

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-108-48579-1 — The Cambridge Handbook of Romance Linguistics
Edited by Adam Ledgeway, Martin Maiden
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

The Cambridge Handbook of Romance Linguistics

The Romance languages and dialects constitute a treasure trove of linguistic data of profound interest and significance. Data from the Romance languages have contributed extensively to our current empirical and theoretical understanding of phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, pragmatics, sociolinguistics and historical linguistics. Written by a team of world-renowned scholars, this Handbook explores what we can learn about linguistics from the study of Romance languages, and how the body of comparative and historical data taken from them can be applied to linguistic study. It also offers insights into the diatopic and diachronic variation exhibited by the Romance family of languages of a kind unparalleled for any other Western languages. Asking what Romance languages can do for linguistics, this Handbook is essential reading for all linguists interested in what a knowledge of the Romance evidence can contribute to linguistic theory.

ADAM LEDGEWAY is Professor of Italian and Romance Languages at the University of Cambridge. Recent publications include *The Cambridge History of the Romance Languages*. Vols 1–2 (2011–13), *The Cambridge Handbook of Historical Syntax* (2017) and *The Oxford Guide to the Romance Languages* (co-edited with Maiden, 2016).

MARTIN MAIDEN is Professor of the Romance Languages at the University of Oxford. Recent publications include *The Cambridge History of the Romance Languages*, Vols 1–2 (2011–13) and *The Oxford Guide to the Romance Languages* (co-edited with Ledgeway, 2016).

CAMBRIDGE HANDBOOKS IN LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS

Genuinely broad in scope, each handbook in this series provides a complete state-of-the-field overview of a major sub-discipline within language study and research. Grouped into broad thematic areas, the chapters in each volume encompass the most important issues and topics within each subject, offering a coherent picture of the latest theories and findings. Together, the volumes will build into an integrated overview of the discipline in its entirety.

Published titles

- The Cambridge Handbook of Phonology*, edited by Paul de Lacy
The Cambridge Handbook of Linguistic Code-switching, edited by Barbara E. Bullock and Almeida Jacqueline Toribio
The Cambridge Handbook of Child Language, Second Edition, edited by Edith L. Bavin and Letitia Naigles
The Cambridge Handbook of Endangered Languages, edited by Peter K. Austin and Julia Sallabank
The Cambridge Handbook of Sociolinguistics, edited by Rajend Mesthrie
The Cambridge Handbook of Pragmatics, edited by Keith Allan and Kasia M. Jaszczolt
The Cambridge Handbook of Language Policy, edited by Bernard Spolsky
The Cambridge Handbook of Second Language Acquisition, edited by Julia Herschensohn and Martha Young-Scholten
The Cambridge Handbook of Biolinguistics, edited by Cedric Boeckx and Kleanthes K. Grohmann
The Cambridge Handbook of Generative Syntax, edited by Marcel den Dikken
The Cambridge Handbook of Communication Disorders, edited by Louise Cummings
The Cambridge Handbook of Stylistics, edited by Peter Stockwell and Sara Whiteley
The Cambridge Handbook of Linguistic Anthropology, edited by N.J. Enfield, Paul Kockelman and Jack Sidnell
The Cambridge Handbook of English Corpus Linguistics, edited by Douglas Biber and Randi Reppen
The Cambridge Handbook of Bilingual Processing, edited by John W. Schwieter
The Cambridge Handbook of Learner Corpus Research, edited by Sylviane Granger, Gaëtanelle Gilquin and Fanny Meunier
The Cambridge Handbook of Linguistic Multicompetence, edited by Li Wei and Vivian Cook
The Cambridge Handbook of English Historical Linguistics, edited by Merja Kytö and Päivi Pahta
The Cambridge Handbook of Formal Semantics, edited by Maria Aloni and Paul Dekker
The Cambridge Handbook of Morphology, edited by Andrew Hippisley and Greg Stump
The Cambridge Handbook of Historical Syntax, edited by Adam Ledgeway and Ian Roberts
The Cambridge Handbook of Linguistic Typology, edited by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon
The Cambridge Handbook of Areal Linguistics, edited by Raymond Hickey
The Cambridge Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics, edited by Barbara Dancygier
The Cambridge Handbook of Japanese Linguistics, edited by Yoko Hasegawa
The Cambridge Handbook of Spanish Linguistics, edited by Kimberly L. Geeslin

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-108-48579-1 — The Cambridge Handbook of Romance Linguistics
Edited by Adam Ledgeway , Martin Maiden
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

- The Cambridge Handbook of Bilingualism*, edited by Annick De Houwer and Lourdes Ortega
- The Cambridge Handbook of Systemic Functional Linguistics*, edited by Geoff Thompson, Wendy L. Bowcher, Lise Fontaine and David Schönthal
- The Cambridge Handbook of African Linguistics*, edited by H. Ekkehard Wolff
- The Cambridge Handbook of Language Learning*, edited by John W. Schwieter and Alessandro Benati
- The Cambridge Handbook of World Englishes*, edited by Daniel Schreier, Marianne Hundt and Edgar W. Schneider
- The Cambridge Handbook of Intercultural Communication*, edited by Guido Rings and Sebastian Rasinger
- The Cambridge Handbook of Germanic Linguistics*, edited by Michael T. Putnam and B. Richard Page
- The Cambridge Handbook of Discourse Studies*, edited by Anna De Fina and Alexandra Georgakopoulou
- The Cambridge Handbook of Language Standardization*, edited by Wendy Ayres-Bennett and John Bellamy
- The Cambridge Handbook of Korean Linguistics*, edited by Sungdai Cho and John Whitman
- The Cambridge Handbook of Phonetics*, edited by Rachael-Anne Knight and Jane Setter
- The Cambridge Handbook of Corrective Feedback in Second Language Learning and Teaching*, edited by Hossein Nassaji and Eva Kartchava
- The Cambridge Handbook of Experimental Syntax*, edited by Grant Goodall
- The Cambridge Handbook of Heritage Languages and Linguistics*, edited by Silvina Montrul and Maria Polinsky
- The Cambridge Handbook of Arabic Linguistics*, edited by Karin Ryding and David Wilmsen
- The Cambridge Handbook of the Philosophy of Language*, edited by Piotr Stalmaszczyk
- The Cambridge Handbook of Sociopragmatics*, edited by Michael Haugh, Dániel Z. Kádár and Marina Terkourafi
- The Cambridge Handbook of Task-Based Language Teaching*, edited by Mohammed Ahmadian and Michael Long
- The Cambridge Handbook of Language Contact: Population Movement and Language Change*, Volume 1, edited by Salikoko Mufwene and Anna Maria Escobar
- The Cambridge Handbook of Language Contact: Multilingualism in Population Structure*, Volume 2, edited by Salikoko Mufwene and Anna Maria Escobar

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-108-48579-1 — The Cambridge Handbook of Romance Linguistics
Edited by Adam Ledgeway , Martin Maiden
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-108-48579-1 — The Cambridge Handbook of Romance Linguistics
Edited by Adam Ledgeway , Martin Maiden
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

The Cambridge Handbook of Romance Linguistics

Edited by
Adam Ledgeway
University of Cambridge
Martin Maiden
University of Oxford



Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-108-48579-1 — The Cambridge Handbook of Romance Linguistics
Edited by Adam Ledgeway , Martin Maiden
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)



University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,
New Delhi – 110025, India
103 Penang Road, #05–06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of
education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108485791

DOI: 10.1017/9781108580410

© Cambridge University Press 2022

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
no reproduction of any part may take place without the written
permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2022

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

ISBN 978-1-108-48579-1 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy
of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication
and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain,
accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-108-48579-1 — The Cambridge Handbook of Romance Linguistics
Edited by Adam Ledgeway , Martin Maiden
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

În amintirea lui Marius Sala
1932–2018

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-108-48579-1 — The Cambridge Handbook of Romance Linguistics
Edited by Adam Ledgeway , Martin Maiden
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>page</i> xxiv
<i>List of Tables</i>	xxv
<i>List of Contributors</i>	xxx
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xxxii
1 Data, Theory, and Explanation: The View from Romance <i>Adam Ledgeway and Martin Maiden</i>	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 The View from Morphosyntax and the Case of Functional Categories	3
1.2.1 From Latin to Romance: The Rise of Functional Categories	3
1.2.2 Linguistic Variation	6
1.2.2.1 Parameters	6
1.2.2.2 Language Universals	12
1.2.2.3 Typological Variation	15
1.2.2.4 The Interfaces	18
1.2.2.5 Interim Conclusions	21
1.2.3 What Romance Can Do for Syntactic Theory	21
1.2.3.1 Pro-drop Parameter	21
1.2.3.2 Verb Positions	25
1.2.3.3 Mapping the Left Periphery of the Clause	27
1.2.3.4 Interim Conclusions	33
1.2.4 What Linguistic Theory Can Do for Romance	34
1.2.4.1 Word Order	34
1.2.4.2 Pro-drop Parameter Revisited	37
1.2.4.3 The <i>Placiti cassinesi</i>	40
1.2.4.4 Dual Complementizer Systems	45
1.2.4.5 Nominal Functional Structure	47

1.3 The View from Romance Palatalization	54
1.3.1 Sketch of the Two Major Romance ‘Waves’ of Palatalization and Their Consequences	54
1.3.2 The Palatalization of the Velars and the Emergence of a Sound Change	58
1.3.3 When Does Phonological Conditioning of Morphological Alternation ‘Stop’? Comparative Romance Evidence	65
1.3.4 When Does the Morphologization of a Sound Change ‘Start’? Comparative Romance Evidence	71
1.3.5 ‘Standard Language Bias’ in Historical Linguistic Analysis	79
1.3.6 What Is a Romance Language? Could There Be an Answer in Morphology?	86
1.4 Conclusion	93
Part One What Is a Language?	
2 Origins of Romance <i>Nigel Vincent</i>	97
2.1 Introduction	97
2.2 Attestation vs Reconstruction: The DÉRom Controversy	99
2.3 Texts and Times: The Chronology of Latin	105
2.4 The Issue of ‘Submerged’ Latin	109
2.5 The Role of Language Contact	110
2.6 Reconstruction and Levels of Language: Three Case Studies	114
2.6.1 The Verb <i>go</i>	114
2.6.2 Control and WANT VERBS	115
2.6.3 Recomplementation	118
2.7 Conclusion and General Lessons	120
3 Documentation and Sources <i>Alvise Andreose and Laura Minervini</i>	123
3.1 Introduction	123
3.2 Sources for the Study of Late Latin and Early Romance	126
3.2.1 Sources of ‘Vulgar Latin’ or ‘Late Latin’	126
3.2.2 The Problem of Transition	127
3.2.3 The Earliest Testimonies of Romance Languages	128
3.3 Medieval Romance <i>Scriptae</i>	130
3.3.1 Introduction	130
3.3.2 Literary Texts	131
3.3.3 Documentary and Practical Texts	134
3.4 The Codification of Romance Languages in the Modern Age	135
3.4.1 Printed Sources	135
3.4.2 National Languages, Regional Languages, and Dialects	137
3.4.3 Grammar and Dictionaries	138

Table of Contents

xi

3.5 Dialectological Enquiries, Linguistic Atlases, and Dialectometry	140
3.5.1 The Beginnings of Dialectological Enquiries and Linguistic Cartography	140
3.5.2 After the ALF: Traditional and New Linguistic Atlases	142
3.5.3 Historical Atlases and Dialectometry	144
3.6 Corpus Linguistics	146
3.6.1 The Beginnings of Corpus Linguistics	146
3.6.2 Oral Corpora and Historical Corpora	146
4 Variation in Romance <i>Diego Pescarini and Michele Loporcaro</i>	150
4.1 Introduction	150
4.2 Systematic Variation: The Case of Subject Clitics	150
4.2.1 Subject Clitics and the Null Subject Parameter	151
4.2.2 Expletive Subject Clitics and Agreement	153
4.2.3 Subject Clitics vs Verbal Agreement	155
4.2.4 Gaps	158
4.2.5 Syncretism	160
4.2.6 Pantiscu, an Outlier	161
4.3 Auxiliary Selection and Auxiliary Splits	162
4.3.1 Lexical and Semantic Factors	163
4.3.2 The Syntactic Gradient	164
4.3.3 Person-Driven Variation and Splits	166
4.3.4 Variation in Mixed Auxiliation: Give to Morphology What Belongs to Morphology	172
4.3.5 An Outlier: <i>Do-Support</i> in the Dialect of Monno	176
4.4 Modelling Linguistic Diversity	177
Part Two Phonetics and Phonology	
5 Structure of the Syllable <i>Giovanna Marotta</i>	183
5.1 Preliminary Remarks	183
5.2 Syllable Structure and Quantity in Latin	184
5.3 The Fate of Quantity in Romance Languages	186
5.3.1 Vowel Length	186
5.3.2 Open Syllable Lengthening	187
5.4 Syllable Constituents	189
5.4.1 Romance Nuclei	189
5.4.2 Unstressed Nuclei	190
5.4.3 Romance Onsets	191
5.4.4 Romance Codas	194
5.5 Phonological Processes	196
5.5.1 Diphthongization	196
5.5.2 Palatalization	198
5.5.3 Lenition	200

5.6 Lexical Stress	200
5.7 Parametric Variation in Metrical Patterns	203
5.8 Syllable and Rhythm	204
5.9 ‘Western’ versus ‘Eastern’ Romance	206
6 Sandhi Phenomena <i>Max W. Wheeler and Paul O’Neill</i>	209
6.1 Introduction	209
6.2 Vowel Sandhi	212
6.2.1 Elision of [ə] in Eastern Continental Catalan	212
6.2.1.1 Stressed Vowel Followed by an Unstressed Non-high Vowel [ə]	212
6.2.1.2 Unstressed Non-high Vowel [ə] Followed by a Stressed Vowel	214
6.2.1.3 Contact between Unstressed Vowels	214
6.2.2 Elision in French	215
6.3 Inter-word Vowel–Consonant Contact: V.#C	216
6.4 Inter-word Consonant–Consonant Contact: C.#C	217
6.4.1 Consonant Contacts in Majorcan Catalan	218
6.4.2 Consonantal Contact in Occitan	222
6.4.3 Lexicalization in C.#C Contacts	223
6.4.3.1 French <i>Liaison</i>	223
6.4.3.2 Initial Geminates from Coda Assimilation: <i>Rafforzamento Fonosintattico</i>	227
6.4.3.3 Aspiration of /s/ in Andalusian Spanish	231
7 Effects of Stress <i>Judith Meinschaefner</i>	234
7.1 Introduction	234
7.2 Metrical Structure, Stress Assignment, and the Prosodic Hierarchy	236
7.2.1 Introduction	236
7.2.2 Prosodic Structure	236
7.2.3 Word Stress	237
7.3 Phonological Effects	240
7.3.1 Introduction	240
7.3.2 Effects of Prominence	240
7.3.2.1 Vowel Lengthening	240
7.3.2.2 Diphthongization	242
7.3.3 Effects of Non-prominence	243
7.3.3.1 Introduction	243
7.3.3.2 Vowel Deletion	243
7.3.4 Vowel Reduction	247
7.4 Effects of Metrical Constituency	248
7.4.1 Introduction	248
7.4.2 Consonant Gemination	248
7.4.3 Vowel Insertion	250
7.4.4 Compensatory Lengthening	250
7.4.5 Clash Resolution	252

Table of Contents

xiii

7.5 Morpholexical Effects	253
7.5.1 Alternations in Verb Roots	253
7.5.2 Alternations in Function Words	257
7.5.3 Minimality Requirements on Lexical Words	257
8 The Notion of the Phoneme <i>Benedetta Baldi and Leonardo M. Savoia</i>	261
8.1 Introduction	261
8.2 The Phoneme	262
8.3 Conditions for Phonemes: Linearity, Invariance, and Biuniqueness	263
8.4 Phonemes and Historical Changes	273
8.5 Features Theory and Generative Phonology	276
8.6 Approaches to Complex Phenomena: Phonology as Externalization	282
8.7 Concluding Remarks	290
9 Typologically Exceptional Phenomena in Romance Phonology <i>Eulàlia Bonet and Francesc Torres-Tamarit</i>	292
9.1 Introduction	292
9.2 Phoneme Inventories	293
9.2.1 Front Rounded Vowels	293
9.2.2 Galician <i>Gaeda</i>	294
9.2.3 The Voiced Velar Stop in Asturian	295
9.2.4 Spanish <i>Ceceo</i>	296
9.2.5 Retroflex Consonants in Sardinian and Italo-Romance Varieties	297
9.2.6 Palatal Stops in Raeto-Romance	298
9.2.7 Glottal Stops in Campidanian Sardinian	299
9.3 Syllabic Structure	300
9.3.1 Word-Initial and Word-Medial Consonant Clusters	300
9.3.2 Final Consonantal Clusters with Rising Sonority in Insular Catalan	302
9.4 Segmental Processes	302
9.4.1 Vowel Devoicing	302
9.4.2 Diphthongization of Long Vowels in Canadian French	303
9.4.3 Gliding of High Vowels and Palatalization in Romanian	304
9.4.4 Glide Strengthening in Romansh	306
9.4.5 Velar Nasals in Northern Italian Dialects and Galician	307
9.4.6 Nasal Place Neutralization towards [m] in Spanish	308
9.4.7 Word-Final Deletion of /t/ and /n/ in Catalan	309
9.4.8 Campidanian Sardinian Lenition	309
9.4.9 Intervocalic Fortition in Salentino	310
9.4.10 Final Affrication of /ʒ/ in Catalan	311
9.4.11 Campidanian Sardinian Rhotic Metathesis	311
9.4.12 Palatalization of /s/ in Coda Position in Portuguese	313
9.4.13 Onset Clusters in Ribagorçan Catalan	314

9.5 Suprasegmentals	314
9.5.1 Plural Morphemes and Low Tone in Occitan	314
9.5.2 Moraic Verbal Morphemes in Friulian	315
9.5.3 Truncated Vocatives	316
Part Three Morphology	
10 Phonological and Morphological Conditioning <i>Franck Floricic and Lucia Molinu</i>	321
10.1 Introduction	321
10.2 Allomorphy of the Definite Article	322
10.3 Subject Clitic Allomorphy	324
10.4 Possessive Allomorphy	326
10.5 Stem Allomorphy	329
10.5.1 Verb Allomorphy	329
10.5.2 Nominal Allomorphy	335
10.5.3 Adjectival Allomorphy	338
10.6 Affix Allomorphy	340
10.7 Conclusion	343
11 The Autonomy of Morphology <i>Louise Esher and Paul O'Neill</i>	346
11.1 Introduction	346
11.2 Origins of the Autonomy of Morphology	347
11.3 Autonomy of Morphology from Phonology and Semantics and the Notion of the Morpheme	350
11.4 A Typology of Morphemic Structures in Romance	351
11.4.1 Metamorphomes	352
11.4.1.1 The Concept at Issue	352
11.4.1.2 Source of Four Common Romance Metamorphomes	354
11.4.1.3 Behaviour of Metamorphomes	358
11.4.2 Rhizomorphomes (Inflexional Classes)	361
11.4.2.1 The Concept	361
11.4.2.2 Exponents of Rhizomorphomes	362
11.5 Theoretical Reflections and Considerations	365
12 Suppletion <i>Martin Maiden and Anna M. Thornton</i>	371
12.1 Definitions of Suppletion	371
12.2 Typology and Distribution of Romance Suppletions	375
12.2.1 Introduction	375
12.2.2 Ordinal vs Cardinal Numerals	375
12.2.3 Comparatives and Superlatives	377
12.2.4 Inflexional Morphology of Personal Pronouns	379
12.2.5 Inflexional Morphology of Verbs, Nouns, and Adjectives	380
12.3 General Determinants and Conditions of Suppletion as Reflected in the Romance Data	386
12.3.1 Sound Change as Determinant of Suppletion	386
12.3.2 Incursive Suppletion and Its Causes	387

Table of Contents

xv

12.3.3 The Paradigmatic Distribution of Suppletion	396
12.3.4 The Role of Phonological Resemblance in Determining Incursive Suppletion	397
12.4 Conclusion	398
13 Inflexion, Derivation, Compounding <i>Chiara Cappellaro and Judith Meinschaefner</i>	400
13.1 Introduction	400
13.2 Basic Characteristics of Inflexion, Derivation, and Compounding in Romance	402
13.2.1 Introduction	402
13.2.2 Inflexion	402
13.2.3 Derivation	404
13.2.4 Compounding	405
13.3 Distinctions in Form and Constituency	406
13.3.1 Introduction	406
13.3.2 Morphophonological Alternations	408
13.3.3 Prosodic Constituency	410
13.3.4 Morphological Ellipsis in Coordination	413
13.4 Issues and Challenges: Inflexion and Derivation	417
13.4.1 Introduction	417
13.4.2 Typical Properties Illustrated with Romance Data	418
13.4.3 Two Case Studies	421
13.4.3.1 Introduction	421
13.4.3.2 Synchrony: Italian Ambigeneric Nouns with -a Plural	421
13.4.3.3 Diachrony: Latin -sc-	423
13.5 The Interaction of Inflexion, Derivation, and Compounding in ‘Conversion’	426
13.5.1 Introduction	426
13.5.2 Derivation without Affix	426
13.5.3 Word-Level Conversion as Derivation	427
13.5.4 Syntactic Conversion	429
13.5.5 Formations without a Base	430
14 Evaluative Suffixes <i>Antonio Fortin and Franz Rainer</i>	434
14.1 Introduction	434
14.2 Zwicky and Pullum’s Criteria for Expressive Morphology	435
14.2.1 Introduction	435
14.2.2 Pragmatic Effects	436
14.2.3 Promiscuity with Regard to Input Category	437
14.2.4 Promiscuity with Regard to Input Basehood	438
14.2.5 Imperfect Control	438
14.2.6 Alternative Outputs	439
14.2.7 Interspeaker Variation	440
14.2.8 Special Syntax	440
14.3 Evaluative Affixes in Semantic and Pragmatic Theory	442
14.3.1 Introduction	442

14.3.2 Heterogeneous Meanings and Uses of the Diminutive	442
14.3.3 Semantic versus Pragmatic Accounts	444
14.3.4 Romance Evaluative Affixes in Formal Semantics	446
14.4 Diminutives outside Verb Inflections in Romance	448
14.4.1 Positional Mobility of Evaluative Suffixes in Latin and Romance	448
14.4.2 Diminutive Suffixes outside Verbal Inflection	449
14.4.2.1 Romanian	449
14.4.2.2 Italian (Dialect of Lucca, Tuscany)	450
14.4.2.3 Occitan (Gévaudan Dialect)	450
14.4.2.4 Spanish	451
14.4.2.5 Brazilian Portuguese	452
14.4.3 Lessons for General Linguistics	454
14.5 Conclusion	457
15 Counting Systems <i>Brigitte L. M. Bauer</i>	459
15.1 Introduction	459
15.2 Early Systems of Quantification	460
15.3 Numerical Counting	461
15.3.1 Bases and Arithmetical Operations	462
15.3.2 Bases and Arithmetical Operations in Romance/Latin	463
15.3.3 Order of Meaningful Elements	466
15.4 Types of Numeral	469
15.4.1 Latin vs Romance Numerals	469
15.4.2 A Systemic Difference	471
15.4.3 Grammatical Marking on Numerals	472
15.5 Potential Effects of Language Contact: Romanian Teens and Decads	473
15.5.1 Romanian Teens	474
15.5.2 Romanian Decads	475
15.6 Vigesimals: Language Contact or Internal Development?	476
15.6.1 Vigesimals in Romance	478
15.6.2 Formal Characteristics of Vigesimal Forms in Romance	480
15.6.3 Vigesimal Forms in Other Languages	481
15.6.4 Origins of Vigesimal Forms in Romance	483
15.7 Decimal System in Romance	484
Part Four Syntax	
16 Argument Structure and Argument Realization <i>Víctor Aedo-Matellán, Jaume Mateu, and Anna Pineda</i>	491
16.1 Introduction	491
16.2 Unaccusativity and Unergativity	493

Table of Contents

xvii

16.3 The Clitic SE	501
16.4 Datives	507
16.5 Lexicalization Patterns	512
16.6 Concluding Remarks	517
17 Agreement <i>Roberta D'Alessandro</i>	519
17.1 Introduction	519
17.2 Phrase Structure Rules for Agreement	520
17.3 Spec-Head Agreement	523
17.3.1 Agreement in a Spec-Head Configuration	525
17.4 Agreement in the Minimalist Program	528
17.4.1 Participial Agreement Revisited	528
17.4.2 Unaccusatives	533
17.5 Morphological Agreement	534
17.5.1 Rich Agreement and Null Subjects	535
17.5.1.1 Agreement and Subject Clitics	539
18 Alignment <i>Sonia Cyrino and Michelle Sheehan</i>	544
18.1 Introduction	544
18.2 On the Diachrony of Alignment in Romance	547
18.3 Auxiliary Selection	555
18.3.1 Frequent Patterns	556
18.3.2 Rarer Patterns	559
18.4 Past Participle Agreement	561
18.4.1 Frequent Patterns	561
18.4.2 Rarer Patterns	563
18.5 SE-Passives	564
18.6 Word Order	566
18.7 Other Phenomena	567
18.7.1 INDE-Citicization	567
18.7.2 Absolute Participles and Participial Adjectives	568
18.8 Conclusion	569
19 Complex Predicates <i>Adina Dragomirescu, Alexandru Nicolae, and Gabriela Pană Dindelegan</i>	571
19.1 Outline and Scope	571
19.2 Delimitations and Diagnostics	572
19.2.1 What Is a Complex Predicate?	572
19.2.2 Diagnosing Monoclausality	573
19.3 Auxiliaries	576
19.3.1 Introduction	576
19.3.2 Auxiliary-Verb Constructions Based on HABERE ‘Have’	576
19.3.3 Auxiliary-Verb Constructions Based on ESSE ‘Be’	579
19.3.4 Auxiliary-Verb Constructions Based on Other Verbs	580
19.3.5 TAM Make-up of Auxiliaries	581

19.4	The Periphrastic Passive	582
19.4.1	Synthetic vs Analytic	582
19.4.2	Frequency and Distribution	582
19.4.3	Participle Agreement	583
19.4.4	The Reflexive Passive	583
19.4.5	Inventory of Passive (Semi-)Auxiliary Verbs	584
19.4.6	The Double Passive	587
19.4.7	The Position of Constituents in the Passive Periphrasis	588
19.4.8	Monoclausal Properties	589
19.5	Aspectual Periphrases	591
19.6	Modal Complex Predicates	594
19.7	Causative Complex Predicates	596
19.7.1	Introduction	596
19.7.2	FACERE Causatives	597
19.7.2.1	The <i>Faire-infinitif</i> Construction	598
19.7.2.2	The <i>Faire-par</i> Construction	599
19.7.3	LAXARE Causatives	599
19.7.4	MANDARE Causatives	600
19.8	Complex Predicates with Perception Verbs	600
19.9	Conclusions: What Romance Languages Tell Us about Complex Predicates	601
20	Dependency, Licensing, and the Nature of Grammatical Relations <i>Anna Cardinaletti and Giuliana Giusti</i>	604
20.1	Introduction	604
20.2	Parallels between Nominal Expressions and Clauses	605
20.2.1	Split IP, Split CP, and Verb Movement	605
20.2.2	The Adjectival Hierarchy and the Position of N	608
20.3	Encoding and Licensing of Grammatical Relations	614
20.3.1	Encoding the Subject	616
20.3.2	Encoding Objects	618
20.3.3	Possessives	622
20.4	Long-Distance Dependencies	624
20.4.1	A-Movements	624
20.4.2	Clitic Movement	626
20.4.3	A'-Movements	630
20.5	Pronominal Dependencies	632
20.5.1	Binding	632
20.5.2	Control Constructions	634
20.6	Conclusions	635
21	Parametric Variation <i>Adam Ledgeway and Norma Schifano</i>	637
21.1	Introduction	637
21.2	Sentential Core	642
21.2.1	Subject Clitics	642

Table of Contents

xix

21.2.2 Auxiliary Selection	646
21.2.2.1 Tense and Mood	647
21.2.2.2 Person and Argument Structure	648
21.2.2.3 Diachronic Considerations	650
21.2.2.4 Summary	651
21.2.3 Verb-Movement	652
21.2.4 Negation	656
21.2.4.1 Correlation between Verb-Movement and Jespersen's Stages	659
21.3 Left Periphery	663
21.3.1 Grammaticalization of (In)definiteness on C	663
21.3.2 Weak/Strong C	666

Part Five Semantics and Pragmatics

22 Word Meanings and Concepts <i>Steven N. Dworkin</i>	673
22.1 Traditional Approaches to Lexical Change	673
22.2 Grammaticalization and Pragmatic-Semantic Change	675
22.3 Prepositions and Prepositional Phrases	682
22.4 Degrammaticalization (or Lexicalization?)	684
22.5 Discourse Markers and Semantic-Pragmatic Change	686
22.6 Subjectification and Evidentiality	690
22.7 A Concluding Observation	692
23 Key Topics in Semantics: Presupposition, Anaphora, (In)definite Nominal Phrases, Deixis, Tense and Aspect, Negation <i>Chiara Gianollo and Giuseppina Silvestri</i>	695
23.1 Introduction	695
23.2 Presupposition	695
23.2.1 Introduction	695
23.2.2 Presupposition and (In)definiteness	696
23.2.3 Presupposition Autonomy and Triggers	697
23.2.4 Presuppositionality and Case Marking	698
23.2.4.1 Presuppositionality and Differential Object Marking	698
23.2.4.2 Presuppositionality and Greek-Style Dative	699
23.3 Anaphora	700
23.3.1 Introduction	700
23.3.2 Pronominal Anaphora	700
23.3.2.1 Intrasentential Anaphora	700
23.3.2.2 Discourse Anaphora	702
23.3.3 Temporal Anaphora	704
23.4 (In)definite Nominal Phrases	705
23.4.1 Introduction	705
23.4.2 Articles: Distribution, Functional Load, Diachronic Emergence	705
23.4.3 Indefinites	708

23.5 Deixis	709
23.5.1 Introduction	709
23.5.2 Spatial Deixis	710
23.5.3 Temporal Deixis	713
23.5.4 Person Deixis	714
23.6 Tense and Aspect	715
23.6.1 Introduction	715
23.6.2 Imperfectivity and Perfectivity in Present and Past	716
23.6.3 Tense, Aspect, and Modality: Imperfect and Future	720
23.7 Negation	721
23.7.1 Introduction	721
23.7.2 Negative Concord	722
23.7.3 Diachronic Developments	723
23.7.4 Pragmatically Marked Negation	725
24 Speech Acts, Discourse, and Clause Type <i>Alice Corr and Nicola Munaro</i>	728
24.1 Introduction	728
24.2 Clause Type	728
24.2.1 Declaratives	729
24.2.2 Interrogatives	730
24.2.3 Exclamatives	737
24.2.4 Imperatives	741
24.2.5 Optatives	745
24.2.6 Concluding Remarks	747
24.3 Speech Acts and Illocutionary Force	747
24.3.1 Theoretical Approaches to Speech Acts	749
24.3.1.1 The View from Speech Act Theory	749
24.3.1.2 The Role of Syntax	750
24.3.1.3 The Role of Prosody	751
24.3.2 Mapping Form to Function: Insights from Romance	752
24.3.2.1 The Role of Polarity	754
24.3.2.2 Word Order, Complementizers, and Verb Movement	755
24.3.2.3 Disambiguating Discourse	758
24.3.3 Syntactic Encoding of ‘Speech Act’ Information	759
24.4 Conclusion	761
25 Address Systems and Social Markers <i>Federica Da Milano and Konstanze Jungbluth</i>	763
25.1 Introduction	763
25.2 From Latin to Romance: Expressing Politeness by Pronouns	765
25.3 Forms of Address between Lexicon and Grammar in Use Today	767
25.3.1 Noun Phrase: Nominal Forms of Address	767
25.3.2 Pronominal Forms: Address Systems	769

Table of Contents

xxi

25.3.3 Vocatives	772
25.3.4 Paradigms and Their Variation: Losses and Gains	773
25.3.5 Typological Patterns of Address Systems	774
25.4 Changing Address Systems across Time	775
25.5 Conclusion	781
26 Information Structure <i>Silvio Cruschina, Ion Giurgea, and Eva-Maria Remberger</i>	784
26.1 Introduction	784
26.2 Focus, Focalization, and Focus Types	785
26.2.1 Introduction	785
26.2.2 Focus and New Information	786
26.2.3 Focus Types and Focus Fronting	788
26.2.4 Focus Types and Clefts	793
26.3 Topicalization Constructions and Types of Topics	793
26.3.1 Introduction	793
26.3.2 Topic-Marking and Givenness-Marking	795
26.3.3 Different Types of Topics in the Left Periphery	797
26.3.4 Different Syntactic Constructions and Their Derivation	800
26.4 Subject Placement	805
26.4.1 Introduction	805
26.4.2 Status of Preverbal Subjects	805
26.4.3 Subject Inversion: Narrow Focus and Thetic Sentences	808
Part Six Language, Society, and the Individual	
27 Register, Genre, and Style in the Romance Languages <i>Christopher Pountain and Rodica Zafiu</i>	817
27.1 Definitions	817
27.1.1 Register	817
27.1.2 Genre	819
27.1.3 Style	819
27.1.4 Some Dimensions of Register, Genre, and Style	820
27.2 Register	821
27.2.1 ‘Spoken’ and ‘Written’ Language	821
27.2.1.1 The Identification of <i>français populaire</i>	823
27.2.1.2 The Boundaries of Spoken and Written Register	824
27.2.1.3 Subregisters	825
27.2.1.4 Jargons and Slangs	826
27.2.2 Variation According to Register	827
27.2.3 Some Particular Phenomena	828
27.2.3.1 Affective Suffixes	829
27.2.3.2 Dislocation	829

27.2.3.3	Passive	831
27.2.3.4	Relativizers	832
27.2.3.5	Future Tense Functions	834
27.2.3.6	Morphological Variation	835
27.2.3.7	Discourse Phenomena	835
27.3	Genre	836
27.4	Style	838
27.4.1	'Good' Style	838
27.4.2	Literary Style	839
27.5	The Importance of Diaphasic Variation in the History of the Romance Languages	841
27.5.1	'Learnèd' Influence	842
27.5.2	The Relative Distance between Registers	842
27.5.3	Attitudinal Factors	843
27.6	Conclusion	843
28	Contact and Borrowing <i>Francesco Gardani</i>	845
28.1	Introduction	845
28.2	Effects of Language Contact	847
28.3	Borrowing	850
28.3.1	Phonological Borrowing	852
28.3.2	Prosodic Borrowing	854
28.3.3	Morphological Borrowing	856
28.3.4	Syntactic Borrowing	858
28.4	The Upper Limits of Borrowing	861
28.5	Linguistic Factors Favouring Grammatical Borrowing	864
28.6	Borrowability Hierarchies	866
28.7	Conclusion	868
29	Diamesic Variation <i>Maria Selig</i>	870
29.1	Defining Diamesic Variation	870
29.1.1	'Spoken' and 'Written' Language	870
29.1.2	Diamesic Variation, the Architecture of Varieties, and Register Theory	871
29.1.3	Three Dimensions of Diamesic Variation: Medial, Sociolinguistic, and Functional Aspects	872
29.1.4	Synchronic Variation and Processes of Standardization	874
29.2	Effects and Consequences of Diamesic Variation	876
29.2.1	Written and Spoken Latin: The Sociophilological Approach	876
29.2.2	The Dynamics of Late Latin: Diglossia, Restandardization, and Polynormativity	879
29.2.3	Spoken Varieties and Linguistic Change	883
29.2.4	Inscripturation: Romance Vernacular Varieties and the Transition to Written Use	887

Table of Contents

xxiii

29.2.5 <i>Scriptae</i> : ‘Invisible Hands’ and Linguistic Centralizations	890
29.2.6 Codifications: ‘Grammatization’ and ‘Standard Ideologies’	893
29.2.7 Mass Literacy, Restandardization, and New Media	894
30 Social Factors in Language Change and Variation	
<i>John Charles Smith</i>	898
30.1 Introduction	898
30.2 Variation and Change	899
30.3 Social Variables	900
30.3.1 Time	900
30.3.2 Place	901
30.3.3 Age	902
30.3.4 Class	903
30.3.5 Gender	904
30.3.6 Ethnicity	905
30.3.7 Style and Register	905
30.3.8 Medium	907
30.3.9 Attitude and Lifestyle	907
30.3.10 Concluding Remarks	908
30.4 Transmission and Diffusion	908
30.5 Simplification and Complexification	911
30.6 Diglossia and Linguistic Repertoire	915
30.7 Code-Switching and Contact Vernaculars	917
30.8 Language Death	918
30.9 Societal Typology and Language Change	919
30.10 Standardization	922
30.11 <i>Ausbau</i> Languages and <i>Abstand</i> Languages	925
30.12 Conclusion	928
Index	930

Each chapter has selected references. The full references can be found online at the following page: www.cambridge.org/Romancelinguistics

Figures

4.1	Distribution of languages according to the number of contrastive exponents in the paradigms of verbs (y-axis) and subject clitics (x-axis)	page 157
4.2	Distribution of patterns per number of gaps: diffusion of dialects in the sample vs probability	158
4.3	Presence of 1SG and 2SG clitics in the ASIt dataset	159
4.4	Presence of 1SG and 2SG clitics in four linguistic areas (northern Italo-Romance)	159
4.5	Number of clitic systems with gaps and/or syncretic items in Manzini and Savoia's (2005) dataset	160
4.6	Number of non-syncretic and non-null exponents per person	160
4.7	Auxiliary forms by person with unergative verbs in our sample (76 dialects, 36 auxiliation patterns)	170
4.8	Auxiliary forms by person with unaccusative verbs (76 dialects, 40 auxiliation patterns)	171
4.9	Diffusion of E forms (by percentage): unergatives vs unaccusatives. Sample: 76 dialects	171
4.10	Diffusion of the free alternation between E and H forms (by percentage): unergatives vs unaccusatives. Sample: 76 dialects	171
11.1	Conceptualization of the <i>Lexical Hypothesis</i>	349
28.1	Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) borrowing scale	867
30.1	The family tree model of Romance (Version 1)	909
30.2	The family tree model of Romance (Version 2)	909

Tables

1.1	Synthetic vs analytic marking of core grammatical categories in Latin and Romance	<i>page 4</i>
1.2	Ripano nominal and present indicative paradigms	16
1.3	Typology of null subjects	22
1.4	(Old) Romanian	57
1.5	Old Italian	57
1.6	Portuguese	58
1.7	Effects of palatalization of velars in some Romance languages	59
1.8	Differential treatment of reflexes of [kw] in Italian and Romanian	62
1.9	Differential palatalizing effect of proto-Romance plural *-e in Italian and Romanian	62
1.10	Failure of expected palatalization of velar consonants in ‘western’ Romance first conjugation present subjunctives vs expected palatalization in Romanian	64
1.11	The distribution of velar alternants in the Romanian verb	66
1.12	The Romanian velar~palatal alternation unique to <i>a fugi</i> ‘flee’	66
1.13	Recurrent alternation pattern in old Italian verbs	69
1.14	Sporadic analogical extension of L-pattern alternants into the gerund in old Italian	69
1.15	Absence of extension of L-pattern velar alternants into the old Italian gerund	70
1.16	Root-final -s in verbs which also have velar~palatal alternations	71
1.17	Root-final -s in verbs which also have roots ending in dentals	71

1.18	Introduction of root-final velars into verbs in root-final [d] (here [de] > [je]) in Oltenian	72
1.19	Exceptional effects of metaphony on mid vowels in the present tense of the verb in La Cervara	75
1.20	Ordinary metaphony of low mid vowels vs hypermetaphony: examples from the AIS	76
1.21	Metaphony of [a] in Agnone	76
1.22	Metaphony of [a] in the verb in Agnone	77
1.23	Presence in old Italian vs absence in old Romanian of expected palatalization in the third person plural present indicative	80
1.24	Non-palatalized reflexes of Latin 3PL UENIUNT ‘come’ vs reflexes of (original) palatalization in 1SG UENIO ‘come’ in some central and southern Italian dialects (AIS)	82
1.25	Reflexes of Latin FIERI ‘happen, become, be made’ continued in the Romanian verb BE	83
1.26	Reflexes of Latin FIERI (> hi-) in the Aromanian verb BE	83
1.27	‘L-pattern’ effects of sound change in Portuguese and old Italian	90
1.28	‘Coherent’ levelling and innovative adjustments of the Italian variant of the L-pattern in modern Italian	91
1.29	Innovative L-pattern alternation in Portuguese perder ‘lose’	91
1.30	Creation of L-pattern suppletion in Galician dialects	91
4.1	Expletive clitics in impersonal environments	155
4.2	Patterns of gaps and syncretism in the paradigms of subject clitics (left) and verbal forms (right)	157
4.3	Gaps in subject clitic paradigms in dialects of northern Italy and Romansh	158
4.4	Implicational scale for auxiliary selection	165
4.5	Patterns of split auxiliation with unergative verbs in our sample (76 dialects)	167
4.6	Patterns of split auxiliation with unaccusative verbs in our sample (76 dialects)	169
4.7	Perfective auxiliation in the dialect of Aliano (province of Matera)	173
4.8	Perfective auxiliation in the dialect of Viguzzolo (province of Alessandria)	173
6.1	French numeral allomorphy	224
10.1	The article in Aranese (Canejan-Bausen)	322
10.2	Plural -s in Allez-et-Cazeneuve	323
10.3	Paradigms of Fr. baisser ‘lower’, tourner ‘turn’, refuser ‘refuse’	325
10.4	Paradigms of French vowel-initial écouter ‘listen’, aimer ‘love’, oser ‘dare’	327
10.5	French possessives	328
10.6	Masculine possessives in Cabranes	328

10.7	Feminine possessives in Cabranes	328
10.8	Differentiation of the root according to whether it is stressed or unstressed in Asturian (Somiedo)	329
10.9	Old Occitan present indicative and present subjunctive paradigms	330
10.10	Gemination triggered by labiovelar glides	331
10.11	Stress shift due to the existence of a heavy (disyllabic) ending	331
10.12	Second person singular allomorphy in Romanian	333
10.13	Non-palatalization of the velar in Italian <i>-are</i> verbs	333
10.14	Italian <i>fuggire</i> ‘flee’, <i>leggere</i> ‘read’	334
10.15	<i>correr</i> ‘run’ or <i>pendre</i> ‘take’ in Azanuy	335
10.16	Brazilian Portuguese plural formation	336
10.17	Adjectival allomorphy before nouns in French	339
10.18	Feminine and plural adjective formation in La Litera	340
10.19	Place assimilation in Italian	340
10.20	Castilian <i>-dad</i> , etc.	341
10.21	Diminutive formation in Campidanian Sardinian	342
10.22	Diminutive formation in Logudorese Sardinian	342
10.23	French suffix <i>-esque</i> / <i>-este</i>	343
10.24	Italian imperfect indicative	343
11.1	Paradigmatic distribution of four Romance metamorphomes affecting finite forms: the N-pattern, the L/U-pattern, PYTA, and Fuèc	353
11.2	Paradigm of Pt. <i>saber</i> ‘know’	356
11.3	Reflexes of Latin <i>infectum</i> forms for It. <i>portare</i> ‘carry’ and Cat. <i>veure</i> ‘see’	356
11.4	Cat. <i>moure</i> ‘move’	358
11.5	Present-tense forms of Pt. <i>dever</i> ‘owe’, <i>mover</i> ‘move’, <i>beber</i> ‘drink’ and the <i>-ir</i> verbs <i>servir</i> ‘serve’, <i>dormir</i> ‘sleep’, <i>vestir</i> ‘dress’	360
12.1	Degrees of suppletion between Italian placenames and ethnonyms	374
12.2	Suppletion in Romanian ordinal numerals	375
12.3	Suppletion in Romance ordinal numerals	376
12.4	Suppletion in Romance ordinal numerals	376
12.5	Suppletive comparatives in Latin and some Romance languages	377
12.6	First person tonic pronouns	379
12.7	Second person tonic pronouns	380
12.8	BE (etyma: ESSE, FUISSE (suppletive perfective of ESSE) ‘be’; FIERI ‘become’; STARE ‘stand’; SEDERE ‘sit’)	381
12.9	GO (etyma: IRE ‘go’; UADERE “go” making an “impressive ... showy advance”; AMBULARE (or possibly *ambi’tare) ‘walk’; FUISSE ‘have been’)	382

12.10	MUST (etyma: DEBERE ‘must, owe’; *estō‘pere ‘must, be necessary’) Surmiran Romansh (Savognin)	383
12.11	GIVE (etyma: DARE ‘give’; DONARE ‘give, grant, bestow’)	383
12.12	FIND (etyma: AD+FLARE ‘sniff out’; *tro‘pare ‘find’) South-eastern Sicily	383
12.13	TAKE (etymon: LEUARE ‘raise’) in Romanian	383
12.14	FIT (etyma: CAPERE ‘take’; COLLIGERE ‘gather in’) in Larouco, Province of Ourense, Galicia	383
12.15	PULL (etyma: TRAHERE ‘pull’; *ti‘rare ‘pull’) in Romansh (Prez)	384
12.16	WANT ((a) etymon: *vo‘lere ‘want’; (b) etyma: *vo‘lere, Sl. voliti ‘want’)	384
12.17	SAY (etymon: DICERE ‘say’) in Surselvan Romansh	384
12.18	DRINK (etymon: BIBERE ‘drink’) in Lugo (Romagna, Italy)	384
12.19	FALL (etyma: CADERE ‘fall’; *kasi‘kare ‘fall’) in Casacalenda (Molise, Italy)	384
12.20	HEAR (etyma: SENTIRE ‘feel’; INTENDERE ‘understand’) in Modica, Sicily	385
12.21	EXIT (etyma: EXIRE ‘go out’; It. uscio ‘doorway’ < OSTIUM) in Italian	385
12.22	Istro-Romanian suppletive aspectual distinctions	385
12.23	Suppletion in imperative of COME (etyma: UENIRE; Gk. ἔλα ['ela]; AMBULARE ‘walk’)	385
12.24	EYE (etymon: OCULUM ‘eye’) in French	386
12.25	SMALL and BIG (etyma: *'miku ‘small’ + MINUTUS ‘chopped small, fine-grained’ and MAIOR ‘larger, major’ + *matju‘katu ‘knobby’) in Megleno-Romanian	386
12.26	Derivationally related lexemes containing diminutive suffixes of different origin (etyma of the suffixes: *-'inu; *-'ettu (plural *-'itti))	386
12.27	Derivationally related lexemes containing diminutive suffixes of different origin (etyma of the suffixes: -ELLA; Sl. *-'ika) in Romanian	386
12.28	Preterite of HAVE in S. Michele di Ganzaria (Sicily, AIS map 1700, point 875)	397
13.1	Italian noun <i>divano</i> ‘sofa.(M)SG’	403
13.2	Italian adjective <i>buono</i> ‘good.MSG’	403
13.3	Romanian noun <i>fătă</i> ‘girl.(F)SG’	403
13.4	Nominal output examples	404
13.5	Adjectival output examples	404
13.6	Verbal output examples	404
13.7	Subordinate, coordinate, and attributive compounds	405
13.8	Romance compounds	406
13.9	Derivational diminutive affix	406

13.10	Italian diphthongization and palatalization	408
13.11	Palatalization in the Italian verb <i>vincere</i> ‘win’	409
13.12	Italian palatalization in inflection, derivation, and compounding	409
13.13	Italian inflection and word-formation	410
13.14	Suffixed words: no prosodic boundary between stem and suffix	411
13.15	Prefixed words	411
13.16	Italian compounds	412
13.17	European Portuguese	413
13.18	Portuguese inflectional wordforms	418
13.19	Standard Portuguese ‘the new pupil(s)’	419
13.20	Non-standard Brazilian Portuguese ‘the new pupil(s)’	419
13.21	It. <i>parlare</i> ‘speak’ and <i>chattare</i> ‘chat (online)’ vs <i>andare</i> ‘go’	419
13.22	Defectiveness. Sp. <i>partir</i> ‘part’ vs <i>blandir</i> ‘brandish’	420
13.23	Syncretism: It. <i>BUONO</i> ‘good’ vs <i>VERDE</i> ‘green’	420
13.24	Standard Italian inflection class system	422
13.25	Italian <i>uov-o</i> ‘egg’	422
13.26	Italian <i>uov-o</i> ‘egg’ vs <i>uov-a</i> ‘eggs’	423
13.27	Italian <i>mur-o/-i</i> ‘wall/-s’ and <i>mur-a</i> ‘walled perimeter’	423
13.28	Italian <i>finire</i> ‘finish’	425
13.29	Romanian <i>a păti</i> ‘suffer’	426
13.30	Derivation of deverbal nouns without affixation	426
15.1	Formation of cardinals in some standard Romance languages	465
15.2	Formation of Latin numerals	470
17.1	Verb agreement paradigm in (colloquial) Brazilian Portuguese, present indicative of <i>cantar</i> ‘sing’	535
17.2	Null (vs overt) subjects in transcribed interviews according to structural context	536
18.1	The Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy	557
18.2	Reflexive auxiliary hierarchy	558
18.3	Person-based auxiliary selection in Abruzzo	560
18.4	Variable auxiliary selection (Loporcaro 2011a)	561
19.1	Auxiliary-verb constructions vs other monoclausal constructions	575
21.1	Typologies of Romance verb-movement	652
21.2	Correlation between PI and (un)interpretability	655
21.3	Verb-movement and negation typologies	659
24.1	Possible intonational contours and corresponding communicative functions for Sp. <i>bebe la limonada</i> ‘s/he drinks the lemonade’	751
30.1	The interpretation of variation according to age	903
30.2	Wikipedias in Romance varieties	927

Contributors

- Víctor ACEDO-MATELLÁN**, University of Oxford
Alvise ANDREOSE, Università di Udine
Benedetta BALDI, Università degli Studi di Firenze
Brigitte L. M. BAUER, The University of Texas at Austin and Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen
Eulàlia BONET, Centre de Lingüística Teòrica, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona
Chiara CAPPELLARO, University of Oxford
Anna CARDINALETTI, Università Ca' Foscari Venezia
Alice CORR, University of Birmingham
Silvio CRUSCHINA, University of Helsinki
Sonia CYRINO, University of Campinas
Roberta D'ALESSANDRO, Utrecht University
Federica DA MILANO, Università di Milano-Bicocca
Adina DRAGOMIRESCU, ‘Iorgu Iordan – Alexandru Rosetti’ Institute of Linguistics of the Romanian Academy and University of Bucharest
Steven N. DWORKIN, University of Michigan
Louise ESHER, CNRS – LLACAN (UMR 8135)
Franck FLORICIC, Université de Paris 3, Sorbonne Nouvelle and LPP (CNRS)
Antonio FORTIN, University of Oxford
Francesco GARDANI, University of Zurich
Chiara GIANOLLO, Alma Mater Studiorum, Università di Bologna
Ion GIURGEA, ‘Iorgu Iordan – Alexandru Rosetti’ Institute of Linguistics of the Romanian Academy
Giuliana GIUSTI, Università Ca' Foscari Venezia
Konstanze JUNGBLUTH, European University Viadrina Frankfurt
Adam LEDGEWAY, University of Cambridge
Michele LOPORCARO, University of Zurich
Martin MAIDEN, University of Oxford

- Giovanna MAROTTA, University of Pisa
Jaume MATEU, Centre de Lingüística Teòrica, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona
Judith MEINSCHAEFER, Freie Universität Berlin
Laura MINERVINI, Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II
Lucia MOLINU, Université de Toulouse 2, Jean Jaurès and BCL (CNRS)
Nicola MUNARO, Università Ca' Foscari Venezia
Alexandru NICOLAE, ‘Iorgu Iordan – Alexandru Rosetti’ Institute of Linguistics of the Romanian Academy and University of Bucharest
Paul O’NEILL, University of Sheffield
Gabriela PANĂ DINDELEGAN, ‘Iorgu Iordan – Alexandru Rosetti’ Institute of Linguistics of the Romanian Academy and University of Bucharest
Diego PESCARINI, CNRS, Université Côte d’Azur
Anna PINEDA, University of Cologne
Christopher POUNTAIN, Queen Mary University of London
Franz RAINER, WU Vienna
Eva-Maria REMBERGER, University of Vienna
Leonardo M. SAVOIA, Università degli Studi di Firenze
Norma SCHIFANO, University of Birmingham
Maria SELIG, University of Regensburg
Michelle SHEEHAN, Newcastle University
Giuseppina SILVESTRI, University of California, Los Angeles
John Charles SMITH, University of Oxford
Anna M. THORNTON, Università dell’Aquila
Francesc TORRES-TAMARIT, SFL, CNRS, Université Paris 8
Nigel VINCENT, The University of Manchester
Max W. WHEELER, University of Sussex
Rodica ZAFIU, ‘Iorgu Iordan – Alexandru Rosetti’ Institute of Linguistics of the Romanian Academy and University of Bucharest

Abbreviations

*	unattested or reconstructed form or usage
**	ungrammatical form or usage
(?)?	(very) dubious form or usage
?	substandard/non-standard form or usage
#	(i) pragmatically infelicitous (ii) word boundary
Ø	zero (null), covert form
>	becomes, yields
<	comes from, derives from
'	(primary) word stress
.	(secondary) word stress
=	cliticized to
:	long/lengthened
.	syllable boundary
	utterance boundary
ι	intonational phrase
φ	phonological phrase
ω	prosodic word
π	foot
σ	syllable
μ	mora
√	root
1 / 2 / 3	first/second/third person
A	subject of a transitive clause
A'-position/movement	argument position/movement
A'-position/movement	adjunct position/movement
ABL	ablative
Abr.	Abruzzese (dialect group of Abruzzo, upper south-eastern Italy)

ABS	absolutive
ACC	accusative
AcI	accusative and infinitive construction
ACT	active voice (morphology)
addr	addressee
ADDU	<i>Atlas lingüístico Diatópico y Diastrático del Uruguay</i>
ADJ	adjectival
A(dj)(P)	adjective (phrase)
ADN	adnominal case form
ADV	(i) adverbial case form (ii) adverbial
Adv(P)	adverb(ial) (phrase)
Agn.	Agnonese (northern Molisan dialect of Agnone, upper southern Italy)
Agnell.	Andreas Agnellus of Ravenna
AGR	agreement (morphology)
Agr(P)	agreement (phrase)
AgroP)	object agreement (phrase)
AgrS(P)	subject agreement (phrase)
AIS	<i>Atlante Italo-Svizzero or Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz</i>
Alb.	Albanian
ALF	<i>Atlas Linguistique de la France</i>
ALG	<i>Atlas Linguistique de la Gascogne</i>
Alg.	Alguerès (Catalan dialect of city of Alghero, north-western Sardinia)
Alt.	Altamurano (central Pugliese dialect of Altamura, upper south-eastern Italy)
AN(A)	adjective-noun(-adjective) order
Anc.	Anconitano (central eastern Marchigiano dialect of city of Ancona, eastern central Italy)
And.	Andalusian (variety of Spanish spoken in region of Andalusia, southern Spain)
AOR	aorist
Ara.	Aragonese (Pyrenean Ibero-Romance language spoken in Aragon, north-eastern Spain)
Arl.	Ariellese (eastern Abruzzese dialect of Arielli, upper south-eastern Italy)
Arm.	Armenian
Arn.	Aranese (Pyrenean Gascon dialect of Occitan spoken in the Val d'Aran, north-western Catalonia, Spain)
ARo.	Aromanian (Daco-Romance dialects spoken in Greece, Albania, Bulgaria, Serbia, and the Republic of Macedonia)

ASH	Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy
ASIt	<i>Atlante Sintattico d'Italia</i>
ASP	aspect(ual) marker
Asp(P)	aspect(ual) (phrase)
ASRT	assertive
Ast.	Asturian (dialect group of north-western Spain)
A-topic	aboutness topic
ATR	advanced tongue root
Aug.	Augustine
AUX	auxiliary
(1-/2-/3-)aux	(1-/2-/3-)auxiliary system
b.	born
Bad.	Badiot (Ladin dialect spoken in Val Badia, Dolomites of Alto Adige/southern Tyrol, north-eastern Italy)
Bal.	Balearic (Catalan)
BCE	before the Common Era
Bcl.	Barceloní (Catalan of city of Barcelona)
Bel.	Bellunese (northern Venetan dialect of city of Belluno, north-eastern Italy)
BEN	benefactive (case)
Bol.	Bolognese (eastern Emilian dialect of city of Bologna, north-eastern Italy)
BrBgm.	Brazilian Bergamasch (variety of the dialect of the city of Bergamo now spoken in Botuverá, Santa Catarina, Brazil, following migrations from eastern Lombardy in nineteenth and twentieth centuries)
Brg.	Borgomanerese (north-eastern Piedmontese dialect of Borgomanero, north-western Italy)
BrPt.	Brazilian Portuguese
Bsq.	Basque
C	(i) central (ii) consonant
c.	circa
C-drop	complementizer drop
Caes.	Caesar
B.G.	<i>de Bello Gallico</i>
Cal.	Calabrian (dialect group of Calabria, extreme south-west of Italy)
Car.	Carrarese (northern Tuscan dialect of Lunigiana, central Italy)
Cat.	Catalan
CCR	Central Coincidence Relation

CE	Common Era
ch.	chapter
Ch.	Chinese
Cic.	Cicero
Agr.	<i>De Lege agraria</i>
Att.	<i>Epistulae ad Atticum</i>
Cael.	<i>Oratio pro Caelio</i>
Clu.	<i>Pro Cuentio</i>
Fam.	<i>Epistulae ad familiares</i>
Leg. Man.	<i>Pro Lege Manilia</i>
Off.	<i>De officiis</i>
Phil.	<i>Orationes Philippicae</i>
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
Cl	clitic
CLat.	Classical Latin
CLLD	clitic left-dislocation
ClRD	clitic right-dislocation
CM	comparative method
CMPR	comparative
COLL	collective
coll.	colloquial
COMP	complementizer (position)
COND	conditional
Cos.	Cosentino (northern Calabrian dialect of city of Cosenza, extreme south-west of Italy)
C(P)	complementizer (phrase)
Cpd.	Campidanese (dialect group of Campidania, southern Sardinian)
Crs.	Corsican
Cst.	Castilian
C-topic	contrastive topic
Ctz.	Catanzarese (central southern Calabrian dialect of city of Catanzaro, extreme south-west of Italy)
Cvl.	Castrovillarese (northern Calabrian dialect of Castrovilliari, extreme south-west of Italy)
d.	died
Dan.	Danish
DAT	dative
Dch.	Dutch
DEF	definite(ness)
Deg(P)	degree modifier (phrase)
DEM	demonstrative
DÉR	<i>Dictionnaire Étymologique Romane</i>
DET	determiner (category)

DIM	diminutive
dir. trans.	direct transitive clause
DO	direct object
DOM	differential object marking (or marker)
D(P)	determiner (phrase)
DRo.	Daco-Romance
e	empty category
E	(i) Romance outcome of <i>ESSE</i> ‘be’ (ii) event time
ECM	exceptional case marking
Egd.	Engadine (Romansh dialect of Engadine Valley, south-east Switzerland)
Eng.	English
Eon.	Eonian
EPP	extended projection principle (a syntactic requirement that every clause shall have a subject)
ERG	ergative
ESID(s)	extreme southern Italian dialect(s)
EuPt.	European Portuguese
EuSp.	European Spanish
Ext.	Extremaduran (dialect group of Extremadura, central western Spain)
F	feminine
F	feature
f.	and following page
FAM	familiar
Fas.	Fassano (Ladin dialect spoken in the Val di Fassa, north-eastern Trentino, north-eastern Italy)
Fin(P)	finiteness (phrase)
Flo.	Florentine
FLMS	feminine-like masculine singular form
Foc(P)	focus (phrase)
FP	functional projection
fr.	fragment
Fr.	French
Frl.	Friulian (dialect group of Friuli, north- eastern Italy)
Frp.	Francoprovençal (Gallo-Romance dialects spoken in central eastern France, western Switzerland, and north-western Italy)
FUT	future
fv	final vowel
G-topic	given topic
GaR.	Gallo-Romance

GB	Government-Binding Theory
GEN	(i) gender feature (ii) genitive
Gen.	Genoese
GER	gerund
Ger.	German
Glc.	Galician (Ibero-Romance language of north-western Spain)
Grk.	Greek
Gsc.	Gascon
Gvd.	Gévaudanais (Occitan variety spoken in central southern France in the Département of Lozère)
H	(i) Romance outcome of HABERE ‘have’ (ii) heavy syllable (iii) high functions and contexts (of language use)
H–	high phrasal accent
H*	high pitch accent
H*+L / H+*L	falling complex pitch accent (stressed syllable aligned with high/low pitch accent)
H%	high boundary tone
HAS	higher adverb space
HON	honorific
HOR	hortative
HT	hanging topic
Hygin.	Hyginius
Fab.	<i>Fabulae</i>
i	interpretability
IbR.	Ibero-Romance
Ils.	Illasian (south-western Venetan dialect of Illasi, north-eastern Italy)
IMP	imperative
IMPS	impersonal
IND	indicative
indir. trans.	indirect reflexive transitive clause
indir. unerg.	indirect reflexive unergative clause
INF	infinitive
I(nfl)(P)	inflection(al phrase)
IntP	interrogative phrase
INTJ	interjection
IPFV	imperfective (aspect)
IRO.	Istro-Romanian (Daco-Romance variety spoken in Istria, Croatia)
Isc.	Ischitano (Campanian dialect spoken on island of Ischia in the Bay of Naples, upper south-west of Italy)

It.	Italian
ItR.	Italo-Romance
K(P)	Case (phrase)
L	(i) (any given) language (ii) light syllable (iii) low functions and contexts (of language use)
L-	low phrasal accent
L*	low pitch accent
L [*] +H / L+ [*] H	falling complex pitch accent (stressed syllable aligned with low/high pitch accent)
L%	low boundary tone
L1/2	first/second language
Lad.	(Dolomitic) Ladin
LAmSp.	Latin American Spanish
LAS	lower adverb space
Lat.	Latin
Lec.	Leccese (southern Salentino dialect of Lecce, extreme south-east of Italy)
Leo.	Leonese (dialect group of north-western Spain)
lex	lexical
LF	Logical Form
Lf1	low-frequency formant
Lgd.	Lengadocien (Occitan dialects of Languedoc, southern France)
Lig.	Ligurian (dialect group of Liguria, north-western Italy)
lit.	literally
Liv.	Livy (<i>Ab urbe condita</i>)
Lmb.	Lombard (dialect group of Lombardy, central northern Italy)
Lnc.	Lancianese (south-eastern Abruzzese dialect of Lanciano, upper south-eastern Italy)
LOC	locative
Log.	Logudorese (dialect group of Logudoro, north-western Sardinia)
LP	left periphery
Luc.	Lucanian (dialect group of upper southern Italy)
M	masculine
Mac.	Maceratese (central Marchigiano dialect of Macerata, central Italy)
Maj.	Majorcan (Catalan)
Mar.	Marchigiano (dialect group of Le Marche, central eastern Italy)

med	medieval
Mes.	Messinese
Mil.	Milanese
Mod	modern
MR	Metaphony Rule
MRK	marker
MSLF	masculine singular liaison form
Mus.	Mussomelese (central Sicilian dialect of Mussomeli, extreme south of Italy)
mvt	movement
n.	(foot)note
N	(i) nasal consonant (ii) north(ern)
NA	noun–adjective order
Nap.	Neapolitan
NCL	noun class
NEG	negator
Neg(P)	negation (phrase)
NID(s)	northern Italian dialect(s)
NOM	nominative
N(P)	noun (phrase)
NPD	non-prototypical derivation
NPI	(i) negative polarity item (ii) non-prototypical inflection
NR	Neutralization Rule
Nuo.	Nuorese (Sardinian dialects of Nuoro and province, north-eastern Sardinia)
O	(i) object (ii) old
OBL	oblique case (form)
OBV	obviative
Occ.	Occitan
OCSL.	Old Church Slavonic
OSL	open syllable lengthening
OT	Optimality Theory
OV	object–verb order
P	grammatical property or behaviour
p.	page
Pad.	Paduan (southern Venetan dialect of city of Padua, north-eastern Italy)
Pal.	Palmero Spanish (Island of La Palma, Canary Islands)
PART	partitive

PASS	passive
PD	prototypical derivation
PEJ	pejorative
PER	person
Petr.	Petronius
<i>Sat.</i>	<i>Satyricon</i>
PF	Phonological Form
PFV	perfective (aspect)
PI	(i) paradigmatic instantiation (ii) prototypical inflexion
Pie.	Piedmontese (dialect group of Piedmont, north-western Italy)
PIE	proto-Indo-European
PL	plural
Pl.	Plautus
<i>Capt.</i>	<i>Captiui</i>
<i>Cas.</i>	<i>Casina</i>
<i>Cur.</i>	<i>Curculio</i>
<i>Epid.</i>	<i>Epidicus</i>
<i>Most.</i>	<i>Mostellaria</i>
Plin.	Pliny (the Younger)
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
Plm.	Palermitano (north-western Sicilian dialect of city of Palermo, extreme south of Italy)
PLPF	pluperfect
p-movement	prosodically conditioned movement
POSS	possessive (form)
Poss(P)	possessive (phrase)
P(P)	preposition(al phrase)
PRED	predicator
PREP	preposition(al)
pro(_{GEN})	null pronominal argument (with generic, arbitrary reference)
PRO	phonetically null pronoun
PROG	progressive
PRS	present tense
PRT	preterite
Prv.	Provençal Occitan (Occitan dialects spoken in Provence, south-eastern France)
PSR	Phrase Structure Rules
PST	past
Pt.	Portuguese
PTC	particle
PTCP	participle

Ptl.	Putoleano (Campanian dialect of Pozzuoli in north-eastern outskirts of Naples, upper south-western Italy)
Pgl.	Pugliese (dialects of upper south-eastern Italy)
PVFV	palatalization of velars before front vowels
PYTA	perfecto/pretérito y tiempos afines (= Romance continuants of Latin perfective forms)
QT	question tag
R	reference time
RaeR.	Raeto-Romance
REC	recursive
REFL	reflexive
reg.	regional
REL	relative/relativizer
restr.	restructuring
retr.	retroherent clause
RF	<i>raddoppiamento</i> (or <i>rafforzamento</i>) <i>fonosintattico</i> ‘phonesyntactic doubling (or strengthening)’
Rip.	Ripano (southern Marchigiano dialect of Ripatransone, central Italy)
RL	recipient language
Rmc.	Romanesco (now defunct dialect of Rome)
Rmg.	Romagnol (dialect group of Romagna region, north-eastern Italy)
Rms.	Romansh (dialects spoken in south-eastern Swiss Canton of Graubünden/Grisons/Grigioni/Grischun)
Ro.	Romanian
Ros.	Rossellonès (Catalan dialect of Roussillon, Pyrénées-Orientales, south-eastern France)
Ru.	Russian
Rv(P)	resultative light verb (phrase)
S	(i) south(ern) (ii) speech time (iii) subject
S _A	intransitive (ACTOR/AGENT) subject of an unergative clause
SA	speech act
Sal.	Salentino (dialect group of Salento, southern Puglia, extreme south-east of Italy)
Sall.	Sallust
BI.	<i>Bellum Iugurthinum</i>
Sav.	Savoyard (Francoprovençal variety spoken in the historical territory of the Duchy of Savoy in present-day France (Savoie and Haute-Savoie) and Switzerland (Canton of Geneva))

SBJV	subjunctive
SC	small cause
SCL	subject clitic
Sen.	(i) Seneca (the Younger) (ii) Senese (dialect of Siena, central northern Tuscany)
Sey.	Seychellois (Seychelles) creole
SG	singular
Sic.	Sicilian
SID(s)	southern Italian dialect(s)
SL	source language
Sl.	Slavonic
Slc.	Sanleuciano (north-eastern Campanian dialect of San Leucio del Sannio, upper south-western Italy)
S _O	intransitive (THEME/UNDERGOER) subject of an unaccusative clause
SOV	subject–object–verb order
Sp.	Spanish
Spec	specifier position
Spkr	speaker
Srd.	Sardinian
Srs.	Surselvan (Romansh dialect, south-eastern Switzerland)
Subj(P)	subject of predication (phrase)
SVi.	Sanvitese (northern Venetan dialect of San Vito di Cadore, north-eastern Italy)
SVO	subject–verb–object order
TAM	tense, aspect, and mood
Ter.	Terence
Andr.	<i>Andria</i>
Hec	<i>Hecyra</i>
Top(P)	topic (phrase)
T(P)	tense (phrase)
trans.	transitive clause
Trn.	Trentino (dialect group of Trento, north-eastern Italy)
Trp.	Trapanese (north-western Sicilian dialect of city of Trapani, extreme south of Italy)
Tsc.	Tuscan
Tur.	Turinese (central Piedmontese dialect of city of Turin, north-western Italy)
TV	thematic vowel
u	uninterpretable
UG	Universal Grammar

unacc.	unaccusative clause
unerg.	unergative clause
USID(s)	upper southern Italian dialect(s)
V	vowel
Ê	nasalized vowel
V1	verb-initial clause / word order
V2	verb-second syntax / word order
V3	verb-third clause / word order
Vals.	Valsuganotto (Trentino dialect of Valsugana, north-eastern Italy)
Vâo.	Valdôtain (Francoprovençal variety spoken in Aosta Valley, north-western Italy)
Vbc.	Verbicarese (dialect of Verbicaro spoken in Lausberg Zone of northern Calabria, southern Italy)
Ven.	Venetan
Ver.	Veronese (Venetan dialect of city of Verona, north-eastern Italy)
Vgl.	Vegliote (defunct Dalmatian dialect formerly spoken on island of Veglia (Krk))
Vlc.	Valencian (Catalan)
Vnt.	Venetian
VO	verb-object order
voc	vocative
v(P)	light verb (phrase)
V(P)	verb (phrase)
VS	verb-subject order
VSO	verb-subject-object order
W	west(ern)
Wal.	Wallon (French dialect of Wallonia, southern Belgium)
WALS	<i>World Atlas of Language Structures</i>
Wel.	Welsh
WhP	embedded wh-phrase projection

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-108-48579-1 — The Cambridge Handbook of Romance Linguistics
Edited by Adam Ledgeway , Martin Maiden
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)