Periphrasis and morphosyntatic mismatch in Czech

Olivier Bonami
Université Paris Diderot
olivier.bonami@univ-paris-diderot.fr

Gert Webelhuth
Goethe Universität Frankfurt
webelhuth@lingua.uni-frankfurt.de

Tag
Datum
Zeit
Raum

We propose a formal HPSG analysis of periphrastic conjugation in Czech at the morphology-syntax interface. In the past 1st and 2nd person, the past is realized periphrastically by a combination of the main verb, in what is historically an *l*-participle, and what is historically a 2nd position clitic homophonous with matching forms of the copula. In the 3rd person, the main verb occurs on its own.

	MAS	PST FEM	NEU
1SG	čekal jsem	čekala jsem	čekalo jsem
2SG	čekal jsi	čekala jsi	čekalo jsi
3SG	čekal	čekala	čekalo
1PL	čekal(i/y) jsme	čekaly jsme	čekala jsme
2PL	čekal(i/y) jste	čekaly jste	čekala jste
3PL	čekal(i/y)	čekaly	čekala

Past subparadigm of ČEKAT 'wait'

Tseng and Kupść (2006) address this situation by taking past auxiliaries to be phrasal agreement suffixes, but this is invalidated empirically by the evidence presented by Hana (2007, chap. 4) that Czech clitics are words. The alternative of postulating an empty auxiliary is conceptually unsatisfactory. We propose a new analysis building on the recent literature on periphrastic inflection and morphosyntactic mismatches (Sadler and Spencer, 2001; Ackerman and Stump, 2004; Bonami, 2015). We posit that in the Czech past, two different mismatches occur: the non-3rd person involves a mismatch on the auxiliary, whereas the 3rd person involves a mismatch on the main verb. As a result, the expression of the past always involves a morphosyntactic mismatch, although it does not always involve periphrasis.

References: • Ackerman, F. and G. T. Stump (2004). Paradigms and Periphrastic Expression. In: *Projecting Morphology*, CSLI Publications. • Bonami, O. (2015). Periphrasis as Collocation. *Morphology* 25. • Hana, Jiri (2007). Czech clitics in Higher Order Grammar. PhD Dissertation, Ohio State University. • Sadler, L. and A. Spencer (2001). Syntax as an exponent of morphological features. In: Yearbook of Morphology 2000. • Tseng, J. and A. Kupść (2006). A cross-linguistic approach to Slavic past tense and conditional constructions. In: *Proceedings of FDSL6*.