



CLASS in the PA according to the rules of exponence in Figure 2. If voice<sup>0</sup> or Asp<sup>0</sup> host PA, they will be realized as *-n* in the environment of irregular class features, and as zero otherwise. This entails that irregular verbs in the Passive/Perfect always affix *-n*, and weak irregulars/regulars never do (Standard English. Statives and dialect variation will be treated in the talk). **Phonology:** The English regular and weak irregular suffixes are not identical (contra Kiparsky 2020) but otherwise his analysis holds (see also Lowenstamm 2023). v<sup>0</sup>REG is realized as in Figure 3a; as a syllabified coronal C underspecified for voice. v<sup>0</sup>WEAK.IRR is realized as in Figure 3b; as an unsyllabified (floating) coronal C specified for voicelessness. The latter's lack of syllabic node causes it to merge phonologically with its base, leading to 'stem-like' phonology (via liaison). This analysis allows for a unification of the two consonantal suffixes as realizations of the same syntactic head without requiring multiple phonological levels. I will propose, however, a novel representational analysis of English vowels along the lines of Pöchtrager (2024) that derives all vowel lowering via lenition rather than feature-changing rules (not discussed here). In the strong irregular derivations, each v<sup>0</sup> (valued by the root as in Figure 1) is

Theme Vowel ↔ irregular verb classes  
 -t ↔ weak regular class  
 -ed ↔ regular class

Figure 2: Rules of Exponence for v<sup>0</sup>

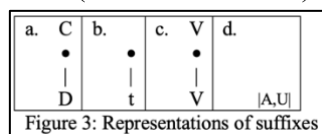


Figure 3: Representations of suffixes

realized as the appropriate class-conditioned ablaut suffix. These are divided into 3 major categories (+*bought-type* verbs to be discussed in the talk). The first (IRR1) contains verbs whose ablaut pattern may alter both quantity and quality of the root vowel (e.g., *take-took-taken*, *give-gave-given*). Here the ablaut vowel is a full segment (Figure 3c) that replaces the vowel of the stem. IRR1 verbs (1) always pronounce the *-n* suffix (they end in non-nasal Cs) and (2) always revert to their underlying vowel in the participle. The second class (IRR2) contains verbs whose ablaut vowel is always [o] [ɔ] or [aw]: back and round (e.g. *find-found-found*, *break-broke-broken*, *get-got-gotten*). IRR2 verbs (1) pronounce the *-n* suffix unless they end in an NC sequence (e.g., *found*), (2) never modify the length of the underlying vowel, and (3) maintain ablaut in the participle. The IRR2 ablaut is therefore a feature-bundle ([back, round] / |A, U|); it modifies the internal structure of vowels, not their syllabic properties (Figure 3d). The third class (IRR3) contains verbs that end in a nasal or a non-coronal NC sequence (e.g., *sing-sang-sung*). IRR3 verbs (1) never pronounce an *-n* suffix and (2) always contain [ʌ] in the participial form. IRR3 ablaut vowels are full vowels (Figure 3c). The distinction between IRR1 and IRR3 verbs is that the latter have no vowel in their UR: they are zero-grade. **Derivations (Figure 4):** In all strong irregulars the ablaut vowel overwrites the vowel of the base in the past (not shown). Full ablaut vowels (3c) replace the most local filled V position. In the participle however, the syllabic *-n* suffix intervenes between the **ablaut V** and the root V, blocking insertion (shown: *eaten*). IRR3 derivations are the same, save two things. First, syllabic *-n* is phonetically inert after nasal consonants or NC sequences but is still present in the derivation and blocks linking. Second, these roots are zero-grade: they have no UR vowel. When the **ablaut V** is blocked from linking no vowel is inserted. An empty, stressed V position is a stressed schwa, realized [ʌ] (shown: *sung*). IRR2 verbs' **ablaut vowel is featural**, and always display ablaut; the feature-bundle targets V-internal structure and is not blocked by the syllabic nasal (as in vowel harmony. shown: *gotten*).

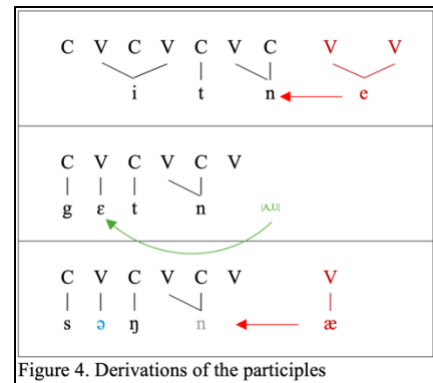


Figure 4. Derivations of the participles

**Import:** An updated piece-based autosegmental analysis of the English PA allows for the PA affixes to be spelled out in a separate phase from the verb root, unifying the regular and irregular derivations more cleanly than any previous account. It also highlights the abstract nature of phonological representations, allowing for an explanation of ablaut-blocking by unpronounced *-n* (in line with other phenomena in English phonology, e.g., unpronounced *-t* after coronals, e.g., *cut*, *bend*). This derivation also uncovers a syntactic pattern in English that is in line with cross-linguistic patterns of auxiliary behaviour, allowing for a cleaner phase-based analysis of these derivations.