

**Forty-fifth Cambridge Romance Linguistics Seminar**  
**Trinity Hall Cambridge**  
**5<sup>th</sup> - 6<sup>th</sup> January 2017**

**PROGRAMME AND ABSTRACTS**

**Luigi Andriani, Cambridge: The spread of inflected forms in Apulian progressive and andative periphrases**

This presentation is concerned with Barese progressive and andative periphrases which variously show inflected forms of the lexical verb restricted to the 2sg and 3sg of the present in place of the infinitive. These structures have been argued for Salentino and Sicilian dialects to have developed from instances of coordination with Latin AC ‘and’, which were then reinterpreted as instances of (pseudo-)coordination, namely subordination. In contrast, a different origin for these inflected forms is proposed for Barese and neighbouring varieties, where AC-coordination is not historically attested. It will be argued that the loss of the infinitival ending -RE produced morphophonological identity, viz. syncretism, between the 3SG(/2SG) present and the infinitive, enabling the latter to be reinterpreted as a finite form within the periphrasis. This minimal extension of inflected forms in the Barese periphrases is shown to spread further across the neighbouring dialects to include more grammatical persons (3SG/2SG>1SG>3PL>all), as well as past and irrealis paradigms, even generalising to all periphrastic contexts in some varieties (cf. Salentino and some Sicilian dialects).

**Michael Arrigo, Berkeley: On one condition: the integration of the press conditional in Spanish journalistic discourse**

In the Spanish press, the *condicional de rumor* is a mixed evidential and epistemic form, marking both “non-firsthand knowledge” and “uncertainty” (Vatrican 2015: 84). Although discouraged at the prescriptive level, it is certainly used in Spanish newspapers (Vatrican 2015: 86-88). In a corpus consisting of the Spanish national daily *El Mundo* and the regional daily *El Periódico de Catalunya*, I have found that *El Mundo* uses the construction more frequently. This asymmetry is not unexpected; Kronning (2016: 128) also finds such an asymmetry in Spanish newspapers and ties this to a newspaper’s respect for prescriptive norms, as do others (Sarrazin 2010: 102-03). The aim of this paper is to further nuance our understanding of the determinants of the *condicional de rumor*’s frequency. I will first present the findings of the corpus, commenting on the tense’s frequency and its use as an evidential and epistemic marker. I will then comment on the simple conditional’s temporal bounds in the *condicional de rumor*, which distinguish it from its supposed French source (Sarrazin 2010: 113). I will finally consider the role of journalistic discursive aims and constraints as a factor which affect its use. Through an analysis of two articles in *El Mundo*, I demonstrate that the *condicional de rumor* appears at moments when non-linguistic journalistic practices such as sourcing are highlighted. I will show that the press conditional in Spanish risks undermining two essential aspects of journalism: its status as a performative, truth-making discourse (Broersma 2010) and the autonomy of its authority (i.e., an authority based solely in “good” journalistic practices) (Lemieux 2005). I will argue that *El Mundo* mitigates this linguistic risk by drawing attention to other non-linguistic journalistic practices, ensuring the newspaper’s authority and right to truth-making while evading *prise-en-charge*. I propose that the *condicional de rumor* must be considered within the greater ecosystem of a newspaper’s representation of its own journalistic practices.

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### **Valentina Colasanti, Cambridge: Feature reassignment and microparametric change in Italo-Romance**

This paper has three main goals, namely: (i) to introduce new evidence of morphosyntactic exaptation (see among others Lass 1990; 1997; Vincent 1995; Willis 2010; 2016; Smith 2011) in Romance; (ii) to fit exaptive change within an emergentist view of parametric syntactic change (Biberauer & Roberts 2012; 2015; in press); (iii) to propose a new formal approach to morphosyntactic exaptation.

The general idea is that parameters represent the locus of crosslinguistic and diachronic variation (Roberts & Roussou 2003). Focusing on what has and what hasn't changed in the southern Italo-Romance variety of Ferentino, I will show how diachronic microvariation in Ferentino can offer interesting data and insights regarding the nature of parametric variation and syntactic theory.

Specifically, Ferentinese shows the presence of a triple complementiser system (viz. *ca* (<QUIA), *chə/che* (<QUID) and *cu* (<QUOD; cf. 1), which is not only synchronically productive (i.e. modern Ferentinese: cf. 2) but is also diachronically documented (i.e. earlier Ferentinese; cf. 1).

(1) a. *Sacci ca tu nun si 'na bbona pezza [+factive]*

I-know that you not are a good patch

'I know that you are not a good person'

b. *Curi mu dissu, dacciforte, che tu si magnatu lu pane [-factive]*

Curi to-me he-said with-power that you are eaten the bread

'Curi said to me that you ate the bread avidly'

c. *Vurìa cu gli vénto m' annariàsse [-realis]*

I-want.COND that the wind to-me areate.SUBJ.IMP

earlier Ferentinese

(2) a. *Peppu dici/credi ca Angilu pò unì a casa [± factive]*

Peter say/believe.IND.3SG that Angelo can come at home

'Peter says that Angelo can come at home'

b. *Maria ulessu chə Peppu beue sempre [-realis]*

Mary want.SUBJ.3SG that Peter drink.IND.3SG always

'Mary would like that Peter would always drink'

c. *Giuuàgni ulessu cu ie n ci issi alla festa [-realis]*

John want.SUBJ.3SG that I not CL go.SUBJ.3SG to-the party

'John would like that you wouldn't go to the party'

modern Ferentinese

In both varieties of Ferentinese, complementation appears sensitive to both modality and the structure of the left periphery (for other Italo-Romance varieties see Ledgeway 2003, 2005, 2009), but it also offers additional dimensions of microvariation (i.e. factivity selection; cf. 1a, b). However, in the passage from earlier to modern Ferentinese something changed. Specifically, these data will highlight how in Ferentinese we witness the emergence of a new value which previously had no need to be encoded (i.e. [-realis] modality in the CP). In order to mark modality the system recycled an existing obsolescent morphological form (i.e. *che*).

In this paper I will show that (i) in both earlier and modern Ferentinese a triple complementiser is found with two different distributions; and (ii) from earlier to modern Ferentinese we witness an exaptive morphosyntactic change which will be analysed in terms of feature re-assignment and concomitant microparametric change.

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### Alice Corr, Cambridge: The grammar of Spanish and Romanian discourse particles: a comparative view

In recent years, a growing body of work has emerged in favour of the formal analysis of a range of utterance-oriented elements, including discourse particles (Haegeman&Hill 2014; Bayer, Hinterhölzl & Trotzke 2015). Nonetheless, disagreement exists regarding the syntactic status of these items, which have been variously analysed as functional heads (Haegeman&Hill 2014), weak XPs (Cardinaletti 2015), and structurally-truncated adverbs (Manzini 2015). This paper offers a syntactic analysis of Spanish and Romanian verb-based discourse particles as functional heads within the clausal/sentential architecture, which, unlike their superficially-identical imperative counterparts, have a discourse-oriented/utterance-modifying interpretation (1); and are incompatible with negation (2) and clitics (3):

(1) <i>Lasă</i> leave.3SG	<i>Lasă, unde trebuie?</i> ' <u>Okay/never mind</u> , where is it needed?'	
(2) { <i>Ven/no vengas</i> } <i>conmigo</i> come.IMP/not come.SUBJ.2SG with.me	{ <i>Venga/*no vengas</i> }, come.DM/not come.SUBJ.2SG shut.up.IMP=you	<i>cállate</i>
(3) <i>Mírame a los ojos</i> look.IMP=me to the eyes	{ <i>Mira/*mírame</i> }, <i>hazme caso</i> look.DM/look.DM=me pay.IMP=me attention	

Unlike adverbs, Spanish and Romanian discourse particles exhibit interaction with person/interlocutor information (4) – though exhibit a reduced lexical paradigm (and morphophonological substance) vis-à-vis their imperative counterparts (5); are sensitive to clause-type (6); and show a distinct sentential distribution relative to adverbs.

(4) <i>Oye/oiga</i> look.IMP.2SG/look.SUBJ.3SG	<i>lentamente/*lentamente/*lentemento</i> slowly/slowly.MSC/slowly.MSC
(5) leave.DM SUBJ leave.DM.1PL leave.DM.2PL	<i>las'/lasă; *să lăsăm; lăsați lasă; să lăsăm; lăsați</i> leave.IMP.2S SUBJ leave.DM.1PL leave.DM.2PL
(6) 'There, look at it!'	<i>Uite, privește-! *Uite, cine vine?</i> (‘There, who’s coming?’)

The utterance-modifying interpretation of these discourse particles suggests they are part of the sentential syntax, and the deficiencies in their phonology, morphosyntax and semantics indicate a functional-head status. Nonetheless, Spanish and Romanian particles do not pattern identically; notably, whereas Spanish (verb-based) particles conform to the grammaticalization pathway proposed in Roberts&Roussou (2003), some Romanian particles (e.g. *hai*) exhibit the opposite behaviour, developing (restricted) verb-like behaviours (e.g. limited inflections, viz. *haidem/haideți* ‘hai.DM.1PL/hai.DM.2PL’; restricted co-ordination, *haideti și vedeți* ‘hai.DM.2PL and see.2PL’) from an originally invariant form.

### Adina Dragomirescu, Bucharest: Language contact and the head-final word order: the view from old Romanian

Background. The current assumption about the syntax of Old Romanian, and particularly about its word order, is that it has been strongly influenced by the syntax of Old Church Slavonic, from which many old texts have been translated especially in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. More recent research (Dragomirescu 2015, Nicolae 2015, 2016, Brăescu, Dragomirescu and Nicolae 2015) has shown that the phenomena regarding word order reflect an old (on its way since Latin) and general (common for both Romance and Slavic) tendency of the languages spoken in the area: an ongoing change in the head-directionality parameter, from head-final to head-initial (Ledgeway 2012, in press).

Data. We discuss data in which the head-final syntax in the nominal and adjectival phrases is still visible:

(1) a lui dumnezeiască vreaie (CC <sup>1</sup> .1581: 63)
AL.F.SG his Godly.F.SG wishing.F.SG
‘his Godly wishing’

(2) a lui iaste [DP [PP **de oameni**] iubire] (CC<sup>1</sup>.1581: 63)  
AL.F.SG his is of people love

‘his is the loving of people’

(3) un om [AP [PP **de oști**] pururea *poftitoriu*] (CLM.1700–50: 164<sup>v</sup>)

a man of armies always desirous

‘a man always desirous of armies’

Aim and claim. We argue that head-final structures attested in Old Romanian (16<sup>th</sup> century texts) are relics of the head-final syntax still visible in Latin. In order to show that the head-final to head-initial parametric passage is a general phenomenon in the area, and not a contact-induced phenomenon in Old Romanian, we compare some pieces of Old Church Slavonic texts (collected in Pleter, Lambriu, Puiu 2005, Mitu 2005) with their translations into Old Romanian and, where it is possible, with their (Late) Latin corresponding texts. Relevance. The phenomenon analyzed will assess the importance of language contact in the situation of convergent parametric changes.

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## Brittany Hause, Oxford: Diminutives and augmentatives in cruceño Spanish

Diminutive and augmentative affixes comprise a wide range of remarkably productive morphological material in Iberian Romance. This, it has been suggested, is more conspicuously true of present-day American varieties of Spanish and Portuguese than it is of their European counterparts; accordingly, diminutive and augmentative formation (the former especially) have been the focus of several investigations into American Spanish morphosyntax. Studies along these lines have drawn attention to the fact that, in addition to frequently conveying the associations with concrete size implied by the terms “diminutive” and “augmentative,” various other functions are carried out in different contexts by the noun, adjective, and adverb forms that receive these labels—including but not limited to the communication of affective meanings, intensification, attenuation, and/or hedging.

In this vein of research, I am presenting on data gathered this year from Spanish speakers in Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Bolivia, examining the ways in which recorded diminutive and augmentative usage compares and contrasts, within a specific speech community, with usage of other means of producing similar semantic effects (e.g. periphrastic constructions indicative of “smallness” or “largeness”). I pay special attention in my analysis to diminutives and augmentatives formed using the affixes -ing- and -ang-, morphemes unique in Spanish to the eastern Bolivian variety of the language I refer to as “Cruceño Spanish” spoken by my informants. I advance my theories as to the etymologies of -ing- and -ang-, touch on social factors currently influencing their occurrence in both spoken and written Cruceño Spanish, and present evidence that these affixes are not merely allomorphs of other, more geographically prevalent diminutive- and augmentative-forming devices, but rather play a distinctive role in Cruceño speech unrepresented in other varieties of Spanish.

### **Marc-Olivier Hinzelin, Hamburg: Contact-induced change in Francoprovençal phonology**

In this talk, I shall analyse contact-induced sound change in Francoprovençal varieties spoken in France. Typical Francoprovençal sounds are identified as a basis to study contact-induced sound change. Language contact and the influence of standard French on the phonological systems are examined using corpus data from the *Monts du Lyonnais* area (Hinzelin 1998, Kasstan 2015). This is compared with data from the linguistic atlases (*ALF* and *ALLY*), focusing on consonantism in particular. Dialectometric analysis of *ALF*-data (by Hans Goebel, e.g. Goebel 2003) confirms heavy French influence on Francoprovençal phonology in the area studied, which cannot be recent. In the last hundred years, probably only minor changes in unstressed vocalism occurred in the area studied.

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### **Roisin Huggins, Oxford: A Comparative Study of Postverbal Negation in Romance**

The so-called Jespersen's cycle (Jespersen, 1917) is a well-attested pattern that captures the way sentential negation developed in the history of many of the world's languages. In its original formulation, the first stage (NEG1) consists of a preverbal negative marker (herein, NEG), which in the second stage (NEG2) is reinforced by a postverbal NEG; in the third stage (NEG3) the original preverbal NEG is lost and the postverbal NEG remains as the sole means for expressing clausal negation. Theories motivating the shift from NEG1 to NEG2 in terms of phonetic weakening of the preverbal NEG and its consequent reinforcement by a postverbal NEG in "emphatic" contexts have generally been abandoned in favour of explanations that seek to account for the licencing of the postverbal NEG in particular pragmatic contexts.

The present study compares the postverbal NEG in Catalan (*pas*) and Brazilian Portuguese (*não*) in terms of both structural position and pragmatic licencing conditions. These languages provide an excellent testing ground for pragmatic conditions, since both have an optional NEG2:

- Cat. *No vull anar (pas) al cine*  
'I don't want to go to the cinema'
- BP *Não fui para a praia (não)*  
'I didn't go to the beach'

NEG3 is also found in certain varieties of BP:

- BP *Fui para a praia não*  
'I went to the beach'

Interestingly, these postverbal NEG have different origins: *pas* is a minimizer (< Lat. PASSUM 'step'), while *não* is pro-sentence (cf. Poletto, 2016: 838). The main aim of this study is to further the understanding of the licencing conditions of NEG2, particularly pragmatic restrictions, and whether any differences may be attributable to their different origin. Ultimately, a clearer understanding of NEG2 may help to explain some of the factors that motivate the way Jespersen's cycle progresses.

### **Adam Ledgeway, Norma Schifano, Giuseppina Silvestri, Cambridge: Greek-style genitive and differential object marking: mapping correlations in southern Calabria**

It has often been reported that the Romance dialects of the extreme south of Calabria have extended the distribution of the genitive preposition *di* 'of' to convey several of the traditional uses of the dative, the so-called 'dativo greco' (Rohlf 1968:§639; Trumper 2003:232-3; Manolessou-Beis 2006; Ledgeway 2013:9-13), mirroring the original pattern of the substrate Italo-Greek language (Joseph 1990:160; Horrocks 1997:125-6; Ralli 2006:140-1). As previously pointed out by Ledgeway (2013), this Greek-style marking of indirect objects is not obligatory in southern Calabrese, with indirect arguments frequently surfacing in the dative marked by the preposition *a* 'to' (1a). Even when the indirect object is marked by the genitive, it is

always obligatorily doubled by a dative clitic (*nci*, *si* and allomorphs) (1b). Therefore the genitive structure is not autonomous, as in the case of standard Modern Greek, but is instead a hybrid structure in which the indirect object is referenced through a combination of dative marking on the verbal head as well as through genitive marking on the nominal dependent. Moreover, the use of the so-called Greek-style genitive is not arbitrary, but carries a marked pragmatic interpretation, inasmuch as (1a-b) cannot be employed interchangeably.

- (1) a. La machina, *nci* la vindu a nu studenti (Bovesse, RC; Ledgeway 2013:11)  
the car to.him= it= I.sell to a student  
'I'll sell the car to a student (=not known to me, any gullible student I can find)'  
b. La machina, *nci* la vindu di nu studenti  
the car to.him= it= I.sell of a student  
'I'm selling a student the car (= specific student known to me)'

The argument licensed by the genitive in (1b) implies a specific reading of the 'student', whereas when it surfaces in the dative in (1a) is receives a non-specific reading.

Evidence collected through our recent fieldwork in southern Calabria confirms these properties, but also reveals previously undocumented patterns bearing on the presence of the definite determiner which find striking parallels with direct object marking. In particular, we have identified patterns in which the presence of the genitive marking of indirect objects, and in a similar fashion of differential object marking, depends on the availability or otherwise of the D(eterminer) position within the nominal phrase. In short, we argue that the superficial licensing of the genitive marking of indirect objects and the distribution of the prepositional accusative fall out as a consequence of the availability of N(oun)-to-D(eterminer) raising within the nominal phrase, as witnessed by the differential treatment of common and proper nouns and the contrast between those dialects that resort to expletive articles, according to an underlying Greek pattern, and those that do not. These and further patterns in surrounding varieties will be analysed against current assumptions regarding the internal structure of the nominal group.

### **Marios Mavrogiorgos, Cambridge: Aromanian reflexive possessors**

In the external possession construction the possessor appears outside the domain of the possessum. One central issue raised by this construction is that the external possessor (arguably an argument of the constituent containing the possessum) is also a verbal argument. To account for this fact, various researchers have proposed that the possessor is linked to the possessum via syntactic raising or control (see Guéron 2006). An alternative hypothesis available is that possessor raising is a double object construction (see Pylkkänen 2008). In this talk I will present data from an external reflexive possession construction documented in some Aromanian varieties spoken in north-western Greece, exemplified in (1) below, which supports the view that external possessors are verbal (dative) arguments.

- (1) Teta-nji shə aflə stranjile nəuntru tu tasturu.  
Aunt.the.nom-mine 3sg.dat.refl.cl found.3sg clothes.the.acc inside at bag  
'My aunti found her clothes inside the bag.'

After I present the main properties of the construction, which differentiate it from null or nonreflexive possessors, I will make the following claims: (a) reflexive possessors are subject oriented anaphors, contrary to null possessors (which are anaphors only if they denote inalienable possession, and whose presence is linked to discourse/semantic factors), or to nonreflexive possessors (which are pronominals, and hence cannot be bound by a local subject); (b) reflexive possessors are not raised from inside the possessum, as they can be doubled by a strong or weak internal possessive determiner. Moreover, they are not licit inside the possessum (as opposed to non-reflexive possessors), which suggests that they take dative case from the verb. Finally, external possessors have an affective reading, as opposed to internal possessors, which don't; (c) reflexive possessors are introduced by a low applicative head, which relates the possessor to the possessum (see also Pylkkänen 2008). Being clitics, they raise to Tense.

## Alexandru Nicolae, Bucharest: Grammaticalization as pattern formation: a case study of Romanian and Romance auxiliaries

A superficial analysis of the contrast between the analytic paradigms with the grammaticalized forms of Lat. HABERE in French (1) and Romanian (2) reveals from the very beginning the different TAM organization of these two languages, indicating the following facts: (i) in spite of their common source and of the fact that they have undergone a similar diachronic process (i.e. grammaticalization), auxiliaries have different TAM feature compositions across different Romance languages; (ii) the syntactic position of auxiliary grammaticalization is language-specific, grammaticalization being an instance of *pattern formation*.

- (1) a. *j'ai mangé* (French) (2) *eu am mâncat* (Romanian)  
b. *j'avais mangé*  
c. *j'aurai mangé*  
d. *(que) j'aie mangé*  
e. *j'aurais mangé*

Several empirical and theoretical consequences result from this view. In the first place, the elements of the verbal cluster (the auxiliary/auxiliaries and the lexical verb) contribute in different degrees to TAM valuation. Assuming a rich functional structure of the IP-domain (Cinque 1999, Ledgeway 2012, Schifano 2015), we show that in languages like French the auxiliary values the TAM features in and of itself and the lexical verb plays a minimal role in TAM valuation, while in languages like Romanian the impoverished feature content of auxiliaries determines a stronger involvement of the lexical verb in TAM valuation. This analytical hypothesis accounts for a well-known comparative paradox concerning French and Romanian: while the synthetic forms of these languages raise to a high IP-related position (see Schifano 2015 and references therein), in analytic constructions the lexical verb undergoes V-to-I raising only in Romanian (2), but not in French (3) (Alboiu & Motapanyane 2000), as shown by the classical V-raising diagnostics (adverb position and floating Qs).

- (2) a. *Probabil el a (\*probabil) venit probabil.* (Romanian)  
b. *El a (\*bine) mâncat bine.*  
c. *Copiii au (\*toți) văzut toți filme bune.*  
(3) a. *Il est probablement venu.* (French)  
b. *Il a bien mangé.*  
c. *Les enfants ont tous vu (\*tous) de bons films.*

The validity of the second hypothesis (i.e. grammaticalization represents an instance of *pattern formation*) is verified by the diachronic analysis of the Romanian analytic system. It is shown that, despite the pan-Romance transition from syntheticity to analyticity (see Ledgeway 2012: ch2 and references therein), there are several situations in which in the competition between an old conservative synthetic structure and a novel analytic construction it is the old synthetic structure that is preserved diachronically; the analytic structure is diachronically eliminated because the feature composition of the auxiliary does not observe the feature composition pattern of auxiliaries grammaticalized by Romanian (see Nicolae 2015 for discussion, and Zafiu 2016 for data).

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### **Tom Rainsford, Stuttgart: *De-* prefixation and spatial expressions in medieval French**

The derivation of new forms of spatial Ps through the addition of the prefix *de-* is a well-attested phenomenon in Romance. In medieval French both *de-*prefixed and simple forms exist with apparently similar meaning and distribution (e.g. *fors/defors*; *sus/dessus*). However, this paper challenges the conventional view that the two series are equivalent by proposing an important semantic distinction between them: we suggest that *de-*prefixed forms do not simply express a spatial relation between a Figure and a Ground, but instead denote *a region defined with respect to a Ground within which the Figure is located*. Three observations are used to justify this analysis.

Firstly, *de-*prefixed forms are not found in verb–particle constructions. According to Burnett and Tremblay’s (2009) analysis, although not inherently directional, in combination with a motion verb particles may specify or reinforce the path of motion rather than expressing the goal. We suggest that since *de-*prefixed forms denote a region, they cannot express a path of motion. Secondly, only *de-*prefixed forms are used following the preposition *par*. We argue that the core meaning of spatial *par* is ‘at an indefinite point or points within region *x*’, where *x* is the complement of *par*; consequently, the region-denoting *de-*prefixed form is preferred to the simple form. Finally, *de-*prefixed forms may be nominalized in order to denote a part of an implicit or explicit Ground (e.g. *le dessous* ‘the underneath’). However, we will emphasize that the emergence of such nominalization is both comparatively late (15th century) and shows some unexpected features, such as a strong preference for metaphorical uses. We tentatively suggest that while nominalization is clearly compatible with the region-denoting semantics of *de-*prefixed forms, it only develops as part of a wider reorganization of the P system that has led to the systematic morphological differentiation of simple transitive Ps from *de-*prefixed intransitive Ps in modern French.

### **Sam Wolfe, Oxford: Towards a new account of old Gallo-Romance word order**

Despite a truly vast literature on Old French word order (Vance 1997; Rouveret 2004; Mathieu 2012; Labelle & Hirschbühler forthcoming) and a growing empirical understanding of word order in Old Occitan (Kunert 2003; Vance, Donaldson & Steiner 2009; Donaldson 2015, 2016) there remains as yet no formal account of the similarities and differences between these important early Romance varieties. This lacuna is significant as the correct analysis of core clausal word order in Old French and Old Romance in general is a hugely controversial area of Romance scholarship (see Rinke & Elsig 2010 and Benincà 2013 for opposing views). Based on detailed quantitative analysis of two 13th century texts, *La Vie de Sainte Douceline* in the case of Occitan and *La Queste del Saint Graal* in the case of French and a hand search of a range of 11th–13th century texts for each language, we propose a new account of the similarities and differences.

Drawing on the insights developed in Rizzi (1997) and Benincà & Poletto (2004) that the left periphery consists of a rich set of hierarchically ordered functional projections, I assume that the V2 property, commonly conceptualised as entailing V-to-C movement, can vary in terms of which position in the left periphery the verb targets. In the case of Old Occitan, I hypothesise that the verb targets Fin<sup>o</sup>, the lowest functional head in the left periphery, and as such the whole range of left-peripheral positions are *a priori* active. In the case of 13th century French, I propose that the verb targets one of the highest positions in the clause, Force, which results in heavy restrictions in the left-peripheral structure available. This proposal permits a novel and revealing account of the differences between the relevant texts concerning V>3 structures, the licensing of null subjects and topics, the clitic pronominal system and the licensing of Verb Second structures in embedded clauses.

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