



- 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 - dok-á-mo*, or *dap-í-ti - dok-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, both constellations are unattested in our database of 3000 most frequent verbs in Slovenian.

While the prosody of verbs which only have the structure Root( $\sqrt{\text{v}}$ )-Theme( $\theta$ )-Tense&Agreement Morphology( $\phi$ ) is easily accounted 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 stressable 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. In the examples in (4) we show two imperfectivising suffixes (4a and 4b) as well as a general verbaliser (4c). Each of them determines 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 2020, 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.