Eva-Maria Remberger (University of Vienna)

Root and auxiliary suppletion in (Italo-)Romance

In this talk I will discuss several cases of verbal suppletion – as well as disuppletion (cf. Arregi & Nevins 2014) and insuppletion – in Romance, shedding particular light on the status of the verb involved, namely GO, both as a full or an auxiliary verb. The theoretical framework of analysis is Minimalist Syntax and Distributed Morphology (DM) (cf. Halle & Marantz 1993), since this framework allows it to model the interplay between morphosyntax and morphophonology in a coherent and well-defined way: Minimalist syntax creates the input situation for Vocabulary Insertion and full verbs (V°) and auxiliary verbs (inserted in functional categories) can be clearly kept apart (for a recent overview on DM, cf. Bobaljik 2017). DM distinguishes between ROOTS and functional information, and, in some early approaches, only the latter were affected by Late Insertion. In this talk, which is based on suppletive data for full and auxiliary verbs, this distinction cannot be hold up since also full verbs show suppletive patterns and those cannot be explained by mere readjustment rules (see also Haugen & Siddiqi 2013). Thus, Late Insertion is valid also for ROOTS. At this point the distinct cases mentioned above come into play, since main and auxiliary GO do not always coincide in the presence of suppletive forms. In particular, the following cases will be distinguished:

(1)   GO as a full verb and GO as an auxiliary both exhibit the same suppletive pattern (as in Spanish, French, Italian, Portuguese, Calabrian)
(2)   GO does not show a suppletive pattern at all (e.g. Logudorese Sardinian => insuppletion)
(3)   GO as a full verb shows suppletion whereas GO as an auxiliary doesn't (e.g. Catalan)
(4)   GO as a full verb shows suppletion whereas GO as an auxiliary in a particular construction doesn't and exhibits disuppletion instead, although being a frequent verb (e.g. Sicilian for the Doubly Inflected Construction, DIC, *vaju a mangiu* 'I go to eat', whereas for the periphrastic infinitive construction *vaju a mangiari* the inventory of forms is complete, cf. Cruschina 2013, submitted)
(5)   GO as a full verb shows suppletion and it does so by overlapping suppletion (cf. Juge 2000) with other verbal paradigms (e.g. Spanish: with BE, Rhetoromance: with COME)
(6)   GO is suppletive and furthermore so powerful to expand its suppletive pattern to another root, which is phonologically similar or homonym in one of the suppletive Vocabulary items; this is the case with the incursion of *andare*-forms into the paradigm of BE WORTH (cf. Lat. *valēre*, vs. Lat. *vādere* 'to go') in all cases but the infinitive, the participle, the future and the conditional in Monégasque (cf. Maiden 2018: 201–202 => "expanding homonymy beyond the paradigm").

The following examples illustrate the different cases:

Table 1a: Case 1	1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
Italian (Aux & FullV)	*vado*	*vai*	*va*	*andiamo*	*andate*	*vanno*
French (Aux & FullV)	*vais*	*va*	*va*	*allons*	*allez*	*vont*
Calabrian (Aux & FullV)	*vaju*	*vai*	*va*	*Jamu*	*iti*	*vannu*

Table 1b: Case 1	present.ind	present.subj	preterit.ind	preterit.subj	past	future
Spanish (Aux & FullV)	*va*	*Vaya*	*fue*	*fuera*	*iba*	*irá*

Table 2: Case 2		1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
Sardinian (Aux & FullV) etc.		*ando*	*àndas*	*àndat*	*andàmus*	*andàdes*	*andan*

Table 3: Case 3	1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
Catalan: FullV	*vaig*	*vas*	*va*	*anem*	*aneu*	*van*
Catalan: Aux	*vaig*	*vas*	*va*	*vam*	*vau*	*van*

Table 4: Case 4	1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
Sicilian: FullV Aux + *a* + inf.	'vajʊ	'va	'va	'jamʊ	'jɪtɪ	'vannʊ
Sicilian: Aux in the DIC	'vajʊ	'va	'va	---	---	'vannʊ

Table 5: Case 5	Spanish	1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
present	*ir*	*voy*	*vas*	*Va*	*vamos*	*vais*	*van*
preterit	*ir* and *ser*	*fui*	*fuiste*	*Fue*	*fuimos*	*fuisteis*	*fueron*
present	*ser*	*soy*	*eres*	*somos*	*somos*	*sois*	*son*

Table 6: Case 6	Monégasque	1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
GO [an'da] & BE WORTH [va'ɹe]		*vagu*	*vai*	*va*	*andamu*	*ande*	*van*

The aim of this talk is to show that, with the help of the framework of DM, usually handled as a synchronic model, interfaces for diachronic processes concerning suppletion (as in (1) to (6)) can be modelled as well, and in a highly consistent way. By the indication and specific localisation of interfaces for diachronic processes, I show that minimal changes in different components of grammar can explain, also from a perspective of language processing in human cognition, how language change in the domain of suppletion works. The results in particular are: arising GO-insertion for functional categories (for 1); analogy by deletion of specific Vocabulary items (for 2); novel separation of Vocabulary items for ROOTS and functional categories, the latter phonologically regularized (for 3); first, absence and, then, development of specific vocabulary items, in particular for 1/2PL as marked categories (for 4); underspecification by insertion of default items (for BE in 5) or innovative use of vocabulary items that share part of the functional meaning of the context (for COME in 5, where 1SG can be said to share a deictic feature with the semantics of COME); analogy, not for the ideal of form-function correspondence, but for mere parallelism in some phonological forms (for 6).

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