

Verb wasn't built in a cycle (it was built in two)

A comparison of prosody in verbs and nouns in Slovenian reveals a striking contrast between the two classes. While nouns can have stress on any syllable, (1), verbs allow only a very limited prosodic contrast: in each form, stress falls either on the theme vowel, (2a), or on the stem-final syllable, (2b).

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| (1) | a. Máríbor 'Maribor' | b. profésor 'professor' |
| | c. močerád 'salamander' | d. duh-á 'spirit.GEN' |
| (2) | a. godrnj-á-mo 'we grumble' | b. vijúg-a-mo 'we wind' |

In fact, among 3000 most frequent verbs in Slovenian in our database, there was one clear exception to this generalisation, i.e. *prídíg-a-ti* 'to preach'. Such rare exceptions, which have stress on an earlier syllable, have been analysed as denominal and as preserving nominal stress by virtue of incorporating a noun, in this case *prídíg-a* 'sermon' (Simonović, under review).

In this talk, we focus on verbs and argue that verbs lack prosodic specification in their lexical entry. We propose that the two different stress patterns in verbs are a consequence of two positions for theme vowels in the verbal domain. Assuming that Slovenian prosody places stress at the final syllable of the deepest cycle (Simonović under review), we argue that the verb forms that surface with a stressed theme vowel (e.g. *godrnj-á-mo*, (2a)) have the theme vowel positioned just below the first cyclic head, whereas the remaining verbs have their theme vowel above this position which leads to stem-final stress (*vijúg-a-mo*, (2b)).

This proposal makes several predictions concerning paradigm-internal root allomorphy, observed between finite and non-finite forms, as in (3). Note that in (3) and in Slovenian in general, in underived verbs, the structure is Root($\sqrt{\quad}$)-Theme(θ)-Tense&Agreement Morphology(ϕ) and, crucially, that cases that we consider are not instances of purely phonologically conditioned allomorphy (e.g. *pisati* - *pišemo* 'write').

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| (3) | a. vz-é-ti | - vzám-e-mo | b. ž-é-ti | - žánj-e-mo |
| | take- θ -INF | - take- θ -1PL | reap- θ -INF | - reap- θ -1PL |
| | c. br-á-ti | - b[é]r-e-mo | c. b-á-ti | - boj-í-mo |
| | read- θ -INF | - read- θ -1PL | be-afraid- θ -INF | - be-afraid- θ -1PL |

Specifically, assuming that root allomorphy in Slovenian is strictly local (contra Božič 2019) we predict that root allomorphy will only occur when the root and the theme vowel are in the same cycle. Assuming that root allomorphy is conditioned by the theme vowel and is restricted to the domain of the cycle, root allomorphy should be excluded from several frequent classes defined by stress patterns and/or theme vowel combinations. Specifically, root allomorphy should be impossible:

- If both finite and non-finite forms have stem-final stress (e.g. in the hypothetical verbs *dáp-a-ti* - *dók-a-mo*, or *dáp-i-ti* - *dók-a-mo*). This is because the theme vowel is outside of the domain in both forms.

- If both finite and non-finite forms have stress on the theme vowel and they have the same theme vowel (e.g. in the hypothetical verbs *dap-á-ti* - *dot-á-mo*, or *dap-í-ti* - *dot-í-mo*). This is because the theme vowel now should trigger the same allomorphic insertion in both contexts, so there should be no difference in the realisation of the root.

Indeed, in our database of 3000 most frequent verbs in Slovenian, over 2500 verbs meet the criteria described above and none of them has root allomorphy.

While the prosody of verbs which only have the structure $\text{Root}(\sqrt{\ })\text{-Theme}(\theta)\text{-Tense\&Agreement Morphology}(\phi)$ is easily accounted for referring to the deepest cycle (either the root alone or the root plus theme vowel), our account (at least *prima facie*) runs into problems when the verb contains suffixes, as in (4). Verbal suffixes generally act as ‘mini verbs’ in that they show the same prosodic contrast as the verbs and determine the theme vowel and the stress pattern independently of the preceding verb stem. In the examples in (4) we show two imperfectivising suffixes (4a and 4b) as well as a general verbaliser (4c). Each of them determine the stress pattern and the theme vowel in all derivations in which they appear.

- (4) a. *pri-del-ov-á-ti* b. *pre-kop-áv-a-ti* c. *koodin-ir-a-ti*
 at-work-IPF-Theme-INF over-dig-IPF-Theme-INF coordin-v-Theme-INF
 ‘to produce.IPF’ ‘to dig.IPF’ ‘to coordinate’

Our analysis is that verbal suffixes are indeed ‘mini verbs’, which also show the same allomorphy patterns as ‘regular’ verbs (e.g. the suffix *-ov-a-ti* - *-u-je-mo* comparable to the independent verb *kl-a-ti* - *kol-je-mo* ‘to slaughter’, see also Simonović under review, Antonyuk et al. 2020). The verbs in (4) then contain two verbal cycles. In such cases both cycles are spelled out with final stress (e.g. *pridél+ová+ti*) and this output is submitted to phonology, which again chooses the rightmost stressed syllable.

Crucially, the proposed analysis captures the stress pattern of verbs in Slovenian, but also deals with instances of the seeming non-local allomorphy, showing that these are in fact local.

References: Antonyuk Svitlana, Boban Arsenijević, Stefano Quaglia and Marko Simonović. 2020. Allomorphy, morphological operations and the order of Slavic verb-prefixes. Talk presented at FASL 29. Božič, Jurij. 2019. Constraining long-distance allomorphy. *The Linguistic Review* 36.3. 485-505. Simonović, Marko. Under review. Derivational affixes as roots in a lexical stress system.