



AperTO - Archivio Istituzionale Open Access dell'Università di Torino

Introduction to Romance languages

This is a pre print version of the following article:					
since	2020-07-20T08:59:13Z				
Anyone can freely access the full text of works made available as "Open Access". Works made available under a Creative Commons license can be used according to the terms and conditions of said license. Use of all other works					
requires consent of the right holder (author or publisher) if not exempted from copyright protection by the applicable law.					
(ccess". V				

(Article begins on next page)



Contributor Metadata Approval Sheet/Contributor Contract/Proof

Dear Contributor(s),

Thank you for publishing with us! Please find enclosed your Contributor proof. In order to process your contribution, we kindly request that you carefully check your Contributor metadata on the following pages, and then indicate the conclusion of an Contributor Contract with us by setting checkmarks and dates in designated boxes. The Contributor Contract consists of the cover page "Contributor Contract", the Metadata Approval Sheet and the General Terms and Conditions for Contributor Contracts. Any provisions previously agreed upon in writing shall retain their validity. Finally, we kindly ask you to check and correct the proofs of your article. Please check the metadata of all contributors to your chapter carefully.

Important: The box *Checked and confirmed: Contributor Metadata and Contributor Contract* **must** be checked and dated in order for your contribution to be published. You will find both boxes directly after the Metadata Approval Sheet.

We need your postal and email address for <u>Abstracting- and Indexing Services</u>, and sending you free print copies or offprints if applicable. Your address will be included in the HTML metadata of the article and will appear in the PDF of the printed work if standard for the volume. This data is necessary for the automatic delivery of Contributor PDFs.

Thank you for your cooperation!

De Gruyter



CONTRIBUTOR CONTRACT

Between

De Gruyter

and

Corresponding Contributor Livio Gaeta

Regarding

Chapter Title:
Introduction to Romance languages
Chapter DOI:
10.1515/9783110686630-021
Book Title:
Derivational Networks Across Languages

a Contributor Contract has been concluded. Details regarding the Contributor Contract are specified in the attached General Terms and Conditions for Contributor Contract.



Contributor Metadata Approval Sheet

Book title: Derivational Networks Across Languages

Chapter DOI: 10.1515/9783110686630-021 **Chapter title:** Introduction to Romance languages

Please check the metadata carefully. You will find already available details in the second column. If they need to be changed, please enter the updated information in the third column.

Contributor 1

Corresponding address according to available	information	To be changed			
Salutation* (Mr/Ms/other)					
Title*					
Surname*	Gaeta				
First Name*	Livio				
E-Mail*					
Corresponding Author* (yes/no)	yes				
The given address is $a(n)$ \square affiliation.	☐ privat address. (For privat address omit Institution and Departm	ent!)			
Institution					
Department					
Number*					
Street*					
ZIP Code*					
City*					
State					
Country*					
*required					
☐ I would like to receive a notification when my contribution appears online and I would like to download a PDF copy. I accept that the corresponding details will be transfered to Abstracting und Indexing Services to improve the findability of my contribution in the internet. I note that my details might be displayed on the De Gruyter webpage, but only if they are part of my contribution. (Thus a full postal address and an email address is needed!) ☐ I don't want to receive a notification when my contribution appears online and I don't want to download a PDF copy. My contact details may not be transfered to Abstracting and Indexing Services and they may not be displayed in print or De Gruyter webpage.					



Checked and confirmed:	
Contributor Metadata and Contributor Contract	(By inserting the checkmark you confirm the conclusion of the Contributer Contract for you contribution.)
Date	

GENERAL TERMS AND CONDITIONS FOR CONTRIBUTOR CONTRACT

These General Terms and Conditions are an integral part of your Contributor Contract. The individual details of your agreement with us can be found on the sheet titled *Contributor Contract*.

Our goal as a publisher is to be a competent partner to our contributors and to facilitate the quality, reach, reputation, and validity of their work. In order to do so, both parties must commit to a set of rules as follows:

1 Definitions

You: You as the Contributor of the Work. When there is more than one Contributor, the term "You" shall apply collectively and the provisions set out in these terms and conditions apply equally to all Contributors.

We: the Walter De Gruyter GmbH Publisher named in your Contributor Contract.

Work: the content to be published as printed and electronic edition.

Contributor Contract: the actual agreement, which is issued to you as a cover page to these terms and conditions

2 Your Rights and Obligations

- 2.1 Grant of Rights: As a publisher, we take copyright very seriously. We must make sure that we have the right to use all parts of your Work. You warrant that you own the manuscript, and that you are free to assign the rights without restriction and have acquired the rights to any content as necessary. This applies to all parts, including any illustrations, indices, tables, textual excerpts, multimedia components, etc. Further, you warrant that you have not assigned any rights that would conflict with the rights granted to us in this contract. You guarantee that your work, including all parts, does not infringe on any rights such as copyrights, performing rights, trademarks, rights of privacy, or other third-party rights. You agree to reimburse us for any costs or liabilities resulting from a breach of these warranties.
- 2.2 Publication Elsewhere: In order to support the marketing strategy for your Work, you agree not to publish the Work (or a substantially equivalent work) or make it otherwise available to the public without first obtaining our written consent.
- 2.3 <u>Repository Policy</u>: You are free to self-archive up to 10% of the Work (with the exception of textbooks and databases) on your own website or in the repository of your university or institution. In addition, you may place a link to the product page of your Work on our website www.degruyter.com in public repositories that allow a redirect. You can find a complete list in the Rights and Licenses section of our website.
- 2.4 VG Wort: As the laws regarding the German collecting society VG Wort are subject to frequent change, we include here a translation of the recommended wording for contributor agreements provided by the German Publishers and Booksellers Association on exercising your rights through VG Wort. In the following paragraphs, you assign to us the right to exercise our rights with VG Wort. In order for you to profit from the copyright-holder share of the VG Wort distribution, you must sign an agreement directly with VG Wort as well as register your Work upon publication. You may then decide if you would like to let us, as a publisher, participate in the distribution of those proceeds as well. We will provide more detailed information in a separate communication when your Work is published. We retain the right to make changes to the following paragraphs as a result of court rulings or changes to the law.

The Author grants to the Publisher, for the duration of the contract, all usage rights that may be exercised at collecting societies such as VG Wort and VG Bild-Kunst according to their contractual stipulations. The granting of these rights serves the purpose of registration at the collection societies for mutual exercising of rights. The proceeds from the exercising of rights are distributed by the collecting societies according to §27 Abs. 2 VGG and according to the shares defined in their distribution plan, and are distributed directly to copyright holders and publishers. The Author agrees that he or she must conclude an agreement directly with the collecting society in order to receive the (copyright-holder) share of the distribution.

With regard to the statutory reimbursement claims stated in §63a Satz 1 UrhG, the following applies if the Author is registered to exercise rights through the VG Wort: the Author can, according to §27a VGG, either upon registration or at a later time following publication, grant consent at the collecting society for the Publisher to participate in the proceeds from the statutory reimbursement claims. The amount of the publisher share is based on the current distribution plan of the individual collecting society. If the Author is not registered to exercise rights, the Publisher can receive a share of the distribution from collecting societies (publisher share) for the statutory reimbursement claims stated in §63a Sentence 1 UrhG only in the case that the Author has transferred these claims to the Publisher after the publication of the work.

3 Grant of Rights

- 3.1 <u>Rights of Use</u>: You assign to us, for the purpose of ensuring the optimal distribution and availability of your work the right:
 - To reproduce, distribute, and make available your Work in printed form including as print-on-demand;
 - To produce machine-readable forms of your Work (including digitization) and to store it electronically in all storage media, including in our own databases and those of third parties, such as Amazon or Google;
 - To make your Work available in part with "look inside" functionality, for example on Amazon or Google;

- d) To reproduce and make available your Work in electronic form, particularly as eBook, database, and/or other forms of electronic media and within the scope of internet services or other online uses or in interactive multimedia production;
- e) To make your Work available in public or closed user groups at the location and time of their choice (for example, eBook use in libraries) as well as reproducing it on monitors or other scanners and to be printed by the user as many times as the user wishes, in whole or in part, including as prepublication or in excerpt;
- To reproduce and distribute your Work on any and all data carriers, for example DVD, CD-Rom, flash drive.
- 3.2 <u>Ancillary Rights</u>: You also assign to us, for the purpose of optimally exercising the rights to your Work, the right:
 - a) To translate it into other languages and to use the translation;
 - To print it in whole or in part as a prepublication and/or as subsequent reprint, including in newspapers and periodicals (for example in reviews);
 - To publish it in whole or in part in our other publications or publications of another publisher, including in abridged form;
 - d) To produce or license as a paperback, or as a popular or special or reprint edition;
 - To reproduce and distribute it in a collected works edition and in compilations, even after 20 years have elapsed since the first publication of the Work;
 - To reproduce and distribute it by all other means, including photocopying, photomechanical reprinting, or as Braille embossing;
 - g) Of rendition, including rights to recitation, performances, and broadcast in radio or television media or internet;
 - To transfer it, in full or in part, to sound recordings, image or image-sound recordings as well as the right to their reproduction, distribution, and reproduction to the public;
 - i) To use it in collections for use in church, school, or instructional settings.
- 3.3 Extension of Rights: Unless otherwise specified in the provisions for contributors in the authors section of our website you grant all usage rights and ancillary rights to us as exclusive rights without any restriction as to content or territory for the duration of the copyright. We may exercise these rights but are under no obligation to do so to the extent described here.
- 3.4 <u>Unknown Types of Use</u>: You grant us the exclusive and permanent rights without any restriction as to content and territory for all forms of media of expression now known or that will be developed in the future. The granting of rights extends to the exercising of rights through us or through the granting of these rights to a third party.
- 3.5 <u>Transferral to Third Parties</u>: You grant us the right to transfer all rights listed here to third parties and/or to license the Work to third parties. We require these rights in order to fulfil certain sales models such as online use through aggregators (platforms that curate content for specific usage by customers and give us a share of the proceeds). We naturally require that all licensees provide appropriate attribution to you, the copyright holder.

4 Open Access

In the case that we have mutually agreed to publish your Work as Open Access, the following conditions apply in addition:

- 4.1 You are free to publish your Work according to a Creative Commons license (https://creativecommons.org), as of a date agreed upon with us. You choose the appropriate license when discussing the contractual details with us (see Contributor Contract). You have the choice between:
 - a) CC-BY (Attribution)
 - b) CC-BY-NC-ND (Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives).
- 4.2 We will provide you with the final version of your Work as a PDF file. This is the version that is published Open Access.
- 4.3 We will publish your Work as a freely available eBook on our website under the license you have chosen and which is shown in the Contributor Contract.
- 4.4 According to the license stated in 6.1, you are of course free to put the eBook version of your Work on your own homepage, a university or institutional repository, or any website of your choice.

5 Manuscript / Content

5.1 General:

- We and the editors are authorized to change your Work after prior discussion with you, or to ask you to make changes in order to maintain the consistency of the series, the volume, or the database.
- b) In addition, to ensure quality of your Work before final acceptance, we are authorized to ask a third party to review the Work. Should revisions be necessary, you will be asked to perform these. Should you be unable or unwilling to do so, we reserve the right to deny acceptance or publication of your Work.
- c) Our customers and readers are interested in the most precise information possible regarding your Work. Please inform us immediately as soon as you become aware that you will not be able to deliver by the date agreed upon in the Contributor Contract or that the manuscript deviates by more than 10% of the length agreed upon.
- d) If your Work contains an index, you are required to create an index according to our technical specifications. If the publication date is delayed by more than 6 weeks as a result of index preparation, we reserve the right to publish the Work without an index. In the electronic version of the Work, the full-text search replaces the need for a separate index.
- e) If you cannot adhere to the manuscript length or the submission deadlines agreed upon with you in your Contributor Contract (e. g. delayed delivery of the Work), we reserve the right to set a new deadline or to plan a different form of publication. If the second deadline also cannot be kept, we reserve the right to deny publication or to reduce your royalty.



5.2 Manuscript for Typesetting

- a) This option is for manuscripts that will be professionally typeset. You submit the manuscript to be typeset as an electronic file, usually in the format docx, tex, rtf, or indd. Formulas and tables should not be anchored in the manuscript as images. In addition, we require a PDF file or a definitive printout for comparison including reproducible copies of illustrations / high-resolution image files.
- b) After the manuscript has been prepared by our typesetter, we provide you with proofs for corrections. In most cases, you will receive proofs in electronic format as a PDF file or via a web-based online proofing system. We ask for your understanding that we generally provide one set of proofs for correction and a second set of proofs for your approval for printing (imprimatur).
- c) The first set of proofs is provided for you to check the manuscript conversion to typesetting. Please check these proofs carefully for any mistakes (e. g., word breaks) that may have occurred during the process. Kindly note that only minor content corrections can be done at this late stage. If the index entries were not already anchored in the manuscript, we will ask you to do this during the first correction stage.
- d) The second set of proofs is simply to check that any corrections marked in the first proof run have been carried out, and for you to provide your approval for printing (imprimatur), if need be under the condition that final corrections be carried out before the work is printed. We will check these final corrections internally in order to ensure punctual publication of your Work. We retain the right to decide when the manuscript is ready to print from a technical and typographical point of view.
- e) We ask for your cooperation in keeping the number of corrections at a reasonable and necessary level. Changes to the Work after the submission of the final manuscript are very costly. We cover the cost of corrections up to two per printed page, and reserve the right to charge you if changes made beyond that result in excessive costs and/or if these changes require additional print runs. This does not apply if corrections are required due to errors in the typesetting process or due to new academic findings or legal decisions. Writing and Submitting via a Content Management System (CMS)
- f) Particularly in the case of encyclopedias, dictionaries and reference works, which are often published "ahead of print," we may use a so-called Content Management System (CMS), which is individually configured for each Work.
- g) We provide the CMS to you, and we request that you use it to write and submit your Work. You will receive an invitation to the system and all relevant supporting guidelines and documentation.
- h) Reviews by the series or volume editors or in-house editors as well as manuscript revision and corrections are done directly in the CMS. Please follow the style and content guidelines to avoid unnecessary delays.
- i) At the relevant point in the process, you will be contacted to provide your approval for publication of the content (not the form). Please make only those corrections which are absolutely necessary at this time. Changes to content are no longer possible, as they can no longer be reviewed. If you do not respond to the call for approval by the given deadline, approval will be assumed.
- j) We support your work in the CMS with detailed instructions and guidelines, and are personally available if there are problems. Any decisions regarding bug fixes or other technical issues will be made solely by us.

6 Publication Subsidy / Open Access Fee

- 6.1 A publication subsidy may be required for some works to be paid plus VAT if not mutually agreed in the Contributor Contract.
- 6.2 If we have come to a mutual agreement to publish your Work as Open Access, an Open Access fee is generally required.
- 6.3 The payment of the publication subsidy or the Open Access Fee is generally due upon publication of the work. The publication subsidy or the Open Access fee is not subject to reimbursement
- 6.4 We will be happy to support you in applying for any outside funding by providing any necessary calculations or paperwork, and will fulfil funder requirements.

7 Free Copies

If you provide us with your e-mail address you can download a PDF of your contribution from our website. The number of free print copies is agreed upon in the contract concluded with your editor. You may acquire further non-German copies of your own Work as well as all book titles from the publisher, including eBooks, at a discount of 30% off the retail price. You are also entitled to a discount of 20% off the retail price of individual subscriptions and single issues of journals. You may not sell free copies or copies purchased at a discount.

8 Subsequent Editions, Revised Editions

- 8.1 A number of factors are relevant when considering a subsequent or revised edition, for example, the economic feasibility of the work, as well as the topicality or the accuracy of the scientific findings.
- 8.2 Should you wish to publish a new edition of your Work, please inform us and we will review your suggestion in light of the criteria above.
- 8.3 Should we decide against publishing a new edition of your Work, we will contact you to discuss alternative options.
- 8.4 Should we decide to publish a new edition of your Work, we will communicate to your our decision and negotiate with you a publication plan. You agree to revise the Work according to the current state of the academic discussion and submit it to us for publication.
- 8.5 Should you not be willing or able to perform the revisions yourself, you may suggest a third party to us. We agree not to reject this suggestion without good reason. If you do not wish to make a suggestion, we are authorized to assign the revision to a third party.
- 8.6 In the case of revision by one or more third party/parties, we are entitled but not obligated to continue to use your name in the title of the Work.

9 Remainders

Because our warehouse capacities are limited, we regularly check if our printed stock can be reduced. Through digitisation and print-on-demand, we can keep the majority of our titles available and in print without keeping physical stock on hand. We reserve the right to pulp or sell any remaining stock at a reduced price.

10 Legal Succession

- 10.1 The legal situation must be defined in case of succession. Our obligations and duties according to the Contributor Contract will transfer for your heirs in full, with the exception of paragraph 11.
- 10.2 In the event of death before the first edition of the Work is completed, we are entitled to withdraw from this agreement with no claims from your heirs. We may take over the partial manuscript and have it completed by a third party, taking your personal rights into account.

1 Termination

- 11.1 We are entitled to terminate the Contributor Contract in writing with immediate effect if our cooperation on the Work cannot be completed as planned, e. g. if you are unwilling or unable to complete the Work. If we have made substantial investments at the time of termination, all rights assigned remain with us. We reserve the right to reclaim any payments already made to you.
- 11.2 You are also entitled to terminate the agreement in writing with immediate effect, e. g. if we are liquidated. In this case, all rights revert back to you.
- 1.3 In the case of termination, we retain the right to continue to distribute any copies of the Work that have already been produced. We may continue to make the electronic version of your Work available on our platform in order to fulfil obligations to customers who have purchased those versions.
- 11.4 If your Work is published as part of a series or as a contribution to a volume or database, we are entitled to terminate the Contributor Contract with immediate effect if the contract with the editor expires or is terminated, or if the series or database has been terminated. In this case, we will do our utmost to publish your Work as a stand-alone volume or to include it in another series.
- 11.5 You agree to forgo your extraordinary termination option according to German law for the non-publication of a contribution in a periodical, e. g. yearbook (§45 Para. 1 Verlagsgesetz).

12 Data Protection

We are committed to the responsible handling and processing of the personal data we collect from you. Details can be found in our data protection policy for authors and editors on our website (https://www.degruyter.com/dg/page/privacy/datenschutzerklrung). A printed copy will be provided to you upon request.

13 General Provisions

- 13.1 Unless otherwise agreed upon, all provisions of this agreement are valid and binding for both your legal successors as well as our legal successors.
- 3.2 Revisions and amendments to the agreement must be made in writing. Oral agreements and declarations have not been made.
- 13.3 Should individual provisions of this agreement become invalid or unenforceable, this shall not affect the validity of the remaining provisions. You and we are bound to replace the invalid provision with a valid one that corresponds to the purpose and meaning of the invalid one. The same shall be applicable to any gaps in this agreement.
- 13.4 The laws of the Federal Republic of Germany apply to this agreement, particularly the German Civil Code, German Copyright Law, and German Publishing Law.
- 13.5 Place of fulfilment and jurisdiction is the location of our headquarters in Berlin, Germany, to the extent legally possible.

Version last revised: 18.10.2019

Livio Gaeta

21 Introduction to Romance languages

21.1 Introduction

Romance languages inherited a productive system of derivation from Latin, which however developed in partially independent and original ways. On the one hand, we observe cases of Latin affixes which underwent considerable expansion: for instance, the Latin suffix *-mentum* found in *impedīmentum* 'obstacle', *ornāmentum* 'ornament', etc. massively expanded in all Romance languages except Romanian, in which only relics survive in the form of Latinisms (e.g. *impediment*, *ornament*) while action nouns are productively formed with the help of the original inflectional ending of the Latin infinitive *-re*, as in *a schimba* 'to change' > *schimbare* 'change' (cf. Gaeta 2015).

On the other hand, new procedures were developed that resulted from different sources. One example in which all Romance languages apparently concur in a similar innovation is the adverb-forming suffix resulting from the well-known process of the grammaticalization of the Latin noun *mente(m)* 'mind' (cf. Detges 2015): e.g. Catalan *realment*, French *réellement*, and Galician, Italian, Portuguese, Romanian and Spanish *realmente* 'really'. The suffix is, however, productive to different degrees across the Romance languages: in Romanian, for instance, only a handful of adverbs formed with *-mente* are commonly used, and are, however, borrowings from Italian and French processes (see individual chapters on several Romance languages in Müller et al. 2016: 2600–2751).

21.2 Across inflection and derivation and the question of transflection

In the light of the development with respect to the Latin mother tongue, another general issue arises with regard to the distinction between inflection and derivation, concerning a number of cases which are traditionally held to lie at the edge of the continuum. Moreover, the general perspective adopted in the project of leaving out any instance of conversion, including so-called transflection, poses a number of challenges which require homogeneous and theoretically convincing choices.

In particular, the bar against conversion implies that one should leave out derivatives based on inflectional forms in the absence of any overt affix univocally referring to derivation. This means that, for instance, a derivative formed on the basis of the feminine past participle such as Fr. gorger 'to fill, saturate' > gorgée 'drink, swallow' has to be left out because the final vowel cannot be interpreted as a derivational affix, exactly as in its correspondents It. bere / Gal. / Port. / Sp. beber 'to drink' > It. bevuta / Gal. / Port. / Sp. bebida 'drink, swallow'. This goes hand in hand with the exclusion of any inflectional form used in a transposed function, as is typically the case for past participles used as adjectives as, for instance, Sp. decidir 'to decide' > decidido 'resolute'. In addition, one should consider that in some cases the suffix forming the past participle has given rise to a derivational suffix forming adjectives without a corresponding verb, such as Sp. toga 'robe' > tog-ado 'wearing a robe'. In this way, one might in principle interpret cases that look like conversions as being due to suffixation, as, for instance, Sp. dentado 'dentate' can in principle be formed either on the verb dentar 'to provide with teeth' or directly on the noun dente 'tooth'.

On the other hand, the original form of the Latin present participle has undergone different processes of reanalysis across the modern Romance languages, which might have different outcomes nowadays. Accordingly, different choices have to be taken for the single languages, as, for instance, the participial value is still alive in French, in contrast to its Italian correspondent: Fr. *la fille chantant l'hymne national |* It. **la ragazza cantante l'inno nazionale* 'the girl singing the national hymn'. Old present participles have developed different derivational values, ranging from AGENT nouns (e.g. Cat. *cantant*, Gal. | It. | Sp. *cantante* 'singer') to INSTRUMENTS (e.g. Cat. *tirant*, It. | Port. | Sp. *tirante* 'tie-rod', Cat. *tirants*, Gal. | Sp. *tirantes* 'braces'), property adjectives (e.g. Gal. | Port. | Sp. *cortante*, Cat. *tallant*, It. *tagliente* 'sharp'), etc.

In a similar way, the original suffix of the superlative has developed into a true elative in the modern Romance languages insofar as it has become irrelevant for syntax, as shown by the contrast between the Latin example in (1) and the Spanish one in (2):

- (1) ex his omnibus longe sunt humanissimi qui Cantium incolunt (Caes. Gall. 5.14.1)
 among his all.ABL.PL long.ADV are human.SUP.PL who Cantium inhabit.3PL
 'of all people those who live in Cantium are by far the most human'
- (2) este actor es famosísimo (*de todos) this actor is famous.SUP of all 'this actor is very famous (*of all)'

In addition, the elative suffix has developed a number of restrictions, limiting its productivity to a different degree. For instance, in Spanish the so-called lexical elative is opposed to and blocks the morphological elative formed with the suffix no, while in French – except for a few established formations typical of the literary language such as rarissime 'very rare' and richissime 'very rich' – elatives formed with -issime are less entrenched than in other Romance languages like Italian, where it displays an extraordinary productivity, barely restricted by a small number of factors (cf. Rainer 2003). On the other hand, in several grammatical traditions, elatives formed with this suffix are nevertheless assigned to inflection.

21.3 Base allomorphy, suppletion and combining forms

Finally, the results of phonological change and of lexical stratification can lead to very different choices with regard to how to interpret allomorphy and suppletion (cf. Dressler 2015 for a general discussion). In general, cases of weak suppletion as, for instance, It. caldo 'warm' > cal-ore 'heat' and occhio 'eye' > ocul-are 'ocular' can be held to represent instances of base allomorphy, while strong suppletion cannot be counted on a par with the other derivatives, as shown on the one hand by It. acqua 'water' > idr-ico 'hydric' and on the other by Fr. chaud 'warm' > chal-eur 'heat', oeil 'eye' > ocul-aire 'ocular', etc. Clearly, the difference between weak and strong suppletion is difficult to draw and depends very much on the single examples in question. At any rate, the clear occurrence of an affix also has to be identified for weak suppletion, which forces the exclusion of cases like It. nome 'noun' > nominare 'to nominate' in which -in- cannot be interpreted as a verb-forming suffix.

Similar problems are provided by the difficult cline running from so-called neoclassical compounding down to affixation. It must be added that different criteria are adopted across the Romance languages for deciding between true affixation and the compounding of combining forms. For this reason, it is not possible to say a priori which choice has to be recommended, which instead relies very much on the single examples in question.

References

- Detges, Ulrich. 2015. The Romance adverbs in -mente: a case study in grammaticalization. In Peter O. Müller, Ingeborg Ohnheiser, Susan Olsen & Franz Rainer (eds.), Word-Formation: An International Handbook of the Languages of Europe, Volume 3, 1824-1842. Berlin & Boston: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Dressler, Wolfgang Ulrich. 2015. Allomorphy. In Peter O. Müller, Ingeborg Ohnheiser, Susan Olsen & Franz Rainer (eds.), Word-Formation: An International Handbook of the Languages of Europe, Volume 1, 500-516. Berlin & Boston: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Gaeta, Livio. 2015. Action Nouns in Romance. In Peter O. Müller, Ingeborg Ohnheiser, Susan Olsen and Franz Rainer (eds.). Word-Formation: An International Handbook of the Languages of Europe, Volume 2, 1165-1185. Berlin & Boston: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Müller, Peter O., Ingeborg Ohnheiser, Susan Olsen & Franz Rainer (eds.). 2016. Word-Formation: An International Handbook of the Languages of Europe, Volume 4. Berlin & Boston: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Rainer, Franz. 2003. Studying restrictions on patterns of word-formation by means of the Internet. In Mark Aronoff and Livio Gaeta (eds.), Morphological Productivity. [Special issue]. Italian Journal of Linguistics 15 (1). 131-139.