

## Czech determined verbs and GSTA

Mojmír Dočekal (Masaryk University, Brno)

It is widely accepted that Czech prefixes and prepositions belong to one categorial class. Filip (2003) claims that there is an strong asymmetry between source and goal prefixes and prepositions (Goal-Source telicity asymmetry = GSTA) . She claims that only the goal modifiers are telic, while the source modifiers are atelic, demonstrating the following data (grammatical judgments are hers, while glosses are mine and the prefixes are marked as PR- with no translation.):

- (1) a. Od-skočil (**metr**) od okna.  
'He PR-jumped a meter off the window.'
- b. Při-skočil (??**metr**) k oknu.  
'He PR-jumped a meter to the window.'
- (2) a. Vy-táhl káru z příkopu.  
'He PR-pulled a cart from the ditch.'
- b. Po-vy-táhl káru z příkopu.  
'He PR-PR-pulled a cart from the ditch.'
- (3) a. Do-táhl káru do příkopu.  
'He PR-pulled a cart to the ditch.'
- b. \*Po-do-táhl káru do příkopu.  
'\*He PR-in-pulled a cart to the ditch.'

According to Filip the prefix *po-* and the measure function meter are examples of the extensive measure function which can be applied only to the cumulative predicates. And according to her only the verbs with the source modifiers are cumulative predicates. The verbs with the goal modifiers are telic predicates. The extensive measure function can be applied only to the atelic predicates and it can be applied only once.

GSTA is in the contradiction with the widely accepted Zwart's theory of the PP aspectuality. According to Zwart goal and source modifiers are both telic. The telicity of goal and source modifiers in CZ can be seen in (5) where source *z* ('from') and goal *do* ('to') show the telic behavior contrary to the atelic prepositions *kolem/podél* ('around/next to') in (4).

Czech determined verbs (like *jezdil*, *chodil*, *běhal*) seem to be the only Czech verbs which allow the transfer of the mereological properties from the incremental theme/path onto the verb. This can be explained by the assumption that Czech determined/undetermined verbs do not have grammaticalized aspect, because the distinction of determined/undetermined is orthogonal to the telic/atelic distinction. But this also means that they are suitable candidates for the verification of GSTA.

(4) shows that cumulative PPs cause the atelic interpretation of its sentence and (5) shows that the noncumulative PP leads to the telic interpretation of its sentence. The questions remains as for the relative acceptability of (5) with the durative adverb. But this does not change anything on the contrast

between (4) and (5) –(4) is strongly ungrammatical with the nondurative PP, while (5) is perfectly grammatical with the nondurative adverb.

(4) Petr jezdil podél/kolem řeky hodinu /\*za hodinu.

‘Peter was driving around the river an hour /\*for an hour.’

(5) Petr jezdil do/z Prahy ?hodinu / za hodinu.

‘Peter was driving to/from Prague ?an hour / in an hour

So goals of my talk are twofold: to show that GSTA is not valid (similarly like Gehrke 2004, but unlike her based on the behavior of determined verbs) and to describe the syntax and semantics of Czech determined and undetermined verbs.

### References

- Filip, Hana. 2003. Prefixes and the delimitation of events. *Journal of Slavic Linguistics* 11.1, 55-101.
- Gehrke, Berit. 2005. The prepositional aspect of Slavic prefixes and the goal-source asymmetry. Ms. Universiteit Utrecht.
- Krifka, Manfred 1992. Thematic relations as links between nominal reference and temporal constitution. In *Lexical Matters*, I. Sag & A. Szabolcsi (eds.), 29-53. Stanford: CSLI.
- Krifka, Manfred. 1998. The origins of telicity. In *Events and Grammar*, Susan Rothstein (ed.), 197-235. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Zwarts, Joost. 2005. Prepositional Aspect and the Algebra of Paths. *Linguistics and Philosophy*. In press.