'Casar' (Marry) x 'Noivar' (Engage): a Usage-Based Analysis for the Caused-Action Construction in Brazilian Portuguese

Casar x Noivar: uma análise baseada no uso para a construção de ação causada em português brasileiro

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Abstract: In this paper, we investigate the occurrence of a type of causative construction in Brazilian Portuguese, exemplified by the sentence *o pai casou a filha*, literally the father married the daughter, but which translates to the father supported his daughter's wedding. We have specifically named this construction as caused-action2, to reflect both its similarities and differences from the caused-action construction described in Santos, Ciríaco and Souza (2019). Although restricted to a few verbs, this clausal meaning has become common in BP. There is evidence of its usage in social media, in which expressions such as *casando a irmã* (marrying the sister) and *formando o amigo* (graduating the friend) extends the caused-action meaning to other contexts. Grounded on the Construction Grammar Usage-based Approach (GOLDBERG, 1995, 2006, 2019), the present work examines the functional aspects responsible for the compatibility between verb and caused-action2 construction in BP, based on instances found on corpora and in social media. We argue that this pattern is constrained by a *conventionalized scenario* of financial, emotional or social investment.

Resumo: Neste artigo, investiga-se a ocorrência de um tipo de construção causativa em português brasileiro, e que pode ser exemplificada pela sentença "O pai casou a filha". Neste trabalho, essa construção será chamada especificamente de ação-causada2, a fim de capturar tanto as semelhanças quanto as diferenças em relação à construção de ação-causada descrita em Santos, Ciríaco e Souza (2019). Embora restrita a poucos verbos, o significado oracional da construção de ação-causada tem se tornado bastante usual em PB. Uma evidência do aumento de situações de uso reais dessa construção vem de redes sociais, em que expressões que estendem o significado de ação causada para novos contextos, como "casando a irmã", "formando o amigo", podem ser facilmente observadas. Com base na abordagem baseada no uso da Gramática de Construções (GOLDBERG, 1995, 2006, 2019), este artigo investiga os aspectos funcionais envolvidos na compatibilização entre verbo e construção de ação causada2 em português brasileiro a partir de uma análise de dados de corpora e de redes sociais. Defende-se que essas construções são restritas por um cenário convencionalizado de investimento pessoal, seja ele financeiro, emocional ou social.

Palavras-chave: construção de ação causada; aspectos funcionais; compatibilização verbo-construção; cenário convencionalizado.

1 Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to investigate the functional aspects – semantic and pragmatic – of a type of causative construction[1] in Brazilian Portuguese (BP). According to Shibatani (1976), complex activities which are accomplished in a conventional way may be expressed as simple causatives. This is the case of the caused-action constructions in BP, which can be illustrated by examples (1) and (2):

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[1]   In a broader sense, this paper discusses a type of causative construction, i.e one characterized by the temporal relation between two subevents – the causing event, and the caused one – which are perceived as one by the language user (COMRIE, 1991; GOLDBERG, 1995; RAPPAPORT-HOVAV; LEVIN, 2010; SHIBATANI, 2000). In BP, this construction is sometimes referred to as "synthetic causative" as opposed to its periphrastic version, called "analytic causative" (see BITTENCOURT, 2001; MILANIO, 2014; SILVA, 2009; among others).

(1) *Eduardo cortou o cabelo*.
Eduardo cut the hair.
Eduardo had his hair cut.

(2) *O pai casou a filha*.
The father married the daughter.
The father (financially) supported his daughter's wedding.

In BP, it is a conventional way to use (1) to describe that Eduardo went to the salon and got a haircut[2], as it is a conventional way to use (2) to describe that the father supported the daughter's wedding[3]. Both are cases of conventional scenarios in which complex events are expressed as simple causatives, or "can be cognitively "packaged" in such a way that their internal structure is ignored" (GOLDBERG, 1995, p. 169).

These constructions express indirect causation or, as we call it, a meaning of cause to act, and will be referred to as caused-action1 and caused-action2 respectively[4]. As Ciríaco (2015) and Santos, Ciríaco and Souza (2019) demonstrated for the caused-action1, the construction inherits the transitive [Subject Verb Object] form, but nonetheless subtly differs from it in meaning: in (1), the semantics of the construction involves an activity (cut) indirectly caused by the participant in subject position, but not performed by him/her. As for the construction in (2), which will be addressed in this paper, the meaning also involves an activity (marry) which is in some way indirectly caused by the participant in subject position, but not performed by him/her. Actually, in (2) the action is performed by the participant in object position. We take a more parsimonious position on the relation between the prototypical transitive construction and the caused-action constructions as we acknowledge the later as extensions of the first one - notice that the cause to act meaning

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[2] It is possible to interpret (1) as if Eduardo has really cut his own hair, however the conventional interpretation is that he had his hair cut by someone else, usually at a hair salon.
[3] We know it is possible, although most unlikely, to interpret (2) as if the father has officiated the wedding (in English, the literal translation can also be interpreted as if the father married his daughter – ambiguity not present in BP), but the most usual interpretation is that somebody else officiated the daughter's wedding with the consent and (possibly financial) support of the father, and not that the father officiated his daughter's wedding himself.
[4] The caused-action is being factored in caused-action1 and caused-action2 just for description's sake. We understand they are part of the same cluster (GOLDBERG, 2019), but we will leave this discussion for future work. For now, as we take a more 'zoom in' approach, it suffices to treat them differently.

(indirect responsibility) is an extension of the agentive meaning (direct responsibility). In that way, caused-action constructions also inherit some aspects of the meaning of the transitive construction, although not all of them, which accordingly to early versions of Goldberg's Construction Grammar suffices to treat them differently[5].

Although caused-action constructions take the form of the prototypical transitive, being ambiguous between a caused-action and a prototypical transitive interpretation (3a), not all [SVO] constructions may be associated with a caused-action meaning, as (3b) shows. The construction also seems to require a specific combination of lexical items, as the contrast between (3a) and (3b), with the same verb ('casar'), shows. Finally, not all verbs can instantiate the construction, and even semantically related verbs, as 'casar' (marry) and 'noivar' (engage), may behave differently, as the contrast between (3a, b) and (3c) shows.

> (3) a. *O pai casou a filha*. (preferably caused-action)
>   The father married the daughter.
>   The father supported his daughter's wedding.
>
>   b. *O padre casou os noivos*. (only transitive)
>   The priest married the bride/groom.
>   The priest officiated the bride and groom's wedding.
>
>   c. **O pai noivou a filha*. (neither transitive nor caused-action)
>   *The father engaged the daughter.
>   The father supported his daughter's wedding.

The restricted productivity seems to be related to the *conventionalized scenario* associated with the construction, as Santos, Ciríaco and Souza (2019) have shown for the caused-action1 and we are going to explore here for the caused-action2. The functional factors concerning the compatibility between verb and construction are going to be examined in section 4. Section 2 presents the theoretical background for this paper: Usage-based Linguistics, Construction Grammar and the

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[5] Goldberg (2019) brings a more cognitive and inclusive definition of construction (see section 2), based on the notion of *cluster*, which favours even more the understanding of the caused-action as an extension of the prototypical transitive, besides serving as evidence of the transitive construction productive status. We leave this question to future experimental work.

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notion of Conventionalized Scenarios (GOLDBERG, 1995). Section 3 presents the methodological choices made for the analysis. Finally, some final considerations and guiding assumptions for future research are put forward in the last section.

2 Usage-Based Linguistics and Construction Grammar

This investigation is inserted in Usage-based Linguistics (cf. KEMMER; BARLOW, 2000; KEMMER, 2008; LANGACKER, 1987, 1991, 2008) and specifically rooted in Goldberg's (1995, 2006, 2019) theoretic model of Construction Grammar.

The main idea of Usage-based approaches is that all linguistic knowledge, including the knowledge about the compatibility among different units of language, emerges from usage, being organized in a gradual manner in human cognition and giving rise to grammatical structures which reflects this conceptual organization. In that way, if speakers repeatedly experience (listen and speak) similar language instances, they will be capable of extracting from these their common/ basic properties and then abstract patterns, creating generalizations and thus building grammatical knowledge. The frequency[6] of occurrence of a linguistic pattern is hence important as it determines the degree of entrenchment of the pattern in speakers' cognition as well as other linguistic processes. For example, the transitive construction is a highly frequent argument structure pattern, deeply entrenched in speakers' cognition. Thus, it is natural that new verbs conform to this clause pattern once they are created and start being used in the language. Frequency also plays a role in semantic compatibility between pre-existing items and argument structure constructions. For instance, even if neither the verb 'casar' (marry) nor the caused-action2 construction are frequent on their own, when speakers start to repeatedly experience this co-occurrence of linguistic units, they start to be recognized as compatible units. Therefore, the more frequent the usage of a linguistic pattern with a given verb is, the more acceptable it is and its compatibility in relation to other less frequent combinations of items and constructions is more easily recognized (BARLOW; KEMMER, 2000; BYBEE; HOPPER, 2001).

As a usage-based theory, Goldberg's Construction Grammar shares the assumption that linguistic knowledge emerges from usage and,

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[6] By frequency we mean both type frequency (the frequency of occurrence of a pattern or category) and token frequency (the frequency of occurrence of each instance of a pattern or category).

therefore, depends on formal and functional aspects to be represented on the language user's cognition. On these grounds, linguistic units are understood as symbolic pairings of form and function, called *constructions*, which may be as simple as a word, such as 'marry', but also as complex as a clausal pattern, such as the caused-action construction. Clausal patterns are called argument structure constructions (ASC) (GOLDBERG, 1995), and are further described as open and schematic syntactic slots, such as [Subj V Obj], paired with abstract meaning, such as [cause to act][7]. According to Goldberg (1995), constructions are acknowledged as a single linguistic unit on their own when at least one aspect of their form or function is different from other already known constructions. So, although the caused-action construction in BP shares its syntactic form with the transitive construction, it bears a distinct meaning with unique functional aspects associated to that form, and therefore may be treated as a different construction. Of course, its relation to the transitive must be acknowledged and may be further investigated in terms of inheritance links, polysemy and metaphorical extensions.

More recently, Goldberg (2019, p. 7) has offered a more inclusive understanding of constructions, explaining that they are "emergent clusters of lossy memory traces that are aligned within our high- (hyper!) dimensional conceptual space on the basis of shared form, function, and contextual dimensions." According to this definition, constructions are lossy structured representations which are stored since the first encounter and become strengthened as they are witnessed by the language user in subsequent exposure. In this process of learning and storing a new representation, there is evidence that we retain quite specific contextual information in order to use constructions appropriately (GOLDBERG, 2019). As Goldberg (2019, p. 15) explains, "it is reasonable to assume that aspects of context that are perceived to be more relevant […] are more likely to be retained". Since the caused-action construction shares its form with another much more frequent construction – the transitive –, it is fair to assume that functional aspects must weigh heavily on the representation of the caused-action. Moreover, as Goldberg (2019) notices, studies show that the variety of contexts (type frequency) in which a construction has been witnessed plays a role in how it is accessed. Therefore, besides determining the basic clause types in a language and constraining the interpretation of participant roles, it is reasonable to assume that ASCs that have been experienced in a narrow range of contexts may be restricted to those contexts. In other words, it makes sense to look at contextual aspects of constructions as constraints on their usage.

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[7]   For some BP argument structure constructions analysis, see Ciríaco (2011, 2014, 2015, 2017).

The analysis of the functional aspects of the caused-action construction benefits from the notion of *conventionalized scenario*, an aspect of meaning concerning the context in which the construction occurs. Conventionalized scenarios constraint the construction's usage and, therefore, the meaning associated to argument structure constructions. As Goldberg notices, "conventionalized scenarios can be cognitively packaged as a single event even if an intervening cause exists" (1995, p. 169), which is the case of the caused-action constructions, since their meaning involves indirect causation. In this paper, through *corpora* based research, we examine real instances of the caused-action2 construction in order to capture the semantic subtleties of their occurrences. Our hypothesis is that the caused-action2 construction is restricted to these highly nuanced conventional scenarios.

3 Methods

In order to document real usage instances of the caused-action2 construction, check the conventional situations that can be packaged as a single event by it and describe its semantics, we searched for occurrences of the construction in two different BP *corpora*: PtTenTen (JAKUBÍČEK *et al.*, 2013; KILGARRIFF *et al.*, 2014) and Linguateca (mostly, Corpus Brasileiro, BERBER SARDINHA, 2010), which are *corpora* of mainly written texts. We also collected data from social media such as Instagram and Facebook. The search on the *corpora* was carried out by investigating linguistic sequences, since constructional search is not available in any BP *corpus* to our knowledge. Even if a constructional type of search was available, caused-action2 seems to be very restricted to be *corpus* annotated.

Eight verbs were selected based on day-to-day observations and theoretically informed data: '*almoçar*' (have lunch), '*batizar*' (baptize), '*casar*' (marry), '*crismar*' (confirm), '*estudar*' (study), '*formar*' (graduate), '*jantar*' (have dinner) e '*noivar*' (engage). The sequences searched were formed by combining these verbs with noun complements that may express some kind of kinship relation between the argument in subject position and the argument in object position, such as "the father" and "the daughter" or "the parents" and "the kids", since this semantic aspect seems to be present in the majority of the examples noticed. An example of linguistic sequence searched is '*casou+a+filha*' (married the daughter). Another kind of search, which was possible only in ptTenTen, was by verb lemma, such as [casar a filha] (marry the daughter). Besides *corpus* instances, we also

collected some data we encountered on social media, in order to bring more up-to-date information on the construction's usage.

     Corpus data investigation allowed us to: i) document the caused-action2 construction in BP, ii) analyze its subtle semantics, and iii) determine the conventionalized scenario that functions as a constraint to the occurrence of the construction. Our search returned few occurrences of the caused-action2, which may be due to the difficulty to collect instances of a construction that is pragmatically restricted in corpora.

4 The caused-action2 construction in BP

     The following tables present the summary of the data found in corpora search. Table 1 and 2 present the results found in PtTenTen, and in *Corpus* Brasileiro (Linguateca) respectively. While PtTenTen allows searches by lemma, Linguateca does not, which means that the target sequences had to be searched manually in *Corpus* Brasileiro.

     In table 1, the columns show the verbs selected for the search which were found in the construction, the sequences searched, the total number of occurrences found, and, finally, the number of instances of the caused-action2 construction found. Therefore, among the 8 verbs selected for the search, only 3 of them were found in PtTenTen in the sequences searched, which are *batizar*, *casar*, and *formar*. Besides that, among the 41 occurrences of the lemma *batizar+filho* found in PtTenTen, 20 were instances of the caused-action2 construction, and so on for the other verbs found.

Table 1 - Caused-Action2 search in PtTenTen

Verb	Sequences Searched by Lemma	Total Number of Occurrences	Number of Instances of Caused-Action2 Cxn Found
batizar	batizar+filho	41	8
casar	casar+filho	349	20
formar	formar+filho	90	5

Source: Elaborated by the authors

     In table 2, the columns show the verbs which were found in the construction, its absolute frequency, the target sequences searched, and, finally, the total number of instances of the caused-action2 construction found. As Linguateca does not allow search by lemma, we searched manually for many instances of the target sequences such as *casar+a+filha*

(marry+the+daughter), *casar+as+filhas* (marry+the+daughters), *casou+as+filhas* (married+the+daughters), and so on, changing the time tense and the singular/plural agreement. Among the 8 verbs selected for the search, only 4 were found in the caused-action2 construction in *Corpus* Brasileiro, which are *almoçar*, *batizar*, *casar*, and *estudar*. Besides that, Table 2 also shows that, from the variety of sequences searched for *batizar* (batizei/batizamos/batizaram+o/a/as/os+filhas/primos/sobrinho), for instance, in *Corpus* Brasileiro, only 1 instance of the verb + the caused-action2 construction was found.

Table 2 - Caused-action2 in *Corpus* Brasileiro, Linguateca

Verb	Verb Frequency in the *corpus*	Sequences Searched Manually	Number of Caused-Action Instances Found
almoçar	2143	almoçar+os meninos	1
batizar	726	batizar+NP (which means the following combinations had to be searched manually: batizei/batizamos/batizaram + o/a/as/os +filhas/primos/ sobrinho) Eg: *batizei minha sobrinha*	1
casar	7454	casar +NP (which means the following combinations had to be searched manually: casar/ casou/ casaram+filho/filha etc) Eg: *casaram os filhos*	12
estudar	4523	estudar + NP (which means the following combinations had to be searched manually: estudar/estudou/ estudaram+filho/filha etc) Eg: *estudou os filhos*	1

Source: Elaborated by the authors

Finally, for reference and comparison, Table 3 shows the absolute frequency of all the 8 verbs searched in Brazilian Portuguese, accordingly to Linguateca. Although the difference between *casar* and *noivar* as for their occurrence and non-occurrence in the caused-action2 construction could be seen as a frequency effect - since *casar* is the 1085th most

frequent word in the language whereas noivar is only the 63857th one -, that does not follow for the difference between *almoçar* and *jantar* - which are the 4633th and 942th most frequent words in the language respectively. Anyway, this is a factor that will be taken into account in future experimental work.

Table 3 - Absolute Frequency of the verbs in Brazilian Portuguese

Verbs	Frequency
almoçar (have lunch)	4633
batizar (baptize)	4861
casar (marry/wed)	1085
crismar (confirm)	34921
estudar (study)	896
formar (educate/graduate)	677
jantar (have dinner)	942
noivar (engage)	63857

Source: Linguateca[8] (by lemma)

For social media data, we carried a less comprehensive search, printing the instances we came across with. Besides that, resorting to introspection, we realized that the nature of social media platforms makes users opt for the gerund using forms such as *casando meu irmão* ("marrying my brother"), *formando minha amiga* ("graduating my friend"), and *baptizing meu sobrinho* ("baptizing my nephew"), since they are probably portraying an ongoing event.

The semantic and syntactic analysis of those occurrences and for the construction as a whole is presented in the following sections.

4.1 Meaning (Semantics)

As mentioned before, the caused-action2 bears the meaning of cause to act in the way that it denotes an indirect causation – a meaning in which the participant in subject position is construed as an indirect cause for the action denoted by the verb, which in turn is performed by another participant in the event scene. This common semantic aspect

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[8]   These data was taken from Linguateca complete Word Frequency List for the Portuguese language, thus, it encompasses more than Corpus Brasileiro.

relates the constructions in (1) and (2), and explains why they are both called caused-action constructions. However, the cause to act meaning is expressed in particular ways in each construction. While in the caused-action1 the participant in subject position is an indirect cause in the sense that he/she hires or authorizes the service or activity packaged in the verb+object meaning (which is going to be performed by someone else, may he/she be or not present in the sentence), in the cause-action2, the participant in subject position is an indirect cause who is responsible, in some way, for the activity that may be performed (lunch, marry, study, graduate) or the event that may be received (baptism) by the participant in object position. Besides the expression of the cause to act meaning, there are other specificities concerning the meaning of the caused-action2, as the following analysis of real usage instances show.

The first verb searched was 'almoçar' (to have lunch) as we see in example (4):

> (4) *"Eu almocei os meninos e depois levei eles para 'cola."*
> (Corpus Brasileiro, Linguateca)[9]
> I lunched the boys and after took them to school.
> I gave the kids their lunch and after that took them to school.

The cause to act meaning is present: the participant in subject (*eu*) position is the one responsible, being the indirect cause, for the participant in object position (*os meninos*) to have lunch. Speakers only say that if they are parents to young children who depend on them to make and bring them their meals or even feed them. This is the conventionalized scenario which is being packaged by *'almoçar'* as a simple causative event. Interestingly, *'almoçar'* is more commonly used as intransitive (*eu almocei*/ I had lunch) than as a transitive verb in the prototypical transitive meaning (*eu almocei peixe*/ I had fish for lunch). Moreover, although intuitively the caused-action meaning is of common usage in oral language, especially in the dialect spoken in Belo Horizonte[10], Minas Gerais, we could find only one example of the caused-action2 with the verb *'almoçar'* in the *corpora* survey[11], which is the one shown

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[9] Corpus' instances are between quotation marks and have their origin indicated in parenthesis.

[10] This may have a sociolinguistic reason, which should be addressed in future research. This occurrence might be restricted to the BP spoken in the state of Minas Gerais, which would not be uncommon in Brazil.

[11] We also found the very same instance through a Google search, in the context of a conference presentation and in a Master's thesis. So we suspect this piece of data might be one from a semanticist's introspection.

in (4). This limitation in *corpora* points out the need for eliciting more quantitative evidence, maybe from an acceptability judgement test – which we intend to run in the future.

For the verb *'batizar'* (baptize), we found more examples (actually, 10, cf. Table 1), as shown in (5) and (6):

(5) "*Assim, por exemplo: empenhava-se para que os pais batizassem quanto antes a seus filhos recém-nascidos*" (ptTenTen)

Then, for example: commit + [Reflexive Pronoun] to that the parents baptize as before to their newborn children.

Then, for example, an effort was made so that the parents would baptize their children as soon as possible.

(6) "*Por isso, é a mais procurada pelas famílias para batizar e casar os filhos e filhas, e a mais concorrida [...] Passaram a funcionar na Igreja de N. Sra. da Conceição sete associações religiosas.*" (Corpus Brasileiro, Linguateca)

For this, is the most looked-for by-the families to baptize and marry the sons and daughters, and the most competed […] Started to work at-the Church of Our Lady of Conception seven associations[…]

Because of that, it is the most look for by the families for having their sons and daughters baptized and married, and the most competed for. Seven association started to take place at the Church of Our Lady of Conception […].

In these instances, both the cause to act meaning – being '*os pais*' (the parents) and '*as famílias*' (the families) the indirect cause for the baptism of their babies and children – and the conventionalized context are present – it is conventional that the parents or those who are legally responsible for the children take them to be baptized by the priest or minister of the church. Example in (6) also implies that the families spare no effort and money in booking the best and more socially ranked church for baptising and marrying their children, indicating a conventionalized context of financial investment.

For the verb *'casar'* (marry), we found many examples (41, cf. Table 1), some of which are presented here organised bellow by a [V + Obj] type of sequence:

- *casar + a filha* (marry + the daughter):

(7) "*Era de bom-tom casar a filha num banquete feito pelo mesmo «trateur» da família há cem anos (...)*" (Corpus Brasileiro, Linguateca)
Was good tone marry the daughter in banquet done by+the same *«trateur»* of+the family for a hundred years (...)
It was well-seen to arrange one's daughter's marriage through a banquet done by the same *«trateur»* of the family for a hundred years (...)

(8) *"O patriarca vive na expectativa de casar a filha com um homem abastado, para resolver seus problemas financeiros."* (Corpus Brasileiro, Linguateca)
The patriarch lives in+the expectation of marrying the daughter with a man wealthy, to solve his problems financial.
The patriarch keeps expecting to have his daughter marry a wealthy man, to solve his financial problems.

casar + o filho (marry + the son):

(9) *"Dando prosseguimento aos planos de casar o filho com a aristocrática Branca (Bete Coelho)."* (Corpus Brasileiro, Linguateca)
Giving follow-up to+the plans of marrying the son with the aristocratic Branca (Bete Coelho).
Follow-up with your plans of having the son married to the aristocratic Branca.

(10) "*A comédia aborda um casal burguês que enfrenta dificuldades financeiras e resolve casar o filho de 27 anos com uma moça rica.*" (Corpus Brasileiro, Linguateca)
The comedy portrays one couple bourgeois that faces difficulties financial and decides marry the son of 27 years with a lady rich.
The comedy portrays a bourgeois couple that faces financial difficulties and decides to have their 27-year-old son marry a rich lady.

casar + as filhas (marry + the daughters):

(11) *"Muitos pais casavam suas filhas pelo fio de bigode."* (ptTenTen)
Many parents married their daughters by+the strand of mustache.
Many parents used to have their daughters married by the gentleman's agreement.

casar + os filhos (marry + the children):

(12) *"Entre os japoneses, casar os filhos como manda o figurino significa cumprir um dever de pai."* (ptTenTen)
Among the Japanese, marry the children as says the figurine means fulfilling a duty of father.
Among the Japanese, having your children married by the book equals having fulfilled your duty as a father.

(13) "*Foi o caso do próprio Morita, que, morando no Brasil desde 1956, só se assumiu depois de casar os filhos."* (Corpus Brasileiro, Linguateca)
Was the case of+the own Morita, that, living in+the Brazil since 1956, only himself assumed after of marry the children.
It was the case of Morita himself, which, having lived in Brazil since 1956 only came out after having married his children.

casar + a irmã (marry + the sister):

(14) *"Para alcançar os seus objectivos, SALOMÉ planeja casar a irmã com GEORGE, o enteado de GASPAR, de modo a que MARIA INÊS possa mexer na herança.*" (ptTenTen, Corpus Portugal)
To achieve the her goals, Salomé plans marrying the sister with George, the step-son of Gaspar, of way that Maria Inês might mess with+the inheritance.
To achieve her goals, Salomé plans to have her sister marry George, Gaspar's step-son, in a way that Maria Inês might mess with the inheritance.

(15) "[...] *contou a Meneses como todos morreram; como ele se empregara na Capitania e casara a irmã com um colega, o Pedro Rocha, rapaz bom, bem-comportado* [...]." (ptTenTen)
[...] told to Meneses how everyone died; how he self employed in+the Captaincy and married the sister with a colleague, the Pedro Rocha, boy good, well-behaved [...]

He told Meneses how everyone died; how he got a job in the Captaincy and had his sister married to a colleague, Pedro Rocha, a good guy, well behaved.

(16) "*Como vimos nos episódios anteriores, Coqueiro queria mesmo era dar um jeito de casar sua irmã, Amélia, com o abastado maranhense.*" (ptTenTen)
As saw in+the episodes previous, Coqueiro wanted really was give a way of marry his sister, Amélia, with the wealthy maranhese.
As we have seen in previous episodes, what Coqueiro really wanted was to find a way to have his sister, Amélia, married to the wealthy man from Maranhão.

casar + o irmão (marry + the brother):

(17) "*Decide, então, aproveitar o pouco tempo que lhe resta para casar seu irmão mais novo, Stephano, com a bela e sensual Annie em troca de 2.000 dólares.*" (ptTenTen)
Decides, then, utilize the little time that his remains to marry his brother more young, Stephano, with the beautiful and sexy Annie in exchange for 2000 dollars.
He decides, then, to take advantage of the little time had left to have his younger brother's, Stephano, married to the beautiful and sexy Annie in exchange for 2..000 dollars.

(18) "*Quero casar a minha irmã urgente! Não aguento mais ela chorando pelos cantos que ninguém a quer...*" (ptTenTen)
Want to marry my sister urgent! Not stand more she crying in+the corner that nobody her want...
I want to have my sister married soon! I can't stand her crying anymore, saying that nobody wants her…

(19) "*E vibramos com o falido aristocrata Gonçalo Ramirez que inerte e acomodado, casando sua irmã com um arrivista político emergente para resolver seus problemas, num inesperado ato de coragem resgata seu amor próprio e seu lugar no mundo, pelo orgulho pela sua história de família.*" (ptTenTen)
And thrilled with the failed aristocrat Gonçalo Ramires that inert and accommodated, marrying his sister with an opportunist

political emergent to solve his problems, in+an unexpected act of bravery rescues his self-love and his place in+the world, by+the pride for+the his history of family.

And we were thrilled with the failed aristocrat Gonçalo Ramires that inert and accommodated, having married his daughter to an emergent political opportunist to solve his problems, in an unexpected act of bravery rescues his self-love and his place in the world, by the pride for his family's history.

Besides the indirect causation meaning, these instances also point to a conventional way in which the cause to act meaning is packaged as a simple causative: a context in which the participant in subject position can be construed as either legally and financially responsible for the marriage (such as the parents) or emotionally invested in the marriage (such as the parents, the sister, the brother or any other relative).

For 'estudar', the instance found (1) was the following:

(20) *"Além de se manter no sítio, o casal consegue estudar a filha Mônica, que faz zootecnia na Universidade de Viçosa […]"*
(Corpus Brasileiro, Linguateca)

Besides of themselves keep in+the site, the couple manages study the daughter Mônica, which does zootechnics in+the Universidade de Viçosa.

Besides providing for themselves in the countryside, the couple manages to pay for the studies of their daughter Mônica, which is majoring in Zootechnics in Universidade Federal de Viçosa."

The occurrence of the caused-action2 construction with *'estudar'* seems to be less frequent in *corpus*, since we have found only one instance. The cause to act meaning is present, since the participant in subject position (*o casal*) is construed as the (indirect) cause for the studies of the participant in object position (*a filha Mônica*) who is the one actually studying. This is packaged as a simple causative because it is a conventional way to say when parents invest, guide or support their kids through educational years. Notice that in (20), the financial investment context is present, since the excerpt means that the couple is financial able to keep their house in the countryside and to pay for their daughter's studies in other city. *'Estudar'* is also a good case for testing since our intuition as native speakers of BP informs us that it may be

more used in a caused-action2 meaning, at least in the dialect spoken in the state of Minas Gerais and its surroundings[12].

Another verb we found being used in caused-action2 meaning was *'formar'* (raise/graduate). We found 6 instances of it. It is important to say that *'formar'* has an ambiguous meaning, being used both as raise or educate and as graduate. Only the graduate meaning is compatible with the caused-action2 meaning. In the examples shown below, the first one (21) seems ambiguous between the two readings, but the graduate meaning seems much more preferable. Hence, (21) is an instance of the caused-action2 construction. In the second one (22), *'formar'* is sure being used in the meaning of raise/educate, and therefore this is not an instance of the caused-action2:

> (21) "*O que falta é reconhecimento e não será uma publicação absurda e preconceituosa que ofuscará o mérito de um pai formar sua filha.*" (ptTenTen)
> The what lacks is acknowledgement and not be a publication absurd and prejudiced that overshadow the merit of a father educate his daughter.
> What's missing is acknowledgement and it will not be an absurd and prejudiced publication that will overshadow the merit of a father having his daugher educated/graduated.

> (22) *"Era com esses princípios que o piedoso pai formava seus novos filhos, não só com palavras e doutrina, mas sobretudo de verdade e com o exemplo."* (ptTenTen)
> Was with these principles that the pious father educated his new children, not only with words and doctrine, but mostly of truth and with the example.
> It was with these principles that the pious father educated his new children, not only with words and doctrine, but mostly in truth and with example.

The meaning of indirect causation is present in (21) and is also a conventionalized context – it is a conventional way to say (21) when

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[12] We acknowledge that there is a sociolinguistic aspect in the construction's use, however, it is not the purpose of this paper to look into it.

the father financially invested or emotionally supported his daughter's studies until graduation. Actually, graduation feels like an achievement to the whole family, especially to parents who did not get the chance to go to university themselves.

It is important to note that the usage of these verbs as simple causatives to express a complex conventionalized scenario in which an indirect causation is construed as a direct one is not new in BP. The usages illustrated so far seem to come from a time in which parents (and mostly the father) had an active saying in the marriage, the choice of university, and the religious choices of their children (and especially daughters when it comes to marriage). However, some new usages have been showing up in recent social media posts. The following examples are from Facebook and Instagram[13]:

> (23) Instances of *casar*: (Figures 1-7)
> (a) "*quase casando meu irmão*"; "*casando meu sobrinho*"; and "*casando a amiga*" (Multiple posts from Facebook)
> 'Almost marrying my brother; marrying my nephew; and 'marrying the friend'
> Almost having my brother married, having my nephew married, having my friend married.

Figure 1 - Instance of caused-action with *casar* 'Almost marrying my brother!! It was so beautiful!!'

Jul 16, 2019 · Quase casando o irmão!! Foi lindo demais!! <3 #chárráia Fotos by

Source: Facebook

Figure 2 - Instance of caused-action with *casar* 'Marrying my nephew'
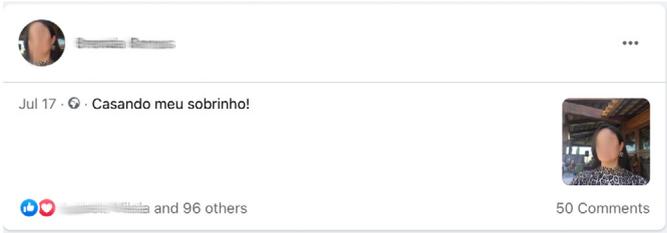
Source: Facebook

Figure 3 - Instance of caused-action with *casar* 'Marrying Carlinha and Leandro'

Source: Facebook

Figure 4 - Instance of caused-action with *casar* 'Marrying another friend'
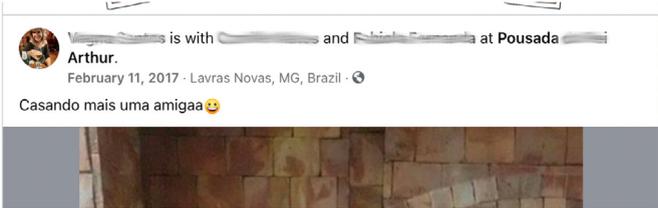
Source: Facebook

Figure 5 - Instance of caused-action with *casar* 'Marrying #viviandvitor'
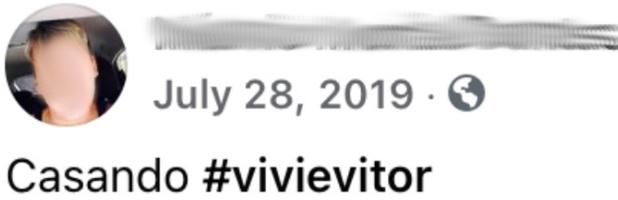
Source: Facebook

Figure 6 - Instance of caused-action with *casar* 'Marrying Felipe and Rafa'
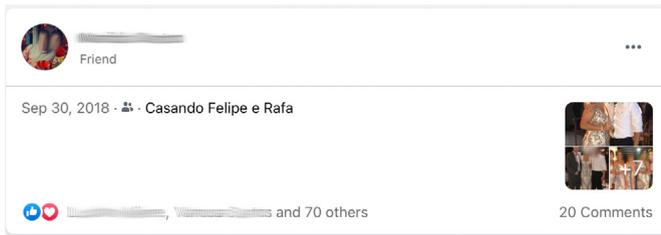
Source: Facebook

Figure 7 - Instance of caused-action with *casar*
'#Tbt of us in Cuba, marrying ____'

Source: Instagram

(24) "*#formamosalu #formandoaana # sófaltauma*" (Instagram post
caption) (Figure 8)

Graduated Lu, graduated Ana, only missing one
Attending Lu's graduation, attending Ana's graduation, only
missing one (friend to graduate).

Figure 8 - Instance of caused-action with *formar* (graduate) 'January has announced: this year is ours, #graduated Lu, #graduatedAna #onlymissingone'

Source: Instagram

(25) "*batizando Rita*" (Instagram post caption) (Figure 9)
    Baptizing Rita.
    Attending Rita's baptism.

Figure 9 - Instance of caused-action with *baptize* (batizar) 'baptizing Rita'

Source: Instagram

These examples are not restricted to written usages, as they have also been witnessed on the fly on oral communication.

It is important to notice that the caused-action2 is not lexically driven[14]. An evidence to that is the fact that verbs such as *'jantar'* (to have dinner), *'crismar'* (to be confirmed) and *'noivar'* (to engage) do not occur in caused-action2, although they are intimately related, in terms of

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14   The same happens to the caused-action1 as Ciríaco (2015) and Santos, Ciríaco and Souza (2019) have shown: *cortei o cabelo* (I cut the hair) is possible, but other verbs such as *secar* (dry), and *estacionar* (park), do not instantiate it, as *sequei o cabelo*, (I dried the hair), and *estacionei o carro*, (I parked the car) for instance are not used in the relevant meaning for the construction. For *estacionar* (park), for instance, the preferred option would be to say: *deixei com o motorista* (I left it [the car] with the valet parking).

meaning and social evoked scene, to the verbs *'almoçar'*, *'batizar'* and *'casar'*, respectively. Consider the following contrasts:

(26) (a) *Almocei os meninos.*
   Lunched the children.
   I gave the children lunch.
   (b) **jantei as crianças*
   Dinnered the children.
   I gave the children dinner.

(27) (a) *Eles batizaram o filho.*
   They baptized the son.
   They had their son baptized.
   (b) **O pai crismou a filha.*
   The father confirmed the daughter.
   The father had his daughter confirmed.

(28) (a) *O pai casou as filhas.*
   The father married the daughters.
   The father had his daughters married.
   (b) **O pai noivou a filha.*
   The father engaged the daughter.
   The father helped his daughter get engaged.

(29) (a) *O pai estudou os filhos.*
   The father studied his children.
   The father was able to pay for their children's studies.
   (b) *O pai trabalhou o filho.
   The father worked the son.
   The father got his son a job.

(30) (a) *O pai formou a filha*.
   The father graduated his daughter.
   The father supported his daugher in graduating.
   (b) **O pai doutorou a filha*.
   The father PhDed the daughter.
   The father supported his daughter in her PhD.

The reason why the verbs in (b) are not compatible with the caused-action2 meaning is that they do not describe conventional ways in BP. Caused-action2 is not a conventional way to frame the event of parents giving dinner to their children, and maybe because in Brazil dinner is not as important a meal to give to a child as lunch is. Caused-action2 is not a conventional way to say when somebody is confirmed, gets engaged, works or gets a PhD – these are activities which are not construed as having the need for any kind of guardianship or tutelage in BP speakers' community. Endorsing the conventionalized scenario as a constraint to the occurrence of the construction is the fact that we also did not find any instance of '*jantar*', '*crismar*' and '*noivar*' in the caused-action2 meaning in any *corpora* we searched for.

It is important to notice that there seems to be a preference for expressing a kinship relation between the participant coded in subject position and the participant coded in object position, such as parents and children or father and daughter, and so on. Nevertheless, this preference does not seem to function as a constraint, since the construction can also be used in case of friendship or acquaintance, as examples in (23)-(25) show. Caused-action2 construction also seems to cover usages associated to the different phases of life, such as the verbs baptize, graduate, and marry indicate.

Besides the implication of [cause to act] meaning and indirect causation, there is a specific constraint on what kinds of situations can be encoded by the caused-action2 construction, which is the chain of conventionalized scenarios of *legal responsibility / financial support > emotional investment > willingness to be present*. These scenarios look like different situations, but closer examination reveals that emotional investment is an extension of legal responsibility and financial support, and willingness to be present is an extension of emotional investment. Therefore, they function as one abstract semantic constraint for the caused-action construction and can be understood as a generalization to the construction to occur. Caused-action2 instances are explained in a hierarchical way by a context in which there is some kind of responsibility or investment between the participants coded in subject and object positions, be it legal, financial or emotional. In case of emotional bonds, the relation extends itself from an intimate or consanguineous bond, such as kinship, to a close friendship, an acquaintance, or even just an appearance in someone's important life event. Notice that in example (25), caused-action2 is being used in a situation in which the person using the construction (who we know) is not a close friend to the family or the baby who is being baptized - he only made an appearance to the baptism, but posted on Ig a picture with the caption "batizando Rita". This shows

that aspects such as kinship, intimacy or closeness are not requirements for the construction to occur, but a whole conventionalized scenario in which there is some kind of investment -legal, financial, emotional or willingness to make an appearance for someone - of the participant coded as subject in face of the participant coded as object.

4.2 Form (Syntax)

Accordingly to Goldberg (2019), the formal properties of constructions correspond to the number and type of complements involved. She lays emphasis on the fact that although grammatical relations and syntactic categories are mostly taken for granted in Linguistics, there is no easy way to identify them beyond their prototypical semantic function. Moreover, both types of categories must be learned from the input on the basis of their associated meanings. Hence, it is important to acknowledge the relevance of the association between form and meaning to the representation of the construction, not the form or function in isolation.

That being said, the caused-action2 is a two slot construction which inherits its form from the transitive[15] construction, being represented as $[Subj_1 \ V \ Obj_2]$. We take Goldberg's suggestion of noting the formal aspects of constructions as grammatical relations (Subj and Obj) instead of syntactic categories because, as she points out, in relational terms a word can be a NP but not an object - consider the example provided by her: "he called them fools", which is a pseudo-instance of the double-object construction and has a second NP, 'fools', which is not a second object.

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[15] It is not the goal of this paper to discuss the relation to the transitive construction further, but one thing can be noted: it looks like there is some kind of metaphorical extension relating the subjects' functions in causative constructions, which extend from a prototypical agent to a direct cause and then to types of indirect causation. In "I hammered the metal", the participant in subject position is a prototypical agent; in "I opened the garage", the participant in subject position could have opened it by hand, but usually the construction is used to mean that I used a remote control to open it for me. For BP, in the translation of "I cut my hair", the participant in subject position usually went to a salon and asked someone to do it. Finally in BP, "I married my friend" can mean that the participant in the subject position went to the ceremony and invested him/herself emotionally.

4.3 Pattern Representation

Since meaning and form have been discussed, we suggest the following representation for the Caused-Action2 construction:

(31) **Caused-Action2 Construction** (*o pai casou a filha*)

SYNTACTIC FORM:
[Subj$_1$ V Obj$_2$]

SEMANTIC FUNCTION:
Meaning: X$_1$ CAUSE Y$_2$ to DO something

Conventionalized scenario: investment of the participant coded as subject in face of the participant coded as object according to the following cline: legal responsibility / financial support > emotional investment > willingness to be present

MEANS: X is invested in the event.
RESULT: Y accomplishes something.

5 Conclusions

This paper investigated the functional aspects of the caused-action2 construction in BP through a *corpora* based analysis. Real usage instances of the construction were examined in order to capture the semantic subtleties of its meaning. It was shown that the caused-action2 construction is not lexically driven, but constrained by a highly specific conventional scenario - that of investment, be it material or metaphorical, following an extension hierarchy which can be depicted as: legal responsibility/financial support > emotional investment > willingness to be present. Hence, caused-action2 construction is a conventional way in BP to frame an event as a simple causation when there is some kind of responsibility or investment of the participant coded in subject position in relation to the event performed by the participant in object position. As for its syntax, it was shown that caused-action2 is a two-slot construction which inherits its form from the transitive construction, that is, [Subj$_1$ V Obj$_2$]. The construction representation associates the caused-action2 meaning to the transitive form.

In further work, we aim at experimentally checking some instances of the construction with native speakers of BP by running an

acceptability judgement task to investigate how natural those instances are and what are their possible meaning extensions when combined with other semantically related verbs. Another idea is to check the production and comprehension costs of caused-action2 in comparison to caused-action1 and plain transitive constructions in order to find out the role of conventionalized scenarios and functional aspects in the processing of argument structure constructions.

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Authorship statement

Larissa S. Ciríaco analyzed the data and wrote the paper.
Thaís M. M. De Sá e Clarice F. Dos Santos collected the data and revised the paper.

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