

## Nanosyntax of suffixed verbs from Latin to Romance: a change in progress

**Introduction.** The evolution from Latin to Romance involved a change in the way of encoding events. Hence, whereas in Latin complex verbs the expression of the Manner has a prominent place, complex verbal predicates tend to focus on the Result in Romance languages. The different behavior of Latin and Romance complex predicates has been widely studied in the case of prefixed constructions (Acedo-Matellán & Mateu 2013; Gibert-Sotelo 2017), which have been used as evidence of a typological shift from a satellite-framed system (Latin) to a verb-framed one (Romance) (Talmy 2000, Slobin 2004). This typological change, though, has not been studied with regard to suffixed constructions. In this paper we will show that the morphosyntactic evolution of verbs suffixed with *-izare* is the result of a change, still in progress, from a satellite-framed system that focuses on the Manner to a verb-framed one that focuses on the Result. We will base our account on diachronic Latin and Spanish data, and we will offer a Nanosyntax-based analysis able to account for the reanalysis occurred in these verbs.

**Data.** In Archaic and Classical Latin, *-izare/-issare* verbs mainly correspond to intransitive (unergative) predicates that express a manner of behaving:

- (1) hoc argumentum grace-issat, tamen non attic-issat,  
this.NOM plot.NOM Greek-ize.PRS.3SG although not Attic-ize.PRS.3SG  
uerum sicilic-issat.  
but Sicilian-ize.PRS.3SG  
'this plot imitates the Greek way, although it does not mimic the way of the  
Attics, but that of the Sicilians'. (Plaut. *Men.* ProI. 7)

The productivity of *-izare/-issare* verbs increases in Late Latin (Cockburn 2012, Tronci 2017). The predominant pattern in this period is still the one that emphasizes the Manner. However, some of these new suffixed verbs show transitive structures that feature an affected internal argument, which promotes a change of state interpretation that focuses on the Result.

- (2) sunt eunuchi qui ab hominibus eunuch-izati sunt  
be.PRS.3PL eunuchs.NOM that by men.ABL eunuch-ize.PTCP.PST be.PRS.3PL  
'They are eunuchs that have been castrated by men'. (Hier. *Adv. Iovin.* 1.12)

Crucially, some verbs show a change from a Manner to a Result reading that is linked to a change from an unergative to a transitive structure. This is exemplified in (3) with *christianizare*. This verb first appeared in unergative structures, and in these uses its meaning was 'profess Christianity / act as a Christian' (3a). By contrast, in Medieval Latin it was used as a transitive predicate with the meaning 'convert to Christianity' (3b).

- (3) a. Nullam autem apostolici census ecclesiam inuenias  
not\_any.ACC but apostolic.GEN origin.GEN church.ACC find.PRS.SBJV.2SG  
quae non in creatore christian-izet.  
which.NOM not in creator.ABL Christian-ize.PRS.SBJV.3SG  
'But you would find no church of apostolic origin which didn't profess  
Christianity in the Creator'. (Tert. *Adv. Marc.* 1.21)
- b. Cui [Erpwald] successit Sigbert frater ejus Christianissimus  
who.DAT [Erpwald] follow.PST.3SG Sigbert brother.NOM he.GEN very\_Christian  
et ceteros christian-izans cum felice episcopo.  
and remainder.ACC.PL Christian-ize.PTCP.PRS with Felix-ABL bishop.ABL  
'The very Christian Sigbert came after his brother [Erpwald] and converted the  
remainder to Christianity with the bishop Felix'. (Hunt, HA III 88)

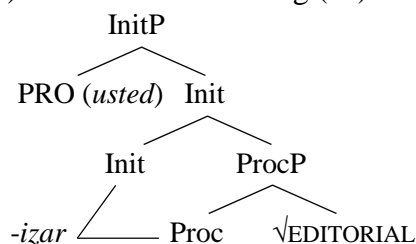
In Old Spanish a few verbs suffixed with *-izar* are attested which are inherited from Late Latin (e.g., *baptizar/bautizar* 'give baptism', *profetizar* 'prophecy'). This suffix, though,

starts being productive on the 15<sup>th</sup> century. In general, the verbs inherited from Latin focus on the Manner (*alegorizar* ‘interpret/narrate allegorically’, *judaizar* ‘profess Judaism / act as a Jewish’, *poetizar* ‘to express poetically’), whereas the ones created in the Romance language focus on the Result (*vulgarizar* ‘translate (a work) into the vernacular’, *fertilizar* ‘make fertile’, *suavizar* ‘soften’). Along the evolution, the Manner verbs tend to enter transitive structures that trigger the result interpretation (e.g., *poetizar* has developed the transitive change-of state use ‘to make something poetic’). Interestingly, despite the predominance of the change of state pattern in current Spanish, still some new *-izar* verbs appear which encode the Manner. An example of this is the 20<sup>th</sup> century verb *editorializar* ‘express an opinion in the form of an editorial’ (4a). Nevertheless, this verb is developing a change of state reading when used as transitive (4b).

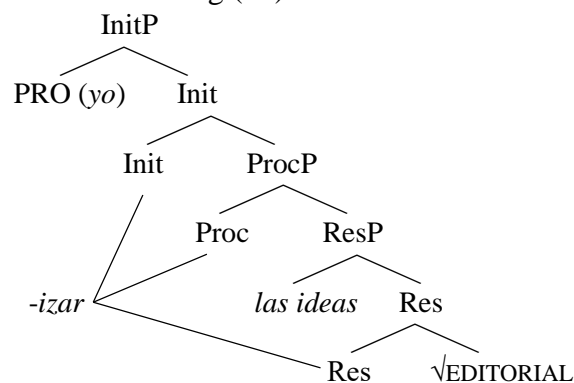
- (4) a. Si quiere usted editorial-izar [...] está en su derecho de hacerlo.  
 if want.PRS.2SG you editorial-ize.INF be.PRS.2SG in your right to do.it  
 ‘If you want to express your opinion in the form of an editorial, you can do it’.  
 (Batiukova 2016: 139, (46b))
- b. Yo [...] escribo [...] sin editorial-izar las ideas de terceros.  
 I write.PRS.1SG without editorial-ize.INF the ideas of third.PL  
 ‘I write without making the ideas of others into editorials’.  
 (Batiukova 2016: 139, (46a))

**Analysis.** Following a nanosyntactic approach to grammar, we assume that lexical exponents spell out portions of syntactic trees (Phrasal Spell-Out; Starke 2009). The morphosyntactic change undergone by *-izare/-izar* along the evolution reflects a change on the size of its lexically stored tree. In the Manner pattern (predominant in Latin) the suffix only lexicalizes an InitP (Ramchand 2008) that licenses the Initiator argument and a ProcP that introduces the event variable; the root, merged as a complement of Proc, is interpreted as Manner (5a). The Result reading (predominant in Spanish) involves the addition of a ResP that licenses an affected internal argument at its specifier, and the root, merged at the complement of Res, is interpreted as Result (5b). This change, still in progress, has been promoted by cases of reanalysis as the ones in (3) and (4), in which an unergative Manner verb is reinterpreted as a transitive change of state verb.

- (5) a. Manner reading (4a)



- b. Result reading (4b)



### Selected references

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