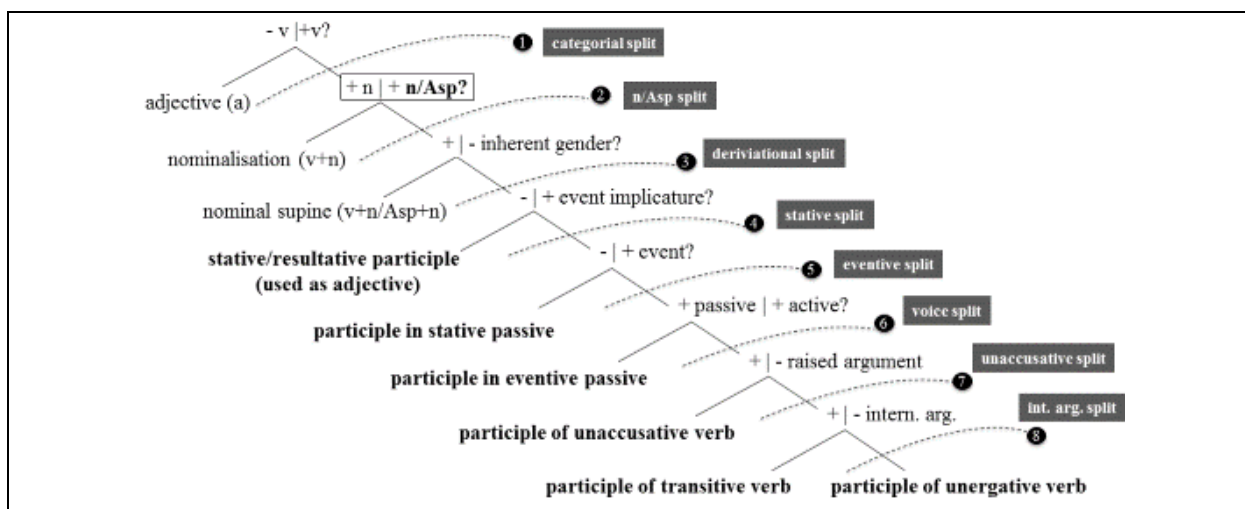**Eva-Maria Remberger (University of Vienna)**
Participles in Romance: Microparametric variation and morphological realisation (with a special focus on Italo-Romance)

Participles are hybrids with respect to their syntactic category, since they belong to verbal paradigms, but behave as nominal elements (adjectives). The verbal periphrases involving participles and the corresponding participial agreement processes can only be explained by a thorough consideration of both their morpho-syntactic structure and the syntactic environment in which participles appear (cf. Loporcaro 1998). The same is also true especially of the regular-irregular, short(ened)-long, athematic-thematic, strong-weak alternations observed. In particular, in some Romance varieties the distribution of regular *-t-* and its irregular alternants (the exponent of the "third stem") may result in a new functional divide, which can be represented – and formally described – by minimal changes in the morpho-syntactic and morpho-phonological processes at work.

In my analysis of participles and their morphological variation in Romance, I show that there are two main developments: 1) the extension of the functional meaning of participles, which can yield an affected agent reading through a kind of unaccusativising process of transitive verbs in some cases, or can become nouns with inherent gender in others; and 2) formal distinctions like short/long, regular/irregular, strong/weak, athematic/thematic, truncated/long can give rise to functional splits, which involve categoriality, aspect, voice or argument structure. The result of these developments is an implicational hierarchy for possible splits – the categorial split, the n/Asp split, the derivational split, the stative split, the eventive split, the voice split, the unaccusative split, and the internal argument split (as they would be called); furthermore, a purely formal split and a semantic split will be discussed. The data are interpreted in the framework of Distributed Morphology (DM), which seems particularly appropriate for this objective, since it allows the elegant modelling of interactions between syntactic projections, morpho-syntactic features and morpho-phonological realisations. A first illustration of the analysis is given in figure 5, which provides an implicational hierarchy for possible splits, i.e. the lower branches always include all the options of the higher decision nodes:

Figure 5: Functional extensions and possible splits for participles

We see that several splits in participial morphology are possible in Romance (and there are probably even more). I have characterised these as follows:

1) **The categorial split**: adjective ($\sqrt{}$+a) vs. verbal ($\sqrt{}$+v)
2) **The n/Asp split**: nominalisations ($\sqrt{}$+v+n) vs. participle ($\sqrt{}$+v+n/Asp)
3) **The derivational split**: nominal supines ($\sqrt{}$+v+n/Asp+n) vs. participle/verbal supine ($\sqrt{}$+v+n/Asp)
4) **The stative split:** stative/resultative participles without event implicature vs. participles with an event implicature, selected by different Pr heads

5) **The eventive split:** participles in the stative passive (includes resultative adjectival participles from unaccusatives and transitives; also the "affected agent" reading) ($\sqrt{}$+v+n/Asp) vs. participles in predications referring to an event, like in eventive passives and in active sentences, selected by different Pr heads

6) **The voice split:** participles in the eventive passive vs. participles in active sentences

7) **The unaccusative split:** perfect participle for unaccusatives (with a raised argument) vs. passives of transitives and unergatives, selected by different Pr heads

8) **The internal argument split**: perfect participles for transitives (with internal argument) vs. perfect participles of unergatives (no internal argument), selected by different Pr heads (this split manifests mainly in agreement phenomena, not in different forms, cf. the possibility of agreement for theme arguments of transitive verbs, cf. Loporcaro 1998).

Furthermore, two additional splits were observed, namely a purely formal split (reduced participial forms in Tuscan, where the varieties under discussion have developed a short form for the conjugation class in -*are*) and a semantic split (idiosyncrasies developed by processes of diachronic semantic change, e.g. when the adjectives diachronically derived from participles have additionally undergone semantic changes, so that in some cases, such as Sicilian *tintu* 'bad' the former participial meaning is completely lost.

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