Chapter 11

Imitating the Arabic model: The case of valency-increasing operations in the Old Spanish translation of the Arabic *Kalīla wa-Dimna*

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Learned language contact, explicitly the translation of Arabic works into Old Spanish, offers quite a range of possibilities for the detailed study of morphosyntactical and semantic structures in the target language of Old Spanish. This chapter investigates causative constructions in Old Spanish using the medieval translation (ca. 1251 AD) of the Arabic *Kalīla wa-Dimna* as its primary source. In this context, three main formal strategies can be identified: (1) zero morphology or conversion; (2) denominal derivations of the patterns *a-N-ar* and *en-N-ar*; and (3) analytic constructions by means of the causative verbs *fazer* 'to make', *mandar* 'to order', and *enbiar* 'to send'. In the case of (1), it can be shown that the valency increase of Old Spanish intransitive verbs is motivated by the Arabic model that displays a stem II or IV verb that has factitive and causative meaning. As far as formal strategy (2) is concerned, the motivation behind its augmented use in Old Spanish can be traced not only to the Arabic semantic model, but also to the formal similarity of the *a-* prefix, found both in Arabic and Old Spanish. Finally, strategy (3) also follows the analytical constructions found in the Arabic model, especially regarding the original semantics of the auxiliary causative verbs. The analysis of the Old Spanish causative constructions confirms that translation is an act of negotiation and compromise and is influenced deliberately where the given repertoire of the target language exhibits a general predisposition that permits such contact-induced structures.

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1 Introduction

The main focus of this chapter is the contrastive historical analysis of the Old Spanish translation, *Calila e Dimna*, and its famous and widespread Arabic model, *Kalīla wa-Dimna* (see Section 2), with particular attention paid to Old Spanish factive and causative constructions (see Section 5). In this study, translation as such is regarded as a particular form of language contact, where structures and semantic concepts may be imitated in the target language by the translators following patterns found in the source model (Döhla 2008, Haßler 2001).[1] At the same time, it can be observed that structures of the target language text diverge from those of the model language in order to comply with the linguistically acceptable repertoire of the target language, especially if the target language, like written Old Spanish, is still a young language lacking certain syntactic and semantic fine-tuning (Bossong 1979, Galmés de Fuentes 1996, Huffman 1973). As far as the Arabic–Old Spanish translations of the thirteenth century are concerned, the studies by Bossong (1979, 2008) and Döhla (2008, 2009) demonstrate how thoroughly the translators operated while translating the bulk of texts from Arabic, predominantly using structures from their available Romance repertoire and modifying them creatively by derivational and analytic strategies.

The main research question of this study concerns the morphological strategies used by the translators in order to create factive and causative meanings and the possible influence of the formal side of the derivational and analytic constructions exhibited in the Arabic model. The study itself is intended to be purely descriptive and non-statistical (except for Table 4, taken from Sanaphre Villanueva 2010), since only the full corpus of translated texts of the thirteenth century (see Faulhaber 2004) would fully justify statistical analyses. Unfortunately, the full corpus, Old Spanish and Arabic, has not yet been edited for large-scale comparative studies.

Before getting to the descriptive analyses in Section 5, Sections 3 and 4 are dedicated to the differences between Arabic and (Old) Spanish morphology and to general aspects of factive and causative constructions.

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[1]Translations are popular windows for matter borrowings, that is the adoption of entire constructions of the source language, including the phonological shape and its corresponding meaning (Sakel 2007: 15), to enter the target language. There are also Arabisms found in *Calila e Dimna* (Döhla 2009), although these are few in number (44) considering the overall amount of 2,535 lexemes (types).

2 Contact between Spanish and Arabic and *Calila e Dimna*

When compared to other areas where Romance languages are spoken, the Iberian Peninsula of the Middle Ages stands out due to the coexistence of two different faith systems (Christianity and Islam), several different realms (the northern Christian shires and emerging kingdoms versus the Muslim sphere of control in the southern regions), and, most importantly, two different language families (Indo-European and Semitic). As can be imagined and as is well known, out of this coexistence a number of language-contact scenarios emerged. In the first place, the Christians living under Muslim rule have to be mentioned. According to Latin sources of the Christian North, they called themselves *Mozarabs*,[2] which points to the fact that they were 'Arabicized' (not 'Islamized'), since the term derives from the Classical Arabic *mustaʕrab* 'Arabicized' (Corriente 2008a: 383). Besides this inclination toward the Arabic language (Bossong 2007: 69), their inherited language was Ibero-Romance, which was also used by Muslims and Jews in al-Andalus.[3] Apart from a high number of early Arabisms, especially the bilingual *ḫarağāt* (Spanish *jarchas*) (Corriente 1997, 2008b), the final verses of the Andalusi poem pattern called *muwaššaḥ*, which bear witness to the creative and aesthetic use of Arabic-Romandalusi (see Note 3) code-switching, must be mentioned. While this kind of language contact took place on a popular, albeit court, level in the case of the *ḫarağāt*, the thirteenth century marked a turning point in language use, when the most powerful of the advancing Christian kingdoms, Castile, promoted its vernacular Castilian language as the official language of the court. Thus, the first document written in Old Spanish is the *Tratado de Cabreros* of 1206 (Wright 2000), a treaty between Alfonso VIII of Castile and Alfonso IX of

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[2]In fact, the term *Muzaraues* (Pérez 2010: 497) can be found in a Latin document from the northern region of León as far back as 1024. However, the adoption of Arabisms in the Latin of the Christians in the north can be dated back to the ninth century, with *citara* 'curtain' (812), *barrius* 'quarter' (887), *adorra* 'kind of shirt' (887), *zuramen* 'Moorish tunic' (887), and *adria* 'special kind of share' (896) (Pérez 2010: 172, 95, 13, 805, 815). This early appearance of Arabisms in Latin documents of the northern Christian realms can be linked sociohistorically to the migration of Mozarabs from the south to the northern no-man's-land, which was repopulated actively by the Christians. On the other hand, even though the term *Mozarab* comes from Arabic, there are no traces of the use of the Arabic term among Muslim writers to refer to Christians in al-Andalus (Simonet 1983: VIII).

[3]This Ibero-Romance language has been called *mozárabe/Mozarabic* by some scholars (Beale-Rivaya 2016, Galmés de Fuentes 1983, Hitchcock 2008: XVII) and, more appropriately, *romandalusí* by Corriente (2008b). The term proposed by Corriente suggests a Romance origin of this language used not only by the Christian, i.e., Mozarabic, population of al-Andalus but by all other groups, too (Corriente 2008b: 98).

León, 24 years before the unification of Castile and León under Fernando III in 1230. This first use of Old Castilian as the official language of the court paved the way for an early elaboration process (Haugen 1983: 273),[4] even before the first vernacular grammar was written, which was published by Antonio de Nebrija in 1492. The elaboration process was twofold; one originated from the desire to express mostly Christian and Classical topics in the vernacular in prose and rhyme, while another made Old Castilian the target language of the translation of scientific and wisdom literature from Arabic. These Arabic documents had been falling into the hands of the Christians, advancing their *reconquista* from the northern parts of the peninsula toward the south, from the eleventh century onward, thus already leading to Arabic–Latin translations in Toledo in the twelfth century. However, as far as the patron of the translations of the thirteenth century, Alfonso X the Wise, is concerned, a clear preference for the vernacular can be detected, as can be read in the foreword of the *Lapidario* (1245), a treatise on the magic properties of (gem) stones.

> [E]t dizien le Yhuda Mosca el Menor, que era mucho entendudo en la arte de astronomia et sabie et entendie bien el arauigo et el latin. Et de que por este iudio, su fisico, ouo entendido el bien et la grand pro que en el iazie, mando gelo trasladar de arauigo en lenguaie castellano por que los omnes lo entendiesses meior. (Rodríguez M. Montalvo 1981: 19)

> [A]nd he was called Yehuda Mosca Junior, who was very adept in the art of astronomy and he knew and understood Arabic and Latin well. And since, with the help of this Jew, he [the infant Alfonso] had understood the greatness and the great advantage which was lying in it [the Lapidario], he ordered him to translate it from Arabic into the Castilian language, so that people would understand it better. (Own translation)

Thus, under the patronage of Alfonso X the Wise (approximately 1250–1282), there was a wave of translations[5] into Old Castilian, comprising many topics,

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[4]In the terminology of Haugen (1983: 273), "elaboration" is "the continued implementation of a norm to meet the function of a modern world. [...] A modern language of high culture needs a terminology for all the intellectual and humanistic disciplines, including the cultural underworld that runs from low to popular". The norm-driven implementation of Castilian in Spain was not followed up until the eighteenth century.

[5]In general, the translation process was usually undertaken by a team of translators, with one translator reading the text aloud or translating it into Andalusi Arabic. Then, another member of the team would translate the text heard into Old Castilian, which was then written down (Hilty 1954: 3, Hilty 2005: XXIX, Rodríguez M. Montalvo 1981: 19).

such as astronomy/astrology, zoology, veterinary medicine, agriculture, mineralogy, and oriental wisdom. This special type of language contact (Döhla 2008, Haßler 2001) initiated a process of acculturation which, according to Bossong (1979: 6), is the "Prozeß der Universalisierung und/oder Komplektisierung einer R[esponse]-Sprache unter dem Einfluß und durch Anregung einer S[timulus]-Sprache" 'the process of universalization and/or complectization of the response language under the influence of a stimulus language' (own translation). In this context, universalization refers to the elaboration of the lexicon, whereas complectization alludes to the development of syntactic expressivity. Vestiges of both processes are clearly detectable in the Arabic–Old Castilian translations of the thirteenth century. However, even though there are studies regarding the lexicon (Bossong 1978, 1979, Döhla 2009) and contact-induced syntactic structures (in chronological order: Tallgren 1934, Dietrich 1937, Hottinger 1958, Huffman 1973), this whole area of investigation still displays several desiderata, which can best be summed up in a general comparative grammar of Arabic and Old Spanish based on the translations of the thirteenth century.

The linguistic material discussed in the following sections is taken from the Alfonsine Old Castilian version of the famous Arabic mirror of princes called *Kalīla wa-Dimna*. Its origin lies in the Old Indian *Pañcatantra* 'Five stories', a collection of fables and allegories compiled sometime between the third and fourth centuries. It was translated into Middle Persian and expanded at the same time in the sixth century, and from there it was rendered into Arabic in 750 AD by Ibn al-Muqaffaʕ. This Arabic translation has been transmitted in many copies, which can be subclassified into different lines of manuscript traditions, one of them being the Iberian branch with a particular order and number of chapters. Without going into further detail, at this point, it is sufficient to note that the translation, which was presumably ordered by the infant Alfonso in 1251 (Alfonso the X from 1252 onward), has survived to the present day in two manuscripts. One of them (manuscript A; kept at the library of the Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, sig. h-III-9), dates from the first third of the fifteenth century, and quite accurately reflects the model of Arabic manuscripts that are considered part of the Iberian branch.[6] The other (manuscript B; kept at the library of the Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, sig. x-III-4), dates from 1467 and exhibits influences from other Arabic manuscript traditions and, possibly, from the Hebrew translation of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* elaborated by Rabbi Joël in Spain in

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[6]For example ms. Arabe 3478, supplément 1795, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, cited here as Ibn al-Muqaffaʕ (n.d.); ms. 4095/3, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, cited here in the edition of ʕAzzām ʕAbdu & Bek (1941).

the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as well (Döhla 2009: 57, 78). This means that manuscript B, despite its similarities with manuscript A, is not a mere copy of manuscript A. As far as the examples of the Old Castilian *Calila e Dina* are concerned, they are taken from Döhla (2009). The Arabic model sentences are taken from those manuscripts specified in Note 6.

3 Arabic and Spanish contrastive morphology

Before presenting a brief typology of formal valency-increasing strategies as well as addressing the concrete valency-increasing operations found in the Old Spanish version of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* in more detail and contrasting them with the respective source constructions of the Arabic model, it seems reasonable to dedicate a brief paragraph to the differences between Arabic and (Old) Spanish concerning their basic morphological strategies.

In general, the main difference between Arabic, a Semitic language of the Afroasiatic language family, and (Old) Spanish, a Romance language of the Indo-European language family, lies in the use of transfixation as the major derivational device in Arabic. In this context, "[a] **transfix** may be defined as a discontinuous affix that disrupts the base to which it is attached" (Broselow 2000: 552). Other authors refer to this morphological type as "templatic morphology" (Lieber 2009: 81-82), "root and pattern morphology"[7] (Holes 2004: 99), or as Spanish "interdigitalización" 'interdigitation' (Bossong 2008: 21).

In practice, as opposed to the exclusively linear, sequential, or concatenative morphology found in Romance languages, Arabic morphological derivation departs from a lexical root consisting of a fixed sequence of three consonants[8] in most cases. From there, "Arabic is like a mathematical game. You take the root of a word, [...], and you start playing" (Drißner 2015: 4), creating different patterns according to fixed structures by adding the vowels /a, i, u/, and/or /aː, iː, uː/, by omitting a vowel between root consonants and/or by lengthening the middle

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[7]Broselow (2000) distinguishes two general patterns of transfixation; one that she calls "segmental transfixation", where the opposition between two derivations lies in the exchange of vowels, such as in the Arabic *ḥazina* 'to be sad' versus *ḥazana* 'to make sad', and a second that corresponds to the root and pattern morphology.

[8]Wehr (1952) lists 2,967 roots with three consonants and 362 with four consonants (Drißner 2015: 7). The roots with three consonants also contain those roots where one consonant is represented by the glottal stop (*hamza*) or by the half-consonants *wāw* and *yāʔ*, or where the second and the third consonants are identical, thus appearing as one geminated consonant. However, the same derivational principles are applied to these particular types of roots, even though they might experience some phonetical alternations and adaptions.

consonant (see Table 1). At the same time, it should be mentioned that Arabic, just as Spanish does, makes use of other types of affixes, such as prefixes and suffixes, for inflectional and derivational morphology, which can also be combined with basic lexemes, that is with stems already modified by transfixation. This way, verbal, nominal and adjectival derivations are created, all of them belonging more or less to the same semantic field. For example, the consonant sequence *k-t-b* construes lexemes that have something to do with the domain of 'writing', thus making the nominal derivations displayed in Table 1 possible, among others.

Table 1: Some basic derived nouns of the root *k-t-b* in Classical Arabic

lexeme	pattern	meaning
kātib	$C_1āC_2iC_3$	'writer, scribe, secretary'
kuttāb	$C_1uC_2C_2āC_3$	'writer, scribe, secretary (PL)' [but also SG 'Koran school']
maktab	$maC_1C_2aC_3$	'office, desk' (*nomen loci*, literally 'place where you write')
makātib	$maC_1āC_2iC_3$	'office, desk (PL)'
kitāb	$C_1iC_2āC_3$	'book'
kutub	$C_1uC_2uC_3$	'book (PL)'
miktāb	$mi\text{-}C_1C_2āC_3$	'stylus' (*nomen instrumenti*, literally 'device you write with')

As can be noted, the so-called 'broken plural' forms *kuttāb*, *makātib*, and *kutub* are not formed by simply adding a plural suffix, but by reshaping the form of the construction, applying different transfix patterns.

At the same time, the triliteral root interlocks with a pattern to produce a number of so-called verbal forms that usually indicate semantically related meanings. Table 2 displays eight derived forms of the root *k-t-b*.[9]

Eight of the possible ten derived, and commonly used, verb stems (Alward et al. 2019, Fischer 1972: §§163–173, Holes 2004: 100–105) are to be found in the *kataba* entry in Wehr's dictionary (1976: 812; see Table 2). Stems II, III, and IV are created – departing from *kataba* – by gemination of the middle consonant (II), by lengthening the vowel /a/ between C_1 and C_2 (III), and by extending the root by

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[9]For the basic verbal form, like *kataba* (stem I), Arabic grammarians have always used the simplest of all verbal forms, which corresponds to 3SG.M.PFV of stem I. However, whenever I provide the meaning of a basic verbal form, I use the English infinitive; thus, instead of the literal 'he wrote', I use 'to write'.

Table 2: The derived verbal stems of the root *k-t-b* in Classical Arabic

stem	lexeme	pattern	meaning
I	*kataba*	$C_1aC_2aC_3a$	'to write'
II	*kattaba*	$C_1aC_2C_2aC_3a$	'to make write'
III	*kātaba*	$C_1āC_2aC_3a$	'to exchange letters, to correspond'
IV	*ʔaktaba*	$ʔaC_1C_2aC_3a$	'to make write, to dictate'
VI	*takātaba*	$taC_1āC_2aC_3a$	'to write to each other, to exchange letters'
VII	*inkataba*	$inC_1aC_2aC_3a$	'to subscribe'
VIII	*iktataba*	$iC_1\!<\!t\!>\!aC_2aC_3a$	'to copy, to be registered, to subscribe, to contribute'
X	*istaktaba*	$ista\text{-}C_1C_2aC_3a$	'to ask to write, to dictate, to make write, to have a copy made'

means of the prefix /ʔa-/ while omitting any vowel between C_1 and C_2. Stem VI is produced by adding the prefix *ta-* to stem III, whereas stem VIII is formed by the insertion of the infix /-t-/ after C_1. Finally, stem VII is created by adding the prefix *n-* to stem I, preceded by *i-*, in order to avoid an onset with two consonants, whereas in stem X, the root pattern *-ktaba* receives the prefix *st-*, preceded by the same prosthetic vowel as in stem VII. As can be seen in Table 2, each stem is connected to the semantic field of 'writing'. In particular, stems II and IV are used to construe factitive and causative meanings in Arabic. The main semantic values of the other stems are as follows: stem III: conative; stem V: reflexive, effective; stem VI: reflexive, reciprocal; stem VII: reflexive, passive; stem VIII: reflexive; stem X: reflexive (Corriente 2002: 153, Fischer 1972: §§163–172, Holes 2004: 100-105). I will come back to the concrete application of these root-transfix patterns, especially of those representing causative values (stems II and IV), in the following sections.

This formal flexibility of the consonantal roots, in combination with different nuances in meaning, is used productively and creatively by the *bulaġāʔ* 'eloquent (PL)', such as Ibn al-Muqaffaʕ, who translated *Kalīla wa-Dimna* from Middle Persian into Arabic. The following two examples illustrate the creative potential of Arabic derivational morphology, which is difficult to imitate using the concatenative morphology of Romance and Germanic languages.

The first example demonstrates the application of a common linguistically aesthetic technique found in Classical Arabic literature and, thus, in *Kalīla wa-*

Dimna: double constructional parallelism, where both the form, that is the derivational pattern, and the meaning of two adjacent nouns are synomorph and synonym at the same time, as shown in Example (1).[10]

(1) (Arabic; Semitic, Afroasiatic)
bahāʔ-u-h$^{\bar{u}}$ wa-ǧamāl-u-h$^{\bar{u}}$
beauty-NOM-POSS.3SG and-beauty-NOM-POSS.3SG

'his beauty and his beauty'[11]

The Old Spanish equivalent in *Calila e Dimna* is *su beldad e su fermosura* (Döhla 2009: AI.31e), both synonyms, but not synomorphs, since both nouns do not follow the same derivational pattern as the Arabic nouns do ($C_1aC_2\bar{a}C_3$). *Beldad* is formed with the nominal suffix *-dad*, whereas *fermosura* exhibits the nominal suffix *-ura*. The locating of these Old Spanish synonyms in translation from Arabic may serve to shed some light on synonymity in Old Spanish.

The second example is even more striking and even less imitable by Old Spanish derivational means. In this case, the verb stem IV is formed and combined with a meaning that does not appear as such in any of the many Arabic dictionaries. The Arabic *nahr* means 'river', derived from stem I of the verb *nahara*, 'to flow copiously, to stream forth'. Taking the root *n-h-r* as the morphological and 'river' as the semantic point of departure, Ibn al-Muqaffaʕ derives a verb following the pattern of stem IV, *ʔanhara*, as can be seen in Example (2).

(2) fa-ya-kūn-u maṭal-ī fī ḏālika miṭla
so-3SG.M-be.IPFV-IND example-POSS.1SG in DEM.DIST similar.to
'l-kalb-i 'llaḏī **yu-nhir-u**[12]
DEF-dog-GEN REL.3SG 3SG.M-come.by.river.IPFV-IND

'So my example would be similar to the dog who was coming by a river'.
(Cheikho 1905: 38)

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[10]In the following Arabic examples, the transcriptions make use of the special characters recommended by the *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft*. However, my transcriptions include the following three special principles: any long vowel or any consonant that is not represented in the written *rasm* is in superscript; any /a/ represented by *yāʔ* in writing receives a grave accent (*à*); the omission of the vowel represented by the letter *ʔalif*, usually in definite articles and some derived verbal stems (VII, VIII, X), in combined reading of the individual elements of a sentence, is represented by the single quotation mark '.

[11]Of course, in order to reflect the construction of synonyms, we could translate this as 'his magnificence and his beauty'.

[12]The conjugation of the perfective verbal paradigm makes use of suffixes, whereas the imperfective paradigm uses prefixes (and occasional suffixes as well). Both paradigms also differ in the assignment of vowels to the stem patterns.

This semantic innovation, created by Ibn al-Muqaffaʕ, was analyzed correctly and translated adequately by the Medieval Spanish translator, using the complex analytic construction *que yva por un rrio* 'who was going by a river'.

After comparing both Old Spanish manuscripts with the Arabic manuscripts of the Iberian branch (Döhla 2009), it can be stated that the translator(s) of the Arabic *Kalīla wa-Dimna* were skilled in both Arabic and the Old Spanish repertoire available to them, only leaving a few 'dark' passages in Old Spanish and only displaying a low number of misreadings (or mishearings).

With this in mind, in Section 4, I present a brief overview of the actual construction analyzed in the subsequent paragraphs.

4 Factitives and causatives as valency-increasing operations morphology

Valency-decreasing (by means of anticausative, passive, antipassive, incorporative, reflexive, reciprocal, and medial constructions) and valency-increasing operations (Comrie & Polinsky 1993, Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000, Haspelmath & Müller-Bardey 2004, Payne 1997: 175–222) are very common in the languages of the world. Among the latter constructions, causatives in particular have been attracting the attention of linguists for decades (see Comrie 1989, Lehmann 2016, Shibatani 1976, Shibatani & Pardeshi 2002, Song 1996, 2001).

In this paragraph, as a first step, I depart from an onomasiological point of view as far as the two relevant valency-increasing operations – factitive and causative – are concerned. This seems to be the logical consequence resulting from the previous section, where the flexibility and creativity of the Arabic root and pattern morphology was contrasted with the linear, semantically less flexible morphology of Old Spanish.

Thus, the term *factitive* is used in this study to refer to those constructions where the meaning side represents a complex event, where the caused embedded action usually denotes a qualitative state (*to be someone*), a change of state (*to become something/somebody*), or an intransitive[13] action (*to fall*), meaning the embedded action or declarative statement is monovalent. In all three cases, the causer, the additional actant who causes the embedded action to happen, is responsible for the qualitative state (*to make someone be something/somebody*), the change of state (*to make someone become something/somebody*), or the intransitive action (*to make fall, to fell*). Thus, the valency-increasing operation results

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[13]Intransitive verbs can be stative (non-active) or active, meaning the only actant may take the role of the undergoer or the agent.

from the addition of the causer as the agent (i.e., syntactic subject) of the factitive construction. In this way, the former subject, be its semantic role that of the agent or the undergoer, is demoted to object status. A case in point is the application of apophony, or ablaut, in Indo-European languages such as English, German, or Latin, where vowel fronting is used to create a factitive meaning, as in the English *to fall > to fell*, the German *fallen > fällen*, and the Latin *cadere > caedere*. The same segmental transfixation can be found in some Arabic verbs like *ḥazina* 'to be sad' versus *ḥazana* 'to make sad, to sadden' (both are verbs with the pattern of stem I) (Wehr 1976: 174). But Arabic also makes use of the derived stems II and IV to express the same meaning of 'to make sad': *ḥazzana* (II) and *ʔaḥzana* (IV).

The term *causative* is used in this study to refer to a similar complex event as in the case of factitives, but this time, the embedded action is represented by a verb, which is transitive or divalent. Hence, the embedded action that already comprises an agent and a patient is extended by the influence of another agent, the causer, who acts on the embedded agent in a way that s/he performs the action with the embedded patient. The embedded agent is degraded to the role of causee (see Figure 1), which in several languages is coded as a direct object, so that, syntactically, there are two direct objects representing the extralinguistic referents of the embedded action, as in *he made his son write a song* or *he made him write it*.
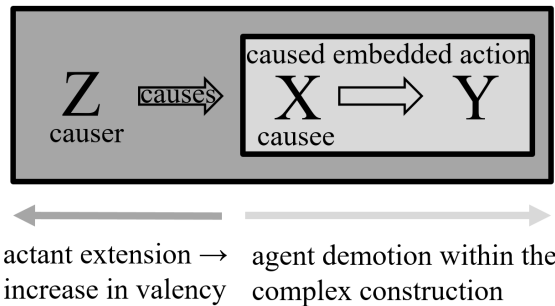

Figure 1: The complex event expressed by causative constructions comprising three actants: the causer (Z) of the embedded action, which is performed by the causee (X), who is the agent of the embedded action that is executed upon the patient (Y).

The same double object constructions can be observed in Arabic taken from the monolingual dictionary *Al-Munǧid*, illustrating the use of *ʔaktaba* and its meaning (see Example 3).

(3) ʔaktab-a-hᵘ   ’l-qaṣīdat-a:
     make.write.PFV-3SG.M-OBJ.3SG.M 3SG.MDEF-ode.F-ACC
     ʔaml-ā-hᵘ   ʔiyyā-hā
     dictate.PFV-3SG.M-OBJ.3SG.M ACC-OBJ.3SG.F
     ‘he made him write the ode: he dictated it to him’ (Al-Munǧid 2005: 671)

Stem IV of the Arabic root *k-t-b*, ‘to make write, to dictate’, may take two direct objects. Problems only occur when both objects are pronominalized, since verbs may only agglutinate one direct object pronoun at a time. Therefore, Classical Arabic has developed the ‘object carrier’ *ʔiyyā-* which extracts one object from the verb in order to bypass the ‘one object constraint’.

As already noted, there are several linguistic strategies found in the languages of the world for expressing factitive and causative events formally. The typological possibilities are summed up in Table 3, following Lehmann (2016: 926) and considering only the verbal element of the causativization strategies, leaving aside the treatment of nominal elements.

Table 3: Typology of causativization strategies (following Lehmann 2016: 926)

reduction of complexity ⟶					
morpho-syntactic process	lexical–syntactic	analytic	synthetic	fusional	zero
verbal strategy	complex sentence	periphrastic	derivational	alternation	valency conversion

So far in this chapter, we have seen examples of analytic (the English *to make write*), derivational (the Arabic stem II *kattaba*), and alternational verbal strategies (the English *to fall* versus *to fell*). Even though “Latin does not have a productive morphological process for the formation of causative constructions” (Lehmann 2016: 918), it uses other means like complex sentences or compound verbs (Hoffmann 2018, Lehmann 2016). (Old) Spanish and other Romance languages have also developed formal morphological and periphrastic means to express causativization. Thus, in what follows, I will present the three most common and productive verbalization strategies of factitive and causative events found in the Old Spanish version of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* and compare them to the Arabic model. As already

pointed out, the research question behind this analysis is to see whether the Arabic model may have influenced the translator(s)' choice as far as the formal side of the Old Spanish factitives and causatives is concerned.

5 Factitive and causative constructions in the Old Spanish translation of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*

5.1 Zero morphology and conversion

The first set of examples of valency-increase consists of verbs that, in principle, are intransitive, but are used with two actants in *Calila e Dimna*. These transitive uses of otherwise intransitive verbs mostly fly under the radar of Hispanic lexicologists, because the verb does not display any morphological change that would indicate a difference in use and meaning. Moreover, the fact that the Old Spanish of the thirteenth century in general, and that used in the translated texts from Arabic in particular,[14] is a VS(O) language (Bossong 2006, López García 2000, Neumann-Holzschuh 1997) makes the detection of transitive uses a difficult undertaking, because any superficial analysis would read the NP after the verb as the subject of the sentence, simply following the entrenched idea already existing in the lexicologist's mind. Only a meticulous syntactic and semantic analysis could find the cases in point, as in the following examples from *Calila e Dimna*.

The first example concerns the Old Spanish verb *encaresçer*, which has the basic meaning 'to become expensive'. It is a deadjectival derivation from *caro* 'expensive' by means of the circumfix *en-*ADJ-*esçer*, the suffixal part of which was already used in Latin to create an inchoative verb from an adjectival root (see below) and in Vulgar Latin to generate a factitive meaning (Väänänen 1978: §316). This basic meaning of *encaresçer* is also attested in *Calila e Dimna*, where we can find the sentence presented in Example (4).

(4) Et acaesçio   que   encaresçio   la
     and happen.3SG.PST.PFV COMPL become.expensive.3SG.PST.PFV DEF.F
     miel e   la   manteca
     honey and DEF.F fat
     'And it happened that honey and fat became (more) expensive'. (Döhla 2009: A.VI.9)

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[14]Classical Arabic, like Biblical Hebrew, follows the Proto-Semitic VS(O) order. However, the Modern Arabic dialects and Modern Hebrew prefer an SV(O) order.

The word order in the subordinate clause introduced by the complementizer *que* is VS. The fact that there is a mismatch as far as the agreement between the sentence-initial verb (in SG) and the subject-NP (in PL, since there are two nouns) is concerned, is certainly due to the Arabic model, which displays the following text:

(5) wa-wāfaq-a   ḏālika   **ġal-ā**
and-become.PFV-3SG.M DEM.DIST become.expensive.PFV-3SG.M
’l-saman-u   wa-’l-ʕasal-u[15]
DEF-fat.M-NOM and-DEF-honey.M-NOM
'and it happened (that) fat and honey became (more) expensive' (Ibn al-Muqaffaʕ n.d.: fo. 139r)

In Example (5), it is possible to observe the same construction and agreement in the Arabic pattern as found in the Spanish translation.

In contrast to this example of the basic use of *encaresçer* in Old Spanish, the following attested use (see Example 6) in *Calila e Dimna* certainly diverges from the latter by its increase in valency and by a degree of difficulty regarding the assignment of the correct meaning in the given context. The particular chapter where the sentence in (4) can be found (chapter VI in Döhla 2009), deals with the benefits of friendship. Thus, a raven wants to befriend a mouse, who is hiding in a hole in the ground, frightened to come out because of the apparent danger, that is the presence of the raven on a nearby tree. Nevertheless, the raven keeps on talking to the mouse, trying to convince it to become its friend. In the course of the dialogue, the raven utters the following sentence:

(6) a. e   non me   encarezca-s   la   cosa
      and NEG 1SG.OBJ make.expensive.PRS.SBJV-2SG DEF thing
      (Döhla 2009: AIII.31a)

     b. e   non encarezca-s   el   amor[16]
      and NEG make.expensive.PRS.SBJV-2SG DEF love
      (Döhla 2009: BIII.31a)

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[15]In the actual manuscript, *saman-* and *ʕasal-* are vocalized with *-a* (ACC), which does not seem to be correct. It should be *-u*, which marks the nominative case.

[16]Interestingly, the word *friendship* does not appear in any Arabic manuscript. However, one of the aesthetic techniques of the translator(s) was to play around with the sequence of phonemes between the source and the target language. This way, *amor* was chosen as the equivalent of *ʔumūr*, the plural of *ʔamr* 'matter', just because of phonological similarities concerning the consonants. Another case in point is the translation of *ṣabr* 'patience' with *sufrimiento* because of the *sufr-* onset. *Sufrimiento* actually means 'suffering'.

With the basic meaning of *encaresçer* in mind and considering the transitive construction, the literal meaning of the two sentences would be 'and do not make the matter expensive for me' and 'and do not make the friendship expensive', respectively. The verb clearly exhibits the 2SG *-s* (*encarezca-s*) and a direct object and, thus, is used divalently. However, when looking at the Arabic model in Example (7), the actual meaning of *encaresçer* becomes clear.

(7) wa-lā   tu-ṣaʕʕib   ʔal-ʔumūr-a
     and-NEG 2SG.M-make.difficult.JUS DEF-matter;PL-ACC
     'and do not make the matter difficult' (ʕAzzām ʕAbdu & Bek 1941: fo. 48v)

The Classical Arabic verbal form *tuṣaʕʕib* is in the jussive mood; it is basically the indicative imperfective form of the verb with elision of the final vowel. The derivational pattern follows stem II, that is with factitive/causative meaning. Thus, *no encarezcas* means 'do not make difficult', which is not surprising at all considering the fact that the adjective *caro*, apart from 'expensive', also had the meaning 'difficult' in Old Spanish (Kasten & Cody 2001: 138). In this way, the translator(s) extended the meaning of the Old Spanish *encaresçer* according to the Arabic model:

> *ṣaʕuba* (stem I) 'to be difficult' / *ṣaʕb* 'difficult' → *ṣaʕʕaba* (stem II) 'to make difficult'
>
> *caro* 'difficult' → *encaresçer* 'to make difficult'

It is interesting to observe that none of the vocabularies dealing exclusively with the lexicon of *Calila e Dimna* (Holmes 1936, Pérez 1943, Stinson 1967) and none of the major Old Spanish dictionaries (Alonso 1996, Kasten & Cody 2001) indicate the correct meaning of *encaresçer* in the context of the above-mentioned text passage.

But there are other examples of the same kind where the Old Spanish translation follows the Arabic model, increasing the valency of an otherwise intransitive Old Spanish verb.

(8) a. e festina   al   tardinero
         and make.hurry.3SG.PRS.IND OBJ;DEF slow.person
         'and makes the slow person hurry' (Döhla 2009: I.174t)
     b. wa-yu-sarriʕ-u   'l-baṭīʔ-a
         and-3SG.M-make.hurry.IPFV-IND DEF-slow.person-ACC
         'and makes the slow person hurry' (Ibn al-Muqaffaʕ n.d.: fo. 49r)

In (8a), the verb *festinar*, which is normally used intransitively, just like the classical Latin *festināre*, in the sense of 'to hurry, to hasten', is extended to a divalent scope in order to translate the factitive meaning of *sarraʕa* 'to urge someone, to hurry someone'. This is a stem II verb pattern, derived from the basic stem *saruʕa* 'to be fast, to hurry'.

All cases of valency conversions found in the Old Spanish translation of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* share the property of zero morphology, thus not overtly indicating the change in meaning and syntactic scope. In the two examples discussed here, only *encaresçer* follows the Arabic model as much as it can, given the morphological possibilities of Old Spanish. After editing the two Old Spanish manuscripts and comparing them meticulously with the Arabic model (Döhla 2009), it can be said that the attitude of the translator(s) can be determined as one that makes every effort to express as much as possible of the Arabic model by means of the Old Spanish lexicon. At the same time, the translator(s) are adventurous and creative and do not hesitate to introduce lexico-semantic contextual innovations based on their solid knowledge of the Old Castilian language.

5.2 Denominal derivations

The second set of verbs that are used to create a factitive meaning consist of denominal and deverbal derivations. In this case, a nominal root, for example, is taken with its basic meaning as the point of departure for verbalization by adding the prefix *a-* or *en-*, cutting off the final vowel of the noun and adding whatever conjugational pattern (following the *a*-conjugation) is required by the given context. Alternatively, a verb is prefixed by *a-*, thus creating the same factitive/causative meaning. Apart from being a productive method of creating factitive verbal constructions with the help of morphological means in *Calila e Dimna*, both strategies are also present in other Romance languages, such as French, Italian, and Portuguese, and Judeo-Spanish. However, as I will show in the following examples, the Old Spanish translator(s) of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* made use of this construction to reproduce the Arabic stem II or stem IV derivations that have a factitive/causative meaning. Cases in point are the following three passages from *Calila e Dimna* with the respective Old Spanish translation and the Arabic model.

(9)   a. et esfuerça   al   cobarde, e **encobarda/acouarda**
          and strengthen.3SG.PRS OBJ;DEF coward and make.coward.3SG.PRS
          al   esforçado
          OBJ;DEF brave
          'and it [fate, fortune] strengthens the coward and makes a coward out of the brave' (Döhla 2009: A/BI.174t)

b. wa-yu-šağğiʕ-u   ’l-ğabān-a
and-3SG.M-encourage.IPFV-IND DEF-coward-ACC
wa-yu-ğabbin-u   ’l-šağāʕ-a
and-3SG.M-make.coward.IPFV-IND DEF-brave-ACC
‘and it encourages the coward and makes a coward out of the brave’
(Ibn al-Muqaffaʕ n.d.: fo. 49r)

(10) a. e **apriuado**   **lo**   mas que a todos
and make.confidant.3SG.PST.PFV OBJ.3SG.M more than OBJ all.PL
sus   vasallos
POSS.3PL vassal.PL
‘and he [the king] made him confidant, closer than all his other
vassals’ (Döhla 2009: AXII.16)

b. et **puso-le**   **en mayor pryuança** que a
and put.3SG.PST.PFV-OBJ.3SG.M LOC more   confidence than OBJ
ninguno de   sus   vasallos
none   GEN POSS.3PL vassal.PL
‘and he granted him more confidence than any other of his vassals’
(Döhla 2009: BXII.16)

c. wa-**ʔaḫaṣṣ-a-h$^{\bar{u}}$**   dūna
and-make.private.PFV-3SG.M-OBJ.3SG.M more.than
ʔaṣḥāb-i-h$^{\bar{\imath}}$
companion.PL-GEN-POSS.3SG
‘and he made him confidant, more than his companions’
(ʕAzzām ʕAbdu & Bek 1941: 94v)[17]

(11) a. El rrey non **apriua**   a los   omnes por
DEF king NEG make.confidant OBJ DEF.M.PL men   because.of
la   priuança de sus   padres,   …
DEF.F.SG confidence GEN POSS.3PL forefather.PL
‘The king does not make men confidants because of the confidence of
their forefathers’. (Döhla 2009: AI.41a)

b. ʔinna ’l-sulṭān-a   lā **yu-dnī**
truly DEF-sultan-ACC NEG 3SG.M-make.confidant.IPFV;IND

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[17]The edition of ʕAzzām ʕAbdu & Bek (1941) contains *aḫtaṣṣa*, stem VIII. In Ibn al-Muqaffaʕ (n.d.),
the actual verb is missing.

> ’l-riğāl-a   li-qurb-i
> DEF-men-ACC because.of-proximity-GEN
> ʔabāʔ-i-him
> forefather.PL-GEN-POSS.3PL.M
> 'The sultan does not make men confidants because of the proximity
> of their forefathers'. (Ibn al-Muqaffaʕ n.d.: fo. 29v)

In Example (9a), the translator(s) created a new word that can only be found in Müller (1987: I, 443), with the single medieval reference of *Calila e Dimna*. All other pieces of textual evidence are from later centuries, from the end of the fifteenth century onward (*acobardar* earlier than *encobardar*, the latter being very rare). Here, the translator(s) followed a similar derivational pathway as in Arabic, always making use of the morphological repertoire available to them in Old Spanish:

> *cobarde* 'coward' → *ser cobarde* 'to be a coward' → *encobardar/acovardar* 'to make (someone a) coward'

> *ğabān* 'coward' → *ğabuna* 'to be a coward' → *ğabbana* 'to make (someone a) coward'.

However, the translator(s) were not able to reproduce the aesthetic morphological rhyme parallelism applied in the following Arabic formula with C_1-C_2-C_3 and D_1-D_2-D_3 representing two different consonantal roots:

> *wa-yuC₁aC₂C₂iC₃u ’l-D₁aD₂āD₃a wa-yuD₁aD₂D₂iD₃u ’l-C₁aC₂āC₃a*

Nevertheless, they were still eager to get as close as possible to the etymological pattern found in the Arabic model, thus using *esforçar – esforçado* and **cobarde – en**cobard**ar/a**covard**ar**, where both pairs are etymologically related through derivation just as *šağğaʕa – šağāʕ* and *ğabbana – ğabān*.

In the next two passages presented above, there is another denominal (10) and a deverbal derivation (11). In both cases, the resulting verbal form exhibits the *a-* prefix, *apriuadar* and *apriuar*. Whereas **privadar* is not documented according to *Real Academia Española* (n.d.) and Pharies (2002), *privar* can be found in other medieval texts with the meaning 'to dispose of' (Kasten & Cody 2001: 569), which has been inherited from its Latin etymon *privāre*. The Old Spanish *privar* in the meaning 'to make someone a confidant' also appears once in *Calila e Dimna* (Döhla 2009: AI.140b). Unfortunately, none of the Arabic models exhibits

the same sentence ('and you made him a confidant'), which could be an indication as to the nature of the Arabic verb serving as a model.

Nevertheless, it can be stated that *aprivadar* and *aprivar* follow the morphological pattern of Arabic stem IV derivations (*ʔaḥaṣṣa* and *ʔadnà*, respectively) that have an overt *ʔa-* prefix. Of course, this *a-* prefix is certainly not a matter borrowing from Arabic.[18] It is definitely taken from Romance matter by making use of an already existing construction, but it is used productively to emphasize the factitive meaning of the verb. Thus, the translator(s) chose linguistic structures as Romance as possible by using original Old Spanish matter, but they also displayed a certain "voluntad de dejarse influir" (Galmés de Fuentes 1996: 230) 'willingness to be influenced', to adapt to Arabic structures where their intuition of acceptable Romance grammar would permit. In the case of the translator(s) of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, for example, they did not accept another valency-increasing strategy (that does not generate a factitive/causative meaning), namely the *figura etymologica*. This is a special case of paronomasia, where the monovalent nature of an intransitive verb is changed to divalent by adding an etymologically related noun as a direct object, often in order to generate an intensive adverbial meaning, as in the following Arabic example from *Kalīla wa-Dimna*.

(12) fa-baynamā   humā ka-ḏālik   ʔiḏ   **ḫār-a**
      and.then-while 2.DU like-DEM.DIST and.then moo.PFV-3SG.M
      'l-ṯawr-u   **ḫuwār-a^n**   šadīd-a^n
      DEF-bull-NOM mooing-ACC.INDF intense-ACC.INDF
      'and then, while they were like this, then the bull mooed intensely'
      (literally '... the bull mooed an intense mooing') (Ibn al-Muqaffaʕ n.d.: fo.
      30r/v)

In Example (12), the intransitive verb *ḫāra* 'to moo' is extended by adding the verbal noun (Ar. *maṣdar*) of the same verb *ḫāra* as a direct object, both verb and object thus containing the same three consonants *ḫ-w-r*. This type of object is called "inner" or "absolute" object (Fischer 1972: §§376–377). As I mentioned before, there is no single instance of the *figura etymologica* construction found in the two manuscripts of the Old Spanish translation of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*. The respective passages in manuscripts A and B are the following:

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[18]Pharies (2002: 189) states that as far as the development of parasynthetic verbal constructions is concerned, "se desarrollan en romance las llamadas estructuras parasintéticas, como *en ... ecer* y *a ... ar*, cuyo element prefijal es semánticamente vacío" ('the so-called parasynthetic constructions were developed in Romance, just like *en ... ecer* and *a ... ar*, the prefixes of which are semantically empty' (own translation)).

(13)   Et   estando   amos asy,   bramo   Çençeba / el   buey muy
       and be.ACT.PTCP both like.this moo.3SG.PST.PFV PN   DEF bull   very
       fuerte...
       strong
       'and while both were like this, Çençeba / the bull mooed intensely'
       (Döhla 2009: A/BI.45a)

Both manuscripts display the adjective *fuerte* 'strong' in the function of an adverb. However, Galmés de Fuentes (1996: 201) cites the sentence "E estando amos así, bramió Çençeba muy fuerte bramido", a construction that is supposed to reproduce literally the *figura etymologica*. Unfortunately, this sentence is a pure invention by Alemany y Bolufer (1915: 76), from where it was taken. Yet the Old Spanish *figurae etymologicae* can be found in scientific translations from Arabic during the second half of the thirteenth century and, even more frequently, in the Aljamiado-Morisco literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: *lloró lloramiento muy grande* 'and he cried heavily' (*Libro de las batallas*, 16th c.; Galmés de Fuentes 1996: 203).

5.3 Analytic causative constructions by means of *fazer*, *mandar*, and *enbiar*

The last set of verbal constructions with increased valency concerns analytic ones with the following structure in the Old Spanish version of *Calila e Dimna*: *fazer* 'make' + INF (Alfonso Vega 2006, Aranda Ortiz n.d., Sanaphre Villanueva 2010).[19] This pattern follows one that can also be found in other Romance languages. Cases in point can be found in the following passage.

(14)   a. Et esto   **le**   **faze**   **descuydar** de sy   e
          and DEM.PROX OBJ.3SG.M make.3SG.PRS neglect.INF GEN himself and
          de   su   fazienda et **faze-lo**   **olvidar**   aquello
          GEN POSS.3SG affair   and make.3SG.PRS-OBJ.3SG forget.INF DEM.DIST
          en   que esta,   et **faze-le**   **dexar**   la carrera
          LOC what be.3SG.PRS and make.3SG.PRS-OBJ.3SG leave.INF DEF path
          por   que se   ha   de saluar
          through which REFL have.3SG.PRS PREP save
          'and this [the little sweetness of this world] makes him [the human being] neglect himself and his affair, and it makes him forget what

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[19]There are also complex lexico-syntactic constructions with the pattern *fazer* COMPL CLAUSE.

[the miserable situation] he is in, and it makes him leave the path
through which he has to save himself' (Döhla 2009: BC.69e)

b. fa-**yu-šǧil-u-h**$^{\bar{u}}$ ʕan nafs-i-h$^{\bar{\imath}}$
and.then-3SG.M-distract.IPFV-IND-OBJ.3SG.M ABL soul-GEN-POSS.3SG.M
wa-**yu-lhī-h**$^{\bar{\imath}}$ ʕan ʔamr-i-h$^{\bar{\imath}}$
and-3SG.M-distract.IPFV;IND-OBJ.3SG.M ABL affair-GEN-POSS.3SG.M
wa-**yu-nsī-h**$^{\bar{\imath}}$ ʕan šaʔn-i-h$^{\bar{\imath}}$
and-3SG.M-make.forget.IPFV;IND-OBJ.3SG.M ABL affair-GEN-POSS.3SG.M
wa-**ya-ṣudd-u-h**$^{\bar{u}}$ ʕan sabīl-i
and-3SG.M-turn.away.IPFV-INF-OBJ.3SG.M ABL path-GEN
naǧāt-i-h$^{\bar{\imath}}$
salvation-GEN-POSS.3SG.M

'and then it distracts him away from himself, and it distracts him
away from his affair, and it makes him forget his affair, and it turns
him away from the path of salvation' (Ibn al-Muqaffaʕ n.d.: fo. 21r)

As can be seen in Example (14b), all analytic causative constructions with *fazer*
+ INF go back to stem IV verbs in Arabic (*ʔašǧala, ʔalhā, ʔansā*),[20] except for the
last sentence, where the verb *ṣadda* (stem I) inherently contains the causative
meaning. The Old Spanish translator(s) chose analytic constructions by means
of *fazer* + INF due to the fact that they were already in use productively in the
thirteenth century (see Sanaphre Villanueva 2010), and in other text genres not
translated from Arabic to Old Spanish. This way, they used a common causative
construction of the following kind, as can be seen in Figure 2.

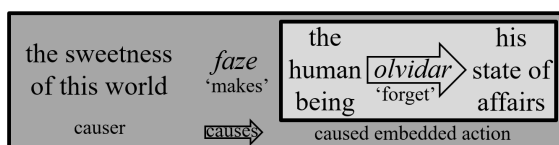| the sweetness of this world	*faze* 'makes'	the human being	*olvidar* 'forget'	his state of affairs
causer	cause⟩	caused embedded action		

Figure 2: Causative construction with *fazer* found in *Calila e Dimna*,
(see Example 13)

The causee, that is the 'human being' in Example (14a), is demoted to the object
position, overtly indicated by the object pronoun le/lo (proclitic and enclitic) in
Old Spanish and the suffixed object pronoun in Arabic. So far, the translation
of Arabic stem IV verbs by means of an analytic causative construction follows

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[20]Apparently, the translator(s) fused the first two Arabic sentences, since both verbs are syn-
onyms.

the expected pattern. However, Old Spanish causatives may also be expressed by other analytic verbal constructions, among others, by *enbiar* and *mandar*, which are, together with *fazer*, the most common causative analytical verbs. A pertinent example can be found in the following passage from *Calila e Dimna*, where all three analytical constructions are present.

(15) a. Mucho **me**   **as**   **fecho**   **aboreçer** la pryuança
          much OBJ.1SG have.AUX.2SG.PRS make.PTCP hate.INF DEF proximity
          de Sençeba, e **yo enbiar le**   **he**   **dezir**
          GEN PN   and 1SG send.INF OBJ.3SG.M have.AUX.1SG.PRS say.INF
          loque tengo   en coraçon, et **mandar le**
          what have.1SG.PRS LOC heart   and order.INF OBJ.3SG.M
          he   que se   vaya   do
          have.AUX.1SG.PRS COMPL REFL go.3SG.PRS.SBJV where
          quisiere.
          want.3SG.FUT.SBJV
          'You have made me hate a lot the proximity of Sençeba, and I will let him know what I have in mind, and I will order him to go wherever he wants to'. (Döhla 2009: AI.157a)

      b. la-qad   **tarak-ta-nī**   **kārih-a^n**
          truly-already let.PFV-2SG.M-OBJ.1SG hate.ACT.PTCP-ACC.INDF
          li-muǧāwarat-i   šanzaba wa-**ʔana mursil-u^n**
          PREP-proximity-GEN PN   and-1SG send.out.ACT.PTCP-NOM.INDF
          ʔilay-h^ī   **wa-ḏākir-a^n**   **lah^ū**   mā
          to-OBJ.3SG.M and-tell.ACT.PTCP-ACC.INDF OBJ;3SG.M what
          waqaʕ-a   fī   nafs-ī
          happend.IPFV-IND-POSS.3SG.M LOC soul-POSS.1SG
          wa-ʔāmar-u-h^ū   'l-laḥāq-a   ḥayṭu
          and-1SG;order.IPFV-IND-POSS.3SG.M DEF-entering-ACC where
          ʔaḥabb-a
          want.PFV-3SG.M
          'Truly, you already made me hate the proximity of Šanzaba, and I will send out to him and tell him what I have in mind, and I will order him to go wherever he wants to'. (Ibn al-Muqaffaʕ n.d.: fo. 45r)

Interestingly, the decision made by the translator(s) in choosing an analytical verbal construction is somewhat predetermined by the Arabic model, in that each Old Spanish causative auxiliary verb can be traced back to exactly the same verbal semantics in the Arabic model:

taraka 'to let' → *fazer* 'to make, to let'

mursil 'sending out' (← stem IV verb *ʔarsala* 'to send out') → *enbiar* 'to send'

ʔamara 'to order' → *mandar* 'to order'

Besides this, the causative verb is also followed by an infinitive form in Arabic, namely the active participle (gerund) or the *maṣdar* (verbal noun), *kārih/ḏākir* and *laḥāq*. The use of the infinitive can also be observed in the Old Spanish translation, except for the last sentence with *mandar*, which exhibits a subordinate clause introduced by the complementizer *que*, a structure that was on the rise in the thirteenth century (Sanaphre Villanueva 2010). However, the respective sentence in manuscript B (the passage in Example 15a is from manuscript A) also displays the infinitive after *mandar*.

(15)   c. et mandar-le-he   salyr   de my   tierra
          and order.OBJ.3SG.M-have.AUX.1SG.PRS leave.INF ABL POSS.1SG land
          'and I will order him to leave my land'. (Döhla 2009: BI.157a)

First of all, it has to be stated that, to my knowledge, there are no studies concerning analytical causative constructions in Arabic. Those that deal with causatives are usually restricted to derivational verb patterns (Saad 1974, Ford 2009). However, the fact that they appear in *Kalīla wa-Dimna* is certainly worthy of a separate study in the future.

As far as the Old Spanish analytic causative constructions by means of *fazer*, *mandar*, and *enbiar* are concerned, it must be mentioned that all three verbal constructions were already in use before the translation of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* into Old Spanish in 1251, since all three of them appear in *El Cantar de Mio Çid*, the Spanish national epic, often considered to be the oldest documented Spanish literary work, despite the discrepancies regarding the dating of the only existing manuscript and its chronological relationship to the actual original composition (Montaner Frutos 2011: 276–290). However, it has to be emphasized that historical research regarding the innovative emergence of causative constructions out of the Latin heritage, a language without morphological (Lehmann 2016) but with increasingly productive analytical causatives in Late Latin (Hoffmann 2018: 109), still leaves a lot to be researched and certainly deserves a dedicated in-depth study, considering the oldest vestiges of Proto-Romance and Castilian, which can be dated with accuracy.

The situation is slightly better concerning the Middle Ages, but it is still more or less limited to the studies of Alfonso Vega (2006), Davies (1995, 2000), and Sanaphre Villanueva (2010), with only the latter providing reliable statistical data for *fazer*, *mandar*, and *enbiar*, which I summarize in Table 4.

Table 4: Frequencies of *mandar*, *fazer*, and *enbiar* analytic causative constructions from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. The absolute numbers are taken from Sanaphre Villanueva (2010: 88 and 148).

	13th c.	14th c.	15th c.	16th c.
corpus size	257,222 words	257,355 words	257,631 words	258,200 words
mandar				
total instances	521	363	495	457
causative instances	**389 (75%)**	**273 (75%)**	**331 (67%)**	**255 (55%)**
mandar INF	292	147	223	149
mandar que CLAUSE	97	126	105	106
mandar a INF	–	–	3	–
fazer				
total instances	2,809	3,053	1,449	1,792
causative instances	**357 (13%)**	**244 (8%)**	**221 (15%)**	**400 (22%)**
fazer INF	344	239	210	371
fazer que CLAUSE	13	5	11	29
enbiar				
total instances	237	277	182	140
causative instances	**61 (26%)**	**84 (30%)**	**39 (20%)**	**42 (30%)**
enbiar INF	35	59	2	19
enbiar que CLAUSE	11	4	1	6
enbiar a INF	15	21	34	17
enbiar a que CLAUSE	–	–	2	–

As can be seen in Table 4, analytic causative constructions with *mandar* and *fazer* are far more numerous than those with *enbiar*. The fact that *mandar* exhibits higher absolute frequencies than *fazer* from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century could be linked to the respective text genres and discourse traditions that were used in the corpus, like chronicles and medieval epic poems, where constructions with *mandar* (and even *enbiar*) are expected to be quite numerous. Interestingly, Sanaphre Villanueva (2010: 4) did not consider any legal works that make frequent use of causative constructions. In fact, the impact of linguistic structures of the judicial discourse tradition on the development of the Spanish language has, so far, not been analyzed thoroughly. In the same way, the linguistic properties and traditions of the royal scriptorium of Alfonso X and its influence on contemporary and later forms of Old Spanish have never been studied systematically. This royal scriptorium not only comprises the translated texts, the linguistic structures of which are often motivated by the Arabic model, but also the bulk of legal and historical texts of the thirteenth century.

Of course, the analytic causative structures found in the Old Spanish language of *Calila e Dimna* are taken from the Romance repertoire the translator(s) were able to make use of. However, the Arabic model served as source and multiplier, so that the use of *enbiar*, *fazer*, and *mandar* increased in numbers in the given texts, themselves serving as models and sources for other Old Spanish works of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[21] Nevertheless, an overall contrastive study of causative constructions in *Calila e Dimna* in particular and in other translated texts in general is still a desideratum.

6 Conclusion

As I have shown throughout this preliminary study, this special type of learned language contact scenario, namely the translation of Arabic works into Old Spanish, offers quite a range of possibilities for the detailed study of morphosyntactical and semantic structures in the target language Old Spanish. The analyses confirm that translation is an act of negotiation (Eco 2004) and compromise (Haßler 2001: 169) and is influenced deliberately where the given repertoire of the target language permits such contact-induced structures. On other occasions (e.g., Döhla et al. 2022), I have spoken of the preexistence of a general predisposition for some structures to be accepted, which leads to an increase in frequency of

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[21]Such as *Calila e Dimna* for *El conde Lucanor* by Don Juan Manuel (14th century). Both works are taken into consideration by Sanaphre Villanueva (2010).

these patterns in language-contact situations or in translated texts. The analyses of the examples in Section 3 and Section 5 have demonstrated the creative potential of the translator(s) as well as their limits.

At the same time, I have indicated throughout this chapter where there are still desiderata for future research. In this respect, this preliminary study serves as a starting point for the establishment of a large-scale project with the goal of an Arabic–Old Spanish historical contrastive grammar.

Abbreviations

JUS	jussive	PN	proper name
ACT	active	PREP	preposition

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