

The verb inflection system of Logudorese Sardinian

While the verb inflection of Logudorese Sardinian is well described, especially thanks to the pioneering descriptive and historical work by Max Leopold Wagner (see in particular Wagner 1938-39), as well as to subsequent research in Sardinian dialectology and comparative Romance linguistics (cf. e.g. Blasco Ferrer 1984, 1986, Iliescu & Mourin 1991, Molinu 1999, Pisano 2008, 2010), relatively few studies have been devoted to analyzing the verbal system of (the dialects of) this Romance language from the perspective and using the tools of contemporary theoretical morphology. In particular, I am aware of no systematic treatment of the architecture of the verbal paradigms comparable with the study of Italian verb morphology by Pirrelli (2000), Pirrelli & Battista (2000).

Yet, there is reason to believe that such an enquiry would be rewarding. In Loporca (2003), for instance, it was shown that a) while also in Logudorese Sardinian a contrast between two macroclasses (cf. Dressler & Thornton 1991, Kilani-Schoch & Dressler 2005, Spina 2007) can be identified as a major organizing principle of verbal morphology, this contrast is less pervasive than in other Romance languages such as Italian or French; and b) the distribution of base allomorphy among the verbs of the 2nd macroclass (stemming from Latin 2nd, 3rd and 4th conjugations) is significantly different than in (the rest of) Italo-Romance, where it concentrates basically within 2nd conjugation but it also involves a substantial bulk of verbs of the 3rd. In Logudorese Sardinian, on the contrary, 3rd conjugation was so restructured as to do away with all allomorphic alternations in the base, whenever they would have arisen owing to regular sound change (a paramount example being *isko* ‘know.PRS.1SG’, *iskizi* ‘know.PRS.2SG’, a lexical archaism on a Romance scale – as Sardinian shares only with Romanian the preservation of the original Latin word for ‘to know’, *scire* – whose inflectional paradigm however has been reshaped).

In the present paper, I will continue along these lines, in order to pave the ground for a comprehensive account of Logudorese verb morphology. Adopting Martin Maiden’s terms to classify different kinds of partition classes within verbal paradigms (cf. e.g. Maiden 2005, 2011), special attention will be paid to the (apparent) pervasiveness of the L-pattern and the absence of the U- and N-patterns as autonomously morphological structuring principles. More precisely, while the U-pattern did not arise at all, the original motive which led to the establishment of the N-pattern elsewhere in Romance, viz. stress alternation, will be shown to be still observable in Logudorese in its purely phonological form, without having acted as an attractor for morpho(phono)logical irregularities and thus remaining morphologically inert. As to the L-pattern, it will be shown that it displays significant differences with respect to other Romance branches.

References

- Blasco Ferrer, Eduardo. 1984. *Storia linguistica della Sardegna*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer (Beiheft 202, *ZRPh*).
- Blasco Ferrer, Eduardo. 1986. *La lingua sarda contemporanea. Grammatica del logudorese e del campidanese*. Cagliari: Della Torre.
- Dressler, Wolfgang U. & Anna M. Thornton. 1991. Doppie basi e binarismo nella morfologia italiana. *Rivista di Linguistica* 3: 3-22.
- Iliescu, Maria & Louis Mourin. 1991. *Typologie de la morphologie verbale romane. I. Vue synchronique*. Innsbruck: Verlag des Instituts für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck.
- Kilani-Schoch, Marianne & Wolfgang U. Dressler. 2005. *Morphologie naturelle et flexion du verbe français*. Tübingen: Narr.
- Loporcaro, Michele. 2003. *Dialettologia, linguistica storica e riflessione grammaticale nella romanistica del Duemila. Con esempi dal sardo*, in Fernando Sánchez Miret (ed.), *Actas del XXIII CILFR*, Salamanca, 24-30 September 2001. Tübingen: Niemeyer, vol. 1, 83-111.
- Maiden, Martin. 2005. Morphological autonomy and diachrony. *Yearbook of Morphology 2004*: 137-175.
- Maiden, Martin. 2011. *Morphophonological innovation*, in Maiden *et al.* (2011: 216-267).
- Maiden, Martin, John Charles Smith & Adam Ledgeway (eds.). 2011. *The Cambridge History of the Romance Languages*, vol. 1. *Structures*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Molinu, Lucia. 1999. Morfologia logudorese. In Roberto Bolognesi e Karijn Helsloot (eds.), *La lingua sarda. Atti del II Convegno del Sardinian Language Group*, Cagliari: Condaghes, 127-136.
- Pirrelli, Vito. 2000. *Paradigmi in morfologia. Un approccio interdisciplinare alla flessione verbale dell'italiano*. Pisa-Rome: Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali.
- Pirrelli, Vito & Marco Battista. 2000. The paradigmatic dimension of stem allomorphy in Italian verb inflection. *Rivista di Linguistica* 12: 307-380.
- Pisano, Simone. 2008. *Conservazione, rianalisi e processi di grammaticalizzazione nella morfologia verbale di alcune varietà sarde moderne: uno sguardo sincronico*. University of Pisa, PhD Thesis.
- Pisano, Simone. 2010. L'utilizzo dei tempi sovracomposti in alcune varietà sarde. *Lingua e stile* 45: 123-131.
- Spina, Rossella. 2007. *L'evoluzione della coniugazione italo-romanza*. Catania: Edit.
- Wagner, Max Leopold. 1938-39. Flessione nominale e verbale del sardo antico e moderno. *L'Italia dialettale* 14: 93-170; 15: 1