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# SLOVO A SLOVESNOST

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# Jak přehlédnout jeden druhého: příběh alternací vokálů s nulou ve slovanských jazycích a ve fonologii řízení

TOBIAS SCHEER

## How to overlook one another: The story of vowel-zero alternations in Slavic languages and Government Phonology

**ABSTRACT:** The classical generative analysis of modern Slavic vowel-zero alternations crucially relies on so-called abstract vowels, the yers. Yers and the mechanism that controls their vocalization, Lower, have been introduced in order to reduce the disjunction in closed syllables and in open syllables if the following vowel alternates with zero to a non-disjunctive phonological reality. I refer to this disjunction as the yer context. In this article, I show that the distribution and function of the abstract vowels in question is identical with that of empty nuclei in Government Phonology. A prominent feature of this theory is the extensive use of empty nuclei. My goal is to show that certain generative phonologists used the same concept long before Government Phonology came into being, and for entirely independent reasons, yet without giving any theoretical status to the abstract vowels in question. Government Phonology in turn ignored the Slavic evidence and its analysis when proposing empty nuclei. If this turns out to be true, the idea that syllable structure bears a sizeable number of empty nuclei will be strengthened in a corresponding manner.

**Key words:** vowel-zero alternations, yers, empty nuclei, Havlík's Law, Lower, yer vocalization, government, Government Phonology

**Klíčová slova:** alternace vokálů s nulou, jery, prázdná jádra, Havlíkovo pravidlo, snížení, vokalizace jerů, řízení, fonologie řízení

*Faculté des Lettres, Laboratoire BCL  
98, Bd Herriot, B. P. 3209, F-06204 Nice, France  
<scheer@unice.fr>*

# Ke vzniku fázových sufixů v češtině aneb Jak se *domček* změnil v *domeček*

MARKÉTA ZIKOVÁ

## On the emergence of phase-triggering suffixes in Czech or How *domček* became *domeček*

**ABSTRACT:** This paper analyzes Czech double diminutives ending in *-eček* created by the recursive application of the suffix *-ek* whose initial vowel alternates with zero. Diachronically speaking, these diminutives display both patterns of V-zero alternations found in Slavic languages: in OCz they follow the *Havlík* pattern, where alternants are in complementary distribution (*domøček*), while in MoCz they follow the *Lower* pattern, where strong alternants (i.e. vowels) are always preceded by strong alternants (*domeček*). The analysis of the Havlík-to-Lower change presented follows Rubach's (1984) classical analysis where the *Lower* pattern is derived from the cyclic application of the *Lower* rule which means that only the *Lower* pattern has internal phase structure. I argue that in the *Lower* pattern, all floating vowels in a row (except the final one) vocalize, because each is immediately followed by an empty nucleus which stands at the phase boundary. Furthermore, phasehood is a lexical property, i.e. a property of a particular lexical item, namely the diminutive suffix *-ek*. From this perspective, the Havlík-to-Lower change consists in a change in the properties of the lexicon: only in MoCz is the suffix *-ek* lexically specified as a phase-trigger, in OCz it did not trigger any phase.

**Key words:** vowel-zero alternations, double diminutives, Czech, Havlík's Law, Lower, diachronic change, phase-triggering affixes, Government Phonology

**Klíčová slova:** alternance vokálů s nulou, dvojitá deminutiva, čeština, Havlíkovo pravidlo, snížení, diachronní změna, fázové afixy, fonologie řízení

Ústav českého jazyka FF MU  
Arna Nováka 1, 602 00 Brno  
<zikova@phil.muni.cz>

# Syntaktická operace spojení (*merge*)

PETR BISKUP

## **The syntactic operation merge**

**ABSTRACT:** This paper is concerned with the syntactic operation merge. I propose a representational-derivational model that can derive non-local relations that are problematic for Chomsky's (2000, *et seq.*) phase model with the Phase Impenetrability Condition. The problematic non-local relations can be derived in a local fashion if the whole set of information resulting from the operation merge is visible for syntactic operations. To derive the difference in locality behaviour between the operations agree and move, I propose that for agree, only the information on the sister syntactic object is relevant, and that for move – because it is a composed operation – the tree information with the Phase Impenetrability Condition is also relevant. I also show that c-selection behaves differently from s-selection and agree with respect to the information given by the operation merge.

**Key words:** agree, merge, move, selection

**Klíčová slova:** shoda, spojení, posun, selekce

*Universität Leipzig, Institut für Slavistik  
Beethovenstraße 15, 04107 Leipzig, Deutschland  
<biskup@rz.uni-leipzig.de>*

# Poznámky k syntaxi předložky *před*

PAVEL CAHA

## **On the syntax of the preposition *před***

**ABSTRACT:** In this paper, I look at the syntax of the preposition *před* ‘in front of’ in its temporal uses, where it means ‘before’ or ‘ago.’ In particular, I analyze PPs such as *před hodinou*, lit. in front of an hour, meaning ‘an hour ago,’ and I argue that while ‘an hour’ behaves like a complement of the preposition from the perspective of word order and case, semantically it is a measure phrase. I propose an analysis in which ‘an hour’ starts out as a measure phrase, but ends up as a complement as a result of a transformation displacing the adposition to the left of the measure phrase.

**Key words:** preposition, prepositional phrase, measure phrase, case attraction

**Klíčová slova:** předložka, předložková fráze, měrová fráze, atrakce pádu

*Universitet i Tromsø  
Teorifagbygget, H4P5, Breivika, 9037, Tromsø, Norway  
<Pavel.Caha@uit.no>*

# Dvě funkce klitiky *se*: různé, a přece stejné

ANDREA HUDOUSKOVÁ

## Two functions of the clitic *se*: different, yet the same

**ABSTRACT:** The present paper focuses on two Czech syntactic structures formed with the reflexive clitic *se*, namely semantically reflexive verbs and so-called reflexive verbal form (RVF), and explains their syntactic properties assuming the generative model of language. The analysis is based on the hypothesis that verbal and nominal projections are analytic, i.e. containing the functional categories *v* and D (Chomsky 1995). Moreover, it is claimed that the derivation may proceed in several phases, which are fed by different modules of grammar, namely Dictionary and Syntacticon (Emonds 2000). The core assumption of the paper is that the clitic *se* is a defective grammaticalized element that is inserted from the Syntacticon and enters the syntactic derivation only after the Case was assigned. Nevertheless, it does so necessarily before Spell-Out in order to be correctly interpreted at LF. The syntactic properties of semantically reflexive verbs and the RVF then naturally follow on the assumption that the clitic *se* occupies the complement position of semantically reflexive verbs and the subject position of the RVF.

**Key words:** reflexive pronoun *se*, clitics, reflexive verb, reflexive verbal form, generative syntax

**Klíčová slova:** zvrtné zájmeno *se*, klitiky, reflexivní sloveso, reflexivní forma slovesná, generativní syntax

*Katedra bohemistiky FF UP  
Křížkovského 10, 771 80 Olomouc  
<a.hudouskova@seznam.cz>*



# Syntactic restrictions on infinitival imperatives in Czech

IVONA KUČEROVÁ

**ABSTRACT:** This paper discusses syntactic restrictions on infinitival imperatives in Czech. I argue that for an infinitival imperative to be well-formed, there must be syntactic material asymmetrically *c*-commanding *V* in the phase (cyclic domain) of the imperative. I compare this restriction to other cross-linguistic restrictions on roots: in particular, I show that the behavior of Czech infinitival imperatives is parallel to restrictions on middle constructions in English. In particular, I argue that for the English middle constructions to be well-formed, there must be syntactic material asymmetrically *c*-commanding *v*. Finally, I discuss Czech infinitival imperatives in the context of Surrogate Negative Imperative languages. I argue that the differences between Surrogate Negative Imperative languages, i.e. languages that ban negative inflected imperatives, and Czech follow from morpho-syntactic differences in negation in this class of languages and Czech.

**Key words:** negative imperatives, well-formedness of syntactic structure, middles, Czech, English

*Linguistics & Languages, Togo Salmon Hall 608, McMaster University  
1280 Main Street West, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada L8S 4M2  
<ivona@alum.mit.edu>*

# Možnosti generativní klasifikace infinitivu

LUDMILA VESELOVSKÁ

## **Analyses of infinitival structures in generative framework**

**ABSTRACT:** In this article I discuss Czech infinitival structures to illustrate the classification and methods of analyses used in generative framework. Introducing the null category of PRO I show the distinctions between Raising and Control verbs, between ECM verbs and PRO<sub>OBJ</sub> structures. I also describe the process of restructuralization and the diagnostics of the phenomena in more detail. I mention some existing studies of Czech infinitives and the most influential analyses in English, Italian and German. I conclude that the present-day analyses of infinitives are still in many aspects problematic and they depend on the development of the field, including the format of the structure and assumptions concerning the distribution of thematic roles.

**Key words:** infinitive, PRO, restructuralization, control verbs

**Klíčová slova:** infinitiv, PRO, restrukturalizace, kontrola

*Katedra anglistiky a amerikanistiky FF UP  
Křížkovského 10, 771 80 Olomouc  
<lidave@email.cz>*

# Dvojitá prefixace a sémantika sloves pohybu

MOJMÍR DOČEKAL

## Double prefixation and the semantics of motion verbs

**ABSTRACT:** In this paper, I discuss the aspectual system of Czech and in particular, the prefix combinations in verbs. Following the arguments of Gehrke (2009) and the general model of Zwarts (2005), I argue that as upward monotone vectors, the goal prefixes *do-* and *při-* cannot be modified by the measure prefix *po-* (there are no verbs such as *\*po-do-skočit* or *\*po-při-jet*). I then offer a formal treatment of paths and events homomorphism for motion verbs in Czech. Based on the examined data, I argue in favor of keeping separate two distinctions in the aspectual system of Czech: telicity and perfectivity. The paper as a whole is dedicated to the integration of the formal treatment of Czech aspect with vector space semantics for preposition phrases and prefixes.

**Key words:** formal semantics, vector space semantics, aspect, PP, events, prefixation

**Klíčová slova:** formální sémantika, vektorová sémantika prostoru, aspekt, předložkové fráze, události, prefixace

*Ústav jazykovědy a baltistiky FF MU  
Arna Nováka 1, 602 00 Brno  
<docekal@phil.muni.cz>*

# Lambda-abstrakce a neurčitá zájmena v úzkém a širokém ohnisku

RADEK ŠIMÍK

## Lambda-abstraction and indefinite pronouns in narrow and broad focus

**ABSTRACT:** Czech indefinite pronouns like *někdo* ‘someone’ (unlike indefinite nouns like *peníze* ‘money’) cannot be pronounced in their base (postverbal) position unless they are interpreted as narrowly focused. Broad focus (focus on the whole verb phrase) is only facilitated with indefinite pronouns in a derived (preverbal) position. The analysis in this paper makes use of the fact that Czech indefinite pronouns are morphologically related to *wh*-words. It is argued that *wh*-words in Czech denote *lambda-operators*, which are viewed as functions from truth values to predicates. It follows that *wh*-words (and indefinite pronouns) must be interpreted in the sister-node of an expression denoting a truth value and therefore can never be interpreted in their base position. Finally, it is suggested how the analysis could be used to account for the behavior of the indefinite pronoun *kdokoliv* ‘anyone’, which is (under certain conditions) interpreted as a free choice item in a narrow focus (postverbal) position and as a negative polarity item in a broad focus (preverbal) position.

**Key words:** *wh*-words, indefinite pronouns, free choice and negative polarity phenomenon, narrow and broad focus, lambda-abstraction, type-theory

**Klíčová slova:** *k*-slova, neurčitá zájmena, jev volného výběru a negativní polarity, úzké a široké ohnisko, lambda-abstrakce, teorie typů

*Center for Language and Cognition (CLCG), University of Groningen  
Postbus 716, 9700 AS Groningen, The Netherlands  
<R.Simik@rug.nl>*