitive [*fazer* 'have' INF] Causative Construction

The predicates observed in this construction included mostly verbs of handling, combat, and labor and service. No mental or movement verbs were observed. In Table 6.7 all the predicates recorded for each century are shown.

	13 th century ²¹	14 th century
verbs of handling	<i>lleuar</i> 11 'take'; <i>poner</i> 5 'place'; <i>enchir</i> 2 'fill'; <i>dar</i> 3 'give'; <i>echar</i> 2 'throw inside'; <i>cerrar</i> 4 'close'; <i>meter</i> 'put in'; <i>sacar</i> 'take out'; <i>desarmar</i> 'take armor off'; <i>tirar</i> 'push down'; <i>ayuntar</i> 'put together'; <i>toller</i> 'take off'; <i>armar</i> 'put armor on' <i>guarnir</i> 'to arm, equip, provide guard'; <i>envolcar</i> 'wrap'; <i>cobrir</i> 'cover'; <i>enlaçar</i> 'tie up'; <i>atar</i> 'tie up'; <i>tomar</i> 'take'; <i>abrir</i> 'open'; <i>derribar</i> 'push down'; <i>alçar</i> 4 'build'; <i>posar</i> 2 'set'; <i>rancar</i> 'set'	<i>lleuar</i> 3; <i>poner</i> 15; (<i>f</i>) <i>enchir</i> 'fill'; <i>dar</i> 6; <i>echar</i> ; <i>çerrar</i> ; <i>meter</i> 4; <i>sacar</i> ; <i>desarmar</i> ; <i>tirar</i> ; <i>traer</i> 15 'bring'; <i>trasladar</i> 2 'relocate smtg'; <i>cojer</i> 2 'collect, pick up'; <i>cargar</i> 'load'; <i>descargar</i> 'unload'; <i>apartar</i> 'put away'; <i>llegar</i> 'deliver, hand in'; <i>partir</i> 'share, divide in same size portions'
combat related actions	<i>matar</i> 8 'kill'; <i>enforçar</i> 2 'hang'; <i>descabeçar</i> 'behead'; <i>colgar</i> 'hang'; <i>combater</i> 'fight'; <i>derrocar</i> 'beat over'; <i>enterrar</i> 2 'bury'; <i>sobollir</i> 2 'bury'; <i>soterrar</i> 'bury'; <i>balsamar</i> 'embalm'; <i>prender</i> 5 'take, take someone prisoner'; <i>guardar</i> 4 'guard'; <i>condesar</i> 'protect'; <i>guareçer</i> 'protect'; <i>poner a salvo</i> 'make safe'; <i>ascuchar</i> 'keep an eye on someone'	<i>matar</i> 2; <i>degollar</i> 'behead'; <i>quemar</i> 'burn'; <i>guardar</i> 4 'protect'; <i>acoger</i> 2 'protect'
verbs of labor	<i>escreuir</i> 2 'write'; <i>notar</i> 'write'; <i>arar</i>	<i>escribir</i> 6 'write'; <i>tocar</i> 'play';

²¹ It is important to point out that the meaning (the translation) given to each verb corresponds to the meaning the verb had in the old texts studied. In many instances, the meaning in the Table does not correspond to the current meaning the verb has in Modern Spanish.

and service	'plow'; <i>lavar</i> 'wash'; <i>varrer</i> 'sweep'; <i>labrar</i> 'farm'; <i>encantar</i> 'cast a spell'; <i>comprar</i> 'buy'; <i>buscar</i> 'look for'; <i>cantar</i> 'sing'; <i>coser</i> 'sew'; <i>aparejar</i> 'prepare'; <i>adozir</i> 4 'carry'; <i>basteçer</i> 4 'supply'; <i>guisar</i> 2 'prepare'; <i>fazer</i> 16 'make, build';	<i>cozer</i> 'cook'; <i>pintar</i> 'paint'; <i>comprar</i> 2 'buy'; <i>lavar</i> 'wash'; <i>gastar</i> 'use, spend'; <i>aparejar</i> 2; <i>fazer</i>
verbs of communication	<i>llamar</i> 5 'call'; <i>pregonar</i> 4 'announce'; <i>titolar</i> 'name'	<i>llamar</i> 6; <i>pregonar</i> 3

Table 6.7 The most frequent predicates for [*fazer* 'get' INF]

6.2.1.2 Construction [*fazer* 'force' INF]

In this construction, a physically strong or socially powerful causer acted directly upon the causee and forced him/her to carry out an action against his/her will. Some of the actions attested include: make promises, take fidelity vows, give up belongings, tell lies, keep quiet, leave, enter, and run away among others. The causee was usually a human being that clearly showed resistance and unwillingness to carry out the action imposed by the causer.

The following examples show Diomedes forcing Trojans to run from him (74. a.); the Greeks making the Trojans enter into their fort and stay immobile (74. b.), and Maria being forced to back up every time she tries to enter into the church (74. c.). In all these examples, the causer is acting directly and intentionally upon the causee.

74. a. *Quando uido Diomedes foyr sus compañeros
firio en los troianos e mato muchos dellos
si les progo o non, fazielos^{causee} ir corseros
assi los deliuraua commo lobo [a] corderos* (Libro de Alexandre)

When Diomedes saw his partners run away, he fought the Trojans and killed many of them, whether Trojans like it or not, he made/forced them run/to run (chasing them), that way he killed them, like wolves kill lambs.

- b. *Avién los griegos fecho un firme valladar
que's pudiesen ahora de cuita emparar
Ovieron los de Troya essa vez a rancar:
fiziéron-los^{causee} sin grado allá dentro entrar!
fazien-los^{causee} ser quedos que assi non les uagaua
exir a la bataia ninguno non osaua.* (Libro de Alexandre)

The Greeks made a strong fortification to protect themselves.
They had defeated the Trojans that time.
They forced/made them to enter/enter in the fortification
They forced them to be immobile, so they could not rest,
none of the Trojans dared to fight back.

- c. *... 7 al templo son entrados.
Dentro entro la companyia,
mas non y entro Marja:
en la grant proessa sse metie,
mas nulla re nol valie,
que assi le era assemejant
que veye huna gente muy grant,
en semejanza de caballeros
mas ssemejauan le muy fieros:
cada vno tenje ssu espada,
menazauan la a la entrada;
quando querie a dentro entrar
a riedro la^{causee} fazien tornar* (Maria Egipciana)

...into the temple they entered. The multitude got in, but Maria did not: with a great struggle she tried to enter, but her efforts were fruitless. It seemed to her that she was seeing very tall people that resembled fierce knights: each of them holding his sword against her, threatening her at the entrance; (and) every time she tried to enter, they forced her to go back.

In a few cases (see Table 6.8) the causer was not a human being but an animal (example 75. a.), a material object, such as glue, or abstract things such as promises, illness, poverty (example 75. b.) or danger which forced the causee to act in an undesired way.

75. a. *Es tal como el milano, que busca la carne, et despues que la tiene
ayuntanse las aves a el fasta que ge^{causee}-la^{affectee} fazen echar,
después que la falla con trabajo.* (Calila e Dimna)

It is like the kite, that hunts for some meat, and once it has it,

the birds of pray come down on him (to steal its meat) until they force it to give it up.

- b. *Pues la muerte es major al omne que la pobreza, que faze al omne pedir con cuita, [...] et a las vezes que non quiere el omne pedir, [...] fázel' esto hurtar et robar, que es peor que pedir.* (Calila e Dimna)

Death is nicer to men than poverty, which forces men to beg with shame, and the times when men do not want to beg, it makes them steal, which is worse than begging.

Non-human causees were observed in a few instances as well. In those cases causees were entities such as animals and ships, which were forced by human causers to work under unnatural conditions or travel dangerous or difficult roads. See examples (76).

76. a. *...asi como el omne que quiso fazer correr [las naves]_{causee} por la tierra et [las carretas]_{causee} por el agua...* (Calila e Dimna)

...like the man who wanted to make ships run on the ground and carriages in the water...

- b. *Et [el rio que corrie por Acre]_{causee} finieron-lo_{causee} yr por otra parte porque los de la villa no ouessen agua dulce.* (Calila e Dimna)

And they made the river that runs through Acre go through another place so that those of the village did not have drinking water.

In the Table 6.8 the frequency and types of causers and causees are shown. Notice that non-human causers as well as non-human causees were low in frequency during the 13th and 14th centuries. Their frequency did not exceed 10% of all the occurrences of this construction in the studied samples.

	Causer		Causee	
	Human	Non-human	Human	Non-human
13 th century	53/59 90%	6/59 10%	54/59 92%	5/59 8%
14 th century	20/20	0/20	18/20	2/20

	100%	0	90%	10%
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Table 6.8 Distribution of causer and causee for [fazer 'force' INF]

In this construction the causee was usually coded in the accusative case (examples 74, 76. b. and 77). No affectees or benefactives were attested in any of the instances of the construction.

77. *E los que estauan en las torres dixeron que se tirassen afuera, e sy non, que los_{causee} farien de alli apartar.* (Cauallero Çifar)

And those that were at the towers told them to jump out, or they would make them leave.

If we observe the event structure that this construction codifies, we find that there were only two participants involved in the causative event. A causer and a causee, the former acted directly upon the latter, forcing it into action. See Diagram 6.7 below. The inverse arrow point (<) inside the causee stands for the resistance exerted by the causee. The double arrow means that the causer is applying force over the causee to overcome its resistance and get him into action.

Diagram 6.7 also shows that the causee was indeed part of the construction, i.e. fully elaborated, never omitted. It is depicted with thick lines, as the causer and the causative event are, since they were codified fully in the construction and never omitted too.

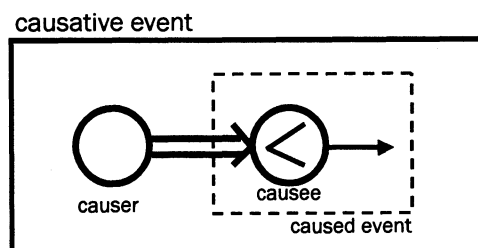


Diagram 6.7 [fazer 'force' INF] Construction

With regard to the caused predicates, this construction preferred verbs that depicted events where verbal communication or the avoidance of it took place, as well as situations where people or entities moved from one place to another. The predicates coding those situations can be observed on Table 6.9 below. Observe that there were clear collocations present in both centuries (in bold).

	13 century	14 th century
verbs of movement	<i>yr</i> 4 'go' <i>venir</i> 'come' <i>entrar</i> 4 'enter' <i>sallyr</i> 'get out' <i>tornar</i> 7 'turn, leave' <i>correr</i> 2 'run' <i>andar</i> 'walk' <i>foir</i> 2 'escape, run away' <i>redrar</i> 'get away' <i>dexar</i> 'leave' <i>descender</i> 'get off the horse'	<i>entrar</i> <i>tornar</i> <i>caualgar</i> 'ride a horse' <i>apartarse</i> 'move away' <i>desterrar</i> 'exile, force to leave'
communication verbs	<i>yurar</i> 4 'swear an oath' <i>prometer</i> 'promise' <i>dezir</i> 'state, claim'	<i>jurar</i> <i>prometer</i>
verbs of handling	<i>tomar</i> 'take, hold' <i>prender</i> 'hold, take' <i>poner</i> 'put' <i>meter</i> 'put in' <i>echar</i> 'throw inside' <i>juntar</i> 'bring together' <i>tener juntos</i> 'keep together'	
miscellaneous	<i>callar</i> 'keep quiet' <i>ser/estar quedos</i> 'be quiet' <i>provar</i> 'prove' <i>matar</i> 'kill' <i>morir</i> 'die' <i>cobrar</i> 'force s/o to keep a broken promise' <i>quemar</i> 'put on fire' <i>ueer</i> 'see' <i>encoruar</i> 'bend' <i>tundir</i> 'beat' <i>creçer</i> 'increase' <i>enpocar</i> 'decrease' <i>tornar</i> 'become'	<i>callar</i> <i>prouar</i> 'prove' <i>asegurar</i> 'ensure, show proof' <i>quebrantar</i> 'force to break a promise' <i>morir</i> <i>cobrar</i> 3 <i>quemar</i> 'burn' <i>creer</i> 'believe' <i>fazer omenaje</i> 'show respect' <i>començar</i> 'start'

Table 6.9 Predicates of the [*fazer* 'force' INF] construction during the 13th and 14th centuries

6.2.1.3 Construction [fazer 'cause' INF]

In this construction, the causer triggers an unintentional reaction from the causee or sets him into motion. The causer could be a human being, although non-human causers were slightly more frequent in this construction (cfr. Table 11). Among non-human causers, concrete objects such as, teeth (78. a), medicine (78. b), and wind (79. a.) were attested as well as abstract entities, such as fear, pain, sin, envy, luck, doubt, or concern, words (78. c.), among others.

78. a. *El que ha [el diente podrido]_{causer} que [le]_{causee} faze doler nunca fuelga fasta que lo saca...* (Calila e Dimna)

He, who has a rotten tooth that makes him suffer, does not rest until he pulls it out...

- b. *... su maestro, le dio alguna cosa, alguna melezina por que aprendiese algún saber, e [aquella melezina]_{causer} [le]_{causee} fizo perder la fabla.* (Sendebar)

... his teacher gave him something, some kind of medicine to help him learn, and that medicine made him lose his speech.

- c. *Et quámaño miedo avía yo del tósigo de tu lengua, el qual me faze aborreçer tu compañía, ca los entendidos dicen...* (Calila e Dimna)

And I was so afraid of the poison of your tongue that it makes me detest your company, as those knowledgeable say...

79. a. *...dával [el viento]_{causer} en los ojos tan reçio que-[l]_{causee} fazía llorar.* (Libro del Conde Lucanor)

... the wind was hitting in her eyes so strongly that it was making her cry.

- b. *E [tan grand golpe]_{causer} le dio el fijo del rey [al ynfante Roboan]_{causee} ençima del yelmo que le atrono la cabeça e fizo [le]_{causee} fincar las manos sobre la çerujz del caballo.* (Libro del Caballero Çifar)

And the son of the king gave such a hard stroke to the infant Roboan on his helmet that made him (stunned and) put his hands on the neck of his horse.

The causee was usually a human being. He/she did not oppose any resistance against the causer or his action upon him. In fact, he/she did not show any awareness about the action of the causer upon him/her or his/her own reaction either. He/she simply experienced the action initiated by the causer, and showed an emotional or physical reaction that put him/her into motion. The role of the causee is basically that of an experiencer.

Table 6.10 below shows the distribution of causers and causees. Notice first, that non-human causers were slightly preferred over human causers; such tendency remained stable over time; and second, that human causees were highly preferred over non-human causees, such tendency became more solid from one century to the other.

	Causer		Causee	
	Human	Non-human	Human	Non-human
13 th century	33/76 43%	43/76 57%	64/76 84%	12/76 16%
14 th century	17/40 42%	23/40 58%	40/40 100%	0

Table 6.10 Distribution of causer and causee for the construction [fazer 'cause' INF]

In the following diagram (Diagram 6.8), the configuration of the causing event is presented. Observe that both causer and causee are equally highlighted. The double arrow coming out from the causer indicates that he is acting directly and strongly upon the causee, who experiences that action and shows a reaction (crooked arrow). The crooked arrow is connected or coming out from the double arrow meaning that the action is by no means initiated volitionally by the causee, but triggered or caused by the influence of the causer. The causee remains non-agentive

and non-intentional. He is affected by the force exerted upon him by the causer and shows an involuntary reaction.

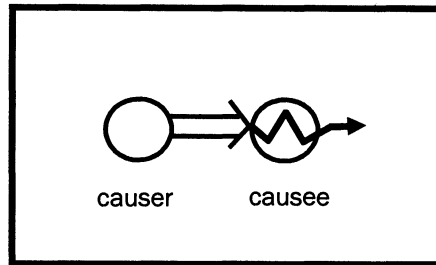


Diagram 6.8. The [Fazer 'cause' INF] Construction

With respect to frequent predicate collocations (Table 6.11), this construction showed a predilection for verbs that made reference to losing; negative emotions like hatred, fear, anger; uncontrollable mental activity such as forgetting, losing consciousness, getting distracted; and uncontrolled motion actions like falling down.

	13 th century	14 th century
verbs of emotions	<i>lazar</i> 3 'suffer' <i>llorar</i> 2 'cry' <i>vevir lazrado</i> 'live suffering' <i>tristeçer</i> 'sadden' <i>aver cuidado</i> 2 'worry' <i>tornar amargo</i> 'become sad, bitter' <i>temer</i> 3 'fear' <i>arredrar</i> 'frighten' <i>contorçer</i> 'tremble in fear' <i>asannar</i> 2 'get angry' <i>aborreçer</i> 2 'hate' <i>enbravir</i> 'get enraged'	<i>lazdrar</i> 2 <i>llorar</i> 2 <i>temer</i> <i>estar en reçelo</i> 'distrust' <i>ensañar</i> 'get angry'
mental verbs	<i>olvidar</i> 2 'forget' <i>descuidar</i> 'get distracted' <i>dubdar</i> 'doubt' <i>exir memoria</i> 'go unconscious' <i>perder</i> 7 'lose awareness, lose one's right mind'	<i>olvidar</i> 'forget' <i>desatentar</i> 'get distracted' <i>desabenir</i> 'disagree' <i>perder</i> 9
non-controlled states	<i>verter sangre</i> 'bleed' <i>empeorar</i> 'get worse while being ill' <i>ser escaso</i> 'lose weight due to illness or worry' <i>cegar</i> 'go blind' <i>quedar</i> 3 'die' <i>andar en celo</i> 'be in heat'	<i>salir sangre</i> 'bleed' <i>matar</i> 'cause to die by accident'

	<i>arder</i> 'be on fire' 2	
movement verbs	<i>caer</i> 2 'fall down' <i>toller</i> 'take away' <i>entrepeçar</i> 'trip-stumble' <i>andar a ciegas</i> 'grope one's way' <i>desçender</i> 'descend' <i>somir</i> 'sink' <i>retraer</i> 'go backwards' <i>boluer</i> 2 'turn over' <i>derramar</i> 'get away from others while running away' <i>trotar</i> 2 'run'	<i>caer</i> 4 'fall down' <i>levantar</i> 'lift up in the air' <i>fincar</i> 'fall down'
	<i>pecar</i> 'sin' 2	<i>fazer maldad</i> 'do evil' <i>errar</i> 'err'

Table 6.11 Predicates of the [*fazer* 'cause' INF] construction during the 13th and 14th centuries

6.2.1.4 Construction [*fazer* 'lead' INF]

In this construction, the causer was usually a person. He/she aimed to get the causee doing something because it was convenient for him or someone else or would render a benefit of some kind. However, the aim remained unknown to the causee. In order to attain that goal, the causer led the causee into action either by subtly convincing, manipulating or guiding him.

In the following examples an old woman talks to her lady and convinces her to believe that she is not responsible for the way a situation developed (80. a.); a knight makes the hesitant king believe that it is safe to drink a poisonous herbal brew (80. b.); a lady makes nurses think highly about a couple of injured young men (80. c.); and a lady leads a visitor to take a seat at her table (80. d.).

80. a. *La dueña por este fecho fue tan envergonzada,
que por tal que muriese non quería comer nada;
mas una ama vieja que la hobo criada
fizol' creyer que no era culpada* (Libro de Apolunio)

The lady was ashamed of her actions,
in order to die, she didn't want to eat anything;
but an old woman who raised her (when she was a kid)
led her to believe (helped to understand) that she was not to blame

- b. *Quando ouo el rey la yerua a beber
ouo un poco dubda 7 quiso-s' retener
entendio-lo Phelipo, fizo-lo descreer
ouo su melezina el rey a prender* (Libro de Alexandre)

When the king was given to drink his herbal brew,
He had some doubt (about drinking it) and wanted to put it off
Philip understood it and **made him stop doubting/distrusting**
The king took his medicine (and drank it)

- c. *E la dueña, quando lo oyo, non se quiso detener e vjnose para el hospital. E
quando vido los donzeles, plogole mucho con ellos, e fizoles lauar las
cabeças e los pies, e ffizo pensar²² muy bien dellos.* (Libro del Caballero
Çifar)

And the lady, when she learned this, did not want to wait and went to the
hospital. And, when she saw the young men, she was very happy (to have
found them), and had someone wash their heads and feet, and **made** (the
nurses and other people there) **think nicely of them** (i.e. without any
prejudice, accepting them).

- d. *E la sseñora de la villa non la dexo yr, [...] e fizo la_{causee} asentar con ella a la
tabla suya...* (Libro del Caballero Çifar)

And the lady of the village did not let her leave [...] she led her to sit with her
at her table...

In some cases, the causer was a non-human entity, it functioned more like a
controlled stimulus that encouraged the action of the causee. In most cases such
stimulus guides the causee at will. These characteristics distinguish this construction
from the construction [*fazer* 'cause' INF].

Whereas in the construction [*fazer* 'cause' INF] the non-human causer is
unintentional and triggers an involuntary, spontaneous reaction from the causee, in

²² It is important to provide the reader with some background to ease his/her understanding of this
example. The lady in the text had lost her two sons a couple of decades ago. One day she hears
people talking about a couple of dying knights that had been picked up at the battle field. Nobody
knew who they were and since they feared they were enemies they were going to let them die.
Intrigued by the descriptions people made of them, she went to the hospital thinking they could be her
lost children. She recognized them and convinced the people at the hospital to take good care of them
because they were noblemen. She could not tell their identity, but she would protect them. It is
important to clarify that the men are almost dead, there is no way they could wash themselves or
speak and say who they were. They were unconscious.

this construction the causer does entail an intention that manipulates the causee into action. The causee is aware of the events taking place and he does not resist the influence of the causer. In many cases the caused event takes time to take place, it can also be a recurrent action, but it is never a spontaneous reaction.

In the following examples envy leads people to kill others, disrespect churches, and make priests lose their good sense (81. a.); sin manipulates people and makes them become enemies (81.b.); and love motivates men to change (81.c.).

81. a. *[la envidia]*

*Esta faz a los omes omeçidios obrar
faze-les a las madres a los fiios matar
esta faz' las iglesias consagradas violar
sabe a los perlados de mesura sacar* (Libro de Alexandre)

[Envy] makes men commit homicides
It makes mothers kill their children
it has churches disrespected
and knows how to make priests lose their good sense.

b. *Encarna el peccado en el ome mesquino
buelue-lo en cobdiçia, saca-lo de camino
faze le olvidar la materia onde uino
[...] el peccado a tan grande poder
faze enemizta a los omes boluer* (Libro de Alexandre)

Sin gets embodied in the mean man
it wraps him with greed and pushes him away from the good road
it leads him to forget who he is
the sin has so much power
it makes men become enemies.

c. *El amor faz' sutil al ome que es rrudo,
ffázele fabrar hermosos al que antes es mudo.
Al ome que es covarde fázelo atrevido,
Al perezoso faze ser presto e agudo [...]
Al viejo faz' perder muy mucho la vejez.* (Libro de Buen Amor)

Love makes rough men kind,
it makes speak beautifully those that were mute before,
it makes the coward courageous,
it makes the lazy quick and clever

it makes the old lose their old age.

The causee, on the other hand, was always a human being. Although he was unaware of the real intent the causer pursued, he was an active participant that felt motivated to do something and carried it out believing it was going to grant him some benefit. The behavior of the causee in this construction is contrary to the way the causee behaves in the [*fazer* 'cause' INF] construction presented in the previous section, where the causee was an unaware experiencer, reacting to the influence of someone's action. Compare examples (82).

82. a. [*fazer* 'cause' INF]

...*dával* [*el viento*]_{causer} *en los ojos tan reçio que-*[*l*]_{causee} *fazía llorar.*
(Libro del Conde Lucanor)

... the wind was hitting so strongly her eyes that it was making her cry.

[*fazer* 'lead' INF]

[*la envidia*] *Esta faz a los omes omeçidios obrar*
faze-les a las madres a los fijos matar (Libro de Alexandre)

[Envy] makes/leads men commit/to commit homicides
It makes/leads mothers kill/to kill their children

Table 6.12 shows the preference for human causers and causees. The preference for human participants grew stronger over time.

	Causer		Causee	
	Human	Non-human	Human	Non-human
13 th century	80/110 73%	30/110 27%	110/110 100%	0
14 th century	33/39 85%	6/39 15%	39/39 100%	0

Table 6.12 Distribution of causer and causee for the [*fazer* 'lead' INF]

Diagram 6.9 shows the conceptual configuration of the [*fazer* 'lead' INF] construction. Observe that the action carried out by the causer was subtle (simple arrow) and independent from the action realized by the causee. The arrow coming out from the causee indicates that he is acting by his own will, without putting up any resistance. The dotted arrow linking the actions of the causer and the causee indicates that although the causee seemed to act on his own, he was in fact being led, in a very subtle way, by the causer. Finally, it is important to point out that the influence of the causer acted directly upon the causee; there was no intermediary entity between them.

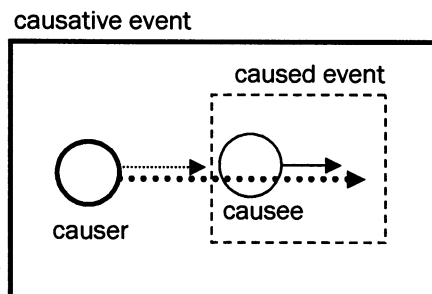


Diagram 6.9 The [*Fazer* 'lead' INF] Construction

As it can be expected, in this construction the causee was sometimes led into performing negative actions, such as lying, killing, thinking badly about someone or acting behind that person's back. In the same way, he could be guided into positive actions like reaching a goal, giving hope to someone, helping, being loyal, etc. Neutral actions such as coming, going, saying something, were attested as well, although in very low proportion. In general, negative and mental events, such as remember, understand, and learn, were the most recurrent. Table 6.13 below shows the attested predicates for this construction.

	13th century	14th century
mental verbs	<i>saber</i> 35 'know' <i>entender</i> 17 'understand' <i>creer</i> 3 'believe' <i>olvidar</i> 2 'forget' <i>membrar</i> 'remember' <i>conosçer</i> 'know, learn' <i>descreeer</i> 'stop believing something' <i>recreer</i> 'believe again'	<i>saber</i> 4 <i>entender</i> 7 <i>creer</i> 3 <i>olvidar</i> <i>membrar</i> <i>conoçer</i> <i>acordarse</i> 'remember' <i>ver</i> 'understand' <i>pensar</i> 2 'think'
communication verbs	<i>dezir</i> 2 'tell, say' <i>fablar</i> 2 'speak' <i>pedir</i> 'ask' <i>laudar</i> 'praise' <i>comedir</i> 'agree',	<i>dezir</i> <i>demandar</i> 'ask'
verbs related to wicked intention	<i>querer mal</i> 'wish bad' <i>meter en mal</i> 'bring someone into trouble' <i>engañar</i> 'trick' <i>hurtar</i> 'steal' <i>perder</i> 'lose' <i>boluer enemizat</i> 'become enemies' <i>pecar</i> 'sin' <i>matar</i> 'kill' <i>violar</i> 'break law' <i>aborreçer</i> 'detest' <i>errar</i> 'err' <i>parecer</i> 'pretend, make believe'	
verbs related to achieving success	<i>alcanzar</i> 'achieve' <i>cobrar</i> 'gain, attain' <i>durar</i> 'last' <i>ganar</i> 4 'win'	<i>allegar</i> 'achieve' <i>subir</i> 'achieve, get' <i>acabar</i> 'reach, achieve' <i>llegar a gran estado</i> 'attain a state of richness and well-being'
Miscellaneous	<i>ir</i> 2 'go' <i>venir</i> 'come' <i>sallir</i> 'go out' <i>fazer</i> 5 'make' <i>obrar</i> 'carry out, make' <i>bevir</i> 'live'; <i>creçer</i> 'grow'	<i>asentar</i> 'sit' <i>levantar</i> 'get up, stand' <i>sentir</i> 3 'feel' <i>ser franco</i> 'be honest' <i>aver esperanza</i> 'be hopeful'

Table 6.13 Predicates of the [*fazer* 'lead' INF] construction in the 13th and 14th centuries

From Table 6.13, two highly frequent constructions become evident: *fazer saber* and *fazer entender*. After observing all the instances of these constructions, it became clear that their causative meaning had lexicalized already. *Hazer saber* was frequently used to express that something was told or communicated to someone.

Hazer entender, on the other hand, implied that something had been explained to another person. The following examples show the typical use of these expressions during the thirteenth (83) and fourteenth centuries (84).

83. a. *E ellos catáronle e fiziéronle saber que era de luenga vida e que sería de gran poder...* (Sendebár)

And they looked at him and told him (lit. made him know) that he was going to have a long life and great power...

- b. *Dixo el marido: -Pues éste es tu acuerdo, non lo fagas saber a ninguno lo que tenemos en corazón de fazer.* (Calila e Dimna)

The husband said: -This is your part in our agreement: do not tell anyone what we plan to do (lit. do not make anybody know what we have in our hearts to do).

84. a. *-Mi reino es grande, et mis fechos muchos, et he menester vasallos. Et fiziéronme entender de ti lo que yo quiero, et provélo et vi que era verdat; et por eso he mayor sabor de ti.* (Calila e Dimna)

-My kingdom is big and numerous my achievements, and I'm in need of vassals. And they told me (lit. made me understand) what I wanted to know about you; I verified it and saw that it is true; that is the reason why I love you more.

- b. *Entro pora la uilla fizo conçeio fer Fizo-les commo era la cosa entender...* (Libro de Alexandre)

He arrived in the village, called for a general meeting. He explained (lit. made them understand) the situation to them.

6.2.1.5 Summary

In this section it was shown that during the 13th and 14th centuries, the general construction [*fazer INF*] had more specific meanings and uses. In other words, from the generic construction [*fazer INF*], four particular subconstructions were attested with distinguishable properties and meanings. Table 6.14 includes the properties of each construction and shows them side by side in a succinct way. The properties the table contains are (1) the characteristic qualities of their participants, (2) the basic characteristics of the causative event described by the construction, (3) its most frequent collocations, and (4) a representative example.

	Causer	Causee	Event described	Frequent collocations
'have'	Powerful and intentional male human being Gets benefit or a product from the action realized by Causee.	Non-elaborated, thus omitted Human being Functions as an Instrument of Causer; Usually a service person Does not show resistance	Causer has something done for him. There are 2 fully elaborated participants in the construction: Causer _{NOM} >Affectee _{ACC} Cee is not elaborated	The construction takes verbs of handling, combat, service, and communication: <i>llevar</i> 'take', <i>poner</i> 'put', <i>henchir</i> 'fill', <i>enforçar</i> 'hang', <i>descabeçar</i> 'behead', <i>combater</i> 'fight', <i>pregonar</i> 'announce', etc.
	<i>Fizo fer [una capa]_{affectee} de muy fuertes maderos</i> (Libro de Alexandre) 'he had a shelter built...'			
'force'	Powerful, intentional, male human being. Acts directly upon the causee	Causee is the direct recipient of the action carried out by the causer. It is directly affected. It acts against its will and shows resistance. Not necessarily human.	Causer acts upon Causee and gets him into action. There are usually two participants: Causer _{NOM} >Causee _{ACC} When affectee included: Causer _{NOM} , Affectee _{ACC} , Causee _{DAT}	The construction takes verbs of movement, communication, and handling: <i>yr</i> 'go', <i>entrar</i> 'enter', <i>tornar</i> 'return', <i>yurar</i> 'promise', <i>prometer</i> 'promise', <i>prender</i> 'hold, imprison', <i>meter</i> 'put inside', etc.
	<i>quando querie a dentro entrar, a riedro [la]_{causee ACC} fazien tornar</i> (Maria Egipciana) 'when she tried to get in, they would make her back off'			
'cause'	Strong, non-intentional stimulus May be human but it is more frequently non-human. Acts directly upon the causee.	Causee is human. The experiencer of causer's action or presence. Cee responds or reacts unwilling and unconsciously to the stimulus received.	Causer's presence or action has an effect on the Causee. There are only two fully elaborated participants: Causer _{NOM} >Causee _{DAT} Causee's action is actually a reaction	The construction uses verbs of emotion, non-controlled mental activity, unintentional movement, and non-controlled states: <i>lazarar</i> 'suffer', <i>llorar</i> 'cry', <i>temer</i> 'fear', <i>ensañar</i> 'get angry', <i>olvidar</i> 'forget', <i>caer</i> 'fall down'
	<i>e [aquella melezina]_{causer} [le]_{causee DAT} fizo perder la fabla.</i> (Sendeban) 'and that medicine made him lose his speech'			
'lead'	Either human or non-human, intentional, positively or negatively oriented. Subtly guides, influences, or leads Causee's action.	Causee is always human; an independent, highly volitional actor. Causee responds positively to the influence of Causer upon him. Causee is not aware of the manipulation excerpted upon him, shows no resistance.	Causer guides or manipulates Causee and impels him into action. There are two participants: Causer _{NOM} >Causee _{DAT} Causee's action is a subtly guided action.	The construction uses verbs of communication, controlled mental processes, achievement, and negatively oriented actions: <i>dezir</i> 'say, tell', <i>laudar</i> 'praise', <i>creer</i> 'believe', <i>conosçer</i> 'know', <i>comedir</i> 'agree', <i>engañar</i> 'cheat', <i>aborreçer</i> 'detest', <i>violiar</i> 'break the law', <i>pecar</i> 'sin', etc.
	<i>E fazes creer [a los ombres]_{causeeDAT} [lo que non es njn podrie ser]_{affectee}</i> (Caballero Çifar) 'and you make men believe what it is not (real) and could not be'			

Table 6.14 Summary of [fazer INF] constructions in use during the 13th and 14th centuries

6.2.2 [*fazer que* CL]

This construction was recorded 11 times in the data from the 13th century and 4 times in the data covering the 14th century. The diversity found across the instances under study made it impossible to identify any clear pattern among them. In consequence, I have decided to remain cautious about describing the construction at this point and will limit myself to offering in this section the clearest examples I found.

In (85. a.), the devil talks to a man about what he thinks his partner should do; if his partner acts as the devil wants him to, the devil will help the interlocutor attain what he wants. In (85.b.), more recent wounds will cause the speaker to forget past wounds, and in (85. c.) the causer will act upon the causee forcing him to beg to be eaten, and in (85.d.) the causer will unsuccessfully try to make the causer confess.

85. a. *...mas deniegue a Christo que nos faz muy despecho, faceli hé que torne en todo so bienfecho.* (Milagros de Nuestra Señora)

But if he denies Jesus who looks down on us, I will have everything go well for him.

b. *...ca estas feridas nuebas que agora nos darán, nos farán que olvidemos las que nos dieron en la otra vatalla.*

...because the new wounds that they will inflict upon us now, will make us forget those they gave us in the previous battle.

c. *...que yo faré al camello que te ruegue que lo comas, et tú saldrás por muy leal et avrás lo que quisieres, tú et nós.* (Calila e Dimna)

... that I will make the camel beg you to eat him, and you will behave loyally and will possess what you want, you and us.

d. *E tovieron a Digna en la cárcel siete días, [...]. Et nunca lo pudieron vençer nin fazer que manifestase.* (Calila e Dimna)

And they had Digna in jail for seven days. And they could never defeat him

or make him confess.

As the examples show, the meaning of the construction resembles different constructional uses of [*fazer* INF] and makes it impossible to suggest a basic or typical constructional meaning for [*fazer que* CL].

6.3 Enviar

During the 12th century, the verb *enviar* showed clear patterns of use in spite of its low frequency. The meaning and uses attested in that century were also observed during the 13th and 14th centuries. The overall and causative frequencies of the verb showed a rising frequency in both centuries and a series of adjustments were attested. First, the use of the combination [*enviar* INF] became stronger as a construction, increasing its frequency over time and developing clear collocations (see Section 6.3.1 below).

The construction [*enviar a* INF] remained constant over time and began to show incipient collocations too. Finally, the construction [*enviar que* INF] showed a noticeable decrease in its frequency, which seems natural if we consider that such construction is no longer in use in Modern Spanish. Table 6.15 below summarizes the tendencies just described.

	Total Causative cases	Enviar INF	Enviar a INF	Enviar que CL
13 th century	61	35/61 57%	15/61 25%	11/61 18%
14 th century	84	59/84 70%	21/84 25%	4/84 5%

Table 6.15 Frequency of causative instances of *enviar*

6.3.1 [Enviar INF]

This construction showed a high degree of specialization. It was used most recurrently in events that had to do with communication, such as greetings, verbally showing respect and admiration, delivering messages (examples 86.), asking for opinions and advice.

86. a. *...et su avedes dubda de esto que vos enbío dezir, id a la fuente et aí me fallarades...* (Calila e Dimna)

... and if you have any doubts about what I am sending to tell, go to the fountain and there you will find me...

- b. *Estonçe el rey de Francia envió dezir al rey de Inglaterra que viniesse a quella nave a do él estava...* (Libro del Conde Lucanor)

Then, the king of France sent/had (someone) to tell the king of England to come to the ship where he was...

In general, the events related to this construction are positive in nature; besides communicating, they usually made reference to helping (example 87. a.), offering help, and complimenting.

87. a. *Mas Dios que es acorredor de las cosas quando el tiene por bien, non quiso que se perdiessse e enuiola acorrer.* (La Conquista de Ultramar)

But God who helps things out when he thinks it is for good, didn't want her to be lost and sent (someone) to help her.

- b. *Oyo commo auien a Tarso ençendida [...]*
enbio-la amatar²³ ante que fues' ardida (Libro de Alexandre)

He heard that Tarso had been set on fire,
(Lit) he sent-it put out before it was all burned out
he had the fire put out before the village was all burned out.

²³ According to Casas Rigall (2007) the verb *amatar* means to 'extinguish' or 'put out'. It constitutes a lexical entry on its own. It may be related to the verb *matar* 'to kill'.

If we look at the examples (86.), in (a.) and (d.) the causee delivers a message, however in (87. a.) and (b.) the causee is sent to a different location to help someone, a woman and a village, on behalf of the causer. The causer was moved to use his power and resources for the benefit of someone else. The lexical meaning of the causative verb helps to express this meaning by highlighting not the control the causer exerts upon the causee, as *mandar* does, but the causer's capacity of having people and resources at hand to send from one location to another.

In this construction, the causer was always a human being, socially powerful, and in few instances it was a divine entity such as God or a saint. The causee was a messenger or someone the causer trusted, always human or divine, such as an angel. The causee served as a representative of the causer. Differing from the construction [*mandar* INF], where the causee was a servant doing something for his master, such as cleaning, handling objects, building something, etc., in this construction, the causee represented his master before other people and delivered a message on his behalf. Even in the cases where the caused event was not just to communicate something, the causee acted in lieu of his master, bringing some benefit to someone else.

Let us look now at the collocations this construction showed. They are presented in Table 6.16 below. Observe the strong preference for communication verbs or events that were carried out by speaking, such as entrust, command, and challenge to a duel. The high frequency of these predicates suggests that *enviar dezir*, as well as *enviar rogar* and *enviar prometer* are strong sub-constructions of

[*enviar* INF], from which other related more specific constructions were modeled on (Israel 1996):

- From *enviar dezir* ‘send (someone) to tell’ > *enviar pregonar* ‘send (someone) to announce’, *enviar contar* ‘send (someone) to tell’, *enviar saludar* ‘send (someone) to greet/say hi’, *enviar desafiar* ‘send (someone) to challenge to a duel’
- From *enviar rogar* ‘send (someone) to beg for’ > *enviar pedir* ‘send (someone) to ask for’, *enviar demandar* ‘send (someone) to ask for’
- From *enviar ofrecer* ‘send (someone) to offer’ > *enviar prometer* ‘send (someone) to promise’, *enviar acorrer* ‘send (someone) to aid or offer help’, *enviar pagar* ‘send (someone) offer something that was promised’

	13 th century	14 th century
verbs of communication	<i>dezir</i> 18 ‘tell/say’ <i>rogar</i> 5 ‘beg/ask’ <i>pedir</i> ‘ask’ <i>demandar</i> 2 ‘ask’ <i>prometer</i> ‘promise’ <i>ofrecer</i> ‘offer’ <i>acomendar</i> ‘entrust’ <i>mandar</i> ‘order’ <i>desafiar</i> 2 ‘challenge to a duel’	<i>dezir</i> 22 <i>rogar</i> 14 <i>pedir</i> 2 <i>prometer</i> 2 <i>saludar</i> 4 ‘greet’ <i>pregonar</i> 2 ‘announce’ <i>falagar</i> ‘compliment’ <i>contar</i> ‘retell’ <i>despedir</i> ‘say good bye’ <i>besar</i> ‘kiss hello or goodbye’ <i>mandar</i> 7 <i>desafiar</i>
miscellaneous	<i>pagar</i> ‘pay, meet a promise’ <i>acorrer</i> ‘help’ <i>amatar</i> ‘suppress’	<i>tomar</i> ‘take’ <i>poner</i> ‘put’ <i>saber</i> ‘find out/learn’

Table 6.16 Predicates of the construction [*enviar* INF] in the 13th and 14th centuries

6.3.2 [*Enviar a* INF]

This construction alternated with [*enviar* INF]. They shared the same meaning ‘sending someone to do something’, however, as it will be possible to observe in the

data of later centuries in Chapter 7, the construction [*enviar* INF] will disappear and the construction [*enviar a* INF] will remain and become more frequent. Moreover, this construction will become a model for the creation of later causative constructions in use in Modern Spanish, such as [*obligar a* INF], [*forzar a* INF], [*invitar a* INF], [*animar a* INF], [*poner a* INF]²⁴.

In this construction, the causer was a powerful entity who has something done by sending a person in his service to do it. Many of its instances involve communication events. For instance, in (88. a.) the king has someone asks a woman to become his lover; in (88. b.) the lady of the village has some knights ask Çifar to go to the village to meet with her.

88. a. *E seié el Rey un día ençima de un soberado muy alto y miró ayuso e vido una mugger muy fermosa e pagóse mucho de ella. E enbió a demandar su amor e ella dixo que non lo podía fazer seyendo su marido en la villa. E quando el rey oyó esto, enbió a su marido a una hueste. (Sandeban)*

And one day the king was at the top of a high hill, he looked down the hill, saw a very beautiful woman and he liked her very much. And sent/had someone to ask her for her love and she said she could not (give her love) her husband being in the village. And when the king heard that, he sent her husband to a battlefield settlement.

- b. *E quando llegaron a el, fallaron lo que oya mjsa [...] e su muger con el. E acabada la mjsa, dixieron le los caballeros que le enbjauan a rogar la señora de la villa que se fuese para ella. "Muy de grado", dixo el Cauallero Çifar. (Libro del Cauallero Çifar)*

And by the time they got to him, they found him at mass and his wife with him. And once the service ended, the knights told him that the lady of the village had sent (them) to ask him to go where she was. "With pleasure", said the Knight Çifar.

The causee was a servant or an assistant who traveled to a different location to carry out the task assigned by the causer. Therefore, the meaning of this

²⁴ *Obligar* 'oblige, force'; *forzar* 'force'; *invitar* 'encourage, invite'; *animar* 'encourage'; *poner* 'set, put'.

construction resembles that of the [*mandar* 'command' INF] construction, in which someone was ordered to do something, but the authoritative part of it is not present in the *enviar* construction. Another difference is that whereas the [*mandar* INF] construction does not elaborate the causee and it is omitted, the construction [*enviar* INF] allows its full elaboration. In those cases the causee is coded in accusative case. See examples (89) where a personal assistant and some knights are expressed using a noun phrase.

89. a. *...e posaron en una çibdat muy buena e el mercador enbió [su moço]_{causeeACC} a mercar de comer e falló una moça en el mercado que tenié dos panes...* (Sandebar)
 ... and they stopped at a very fine city, and the merchant sent/had his servant to buy/buy something to eat, and he found a young woman at the market who had two loaves of bread...
- b. *E quando el rey Eroles enbio los sus caballeros a ssaber de la naçençia de Ihesu Xpisto...* (Libro del Cauallero Çifar)
 And when the king Herod sent his knights to find out about the birth of Jesus Christ...

Also, in this construction it was possible to observe the coding of the causee using an instrumental prepositional phrase [*con* NP]. In this case, example (90), the causee is not only the deliverer of the message of the Dauphin, but he is also the person that will fight against King Grimalet. In this sense, the Cauallero Amjgo is the instrument the causer uses both to deliver the challenge to the duel and to fight in the duel.

90. *El jnfante Rroboan enbio a desafiar al rrey de Grimalet con el Cauallero Amjgo su siervo.* (Libro de Cauallero Çifar)
- Lit. Prince Roboan sent to challenge to a duel King Grimalet with his vassal, the Knight Amigo.
 Prince Roboan had King Grimalet challenged to a duel by his vassal, the Knight Amigo.

With respect to the collocations this construction presents, we found a preference for verbs of communication and activities proper to servants. Although there are few collocations (in bold in Table 6.17 below), they were not very entrenched yet, which could indicate that the properties of the construction are still in the process of definition. It is necessary to look at data from the following centuries (Section 7.3.2) to see in what direction this construction moves.

	13 th century	14 th century
verbs of communication	<i>dezir</i> 'tell/say' 5 <i>demandar</i> 'ask' <i>llamar</i> 'call' <i>rogar</i> <i>fazer saber</i> 'let know, inform'	<i>dezir</i> 2 <i>demandar</i> 2 <i>llamar</i> <i>rogar</i> 3 <i>saber</i> 'learn, find out' <i>declarar</i> 'declare, announce' <i>pedir</i> 'ask' <i>desafiar</i> 3 'challenge to a duel'
miscellaneous	<i>provar</i> 'prove' <i>mercar</i> 'buy' <i>buscar</i> 'look for' <i>coger</i> 'pick up' <i>recabdar</i> 'collect' <i>guardar</i> 'protect'	<i>comprar</i> 'buy' <i>ofrecer</i> 'offer' <i>quitar</i> 'take off, put away' <i>amenazar</i> 'threaten'

Table 6.17 Predicates of the construction [*enviar a* INF] in the 13th and 14th century

6.3.3 [*Enviar que* CL]

The construction [*enviar que* CL] was a counterpart of the construction [*mandar que* CL]. In consequence, the meaning *enviar* has in this construction is a subtle version of *mandar*, i.e. it is used to express commands or instructions, but in a more delicate way. Hence, it was used when participants of different social status interacted with each other; usually the person of the lower social rank indicating a person of a higher or equal rank what to do.

This can be observed in example (91. a.) the Knight Saladin instructs the Knight Domas to bring the king; in (91. b.) the Count of Triple instructs her niece the

Countess of Jaffa to go to Jerusalem and take control of the city; in (91. c.) the wealthy men of Jerusalem instruct the leaders of the church and hospital not to crown the Countess of Jaffa.

91. a. *[Saladin]_{causer} [...] **enbio** luego [a Domas]_{causee} **que-l** aduxiessen al rey con x caualleros quales el quisiere.* (La Gran Conquista de Ultramar)

Saladin instructed/had Domas to bring him the king guarded by 10 knights of his choice.

- b. *Despues [el conde de Triple]_{causer} **enbio** [a la condessa de Jaffa]_{causee} **que** era su sobrina **que** se fuesse pora Iherusalem e pues **que** el rey fuesse enterrado **que** se apoderase de la cipdat e **que** se fiziessen coronar por reina.* (La Gran Conquista de Ultramar)

Then the Count of Trippe instructed the Countess of Jaffa, who was his niece, to go to Jerusalem, and once the king was buried, to take over the city and get crowned.

- c. *[Los ricos omnes]_{causer} [...] **enbiaron** [al patriarca e al maestre del Temple e al del Ospital]_{causee} **que** no coronasen a la condessa de Jaffa.* (La Gran Conquista de Ultramar)

The rich men instructed the patriarch and the master of the temple and the hospital not to crown the Countess of Jaffa queen.

In all the attested examples, the causee was fully elaborated by a prepositional phrase [a NP]. It functions as the recipient and performer of the instruction.

The construction [*enviar que* CL] was recorded 3 times during the 12th century. Then 12 instances were attested in the 13th century and 7 instances in the 14th century. The low frequency of this construction over the 12th and 13th centuries and the decrease of its frequency in the 14th century suggest that the construction will disappear in the following centuries.

Considering that the *enviar* constructions in use in Modern Spanish include [*enviar a que* CL] and [*enviar a* INF] exclusively. It is possible to hypothesize that the combination of [*enviar a* INF] and [*enviar que* CL] will take place in the following centuries. Therefore, we should not expect the radical disappearance of this construction from one century to another, but its gradual merging with the [*enviar a* INF] construction. This hypothesis should be supported or rejected with the data of the following chapter.

Due to the small amount of examples available, it was not possible to observe strong collocations. Table 6.18 shows all the predicates that were used in this construction. The verb in bold was recorded also in the data of the 12th century.

	13 th century	14 th century
verbs of motion	<i>yr</i> 'go' <i>venir</i> 5 'come'	<i>tornar</i> <i>cuytar</i> 'move quickly'
verbs of handling	<i>tomar</i> 'take'	<i>aduxir</i> 'bring'
verbs of communication	<i>confirmar</i> 'confirm'	<i>besar la mano</i> 'greet'
miscellaneous	<i>morir</i> 'die'	<i>coronar</i> 'crown'

Table 6.18 Predicates of the construction [*enviar que* CL] in the 13th and 14th century

6.4 Another causative construction

In the data from the 13th and 14th centuries, the construction [*aver a* INF] was attested. Although constructions using the verb *aver* 'have' and the prepositions *a* 'to' and *de* 'of/from' were observed frequently in some of the texts, the causative instances of [*aver a* INF] summed up only 9 tokens for both centuries.

Beardsley (1966) and Menéndez Pidal (in Beardsley 1966) acknowledge that this construction has a basic meaning of necessity observable in example (92) from the 12th century.

92. [*Los*] *Moros son muchos, ya quieren rreconbrar,*

*Del otra part entróles Álbar Fañez
maguer les pesa, ovieron se a dar e a arrancar
de pies de cavallo los ques' pudieron escapar...* (Mio Cid)

Note: The Moors are being defeated by Mio Cid and his men, among them Albar Fañez.

The Moors, who are many, want to rally
From another side Albar Fañez attacks them
although it grieves them, **they need to surrender and escape**
galloping off are those who could run away

Moreover, Beardsley notices that when the verb is not in present tense, the expression makes reference to events following, either in the future or in the past, the sequence of events already mentioned. This meaning can be observed in (93) where the suicide of a young man is described, and his death is expressed as the action following his throwing off the tower.

93. *El infant el ruydo no'l pudo encubrir
peso-l de coraçon non lo pudo sofrir
despennos d' una torre onde ouo a morir* (Libro de Alexandre)

The Prince could not cover up the rumor
it caused him heartfelt sorrow, he could not stand the pain
he threw himself off a tower, where he died.

A causative meaning can be observed in 9 instances of this construction basically from the texts of the 13th century. In eight of them the causer is a human being and acts directly upon the causee (see examples 94.), only in one instance the causer was a non-human entity (95.).

94. a. *Ector nin los troianos no'l pudieron durar [...]
firiendo-los afirmes, ouo-los a rancar
jouo-los en la uilla todos a embarrar!* (Libro de Alexandre)

Nor Hector or the Trojans could fight him (Achilles) for a long time,
(By) injuring them severely, he (Achilles) made them surrender.

He had them all imprisoned in the village.

- b. *El bueno de Diomedes, firme en todo lugar,
ouo, quand' esto uio, ira e grant pesar [...]
y ouo, commo dizen, Ageo a matar.* (Libro de Alexandre)

The good Diomedes, strong everywhere,
felt anger and sorrow when he saw that,
right there, as people say, he had Ageo killed.

- c. *Ante que lo ouiase Diomedes colpar
ouo-lo la diabla de Uenus a encantar
ouo-lo con una niebla los ojos a çegar* (Libro de Alexandre)

Before Diomedes had him beaten
The evil Venus had him enchanted
she had him blinded with a mist.

95. *Estos solos se pudieran a todos defender
que nunca Alexandre los pudiesse ronper
mas la su mala ventura que los suel' confonder
por ond carrera mala ouieron a prender* (Libro de Alexandre)

They could defend themselves from everyone,
Alexander could never break them,
But their bad luck, which tended to get them confused,
made them take the incorrect road.

This construction did not have strongly entrenched collocations. Only two instances of the verb *matar* 'kill' were observed. All the other verbs (seven) were varied and unrelated.

This construction will be tracked in the following centuries to observe its development. It would not be surprising to observe a radical drop in its frequency, thus this construction is not in use in Modern Spanish.

6.5 Summary

The content of this chapter can be summarized in the following way:

1. The overall frequency of the causative verbs *mandar*, *fazer*, and *enviar* increased over the 13th and 14th centuries with respect to the frequencies registered during the 12th century.
2. The causative constructions with *mandar* that were highly frequent during the 12th century remained in use in the centuries under study, although they were no longer the primary, or most frequent, causative constructions available.
3. The constructions [*mandar* INF], [*mandar* 'command' INF], and [*mandar* 'get' INF] showed higher degrees of entrenchment observable by the consistency of their meaning across instances and the number of collocations they presented. It was observed that the construction [*mandar* 'command' INF] coded two participants only: causer and causee, where the former gave direct instructions to the latter. The construction [*mandar* 'have' INF] expressed two participants as well, the causer and the affectee. In this construction the causee is not elaborated. It was also observed that as this construction acquired its own constructional meaning, its collocations became more specific and more frequent. A property all *mandar* constructions share is the social and power asymmetry between the causer and causee, which is highlighted by the controlling attitude shown by the causer over the causee based on his supremacy.
4. With respect to the constructions involving the verb *fazer*, the construction [*fazer que* CL] was still almost nonexistent in these centuries. However, the construction [*fazer* INF] was highly productive. Six more specific constructions

were attested, in all of them a clear and consistent meaning was observed across instances. Each of the constructions showed different shades of causativity that include: forcing, causing, leading, and having. For a detailed summary of those constructions see Section 6.2.1.5.

From the methodological point of view, the analysis and identification of these constructions is important because it became evident that a generic construction such as [*fazer* INF] could not be understood if its more specific constructions were not identified. All the data that was gathered for [*fazer* INF] did not make sense on its own. Its frequencies showed variation that was not possible to explain, collocations were so diverse that a clear meaning for the construction was not attainable either. However, once each construction was identified and its data separated from the others, the variation observed with regard to frequencies and collocations made perfect sense. The variation was due to the fact that collocations of different constructions were all mixed up together and seen as the collocations of a single construction. Frequencies showed that some of the more specific constructions were more entrenched than others, and some of them were competing directly with the [*mandar* INF] construction.

Moreover, it was noticed that the causative constructions with *fazer* differed importantly from those with *mandar* and that far from being opponent competitors of each other, and possibly replacing each other, these constructions encoded different types of causative events. Thus, the variation in their frequency of use depended on the situational contexts and the kind of

causative events to which the speakers were making reference, rather than to the lexical components of the construction or its syntactic configuration.

5. The constructions involving the verb *enviar* increased in frequency from the 12th to the 13th centuries. However, some reductions in their frequency were recorded from the 13th century to the 14th. Those adjustments showed an increase in the constructions [*enviar* INF] and [*enviar a* INF] and a reduction in the use of [*enviar que* CL]. The construction [*enviar* INF] expressed a situation where the causer sent the causee to a different location to represent him. The causee usually communicated something on behalf of the causer and almost as if he was quoting him. The construction showed strongly entrenched collocations and a high preference for verbs of communication.

The construction [*enviar a* INF] expressed a situation in which the causer sent the causee to carry out an action at a distant location. In these cases, the causee was doing something for the causer or giving a message he ordered, but not really quoting the causer. His role as the representative of the causer was not as strong as in the construction [*enviar* INF].

The construction [*enviar que* CL] was used in two situations, (1) when an order was communicated to someone who was at a distant location from the causer. In such situations, the causer sent a person to make his will known to the causee, and (2) when the causer and the causee shared the same social status and the causer instructed the causee about what he had to do. The lexical meaning of *enviar* allowed the expression of a command in a more subtle or gentle way without diminishing the seriousness of the command, which remained mandatory.

Let us advance now into the Renaissance to observe the way these causative constructions, and possibly some others, were used during the 15th and 16th centuries.

7 Causative constructions in the Spanish of the Renaissance

During the 15th and 16th centuries, the overall frequency of *mandar* decreased and became more stable. It reached intermediate positions between its highest frequency observed in the 13th century (521 instances), and its lowest frequency during the 14th century (363 instances) (Table 6.1 in Chapter 6). This intermediate frequency is 495 and 457 tokens in the 15th and 16th centuries respectively (Table 7.1).

		15 th century		16 th century	
Total words in the sample		257,631 words		258,200 words	
Mandar					
total instances		495		457	
causative instances		331 = 67%		255 = 55%	
Causative uses of <i>mandar</i>					
		tokens	%	tokens	%
	Mandar INF	223	67	149	58
	Mandar que [CL]	105	32	106	42
	Mandar a INF	3	1	0	0
Hazer					
total instances		1449		1792	
causative instances		221 = 15%		400 = 22%	
Causative uses of <i>hazer</i>					
		tokens	%	tokens	%
	Hacer INF	210	95	371	93
	Hacer que [CL]	11	5	29	7
Enbiar					
total instances		182		140	
causative instances		39 = 20%		42 = 30%	
Causative uses of <i>enviar</i>					
		tokens	%	tokens	%
	enbiar INF	2	5	19	45
	enbiar que [CL]	1	3	6	14
	enbiar a INF	34	87	17	41
	enbiar a que [CL]	2	5	0	0

Table 7.1 Frequencies of *mandar*, *fazer*, and *enbiar* in the 15th and 16th centuries

The causative use of *mandar* went down from 75% of its total usage during the Late Middle Ages to 67% in the 15th century and 55% in the 16th century (see Table 7.1). This reduction in its causative use could have been influenced by the integration of a series of verbs to the inventory of causative constructions. The most frequent of those verbs was *ordenar* ‘command/order’ that was used as a synonym of *mandar*.

Other less frequent verbs that initiated their use in causative constructions were *forzar* ‘force’, *mover* ‘move to’, *obligar* ‘force’, *provocar* ‘cause’, and *causar* ‘cause’. Although those verbs were not highly frequent at this time period, they provided speakers with an array of lexical options to express causative events with semantic shades that were different from the already existing causative constructions. These lexical options will also motivate the weakening of other constructions (those using *enviar*) as I will explain below.

Again, as in previous centuries, the most frequent causative construction involving *mandar* was [*mandar* INF] followed by the construction [*mandar que* CL]. During the 15th century, a new construction, [*mandar a* INF], emerged with just three instances and it was not attested again during the 16th century. However, the fact that this construction is very frequent in Modern Spanish leads us to believe that it originated in the 15th century and became more entrenched and frequent over the following centuries.

The construction [*mandar a* INF] originated in analogy with the construction [*enviar a* INF] (described in Section 6.3.2) which constituted 25% of the causative uses of *enviar* during the 13th and 14th centuries already, and 87% and 41% in the 15th and 16th centuries respectively.

The emergence of [*mandar a* INF] was motivated by a series of rearrangements that the causative constructions of *enviar* underwent. Those rearrangements led *enviar* to develop its own constructional properties based on its basic lexical meaning and reduced the frequency of those constructions that resembled those of the verbs *mandar* and *fazer*.

Let us explain briefly how this process took place. Since the 12th century the causative constructions of *enviar*, [*enviar* INF] and [*enviar que* CL], had been analogical to those of *mandar* ([*mandar* INF] and [*mandar que* CL]) due to the fact that both verbs were used in the same contextual situations, involving the same types of events and participants (See Section 7.1.2 in this chapter). The construction [*enviar a* INF] was the only one that retained the most basic meaning of *enviar*, which had to do with motion, ‘send something or someone to the location X’. The presence of the preposition *a* was typical of the ‘sending’ meaning of the verb *enviar* as well as of other motion verbs.

The use of the preposition *a* was not typical of the constructions with infinitive. The preposition *a* came from Latin *ad*, which expressed proximity in space (Beardsley 1966)²⁵. In the earliest period of Old Spanish, verbs took the pure infinitive (Beardsley 1966). This can be observed in examples (96) as well as in all the examples used to exemplify the constructions [*mandar* INF], [*fazer* INF] and [*enviar* INF] in Chapters 5 and 6.

96. a. *Cuando lo oyó el rey, [...]*
con grandes yentes el rey cavalgó
e iva_{go} recibir_{receive} al que en buena ora nasco... (Mío Cid)

²⁵ This meaning is still observable in Modern Spanish: *Zacatillo está a tres cuabras del lugar donde vivo...* [México 2010] ‘Zacatillo is three blocks from the place where I live’; *...si Dios está a tu lado...* ‘...if God is by your side...’

When the king heard that [...] he rode accompanied by important men, he was going to receive the one who was well-born...

- b. *Cuando lo sopo mio Cid el de Bivar,
apriessa cavalga, recibirlos*^{'receive'} *sale*^{'go out'...} (Mío Cid)

When Mio Cid from Bivar learned that, he rode fast, to meet them.

- c. *doña Ximena al Cid la mano-l' va*^{'go'} *besar*^{'kiss'} ... (Mío Cid)

Lady Ximena kisses the hand of the Cid

- d. *E después que él llegó a edat de nueve años,
[púsolo*^{'put'} *el Rey aprender*^{'learn'}] *que le [mostrasen*^{'show'} *escrevir*^{'write'}]
fasta que llegó a hedat de quinze años (Sandeban)

And once he turned 9, the king had him learn to write, until he turned 15.

- e. *entraron sobre mar, en las barcas son metidos,
van*^{'go'} *buscar*^{'search'} *a Valencia, a mio Cid don Rodrigo;*

They set sail, they are all in the ships, they are going to Valencia to look for Mio Cid Don Rodrigo

The preposition *a* was combined then with verbs of motion to indicate direction toward an object or a location (example 97). Later on the meaning of *a* broadened to include goal and purpose (examples 98), which involved the use of verbs like *yr* 'go', *enbiar*, *començar* 'begin', *ayudar* 'help', and auxiliaries like *auer* to express need and *ser* 'be' (examples 99).

97. *d'aquesta guisa quiero ir [a la cort,]*^{location}
por demandar mios derechos e dezir mi razon... (Mío Cid)

That way I want to go to the court, to defend my rights and let them know my version...

98. *Todo omne de Madrit non uendat corderos a los carniceros por [a matar]*
goal desde sant Migael fasta la Pasca mayor; (Ordenamientos y códigos legales)

No man in Madrid should sell lambs for the butchers to kill from Saint Michael's day to Easter.

99. a. *Emperador ouo ende grant pesar & fue luego pora el. quanto mas pudo & descendio luego a el. E assi commo un pobre celurgiano maestro de llagas parosse antel de ynoios & ayudo^{help} a atar^{tie} el braço* (La Gran Conquista de Ultramar) 13th Century

The emperor was thus very sad and went to where he_i (a fallen soldier) was. He came as close to him_i as he could. Then, a poor surgeon, master in wounds, stood before him_(the emperor), and falling on his knees, helped him_(the emperor) fasten/tie his_i arm.

- b. *Salidos son de Valencia e piensan de andar, tales ganancias traen que son a aguardar.* (Mio Cid)

They are out from Valencia and plan to go
They have so much wealth that need to be guarded

During the 13th and 14th centuries, [*enviar a* INF] became more frequent; its ‘sending to a different location’ meaning was highlighted and even integrated to the semantic inventory of *mandar* (for details see Section 7.1.2 in this chapter). Despite its increased frequency, [*enviar a* INF] still fell short with respect to the frequency that [*enviar* INF] had. However, from the 15th century on, this tendency reversed, and [*enviar* INF] became less frequent over time, whereas [*enviar a* INF] increased in frequency and even combined with the construction [*mandar que* CL] in instances like (100).

100. *el conde fuese a paso, esperando a los cavalleros que con él venyan y atrás quedavan, y a los que delante yvan, enbyó a mandar que esperasen.* (Adramon 15th century)

The count went slowly, waiting for the knights that were traveling with him but fell behind, and to those who were at the head, he sent (someone) to command (them) to wait.

As *enviar* gained stronger constructional properties of its own, it (1) gave rise to a new construction: [*enviar a que* CL]; (2) influenced the emergence of [*mandar a* INF]; and (3) provided a constructional template ([*enviar a* INF]) for the recently

integrated causative verbs: *obligar* > [*obligar a* INF], *forzar* > [*forzar a* INF], *mover* > [*mover a* INF], and *provocar* > [*provocar a* INF].

The similarities the *enviar* construction shared with the *mandar* constructions, without the semantic restrictions imposed by the meaning of *mandar* (i.e. power asymmetry), and the goal notion highlighted by the presence of the preposition *a* allowed these new verbs to partake of an already well entrenched causative construction and compete against the [*mandar* INF] construction, providing further causative semantic shades of meaning that were not available before, and forcing *mandar* to develop constructions including these innovations, [*mandar a* INF] and [*mandar a que* CL].

Therefore, although *enviar* reduced its overall and causative frequencies during the Renaissance, the changes this verb underwent and the new constructions it influenced remain in use in Modern Spanish.

With regard to the verb *hazer*, its overall frequency was reduced dramatically from about 3 000 instances per century during the medieval period (see Table 6.1), to 1, 449 and 1, 792 instances during the Renaissance (Table 7.1). This period signals the beginning of a tendency toward decrease that can still be observed in Modern Spanish. In the following Table it is possible to observe the total frequency of *fazer/hacer* from the 12th century to present²⁶.

century:	13 th	14 th	15 th	16 th	17 th	18 th	19 th	20 th
tokens per million words	9, 465	8, 620	5, 708	6, 630	5, 180	5, 130	4, 251	3, 024

Table 7.2 Frequency of *hacer* per one million words

²⁶ Data comes from the Corpus del Español by Mark Davies. The data was generated in 2009.

Despite its fall in overall frequency, the causative use of *hazer* increased from 13% and 8% during the 13th and 14th centuries (Table 6.1), to 16% and 22% during the 15th and 16th centuries (Table 7.1). Although big changes among the causative constructions of *hazer* were not attested, there was a tendency towards the strengthening of their constructional properties. The [*hazer* INF] causative remained the most frequent construction, while [*hazer que* CL] increased its use slightly as well. In the sections to follow, each of the causative verbs in Table 7.1 and their causative constructions will be described in detail.

7.1 Mandar

7.1.1 [*Mandar* INF]

In section 6.1.1, it was suggested that the schematic construction [*mandar* INF] was elaborated in two well-entrenched constructions. One of them kept its constructional meaning closer to the lexical sense of the causative verb, [*mandar* 'command' INF]; the second one developed its own constructional meaning [*mandar* 'have' INF]. Since the 12th century and throughout the Late Middle Ages, the construction [*mandar* 'have' INF] increased in frequency with respect to the former, which suggests it got gradually entrenched. The data from the Renaissance confirms this tendency.

Observe, in Table 7.3 below, that the construction [*mandar* 'have' INF] increased in frequency steadily over time relative to the frequency of the construction [*mandar* 'command' INF], which decreased. Again, it is necessary to clarify that the decreased frequency of the 'command' construction does not imply its weakening and later disappearance; what the data suggests instead is that the constructional

association between the verb *mandar* and the 'have' type of causativity was strengthening over time.

	12 th century	13 th century	14 th century	15 th century	16 th century
[<i>mandar</i> 'command' INF]	17/45 37%	100/292 34%	32/146 22%	52/223 23%	19/149 13%
[<i>mandar</i> 'have' INF]	28/45 63%	192/292 66%	115/147 78%	171/223 77%	130/149 87%

Table 7.3 Frequency of the [*mandar* INF] constructions over time.

7.1.1.1 Construction [*mandar* 'command' INF]

During the Renaissance, the causative event this construction refers to in all instances is an oral exchange between the causer and the causee. As in previous centuries, the causer gave direct oral instructions to the causee, who did not resist the instruction and immediately carried it out. Again, there are no intermediaries such as servants or messengers between the participants.

101. a. *El conde, de que los vido, los suyos mando apartare;* (Romancero Viejo)

As soon as he saw his men, the count instructed them to depart from where they were;

b. *Leuantose el emperador, y empeço de abraçarle, y mando salir a todos y las puertas bien cerrare.*

[...] *Assentose el emperador y a todos manda posare; Entonçes con boz humilde, les empeço de fablare.* (Romancero Viejo)

The emperor stood up, and (she) began to hug him,
Then he ordered everybody to leave the room and close the doors well.
[...] The emperor sat down and commanded everybody to sit down;
Then with humble voice, he started to speak to them.

c. *-Con Dios vades, los romeros, que no os puedo nada dar, que el conde me había mandado a romeros no albergar.*

Go with God, pilgrims, because I cannot give you anything,
Because the count had ordered me not to give shelter to any pilgrims.
(Romancero Viejo)

The causers continued to be outstanding characters, socially recognized, and of high authority. All of them were male. The causees, on the other hand, were always human beings, mostly male as well. They were usually subordinated to the causer: personal assistants, knights, counselors, as well as servants and messengers. It is possible to say that the properties causers and causees showed during this century did not vary with respect to the properties these characters showed in earlier centuries. Also, the power asymmetry identified earlier between causer and causee remained as a main requirement in this construction. Typical causers and causees can be observed in the examples in (101) taken from the 15th century.

The variety of caused events observed in earlier centuries for this construction was reduced dramatically during the Renaissance. During the 12th century and the Middle Ages, all kind of verbs were observed; there was a strong preference for verbs of movement, handling, and communication besides an array of varied verbs that depicted activities typically carried out by service people and soldiers (i.e. cleaning, and making arrangements).

By the 15th century, this variety was significantly reduced and only the most frequent exemplars of the just mentioned classes remained in use. Then, during the 16th century, as the frequency of the construction diminished, just a few verbs of movement and handling remained in use. Most of the verbs related to activities typically carried out by service people disappeared, and only verbs of actions that could be done immediately after the command remained.

Compare Table 7.4 below against Table 6.3 (in Section 6.1.1) to observe the way verbs of different classes became less frequent over time. Also, examine the

verbs that were used in this construction during the 16th century (Table 7.4 below) and notice that all of those verbs make reference to actions the causee can carry out immediately after he is instructed to do so. This is the second main property this construction had during this period of time. See examples (101) and (102).

	15 th century	16 th century
verbs of movement	<i>ir</i> 2 'go' <i>salir</i> 2 'get out, leave' <i>entrar</i> 'enter' <i>venir</i> 2 'come' <i>llegar</i> 3 'arrive' <i>cavalgar</i> 'ride' <i>tornar</i> 2 'return'	<i>yr</i> 'go' <i>salir</i> <i>entrar</i> 2 <i>venir</i> 3 <i>bolver</i> 'come back'
verbs of handling	<i>dar</i> 'give' <i>apartar</i> 3 'take apart' <i>llevar</i> 2 'take' <i>traer</i> 'bring' <i>dexar</i> 'leave' <i>abrir</i> 'open' <i>çerrar</i> 'close' <i>armar</i> 'put an armor on'	<i>dar</i> 'give' <i>apartar</i> 'put aside' <i>poner</i> 2 'put'
verbs of combat	<i>prender</i> 'hold, take' <i>desterrar</i> 'exile'	<i>combatir</i> 'combat' <i>emplazar</i> 'challenge to fight'
verbs of communication	<i>hablar</i> 'speak, tell' <i>hordenar</i> 'order'	
verbs of body posture and rest	<i>posar</i> 'rest' <i>apostar</i> 'lodge' <i>parar</i> 'stand' <i>quedar</i> 2 'stay' <i>estar sossegados</i> 'be quiet'	<i>assentar</i> 'sit' <i>descavalgar</i> 'get off a horse' <i>estar</i> 'be at (location)'
miscellaneous activities	<i>hazer</i> 4 'do/make' <i>comer</i> 'eat' <i>trabajar</i> 'work' <i>leer</i> 'read' <i>buscar</i> 'seek'	<i>hazer</i>

Table 7.4 Predicates of the [*mandar* 'command' INF] construction in the 15th and 16th centuries

102. a. *Amadís preguntó a Gandalín si traya las tres piezas de la espada que la niña hermosa le diera. Él dixo que no, y mandóle por ellas bolver. El enano dixo que las traería...* (Amadís de Gaula)

Amadís asked Gandalín (a dwarf) if he had with him the pieces of the sword the beautiful lady had given to him. He said he did not, and Amadís ordered him to go for them. The dwarf said he would bring them...

- b. -¿Por qué causa el cavallero no sale?
 -No verná- dixo ella- fasta que aquella dueña ge lo mande.
 -Pues ruégovos por cortesía- dixo él- que lleguéys a ella y le digáys que le mande venir, porque yo tengo en otras partes mucho de fazer y no puedo detenerme. (*Amadís de Gaula*)
- Why isn't the knight coming out?
 -He won't come out -she replied- until that lady (over there) commands him to do so.
 -Then, I beg you -he told her- to go to her and tell her to have/order him to come out, because I have a lot to do elsewhere and cannot stop here for too long.

Summing up, the construction [*mandar* 'command' INF] presented the following characteristics:

1. A power asymmetry holds between the participants of this construction. The causer is always superior in authority, social recognition, and power than the causee.
2. The causative event depicts an oral exchange between the causer and the causee, where the former instructs the latter about what he has to do. There are no intermediaries between causer and causee and both characters are clearly mentioned or identifiable each time.
3. The caused event is realized immediately after the command is given (examples 101.b. and 102.a.), this is the reason why the caused predicates usually include verbs of movement like *yr* 'go', *venir* 'come', *sallir* 'leave', *bolver* 'come back', and posture, such as *sentar* 'sit down', *parar* 'stand', *descavalgar* 'get off the horse', etc.

7.1.1.2 Construction [*mandar* 'have' INF]

During the Renaissance, the construction [*mandar* 'have' INF] still meant 'to have someone do something'. The properties of the causer remained the same: a

person of authority and power has something he desires done by one of his subordinates. However, in contrast to the construction [*mandar* 'command' INF], where the causer speaks directly to the causee and gives him instructions, in this construction the causee remains unmentioned and unknown. It is irrelevant for the construction to give details about who performed the caused action. What is relevant is that the caused event took place by the instruction of the causer. See the examples in (103) taken from the 15th century database. In both of them the causer is mentioned as well as the actions he commanded to be done; the actions were indeed carried out, however, it is impossible to identify the person who did them.

103. a. *Otro dya de mañara los condes y todos los cavalleros y señores después de aver mandado hazer muchas provisiones, se salieron a pasear...*

Another day, in the morning, the counts and all the knights and lords went for a walk after they had had lots of preparations done...

- b. *Marlotes que esto oyera, de allí lo mandó sacar; por mirar si en caballo, él podía cabalgar, mandó buscar su caballo, y mandárselo dar...* (Romancero Viejo)

Marlotes, who heard this, had (someone) to take him (the injured knight) out (of the room), to see if he could ride a horse (again), he (Marlotes) had (someone) look for the (knight)'s horse and give it to him...

Also, the type of caused predicates observed remained stable from the earlier centuries. Five main types of verbs were preferred: (a) **verbs of handling** objects such as 'give', 'place', 'put in', 'take out', 'bring', 'deliver', 'take along', etc.; (b) **verbs of communication** like 'announce' and 'say'; (c) **verbs of imprisonment and execution**, such as 'arrest', 'execute', 'hang', 'behead', 'imprison', 'punish', 'guard', and 'protect'; (d) **verbs of services** or actions typically done by servants, such as 'make arrangements', 'make provisions', 'read' and 'write letters', 'prepare horses', 'making

products' such as clothes and weapons, etc.; and (e) verbs of movement essentially 'come', 'leave', 'go', and 'enter'.

In the examples in (104), taken from the 16th century database, we see (a.) the men under Amadís' command release the hands of their prisoners from the cords tied around them, (b.) Amadís and the ladies under his protection get their tents set by their servants, and (c.) Amadís has a new shield made, since his broke during combat. In none of these examples is the identity of the causee known, although it is clear that a subordinate of the causer or a service provider carried out the action.

104. a. *Galaor llamó a Amadís y díxole que le otorgasse de se no partir de la dueña, y él lo otorgó. Y luego les mandó soltar las manos, y Galaor dixo: - Pues mandad soltar nuestros escuderos, que no partirán de nos. Y assimesmo fueron sueltos.* (Amadís de Gaula)

Galaor called Amadis and told him to allow him not to be separated from his lady, and Amadis granted it. Then Amadis had their hands released, and Galaor told him: -Make our pages be released as well; they will not go away from us. And they were also freed.

- b. *Amadís tomó delante de sí las donzellas y fueron por su camino hasta que llegaron a una ribera donde mandaron armar sus tendejones...* (Amadís de Gaula)

Amadis made the women go before him, and all together advanced until they arrived at a river where they had their tents set up...

- c. *... mas aquel escudo fue allí todo desfecho, y (Amadís) mandó hazer luego otro tal...* (Amadís de Gaula)

...but his shield was all destroyed, and immediately he (Amadís) had another one made (for him)...

The whole list of collocations observed during the Renaissance is presented in Table 7.5 below. The verbs in boldface were also in use in previous centuries.

	15 th century	16 th century
verbs of communication	<i>llamar</i> 20 'call' <i>pregonar</i> 2 'announce'	<i>llamar</i> 15 <i>pregonar</i>

	<i>dezir</i> 'say' <i>rresponder</i> 'reply' <i>hordenar</i> 'command'	<i>dezir</i> 11 'tell, say' <i>saludar</i> 2 'greet' <i>besar</i> 'kiss hello' <i>rogar</i> 'ask, beg'
verbs of handling	<i>dar</i> 24 'give' <i>traer</i> 4 'bring' <i>poner</i> 8 'put' <i>juntar</i> 4 'bring together' <i>tomar</i> 4 'take' <i>sacar</i> 2 'take out' <i>llevar</i> 'take' <i>llegar</i> 2 'bring' <i>enbyar</i> 'send' <i>cerrar</i> 'close' <i>echar</i> 2 'throw out' <i>meter</i> <i>abryr</i> <i>quitar</i> 'take off/away' <i>despachar</i> 'send' <i>tornar</i> 2 'give back' <i>repartyr</i> 'give' <i>restituir</i> 'restore' <i>desenvolver</i> 'unwrap' <i>descargar</i> 'unload' <i>cortar</i> 4 'cut, slice' <i>armar</i> 3	<i>dar</i> 15 <i>traer</i> 7 <i>poner</i> 5 <i>juntar</i> <i>tomar</i> 3 <i>sacar</i> 2 <i>llevar</i> 5 <i>meter</i> <i>abrir</i> <i>apartar</i> 2 <i>entregar</i> 3 <i>soltar</i> 4 'release' <i>quitar</i> <i>desatar</i> 'untie' <i>acoger</i> 'receive, embrace' <i>dexar</i> <i>cortar</i> 2 'cut, slice' <i>armar</i> 3 <i>desarmar</i> 'take armor off'
verbs of combat	<i>prender</i> 7 'hold, take' <i>matar</i> 12 'kill' <i>justiciar</i> 2 'execute, kill' <i>ahorcar</i> 'hang' <i>degollar</i> 'cut someone's throat' <i>alçar</i> 'rise against' <i>despeñar</i> 'push someone down a precipice' <i>castigar</i> 'punish' <i>pagar</i> 'meet a promise or a sentence' <i>librar</i> 'combat'	<i>prender</i> 'catch, imprison' <i>ferir</i> 'strike' <i>colgar</i> 'hang' <i>quemar</i> 'burn (alive)' <i>guardar</i> 3 'protect, guard' <i>castigar</i> 'punish' <i>tajar</i> 2 'cut (behead)' <i>despeñar</i> 'push down hill' <i>cercar</i> 'surround'
verbs of supply and arrangements	<i>aparejar</i> 6 'prepare/make arrangements' <i>adereçar</i> 2 'prepare' <i>basteçer</i> 'provide' <i>fortalecer</i> 'supply, support' <i>proveer</i> 2 'supply, provide'	<i>remediar</i> 'provide remedy'
verbs of body posture and rest	<i>sentar</i> 'sit' <i>posar</i> 'set, sit, rest'	<i>posar</i> 'set, sit' <i>apostar</i> 'lodge'
verbs of movement	<i>venir</i> 2 <i>salir</i> <i>ir</i> 2 'go' <i>baxar</i> 'go downwards'	<i>venir</i> 7 <i>salir</i> <i>entrar</i> <i>ir</i> 2 <i>llegar</i> 'arrive'
miscellaneous	<i>fazer</i> 15 'make'	<i>hazer</i> 6

	escrevir <i>desferrar</i> 'take off shoes from a horse' <i>ensillar</i> 'saddle up' <i>tocar 2</i> 'play (an instrument)' <i>intitular</i> 'name' <i>mostrar</i> 'show' <i>buscar</i> 'look for'	criar 2 'raise kids' <i>cantar</i> 'sing' <i>leer</i> 'read' <i>encomendar</i> 'assign a chore' <i>saber</i> 'learn' buscar
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Table 7.5 Predicates of the [*mandar* 'have' INF] construction in the 15th and 16th centuries

Taking into account the most frequent predicates, their semantic classes, and the way they were used throughout the texts studied, it was possible to identify a set of highly entrenched sub-constructions which were used recurrently as units, for example, *manda dar* 'gives, delivers, hands in', *manda dezir* 'tells', *manda pregonar* 'announces', etc. Some of them even developed a meaning of their own, for example, *manda pregonar* means 'communicates, announces' instead of 'orders to announce'.

These exemplars organize around the constructional schema [*mandar* 'have' INF] forming a constructional network (Diagram 7.1). From the central constructional schema [*mandar* 'have' INF] highly frequent instances came about creating at least five more specific constructional subschemas: [*mandar* 'have' *fazer*], [*mandar* 'have' INF of handling], [*mandar* 'have' INF of communication], [*mandar* 'have' INF of service] and [*mandar* 'have' INF of imprisonment and execution].

Those subschemas emerged from highly frequent instances or best exemplars, in Bybee's (2007) terms (see Section 4.2), that served as schemas as well and allowed the construction of new instances with slightly different functions linked to these constructions (Traugott and König 1991, Israel 1996, Bybee 2007, Thompson 2007) such as *have something created/produced*, *have something*

handled, have something communicated, have something done, and have someone executed.

The constructional network in Diagram 7.1, contains constructions that were well-entrenched already during the 13th century and remained highly frequent during the 16th century. Some of those constructions remain in use today, for instance [*mandar hacer*], while others include verbs that are no longer in the lexical inventory of Spanish, for example, *adozir* 'prepare, carry', *guisar* 'prepare', *aparejar* 'prepare'.

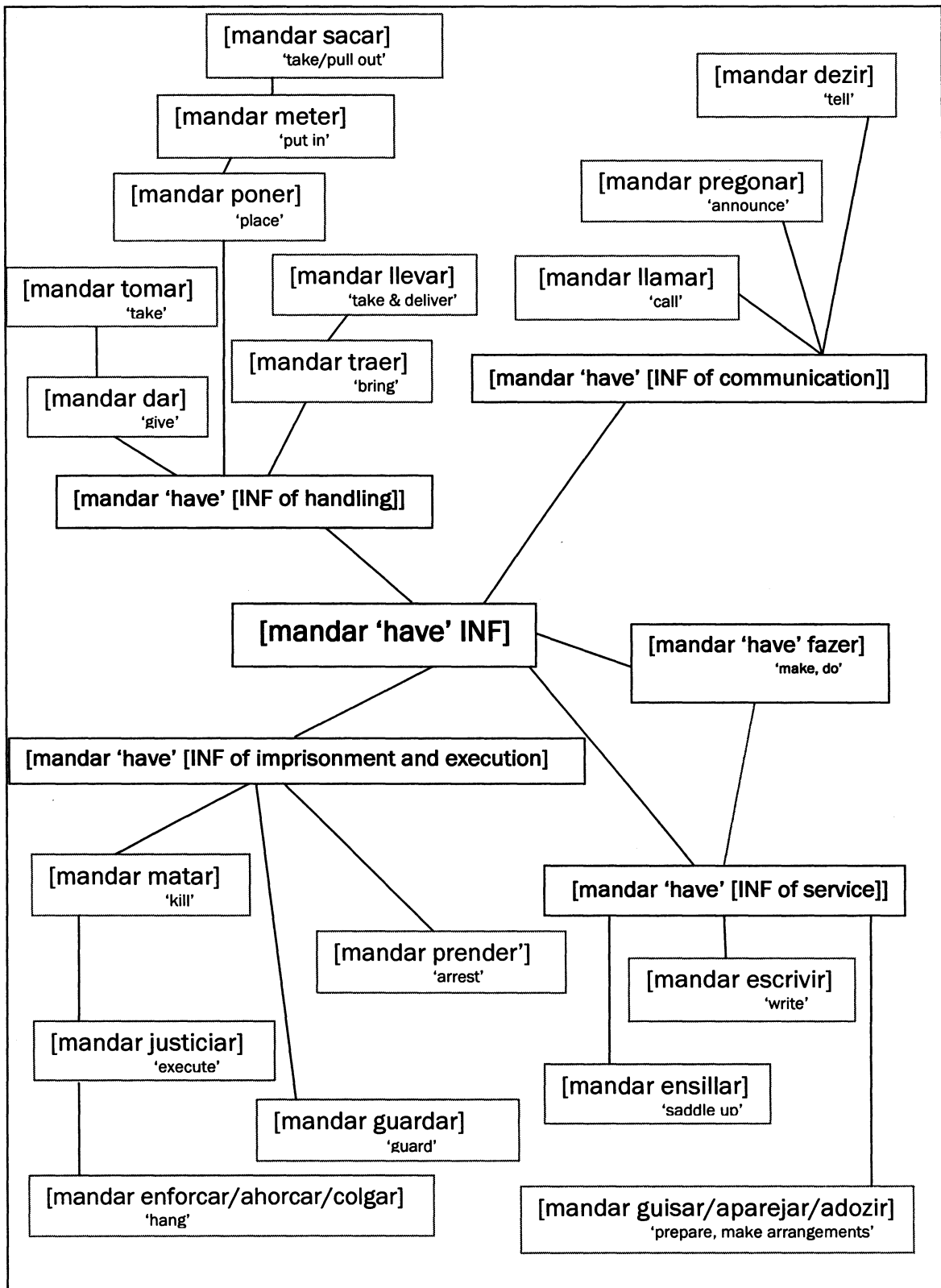


Diagram 7.1 Constructional Network [*mandar* 'have' INF] 12th - 16th centuries

7.1.2 [*Mandar que* CL]

During the Late Middle Ages, this construction showed only one constructional meaning based on the lexical sense of *mandar*, i.e. ‘command’ (see Section 6.1.2). However, as time went by, the construction acquired other meanings that were similar to those of the already existent *mandar* causative constructions. In other words, during the medieval period the construction imposed the literal meaning of the verb (i.e. command) only; and during the Renaissance it integrated the constructional ‘have’ meaning as well.

When imposing one meaning or the other, the constructional specifications of the selected construction were always met. Thus, when the expression meant ‘to order someone to do something’, four conditions were satisfied: (1) there was a well-identified participant that served both as the interlocutor with the causer and as the causee; (2) no intermediaries stood between the causer and the causee; there were no messengers or servants between them, they communicated face to face with each other; (3) the order was given orally and directly by the causer to the causee; and (4) the caused action was carried out right after the command was given.

Example (105) represents a typical case of the “command” construction in which the king directly orders a woman warrior to descend from her horse so that she can speak to him. Notice that the caused action immediately follows the command and takes place in the same location as well.

105. *Y los cavalleros llegáronse por la appear, mas ella les dixo que no descendería hasta que el rey la viesse y la mandasse descavalgar si le pluguiese. Entonces la tomaron por la rienda y metiéronla en una sala donde el rey seya con sus hijos y con muchos otros cavalleros, y él la mandó que descendiesse del palafrén si quería dezir algo. (Amadís de Gaula)*

And the knights approached her to bring her down from the horse, but she said she would not get off until the king saw her and ordered her to dismount if he wished. Then they took her by the reins and brought her into the room where the king was with his children and many other knights, and he instructed her to get off the horse if she wanted to tell him something.

When the constructional meaning “having something done” was activated, the focus of the sentence was not on the commanding itself, but on the result of that command. Thus, the following conditions had to be met: (1) the causee was omitted; (2) no interaction between causer and causee took place; (3) there was an intermediary between the causer and the causee that carries out the action. Such intermediary was usually a personal assistant, a messenger, or a servant that let the direct causee know what he/she had to do; (4) it is possible to infer that the causee was a servant or a service provider.

See the example in (106) below where the king orders that the knight Grindelaya be taken before the queen so that he retells to her the stories about her favorite knight. Notice that the expression does not focus on the king talking to someone and instructing him on what he has to do. The expression states that the knight was taken to the queen by instruction of the king.

106. *El rey y todos los de su casa, cuando lo oyeron, fueron tan alegres que más no podían ser, y mandó que levasen a la reyna a Grindelaya y le contasse las nuevas del su cavallero;*

The king and all the men of his company couldn't be happier when they heard about it (i.e. good news), and (the king) had Grindelaya be taken before the queen so he told her the (good) news about her knight.

A property first noticed during the medieval period and still present during the early Renaissance is the fact that the caused action always took place within the

proximity of the causer. Either something was given to him, brought to him, made for him or prepared for him to use. During the Renaissance, however, this condition was gradually broken, which contributed to the acquisition of a new semantic shade to the meaning of the verb *mandar*. Let us look at this process in detail. Three stages were observed:

In the first stage, the causee was instructed to do something at a different location in space and time, but still within the realms of the causer, i.e. within the same building, town or kingdom. Such command required the causee to walk or ride to a different location in order to carry out the assigned task. See examples (107) from the Renaissance, examples (66. a.-d.) from the 13th and 14th centuries, and examples (37.a. and c.) from the 12th century.

In (107), the queen sends one of her lady's maids to go where the king is and ask him to do something for her. It is important to say that the king and queen were both in the same castle, although far from each other in different rooms.

107. *-Amiga -dixo la reyna-, eso haré yo de grado, que muy alegre estoy de ver tales dos cavalleros en casa del rey mi señor. Y luego mandó a una donzella que de su parte rogasse al rey que gelos enviase para los ver.*

-My friend -said the queen-, I will be glad to do that, as I am very happy to see those two knights (here) in the house of my king. Then she had one of her maids beg the king, on her behalf, to send those knights to her presence (because she wanted to see them). (Amadís de Gaula 16th century)

A second stage included commanding the causee to go along with someone else to a location that lay outside the realms of the causer. Again, the causee was not only commanded, but sent to carry out some action. The examples in (108) from the Renaissance show (a.) a knight being sent to travel and fight along with Landín; (b.)

two women sent along with Galaor to guide his way; and (c.) a knight being sent to accompany and guide a guest to the inn in town.

108. a. *Estonces mandó el rey a un cavallero criado, que Filispinel había nombre, que en compañía de Landín se fuesse a desafiar aquellos que a él desafiaron.* (Amadís de Gaula 16th century)

Then the king had a knight, whose name was Filispinel, go along with Landín to challenge those who had challenged him (the king) to a duel.

- b. *La dueña mandó a dos donzellas que lo guiassen. –Señora –dixo Galaor-, yo vengo a pie –y contóle cómo el cavallo perdiera, y dixo: Mandadme dar en qué vaya. –De grado lo faré –dixo ella...* (Amadís de Gaula 16th Century)

The lady had two maids guide him. –Madam- Galaor said- I came here walking– and explained to her how he had lost his horse, and told her: - Order that I be given something on which to go. –I’ll be happy to do that, she said...

- c. *El duque le mandó dar posada en el mejor mesón de la çibdat; enbyó a mandar al huésped que sirviese a él y a su gente como harya a su persona, syn que ningún dynero ny paga recibiese. Mandó a un cavallero que lo llevase a la posada...:*

The duke had him lodged in the best inn in the city; he sent someone to order the owner of the inn to serve the guest and his people as if it was him (the duke) in person, and not to receive any money or payment from them. He had a knight take him to the inn...

In a third stage, the construction was extended to include situations where the causee was sent on his own to a different location to do something. See examples (109.a.-b.) and compare them against (109.c.-d.). Notice that the emphasis of the construction in the latter examples falls upon the sending part rather than upon the commanding.

109. a. *(el rey) Y mandó a un escudero de Ladasín, que sabía bien la tierra, que fuesse luego con aquellas nuevas.* (Amadís de Gaula 16th century)

And (the king) had one of Ladasin’s squires, one who knew the land well,

go immediately with the news.

- b. *Sy no creys, mandad a un cryado vuestro que myre en ello: verá que dygo verdad.*” (Crónica de Adramón 15th century)

If you don't believe me, have one of your servants take a look at that: he will see that I am telling the truth.

- c. *-Señor, Amadís se os manda mucho encomendar y manda saludar a todos sus amigos.* (Amadís de Gaula (1510))

(to the king) –My Lord, Amadís has (me) commend himself to you and has (me) greet all of his friends (on his behalf).

- d. *-Él se vos encomienda mucho -dixo la donzella-, y mándavos dezir por mí que lo fallaréys en la guerra de Gaula, si ay fuéredes.* (Amadís de Gaula (1510))

-He commends himself to you –said the lady's maid (to the king)-, and has me to tell you that you will find him at the battle of Gaul, if you were there.

Notice that while the meaning 'sending' was present in these examples by this point, the 'commanding' shade did not disappear either. In cases like these, the construction means “sending/having someone (by command) to do something”. During the Renaissance, only the examples presented here were attested; no other examples like these were recorded in the Modern Spanish database. Nevertheless, nowadays the other constructions involving *mandar*, [*mandar a* INF] and [*mandar* INF], do include 'sending' as one of their constructional meanings. In Table 7.6 it is possible to observe the distribution of the constructions based on *mandar* in Modern Spanish.

	get something done	order someone to do something	send someone to do something
[<i>mandar</i> INF]	66%	26%	8%
[<i>mandar a</i> INF]	46%	32%	22%

Table 7.6 Distribution of the constructions based on *mandar* in Modern Spanish²⁷.

²⁷ Modern Spanish source: analysis done following the analysis in this study to a 16 million words sample from the Corpus CREA created by the Royal Academy of the Spanish Language.

In consequence, it is possible to date the emergence of the construction [*mandar* 'send/command' *que* CL] between the end of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th. I also claim that it was through this construction that the verb *mandar* added the meaning 'send' to its semantic inventory, and over centuries, this meaning spread to all *mandar* causative constructions.

Three factors allowed the construction [*mandar que* CL] to integrate the meaning 'send' to all constructions based on *mandar*: (a) the fact that the *enviar* constructions were used in the same situational contexts where the causative constructions of *mandar* were used (110.a.-b.), i.e. places –castles and battle fields– and situations where people were giving and receiving messages or instructions; (b) the fact that both verbs implied the oral instructing of someone to do something. In the cases of *mandar* the person is instructed to carry out any kind of activity, whereas in the instances of *enviar*, the person was instructed to travel to a different location to do something there; and (c) the fact that *enviar* and *mandar* combined in the same utterance (110.e.-g.) highlighted the overlapping similarities of these verbs, which facilitated the semantic borrowing in both directions and the simplification of the construction to include one verb or the other.

In examples (110. a-b), the combined meaning 'command/send' is present in both constructions; thus the causee was instructed to travel to a different location to call someone. In (110. c-d) only the 'command' sense is activated, since in both situations the king and the emperor were talking directly with the female causees and instructing them to do something. Examples (110.e-f) show the combination [*enviar a mandar que*]. In these cases, the construction meant 'send someone the instruction to do something' or 'have someone instruct someone else to do

something', literally, the construction meant 'send to instruct that...'. Although the construction highlighted the commanding meaning over the sending meaning, the co-occurrence of these verbs facilitated a semantic borrowing in both directions.

110. a. *Al quinto dya el rrey mandó llamar a los ingleses, a los quales –aunque lo pensavan- hizo saber de la partyda del señor Rroger...* (Crónica de Adramón 15th Century)

On the fifth day, the king had the English men come to him, and told them about the departure of Mr. Rogers even though they already inferred about it...

- b. *...el rrey enpeçó a sobyr y conversar y cavalgar a cavallo y yr a caça y hazer muchos vanquetes y enbyar a llamar muchos grandes señores...* (Crónica de Adramón 15th Century)

...the king began to feel better and to talk, and ride his horse, and go hunting, and host numerous banquets, and have many great gentlemen come before him...

- c. *El rey mandó luego a Fradamela que se appease y le apretasse la herida, y él se quisiera también appear sino que el cavallero le suplicó que no lo hiziesse. La donzella le apretó bien la llaga...* (Amadís de Grecia 16th century)

(A knight is lying on the floor. He has a wound in his leg, he is bleeding abundantly. The king and the princess Fradamela are on their horses.) The king immediately had Fradamela get off the horse and put pressure on the knight's wound, and he would have liked to get off the horse himself as well, but the knight begged him not to do so. The young woman put well pressure on the wound...

- d. *Como los dos príncipes embaxadores se partieron del Emperador, hizo luego el Emperador entoldar sus palacios de paño de oro para el recibimiento de Zahir, y embió a sus hijas que mostrasen por atavío la grandeza de su estado, pues la de su hermosura a todos era manifiesta.* (Amadís de Grecia 16th Century)

When the two ambassador princes left the Emperor, he had gold fabrics cover the castle for the welcoming of Zahir, and he had his daughters show with their clothing the height of their rank, since their beauty was already evident to everybody.

- e. *...-Sabed, señores, que el rey Lisuarte ha embiado a mandar que toda su gente sea luego con él, porque...* (Amadís de Gaula 16th Century)

Be informed, gentleman, that the king Lisuarte has had someone instruct his people to get immediately by his side because...

- f. *Fuele hecho muy gran rrecybymiento y hecho gran presente, donde estuvo X dyas, hasta que el rey enbyó a mandar que pasasen adelante.*

A big welcoming was made for him and he was given a big present, he stayed there for 10 days, until the king had someone instruct him to continue his journey.

Lit. ...until the king sent to instruct him to moved on.

Also notice in the examples (111.) and (110.c-d) that the construction using *enviar* became a subtle version of the construction with *mandar*. Both constructions made reference to an event where the causee was instructed to do something; however, the lexical meaning of *enviar* did not establish or highlighted the power asymmetry between participants, which was typical to the lexical meaning of *mandar*. The lack of such an asymmetry between causer and causee made *enviar* a perfect element to express causative situations (a) where causer and causee shared the same social status and recognition, as in (111), or (b) where the causer instructed in a gentle way, as when instructing women (110.c-d). So, in these examples, either a king gives an order to his queen, who could be seen as his equal besides being a woman, or a king and an emperor give orders to younger female participants: a princess and the emperor's daughters.

111. *El rrey enbio luego a la rreyna que saljese a la rribera con todas las dueñas e donzellas de la villa...*

The king had the queen go to the riverside with all the ladies and young women in the village...

7.2 Hazer

During the Renaissance, the overall use of *hazer* decreased at the time its causative use increased steadily, from 13% and 8% during the medieval time (Table 6.1 in Chapter 6), to 16% and 22% during the Renaissance period (Table 7.1, this chapter). The features that shaped the causative constructions of [*hazer* INF] remained the same over this period of time. The construction [*hazer* 'cause' INF] raised its frequency importantly, which went contrary to its behavior throughout previous centuries, but the other constructions, [*hazer* 'have' INF], [*hazer* 'force' INF] and [*hazer* 'lead' INF], maintained their previous tendency increasing steadily their frequency.

Moreover, the youngest construction, [*hazer que* CL], became more frequent as well. It went from 4% and 2% in the 13th and 14th centuries (Table 6.1 in Chapter 6), to 5% and 7% in the 15th and 16th centuries respectively (Table 7.1). This tendency suggests the slow and gradual development of the construction. In the following each of the constructions based on *hazer* will be described in detail.

7.2.1 Hazer INF

Table 7.7 shows the frequency and the distribution that the sub-constructions of [*fazer* INF] presented during the Renaissance period. The frequency of all of them increased from one century to the other. However, the distribution of the constructions with respect to each other showed two tendencies. On the one hand, two sub-constructions did not vary importantly. Both [*fazer* 'force' INF] and [*hazer* 'lead' INF] showed only a slight increase in their frequency from once century to the other.

On the other hand, the distribution of the constructions [*fazer* 'have' INF] and [*fazer* 'cause' INF] showed important changes. The frequency of the former decreased, while the frequency of the latter increased. In other words, the construction [*fazer* 'have' INF] went from covering 34% of the use of [*fazer* INF] to cover just 29% of it. It reduced 5%. Whereas the frequency of [*fazer* 'cause' INF] doubled up and went from covering only 12% of the use of [*fazer* INF] in the 15th century, to cover 25% of it in the 16th century.

This change in the distribution of [*fazer* 'cause' INF] signals the beginning of a tendency that shaped the distribution these constructions have in Modern Spanish. Nowadays, [*hacer* 'cause' INF] covers 35% of the use of [*hacer* INF]; [*hacer* 'have' INF] covers 22%; [*hacer* 'lead' INF] represents 19%; [*hacer* 'force' INF] covers 11%, and two new constructions, [*hacer* 'command' INF] and [*hacer* 'attain' INF], cover 11% and 2% respectively.

Meaning of The construction	Instances 15 th century	Distribution 15 th century	Instances 16 th century	Distribution 16 th century
Get	71	34%	107	29%
Cause	26	12%	93	25%
Force	30	14%	56	15%
Lead	34	16%	71	19%
Saber & Entender	49	23%	44	12%
TOTAL	210	100%	371	100%

Table 7.7 The Subconstructions of [*fazer* INF] during the 15th and 16th centuries

In Diagram 7.2, the distribution of these constructions during the Medieval and Renaissance can be compared. Notice the important decrease in the lexicalized uses of the construction and the important increase in the use of [*fazer* 'cause' INF].

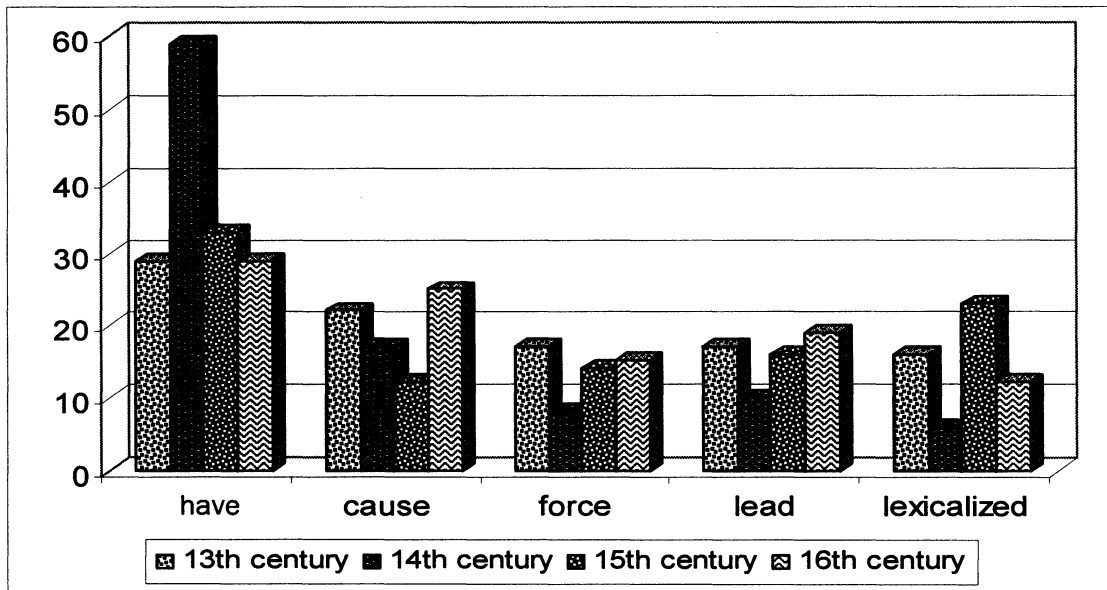


Diagram 7.2 Comparison of the distribution of the subconstructions of [*hacer* INF]

7.2.1.1 The construction [*fazer* 'have' INF]

During the Renaissance period, the construction [*fazer* 'have' INF] retained most of the properties it showed during the medieval time. Its meaning was still 'have something done'. Its causers were people who were powerful enough to get services done for them by servants, although they were not necessarily the king or someone from the royalty anymore. Although people of different social status were included, the causer was still in charge of the situation. Causees, on the other hand, are still service providers and/or subordinates such as maids, servants, soldiers, messengers, grooms, carpenters, peasants, etc. The causee was unknown and omitted; what was elaborated in the construction was the service they provided.

Examples below show a man talking with his horse (112.a). He tells the animal that if he manages to get him out from the trouble situation he is in, he will get him shod with shoes made of gold. The causee remains unmentioned, although we can infer that a groom would carry out the shoeing of the horse. Also, in (112.b) a

woman gets the dead body of her husband cremated and his ashes put in a gold chest. In both cases, it is implied that she hired or asked some one to do it for her. Finally, in (112.c), from the 16th century, a queen has someone breastfeed and raise a baby boy she and her husband found in a basket-like container in the ocean. It was clear that the queen is not asked to nurse the baby herself or take care of him, but to have a wet nurse and nursemaid to do it for her.

112. a. *Vase a la caballeriza, donde el macho suele estar.
-De tres me has escapado, con esta cuatro serán,
y si de ésta me escapas, de oro te haré herrar.
Presto le echó la silla, comienza de caminar.* (Romancero Viejo)

He goes to the stable, where the stallion is found at times. –You have taken me out safely from three combats, this will be the fourth one, if you take me safely out of this one, I will have you gold shoed. Immediately, he put the saddle on and began his journey.

- b. *Argia fue por su marido en las tinieblas de la noche, y hallándolo ya entre otros muchos cuerpos levólo a la ciudad, y haziéndole ^{affectee adult human being} quemar, según su constumbre, con amargosas lágrimas hizo poner [sus cenizas]^{affectee non-human} en un arca de oro, prometiendo su vida a perpetua castidad.* (Cárcel de Amor)

Argia went in the dark of the night to look for her husband. Finding him among many other dead bodies, she took him to the city, and had him cremated according to their custom, and with sorrowful tears she had the ashes put in a gold chest, promising to remain chaste perpetually.

- c. *... comenzó a maldecir la mugger que por miedo tal criatura tan cruelmente desamparado había, y [...] rogó a su muger que [lo]^{affectee child} hiziesse criar, la cual hizo dar-le^{affectee} [la teta]^{affectee non-human} [a aquella ama que a Gandalín su hijo criava]^{causee DAT...}* (Amadis de Gaula)

... he started to speak evil of the woman that out of fear had cruelly abandoned that infant, and he begged his wife to have the baby taken care of; she made him breastfed by the woman who had also breastfed Gandalín their son...

Also, the emphasis of the construction was frequently set on highlighting the power the causer had to get the action done. In such cases, the causer was always a

king, an emperor, or someone who belonged to the royalty. In the examples below, from the 16th century, the king has someone pull out the eyes of a count in punishment (113.a), and another king gets his friend buried (113.b).

113. a. *Sabido por el rey, puso a doña Ximena en religión, y [al Conde]_{affectedee DAT} hizo sacar [los ojos]_{affectedee ACC} y ponerlo en una torre.* (Bernardo del Carpio)

Once the king learned about it (their infidelity), he confined Lady Ximena in a convent, and to the Count, he had his eyes pulled out and then he confined him in a tower.

- b. *...el rey Lisuarte hizo sepultar [a Dardán y a su amiga]_{affectedee DAT}, y hizo poner en su sepultura[letras]_{affectedee ACC} que dezían la manera como eran muertos.* (Amadis de Gaula)

... and king Lisuarte had Dardán and his friend buried, and he had the way they died written on their graves.

Although the social properties of the causers became more flexible to accept less powerful participants, the general properties remained the same: causers were always human, and causees though always human, were usually unmentioned. See Table 7.8 below.

	Causer		Causee	
	Human	Non-human	Human Omitted	Human Fully mentioned
15 th century	71/71 100%	0	68/71 96%	3/71 4%
16 th century	107/107 100%	0	105/107 98%	2/107 2%

Table 7.8 Distribution of causer and causee for the [*fazer* 'have' INF] construction in the 15th and 16th centuries

The syntactic coding of causer during this period remained as in earlier centuries taking the nominative case. The causee was omitted and the affectee was usually present. If the affectee was an adult human being it took dative case, see

examples (112.b) and (113), but if it was a child or an object, it was coded with the accusative, as in the examples (112 b-c.) and (113 b.). Also, two affectees could be elaborated in the construction (examples 113). When that was the case, the human affectee was coded with dative case and the non-human affectee was coded as the direct object of the infinitive in the accusative case.

The number of caused predicates (token and type frequencies) the construction took during the Renaissance increased slightly from the 15th to the 16th century. However, if we compare the frequencies over time, as it is shown in Table 7.9, there has been variation and the frequencies during the Renaissance did not exceed those in medieval times.

frequency	13 th century	14 th century	15 th century	16 th century
token	148	110	81	123
type	59	35	38	55

Table 7.9 Type and Token Frequencies of verbs for the construction [*fazer* 'have' INF]

Table 7.10 contains all the predicates attested during the 15th and 16th centuries. The verbs in boldface were observed also in the data of previous centuries.

	15 th century	16 th century
verbs of handling	<p><i>poner</i> 3 'put'</p> <p><i>traer</i> 5 'bring'</p> <p><i>llevar</i> 'take'</p> <p><i>dar</i> 7 'give'</p> <p><i>echar</i> 'put, throw something'</p> <p><i>sacar</i> 'take out'</p> <p><i>cortar</i> 'cut, slice'</p> <p><i>llegar</i> 'bring'</p> <p><i>armar</i> 'put an armor on'</p> <p><i>venir</i> 'bring'</p> <p><i>quitar</i> 'take away/off'</p>	<p><i>poner</i> 7</p> <p><i>traer</i> 7</p> <p><i>llevar</i> 2</p> <p><i>dar</i> 11</p> <p><i>echar</i> 4</p> <p><i>sacar</i> 2</p> <p><i>cortar</i></p> <p><i>meter</i> 'put into'</p> <p><i>desarmar</i> 4 'disassemble'</p> <p><i>tirar</i> 'throw away'</p> <p><i>entregar</i> 'deliver'</p>

	cargar 'load' descargar 'unload'	quitar 2 'take away, put off' juntar 'put together' atar 'tie up' tomar 'take' derribar 'pull down' tener 'hold, have' recoger 'pick up, collect' enderezar 'straighten up' armar 'put armor on' quebrar 'break up'
verbs of preparations and supply	apostar 'lodge, accommodate' aderezar 'prepare, make arrangements' enbarcar 'board' proveer 'supply, provide' passare 'take place'	apostar 2 aderezar 2 aparejar 'prepare, make arrangements'
verbs of communication	llamar 7 'call' dezyr 2 'tell, communicate' pregonar 'announce' aprender 'learn'	llamar 3 dezir asegurar 'assure' contar 'tell' saber 'learn' figurar 'find out'
verbs of movement	venyr 'come' tornar 2 'return' retirar 'leave a place' despoblar 'leave a town' apartar(se) 'get apart/away'	venir 8 tornar 2 bolver 'return, come back' poblar 'arrive to a place to settle' entrar 'enter' ir 'go' guiar 'lead, guide'
verbs of combat	matar 5 'kill, execute' prender 'hold, take' quemar 'burn' complir 'meet a promise'	matar 5 prender quemar 'burn' descabezar 'behead' acender 'burn' sepultar 'bury' guardar 'protect, guard' atreguar 'start a truce'

miscellaneous	<i>hazer</i> 8 'do/make' <i>escrivyr</i> 2 'write' <i>leer</i> 'read' <i>aver</i> 2 'have sexually' <i>herrar</i> 'shoe a horse' <i>casare</i> 'marry' <i>lynpiar</i> 'clean'	<i>fazer</i> 5 <i>escribyr</i> 'write' <i>leer</i> <i>haver</i> 'have sexually' <i>criar</i> 2 'raise' <i>servir</i> 'serve' <i>provar</i> 'prove' <i>posar</i> 'rest'
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Table 7.10 Predicates of the [*fazer* 'have' INF] construction in the 15th and 16th centuries

7.2.1.2 Construction [*fazer* 'force' INF]

During the Renaissance, the construction [*fazer* 'force' INF] preserved the properties it showed during medieval times. The meaning of the construction was still 'forcing someone to do something by acting directly upon him'. The causer and the causee encountered each other face to face. In a few cases, the causer was politically, socially, or physically stronger than the causee (see example 115.a). More frequently, however, the causer and causee were equally strong, and the causer tried to force the causee to do something against his will. The causee resisted the actions of the causer. Examples in (114) from the 15th century refer to a woman who is forced to make a false confession before a jury (114.a), and a knight who threatens his enemy by telling him he will force him to release his prisoner (114.b). Examples in (115) from the 16th century make reference to a bad man who forced women to enter his castle where he raped them (115.a), and the traitor of the king telling him that he will force him to do his will as if he was his servant (115.b).

114. a. ... *con falsos testigos y rezios tormentos, la hizieron aquella vez confessar lo que no era. (Celestina)*

...with false witnesses and severe torture, they made her, that time, confess what wasn't true.

b. *Don Roldán cuando oyó, respondiérale muy mal:*

-Esa razón, perro moro, tú no me la has de tomar, porque a ese a quien tú tienes, yo te lo haré soltar: presto aparéjate, moro, y empieza de pelear. (Romancero Viejo)

When Don Roldan heard that, he answered very badly:

-That explanation, bastard Moor, you won't take it from me to buy it, because the man you have imprisoned, I will make you release: quickly, get ready, Moor, and start to fight!

115. a. *(un hombre muy malo) las dueñas y las donzellas que por allí passavan fazíalas subir al castillo, y haziendo dellas su voluntad por fuerça, havíanle de jurar que en tanto que él viviese no tomassen otro amigo, y si no lo hazían, descabeçábalas... (Amadís de Gaula)*

(a mean villain) made/forced the women and ladies that passed by his castle come inside and, by force, he made what he wanted with them, and they had to promise him that as long as he was alive they would not be with any other man, and if they did he would behead them.

- b. *Y si Bernardo te esfuerza a que uses tal maldad, lo que fue tu voluntad, te haré cumplir por fuerça. Mi yugo as de consentir y as de ser, Rey, mi vasallo...(Bernardo del Carpio)*

And if Bernardo encourages you to be evil, what was your will I will make you carry out by force. My yoke you will accept, and you, my king, will be my vassal...

During this period of time, most causers and causees were human beings (see Table 7.11 below). In few occasions, an event such as a storm, getting injured in a battle, or an object, like a river, forced human causees to act in a way that they did not plan or caused them undesired struggle. Also a couple of non-human causees were observed. In such cases, the causees were horses that were forced to go for longer or keep going through a battle regardless of their bad physical condition.

	Causer		Causee	
	Human	Non-human	Human	Non-human
15 th Century	26/30 87%	4/30 13%	28/30 93%	2/30 7%
16 th Century	52/56 93%	4/56 7%	56/56 100%	0

Table 7.11 Distribution of causer and causee for the [fazer 'force' INF] construction

With regard to the caused predicates this construction took during the Renaissance, an increase of type and token frequencies was observed. The classes observed during the Late Middle Ages, i.e. verbs of movement, verbs of communication and verbs of handling (Table 6.9 in Chapter 6) were observed during the Renaissance along with verbs related to combats and states. This addition of verb types suggests that whereas during medieval times the construction usually expressed ‘forcing someone into moving from one place to another’, ‘saying something’ and ‘manipulating or relocating objects’, by the Renaissance its uses spread to include ‘forcing someone to meet war promises’ and ‘forcing someone to be in certain state’. In Table 7.12 the predicates observed in this construction are presented.

	15 th century	16 th century
verbs of movement	<i>tornar</i> ‘return’ <i>entrar</i> ‘entrar’ <i>ir</i> ‘go’ <i>huir</i> 2 ‘escape’ <i>salir</i> ‘leave, go out’ <i>dexar</i> ‘leave’ <i>apartarse</i> ‘get away’ <i>revessar</i> ‘return’ <i>passar</i> ‘pass by’	<i>tornar</i> <i>fuyr</i> ‘run away’ <i>venir</i> 3 ‘come’ <i>cavalgar</i> 2 ‘ride’ <i>partir</i> 2 ‘leave’ <i>subir</i> ‘go up’ <i>andar</i> ‘walk’
verbs of combat	<i>perder</i> ‘lose’ <i>cumplir</i> ‘keep a promise’ <i>pagar</i> ‘meet a promise’ <i>mantener</i> ‘keep one’s word’ <i>purgar</i> ‘serve sentence’	<i>perder</i> <i>cumplir</i> <i>pagar</i> <i>cobrar</i> ‘make someone meet a promise’ <i>comprar</i> 2 ‘serve a sentence’ <i>matar</i> ‘kill’
verbs of communication	<i>jurar</i> ‘take a vow’ <i>confesar</i> 2 ‘confess’ <i>desdezir</i> ‘deny’	<i>jurar</i> 5 <i>prometer</i> ‘make a promise’ <i>dezir</i> 2 ‘say’
verbs of handling	<i>tomar</i> ‘take, catch, control’ <i>soltar</i> ‘release’ <i>vestir</i> ‘put on/wear’ <i>abryr</i> ‘open’	<i>prender</i> ‘catch, imprison’ <i>quitar</i> 5 ‘take away, put off’ <i>dar</i> 2 ‘give’ <i>entregar</i> ‘deliver’ <i>desarmar</i> ‘disassemble, disarm’ <i>sacar</i> ‘take out’ <i>tirar</i> ‘throw away’ <i>sostener</i> ‘hold’

		<i>acoger</i> 'embrace, receive'
states and verbs of rest	<i>parar</i> 'stop' <i>esperar</i> 'wait' <i>callar</i> 'shut up'	<i>quedar</i> 'stay' <i>estar</i> 'be somewhere' <i>ser de buen talante</i> 'be in a good mood' <i>callar 2</i> <i>morir</i> 'die'
miscellaneous	<i>hazer</i> 'do/make'	<i>dexar</i> 'leave behind'

Table 7.12 Predicates of the [*fazer* 'force' INF] construction in the 15th and 16th centuries

Table 7.13 shows the type and token frequency of the verbs this construction used over time. Observe that a steady increase in frequency takes place from the 14th century on, although it did not surpass the frequency in the 13th century. This phenomenon may be due to the nature or topics of the texts available from the 13th century, which were less varied than the texts from later centuries.

frequency	13 th century	14 th century	15 th century	16 th century
token	58	20	30	56
type	35	17	26	31

Table 7.13 Token and Type Frequencies of verbs for the construction [*fazer* 'force' INF]

7.2.1.3 Construction [*fazer* 'cause' INF]

The construction [*fazer* 'cause' INF] underwent important changes with respect to the Late Middle Ages. First of all, the construction reached its highest frequency in the 16th century. Second, the participants involved in the construction changed as well. During the 13 and 14th centuries causers were mostly non-human participants (Table 6.10 in Chapter 6). Among them we observed physical states and sensations, such as pain, illness, sadness, desperation, along with circumstances,

like meteorological events. Such elements caused human causees to act. See example (116).

116. *No pienso en otro señora, sino en cosa de pesar,
Porque un triste y mal sueño, alterado me_{causee} hacen estar. (Romancero Viejo)*

I am not thinking of another man, my lady, but of something sad,
because a sad and bad dream has caused me to be distressed.

This tendency was maintained during the 15th century; however, in the 16th century, the nature of causers shifted from non-human entities to human beings. See example (117) and Table 7.14. During the 16th century, it was mostly humans who caused other human beings to act. Notice in Table 7.14 that the nature of causees did not change.

117. *El rey Abiés [...] echo mano a su espada y comenzó a herir con ella tan bravamente que [a sus enemigos]_{causee} hacía tomar espanto... (Amadís de Gaula)*

King Abiés took his sword and started hurting people with it so ferociously that he caused his enemies to be horrified...

	Causer			Causee	
	Human	Non-human	Situation	Human	Non-human
15 th century	5/26 19%	18/26 69%	3/26 12%	20/26 77%	6/26 23%
16 th century	57/90 64%	22/90 24%	11/90 12%	70/90 78%	20/90 22%

Table 7.14 Distribution of causer and causee for the [fazer 'cause' INF] construction

With regard to the syntactic coding of the participants involved, causers took the nominative case as in previous centuries. The causees, when human, were affected experiencers that took the dative case always, either pronominally

(examples 116 and 118) or with the prepositional phrase [a NP] (example 117). If the causee was non-human, then the accusative case was used (examples 119).

118. a. *Conde Claros con amores, no podía reposar:
dando muy grandes suspiros,
que el amor le_{causee} hacía dar.* (Romancero Viejo)

Count Claros was in love, and could not rest:
Love caused him to sigh too loudly.

- b. *...don Galaor cobró la espada que colgada de la cadena tenía,
metiéndogela al gigante por la vista, y fizo-le_{causee} perder la fuerça de los
braços, assí que a poco rato fue muerto.* (Amadís de Gaula)

... don Galaor grabbed the sword that was hanging from his chain, and drove it into the giant through his eyes and that made him lose the strength of his arms. A while later he was dead.

119. a. *Y dexáronse todos tres a él correr y firiéronle tan bravamente que [el
cavallo]_{causee} le_{malefactive} fizieron aginollar y cerca stuvo de caer...*(Amadís de Gaula)

And the three of them ran after him and hurt him so madly that they caused the horse to fall on its knees and he almost fell from the horse...

- b. *...la mucha y gruesa artyllerya tyrava –que parescya que
[la tierra y paredes]_{causee} hiziesse tenblar.* (La Crónica de Adramón)

...he shot his numerous heavy artillery in a way that seemed he made the floor and walls tremble.

In regard to the caused events observed in this construction, several changes were attested. First, verbs of body posture were added to the construction in the 16th century. Second, the mental verbs as well as those referring to non-controlled states disappeared during the 15th and 16th centuries. The verbs that remained in the construction over time included the verbs of emotion and movement. Observe in Table 7.15 all the predicates attested in this construction.

	15 th Century	16 th Century
verbs of emotion and emotional reactions	<p><i>llorar</i> 'cry' <i>sufrir</i> 'suffer' <i>penar</i> 'feel sorrow' <i>dar suspiros</i> 'sigh' <i>ser triste</i> 'be sad' <i>temer</i> 'fear' <i>renegar</i> 2 'complain' <i>ser salvaje</i> 'be wild' <i>estar alterado</i> 'be upset' <i>reír</i> 'laugh' <i>sentir</i> 'feel' <i>andar alegre</i> 2 'be happy' <i>tenblar</i> 'tremble' <i>trastornar</i> 'wreck' <i>amainar</i> 'weaken' <i>pesare</i> 'suffer' <i>espantar</i> 'be scared' <i>querer</i> 'crave'</p>	<p><i>llorar</i> 3 <i>sufrir</i> 'suffer' <i>maravillar</i> 2 'amaze' <i>estremecer</i> 3 'shudder' <i>amar</i> 'love' <i>sentir</i> 'feel' <i>rebolver</i> 3 'feel sick, shudder' <i>dar bozes</i> 2 'yell' <i>tomar espanto</i> 'get scared' <i>poner espanto</i> 'scare somebody' <i>pasar dolor</i> 'suffer pain' <i>aver vencimiento</i> 'feel exhaustion' <i>desmayar</i> 'faint'</p>
verbs of body posture	<p><i>arrodillar</i> 'kneel down' <i>posar</i> 'set, sit'</p>	<p><i>caer</i> 16 'fall down' <i>poner en tierra</i> 2 'fall' <i>dar (las manos) en tierra</i> 2 'fall down' <i>agijnollar</i> 'kneel' <i>hincar</i> 2 'kneel' <i>levantar</i> 'stand' <i>doblar</i> 'bend (person)' <i>enarmonar</i> 'bend (horse)' <i>juntar</i> 3 'push together, bring close' <i>torcer</i> 'twist, sprain' <i>abraçar</i> 2 'hold by hugging from smtg' <i>saltar</i> 'pop up' <i>descendir</i> 'get off horse'</p>
verbs of movement		<p><i>arribar</i> 'arrive' <i>salir</i> 'exit' <i>pasar</i> 'pass by' <i>tornar</i> 'turn or return' <i>revesar</i> 'return' <i>entrar</i> 'push through/into' <i>llegar</i> 2 'reach through' <i>soltar</i> 'release smtg, stop holding'</p>
miscellaneous		<p><i>despertar</i> 2 'wake up' <i>abrir los ojos</i> 'wake up' <i>dormir</i> 'sleep' <i>quebrar</i> 'split, break' <i>desarmar</i> 'take armor off'</p>

Table 7.15 Predicates of the [fazer 'cause' INF] construction in the 15th and 16th centuries

7.2.1.4 Construction [fazer 'lead' INF]

The changes this construction underwent from the medieval period to the Renaissance shaped the properties of the construction and brought it closer to its counterpart in Modern Spanish.

Like in previous centuries, the causer intended to get the causee into doing something, either to gain some benefit from that action himself or to make the causee benefit from his own action. In either case, the causee was not aware of the causer's intention. The causer subtly convinced, led, and/or manipulated the causee into action. The causer during this period of time was not necessarily powerful or, he/she was skillful, gentle, and sometimes clever to lead the causee into action. The causee did not resist the causer's influence and acted willingly in the way he was indicated. See examples (120) below.

120. a. *Hago como que la cierro (la puerta), y la dejé entreabierta. Desnudóse y desnudéme, y me_{causee} hace acostar con ella. Cansada de sus deleites, muy bien dormida se queda, (Romancero Viejo)*

(a shepherd talks about his encounter with a witch)

I pretended I closed the door, but left it ajar.

She took her clothes off, I took mine off, and she made me sleep with her.

Tired out from her pleasure, she fell asleep very deeply...

- b. *Urganda dixo: -Desse miedo os quitaré. Entonces sacó un libro tan pequeño que en la mano se encerrava y fizo-le_{causee} DAT poner allí la mano, y comenzó a leer en él... (Amadís de Gaula)*

Urganda said: -I will free you from that fear. Then she pulled out a book, so tiny that she could cover it with her hand, and made him to put his hand on it, and she began to read from it...

- c. *...Tanto afirmas tu inorancia que me_{causee} hazes creer-lo_{afectee} que puede ser. (Celestina)*

You insist so much on saying you didn't know anything that you are making me believe it may be true.

During the Late Middle Ages, causers could be human beings as well as situations and events that led people to do something. However, during the 15th and 16th centuries, causers specialized to include human beings exclusively. Causees in both periods of time were always human beings (see Table 7.16 below). The construction, therefore, expressed a causative event where one person leads, convinces or manipulates another person into doing something.

	Causer		Causee	
	Human	Non-human	Human	Non-human
15 th century	33/34 97%	1/34 3%	34/34 100%	0
16 th century	71/71 100%	0	71/71 100%	0

Table 7.16 Distribution of causer and causee for the [*fazer* 'lead' INF] construction

The kinds of actions the causee was encouraged or guided to carry out can be grouped in three categories: (a) mental verbs such as 'think', 'understand', 'remember', 'believe', etc.; (b) motions verbs like 'go', 'leave', 'come', 'enter'; and (c) posture verbs such as 'sitting', 'standing', 'resting', 'lying'. Therefore, the causee was led to think in some way, encouraged to go somewhere, and guided to take a sit (at the table), or walk along someone, or rest, etc. Examples in (121) show some posture verbs.

121. a. *...los pelegrynos, pecho por tierra, le queryan besar los pyes; el rrey se tyró atrás y les hizo levantar.* (Crónica de Adramón)

... the pilgrims, lying on the floor wanted to kiss his feet; but the king walked backwards and made them stand up.

b. *...mas Mabilia la tomó por las manos y la hizo sentar en un estrado que cabe una fermosa fuente le mandó fazer...* (Amadís de Gaula)

... but Mabilia took her with her hands and made her sit down on a platform that she had made build next to a beautiful fountain...

c. ... y fallando un lugar metido en una ribera de agua mucho sabrosa y hermosos árboles, [...] a ruego Della allí le hizo reposar...(Amadís de Gaula)

... and finding a place in a riverbank of delicious water and beautiful trees, to her request, he guided her there to rest ...

Table 7.17 includes all the predicates the construction took during the Renaissance. The verbs in bold are verbs the construction used during the medieval period as well. The categories ‘mental verbs’ and ‘verbs of communication’ were also attested in the 13th and 14th centuries. The verb groups that made reference to evil intentioned actions and success achievement observed in the medieval times were not attested during the Renaissance. In this period of time verbs of movement, handling, and body posture were integrated to the construction.

	15 th century	16 th century
mental verbs	saber 48 ‘know, learn’ entender ‘understand’ creer 4 ‘believe’ pensar ‘think’ aprender ‘learn’ parecer ‘seem like’	saber 28 entender conocer 15 ‘know, learn’ aprender ‘learn’ olvidar ‘forget’ ver ‘understand’ recordar ‘remember’
verbs of movement	ir ‘go’ subir ‘go up’ entrar ‘enter’ salir ‘get out’ andar ‘go, walk’	yr 2 subir entrar ‘enter’ venir ‘come’ arribar ‘arrive’ cavalgar ‘ride a horse’ descendir ‘descend’ pasar ‘pass by’ tornar ‘return’ bolver ‘come back’ dexar ‘leave’
verbs of body posture	acostarse ‘lie down’ levantar ‘get up, rise against’	assentar 5 ‘sit’ sentar 2 ‘sit’ quedar ‘stay’ ser ‘be, stay’ reposar ‘rest’
verbs of handling	tomar 2 ‘take’	tomar 3 armar 3 ‘put armor on’ desarmar 3 ‘take armor off’

		<i>poner</i> 'put' <i>sacar</i> 'take out' <i>tirar</i> 'drop, throw away' <i>prender</i> 'catch, take prisoner'
verbs of communication	<i>dezyr</i> 'say, tell' <i>hablar</i> 'speak, say' <i>dar bozes</i> 'yell' <i>consentir</i> 'consent'	<i>llamar</i> 'call'
miscellaneous	<i>fazer</i> 'do/make' <i>hilar</i> 'spin' <i>despender</i> 'give away' <i>usar</i> 'use' <i>sonar</i> 'ring, sound' <i>conseguir</i> 'get' <i>complir</i> 'meet a promise' <i>gozar</i> 'enjoy' <i>contentar</i> 'make happy' <i>abraçare</i> 'hug'	<i>mostrar</i> 'show' <i>screvir</i> 'write' <i>reynar</i> 'reign' <i>bivir</i> 'live' <i>morir</i> 'die' <i>perder</i> 'lose' <i>abraçar</i> 'hug' <i>complacer</i> 'please'

Table 7.17 Predicates of the [*fazer* 'lead' INF] construction in the 15th and 16th centuries

7.2.1.5 Summary

The Renaissance [*fazer* INF] constructions showed subtle differences with respect to their medieval counterparts. All of them preserved their original meaning and most of their uses, however, the features of their participants changed, and their predicate collocates varied slightly showing preferences for certain types of verbs over others.

During the Late Middle Ages, for instance, the construction [*fazer* 'have' INF] included causers that belonged to the top levels of the existent social, religious, and political hierarchies. The causer was goal oriented, so he had the causees helping him to attain that goal by doing what they were instructed to do. Causees were usually the causer's subordinates or maids working for him.

In the Renaissance period, causers did not necessarily belong to the highest social classes anymore. It was enough if he could pay for the services of the causee, which means that more frequently the causees were not causer's subordinates, but

service providers. Causers in this period of time sought to satisfy a need or to get a service done, such as, getting a banquet ready, having clothes made for them, having horses shod and taken care of, a letter read or written, etc.

These subtle changes made the construction applicable to a broader array of causative events that included activities closer to the needs people had in their daily lives. In consequence, the caused predicates collocations varied as well. The verbs that made reference to services such as cleaning, writing, reading, confectioning clothes, making weapons, buying stuff, etc.; handling objects, and making arrangements remained stable over time. Verbs that made reference to guarding, protecting and executing people decreased importantly. And, communication verbs that implied sending and delivering messages among people became part of the construction in the Renaissance.

Although the changes observed did not alter the syntactic configuration or function of the construction, they did contribute to shaping the meaning of the construction and its usage.

The construction [*fazer* 'cause' INF] underwent similar changes. The nature of causers and causees changed importantly as well. The high number of non-human causers observed in the medieval times decreased significantly during the 16th century. Causees continued to be mostly human beings. The caused predicates that made reference to feelings, injuries and sudden body posture changes, like falling, and biological processes like fainting, sweating, waking up, etc. increased importantly as well. The meaning of the construction widened to express not only what non-human entities such as climate conditions, animals, feelings, and other forces,

caused to people and objects to experience, but also what humans caused other humans to experience.

The construction [*fazer* 'lead' INF] moved in the same direction. The changes it underwent moved it to become a construction about humans exclusively. During the Renaissance non-human causers were not attested anymore. Causees remained being exclusively human. During medieval times, mental verbs were preferred as well as verbs that made reference to bad actions such as lying, cheating, killing, speaking at someone's back, etc.; that tendency changed. Over the Renaissance, the most frequent verbs were still mental verbs, but movement verbs and body posture verbs increased importantly. This means that the construction was now expressing situations where the causer accompanied the causee while walking guiding or leading him, or showed him where to sit, or what road to take. Also, verbs that made reference to aiding someone to get on his/her feet, for instance, became more frequent.

Although the syntactic configuration of the construction did not vary, the nature of its participants as well as the events the construction described did change, and shaped the meaning and usage of the construction. This does not mean that the previous core uses of the construction fell out of use completely. What it means is that during this period of time those uses were not central anymore, but remained still in use.

7.2.2 [*Hacer que* CL]

The frequency of this construction was increasing over time. It was recorded sporadically during medieval times, 10 times during the 15th century, and 30 times during the 16th century. This construction is an extension of the subconstructions

[fazer 'cause' INF] (example 122. a.), [fazer 'force' INF] (example 122. b), and [fazer 'lead' INF] (example 122.c.). Therefore it could mean 'cause something to happen', 'force someone to do something', and 'lead someone to do something'.

122. a *-Tú respondes como sesudo- dixo Arcalaús, -y yo haré que lo seas, si creerme quisieres y me fizieres pleyto que me harás tu mayordomo mayor y me lo no tollerás todo el tiempo de mi vida. (Amadís de Gaula)*

-You reply/speak like a smart man –said Arcalaús-, and I will make you be one, if you believe what I tell you, and you agree to make me your highest counselor, and you do not take that title from me for my entire life time.

b. *El duque muy sañudo dixo: -Donzella, yo fare que me digáys la verdad. Y mandóla poner en prisión... (Amadís de Gaula)*

The duke, very angry, said: -Milady, I will get you to tell me the truth. And he ordered that she be taken to prison.

c. *¡O amor, amor! ¡Que no pensé que tenías fuerça ni poder de matar a tus sugetos! Herida fue de ti mi juventud [...] Ni sé si hieres con hierro ni si quemas con fuego. Hazes que feo amen y hermoso les parezca. ¿Quién te dio tanto poder? (Celestina)*

Oh! Love! Love! I never thought you had the strength and power to kill your subjects! My youth was hurt by you! I don't know if you hurt with iron or burn with fire. You make ugly man be loved and found attractive. Who granted you such power?

The difference between the [fazer INF] subconstructions and [fazer que CL] was (1) that the complementizer *que* made it possible to describe the caused event in more detail than the infinitive did in the [fazer INF] constructions, and (2) the complementizer allowed the caused event to be expressed using a negative statement (example 123).

123. *Don Guilán fue dest muy sañudo y dixo: [...] yo haré que de vos no reciba enojo ni deservicio esse rey que decís.*

Guilán was very angry at what he heard and said: I will see to it that the king you talk about does not receive from you either anger or disservice.

At this point in time, specific highly frequent predicate collocations were not recorded, however, the types of verbs that were observed fall into the following semantic classes: (1) verbs of emotion, including positive and negative emotions – love, hate; (2) verbs of thought such as believe, forget, doubt; (3) verbs of fighting such as beat, kill, fight, force, surrender, confess, win over, and destroy.

7.3 *Enviar*

During the medieval period, the causative uses of *enviar* presented the highest frequency over the time span covered in this study. Moreover, all causative uses were coded using three different constructions only: [*enviar* INF], [*enviar a* INF], and [*enviar que* CL]. Two of these constructions, [*enviar* INF] and [*enviar que* CL], were analogical to the causative expressions in use at that time, [*mandar* INF]-[*fazer* INF] and [*fazer que* CL]-[*mandar que* CL]. Only the least frequent construction [*enviar a* INF] was analogical to the locative uses of *enviar*, which required the presence of the preposition *a* (see the introduction of this chapter).

During Renaissance, the frequency of the causative uses of this verb was reduced in half. Such reduction was due, on the one hand, to a reduction of frequent expressions such as “*enviar dezir*” and “*enviar mandar*”, which were not as frequent anymore in the Renaissance data, and on the other, to the fact that the frequency of the *enviar* constructions that were analogical to *mandar* and *fazer* started weakening at this point.

In other words, the causative constructions that were closer to the non-causative uses of *enviar* ([*enviar a* LOC]) became more entrenched over time, as it happened for [*enviar a* INF], or emerged, as it was the case of [*enviar a que* CL]. These constructions became more frequent over time, and nowadays in Modern

Spanish the causative uses of *enviar* revolve around two constructions only: [*enviar a* INF] and [*enviar a que* CL].

The following tables show the frequency of *enviar* and its causative constructions over time. Table 7.18 presents total frequencies including frequent ‘fixed’ expressions; Table 7.19 shows frequencies once fixed expressions were taken away from the data. Observe that the frequency reduction of the constructions [*enviar* INF] and [*enviar que* CL] become more evident once highly frequent constructions were put aside (Table 7.19).

	Total causative cases	Enviar INF	Enviar a INF	Enviar que CL	Enviar a que CL
12 th century	7	1	3	3	0
13 th century	63	36	15	12	0
14 th century	90	59	21	4	0
15 th century	40	2	35	1	2
16 th century	44	20	17	7	0

Table 7.18 Frequency of causative instances of *enviar* over time

	Total causative cases (100%)	Enviar INF	Enviar a INF	Enviar que CL	Enviar a que CL
12 th century	7	14%	43%	43%	0
13 th century	35	37%	29%	34%	0
14 th century	37	43%	46%	11%	0
15 th century	24	8%	80%	4%	8%
16 th century	18	28%	33%	38%	0

Table 7.19 Frequency of causative *enviar* once lexicalized expressions were discarded

7.3.1 [Enviar INF]

This construction did not present big changes over time. The participants retained the same properties observed during medieval times. Therefore, causers were still people in command of other people, or someone who enjoyed social recognition and authority. Causees, on the other hand, were always human beings. They were related to the causer, either by subordination or simply by friendship and trust.

The causee served as a messenger or an intermediary of the causer (example 124. a.). The causer trusted causees to represent them before other people to communicate the causer's stand with respect to a situation or to give an order or deliver a message on his behalf. Since what is highlighted in this construction is that the recipient gets the message or the information the causer intended, the identity of the causee is usually omitted (example 124. b-c. and d).

124. a. *El enano fue ante ella y dixo: Señora, el vuestro cavallero Amadís vos manda besar las manos y enviaos dezir que halló a don Galaor qué demandava.* (Amadís de Gaula 15th Century)

The dwarf went before her (the queen) and said: My lady, your knight Amadís has me kiss your hands and sends (me) to tell you that he has found Galaor, the man he was seeking.

- b. (the king is speaking) ... *y llegado alla haré que los condes envíen llamar a los capitanes de las ásperas montañas que vengan a hablalles, junto a çerca de la vylla.* (Adramón 15th Century)

... and when I get there, I will make the counts send for the captains from the rough mountains so that they come to talk to them near the village.

- c. *...que ni el uno ni el otro, no se pudiesen casar hasta que el buen Calaiños, de allá hubiese de tornar, y que si otra cosa fuese, le enviaría avisar.* (Romancero Viejo 15th Century)

...that neither of them could get married, until good Calaiños came back, and, if something happened (or the plan changed), he would send (someone) to let them know.

- d. *...lo qual, sabido en la corte del rey Lisuarte cómo en tal estrecho estava, su señora Oriana, porque no se perdiessa, le embió mandar que hiciese lo que la doncella demandava...* (Amadís de Gaula 15th Century)

...once it was known at the court that the king Lisuarte was in trouble, his lady (Queen) Oriana, so he didn't die, had him do what the young lady was asking...

The predicates that were typical to this construction made reference to communication events such as greetings, asking for favors, or communicating instructions (see Table 7.20). The array of communication related verbs that was attested in the medieval period lost all verbs that made reference to petitions, such as 'ask' and 'beg for', and those used to give compliments. Commanding and challenge verbs remained in use. Table 7.20 shows the predicates attested. Verbs in bold were already in use in this construction during the Late Middle Ages and remained in use through the Renaissance.

	15 th century	16 th century
verbs of communication	<i>llamar</i> 'call' <i>avisar</i> 'deliver a message'	<i>dezir</i> 11 'say' <i>rogar</i> 'beg' <i>saludar</i> 'greet' <i>demandar</i> 'ask' <i>avisar</i> 'let know' <i>mandar</i> 3 'command' <i>amenazar</i> 'threaten'

Table 7.20 Predicates of the [*enviar* INF] construction in the 15th and 16th centuries

7.3.2 [*Enviar a* INF]

The meaning this construction had during the Late Middle Ages remained stable during the Renaissance. It still meant "have or send someone to do something at a different location". Causers were higher in status than the causee. Causers were usually kings, knights, lords, queens, and ladies. All of them had people under their

command whom they trusted enough to assign important or delicate tasks that had to do with communicating plans, letting know orders, asking for favors, or delivering relevant information to powerful people.

It was also observed that when the causee was not omitted in the utterance as usual, he/she was introduced by means of a prepositional phrase headed by the preposition *con* 'with', which has an instrumental or comitative case. See the examples below. The comitative phrase in them is underlined.

125. a. *Él os dará todo lo que avrás menester –y de my no hagáys más cuenta syno enviarme a dezir con él lo que quieres que yo haga.* (Crónica de Adramón)

He will provide you with everything you need –and do not worry about me anymore, just make me know through him what you want me to do. (Lit. send me know with him...)

- b. *Lucrecia quedó muy triste, en verse tan deshonrada; enviara, muy apriesa, con un siervo de su casa, a llamar a su marido, porque allá en Roma estaba.* (Romancero Viejo)

Lucrecia was very sad after being so dishonored; promptly, through a servant of her house, she had her husband called, because he was in Rome. (Lit. she sent, with a servant of her house, to call her husband...)

- c. *...Amadís se quisiera despedir de la reyna, mas el rey no le plugo, porque ella siempre avía sido muy contraria en esta discordia; mas embióse a despedir con Grimedán.* (Amadís de Gaula)

Amadís wanted to say good-bye to the queen, but the king wasn't happy with the idea because the queen had been against the way he was dealing with the problem (where Amadís was involved); nevertheless, Amadís had Grimedán say good-bye to her.

However, in most cases, the construction did not include the causee. A typical example is shown below (126).

126. *La reyna abrió el arqueta en que todo estaba con la llave que ella siempre en su poder tuvo y no halló ninguna cosa dello, de que muy maravillada fue, y començóse a santiguar, y embiólo dezir al rey;*

With the key she had, the queen opened the chest which supposedly held everything, and she found there was nothing inside. She was so impressed, and started to cross herself, and had somebody go tell the king about it.

With respect to the predicates the construction took over time, during the 15th century there was a preference for communication verbs along with verbs that included a variety of activities like visiting, fighting and threatening, and everyday activities like eating. However, during the 16th century, there was a reduction in the overall frequency of the construction and only the most typical verbs of the construction remained in use. Most of them were communication related verbs. Table 7.21 below shows all the predicates the construction took over Renaissance. Verbs in boldface correspond to verbs that were taken by the construction during the Late Middle Ages.

	15 th century	16 th century
verbs of Communications	<i>dezir</i> 11 'tell' <i>pedyr</i> 2 'ask' <i>llamar</i> 5 'call' <i>mandar</i> 5 'command' <i>rogar</i> 'beg' <i>hazer saber</i> 'inform' <i>solicitar</i> 'ask, request' <i>amenazar</i> 'threaten'	<i>dezir</i> 7 <i>pedir</i> <i>llamar</i> <i>mandar</i> 4 <i>demandar</i> <i>despedir</i> 'say good-bye'
verbs of combat	<i>pelear</i> 'fight' <i>caçar</i> 'hunt'	<i>tomar</i> 'take, conquer'
miscellaneous	<i>saber</i> 'find out/learn' <i>comer</i> 'eat' <i>visitar</i> 'visit' <i>tener compañía</i> 'accompany'	<i>saber</i>

Table 7.21 Predicates of the [*enviar a INF*] construction in the 15th and 16th centuries

7.3.3 [*Enviar que CL*] & [*enviar a que CL*]

The construction [*enviar que CL*] had low frequency from Early Spanish to the Renaissance, when only 8 instances were attested. The meaning of the construction

did not show any changes from the medieval to the Renaissance period either. During both periods the construction meant ‘sending someone to a different location to do something or to communicate something’.

Causers and causees showed the same qualities they had in previous centuries. The causers were kings and princesses; the causees were either a messenger (see example 127.c.), or another king (example 127.b.) or a princess (127.a) that had the causer’s trust and was willing to help him. In all the studied instances the causees were fully mentioned. Notice in the examples in (127) that when causers and causees are of the same social rank, the causee (underlined) is preceded by the preposition *a* ‘to’, which indicates dative case. In Modern Spanish, this distinction is not used anymore and causees are always preceded by the preposition regardless of their type.

127. a. *Oriana, que en su cámara seya, embió [a la donzella de Denamarcha]_{causeeDAT} que supiese qué cosa era aquel llanto que se fazia. La donzella salió, y como lo supo, bolvió...* (Amadís de Gaula)

Oriana (a princess), who was in her chamber, had the maiden from Denmark find out what the crying they were hearing was. The Maiden went out, and when she knew what it was, she came back...
(Lit. Oriana sent [to the Maiden from Denmark] to find out...)

b. *Luego lo embió a dezir al rey, el qual fue muy alegre, y embió [al rey Arbán de Norgales]_{causeeDAT} que gelo traxesse y assí lo fizo...*(Amadís de Gaula)

(The queen) immediately had someone sent to inform the king. The king was very happy, and sent [king Arban of Norgales] to bring it to him, and he did so...

Due to the low frequency this construction showed during this period of time, i.e. 1 instance during the 15th century and 7 instances during the 16th century, it is impossible to claim with total certainty that the construction elaborates the causee in

detail and codes it with dative case (i.e. with the preposition *a*). However, it is possible to state that in all the instances observed, that was the case. With regard to the most frequent caused predicates taken by the construction, four verbs were observed: *dezir* 'tell'; *saber* 'find out'; *traer* 'bring', and *dar* 'give'.

Let us now consider the construction [*enviar a que* CL]. It was attested twice during the 15th century (see examples in 128) and no more instances of it were observed during the 16th century. The fact that the construction is in use in Modern Spanish led me to include it in this chapter and record the 15th century as its date of emergence.

Despite the limited frequency of this construction, it is possible to observe that its meaning is different from [*enviar a* INF] and [*enviar que* CL]. As it can be observed in the examples (128) below, this construction made reference to the assignment of a delicate task to someone. In example (128.a), top clergy members assign a squire to accompany the prostitute to her house and to bring supplies to her; such task required to be carried out with extreme discretion since clergy members were not supposed to receive the services of prostitutes.

In (128.b) the king Peter I "The Cruel" talks to his mistress María de Padilla about the plan he has to have the queen killed in the city of Medina Sidonia, where he has sent her. This task is also delicate and challenging thus the Pope and a lot of people were trying to protect the queen.

128. a. *Como la clerezía era grande, avía de todos: unos muy castos, otros que tenían cargo de mantener a las de mi oficio. [...] Y embiavan sus escuderos y moços a que me acompañassen; y apenas era llegada a mi casa, cuando entravan por mi puerta muchos pollos y gallinas, [...], pernils de tocino, tortas de trigo, lechones.[...] para que comiesse yo y aquellas sus devotas.*

Since the clergy was large, there were people of all kinds: some who were chaste, others that would be in charge of sustaining women of my same occupation. [...] And they had their squires and servants accompany me; and as I got to my house, through the door were coming in chickens and hens, [...] legs of pigs, wheat cakes, suckling pigs [...] so I and the other female devotees ate...

- b. *A Medina Sidonia, envió a que me labre un pendón,
será el color de su sangre, de lágrimas la labor;
tal pendón, doña María, le haré hacer por voz;* (Romancero Viejo)

(the king is speaking; notice the way he disguises the assassination with the word “banner” so that only his lover understands what he means)
To Medina Sidonia (location),
I have a special “banner” made for me,
it will be the color of her blood; a task made of tears;
that banner, doña María, I will have made for you;

From these examples it is possible to suggest that the causer was again a person who enjoyed social recognition and power; and the causee was a service person subordinated to the causer. In both cases, the caused action is construed as a task that is difficult to achieve or as a task that required special attention or skills.

The preposition preceding the caused event clause indicated the presence of a goal. The complementizer introducing the clause allows the description of that goal in detail. Alike other constructions where the complementizer is used, in this construction the clause is in subjunctive mood. It is important to mention this description should be taken cautiously since only two instances of this construction were attested.

7.4 Other causative verbs

During the Renaissance, other causative constructions were attested. All of them had low frequencies and some of them presented changing configurations, either they combined with a nominal phrase, took different prepositions, or changed

their word order randomly. Although the use of some of these causative verbs was attested early in the 14th century, at that moment, they were in a causative construction yet.

Most of the constructions in this section followed analogically the structure and use of the already existent constructions of *mandar*, *hazer*, and *enviar*. What differentiates them from the *mandar-hazer-enviar* constructions is, on the one hand, the semantics of the causative verbs. They include not only commanding verbs like *hordenar* 'command', but also forcing verbs like *forçar* 'force' and *obligar* 'force', and causing verbs, like *causar* 'cause', *provocar* 'provoke', *mover* 'touch, move'. On the other hand, the features of the participants differentiated these constructions from the *manda-fazer-enviar* because the new constructions included non-human causers more frequently.

Due to the fact that most of these constructions were not frequent enough to develop a detailed profile; in the following, I will describe the properties that were most evident for each construction and will present the clearest examples of each of them. In some cases, the examples provided correspond to all the attested instances in the data.

7.4.1 Commanding Construction

This construction was observed only 4 times during the 15th century. It was semantically related to the constructions of *mandar* because *ordenar*, like *mandar*, also meant 'to command' during this period of time. However, the verb *ordenar* did not mean 'command' initially. Its original meaning was 'to arrange objects in a particular order'. It came from the Latin verb *ordĭn-āre* 'to arrange' (Del Rosal 1992, Gómez de Silva 1988, García de Diego 1954).

On the basis of the data analyzed, it is impossible for me to make any claims about the process in which *ordenar* acquired a commanding sense. It could be possible that the verb incorporated its commanding meaning from being used in this construction, but it could also be possible that it incorporated that semantic feature at an earlier point in time due to different circumstances. Careful tracking of this verb in previous centuries would be necessary to clarify this matter.

With regard to the syntactic configuration the verb *ordenar* took in its causative uses, it followed analogically the construction [*mandar que* CL]. Therefore, the clause describing the caused event was also in subjunctive mood. However, contrary to the constructions involving *mandar*, this construction did not show the same degree of entrenchment.

The cohesion among its components was not stable yet, and the distance between them varied across instances. Compare the distance between the causative verb (in boldface), the complementizer (in bold), and the caused event clause (between brackets) in the examples below. In (129.a), the clause elaborating the caused event sits 18 words away from the causative verb, which leads the speaker to repeat the complementizer. In (129.b) the distance reduces to 5 words away from the causative verb. In (129.c), the causer is interposed between the causative verb and the complementizer. This variation along with its low frequency lead me to suggest, on one hand, that the construction was still at its definition stage when it was attested, and on the other, that the 15th century is the appropriate period to date its emergence.

129. a. *En lo de la salud del príncipe fue **ordenado** **que** los III físyscos **que** el rey tenya -doctores en medicina muy letrados y de gran yspyryencya y*

antiguos- que [siempre estuvyesen en palacio] delante de la cámara del príncipe. (Crónica de Adramón)

With respect to the health of the prince, it was ordered that the three physicians the king had –doctors in medicine, very educated and of great experience- be always in the palace outside the chamber of the prince.

- b. [...] *También hordenaron que en la cámara del príncipe [no entrase hombre de baxa condición ny muger ninguna ny niño]...*(Crónica de Adramón)

[...] Also, they instructed that no man of low condition, nor woman or child entered the chamber of the prince...

- c. *Tú sabrás que yo soy Leriano, hijo del duque Guersio, [...] Mi naturaleza es este reino do estás, llamado Macedonia. Ordenó mi ventura que [me enamorase de Laureola, hija del rey Gaulo, que agora reina]...* (Cárcel de Amor)

You know that I am Leriano, son of the duke Guersio, [...] I am from this Kingdom, Macedonia, where you are right now. My fortune had me fell in love with Laureola, the daughter of king Gaulo who reigns now...

Also, this construction differs from its *mandar* counterpart in the kind of causers it takes and the way they are elaborated in the construction. Whereas *mandar* required the detailed elaboration of the causer and his social status, this construction did not mention the causer in most instances. From the situation the instances describe, it is possible to infer that the causer is a person in charge, and that he/she instructed the causee to carry out the caused action, but his/her identity remains unknown. Moreover, in the only instance where the causer was mentioned (129.c), it was not a human being, but an abstract entity: fortune or fate.

If we look at the causees in this construction, in all the recorded instances, causees were human beings. Their action was subject to what the causer decided, as it was the case in the constructions with *mandar* as well. However, this construction

used causees whose relationship with the causer was not necessarily a social subordinating relationship, but mostly a strength-based relationship.

Example (129.c), for instance, shows that the causee is subject to an abstract force (fate), which is much more powerful than he is and forces him into action. This type of non-social subordinating relationship was not allowed or attested in the constructions with *mandar*, and it could be a defining property of the causative construction with *ordenar*. Nevertheless, the recorded data in this century is extremely limited to support this possibility. Therefore, it is necessary to take this description with caution and gather data from later centuries to reveal with certainty the actual properties of the construction.

7.4.2 Forcing Constructions

Four forcing constructions were observed:

- a. [*forçar* INF] 1 instance
- b. [*forçar a* INF] 3 instances
- c. [*obligar a* INF] 14 instances, and
- d. [*obligar que* CL] 2 instances

The constructions in this section followed by analogy the syntactic configuration of the already well-entrenched causative constructions available: [*mandar/fazer* INF], [*mandar/fazer que* INF] and [*enbiar a* INF]. Although all of these configurations were used, the construction of *enbiar* was the most frequent one and also the one all new causative verbs tended to use.

Such tendency could be motivated by two factors, (1) the flexibility *enbiar* constructions had, due to their most recent creation with respect to *mandar* and *fazer* constructions, which were highly entrenched already, and its low frequency,

which delayed its entrenchment process and made it flexible enough to fit other causative verbs in it, and (2) the lexical meaning of *enviar*, which contrary to the meaning of verbs like *mandar* and *hazer*, did not impose any asymmetrical arrangement between participants; therefore, participants of a wider range of characteristics could fit in the semantic configuration of the construction.

If *enbiar* constructions had gotten as entrenched as *mandar* constructions, their uses would have been so well defined and so restricted that it would have been impossible for new verbs to satisfy all those strict constructional requirements. Also, if the meaning of *enbiar* did impose a social asymmetry as strong as that imposed by *mandar* (command, instruct), where participants had to match a certain profile, then other verbs whose participants were equally characterized would have not fit in either. In consequence, the *enbiar* causative constructions became the most flexible constructional schema to be borrowed by new verbs.

In all of the forcing constructions presented in this section, the causee was forced to do something either by the circumstances surrounding him, a moral commitment, a stated responsibility or an obligation. No case was observed where the causee was forced physically into action as it was the case for the construction [*fazer* 'force' INF], where the causer acted physically upon the causee controlling his action.

The causer in all these constructions was frequently a non-human being, usually a pact, a law, a feeling, the causee's own commitment or responsibility to do something, the action or reaction of someone else, or the circumstances. Only in a couple of instances it was the command of a king what forced a subordinate to do something he did not want to do.

The example (130) was the only instance attested for the construction [*forçar* INF]. It extends from the [*fazer* 'force' INF] constructional schema. What differentiates this example from the *fazer* construction is the fact that the causer is a non-human entity, the melody of a lyre. *Fazer* constructions took human causers exclusively in the 16th century.

130. *La harpa de Orfeo y dulce armonía
forçava las piedras venir a su son...* (Celestina)

*The lyre of Orpheus and its sweet melody
forced the stones to come to its music...*

Examples in (131) were the only attested instances of the construction [*forçar a* INF] which extends from the construction [*enbiar a* INF]. In these cases, causers are also non-human: the daring attitude of the messages in (131.a) and the feeling of love in (131.b and c.). By having non-human causers, these constructions become complimentary to the causative constructions available at this period of time.

131. a. *-La sobrada osadía de tus mensajes me á forçado a averte de hablar, señor Calisto.* (Celestina)

The excessive impudence of your messages has forced me to talk with you, mister Calisto.

b. (the speaker is imaginarily talking with love) *Por tu amistad, Sansón pagó lo que mereció, por creerse de quien tú le forçaste a dar la fe.* (Celestina)

Due to your friendship (influence), Samson got what he deserved, because he trusted whom you forced him to grant his loyalty to.

c. *...Lisuarte se despidió d'ella y fuesse a donde Perión estava, y, contándole todo lo que con la infanta avía passado, estava espantando qué amor podría ser el que así forçase una tan honesta donzella a descubrirse a un cavallero.* (Amadís de Grecia)

...Lisuarte said good-bye to her and went where Perión was, and, telling him what he had gone through with the infanta, Perión was frightened.

What kind of love could force an honest princess to uncover herself in such a way before a knight (like him)?.

The example (132) below correspond to the constructions [*obligar a* INF]. This construction followed analogically the construction [*enviar a* INF]. From the instances observed, it is possible to suggest that the causer could be an object such as a rule, a promise, an agreement or a person who was a representative of a commitment or a moral responsibility or duty for the causee. Therefore, the causee was forced by that moral obligation to carry out the caused event. Although causers could be human or non-human, causees were always human.

132. a. *Dizes que nunca me hiziste servicio: lo que por mí has hecho me obliga a nunca ovidallo y siempre desear satisfacerlo...* (Cárcel de Amor)

You say you didn't do any service for me: (but) what you have done for me forces me to never forget it and to want to compensate you...

- b. *...antes el Emperador sentenció que, si no diesse otro cavallero, que Fulurín fuesse obligado a hazer armar con los dos hermanos del Rey...* (Amadís de Grecia)

... earlier, the emperor instructed that, if he didn't provide another knight, that Fulurín be forced to get armed along with the two brothers of the king...

The examples in (133) are the only instances of the construction [*obligar que* CL] found in the Renaissance database. In these instances the causer is an abstract entity in (133.a.) and a king in (133.b.). The causee is a human being who is forced to act in a certain way. Due to the limited amount of examples available, it is impossible to provide a more detailed profile for this construction.

133. a. *Tengo, Conde, de ti tan buen concepto, y assí de tu fidelidad constante, que me obliga que ponga mi secreto en tus manos...* (Bernardo de Carpio)

I have, Count, such a good image of you, and of your constant fidelity, that I am forced to put my secret in your hands...

- b. *-Gloria mía, aunque yo quiera dezirte a qué parte voy, no lo sé; el Rey quiere que hoy me aparte, parta y muera. Con gran secreto m'obliga que vaya dond'él está, porque allí me dirá dónde iré o qué orden siga.*

-My Glory, though I want to tell you where I am going, I don't know; the king wants (to have) me far away today, he wants me to leave and die. In great secret he forces me to go where he is, because over there he will tell me where I have to go or the instruction I have to follow.

7.4.3 Triggering Causative Constructions

These constructions followed by analogy the configuration of the constructions [*fazer* INF] and [*enviar a* INF]. They made reference to a caused event where an involuntary, sudden, and uncontrolled reaction was triggered from the causee; such as laughter, pain, sadness, tickle, etc. It is important to mention that in Old and Medieval Spanish, this kind of events was not expressed using any of the available causative constructions²⁸. It was not until the Renaissance that the verbs *causar* 'cause, provoke', *provocar* 'provoke, trigger', and *mover* 'move' began expressing the causation of emotional states and physical reactions.

During the Renaissance period only six instances of these constructions were recorded. The examples presented below correspond to all those instances. Due to the extremely low frequency obtained for each construction, it is impossible to provide a detailed profile for each construction. Suffice it to say that causees were in all cases a human being whose caused action was triggered or provoked by a

²⁸ The causation of emotional states had been expressed by other means, such as [verb NOUN]: *hacer llanto* 'Lit. make tears, make someone cry'; *hacer daño* 'Lit. make damage, to cause sorrow or pain'; *mover piedad* 'Lit. move mercy; cause to feel pity'

sensation, a feeling or an attitude: a burning feeling and sorrow in (134.a-b); tickle in (135.), and a cause and brutality in (136. a-b).

134. a. *... y fuego que me atormenta; cuyo ardor me causó no poder mostrarle la tertia parte desta mi secreta enfermedad, según tiene mi lengua y sentido ocupados y consumidos...* (Celestina)

...fire that is tormenting me, whose burning (sensation) made me not to be able to show her the third part of my secret illness (being in love) since it holds my tongue and senses busy and worn out...

- b. *... la pena causará perder tu cuerpo y el alma y la hazienda.* (Celestina)

... sorrow will cause/make (you) lose your body, your soul and your assets.

135. *¡Passo, madre! No llegues a mí, que me hazes cosquillas y provócasme reír y la risa acreciéntame el dolor.* (Celestina)

I pass, mother!! Do not come to me now, you tickle me and make me laugh, and laughter increases the pain.

136. a. *...Mas si tú confiesas aquí la verdad delante del rey y sus altos hombres, qué es la causa que te movió a hazer esta traición, yo te otorgaré la vida.* (Amadís de Grecia)

...But if you confess here before the king and his most important men what is the cause that moved you to do this betrayal, I will grant you the right to live.

- b. *Saña terrible es la que al rey mueve a vengarse del conde de Saldaña y de la hermana...*(Bernardo del Carpio)

Terrible brutality is what moves the king to take revenge on the count of Saldaña and his sister...

7.5 Summary

The Renaissance was a period of great activity where most of the constructions added semantic shades to their constructional meanings, either by (1) changing the characteristics of their participants, or by (2) adding a different meaning to the

causative event. See Table 7.22 below, it summarizes the changes each construction underwent.

M A N D A R	
[<i>mandar</i> 'command' INF]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The qualities of causer and causee remained the same. • The causative event continued to be an oral exchange between Causer and Causee, where the former instructed the latter on what he had to do. • The caused events reduced to actions that could take place right after the command.
[<i>mandar</i> 'have' INF]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The meaning of this construction remained the same during this period. The characteristics of its participants also remained stable. • The caused predicates became more recurrent (collocations), and several highly frequent subconstructions were observed. All of these subconstructions had a simpler meaning of their own: [<i>mandar dezir</i>] 'tell'; [<i>mandar traer</i>] 'bring'; [<i>mandar llamar</i>] 'call'; [<i>mandar pregonar</i>] 'communicate'.
[<i>mandar que</i> CL]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This construction acquired another function. It went from [<i>mandar</i> 'command' que CL] in use in medieval times, to [<i>mandar</i> 'have' que CL].
F A Z E R	
[<i>fazer</i> INF]	These constructions underwent subtle changes that shaped their constructional meaning bringing them closer to the meaning the constructions have nowadays.
[<i>fazer</i> 'have' INF]	The properties of causers widened to include people from lower positions in the social and power hierarchies. However, those people were still in charge of the situation.
[<i>fazer</i> 'cause' INF]	The properties of the causers expanded from only non-human causers to allowing human causers too.
[<i>fazer</i> 'lead' INF]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The features causers showed moved from non-human to human exclusively. • Causees became exclusively humans as well. • Causers were not socially powerful anymore, but subtle and skillful. Highly manipulative.
[<i>fazer</i> 'force' INF]	Remained stable, did not show changes.
[<i>fazer que</i> CL]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Its frequency increased (it was almost nonexistent in medieval times). • Its meaning did not mirror the meaning of any other <i>fazer</i> constructions. It developed a meaning of its own. • Causer and causee are equal in social status and/or strength; causer can be in disadvantage with respect to causer. • Causer has to overcome obstacles or causee's resistance to get the caused event take place. No physical force upon the causee is exerted. • The meaning of the construction is one of achievement where causer attains to get causee realize the caused event.
E N V I A R	
[<i>enviar</i> INF]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased its frequency.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Caused predicates reduced to include communication verbs only.
[<i>enviar a</i> INF]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduced its frequency by half. • Caused predicates reduced to include communication verbs only.
[<i>enviar que</i> INF]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased its low frequency more than four times. • Causer and causee belong to the same position in the social hierarchy. They also can be male or female.
[<i>enviar a que</i> INF]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This construction emerged during this period. • The caused event is construed as a goal. Therefore, the causee is expected to overcome challenges and obstacles in order to get the assigned task done.

Table 7.22 Changes causative constructions underwent during the Renaissance.

Also, the verbs *enviar* and *mandar* were used in the same kind of situations:

(a) when messengers were delivering orders or messages to other people, usually causees, or (b) when the causer was instructing the causee on the chore he had to do which included traveling to a different location to carry it out. Such overlap resulted in constructions where the verbs combined, [*mandar enviar*], [*enviar a mandar*], [*enviar mandar*], and gradually incorporated the meaning of the other to their semantic inventory.

Therefore, the meaning of *mandar* became ‘to command, to send’, and the meaning of *enviar* became ‘to send, to command’ from this period of time until now. Although the meaning ‘sending’ was consistent for both verbs, the meaning ‘commanding’ gave rise to a complementary semantic difference between the constructions involving these verbs. The semantic difference was due to the fact that *enviar* did not impose the causer-causee power asymmetry that was typical of *mandar*. In consequence, whereas the constructions based on *mandar* highlighted the imposition of the command; those involving *enviar* lacked the imposition sense and became a more subtle causative counterpart. In consequence, during the Renaissance, the constructions using *enviar* were used when the causee was

female²⁹, and when causer and causee were both from the highest social ranks, i.e. both of them were kings or princesses. In this way, the instruction was more subtle, gentle or polite.

Also during the Renaissance a set of new causative constructions was recorded (see Table 7.23). Those constructions were analogical to the already existent *mandar-fazer-enviar* constructions; therefore, they did not only provide alternate ways to express commanding and forcing causative events, but also provided the constructional schemas that enabled the expression of triggering or provoking emotional states and reactions. Due to their limited frequency, it was not possible to create a detailed profile of each of these constructions at this point, but their date of emergence corresponds to the 16th century.

COMANDING CONSTRUCTION	
[hordenar que CL]	4 instances Lacks cohesion Causer and causee are both human beings. Causative event consists on a verbal exchange where the causee is instructed on what he has to do.
FORCING CONSTRUCTIONS	
[forçar INF]	1 instance Non-human causer/human causee Causee is driven into action by a physical stimulus (music).
[forçar a INF]	3 instances Non-human causer/human causee Causee is moved by a situation or circumstance to act in certain way.
[obrigar a INF]	14 instances Non-human causer/human causee Causee is led into action by some kind of moral commitment, responsibility or law he cannot avoid.
[obrigar que CL]	2 instances Causer is non-human; causee is human Causee is has to act in certain way out of responsibility or duty.

²⁹ Be reminded that female causees were not common at all.

TRIGGERING CONSTRUCTIONS	
[causar INF]	<p>2 instances</p> <p>Causer is not a human being; causee is a human being.</p> <p>The presence of the causer makes the causee undergo an undesired and uncontrolled event he cannot avoid.</p>
[provocar INF]	<p>1 instance</p> <p>Causer and causee are both human beings.</p> <p>The causer triggers a spontaneous uncontrolled reaction in the causee. (tickle-laughter)</p>
[mover a INF]	<p>2 instances</p> <p>Causer is non-human (feeling, a cause); causee is human</p> <p>The caused event is negative in nature –betrayal, revenge-.</p> <p>The causer is moved by some feelings or an idea to act in a certain way.</p>

Table 7.23 New causative constructions identified during the Renaissance.

8 Discussion

This chapter is divided in two sections. In the first one, I address issues concerning the profile of the constructions under study, such as their semantic properties, syntactic configuration, and constructional profiles. Then, in the second part of the chapter, I discuss the evolution of the Old Spanish analytic causative constructions and, based on the results obtained in this study, I suggest some of the strategies constructions in general may follow during their evolution.

8.1 The causative constructions in Old Spanish

8.1.1 *The place of Old Spanish causative constructions in Song (1996) Continuum*

From the diachronical and typological perspective introduced by Song (2001, 1996), causative constructions typically fall within three general types: the AND type, the PURP type, and the COMPACT type. The prototypical AND and PURP types involve two clauses, whereas the prototypical COMPACT involves only one clause. These types form a continuum.

PURP —————> COMPACT <————— AND

Languages will fall along the continuum either between PURP and COMPACT or AND and COMPACT (Song, 2001:6) (See Chapter 2 of this document). The deviations observed in causatives of the AND and PURP types relate to the different degrees of reduction of the biclausal structure into one clause. The presence of constructions of all the three types in a language may be a sign of historical shift in the language.

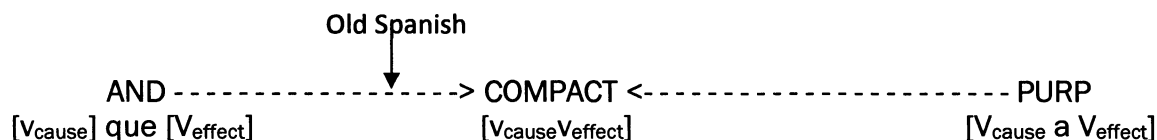
In the following Table, all the constructions recorded in Medieval and Renaissance Spanish were classified according to Song's classification. The data was

ordered according to the frequencies of each construction presented previously in the Tables 5.1, 6.1, and 7.1.

century	COMPACT Type [V INF]	AND Type [V que CL]	PURP Type [V a INF]	Total
12th	fazer 100%			100%
	mandar 78%	mandar 22%		100%
	enviar 14%	enviar 43%	enviar 43%	100%
13th	fazer 96%	fazer 4%		100%
	mandar 75%	mandar 25%		100%
	enviar 57%	enviar 25%	enviar 18%	100%
14th	fazer 98%	fazer 2%		100%
	mandar 54%	mandar 46%		100%
	enviar 70%	enviar 25%	enviar 5%	100%
15th	fazer 95%	fazer 5%		100%
	mandar 67%	mandar 32%	mandar 1%	100%
	enviar 5%	enviar 3%	enviar 92%	100%
16th	fazer 93%	fazer 7%		100%
	mandar 58%	mandar 42%		100%
	enviar 45%	enviar 14%	enviar 41%	100%

Table 8.1 Old Spanish constructions according to Song's construction types

The data in the Table 8.1 shows that the causative constructions of Old Spanish recorded in this study fall on the AND-COMPACT side of the continuum. Even though PURP constructions were in use as well, they were rather peripheric in the system. Further research of the Modern Spanish causative constructions is necessary to know whether the system remains closer to the COMPACT type or if it has moved toward the AND type.



8.1.2 *The Features of Causers Over Time*

The results obtained in this study suggest that the earliest causative constructions of Spanish (in Chapter 5) involved the expression of events caused by the influence of human beings. The constructions already entrenched by the 12th century were those using the verb *mandar*. In all of them, the source of the causative situation (or event) was a powerful human being.

Then, during the second half of the 13th century the first non-human causers were attested in constructions involving the verb *hacer*. Those newly attested causers included mostly concrete elements such as a rotten tooth causing pain (example 78.a.), some medicine making someone lose his speech (78.b.), the wind hitting someone's eyes and making the person cry (79.a.), and a blow that hits a knight and makes him change his body posture and almost fall from the horse.

It was until the 15th century that events or situations (Table 7.14 in Chapter 7) along with abstract entities such as dreams (example 116) and love (118.a.) served as causers. The situations included using artillery (119.b.), injuring the enemy's horse (119.a.), and introducing a sword through the eyes of a giant (118.b.) to mention some.

Then during the 16th century, the manner of causation became relevant. A series of verbs elaborating on the causing event (Table 7.23 in Chapter 7) were incorporated to the causative inventory. Among those verbs were *hordenar* 'command', *forçar* 'force', *obligar* 'force', *causar* 'cause', *provocar* 'cause', and *mover* 'induce'. All of them showed a preference for non-human causers, such as harps and music (example 130), impudence (131.a.), trust (131.b.), love (131.c.), the services of a knight (132.a.), fidelity and good image (133).

Summing up, from the 12th to the 15th centuries the inventory of analytic causative constructions of Spanish included just three causative verbs, *mandar*, *fazer*, and *enbiar*. These verbs were used mostly for the expression of events caused by human beings. In the 13th century, non-human causers were attested. Then in the 15th and 16th centuries, a tendency to include non-human causers, such as abstract nouns and situations and events became evident. This tendency could have been motivated by the introduction of new causative verbs such as *causar* ‘cause’ and *provocar* ‘trigger, provoke’ that, by elaborating on the manner of causation, allowed the inclusion of non-human causers. Still over all these centuries, human causers were preferred.

8.1.3 *The Features of Causees Over Time*

A tendency to omit the elaboration of the causee was observed in Old Spanish causative constructions. In most cases, the presence of someone carrying out the desired action is clear. However, we seldom know who exactly that person was. The examples in (137.) correspond to (a.) the 12th century and (b.) the 13th century.

137. a. *“Vengo ya Campeador [...] mandad coger la tienda e vayámosnos privado a San Pedro de Cardeña ante que nos cante el gallo.”*

I am here oh Campeador, get the tent picked up and let’s go quickly to San Pedro de Cardeña before the rooster crows (at dawn).

b. *Otro día mañana apries de los aluores
el rey por la hueste mando ferir pregones* . (Libro de Alexandre)

Next morning after dawn
the king had the announcements made through the camp

When elaborated, the causees were expressed by means of pronouns. The pronoun was usually suffixed to the causative verb (examples 138.), and less

frequently, it preceded the causative verb (example 139.). However, it was never attached to the infinitive.

138. a. *Quando uido Diomedes foyr sus compañeros
firio en los troianos e mato muchos dellos
si les progo o non, **fazie-los**_{causee} **ir corseros**
assi los deliuraua commo lobo [a] corderos* (Libro de Alexandre)

When Diomedes saw his partners run away,
he struck the Trojans and killed many of them,
whether Trojans like it or not, **he made/forced them run/to run** (chasing them), that way he killed them, like wolves kill lambs.

- b. *(un hombre muy malo) las dueñas y las donzellas que por allí passavan
fazía-las_{causee} **subir al castillo**, y haziendo dellas su voluntad por fuerça,
havía[n]le de jurar que en tanto que él viviese no tomassen otro amigo, y si
no lo hazían, descabeçábalas... (Amadís de Gaula)*

*(a mean villain) made/forced the women and ladies that passed by his
castle come inside and, by force, he made what he wanted with them,
and they had to promise him that as long as he was alive they would not
be with any other man, and if they didn't do it he would behead them.*

139. *Conde Claros con amores, no podía reposar:
dando muy grandes suspiros,
que el amor **le**_{causee} **hacía dar**. (Romancero Viejo)*

Count Claros was in love, and could not rest:
Love **caused him to sigh** too loudly.

From all the data reviewed, four instances where the infinitive had a pronoun attached to it were found in the data from the 15th century. In all cases, the pronoun made reference to the affectee (140.) or the benefactive (141.), never to the causee. No other examples were found in the data from the 16th century.

140. *...afirmas tu inorancia que me hazes creer-**lo***_{affectee} *que puede ser.
(Celestina)*

You so claim you ignore (what happened) that you make me believe it could be true.

141. a. *(el rey Maximo habia mandado a corteses de confianza a visitar las villas
y fortalezas)... mandando pagar-**les***_{beneficiary} *todo lo que les hera devydo y*

socorrer adelantado, porque mejor y más presto estuvyesen apercebydos para cualquier necesydad que vnyese. (Crónica de Adramón)

(Maximus, the king, had sent his noblemen to villages and forts) ... he had his men pay the villagers for all that was owed to them and give them money in advance too so they could be prepared for any eventuality that might come up.

- b. *...rogó a su muger que lo fiziesse criar, la cual hizo dar-le^{beneficiary} la teta de aquella ama que a Gandalín su hijo criava (Amadís de Gaula)*

... he asked his wife to have the child_i breastfed, she had the nursemaid who breastfed her son feed him_i.

8.1.4 Case Marking

When the data in this study was studied as a single and undifferentiated set, the case marking of causees and affectees seemed chaotic and confusing. However, once the constructions were identified, and all the data sorted in separate constructions, case marking made sense.

As mentioned earlier, in most cases, the causee is omitted in the constructions. When present, the case distribution follows Comrie's Causative (1989) or Case Hierarchy (1976) which corroborates the findings of Alfonso (1998). The affectee takes the accusative case, whereas the causee takes dative case. There are three constructions, [*fazer* 'cause' INF], [*fazer* 'lead' INF], and [*fazer* 'force' INF] where the causee can take either the accusative or the dative. In those cases, the dative case is assigned if the causee is highly agentive, i.e. he is an agent or an experiencer. The accusative case is assigned if the causee's thematic role is patient. In the following, I will describe briefly how case marking is assigned for each construction. Below the description, a table showing some examples is presented.

The construction [*mandar* 'have' INF] presented the omission of the causee in most cases. The affectees took always the accusative case, and the benefactives

took the dative case. In the single instance where a causee was mentioned, the infinitive was a bitransitive verb. The affectee took the accusative case, the benefactive took the dative, and the causee was elaborated as an oblique expressed by means of a prepositional phrase headed by the instrumental *con* (see example at bottom of Table 8.2). In the following Table (8.2) all the case configurations attested for the construction [*mandar* 'have' INF] are exemplified.

Construction [<i>mandar</i> 'have' INF]			
Label in the text	Thematic Role	Syntactic Coding	Case Marking
Intransitive Infinitive			
causee	agent	omission, mentioned in a previous sentence	—
example: <i>"Et levantóse un omne bueno religioso de los que el rey mandara y venir..."</i> (El Conde Lucanor) 'And a good religious man, one of those the king had sent for, stood up'			
Transitive Infinitive			
causee	agent	omission	—
affectee (non-human)	theme	Noun Phrase	accusative
example: <i>"...do mandan fincar [la tienda]_{affectee} los Infantes de Carrión"</i> 'Where the Princes of Carrion had the tent set up'			
affectee (human)	theme	Doubled: Prepositional phrase [a NP] and pronoun	accusative
example: <i>"Mio Cid [a todos sos cavalleros]_{affectee} mandó-los_{affectee} todos juntar"</i> 'Mio Cid had all his knights gathered' (Lit. 'had them gathered')			
benefactive	recipient	pronominal	dative
examples: <i>"...mandad-nos_{benefactive} dar de [las bestias]_{affectee}, cavalgaremos privado"</i> (Mio Cid) 'have the horses be given to us, we will leave fast' <i>"el tyo de la señora de la villa le_{benefactive} mando dar [el palafrén]_{affectee}"</i> (La Conquista de Ultramar) 'the uncle of the lady of the village had a horse be given to her'			

Bitransitive Infinitive			
causee	agent	omission	—
affectee	theme	noun phrase	accusative
benefactive	recipient	prepositional phrase [a NP]	dative
example: <i>"El león [a la rraposa]_{benefactive} [la vianda]_{affectee} mandó dar."</i> (Buen amor) 'The lion had the food given to the fox'			
benefactive	recipient	pronominal	dative
examples: <i>"(El rey) ...mandó-les_{benefactive} dar [un palacio]_{affectee} en que fiziessen aquel paño."</i> (Conde Lucanor) 'The kind had them be given a palace where they could make the fabric' <i>"Et Paladín mando-l_{benefactive} dar [todo lo que ovo menester]_{affectee}"</i> (Conde Lucanor) 'And Paladin had him be given all he needed'			
causee	agent	prepositional phrase [con NP]	comitative/instrumental
example: <i>"Luego lo hizo llevar a la mar, mandádo-le_{benefactive} dar [un batel]_{affectee} [con un criado de su padre]_{causee}</i> (La Conquista de Ultramar) 'Then, he had him taken to the sea and had a ship be given to him by a servant of his father' (lit. with a servant)			

Table 8.2 Case marking for the construction [*mandar* 'have' INF]

In the construction [*mandar* 'command' INF] the causee took the dative case in the presence of the affectee, which was marked with the accusative case. No cases of bitransitive infinitives were attested. In the Table 8.3 below all the case configurations of the construction are summarized.

Construction [<i>mandar</i> 'command' INF]			
Label in the text	Thematic Role	Syntactic Coding	Case Marking
Intransitive			
causee	agent	omission	—
example: <i>"...el qu'en buena ora nasco, mandó mover de Bivar"</i> (Mio Cid) 'the well-born, instructed to leave Bivar'			
causee	agent	Pronominal	Dative

	examples: <i>"Mandáron-le ir delante..."</i> (Mio Cid) 'They made him walk at the front' <i>"...et mandéte yo subir en la vestia...."</i> (Libro de Buen Amor) '...and I instructed/had you to get on the horse'		
causee	agent	Doubled: Prepositional Phrase [a PN] and pronoun	Dative
	example: <i>"Mio Cid [...] [a doscientos cavalleros] mandó-les exir privado"</i> (Mio Cid) 'Mio Cid instructed/made 200 knights to leave quickly'		
Note: During the 12 th century, most verbs were intransitive			
Transitive			
causee	agent	pronominal <i>le</i>	dative
affectee	benefactive	pronominal <i>los</i>	accusative
	example: <i>"Ffurtava la raposa a su vezina el gallo: veyalo el lobo, mandáva-le dexa-llo,"</i> (Buen Amor) 'The fox was stealing (the belonging of) his neighbor the rooster; the wolf saw it and commanded the fox stop it.'		
Bitransitive			
non-attested			

Table 8.3 Case marking in the construction [*mandar* 'command' INF]

In the construction [*hacer* 'have' INF] causees were omitted. Affectees took the causative case and benefactives were marked as datives. Table 8.4 shows all the case configurations attested for this construction.

Construction [<i>hacer</i> 'have' INF]			
Label in the text	Thematic Role	Syntactic Coding	Case Marking
Intransitive Infinitive			
causee	agent	Prepositional Phrase [a NP]	Dative ? there is no pronominal data available to clarify the case of this phrase
example: <i>"mas si esto quisieredes [...] fare uenir [a Dario]_{causee} merced a nos pedir"</i> (Libro de Alexandre)			

<p>'but if you want, I will have Dario come here to pray for our mercy' (Only this example was attested)</p>			
Transitive Infinitive			
causee	agent	omission	—
affectee (non-human)	theme	Noun Phrase	accusative
<p>example: <i>"fizo fer [una carpa]_{affectee} de muy fuertes maderos"</i> (Libro de Alexandre) 'He had a shelter built with strong lumber' <i>"...el conde fizo cerrar [las puertas de la ciudad]_{affectee...}"</i> (Conquista de Ultramar) 'the count had the doors of the city closed'</p>			
affectee (non-human)	theme	Pronominal	accusative
<p>example: <i>"Et entendiendo don Juan que estos enxemplos eran buenos, fizo-los_{affectee} poner en este libro..."</i> (El Conde Lucanor) 'And Don Juan, understanding that these examples were good, had them included/written in the book...'</p>			
affectee (human)	theme	Pronominal	accusative
<p>example: <i>"...priso a doña Lambla, et fizo-la_{affectee} quemar..."</i> (Los siete Infantes de Salas) 'he took Mrs. Lambla and had her burned (at the stake)'</p>			
Bitransitive Infinitive			
causee	agent	omission	—
affectee	theme	noun phrase	accusative
benefactive	recipient	prepositional phrase [a NP]	dative
<p>example: <i>"Quando el Mal esto oyó, fue al Bien et díxol [...] que fiziesse dar [la leche]_{affectee} [a su fijo]_{benefactive...}"</i> (El Conde Lucanor) 'When Evil heard this, he went to Good and told him to have the milk be given to his child'</p>			
benefactive	recipient	pronominal	dative
<p>examples: <i>" E ella mando a este cauallero que le_{benefactive} fiziesse dar muy buena posada"</i> (El Cauallero Çifar) 'And she instructed that the knight be given good accomodations'</p>			
benefactive	recipient	prepositional phrase [para 'for' NP]	dative
<p>example: <i>"E [la buena dueña]_{causer} fizo comprar [bestias]_{affectee} [para sy e para aquellas</i></p>			

mugeres]_{benefactee...}” (El Cauallero Çifar)

‘And the good Lady had horses bought for her and the other ladies...’

Table 8.4 Case marking in the construction [*hacer* ‘have’ INF]

In the construction [*hacer* ‘force’ INF] the causee took benefactive case every time the affectee was elaborated as expected according to Comrie’s Causative Hierarchy. Nevertheless, in this construction the case alternation Acc/Dat was observed in an example where the infinitives were intransitive verbs. See the third example at the section of Intransitive Infinitives in the Table 8.5. The accusative case was assigned when the causees had the thematic role of a patient being burned, but it took the dative case immediately after when the infinitive implied that the causees got ignited by the pain that is caused to them. The second infinitive “ençender” denotes an event where the beings ignite as a reaction to the pain that is inflicted to them. Therefore the causees are not conceptualized fully as affected undergoers. The Table below (8.5) shows all the case marking configurations recorded for this construction.

Construction [<i>hacer</i> ‘force’ INF]			
Label in the text	Thematic Role	Syntactic Coding	Case Marking
Intransitive Infinitive			
causee	theme	Noun Phrase	accusative
example: “... <i>asi como el omne que quiso fazer correr [las naves]_{causee} por la tierra...</i> ” (Calila e Dimna) ‘Like the man who wanted to make the ships run on the ground...’			
causee	agent	pronominal	accusative
example: “... <i> fueron luego prestos [Clitus e Tolomeos]_{causer}, finieron-los_{causee} tornar con la yra de Deus” (El Libro de Alexandre) ‘Then Clitus and Tolomeos were ready, they made them (the enemy) back off with the anger of God’ </i>			

causee	patient	Prepositional phrase [a NP] and pronominal	accusative
causee	agent	Prepositional phrase [a NP] and pronominal	dative
<p><i>"A los perdidos malos, que dexó en tu poder; en el fuego infernal los^{causee patient} fases tú arder^{burn}; en penas perdurables les^{causee agent} fases encender^{ignite, catch fire}..."</i> (Libro de Buen Amor)</p> <p>'To the lost men he left under your control, in the fire of hell you make them burn, and in endless pain you have them ignite/catch fire'</p>			
Transitive Infinitive			
causee	agent	Prepositional Phrase [a NP]	dative
affectee	theme	Noun Phrase	accusative
<p>example:</p> <p><i>"...faze uarrer [la casa]^{affectee} [la muger]^{causer} [al marido]^{causee...}"</i> (El Libro de Alexandre)</p> <p>'the wife makes the husband sweep the house'</p>			
causee	agent	pronominal	dative
affectee	theme	Pronominal	accusative
<p>example:</p> <p><i>"...yo tomaré aca a ty e [te]^{causee DAT} fare creer [esto que yo te digo]^{affectee...}"</i> (El Cauallero Çifar)</p> <p>'... I will take you here and I will make you believe what I tell you'</p>			
causee	patient	pronominal	accusative
<p>examples:</p> <p><i>"...et fueronlos sacar dentre la prisa, et llevaronlos pora su tienda et finieron-los^{causee} desarmar..."</i> (Los siete Infantes de Salas)</p> <p>'and they took them outside quickly, and took them to their tent, and forced them to take off their armors...'</p>			
Bitransitive Infinitive			
causee	agent	prepositional phrase [a NP]	dative
<p>example:</p> <p><i>"(el rey) fizo jurar [a todos sus hijos]^{causee} sobre los santos evangelios que maldito fuese fijo [...] que fuera contra aquello quell mandava"</i></p> <p>'(the king) made all his children promise on the holy gospels that the one that went contrary to his instructions would be cursed.'</p>			
causee	agent	pronominal	dative
affectee	theme	noun phrase	accusative
<p>example:</p> <p><i>"De lexos le fablavan (al lobo) por le fazer dezir algo de la sentencia, su corazón descubrir"</i> (Libro de Buen Amor)</p> <p>'They were speaking to the wolf from a distance to make/force him (to) say aloud something that could let them see what he was thinking/planning'</p>			

Table 8.5 Case marking in the construction [*hacer* 'force' INF]

In the construction [*hacer* 'cause' INF] the pattern repeats, when the affectee is present, it receives the accusative case. Then the causee takes the dative case. However, in cases where the affectee is not elaborated, the causee still will take dative case if its thematic role is that of the experiencer. The Table 8.6 below shows the case marking of this construction with some examples.

Construction [<i>hacer</i> 'cause' INF]			
Label in the text	Thematic Role	Syntactic Coding	Case Marking
Intransitive Infinitive			
causee	experiencer	pronominal	dative
example: <i>"El que ha el diente prodrido que le faze doler..."</i> (Calila e Dimna) 'He, who has a rotten tooth that makes him suffer...'			
Transitive Infinitive			
causee	experiencer	pronominal	dative
affectee	theme	Noun Phrase	accusative
example: <i>"...[aquella melezina]_{causer} le_{causee} fizo perder [la fabla]_{affectee}"</i> (Sandebbar) 'that medicine made him lose his speech'			
causee	experiencer	prepositional phrase [a NP]	dative
example: <i>"El rey Abiés [...] echo mano a su espada y començó a herir con ella tan bravamente que [a sus enemigos]_{causee} hazía tomar espanto"</i> (Amadís de Gaula) 'The King Abies took his sword and began striking people so furiously that he made his enemies horrified'			
causee	patient	Noun phrase	accusative
example: <i>"... la mucha y gruesa artyllerya tyrava -que parescya que [la tierra y paredes]_{causee} hiciese tenblar"</i> (La Crónica de Adramón) '...he shot his numerous heavy artillery in a way that it seemed he made the floor and walls tremble.'			
Bitransitive Infinitive			
causee	experiencer	pronominal	dative
example: <i>"Conde Claros con amores, no podia reposar: dando muy [grandes suspiros]_{affectee}, que</i>			

<p><i>[el amor]_{causer} le_{causee} hacía dar.</i>" (Romancero Viejo)</p> <p>'The Count Claros was in love, he could not rest, love made him sigh too loudly' (Lit. 'Love made him give loud sighs')</p> <p>Only this example was recorded.</p>
--

Table 8.6 Case marking for the construction [*hacer* 'cause' INF]

As for the construction [*hacer* 'lead' INF] the already mentioned tendency was observed. Causees take the dative case, as the affectee takes the accusative. All the patterns of case marking attested for this construction are shown below.

Construction [<i>hacer</i> 'lead' INF]			
Label in the text	Thematic Role	Syntactic Coding	Case Marking
Intransitive Infinitive			
causee	agent	prepositional phrase [a NP]	dative
	example: <i>"E quando la ferie, Nuestro Señor fizo hablar [al asna]_{causee} e dixo a Balaan: 'Señor, ya me feriste iii uezes...</i> (La Conquista de Ultramar) 'And when he was beating her, Our Lord made the mule speak and she said to Balaan: "Lord, you have beaten me three times already...'		
causee	agent	pronominal	dative
	example: <i>"El amor faz' sutil al ome que es rrudo, ffáze-le_{causee} fabrar hermosos al que antes es mudo."</i> (Libro de Buen Amor) 'Love makes rough men kind, it makes speak beautifully to those that were mute before.'		
causee	agent	Doubled: pronominal and prepositional phrase [a NP]	dative
affectee	patient	prepositional phrase [a NP]	accusative
	example: <i>"[la envidia] faze-les_{causee} [a las madres]_{causee} [a los hijos]_{affectee} matar"</i> (Libro de Alexandre) 'Envy makes mothers kill their children'		
causee	patient	pronominal	accusative
	example: <i>"E la sseñora de la villa non la dexo yr, [...] e fizo la_{causee} asentar con ella a la tabla suya"</i> (Cauallero Çifar) 'And the lady of the village did not let her leave. She made her sit with her at the table'.		
causee	experiencer	pronominal	dative

example: <i>"Entrada la cuaresma víneme para Toledo, [...] fallé y gran santidad e hízo-me_{causee} estar quedo..."</i> (Libro de Buen Amor) 'During Lent I came to Toledo. There, I found great sanctity and that made me be quiet.'			
Transitive Infinitive			
causee	agent	pronominal	dative
affectee (non-human)	theme	pronominal/nominal phrase	accusative
example: <i>"...tanto afirmas tu inorancia que me_{causee} hazes creer-lo_{affectee} que puede ser"</i> (Celestina) 'You insist so much on claiming you didn't know anything that you are making me relieve it may be true.' <i>"...aquel que una vez atas, fázese-le_{causee} pensar [engaños]_{affectee}..."</i> (Libro de Buen Amor)			
causee	agent	prepositional phrase [a NP]	dative
affectee (non-human)	theme	noun phrase	accusative
example: <i>"[la envidia] Esta faz [a los omes]_{causee} [omeçidios]_{affectee} obrar..."</i> (Libro de Alexandre) 'Envy makes men commit homicides'			
Bitransitive Infinitive			
Not attested			

Table 8.7 Case marking in the construction [*hacer* 'lead' INF]

8.2 The Semantics of the Constructions and their Constructional Profiles

8.2.1 *Mandar*

Mandar had a semantic as well as a syntactic profile that facilitated the expression of a causative dual event chain. The basic uses of *mandar* provided the adequate templates for the creation of two causative constructions: [*mandar* 'command' INF] and [*mandar* 'get' INF].

Semantically, *mandar* imposed a power asymmetry between its participants, where the causee stood in a subordinating relationship with the causer, and had to do what the causer indicated. In this way, *mandar* provided the ideal semantic

template where one participant had another weaker participant doing something for him.

Also, *mandar* provided an adequate syntactic template for the creation of a causative construction. *Mandar* is a communication verb, therefore, bitransitive. It takes three arguments: a subject, an object, and an indirect object (the recipient of the command). The indirect object took dative case expressed by a prepositional phrase [a NP] and/or the pronoun *le*. Moreover, the indirect object was not only expected to receive the command, but also to carry it out.

In consequence, the indirect object of *mandar* satisfied the necessary requirements to encode a causee since (a) it was located at the end of the first event chain (the recipient of the command); (b) it was human, and (c) it was highly agentive, which enabled it also to become the initiator of a second event. In consequence, the syntactic structure of *mandar* did not require the addition of any argument by means of syntactic devices in order to increase its valence and express causation.

Also, the syntactic structure of *mandar* already included the reduced expression of the command using an infinitival structure. Therefore, it was quite natural that the basic uses of *mandar* moved into more causative uses, [*mandar* 'command' INF] and [*mandar* 'get' INF].

It is unclear which of the constructions of *mandar* emerged first since there is not available data prior to 1100 AD. Nevertheless, considering their structure, the commanding construction preserved more of the literal meaning of the verb *mandar* and retained most of syntactic and semantic structure of the original bitransitive

event. Therefore, I consider it to be the first construction that emerged and was in use since earlier times.

The *mandar* getting construction was an extension -in Langacker terms- of the former commanding construction. It retained a lot of the properties of the *mandar* event, but its syntactic structure did not match it completely anymore: the bitransitive template was incomplete. Its meaning did not highlight the commanding part of the event either; rather it profiled the end of the chain event focusing on the result of the caused event.

This construction developed properties of its own, which leads me to suggest that it was an extension of the command construction. Again, the data available does not provide us with evidence to identify the exact emergence date of these constructions. At the time both constructions were attested, they were already well-entrenched constructions and covered almost the 14% of the analytic causatives of that time.

In the Diagram 11 (below) we can compare the causative uses of *mandar*, *hazer*, and *enviar* during the 12th century. 13.8% of all the causatives at that time corresponded to the analytic causative [*mandar* INF], 4% to the construction [*mandar que* CL], 3% to the [*hazer* INF] construction, and 0.03% to the [*enviar* INF] construction. [*enviar que* CL] and [*enviar a* INF] represented only 0.09% of the total use of these verbs each, which suggest their incipient emergence. Notice also that the construction [*hazer que* CL] was not in use yet.

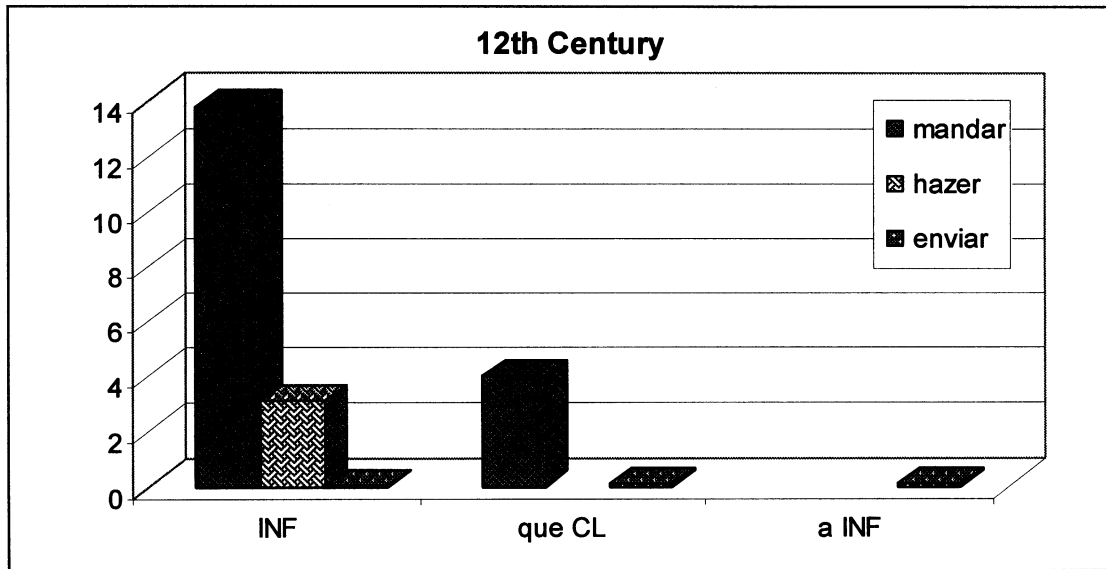


Diagram 8.1 Causative use of *mandar*, *hazer* and *enviar* in the 12th century

These tendencies are supported by the data from the 13th century (below), where it is possible to observe (a) the continued presence of [*mandar* INF] and [*mandar que* CL], (b) the strengthening of [*hazer* INF], and (c) the incipient growth or emergence of *enviar* constructions, [*enviar* INF], [*enviar que* CL] and [*enviar a* INF]. See the graph below.

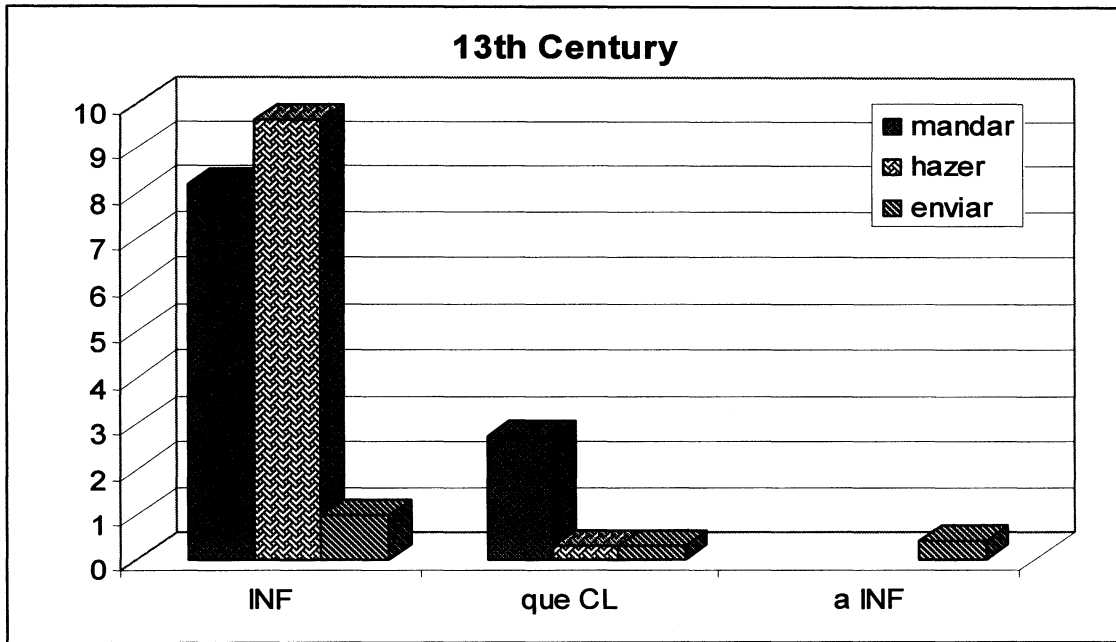


Diagram 8.2 Causative use of *mandar*, *hazer*, and *enviar* in the 13th century

As the comparison of these graphs suggests, during the 12th century, the entrenchment of *mandar* constructions was more advanced than the entrenchment of *hazer* constructions. Let us look now at the constructional configurations of *mandar* constructions.

8.2.1.1 The Constructional Profile of [*mandar* 'command' INF]

The construction [*mandar* 'command' INF], attested in 17 instances during the 12th century, had the following constructional configuration. Notice that the layers in the schema below correspond to all the features that shape the meaning and the syntactic configuration of construction. Those features serve also as its restricting properties since by indicating what is allowed, it is entailed also what is banned.

Causer	● Causative V ●	Caused V ▣	(Caused Object)	Causee
Initiator of event chain	first action in the event chain	second action in the event chain	object from 2 nd action	Recipient of command
In profile	In profile			Executor of 2 nd event
Top in social hierarchy: king, pope, military or royalty highest ranks Male Power Influence	command	commanded action	result of commanded action or object involved in it	Low in social hierarchy: assistants, messengers, servants,, soldiers, workers. Subordinate to CR Male Loyalty Honor Code
Speaker (instructions source)	message (instruction)	message (instruction)	message (instruction)	Hearer (receptor of instruction)
NP	mand-	infinitive	NP _{non-human} PP if human: [a ³⁰ NP _{human}]	PP
nominative no marking	subject agreement tense-aspect		accusative marking only if human Pronoun: <i>lo, los, la, las</i>	dative Prep <i>a</i> + NP Pronoun: <i>le, les</i>
	possible order: ↔ (infrequent)		possible positions: ▣	possible positions: ●

Diagram 8.3 Construction [*mandar* 'command' INF]

Examples (126) from *Mio Cid* (12th century) exemplify this diagram.

142. a. *Mas yo agora vos diré d' aquel buen Felez Muñoz, aquel sobrino era de Mio Cid Campeador.*
Mand-áron-le ir delante, mas de su grado non fo
CAUSATIVE-CR-CEE CAUSED V INTRANSITIVE (adverb)

But now I will tell you about the good Felez Muñoz, he was a nephew of Mio Cid's. (They) commanded him to go at the front (of the retinue), but that was not pleasing to him;...

- b. *¡Dios, cómo alegre fue el rey, nunca non viestes atanto!*
Mand-ó cavalgar apriessa [a todos sos fijosdalgo].

³⁰ According to Ortiz (2006), Indirect Objects always took the preposition *a*; Direct Objects took it only if human: *el Rey Sol presentó a su hijo a los Grandes de España* 'Sun King introduced his son to the Great men from Spain'

CAUSATIVE-CR CAUSED VERB (adverb) CEE

God, how happy was the king! You never saw him so (happy)! He commanded his gentlemen to ride quickly.

8.2.1.2 The constructional profile of [*mandar* 'get' INF]

In this construction, the properties of the causer remained analogical to the first construction. However, in this case, his capacity to get things done for him was highlighted, which resulted in the defocusing of the causee expressed by its omission. The caused result was profiled and always mentioned. Moreover, the oral exchange between causer and causee was defocused to some extent due to the absence of the hearer (the causee), which resulted in some ambiguity because it was not clear anymore whether the causer had instructed directly the causee or if he had someone else giving instructions for him. In any case, the statement of his oral instructing was still present. The template of this second construction is:

Causer	Causative V ■	Caused V	Caused Object ■
Initiator of event chain In profile	first action in the event chain	second action in the event chain	object obtained or involved in 2 nd action In profile
<i>Top in social hierarchy: king, pope, military or royalty highest ranks</i> <i>Male</i> <i>Power, authority</i>	<i>get</i>	<i>desired</i> <i>commanded action</i>	<i>desired goal obtained by the CR</i>
Leader, achiever Speaker			achieved product
NP	<i>mand-</i>	infinitive	NP _{non-human} Human objects not allowed
nominative	subject agreement		accusative
no marking	tense-aspect		Pronoun: <i>lo, los, la, las</i>
possible positions: ■			

Diagram 8.4 Construction [*mandar* 'get' INF]

Some examples of this construction are shown below. They were originally examples (3.). See that the causee is no longer present in the construction.

128. a. *Y fallaron un vergel con una muy limpia font,
do mandan fincar [la tienda] [los Infantes de Carrión]
Loc causative V set caused Obj Causer*

And they found an orchard with a very clean spring,
where, the Princes of Carrión had the tent set.

- b. *“Si vos ploguiere, Mio Cid, de ir somos aguisados,
mandad-nos dar [de las bestias], cavalgaremos privado”
Causative-Recipient give caused Object*

“Whenever it pleases you, Mio Cid, we are prepared to leave,
make us receive the horses, and will leave fast”

In order to support with further evidence the idea that both constructions were well entrenched already during the 12th century, let us look at their individual frequencies over time (below).

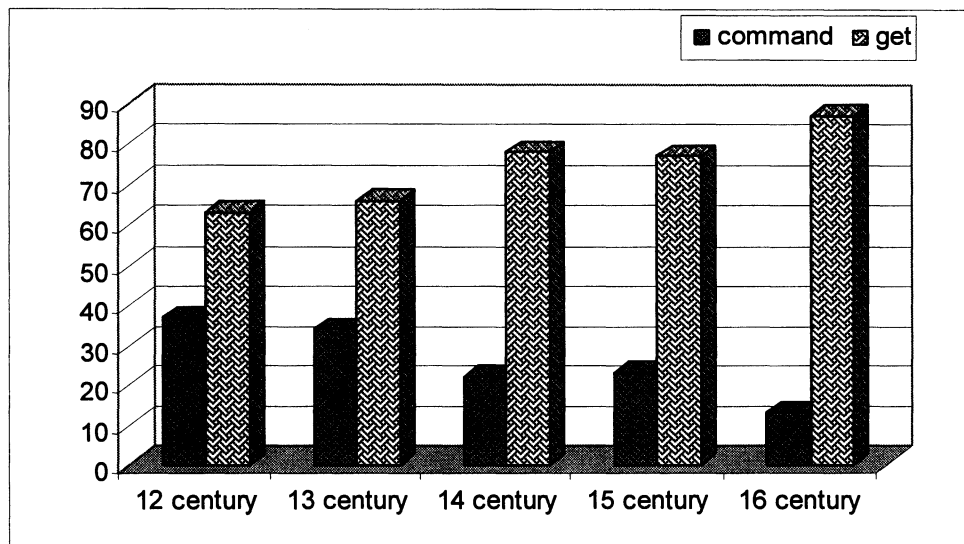


Diagram 8.5 Frequency of [*mandar* ‘get’ INF] and [*mandar* ‘command’ INF]

The diagram above shows that as centuries went by, none of the constructions of *mandar* fell out of use. As the topics of the studied texts broadened

over time, the activities of monarchs became less central to the narratives, and the commanding construction became less frequent. Nevertheless, it did not fall out of use. In fact, it remains in use in Modern Spanish.

8.2.2 *Fazer*

If we look now at the causative constructions of *hazer* in the 12th century, we face the problem that only 10 instances of the pattern [*fazer* INF] were recorded and different meanings were identified among those instances (See Section 5.2). However, if we move on to observe the data from the 13th century we find that the most frequent *hazer* constructions correspond to the counterpart of the already well-entrenched construction [*mandar* 'get' INF] and [*mandar* 'command' INF]. See the diagram below presented also in Section 6.2.1.

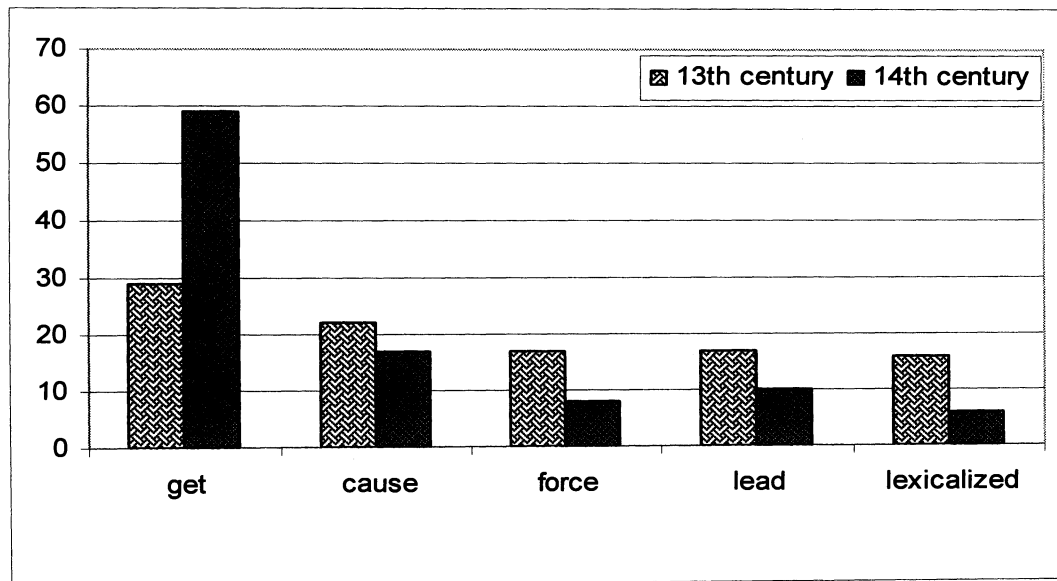


Diagram 8.6 *Fazer* Constructions 13th and 14th Century

8.2.2.1 The constructional profile [*fazer* 'get' INF]

According to this diagram, the most frequent construction during the 13th and 14th century was [*fazer* 'get' INF]. The constructional schema of this construction is presented below followed by a couple of its examples. Compare it against Diagram 14 and examples (143).

Causer	Causative V	Caused V ■	Caused Object ■
Initiator of event chain In profile	first action in the event chain	second action in the event chain	object obtained or involved in 2 nd action In profile
<i>Economic capacity</i> <i>Authority</i> <i>Male/female</i>	<i>get</i>	<i>necessary action to get</i> <i>desired result/object</i>	<i>desired goal either an object or an event</i>
Leader, achiever			achieved product
NP	<i>faz-</i>	infinitive	NP _{non-human} Human objects not allowed
nominative no marking	subject agreement tense-aspect		accusative Pronoun: <i>lo, los, la, las</i>
possible positions: ■			

Diagram 8.7 Constructional schema [*fazer* 'get' INF]

144. a. *Fizo fer una capa de muy fuertes maderos que bien cabrien so ella quinientos caballeros* (Libro de Alexandre)
He had a shelter built with very strong lumber. It could easily fit 500 knights inside.
- b. *E estonces el conde fizo cerrar las puertas de la ciudad porque sus compannas non se arrebataassen e saliessen fuera a enbaratarsse con los moros.* (Conquista de Ultramar)
Then the count got the doors of the city closed so that his troops couldn't get angry and eager to get out and meet the moors.
- c. *E la buena dueña fizo comprar bestias para sy e para aquellas mugeres en que fuesen my onrradamente.* (Libro del Cauallero Çifar)
Lit. And the good Lady made buy beasts for her and the other women in which they could go in an honorable manner.

The constructional schema of [*fazer* 'get' INF] differs from that of [*mandar* 'get' INF] in the following ways:

(a) *Fazer* made it possible to include a wider array of characters in this position. Women were acceptable, for example, parents were acceptable too, as well as bosses. Although kings, popes, and top military leaders were included in the construction, it was not restricted to those participants, since the power asymmetry imposed by *mandar* was not present. *Fazer* established an asymmetry based on economical power or authority.

(b) The implication of the existence of an oral exchange was lost too. Whereas the verb *mandar* implied clearly that the causer had given oral instructions to someone in order to get the desired caused result, the verb *hazer* did not make any reference to an oral command. In consequence, the *hazer* construction was ambiguous in the sense that it was not clear the way the causer got the causee in action.

What remained common to both constructions was:

- (a) The backgrounding of the causee; in both cases his identity was omitted and unknown.
- (b) The causee profile; in both construction the causee was usually a service person, a specialized worker, a soldier.
- (c) The expression of the causer; in both constructions the causer was fully elaborated; in both cases his capacity and power to get things done for him was highlighted as well.
- (d) The part of the event chain that was profiled; in both cases the caused event, the caused result, and their relation to the causer were highlighted.

(e) Collocations; both constructions took similar types of verbs and coincided having several equal collocations.

8.2.2.2 The constructional profile of [fazer 'lead' INF]

If we go back to the Diagram 16 and put together the instances of the construction [fazer 'lead' INF] and its lexicalized items, we obtain the diagram below. In this diagram it is possible to observe that the *fazer* 'lead' construction was even more frequent than [fazer 'get' INF] during the 13th century.

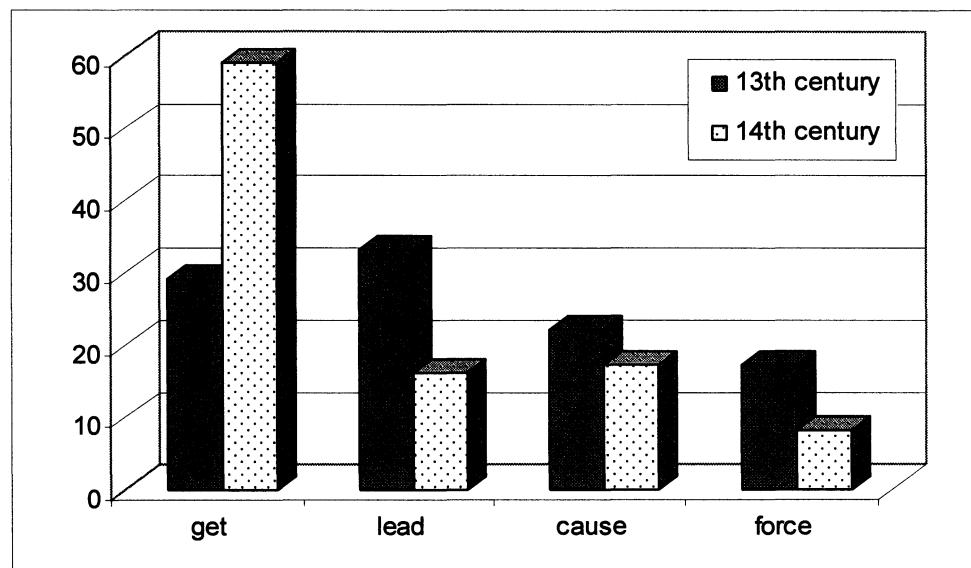


Diagram 8.8 Fazer constructions during the medieval period

[fazer 'lead' INF] made reference to an oral exchange between causer and causee. By using words skillfully, the causer was able to control the causee's behavior and have him believing something that was inaccurate or convincing him of doing something.

Even though the lexical meaning of *fazer* itself could not impose the idea of a communication exchange, the interaction of this construction with [mandar 'command' INF] allowed the production of instances like: *fazer saber* 'communicate

or let know', *fazer entender* 'to explain or make understand', *fazer dezir* 'lead to say', *fazer creer* 'convince, deceive, or make believe', etc., in which the power asymmetry of *mandar* was lacking.

The causee in the construction [*fazer* 'lead' INF] was coded as an indirect object; nevertheless, *fazer*, as a transitive verb, did not include an IO in its argument structure. If we remember that the construction [*mandar* 'command' INF] had an IO in its structure and was strongly related to communication exchanges, then it could be suggested that the incorporation of an Indirect Object in this new construction was the product of the influence and interaction with the *mandar* constructions which encoded events where communication exchanges were taking place.

The asymmetry between participants, where the causer is more skillful than the causee could be the result of the influence of the [*mandar* 'command' INF]. The lexical meaning of *fazer* does not contain any semantic properties that could set the event participants in an asymmetrical relationship where one participant was in disadvantage with respect to the other.

Despite the influence of the [*mandar* 'command' INF] construction, [*fazer* 'lead' INF] developed a set of unique features as well. On one hand, the asymmetry between the participants in this construction had to do with skill rather than with power. The positions for the causer and the causee could be filled by participants of any social class, age, or gender. Causers of a lower social status than that of the causee were common. A few non-human causers were attested as well. In those cases, the presence of that non-human entity motivated the behavior of the causee.

Although oral communication is present in the construction, the causer is not a commander instructing someone. The causer in this construction is a guide or a

manipulator that uses words as a tool to influence the causee. The profiled portion of the event chain moved from the causer and the causative event to the caused event influenced upon the causee and the reaction of the causee.

Whereas the construction [mandar 'command' INF] portrays two clearly separate events which take place usually at different locations, this construction profiles a almost simultaneous chain of events, where both happen at the same location and the degree of continuity from one to the other is extremely high. The events in this construction show an overlap of the causative event guiding the development of the caused action. The constructional schema of this construction is presented below. Notice that its syntactic configuration is similar to that of the *mandar* constructions, whereas most of its semantic properties are unique to this construction.

Causer	● Causative V ●	Caused V●	Causee	(Caused Object)
Source of influence; initiator	1 st event In profile	2 nd action In profile	Recipient of influence In profile	object from action 2
<i>human skill; manipulator if not-human > trigger, motivation</i>	<i>lead influence</i>	<i>guided resulted activity</i>	<i>human any social class/rank any gender influenced; guided</i>	
Speaker leading, manipulating			Influenced Interlocutor	
NP	<i>faz-</i>	infinitive	PP	NP _{non-human} Relative Clause
nominative no marking	subject agreement tense-aspect		dative Prep <i>a</i> + NP Pronoun: <i>le, les</i>	accusative Pronoun: <i>lo, los, la, las</i>
			possible positions: ●	

Diagram 8.9 Constructional Schema [*fazer* 'lead' INF]

Just to remind the reader of the specifics of this construction, some examples are presented below.

145. a. *La dueña por este fecho fue tan envergonzada,
que por tal que muriese non quería comer nada;
mas [una ama vieja que la hobo criada]*

causer

fizo-l' **creyer** *que no era culpada* (Libro de Apolunio)
made-CEE_{DAT} **believe** that she was not to blame

The lady was ashamed of her actions,
in order to die, she didn't want to eat anything;
but [an old maid who raised her (when she was a kid)]_{Causer}
led her_{Causee, DAT} to believe (helped to understand) that she was not to blame.

- b. *'Dime trasechador,*

Causer

tu que [...] faz-es **creer** *[a los ombres] lo que non es...*
CR Relative make-3sg_{CR} believe DAT the men what is not...
(Libro del Caballero Çifar)

'Tell me sorcerer, you that [...] make men believe that which is not...

8.2.2.3 The constructional profiles of [*fazer* 'force' INF] and [*fazer* 'cause' INF]

Fazer forcing and causing constructions were quite similar. In both of them, the causer acted directly (physically) upon the causee. What differentiated them was the fact that the causer in the forcing construction acted intentionally upon the causee, whereas the causer of the causing construction affected the causee in an unplanned and non-intentional way.

If we consider the lexical properties of *fazer*, there is no way the transitive verb could express a dominant relationship between two participants. There is no way *fazer* could code the causee in a dative case either. These are constructional properties that could have been gained by the interaction with the [*mandar* 'command' INF] construction.

The asymmetry imposed by *mandar* was based on a scale of social power, a social hierarchy, where the members at the top of the hierarchy were causers and the members at lower positions in it were causees. In the constructions of *fazer* the asymmetry was preserved, but it was applied in a different domain, a domain of physical strength.

In consequence, the causers of the 'cause' and 'force' constructions were superior in physical strength than the causee. As a result, the array of participants that could take the causer-causee roles was broadened to include human beings of any age, gender, or social condition, as far as they were strong enough to exert force upon the causee. Also, non-human entities such as environmental factors, illnesses, animals, and other entities were allowed.

In the 'force' and 'cause' *fazer* constructions, there is a face-to-face interaction between causer and causee that can involve physical touch. Therefore, the causer of these constructions acted directly upon the causee forcing or causing him to move.

It is possible that by the influence of the *mandar* construction these constructions coded the causee using the dative case which is adequate according to the highly agentive causees. In both *fazer* constructions, the causee took dative case.

The following diagrams show the constructional schemas of the constructions [*fazer* 'force' INF] and [*fazer* 'cause' INF]. Notice that these schemas are different in two respects: (1) the 'force' construction takes human causers mostly, whereas the 'cause' construction usually takes non-human causers; and (2) whereas the caused action in the 'force' construction was intentionally brought about, the caused action in the 'cause' construction was not intentional. Also, notice that each construction

profiles a different area of the event chain. Whereas the force construction highlights the initial part, the cause construction highlights the final part of the action chain. Below the constructional schemas a couple of examples (146-147) are provided.

Causer	● Causative V-●■	Caused V	Causee	(Caused Object)
Force source Initiator In profile	1 st event In profile	2 nd action In profile	Direct recipient of directed force	object from action 2
<i>human physically strong Intentional in control</i>	<i>force</i>	<i>forced action</i>	<i>human (any social class/rank, gender, age) weaker than causer controllable In few cases, an object that is possible to handle or manipulate</i>	
Controller	physical contact/control		controlled	
NP	<i>faz-</i>	infinitive	PP NP _{non-human}	NP _{non-human} Relative Clause
nominative	subject agreement		dative if human [Prep a + NP] or Pronoun: <i>le, les</i>	accusative Pronoun: <i>lo, los, la, las</i>
no marking	tense-aspect		accusative highly affected, low status human [NP] or pronoun <i>lo, la</i>	
			possible positions: ●	possible positions: ■

Diagram 8.10 Constructional Schema of [fazer 'force' INF]

146. a. ...menazauan la a la entrada;
quando querie a dentro entrar
a riedro [la] faz-ien tornar (Lit. made return) (Maria Egipcica)
CEE make-CR forced action

...they were threatening her (with their swords) at the entrance; every time she tried to enter, to her prior position they forced her to go back.

- d. Quando vido su ora que lo podryé pasar,
con otras melezinas qu'él sopo hí mesclar,
engargantól' el oloy, fīs-o-ge-lo pasar, (Libro de Apolonio)
make-CR-CEE-Obj swallow

When he saw that she was ready to swallow it, with the other medicines that he had skillfully mixed, he introduced the oil in her throat, made her swallow it, (and) got the lady clean from the impurity.

Causer	● Causative V ●	Caused V ■	Causee	(Caused Object)
Force source	1 st event In profile	2 nd event In profile	Direct recipient of force In profile	object from action 2
<i>non-human physically strong</i>	<i>cause</i>	<i>unintentional resulted action</i>	<i>human (any social class/rank, gender, age) at mercy of causer controllable In few cases, an object that is possible to affect or handle</i>	
<i>human non-intentional physically strong</i>				
Provoke	physical contact		affected	
NP	<i>faz-</i>	infinitive	PP/NP _{non-human}	NP _{non-human}
nominative	subject agreement		dative if human [Prep <i>a</i> + NP] or pronoun: <i>le, les</i>	accusative Pronoun: <i>lo, los, la, las</i>
no marking	tense-aspect		accusative highly affected, non-individuated human [NP] or pronoun <i>lo, la</i>	
			possible positions: ●	possible positions: ■

Diagram 8.11 Constructional Schema of [*fazer* 'cause' INF]

147. a. *El que ha [el diente podrido] que le faz-e doler...*(Calila e Dimna)

CR REL CEE_{dat} make-CR hurt

He who has a rotten tooth that causes him pain...

- c. ... *su maestro, le dio alguna cosa, alguna melezina por que aprendiese algún saber, e [aquella melezina] le fiz-o perder [la fabla].*

CR CEE make-CR lose OBJ

... his teacher gave him something, some kind of medicine to make him learn something, and that medicine made him lose his speech.

8.2.2.4 *Fazer* vs *Mandar*

The data of this study suggests that *mandar* provided the initial template from which more causative constructions originated and that this verb was followed by the gradual incorporation of *hacer* and its constructions to the causative constructional inventory. However, it is necessary to keep in mind that all of those constructions

expressed exclusively the causation of action. The causation of emotional states was not expressed by any of the analytic causatives studied. It was until the end of the 16th century that a few instances of analytic constructions with *causar* 'cause', *provocar* 'provoke' and *mover* 'move' were attested. Those constructions did code the causation of emotional states.

Also, analytic causatives taking non-human causers were not attested until the end of Renaissance, when the first instances of the verbs *forçar* 'force' and *obligar* 'oblige' were recorded. Until this point the presence of non-human causers was extremely limited.

After all the previous discussion on the relevance of *mandar*, a question comes to mind: if *mandar* provided the basic causative constructional schemas that gave rise to further constructions, why did it decrease in frequency so importantly over time? Why did *hazer* increase in frequency? The answer is simple if we look at the data from a constructional point of view. The lexical meaning of *mandar* set a strong set of restrictions to its constructions. It required that the participants in the causative event stood in a social hierarchical asymmetry, where the causer was socially and politically more powerful than the causee, and where the causee was subordinated to the causer. On the other hand, the lexical meaning of *hazer* did not impose that hierarchical restriction. In consequence, *hazer* was adequate to express different and broader relationships between causer and causee, for example, parent-child, elder-young, friend-friend, boss-employee, nature-humans, etc.-. The lack of the social restriction facilitated the expression of a wider array of causative events using *fazer*, which produced also a gradual increase in its use.

Moreover, as the structure of society changed over time and monarchies became less central to the topics of the texts studied, the use of *mandar* reduced even more at the time the frequency of *hazer* increased. However such tendencies do not suggest the total weakening and proximal disappearance of the *mandar* constructions. The Table below compares the array of constructions these verbs developed over time including Modern Spanish. Notice that both constructions added new constructional meanings during or beyond the 16th century.

mandar	hazer
[mandar 'command' INF]	
[mandar 'get' INF]	[hazer 'get' INF]
	[hazer 'force' INF]
	[hazer 'cause' INF]
	[hazer 'lead' INF]
[mandar 'send' INF] (Modern Spanish)	[hacer 'command' INF] (Modern Spanish)
	[hacer 'attain' INF] (Modern Spanish)

Table 8.8 Constructional Inventory for *Mandar* and *Hacer*

8.2.3 *Enviar* and its constructions

During the medieval, the analytic causatives of *enviar*, [*enviar* INF] and [*enviar que* INF], worked in parallel with respect to the constructions of *mandar*. They were well defined and had particular, highly specialized uses. No trace of the influence of *mandar* was present in them despite their strong similarities.

However, this situation changed during Renaissance. The similarities between these constructions created an overlap and analogy took place bringing changes in both directions. On one hand, *mandar* gained a new meaning and by the end of Renaissance a new construction, [*mandar a* INF], had emerged. The *enviar*

constructions, on the other hand, weakened as a result of these changes and decreased their frequency falling out of use later on.

A second set of *enviar* constructions was active at the same time. It was formed by [*enviar a* INF] and [*enviar a que* CL] of later emergence. These constructions extended from the more basic and central uses of *enviar*. Since they kept their meaning as well as their syntactic configuration closer to the typical uses of *enviar* these constructions resisted the passing of time and remained active until now. These constructions were extended form sentences like *envié una carta a Castilla* ‘I sent a letter to Castilla (location)’; *envié una carta al rey* ‘I’ve sent a letter to the king (recipient, location)’; *enviamos a tu hija a Castilla* ‘we’ve sent your daughter (dative) to Castilla (destined location, goal); and *enviamos a tu hija al rey* ‘we’ve sent your daughter (dative) to the king (destined recipient, location, goal)’.

It is necessary to keep in mind that all four constructions had generally a very low frequency. Observe these tendencies in the Chart below. Notice the sudden weakening of [*enviar* INF] in the 15th century and the strengthening of [*enviar a* INF] at that same period of time. Notice also that [*enviar a que* CL] emerged in the 15th century, and that the construction [*enviar que* CL] had began to weaken in the 14th century already.

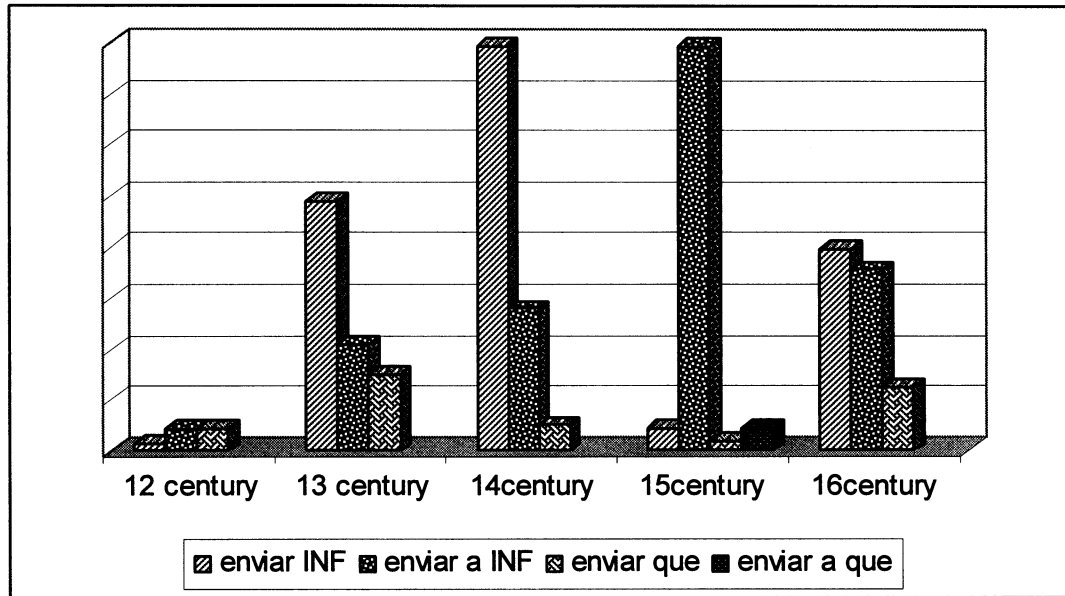


Diagram 8.12 *Enviar* constructions over time

[*Enviar* INF] was more frequent in the 13th and 14th centuries, when [*mandar* INF] was highly frequent too. At least during the 13th century [*enviar* INF] had specific and well entrenched uses that kept it away from the influence of *mandar*. However, there were several factors *enviar* and *mandar* constructions had in common; those factors prompted the analogical extension of semantic features in both directions. Some of the factors are:

1. Both verbs were bitransitive verbs. *Mandar* is a communication verb, whereas *enviar* is a verb of exchange. In consequence, it was natural for both verbs to take the same syntactic configuration and it was equally easy for both of them to incorporate a causee in their syntactic structure.
2. Both verbs express events where direct communication between two participants took place. In *mandar* as well as *enviar* one participant spoke directly to the other and let him know what he had to do. The difference

was that only in the case of *enviar*, the recipient of the instruction had to move to a different location to carry out the assigned task.

3. Both verbs depicted events where one participant was subordinated to the other. However, *mandar* highlighted the sense of extreme control by the causer over the causee, whereas *enviar* highlighted the change of location that the realization of the assigned task required.
4. Both verbs activated or were used in the same contextual situations: castles, battle fields, places where the participant of higher social rank instructed the participant of lower social status.

All these similarities facilitated the use of *enviar* in analogy with *mandar*, and the use of *mandar* in analogy with *enviar*. Analogy resulted in (1) the use of [*enviar que CL*] as the subtle or polite version of [*mandar que CL*]; (2) the semantic incorporation of the sense of 'sending' to the verb *mandar* –a sense that is still highly active in Modern Spanish-; and (3) the sense of command incorporated to the semantic inventory of *enviar* –sense that was active briefly during Renaissance only.

Analogy could have ruled all the causative analytic uses of *enviar* if this verb had not had other strong constructions active at this time. *Enviar* was present in strong locative constructions that had emerged and strongly entrenched much earlier: [*enviar* [Object] [Location_{PP}]]; [*enviar* [Object] [Recipient_{PP}] [Location_{PP}]]; and [*enviar* [Object] [Recipient_{PP}]]. From these constructions the causatives [*enviar a INF*] and [*enviar a que CL*] were extended.

The analogy with *mandar* was not smooth. The power asymmetry, the controlling, and the mandatory senses imposed by *mandar* were not present in the semantics of *enviar*. Therefore, although a few instances of *enviar* having a

commanding causative sense were attested (see example 148.a vs 148.b.), they did not remain in use over time.

148. a. *...el rrey enpeçó a sobyr y conversar y cavalgar a cavallo y yr a caça y hazer muchos vanquetes y enbyar a llamar muchos grandes señores...* (Crónica de Adramón 15th Century)

...the king began to feel better, and to talk, and ride his horse, and go hunting, and host numerous banquets, and had (someone) call numerous important gentlemen...

- b. *Al quinto dya el rrey mandó llamar a los ingleses, a los quales –aunque lo pensavan- hizo saber de la partyda del señor Rroger...* (Crónica de Adramón 15th Century)

On the fifth day, the king had (someone) call the British men, he made them know (even though they already inferred it) about the departure of Mr. Rogers...

The second clashing feature was syntactic. Although both verbs were bitransitive, they accommodated the causee in a different fashion. The causee in the *mandar* constructions used the Indirect Object position marked with the dative case. In *enviar* constructions the causee took the Direct Object position and the accusative case, which had no marking whatsoever. In the *enviar* construction the causee was the participant sent to a different location to do something, whereas in the *mandar* construction the causee was the participant told to do something. This difference was strong enough to prevent *enviar* from partaking analogically in the causative constructions of *mandar*.

149. a. *E quando [el rey Erodes] enbio [los sus caballeros] a ssaber de la naçençia de Ihesu Xpisto...* (Libro del Cauallero Çifar)
 And when king Herod sent his men to learn about the birth of Jesus Christ...
- Causer send-3sgPST CauseeACC Prepgoal know*

- b. ...e posaron en una çibdat muy buena e [el mercador] **enbi-ó**
CR sent-3sgPST
 [su moço] **a mercar de comer...** (Sandeban)
 CEE_{acc} Prep_{goal} buy (something to) eat
 ... and they stopped at a good city, and the merchant sent his servant to buy something to eat ...

The constructions [*enviar* [Object sent] [Goal_{PP}]] (examples 149.) and [*enviar* [Object sent] [Recipient_{PP}] [Location_{PP}]] served as the constructional schemas for the extension of [*enviar* a INF]. In both cases, the caused event was elaborated as a goal and took the constructional place of the destined location, thus preceded by the preposition *a*.

In most cases, when the causee was lower in rank than the causer, it took the position of the sent object and the accusative case (examples 149). However, when the causee was equal or higher in rank than the causer, the accusative marking was incompatible (Flores (2006)³¹) and it was expressed using an instrumental prepositional phrase (example 150). In such cases, the causee was constructed as a tool or an ally helping the causer. This sense is important because it differentiated *enviar* causees from *mandar* causees, and contributed to the politeness or subtlety associated to the *enviar* constructions.

Moreover, the incorporation of the causee as an oblique in this construction is compatible with the Accessibility or Causative Hierarchy proposed by Comrie (1976) avoiding the doubling of the dative. Although in this case, the unavailability of the direct object position –and the accusative marking– was motivated by a pragmatic factor –social recognition– rather than by a syntactic ban, thus if the causee was of

³¹ According to Flores (2006) the selection of the accusative form *lo* was sensitive to pragmatic values such as respect and appreciation vs. degradation and by the individuation of the entity.

lower status, like those in (149) the causee would be elaborated as a typical direct object. It is important to say that no instance of a low status causee taking the instrumental prepositional phrase was attested.

149. *[El jnfante Rroboan] enbi-o a desafiar [al rrey de Grimalet]*
Causer sent-3sgPST to challenge RECIPIENT_{dat}
[con el Cauallero Amjgo su siervo]. (Libro de Cauallero Çifar)
Causee

Roboan, the prince, had the king Grimalet challenged to a duel by the Knight Amigo, his server³².

8.2.4 A chronological constructional network

Due to the lack of precise information to date the emergence of each construction besides the overlap among constructions, I have avoided to include in this diagram dates that could suggest an exact chronological order. However, it has been suggested over the last sections that [*mandar* INF] constructions preceded [*hazer* INF] and were parallel to [*enviar* INF]; then [*mandar que* CL] preceded [*enviar que* CL]; and finally [*enviar a* INF] gave rise to [*mandar a* INF] as well as [*enviar a que* CL] and [*mandar a que* CL]. The following Diagram summarizes this.

³² Knight Amigo was one of the most famous and invincible knights in this story, thus the phrase 'his server' indicated that the Infant counted on his protection and loyalty.

.....	12 th century	Middle Age	Renaissance
mandar			
	[mandar INF]		mandar 'send'
	[mandar 'command' INF]		[mandar a INF]
	[mandar 'get' INF]		[mandar a que CL]
	[hazer 'lead' INF]		
	[hazer 'get' INF]		
		[hazer 'force' INF]	
		[hazer 'cause' INF]	
		[mandar que CL]	
		[enviar que CL]	
enviar	[enviar INF]	[enviar a INF]	[enviar a que CL]

Diagram 8.13 Chronology of *mandar*, *hazer* and *enviar* constructions

8.3 What the data tell us about the evolution of constructions

From the theoretical point of view, this study contains a vast amount of information and evidence that supports Langacker's (2008) and Bybee's (2006) claims about constructions. If I made a list of the theoretical claims the data in this study supports, that list would include the following:

(a) Constructions do emerge from exemplars or particular instances that serve as prototypical models of the meaning, form, and usage specifications of the construction. The speaker pays attention to that detailed information in order to (1)

use the construction, (2) extend it to other similar situations and domains, and (3) incorporate similar lexical elements to the lexical inventory of the construction.

One clear example was *envia dezir* '(my lord) sends (me) to tell (you:...)' (Section 6.3.1). This exemplar was the most frequent instance of the construction [*enviar* INF] from the 13th to the 16th centuries. This exemplar made reference to a situation in which a messenger was sent to deliver an oral message on behalf of his lord. From this exemplar, the construction was extended to other situations where a messenger not only told something, but also “announced something” or “retold something”, “asked something”, “greeted hello or good bye”, “complimented someone”, and even “made promises”, all of them on behalf of his lord. All these new instances shared an important number of similarities: all of them included a messenger of certain type; the depicted situation was extremely similar; the sender of the message and the recipient of the messenger had the same social properties; the same syntactic configuration was used; and all of these exemplars had the same situational socio-cultural implications.

As Langacker has explained, instances reinforce the constructional schema inherent in them and strengthen the schema itself. As time went by, those exemplars that were closer to the prototypical *envia dezir* remained in use, indeed some of them became strong collocations too. Nevertheless, those that departed from the prototypical model –like *envia tomar* '(my lord) sends (me) to take (something)', and *envia poner* '(my lord) sends (me) to put (something)'- were examples that appeared only once in the 14th century and faded away in that same century. Those two instances did not share the prototypical properties suggested by the exemplars

described above. In consequence, they were not reinforced through those exemplars and were never attested again.

This example has methodological implications that should be considered. When looking for constructions in the data or when trying to describe constructions, we should look for those frequent particular exemplars, and keep a record of all the properties –semantic, syntactic, pragmatic, cultural, discursive, historical, etc.- that could be shaping the construction, so we can identify those properties that actually define the construction. Since each construction will give special relevance to some factors over others, it is necessary that the exemplars are analyzed carefully and with an open mind. Otherwise we will provide an incomplete constructional description, full of gaps and inconsistencies.

(b) Constructions emerge as networks of interrelated components. All those components coincide in depicting the same kind of event; nevertheless, each of them codifies a single specific construal of that event. In other words, each construction highlights a different portion of the same event or a different set of properties of the participants of the event. By doing so, different constructional meanings, constructional configurations, and constructional requirements are created.

The best example provided by this study is the set of constructions that emerged from the schema [*fazer* INF] (See Section 6.2.1.5 for a summary). All its constructional subschemas encode a different perspective of a causative event. The construction [*fazer* 'get' INF] highlights the capacity the causer has to get services or things done for him; the construction [*fazer* 'cause' INF] highlights the capacity the causer has to provoke unexpected effects on the causee; the construction [*fazer*

'lead' INF] highlights the capacity a physically weak, but skillful causer has of affecting or leading the behavior of a socially more powerful causee; and the construction [*fazer* 'force' INF] highlights the capacity a physically strong causer has to control the behavior of the causee by acting directly upon him.

As it is evident, in all these constructions there were a causer and a causee, however, the way they acted in each construction was different (manner); the defining properties of causees and causers varied thus different characteristics of those participants were profiled. Also, different sets of collocations were observed (Kemmer 2001), and those collocations could be categorized in different semantic classes in each construction. In other words, different meanings were activated using the same basic syntactic configuration. Therefore, constructions go beyond syntactic patterns.

(c) Constructional changes began with a subtle change in meaning (semantic bleaching in the terms of Haiman 1994, Bybee and Hopper 2001, and Bybee 2006) that went from highly specific into more general (Bybee 2003). In the constructions studied in this material, constructions moved from highly specific participant profiles, to less specific sets of properties that allowed the inclusion of a wider array of participants which resulted in less specific and broader causative meanings.

The best example was provided by *mandar*. In its earliest constructions, the position of the causer was filled by very specific characters, usually a king, a pope, the commander in chief of an army, a queen, among other people that belong to the top levels of a social and power hierarchy. The causee was usually a subordinate of the causer, one who enjoyed a good life style and benefits, but was under the

command of the causer. There was then a marked asymmetry between causer and causee.

As time went by, the specificity of the participant's profile began decreasing. The causers still had to be in a power asymmetrical relationship with the causee, but they could belong to a slightly lower social status. In consequence, allowed causers included knights of lower ranks -though still famous and well-recognized-, clergy members, princesses, and ladies. By Renaissance, more of that specificity had been lost, even though the power asymmetry between participants remained. So, the construction was accepting now participants of more varied kinds: boss-employee, father-child, elder-young, teacher/master-student, among others. And in Modern Spanish, we do also include abstract entities that hold the power asymmetry, such as government-citizen, law-citizen, moral principles-individual, responsibility-individual.

The change went from highly specific participants to less specific participants, to less human participants. This change took place gradually and slowly. It was not an abrupt change that could be noticed from one century to another.

(d) The conservative effect (Bybee 1985; Thompson 2007) was observed as well. The most frequent constructions –[*mandar* INF], [*fazer* INF]- remained stable for longer periods of time or had subtle semantic changes as mentioned previously. However, less frequent constructions like [*enviar* INF], [*enviar a* INF], [*mandar que* CL], and [*fazer que* CL] showed more changes over time, had less specific meanings, and served as templates for the creation of new constructions: [*obligar a* INF], [*forçar a* INF], [*ordenar que* CL], [*obligar que* CL].

(e) Collocations evolved in a systematic way as well. First, at the earliest periods of time, collocations were frequent individual and unrelated caused verbs.

Then, as time went by, those verbs remained as most frequent and were accompanied by other almost synonymous verbs. Later, verbs that were related to specific conceptual domains were incorporated. The examples I provide below correspond to the collocations the construction [*mandar* 'get' INF] showed over time. Notice the stability of collocations over centuries and the gradual incorporation of semantically related elements.

13 th century	14 th century.....	15 th century.....	16 th century.....
Communication verbs...			
<i>llamar</i> 'call'	<i>llamar</i>	<i>llamar</i>	<i>llamar</i>
<i>pregonar</i> 'announce'	<i>pregonar</i>	<i>pregonar</i>	<i>pregonar</i>
<i>fer</i> <i>pregones</i>		<i>dezir</i> 'tell'	<i>dezir</i>
'make announcements'			
<i>reçitar</i> 'read <i>pregones</i> '		<i>rresponder</i> 'reply'	<i>rogar</i> 'ask'

Verbs of killing and executing...

<i>matar</i> 'kill'	<i>matar</i>	<i>matar</i>	<i>matar</i>
<i>enforçar</i> 'hang'	<i>enforçar</i>	<i>ahorçar</i> 'hang'	<i>colgar</i> 'hang'
<i>feryr</i> 'strike'.....	<i>ferir</i>
<i>atormentar</i> 'torture'			
		<i>depeñar</i>	<i>depeñar</i>
		'push down a precipice'	
		<i>degollar</i>	<i>tajar</i> 'slash'
		'slit one's throat'	
			<i>quemar</i> 'burn alive'

Verbs of handling...

<i>traer</i> 'bring'	<i>traer</i>	<i>traer</i>	<i>traer</i>
<i>poner</i> 'place, put'	<i>poner</i>	<i>poner</i>	<i>poner</i>
<i>sacar</i> 'take out'	<i>sacar</i>	<i>sacar</i>	<i>sacar</i>
<i>ayuntar</i>	<i>ayuntar</i>	<i>ayuntar</i>	<i>ayuntar</i>
'put together'			
<i>tomar</i> 'take'	<i>tomar</i>	<i>tomar</i>	<i>tomar</i>
<i>leuar</i> 'take'	<i>llevar</i>	<i>llevar</i>	<i>llevar</i>
<i>meter</i> 'put in'		<i>meter</i>	<i>meter</i>
<i>abrir</i> 'open'	<i>abrir</i>	<i>abryr</i>	<i>abrir</i>

Verbs of making arrangements...

<i>guisar</i> 'prepare'	<i>guisar</i>	<i>aparejar</i> 'prepare'
<i>aguisar</i>		
<i>adozir</i> 'carry'		<i>adereçar</i> 'prepare'
<i>adobar</i> 'prepare'		
<i>bastecer</i> 'supply'		<i>bastecer</i>
		<i>aperçebyr</i> 'supply, prepare'
		<i>proveer</i> 'supply'

8.4 Final remarks

The objective of this study was to create an inventory of the analytic causative constructions that were in use in Spain from the 12th to the 16th century. It has been shown that the earliest constructions were headed by the verb *mandar* followed by the verbs *fazer* and *enviar*. These constructions coded indirect causation with an intermediary agent. Several more specific or specialized subconstructions were identified for each of those constructions. Then, during the Renaissance other verbs like *ordenar* and *forçar* were included to the constructional inventory adding information on the manner of causation.

The detailed cognitive-constructional profiles of the constructions showed that different aspects of the construal of the causative situation were highlighted in each construction and that the social characteristics of the participants as well as the caused predicates preferred for each construction were fundamental components shaping the meaning of the construction.

It was also shown that one of the characteristics of the Old Spanish causatives was the omission of the causee and not its elaboration, as it could be expected. A power asymmetry between causer and causee was relevant to all the constructions, being the causer the most powerful and elaborated participant. As time went by, causers evolved from being specific, powerful social characters, such as kings and princesses, into more general social roles still at the top of the power hierarchy, such as mentors, parents, priests, counselors, etc.

The cognitive approach followed by Song (1996, 2001) was a useful tool in this analysis. According to Song's classification the earliest Spanish causative constructions had a COMPACT [V-V] structure; and, as time went by, parallel

constructions of the AND type [CL *que* CL] using the complementizer *que* emerged. Both COMPACT and AND constructions were headed mostly by *mandar* and *fazer*. Then the emergence of constructions of the PURP type [V *a* V] based on the *enbiar* constructions took place during Renaissance. These constructions added new causative verbs to the inventory.

Even though previous work done on the historical evolution of Spanish causatives (Alfonso 1998, 2006; Davies 1992a-b, 1995, 1998, 2000) described semantic and syntactic properties of some syntactic patterns in detail, none of those studies was successful integrating both types of information in a way in which a coherent and complete system could be observed. Alfonso presents plenty of semantic and syntactic properties, but all of them seem to behave in an isolated, confusing, and asystematic way.

David's analysis, on the other hand, focuses on the syntactic operations of some of the constructions and proposes a very coherent syntactic set of evolution steps. Nevertheless, after reading his analysis, it is impossible for the reader to understand how those constructions were actually used by the speakers of the Medieval, what the constructions really meant, and how those evolutionary steps were motivated.

In this study, the cognitive-constructional approach applied led to the integration of syntactic, semantic, discourse, lexical, and cultural information of the time which facilitated the identification of a network of constructions and subconstructions, their meanings and uses, and the way they influenced and interacted with each other. To observe these constructions as a system made sense

of the seemingly chaotic case marking system and showed that the constructions worked in a semantic complementary distribution.

From the theoretical point of view, this study shows that semantic similarity is a precursor of change. It also shows that prototypical exemplars are fundamental in the emergence and conservation of constructions over time, thus sets of semantically related predicates emerged on the basis of exemplars.

This study also supports the fact that the evolution, growth, and specialization of collocation sets are motivated by semantic similarity; collocations are not the product of chance. Collocations in a construction tend to be semantically similar or semantically related (i.e. they share the same semantic domain). Constructions interacted and influenced each other in areas where similar properties were shared, such as the kind of participants involved, the type of causative event, the situational context where the causative event took place, and the caused predicates used. Semantic analogy and similarity motivated the interaction and influence among constructions.

Summing up, a cognitive-constructional approach has been useful showing the properties of the constructions, their subconstructions, and they way constructions were relating, changing, and emerging over time.

This study focused on the analysis of the causation of action. Even though scenes expressing the causation of all kind of events including emotional and physical reactions or states were searched in the data, in the samples from the centuries covered in this study, this particular type of data was not attested. It is possible that the causation of emotional and physical states was done using different constructions or emerged at a later period of time. It is necessary then to carry out an

investigation of those cases. Also, another area of research that remains to be explored is the occurrence of these constructions in texts of a different genre. Although Stefanowitsch and Gries (2008) have shown that the type or genre of the text, which they call *channel*, does not affect the meaning of the construction, it remains an interesting task to observe how these constructions were used in stories where no knights or battles are involved. Maybe in those texts other constructions not attested in this study are recorded.

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