

# *Contents*

<i>Series preface</i>	ix
<i>List of tables</i>	xi
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xiii
<b>1 From Latin to Romance: introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 From Latin to Romance: the historical background	1
1.2 Research questions	2
1.3 Aims and objectives	4
1.4 Acknowledgements	8
<b>2 Syntheticity and analyticity</b>	<b>10</b>
2.1 Traditional approach	10
2.2 Problems	12
2.2.1 Languages or constructions?	12
2.2.2 Absolute vs relative interpretations	16
2.2.3 Causal relations between analyticity and morphophonological erosion	21
2.2.4 Gradual change and competition	23
2.2.5 Explanatory power	24
2.2.6 Grammaticalization	28
<b>3 Configurationality and the rise of constituent structure</b>	<b>30</b>
3.1 Introduction	30
3.2 Nominal and verbal groups	31
3.2.1 Latin	35
3.2.1.1 Discontinuous structures	43
3.2.1.2 Conclusion	45
3.2.2 Romance	47
3.2.2.1 Adjectival positions	50
3.2.2.1.1 Restricted adjectival positions	55
3.2.2.2 Complements and adjuncts	57
3.3 The sentence	59
3.3.1 Classical Latin	59
3.3.1.1 Discontinuous structures	61
3.3.2 Late Latin and Romance	64

3.4 Configurationality: concluding remarks	71
3.4.1 Degrees of configurationality	77
4 Configurationality and the rise of functional structure	81
4.1 Introduction	81
4.2 Determiner phrase (DP)	82
4.2.1 Indefinite article	82
4.2.2 Definite article	89
4.2.2.1 Late Latin	89
4.2.2.2 Romance	96
4.2.2.2.1 IPSE articles	100
4.2.2.2.2 Neuter articles	105
4.2.2.3 Conclusion	107
4.2.3 Other determiners	110
4.2.3.1 Romanian	113
4.2.3.1.1 Demonstrative article	113
4.2.3.1.2 Possessive article	115
4.3 Inflectional phrase (IP)	119
4.3.1 Romance auxiliaries	119
4.3.1.1 Semantic weakening	121
4.3.1.2 Morphosyntactic properties	124
4.3.1.3 Morphophonological specialization	127
4.3.1.4 Romance perfective auxiliary constructions	130
4.3.1.5 Romance synthetic future(-in-the-past)	134
4.3.2 Romance verb positions	140
4.3.2.1 Summary and conclusions	146
4.4 Complementizer phrase (CP)	150
4.4.1 Evidence for Latin CP structure	150
4.4.1.1 Archaic non-configurational pattern	156
4.4.2 Evidence for Romance CP structure	158
4.4.2.1 Topic and Focus Fields	159
4.4.2.1.1 Internal structure of Topic and Focus fields	162
4.4.2.1.1.1 Focus field	162
4.4.2.1.1.2 Topic field	166
4.4.2.2 Force and Finiteness	169
4.4.2.3 Other projections	176
4.5 Conclusion	179

---

5 From Latin to Romance: a configurational approach	181
5.1 Introduction	181
5.1.1 Early evidence for functional structure	183
5.1.2 Early evidence for configurationality	185
5.2 Head parameter: traditional observations	196
5.2.1 Some Romance counterexamples?	198
5.3 Changing directions: Latin	202
5.3.1 Early head-initial structures	204
5.3.1.1 Complementizers and adpositions	205
5.3.1.2 Comparatives	207
5.3.1.3 Relatives	209
5.3.1.4 Noun phrase	210
5.3.1.4.1 Adjectives	210
5.3.1.4.2 Genitives	213
5.3.1.4.3 Concluding remarks	218
5.3.1.5 Other categories	219
5.3.1.6 Summary	224
5.3.2 Verbal group	225
5.3.2.1 Auxiliary and dependent infinitive	234
5.3.3 Conclusion	235
5.4 Changing directions: from Latin to Romance	235
5.4.1 Head-last ⇒ head-first: roll-up	236
5.4.2 Rise of head-initiality	238
5.4.2.1 Position of complement clauses	242
5.4.2.2 Position of nominal complements	249
5.4.2.3 Other patterns of harmonization	252
5.4.2.4 Clausal word order	255
5.4.3 Pragmatic variation: left-edge fronting	258
5.4.3.1 Identifying the left-edge: cola and left peripheries	259
5.4.3.2 Modifier fronting	262
5.4.3.2.1 Reanalysis: roll-up ⇒ edge-fronting	269
5.4.3.3 Nominal fronting	270
5.4.3.4 From Latin to Romance	277
5.5 Conclusion	281
6 Head-marking and dependent-marking	284
6.1 Introduction	284
6.2 Variation in marking	286
6.3 Romance functional categories ⇒ Romance head-marking	289
6.3.1 Head-marking on D	290
6.3.2 Head-marking on Infl	292

6.3.3 Head-marking on C	298
6.3.4 Extreme head-marking: the case of Ripano	299
6.3.4.1 Verbal domain	300
6.3.4.1.1 Subject-verb agreement	300
6.3.4.1.2 Subject-/object-verb agreement	302
6.3.4.1.3 Object-verb agreement	305
6.3.4.2 Contagious head-marking	308
6.4 Conclusion	310
 7 The rise and fall of alignments	 312
7.1 Introduction	312
7.2 Classical Latin	314
7.3 Late Latin and conservative Romance: active/stative syntax	316
7.3.1. Verbal group	317
7.3.1.1 Perfective auxiliary constructions	317
7.3.1.1.1 Latin background	317
7.3.1.1.2 Romance	319
7.3.1.2 Participle agreement	326
7.3.2 Nominal group	328
7.3.2.1 Extended and generalized accusative	328
7.3.2.2 Early Romance binary case systems	333
7.3.3 Sentence: word order	335
7.3.4 Other patterns	336
7.4 Innovative Romance: nominative/accusative syntax	340
7.4.1 Verbal group	341
7.4.1.1 Perfective auxiliary constructions	341
7.4.1.2 Participle agreement	347
7.4.2 Sentence: word order	349
7.5 Concluding remarks	351
 <i>References</i>	 353
<i>Index</i>	409