

Zifonun, Gisela. 2017. Relativsyntagmen. In Lutz Gunkel, Adriano Murelli, Susan Schlotthauer, Bernd Wiese & Gisela Zifonun (eds.), *Grammatik des Deutschen im europäischen Vergleich: das Nominal. Teilband 2, Nominalflexion, Nominale Syntagmen*, 1736–1806. Berlin & Boston: de Gruyter.

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4 Mechanisms and paths of grammaticalization and reanalysis in Romance

1 The Romance languages: A structural and typological overview

1.1 Latin and Romance

The Romance languages have evolved from a common source, Latin, a variety of the Italic branch of Indo-European, originally spoken in a west-central area of Italy, Latium (Lazio), probably dating back to 1000 BC (Harris 1988: 1, among others), and subsequently spreading, during the Republican age and especially with the rise and expansion of the Roman Empire, beyond Italy, to northern and eastern Europe as well as to western north Africa, with a wealth of documentation (both literary and sub-literary) roughly from 200 BC, and only few texts before then (Clackson 2016: 3 and references therein). With the end of the Western Empire, by the end of the fifth century AD (officially in 476, date of the deposition of the last Emperor, Romulus Augustulus), the changed socio-cultural conditions, leading to the loss of the awareness of belonging to a 'unitary 'Roman' world' (Varvaro 1991, among others), determined a profound restructuring in the rules and relations governing linguistic variation in the Latin-speaking world, resulting in the seeming 'fragmentation' of the original linguistic unity and the emergence of Romance vernaculars. The rigid unitary Latin norm, that until that time had kept in check the local, centrifugal forces, collapsed and the latter often emerged as the new norm(s) in various, different areas of the *România*, so that "diastatic variation changes and crystallizes into diatopic variation" (Varvaro 1991: 49), with Latin continuing to be used as the language of culture and of the clergy during late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, whilst the 'local norms', reflecting the spoken language(s), were used more and more in everyday communication. The diglossic situation whereby Latin, the high prestige language, alternated with the low prestige, local spoken varieties ('vernaculars') (Kabatek [2016: 627]; Wright [1991, 2016] for a different view) – the latter emerging in written texts by the late eighth (e.g., the *Indovinello Veronese* in Italy) and ninth (e.g., the *Strasbourg Oaths* in northern France) centuries, although sporadically until the beginning of the twelfth century (Frank-Job and Selig 2016: 24) – gradually evolved into a new, triglossic picture from the late twelfth century onwards (until the Renaissance). Then the writing of chronicles, juridical and administrative acts in the local vernaculars (attested initially in southern France, subsequently in the Iberian Peninsula, northern France and Italy) leads to a clear divergence between

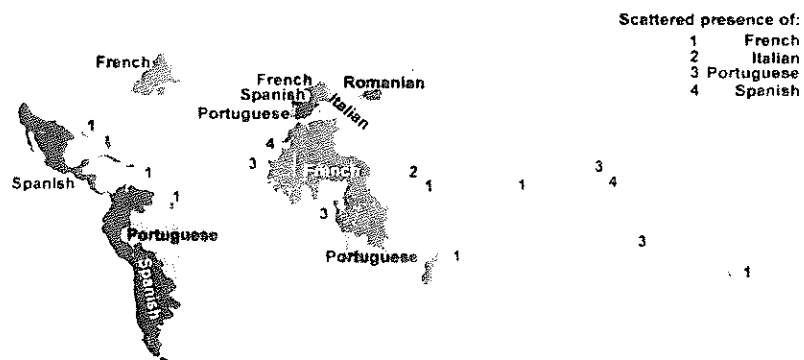


Fig. 1: The Romance language areas of the world. From Bernd Kortman & Johan van der Auwera (eds.), *The languages and linguistics of Europe: A comprehensive guide*, 70–71. Berlin: de Gruyter.

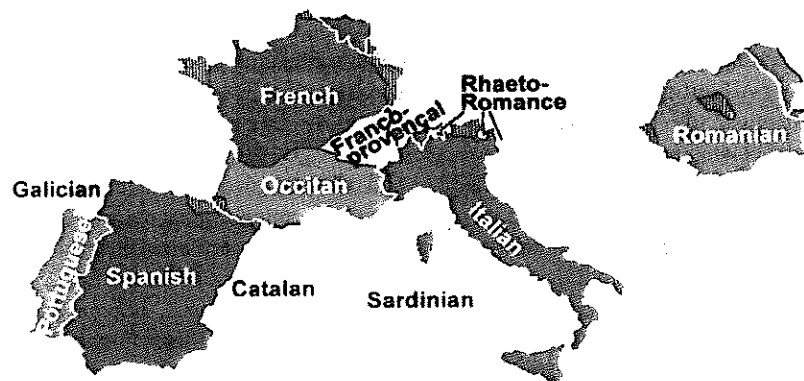


Fig. 2: The Romance language areas in Europe. From Bernd Kortman & Johan van der Auwera (eds.), *The languages and linguistics of Europe: A comprehensive guide*, 70–71. Berlin: de Gruyter.

the high prestige Latin, and written Romance and spoken Romance (and other) varieties, depending on the area, until the establishment of the Romance vernaculars as the dominant languages of official documents, with Latin gradually retreating for this purpose by the sixteenth century (Kabatek 2016: 627–628, among others, and references therein).

Over time, standardization processes and socio-political reasons led to a number of officially recognized national standard languages – nowadays including French,

Spanish, Portuguese, spoken also in the Americas and in Africa (see Figure 1), as well as less widely spoken languages such as Italian, Romanian, Catalan, – and a number of languages and varieties (at times only conventionally labelled as such but languages in their own right, like the Italo-Romance dialects; Maiden and Parry [1997: 2–3]; Vincent [2014: 2–5]), with no such official status, such as Romance Creoles (Papiamentu, Haitian Creole, Chavacano creole), Judaeo-Spanish, Aragonese, Asturian, Galician, Gascon, Francoprovençal, Occitan, Aromanian, Megleno-Romanian, Istro-Romanian, Sardinian, Italo-Romance, Raeto-Romance, just to mention a few (Harris [1988: 1–25]; Pountain [2016: 634] and the overview and structural descriptions in Ledgeway and Maiden [2016]). As recently pointed out by Bossong (2016: 68), the list of Romance languages potentially varies depending on the criteria adopted (see also Kabatek and Pusch 2011: 73–74). The areal distribution of the languages is shown in Figure 1 and Figure 2 (from Kabatek and Pusch 2011: 70–71), illustrating the areas where the Romance languages are spoken as L1 as well as those where they are either the official/national languages or lingua francas.

1.2 Morphosyntactic typology, structural characteristics and classifications

Latin was a canonical dependent-marking language, with head-marking patterns on the verb (signalled by verb agreement, indexing person and number of the subject, generally unexpressed if pronominal, so-called null anaphora¹ [Nichols 1986: 77, 104; Ledgeway 2012: 286]) and a flat, non-configurational syntax (Vincent 1997a, 1998) in the nominal, verbal, adjectival and adverbial domains, unlike at the sentence and prepositional levels, where there is evidence of ‘incipient’ configurationality (Ledgeway 2012: 77–80). Thus, the syntactic dependency relations between constituents is ‘lexocentrically encoded’ (Bresnan 2001: 109–112; Ledgeway 2012: 71, note 84, 72–77), by means of case-marking and agreement (*puella rosas donat* girl.F.SG.NOM rose.F.PL.ACC donate.PRS.3SG ‘the girl donates roses’). In contrast, the Romance languages are dependent-marking languages with a well-developed system of head-marked coding, in different grammatical domains (e.g., the nominal, verbal and clause/sentence level) and a configurational organization of their grammar (Vincent 1997b, 1998; Ledgeway 2011b, 2012: ch. 6). Thus, syntactic relations between constituents are expressed by means of hierarchically ordered strings of elements with fixed positions and limited order flexibility (It. *i miei studenti amano la musica* lit. ‘the my students enjoy music’ [**studenti miei* i] [*students mine the] ‘my students enjoy music’).

¹ Latin, however, also allows object pro-drop (Vincent 1997b: 151; Ledgeway 2012: 71–75) and generally the omission of arguments (subject, direct object, indirect object, prepositional object etc.) if pragmatically salient and recoverable (I thank Adam Ledgeway for raising this point).

The typological changes taking place in the transition from Latin to Romance involve indeed the *rise of configurationality* and the *emergence of head-marked coding systems* (Vincent [1997b, 1998, 2003] and the more recent perceptive and thorough analysis for all grammatical domains by Ledgeway [2011b, 2012, 2016b, 2017b]), together with head-marked patterns of active-inactive/stative syntax (depending on the structure) (Cennamo 2009) in several grammatical domains (La Faudi 1994). These innovations result in several of the grammaticalization phenomena observable in Romance and discussed in the present chapter, such as (i) the *rise of articles*, with a ‘dedicated position for (in)definiteness marking’ (Ledgeway 2011c: 721–723, 2012: 80–118, 2016b: 764–767), (ii) the *emergence of clitics* (Vincent 1997b, 1998), (iii) the *proliferation of auxiliaries*, (iv) the *replacement of non-finite complementation* (e.g., accusative + infinitive) with a *rich system of complementizers* introducing the different (subordinate) clause types (so-called functional heads in the generative framework), (v) the *fixing of SVO as the sentence unmarked word order*, after an initial V medial position (SVO/OVS) in Late Latin (Herman 2000: 86) leading to V2 syntax in Medieval Romance (but in old Sardinian, most typically V1, Lombardi [2007] and recent nuanced discussion in Wolfe [2015]), a characteristic still retained in some Romansh and Ladin varieties (Salvi 2016: 1009–1010) and subsequently lost (see full discussion in Ledgeway 2012: 59–80, 2016b: 771; Salvi 2016; Wolfe 2018 and references therein).

The typological and structural changes characterizing the Romance languages in respect to Latin (on which see Vincent [2016b] for a recent overview) point to a *northern-southern differentiation* within the Romània, based on morphosyntactic characteristics (Zamboni [1998: 130–131] and recent discussion in Bentley [2020]; Drinka [2020]), albeit with phonological reflexes as well (Zamboni 2000: 87–88), differing from previously proposed classifications, such as the western-eastern one, based on phonological properties (von Wartburg 1950; Bosson 2016: 71) and the centre-periphery distinction, based on lexical distribution (Bartoli [1929, 1933] and discussion in Ledgeway [2012: 314]). More specifically, northern Romance (comprising northern and southern Gaul, northern Italian dialects, Ræto-Romance) and southern Romance (including Ibero-Romance, central/southern Italian dialects, Sardinian and Daco-Romance), are differentiated by a number of opposing structural characteristics, namely (i) differential marking of the S/A² argument (through subject clitics/preverbal order) and rise of the partitive vs differential marking of highly individuated Os (animate/human/definite/referential), (ii) development of obligatory subject clitic pronouns vs null subjects; (iii) past participle agreement vs lack of past participle agreement; (iv) preference for the present perfect in aoristic function

vs use of the simple past and lack of the present perfect; (v) presence of a split intransitivity contrast marked through auxiliary selection (‘have’ vs ‘be’) vs generalization of one auxiliary (either ‘have’/‘hold’ or ‘be’) (Zamboni 1998: 130–131, 2000: 102–105; Ledgeway 2012: 314).

The present discussion takes a broader perspective on grammaticalization, which is viewed as involving different types and degrees of ‘tightness’ affecting linguistic expressions in all grammatical domains (Haspelmath [1998a: 318]; Wiemer and Bisang [2004: 4]; Carlier, De Mulder, and Lamiroy [2012: 293], among others, and discussion in Lehmann [2015: 11–17]). Thus, not only changes from “more to less lexical or from less to more grammatical” (Börjars and Vincent 2011: 163) will be considered, but also changes concerning the higher ‘internal’ dependency among constituents (Haspelmath 2004: 10), such as the fixing of word order (Lehmann [1992]; Ledgeway [2011c: 727–728] and Sitaridou [2012: 596–598] for Romance) and the degree of syntactic cohesion between the matrix causative verb and its dependent infinitive with causatives (Soares da Silva 2012; Vincent 2016a). The study also addresses processes of reanalysis, with which grammaticalization interacts (Hopper and Traugott [2003: 59]; Traugott [2011: 21], with a discussion of different aspects and definitions of the relationship between grammaticalization and reanalysis and related references).

2 Grammaticalization of nominal categories

2.1 Declension class(es) and gender

Most Romance languages display three types of endings for the singular of nouns and adjectives, namely *-a*, for feminine gender, *-o/-u* for masculine gender, *-e* for either masculine or feminine (e.g., Sp, *chica* ‘girl’ [F], *chico* ‘boy’ [M], *clase* ‘class’ [F]), continuing the Latin declensions: first (ACC *puellam* ‘girl’/*bonam* ‘good’), second (ACC *puerum* ‘boy’/*bonum* ‘good’) and third (ACC *canem* ‘dog’/*celerem* ‘swift’). In languages/varieties where the distinction between final unstressed *-e* and *-o* was phonologically neutralized (e.g., French, Occitan, Romansh), the three-way opposition has become a two-way distinction, between the first declension, retaining the final vowel and associated with feminine gender, and a non-first declension, lacking the final vowel, and associated with either gender, while class membership is quite arbitrary (Maiden 2011: 159–163, 2016b: 508).

Genders, the relationship between nouns and their modifiers (Maiden 1995: 106), or, more precisely, “classes of nouns reflected in the behaviour of associated words, being fundamentally a matter of morphosyntactic agreement” (Martin Maiden, p.c.), are marked on articles, (attributive) adjectives, (strong/clitic, third person) pronouns, including possessives and determiners, participles, first and second person plural pronouns incorporated into an indefinite adjective/pronoun (e.g., Rom. *noantri/noantre* [we.other.M.PL/F.PL] ‘we’; *voantri/voantre* [you.other.M.PL/F.PL]

² S, A/O are syntactico-semantic primitives, referring to the sole participant of an intransitive predicate and to the Agent/Patient participants of a transitive predicate. In their canonical realizations they coincide with the grammatical categories of subject and object (Dixon [1979, 1994: 6–8], also Mithun and Chafe [1999] and more recent discussion in Haspelmath [2011]).

Tab. 1: Reanalysis of Latin gender classes.

Latin	>	Romance
neuter plural (-a)	>	feminine singular
<i>FOLIUM-A</i> 'leaf'		It. <i>fogli-a</i> , Pt. <i>folha</i> , Cat. <i>fulla</i> , Ro. <i>foaie</i> 'leaf'
fruit names		
<i>MAL-UM</i> (N.SG)/ <i>MAL-A</i> (N.PL) 'apple/apples'		It. <i>mel-a</i> (F.SG) 'apple'; <i>mel-e</i> (F.PL) 'apples'
tree names		
feminine singular >	>	masculine
(morphologically masculine)		<i>per-o</i> 'pear tree'
<i>PIR-US</i> 'pear tree' (F)		<i>per-i</i> 'pear trees'

'you') and marginally, in some southern Italo-Romance varieties, adjectival adverbs (Ledgeway 2011a: 37; Loporcaro 2016b: 924), intertwining with number (Maiden 2016c: 700, and § 2.2). Most typically, Romance languages show a two-gender system (but see discussion further below and § 2.2), feminine vs non-feminine, the latter conventionally labelled masculine (reflecting the CL formal identity between the masculine and neuter in the various declensions for some cases and further subsequent phonetic and morphological changes in Romance [Maiden 1995: 108]). Although there is a semantic core for gender assignment, reflecting sex congruence, especially for human beings (It. *ragazzo/ragazza* 'boy/girl', proper names (It. *Claudio/Claudia*) and domestic animals (Pt. *cavalo/egua* 'horse/mare'), there is a high degree of arbitrariness. Thus, for instance, the word 'fox' is feminine in Italian (*la volpe*), masculine in French (*le renard*), while displaying two words of different gender in Spanish, respectively masculine and feminine reflecting sex (e.g., *zorro* 'fox' / *zorra* 'vixen') and Romanian, where the masculine form *vulpoi(ul)* is derived from the feminine *vulpe(a)* (Loporcaro 2016b: 926). In some lexical domains, as with tree and fruit names, the apparent arbitrariness in gender assignment results from the reanalysis of previous Latin gender classes. Originally neuter Latin fruit names (*malum/mala* 'apple/apples') became (mostly) feminine, owing to the reanalysis of the neuter plural ending *-a* as feminine singular (It. *mela* 'apple'), prompted by formal identity with the inflectional ending of first declension nouns, e.g., *puella(m)* 'girl' (Maiden 1995: 108–109, 2011: 172, 2016c: 111–112 and references therein). On the other hand, tree names, that in Latin belonged to the second declension and were assigned to the feminine gender (e.g., *pirus* 'the pear tree'), are reanalysed as masculine, owing to their morphologically masculine inflection (Maiden 2011: 172; Loporcaro 2016b: 926, 2018: 55). In Romanian, however, some fruit names are neuter (e.g., *măr(ul)/mere(le)* '(the) apple / (the) apples'), although most are feminine (Loporcaro 2016b: 926), whereas in some central-southern Italian dialects (e.g., Agnone [Molise] fruit names are neuter and contrast with masculine fruit trees (Loporcaro and Paciaroni 2011: 410–411; Loporcaro 2016b: 927).

Tab. 2: Two-/three-/four-gender systems and reanalysis of Latin gender classes in some domains.

	Feminine	Masculine	Neuter	Alternating
Two-gender system:	It. <i>ragazz-a/e</i> girl-F.SG/F.PL 'girl/s'	It. <i>ragazz-o/i</i> boy-M.SG/M.PL 'boy/s'		
Three-gender system: neuter = <i>alternating</i> <i>gender</i>	Ro. <i>băutur-a</i> drink (F.SG) – the.F.SG Ro., It. (small class, e.g., body parts), Neap. (neuter with mass nouns) (Loporcaro & Paciaroni 2011: 399)	Ro. <i>student-ul</i> student (M.SG) – the.M.SG 'the student'/ <i>student-i</i> students (M.PL) – the.M.PL 'the students'	Ro. <i>vin-ul</i> wine (N.SG) – the.M.SG 'the wine'/ <i>vinuri-le</i> wine (N.PL) – the.F.PL It. <i>bracci-o</i> (M.SG) <i>bracci-a</i> arm – M.SG / – F.PL 'arm/arms'	
Four-gender system: SID (e.g., Aviglianese, Molfettese) (Loporcaro & Paciaroni 2011: 410)	Molf. <i>lā voʔfā</i> 'the voice' <i>rā vvaʔfā</i> 'the voices'	Molf. <i>u ffiʔrrā</i> (da stʔrā) (SG) 'the iron' <i>lā ffiʔrrā</i> (PL) 'the irons'	Molf. <i>rā ffiʔrrā</i> (material) (mass noun) 'the iron'	Molf. <i>u vitʔrā</i> 'the glass' (SG) (singular: masculine article) <i>rā vvetārā</i> 'the glasses' (PL) (plural: feminine article)

In Romanian and marginally in Italo-Romance, there is also evidence for three-gender systems (e.g., Neapolitan, where neuter /o/ and feminine plural /e/ prompt phonosyntactic doubling, Ledgeway [2009: 150–154]; Loporcaro [2016b: 932]; Maiden [2016d] for a perceptive, different view) and even four-gender systems in central-southern Italo-Romance. The former continues the Latin (three-gender) system (masculine, feminine, neuter), which was eliminated and reanalysed at a different pace in different Romance areas (Loporcaro 2016b: 930–931). This state of affairs is instantiated by the so-called *genus alternans* (Loporcaro and Paciaroni 2011; Loporcaro 2018: 225–230), a phenomenon whose (potentially triggering) morphological conditions are inherited from IE (Maiden [2016d], whereby, for instance, some nouns display feminine agreement in the plural (*-e* in Romanian, *-a* in Italian) and masculine agreement in the singular (e.g., Ro. *brațele* '(the) arms', *brațul* '(the) arm'; It. *(le) braccia* 'the arms', *(il) braccio* 'the arm', see Section 2.2). Four-gender systems are attested in old Neapolitan (with modern Neapolitan exhibiting instead a three-gender system, masculine, feminine and neuter with mass nouns [Ledgeway 2009: 150–164; Loporcaro 2016b: 932]), Salento and northern Calabria, where the new alternating system involves feminine agreement in the singular and masculine in the plural (Loporcaro 2016b: 932–933).

2.2 Number

In the Romance languages number is expressed inflectionally on nouns, pronouns, adjectives, determiners and verbs. Three types of plural endings (mainly continuing the Latin tripartite system from accusative forms in *-s*, *-i* and *-a* [neuter plural]) can be found:³ (i) *the sigmatic plural in the west* (Iberian peninsula, western Occitan, written French, Romansh, Friulan, Ladin and Sardinian), (ii) *the vocalic plural in the east* (Italo-Romance, Dalmatian, Daco-Romance), (iii) *the invariant form in the north* (spoken French, Francoprovençal, northern Occitan) (Maiden 2016c). They are realized, respectively, as *-s* and *-i/-e/-a*, depending on the inflectional class and gender, with the invariant type characterized by identity of the singular and plural forms. In the vocalic type (in which there occurs cumulative marking of number and gender) the *-i* ending is the most frequent form, marking masculine plural and feminine plurals for nouns whose singular form ends in *-e* (It. *voc-e/-i* 'voice'). The distribution of the three types of endings varies according to the language/variety and their individual phonological rules, the sigmatic system probably underlying historically the expression of plural number in all Romance languages, with the feminine plural *-e* derived from the path **AS > *-a_i > -e* (Maiden 2016c: 698 and references therein) and the masculine *-i* being both a reflex of third declension *-es* and of second declension masculine nominative plural *-i* (Maiden 1995: 102; 2016c: 699–700). The Latin neuter plural *-a* instead is reanalysed as a feminine plural marker for masculine singular nouns deriving from continuants of Latin (inanimate) second declension nouns in *-us* (e.g., It. *muro* 'wall' vs *mura* 'walls') in some areas (Daco-Romance, southern Italo-Romance, with traces also in standard Italian and Dalmatian (Vegliote), owing to its identity with the singular feminine ending *-a(M)* (e.g., *filia(m)* 'daughter'). This led to the so-called *genus alternans* (Igartua 2006; Loporcaro and Paciaroni 2011), a typologically unusual pattern (attested in several Australian languages) (Loporcaro and Paciaroni 2011: 414), whereby a gender opposition is reanalysed as a number distinction (cf. § 2.1). In some varieties (e.g., Italian, Portuguese, French), neuter *-a* was also reanalysed as a feminine singular marker (It. *foglia*, Pt. *folha*, Cat. *fulla* 'leaf') (Maiden 2016c: 700, 2016d) and even as a masculine plural ending in some regions (e.g., Corsica) – a much later and localized phenomenon (Martin Maiden, p.c.) – spreading to animate nouns as well (Cors. *avvukatu* 'lawyer' – *avvukata* 'lawyers' (Maiden 2016c: 701). An unusual morphological structure is displayed by the plural *-ora* (> *uri* in Romanian), the continuant of the plural of (neuter third declension) Latin nouns of the type *CORPUS* – *CORPORA* 'body/bodies'; this form, unlike the other Romance plural desinences (monomorphemic and monosegmental), is disyllabic, involving the morphological reanalysis of *-OR*, a positional variant of root final *-US*, reinterpreted as part of an inflectional ending consisting of two formatives, *-OR* + *-A*, thus showing a 'double, syntagmatic,

morphological marking of the plural' and remaining confined to inanimates and exhibiting genus alternans (Maiden 2016c: 702–703, 2016d). Reanalysis is also attested for nouns denoting non-separable pairs/sets (e.g., scissors, trousers) that are idiosyncratically either singular or plural in some Romance languages (cf. Fr. *un pantalon* '[a pair of] trousers' vs Sp. *pantalón-SG/pantalones-PL*) (Maiden 2016c: 706 and further discussion therein).

2.3 Possession

Possession is instantiated by various constructions in Romance, falling within the nominal (attributive) and verbal (predicative) domains. In the former the possessor–possessee relation is encoded by means of prepositional phrases headed by the prepositions *de/di* 'of' and by the oblique case in Romanian (§ 2.4.2.2). The latter domain involves the continuants of the Latin location and equation schemas – instantiated by the 'be' construction, with the possessor encoded as an oblique argument and the possessee in the nominative, as in the Romanian external possession pattern (Ro. *Ioana îmi este cumnată* Ioana [I.DAT be.PRS.3SG sister-in-law] lit. 'Ioana to-me is sister-in-law' 'Ioana is my sister-in-law', [Niculescu 2013: 186]) – and the action schema, realized by the 'have' pattern, with the possessor in the nominative and the possessee in the accusative, the latter structure used for both alienable and inalienable possession (It. *Marco ha una bella intelligenza* [Mark have.PRS.3SG a fine mind] 'Mark has a fine mind'). The distribution of these two verbal (possessive) constructions varies: Italian, Spanish and northern Italian dialects only employ the 'have' pattern, whilst French, Romanian and upper southern Italian dialects allow both (although with definiteness restrictions on the nominal expressing the possessee in French) (*la maison est à moi/Jean/*la femme* [the.FSG house.FSG be.PRS.3SG to me/John/the woman], Bentley and Ciconte [2016: 851]). Portuguese has grammaticalized two different verbs for the action and accompaniment scheme, respectively the verbs *ter* 'hold' and *estar* 'stay' plus a comitative phrase introduced by the preposition *com* 'with', the last pattern employed for alienable possession (Bpt. *estou com vinte reais no bolso* [stay.1SG with twenty reais in pocket] 'I've got twenty reais in my pocket', Whitlam [2011: 297]), a pattern also available in colloquial regional Southern Italian registers (e.g., Neap. *sto con dieci euro* [stay.PRS.1SG with ten euros] 'I have ten euros', Ro. *El este cu două mașini* he [stay.PRS.3SG with two cars] 'He has two cars' [example from Martin Maiden, p.c.]). The same holds generally for Ibero-Romance and upper southern-Italo-Romance (Bentley and Ciconte 2016: 852), with Neapolitan exhibiting the grammaticalization of *tenere* 'hold' as a durative and result copular-like, linking element, used for permanent/inherent situations, e.g., *tenere pazienza* [hold.INF patience] 'to be patient' (lit. 'to have patience'), differing from *avé* 'have', occurring for contingent situations, e.g., *agge pazienza!* [have.IMP.2SG patience] 'be patient' (Ledgeway 2009: 645–647; Bentley and Ciconte 2016: 852).

³ These, however, are typological tendencies rather than absolutes (Martin Maiden, p.c.).

2.4 Determiners

Among determiners (demonstratives, quantifiers, possessives and determiner-like adjectives, e.g., It. *altro* 'other'), two major Romance innovations involving grammaticalization are the rise of articles (§ 2.4.1), a category that was lacking in Latin, and the change of demonstratives and possessives into determiner-like elements (2.4.2), all of them testifying the emergence of a Determiner Phrase in Romance, with the fixing of a dedicated prenominal determiner position, in the passage from Latin to Romance (Vincent 1997b, 1998; Ledgeway 2011c, 2012: 81–119, 2016b: 764).

2.4.1 Articles

Indefinite and definite articles result from the grammaticalization of the Latin numeral for 'one', UNUM/-AM and of the distal demonstrative ILLE 'that/intensifier' IPSE '-self, very', respectively. The former is a Romance development (Cat./It./Sp. *un/una*, Fr. *un/une*, Pt. *um/uma*, Ro. *un/o*), attested by the thirteenth–fourteenth century, displaying in some varieties a full and a reduced form (Cal. *unu/una* vs *nu/na* – *na figliul-a* 'a daughter' (Ledgeway 2012: 89–109, 2016b: 764, 2017b). During the transitional stage in which it is used only for specific and new referents, probably a reflex of its original numeral function, it cannot be used for generic, unique and abstract referents, for which bare nominals occur (OTsc., Nov.4: *donami cavallo da cavalcare* [give.me horse to ride] 'give me a horse to ride' [generic], from Ledgeway [2016b: 764]). In modern Romance languages, the indefinite article is employed with both generic and specific referents. In some varieties (e.g., Ibero-Romance and Occitan), there is also the plural form of the indefinite article (Log. *fau unas cocas* 'I make some cakes', Ledgeway [2016b: 765]), although it should be regarded an indefinite quantifier rather than a plural indefinite article. Definite articles evolve from the weakened form of the distal demonstrative ILLE 'that' (denoting spatial distance between speaker and addressee), attested by the 6th–8th century AD (Herman 2000: 84 f.; Adams 2013: 506–527; Ledgeway 2016b: 765; 2017b, among others), which gradually loses two of its meaning components, namely spatial distance and individuation of an entity or a set of entities (Maiden 1995: 119–120). Instead, the property of shared cognition between interlocutors becomes prominent and ultimately the only relevant characteristic left, with continuants of Latin ILLE (originally both anaphoric and cataphoric) coming to mark anaphoricity and definiteness (Cat./Sp. *el/la*, Fr./Occ. *le/la*, It. *il/la*, Pt./SItR, *o/a*, Ro. *-(u)l/-a*). In some Catalan varieties and Sardinian a reflex of the Latin intensifier IPSE (used only in anaphoric function) is found instead (Bal./Costa Brava Cat. *es/sa* and Sardinian *su/sa*, Ledgeway [2016a: 765] and references therein). Balearic Catalan also displays the grammaticalization of the descendant of Latin ILLE + a reflex of Latin DOMINUS/DOMINA 'master/mistress' (> *en/na/n'*), used with proper names, e.g., *en Nicolau* (Dols)/*na Mercè Rodore-*

Tab. 3: Continuants of the Latin numeral 'one' and distal demonstrative and intensifier.

Indefinite	Definite	Definite	Definite	Definite
< Lat. UNUM/ UNAM	< Lat. ILLE	< Lat. IPSE	< Lat. ILLE + DOMINUS/DOMINA	Alternation reflex of ILLE- (deictic) and IPSE-based paradigms (<i>article salat</i> , +deictic)
It., Cat., Fr., Sp., Pt., Ro.	Cat., Sp., Fr./Occ., It., Pt./SItR., Ro.	Srd., Bal./Costa Brava Cat.	Cat.	Cat., Bal.Cat.

da, n'Eiximenis (Wheeler, Yates, and Dols 1999: 67–68; Ledgeway 2012: 99–100; 2017b: 847). It also shows the alternation of ILLE- and IPSE-based/derived paradigms, the latter known as *article salat* (Badia i Magarit 1995: 444–446; Ledgeway 2012: 89–96), characteristic of the spoken language and popular literature (Wheeler, Yates, and Dols 1999: 45). This retains deictic force, showing anaphoric and cataphoric reference, and employed for definite, specific, [+given] referents, unlike *ille*-based forms, that occur with definite, generic and non-topical referents (*tu és sa dona que jo vaig veure?* 'Are you the lady that I saw' vs *el Papa* 'the Pope', *la terra* 'the earth', examples and discussion from Ledgeway [2016b: 766–767]).

2.4.2 Demonstratives and possessives

Alongside the lexicalization of a dedicated position for (in)definiteness marking, manifested by the emergence of articles, other determiner-like elements such as demonstratives (§ 2.4.2.1) and possessives (§ 2.4.2.2), the latter having both an adjectival and pronominal status in Latin, gradually acquire a determiner function, occurring in a fixed position within the Nominal group (Ledgeway [2016b: 767]; Ledgeway and Smith [2016] for a full discussion).

2.4.2.1 Demonstratives

Thus, demonstratives – that in Romance only preserve the spatial-related dimension of the original Latin paradigm, losing their discourse-related function (realized, respectively, by HIC, ISTE, ILLUC vs IPSE, IDEM, IS) (Giusti [2016: 550]; Maiden [1995: 115–117] for Italian) – gradually lose their adjectival status, grammaticalizing into determiner status, although to a different extent within Romance. In Catalan, Occitan, Romanian and Spanish, demonstratives retain their adjectival status, since two paradigms occur: one where the demonstrative is in complementary distribution

Tab. 4: Grammaticalization of demonstratives as determiner-like elements.

Demonstratives > Determiner-like function	
Prenominal position in complementary distribution with article: determiner-like function	Cat., Occ., Ro., Sp.
Postnominal position: canonical adjectival function	Cat., Occ., Ro., Sp.
Prenominal position only: determiner function only	It., Pt.

with the article (Occ. *aqueste* (**lo*) *brave ome* [this (*the) good man] ‘this good man’) and one where it preserves its adjectival status, occurring in its canonical postnominal position, with the prenominal determiner position filled by the article (Occ. *lo brave ome aqueste* lit. ‘the good man this’, examples and discussion from Ledgeway [2016b: 767]); see also the Romanian adjectival article *cel*, from the grammaticalization of ‘endophoric distal demonstrative’ *acel* / *acela* (< Lat. *ECCE/ECCUM* + *ILLUM*), through Balkan influence (Nicolae 2013b: 308–318). In Italian and French, however, the demonstrative has fully grammaticalized into a determiner, since only the paradigm with its prenominal, determiner position is found (It. *questo buon uomo* vs **il questo buon uomo* ‘this good man’).

Latin demonstratives *ILLE* ‘that’ and/or *IPSE* ‘self, the very’ (depending on the language/variety), also grammaticalize as third person pronouns in Romance, losing their adjectival, i.e., modifier function, while retaining their pronominal value, strengthening their lexical status and autonomy (Cappellaro 2016: 724 and references therein). More specifically, their semantic differentiation whereby *ille* has both a distal and an anaphoric function, whereas *ipse* conveys an emphatic/contrastive meaning (Vincent 1997b: 154) is lost, with *ipse* losing its anaphoric-contrastive meaning, and their continuants alternating in the same contexts, as witnessed in early Italo-Romance (e.g., oFl., *egli udi* ... [he listen.PST.IND.3SG] ‘He listened to ...’ vs ... *esso* ... *ritenne* he [keep.PST.IND.3SG] ‘He ... kept in his mind’ [Decameron, Day 1, nov. 6.6–7; Branca 1976, LIZ 4.0] (Cappellaro 2016: 726) and merging into one suppletive paradigm in some languages/varieties, as in (formal) standard Italian for third person pronouns in subject function, e.g., *egli* ‘he’ (M)/*ella-essa* ‘she’ (F), *essi* ‘they’ (M)/*esse* ‘they’ (F) (Cappellaro 2016: 725–726 and references therein).

2.4.2.2 Possessives

The grammaticalization of possessives involves the gradual change from adjectival to determiner function, with the loss of their pronominal function, and an intermediate possible stage involving a dual adjectival-determiner paradigm, formally distinct in Spanish and French (Fr. *mon* [clitic]/*mien* [tonic]; Sp. *mí* [clitic]/*mío* [tonic] vs It. *mio*, Ro. *meu* ‘my’ for the masculine 1SG possessive, Lyons [1986]; Ledgeway [2016b: 767]), where they have a quirky adjectival status, with a narrow(er) distribution (Van Peteghem 2012). French and Brazilian Portuguese (Thomas 1969: 80; Teys-

Tab. 5: Distribution and grammaticalization path of possessives.

Grammaticalization cline: Possessives	(Dual Adjectival-determiner paradigms) >	Adjectival >	Determiner
	Adjectival paradigm: tonic, postnominal (Sp., Ro.); tonic, pre/postnominal (Occ., Cat.)	Adjectival paradigm only: Ast., It., Ept.	Fr., Bpt. Clitic paradigm only (pre/postnominal)
	Determiner paradigm (singular persons): clitic, prenominal (except in Ro.)		(Determiner-like function of adjectival possessive with singular, unmodified kinship terms: Ast., It., Ept.)
	Postnominal possessive; Possessive article (Ro.)		
Initial stage (loss of pronominal function)	Intermediate stage (probably characteristic of early stages of Romance)	Further stage	More advanced stage

sier 1984: 105) instantiate a more advanced stage in the grammaticalization process, since possessives have lost their adjectival function,⁴ having only a clitic determiner paradigm (pre/postnominal in several Romance languages [Bpt. *nosso vizinho* ‘our neighbour’, but postnominal in Romanian, Ledgeway [2016b: 767]). Italian, Asturian and European Portuguese lie at the bottom of the cline, in that possessives are mainly adjectival, therefore co-occurring with a determiner (It. *il mio amico* ‘my friend’ vs **mio amico*⁵), although displaying also a clitic determiner position (It. *mio padre* ‘my father’ vs **il mio padre*), generally confined to singular, unmodified kinship terms (**miei padri* ‘my fathers’, Ledgeway [2016b: 767]). Spanish appears to be intermediate on the cline, with a prenominal determiner possessive paradigm and a postnominal adjectival one, whilst Romanian exhibits a different pattern, with postnominal possessives (*carte-a mea* ‘book-the mine’ ‘my book’ and the ‘possessive or genitival article’ *al* (> AD ‘to, at’ > A ‘of’ + *ILLE* ‘that’), a ‘prepositional determiner’ (Ledgeway 2012: 116), displaying number and gender agreement with the possessee (*noile cărți ale profesorului* new.PL.DEF book.F.PL al.F.PL professor.SG.DEF.GEN ‘The professor’s new books’ [Stan 2013: 265–267] and references therein).

⁴ In French, for instance, the strong possessive form does not have an adjectival distribution (Van Peteghem 2012: 631).

⁵ The pattern, however, is possible in some constructions, e.g., with equative clauses, in predicative function: *Marco è mio amico* Mark be.PRS.3SG my friend (lit.) ‘Mark is my friend’ (I thank Martin Maiden for raising the issue).

2.5 Case

With the exception of Romanian (where a nominative/accusative vs genitive/dative distinction is retained with feminine singular nouns and adjectives, Dragomirescu and Nicolae [2016: 913] and references therein), the Romance languages do not have morphological case for nouns. They only retain minimal case distinctions in the pronominal system (and with determiners in some languages), most typically opposing nominative/accusative in tonic first and second person singular pronouns (It. *io* 'I', *tu* 'you/me' 'I', *te* 'you', Sp. *yo* 'I', *tú* 'you/mi' 'I', *ti* 'you', with dative in accusative function), as well as first and second person plural in Romanian. Catalan keeps the distinction for the first person only, while there is a wide dialectal variation in Italo-Romance, where one also finds a three-way distinction (e.g., Avigliano, Basilicata), which also occurs in other Romance varieties, distinguishing nominative, dative and accusative after prepositions (Ro. *eu* 'I', *tu* 'you/mie' 'to me', *ție* 'to you'/mine 'me.ACC', *tine* 'you.ACC'). Third person singular pronouns in Romanian display the nominative/accusative vs genitive/dative distinction with nouns, also attested in old Italian (Dragomirescu and Nicolae [2016: 915] for discussion and references). In modern Italian, case distinctions are difficult to detect in the third person, the same forms being used as nominative and oblique in the singular (*lui*, *esso* 'he'; *lei*, *essa* 'she'), while other forms (*egli* 'he', *ella* 'she') occur only as nominative (Salvi and Vanelli 2004: 192).

Within the pronominal system, several varieties show the grammaticalization of the Latin comitative forms MECUM (ME 'I.ABL' + CUM 'with' 'with me'), TECUM (TE 'you.ABL' + CUM 'with' 'with you'), SECUM (SE 'he.RFL' + CUM 'with' 'with him(self)' [± anaphoric]), NOBISCUM (NOBIS 'we.ABL' + CUM 'with' 'with us'), VOBISCUM (VOBIS 'you.ABL' + CUM 'with' 'with you'). The original Latin sequence of preposition (CUM 'with') enclitic to the pronoun, lost its original meaning (i.e., it semantically bleached) and, coalescing with it, was reanalysed as an allomorph of the pronoun, so that a new preposition (e.g., Neap. *co* 'with') is now prefixed to the complex pronoun in comitative function (Neap. *co mmico*, Sp./Pt. *conmigo/comigo*, 'with me', southern Lazio dialects *kot'tiku* 'with you', *ko n'nosco* 'with us'), the third person forms losing the reflexive interpretation (e.g., Tsc. *stetti seco* stay.PST.1SG RFL.with 'I stayed with him', Maiden [1995: 170–171; 194: note 66]). Grammaticalization of the possessive pronoun (possessive enclitics) appears in several varieties, restricted to kinship terms (cf. southern Italo-Romance *sorema* 'sister-mine', Ro, *maică-sa* 'mother-his/her'). The Romanian forms show a more advanced grammaticalization stage, with the (strong) enclitic possessive having an affixal status and as such being followed by case inflexional endings, e.g., *sor(ă)-mea* [NOM-ACC] 'sister-my', *sor(ă)-mii* [GEN-DAT], *sor(ă)-meo* [VOC] (Nicolae 2013a: 341f.; Dragomirescu and Nicolae 2016: 915). Indeed, the enclitic possessive pronoun in these patterns appears to be an "agreement inflection on the noun for the person features of its argument" (Gius-ti 2016: 544).

A minimal case-system is also found with *object clitics* – a category that did not exist in Latin and a major innovation in Romance syntax, derived from Latin weak pronouns (Salvi 2011: 326–327 and references therein) – displaying accusative and dative marking, for direct and indirect object functions, respectively, with different ordering according to the language/variety, clustering into one form in Italian (1a):

- (1) a. (It.)
 glielo ho dato
 he.DAT.it.M.SG have.1SG give.PST.PTCP.M.SG
 b. (Fr.)
 Je le lui ai donné
 I it.ACC he.DAT have.1SG give.PST.PTCP.M.SG
 'I gave it to him'

Some Romance accusative/dative clitic pronouns result from the grammaticalization of locative adverbs, still functioning as such, e.g. It. (accusative/dative) 1PL *ci* '(to) us/ourselves' < Lat. HINCE 'hence' (Maiden 1995: 167), Fr. *y* 'there, to it', Occ. *i* 'there/him (dat.)' (< Lat. IBI 'there' or HIC 'here', Oliuéri and Sauzet [2016: 331]), It. (accusative/dative 2PL.) *vi* '(to) you/yourselves' < IBI 'there', Pescarini [2016: 742–743]), alongside their grammaticalized uses, involving also their proform function in existential/presentative sentences (northern Italo-Romance *gh(e)* < *j* < HIC 'here'/ILLIC/IBI/ILLI 'there, therein, in that place', Benincà [2007], Log./Nuo. *bi*, It. *vi* < *ibi*, Cat. *hi* < IBI, Badia i Margarit [1951: 266], Fr. *y*, Prv. *i* < IBI, HIC, southern and northern Italo-Romance *nd(i)*, *ne* < INDE 'thence' Blasco Ferrer [2003: 61]; Bentley [2013]; Bentley and Cicone [2016: 855]).

The continuants of Latin INDE 'thence' have also acquired a partitive/genitive function in Italian (Salvi and Vanelli 2004: 201), French and Catalan (Fr./Cat. *en*, It. *ne*, Dragomirescu and Nicolae [2016: 921]), replacing an indefinite or quantificational O (2):

- (2) a. (It.)
 Vuoi del pane? Sì Ne voglio
 want.PRS.2SG some bread yes of-it want.PRS.1SG
 'Would you like some bread? Yes, please, I would like some'
 b. (It.)
 ne vidi cinque (sc. ragazzi)
 of-them see.PST.1SG five (boys)
 'I saw five of them'

Remnants of ablative forms occur in the (western) Romance descendants from the grammaticalization of ablative nouns such as Latin MENTE '(with a) mind' < MENS 'mind' (unattested in Romanian), which has turned into a derivational affix, com-

binning with adjectives (Maiden [1995: 93–94] for Italian; Detges [2015] for a pan-Romance perspective; also Bauer [2003], Norde [2009: 41–47] for a critical assessment of the diachrony of the change). The change involves the gradual bleaching of the original meaning of the word ‘mind’, coming to denote ‘manner’, through metonymic inferencing, along the path ‘mental state of the participant in the event’ > ‘way in which the event is perceived’ > ‘manner in which the event takes place’ (Norde 2009: 43–44; Detges 2015) and shows different paths and degree of grammaticalization (see Norde [2009: 41–46] and references therein for the theoretical implications of the divergent developments of this suffix in Romance). Traces of the ablative also occur in prepositions, continuants of Latin nouns and present participles in Italian (e.g., *senza* ‘without’ < Lat. ABSENTIA ‘in the absence’; *durante* ‘during’ < Lat. DURANTE ‘(while) lasting’ < DURARE ‘harden, endure, last’; *nonostante* ‘despite’ < NON OBSTANTE ‘not withstanding’ < Lat. OBSTARE ‘stand before/against; be opposite’; *ora* ‘now’ < HORA ‘at (the) hour’, Maiden [1995: 98]).

2.5.2 Adpositions

With the demise of the case system, several functions originally conveyed by case in Latin come to be realized by means of prepositions. These, although continuing to occur in their original function, also develop grammaticalized uses involving different degrees and types of semantic bleaching and reanalysis. This is the case with the continuants of the Latin prepositions AD ‘motion towards’, DE ‘(down) from’ (on whose diachrony see also Vincent’s [2017: 293–296] recent, insightful discussion), PER ‘through/by’, CUM ‘with’. The grammaticalization of the Latin preposition DE ‘of, (down) from’ as a marker of objective genitive in Romance (Cat. *les flors de aquesta noia* ‘the flowers of this girl’) is a slow and gradual process, detectable in early medieval Latin texts and attested in early Romance (e.g., OFr. and ORo.), where, however, one also finds the descendant of Latin AD ‘to(wards)’, spreading from dative to genitive function, occurring in old French (*la chambre a la pucele* lit. ‘the chamber to the maiden’, ‘the maiden’s chamber’), and still vital. For instance, it is very productive in the adnominal possession construction in contemporary colloquial French (*la tête/la femme à Jean* lit. ‘the head/woman to John’, ‘John’s head/woman’), Istro-Romanian (*a le mil’ere* ‘to the woman’, ‘of the woman’), Aromanian and old Romanian (*urdira a lumiei* [making.DEF to world.DEF.GEN] ‘the making of the world’, Dragomirescu and Nicolae [2016: 915]), and contemporary Romanian, which displays gender and number agreement with the possessor for this invariable genitive marker (*al, a, ai, ale* > Lat. AD + suffixal definite article), used for alienable possession (*caietul de matematică al fetei* [notebook.DEF.MSG of mathematics al.MSG girl.DEF.GEN] ‘the girl’s mathematics exercise book’ Dragomirescu and Nicolae [2016: 918]).

The grammaticalization path of the continuants of Latin DE (*di* in Italian) also involves the development of a partitive and pseudo-partitive function (the latter

being non-referential), respectively with a definite article (Sp. *dos de los estudiantes* ‘two of the students’, Pt. *dois dos estudantes* < *de* ‘of’ + *los/os* ‘the.M.PL’ [with fusion of *de* with the article], and a bare noun, It. *un bicchiere di vino* ‘a glass of wine’). In Romanian, the distinction has been grammaticalized through the use of two distinct prepositions: (i) the partitive construction, involving *de*+the genitive marker *al* (*un prieten de-al Mariei*, lit. ‘a friend of Maria’), alongside *din* (< *de* ‘of’ + *în/dintre* < *de* ‘of’ + *între* ‘between’ *doi din/dintre studenți* ‘two of the students’), (ii) the pseudo-partitive pattern, involving the use of *de* and *cu* ‘with’ (*un pahar cu vin* lit. ‘a glass with wine’ ‘a glass of wine’ Dragomirescu and Nicolae [2016: 918]). In French and Italian *de/di* gradually come to mark an ‘indefinite quantity’, ultimately merging with the definite article, fully grammaticalizing into a marker of indefiniteness, i.e., into a determiner function (the so-called partitive article, lacking in Romanian, Portuguese and Spanish, where, however, it is well attested until the fifteenth century, Carlier and Lamiroy [2014]; Luraghi and Kittilä [2014: 23–24, 51–52]). French instantiates the highest degree of grammaticalization, the partitive construction being obligatory (*Pierre mange du pain* [Peter eat.PRS.3SG DET bread] ‘Peter eats bread’, Carlier [2007]), unlike Italian, where the pattern is optional, its distribution reflecting regional and register variation (Luraghi 2017) (*preferisco delle mele/mele* prefer.1SG of.the apples/apples ‘I prefer some apples/apples’, Carlier and Lamiroy [2014]).

As for the dative, apart from clitic pronouns and the Romanian inflectional dative illustrated above, the Romance languages employ the continuants of Latin AD ‘to(wards)’, with the exception of Romanian *la* ‘to’ (< Lat. ILLAC ‘there + AD’), the ‘reinforced variant’ of the preposition *a* in old Romanian, spreading from adverbial phrases to mark indirect objects, mainly in contexts where it could have a beneficiary function/interpretation (Nedelcu 2013: 454–455), e.g., Ro. *lă un fiică* ‘to a boy’ (non-standard, dialectal form, Martin Maiden, p.c.), Marche and Romagnol *ma* ‘to(wards)’ < Lat. IN MEDIO AD ‘in middle to’, Portuguese *para* ‘for, towards’ < Lat. PER ‘through’ + AD ‘to, toward’, widely used in contemporary colloquial Brazilian Portuguese to mark indirect objects (Whitlam 2011: 59; 181–182; also Dragomirescu and Nicolae 2016: 919), Neapolitan *vicino a* ‘close to’ (Ledgeway 2009: 849 f.). Thus, the continuants of Latin AD in Romance are grammaticalized as dative markers, with other prepositions being pressed into this function as well in some languages/varieties.

The preposition *a* ‘to(wards)’ is also reanalysed as a marker of non-canonical Os, i.e., animate, human, highly individuated, topical arguments (A), differentiating A from O, once case marking no longer differentiates the core arguments of the clause, after the collapse of the case system, with the use of the accusative in A function, and the merging of the nominative with oblique cases owing to the loss of vowel quantity and loss of final consonants (Maiden 2011: 155f; Sornicola 2011: 9). The phenomenon – known as prepositional accusative/D(ifferential) O(bject) M(arking) – is well attested in the Romance languages (with Romanian grammaticalizing

however the preposition *pe* 'on' (< Lat. *PER* 'through') into this function). More specifically, it is found in Ibero-Romance (e.g., Spanish) – although restricted to pronouns (strong personal pronouns and reciprocals) and banned with personal direct objects in Catalan (Escandell-Vidal 2009: 837 f.) – central (Loporcaro and Paciaroni 2011: 273 f.), southern Italian dialects, where it also occurs with inanimate *Os* (e.g., Aliano, Basilicata, Manzini and Savoia [2005: II: 508, 515]; Ledgeway [2016a: 268, 2018] and further references therein), marginally also in some northern Italian varieties (e.g., Trieste, Genova, Rohlf [1969: § 633]; Berretta [1989]) with traces also in some early northern varieties such as Ligurian (Parry 2003), or Romanian (Ledgeway [2011b: 436]; Mardale [2008, 2015]; Onea and Mardale [2018] for a diachronic study). In some Latin American varieties (e.g., Puertorican and Argentinian Spanish) specificity and definiteness are the main parameters involved, overriding animacy (*cosecharon al maíz* [harvest.PST.3PL a.DEF maize] 'they harvested the maize', Dragomirescu and Nicolae [2016: 921] and references therein). This pattern can be regarded as the last stage in the grammaticalization process of the preposition *a*, one where the preposition is semantically bleached and acquires an affix-like status, since it is reanalysed as a case-marker (cf. also Bosson [1998] for an overview in the European languages). Alongside parameters related to the inherent properties of *O*, also pragmatic factors such as topicality, have been pointed out, especially for the initial stage of the grammaticalization process (Iemmolo 2010; Dalrymple and Nikolaeva 2011), instantiated in spoken regional varieties of French, where the differential marking of *O* is optional and pragmatically determined, occurring for contrast/emphasis, most typically associated with right/left dislocation (Iemmolo 2011: 257), although also reflecting the lexico-aspectual properties of verbs and the inherent properties of the *O* argument (Fagard and Mardale [2014], also for a corpus-based investigation and further references therein).

Adpositions may also result from the grammaticalization of lexical items, like French *chez* 'at (the house of), in (the works of)', deriving from Latin *CASA(M)* 'house', involving the categorial reanalysis of a noun as a (locative) preposition, resulting from (i) a lexical change, the loss of the (OFr.) allomorph *chiese*, (ii) an irregular phonological development (*CASA(M)* > **cas* > *chies* > *chiez*), (iii) a categorial shift (*N* > *P*) and (iv) the desemanticization of the word 'home' that acquires a 'generalized and abstract location meaning' (Longobardi [2001: 276–277]; Fagard and Mardale [2012: 311]; also discussion in Fuß and Trips [2004: 18–19]). In Catalan, the grammaticalization of the continuant of Lat. *CASA* 'house' as a preposition is still under way, with the word *ca* (< *casa de* 'house of'), (and its variants *cal(s)* contraction with the masculine definite articles, e.g., *cal dentist* 'the dentist's' Wheeler, Yates, and Dols [1999: 44–45]), retaining its categorial and semantic features, cooccurring with a directional preposition when used for directed motion and only allowing human complements (e.g., *He anat a cal metge* [have.PRS.IND.1SG go.PST.PTCP to home.the doctor] 'I went to the doctor's'), unlike French *chez* (*Aujourd'hui on parlera de la tuberculose chez les animaux* 'Today we will talk about tuberculosis in animals' (Lamiroy and Pineda 2018: 308).

3 Grammaticalization of verbal categories

3.1 Voice/valency

The Romance languages have a rich and complex system of voice and valency changing operations and alternations, pivoted on the reflexive morpheme *SE* and on a number of verbal periphrases, in passive(-like), light verb and impersonal(-like) functions, resulting from the reanalysis of the continuants of the Latin reflexive morpheme *SE* (ACC./ABL.)/*SIBI* (dat.) (§ 3.1.1), the grammaticalization of lexical verbs denoting (a) activity (e.g., *FACERE* 'do', *MANDARE* 'entrust > command', *LAXARE* 'let'), (b) state (*MANĒRE* 'remain', *STARE* 'stand', *SEDERE* 'sit'), (c) change of state, (*FIERI* 'become'), (d) change of location (*VENIRE* 'come', *IRE*, *VADERE* 'go, walk'), as well as (e) modals (**VOLERE* 'want' < *VELLE*, *DEBERE* 'must' as voice markers (§ 3.1.2) and of nominals/personal pronouns [+clitic] as impersonal/indefinite markers and dummy pivot holders (§ 3.1.3)).

3.1.1 Reflexive constructions

Alongside its reflexive-middle function (cf. Fr. *le prisonnier s'est tué*, [the prisoner RFL is kill.PST.PTCP] 'The prisoner killed himself', Pt. *Carolina se arrependeu* [Carolina RFL repent.PST.3SG] 'Carolina repented'), in Spanish (Martín Zorraquino 1979: 27 n. 15; Mendikoetxea 1999a), insular (Madeira and Porto Santo) and central-southern continental European Portuguese (Martins 2009: 196), Romanian (Pană Dindelegan 2013a: 110) and some southern Italo-Romance varieties (Cennamo 1998: 83), *SE* and its variants – the accusative form in Romanian (e.g., *mi sa urât de singurătate* [CL.DAT.1SG RFL.ACC.have.3SG get-fed-up. PST.PTCP of loneliness] 'I got fed up with loneliness' Pană Dindelegan [2013a: 110]) and the first person plural reflexive pronoun *ci* 'us' and its variants in some central-southern Italian dialects (Cennamo 1997a: 158) – have been reanalysed as a marker of the lack of control of the subject with both divalent (Sp. *se me ha olvidado la cartera* [RFL I.DAT have.PRS.3SG forgot.PST.PTCP.M.SG the bag] 'I forgot my bag') and monovalent (Sp. *se murió* vs **se murió asesinado* [RFL die.PST.3SG RFL died killed] 'he died') verbs. This pattern reflects the late Latin grammaticalization of the dative reflexive *SIBI* as an unaccusative marker (Cennamo 1999), in so-called pleonastic uses, occurring mainly with verbs of telic change of state/location, states (most typically predicates denoting location and relation) and a Patient/Theme subject (Cennamo 1999, 2000: 45), a usage well attested in several Romance languages/varieties also with indefinite change verbs (cf. Pt. *já se aconteceu* [already RFL happen.PST.3SG] 'it has already happened', Ro. *a se întâmpla* [RFL happen.INF] 'happen' Dragomirescu and Nicolae [2017: 409]; Cennamo [2016: 971]). It is also found in Istrian dialects with monovalent/divalent verbs (e.g., *me se dorme/magna* [I.DAT RFL sleep.PRS.3SG/eat.3SG] 'I

sleep/eat'), apparently to denote either necessity or wishing (Cennamo 1998: 83 and references therein), where, however, the structure might also reflect Slavic influence (Fici Giusti 1994: 169–74).

By contrast, in all Romance languages SE/(CI in some southern Italian dialects) has been reanalysed as a marker of the passive voice (It. *la casa si vende* [the house RFL sell.PRS.3SG] 'the house is (being) sold/is on sale'; Fr. *ce poisson se mange cru* [this fish RFL eat.PRS.IND.3SG raw] 'This fish is eaten raw'), except some Grisons varieties (Manzini and Savoia 2005: 57), albeit occurring with different degrees of productivity and constraints (cf. Table 6) (Cennamo 2016 and references therein). The reinterpretation of SE as an impersonal/indefinite marker with monovalent verbs (e.g., It. *si parte all'alba* [RFL leave.PRS.3SG at dawn] 'one/we (will) leave at dawn') (cf. the occurrence of *ci* in the impersonal of reflexives in Italian, as in *ci si pentì* [one/we RFL repent.PST.3PL] 'one; we repented'), on the other hand, is not attested everywhere, and not in the same range of constructions, reflecting differences in referential scope and its degree of grammaticalization (Cennamo 2014). For instance, it is absent in contemporary French and in several Italian dialects (Cennamo 2016: 973). More specifically, the varieties where SE does not have an existential inclusive interpretation, show a more limited use of this morpheme as a marker of impersonality, preferring other strategies: the indefinite (weak) subject pronoun 'man' (e.g., Fr. *on*, Cat. (*un*) *hom*, Abr. *nome*), the collective NP 'the people' (It. *la gente*) and the indefinite third person plural, e.g., Neapolitan (Cennamo 1997a, 2014, 2016: 973, 879–880; cf. also § 3.1.3). In Florentine, other Tuscan varieties (e.g., Sienese, Viareggino) and in some Umbrian (Città di Castello, Amelia) and Marchigiano (Arsoli) dialects, SE has been further grammaticalized, displaying affixal status, with the sequence *si*+3SG active replacing the traditional 1PL synthetic verb form (e.g., *si va* [RFL go.PRS.3SG = *andiamo* go.1PL] 'we go', Cennamo [1997a: 158, 1998: 82, 2014: 82–83, 2016: 974]; Manzini and Savoia [2005: ch. 4]).

In French, passive *se* only occurs in the sequence S(subject) *se* V (*beaucoup de livres se vendent dans cette ville* [a lot of books RFL sell.PRS.3PL in this city] 'many books are sold in this city'). If S conveys new information, an impersonal pattern is employed, with the subject filler *il* 'he', due to the non-null subject status of the language and the verb in the non-agreeing 3SG form (*il se vend beaucoup de livres dans cette ville*). This structure also obtains in most northern Italian dialects, where the pragmatic given/new distinction is grammaticalized, and the S *se* V order is ungrammatical if S conveys new information, the pattern thus becoming impersonal, optionally occurring with a non-agreeing subject clitic in some varieties (Cennamo 1997a; 2014; 2016: 972; Manzini and Savoia 2005, vol. II: 17–19).

European Portuguese displays an unusual pattern, where impersonal *se* is doubled by the indefinite pronominal expression *a gente* (lit. 'the people') which has been grammaticalized as a first person plural pronoun, also in Brazilian Portuguese (Martellotta and Cezario [2011: 729]; Duarte, Kato, and Barbosa [2003] for an overview), showing variable word order and agreement patterns (third singular, first

Tab. 6: Passive and impersonal reflexives.

reflexive/ middle	anticausative	Passive	impersonal (indefinite)	impersonal (Ø argument/affix)
Pan-Romance	Pan-Romance	+ It, Sp., Ept.; Fr.; – Bpt, some NIDs, some Grisons varieties	+ It, NIDs, Ept/Bpt, Sp., Ro. – Fr., SIDs	+ It., Sp., Ro.; (some) SIDs; affix: Fl., some CIDs

plural, third plural) as well as inclusive/exclusive interpretation of *se*, depending on the nature of the doubling subject (Martins 2005, 2009), e.g., *Não sabem o que a gente se passámos aí* [not know.3PL the what we RFL= went.through.1PL there] 'You do not know what we have been through', a pattern also marginally attested in Brazilian Portuguese (Cyrino, p.c.).

SE is also widely used as a marker of anticausativization (continuing a Latin pattern), signalling a suppressed causer, most typically associated with telic predicates (achievements and accomplishments) lexicalizing a final state/endpoint (It. *rompere*/Fr. *se briser* 'break', Ept. *rasgarse* 'tear'). Variation in the presence, optionality and lack of SE reflects (i) the aspectual specification of verbs – whereby for instance degree achievements occur in the active intransitive form in Italian, European Portuguese and Spanish (Ept. *aumentar*, It. *aumentare*, Sp. *aumentar*) [Duarte 2003; Legendre and Smolensky 2009; Kailuweit 2011; Cennamo 2016: 971 and references therein] – (ii) the conceptualization of a situation as an event or a result state, and (iii) thematic notions such as internal/external causation (respectively [–SE] and [+SE]), depending on the language/variety. These parameters interact with varying diachronic trends, such as the loss of SE and the use of the active intransitive as the sole anticausativization strategy in Brazilian Portuguese, resulting from the demise of SE from the reflexive/middle and passive domains (Cyrino 2007, 2013; Cennamo 2016: 971 and references therein).

The variety of uses and functions of the morpheme SE in Romance and the grammaticalization and reanalysis paths involved can be neatly summarised through the semantic map approach, along the lines proposed by Haspelmath (2003), adapted in Table 6.

3.1.2 Passive and impersonal periphrases

The grammaticalization of lexical verbs as voice markers in contemporary Romance includes the continuants of Latin *VENIRE* 'come', generally used for dynamic passives (e.g., It. *La città venne rasa al suolo (dal nemico)* [the town be.PST.3SG de-

stroy.PST.PTCP.F.SG by the enemy] 'The town was destroyed (by the enemy)', Green [1982: 118 f. 133, n. 25]; Giacalone Ramat [2000: 9]; Giacalone Ramat and Sansò [2014]) and with a weak deontic function (i.e., necessity) in Romanian, where it is found in some southern varieties (south-eastern area of Buzău and southern Oltenia), as well as in Istro-Romanian – where it is viewed as resulting from direct contact with Italian (Dragomirescu and Nicolae 2014) – and only occurring with some aspectual classes of verbs, accomplishments and, marginally, achievements (e.g., *celălalt bec vine slăbit* the other [light-bulb come.PRS.3SG loosen.PST.PTCP.M.SG] 'the other light bulb gets loosened' Dragomirescu [2013: 169]; Dragomirescu and Nicolae [2014: 72]). In Ræto-Romance 'come' is the canonical passive auxiliary for dynamic passives (Haiman 1988: 364), alternating with 'be' in compound tenses in the Engadine dialects (e.g., *ε sun ny/stat klam-a* lit. 'I am come PST.PTCP/be. PST.PTCP called'), with aspectual differences in Latin, where 'be' occurs with a resultative stative meaning, and 'come' when the action is in progress (Haiman and Benincà 1992: 108). In some Italian varieties (e.g., the Pugliese dialect of Volturino), passive 'come' also occurs in compound tenses, conveying an aspectual difference, signalling a recent past, as opposed to the 'be' auxiliary, that denotes remote past (e.g., *è mmenute cundannete* [BE.PRS.IND.3SG come.PST.PTCP. sentence.PST.PTCP] 'He has just been sentenced' vs *è state cundannete* 'He has been sentenced', Cennamo [1997a: 149, 2016: 975–976]).

'Go', the continuant of Latin *IRE*, *VADERE* 'go, walk', is well-attested as a passive auxiliary in Spanish (although only in non-compound tenses, Green [1982: 114, 123]; Yllera [1999: 3432]), Italian (*il palazzo è andato distrutto* [the building be.PRS.IND.3SG go.PST.PTCP.M.SG destroy.PST.PTCP.M.SG] 'The building has been destroyed.') and the dialects (Cennamo 1997a: 151; Sansò and Giacalone Ramat 2016), also with a deontic value (*la casa va abbattuta* [the house goes demolish.PST.PTCP.F.SG] 'the house must be demolished'). Unlike the auxiliary 'come', which can occur with all aspectual classes and in all persons, in Italian passive 'go' is confined to a few accomplishments (mainly verbs of loss/destruction) and to the third person (Giacalone Ramat 2000: 129), and may occur in all tenses. In its deontic passive function, on the other hand, Italian 'go' occurs with all aspectual verb classes, although only in some tenses (present, future, past imperfect, and conditional, as in [10c], and also Giacalone Ramat [2000: 133]; Sansò and Giacalone Ramat [2016]; Cennamo [2016: 976], for further discussion).

The grammaticalization of the continuant of Latin *STARE* 'stand' as a passive auxiliary, in the pattern *STARE* + past participle, is found not only for compound tenses of the passive (and overt expression of the agent in Spanish with activity verbs (*la asociación está dirigida por un grupo de amigos* lit. 'the association is managed by a group of friends' 'the association is run by a group of friends', Yllera [1999: 3419 f.]), while being ungrammatical with stative psych-verbs (**está temido/amado/odiado* 'he is feared/loved/hated' [Yllera 1999: 3430]), but also to mark resultative stative passives, as witnessed in Spanish, Catalan, Portuguese, and some southern Italian varieties (Pountain 1982; Ledgeway 2000: 230). Other passive-like

periphrases involve the grammaticalization of the verbs 'remain' (It. *rimanere/re-stare*, Sp. *quedar*; Mendikoetxea [1999b: 1625; Giacalone Ramat 2000]), light verb uses of 'become/come' (Pt. *ficar* 'be(come), remain' < **figikare* 'fix'; Parkinson [1988: 162]; Whitlam [2011: 127]) (*cinco pessoas ficaram feridas* [five people became injured.PST.PTCP.F.PL] 'five people were injured'), It. *venire* 'come' (*il pavimento viene /è venuto pulito con quel detersivo* (**da Marco*) [the floor comes is come. PST.PTCP.M.SG cleaned.PST.PTCP.M.SG with that cleaning.product by Marco] 'the floor is/was cleaned with that cleaning product (by Marco)', Rosen [1991]; La Fauci [2000]; Cennamo [2007]).

The grammaticalization chain for these verbs involves the initial equivalence to the copula *ESSE* 'be' (already attested in CL for 'come' and 'go'), i.e., copula expansion (Dik [1987]; Cennamo [2005] for Late Latin) and a subsequent change in the aspectual class of the participial complement in the construction, from accomplishments/achievements (and ambiguity between anticausative/passive reading) to activities (and ensuing passive interpretation only) (e.g., *caro cocta fit* [meat.NOM.F cook.PST.PTCP.F.SG. become.PRS.3SG] vs *fiant gubernatas* [become.PRS.SBJV.3PL govern.PST.PTCP.F.PL] 'That they be governed ...', Michaelis [1998]; Cennamo [2006, 2016: 969–970]).

Also the verb 'see' (< Lat. *VIDERE* 'see, perceive') occurs in passive-like auxiliary/light verb constructions, in conjunction with the reflexive morphème *SE*, followed by the past participle of a transitive and ditransitive verb, and subjectivization of the IO/Beneficiary in the latter case (It. *Marco si vide offerta la direzione del reparto dal direttore generale* [Mark RFL see.PST.3SG offer.PTS.PTCP.F.SG the direction of the ward by the general manager] 'Mark was offered (lit. saw himself offered) the direction of the ward by the general manager'). The verb 'see' is desemanticised, the structure conveys the (pragmatic) nuances of adverseness and unexpectedness and instantiates subjectification in its extension to inanimate subjects (Lehmann, Pinto de Lima, and Soares 2010; Giacalone Ramat 2017). The pattern is found in all the standard Romance languages, albeit with varying degrees of grammaticalization, lower in Catalan (Bartra Kaufmann 2002) and Romanian (apparently occurring in the latter mainly in the written language, Giacalone Ramat [2017: 173]), higher in French where it is a recent and controversial development, occurring with animate, human subjects and with inanimate ones with abstract meaning only (Bat-Zeev Shyldkrot 1981; Giacalone Ramat 2017: 170–171). The grammaticalization of the pattern is most advanced in Spanish – where it is attested also with inanimate, concrete subjects (Sp. *los discos ... no se verán afectados por la liquidación de Galerías* [the disks and the videos not RFL see.FUT.3PL affect.PST.PTCP.M.PL by the liquidation of Galleries] 'Disks ... will not be affected by the liquidation of Galleries' Yllera [1999: 3431]) – and Portuguese, where the construction – well in use as early as the 14th c. (Lehmann, Pinto de Lima, and Soares 2010) and initially confined to animate, human subjects, since the 20th c. – is also found, albeit rarely, with inanimate subjects (Pt. *esta enorme prosperidade viu-se comprometida pela decadência do império ro-*

mano” (20th c. Encyclopedia, CPMD) [this enormous prosperity see.PST.3SG-RFL endanger.PST.PTCP.F.SG by-the decadence of the Roman Empire] ‘This enormous prosperity found itself endangered by the decadence of the Roman Empire’; Lehmann, Pinto de Lima, and Soares [2010] and discussion of the gradual spread of the construction from the high to the low end of the Individuation hierarchy). In Italian, the structure, already attested in 14th c. Florentine texts, only occurs with animate, most typically human subjects (see Giacalone Ramat 2017: 170–173). Passive-like ‘see’ alternates between the past participle of the lexical verb and the infinitive in Italian, French, Portuguese, the patterns conveying an aspectual difference – perfective vs imperfective event, respectively – (It. *il giovane si vide assalito/assalire dalla folla* [the young-man RFL see.PST.3SG assault.PST.PTCP.M.SG/INF by the crowd] ‘The young man found himself/was assaulted by the crowd’; Giacalone Ramat [2017]; Lehmann, Pinto de Lima, and Soares [2010] for Portuguese).

Romanian and several southern Italian dialects/regional varieties of Italian also display the grammaticalization of the modal auxiliaries ‘must’ and ‘want’ as (non-canonical) passive markers, respectively Romanian *a trebui* ‘be necessary’, in the default third person singular form followed either by a past participle (*trebuie căutată altă explicație* [must.PRS.3SG searched.F.PL other.F.SG explanation.F] ‘we have to look for another explanation’) and a form conventionally labelled as supine (*trebuie reacționat cu calm* [must.PRS.3SG react.SUP with calm] ‘we must react calmly’, Maiden [2013: 511–518]) in a deontic function only (Neamțu 1986: 155 f.), the agreeing 3PL pattern being a later development (Dragomirescu 2013: 198).

A similar type of grammaticalization is found in several southern Italo-Romance dialects, regional varieties of Italian, and Sardinian with the modal auxiliary ‘want’ with deontic function (Sal. *lu pisce ulia mangiatu stammane* [the fish want.PST.3SG eaten this.morning] ‘the fish should have been eaten this morning’, Cennamo [1997a: 151]; Ledgeway [2000: 236–81, 2009: 669–71] and references therein).

Nuorese Sardinian and Sicilian also exhibit an unusual grammaticalized pattern, a passive-like resultative construction consisting of the sequence ‘be’ + ‘with-out’ + past participle, with subject agreement and lack of an overt Agent (cf. Nuos. *sa petha est kene mandicata* (***dae sos pitzinnos*) lit. ‘this.F meat.F be.PRS.3SG with-out eat. PST.PTCP.F.SG by the children (= the meat has not been eaten (by the children)’; Jones [1993: 125]; Leone [1995: 46]).

The typologically unusual grammaticalization of the verb of possession ‘have’ as a passive marker, followed by the past participle of the lexical verb, occurring both in simple and compound tenses, is found in some southern Italian dialects from Puglia (e.g., Altamuran, Minervino Murge) and Lucania (e.g., Irsina, Tolve), alongside ‘be’ and ‘come’ passives. The passive and the active forms of ‘have’ may differ (e.g., Irsina 3PL *yāvenə* (passive) vs. *annə*, Loporcaro [2012b: 179]) and may also be in free alternation with the ‘be’ pattern for dynamic and resultative passives, as in Altamuran, where they are restricted to a human O, and A is optionally expressed (e.g., *dʒuʷwann e ʷstet vist/a aʷwot vist* [John be.PRS.3SG be.PST.PTCP

see.PST.PTCP/have.PRS.3SG have.PST.PTCP see.PTCP] ‘John has been seen’), occurring also with inanimate subjects in the present, where ‘be’ is banned (l’arve jev ab.ruʃeɪt [the tree have.PRS.IND.3SG burn.PST.PTCP] ‘The tree is being burnt’, Loporcaro [1988: 254–257, 2012b: 179–180]).

‘Have’ as a passive auxiliary is the last step in the grammaticalization of lexical ‘have’ as a passive marker, with an optional intermediate structure, from which passive ‘have’ might have developed, instantiated by resultative, passive-like ‘have’ patterns formed on trivalent verbs with subjectivization of the IO (e.g., Neap.-It. *Marco ha avuto regalato/a una bicicletta* [Mark have.PRS.IND.3SG have.PST.PTCP.M.SG give.PST.PTCP.M.SG/F.SG a bicycle.F.SG] lit. ‘Marco has had given a bicycle’). This pattern is characterized by a lower degree of grammaticalization, in that ‘have’ is not fully decategorized and semantically bleached. It is found in several southern Italian dialects (especially Calabria and Sicily [Ledgeway 2000: 238]), either lacking passive ‘have’, e.g., Neapolitan, or displaying it, e.g., Altamuran (Loporcaro 1988: 29]6–299; 2012b: 178–180; Cennamo 1997a: 150; Ledgeway 2000: 238 f.). The past participle typically agrees with O, but it may also agree with the recipient/beneficiary subject (Ledgeway 2000: 29–31; 238–239).

French, Ræto-Romançe, and several northern Italian dialects (i.e., non-null subject languages/varieties) have grammaticalized the default third person singular with active and passive (‘be’/‘come’ + past participle) morphology, in patterns defocusing the S/A argument (optionally expressed as a *by*-phrase in the case of passive), displaying lack of subject and an optional/obligatory dummy pivot holder as well as an optional reflexive marker in Italian and Romanian in some constructions referring to natural events (It. *(si) fa buio* [RFL makes dark] ‘it gets dark’). These constructions result from the grammaticalization of a pronoun and/or demonstrative (e.g., Fr. *il*, the unstressed, masculine third person singular subject pronoun) (Grevisse 1980: §§ 1043–1047), in impersonal actives (Fr. *il me faut ces livres* [EXPL I.DAT is.necessary these books] ‘I need these books’), and passives (Fr. *il sera parlé de vous (par tout le monde)* [EXPL be.FUT.3SG speak.PST.PTCP of you.2PL (by all the world)] ‘You will be spoken of (by everyone)’; Kayne [1975: 247]; also Culbertson and Legendre [2014]). They show varying definiteness effects and agreement options in relation to the postverbal nominal of a transitive verb, differing also in their distribution with intransitive verbs (see further discussion and references in Cennamo [2016: 977–978]). In non-standard varieties of null subject languages/varieties such as Ibero-Romance (e.g., European Portuguese, Galician, Dominican Spanish and Balearic Catalan) and some Italian dialects (e.g., Neapolitan/Campanian) seemingly expletive pronouns/demonstratives have grammaticalized into discourse markers instead (e.g., EuP *esto será tarde* ‘that will be late’, Hinzelin [2009]; Ledgeway [2009: 294; 82 f.; 2011b: 287, n. 30] and references therein).

The default third person singular also exhibits a grammaticalized use for maximal agent defocusing, to denote the taking place of an event when no participant is involved, as with meteorological verbs and lexico-semantic impersonals (Creissels

2007: 17), monovalent/divalent verbs which do not allow a canonical subject, do not inflect for person and often take a sentential complement (cf. Fr. *manquer* 'lack', *faillir* 'be necessary', Ro. *trebui* + subjunctive 'must'; *trebuie să citești* [must.3SG MRK.SBJV read.PRS.2SG] 'You must read', BrPt. *precisar* 'need, must', It. *bisognare* 'need' (deontic modal), Occ. *caler* 'be necessary' [20b], Sp. *caber* 'fit, be possible'; Cornillie et al. [2009: 118]; Whitlam [2011: 175]; Pană Dindelegan [2013a: 108 f.]).

3.1.3 Impersonal/indefinite markers

Other (colloquial) impersonal devices include the grammaticalization of reflexes of Latin UNUS 'one' (e.g., Romansh *ins* 'one', similar in its interpretation to French *on* < Lat. HOMO 'human being, person') and German *man* (Anderson 2016: 182–183), 'people' (Cat. *la gent*, Abr. *la gende*), and the second person singular pronoun, widely used also in formal contexts in Romanian with a generic (exclusive/inclusive) interpretation (Pană Dindelegan 2013a: 109). In Brazilian Portuguese, the second person singular (*você* 'you' < *vossa mercê* 'your mercy' + third person singular verb) is the most common indefinite strategy (Duarte, Kato, and Barbosa 2003), whilst in European Portuguese *se* is most frequently employed in this function, doubled by the first person plural pronoun *a gente* in dialectal varieties (Martins 2009; Cennamo 2016: 972).

Another widespread impersonal/indefinite construction is the reflex of Latin HOMO 'human being, person'⁶ + third singular verb form, occurring in French (Greville 1980: §§ 1287–1291), Catalan (Badia i Margarit 1995; Wheeler, Yates, and Dols 1999: 518 f.), some central (e.g., Marchigiano) and upper southern Italo-Romance varieties (e.g., Abruzzese; Giammarco 1968: 1344; Hastings 1994: 16–31; D'Alessandro and Alexiadou 2003; Giacalone Ramat and Sansò 2011; D'Alessandro 2014), and Sardinian (D'Alessandro and Alexiadou 2003: 188), already attested in old Italian (Giacalone Ramat and Sansò 2007a), old Catalan (De Borja Moll 1952: 283), old Spanish (Barrett Brown 1931), old Portuguese (Said Ali 1964: 116), and old Provençal (Weerenbeck 1943).

This pattern displays different degrees of grammaticalization, ranging from a pro-nominal function (with a generic (3a) and/or existential/arbitrary interpretation (3b), a first person plural reading, as in French (3c)), to a verbal plural affix (the *-um/om* first person plural endings in some NIDs (Lombard-Modern Bergamasco) (Giacalone Ramat and Sansò 2007a) and *nome* < UNUS HOMO and its variants *homme/lome/dome* (3d) in modern Abruzzese (Hastings 1994: 17; Cennamo 2016: 979):

⁶ The original meaning of the Latin word HOMO is retained in Romanian *om* 'human being': *ea este un om fericit* [she be.PRS.3SG a person happy] 'she is a happy person'. Indeed, the generic reference of this word in Latin might have eased its grammaticalization (example and point raised by Martin Maiden, p.c.).

- (3) a. (generic; Abr.)
Nome va a Marte ma nen z' ambare a cambà.
 one go.PRS.3SG to Mars but not RFL= learn.PRS.3SG to live.INF
 'People can go to Mars but they haven't learnt how to live yet'
- b. (existential/arbitrary; Fr.)
On a déjà répondu
 one have.PRS.3SG already answer.PST.PTCP
 'That's already been answered'
- c. (first person plural; Fr.)
On part en voyage.
 one leave.PRS.3SG on trip
 'We are leaving for a trip'
- d. (affix; Abr.)
Allore le tre ggiuvunette homme penzètte
 then the three girls one think.PST.3SG
 'Then the three girls thought'

The Romance data are in line with the diachronic grammaticalization paths generally assumed in the literature: (a) lexical DP > impersonal generic pronoun > impersonal arbitrary pronoun > referential pronoun (Van Gelderen 1997; Welton-Lair 1999; Egerland 2003, 2010); (b) species-generic > human non-referential indefinite > (i) human referential indefinite, optionally (ii) first person singular/plural (Giacalone Ramat and Sansò 2007b: 106). The data, however, also point to two unusual paths of development, suggesting a non-linear path: (i) Abruzzese *nome* does not acquire referential status before turning into a plural affix on the verb, but was previously always either arbitrary or generic (D'Alessandro 2014: 12); (ii) there also occurs a reverse pattern of change, a degrammaticalization whereby, alongside an impersonal pronoun becoming a verbal affix as with *nome*, a third person plural auxiliary form *anne* 'they have' (largely attested in the eastern Abruzzese dialects of Lanciano and Pescara, probably under the influence of Italian) is changing into a non-referential, arbitrary pronoun (*Anne've fitte* [anne had done] 'someone had done'), after an intermediate stage as a plural marker (*Marje e Pasquale z'anne magne le sagne* [Maria and Pasquale RFL=anne eat.3 the lasagne] 'Mary and Pasquale eat lasagne.' (Hastings 1994: 28, n. 12; D'Alessandro 2014: 14; Cennamo 2016: 979–980).

3.2 Tense and aspect

Three main innovations involving grammaticalization can be detected in the Romance tense-aspectual system, generally preserving the Latin tripartite temporal

distinction present/future/past and a clear-cut distinction between imperfective/perfective aspects in the past domain: (i) new inflectional (synthetic) futures, unknown to Latin, (ii) the rise of verbal periphrases, with original lexical verbs as tense-aspect-modality markers (i.e., auxiliaries) and light verbs (i.e., event modulators conveying differences in control, aspect, benefaction (Hopper and Traugott [2003: 113]; Cennamo [2019] for Italo-Romance), (iii) the emergence of compound and double compound forms/tenses (both in the active and the passive voice) and shift of the aorist/preterite function of the (active) simple past onto the corresponding compound form(s) (so-called ‘aoristic drift’) (Bertinetto and Squartini 2016: 939 among others and references therein).

3.2.1 Temporal and aspectual periphrases

A widely employed pattern is the grammaticalization of the verb ‘go’, that in west Romance occurs as a future auxiliary, in line with a well-known cross-linguistic tendency, owing to its ‘transitional’ meaning of ‘motion towards a goal’, extended from physical space to time (Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca 1994: 268). In French, Portuguese and Spanish, the verb is followed by the bare infinitive (Fr. *je vais chanter* [go.1s sing.INF] ‘I am going to sing’).⁷ By contrast, in Catalan, Italian (where this construction only occurs in non-standard registers/specific genres) and the dialects, ‘go’ as a future marker is headed by the preposition *a* ‘to’ (coll.It. *Domani non so proprio cosa gli vado a dire* [tomorrow not know.PRS.IND.3SG really what he.DAT go.PRS.IND.1SG to tell.INF] ‘I really don’t know what I’ll tell him tomorrow’ Amenta and Strudsholm [2002]; Lamiroy and Lahousse [2018]).

In the Occitan varieties of Gascon, Guardia Piemontese (Calabria, southern Italy, Jacobs and Kunert [2014]) and Catalan (Jacobs 2011), the verb ‘go’ occurs in the so-called ‘go’-past, a pattern where the present tense of this verb occurs in auxiliary function (with a specialized paradigm, different from the one displayed by the lexical verb in some persons (e.g., Cat. *vaig* – lexic. ‘I go’/và(re)ig – aux.) (Juge 2006; Ledgeway 2011b: 424), followed by the bare infinitive (*el seu discurs va causar un gran impacte en l’auditori* [the his talk go.3SG cause.INF a great effect on the.audience] ‘his talk produced a great effect on the audience’) (Detges 2004: 211), alongside the structure with the preposition *a* ‘to’ heading the infinitive, which has instead a future reading (*Joan va a cantar* [John go.3SG to sing.INF] ‘John is going to sing’). Ambiguity can arise between the future and past interpretations of the pattern in the spoken language when the auxiliary form ends in /a/, owing to the imperceptible difference between the structure with and without the preposition *a*, e.g., *Joan va a*

cantar ‘John is going to sing’ vs *Joan va cantar* ‘John sang’ (Jacobs 2011: 230, n. 5). The grammaticalization of this verb as a past tense marker in Catalan involves an initial stage where *go*+infinitive acquires an inchoative meaning, subsequently becoming a narrative past marker, characteristic of the spoken language, and finally, a past tense marker (Detges [2004: 214]; Jacobs [2011: 238–240] for further details and references). The foregrounding function in sequential narratives is viewed as relevant at an intermediate stage in the grammaticalization of Catalan *anar* + infinitive, from inchoativity to aoristic temporality (Bertinetto and Squartini 2016: 942 and references therein).

The verbs ‘come’ in French and Occitan dialects and ‘complete’ in Ibero-Romance (cf. Sp./Pt. *acabar* ‘finish, end’), have been grammaticalized as markers of temporal distance, signalling recent past (Pt. *Um novo príncipe acaba de chegar* ‘A new prince has just arrived’, Fr. *Je viens/venais d’arriver* ‘I have/had just come (at this very moment)’), so-called retrospective aspect, Nicolle [2012: 376–379]; Ramat and Ricca [2016: 55]; Bertinetto and Squartini [2016: 943]).

‘Come’ is found as a future auxiliary in Romansh, in conjunction with the infinitive headed by the preposition *a* ‘to’ (e.g., Srs., *jeu vegnel a lavar* [I come.1SG to wash.INF] ‘I shall wash’, Ledgeway [2012: 123]). In transitional dialects (e.g., Putèr, Surmeira, Vallader), there occurs a ‘double’ future pattern, consisting of the auxiliary ‘come’ + the synthetic future suffix *-ar/-ir* (for the 1PL) (cf. Putèr, *e jnàro at deklarar* [I come.FUT.1SG to.you explain.INF] ‘I will explain it to you’) (Haiman and Benincà 1992: 86–88).

The verb ‘want’ has also grammaticalized as a future auxiliary, as witnessed by Friulan and Romanian, which employ, respectively, a form of the verbs *volê* and *a vrea* ‘want’, followed by the bare infinitive of the lexical verb (cf. Frl. *voj parti* [want.PRS.IND.1SG] ‘I will leave’, Rom. *voi pleca* [want.PRS.IND.1SG leave.INF] ‘I will leave’). Romanian has no synthetic future and exploits in its stead different periphrases with different degrees of grammaticalization, ranging from a regional (phonologically reduced inflected) variant (e.g., *oi.1SG*) of the standard form (e.g., *voi.1SG*) (so-called *voi/oi* type) (e.g., *oi pleca* want.1SG leave.INF), to a colloquial fossilized invariant marker *o* (or in the third person plural), probably derived from the 3SG impersonal form *va* ‘wants’ (Zafiu 2013a: 40), plus the subjunctive complementizer *să* and the subjunctive of the lexical verb, e.g., *o să plec* [want *să*_{SBJV} leave.SBJV.1SG] ‘I will leave’ (Zafiu 2013a: 38–39; Ledgeway 2016b: 768; Maiden 2016a: 109–110), a pattern characteristic of the Balkan languages, where the future consists of a particle plus a subjunctive form (Zafiu 2013a: 38–40). As a future periphrasis there also occurs the verb ‘have’, in the originally deontic structure *a avea* + subjunctive ‘have to, must’ (*am să plec* ‘I have to go, I must go’), the pattern being not fully grammaticalized, since it partially preserves its original modal meaning, and is not used in the 1PL and 2PL with future meaning, but only with deontic meaning (Zafiu 2013a: 39 and discussion in § 3.2.3). ‘Have’ + the preposition *de* ‘of’ as a future marker is also found in Ibero-Romance, Sardinian and Italian dialects (e.g., Friulan [Haiman

⁷ Interestingly, in French, the construction *go*+infinitive is currently grammaticalizing into a present-habitual marker (*il va me téléphoner trois fois par jour* ‘he calls me three times a day’, Bres and Labeau [2012] in Bertinetto and Squartini [2016: 951]).

and Benincà 1992: 93]), Sicilian, Calabrian (cf. Catanzaro *ha de nivicara* [it has of snow.INF] 'it will snow'), whilst the modal verb 'must' is employed in Sardinian with a morphophonologically specialized/reduced paradigm (vs. lexical form *devet*; cf. *det pròere* [must.3SG rain.INF] 'it will rain') (Ledgeway 2011b: 422, 2012: 123–124, 2017b: 849; Bertinetto and Squartini 2016: 951).

Most typically, however, temporal and aspectual properties/features are strongly intertwined, as in perfective and resultative periphrases, stemming from the extended use of the copula 'be' as well as the grammaticalization of stative location verbs such as 'stay', 'remain', the verbs of possession 'have' and 'hold', and change of state/location such as 'become', 'come', 'go', occurring in auxiliary and light verb uses, often displaying different types and degrees of grammaticalization (Ledgeway 2012: 118–124; 2016b: 767, among others). Thus, several Romance languages (e.g., Italian, several dialects, French) employ both 'be' and 'have' as perfective auxiliaries, the latter resulting from the grammaticalization of an original resultative pattern, consisting of the sequence 'have' + PP (Vincent 1982; Cennamo 2008, among others), and still functioning as such in some languages, for instance in Italian, where the difference between the two constructions is conveyed by word order and agreement, the past participle occurring after the object and agreeing with it in the resultative pattern, as in (4a), but before the object and in the default, non-agreeing masculine singular form in the perfect, as in (4b):

- (4) a. *Ho la tavola apparecchiata*
have.1SG the table laid-out.PST.PTCP.F.SG
'I have the table laid out'
- b. *Ho apparecchiato la tavola*
have.1SG lay-out.PST.PTCP.M.SG the table
'I laid out the table'

In some languages/varieties (e.g., Portuguese, Piedmontese, Neapolitan, Sicilian and Lombard dialects in Switzerland), instead, the two readings are associated with different participial forms, the adjectival one for resultative patterns (Neap. *è muorto* [be.PRS.3SG die.PST.PTCP.M.SG] 'He is dead') and the verbal participle for the perfective structure, correlating with a different auxiliary and agreement pattern, as in Sicilian, e.g., *ha muruto* [have.PRS.3SG die.PST.PTCP.M.SG] 'He died' (Ledgeway 2000: 229–233; Loporcaro, Pescia, and Ramos 2004; Bertinetto and Squartini 2016: 944).

Portuguese, on the other hand, has grammaticalized the verb 'keep' (*ter* 'hold'), employed both in perfective and resultative structures, unlike Spanish, which has generalized the verb 'have' in perfective use. The verb *tener*, on the other hand, is confined in Spanish to the resultative construction, as in sothern Italian dialects, e.g., Neapolitan, although displaying incipient grammaticalization of the sequence *tener* + past participle as a perfective construction, following the same path as 'have' + past participle (Day and Zahler 2014). The durative, 'continuative' reading

(so-called inclusivity) of the construction (cf. Pt. *tenho estudado imenso desde que decidi fazer o exame* [have.PRS.1SG study.PST.PTCP enormous since that decide.1SG.PST do.INF the examination] 'I have been studying a lot since I decided to take the examination', Bertinetto and Squartini [2016: 945]) might be viewed either as a possible stage in the grammaticalization path of Romance perfects (Harris 1982) or as a characteristic property of Portuguese (Squartini and Bertinetto [2000: 419 f.]; Bertinetto and Squartini [2016: 945] for analogous structures in Galician, Judaeo-Spanish and Piedmontese and relevant references). In some northern Italian (Piedmontese, Ligurian, Lombard and Veneto) dialects the construction 'keep' + past participle occurs in *continuous* – *iterative* function (Ricca 1998; Vincent 2014: 14–15), with early attestations from sixteenth and seventh century texts (Ricca 1998) (cf. Cicagna [Liguria]) *u 'tenji:a se'ro: a 'porte* [he keep.1MPF.3SG close. PST.PTCP.M.SG the door] 'He kept closing the door', lit. 'he kept closed the door', Ricca [1998: 350]), an interpretation developing from the original meaning of the verb *tenere* 'keep, hold' and still available in this variety, whereby the above example can also mean 'He kept the door closed' (Ricca 1998: 150) (see also Piedm., Castellinaldo, Cuneo; *u ten dič* [he keep.PRS.IND.3SG say.PST.PTCP] 'He keeps saying', Toppino [1926], in Vincent [2014: 15]).

In some languages/varieties the past meaning of the synthetic (past) form has been taken over by the analytic pattern, i.e., the compound form (Harris 1982), in so-called 'aoristic drift', the preterital function of the perfect (Squartini and Bertinetto 2000: 422–226), a contact-induced case of grammaticalization (Giacalone Ramat 2008), radiating from twelfth century Parisian French (Harris [1982: 58–59]; Drinka [2003, 2017: 255–259, 261–262] for a full and recent discussion). The change is complete in most spoken varieties of French (Smith [2016: 314–315] for the areal distribution of the preterite and present perfect), Raeto-Romance, Romanian, Northern Italian dialects, whilst being in progress in some Ibero-Romance varieties (e.g., central Spain, Peru, Bolivia). Argentinian Spanish displays the opposite tendency, the current relevance function of the analytic perfect being replaced by the preterite (e.g., *todavía no terminaste el examen* [yet not finish.PRT.2SG the exam] 'You have not finished the exam yet', Tuten, Pato, and Schwarzwald [2016: 406]). Italian (e.g., Tuscan) varieties, instantiate an earlier stage in the grammaticalization chain, the aoristic function of the analytic perfect being pragmatically and semantically constrained (Bertinetto and Squartini [2016: 944–945]; Bossong [2016: 70] for a recent discussion, also Schwenter and Cacoullos [2008] on Ibero-Romance).

3.2.2 Progressive constructions

Several progressive periphrases occur in Romance, differing in their distribution and realization (they are lacking, for instance in Romanian, probably owing to Slavic influence, with on-going situations expressed lexically (e.g., with adverbs such as *tocmai* 'just, precisely' [Martin Maiden, p.c.] rather than periphrastically) and

predicate constraints, stemming from the grammaticalization of *states* (It. *stare*, BPt., Gal., Sp., Cat., *estar* + gerund, EPt *estar a* 'lit. stay at' + infinitive, Gal. *ser* 'be' + infinitive,) and *change of location verbs* (Pt. *ir* 'go' / *vir*, Sp. *ir/venir*, It. *andare/venire* 'come', Sp., Pt. *andar* 'walk', Cat. *anar* 'go' (Fr. *aller*) + gerund, EPt. *andar a* 'walk to' + infinitive), alongside a number of other patterns (Fr. *être en train de* 'be in the course of' / *être après* 'be after' / less frequently *être a* 'lit. 'be at' / + infinitive, It. *essere dietro a* 'be behind' + infinitive [Squartini 1998: 32–33; Bertinetto and Squartini 2016: 947–948] and further references therein).

3.2.2.1 State-periphrases

The grammaticalization of state-periphrases, so-called 'imperfective drift' (Bertinetto 2000), involves an intermediate, desamentization stage where the (state) predicate loses its lexical meaning but retains its durative aspectual value, being also compatible with perfective tenses (as in 14th c. Italian *stetti sognando* [be.PST.1SG dream.GER] 'I was dreaming', Bertinetto and Squartini [2016: 949]), unlike in the last stage of the process, where the verb is a mere marker of imperfectivity and predicate constraints no longer hold, as in Salentino Italian (e.g., *lu sta pperdu/pperdi* ... [it stand lose.PRS.1SG/lose.PRS.2SG] 'I am going to/you are going to lose it', Ledgeway [2016c: 1028; 2016d: 165]), where *stay* is an invariant marker cooccurring with the inflected verb (Ledgeway [2016c: 1027]; also Andriani [2017: ch. 5] on the Barese dialect in central Apulia). Generally the universal tendency whereby stative verbs are excluded from the progressive pattern does not always obtain in Romance (cf. Pt. *João está sabendo a resposta* [John stay.PRS.3SG know.GER the answer] 'John knows the answer', with contingent states, and Sp. *están siendo tontos* [stay.PRS.3PL be.GER silly.PL] 'they are being silly', where the pattern is also used for permanent states, unlike in standard Italian **sto sapendo/conoscendo la risposta* [stay.PRS.1SG know.GER the answer], lit. 'I am (stay) knowing the answer', **stiamo essendo stupidi* [stay.PRS.1PL be.GER silly.M.PL] 'We are being silly', Bertinetto and Squartini [2016: 947–948]).

In French, the progressive periphrasis hardly occurs with achievements; in Italian, on the other hand, the pattern, although instantiating the last step of a usage starting with activities and accomplishments and only later spreading to achievements (Squartini 1998: 85–86), only the state-construction is possible in the progressive interpretation with achievements (*stava morendo/stava a morì* [stay.IMPF.3SG die.GER stay.IMPF.3SG to die.INF] 'he was dying' with the innovative infinitive in some southern Italian dialects, e.g., Molise). The imperfect tense, instead, would convey a different, 'narrative imperfect' meaning in this context (e.g., *il ragazzo moriva* [the boy die.IMPF.3SG] 'the boy died', Bertinetto and Squartini [2016: 948] for further details and examples). In addition, in colloquial varieties of American Spanish (Squartini 1998) and some southern Italian dialects, the state-pattern can convey a future time reference (cf. Sic.It. *sto venendo subito* [stay.PRS.1SG come.GER soon] 'I'm coming soon'. Bertinetto and Squartini [2016: 949]).

3.2.2.2 Motion progressive periphrases

The verbs 'go', 'come' (and 'walk' in Ibero-Romance) also occur in progressive constructions, in patterns displaying varying degrees of grammaticalization – instantiating the process of 'specialization', the 'narrowing of choices' characterizing 'the emergence of new constructions' (Hopper 1991: 75; Hopper and Traugott 2003: 116) – reflected in different predicate constraints (Squartini 1998: 2, ch. 5). The 'come' and 'go' variants are well attested in Italian, the former being used more rarely and stylistically marked (e.g., *la situazione viene chiarendosi/va peggiorando sempre più* [the situation come.PRS.IND.3SG clarify.GER/go.PRS.IND.3SG worsen.GER always more] 'The situation is getting clearer and clearer/is getting worse and worse', Squartini [1998: 209] for their diatopic and diastratic distribution). Catalan and French instead only display 'go', whilst Spanish and Portuguese show two and-ative verbs, *ir* 'go' and *andar* 'walk' (cf. Sp. *Andas hablando y tramando* ... [walk.PRS.IND.2SG talk.GER and plot.GER] 'You are talking and plotting ...' (Squartini 1998: 263), also occurring with the infinitive (headed by the preposition *a* 'to'), a pattern preferred with *estar* 'stay' (see § 3.2.2.1) and *andar* in European Portuguese, as part and parcel of the change leading to the replacement of the gerundial construction with the infinitive (Squartini 1998: 285–287). In Portuguese, Galician, and Spanish, 'come', which partially retains its deictic orientation meaning, is less commonly used than 'go' (Squartini 1998: 290). In Italian, it is favoured in iterative contexts alongside 'go' (*lo vengo/vado ripetendo da mesi* [it.ACC come/go.PRS.IND.1SG repeat.GER from months] 'I have been repeating it for months', lit. 'I come/go repeating') and most typically occurs with accomplishments (e.g., degree achievements like *aumentare* 'grow') or iteratively coerced achievements (e.g., *raccogliere* 'collect') (Bertinetto and Squartini 2016: 950) and is incompatible with non-oriented or non-iterated activities and with states (Squartini 1998: 291, 294). In Spanish, where no actional restrictions occur, owing to the temporal reinterpretation of the deictic meaning/orientation of the verb, this construction is often used for 'durative situations temporally oriented with respect to a Reference time' (e.g., *Me vienen doliendo las muelas desde que salí de Madrid* [I.DAT come.PRS.IND.3PL ache.GER the teeth since that leave.PST.1SG from Madrid] 'My teeth have been aching since I left Madrid', Gómez Torrego [1988: 167], in Squartini [1998: 294]), a pattern resembling analogous structures in some Oceanic languages, where a lexeme related to the verb 'come' has grammaticalized as a 'continuative marker' (Squartini 1998: 290, 294).

The 'go'-pattern in Italian instantiates a more advanced stage in the grammaticalization process than the 'come'-periphrasis, since it also occurs with activities. In Spanish (Yllera 1999) and Portuguese, there occur two different auxiliaries for the 'go' domain: *ir* 'go' for telic, directed motion (occurring with telic predicates), and *andar* 'walk', referring to non-directed, atelic motion (occurring with non-telic ones), and also allowed with states in Spanish (Squartini 1998: 300). In Portuguese, however, *andar* hardly undergoes actional constraints (e.g., it also occurs with telic predicates), thus showing a higher degree of grammaticalization (Bertinetto and Squartini 2016: 950).

3.2.3 Inflectional and analytic future forms

For future time reference, alongside the future use of the present, Romance languages, with the exception of Sardinian, Romanian, Dalmatian (Ledgeway 2012: 134; 2016b: 768; Bertinetto and Squartini 2016: 951), developed new inflectional forms, resulting from the grammaticalization of the infinitive of the lexical verb in conjunction with the present tense of the auxiliary 'have' (from the gradual desemantization of an original verb of possession), whose coalescence leads to current future forms, e.g., *dar(e) ha(be)s* [give.INF have.PRS.2SG] > *daras* (*Fredegar's Chronicle*, 7th c. AD); CANTARE HABET > Fr. *chantera*, It. *canterà*, Sp. *cantará* 'He will sing', Ledgeway [2011c: 718]; Ledgeway [2016b: 768]; Bertinetto and Squartini [2016: 951] and references therein).

Another future strategy involves the use of an auxiliary derived from lexical verbs denoting motion ('come', 'go'), possession ('have'), volition ('want'), obligation ('must'), followed by the infinitive (either bare or headed by a preposition, depending on the language/variety), the subjunctive in Romanian, depending on the pattern, as illustrated in § 3.2.1.

In some languages, the inflectional and analytic strategies may alternate, with the former ultimately being replaced by the latter, as in Brazilian Portuguese, where the inflectional form has been lost in the spoken informal varieties, supplanted by (the present of) 'go' + infinitive, e.g., *a festa vai começar quando ...* [the party go.PRS.3SG begin.INF when] 'the party will start when ...' (Whitlam 2011: 442; Bertinetto and Squartini 2016: 952).

In present or past tense contexts the inflectional future may also convey a conjectural modality meaning (It. *sarà Marco/starà dormendo* [be.FUT.3SG Mark/stay.FUT.3SG sleep.GER] 'it must be Mark/he must be asleep'), owing to the non-actual/factual nature of a future event, an interpretation that is also conveyed by analytic structures, as in French, e.g., *Il va encore avoir oublié de donner à manger au chien* [he go.PRS.3SG still have.INF forget.PST.PTCP of give.INF to eat.INF to-the dog] 'He must have forgotten to feed the dog again' (Larrea 2005: 339; Bertinetto and Squartini 2016: 952). The epistemic modality reading indeed might have been probably part of the grammaticalization chain already at the beginning of the process (Bertinetto and Squartini 2016: 952) rather than being a secondary development from temporality (Fleischman 1982).

A development mirroring the coalescence of the infinitive with the present form of the verb 'have' involves the future-in-the-past or conditional, where the infinitive of the lexical verb coalesces with the past and imperfect of 'have' (respectively in northern/central Italo-Romance and elsewhere), e.g., It. *cantarei* < *cantare habui* 'I would sing'; Sp. *cantare habebam* > *cantaría* (Bertinetto and Squartini 2016: 952 and references therein). The synthetic future-in-the-past emerged before the (inflectional) future, whilst the irrealis, conditional meaning of the construction developed from the future-in-the-past function, in line with the cross-linguistic tendency

whereby future forms subsequently develop irrealis modal functions (Coleman 1971: 217; Fleischman 1982: 64; Ledgeway 2012: 134–140; 2016a: 769 for further details and references).

3.3 Modality

Modality in Romance is most typically instantiated by grammatical mood (§ 3.3.1), namely the indicative and the subjunctive,⁸ as well as by a set of modal verbs with different degrees of grammaticalization, denoting ability, necessity, obligation, permission, possibility, volition (§ 3.3.2). Invariable preverbal particles and complementizers mark grammatical mood in some languages (e.g., Romanian *că* vs *să* < Lat. *si* 'if') and *ca* vs *cu*, *mu* and their variants in southern Italian dialects (Ledgeway 2011b: 438; Ledgeway and Lombardi 2014: 31; Ledgeway 2016c: 1018; Quer 2016: 956–957 and further references therein), the former most typically associated with realis, assertive propositions, the latter with irrealis/non-assertive ones and different points/shades in between, depending on the language, where the use of either mood is not semantically motivated (cf. Ledgeway 2016d: 1018–1019).

3.3.1 Mood: indicative vs subjunctive

The Romance languages display different degrees of grammaticalization of the subjunctive as a marker of subordination, partly confirming proposals concerning the grammaticalization path of the subjunctive, whereby the spread of the subjunctive from the main to complement clauses gradually results in a weakening of its semantic function and its ensuing reanalysis as a marker of subordination, leading ultimately to its loss (Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca 1994: 214). More specifically, a cline has been proposed, with Spanish being more conservative than Italian (here the subjunctive has disappeared in regional varieties and most southern dialects) and French being most innovative, since the subjunctive does not appear to be semantically determined, as in Spanish and Italian, but is largely determined by the governor, either lexical or grammatical (Lamiroy and De Mulder [2011]; Carlier, De Mulder, and Lamiroy [2012]; Poplack et al. [2017] for a critical overview).

Among the three types of subjunctives occurring in subordinate/complement clauses, the subjunctive selected by verbs of volition, command and necessity (as well as adjectives and nouns conveying the same meanings), so-called *intensional subjunctive* (Quer 2016: 957) is most stable across Romance: it never alternates with the indicative, unlike the *polarity* subjunctive (also referred to as 'dubitative' or

⁸ The discussion will not consider the imperative and the conditional, classified both as a separate mood and as a tense (Quer 2016: 954 and references therein).

'potential' subjunctive), licensed by negation in the matrix clause or a yes/no question, that may alternate with the indicative in Catalan (*no s'imaginen que marxis/marxen* [not RFL imagine.PRS.3PL that leave.SBJV.2SG/leave.IND.2SG] 'They can't imagine you leaving SBJV/that you are leaving IND'), unlike in Italian (*non immaginano che sia lui/*? è lui* not imagine.PRS.3PL that be.SBJV.3SG he/* be.PRS.IND.3SG he, Quer [2016: 957]); and the *thematic* or *factive* subjunctive (Cat. *m'ha agradat que ha fet poca calor aquest estiu* [I.DAT have.PR.IND.3SG please.PST.PTCP that make.SBJV.3SG little heat this summer] 'I liked it that it wasn't too hot this summer'), licensed by the semantics of the matrix predicate, most typically psych verbs (except for Romanian and the extreme southern Italian dialects) (Quer [2016: 958–959] for a thorough discussion of the various uses of the subjunctive in Romance).

Thus, variation in the use of the subjunctive vs the indicative in Romance shows the gradual gaining ground – although to a different extent, according to the language/variety – of the indicative over the subjunctive, that has disappeared from most domains in French and some southern Italian varieties, completely ousted by the indicative in the extreme southern Italian dialects (Ledgeway and Lombardi 2014: 28–31; Ledgeway 2016c: 1015–1019, and references therein).

Although no longer morphologically realized, in southern Italian dialects (even those that have formally neutralized the realis/irrealis distinction, since the subjunctive has been lost and one and the same complementizer occurs in both modal functions), the modal distinction has come to be marked through verb movement, i.e., at the syntactic level, through the different position of the verb and the complementizer (Ledgeway and Lombardi 2014: 39). Word order, thus, conveys the distinction originally marked by the indicative/subjunctive opposition (Ledgeway 2012: 170 f.; Ledgeway and Lombardi 2014: 31 f.; 39), as shown in (5), with a striking similarity to Romanian (6), where, however, the complementizer *că* is more freely interpolated (6a), unlike the complementizer *să*, as shown in (6b) (Maiden 2016a: 119; p.c.; Nicolae 2019: 74–79, 79, note 5). Indeed, Romanian may be regarded as being at an intermediate stage along the grammaticalization chain, 'the subjunctive morphology being 'too weak' to independently license the different modal interpretation/distinction' and therefore the need arising to make the realis/irrealis distinction overt through verb movement (leading to the loss of this modal distinction) (Ledgeway and Lombardi 2014: 46; also Quer 2016: 956):

- (5) a. Realis:
 (Dicianu *ca*) *Lello sempe fatica* (Cos.)
 say.PRS.IND.3SG that Lello always work.PRS.IND.3SG
 'They say that Lello always work.' (Ledgeway and Lombardi 2014: 37)
- b. Irrealis:
 (Vuonnu) *ca* *Lello fatica* *sempe*
 want.PRS.IND.3SG that Lello work.PRS.IND.3SG always
 'They want Lello to work continuously'

- (6) a. Realis:
 (Spun *că*) *mereu muncește* (*muncește mereu*)
 say.PRS.IND.3SG that always work.PRS.IND.3SG
 'The say that he always works'
- b. Irrealis:
 Vor *să* *muncească* *mereu*
 want.PRS.IND.3PL that work.SUBJV.3SG always
 'They want him to work continuously/always'

3.3.2 Modal verbs

The Romance languages have a well-developed system of modal verbs expressing *dynamic* (volition, ability, need/necessity) *deontic* (obligation, permission) and *epistemic* (knowledge, belief, possibility, probability) *modality*, resulting from the continuation and expansion in function of the Latin modals 'can', 'must', 'want' and the grammaticalization of other verbs/constructions (e.g., the verbs of possession 'have', 'keep'/'hold', and 'be', 'need' + infinitive/subordinator, 'go' + PP in [passive] deontic function, see § 3.3.2.1).

3.3.2.1 Dynamic, deontic and epistemic modals

The Romance continuants of Latin POSSE 'can, be able' (It. *potere*, Fr. *pouvoir*, Sp./Cat./Pt. *poder*, Rom. *a putea*), VELLE/*VOLERE 'want', QUERERE 'wish' (Cat. *voler*, It. *volere*, Fr. *vouloir*, Pt./Sp. *querer*), DEBERE 'must' (It. *dovere*, Sp. *deber*, Fr. *devoir*, Cat. *deure*, Pt. *dever*, but Rom. *a trebui* being instead of Slavic origin [Cornillie et al. 2009]), instantiate different shades and degrees of grammaticalization in the dynamic – deontic – epistemic modality conceptual space. They realize the core of the category, due to their high degree of polysemy, most typically occurring with more than one modal function (e.g., dynamic (ability), deontic (permission) and epistemic (likelihood/possibility) for Ro. *putea* 'can, be able' (Zafiu 2013b: 576).

The usage and morphosyntactic behaviour of modals in Romance confirm general trends pointed out in the literature, such as the fact that the epistemic function is a later and optional development on the grammaticalization cline (dynamic > deontic > epistemic > evidential), with dynamic and deontic meanings being diachronically more basic (Traugott and Dasher 2002: 109–111) and that in their epistemic use modals show a higher degree of grammaticalization (e.g., a 'higher degree of coalescence and a narrower structural scope') than dynamic and deontic modals (Hansen and de Haan 2009: 545), a characteristic which they share with Germanic modals (Mortelmans, Boye, and van der Auwera 2009).

Thus, for instance, the impersonal use of Romanian *a trebui* 'must' – etymologically meaning 'need', displays defective morphology, i.e., the impersonal form, only

occurring in its epistemic function, whilst alternating the personal and impersonal forms in its dynamic and deontic usage (Zafiu 2013b: 578–581) – and Brazilian Portuguese *ter que/ter de* ‘have to’, *dever* ‘must’, *poder* ‘can’, are fully grammaticalized only in their epistemic uses. Elliptical constructions (e.g., the omission of the infinitival complement which is possible with animate subjects only) are ungrammatical in Brazilian Portuguese (*eles não querem realizar outro concurso no próximo ano mas devem* [they not want.PRS.3PL organize.INF another test next year but have-to.PRS.3PL] ‘they don’t want to organize another test next year but they have to’ [*are likely to do it]), unlike in their dynamic/deontic uses (Dall’Aglio Hattner and Hengeveld 2016: 7).

In addition, not all modals develop an epistemic reading. For instance, ‘want’ in Italian can occur with a dynamic and deontic (passive) function only, followed by the past participle of the lexical verb in the latter usage, characteristic of southern Italo-Romance, e.g., *il muro vuole aggiustato* [the wall want.PRS.3SG repair.PST.PTCP.M.SG] ‘The wall must be repaired’ (reg. Sic. It., Alfieri [1992: 848]; Ledgeway [2000: 245]).

In French, Italian and Spanish, alongside deontic and epistemic modality, ‘must’ also conveys reportive evidentiality (7a), developing from its deontic reading and often coexisting with the futural meaning, as shown in (7c) from French, although in some uses ‘must’ + infinitive only functions as a future marker, its obligation interpretation being completely bleached, e.g., *même si vous devez ensuite me mépriser* ‘even if you’ll despise me for it later’ (Squartini 2004: 877; also Fleischmann 1982: 145):

- (7) a. *Selon les indications données par Max, nous*
 according-to the indications give.PST.PTCP.PL by Max we
devons être déjà là
 must.PRS.IND.1PL be.INF already there
 ‘According to the instructions given by Max, we should already be there’
 (Squartini 2003: 878)
- b. *Je dois dîner avec Joseph la semaine prochaine*
 I must.PRS.IND.1SG dine.INF with Joseph the week next
 ‘I’m going to have dinner with Joseph next week’ (Squartini 2004: 877)

Romance modals clearly follow the grammaticalization cline also in showing the dynamic-deontic modality path, as for Italian *bisogna* + ‘that’/INF ‘(it) needs’, originally a transitive verb of necessity in old Florentine (*mi bisognan fiorini dugento d’oro* [I.DAT need.PRS.3PL florins two-hundred of-gold] ‘I need two hundred gold florins’, [Decameron VIII, 1, p. 507]), gradually developing a deontic modal function, resulting in the loss of morphosyntactic transitivity, the verb becoming impersonal and governing a complement clause introduced by either the complementizer ‘that’ + subjunctive or the infinitive (*bisogna che vada/andare* [need.PRS.IND.3SG that

go.PRS.SBJV.1SG/go.INF] ‘I must go’, Benincà and Poletto [1997: 109]). A similar deontic passive function of the verb ‘need’ also obtains in Nuorese Sardinian, the verb *kèrrere* being followed by the past participle (*cussa dzente keret timita* [that people.F.SG need.PRS.3SG fear.PST.PTCP.F.SG] ‘Those people are to be feared’, [Jones 1993: 125]).

Three different parameters converge in determining the grammaticalization of verbs of dynamic modality (e.g., ability/necessity) into markers of deontic and, optionally, epistemic and evidential modality, depending on the language/variety: (i) the desemanticization of the lexical verb, (ii) context determined (pragmatic) inferences, (iii) decategorialization (Cornillie et al. 2009: 109 and references therein).

The same dimensions are at work for the grammaticalization of constructions involving the verbs ‘be’ (It. *essere da*, Rom. *fi de*, Fr. *être à*), the Italian motion verb *andare* ‘go’ + (passive) past participle (cf. § 3.1.2), the verbs *bisogna* ‘need’, *occorre* ‘must’, *conviene* ‘ought to’, the French verb *falloir* ‘miss/lack’, Sp. *caber* (impersonal) ‘be possible’, the verbs of possession ‘have’/‘hold’/‘keep’ + *a/de* (Sp., *haber de/que*, *tener que*, Fr. *avoir à*, Rom. *avea de* + supine, Pt. *ter de/que*), in deontic/epistemic patterns, with the prepositions *à* ‘to’, *de* ‘of’ evoking an objective to be attained (Cornillie et al. 2009: 111), depending on the language and on the verb/construction. Among the constructions denoting possession developing a deontic modal usage, Spanish ‘have’ appears to be the most advanced on the grammaticalization cline. Unlike in French and Italian, for instance, the verb no longer denotes possession but is a perfective auxiliary and has developed not only a deontic reading, but also a future (*dize que los moros todos han de yr a parayso* [tell.IND.PRS.3SG that the maur.M.PL all.M.PL have.IND.PRS.3PL to go.INF to paradise.M.SG] ‘One says that all Muslims will go to paradise’) (Cornillie et al. 2009: 114) and epistemic modal interpretation (*creo que han de ser verdaderas* [think.IND.PRS.1SG that have.IND.PRS.3PL to be.INF. real.F.PL] ‘I think they must be real’), the latter already attested in old Spanish (13th–14th c. texts), the verb also occurring in the impersonal form *hay que*, although in deontic meaning only (*no hay que temer a los perros* [not have.PRS.3SG that fear.INF. to the dogs] ‘one should not be afraid of dogs’) (Cornillie et al. 2009: 114–115), a fact which contradicts the general pattern found in several European and other Romance languages, whereby the impersonal form usually conveys epistemic modality (Cornillie et al. 2009: 112; Haansen and De Haan 2009: 522).

Even within a language/variety, therefore, one and the same pattern may show different degrees of grammaticalization, e.g., of semantic bleaching and decategorialization (Cornillie et al. 2009: 115).

Other verbs, on the other hand, appear to be at the edge of the category, only occurring with one modal meaning, like ‘know’ (cf. It. *sapere* ‘know, can, be able to’ [intrinsic/acquired ability], e.g., *sa comprendere le persone* [know.PRS.IND.3SG understand.inf the people] ‘He understands people’, ‘He understands people’ vs. *sa nuotare* [know.PRS.IND.3SG swim.INF] ‘He can swim’; BPt. *saber* ‘to know how to’ [acquired ability only], *Brazil sabe fazer grandes eventos ...* [Brazil know.PRS.IND.3SG

do.INF. big events] ‘Brazil is capable of organizing big events ...’; see Dall’Aglio Hattner and Hengeveld [2016: 10–11]; Hansen and de Haan [2009: 513] for a general discussion).

3.4 Agreement

Verb agreement is fairly consistent in Romance. The finite verb generally agrees with the A/S/O subject, depending on the active/passive nature of the construction, indexing person, number and, marginally, gender, as in a central Italian dialect, Ripano (§ 3.4.1), whilst the *active past participle* in compound tenses shows variable agreement with the O/S_O argument, exceptionally also the A/S_A and R argument, the Indirect Object, as in some central Italian dialects (D’Alessandro and Pescarini 2016; Loporcaro 2016a: 805; and also § 3.4.2 below). Nevertheless, there are interesting diverging patterns reflecting different degrees of grammaticalization and features of verbal agreement controllers (see Ledgeway 2012: 300–305; Loporcaro 2016a for a recent overview; Bentley 2018).

By contrast, passive participles never display variation in their agreement possibilities, always agreeing with their head, the O/S_O argument (Loporcaro 2016a: 806–812 and further references therein).

3.4.1 Subject agreement

Subject agreement in Romance (Bentley 2018) is generally fully grammaticalized, i.e., unaffected by the pragmatic and semantic characteristics of the controller,⁹ when the (A/S/O) subject is preverbal, most typically indexing person and number.¹⁰ In presentative and existential clauses, the postverbal nominal (i.e., the non-canonical pivot) is not always subjectivized, and finite verb agreement exhibits varying degrees of grammaticalization, instantiated by the presence, optionality and lack of agreement, and the obligatory/optional presence of a locative/non-locative verb initial proform/expletive subject clitic pronoun, depending on the language/variety (e.g., Fr. *il* [8a–b], Mil. *g(he)* [8d, f, h])¹¹ (cf. Kaiser and Remberger

⁹ In some Tuscan and Ligurian varieties, however, discourse-pragmatic factors determine the pre/postverbal position of the subject and related agreement/non-agreement patterns obtain (Adam Ledgeway, pc.; see also Cennamo 1997a: 152–155, 161).

¹⁰ In the Marchigiano dialect of Ripatransone, however, finite verb agreement indexes (syncretically) gender and number, whilst person distinctions are neutralized in the singular (Ledgeway 2012: 300–301).

¹¹ Among the main existential proforms of modern Romance there occur *gh(e)* < *j* < *HIC/ILLIC/IBI/ILLI* (Benincà 2007), *bi* (Log./Nuo., It. *vi* < *IBI*, Wagner [1960–1964]; Blasco Ferrer [2003: 61]), It. *ci* < *HINCE* // *ECCE HIC* (Maiden 1995: 167), Cat. *hi* < *IBI* (Badia i Margarit 1951: 266), Fr. *Y*, Prv. *I* < *IBI*, *HIC*,

[2009] for an overview; also Cennamo [2016: 977–978] and references therein). The grammaticalization of a locative adverb into a non-referential existential proform, however, is not complete yet in Romance (Ciconte 2015: 218; Bentley and Ciconte 2016: 856).

With existential patterns, optionality of agreement – a subsequent stage on the grammaticalization path gradually leading, in some languages/varieties, to the loss of agreement with the postverbal nominal, both in existential and presentative constructions, as shown in Tables 7 and 8 below – reflects *different D(efiniteness) E(ffect)s* and especially the *Specificity scale*, ranging from 1st, 2nd persons to non-specific NPs, according to the following implicational scale: 1st/2nd person pronoun > 3rd person pronoun > definites > definites+some indefinites > indefinites (Bentley 2013: 684). In Venetian dialects, copula agreement is found only with 1st and 2nd person pivots, whereas in Catalan and some Tuscan dialects only pronominal pivots agree with the existential copula. In Spanish, Galician, and European Portuguese, on the other hand, copula agreement is confined/restricted to specific pivots (Bentley 2013; Bentley, Ciconte, and Cruschina 2015; Bentley and Ciconte 2016: 858). Consistent agreement of the pivot with the copula is found instead in most Friulan dialects (Haiman and Benincà 1992: 185), Italian (where, however, spoken registers display a tendency towards non-agreement, e.g., *c’era dei contadini* [PF be.IMP.F.3SG some farmers] ‘there were farmers’, Koch [2003: 158]), central and southern Italo-Romance dialects, Corsican, Campidanese and some Nuorese Sardinian dialects, as well as Romanian (*sunt eu* [be.PRS.1SG] I ‘there is me’) (Bentley and Ciconte [2016: 857]). In contrast, lack of agreement characterizes French, Ladin, some Romansh dialects, some far southern Italo-Romance varieties (e.g., in Puglia and Calabria) as well as Brazilian Portuguese, where *ter* ‘have’ < Lat. *tenere* ‘to hold’ is found as an existential copula (*tem muitos caroços nessa fruta* [have.3SG many seeds in.that fruit] ‘There are many seeds in that fruit’, Bentley and Ciconte [2016: 857]).

In Spanish, non-canonical agreement of the postverbal NP with existential *haber* ‘have’ occurs mainly in past tenses, it is found also in written genres (... *habían también oficiales ingleses* ... [have.PST.3PL also officers English] ‘... there were also English officers ...’), reflecting also geographical and sociolinguistic factors (Meullemann 2012: 421, note 6 and references therein). French *il y a* ‘there is’, has become a fixed formula, an introducer ofthetic propositions, occurring in a fixed position at the front of the sentence. Unlike Spanish *hay* ‘there is’ > *ha* < have.PRS.3SG + the enclitic morpheme *y* < OSp. *ý* ‘there’ (Sánchez Lancis 2001: 107–109) and Italian *c’è* ‘there is’, French *il y a* shows lack of agreement and a high degree of attrition. It is phonologically reduced to a monosyllabic form *ya* in the spoken language (albeit also attested in newspapers), thereby displaying a higher degree of grammaticalization than Spanish *hay* and Italian *c’è* in relation to this parameter, for which the

(Blasco Ferrer 2003: 61), *en* (Arag.) < *HINC* (Blasco Ferrer 2003: 61), Log., Nuo., Cpd. (*n*)*che*, (*n*)*ci* (Wagner 1960–1964, 1: 624), southern and northern Italo-Romance *nd(i)*, *ne* < *INDE* (Maiden 1995: 167).

Tab. 7: Grammaticalization cline of agreement with existential patterns.

Consistent agreement [+] > – Grammaticalized	Optionality of agreement [±] > Parameters: DE – Specificity scale	Lack of agreement [–] + Grammaticalized
Friul., It., CIDs/SIDs, Cors., Cpd., Nuo., Ro.	Sp. (some registers/areas), Ven. (+AGR with 1st/2nd), Cat./ Ept. (+ AGR with pronominal Pivots)	Fr., NIDs, Lad. Romsh., Pugl., Cal., Bpt.

Italian existential construction is the least grammaticalized among these three languages (Meulleman 2012: 422; 445; 447).

Discourse-pragmatic factors interact with thematic (e.g., agentivity/affectedness) and aspectual notions (e.g., the presence/absence of a state component in the verb logical structure) in determining the presence, lack and optionality of agreement with the postverbal nominal with presentatives, organized along the unergative/unaccusative continuum in presentative structures with intransitive verbs (under the gradient view of the divide, as proposed by Sorace [2000, 2004, 2011]. In French the pattern notably occurs with unaccusatives (8a), and is only marginally available with unergatives (8b) and unacceptable with transitives (Legendre 1990; Creissels 2010). In northern Italian dialects the construction is possible with both unaccusatives and unergatives, with different agreement patterns (Cennamo 1997a: 153–155; Parry 2000; Bentley 2018). Agreement obtains with activity verbs (8c), but is instead optional with states (8d–e), achievements (f–g) and accomplishments (8h–i), depending on the presence/lack of an etymologically locative clitic in sentence initial position, that triggers lack of verbal agreement with the postverbal nominal, as shown in (8f, h) (examples and analysis from Bentley [2018], and further references therein; see Cennamo and Sorace [2007: 95–96] for agreement variability in Paduan; Parry [2000] for Piedmontese; Parry [2010, 2013a]).

- (8) a. *il est arrivé trois personnes*
EXPL be.PRS.3SG arrive.PST.PTCP.M.SG three people
'Three people arrived'
- b. *Il y nage la côte d'un chou ... (sc. soup)*
EXPL there swim.PRS.3SG the stem-of-a cabbage
'There swims in it (sc. the soup) the stem of a cabbage'
(Legendre 1990: 87, note 7)
- c. *an ciama i tò gent/tanti*
have.PRS.3PL call.PST.PTCP the your people/many.M.PL
malà (Mil., Lombardy) (activity)
patients
'Your parents/Many patients called'

- d. *ier gh' è astà mal i me*
yesterday EXPL be.PRS.3SG be.PST.PTCP unwell the my
fiö/tanti fiö (state)
children/many children.MPL
- e. *ier in astà mal i me*
yesterday be.PRS.3PL be.PST.PTCP unwell the my
fiö/tanti fiö
children/many child.MPL
'Yesterday my children/many children were unwell'
- f. *gh' è rivà i tò surei/di pac* (achievement)
EXPL be.3SG arrive.PST.PTCP the your sister.F.PL /some parcel.M.PL
- g. *in rivà i tò surei/di pac*
be.3PL arrive.PST.PTCP the your sister.F.PL /some parcel.M.PL
'There arrived some parcels/your sisters'
- h. *gh' è vegnù giò i sciur del pian de*
EXPL be.PRS.3SG come.PST.PTCP.M.SG down the people of.the floor of
sura [-agr]
upstairs
- i. *in vegni giò i sciur del pian de sura*
be.PRS.3PL come.PTCP.M.PL down the people of.the floor of upstairs
'There came down the people from upstairs'

In this respect, Italo-Romance dialects instantiate the highest degree of variation and French the highest degree of consistent lack of verbal agreement, i.e., of grammaticalization (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994; Legendre 1990; Legendre and Sorace 2003 and references therein), the finite verb always reverting to the unmarked 3rd person singular and the past participle to the masculine singular in compound tenses, as shown in (8h) for Milanese.

Tab. 8: Grammaticalization cline for agreement with presentatives in French and Italo-Romance.

Consistent agreement + > – Grammaticalized	Optionality of agreement ±	Lack of agreement – > + Grammaticalized
+ AGR: activity verbs (NIDs)	+ EXPL: – AGR: states, achievements, accomplishments (NIDs)	all aspectual classes (Fr., NIDs)
	– EXPL: + AGR, all aspectual classes (NIDs)	

In compound tenses in most Romance languages/varieties, the masculine singular ending of the (active) past participle has been reanalysed as a default agreement marker, signalling lack of agreement, with transitives/unergatives and even unaccusatives in Spanish and Catalan (when the auxiliary 'have' occurs, see Loporcaro [2016a: 803–804]). The default masculine singular also occurs with a non-canonical (clausal) controller, like the infinitival subject in Italian (e.g., *fumare è diventato/a una abitudine* [smoking.INF be.PRS.3SG become.PST.PTCP.M.SG/*F.SG a habit.F] 'Smoking has become a habit'), a property taken up by the neuter singular ending/form in Surselvan (e.g., *tgei ei succediu?* [what be.PRS.3SG happen.PST.PTCP.N] 'what happened?') and some central Italian dialects (Loporcaro 2016a: 804 and references therein). In contrast, in Aromanian, Megleno-Romanian and western Romanian varieties an invariant morphologically feminine form occurs, for all non-finite forms of the verb (past participle, supine, gerund and long infinitive, e.g., *am mâncată* [have.PRS.1SG eat.PST.PTCP.F.SG] 'I (M/F) have eaten', Ledgeway [2012: 295, note 12]).

3.4.1.1 Subject clitics and agreement markers

A characteristic feature of some Romance languages from southern France, Switzerland and a part of northern Italy, including Tuscany, is the occurrence of subject clitics (Pescarini 2016; Poletto and Tortora 2016 and references therein), functioning as agreement/agreement-like markers, in (so-called) *subject clitic doubling patterns*, with different languages/varieties instantiating different points along the well-known clitic-agreement grammaticalization cline (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 142, among others). A variety of Quebec French – where the construction is optional, restricted to some syntactic environments (e.g., ungrammatical with relative clauses and Wh- questions) and semantically constrained, e.g., only possible with definite subjects (*la sirène (a) chante chaque matin* ('a sirène ...) [the mermaid she sing.PRS.IND.3SG every morning] 'The mermaid sings every morning') – represents a less advanced stage on the grammaticalization cline (Cournane 2010), unlike non-standard French, where the subject clitic pronoun *il* 'he' has become a bound agreement marker, indexing agreement with the lexical subject (*ma femme il est venu* [my.F wife MRK be.PRS.IND.3SG come. PST.PTCP.M.SG] 'My wife has come'; Lambrecht [1981: 40]; Hopper and Traugott [2003: 15; 223]).

Northern Italian dialects show a highly varied picture, not only as regards the grammaticalization process, but also in relation to the etymological source and current syntactic function of subject clitics. These are reported also for some southern Italian (Sicilian) dialects, where they have been reanalysed as aspectual and modality markers (respectively in Pantelleria [Loporcaro 2012a] and Palermo [Sorrisi and Giorgi 2012; Poletto and Tortora 2016: 783, note 20], whilst in Paduan the clitic *a* > Lat. pronoun EGO 'I' carries a pragmatic function, marking a sentence as conveying new information, e.g., *a piove* [cl rain.PRS.3SG] vs. *piove* 'It is raining' [Benincà 1983, 2014; Poletto and Tortora 2016: 772]). Dialects such as Trentino and generally

Friulan, Bolognese, Florentine, as well as Piedmontese and Ligurian varieties (Mair Parry, p.c.) realize a more advanced stage towards the agreement marker status of the clitic, since subject clitic doubling is obligatory in a wider range of syntactic contexts and semantically unconstrained (Tr. *la Maria la magna* [the Mary SCL eat.PRS.3SG] 'Mary is eating'; Poletto and Tortora [2016: 778–779, 783 f.] and further details and references therein).

3.4.2 Object agreement

Object agreement is fully grammaticalized with pronominal third person Os in compound tenses in Italian, French, Occitan, which display consistent past participle agreement, whilst participial agreement with *S_O* arguments/subjects reflects lexico-aspectual and thematic constraints (e.g., agentivity), as in French, where participle agreement is retained with subjects selected by verbs denoting change of state/location and existence (Legendre 1990, Legendre and Sorace 2003; Loporcaro 2016a: 806 and further details and examples). A lower degree of grammaticalization is also found in the eastern Abruzzese dialect of Arielli, where *O/S_O* participial agreement is determined by number, whereby agreement occurs with any plural nominal, thus, involving also *A/S_A* arguments (D'Alessandro and Roberts 2010; Ledgeway 2012: 349).

3.4.2.1 Object doubling and agreement markers

The doubling of (most typically human) direct objects, is a characteristic feature of Latin American Spanish (e.g., Rioplatense, Buenos Aires Spanish, see [9a], Company-Company [2003]; David [2014], among others), Romanian (9b) (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994; Pană Dindelegen 2013b: 136–139; David 2014) and several Italian dialects (Rohlf 1968: 168; Manzini and Savoia 2005, II: 502–523), most notably from the south (e.g., Neapolitan) (9c) (Ledgeway 2000: 37 f., 2018; Fiorentino 2003), where it is also possible with inanimate objects (Ledgeway 2009: 354), with examples reported also for some dialects from Romagna, Triestino and several other northern dialects. It is confined to the high positions of the animacy hierarchy, namely first and second persons (Manzini and Savoia 2005, II: 523; Roberts 2016: 801), marked by the preposition *a* (Lat. *a(d)* 'to, towards') in Spanish (where, however, the preposition *a* has been reanalysed as a case-marker for all types of direct objects, i.e., as an accusative marker) (Company-Company 2003: 231; Belloro 2007; Leonetti 2008, among others), *a/ma/da* in Italo-Romance (Manzini and Savoia 2005, II: 502), *pe* (< Lat. *per* 'through') in Romanian ('on' in its lexical function) (Pană Dindelegen 2013b: 128; Mardale 2015: 201). In these languages/varieties the object is doubled by means of a clitic pronoun agreeing with it in number, person, gender (depending on the variety), functioning as a type of object agreement. The construction results from the grammaticalization of an erstwhile clitic as an agreement marker on the

verb, occupying a fixed position, adjacent to the verb, and most typically co-occurring with Differential Object Marking, linked to its licensing conditions (e.g., human referents, specificity, depending on the language/variety). In Spanish, the dative clitic has grammaticalized to an invariant, affix-like form, *le*, functioning as an object marker, referring to an indirect object [$\pm$ animate], a process also known as dative clitic doubling. It is initially found with inanimate arguments, attested by the 16th century, and frequently used with inanimate participants by the 20th century (9d) (Company-Company 2003: 237):

- (9) a. *La encuentro a la tía*
CL.ACCF.SG meet.PRS.1SG P the woman
'I meet the woman'
(Quilis et al. 1985: 105; Belloro 2007: 53)
- b. *Îl văd pe Ion*
CL.ACC.M.SG see.prs.1sg P Ion.ACC
'I see Ion'
(Pană Dindelegan 2013b: 136)
- c. *I' hai visto a quello? (Neap.)*
CL.M.SG have.PRS.2SG see.PST.PTCP.MSG P that.M.SG
'Did you see that man?'
- d. *no hay que darle tanta importancia a las apariencias*
not have.3SG that give.INF.MRK so-much importance to the appearances.DAT.PL
'Not so much importance should be given to appearances'
(spontaneous speech)

4 Grammaticalization of complex constructions

Five main grammaticalization processes can be detected in the domain of complex constructions and clause linking, partly as a result of the gradual emergence of head-marking coding systems in the passage from Latin to Romance: (i) the fixing of dedicated positions for the lexical verb and the A and O arguments (i.e., the subject and object relations) (§ 4.1), (ii) the emergence of (finite and) non-finite complementizers, with different types and degrees of lexicalization of the realis/irrealis distinction, interacting with the marking of the control relation (§ 4.2.), (iii) the pressing into service of grammatical elements such as prepositions, (originally deictic pronominal) complementizers, adverbials, to form complex conjunctions/phrases, introducing different types of adverbial clauses (§ 4.3), (iv) the rise of invariant

relative markers as a type of relativization strategy (§ 4.4), (v) insubordination strategies (§ 4.5).

4.1 Word order

A characteristic feature of the transition from Latin to Romance is the fixing of the position of the verb and its core arguments and adjuncts according to the sequence S V O ADV, and the grammaticalization of the verb medial position (with SVO and OVS being statistically the main word order patterns in Late Latin texts) (Herman 2000: 86; Ledgeway 2011c: 725), resulting in so-called V2 syntax, owing to the raising of the verb to the C(omplementizer) position in the left edge of main clauses, preceded by constituents fronted from the sentence core for pragmatic reasons, generally in topic/focus function (cf. *autre chose ne pot li roi trouver* [other thing not could the king find], OFr., *M. Artu* 101; [Ledgeway 2011c: 725], *a questo resposse Iasone* [to this answered Iason]; ONeap. *LDT* 60.12; Ledgeway [2012: 66]). For a thorough and perceptive description of word order changes in the passage to Romance see Ledgeway (2011c: 725, 2012: 64–71). V2 syntax is a well-attested feature of medieval Romance, especially Gallo-Romance and Raetho-Romance (Benincà 1994; Vincent 1997b, among others), although old Sardinian differs, in that the placing of another constituent before the fronted verb is far less common, resulting in frequent V1 (Lombardi 2007; Wolfe 2015, 2018). V2 syntax is retained in some contemporary varieties where the medium of culture is the German language (Romansh in Grisons and Ladin in the Alto-Adige/Südtirol (Haiman and Benincà 1992: 167–175; Ledgeway 2012: 65; Salvi 2016: 1009–1010). However, see Sornicola (2000) for a different view and Sitaridou (2012: 556; 595; 597–598), for a refinement of the V2 typology in old Romance, considered as an 'epiphenomenon of information structure', reflecting (degrees of) grammaticalization of functional projections, resulting in restrictions on linearization and on word order options, with old French instantiating a *structural* V2 and old Portuguese, old Occitan and old Spanish a *linear* V2 and recent discussion in Wolfe (2018).

At this initial stage, therefore, word order is grammatically fixed at the level of the sentence core constituents, but it is pragmatically flexible in the left periphery of the clause (Ledgeway 2011c: 725; 2012: 68; Ledgeway 2016b: 771; Cruschina and Ledgeway 2016: 571–572). Subsequently, the frequent fronting of the topic subject in the left edge sentence initial position led to the grammaticalization of the sentence initial position as the subject unmarked position in main clauses, leading to the order S (AUX) V (*ADV) (O) (IO) (*ADV) (Ledgeway [2011c: 725–726, 2012: 71, 2016b: 770–771] for an in-depth investigation of the issue and related references) and to the reanalysis of weakened (optionally raised) preverbal subject pronouns as obligatory subject clitics, subsequently developing into agreement markers (e.g., Pad. *la se verze* it (sc. *puerta*) [RFL opens] 'it (sc. the door) opens') (Poletto 1995; Parry 2010,

2013a; § 3.4.1 above).¹² The fixation of word order has resulted in SVO as the main word order type in French (only allowing also VOS and, marginally, OVS), regarded as the most grammaticalized Romance language with respect to word order, as also shown by the constraints on the VOS order, most restrictive in French, where the pattern is possible only when the postverbal S has identificational focus (Kiss 1998) (e.g., *paieront une amende tous les automobilistes en infraction* [pay.FUT.3PL a fine all the drivers in breach-of-the-law] 'all drivers who will infringe the law will be fined', Lahousse and Lamiroy [2012: 402]) but not when it conveys (new) information focus (**prend le microphone le directeur technique* [take.PRES.3SG the microphone the technical director] 'the technical director is taking the microphone' (Lahousse and Lamiroy 2012: 402). This feature stems from a grammaticalization process that is well advanced in French, less prominent in Italian and even less so in Spanish (as independently confirmed by the increasing use of cleft sentences in modern French compared with other Romance languages; cf. discussion in Lahousse and Lamiroy [2012: 395–396] and references therein).¹³

4.2 Complement clauses

Finite complements are generally marked by a reflex of Latin QUID > *que/che* 'that', plus a preceding preposition reflecting the valency of the verb in Ibero-Romance (Sp. *me acuerdo de que es ...* [I.DAT remember.PRS.1SG of this] 'I remember that it is ...' < *me acuerdo de esta cosa*) where in colloquial varieties this complex type of complementizer (valency selected preposition + complementizer *que*) is spreading to verbs which do not select a prepositional complement (*dice de que es el cumpleaños de su hermano* [say.PRS.3SG from comp be.PRS.3SG art.M birthday of his brother] 'He says that it is his brother's birthday' (Kabatek and Pusch 2011: 88; see also Ledgeway 2016c: 1015). For propositional infinitival complements there occur either Ø, as in Gallo- and Ibero-Romance (cf. Fr. *il savait s'être trompé* [he know.PST.3SG RFL be.INF be-mistaken.INF] 'He knew he had made a mistake', Ledgeway [2016c: 1015]), or the continuant of the Latin preposition DE 'of, from' in Italo-Romance (It. *sapeva di sbagliare* [know.IMPF.3SG of be-mistaken.INF] 'He knew he was wrong'), whilst irrealis infinitival complements are often headed by a reflex of Latin A 'to'. The distinc-

¹² On the controversial related issue whereby undergoer subjects, i.e., S_O/O arguments are excluded from the unmarked preverbal subject position in some languages/varieties, e.g., Italian, most typically occurring, in the unmarked VS order, see Ledgeway (2012: 69); Salvi (2016: 1002–1003), also with reference to the unmarked preverbal position of subjects, (Dubert and Galves 2016: 427) on the difference between European and Brazilian Portuguese.

¹³ French is sometimes regarded as being more advanced in the grammaticalized process than the other Romance languages also in other domains such as auxiliaries (Lamiroy 1999), mood (Loengarov 2005; 2006), determiners (Carlier 2007), prepositions (Lamiroy 2001), existential sentences (Meulleman 2012: 260) (Lahousse and Lamiroy 2012: 408).

tion, however, is not clear-cut and the distribution of these infinitival markers is varied and often arbitrary/non-systematic (Ledgeway 2016c: 1015–1016). Thus, in Italian and French *a* and *de* may alternate as markers of irrealis complementation, according to the verb and its valency, whilst in Catalan *de* has been grammaticalized as the default complementizer, often employed for realis and irrealis complement clauses (Wheeler, Yates, and Dols 1999: 395; Ledgeway 2016c: 1016). The choice between different complementizers introducing an infinitival clause may also convey different control relations, in addition to the realis/irrealis distinction, depending on the verb (e.g., subject control with *de* and object control with *a*), as in Italian (e.g., *Marco convinse tutti di aver preso la decisione giusta* [Mark convince.PST.3SG everybody of have.INF take.INF the decision right] 'Mark convinced everybody to have taken the right decision' vs *Marco convinse tutti a prendere la decisione giusta* [Mark convince.PST.3SG everybody to take.INF the decision right] 'Mark convinced everybody to take the right decision'), or just control relations (see Ledgeway [2016c: 1016]; Cruschina and Ledgeway [2016: 565–568] for an indepth investigation of the variation encountered in Romance). Some upper southern Italian dialects, instead exhibit a dual finite complementizer system, employing the complementizer *ca* (< Lat. QUIA 'because') for propositional (indicative) complements and *che/chi* (< Lat. QUID 'that'), *mu/ma/mi* (> Lat. (QUO)MODO), *cu* (< Lat. QUOD 'that') for irrealis complement clauses (Ledgeway 2016c: 1018–1019), surfacing syntactically when the distinction is formally neutralized and both complementizers may occur in either contexts, although they cannot precede topics/foci in irrealis contexts (Ledgeway and Lombardi 2014; Ledgeway 2016c: 1019 and § 3.3.1). Some varieties (e.g., Galician and north-western Italian dialects; [Paoli 2003]; [Ledgeway 2016c: 1019–1020]) display so-called recomplementation, whereby the complementizer occurs twice, around a fronted topic or focus constituent (10), restricted to the subjunctive in northwestern Italian dialects (Paoli 2003; Ledgeway 2016c: 1020), similar to the Romanian recomplementation pattern consisting of the irrealis complementizer *să* (< **se* < Lat. SI 'if') preceded by the complementizer *ca* (< Lat. QU(I)A), in the fixed group *ca ... să* 'in order for, for ... to' (Gheorghe 2013: 467; 469–470; Maiden 2016a: 120), whilst also attested in infinitival clauses introduced by the complementizer *de* 'of' in old Sardinian (Vincent [2006: 12]; full discussion in Ledgeway [2016c: 1020, note 11]):¹⁴

- (10) *Dixéronme que a ese rapaz que o coñecemos na festa*
say. PST.3PL.I. DAT that to that boy that him meet.PST.3PL in.the party
'They told me that we met the guy at the party'
(Galician; Ledgeway 2016c: 1020)

Romance also displays different degrees of *interlacing* (Lehmann 1988: 204–209) between matrix and dependent infinitival clauses, as with so-called restructuring

¹⁴ The pattern is also found in old Romance varieties, e.g., old French, old Spanish, old Tuscan (Ledgeway 2016c: 1019–1020).

verbs (Rizzi 1982), modal, aspectual and motion verbs showing obligatory/optional clitic climbing of the infinitival pronominal DO/IO/locative arguments and auxiliary switch (according to the language/variety), owing to the blurring of surface clausal boundaries, reflecting the degree of semantic integration between the matrix and dependent infinitive. Interlacing is higher in Neapolitan (11a), where clitic climbing is obligatory (auxiliary switch not applying, 'have' being the sole auxiliary) (Ledgeway 2000: 83), lower in Italian, displaying also optional auxiliary switch in this syntactic context (11b), the two syntactic properties patterning together when clitic climbing takes place (11c) (Ledgeway 2016c: 1022; Cruschina and Ledgeway 2016: 563–564 for further examples and references):

- (11) a. *o' jamm a chiammà*
him go.PRS.IND.1PL to call.INF
'We are going to call him'
(Ledgeway 2000: 83)
- b. *Marco è/ha voluto tornare*
Mark be.PRS.IND.3SG/have.PRS.IND.3SG want.PST.PTCP.M.SG return.INF
a casa/tornarvi
to home/return.INF.there
'Mark wanted to return there'
- c. *Marco vi è voluto tornare*
Mark there (CL) be.PRS.IND.3SG want.PST.PTCP.M.SG return.INF
(**vi ha voluto tornare*)
there (CL) have.PRS.IND.3SG
'Mark wanted to return there'

In the southern Italian varieties where the subordinate infinitive only occurs in restructuring contexts (Ledgeway 2016c: 1027), there occur paratactic-like complementation patterns with different degrees of grammaticalization of the matrix verb like aspectuals (e.g., 'stand'), or modals (e.g., 'want') and, to a lesser extent, motion verbs in aspectual function (e.g., 'exit', 'go', 'come', 'return') and interlacing between the matrix and its complement/dependent verb (Manzini and Savoia 2005, I: 688–701). Following Ledgeway (2016c: 1027–1028 and extensive discussion in Ledgeway 1997), three subtypes can be identified: (i) the juxtaposition of two inflected verbs, with clitics either climbing to the matrix/aspectual verb or occurring between the latter and the governed/dependent verb (12a–b), (ii) the sequence of matrix and the dependent verb linked by the conjunction *a* (< Lat. AC), homophonous with the complementizer *a* 'to' (Rohlf's [1969: § 76], but see Manzini and Savoia [2005, I: 688–689] for the proposal of regarding it as the complementizer *a*) (12c), (iii) juxtaposition of the aspectual and the dependent verb (with initial consonantal lengthening signalling the original dropped conjunction *a*), the aspectual occurring in an invari-

ant form, functioning as a marker of imminent aspect (12d). This pattern is a recent development, confined to Salentino and the verbs 'stand' and 'go' (Ledgeway 2016c: 1027–1028; 2016d: 159):

- (12) a. *Væ u cæmæ*
go.PRS.2SG and call.PRS.1SG
'You are going to call him'
(Minervino Murge; Manzini and Savoia 2005, I: 689)
- b. *Ni venianu pigliávanu a ra stazione*
us come.PST.3PL take.PST.3PL at the station
'They would come and fetch us at the station'
(Cos.; Ledgeway 2016c: 1027)
- c. *u stok a f'fatsæ*
it stand.PRS.1SG and do.PRS.1SG
'I am doing it'
(Putignano; Manzini and Savoia 2005, I: 689)
- d. *lu va/sta pperdu/pperdi ...*
it go/stand.MKR lose.PRS.1SG/lose.PRS.2SG ...
'I am going to lose it'/'I am losing it'
(Ledgeway 2016c: 1028)

Tab. 9: Grammaticalization of complementation markers/devices.

Finite complementation	Non-finite complementation
<i>que</i> (Fr., Pt., Cat., Ast., ...)/ <i>che</i> (It.) 'that'; valency selected preposition + <i>que</i> 'that' in Ibero-Romance (<i>de</i> 'of, from' (Sp.), <i>a</i> 'to' (Ast. ...): propositional/irrealis complements	propositional infinitival complements: Ø (Gallo-, Ibero-Romance); reflexes of Lat. <i>DE</i> 'of, from', (It., Fr.); <i>irrealis</i> : <i>a</i> 'to': (It., Fr.); Cat. <i>de</i> : default complementizer (propositional/irrealis)
Dual complementizer system (some USIDs): <i>ca</i> (< Lat. <i>QUIA</i> 'because'): propositional; <i>che/chi</i> (< Lat. <i>QUID</i> 'that'), <i>mu/ma/mi</i> (< Lat. (<i>QUO</i>) <i>MODO</i>), <i>cu</i> (Lat. <i>QUOD</i> 'that'): irrealis	Interlacing matrix V-infinitive with restructuring verbs: modals, aspectuals, motion verbs): higher: Neap., lower: It.
	Paratactic complementation: degrees of grammaticalization. Matrix V – dependent Verb (southern Italo-Romance): (i) juxtaposition two inflected verbs > (ii) sequence matrix V + conjunction (<i>a</i> (Lat. AC) + dependent V > (iii) juxtaposition aspectual V – dependent V (conjunction dropped) > (iv) aspectual in invariant form = aspectual marker

4.3 Relative clauses

Two grammaticalization paths can be detected in Romance as regards the relative clause domain: (i) the gradual loss of case, number and gender distinctions associated with the Latin ancestors of Romance relativizers *qui/quae/quid*, resulting in invariant markers – *che/qui/que* and variants, the French possessive relative adverb *dont* < Lat. DE+UNDE ‘from where’ (Grevisse 1980: §§ 1217–1236), originally marking source (e.g., Fr. *qui/que*, It. *che*, Sp./Cat. *que*, Pt. *que* < Lat. *qui/quae/quid*, Ro. *care* < Lat. *qualem* ‘which’/ce < Lat. *quid* ‘what’ (Gheorghe 2013: 489; 492; 2016: 475; 479) – instantiating the [–case], gapping strategy, and reanalysed as complementizers once they can occur in all syntactic functions, like their homophonous complementizer *que* ‘that’ and its variants (cf. It./Fr./Sp./Cat./Pt. *che/que* < late Lat. *QUE* ‘that’). See also Stark (2016: 1037); Giacalone Ramat (2005: 4, note 4) for a discussion of the controversial pronoun-complementizer status of the markers *que/qui* and variants (e.g., It. *la ragazza che lavorava con me* [the girl **who** work.IMPF.3SG with me] ‘the girl who used to work with me’); (ii) the rise of new relative pronouns, encoding gender, number distinctions and the syntactic function of the relativized element, depending on the language/variety (cf. It. *la quale* [the.F.SG which] ‘the which’), based on the grammaticalization of the Latin determiner *ILLE* ‘that’ in conjunction with the adjective *QUALIS* ‘which’, a Romance innovation well attested in the early Romance texts (e.g., the 12th century in French, Spanish and Italian), built on the Latin ‘connecting relative’ (Giacalone Ramat 2005: 124 f. and further references therein), a non-restrictive relative clause with a sentence initial relative pronoun referring back to an NP in the preceding clause (e.g., Lat. *id oppidum Lentulus ... tenebat; qui ... profugit ex oppido* [this town **Lentulus** held; **who** fled from town] ‘Lentulus ... held this town: who ... left the town’ [Caesar. *De bello civili* I, 15]; Giacalone Ramat [2005: 123]). The relative pronoun *il quale*, [+ case-coding] strategy, was originally introduced as a textual device, characteristic of the written language, and occurring in non-restrictive clauses in subject and object function in old Italian, subsequently spreading to restrictive clauses and merging with the invariant relativizers paradigms (Giacalone Ramat 2005, 2008 and further references therein).

Type (i), the [–case], gapping strategy occurs, most typically, for core arguments, namely subjects (A/S) and (non-differentially marked) objects (O), although also available with IOs and generally obliques for human antecedents (e.g., Fr. *qui*, Cat./Sp./Pt. *que* ‘who’) (Stark 2016). Type (ii) the [+ case-coding], relative pronoun strategy is employed with obliques and adjuncts (e.g., It. *il quale*, Fr. *lequel*, Sp. *el cual*, Pt. *o qual* ‘the which’). Both invariant markers (e.g., Fr./Cat. *qui* ‘who’) and relative pronouns (Pt. *quem*, Sp. *quien* ‘who’) are employed for human antecedents (Stark 2016: 1031–1032) (Cat. *la noia a qui vaig donar les claus* ‘The girl that I gave the keys to’, Wheeler, Yates, and Dols [1999: 536]), whilst Catalan has a special accented form *què* ‘that’ for inanimate referents, only used with obliques (Wheeler, Yates, and Dols 1999: 538–539; Stark 2016: 1033).

A third type of strategy, characteristic of informal speech and of non-standard varieties, except in Romanian – where it is characteristic of the standard language and compulsory, also with DO and IOs, since the dummy preposition *pe* is often omitted in the spoken language (Gheorghe 2013: 490) – involves a mixed type, the use of an invariant marker and a resumptive pronoun specifying the syntactic function of the head NP. It occurs most typically with non-core arguments/adjuncts (cf. Pad. [Venetan, north-eastern Italo-Romance] *il ragazzo che ci ho viaggiato insieme* [the boy that him have.PRS.1SG travel.PST.PTCP.M.SG together] ‘the boy with whom I travelled’, with the stranded preposition *insieme* ‘together’, heading the comitative phrase [Cennamo 1997b: 195]). This strategy is also possible with DOs in (non-standard) Catalan (*és una dona que la veiem cada dia* [be.PRS.3SG a woman that her see.PRS.1PL every day] ‘she is a woman that we see every day’ (Wheeler, Yates, and Dols 1999: 536) and for subjects in Brazilian Portuguese (Miotto and Lobo 2016: 282) and in some northern Italian dialects (e.g., Paduan) in non-restrictive clauses (Cennamo 1997b: 191). For IOs, obliques and adjuncts, alongside an invariant marker (cf. also Table 8), there also occurs a relative pronoun, coding number and gender (Fr. *lequel*, It. *il quale*, Sp. *el cual*, Pt. *o qual*, Romanian *care* ‘[the] which’), as shown in Table 8, summarizing the various strategies and their distribution on the Noun Phrase A(ccessibility) H(ierarchy).

Despite the differences in the type and distribution of relativizers – not always conforming to the Noun Phrase AH to relativization proposed by Keenan and Comrie (1977), Comrie (1989: 156), Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object > Oblique > Genitive/Possessor (> Object of Comparison), reflecting the ease of relativization of syntactic functions, with subjects more easily relativized than direct objects etc. – two parameters appear to determine the type of strategy employed in Romance: (i) the syntactic function of the antecedent in the matrix clause, (ii) its animacy. Thus, gapping for the functions higher on the AH, subject and direct object, and a [+ case coding] strategy for obliques and adverbials, i.e., along a continuous segment of the AH, appear to hold for standard Italian but not for non-standard varieties, the Italian dialects and Spanish, Catalan and French, where the [–case strategy] occurs for higher and lower positions on the AH (Cennamo 1997b; Stark 2016: 1032 and further references therein). In addition, French further differentiates subjects from objects, for which a different relativizer occurs, *qui*, so-called ‘*que* → *qui* rule’ (Kayne 1976; Jones 1996: 507; Stark 2016: 1032), the same form found also for animate, human, personified antecedents with obliques (*a qui, de qui, sur qui*) (Grevisse 1980: § 189). Catalan too employs a different form, the stressed relativizer *qui* for human obliques (*en qui, amb qui, a qui*), vs the stressed form *què* for non-human and inanimate ones (Wheeler, Yates, and Dols 1999: 538–539).¹⁵ In Romanian, on the other hand,

¹⁵ A similar distinction obtains in early Italian varieties, with the forms *ke/que/che* most typically associated with non-human subject antecedents and inactive states of affairs (i.e., unaccusatives), the choice of relativizer in subject relatives thus reflecting the active-inactive typological realignment in the transition from Latin to Romance (Parry 2007: 215 and references therein).

Tab. 10: Distribution of relativizing strategies in Romance on the Accessibility Hierarchy.

	Catalan	Spanish	Portuguese	French	Italian	Romanian
Subject	1	1	1	1	1	1, 2 (<i>care</i>)
Direct Object	1	1	1	1 (<i>qui</i>)	1	1, 2 (<i>care</i>)
Indirect Object	1	1	1	1 (<i>qui</i>)	1	1, 2 (<i>care</i>)
Oblique	2	2	2	2	2	2
+ Human antecedent	1 (<i>qui</i>),	1, 2	1, 2	1 (<i>qui</i>), 2	1, 2	1
– Human antecedent	2 (<i>quē</i>)	3	3	3	3	3
	3					
Possessor (Genitive)	1, 2	1, 2	1, 2	1, 2	1, 2	1, 2

Legenda: 1 = invariant marker; 2 = relative pronoun; 3 = invariant marker + resumptive pronoun

the primary/main strategy is instantiated by the relative pronoun *care* (< Lat. QUALIS 'which'), invariant for case, gender and number in the NOM/ACC but inflected for number and gender in the GEN/DAT (e.g., *cărora*-M/F.PL), with gender distinctions only overtly marked in the GEN/DAT singular (e.g., *căruia*-M.SG, *căreia*-F.SG) (Gheorghe 2013: 489; Stark 2016: 1033), occurring for all syntactic functions, alternating with *ce* 'that' (< Lat. QUID) for subject and object positions (Stark [2016] for a panorama overview).

4.4 Adverbial clauses

In Romance interrogative words occur not only as markers of complement clauses and (restrictive) relative clauses (§§ 4.2–4.3), but of adverbial clauses as well (Heine and Kuteva 2006: 205f), a polysemy regarded by Haspelmath (1998b: 281–282) a typical S(tandard) A(verage) E(uropean) feature, since it is shared with several other European languages (e.g., Germanic, Slavic, Modern Greek, Hungarian, Georgian), resulting from a contact-induced grammaticalization process of extension (of question markers to subordinators), with Romance and the Slavic languages as the innovating foci/centres of the change (Heine and Kuteva 2006: 225). Among the different conjunctions introducing adverbial clauses, conveying temporal, locative, causal, conditional/concessive information about the situations described by the main clause, only few of them originate directly from Latin interrogative words (e.g., It. *se*, Fr. *si* 'if' < Lat. *si* 'if'; Sp. *cuando*, Pt./It. *quando* 'when' < Lat. QUANDO 'when'; Fr./Cat. *car* 'because' < Lat. QUARE < QUA RE 'which thing', Fr. *où*, Cat. *on* 'where' < Lat. UNDE 'where'). Most typically, one finds instead complex conjunctions/phrases based on nominal, adverbial, prepositional, and, more rarely, verbal elements plus the complementizer 'that' (*que* and its variants), showing a high degree of coalescence (e.g., Fr. *afin que* lit. 'to end that', 'in order that'; Cat. *tot i que* lit. 'all and

Tab. 11: Grammaticalization in adverbial clauses.

<i>Simplex conjunctions</i> (< Lat. interrogative words)	It. <i>se</i> , Fr. <i>si</i> , 'if' < Lat. <i>si</i> 'if'; Sp. <i>quando</i> , Pt./It. <i>quando</i> 'when' < Lat. QUANDO; Fr., Cat. <i>car</i> 'because' < Lat. QUARE < QUA RE 'which thing'; Fr. <i>où</i> , Cat. <i>on</i> 'where' < Lat. UNDE 'where'
<i>Complex conjunctions</i> (nominal/adverbial/prepositional phrases, verbal element + 'that' (< <i>que</i> and variants); high degree of coalescence)	Fr. <i>afin que</i> 'in order that' (lit. 'to end that'); Cat. <i>tot i que</i> 'although' (lit. 'all and that'); It. <i>allorché</i> 'when' (lit. 'at the hour that')
<i>Conjunction + simple adverbials</i>	Fr. <i>quand que</i> , <i>ou que</i> NIDs
<i>Differences in mood conveying differences in clause linking</i>	When clauses + <i>indicative</i> : past, present, generic/habitual eventualities (It., Fr., Sp., Pt., Cat. etc.); When clauses + <i>subjunctive</i> : future eventualities (Sp./Pt.); + <i>indicative</i> (It., Fr.)
	<i>Purpose clauses</i> : subjunctive; <i>Result clause</i> : indicative (Fr.)

that', 'although'; It. *allorché* lit. 'at the hour that', 'when'; Sp. *siquiera* lit. 'if you wish', 'even if') (Harris [1988: 82f.], for a discussion of semantic shifts involved in the rise of some concessive markers in Romance). In some varieties of Canadian French and most northern Italian dialects, the conjunction 'that' (Fr. *que*) also tends to be added to simple adverbials, as in *quand que*, *où que* (Kabatek and Pusch 2011: 89). In some languages/varieties the difference between different types of adverbial clauses is not conveyed by the conjunction but by a difference in mood, pointing to the grammaticalization of mood to convey differences in clause linking, as in temporal clauses introduced by 'when' in Spanish/Portuguese and Italian, selecting, respectively, the subjunctive (Sp. *te llamaré cuando llegue* [you call.FUT.1SG when arrive.SBJV.1SG] 'I will telephone you when I arrive') and the indicative (*ti telefonerò quando arriverò/arrivo* [you call.FUT.1SG when arrive.FUT.1SG/arrive.PRS.IND.1SG] 'I will telephone you when I arrive') for future eventualities and the use of the subjunctive vs the indicative in French, differentiating purpose from result clauses introduced by one and the same conjunction (*J'étais gentil de façon qu'il veuille me revoir* [I-be. PST.1SG nice of way that-he want.SBJV.3SG me-re.see.INF] 'I was nice so that he would want to see me again' vs *J'étais gentil de façon qu'il veut me revoir* [I-be.PST.1SG nice of way that-he want.IND.3SG me re-see.INF] 'I was nice and so he wants to see me again', Quer [2016: 964]). The variation illustrated above is summarized in Table 9.

4.5 Insubordination

A different type of grammaticalization is *insubordination*, leading to the 'conventionalised', independent, main clause use of originally subordinate/coordinate

clauses and other constructions within this divide, resulting from three different mechanisms: (i) *ellipsis*, the omission of the main clause within the complex sentence (Evans 2007; Evans and Watanabe 2016: 3 and references therein), (ii) *extension* of a subordinate clause to an independent use on the basis of a perceived similarity with its original contexts of occurrence as a subordinate clause (Mithun 2008), and (iii) *clause disengagement*, whereby subordinate clauses displaying independent-like properties are freed from occurrence with their matrix clause and come to be used as independent clauses (Cristofaro 2016). These constructions are often compatible with different processes and sources, interacting at different stages of the grammaticalization process (Cristofaro 2016: 25). The phenomenon is very widespread among the Romance languages, with Latin ancestors for some of them, such as sequences of independent infinitives for indirect speech and the independent subjunctive (Lakoff 1968), also with an epistemic interpretation (*non venias* [neg come.SBJV.2SG] 'maybe you will not come', Evans [2007: 388, 395]), these patterns being also fairly common in several different languages (e.g., Lithuanian), although with different markers of subordination (Evans 2007: 395 and references therein). The structural features associated with clause linking occurring in insubordinated patterns in Romance are, most typically, conjunctions or complementizers (e.g., *if*, *because*, *that*) and verbal morphology (e.g., main clause use of the infinitive or of the subjunctive in Italian, conditional in Spanish) (Evans 2007: 367; Cristofaro 2016; Schwenter 2016: 199). The functions covered by insubordinated patterns vary from commands, warnings, threats, modality (e.g., deontic/evidential uses) to negation, contrastive statements, reiteration (Evans 2007: 368). The insubordination of conditional clauses, very common crosslinguistically, is often associated with requests and suggestions, as in French (e.g., *si on allait se promener?* [if one go.IMPV.3SG RFL walk.INF] 'what if we went for a walk?' (Evans 2007). In Spanish, 'free conditionals' are most typically associated with refutation (Schwenter 2016: 89 and references therein), being also available for requests, as in Italian, where both meanings are available (13a–c) (Lombardi Vallauri 2016: 146, 149), and in other languages, such as English (Evans 2007).

These patterns may be regarded as stemming from ellipsis of the main clause, whose ease in recoverability may be viewed as reflecting the degree of conventionalisation, i.e., of grammaticalization of the insubordinated structure, low if the elided (main) clause is easily recoverable from the wider discourse context, high if only the general pragmatic content is inferable, leading to the intended meaning of the insubordinated clause (e.g., refutation vs request).

In Spanish, 'suspended/free conditionals' may also occur in paratactic patterns in which the *si* clause conveys a discourse-pragmatic 'causal explanation for a preceding assertion' (the so-called 'causal' usage) (Schwenter 2016: 105), as in (13d), where the clause introduced by *si* 'if' confirms the content of the preceding main clause (*Juan está enfermo*).

- (13) a. Sp.
 ¡Si es horrible!
 if be.PRS.3SG Horrible
 'If it is horrible!'
- b. It. (refutation)
 (Ma) se è orribile!
 but if be.PRS.3SG Horrible
 '(But) if it is horrible!'
- c. It. (request)
 Se mi dice la pagina
 if I.DAT tell.PRS.3SG the Page
 'If you could tell me what page'
 (Lombardi Vallauri 2016: 146)
- d. *Juan está enfermo, si lo He visto*
 Juan stay.PRS.3SG ill if he.ACC have.PRS.1SG see.PST.PTCP.M.SG
 hoy en el médico
 today at the doctor
 'Juan is ill if I saw him at the doctor's today' (liter.) (if = because, since)

The grammaticalization path and mechanisms involved in these different uses include an initial change, leading to the main clause assertive declarative (refutation, request) use, with ellipsis of the main clause and reanalysis of the conditional clause as an independent clause; a subsequent step consists of the *extension* of insubordinated *si*-clauses to contexts with causal meaning, and ensuing 'emancipation' (Mithun 2008) of the original conditional marker *si*. In Spanish the high degree of grammaticalization of independent conditionals is also shown by their changed prosody, characteristic of declarative clauses, a feature that is not shared with the corresponding Italian constructions, which retain the intonational pattern of conditional clauses, a property which is in line with the lower degree of grammaticalization of the insubordinated pattern in Italian, where the construction is confined to informal, dialogic situations and excluded from the written language (Lombardi Vallauri 2016). Italian also shows examples of clause disengagement, as testified by self-standing *that* and *because* clauses (14a–b) (Cristofaro 2016):

- (14) a. *Che poi io continuo a pensare a Lui*
 that then I continue.PRS.1SG to think.INF to He
 'That then I continue to think of him'
- b. *No, perché poi questo workshop sembra Interessante*
 no because then this workshop seem.PRS.3SG Interesting
 'Besides, this workshop looks interesting'
 (Cristofaro 2016: 6)

In French, alongside insubordinate conditional clauses (15), there also occur insubordinate concessives introduced by the conjunctions *bien que* 'even though', *quoique* 'although', *puisque* 'since' (Debaisieux 2007; example [15] below), with the verb in the indicative rather than the subjunctive, as in canonical concessives and characterized by a different syntactic behaviour (Debaisieux 2007: 5). These patterns too appear to be a case of clausal disengagement (Cristofaro 2016: 7), the insubordinate clause being similar in meaning to the preceding one introduced by *pourquoi* 'why', focusing on a discourse topic related to shared knowledge/background between speaker and hearer, as in (15) (from Debaisieux 2007: 7):

- (15) *pourquoi moi je me suis mariée Avec euh – avec*
 why I.dat I I.ACC be.PRS.1SG marry.PST.PTCP.F.SG With uhm with
Ralph puisque – mon mari s'appelle Ralph – il est
 Ralph since my husband RFL.call.PRS.3SG Ralph he be.PRS.3SG
allemande a trente euh trente-six ans Et
 German have.PRS.3SG thirty uhm thirty-six years And
 'Why I married Ralph, **since** – my husband's name is Ralph – **he is German**
 and he is thirty, thirty-six years old'

Similar examples of insubordinated clauses arising from clause disentanglement are provided by the grammaticalization of the Gascon complementizer *que* 'that' as an assertive marker, so-called 'enunciative particle' in independent clauses (*Que cresi que benlhèu qu'ei ua chança finalament* [QUE think.PRS.1SG that perhaps QUE be.PRS.3SG a chance finally] 'I think that it is perhaps a chance after all') (Giurgea and Remberger 2016: 864; Oliuéri and Sauzet 2016: 342; also Cruschina and Ledge-way 2016: 568 and references therein), Italian 'that/because', 'when' clauses, quite common also in non-Romance languages (e.g., German, English, Japanese) (Cristofaro 2016 and references therein). In these patterns the complementizer *che* and the causal conjunction *perché*, introduce a new discourse topic, related to shared knowledge with the hearer (14a–b) and a new unexpected event in the case of *when* clauses (16), encoding new information rather than resuming shared knowledge between speaker and hearer (Cristofaro 2016: 6–7, 9, 11):

- (16) *Eravamo sulla spiaggia quando all'improvviso un bambino*
 be.IMP.F.3PL on-the beach when all-of-a-sudden a child
cominciò a urlare
 start.PST.3SG to cry.INF
 'We were on the beach when a child suddenly started crying'

A common pattern is also the use of the coordinating conjunction *and* in Italian to introduce a new discourse topic, in an insubordinated-like use, a phenomenon quite common in several languages (Cristofaro 2016 and references therein) (17):

- (17) *E i tuoi hanno degli Invite per Natale?*
 and the your.parents have.PRS.3PL any Invitations for Christmas?
 And do your parents have any invitations for Christmas? (Abrupt beginning
 of a conversation)
 (Cristofaro 2016: 20)

5 Other patterns of grammaticalization and reanalysis

5.1 Causative constructions

Analytic causative constructions – consisting of the verbs 'make', 'let', 'order', denoting different types of causation, followed by a dependent infinitive, which may be inflected in Portuguese and Galician (cf. Ledgeway [2016c: 1018]; Sheenan [2016] for a full description, also Vincent [2016a] for a general discussion of the diachrony of the construction in the transition from Latin to Romance) – display different degrees of grammaticalization and even degrammaticalization for Spanish and Portuguese, witnessed by their different morphosyntactic behaviour in relation to a number of parameters, among which (i) the realization of the argument structure of the dependent infinitive (e.g., the case-marking of the causee, encoded as O(bject) if in the accusative/dative (as in Italian, French, Spanish) and as S(ubject) if in the nominative, as in Portuguese), (ii) the order of the matrix, the dependent verb and the (nominal) causee and its interpolation according to three sequences: VV(O), VOV and VSV), (iii) differential behaviour with reflexive verbs: obligatory presence of the reflexive morpheme if the pattern is biclausal, lack of the reflexive if the matrix verb and its dependent infinitive form a complex predicate (Davies 1995; Soares da Silva 2012). Confining the discussion to coercive causation, as expressed by the verb 'make', Italian *fare* and French *faire* show a high degree of semantic bleaching, with Italian *fare* displaying higher syntactic coalescence with its dependent infinitive, always forming a monoclausal pattern, i.e., a complex predicate, with both transitive and intransitive dependent infinitives. The semantic bleaching of the verb is shown by its high degree of generality, whereby It. *fare* and Fr. *faire*, for instance, overlap in some of their uses, with the permissive causative verbs *lasciare/laisser* 'let' (It. *fammi vedere* [make.IMP.2SG.I.DAT see.INF] 'let me see'), unlike Spanish *hacer*, and Portuguese *fazer*,¹⁶ which only have the original coercive causa-

¹⁶ In European Portuguese, causative constructions are most productively formed with *mandar*, the continuant of Lat. *MANDARE* 'entrust' > 'command' (Sheenan 2016: 984, among others), albeit in the dialects (except in Madeira) (CORDIAL-SIN corpus, Pereira 2015: 64–70) causative constructions with *fazer* are widespread. *Fazer* and *mandar* instead are both employed in Brazilian Portuguese (Soares da Silva 2012; Sheenan 2016; Sheenan and Cyrino 2016 and references therein).

tion meaning (cf. Pt. *fazer ver*/Sp. *hacer ver* [make see] 'make [someone] see') (Soares da Silva 2012: 520). The syntactic coalescence of the matrix and dependent verb, i.e., the monoclausality of the sequence 'make' + infinitive in Italian is revealed by the case-marking of the causee, in the accusative/dative with an intransitive/transitive dependent infinitive, respectively (18a–b), the lack of interpolation (18b), and the lack of *se* in the dependent reflexive infinitive (18c):

- (18) a. *Marco fece partire i ragazzi*
Mark make.PST.3SG leave.INF the boys
'Mark made the boys leave'
- b. *Maria fa studiare molto la matematica a Marco/gli*
Mary make.PRS.3SG study.INF much the Maths to Mark/he.DAT
*fa studiare ... / *gli Fa molto studiare*
make.PRS.3SG study.INF he.DAT make.PRS.3SG much study.INF
- c. *il rumore fece svegliare i ragazzi/li fece*
the noise make.PST.3SG wake-up.INF the boys/they.ACC make.PST.3SG
*svegliare/*svegliarsi*
wake-up.INF/*wake-up.INF.REFL
'The noise woke up the children'

In French, on the other hand, *se* may occur with the dependent reflexive infinitive (19) and can be interpolated so as to be close to the infinitive (19) (Soares da Silva [2012: 529–530] for a full discussion of the various parameters revealing the different degrees of grammaticalization of causative constructions):

- (19) *Le bruit les fait se lever*
the noise them make.PRS.3SG REFL get.up.INF
'The noise wakes them up'
(Soares da Silva 2012: 530)

Spanish and Portuguese also display a different degree of structural cohesion between the matrix (causative) verb and its dependent infinitive, clearly detectable through the position and case-marking of the causee in the sequence matrix-dependent verb. This is higher in Spanish, which most typically displays the VV(O) order (*hizo traer un regalo a su mujer* [make.PST.3SG bring.INF a present to his wife] 'He made his wife bring a gift'), characteristic of the monoclausal pattern, although allowing the order VOV with transitive dependent verbs and ambiguity of interpretation (*Juan hizo a su mujer traer un regalo* [John make.PST.3SG to his wife bring.INF a present] 'John had his wife bring a gift/John made someone bring a present to his wife') (Cano Aguilar 1981: 243 in Soares da Silva 2012: 531–532). Spanish also variably encodes the causee in the accusative/dative, depending on the variety, with both transitive and intransitive verbs and different constraints on clitic doubling (*Juan le hizo saltar (**a María)* [Juan she.DAT make.PST.3SG jump.INF to María] 'Juan

made her jump', Peninsular *leísta* Spanish vs. *Juan la hizo saltar a María* [Juan she.ACC make.PST.3SG Mary] 'Juan made Mary jump'/*le hizo comprar el auto a María* [(sc. Juan) he.DAT make.PST.3SG buy.INF the car Mary] 'Juan made Mary buy the car', Rioplatense Spanish) (Sheenan 2016: 986). By contrast, in (European and Brazilian) Portuguese, the most common construction with a transitive dependent verb is VOV (Soares da Silva 2012: 531, n. 11), when the causee is [+HUM]. The latter is encoded in the accusative (*a Maria fez/mandou os miúdos (-os) ler esse livro* [Mary make/order.PST.3SG the children (them) read.INF that book] 'Mary made the children read that book', Soares da Silva [2012: 526]), also with intransitive verbs, the dative being less acceptable when the causee is a clitic (?? *fiz-lhe correr* [make.PST.3SG –he.DAT run.INF] 'I made him run', Soares da Silva [2012: 530–531]). The causee is encoded as nominative with the inflected infinitive (*a Maria fez/mandou os miúdos (eles/*-os) correrem/(eles) lerem esse livro* [Mary make/order.PST.3SG the children (they/*them) read.INFL.INF.3PL that book] 'Mary made the children read that book'), a pattern that arose in the 16th century (Soares da Silva 2012: 526). Thus, the degree of syntactic cohesion between the causative matrix verb and its dependent infinitive is lower in Portuguese than in Spanish. The synchronic variation partially illustrated above has recently been interpreted as revealing relative degrammaticalization in Spanish and Portuguese in this grammatical domain, and the following general cline has been proposed, whereby the Italian causative construction is more grammaticalized than the corresponding French, Spanish and Portuguese patterns, with Italian and Portuguese instantiating the highest and lowest degrees of grammaticalization, respectively (Soares da Silva 2012: 532–534; 546–547):

- (20) - *fazer* + Inf > *hacer* + Inf > *faire* + Inf > *fare* + Inf +
Portuguese Spanish French Italian

The degree of variation for coercive causation and some of the parameters determining it in the Romance languages discussed are schematized on Table 12:

Tab. 12: Grammaticalization clines in the coercive causation domain.

Semantic bleaching	Coercive meaning (Sp., Pt.)	Coercive and permissive meaning (Fr., It.)	
Syntactic coalescence	Realization of argument structure of dependent infinitive (encoding of causee)	Order matrix-dependent V, nominal causee and its interpolation	Presence/absence of <i>se</i> with reflexive verbs
monoclausality	ACC/DAT (It., Fr., Sp.); agentive/instrumental BV	VV(O) (It., Fr., Sp., Pt.)	– <i>se</i>
intermediate	ACC (Sp., Pt.)	VOV (Sp., Pt.)	+ <i>se</i>
biclausality	ACC (marginally DAT. with intr.) (Pt.)	VSV (Pt., inflected infinitive)	+ <i>se</i>

5.2 Negation

Three types of negation are found in Romance: (i) *preverbal negation* (It. *non vedo bene* [not see.PRS.1SG well] 'I cannot see well'), (ii) *discontinuous negation*, with a pre- and post-verbal negative marker, the latter being either optional, as in Italian (*mica* in *non è (mica) stupido* [not be.PRS.3SG not stupid] 'He is not stupid') and the other Romance languages, generally conveying the negation of a conversational implicature (so-called 'presuppositional negation'), or obligatory, as in French (*pas* in *je n'ai pas faim* [I not have.PRS.1SG hunger] 'I'm not hungry'), and type (iii) *post-verbal negation* (coll. Fr. *j'ai pas faim* [I have.PRS.1SG not hunger] 'I'm not hungry') (De Clercq 2017: 50) (cf. Bernini and Ramat [1996: 17]; Kabatek and Pusch [2011: 86–87]; Hansen and Visconti [2012] for French and Italian; Poletto [2016]). Type (i) continues a Latin and early medieval Romance pattern, and typically occurs in Italian, Portuguese, Romanian and Spanish; type (ii), already attested in early and Classical Latin (Zamboni 2000: 121), stems, in several languages/varieties, from the grammaticalization of so-called *n*-words (nominal and adverbial elements occurring in negative concord structures) (e.g., Piedm. *ren*, Cat. *res* 'thing', Occ. *ges*, 'kind', It. *niente* 'nothing'), and of elements denoting a small quantity, i.e., minimizers (Poletto 2016: 838) (e.g., It./Cat. *mica*, Emil./Lomb. *miga/mia*, OFr. *mie* 'crumb', Fr./Cat./Occ. *pas*, Piedm. *pā* 'step', Fr. *point* 'point') (Kabatek and Pusch [2011: 87]; Poletto [2016] for a recent thorough analysis). The discontinuous element can also be a negative marker, such as *não* in spoken Brazilian Portuguese (*não quer-o não* not want.PRS.1SG not 'I don't want (it)' and is also common in several Romance creoles (Kabatek and Pusch 2011: *ibid.*) (cf. It. *Non piove mica* not rain.PRS.3SG not 'It is not raining' (NIt.) (Cinque 1976; Poletto 2016: 835 and references therein). Type (iii) in some languages (e.g., French, Brazilian Portuguese, Italian) is a colloquial variant of type (ii), with the dropping of the first negative marker (e.g., BPt. *sei não* [know.PRS.1SG not] 'I don't know', restricted to northeastern speakers and some southeastern areas and occurring typically in replies to direct questions) (Furtado da Cunha 2007: 1642; 1649–1650) and colloquial Italian *c'era niente da fare* [there.be.IMPF.3SG nothing to do.INF] 'there was nothing to do' (Bernini and Ramat 1996: 21). Postverbal negators arise from the grammaticalization of three different types of constituents/elements: minimizers (following the path lexical element > polarity item > negative polarity item > negative marker) (Poletto 2016: 838–839), *n*-words such as It. *niente* 'nothing' (coll. It. *fa niente* [does nothing] 'It doesn't matter'), and pro-sentence negators such as BPt. *não* and Lombard *no* (*el lup el va no* [the wolf he goes not] 'the wolf does not go' (Poletto 2016: 839). The three types of negative strategies correspond to different stages on the so-called negative cycle (Jespersen 1917). Type (i) realizes the initial stage on the cycle, whereas type (ii) represents a subsequent (optional) stage, stemming from the phonological and semantic weakening of the original negative element, leading to the (optional) introduction of a new negative marker, originally used for emphasis and placed in Ro-

Tab. 13: The negation cycle and its instantiations.

Types of negation	1. Preverbal – n V	2. Discontinuous n ₁ V (n ₂)	3. Postverbal V n (after inflected V/clause final)
	It. Pt., Rom., Sp.	Fr. (n ₂ oblig.), It. (n ₂ opt.), Cat., Pt., NIDs (n ₂ only occurs in some emphatic contexts)	Spoken Fr. Queb. Fr., Hait. Creole/other Fr.-based creoles, NWID (oblig.), Spoken BPt., It. (opt.); colloquial variant of type 2, with dropping of n ₁ (Fr., BPt., It.), with dropping of n ₁)
Types of n-words	It. <i>non</i> , Fr. <i>ne</i> , Sp./ Cat. <i>no</i> , Pt. <i>não</i> , Ro. <i>nu</i> , Fl./Sic. <i>un</i> 'not' < Lat. <i>NON</i> 'not';	i. nominals/adverbials (Piedm. <i>ren</i> , Cat. <i>res</i> 'thing', Occ. <i>ges</i> 'kind'/It. <i>niente</i> 'nothing')	i. minimizers (Fr. <i>pas</i> < 'step', Emil. <i>brisa</i> < 'crumb', Fl. <i>punto</i> < 'stich')
	<i>manco</i> < 'not even' (Bas., CIDs, SIDs, coll. It.);	ii. minimizers (It./Cat. <i>mica</i> , Emil./ Lomb. <i>miga/mia</i> , OFr. <i>mie</i> 'crumb')	ii. n-word 'nothing' Fr. (<i>nen</i> , Prv. <i>ren</i> , RaeR. <i>nia</i>)
	adverb: <i>neca</i> < <i>nu(n) è</i> <i>ca</i> 'lit. not is that' (Sic.)	iii. negative marker (BPt. <i>não</i> 'not')	iii. negative marker (<i>não</i> 'not')

mance after the finite lexical verb/auxiliary (Poletto 2016: 836). This initial stage in the grammaticalization of a discontinuous negator is exemplified by contemporary Catalan, Portuguese and colloquial northern Italian and some northern Italian dialects (e.g., in Veneto and Liguria) (Parry [2013b], and Manzini and Savoia [2005, III: ch. 6] for dialectal data), where the postverbal negator only occurs in some emphatic contexts (Poletto 2016: 836), whereas French, where the discontinuous negator is obligatory, realizes the second stage in the grammaticalization path on the negative cycle, as do some northern Italian dialects (e.g., Emilian, Ticinese and border Piedmontese-Ligurian varieties (Parry 2013b: 78). In the third and last stage of the negation cycle (five stages in more recent discussion; van der Auwera [2009]; van Gelderen [2011]; Hansen [2011]),¹⁷ the preverbal negator has been lost and only the

17 van der Auwera (2009, 2010) and van Gelderen (2011) underline, instead, the role played by semantico-pragmatic notions such as emphasis and the economy principle as the triggers of the changes, respectively.

postverbal negative marker occurs, as in spoken French, Québécois French, Haitian creole and other French-based creoles and some northwestern Italian dialects (e.g., Piedmontese and Lombard) (Parry 2013b; Poletto 2016: 836; Miola 2017: 143–149). After this stage, the cycle starts again, as shown in Piedmontese, for instance, where the postverbal negator *nen* cooccurs with a preverbal negative marker *pa* with an emphatic function (e.g., to mark presuppositional negation), *pa nen* (Zanuttini 1997: 75). Unlike colloquial French, Occitan, Québécois French, Piedmontese, where the cycle has been completed, Italian and Spanish appear to be at the initial stage of the cycle, whereas southern Italian dialects and Romanian are unaffected by it. Thus, the *n*-word *manco* and its variants may grammaticalize from an original emphatic negator into a plain preverbal negator in southern Italian dialects (Ledgeway [2017a: 107] for Calabrian), replacing the original preverbal negator in Rionero in Vulture (Basilicata) (*manco piglià* [not it take.INF] ‘don’t take it’) (Poletto 2016: 839). In addition, in Sicilian a new preverbal negative marker, *neca* ‘not’, has developed from the grammaticalization of a cleft sentence, *nu(n) è ca* [not is that] ‘it is not that’ (from Ledgeway 2017a: 107), although it has not replaced yet the original plain preverbal negator (*nun/un*) (Cruschina 2011; Poletto 2016: 839).

The main aspects of the variation found in Romance are illustrated in Table 13.

6 Conclusions

The grammaticalization chains and the reanalysis changes witnessed in Romance generally fall within well-known paths and principles, reflecting crosslinguistically well attested changes, albeit also displaying typologically unusual developments. They mostly instantiate five main processes: semantic bleaching, decategorialization, reanalysis, interlacing, layering, subjectification, interacting in different and complex ways in determining the rise and implementation of grammaticalization and marginally, also degrammaticalization phenomena.

In the domain of nominal syntax, the reduction of the Latin inflectional classes brought about significant changes in the assignment of gender and number, with an original gender distinction reanalysed as a number difference, as in the case of a neuter plural reinterpreted as a feminine plural, alternating with a corresponding masculine singular, the so-called genus alternans, a typologically rare phenomenon of IE origin.

A crosslinguistically widespread grammaticalization change, instead, is the development of articles from demonstratives, a new category and a characteristic feature of the core European languages (SAE) (Haspelmath 1998b; 2001; Heine and Kuteva 2006; Giacalone Ramat 2008: 19), part and parcel of a wider phenomenon, the grammaticalization of Definiteness/Individuation, including also the grammaticalization of prepositions as partitive articles and non-canonical Os, so-called Dif-

ferential Object marking, that in some Latin American varieties of Spanish correlates with the specificity and definiteness of the O argument.

In the verbal domain, four main grammaticalization chains can be detected. The rise of several active and passive verbal periphrases, through the semantic bleaching of lexical verbs of motion, state, change of state and activity, leading to their copular function and subsequent auxiliarization, becoming TAM markers with A/S and even O orientation (so-called voice markers) and/or light verbs (instantiating different types and degrees of decategorialization), as in their periphrastic future, past, progressive, passive, light verb function(s), is in line with well-known crosslinguistic tendencies (Heine 1993; Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca 1994; Giacalone Ramat 2008; Hansen and de Haan 2009; Haspelmath 2004, among others), along with typologically unusual developments such as the auxiliarization of verbs of possession and apparently unique patterns in Romance such as the ‘go’-past in Catalan, some Occitan and Calabrian varieties and the ‘have’-passive in some southern Italian varieties. A characteristic Romance feature is the reanalysis of reflexives as (in)transitivity and voice modulators, optionally acquiring the function of indefinite markers, reflecting the widening of their referential domain and their degree of grammaticalization, as in their so-called inclusive interpretation, a process shared with other originally nominal elements, the latter apparently instantiating a characteristic Romance phenomenon (e.g., *a gente* ‘we’ in Brazilian Portuguese). Whereas the reanalysis of reflexives as markers of the lack of control of the A/S argument (and A in the dative if the verb is bivalent) is well attested crosslinguistically (Dixon 1994: 26–27), as are reflexive passives (Siewierska 1984; Kemmer 1993, among others), an unusual grammaticalization/degrammaticalization path is attested in the development of impersonal/indefinite expressions, instantiated by Abruzzese *nome* ‘one’, that does not acquire referential (indefinite) or a first person (singular/plural) status in its change to a plural affix, contra the well-known commonly assumed grammaticalization cline: generic > human non-referential indefinite > referential indefinite/1st person singular/plural > plural marker (Giacalone Ramat and Sansò 2007a: 106; D’Alessandro 2014). The same area also exhibits the opposite phenomenon, the degrammaticalization of a third person plural marker *anne* ‘they have’ (originally a plural auxiliary), turning into a non-referential, arbitrary pronoun, following the corresponding reverse diachronic path observed for *nome* (D’Alessandro 2014) (§ 3.1.3).

A major Romance innovation is also the rise of clitics, in pronominal and expletive-existential/presentative functions, as part of the general move towards head-marking, and their grammaticalization to affixal status, most prominently reached in spoken, colloquial French for subject clitics, and Spanish, especially Latin American varieties, for clitic objects, as in clitic doubling constructions.

As for the clause and clause linkage domains, interesting grammaticalization paths are exemplified by (i) the dual complementizer system restricted to southern Italian dialects and Romanian, conveying the realis/irrealis distinction, (ii) the vary-

ing degrees of grammaticalization of the subjunctive as a marker of subordination, with French exemplifying the most advanced stage, since the subjunctive, highly restricted in its use, is selected by the governor element and is no longer semantically determined, (iii) the degrees of interlacing between the verb and its complement/dependent verb, occurring in southern Italian dialects, the matrix verb becoming in some cases an aspectual marker, the latter being a recent ongoing change. Insubordination phenomena too are well attested, and follow common crosslinguistic characteristics/paths and typology, showing a higher degree of grammaticalization in Spanish, where for instance insubordinated (i.e., independent) conditionals have the characteristic prosody of declarative clauses, unlike in Italian, that displays a lower degree of grammaticalization of independent conditionals.

Other interesting grammaticalization chains involve causative coercive constructions and negation. The former displays varying degree of grammaticalization, higher in French than in Italian, whilst Portuguese and Spanish witness instead different stages on a process of degrammaticalization, more prominent in Portuguese, which exhibits a lower degree of syntactic cohesion between the matrix, causative verb and its dependent infinitive.

By contrast, the negation cycle, whose initial, intermediate and finale stages are realized by Catalan, standard French and spoken French (among other languages/varieties), respectively, also display unusual ongoing grammaticalization processes, such as the development of a negative marker from a cleft sentence, as in some southern Italian dialects.

Some processes also appear to exemplify contact-induced cases of grammaticalization and reanalysis. Thus, the replacement of simple preterites with 'have-perfects', witnessed in spoken French, Romanian and northern Italian, among other languages/varieties, albeit reflecting a universal process following universal principles (e.g., unidirectionality) (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994), results from century-long crosscultural contacts (Giacalone Ramat 2008; Drinka 2017), spreading from twelfth century Parisian French, where this innovation has developed most.

As can be seen from the above discussion, the analysis of variation in various grammaticalization domains in Romance does not support the hypothesis that Romance languages can be organized along a grammaticalization cline, with languages like French being more 'grammaticalized', i.e., more advanced on the grammaticalization cline with respect to several phenomena (auxiliaries, mood, determiners, prepositions, existential sentences) than Italian, Spanish and Portuguese, with Italian being more 'grammaticalized' than Spanish and Portuguese (Lamiroy and De Mulder [2011]; De Mulder and Lamiroy 2012), among others and Vincent's [2017: 307–308] perceptive criticism of this view). The variational data reveal instead that a grammaticalization phenomenon may be more or less advanced in relation to specific constructions in a language/variety, which may be therefore more 'innovative' for some constructions in specific grammatical domains but more 'conservative' for others. For instance, French is more advanced than other Romance lan-

guages as far as the grammaticalization of (the distribution of) the pragmatic notions/features of Definiteness and Newness is concerned, pairing with northern Italian dialects, whilst being more conservative in other domains, showing for instance only incipient grammaticalization of the preposition *a* as a differential object marker (together with object doubling) in the spoken language and no such phenomenon in the standard language. Also, when grammaticalization clines appear to exist/hold, as with coercive causation, they are construction-specific, and further in-depth investigation might reveal grammaticalization stages and tendencies departing from the overall trend(s) detectable for the standard varieties, revealing the complex interplay of bundles of parameters as is the case for instance with negation, for which spoken French appears to instantiate a more advanced stage of grammaticalization, unlike the standard language.

Acknowledgements

I thank Andrej Malchukov and an anonymous reviewer for commenting on an earlier draft of the article. I am also very grateful and deeply indebted to Adam Ledge-way, Martin Maiden and Mair Parry for their detailed and insightful comments on an earlier version of the article as well as for lengthy and informative discussions, on different occasions, on grammaticalization in Romance. I also wish to thank Nigel Vincent for interesting exchanges of views on the notions of grammaticalization chains and grammaticalization 'pace', as well as Francesco Ciconte, Alexandru Nicolae and Anna Giacalone Ramat. Their remarks and suggestions enhanced my understanding of several issues and highly contributed to refine my arguments. The usual disclaimers apply.

Abbreviations

Abbreviations follow the Leipzig glossing rules. Additional abbreviations include

ABL – ablative, ACC – accusative, Aux. – auxiliary, ACT – active, CIDs – central Italian dialect(s), CL – clitic, DAT – dative, DO – Direct Object, EXPL – expletive, GEN – genitive, GER – gerundive/gerund, IMPF – imperfect (tense), IMP. – imperative, IMPRS – impersonal, IO – Indirect Object, INTR. – intransitive, LEXIC. – lexical (verb), MKR – marker, NOM – nominative, P – preposition, PF – existential/locative proform, PLUPF – pluperfect, PP – past participle, PRT – preterite, PST – past, PTCF – participle, SCL – subject clitic, SBJV – subjunctive, TRANS. – transitive, VOC – vocative.

Abr. – Abruzzese, Arag. – Aragonese, Ast. – Asturian, Bal. – Balearic (Catalan), Bas. – Basilicata, BPt. – Brazilian Portuguese, Cal. – Calabrian, Cat. – Catalan, CID(s) – Central Italian Dialect(s), CL – Classical Latin, coll. – colloquial, Cors. – Corsican, Cos. – Cosentino, Cpd. – Campidanese, Emil. – Emilian, Ept. – European Portuguese, Fl. – Florentine, Fr. – French, Friul. – Friulan, Gal. – Galician, Hait. – Haitian, IE – Indo-European, It. – Italian, Lad. – Ladin, Lat. – Latin, Log. – Logudorese, Lomb. – Lombard, Mil. – Milanese, Molf. – Molfettese, Neap. – Neapolitan, NID(s) – Northern Italian Dialect(s), Nit. – northern Italian, NWID(s) – North Western Italian Dialect(s), Nuo. – Nuorese,

O – old, Occ. – Occitan, Piedm. – Piedmontese, Pt. – Portuguese, Prv – Provençal, Pugl. – Pugliese, Raer. – Raeto-Romance, Ro. – Romanian, Rom. – Romanesco, Romsh. – Romansh (dialects spoken in southeastern Swiss Canton of Graubünden/Grisons/Grigioni/Grischun), Sic. – Sicilian, Srd. – Sardinian, SID(s) – Southern Italian Dialect(s), SItR. – Southern Italo-Romance, Sp. – Spanish, Srs. – Surselvan, Tsc. – Tuscan, USID(s) – Upper Southern Italian Dialect(s), Ven. – Venetian

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