

Argument structure, alignment and auxiliaries between Latin and Romance. A diachronic syntactic account Migliori, L.

Citation

Migliori, L. (2016, June 8). *Argument structure, alignment and auxiliaries between Latin and Romance. A diachronic syntactic account. LOT dissertation series.* LOT, Utrecht. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/40052

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Title: Argument structure, alignment and auxiliaries between Latin and Romance. A

diachronic syntactic account **Issue Date:** 2016-06-08

Stellingen

behorend bij het proefschrift

Argument structure, alignment and auxiliaries between Latin and Romance A diachronic syntactic account

van

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- 1. The Latin clausal system regularly displays a morphological opposition between structures with an agentive subject (A/S_A) and with a non-agentive one (S_O), both in the *infectum* and in the *perfectum* paradigm. The Latin clausal system is characterized by an active/inactive alignment contrast.
- 2. The occurrence of *-r* morphology and of periphrastic perfects in Latin always reflects an inactive syntactic configuration, the sentential subject of which carries a non-agentive semantic role.
- 3. Deponent verbs are not a case of syntax-morphology mismatch. Their syntactic and semantic properties relate to the inactive domain. The occurrence of inactive morphology on these verbs reflects their characteristics.
- 4. *v* is not a single head, but a field, which encodes the properties of different verbal items. When not combined with the active functional head Voice, it encodes inactive constructions.
- 5. Both HABERE 'to have' and ESSE 'to be' function as auxiliaries in Latin and occur in a number of periphrastic constructions, like perfective, possessive and deontic periphrases.
- 6. The changes concerning deponent verbs were crucial for the development of Romance periphrastic perfect forms and, in particular, for the emergence of the periphrasis formed by HABERE + Past Participle.
- 7. The synchronic variation of Romance auxiliary selection can be understood as mirroring a diachronic path. Every attested pattern reflects a different stage of this change.
- 8. The development of Latin perfective, possessive and deontic periphrases can be analysed as a consequence of alignment changes. Numerous Latin inactive periphrases disappeared during the transition to Romance because of the rise of the nominative/accusative alignment.
- 9. Syntactic reanalysis is one of the main factors at the basis of language change.
- 10. Similia vocibus esse ac syllabis confitemur, dissimilia esse partibus orationis videmus (M.T. Varro, De lingua latina X, 7)