

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 Vigesimal in Romance	478
15.6.2 Formal Characteristics of Vigesimal Forms in Romance	480
15.6.3 Vigesimal 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>	
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>	
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