The Romance reflexes of the Latin infixes -I/ESC- and -IDI̯-: restructuring and remodeling processes

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To my teachers Pierre Swiggers,
Béatrice Lamiroy and Dieter Vermandere

De la conjugaison, on ferait mieux de n'en rien dire. Ce serait charité. Elle foisonne de formes erronées, si extraordinaires qu'elles te sont sans doute aussi peu connues qu'à moi. Mais il pourrait arriver que quelque naïf prît au sérieux les erreurs commises et nous écrivît là-dessus une dissertation.

Jules Cornu

(1913:44-45, "Une langue qui s'en va. Quelques observations sur un recueil de morceaux en patois vaudois", *Bulletin du Glossaire des Patois de la Suisse Romande* 12/3-3, 40-53)

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.0 Setting and main goals of the research

One of the salient features of Romance verbal morphology is the survival of two Latin 'residues', viz. -*I/ESC*- and -*IDI̯*-, in the verbal paradigm. In general, we can distinguish *two fundamental poles* with respect to the formal and functional application of these segments – henceforth also referred to as 'infixes' – in modern Romance:

(1) They can occur as ***lexically-integrated*** morphemes, used for the formation of verbal lexemes. As such, the Romance reflexes of -*I/ESC*- and -*IDI̯*- appear *throughout* the verbal paradigm.

(2) They can operate as ***inflectionally-bound*** morphemes, used for the realization of a particular conjugation subclass. In this capacity, the intra-paradigmatic occurrence of the reflexes of -*I/ESC*- and -*IDI̯*- is obligatory, though restricted to a *subset* of verb forms.

To the **first** group can be assigned, for instance, the Spanish and Portuguese offspring of the segment -*I/ESC*-, viz. -*ec*-, which is a lexicalized formative of second conjugation verbs in -*ec-er*.[1] Another example, which originates in -*IDI̯*-, is Italian -*eggi*-, formative of first conjugation verbs in -*eggi-are*. This usage of the remnants of -*I/ESC*- and -*IDI̯*- is illustrated in table [1]:

[1] Henceforth, we will call the Romance conjugation classes descending from the Latin *ĀRE*-conjugation class I, those of the *ĒRE*-conjugation class II, of the rhizotonic *ĔRE*-conjugation class III and of the *ĪRE*-conjugation class IV.

	Italian *guerr-**eggi**-are* ‘to wage war’		**Spanish** *car-**ec**-er* ‘to lack’	
	Pres.ind.	Pres.subj.	Pres.ind.	Pres.subj.
1.	guerr-**eggi**-o	guerr-**egg**-i	car-**ezc**-o	car-**ezc**-a
2.	guerr-**egg**-i	guerr-**egg**-i	car-**ec**-es	car-**ezc**-as
3.	guerr-**eggi**-a	guerr-**egg**-i	car-**ec**-e	car-**ezc**-a
4.	guerr-**egg**-iamo	guerr-**egg**-iamo	car-**ec**-emos	car-**ezc**-amos
5.	guerr-**eggi**-ate	guerr-**egg**-iate	car-**ec**-éis	car-**ezc**-áis
6.	guerr-**eggi**-ano	guerr-**egg**-ino	car-**ec**-en	car-**ezc**-an
	Imp.ind.	Imp.subj.	Imp.ind.	Imp.subj.
1.	guerr-**eggi**-avo	guerr-**eggi**-assi	car-**ec**-ía	car-**ec**-iera/ car-**ec**-iese
	Fut.ind.	Cond.	Fut.ind.	Cond.
1.	guerr-**egg**-erò	guerr-**egg**-erei	car-**ec**-eré	car-**ec**-ería
	Perf.ind.		Perf.ind.	
1.	guerr-**eggi**-ai		car-**ec**-í	
	Gerund	Past participle	Gerund	Past participle
	guerr-**eggi**-ando	guerr-**eggi**-ato	car-**ec**-iendo	car-**ec**-ido

Table 1: Lexicalized ‘outcome’ of -*IDI*- and -*ESC*- in Italian and Spanish.[2]

The **second** category subsumes Italian -*isc*- (< Lat. -*ISC*-), which is characteristic of a subgroup of verbs that belong to the ***fourth*** conjugation, as well as Romanian -*ez*- (< Lat. -*IDI*-) and -*esc*- (< Lat. -*ESC*-), surfacing in a subclass of the ***first*** and ***fourth*** conjugation respectively. In Standard Italian and Romanian, the vestiges of -*I/ESC*- and -*IDI*- are configured according to the same pattern: their presence within the verbal paradigm is restricted to the singular and the third plural of the present indicative and the present subjunctive, i.e. those forms of the paradigm in which stress ‘normally’ (i.e. *without* the intercalation of stressed -*I/ESC*- and -*IDI*-) hits the verb root. In table [2], we present these paradigms in contrast with a ‘regularly’ (‘regular’ understood as ‘non-infixed’) conjugated verb belonging to the same conjugation class. The two subclasses are labeled Ib/IVb (i.e. conjugated *with* -*I/ESC*- and -*IDI*-) and Ia/IVa (i.e. conjugated *without* -*I/ESC*- and -*IDI*-) respectively:

[2] In each conjugation scheme, the stress-bearing vowel is underlined. The segments -*I/ESC*- and -*IDI*- (or the Romance outcomes that correspond to them) are typed bold and hyphenated between the lexical root and the inflectional ending.

	Standard Italian		**Standard Romanian**			
	Conjugation **IVb** *finire* ‘to finish’		Conjugation **Ib** *a lucra* ‘to work’		Conjugation **IVb** *a păţi* ‘to suffer’	
	Pres.ind.	Pres.subj.	Pres.ind.	Pres.subj.	Pres.ind.	Pres.subj.
1.	fin-**isc**-o	fin-**isc**-a	lucr-**ez**	lucr-**ez**	păţ-**esc**	păţ-**esc**
2.	fin-**isc**-i	fin-**isc**-a	lucr-**ez**-i	lucr-**ez**-i	păţ-**eşt**-i	păţ-**eşt**-i
3.	fin-**isc**-e	fin-**isc**-a	lucr-**eaz**-ă	lucr-**ez**-e	păţ-**eşt**-e	păţ-**easc**-ă
4.	finiamo	finiamo	lucrăm	lucrăm	păţim	păţim
5.	finite	finiate	lucraţi	lucraţi	păţiţi	păţiţi
6.	fin-**isc**-ono	fin-**isc**-ano	lucr-**eaz**-ă	lucr-**ez**-e	păţ-**esc**	păţ-**easc**-ă
	Conjugation **IVa** *sentire* ‘to feel’		Conjugation **Ia** *a cânta* ‘to sing’		Conjugation **IVa** *a simţi* ‘to feel’	
	Pres.ind.	Pres.subj.	Pres.ind.	Pres.subj.	Pres.ind.	Pres.subj.
1.	sento	senta	cânt	cânt	simt	simt
2.	senti	senta	cânţi	cânţi	simţi	simţi
3.	sente	senta	cântă	cânte	simte	simtă
4.	sentiamo	sentiamo	cântăm	cântăm	simţim	simţim
5.	sentite	sentiate	cântaţi	cântaţi	simţiţi	simţiţi
6.	sentono	sentano	cântă	cânte	simt	simtă

Table 2: Inflectionally-bound ‘outcome’ of *-I/ESC-* and *-IDI-* in Italian and Romanian.

Although the Latin segments *-I/ESC-* and *-IDI-* have followed comparable evolutionary pathways, so far they have never been brought together in a unified analysis. Considerable attention has been paid to the fate of *-I/ESC-*: the complex diachronic evolution of this segment from Latin to Romance has inspired several previous examinations (cf. Blaylock 1975, Allen 1977, 1980, Rudes 1980, Di Fabio 1990). The relatively strong interest in *-I/ESC-* sharply contrasts with the scarce attention accorded to *-IDI-*. This should probably be related to the fact that Romanian is actually the only Romance *standard* language in which *-IDI-* appears in a non-lexicalized (and thus inflectionally-bound) guise. Only two in-depth studies have been devoted to the development of *-IDI-* in Romance: the first one is a detailed report by Mussafia (1883), with comments on the dialect-geographical spread of the inflectionally-bound outcome of *-IDI-* in Romance; the second contribution, published almost one century after Mussafia’s essay, is a study by Zamboni (1981-1982), attempting to determine the principles that underlie the lexical selection of first conjugation infixation. Apart from the aforementioned accounts, we find some fragmentary information about *-IDI-* in the major Romance (cf. Meyer-Lübke 1974, vol. II:273-275) and Italian (cf. Rohlfs 1966-1969, vol. III:244-245, Tekavčić 1972, vol. II:443-445) historical grammars.

In the present study, we aim to bridge the gap between -*I/ESC*- and -*IDI̯*-, which is both empirical and theoretical: it is our purpose to perform a complementary analysis of the formal and functional metamorphoses that these two segments underwent in the evolution from Latin to Romance. The main focus will be on their *inflectionally-bound* (cf. *supra*) incidence in contemporary Romance. This line of investigation raises two principal research questions.

A. How to account for the wide range of ***morphological*** **(i.e. 'intra-paradigmatic') configurations** in which -*I/ESC*- and -*IDI̯*- became involved in modern Romance? As a matter of fact, although -*I/ESC*- and -*IDI̯*- occur in many Romance varieties as inflectionally-bound segments, they are not everywhere configured according to the same pattern within the verbal paradigm. So far, these divergent types of 'infix-patterns' have never been thoroughly examined. Therefore, one of the main objectives of this dissertation is to shed light on the pressures that generated the maze of intra-paradigmatic constellations of -*I/ESC*- and -*IDI̯*- in contemporary Romance.

B. The second main issue of our research concerns the ***lexical*** **constraints** on the applicability of these two segments within the context of the first and fourth conjugation. More in particular, if in a given Romance variety -*I/ESC*- and/or -*IDI̯*- occur as inflectionally-bound segments, they do not affect the full stock of fourth/first conjugation verbs: some verbs exhibit the presence of the segments in question, whereas other verbs radically resist their intrusion. The question that arises in this respect is which factors trigger whether a particular fourth/first conjugation verb is susceptible or not of taking the infixes. On the level of the Romance *standard* languages, the lexical distribution of the reflexes of -*I/ESC*- and -*IDI̯*-[3] is sharply defined by a strong normative tradition: grammars and dictionaries straightforwardly indicate whether a particular verb should be conjugated *with* or *without* the insertion of -*I/ESC*- or -*IDI̯*-. However, the contours of the two inflectional subclasses within conjugation I and IV are becoming vaguer if we focus on dialectological data. As such, particular attention will be given to the fate of -*I/ESC*- and -*IDI̯*- in Romance dialect varieties.

The above-outlined research axes are close to each other: understanding the potential functionality of particular intra-paradigmatic infix-constellations might give us insight into the lexical diffusion of this pattern, and vice versa. These two contiguous research questions will be explored both for -*I/ESC*- and -*IDI̯*-, yet the focus of attention will vary according to the segment under study: for -*I/ESC*-, the focus will be chiefly on problems related to intra-paradigmatic configurations (cf. *supra*, **A**), whereas for -*IDI̯*- we will zoom in on its lexical distribution among first conjugation verbs (cf. *supra*, **B**). The reason for this divergence of interests resides especially in heuristic considerations: within the scope of the Romance evolution of -*I/ESC*-, it is the labyrinth of dialect- and language-

[3] We recall that Romanian is the *only* standard language in which an offspring of -*IDI̯*-, i.e. -*ez*-, surfaces as a non-lexicalized segment within the first conjugation (cf. *supra*, table [2]).

specific intra-paradigmatic infix-arrangements that awaits further examination. For -*IDI̯*-, on the contrary, the limited dialect-geographical spread of its inflectionally-bound application (cf. *supra*) also entails that the typological range of the intra-paradigmatic constellations in which it became involved is much less extensive than is the case for -*I/ESC*-. The most challenging issue that remains to be investigated with respect to -*IDI̯*- are the principles that underpin its lexical diffusion among the stock of first conjugation verbs. The available information on this matter is, as we have already observed, relatively scarce and outdated (cf. Mussafia 1883 and Zamboni 1981-1982), which creates an urgent need for a more thorough investigation, on the basis of an extensive collection of contemporary (dialect) data.

1.1 Methodological design: data, methods and outline of the book

The study will start from a ***diachronic*** analysis, in which -*I/ESC*- and -*IDI̯*- are traced back to their Latin origins. The historical overview will be followed by a ***synchronic*** investigation, in which we will examine the subsequent Romance developments that the segments in question underwent.

Within the scope of the ***diachronic*** investigation, we will **(a)** provide a comprehensive overview of the morphological structure of the Latin verb system, in order to sketch the general 'background' against which -*I/ESC*- and -*IDI̯*- evolved (chapter 2); **(b)** perform an in-depth examination of the specific behavior of -*I/ESC*- and -*IDI̯*- in Classical Latin, with attention being paid to their Indo-European ancestors (chapter 3). Each of these two components of the diachronic approach will result in an outline of the Proto-Romance developments, which in turn will provide evidence for the subsequent analysis in synchrony.

As such, the diachronic study sets the stage for a ***synchronic*** examination, which will take a prominent place in this study. Within the scope of the synchronic approach, we will pursue a threefold objective. We will attempt to **(a)** gain insight into the parameters that condition intra-paradigmatic -*I/ESC*- constellations within the context of the fourth conjugation (chapter 4); **(b)** establish the general lexical constraints and the dialect-geographical spread of the inflectionally-bound application of -*IDI̯*- and enlarge the investigation to a number of phenomena that show functional and/or formal similarities with the reflexes of -*IDI̯*- (chapter 5); **(c)** conduct a quantitative and statistical case-study of the lexical diffusion of the inflectionally-bound use of -*IDI̯*- in some Dolomitic Ladin (Rhaeto-Romance) dialect varieties (chapter 6).

In the final chapter (chapter 7), the descriptive-diachronic component (chapters 2 and 3) and the analytic-synchronic part (chapters 4, 5 and 6) will be unified in an integrated theoretical account, in which we will systemize the sequence of formal and functional metamorphoses that -*IDI̯*- and -*I/ESC*- underwent in their evolution from Latin to Romance.

1.2 Theoretical outline of the research

The present study brings together insights from various linguistic disciplines. More in particular, the issues that will be dealt with relate to the domain of *descriptive* linguistics, *historical* linguistics, *comparative* linguistics and *sociolinguistics*. In what follows, we will discuss the general theoretical aspects involved in the problem of Romance verbal infixation.

1.2.1 Descriptive dimension: inflectional vs. derivational morphology, and the concepts of '(de)grammaticalization' and 'morphome'

The functional-morphological 'bifurcation' of the two infixes in the Romance languages entails that this study will be situated at the cross-roads of *inflectional* and *derivational* morphology. *Inflection* deals with the realization of grammatical categories, while *derivation* concerns the creation of new lexemes out of existing lexical material. The dividing line between these two components of morphology is a very thin one: morphological 'roles' of particular segments (morphemes) can shift *historically*, may vary *cross-linguistically* and, even within one and the same language (stage), they cannot always be clearly associated with *either* inflection *or* derivation (cf. Bybee 1985:81, 87). The tension and interaction between inflectional and derivational characteristics of the infixes will be one of the 'leitmotiv' of this book.

A glance at the functioning of the infixes in Latin (cf. chapter 3) will tell us that, in their original state, they were principally engaged in the field of *derivational* morphology. As we will see, the infix *-I/ESC-* had acquired a remarkable productivity in the creation of so-called 'inchoative'[4] third conjugation verbs in *-ESC-ĔRE* (e.g., *RUBĒRE* 'to be red' → *RUB-ESC-ĔRE* 'to turn red'). In a parallel fashion, but on a much more modest scale than *-I/ESC-*, the segment *-IDI̯-* (alternating with the earlier forms *-ISS/IZ-*) was involved in the coinage of first conjugation verbs (e.g., adj. *AMĀRUS*, *-A*, *-UM* 'bitter' → *AMAR-IZ-ĀRE* 'to make bitter'). However, whereas Latin *-IDI̯/ISS/IZ-* occurred *throughout* the verbal paradigm, *-I/ESC-* characterized exclusively the tenses of the *infectum* (cf. chapter 2, § 2.1.1.1): infixed perfect tense forms such as **RUBESCUI* were not accepted. The situation of *-I/ESC-* in Latin points already at the ambiguity of the morphological role fulfilled by this segment: the derivational capacity of the infix, viz. the creation of a new lexical-aspectual category of verbs, is curtailed by inflectional constraints, viz. its limitation to the *infectum*. In this case, the derivational 'input' thus varies according to an inflectional category (cf. Matthews 1991:231).

[4] A more fine-grained interpretation of the semantic-aspectual value of *-I/ESC-* in Latin will be proposed later (cf. chapter 3, § 3.1.1).

The difficulty to assign a clear-cut morphological value to the infixes becomes even greater if we look at their subsequent developments in Romance. In contrast with the Latin *I/ESC*-configuration (i.e. the limitation of the infix to the *infectum*), newly crystallized infix-patterns in Romance usually[5] do not coincide with 'acknowledged' inflectional categories, such as tense, aspect or modality. It is obvious that in distributions such as the one outlined in table [2] (cf. *supra*, § 1.0) no derivational properties can be attributed to the infixes. Yet, on the other hand, their intra-paradigmatic occurrence does not coincide with a particular inflectional category either: the forms in which the infixes appear (in this case: the singular and the third plural of the present indicative and the present subjunctive) do not constitute a naturally distinct inflectional class that is recognized as such by the principles of grammar. In this respect, we should refer to an important distinction outlined by Brinton & Traugott (2005:11) with regard to the term and concept if 'inflection'. More in particular, they point out that 'inflectional' has a twofold interpretation (or layering) and that, as such, it means **(1)** "conforming to the rules of grammar"; **(2)** "having an abstract, structural/functional, or indexical meaning". It is clear that, when the Romance reflexes of the infixes occur in distribution-types such as the one presented in table [2], they relate more to the first than to the second interpretation of the notion 'inflectional': they convey no specific inflectional meaning themselves, but their occurrence/emergence within the verbal paradigm is determined by (or bound by) the process of inflection. It is also for that reason that in the foregoing we spoke of 'inflectionally-bound' segments rather than of 'inflectional morphemes'.

As such, in this type of non-lexicalized (i.e. non-generalized) intra-paradigmatic constellations, the infixes have been assigned a great number of different labels, all referring to the same fact, that of their vacuous, undefined morphological status: some authors called them "loose ends" or "empty morphs" (Maiden 2003:2), "meaningless, functionless residues" or "leftovers" (Rudes 1980:327).

From the viewpoint of historical linguistics, the above-sketched morpho-semantic 'downgrading' of the infixes from Latin to Romance can be considered an instance of what is termed **'demorphologization'** (cf. Hopper & Traugott 1993:164), defined as the process whereby a morpheme loses a clear-cut morphemic (inflectional or derivational) content and instead becomes part of a word's phonological 'build up' ('phonogenesis'). **'Demorphologization'** has been mentioned as an aspect of the broader phenomenon of **'degrammaticalization'**, which, according to some definitions[6], refers to the *loss* of gram-

[5] However, in chapter 4 (cf. especially § 4.2.3) and chapter 5 (cf. § 5.1.5) we will discuss a few exceptions in this respect. More in particular, in some Francoprovençal varieties, infix-distributions are associated with the subjunctive mood.

[6] According to Norde (2009:111), however, "the loss of grammatical meaning is indicative of advanced grammaticalization, not degrammaticalization" (cf. also Heine 2003:165). This shows that the notion of 'degrammaticalization' is ill defined and that its interpretation is highly subjective (cf.

matical content of a linguistic item (cf. Heine e.a. 1991:26, Ramat 1992:551, Allen 1995:5, Koch 1996:241), and, as such, contrasts with 'grammaticalization', which refers to the *increase* of grammatical content (e.g., the shift from a derivational to an inflectional morpheme, cf. Kuryłowicz 1965 [1975]:52). The presumed 'degrammaticalization'/'demorphologization' of the infixes will be challenged in the present study: on the basis of a multi-factorial analysis of *-I/ESC-* and *-IDI-*, we will oppose to the prevalent idea that the Romance evolution of this infixes can only be characterized in negative terms of (grammatical) 'loss'. It will be shown that the 'reuse' or 'refunctionalization' (termed "exaptation" in Lass 1990, 1997, Giacalone Ramat 1998:110-111, De Cuypere 2005, Narrog 2007)[7] of *-I/ESC-* and *-IDI-* in Romance exceeds the purely phonological domain.

Whereas the theoretical frame of (de)grammaticalization allows to grasp general evolutionary dynamics, it is less enlightening for the discussion of the *synchronic* and *variationist* aspects of linguistic problems. As such, the synchronic component of our research will particularly benefit from recent morphological accounts in which the 'paradigm' is treated as the cornerstone of inflectional morphological analysis (cf., e.g., Matthews 1974, Carstairs 1986, Pirrelli 2000). One notion, proposed by Aronoff (1994:25), will appear to be particularly useful in explaining intra-paradigmatic infix-constellations: the notion of **'morphome'**, i.e. an autonomously morphological realization, without extra-morphological embedding in grammatical, lexical or phonological factors (cf. also Maiden 2003:4, Maiden 2005b:137-139). Contrary to the 'morpheme', the 'morphome' thus cannot be associated with a specific inflectional or derivational content. One of Aronoff's clearest examples of what he understands by 'morphome' is the so-called 'third stem' in Latin (cf. chapter 2, § 2.1.1.3), which is used to build a complex of paradigm 'cells', viz. the supine, the past participle and the future participle, which *do not share* a specific morpho-syntactic function. It should be emphasized that the 'morphomic' approach runs counter to the traditional 'morpheme-based' analyses (subsumed under the rubric 'Item-and-Arrangement') grown out of the (structuralist) belief that word structure can only be examined as a 'concatenation' or 'arrangement' of morphemes.[8] For the subject of Romance verbal infixation, the principal advantage of the 'mor-

also Lehmann 1982 [1995]:16-17, Heine e.a. 1991:26, Bybee e.a. 1994:13, Koch 1996:241 a different interpretation of 'degrammaticalization').

[7] Lass adapted the notion of 'exaptation' from evolutionary biology where it indicates "[…] the co-optation during evolution of structures originally developed for other purposes" (Lass 1997:316). A typical example is the 're-use' of feathers, originally thermoregulatory devices of reptiles, for flight in the evolution of birds (cf. Narrog 2007:4). Applied to linguistics, Lass (1997:316) defines 'exaptation' as follows: "[…] a kind of conceptual renovation, as it were, of material that is already there, but either serving some other purpose, or serving no purpose".

[8] This kind of dissociation from the morpheme-based analysis leans, to a certain extent, on what is done within 'Item-and-Process' and 'Word-and-Paradigm' frameworks. In the 'Item-and-Process' model items are related to each other by means of operations, called 'Word Formation Rules'. 'Word-and-paradigm' concentrates on the word, on their grouping in paradigms, and on the relations between paradigms (Malmkjær 2004:362-364).

phomic' framework is precisely that the problematic nature of the infixes with respect to their morphemic status becomes less crucial than in the more traditional (morpheme-based) analyses. What matters for 'morphomic' theory is the recognition of broader recurrent morphological *structures*, rather than the segmentation or 'decomposition' into units of grammatical meaning (morphemes). As such, the rejection (or at least 'downgrading') of the classical notion of 'morpheme' in the 'morphomic' approach allows to bypass potential mismatches between form and meaning, either cases in which morphemic units lack a clear inflectional or derivational content (cf. the so-called 'empty morphs'[9]) or cases in which the inflectional or derivational content does not correspond to an isolable unit (cf. the so-called 'zero morphs').

The above outlined 'morphomic' approach is consistent with Anderson's (1992) conceptualization of what he calls an '*a-morphous* morphology', i.e. the belief that the segmentation of complex words (including derivation, inflection and compounding) into concatenating elements/morphemes is "fundamentally flawed" (Anderson 1992:3) and should therefore be replaced by a theory in which the emphasis lies on the structural relations among words by virtue of derivational and inflectional rules. Within the scope of chapter 4, we will argue that non-lexicalized infix-configurations often, though not always, can be accounted for within the broader perspective of the 'morphome', while leaving the matter of the disputed morphemic identity of the infixes aside. On the other hand, although we recognize the existence and the dynamic force of such inherently morphological structures, we do not believe them to be the wholesale and unique mechanism behind Romance verbal infixation. We will show that Maiden's (2003, 2005a/b) attempt to explain infix-patterns purely by their incorporation into broader morphomic templates encounters several problems and creates as well an oversimplified image of the cross-linguistic complexity of intra-paradigmatic infix-distributions. In other words, sometimes it is necessary to rely on the more traditional 'segmentational' (morphemic) approaches. As such, the interplay between infixes and theme vowels, the latter being usually considered as an 'empty morph' (cf. chapter 2, § 2.1.1.1), will appear to be particularly useful in offering valuable insights into the intra-paradigmatic organization of infixes.

1.2.2 Historical dimension: the role of analogy

The inclusion of a historical perspective is essential in order to lay bare the impetus behind the genesis and spread of particular (in this case: morphological or even 'morphomic') linguistic patterns. What might seem inherently morphological from a *synchronic* point of view could be the result of an earlier condition in

[9] Among the most oft-cited examples of an 'empty morph' is the theme vowel. We will come back to this in chapter 2 (§ 2.1.1.1).

which the relevant structure or pattern still had an 'extra-morphological' motivation. We saw that the concept of '(de)grammaticalization' can be useful in order to grasp the general historical evolution of the infixes from Latin to Romance, yet '(de)grammaticalization' remains in the first place a descriptive rather than an explanatory device: its primary concern is to reconstruct and typify the various stages of a linguistic change; what precisely 'drives' the change is less relevant in this approach. In traditional historical linguistics, much attention has been dedicated to the central role played by *analogy* (next to regular sound change) in linguistic change. Analogy can be defined as the process whereby linguistic forms/structures become more like other linguistic forms/structures through mutual association (cf. Arlotto 1972:130).[10] In the course of this work, we will frequently come across instances of analogy. From a general perspective, if we take the verb as a reference point, we will be confronted with what could be referred to as **(1)** *'morphomic'* or *'macro-structural'* analogy; **(2)** *intra-paradigmatic leveling*; **(3)** *inter-paradigmatic adaptation*; and **(4)** *cross-conjugational leveling*.[11]

First, under **'morphomic'** or **'macro-structural'** analogy (cf. **(1)**), we understand the extension or 'grafting' of an abstract paradigmatic structure onto other paradigms that originally did not share this configuration. We will see that this boils down to the essence of Maiden's hypothesis (2003) with respect to non-lexicalized infix-distributions (cf. chapter 4, § 4.1.1, § 4.1.2). Basically, Maiden claims that infix-arrangements are the result of the 'attraction' exerted by popular and recurrent allomorphic patterns in verbal morphology. The most prominent example that we will discuss in this respect is the 'affiliation' between *rhizotonic* infix-constellations and the allomorphic pattern generated by the historic phonological differentiation of the root vowel under the influence of stress alternation. In table [4] below, the Italian infixed paradigm of *finire* 'to finish' is set against verbs that display a vocalic alternation of the root vowels. In Maiden's view (2003:43, 2004a:256, 2005a:437), the proliferation of this type of phonologically conditioned root-allomorphy was such that the distribution pattern of root-allomorphs (pres.ind./pres.subj. 1-3, 6 vs. remainder of the paradigm) in verbs such as Italian *morire*, *sedere* was transposed onto other verbs, such as *finire* (and the other verbs that belong to subclass IVb).

[10] It is beyond the scope of the present study to thoroughly document the history of analogy in linguistic theory. For an outline of the treatment of analogy in historical linguistics, cf. e.g., Hock (2003:441-460) and Itkonen (2005:105-113).

[11] Viewed within the traditional dichotomist typology of analogy, **(1)** and **(3)** can be considered instances of *proportional analogy*, whereas **(2)** and **(4)** are, as the name suggests, forms of *analogical leveling*. *Proportional analogy* is about extending relationships between forms across paradigms, and, as such minimizes cross-paradigmatic alternation; *analogical leveling*, instead, refers to the minimization of intra-paradigmatic alternation (cf. Campbell 2008:104-108).

	It. *finire* 'to finish'			**It.** *morire* 'to die'		**It.** *sedere* 'to sit down'	
	Pres.ind.	Pres.subj.		Pres.ind.	Pres.subj.	Pres.ind.	Pres.subj.
1.	fi**nisc**o	fi**nisc**a	: :	muoio	muoia	siedo	sieda
2.	fi**nisc**i	fi**nisc**a	: :	muori	muoia	siedi	sieda
3.	fi**nisc**e	fi**nisc**a	: :	muore	muoia	siede	sieda
4.	finiamo	finiamo	: :	moriamo	moriamo	sediamo	sediamo
5.	finite	finiate	: :	morite	moriate	sedete	sediate
6.	fi**nisc**ono	fi**nisc**ano	: :	muoiono	muoiano	siedono	siedano

Table 3: Analogy between the infix-pattern and the vocalic-differentiation-pattern.

Second, under **'intra-paradigmatic'** analogical leveling (cf. *supra*, **(2)**) we understand the spread of a stem or of a (phonological) feature characteristic of a paradigm 'cell' (or a set of paradigm cells) towards other cells that originally do not display this stem or feature[12]: e.g. the generalization of the remnants of the infix *-I/ESC-* over the entire conjugation paradigm, as occurred in Ibero-Romance (Spanish pres.ind. 1. *flor-**ezc**-o*, perf.ind. 1. *flor-**ec**-í* vs. Lat. perf.ind. 1. *FLORUI* (**FLOR-**ESC-UI*, cf. also *supra*, § 1.2.1).

By **'inter-paradigmatic adaptation'** (cf. *supra*, **(3)**), we mean the spread of a particular feature beyond the borders of its own paradigm towards paradigms that belong to different lexical items. This kind of 'small-scale' analogy, whereby a feature of a particular item (a verb in our case) is adapted by another item that does not display the basic conditions for this feature, turned out to be particularly ubiquitous in the Romance languages amongst 'leading' primitive verbs, meaning 'go', 'have', 'hold', 'be', 'come', etc. In chapter 4 (especially in section 4.1.1), we will discuss the reciprocal morphological attraction that these verbs exerted on each other. We will argue that the transfer of concrete morpho-phonological properties from one verb to another seems to be, in many cases, a more transparent, tangible and realistic procedure than the massive copying of abstract paradigmatic structures (cf. *supra*, **(1)**).

Finally, by **cross-conjugational leveling** (cf. *supra*, **(4)**) we refer to the transmission of features that are characteristic of a particular conjugation class towards another conjugation class that historically did not display these features. In this respect, we will discuss, for instance, the case of Swiss Rhaeto-Romance (Romansh), where the infix *-esch-*, which is originally characteristic of the *fourth* conjugation, intruded also into verbs that belong to the *first* conjugation (cf. chapter 5, § 5.1.6).

[12] From an intra-paradigmatic perspective, the effect of analogical leveling is often the opposite of the effect obtained by proportional types of analogy: proportional analogy often introduces alternation, while leveling aims at uniformity.

1.2.3 Comparative dimension: inter-morphological and cross-linguistic comparison from a historical perspective

In the present research, we will proceed along a double *comparative* axis: **(1)** the *'inter-morphological'* comparison between the two segments *-I/ESC-* and *-IDI̯-*; **(2)** the *cross-linguistic* comparison between the divergent evolutions that each of the two infixes underwent in their development from Latin to Romance.

As to the **first** axis (cf. *supra*, **(1)**), it will be shown, for instance, that often (though not always) the two segments are subject to the same (intra-paradigmatic) restrictions if they belong both to the same language or dialect, which suggests that there exists an analogical parallelism between them. An example of paralleled intra-paradigmatic constellations of the reflexes of *-I/ESC-* and *-IDI̯-* is given below:

	Fassano (Central Dolomitic Ladin)			
	Conjugation **Ib** *petenèr* 'to comb'		Conjugation **IVb** *fenir* 'to finish'	
	Pres.ind.	Pres.subj.	Pres.ind.	Pres.subj.
1.	peten-**e**-e	peten-**e**-e	fen-**esc**-e	fen-**esc**-e
2.	peten-**e**-es	peten-**e**-es	fen-**esc**-es	fen-**esc**-es
3.	peten-**e**-a	peten-**e**-e	fen-**esc**	fen-**esc**-e
4.	petenon	petenane	fenion	feniane
5.	petenède	petenède	fenide	fenide
6.	peten-**e**-a	peten-**e**-e	fen-**esc**	fen-**esc**-e

Table 4: Distributional correspondence in Fassano (Central Dolomitic Ladin) between the remnants of *-IDI̯-* and *-ESC-*.

However, this kind of intra-paradigmatic 'congeniality' between the two infixes is not always found. Within one and the same variety, it may happen that the two infixes are configured in slightly different manners. Let us compare, in this respect, the diverging intra-paradigmatic configurations of the vestiges of *-I/ESC-* and *-IDI̯-* in Cadorino (Peri-Ladin)[13]:

[13] As to the orthographic conventions followed for the representation of the *dialect* verb forms, in general we have provided an *exact reproduction* of the orthography found in the dialect grammars consulted. In spite of the fact that some of these notations in our sources were difficult to interpret phonetically, we preferred not to provide our own, unified, phonetic transcription of the verb forms, especially since the dialect grammars themselves do not always give clear indications on the phonetic 'value' of the notation adopted.

	Cadorino (Peri-Ladin)			
	Conjugation **Ib** *beʃegà* 'to grumble'		Conjugation **IVb** *capì* 'to understand'	
	Pres.ind.	Pres.subj.	Pres.ind.	Pres.subj.
1.	beʃegh-**é**-o	beʃegh-**é**-e	cap-**ìss**-o	cap-**ìss**-e
2.	beʃegh-**é**-es	beʃegh-**é**-es	cap-**ìss**-es	cap-**ìss**-es
3.	beʃegh-**é**-a	beʃegh-**é**-e	cap-**ìss**-e	cap-**ìss**-e
4.	beʃegón	beʃegóne	cap-**iss**-ón	cap-**iss**-óne
5.	beʃegà	beʃegàde	capì	capìde
6.	beʃegh-**é**-a	beʃegh-**é**-e	cap-**ìss**-e	cap-**ìss**-e

Table 5: Distributional discrepancies between the remnants of *-IDI̯-* and *-ISC-* in Cadorino (Peri-Ladin).

This shows that, in spite of the historical parallels that can be drawn between the two infixes, they did not always proceed at the same pace: divergent intra-paradigmatic distributions of the infixes may point to different functionalities or priorities within the verbal paradigm. In chapter 5 (§ 5.2), we will briefly discuss some cases of divergent infix-configurations and we will consider some explanatory factors in this respect.

With respect to the **second** comparative focus (cf. *supra*, **(2)**), a striking fact is that two forms displaying a rather unambiguous behavior in Latin have been exposed to such a high degree of functional and formal fragmentation in their evolution to the daughter languages. The cross-linguistic differences between the infixes are situated both on the ***intra-paradigmatic*** level and on the level of ***lexical selection***.

In the foregoing, we have already particularly emphasized the enormous variety of **intra-paradigmatic distributions** in which the infixes have become involved. If we stick to the basic opposition *lexically-integrated* vs. *inflectionally-bound* application of the infixes, the global typological image of the intra-paradigmatic distribution of ***-IDI̯-*** can be represented as follows:

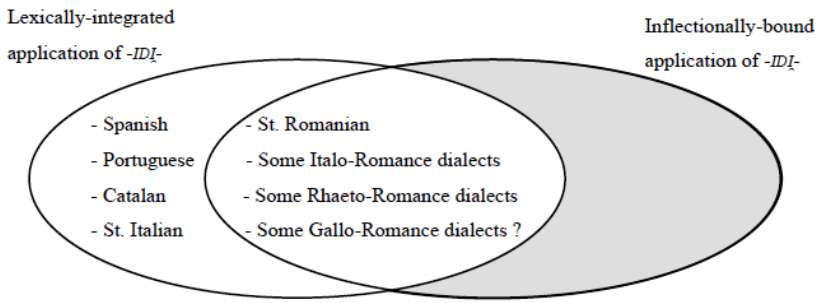

Fig. 1: Venn diagram of the intra-paradigmatic typology of *-IDI̯-*.