Word-internal case doubling as part of a diachronic change
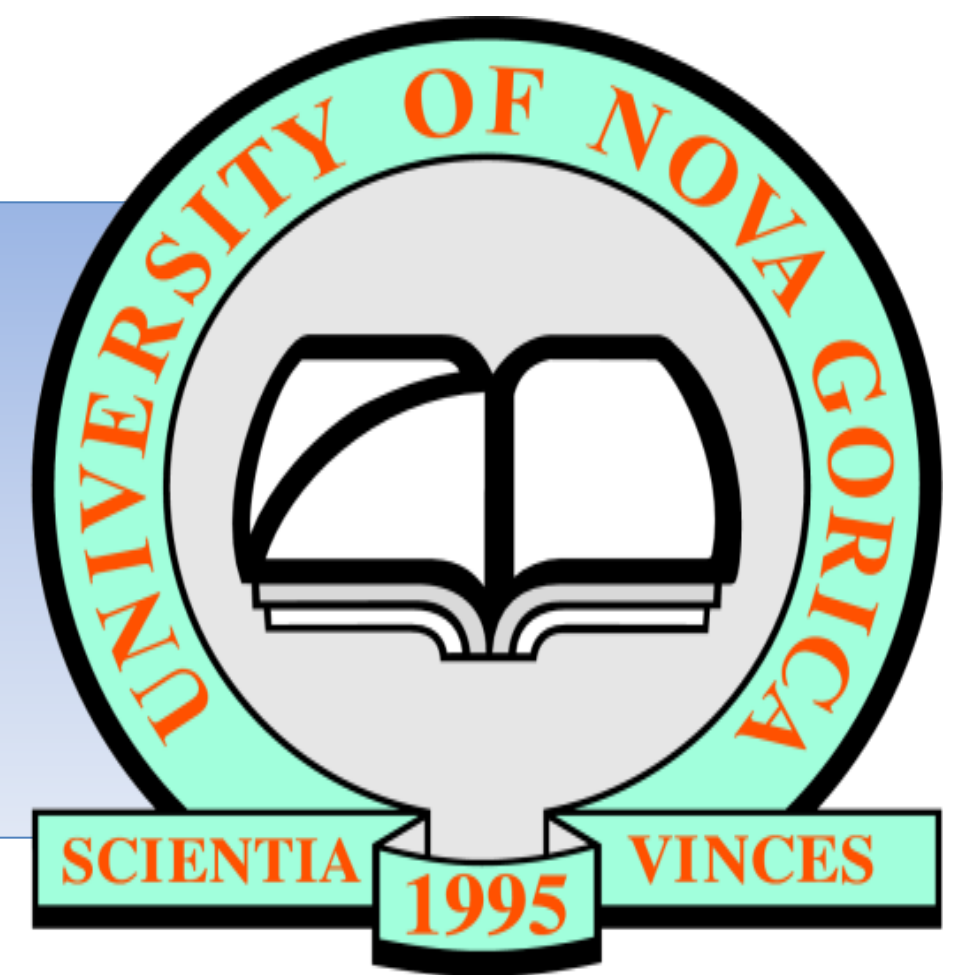
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DEM-CASE-(h)le-CASE

• Demonstratives in colloquial Slovenian, Czech, and Slovak exhibit a paradigm which includes doubling of case around the invariable deictic element -(h)le.

(1)	Slovenian	Czech	Slovak	
Nom	*tala*	*tenhlen*	*tenhlen*	
Acc	*tegalega*	*tohohleho*	*tohohleho*	"this"
Gen	*tegalega*	*tohohleho*	*tohohleho*	masc.sg.
Dat	*temulemu*	*tomuhlemu*	*tomuhlemu*	
Loc	*temlem*	*tomhlem*	*tomhlem*	
Inst	*temlem*	*tímhlem*	*týmhlem*	

• Haspelmath (1993), Stump (2001), Harris & Halle (2005), Harris & Faarlund (2006), Arregi & Nevins (2011):
  • Offer morphological analyses for doubled inflectional morphology in various languages
  • **Haspelmath (1993):**
    such data argue for an independent level of morphology → it is not just word-level syntax

CLAIM: such data can also be captured syntactically; they cannot be used to decide between syntax-only and morphology+syntax models

(4)	Slovenian	Czech	Slovak	case morphology is:
a.	*te**ga**le*	*to**ho**hle*	*to**ho**hle*	- word internal-**older**
	this-GEN/ACC-le	this-GEN/ACC-hle	this-GEN/ACC-hle	
b.	*tele**ga***	*tohle**ho***	*tohle**ho***	- word external-**newer**
	this-le-GEN/ACC	this-hle-GEN/ACC	this-hle-GEN/ACC	

- • Logar (1967): (4b) forms are innovations
- • Oldest (4a) forms in Slovenian – 1846
- • Oldest (4b) forms in Slovenian – 1905
- • (4) is parallel to (3)
→ a diachronic change from (4a) to (4b) (over (1))

- • Similar phenomenon observed with the free-choice relative pronoun *kar koli* – "what ever"
  - • Trubar – 1557 – *kar je kuli dobriga …*
    what aux ever good
  - • Modern Slo. – *kar koli je dobrega …*
    whatever is good

- • variation between 3 forms in Modern Slo.:
  - • *katerim koli* **older**
    which-DAT ever
  - • *katerim kolim*
    which-DAT ever-DAT
  - • *Katerikolim* **newer**
   which-ever-DAT

- At this point in time, the three forms coexist:
  - • we have three separate (but historically related) grammars

- (4a) and (4b) are unproblematic
  - • (4a) - an inflected demonstrative followed by an invariant clitic (*h)le*;
  - • (4b), (*h)le* is a derivational suffix on the demonstrative stem *tV-*, inflection is added externally

Why do we get the intermediate stage with the doubled case morphology?

- if the clitic from (4a) gets reanalyzed as a derivational affix, it should merge directly with the stem
    → we should get (4b) directly from (4a),
- if at the doubling stage, the deictic is still an independent word with its own case inflection, we cannot explain why it does not behave like a word

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The deictic element -(h)le-

- • Distribution:
    tale (this.le), *takle* (this.kind.le), *tamle* (there.le), *zdajle* (now.le), *tolikole* (this.much.le), etc.

- • Meaning:
    demonstrative > strict spatio-temporal deixis (preventing discourse-deixis)

(2) *Pepe do Nanija, ta(#le) naprej do Ronalda .*
  'Pepe passes to Nani, the latter on to Ronaldo'

  • *tedaj* (at.that.point) > **tedajle*
    • *gor-le* = "up-le" (dialectal)

- • History:
    reduced from the imperative of 'to look' (Snoj 2003, Janda & Townsend 2002, Logar 1967)

- • Constituency:
    constituent with the demonstrative. Part of the demonstrative's projection line, not the noun's

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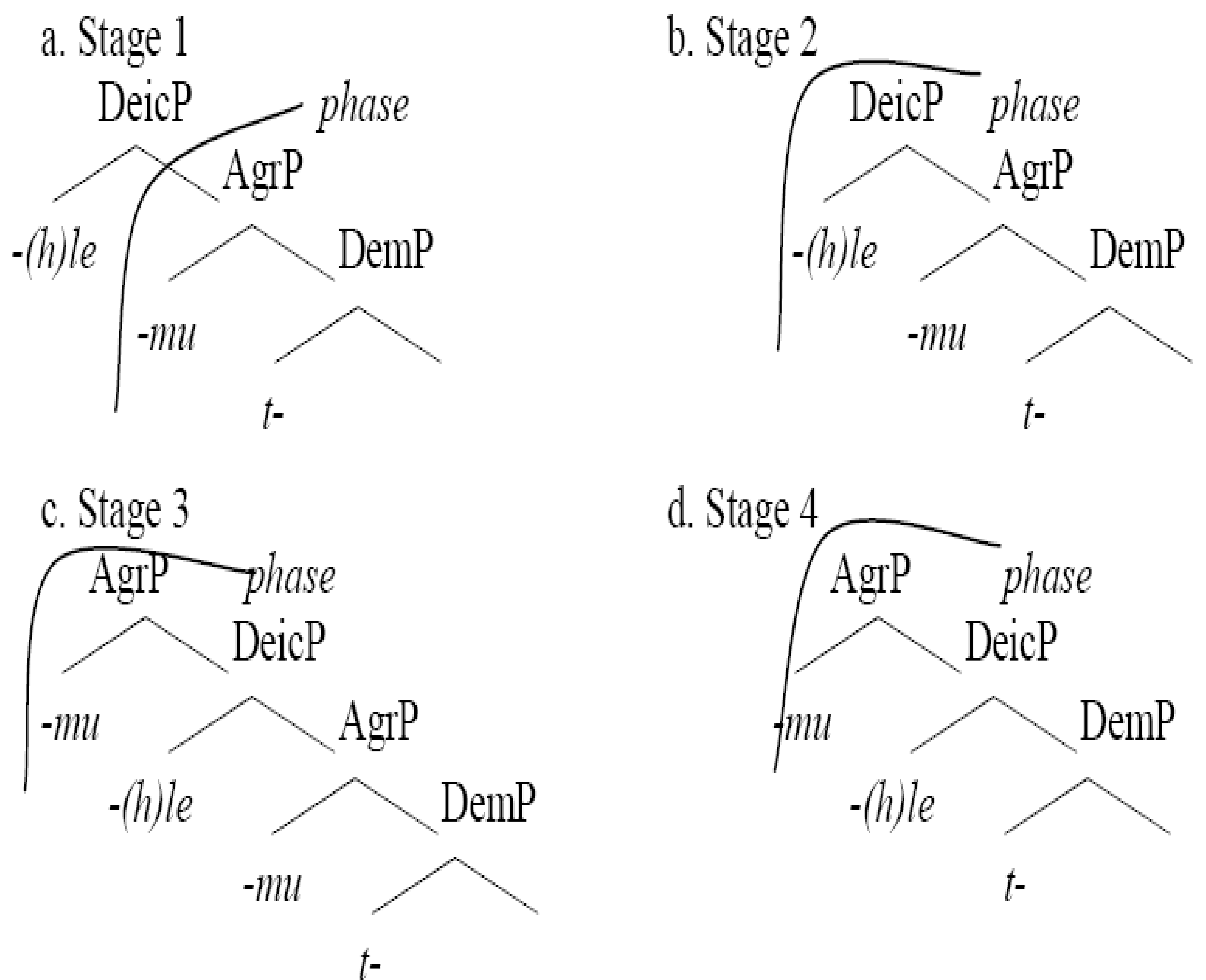
- Stage 1: the demonstrative is followed by a clitic. This clitic is reanalyzed as a derivational morpheme
- Stage 2: spell-out is delayed (cf. den Dikken 2007) for one merge only, to include the Deictic phrase
- Stage 3: a new Agr head is introduced on top of the now derivational morpheme in DeicP
- Stage 4: the lower Agr head no longer counts as a phase, and is eventually simply omitted

The doubled agreement is a sort of repair strategy to fix the problem with agreement not being at the phase edge. While such an approach does not invalidate a morphological account, it does capture the situation syntactically, thus removing the patterns in (1) from the set of putatively decisive data in the separate-morphology/syntax-only debate.

A historical change

• the complexes in (1) are not two words pronounced together
  • -(*h)le* cannot be used nominally by itself
  • can never be split from the demonstrative
  • forms a single prosodic word with it.
  • The doubly-inflected examples coexist with those in (4),
  • the variation reflects a diachronic change with (1) as an intermediate stage from (4a) to (4b),
  • following Haspelmath (1993) on Georgian (also Harris & Faarlund 2006, etc.)

Haspelmath (1993):
• change occurs because a clitic that grammaticalizes as a bound derivational morpheme traps case inflection inside the word,
  → a violation of the universally preferred morpheme order:
  ROOT > DERIVATION > INFLECTION
  (Greenberg 1963, Bybee 1985, Dressler et al. 1987 etc.).
• Case inflection shifts to the edge via a stage which realizes both copies of the morpheme.

- • **Georgian:**

(3)	older	intermediate	newer	
Nom	*ra-me*		*ra-me*	
Dat	*ra-s-me*	*ra-s-me-s*	*ra-me-s*	
Adv	*ra-d-me*	*ra-d-me-d*	*ra-me-d*	"anything"
Gen	*ri-s-me*		*ra-me-s*	(Haspelmath
Inst	*r-iti-me*		*ra-me-ti*	1993)

Arregi, K & A. Nevins. 2011. *Morphotactics*. To appear with Springer. / **Bybee, J.** 1985. *Morphology*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. / **Dikken, M. den.** 2007. Phase extension. *Theoretical Linguistics* 33.1: 1-42. / **Dressler, W., et el.**. 1987. *Leitmotifs in Natural Morphology*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. / **Greenberg, J.** 1963. Some universals of grammar with particular reference to the meaning of elements. In *Universals of Language*, 73–113. MIT Press. / **Harris, A. & J. T. Faarlund.** 2006. Trapped morphology. *J. Linguistics* 42: 289-315. / **Harris, J., & M. Halle.** 2005. Unexpected Plural Inflections in Spanish. *Linguistic Inquiry* 36.2:192-222. / **Haspelmath, M.** 1993. The diachronic externalization of inflection. *Linguistics* 31:279–309. / **Kremers, J.** 2011. Morphology – like syntax – is in the eye of the beholder. Ms. U of Groningen. / **Logar, T.** Kazalni zaimek v slovenskih narečjih. *SSJLK III.* / **Marantz, A.** 1997. No Escape from Syntax. *U. Penn WP in Linguistics* 4/2: 201-224. / **Marantz, A.** 2001. *Words*. Ms. MIT. / **Snoj, M.** 2003. *Slovenski etimološki slovar*. ZRC SAZU. / **Starke, M.** 2009. Nanosyntax: a short primer to a new approach to language. *Nordlyd* 36.1: 1-6. / **Stump, G.** 2001. *Inflectional morphology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.