Verbal Augments in Romance Conjugation
(Natascha Pomino, pomino@lingrom.fu-berlin.de)

The most prominent verbal augment (VA) in Romance conjugation is the one which goes back to the Latin 'inchoative' suffix "vowel + /sk/", e.g. in *florescere* 'become a blossom/to blossom'. This VA appears regularly with a clear conjugation class restriction: in Spanish and Portuguese it is present only in the *er*-conjugation, e.g. in Sp./Port. *florecer*$_{Inf.}$, whereas in Catalan, Rumanian, French and Italian, it appears only in the *ir(e)*-conjugation, e.g. in Cat. *floreixo*$_{Pres.Ind.1sg}$ (infinitive *florir*), Rum. *înfioresc*$_{Pres.Ind.1sg}$ (infinitive *înfiorì*), Fr. *fleurissent*$_{Pres.Ind.3pl}$ (infinitive *fleurir*) or It. *fiorisco*$_{Pres.Ind.1sg}$ (infinitive *fiorire*). With respect to the inner-paradigmatic distribution of the VA, the Romance languages can be subdivided into two classes: the generalized type (Spanish and Portuguese), where the VA is present in all forms of all tenses, and the mixed type (Catalan, Rumanian, French and Italian), where it is present only in certain tenses, i.e. the mixed type has also a tense restriction for the VA (cf. Maurer 1951:136s., DiFabio 1990:59ss., Wolf 1998:444). The latter type can be further subdivided into two classes: Catalan, Italian and Rumanian have also a person restriction (= mixed type II), i.e. the verbal augment does not show up in the 1st and 2nd person plural, whereas French (= mixed type I) does not have such a restriction.

In my talk I will focus on Catalan and Italian (mixed type II), where it seems as if we had to deal with a person, tense and conjugation class restriction. Rather than explaining these restrictions by notions like Impoverishment (cf. Oltra Massuet 1999 for Catalan) or "functional inessentiality" (cf. Burzio & DiFabio 1993 for Italian), I will present an analysis, in the framework of Distributed Morphology, which proposes that the VA is an overt realization of a specific v° which encodes some conjugation class information and that its absence in some forms is due to the fact that the accentual properties of the VA are not met.

Burzio, Luigi & Elvira DiFabio (1993): "Accentual atability", in: Michael L. Mazzola (ed.): *Issues and Theory in Romance Linguistics: Selected Papers from the Linguistics Symposium on Romance Languages XXIII*. Washington, D.C.: Geargetown University Press.

DiFabio, Elvira (1990): *The morphology of the verbal infix /-isk-/ in Italian and in Romance*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University PhD Dissertation.

Maurer, Theodoro Henrique (1951): "The Romance Conjugation in -ēscō (-īscō) -īre its Origin in Vulgar Latin", in: *Language* 27:136-145.

Oltra Massuet, Maria Isabel (1999): *On the Notion of Theme Vowel: A New Approch to Catalan Verbal Morphology*. Master thesis, MIT.

Wolf, Heinz Jürgen (1998): "Du latin aux langues romanes: le sort de l'infixe inchoatif -sc- et la conjugaison des verbes en -scere", in: *Travaux de Linguistique et de Philologie* XXXV-XXXVI: 441-454.