

The analogical extension of 2 pl. personal marker *-dzis* in the North Sardinian language

The spreading of the 2 pl. personal marker *-dzis* in the North Sardinian dialects is an interesting phenomenon but has been neglected in Sardinian morphological research. Wagner (1938:158-9), for example, is mainly concerned with the phonetic change of this ending, but he disregards the problem of the analogical extension of 2 pl. *-dzis* in the verbal inflection. As a matter of fact, the *-dzis* morpheme is originally limited to marking very small class of verbs as in (1a.) and (1b):

- 1a) *adzis* “you have”  
have IND.PRES.2PL
- 1b) *sedzis* “you are”  
be IND.PRES.2PL

At present, the morpheme has become a 2 pl. marker of the whole verbal inflection (cf. (2a-b), except Indicative present and Imperative of the regular verbs (cf. 3a-b):

- 2a) /kan'tedzis/ “you sing” /fa't:edzis/ “you do” /dro'm:edzis/ “you sleep”  
sing SUBJ.PRES.2PL do SUBJ.PRES.2PL sleep SUBJ.PRES.2PL
- 2b) /kanta'jadzis/ “you were singing” /fa'gjadzis/ “you were doing” /dro'm:jadzis/  
“you were sleeping”  
sing IND.IMPERF.2PL do IND.IMPERF.2PL sleep IND.IMPERF.2PL
- 3a) /kan'tadεs/ “you sing” /fa'gidεs/ “you do” /dro'm:idεs/ “you sleep”  
sing IND.PRES.2PL do IND.PRES.2PL sleep IND.PRES.2PL
- 3b) /kan'tadε/ “sing” /fa'gidε/ “do” /dro'm:idε/ “sleep”  
sing IMP.2PL do IMP.2PL sleep IMP.2PL

The auxiliary verbs /'εs:εr/ “to be” and /'aεr/ “to have” and same monosyllabic verbs (/darε/ “to give”, /nar:εr/ “to say”) show the *-dzis* ending (or *-dzes* variant) in the Ind. Pr. (cf. (4a)) and in the Imp. (cf. (4b)) too (cf. Wagner 1938: 158, Pittau 1972<sup>2</sup>:113):

- 4a) /'adzis/ “you have” /'sedzis/ “you are” /'dadzεs/ “you give” /'nadzεs/ “you say”  
have IND.PRES.2PL be IND.PRES.2PL give IND.PRES.2PL say IND.PRES.2PL
- 4b) /'dadzε/ “give” /'nadzε/ “say”  
give IMP.2PL say IMP.2PL

The aim of this talk is to analyze the reasons and the constraints of the 2 pl. *-dzis* spread. Can frequency of the auxiliary verbs have influenced the spreading of this ending? Can the phonological shape of *-dzis* have favoured its analogical extension at the expense of etymological and phonetic *lenited* allomorphs *-[ðis]* / *-[ðεs]*? And generally, how can we explain the productivity of marginal morphemes? All these aspects will be discussed in this contribution, as well as their typological relevance.

References

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Pittau M. (1972)<sup>2</sup> *Grammatica del sardo-nuorese. Il più conservativo dei parlari neolatini.*  
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