

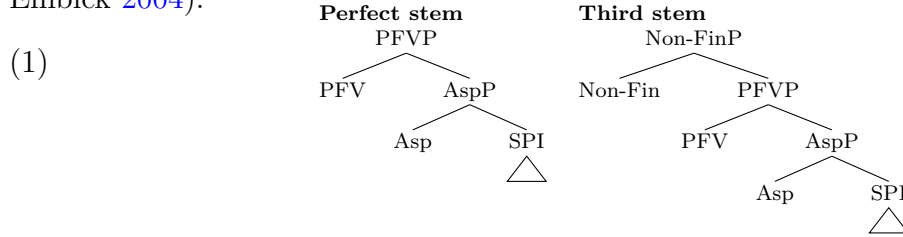
**Interactions at Distance:
Root Shape as Source of Non-Local Allomorphy in the Italian Third Stem**
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1. Summary The Past Participle stems (so-called third stems) of Italian irregular athematic verbs of the second conjugation class display two distinct endings: *-s* (Class I, e.g., *chius*) and *-st* (Class II, e.g., *chiest*). In both classes, the Perfect Indicative stem ends in *-s*. In this talk, I argue that both *-s* and *-t* are separate morphemes and, consequently, that the perfect and the third stems are not morphologically independent. I propose an analysis whereby the choice of the root determines the presence or absence of the *-t* suffix across the intervening morpheme *-s*. This pattern, which corresponds to the empirical problem of how two non-linearly adjacent morphemes can interact, can be accounted for not in terms of root size (i.e., the number of features the root lexicalizes) but rather in terms of root shape (i.e., how these features are organized within the root's morphosyntactic structure).

Class	Perfect	Third	
I	<i>chiu-s</i>	<i>chiu-s</i>	"to close"
II	<i>chie-s</i>	<i>chie-s-t</i>	"to ask"

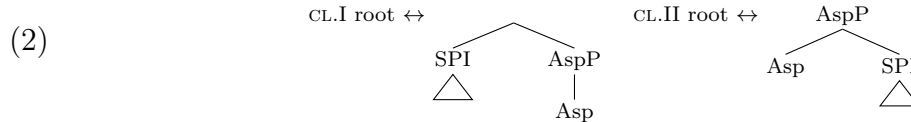
Table 1: Examples of morphemic segmentation of the perfect and third stems.

2. Functional Sequences My analysis is framed in Nanosyntax. I adopt the following functional sequences for the perfect and the third stems (see e.g. Calabrese 2020 and Embick 2004).

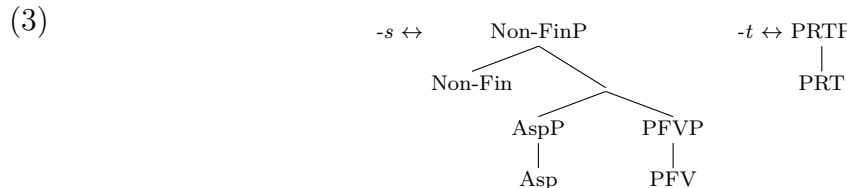


Note that these structures stand in a relation of structural containment, with the third stem structure containing that of the perfect stem. The containment relation between the two, empirically supported by the fact that the third stem is either identical to the perfect stem (Class I) or contains it (Class II), indicates that the third stem is not independent of the perfect stem, but is instead built on it.

3. Root Shape To capture the difference between Class I and Class II in the formation of the third stem, I assume that the contrast lies in the lexical entries of the roots: not in the number of features they lexicalize, but rather in the way those features are combined. The lexical entries for the roots of Class I and II are given in (2).



Both lexical entries can lexicalize the portion of the structures in (1) up to AspP; however, Class I roots involve a structure with movement, namely one that includes a Complex Left Branch (CLB). The lexical entries for the suffixes *-s* and *-t* are given in (3).

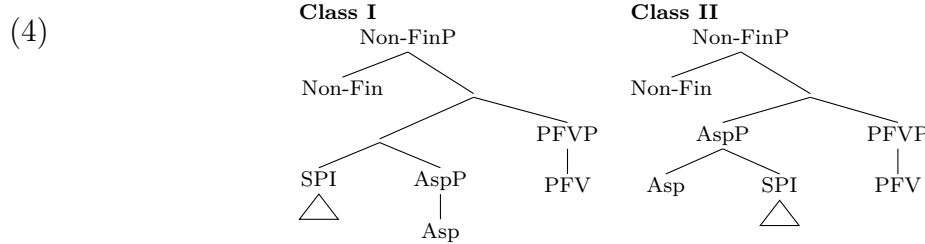


The lexical entry of *-s* contains a CLB as well. In the formation of the perfect stem, the suffix *-s* lexicalizes only PFVP in both classes, as shown in Table 2.

Class	SPI	Asp	PFV
I	<i>chiud</i>		<i>s</i>
II	<i>chied</i>		<i>s</i>

Table 2: Lexicalization table for the perfect stem of Class I and II verbs.

Once the perfect stem has been spelled out, the Non-Fin feature can be merged to the existing structures to derive the third stem, as illustrated in (4).



The Class I configuration allows the SPI constituent to be evacuated on its own (subextraction). Once SPI has moved, the remaining portion of the syntactic structure perfectly matches the lexical entry of the suffix *-s*, and therefore this root class does not require the suffix *-t*. By contrast, the Class II configuration, lacking a CLB-containing root, does not permit the evacuation of SPI alone, but instead requires movement of the entire AspP constituent. As a result, the suffix *-s* cannot lexicalize the remaining structure, since the feature Asp has been evacuated; rather, *-s* lexicalizes only PFVP, and the suffix *-t* is needed to lexicalize Non-FinP. This situation is summarized in Table 3.

Class	SPI	Asp	PFV	Non-Fin
I	<i>chiud</i>	<i>s</i>		
II	<i>chied</i>		<i>s</i>	<i>t</i>

Table 3: Lexicalization table for the third stem of Class I and II verbs.

The combination of having two distinct lexical entries for the root (one containing a CLB and the other lacking it), together with the fact that the Asp feature can be lexicalized either by the root or by *-s*, makes it possible to explain how the internal structure of a root's lexical entry can determine the presence or absence of a non-linearly adjacent suffix.

4. Extending the Analysis I will broaden the analysis in two directions. First, I will address the present stem, with the aim of developing an account that derives all three Italian verbal stems. Second, I will extend this analysis to another class of irregular verbs. These verbs show the suffix *-s* in the perfect stem (e.g., *vin-s-i* "I won"), while the third stem surfaces with only *-t* (e.g., *vin-t-o* "won"). I will show that these cases fall within Class II and that the surface absence of the suffix *-s* in the third stem is due to a phonological rule.

References

- Calabrese, Andrea (2020). "Remarks on the Role of the Perfect Participle in Italian Morphology and on its History". In: *Probus* 32.2, pp. 209–269.
- Embick, David (2004). "On the Structure of Resultative Participles in English". In: *Linguistic Inquiry* 35.3, pp. 355–392.