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Backward Control in Brazilian Portuguese

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1. Introduction

In addition to a robust synthetic causativization strategy, illustrated by (1b) (see Bittencourt 1987), Brazilian Portuguese (henceforth BP) has a periphrastic causativization strategy that involves embedding an infinitival clause under the verbs *fazer* 'make' and *mandar* 'have' (literally, 'send'), as illustrated by (1c) and the examples in (2).[1]

(1) a.   O nenê dormiu.
         'The baby slept.'
     b.   A mulher dormiu o nenê.   SYNTHETIC
         'The woman put the baby to sleep.'
         Literally: 'The woman slept the baby.'
     c.   A mulher fez o nenê dormir.   PERIPHRASTIC
         'The woman put the baby to sleep.'
         Literally: 'The woman made the baby sleep.'
(2) a.   Eu mandei o sapateiro concertar esse sapato.
         'I had the cobbler fix these shoes.'
     b.   Eu não fiz o menino comê-lo.
         'I didn't make the boy eat it.'
(3)   Não o fiz comer ao menino.   COMPLEX PREDICATE

        '(I) didn't make the boy eat it.'   EUROPEAN PORTUGUESE ONLY
        Literally: '(I) not it-made eat to the boy.'

The periphrastic causative construction of BP, which is the focus of this paper, superficially resembles the *make/have* + infinitive construction of English more so than it does the more cohesive causative construction of European Portuguese (EP) and other Romance languages illustrated by (3),[2] for which complex-predicate analyses of various sorts have appropriately been proposed (i.e., verb raising, incorporation, clause union, etc. — see, for example, Aissen 1979, Kayne 1975, Burzio 1986, Gibson & Raposo 1986, Baker 1988, Miller 1993). This latter construction has several features not found in the BP construction, including "climbing" clitics, a word order with the infinitival verb immediately following the causative verb (for all complement types), and a dative realization of the embedded subject of a transitive verb. Because of these differences and because the BP construction is one in which the infinitival verb is the head of a surface clause (or at least a phrasal category that may have its own subject agreement inflection), as will become clear from the data presented below, a complex-predicate analysis is not an option.

       The primary goal of this paper is to show that neither of the two most obvious potential analyses of the BP periphrastic causative construction are viable and that its various properties invite us to adopt instead a hitherto unrecognized type

of analysis that I call BACKWARD CONTROL, which arises as a natural possibility under a conceptual semantic approach to causativization and control (Jackendoff 1990, Farrell 1993, 1994a, 1994b).

One of the potential approaches to be considered is illustrated in Figure 1, which shows a phrase marker for (1c) and the lexical entry for *fazer* 'make'.
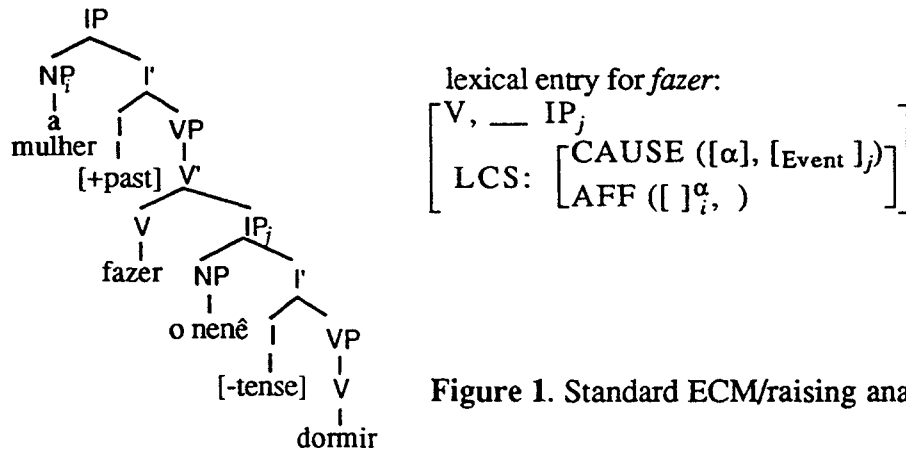

lexical entry for *fazer*:

$$\begin{bmatrix} V, \underline{\quad} & IP_j \\ & LCS: \begin{bmatrix} CAUSE\ ([\alpha],\ [_{Event}\ ]_j)^\gamma \\ AFF\ ([\ ]_i^\alpha,\ ) \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

Figure 1. Standard ECM/raising analysis

Under this kind of analysis, the causative verb would have an actor/causer argument, realized as its subject, and an open even argument, realized as an infinitival clause. Thus, the lexical conceptual structure (LCS) — for which I use the framework of Jackendoff 1990 — would show only one argument for the AFF predicate on the action tier, i.e., the actor. This argument binds the causer argument (the first argument of CAUSE on the thematic tier) and is specified (by virtue of bearing the subscript index i) as the external argument (= subject). The causee (i.e., the argument expressed as *o nenê* 'the baby' in (1c)) is not shown in the LCS, as it is analyzed as a semantic argument of only the embedded infinitive. Consequently, it is the subject of the infinitival clause; its object properties are accounted for either by assuming that it is exceptionally case marked by the causative verb, or raises to the main clause object position. This general kind of analysis (with various theory-specific details and adjustments) has been proposed for this construction in EP in Raposo 1981 and for the *make* + infinitive English construction in Li 1990.

Another possibility is that this construction simply involves standard object control (or EQUI), as proposed in Perini 1977 and for a similar Spanish construction in Moore 1991. This analysis is shown in Figure 2. In this case the causative verb has both actor and patient arguments and the patient argument is specified as the binder of an argument in the open caused event. The representational notation for this binding relation is a superscript Greek letter on the binder that matches the letter which fills the bound argument slot. Thus, the causee is a semantic argument of both the embedded infinitive and the causative verb. As in other cases of LCS binding, the binding argument (which is not filled) is the one that is syntactically expressed, for which reason it is realized syntactically as the direct object of the causative verb. The bound argument of the caused event is necessarily the argument that would be realized as subject. Since the subject

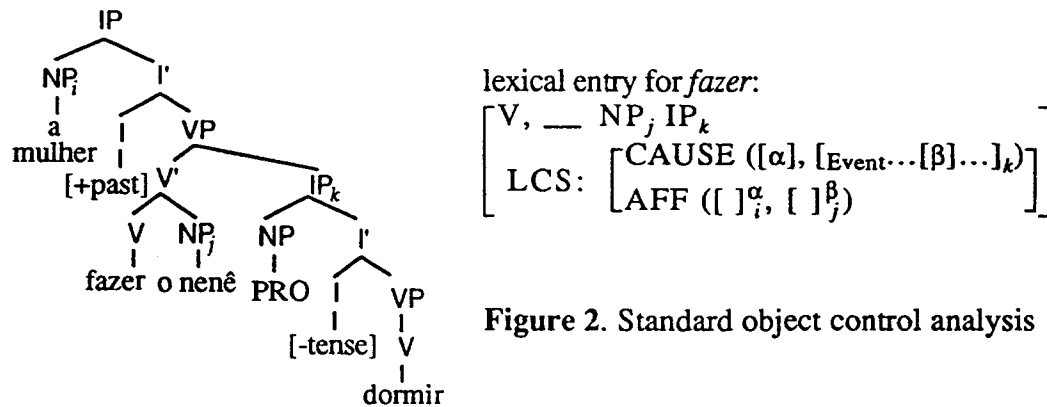position of the infinitival phrase must be projected (Chomsky 1981), it is occupied by an empty anaphor (PRO).

lexical entry for *fazer*:

$$\begin{bmatrix} V, \underline{\quad} NP_j\ IP_k \\ LCS: \begin{bmatrix} CAUSE\ ([\alpha],\ [_{Event}\cdots[\beta]\cdots]_k) \\ AFF\ ([\ ]^\alpha_i,\ [\ ]^\beta_j) \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

Figure 2. Standard object control analysis

The analysis that I propose as an alternative to ECM/raising or standard object control is shown in Figure 3.

lexical entry for *fazer*:

$$\begin{bmatrix} V, \underline{\quad} IP_j \\ LCS: \begin{bmatrix} CAUSE\ ([\alpha],\ [_{Event}\cdots[\ ]^\beta_k\cdots]_j) \\ AFF\ ([\ ]^\alpha_i,\ [\beta]) \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$
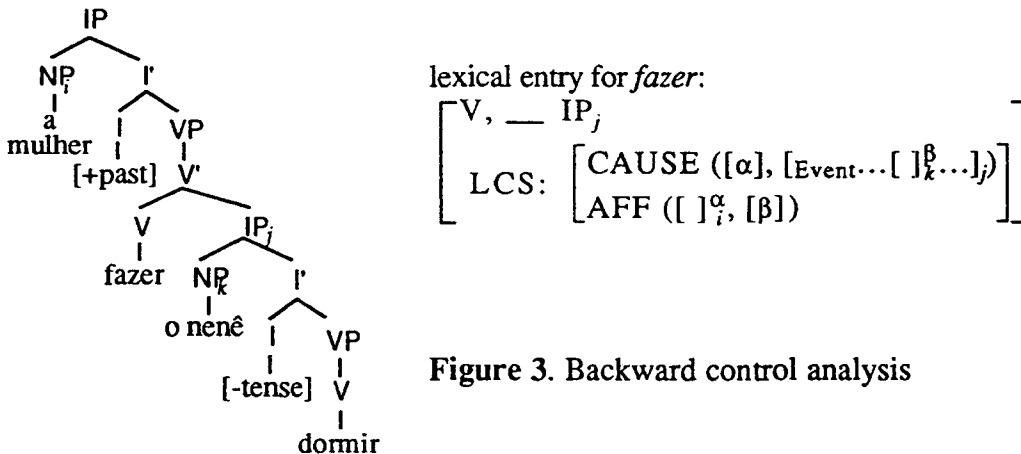
Figure 3. Backward control analysis

Under this analysis, the LCS of the causative verb differs from that of a standard object control verb essentially only in that the direction of the argument binding is reversed.[3] The caused event contains an open argument that binds the patient argument of the causative verb. As in other cases where a verb's patient argument is conceptually bound (intransitive verbs of grooming such as *shave* and *dress*, for example; see Jackendoff 1990: 66), the direct object position is not syntactically projected. The causee is expressed only as the subject of the infinitival clause.

The argumentation for the backward control analysis proceeds as follows. First, an ECM/raising analysis is shown to be untenable because the causee is a semantic argument of *fazer/mandar*, contrary to what this kind of analysis claims. Next, the causative construction is shown to have various properties that differentiate it from the standard object control construction in BP and/or that are unexpected under a standard control analysis. The backward control analysis is then shown to account straightforwardly for all of the properties of this construction.

2. The Status of the Causee in Conceptual Structure

The key distinguishing feature of the ECM/raising analysis is that it does not formally recognize a semantic causee role, which is to say, the logical subject of the infinitive is not represented at all in the LCS of the causative verb. This analysis cannot be maintained if it can be shown that *fazer* and *mandar* designate events in which there is a causee/patient role. In this section I present four pieces of evidence for positing such a role.

One kind of evidence comes from the interpretation of sentences containing an embedded passive verb. It is well known that passivization of the complement does not affect the interpretation of the ECM/raising construction, as can be seen by the synonymy of the following English examples.

(4) a. I wanted [$_{IP}$ the doctor to examine my daughter].
  b. I wanted [$_{IP}$ my daughter to be examined by the doctor]. (a) = (b)

With the BP causative construction, on the other hand, passivization of the complement does affect the interpretation. (5a), for example, describes an event in which my actions affected a doctor, whereas (5b) describes an event in which they affected my daughter.

(5) a. Eu mandei/fiz o médico examinar a minha filha.
    'I had/made the doctor examine my daughter.'
  b. Eu mandei/fiz a minha filha ser examinada pelo médico.
    'I had/made my daughter be examined by the doctor.' (a) ≠ (b)

That the causee is interpreted as an affected participant in the action denoted by *fazer/mandar* and hence that the active/passive paraphrases are not synonymous is apparent from the fact that (6) is a felicitous follow-up only to (5a).

(6)   Mas eu deixei ela em paz.
    'But I left her alone.'

(6) is presumably incongruent with (5b) because it is not possible to simultaneously affect my daughter and to leave her alone. By way of contrast, the gloss of (6) is an equally appropriate follow-up to either of the examples in (4).

Another kind of evidence that the causative verb has a patient argument comes from the fact that a clause with a clausal subject, such as exemplified by (7a), cannot be embedded in infinitival form under a causative verb, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (7b).

(7) a. [$_{IP}$ Tomar muito suco de maracujá] dá sono.
    'Drinking a lot of passion-fruit juice makes one drowsy.' (literally: 'gives drowsiness')
  b. * O maracujá tem algum componente que faz [[$_{IP}$ tomar muito do suco dele] dar sono].
    'Passion fruit has something in it that makes drinking a lot of the juice make one drowsy.'
  c. O maracujá tem algum componente que faz com que [[$_{IP}$ tomar muito do suco dele] dé sono].

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'Passion fruit has something in it that makes it such that drinking a lot of the juice makes one drowsy.'

The problem here is not that the intended meaning of (7b) is anomalous, as it can be expressed in a causative + tensed clause construction, as shown by (7c). A reasonable explanation is that the referent of a clause is not something that can be construed as a patient in a causative event.

Similarly, a complement with an expletive subject (expressed as a null pronoun in BP) cannot be embedded under *fazer*, as shown by the following examples.[4]

(8) a. [pro$_{expl}$] é óbvio que eu sou forte.
         'It's obvious that I'm strong.'
     b. * Aquilo faria [pro$_{expl}$] ser óbvio que eu sou forte.
         'That would make it be obvious that I'm strong.'

It is unclear why (8b) should be ungrammatical under an ECM/raising analysis, given that expletive subjects are generally allowed in ECM/raising contexts (for example, *I wanted it to be obvious that I'm strong*). If, however, *fazer* is assumed to have an LCS in which there is a patient role, the ungrammaticality of (8b) can be attributed to the impossibility of construing an expletive as a patient.

Finally, although *fazer* allows the causee to be inanimate, as shown by (9a), *mandar* does not, as shown by (9b).

(9) a. Ele fez a minha temperatura aumentar.
         'He made my temperature rise.'
     b. * Ele mandou a minha temperatura aumentar.
         'He had my temperature rise.'

Under the ECM/raising analysis, there is no affected argument in the LCS of *mandar*. Given the standard assumption that restrictions on the semantic content of NPs are expressed in lexical entries (and in LCSs in particular), the animacy restriction shown by (9b) is unexpected under this analysis. If, however, *mandar* has an LCS with a patient role, as in either of the control analyses sketched in section 1, the animacy restriction is straightforwardly handled in the same way as the animacy restriction found with conventional object control verbs such as *persuade* and *convince*: the patient is simply specified as being animate. In the case of *fazer*, the absence of this animacy restriction is compatible with either a control analysis or an ECM/raising analysis. Importantly, it does not argue for the latter.

3. Against a Standard Control Analysis

If the subject of the infinitival verb in the causative construction is a patient argument in the LCSs of the causative verbs, as argued in section 2, some kind of control analysis appears to be necessary. However, there are various reasons for not adopting the kind of standard object control analysis shown in Figure 2, which is appropriate (as shown in Quícoli 1976b, 1982 and Negrão 1986) for another class of verbs of influence in BP, exemplified by *proibir* 'prohibit', *forçar* 'force', and *obrigar* 'require', as used in (10).

(10) a.   A mulher proibiu o filho dela de [$_{IP}$ PRO brincar com o vizinho].
        'The woman prohibited her son from [playing with the neighbor].'
    b.   O professor forçou/obrigou os alunos a [$_{IP}$ PRO estudarem mais].
        'The teacher forced/required the students to [study more].'

This construction differs superficially from the *fazer*/*mandar* construction only in that the infinitival complement is introduced by a preposition (*de* 'from' or *a* 'to'). There are, however, various bigger differences between the two constructions, which suggest that the same analysis cannot be extended to both.

    To begin with, unlike in their monoclausal uses (11c-d), it is not possible to passivize *fazer* and *mandar* when they appear in the causative construction (11a-b).

(11) a. * O nenê foi feito dormir.
          'The baby was made sleep.'
    b. * O sapateiro foi mandado concertar esse sapato.
          'The cobbler was had fix these shoes.'
    c.   Esse sapato foi feito no Brasil.
          'These shoes were made in Brazil.'
    d.   O sapateiro foi mandado embora.
          'The cobbler was sent away (= fired).'

Since it is possible to passivize standard object control verbs, as shown by (12), there is no apparent explanation for the ungrammaticality of (11a-b), under the standard control analysis.

(12) a.   O moço foi proibido de andar de moto.
        'The young man was prohibited from riding a motorcycle.'
    b.   Os alunos foram forçados a estudarem mais.
         'The students were forced to study more.'

    The two constructions also differ with respect to the possibility of using a subject pronoun for the causee or object. Although the subject/object distinction has been lost for third person full pronouns in BP, it has not been lost for first person, at least in most dialects. The first person subject pronoun (*eu*), illustrated in (13a), cannot be used in object position. As shown by (13b), an object clitic is required instead.

(13) a.   Eu falei com ela.
        'I spoke with her.'
    b.   Ela me viu/viu *eu.
        'She saw me.'

It is not surprising that *eu* cannot be used for the object in the object control construction, as illustrated by (14b), since under the standard control analysis this NP occupies the direct object position.

(14) a.   A professora mandou/fez eu apagar o quadro.
        'The teacher had me erase the board.'
    b. * A professora proibiu eu de apagar o quadro.
        'The teacher prohibited me from erasing the board.'

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The causee in the fazer/mandar construction, on the other hand, can be realized as the subject pronoun *eu*, as shown by (14a). It is unclear why this is possible, if the standard control analysis is assumed to hold for this construction.

As noted in Raposo 1981, the causee in the causative construction can optionally determine subject agreement on the embedded infinitive, as shown by (15a), and can be realized as an object clitic on the main verb, as shown by (15b). However, as (15b) shows, it may not simultaneously be realized as an object clitic and determine subject agreement on the infinitive.

(15) a.   O professor fez os alunos estudar(em) mais.
          'The teacher made the students study(-3PL) more.'
    b.   O professor os fez estudar(*em) mais.
          'The teacher 3MascPL-made study(*-3PL) more.'

As illustrated by the examples in (16), the standard object control construction parallels the causative construction with respect to the possibility of an infinitive inflected for subject agreement and an object clitic, but differs in that it allows the object controller to both be realized as an object clitic and determine subject agreement on the infinitive.

(16) a.   O professor forçou os alunos a estudar(em) mais.
          'The teacher forced the students to study(-3PL) more.'
    b.   O professor os forçou a estudar(em) mais.
          'The teacher 3MascPL-forced to study(-3PL) more.'

Assuming that an object clitic registers accusative case and agreement with a null pronominal NP (pro) in object position and subject agreement registers nominative case and agreement with a subject NP, the grammaticality of (16b) with an inflected infinitive is as expected. Under the standard object control analysis of sentences such as (16b), there are two NP positions available for case marking and agreement. The main clause direct object position may be pronominal and related to an accusative clitic; the embedded subject position, occupied by a bound PRO (or possibly pro), may independently determine subject agreement and receive nominative case. There is, however, no apparent explanation for the ungrammaticality of (15b) with an inflected infinitive, if the same analysis is assumed to hold for the causative construction.

Unlike in many Romance languages, where verbs are quite freely allowed to occupy clause-initial position, in BP this is generally only possible with certain unaccusative verbs with inanimate subjects.[5] It is possible, for example, with unaccusative verbs such as those in (17), but is impossible with transitive verbs, as in (18), and with unergative verbs such as those in (19).

(17) a.   Acabou a cerveja.
          '(There) got used up the beer.'
    b.   Saiu muito sangue do corpo do ferido.
          '(There) came out a lot of blood from the body of the wounded person.'
    c.   Chegou uma carta para você.
          '(There) arrived a letter for you.'

(18) a. * Comeu um homem toda a carne.
'(There) ate a man all of the meat.'

b. * Assistiram esse filme muitos estudantes.
'(There) saw that movie a lot of students.'

(19) a. * Trabalhou muita gente.
'(There) worked a lot of people.'

b. * Sentou um homem no sofá.
'(There) sat a man on the sofa.'

The linearization properties of verbs are maintained when they are embedded in the causative construction. Thus, a verb-initial order within the embedded clause is possible with unaccusatives that allow such an order in main clauses, as in the case of (20a), but not with other classes of verbs, as illustrated by (20b-c).[6]

(20) a.   Aquilo fez sair muito sangue do corpo do ferido.
'That made (there) come out a lot of blood from the body of the wounded person.'

b. * Eu mandei comer um homem toda a carne.
'I had (there) eat a man all the meat.'

c. * A mulher fez sentar um homem no sofá.
'The woman made (there) sit a man on the sofa.'

Most importantly for present purposes, it is far from clear how a standard object control analysis of the causative construction could sanction a sentence such as (20a). Since *muito sangue* 'a lot of blood' in (20a) would be analyzed as a main clause direct object that binds a PRO of the embedded clause, some ad hoc maneuver would be required to get the infinitival verb adjacent to the main verb. One would either have to claim that the infinitive moves into the main clause or that the direct object of *fazer* can somehow be moved into the embedded clause. In either case, it is not clear why this maneuver should be restricted to structures with an embedded unaccusative verb and, thus, why the contrast between (20a) and (20b-c) holds.

4. The Backward Control Analysis

The backward control analysis of the causative construction, shown in Figure 3, overcomes all of the obstacles that the standard control analysis faces. There are two key claims of the backward control analysis. First, at the level of lexical conceptual structure the causee is both a patient of *fazer/mandar* as well as the argument of the embedded verb that would be expressed as its subject; and second, because the patient is the bound argument in the LCS, the causee is syntactically expressed as only the subject of the embedded clause. The first of these claims explains the general control properties of the construction discussed in section 2. The second accounts for all of the problematic facts discussed in section 3, which may be summarized as follows.

• *Mandar* and *fazer* fail to undergo passivization, unlike standard control verbs.
• The causee may be a subject pronoun, unlike the object of standard control verbs.

- The causee may be realized as an object clitic or it may determine subject agreement on the embedded infinitive; but, unlike the object of standard control verbs, it cannot do both simultaneously.
- The causee may follow the infinitive, just in case the infinitive is an unaccusative of the type that otherwise is allowed to occur clause-initially.

Under the backward control analysis, *mandar* and *fazer* of the causative construction are syntactically intransitive (i.e., they are not subcategorized for a direct object). Like other syntactically intransitive verbs, they cannot be passivized. That the causee may be a subject pronoun is exactly as expected, since it is syntactically the subject of the embedded clause. That the causee may be an object clitic may be accounted for by assuming that this is a structure in which exceptional case marking is allowed. The subject of the infinitival clause may either be case marked nominative by the agreement inflection on the infinitive or accusative by the causative verb. In the latter case, an object clitic registers accusative case marking when the causee is pronominal. The impossibility of both an object clitic and subject agreement follows from the impossibility of double case marking. Finally, since the causee is syntactically the subject of the embedded clause, it may be positioned post-verbally with unaccusatives such as *sair* for whatever reason this word order is allowed with these verbs in simple clauses.

5. Conclusions

The possibility of backward control, empirically motivated in this paper for the Brazilian Portuguese periphrastic causative construction, has important ramifications for the theory of control. This kind of analysis does not fall within the range of possibilities allowed by theories that treat control as a relation of syntactic binding between an NP and a (typically) null anaphor (for example, Manzini 1983, Borer 1989, Sag & Pollard 1991). To begin with, according to the proposed analysis there is no null anaphor in the syntactic representation of the construction. More importantly, however, even if a null anaphor were posited, it would occupy the object position of the main clause. Its antecedent would neither c-command it, as required in GB binding-theoretic accounts of control, nor o-command it, as in the theory of Sag and Pollard 1991. Under the proposed analysis, the binding relation is hypothesized to hold only in lexical conceptual structure, in which notions such as c-command and o-command are not relevant. This kind of analysis does fall within the range of possibilities allowed by a conceptual semantic approach to control (Jackendoff 1990, Farrell 1993, 1994a, 1994b). The relevant binding condition — a conceptual semantic version of the Minimal Distance Principle with broader motivation and applicability — can be formulated in such a way as to accommodate the backward control analysis:

> *Causative Binding Condition* (adapted from Farrell 1994a, 1994b)
> Given a causative verb with a patient argument p and an event argument e, a binding relation exists between p and an entity in e.

The BP *fazer/mandar* causative construction simply manifests the possibility left open by this condition that the patient argument in the conceptual binding relation be

syntactically suppressed. This construction thus provides evidence in favor of a conceptual semantic approach to control theory.

An interesting question that remains is why there should exist the difference between backward and standard control constructions. Speculating in what I believe to be a reasonable direction, I would like to suggest that this difference is conceptually motivated. With standard control verbs the influenced participant, which is expressed syntactically as the object of the main clause, is conceived of as playing an active role in the force-dynamics of the causative event. The verb *forçar* 'force' is a good example. The caused event involving the patient results from a force-dynamic action in which the agent is understood to influence the patient in a way that involves overcoming the latter's resistance. The events designated by *fazer* and *mandar* differ essentially only in that there is no resistance on the part of the patient. Using an action-chain model of event conceptualization (as in Langacker 1991), the difference can be displayed imagistically as in Figure 4.
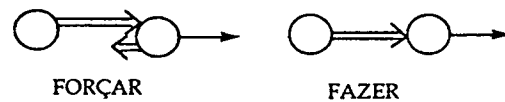

FORÇAR   FAZER

Figure 4. Action-chain structures of *forçar* and *fazer*

In the case of *forçar*, and, I believe, in one way or another with all members of the class of standard object control verbs, the patient is more intricately involved in the causative action than in the case of *fazer* and *mandar*. This difference is manifested iconically in syntactic structure, inasmuch as the patient is expressed as a syntactic argument of the main verb only with the standard control verbs.

Footnotes

* An earlier version of this paper, with a somewhat different analysis, was presented in a Linguistics Colloquium talk at the University of California, Berkeley in February of 1994. Thanks are due to the audience at this talk and Steve Lapointe, John Moore, and Peter Sells for useful discussion of the issues and to Violette Farrell for native-speaker assistance with the data. I alone am responsible for any errors or shortcomings. The research reported here was facilitated by a sabbatical leave in the Fall of 1993 and by a short stay during that leave at the Universidade Estadual de Londrina in Brazil.

[1] I do not explicitly consider here the permissive causative construction (as in *Eu deixei o menino dormir* 'I let the boy sleep'). However, as it has essentially the same syntactic properties, I assume that the analysis proposed here holds for this construction as well. I also leave aside the superficially similar perception verb + nonfinite clause constructions (for example, *Eu vi o menino descer/descendo pela escada* 'I saw the boy go/going down by way of the stairs'), which are discussed in Quícoli 1976a, 1982, Perini 1977, and Negrão 1986. Portuguese also has causative + tensed clause constructions (as in *Eu mandei que a empregada limpasse a cozinha*, literally 'I ordered that the maid clean the kitchen').

[2] Actually, EP has both the complex-predicate causative construction and the BP type construction (see Raposo 1981).

[3] An unprecedented kind of control analysis that differs from the backward control analysis is proposed in Burzio 1986 for the Italian perception verb construction that superficially resembles the BP causative construction. Although space limitations prohibit explicit consideration of this conceivable alternative, it is worth noting that it does not make the needed distinctions to explain the BP facts considered in this paper.

[4] In this case, the English *make* + infinitive construction differs from that of BP. For this reason, in part, it is important to make clear that I am not committing myself here to any claims about the analysis of the English construction, or for that matter, causative constructions in any language other than BP.

[5] This phenomenon is discussed in Perlmutter 1976, where it is called subject downgrading.

[6] A standard object control verb such as *forçar* cannot be used in a sentence like (20a). However, it cannot be used even if *muito sangue* 'a lot of blood' precedes the infinitive, presumably because of an animacy restriction on the object of *forçar* that does not hold for *fazer*. As expected, given the animacy restriction on *mandar* discussed in section 2, it also cannot be used in sentences like (20a).

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