
One-to-many relations in periphrases and paradigms

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Periphrastic inflectional paradigms provide many instances of mismatch between s- and m-features, resulting in inflectional polysemy for ancillary elements and inflected forms of lexical heads. These pose unique problems for formal description. In Bulgarian a reconfigured periphrastic perfect has developed into an evidential (Renarrated) mood form but the periphrasis has been applied to the auxiliary verb itself to give a Doubly Renarrated mood, a case of a ‘superexhaustive’ paradigm (Spencer 2003). For this a new stem type has had to be innovated (the imperfective l-participle) and a significant zero allomorph of the auxiliary. In Lithuanian bare participles have been reanalyzed as predicative forms expressing evidential mood.

I address the question of how such constructions are to be integrated into a formal grammar in which the periphrases interface with syntax while remaining exponents of the inflectional (morphological) paradigm (Bonami & Webelhuth 2013, Bonami et al. 2016). In particular, it is unclear how they fit into the typology of mismatches explored in Stump (2016) in terms of the CONTENT/FORM paradigm distinction. I take as my starting point the analysis of participles as verb-to-attributive-adjective transpositions developed in Spencer (2017). On this basis I extend proposals sketched in Popova & Spencer (2015) for Bulgarian, redefining Stump’s CONTENT/FORM distinction and showing how this can be used to implement a version of the s-/m-feature distinction deployed in Sadler & Spencer’s (2001) analysis of the Latin perfect passive periphrasis. I draw general conclusions for the syntax-morphology interface and the nature of one:many relations within paradigms.

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