

## Allomorphy and differential analogy in *stare/dare e volere/potere* in Tuscan

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Irregularity in the verbal domain, is found especially in auxiliaries, modal verbs, elementary verbs of locomotion, state, saying or perception, verbs that are characterised by a high token frequency. The irregularity of the verbal paradigms results from sound change as well as morphological change; relevant are, for example, unusual abbreviations that can lead to amorphous forms (e.g. *ho, ha*), or differential analogies related to individual forms of high-frequency verbs, which lead to an increased distinctiveness within the individual paradigms and cause a high degree of autonomy of the forms in question (Nübling 2000). It is typical for the verb group of interest here that partly less relevant categories, such as person marking, are shifted to the verb stem, and tense profiling, i.e. the distribution of different stem morphs according to tenses, is more evident than with regular verbs (cf. Bybee 1985). With regard to the single paradigms, it is mainly the particularly frequently used single paradigm of the present indicative that is characterised by stem allomorphy (e.g. *voglio, vuoi, volete*).

Focusing on two verb pairs, namely *stare/dare* and *volere/potere*, the paper will shed light on the development of verb paradigms, especially of the indicative present tense, taking into account dialectal developments and thus also the role of prestige forms in the whole of Tuscan dialects up to the present day.

*Stare* and *dare* are interesting on the one hand because they belong to the group of short verbs, and on the other hand because of the frequently visible reciprocal analogy between them (the best-known case is given by the *passato remoto*, cf. *stette – dette, diede – stiede*; cf. also further adaptations of the formation patterns by other verbs, e.g. *andiede, potette*; on the vowel quality of *ebbe* see Barbato 2020). *Volere* and *potere* are relevant as modal verbs not only because of their high frequency of use, but also because of their semantic affinity and, today visible mainly at the dialectal level, also show differential analogies, such as the adoption of single sections like the [l] in *puole* (cf. *vuole*), which occurs in Tuscan dialects, among others.

The data from *TLIO* (for *stare, dare* additionally *AGLIO*) first with regard to Florentine and further comparatively to Senese and Pisan show a pronounced polymorphism, at the same time they can reveal geolinguistic patterns. For the modern dialects, the data of the *AIS* as well as Rohlf's (1968) and Gianelli (2000) among others will be used for comparison. With regard to the linguistic conditions of the 18th century, the treatise by Pistolesi (1761) is very valuable, as he discusses the description of irregular verbs in the grammars of the preceding centuries and at the same time classifies the common forms into normative, archaic, lyrical forms and *idiotismi*; the latter category includes – in relation to the norm – incorrect and colloquial forms. Pistolesi thus provides an orientation with regard to diasystematic marking. By using the different sources, the development of the two verb pairs will be traced with a view to today's standard language as well as colloquial and dialectal forms (taking into account the role of dialect levelling and prestige varieties). Special attention will be paid to changes that have led to an increase or decrease in the irregularity of verb forms, such as differential analogy (cf. Nübling 2000). Against the background of these developments, the significance of the morpheme concept for high-frequency verbs will be discussed (cf. Maiden 1992, 2018).

### Bibliography

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