Gaps in (I) accounted for by Disjoint Reference.

Two insertion slots: Subject-Object: $l_s$ $l_o$ (Jonathan (p.c.))

Vocabulary items inserted in the first slot [Subject position]:

/$i$- $<-->$ [-speaker]
/ta$-$ elsewhere

Impoverish: [-speaker] / [ _____ -participant ] [+speaker]

Vocabulary items inserted in the second slot [Object position]:

/-$\ddash$- $<-->$ [+participant]
/-n/- $<-->$ [-participant]
/-$\phi$- elsewhere

Impoverish: [+participant] / [+speaker ] [_____]

Impoverish: [-participant] / [-participant ] [_____]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intrans</th>
<th>Trans, Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subj</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 ex</td>
<td>ta-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>na-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>$\ddash$/n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Ø</td>
<td>$\ddash$/-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\ddash$/gui-
More on portmanteau morphology

ITALIAN

(1) a. Maria parló con foga  "M. spoke with passion"
b. Maria parlava con foga  "M. was speaking with passion"
c. Maria parla con foga  "M. speaks with passion"

(35) a. parlo '[speak-Pres.Isg]'
b. parli '[speak-Pres.IIsg]'
c. parla '[speak-Pres.IIIsg]'
d. parliamo '[speak-Pres.Ipl]'
e. parlate '[speak-Pres.IIpl]'
f. parlano '[speak-Pres.IIIpl]'

(35) a. parlavo '[speak-Imp.Isg]'
b. parlavi '[speak-Imp.IIsg]'
c. parlava '[speak-Imp.IIIsg]'
d. parlavamo '[speak-Imp.Ipl]'
e. parlavate '[speak-Imp.IIpl]'
f. parlavano '[speak-Imp.IIIpl]'

(35) a. parlai '[speak-Past.Isg]'
b. parlasti '[speak-Past.IIsg]'
c. parlo '[speak-Past.IIIsg]'
d. parlammo '[speak-Past.Ipl]'
e. parlaste '[speak-Past.IIpl]'
f. parlarono '[speak-Past.IIIpl]'
The asymmetry in the morphological expression between the Italian imperfect and past tenses in (28) is due to a number of phonological changes that historically affected the suffix [-v-] characterizing the Latin past tense in some conjugations. Thus, for example, in the case of 3sg. in (5a), the suffix /-o/ historically derives from the Latin formation /-a-v-it/ (/-/a- /= thematic vowel, /-v- /= past tense suffix, /-it/ = 3sg. ending) through an intermediate stage */aut/ after the deletion of the short suffixal high vowel [i] (cf. Tekavcic (1980)).

If we consider the Italian verbal system from a synchronic point of view, however, there is no evidence that there is an underlying suffix /-v/u-/ in the 3sg. of the past tense in this case and that there is a synchronic phonological process fusing this suffix with the thematic vowels /-a-/ as happened historically. The available evidence simply shows that the lexical item inserted in the 3sg. past is simply /-o/ as proposed above.