

Verbal compounding in Latin: the case of -MAKE verbs

Luisa Brucale and Egle Mocciaro
(University of Palermo)

1. Introduction

1.1. What

Latin compound verbs (CVs) whose second member is a verbal constituent connected with *facio* ‘to do, make’ (-*facio*, -*fio*, -*fico(r)*):

- subclasses conveying causative meaning (e.g. *calefacio* ‘to make hot’; *labefacio* ‘to make totten’; *amplifico* ‘to widen’ etc.);
- relationship between morphological causatives and other means to encode causative meaning (e.g. *facere*+ infinitive).

1.2. Why

a) Morphologic reasons:

- -MAKE CVs represent an island of productivity in the generally unproductive area of verbal compounding in Latin;
- -MAKE CVs are endocentric constructions vs. exocentric nominal compounds;
- -MAKE CVs allow different morphological patterns (e.g. A+V; V+V);
- -MAKE formatives do not exhibit a homogeneous morphonological status.

b) Semantic-functional reasons (causatives):

- What type of causative meaning?
- How Latin meets typological classifications?

c) Diachronic reasons:

- discontinuity Latin→Romance (‘-*facio*’ pattern does not continue, ‘-*fico*’ pattern continues but -*fico* is a suffix, e.g. It. *identificare*, Fr. *identifier*, Sp. *identificar*, Rom. *a identifica*).

1.3. How

Corpus: entries ending with -*facio*, -*fio*, -*fico(r)* in Lewis and Short’s dictionary (*Perseus project*).

2. Formal features of Latin *make*-compounds

2.1. -*facio* verbs (also attested in the passive lexical form -*fio*)

2.1.1. Adv + *facio* subtype, with an adverb as first member (e.g. *benefacio* ‘to do/make something well’, *malefacio* ‘to do/make something wrong’, *fabrefacio* ‘to make skillfully’, *satisfacio* ‘to satisfy’) → Adv specifies the way in which something is done (non-causative meaning, see Lehmann fc.).

2.1.2. Genitive + *facio* subtype, with a genitive of value in the first member (e.g. *lucrifacio* ‘to gain, win, acquire’, *compendifacio* ‘to economize something’, *multifacio* ‘to make much of, to esteem or value highly’, *magnifacio* ‘to make or thing much of a thing’):

(1) *Orationis operam compendi face*

“Do cut short the trouble of your talking” (Plautus, *Mostellaria* 60)

(2) *Advocati tamen [iam pene] nocturni, qui volebant pallium lucri facere*

“This time some policemen had been called in to punish us; they wanted to make a profit out of the cloak” (Petronius, *Satyrice* 15.2.3)

(3) *Perseverasti ut pecuniam lucrifaceres*

“You have persisted in order to earn money” (Quintilianus, *Declamationes minores* 269.15.2)

(4) *Ut ego ob tuam, Simia, perfidiam te amo et metuo et magni facio*

“How do I love you, Simia, for your roguery and both fear and laud” (Plautus, *Pseudolus* 944)

➤ Are these examples ‘true’ compounds or rather a type of phrases?

Atomicity condition → the constituents of a compound:

- cannot be separated by lexical material;
- cannot be deleted under coordination;
- cannot be topicalized or be part of yes-no questions;
- cannot be co-referential with other elements in the same syntactic environment (cf. Scalise and Bisetto 1999; Masini and Scalise 2012).

➤ Compounds vs. canonical phrases (Benigni and Masini 2009:176)

- at least one of the constituents of a compound tends to be a bounded form (e.g. a root, a stem, etc);
- relational information (inflection, conjunctions, etc.) generally disappears in compounds, while linking vowels emerge;
- the order is sometimes reversed with respect to phrases (this criterion doesn’t work for Latin, the typical word-order pattern ‘modifier - head’ can often be reversed in normal syntax thus making potentially erroneous every generalization).

➤ Phrasal lexemes (Masini 2009):

- complex constructions formally akin to phrases, but lexical in nature;
- stored in the mental lexicon of native speakers and referring to a linguistic concept as a whole (cf. Sprenger 2003: 4);
- more fixed than free phrases → they normally cannot:
 - a) be interrupted by other lexical material;
 - b) undergo paradigmatic commutability;
 - c) be internally modified.

2.1.3. Verbal stem + *facio* subtype:

- characteristic pattern of *-facio* compound (Fruyt 2001:85);
- ambiguous verbal status of the 1st constituent (see Hahn 1947: see also ‘*pinguefacio* type’ in b)).

2.1.3.1. Intransitive stative bases in *-eo* (e.g. *caleo* ‘to be hot’) + *facio* → productive causative CVs meaning ‘make Q’, where Q is a quality/state/condition (also called ‘factitive’ or ‘transformative’, see Kulikov 2001:886; Lehmann fc.), e.g. *calefacio* ‘to make hot’, *madefacio* ‘to make wet’, *patefacio* ‘to (lay) open’, *tepefacio* ‘to make lukewarm’:

(5) *Is clausum lato patefecit limite campum*

“He laid open my closed field with a wide path” (Catullus, *Carmina* 68b.67)

(6) *Sanguine Tlepolemus Lyciam tepfecerat hastam*

“Tlepolemus had warmed up the Lycian spear with his blood” (Ovidius, *Epistulae (vel Heroïdes)* 1.19)

(7) *Ego tibi unum sumptum adferam, quod balneum calfacias oportebit*

“There is one expense I shall put you to: you will have to heat a bath for me” (Cicero, *Epistulae ad Familiares* 9. 16.9.4)

- Although rarely, the constituents of the compound may occur in *tnesis* (Leumann, Hofman e Szantyr 1965:566):

(8) *Principio terram sol excoquit et facit are*

“A first example: the sun bakes and dries up the earth” (Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura* 6.962)

(9) *Postea ferve bene facitō: ubi feriverit, in catinum indito*

“And let it boil very thoroughly again: after boiling turn it into a dish” (Cato, *De Agricultura* 157.9.5)

- Compounds or agglutinated forms?
 - *agglutinated forms* (Fruyt 2011:172-173): the presence of *tnesis* suggests agglutination, rather than compounding (“freezing and rigidification of a syntactic sequence to form a lexical item”);
 - *compounds*: on the basis of Benigni and Masini (2009), the *calefacio* type should be analyzed as a compound *stricto sensu*: a) the first member is always a stem-form; b) no relational information between first and second member; c) the order of the constituents cannot be inverted.

2.1.3.2. Ancient causative verbs in *-eo* (e.g. *perterreo* ‘to terrify’; *commoneo* ‘to recall, bring to mind’) + *facio*:

- created through analogy motivated by the formal productivity of the pattern ‘*-eo ~ -facio*’ (since *madeo ~ mafeacio*, then *commoneo ~ commonefacio*, see Hahn 1947:306-307);
- all the instances of this subclass (except *commonefacio*) are rare (Hahn 1947);
- *facio* does not yield any additional causative meaning nor introduces any semantic change in the first member (e.g. *perterrefacio* ‘to terrify’; *commonefacio* ‘to recall, bring to mind’).

(10) *Tuum est officium has bene ut adsimules nuptias: perterrefacias Davum*

“It’s your duty to pretend these nuptials cleverly, to terrify Davus” (Terentius, *Andria* 169)

(11) *Hoc unum commonefaciam: ista voluptas naturalis est, non necessaria*

“I will remind you only one thing: this pleasure is natural, not necessary” (Seneca, *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* 21.11.5)

2.1.3.3. (alternation with) Inchoative *-sco* verbs:

- ‘labile verbs’, e.g. *assuesco* ‘to become accustomed/to accustom’ → *-facio* CV (e.g. *assuefacio* ‘to accustom’) will equal the meaning at work in the causative use of the verb in the first member;
- intransitive verbs, e.g. *obstupesco* ‘to become senseless, lose feeling; to be stupefied, benumbed’ → *-facio* CV acquires a causative meaning (*obstupefacio* “to astonish, amaze, astound, stupefy, benumb”);

- intransitive *-sco* verbs based on adjectives, e.g. *raresco* ‘to become rare, to be rarefied’, *pinguesco* ‘to become fat’ → *rarefacio* ‘to make thin, rare’, *pinguefacio* ‘to make fat’.

(12) *Equosque eodem remanere vestigio adsuefaciunt*

“And train their horses to stand still in the very spot on which they leave them” (Caesar, *de Bello Gallico*, 4.2.3.3)

(13) *Ipsa miraculo audaciae obstupescit hostes*

“He astounded the enemies with a miracle of courage” (Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*, 2.10.6.1)

2.1.3.4. Verbs of 1st and 3rd conjugation:

- transitive (e.g. *matureo* ‘to ripen’; *expergo* ‘to arouse’) → *-facio* does not alter the basic meaning (e.g. *maturefacio* ‘to ripen’, *expergefacio* ‘to arouse’);
- intransitive (e.g. *labo* ‘to totter’) → *-facio* adds the causative meaning (*labefacio* ‘to cause to totter; to make ready to fall’).

(14) *Hic Italiam tumultus expergefecit terrore subito*

“This tumult aroused Italy with a sudden terror” (Cicero, *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, 4.45.23)

(15) *Quem numquam ulla vis, ullae minae, ulla invidia labefecit*

“Whom no violence, no threats, and no unpopularity ever shook” (Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 101.6).

2.2. *-fico(r)* verbs

- cf. nominal compounds in *-fex* and adjectival formations in *-ficus* (e.g. *munifico* ‘to donate’/*munifex* ‘one who performs duties’/*munificus* ‘present-making’):

2.2.1. N + -fico (e.g. *aedifico* ‘to erect a building’, *ludifico(r)* ‘to make game of’) → “incorporating type”, i.e. N is syntactically the direct internal argument of the verb:

(16) *Si aedificabis, operis, iumentis, materiae adiuuabunt*

“If you build, the neighbours will help you with their work, their teams, and their materials” (Cato, *De Agri Cultura*, 4.1.10)

(17) *Ita belli modo, modo pacis mora consulem ludificare.*

“And thus amused the consul with alternate procrastinations of war and of peace” (Sallustius, *Bellum Iugurthinum*, 36.3.1)

2.2.2. Adj + -fico (“factitive”, e.g. *amplifico* ‘to widen’, *laetifico* ‘to delight; to render fruitful’) → Adj has a predicative function:

(18) *Quae quidem a te ipso integritate et clementia tua sic amplificata est ut nihil addi posse videatur.*

“Though, indeed, you have yourself so enhanced it by the purity and lenity of your administration, that it seems scarcely to admit of any increase.” (Cicero, *Epistulae ad Familiares*, 2.18.1.5)

(19) *Et litore solus / dux stetit Hesperio, non illum gloria pulsi / laetificat Magni*

“On Italian soil, sole lord stood Caesar: but the glory of the triumph over Magnus does not delight him” (Lucanus, *Bellum civile*, 3.49)

- *-fico* verbs are frequent in technical works (e.g. *crassifico* ‘to fatten (animals)’) and will develop in Christian Latin, also as morphological calques of Greek verbs (e.g. *beatifico* < *makarizō* ‘to make blessed’; *deifico* < *theopoiēō* ‘to deify, consecrate’) (Fruyt 2011:171).
- linking vowel: *-i-* vowel at the end of the first constituent (Bennet 1913[1895]:115): characteristic of the process of compounding especially in languages with an “overtly expressed paradigmatic inflection” (Ralli 2006 and references therein).
- *fic-* form and *-i-* vowel suggest that:
 - *-fico* verbs represent more ancient formations than *-facio* verbs;
 - the two components show a higher degree of cohesion compared with *-facio* verbs;
 - increase of semantic opacity of the formative *-fico*, which progressively undergoes a of reanalysis as a verbalizing suffix (cf. *-īgo* compounds, see Flobert 1978:89; Fruyt 2001; Brucale 2012:112);
 - *-fic-* acts as a productive suffix which forms verbs from adjectives in Romance languages (e.g. It. *identificare*, Fr. *identifier*, Sp. *identificar*, Rom. *a identifica*).

3. Causative CVs

3.1. Definition and theoretical assumptions

3.1.1. “The causative construction is a linguistic expression which denotes a complex situation consisting of two component events: 1) the causing event in which the causer does or initiates something; and 2) the caused event in which the causee carries out an action or undergoes a change of condition or state as a result of the causer’s action” (Song 2011, based on Comrie 1989:165-166 and Song 2001:256-259; see also Shibatani 1976:1)).

3.1.2. Increase of valency: “Causative adds a new A[gent] argument (prototypically to an intransitive clause – the old S[ubject] becoming O[bject] – often also a transitive” (Dixon 2000:31).

a) Intransitive clauses → causative clauses:

| | |
|-------------------------------|-----|
| <i>UNDERLYING CLAUSE</i> | S |
| | ↓ |
| <i>CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTION</i> | A O |

Tab. 1. Causatives from intransitives (Dixon 2000:31)

b) Transitive clauses → causative clauses:

| <i>TYPE</i> | <i>CAUSER</i> | <i>ORIGINAL A(CAUSEE)</i> | <i>ORIGINAL O</i> |
|-------------|---------------|---------------------------|-------------------|
| (i) | A | special marking | O |
| (ii) | A | retains A-marking | O |
| (iii) | A | has O-marking | has O-marking |
| (iv) | A | O | non-core |
| (v) | A | <i>non-core</i> | O |

Tab. 2. Causatives from transitives (Dixon 2000:48)

3.1.3. Base predicate implicational hierarchy for causativization (Lehmann fc.):

- a) Semantic complexity: “an additional higher agent is both more expected and easier to accommodate in a situation the fewer participants this already contains and the less control these already have”.
- b) Structural complexity: “the ensuing upheaval of the base verb valency is less radical, and the resulting valency has better chances to fit into an existent base-verb model, the lesser the valency of the base and the better the argument with the highest syntactic function fits an undergoer role”.

| | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| adjective (> <i>factitives</i>) | ← inactive | ← active | ← transitive verb | ← multivalent verb |
| | intransitive verb | intransitive verb | | |

Tab. 3. Base predicate hierarchy for causativization (Lehmann fc.)

3.1.4. Strategies of causativization:

| | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------|
| DIRECTNESS OF CAUSATION | | |
| - |> | + |
| <i>analytic [i.e. periphrastic]</i> | <i>morphological</i> | <i>lexical</i> |
| - |> | + |
| DEGREE OF CONTROL | | |

Tab. 4. Continuum of causative strategies (Comrie 1989: 171 ff.)

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|---|---|---|---|-----------------------------------|---|
| CONTINUUM OF REDUCTION | | | | | | |
| - | | |> | | | + |
| <i>Association with V or N</i> | LEXICAL-SYNTACTIC | GRAMMATICALIZATION | | | | |
| | | <i>Analytic</i> | <i>Synthetic</i> | <i>Fusional</i> | <i>Zero</i> | |
| VERBAL | Complex sentences (full V ‘to cause’ overtly encodes the relation between participants) | Periphrastic (function V, e.g. “support verb” + non-finite V) | Derivational (morphological operator, e.g. suffix, on a base predicate) | Alternation (causative formative lexicalized with the base predicate) | Valency conversion (‘break’ type) | |
| NOMINAL | Coverb (+ intransitive base) | Adposition | Case | | | |

Tab. 5. Strategies of causativization (Lehmann fc., adapted; see also Comrie 1985; Shibatani 2006:229)

| | | | | | |
|--------------------|--|--|--|---|---|
| <..... COMPACTNESS | | | | | |
| - | |> | | | + |
| TYPE OF MECHANISM | constructions with two verbs (causative + lexical) in separate clauses | two verbs in one predicate (serial verbs, e.g. <i>faire</i> in French; compounding) | Morphological (e.g. internal, reduplication, affixation, etc.) | Lexical (e.g. <i>walk, melt</i> in English) | |

Tab. 6. Scale of compactness (Dixon 2000:74, adapted)

3.1.5. Semantic parameters of causativity (Dixon 2000:61 ff.)

When a language has more than one causative strategy, there is always a semantic difference involving one or more semantic parameters:

- a) Relating to the verb: 1) state vs. action; 2) intransitive vs. transitive (ditransitive)
- b) Relating to the causee: 3) low control vs. high control; 4) volition vs. non-volition; 5) partial vs. total affectedness;
- c) Relating to the causer: 6) directness vs. indirectness, 7) intentional vs. accidental; 8) naturally vs. effort, 9) involvement.

- *Correlation between semantic parameters and degree of compactness:*
 that is, ‘more compact’ strategies more likely meet the following values: 1) applying only to some verbs (at the intransitive and/or state); 2) causee only partially affected, willing, lacking control; 3) causer: naturally rather than with effort, intentionally rather than accidentally, directly rather than indirectly.

3.2. Causatives in Latin: between morphology and syntax.

| VERBAL STRATEGIES IN LATIN | | | | | |
|---|--|--|---|----------|--|
| CONTINUUM OF REDUCTION> | | | | | |
| Lexical-syntactic | Analytic | Synthetic | | Fusional | Lexical alternation |
| | | Causative verbs | | | |
| Complex sentences (<i>facio, efficio, curo, compello, impello</i> etc.) | Periphrastic <i>Facere</i> +infinitive | Compound verbs with <i>-facio, -fico</i> | Derived verbs in <i>-ē-</i> (IE <i>-éye/o-</i>): <i>moneo, torreo</i> → | | <i>fio/facio, accido/efficio, intereo/interficio, pereo/perdo</i> ecc. |

Tab. 7. Strategies of causativization in Latin (adapted from Lehmann fc.)

3.2.1. Different strategies of causativization show different degree of productivity:

- Causative verbs in *-ē-* stands as relics in Latin (due to the competition of the homophonous stative morphemes, see Sihler 1995:531) → some of them are re-causativized by means of the *-facio* compounding (e.g. *perterrefacio*, see 2.1.3.2.);
- Compounds in *-fico* (factitive) appears to be productive, as it is suggested by their persistence in Romance languages;
- Compounds in *-facio*, among which the *calefacio* type represents an island of productivity in Latin, but they do not survive in Romance languages;
- Syntactic causatives, attested in preclassical and classical Latin, increase throughout the history Latin and are still productive in Romance languages → in particular, the *facio* + infinitive type is the forerunner of the “Standard Romance Solution” (Simone and Cerbasi 2001, e.g. It. *far fare, far mangiare*, see also Chamberlain 1986):

INTRANSITIVE :

(20) *Ignes qui faciunt solem certa de surgere parte*

“Fires that make sun rise from a determined part” (Lucretius, *De rerum natura* 5.703)

(21) *Et lento igni fervere facias*

“And bring to a boil over a slow fire” (Apicius, *De re coquinaria* 3.2.8)

(from Simone and Cerbasi 2001:454)

(22) *Nulla res magis penetrat in animos eosque fingit format flectit talisque oratores videri facit, qualis ipsi se videri volunt* (Cicero, *Brutus* 142)

“Nothing else so penetrates the mind, shapes, moulds, turns it, and causes the orator to seem such a man as he wills to seem”

TRANSITIVE:

(23) *Fuit tamen faber qui fecit phialam vitream, quae non frangebatur. Admissus ergo Caesarem est cum suo munere, deinde fecit reporrigere Caesari et illam in pavimentum proiecit*

“But there was once a workman who made a glass cup that was unbreakable. So he was given an audience of Caesar with his invention; he made Caesar give it back to him and then threw it on the floor” (Petronius, *Satyricon* 51.2)

(24) *Ut faciam ei [...] invenire mercedem*

“So that I will make him get a reward” (*Vitae Patrum* 5.10.28) (from Väänänen 1982:241)

3.2.2. Semantic parameters of causativity

A) Relating to the verb:

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|---|---|---|
| <i>More compact strategies</i> | Causative compounds based on states | Adj + <i>-fico</i> (2.2.) (>) States in <i>-eo</i> + <i>-facio</i> (2.1.3.2) <i>-facio</i> alternating with <i>-sco</i> (2.1.3.3) | increase of valency: A + (S>)O |
| | Causative compounds based on transitive bases | Rare (see 2.1.3.2, 2.1.31.4) | no increase of valency: A + O > A + O |
| <i>Less compact strategies</i> | Periphrases with <i>facio</i> | <i>Facio</i> + (intransitive) infinitive | increase of valency: A + (S>)O |
| | | <i>Facio</i> + (transitive) infinitive | increase of valency: A + (S>)O(IO) + O |

➤ Comrie’s (1975) hierarchy of marking of the original A in Romance languages:

SUBJECT – DIRECT OBJECT – INDIRECT OBJECT – OBLIQUE – GENITIVE – OBJECT OF COMPARISON
depending on the degree of transitivity of the verbal base, the cause (original S or A) will fill the first available slot (je ferai courir *Jean*; je ferai manger les gâteaux à *Jean*; je ferai écrire une lettre au directeur *par Jean*).

B) Relating to the causee:

| DEGREE OF TRANSITIVITY /DEGREE OF ACTION | DEGREE OF CONTROL | DEGREE OF VOLITION | DEGREE OF AFFECTEDNESS |
|--|------------------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| Non-active, non-transitive bases (compounds) | low (none) | low (none) | high or total |
| Active, transitive bases (compounds) | - | . | . |
| Non-active, non-transitive bases (periphrases) | <i>id.</i> | <i>id.</i> | <i>id.</i> |
| Active, transitive bases (periphrases) | Shared control (causer and causee) | high | low |

➤ Shared control (*split agency*, Luraghi 1995):

- the causee is conceived of as a secondary agent, i.e. an “instrumental to the attainment of the target defined by A₁” (Simone and Cerbasi 2001:446).
- *causee adjunct strategy* (nominal strategy, Lehmann fc.): the causee is introduced by a preposition, typically *per* (mediate agency) and the base subject is interpreted as causer:

(25) Labienus [...] *Caesarem per nuntios facit certiore quid faciendum existimet* (Caesar, *de bello Gallico*, 7.87)

“Labienus [...] informs Caesar by messengers (has messengers inform Caesar) of what he thinks should be done”

4. Some open-ended questions

- A) **Morphology:** *-fico* compounds → Indo-European type (formal reduction) vs. *-facio* compound → Romance type (in terms of Rassmussen 2002:333); however, *-facio* compounds do not survive in Romance languages, whereas *-fico* becomes a productive suffix.
- B) **Causatives:** *-facio* and *-fico* compounds is productively used to form “factitive” verbs based on states or adjectives:
- consistency with Dixon’s (2000) analysis: “more compact”, i.e. more grammaticalized strategies tend to apply only to some verbs (mostly intransitives and states);
 - the semantic features of the causee do not fully meet Dixon’s (2000) generalization;
 - what about active intransitive and transitive bases? (Simone and Cerbasi 2001:454: “Latin was not a strongly causative-oriented language”);
 - is there a difference between the two strategies, i.e. *-facio* strategy and *-fico* strategy?

References

- Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short (1879), *A Latin Dictionary* (online version in *Perseus Project*, available at: <<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/resolveform?redirect=true&lang=Latin>>).
- Benigni, Valentina and Francesca Masini. 2009. Compounds in Russian. *Lingue e Linguaggio* 8 (2): 171–193.
- Bennet, Charles E. 1913[1895]. *A Latin grammar*. Boston and Chicago.
- Brucalè, Luisa 2012. Latin Compounds. *Probus* 24/1 : 93-117.
- Chamberlain Jeffrey T. 1986. *Latin antecedents of French causative faire*. New York.
- Comrie, Bernard 1976. The syntax of causative constructions: cross-language similarities and divergencies. In: M. Shibatani, *Syntax and semantics, Vol. VI, The grammar of causative constructions*, 261–312. New York.
- Comrie, Bernard 1985. Causative verb formation and other verb-deriving morphology. In: Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description*, Vol. III. Grammatical categories and the Lexicon, 309–48. Cambridge University Press.
- Comrie, Bernard 1989². *Language universals and linguistic typology*. Blackwell.
- Dixon, Robert M. W. 2000. A typology of causatives: form, syntax and meaning. In: Robert M. W. and Alexandra Aikhenvald (eds), *Changing valency. Case studies in Transitivity*, 30-83. Cambridge University Press.
- Flobert, Pierre 1978. La composition verbale en latin. In: *Étrennes de septantaine: travaux de linguistique et de grammaire comparée offerts à Michel Lejeune par un groupe de ses élèves*, 85–94. Paris.
- Fruyt, Michèle 2001, Réflexions sur la notion de *mot* en latin: les verbes du type *calefacio*. In: Claude Moussy (ed.), *De lingua Latina novae quaestiones*. Actes du Xe Colloque International de Linguistique Latine, 81-94. Louvain.
- Fruyt, Michele 2011. Word-formation in Classical Latin. In: James Clackson (ed.), *A companion to the Latin language*, 157-175. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hahn, Adelaide 1947. The Type *calefacio*. *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 78: 301–335.
- Kulikov, Leonid 2001. Causatives. In: Martin Haspelmath, Ekkehard König, Wulf Oesterreicher, Wolfgang Raible (eds), *Language Typology and Language Universals*. Vol. 2, 886–898. Berlin-New York.
- Lehmann, Christian (fc). Latin causativization in typological perspective. In: Muriel Lenoble & Dominique Longrée (eds.), *Actes du 13^{ème} Colloque International de Linguistique Latine*. Louvain.
- Leumann, M., Hofmann, J. B. & Szantyr, A. 1965. *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*. München.
- Luraghi, Silvia 1995. Prototypicality and agenthood in Indo-European. In: H. Andersen (ed.), *Historical Linguistics 1993*, 254-268. Amsterdam and Philadelphia.

- Masini, Francesca. 2009. Phrasal lexemes, compounds and phrases: a constructionist perspective. *Word Structure* 2 (2): 254–271.
- Masini, Francesca and Sergio Scalise. 2012. Italian compounds. *Probus* 24/1: 61-91.
- Ralli, Angela. 2006. Variation in word formation: the case of compound markers. In: Pierluigi Cuzzolin and Maria Napoli (eds). *Fonologia e tipologia lessicale nella storia della lingua greca. Atti del VI Incontro Internazionale di Linguistica Greca (Bergamo, settembre 2005)*, 238–264. Franco Angeli.
- Rasmussen, Jens Elmegard 2002. The compound as a phonological domain in Indo-European. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 100(3):331-350.
- Scalise Sergio and Bisetto Antonietta. 1999. Compounding: Morphology and/or Syntax? In: Lunella Mereu (ed.). *Boundaries of Morphology and Syntax*, 31–48. John Benjamins.
- Shibatani, Masayoshi 1976. The grammar of causative constructions: a conspectus. In: M. Shibatani (ed.), *Syntax and semantics, Vol. VI, The grammar of causative constructions*, 1-40. New York: Academic Press.
- Shibatani, Masayoshi 2006, On the conceptual framework for voice phenomena. *Linguistics* 44(2):217-269.
- Simone, Raffaele & Cerbasi, Donato 2001, Types and diachronic evolution of Romance causative constructions. *Romanische Forschungen* 113(3): 441-473.
- Song, Jae Jung 2001. *Linguistic typology: morphology and syntax*. Pearson Education.
- Song, Jae Jung. 2011. Nonperiphrastic Causative Constructions. In: Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (eds.), *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Max Planck Digital Library, chapter 111. Available online at <http://wals.info/chapter/111>, Accessed on 2013-05-15.
- Sprenger, Simone A. 2003. *Fixed expressions and the production of idioms*. Max-Planck-Institut für Psycholinguistik.