

Pseudo-nonlocality: an analysis of Modern Greek oxytone perfective verb forms

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1. Introduction. Despite an abundance of attempts, the intricate patterns of Modern Greek verb morphology have long resisted a straightforward analysis. In this talk we bring the tool set of Nanosyntax to this complex empirical area, starting from second conjugation (oxytone) verbs.

2. Modern Greek oxytone verbs — present perfective forms. Second conjugation verbs are also called oxytone, as they bear stress on the final syllable in their dictionary form (which is also their 1st person imperfective present form). Under scrutiny here are sub-classes of this conjugation identified in Holton et al. (2012), represented here by the verbs **travó** ‘pull’, **ayapó** ‘love’, **kitó** ‘look at, behold’, **kremó** ‘hang’, **kaló** ‘call’, **foró** ‘wear’. To these, we add a seventh verb, **kiló** ‘roll’¹. Throughout the discussion, 1st person singular will be used, as the *-o* Present/Φ-morpheme applies to all the forms under consideration, providing a stable rightward boundary within which the other morphemes must operate. The present tense forms of our seven verbs are given in (1).

	IPFV	PFV		ROOT	ACTIVE				MEDIO-PASSIVE				
	ACTIVE	ACTIVE	MEDIO-PASSIVE		V	C	s	Φ	V	C	s	θ	Φ
(1)	trav-ó	trav- íks -o	trav- ixt -ó	trav	i	k	s	o	i	k		θ	o
	kil-ó	kil- ís -o	kil- ist -ó	kil	i		s	o	i		s	θ	o
	ayap-ó	ayap- ís -o	ayap- iθ -ó	ayap	i		s	o	i			θ	o
	kit-ó	kit- áks -o	kit- axt -ó	kit	a	k	s	o	a	k		θ	o
	krem-ó	krem- ás -o	krem- ast -ó	krem	a		s	o	a		s	θ	o
	kal-ó	kal- és -o	kal- est -ó	kal	e		s	o	e		s	θ	o
	for-ó	for- és -o	for- eθ -ó	for	e		s	o	e			θ	o
(2)													

Compared to the imperfective, the perfective forms need more morphemes to express it. As such, they are more morphologically transparent, and provide a good starting point towards an analysis. The decomposition of perfectives in (2)² shows that, in the perfective, each verb takes a vowel, with the choice of vowel depending on the root. Also depending on the root, the consonant *k* may or may not follow the vowel. Before Φ, *s* is common to all the active forms, while *θ* is common to all medio-passive forms. Some roots may also choose to add *s* in the medio-passive before *θ*, while other roots do not.

3. Towards an analysis: pseudo-nonlocality. Since the vowel is immediately adjacent to the root, it is expected that the root should decide which vowel it takes. What is unexpected is that the root is the one to decide whether the vowel is enough or needs additional help from a consonant like *k*, or, in the case of the medio-passive, *s*. Of course, there is the possibility of analyzing the vowel for each root as a separate lexical entry. However, this would leave us with three *is*, two *as*, and two *es*, rapidly multiplying the number of morphemes. We opt instead to consider vowel identity as non-coincidental, and to develop a “pseudo-nonlocality” analysis, with only one morpheme for each vowel quality, interacting with (complex) roots based on the Subextracting Algorithm (Starke 2022, Caha 2023). Depending on how much the vowel-morpheme can do for each root in each context, it is “decided” whether a consonant-morpheme is called in to help. Due to space constraints, in this abstract we sketch the approach for the *i*-verbs only, but the same reasoning applies to *a* and *e*. For this analysis, we use considerably more features in the event-structure part of the f-seq than the standard Init-Proc-State. We label them v_{1-10} .

¹Some of these verbs also present an additional conjugation pattern, in *-áo*. We abstract away from this issue here.

²We assume that [θ~t] and [k~x] are the results of phonological processes (Holton et al. 2012: 21-22).

