

# XP- and X<sup>0</sup>-movement in the Latin verb: Evidence from mirroring and anti-mirroring

## Appendix: Paradigm of *laud-* ‘praise’, with the forms analyzed

This appendix gives the paradigm of the sample verb *laud-* ‘praise’. Every form is segmented and translated, and for every morpheme, an indication is given of what syntactic or morphosyntactic terminal(s) it corresponds to on the analysis developed in the text: V, *v*, Voice, Asp, T,  $\phi$ , *a*, *n*, Agr, K, or a portmanteau of two of the above. When one of these symbols is shown in gray, the relevant terminal is not realized overtly in the form at hand; thus, in *laudō* ‘I praise’ (the first form in the table), *v*, Asp, and T are null.

The purpose of this appendix is to enable any reader who is familiar with the XP/X<sup>0</sup> Analysis (as laid out in Section 3) to see easily how particular forms are derived on that analysis.

Only the synthetic verb forms are shown here (not the analytic forms—e.g., *laudāta est* ‘she was praised, she has been praised’—on which see fn. 19 and fn. 32).

Whereas *-ri-s* ‘PASS-2SG’ is Voice +  $\phi$ , the alternate form *-re* ‘PASS.2SG’ (not shown in the paradigm below) is a Voice/ $\phi$  portmanteau.

It is worth noting that, in many of the nonfinite and deverbal forms (the participles, the gerundive, the gerund, and the supine), the extended projection of V does not project all the way up to T; instead, it is adjectivalized or nominalized at a lower level (by the merging in of a categorizing head *a* or *n*). In these forms, *v*P moves to [Spec,*a*P] or [Spec,*n*P], not [Spec,TP].

### Present Active Indicative

|   |                         |      |    |                            |                                       |                         |      |    |                              |
|---|-------------------------|------|----|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|------|----|------------------------------|
| <b>laud</b><br>V<br>‘I praise’          | - <i>v</i>              | -Asp | -T | <b>-ō</b><br>-Voice $\phi$ | <b>laud</b><br>V<br>‘we praise’       | <b>-ā</b><br>- <i>v</i> | -Asp | -T | <b>-mus</b><br>-Voice $\phi$ |
| <b>laud</b><br>V<br>‘you praise’        | <b>-ā</b><br>- <i>v</i> | -Asp | -T | <b>-s</b><br>-Voice $\phi$ | <b>laud</b><br>V<br>‘you guys praise’ | <b>-ā</b><br>- <i>v</i> | -Asp | -T | <b>-tis</b><br>-Voice $\phi$ |
| <b>laud</b><br>V<br>‘he/she/it praises’ | <b>-a</b><br>- <i>v</i> | -Asp | -T | <b>-t</b><br>-Voice $\phi$ | <b>laud</b><br>V<br>‘they praise’     | <b>-a</b><br>- <i>v</i> | -Asp | -T | <b>-nt</b><br>Voice $\phi$   |

*Present Passive Indicative*

|   |                 |                      |   |                 |                                     |                      |
|---|-----------------|----------------------|---|-----------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------|
| <b>laud</b><br>V -v -Asp -T<br>'I'm praised'          | <b>-o</b><br>-φ | <b>-r</b><br>-Voice  | <b>laud</b><br>V -v -Asp -T<br>'we're praised'        | <b>-ā</b><br>-φ | <b>-m</b><br>-φ                     | <b>-ur</b><br>-Voice |
| <b>laud</b><br>V -v -Asp -T<br>'you're praised'       | <b>-ā</b><br>-φ | <b>-ri</b><br>-Voice | <b>laud</b><br>V -v -Asp -T<br>'you guys are praised' | <b>-ā</b><br>-φ | <b>-mini</b><br>-Voice <sub>φ</sub> |                      |
| <b>laud</b><br>V -v -Asp -T<br>'he/she/it is praised' | <b>-ā</b><br>-φ | <b>-t</b><br>-φ      | <b>laud</b><br>V -v -Asp -T<br>'they're praised'      | <b>-a</b><br>-φ | <b>-nt</b><br>-φ                    | <b>-ur</b><br>-Voice |

*Future Active Indicative*

|  |                 |                  |                                  |   |                 |                  |                                    |
|--|-----------------|------------------|----------------------------------|---|-----------------|------------------|------------------------------------|
| <b>laud</b><br>V -v -Asp -T<br>'I'll praise'           | <b>-ā</b><br>-φ | <b>-b</b><br>-T  | <b>-ō</b><br>-Voice <sub>φ</sub> | <b>laud</b><br>V -v -Asp -T<br>'we'll praise'         | <b>-ā</b><br>-φ | <b>-bi</b><br>-T | <b>-mus</b><br>-Voice <sub>φ</sub> |
| <b>laud</b><br>V -v -Asp -T<br>'you'll praise'         | <b>-ā</b><br>-φ | <b>-bi</b><br>-T | <b>-s</b><br>-Voice <sub>φ</sub> | <b>laud</b><br>V -v -Asp -T<br>'you guys will praise' | <b>-ā</b><br>-φ | <b>-bi</b><br>-T | <b>-tis</b><br>-Voice <sub>φ</sub> |
| <b>laud</b><br>V -v -Asp -T<br>'he/she/it will praise' | <b>-ā</b><br>-φ | <b>-bi</b><br>-T | <b>-t</b><br>-Voice <sub>φ</sub> | <b>laud</b><br>V -v -Asp -T<br>'they'll praise'       | <b>-ā</b><br>-φ | <b>-bu</b><br>-T | <b>-nt</b><br>-Voice <sub>φ</sub>  |

*Future Passive Indicative*

|  |                 |                  |                      |                      |   |                 |                  |                                     |                      |
|--|-----------------|------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---|-----------------|------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------|
| <b>laud</b><br>V -v -Asp -T<br>'I'll be praised'           | <b>-ā</b><br>-φ | <b>-b</b><br>-T  | <b>-o</b><br>-φ      | <b>-r</b><br>-Voice  | <b>laud</b><br>V -v -Asp -T<br>'we'll be praised'         | <b>-ā</b><br>-φ | <b>-bi</b><br>-T | <b>-m</b><br>-φ                     | <b>-ur</b><br>-Voice |
| <b>laud</b><br>V -v -Asp -T<br>'you'll be praised'         | <b>-ā</b><br>-φ | <b>-be</b><br>-T | <b>-ri</b><br>-Voice | <b>-s</b><br>-φ      | <b>laud</b><br>V -v -Asp -T<br>'you guys will be praised' | <b>-ā</b><br>-φ | <b>-bi</b><br>-T | <b>-mini</b><br>-Voice <sub>φ</sub> |                      |
| <b>laud</b><br>V -v -Asp -T<br>'he/she/it will be praised' | <b>-ā</b><br>-φ | <b>-bi</b><br>-T | <b>-t</b><br>-φ      | <b>-ur</b><br>-Voice | <b>laud</b><br>V -v -Asp -T<br>'they'll be praised'       | <b>-ā</b><br>-φ | <b>-bu</b><br>-T | <b>-nt</b><br>-φ                    | <b>-ur</b><br>-Voice |

*Imperfect Active Indicative*

|   |                 |                      |                                  |  |                 |                      |                                    |
|---|-----------------|----------------------|----------------------------------|--|-----------------|----------------------|------------------------------------|
| <b>laud</b><br>V -v -Asp+T <sup>1</sup><br>'I was praising' | <b>-ā</b><br>-φ | <b>-ba</b><br>-Asp+T | <b>-m</b><br>-Voice <sub>φ</sub> | <b>laud</b><br>V -v -Asp+T<br>'we were praising'       | <b>-ā</b><br>-φ | <b>-bā</b><br>-Asp+T | <b>-mus</b><br>-Voice <sub>φ</sub> |
| <b>laud</b><br>V -v -Asp+T<br>'you were praising'           | <b>-ā</b><br>-φ | <b>-bā</b><br>-Asp+T | <b>-s</b><br>-Voice <sub>φ</sub> | <b>laud</b><br>V -v -Asp+T<br>'you guys were praising' | <b>-ā</b><br>-φ | <b>-bā</b><br>-Asp+T | <b>-tis</b><br>-Voice <sub>φ</sub> |
| <b>laud</b><br>V -v -Asp+T<br>'he/she/it was praising'      | <b>-ā</b><br>-φ | <b>-ba</b><br>-Asp+T | <b>-t</b><br>-Voice <sub>φ</sub> | <b>laud</b><br>V -v -Asp+T<br>'they were praising'     | <b>-ā</b><br>-φ | <b>-ba</b><br>-Asp+T | <b>-nt</b><br>-Voice <sub>φ</sub>  |

*Imperfect Passive Indicative*

|   |                 |                      |                                  |   |                 |                      |                                     |                      |
|---|-----------------|----------------------|----------------------------------|---|-----------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------|
| <b>laud</b><br>V -v -Asp+T<br>'I was being praised'         | <b>-ā</b><br>-φ | <b>-ba</b><br>-Asp+T | <b>-r</b><br>-Voice <sub>φ</sub> | <b>laud</b><br>V -v -Asp+T<br>'we were being praised'       | <b>-ā</b><br>-φ | <b>-bā</b><br>-Asp+T | <b>-m</b><br>-φ                     | <b>-ur</b><br>-Voice |
| <b>laud</b><br>V -v -Asp+T<br>'you were being praised'      | <b>-ā</b><br>-φ | <b>-bā</b><br>-Asp+T | <b>-ri</b><br>-Voice             | <b>laud</b><br>V -v -Asp+T<br>'you guys were being praised' | <b>-ā</b><br>-φ | <b>-bā</b><br>-Asp+T | <b>-mini</b><br>-Voice <sub>φ</sub> |                      |
| <b>laud</b><br>V -v -Asp+T<br>'he/she/it was being praised' | <b>-ā</b><br>-φ | <b>-bā</b><br>-Asp+T | <b>-t</b><br>-φ                  | <b>laud</b><br>V -v -Asp+T<br>'they were being praised'     | <b>-ā</b><br>-φ | <b>-ba</b><br>-Asp+T | <b>-nt</b><br>-φ                    | <b>-ur</b><br>-Voice |

<sup>1</sup> Contra Calabrese (2019, §3.4.4.2.1), who analyzes *-b* as T and the *-ā/-a* immediately following it as a (second) theme vowel.

*Perfect Active Indicative*

**laud** -ā -v -i -:  
V -v -Asp -T -Voice<sub>φ</sub>  
'I (have) praised' (→ *laudāvi*)

**laud** -ā -v -i -stī  
V -v -Asp -T -Voice<sub>φ</sub>  
'you (have) praised'

**laud** -ā -v -i -t  
V -v -Asp -T -Voice<sub>φ</sub>  
'he/she/it (has) praised'

**laud** -ā -v -i -mus  
V -v -Asp -T -Voice<sub>φ</sub>  
'we (have) praised'

**laud** -ā -v -i -stis  
V -v -Asp -T -Voice<sub>φ</sub>  
'you guys (have) praised'

**laud** -ā -v -ēru -nt  
V -v -Asp -T -Voice<sub>φ</sub>  
'they (have) praised'

*Pluperfect Active Indicative*

**laud** -ā -v -era -m  
V -v -Asp -T -Voice<sub>φ</sub>  
'I had praised'

**laud** -ā -v -era -s  
V -v -Asp -T -Voice<sub>φ</sub>  
'you had praised'

**laud** -ā -v -era -t  
V -v -Asp -T -Voice<sub>φ</sub>  
'he/she/it had praised'

**laud** -ā -v -erā -mus  
V -v -Asp -T -Voice<sub>φ</sub>  
'we had praised'

**laud** -ā -v -erā -tis  
V -v -Asp -T -Voice<sub>φ</sub>  
'you guys had praised'

**laud** -ā -v -era -nt  
V -v -Asp -T -Voice<sub>φ</sub>  
'they had praised'

*Future Perfect Active Indicative*

**laud** -ā -v -er -ō  
V -v -Asp -T -Voice<sub>φ</sub>  
'I'll have praised'

**laud** -ā -v -eri -s  
V -v -Asp -T -Voice<sub>φ</sub>  
'you'll have praised'

**laud** -ā -v -eri -t  
V -v -Asp -T -Voice<sub>φ</sub>  
'he/she/it will have praised'

**laud** -ā -v -eri -mus  
V -v -Asp -T -Voice<sub>φ</sub>  
'we'll have praised'

**laud** -ā -v -eri -tis  
V -v -Asp -T -Voice<sub>φ</sub>  
'you guys will have praised'

**laud** -ā -v -eri -nt  
V -v -Asp -T -Voice<sub>φ</sub>  
'they'll have praised'

*Present Active Subjunctive*

**laud** -e -m  
V -v -Asp -T -Voice<sub>φ</sub>  
'(that) I may praise'

**laud** -e -s  
V -v -Asp -T -Voice<sub>φ</sub>  
'(that) you may praise'

**laud** -e -t  
V -v -Asp -T -Voice<sub>φ</sub>  
'(that) he/she/it may praise'

**laud** -e -mus  
V -v -Asp -T -Voice<sub>φ</sub>  
'(that) we may praise'

**laud** -e -tis  
V -v -Asp -T -Voice<sub>φ</sub>  
'(that) you may praise'

**laud** -e -nt  
V -v -Asp -T -Voice<sub>φ</sub>  
'(that) they may praise'

*Present Passive Subjunctive*

**laud** -e -r  
V -v -Asp -T -Voice<sub>φ</sub>  
'(that) I may be praised'

**laud** -e -ri -s  
V -v -Asp -T -Voice<sub>φ</sub> -φ  
'(that) you may be praised'

**laud** -e -t -ur  
V -v -Asp -T -Voice<sub>φ</sub> -φ -Voice  
'(that) he/she/it may be praised'

**laud** -e -m -ur  
V -v -Asp -T -Voice<sub>φ</sub> -φ -Voice  
'(that) we may be praised'

**laud** -e -mini  
V -v -Asp -T -Voice<sub>φ</sub> -φ  
'(that) you may be praised'

**laud** -e -nt -ur  
V -v -Asp -T -Voice<sub>φ</sub> -φ -Voice  
'(that) they may be praised'

*Imperfect Active Subjunctive*

|                                 |           |            |                     |                            |           |            |                     |
|---------------------------------|-----------|------------|---------------------|----------------------------|-----------|------------|---------------------|
| <b>laud</b>                     | <b>-ā</b> | <b>-re</b> | <b>-m</b>           | <b>laud</b>                | <b>-ā</b> | <b>-rē</b> | <b>-mus</b>         |
| V                               | -v        | -Asp+T     | -Voice <sub>φ</sub> | V                          | -v        | -Asp+T     | -Voice <sub>φ</sub> |
| '(that) I might praise'         |           |            |                     | '(that) we might praise'   |           |            |                     |
| <b>laud</b>                     | <b>-ā</b> | <b>-rē</b> | <b>-s</b>           | <b>laud</b>                | <b>-ā</b> | <b>-rē</b> | <b>-tis</b>         |
| V                               | -v        | -Asp+T     | -Voice <sub>φ</sub> | V                          | -v        | -Asp+T     | -Voice <sub>φ</sub> |
| '(that) you might praise'       |           |            |                     | '(that) you might praise'  |           |            |                     |
| <b>laud</b>                     | <b>-ā</b> | <b>-re</b> | <b>-t</b>           | <b>laud</b>                | <b>-ā</b> | <b>-re</b> | <b>-nt</b>          |
| V                               | -v        | -Asp+T     | -Voice <sub>φ</sub> | V                          | -v        | -Asp+T     | -Voice <sub>φ</sub> |
| '(that) he/she/it might praise' |           |            |                     | '(that) they might praise' |           |            |                     |

*Imperfect Passive Subjunctive*

|                                     |           |            |                     |                                |           |            |                     |            |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|-----------|------------|---------------------|------------|
| <b>laud</b>                         | <b>-ā</b> | <b>-re</b> | <b>-r</b>           | <b>laud</b>                    | <b>-ā</b> | <b>-rē</b> | <b>-m</b>           | <b>-ur</b> |
| V                                   | -v        | -Asp+T     | -Voice <sub>φ</sub> | V                              | -v        | -Asp+T     | -φ                  | -Voice     |
| '(that) I might be praised'         |           |            |                     | '(that) we might be praised'   |           |            |                     |            |
| <b>laud</b>                         | <b>-ā</b> | <b>-rē</b> | <b>-ri</b>          | <b>laud</b>                    | <b>-ā</b> | <b>-rē</b> | <b>-mini</b>        |            |
| V                                   | -v        | -Asp+T     | -Voice              | V                              | -v        | -Asp+T     | -Voice <sub>φ</sub> |            |
| '(that) you might be praised'       |           |            |                     | '(that) you might be praised'  |           |            |                     |            |
| <b>laud</b>                         | <b>-ā</b> | <b>-rē</b> | <b>-t</b>           | <b>laud</b>                    | <b>-ā</b> | <b>-re</b> | <b>-nt</b>          | <b>-ur</b> |
| V                                   | -v        | -Asp+T     | -φ                  | V                              | -v        | -Asp+T     | -φ                  | -Voice     |
| '(that) he/she/it might be praised' |           |            |                     | '(that) they might be praised' |           |            |                     |            |

*Perfect Active Subjunctive*

|                           |           |           |             |                     |                           |           |           |             |                     |
|---------------------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|---------------------|---------------------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|---------------------|
| <b>laud</b>               | <b>-ā</b> | <b>-v</b> | <b>-eri</b> | <b>-m</b>           | <b>laud</b>               | <b>-ā</b> | <b>-v</b> | <b>-erī</b> | <b>-mus</b>         |
| V                         | -v        | -Asp      | -T          | -Voice <sub>φ</sub> | V                         | -v        | -Asp      | -T          | -Voice <sub>φ</sub> |
| 'I (have) praised'        |           |           |             |                     | 'we (have) praised'       |           |           |             |                     |
| <b>laud</b>               | <b>-ā</b> | <b>-v</b> | <b>-erī</b> | <b>-s</b>           | <b>laud</b>               | <b>-ā</b> | <b>-v</b> | <b>-erī</b> | <b>-tis</b>         |
| V                         | -v        | -Asp      | -T          | -Voice <sub>φ</sub> | V                         | -v        | -Asp      | -T          | -Voice <sub>φ</sub> |
| 'you (have) praised'      |           |           |             |                     | 'you guys (have) praised' |           |           |             |                     |
| <b>laud</b>               | <b>-ā</b> | <b>-v</b> | <b>-eri</b> | <b>-t</b>           | <b>laud</b>               | <b>-ā</b> | <b>-v</b> | <b>-eri</b> | <b>-nt</b>          |
| V                         | -v        | -Asp      | -T          | -Voice <sub>φ</sub> | V                         | -v        | -Asp      | -T          | -Voice <sub>φ</sub> |
| 'he/she/it (has) praised' |           |           |             |                     | 'they (have) praised'     |           |           |             |                     |

*Pluperfect Active Subjunctive*

|                              |           |           |                 |                     |                             |           |           |              |                     |
|------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|---------------------|
| <b>laud</b>                  | <b>-ā</b> | <b>-v</b> | <b>-isse</b>    | <b>-m</b>           | <b>laud</b>                 | <b>-ā</b> | <b>-v</b> | <b>-issē</b> | <b>-mus</b>         |
| V                            | -v        | -Asp      | -T <sup>2</sup> | -Voice <sub>φ</sub> | V                           | -v        | -Asp      | -T           | -Voice <sub>φ</sub> |
| '(if) I had praised'         |           |           |                 |                     | '(if) we had praised'       |           |           |              |                     |
| <b>laud</b>                  | <b>-ā</b> | <b>-v</b> | <b>-issē</b>    | <b>-s</b>           | <b>laud</b>                 | <b>-ā</b> | <b>-v</b> | <b>-issē</b> | <b>-tis</b>         |
| V                            | -v        | -Asp      | -T              | -Voice <sub>φ</sub> | V                           | -v        | -Asp      | -T           | -Voice <sub>φ</sub> |
| '(if) you had praised'       |           |           |                 |                     | '(if) you guys had praised' |           |           |              |                     |
| <b>laud</b>                  | <b>-ā</b> | <b>-v</b> | <b>-isse</b>    | <b>-t</b>           | <b>laud</b>                 | <b>-ā</b> | <b>-v</b> | <b>-isse</b> | <b>-nt</b>          |
| V                            | -v        | -Asp      | -T              | -Voice <sub>φ</sub> | V                           | -v        | -Asp      | -T           | -Voice <sub>φ</sub> |
| '(if) he/she/it had praised' |           |           |                 |                     | '(if) they had praised'     |           |           |              |                     |

*Present Active Imperative*

|                 |           |           |             |                     |                      |           |           |             |                     |            |
|-----------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|---------------------|----------------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|---------------------|------------|
| <b>laud</b>     | <b>-ā</b> | <b>-v</b> | <b>-Asp</b> | <b>-T</b>           | <b>laud</b>          | <b>-ā</b> | <b>-v</b> | <b>-Asp</b> | <b>-T</b>           | <b>-te</b> |
| V               | -v        | -Asp      | -T          | -Voice <sub>φ</sub> | V                    | -v        | -Asp      | -T          | -Voice <sub>φ</sub> |            |
| '(you) praise!' |           |           |             |                     | '(you guys) praise!' |           |           |             |                     |            |

*Present Passive Imperative*

|                     |           |           |             |                     |                          |           |           |             |                     |              |
|---------------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|---------------------|--------------------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|---------------------|--------------|
| <b>laud</b>         | <b>-ā</b> | <b>-v</b> | <b>-Asp</b> | <b>-T</b>           | <b>laud</b>              | <b>-ā</b> | <b>-v</b> | <b>-Asp</b> | <b>-T</b>           | <b>-mini</b> |
| V                   | -v        | -Asp      | -T          | -Voice <sub>φ</sub> | V                        | -v        | -Asp      | -T          | -Voice <sub>φ</sub> |              |
| '(you) be praised!' |           |           |             |                     | '(you guys) be praised!' |           |           |             |                     |              |

<sup>2</sup> Contra Calabrese (2019, §3.4.4.1.1), on whose analysis *-i* is a second theme vowel, the linearly earlier *-s* is T, the linearly later *-s* is a Mood head, and *-e* is a third theme vowel.

*Future Active Imperative*

**laud**    **-ā**            **-tō**  
V        -v        -Asp    -T            -Voice<sub>φ</sub>  
'(you will) praise!'

**laud**    **-ā**            **-tō**    **-te**  
V        -v        -Asp    -T            -Voice<sub>φ</sub>  
'(you guys will) praise!'

**laud**    **-ā**            **-tō**  
V        -v        -Asp    -T            -Voice<sub>φ</sub>  
'let him/her/it praise!'

**laud**    **-ā**            **-tō**    **-nt**  
V        -v        -Asp    -T            -Voice<sub>φ</sub>  
'let them praise!'  
[Actual form: *laudantō*. Possible metathesis for  
phonological reasons: \*V:nt is illegal.]

*Future Passive Imperative*

**laud**    **-ā**            **-to**        **-r**  
V        -v        -Asp    -T            -Voice<sub>φ</sub>  
'(you will) be praised!'

**laud**    **-ā**            **-to**        **-r**  
V        -v        -Asp    -T            -Voice<sub>φ</sub>  
'let him/her/it be praised!'

**laud**    **-ā**            **-tō**    **-nt**        **-r**  
V        -v        -Asp    -T            -φ            -Voice  
'let them be praised!'  
[Actual form: *laudantor*. Possible metathesis for  
phonological reasons: \*\*V:ntr is illegal.]

*Present Active Infinitive*

**laud**    **-ā**        **-r**            **-e**  
V        -v        -Asp+T        -Voice  
'(to) praise'

*Present Passive Infinitive*

**laud**    **-ā**        **-r**            **-ī/-ier**  
V        -v        -Asp+T        -Voice  
'(to) be praised'

*Perfect Active Infinitive*

**laud**    **-ā**        **-v**            **-isse**  
V        -v        -Asp    -T            -Voice  
'(to) have praised'

*Present Active Participle*

**laud**    **-ā**        **-nt**            **-s**  
V        -v        -a            -Agr  
'praising' (→ *laudāns*)

*Perfect Passive Participle*

**laud**    **-ā**        **-t**            **-us**  
V        -v        -a<sup>3</sup>            -Agr  
'having been praised'

*Future Active Participle*

**laud**    **-ā**        **-t**            **-ūr**  
V        -v        -a            -Agr<sup>4</sup>  
'(that is) going to praise'

*Gerundive*

**laud**    **-a**        **-nd**            **-us**  
V        -v        -a            -Agr  
'that must be praised'

*Gerund*

**laud**    **-a**        **-nd**            **-ī/-ō/-um**  
V        -v        -n            -K  
'of praising / by praising / praising'

<sup>3</sup> Contra Embick (2000: 215–219), who analyzes the *-t* in this participle (and the following one) as a default realization of Asp, and Calabrese (2019, §3.4.4.1.5), who also analyzes it as an Asp head. See fn. 21 for detailed discussion.

<sup>4</sup> Contra Embick (2000: 218–219), who analyzes *-ūr* as a modal element of category Mod, and Calabrese (2019, §3.4.4.1.5), who analyzes it as a categorizing *n* head. See fn. 21.

*Supine*

**laud**    **-ā**    **-tu**    **-m/-:**  
**V**    **-v**    **-n**    **-Voice**    **-K**  
 'praising / in order to praise [ACC] /  
 in (the) praising (of it) [ABL]' (ABL → *laudātū*)

## References

Calabrese, Andrea. 2019. Morphophonological investigations: A theory of PF. From syntax to phonology in Italian and Sanskrit verb forms. Ms. University of Connecticut.

Embick, David. 2000. Features, syntax, and categories in the Latin perfect. *Linguistic Inquiry* 31(2). 185–230.