

Introduction

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**Linguistic Perspectives on Romance Languages: Selected
Papers from the XXI Linguistic Symposium on Romance
Languages, Santa Barbara, February 21–24, 1991**

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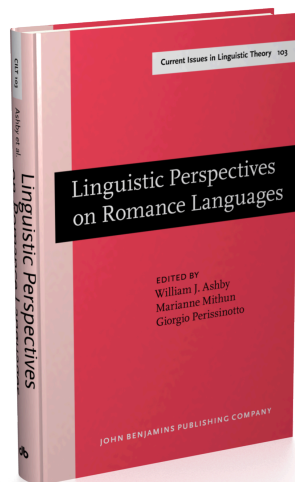
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Introduction

The XXI Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages (LSRL XXI), hosted by the University of California at Santa Barbara, opened on the evening of February 21, 1991, with Professor Yakov Malkiel's rich and entertaining keynote address. The program for each the following three days included equally remarkable keynote addresses by Professors Richard Kayne, Carmen Silva-Corvalán and Oswald Ducrot, interspersed among an unusually broad array of regular papers, numbering forty-one. There were nearly 150 registrants, perhaps a record for the LSRL, coming from all across Canada and the United States, and from as far as Brazil, France, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom.

We begin this collection with slightly revised versions of three of the keynote addresses, kindly provided by their authors (pp. 3–43). Thereafter, twenty-three selected papers have been grouped into two very broad categories: Phonology & Morphology (pp. 63–165), and Syntax, Discourse & Semantics (pp. 177–375).

A welcome aspect of this collection, reflective of LSRL XXI itself, is the recurrent incorporation of social and historical factors into explanations of linguistic form. Because we believe that a full understanding of language must ultimately include these dimensions, we have made no attempt, in the order of arrangement, to distinguish papers that integrate these dimensions from others that emphasize the more formal or synchronic aspects. Careful consideration of language use and the ways in which it shapes language over time provide a dynamic dimension to complement the static dimension of linguistic structure viewed at a single moment.

The following summaries should provide the reader with an orientation to the contents of the volume.

Summaries of Part One: Keynote Addresses

Yakov Malkiel. *The Centers of Gravity in Nineteenth-Century Romance Linguistics*

The key moments selected from the record of Romance linguistics include: How Diez, from his starting point in medieval philology (Spanish balladry, troubadours'

and minstrels' songs in Old Provençal) gradually became a historico-comparative linguist. One striking instance of intellectual mobility, or versatility in the 19th century: Lorenz Diefenbach. Significant date (1878) of Herman Nosthoff's monograph on nominal compounding in German, Greek, Slavic, and Romance. The French attempt to replace trans-Rhenish comparative Romance linguistics by an early version of general linguistics (A. Darmesteter and M. Bréal). One reason for the leadership assumed by the Swiss (the Zurich School of Louis Gauchat).

Carmen Silva-Corvalán. *On the Permeability of Grammars: Evidence from Spanish and English Contact*

This article examines the issue of the permeability of grammars to influence from a different grammatical system through a study of the Spanish spoken in Los Angeles by an intergenerational sample of adult Spanish-English bilinguals. Four phenomena that present possible contexts for transfer are investigated: (1) the non-expression of the complementizer *que* 'that'; (2) the omission of obligatory verbal clitics; (3) the order of sentential arguments; and (4) constraints on the expression of subjects. In agreement with Meillet, Jakobson, Weinreich, and more recently Bickerton, and Givón, this research indicates that even under conditions of intense contact and strong cultural pressure speakers of the secondary language simplify or overgeneralise grammatical rules but do not introduce elements which cause radical changes in the system of this language. In opposition to Weinreich, however, this article shows that the permeability of a grammar to foreign influence does not depend on its structural weaknesses but rather on the existence of superficially parallel structures in the languages in contact.

Oswald Ducrot. *Opérateurs Argumentatifs et Analyse de Textes (Argumentative Operators and Textual Analysis)*

The "Theory of Argumentation in Language" identifies the meaning of a sentence according to the conclusions that can be justified by using the sentence *in a discourse*. Since these conclusions, according to rhetoric, are based on warrants (*topoi*), sentences are described by means of the *topoi* that can be applied to them, and sentence structures are seen as general conditions on these *topoi*. From this perspective, a description of the *if...then* structure is proposed and tested through a detailed analysis of a verse by Racine.

Summaries of Part Two: Phonology and Morphology

Andrea Calabrese. *Palatalization Processes in the History of Romance Languages: A Theoretical Study*

In this paper the author attempts to define and account for the characteristic features of two sound changes that affected Romance, the first and second processes of palatalization. These sound changes were characterized by two striking properties. Firstly, all of the sounds which were the output of these changes were coronal. Secondly, their targets were affected not only in their place of articulation—which switched to a coronal place of articulation—but also in their manner of articulation. This occurred only in the case of stops: most commonly, stops became affricated, but they were also changed into fricatives. In this paper the author accounts for these two properties in light of a general theory of palatalization processes. This general theory has the following features. The first stage of palatalization processes is characterized as the assignment of a secondary palatal articulation. To account for this stage, a modification of the feature geometry proposed by Clements (1985), Sagey (1986), Halle (1986), and McCarthy (1988, 1989) among others is outlined. It is then proposed that the change to the coronal place of articulation observed in these processes results from the simplification of a consonant with a secondary palatal articulation. It is argued that this change has a natural and intuitive status in the theory of feature geometry proposed here. In particular, the author proposes that the outcome of this simplification is a coronal *laminal* consonant. He then argues that laminal stops are phonologically complex segments. It is then proposed that the affrication and fricativization processes observed when palatalization affects stops are brought about by independently needed rules that simplify phonologically complex segments.

Pilar Prieto. *The PA Effect of Coronals on Vowels in Romance*

Recent representational work in phonology (Clements 1989b, Gorecka 1989) claims that coronal consonants pattern with front vowels, predicting correctly that fronting is one of the most common effects coronals create on vowels. Mainly drawing data from the evolution of Romance languages, this article shows that apico-alveolar coronals can *lower* vowels and lamino-dental coronals induce *backing* in the neighboring vowels. This behavior cannot be captured under recent models proposing a unified feature [coronal] for front vowels and coronal consonants. The solution proposed in this paper is based on the assumption that

'phonetic implications' (articulatory or perceptual) are able to introduce extra-features in the phonological derivation, which will later undergo typical phonological operations such as spreading. Indeed, phonetic studies confirm that articulatory mechanics and perceptual enhancement are involved in the raising of the tongue dorsum during the production of a laminodental coronal and its lowering during an apicoalveolar coronal. Thus, this proposal views the functions of the phonetic component as something more than interpolating values between the discrete phonological units.

Bernard Tranel. *Moraic Theory and French Liaison*

Moraic Theory is incompatible with the morpheme-final representation of French linking consonants, because it cannot distinguish between them and fixed final consonants, either structurally or diacritically: (i) it does not recognize the structural notion of floating consonant available for the representation of linking consonants in skeletal theories, and (ii) no diacritic approach seems adequate to the task. Either the moraic model is flawed in failing to be able to represent floating consonants, or linking consonants cannot be viewed as final consonants and must be treated through insertion.

Michael Mazzola. *French Rhythm and French Segments*

This paper argues that stress clash within the framework of Metrical Phonology must be viewed to be an underlying phenomenon, and only accidentally as a surface feature of the phonology. Support for this rests on the observation that there is a process of stress retraction in French which relies not only on linear units for its domain, but equally important, on levels higher up in the metrical trees. This stress retraction will be shown to be the result of an *underlying* clash and will be exemplified to occur at various levels of the metrical trees, e.g., between syllables, between the syllable and the foot, between the foot and the phrase, etc. The resolution of stress clash as an underlying phenomenon, moreover, will be shown to go from obligatory to optional as one climbs the nodes of the hierarchical structures. The recognition of this underlying clash will be considered to be crucial since its resolution sets the environment for the operation of deletion rules which must be formulated in terms of the nodes higher up in the metrical trees; e.g. *Carte bleue* 'Visa Card', *George Bush* vs. *Cart(e) vermeille* 'Senior Citizen Card', *Georg(e)s Pompidou*. Following this general orientation, it is the purpose of this paper to extrapolate from the generalizations that can be made regarding schwa

in French to certain data regarding liaison consonants. It will be demonstrated that the deletion of liaison segments can be accounted for through the same metrical rules as proposed for the occurrence of schwa.

Daan De Jong. *Sociophonological Aspects of Montreal French Liaison*

One of the most often discussed aspects of the phonology of French is the phenomenon of 'liaison': the realization of word-final latent consonants before vowel-initial words only. We will present new data from Montreal Canadian French from a quantitative, sociophonological perspective. The analysis is based on 20,000 liaison contexts, from 60 interviews of the socially stratified Cedergen-Sankoff corpus of 1971, as well as from 60 interviews of the Thibault-Vincent corpus of 1984. The informants of the first corpus are the same as those of the second corpus, thus allowing for a real time comparison of individual speech data on liaison. The paper will concentrate on a number characteristic aspects of variable liaison in Montreal French. More in particular we will argue that four different types of variation have to be distinguished. For the phonological aspects of liaison, use will be made of the recent developments in autosegmental (Encrevé, Tranel) and Lexical/Postlexical Phonology (Mohanen, Kaisse, Jekirk); for the sociolinguistic aspects, use will be made of the quantitative paradigm developed by Labov, and the sociophonological insights gained by Wolfgang Dressler.

Edward F. Tuttle. *Closed Communities and Nasal Enhancement in Northern Italy*

While grammatical levelling and rule simplification have long been associated with speech communities open to convergence (with extreme results either in a *koiné* or in a *Sorachbund* leading ultimately to mirror-like diglossia and perfect translatability, e.g., Kupwar ap. Gumperz & Wilson 1971), the inverse correlation, linking grammatical complexity, e.g., elaborate morphophonologic rules, with closed, endocentric communities has only lately been made explicit (e.g., Andersen 1988). Viewed diachronically, this sociolinguistic parameter of structural types is roughly articulable around the poles of convergence/divergence and, as regards typology of cause, around the juxtaposing of externally—versus internally—induced change (cf. Giacalone Ramat 1989, Zamboni 1980). However, within the latter path, i.e., that of intrasystemic, evolutive change characterizing endocentric communities, a further polarity may be discerned, involving the generalization of a more versus a less effortful variant. Such selection of more marked, complex

variants runs counter to the usual model of change in favor of simplification and efficiency and seems attributable to the *esprit de clocher* of speakers in certain types of small, endocentric communities.

Haïke Jacobs. *The Phonology of Enclisis and Proclisis in Gallo-Romance and Old French*

This paper, dealing with the phonological aspects of enclisis and proclisis in Gallo-Romance and Old French, demonstrates that the domain of application of these processes cannot be Nespor and Vogel's (1986) clitic group, but must be identified as the Prosodic Word as defined by Selkirk's (1986) and Selkirk and Shen's (1990) end-based theory. The loss of enclisis in the evolution from Gallo-Romance to Old French, traditionally related to a change from initial to final stress, is formally described as a change in the edge-parameter setting for the construction of Prosodic Words. The resulting different prosodic constituent structure is shown to be responsible for the loss of enclisis. Finally, it is argued that enclisis cannot be described in terms of a reapplication of word-internal syncope and apocope rules, but has to be described as an independent deletion rule which has the effect of creating unmarked stressed feet.

Jurgen Klausenburger. *On the Evolution of Latin Verbal Inflection into Romance: Change in Parameter Setting?*

This paper attempts to explain the emergence of Latin periphrasis in terms of three morphosyntactic instabilities, in the future, the perfect, and the passives, overriding markedness considerations. Future tense has been found inherently unstable, due to a continual fluctuation between modality and temporality. The bivalency of the Latin perfect is largely hidden within the aspectual system of Classical Latin and became apparent only in the diagramming of the developing tense constellation of Romance. The loss of the aspectual dichotomy of perfective vs. imperfective may be considered the primary reason for the transformation of the perfect passives to present passives. Globally, the restructuring of Classical Latin aspect can, in fact, be seen as the recurrent factor in the rise of all three areas of periphrastic innovations, an underlying cause not easily detectable in the surface morphology.

Summaries of Part Three: Syntax, Discourse and Semantics

Julie Auger. *More Evidence for Verbal Agreement-marking in Colloquial French*

Colloquial French sentences like *Pierre il(-) aime la musique* can be analyzed either as pragmatically-motivated constructions or as basic, non-derived constructions. Based on several morphophonological arguments, this paper argues that so-called “pronominal clitics” are better analyzed as affixal agreement-markers than as independent elements, and this in turn favors a basic, non-dislocated analysis for sentences like the above. This conclusion is supported by the fact that neither Left Dislocation nor Clitic Left Dislocation can appropriately account for all the relevant Colloquial French facts, so that at least some apparent dislocations must be treated as basic structures in which the “pronominal” element displays all the characteristics of an agreement marker. Finally, a consideration of Colloquial French word order reveals that, once its pronominal clitics are analyzed as verbal prefixes, Colloquial French shares with the other Romance languages the use of inversion constructions in both direct and embedded questions: (*Je me demande*) *où qu’il-va Pierre(?)*.

Grant Goodall. *Spec of IP and Spec of CP in Spanish Wh-Questions*

This paper examines the syntax of WH-questions in Spanish, focussing specifically on the fact that in general only a verb-initial order is possible following a fronted WH-phrase. It is argued that this phenomenon is not the result of V moving into C in Spanish, despite the similarities with Germanic V2. Instead, it is proposed that WH-phrases in Spanish move first into SPEC of IP and then into SPEC of CP. The subject is then obligatorily post-verbal in Spanish WH-questions, since it is blocked from moving into SPEC of IP.

Paola Bentivoglio. *Full NPs in Spoken Spanish: A Discourse Profile*

A profile of full noun phrases in Venezuelan spoken Spanish is presented in order to establish whether full NPs introducing new participants in the discourse differ in grammatical role, form or semantic status from full NPs accomplishing other discourse functions. After examining all full NPs according to the above mentioned parameters separately, the author considers two major groups of full NPs: truly-new vs. all others. It is shown that full NPs used for introducing truly-new participants in the discourse tend to appear in the grammatical role of direct object and to code semantically inanimate referents; their form is categorically indefinite. The overall conclusion is that truly-new full NPs represent a reduced

part of all full NPs and that the syntactic, formal and semantic characteristics analyzed here are not sufficient to distinguish full NPs according to the pragmatic functions they are fulfilling.

Mary Aizawa Kato. *Null and Pronominal Objects in Brazilian Portuguese*

In this paper the author claims that in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) the gap in object position with a definite interpretation can be analysed as (i) a variable, (ii) a null name, or demonstrative, and (iii) a pro. Variables and null names are widely distributed cross-linguistically, the latter being a root phenomenon, and restricted, in many languages, to imperatives. The category pro is claimed to be licensed by a null third person clitic, which forms a morphologically uniform paradigm with the still existing clitics of first and second persons (*me-*, *te-*, *O-*). Clitics in BP are assumed to be like subject INFL, or AGR, in licensing a null pro in object position. The three types of null object can be functionally identified, as the variable has a c-commanding antecedent, the pro a non-c-commanding one, and the null name has no antecedent. A consequence of the dephonicization of the third person clitic in BP is the appearance of null objects in syntactic islands.

Julia Herschensohn. *A Postfunctionalist Perspective on French Psych Unaccusatives*

This paper re-examines the syntax of French psych unaccusatives, arguing for a derivation characterized by the movement of a theme to the subject position from a D-structure direct object position. The analysis, which re-examines and revises the proposals of Belletti & Rizzi (1988) and Legendre (1989) demonstrates the importance of case assignment in determining S-structure. Extending certain functional ideas, this study highlights the “economy of syntax” manifested by the tight limits set on the syntactic realization of various thematic roles. The first section argues that the deep subject of psych unaccusatives is empty and non-thematic, not occupied by the theme or the experiencer; the second section argues that the theme is not the accusative direct object, and that apparently anomalous behavior of psych unaccusatives is explicable in terms of Case marking.

Pilar García-Mayo. *A New Look at Parasitic Gaps*

The phenomenon of parasitic gaps has received much attention from linguists working on English, but relatively less attention from researchers working on

Romance. Engdahl (1983) proposed an Accessibility Hierarchy to account for possible occurrences of parasitic gaps in English. Data from Spanish and Galician offer, however, a different accessibility hierarchy. A detailed examination of the data in both languages shows a three-way classification: a) examples with a clear distinction between untensed and tensed domains; b) examples in which the 'parasitic gap' version is highly preferred; c) examples in which the 'coreferential pronoun' version is the only possibility. This classification will be analyzed in the light of Contreras' (1990) Antisubjacency Condition on Pronominal Variables (ACPV) according to which a parasitic gap will only be possible if no barriers intervene between the gap and the wh-operator. Some consequences for postverbal subjects are also examined.

Mariette Champagne. *From Old French to Modern French: The Evolution of the Inflectional System*

This paper develops an analysis of some diachronic changes involving clitic climbing and auxiliary change in Old French, Middle French, and Modern French. The author shows that these changes can be reduced to a minimal change affecting the nature of the inflection. She claims more specifically that the inflectional category was lexical in Old French, while being functional in Modern French. She shows that this minimal variation, interacting with very general mechanisms of the Grammar, such as Head-to-Head movement, yields several consequences involving, among others, the nature of the infinitival system, clitic placement, and negation. At a more general level, the author's analysis provides support for an analysis of clitic climbing in terms of general principles (such as the one developed in Kayne 1989) contra an analysis in terms of a construction-specific rule of restructuring.

Margaret E. Winters. *On the Semantic Structure of the French Subjunctive*

The meaning of the French subjunctive has been accounted for elsewhere (Winters 1991) in terms of a semantic network of the kind delineated within the theory of cognitive grammar, developed in particular by Lakoff (1987) and Langacker (1987). The present paper is a consideration of the relationship, within that theoretical framework, between the proposed prototypical meaning of 'doubt' and the schematic meaning of 'subjectivity'. The first part of the paper presents arguments for the validity of this characterization of schema and prototype. Further discussion addresses the relationship of these aspects of meaning, fol-

lowed by a consideration of the wider issue of the nature of syntactic categories. In particular their differences from either lexical or morphological categories is considered, especially with regard to the degree of abstractness of the schematic meaning as compared to that of the prototype.

Dieter Wanner. *Multiple Clitic Linearization Principles*

Certain aspects of the behavior of Romance clitic pronouns have been left unexplored. Three such areas will be studied in their synchronic manifestation and diachronic development: (a) linearization of clitic pronouns with non-finite verb forms in Spanish and Italian, (b) the phonologically steered encliticization of *o* in Rumanian, and (c) the aberrant (lexical) encliticization of particular clitic pronouns, e.g., *loro* in Italian. In each case, the linearization properties of clitic elements in one grammar are non-homogeneous, so that the specific surface distribution of clitics cannot be deduced from a homogeneous classification, [1clitic] combined with a consistent structural representation. All such real-language situations include considerable surface variation. Descriptively, it is necessary to refer to multiple clitic classes and to ad hoc, learned linearization principles. An explanation needs to be able to transcend the categorical domain of structural representations, general principles and parametrized options.

Juan Martín. *On Extraction from NPs in Spanish*

The objective of this paper is to give an account of the different asymmetries observed on extractions from NPs in Spanish. The author claims (i) that the constituents that can be extracted from within NP in Spanish are those genitives (*de* + NP) that are semantically identified by the head, in the sense of Jaeggli (1980); and (ii) that extraction from NPs in Spanish is best accounted for by a theory subject to the Specificity effects (Fiengo and Higginbotham 1980), and to the notion of ECP (Chomsky 1981) incorporating Baker's (1988) minimality condition on antecedent government.

Itziar Laka. Negative Fronting in Romance: Movement to Σ

In this paper, the author argues that elements like *nadie*, *nada*, *ningun*, *nunca*, etc. in Spanish are Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) (Ladusaw 1980), and not universal negative quantifiers (Zannuttini 1989). It is argued that preverbal instances of

these elements, which lack an overt negation, involve movement of the Specifier of a functional projection headed by a non-overt negation that licenses the NPI via Spec-head agreement. It is then argued that this functional projection (p) is also involved in emphatic fronting (Contreras 1976), and it is the host of both *no* and *si*.

Enric Vallduví. *Catalan as VOS: Evidence from Information Packaging*

On the basis of evidence concerning case and government relations, the traditional analysis of null-subject Romance languages as SVO has been challenged recently in favor of the VOS hypothesis. Using evidence from the domain of information packaging, this paper provides independent support for the VOS hypothesis, at least for Catalan. Adopting the SOV hypothesis there are four possible surface slots for subject (left-detached, preverbal, postverbal, right-detached) and a mismatch appears between the number of informational roles (three: link, focus, tail) and the number of surface slots. This is radically at odds with the regular one-to-one correspondence between the structural position of verbal complements and their informational role: in situ if focal, left-detached if a link, right-detached if a tail. The VOS hypothesis, however, predicts three surface positions for the subject (no preverbal) and a one-to-one match between informational role and surface position. The asymmetry between subjects and complements disappears.

Francisco Ocampo. *The Introduction of New referents in French and Spanish Discourse: One Constraint, Two Strategies*

This paper compares the strategies utilized in spoken French and spoken Spanish to introduce new lexical NP referents into the discourse. Human language is subject to a cognitive constraint imposed on the simultaneous performance of two independent tasks: a) to determine the intended referent, and b) to process propositional information about this referent (Lambrecht 1988). The newer the referent, the heavier the cognitive effort in the first task. Both Spanish and French are subject to this constraint but adopt different strategies to deal with it. Spanish can take advantage of its word order flexibility to introduce new referents, while French, having a more rigid word order, must utilize complex structures to accomplish the same task.

Robert J. Blake. *The Role of Syntax in tracing the Development of Old Spanish*

This study examines the syntactic nature of Latinate (i. e. Latin-looking) texts from Early Medieval Spain (8th to 12th century) and the traditional viewpoint which uses these documents to claim that Spain was diglossic during this period. It is shown that these Latinate texts display a word order identical to that of Old Spanish. Evidence is provided to argue that Latinate texts represent a traditional (i. e. non-phonetic) way of writing Hispano-Romance before the introduction of phonetic based writing in the 12th century. This conclusion, if obtained, would facilitate the historical study of Spanish syntax, beginning from the 8th century.

Roger Wright. *Complex Monolingualism In Early Romance*

This paper reviews recent developments in our understanding of the Early Romance-speaking communities, from the points of view of historical linguistics and sociolinguistics and cultural history, to suggest that until the present millennium speakers made no clear distinction between what we now call “Latin” and what we now call “Romance”; that reconstructed phonetics has a chance of being accurate, but that the morphology and syntax of the period contained both old and new features together; the availability of more forms made their usage versatile and flexible. Thus texts and reconstructions attest two aspects of a situation of complex monolingualism, rather than two separate languages in a diglossic relationship (as was to happen later).