On Slovenian demonstrative reinforcers and the internal structure of demonstratives

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This paper presents some peculiar Slovenian data that exhibit doubling of certain functional morphemes in a single word, specifically, of a spatio-temporal deictic marker/demonstrative reinforcer and of case markers. The paper offers an overview of the basic paradigms and a first attempt at an analysis. We suggest that when analyzed correctly, our data actually turn out not to be that unexpected. We also show that in exhibiting such data, Slovenian is actually not that peculiar, since similar phenomena have been found in several languages.

1. Introduction

Even though Slovenian demonstratives may appear quite ordinary and uninteresting elements at first sight, they actually participate in some rather peculiar morphological paradigms. Specifically, some of the morphemes internal to demonstratives can be doubled, and sometimes even tripled within a single demonstrative. As shown in (1a) below, for example, the demonstrative reinforcer *le* can be doubled; and even more surprisingly, as shown in (1b), case morphology can also be doubled, appearing both before and after the reinforcer morpheme *le*.

(1) a. i. *tega*
         this-GEN
         'of this one'
       ii. *tegale*
         this-GEN-LE
         'of this very one'
       iii. *tegalele*
         this-GEN-LE-LE
         'of this very one'

     b. i. *tega*
         this-GEN
         'of this one'
       ii. *tegale*
         this-GEN-LE
         'of this very one'
       iii. *tegalega*
         this-GEN-LE-GEN
         'of this very one'

While our native-speaker awareness of (1a), whose use seems generalized across Slovenian dialects, is nothing recent, and the option of a doubled *le* from (1aiii) is also noted in Toporišič (2000: 341), we were quite astonished when recently coming across the pattern in (1biii). Nevertheless, running a series of searches on the internet to determine whether this is a real pattern or just a one-time coinage or even slip of the tongue, we found that the form in (1biii) is actually not even particularly rare. Subsequently we also found some such forms reported in Logar (1967). This paper reports some of our first findings related to the curious case-doubling phenomenon, while leaving the questions raised by the doubling of *le* itself,

displayed in (1aiii), for future research.

We should add that even though we talk about Slovenian, of which we are native speakers, the speech of neither of us includes all of the patterns presented below. We collected the data that we discuss as Slovenian from the internet, from texts that have clearly been written by native speakers; subsequently, we were also able to confirm many of the reported patterns, including several of those that our varieties do not include, with native speakers. Where necessary we also provide some quantitative data.

In section 2, we give some background on Slovenian demonstratives. Section 3 presents the demonstrative reinforcer *le*. Section 4 provides the details regarding case doubling and section 5 offers an analysis. Section 6 concludes this paper.

2. *Slovenian demonstratives*

Like in most other Slavic languages, Slovenian nominal demonstrative pronouns inflect for case, gender and number, as shown in (2).

(2) a. i. *ta*　　　　　　*slika*　　　　　b. i. *to*　　　　　　*mesto*
　　　　　　this-F.SG.NOM　picture-F.SG.NOM　　　　　this-N.SG.NOM　town-N.SG.NOM
　　　　ii. *te*　　　　　　*slike*　　　　　　　ii. *tega*　　　　　*mesta*
　　　　　　this-F.SG.GEN　picture-F.SG.GEN　　　　　this-N.SG.GEN　town-N.SG.GEN
　　　　iii. *tej*　　　　　*sliki*　　　　　　　iii. *temu*　　　　　*mestu*
　　　　　　this-F.SG.DAT　picture-F.SG.DAT　　　　　this-N.SG.DAT　town-N.SG.DAT

In this respect, Slovenian nominal demonstratives behave like adjectives, which is indeed how comparable demonstratives in the closely related Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian are analyzed in Zlatić (1997) and Bošković (2007). And if they are adjectival, Slovenian nominal demonstratives will also get their agreement—just as is typically assumed for adjectives—via 'concord' (see e.g. Giusti 2008). Furthermore, if demonstratives are adjectival, it seems natural to treat them as a phrase in the specifier position of the relevant functional head in the nominal domain (in the spirit of Cinque 2005, 2010, Roehrs 2010), as in (3); following Roehrs (2010), we label this functional head IndexP.

(3)　*tega* =　　　　　　　　　IndexP
　　　this$_{ACC}$　　AgrP/KP＿＿＿＿＿＿
　　　　　　　　　　　　＿＿＿　DemP　　　...
　　　　　　　　-*ga*　　＿＿＿＿＿
　　　　　　　　　　　t-/tist-/on-
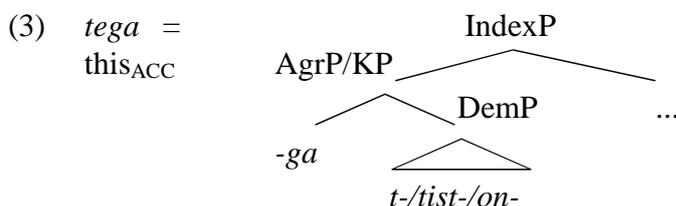
Apart from the adjectival demonstratives—the Slovenian equivalents of 'this' and 'that'—there are also many other demonstrative elements in Slovenian. What they all share is the demonstrative morpheme *t-/s-/on-*, which is followed by a morpheme expressing location/time/quantity/etc. and by the final morpheme determining the word's grammatical category.

(4)　a. nominal demonstratives: *ta,*　　*tisti,*　*oni*
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　this　　that　　that

    b. locatives: *tukaj, tam*
                  here-LOC   there-LOC
    c. directionals: *sem, tja*
                  here-DIR   there-DIR
    d. adjectives: *tak, takšen*
                  that-type/kind   that-type/kind
    e. numerals: *toliko*
                  that many/much
    f. manner adverbs: *tako*
                  that-way
    g. temporal expr.: *sedaj, tedaj, takrat*
                  now,   then (formal), then (spoken)

3.   *The demonstrative-reinforcer-like* le

Before getting into the discussion of the double-case-marking data, we need to determine the nature of *le*, the element appearing between the two instances of case morphology.

    Slovenian demonstratives can, at first sight optionally, occur with a particle-like element *le* affixed to them, as in (5). Without going into any detailed description, the literature describes *le* (in this use) as a reinforcing particle that raises the definiteness of the demonstrative (Logar 1967, Toporišič 2000: 340; but see 3.1 below for our own description of *le*). Its historical source is presumably the imperative form of the verb *gledati* "look" (Snoj 2003, according to Logar 1967 also Štrekelj 1906), not at all an unlikely candidate for the origin of a demonstrative reinforcer-like morpheme.

(5)   a. *Ta(le) žoga je pa res prehitra.*
        this-LE ball AUX PTCL really   too-fast
        'This ball (here) is really too fast.'
    b. *Tisti(le) je pa res dober.*
        that-LE AUX PTCL truly good
        'As for that one (there), it's really good.'
    b. *Tam(le) je padel Robert Koren.*
        there-LE   AUX fell   Robert Koren
        '(Just) over there is where Robert Koren fell.'

This element can appear on essentially any demonstrative, whether it is an adnominal, pronominal or adverbial, (6); excluded from this—predictably, as we will explain below—are only the two temporal demonstratives in (6g).

(6)   a. nominal demonstratives: *tale, tistile*
                                this-LE   that-LE
    b. locatives: *tukajle, tamle*
                  here-LOC-LE   there-LOC-LE
    c. directionals: *semle, tjale*
                  here-DIR-LE   there-DIR-LE
    d. adjectives: *takle, takšenle*
                  that-type/kind-LE   that-type/kind-LE

e. numerals: *tolikole*
　　　　　　　that many/much-LE
f. manner adverbs: *takole*
　　　　　　　that-way-LE
g. temporal expr.: *sedajle,　＊tedajle,　＊takratle*
　　　　　　　now-LE,　　then-LE,　　then-LE

Before continuing, we should add that there exist other elements in Slovenian which may at least superficially seem quite close to the demonstrative reinforcer *le*, but which we will not deal with in this study; we will briefly mention them now only to properly delimit the scope of our study. Firstly, we assume that the morpheme *-lej*, which appears in temporal expressions *potlej* ("afterwards"), *dotlej* ("until then"), *poslej* ("from now on"), *doslej* ("until now"), *vselej* ("always"), is synchronically a separate element even though it may be etymologically related to *le*, i.e. likewise a derivative of the imperative of "look", (*g*)*lej*; the distribution of these *-lej* forms differs from the distribution of the counterpart *-le*-forms, and the distribution of *-lej* itself differs from that of *-le* (the latter, for example, cannot attach to *vse* "all"). Secondly, the *-le* that combines with *vendar* and *edino* to form *vendarle* and *edinole* ("nonetheless" and "only") can most likely be treated as separate from our *-le* in (5) for the following reasons. The compound *edinole* is synonymous and interchangeable with both *edino* by itself and *lè* by itself, with all three meaning "only", (7a). Also, both the compound *edinole* and the stand-alone *lè* (in its use of "only") are restricted to formal Slovenian, whereas the *-le* from (5) is rampant in spontaneous colloquial Slovenian; similarly, keeping the *-le* from (5) separate from the *-le* in *edinole* seems corroborated by looking at one of Slovenian's close relatives, Slovak, where "only" is *len*, but the demonstrative reinforcer— the counterpart of Slovenian *le* from (5)—is the clearly separate *hle*. In a similar vein, *vendarle* can also be replaced, at least to some degree, by the stand-alone stressed *lè*, (7b)-(7c), which suggests that it should be treated separately from the *-le* from (5).

(7)　a. *Edino Peter bi lahko … = Lè Peter bi lahko … = Edinole Peter bi lahko …*
　　　　"Only Peter could …"
　　b. i. *Pa　ti　je　vendarle　　uspelo.*
　　　　　 PTCL you　AUX　nonetheless　made it
　　　 ii. *Pa　ti　je　lè　　　　uspelo.*
　　　　　 PTCL you　AUX　nonetheless　made it
　　　　　 "You made it after all!"
　　c. i. *Jaz　pa　vendarle　　mislim, da　to　ni　isto.*
　　　　　 I　　PTCL nonetheless　think　that　this　not　same
　　　 ii. *Jaz　pa　lè　　　　mislim, da　to　ni　isto.*
　　　　　 I　　PTCL nonetheless　think　that　this　not　same
　　　　　 "I nevertheless think this is not the same thing."

And thirdly, we believe that the demonstrative reinforcer *le* is synchronically separate from the 'ever'-like *wh*-word reinforcer in cases like *Kje lè*? "Wherever?/Where on earth?". While all of these elements might be historically related to our *le* from (5) (cf. Snoj 2003), their synchronically sufficiently different behaviours fully warrant leaving them out of the present study; but this does not mean that at least in principle, an account could not be found later which could explain their commonalities and differences synchronically as well.

As mentioned above, *le* combines with demonstratives and seems to act as a kind of reinforcer. In this section, we will show that this reinforcing interpretation comes from *le*'s narrowing a regular demonstrative to a strictly spatio-temporal deictic demonstrative, essentially restricting its deictic potential to reference to the physical visual field.

Le cannot be used with a demonstrative to refer to a person that is not present in the immediate physical context. That is, if a person is present only in the linguistic context, e.g. through the previous utterance, (8), we cannot use *le* on the demonstrative that refers back to this person from the previous utterance; in other words, *le* prevents what is sometimes called the discourse-deictic use of demonstratives.

(8)   A: *Peter se   je   včeraj   navduševal nad Valterjem Birso.*
         Peter REFL AUX yesterday rave   over Valter   Birsa
         "Peter was all enthusiastic about Valter Birsa yesterday."
      B: *A tega*(#*le*) *tipa ti   poznaš*?
         Q this-LE   guy   you   know
         "Do you know the guy?" (intended reference – Valter Birsa)

Note that in formal Slovenian, the combination of a demonstrative and a *pre*posed particle with the same phonological form *can* be used in contexts comparable to (8), as shown in (9a). However, not only is this only acceptable with the preposed version and not with the postposed one, as most clearly shown with the minimal-pair contrast between *tale* and *le-ta* (both "this") in (9), this preposed instance of *le* is also more like an independent word, carrying its own stress.

(9)   a. *Novaković poda   do Birse, le-ta   poda   naprej do Cesarja ...*
         Novaković passes   to Birsa, LE-this   passes   on   to Cesar
         "Novaković passes to Birsa, the latter passes on to Cesar ...'"
      b. *Novaković poda   do Birse, ta*(#*le*) *poda   naprej do Cesarja ...*
         Novaković passes   to Birsa, this-LE   passes   on   to Cesar
         "Novaković passes to Birsa, the latter passes on to Cesar …"

Furthermore, in spontaneous Slovenian only *tale* exists and does not have the use of the formal-Slovenian *le-ta*. So even if they may be related, there is enough reason to keep *tale* and *le-ta* apart. In the remainder of this paper we will leave *le-ta* aside.

Revealing restrictions also appear when we combine *le* with temporal demonstratives. As mentioned above, *le* can appear on temporal-deictic adverbs like 'now', (10a), but not on the discourse-dependent 'at that point', (10b), and even less so on non-demonstrative adverbials like 'later', (10c), or even demonstrative-containing relative adverbials like 'afterwards', (10d).

(10) a. *Zdajle ga   še   ne   vidim.*
         now-LE he-ACC still not   see
         "Right now I don't see him yet."
      b. *Tedaj*(*le) *je   prišel   sam   pred   gol   in   zadel.*
         that-time-LE   AUX come   alone   in-front-of goal and   scored
         "At that point he found himself in front of the goal all alone and scored."

c. *Kasnej(*le) je prišel sam pred gol in zadel.*
   that-time-LE AUX come alone in-front-of goal and scored
   "At that point he found himself in front of the goal all alone and scored."
d. *Potem(*le) je prišel sam pred gol in zadel.*
   after-that-LE AUX come alone in-front-of goal and scored
   "Afterwards, he found himself in front of the goal all alone and scored."

The only other temporal demonstrative that can combine with *le* is *prej* "before", in *prejle* "before-le", but this form can only be used relative to now, that is, when it means "before now"/"just now". It is impossible when it is used relative to some other point, e.g. "beforehand, prior to x". In sum, of the temporal demonstratives, only those can combine with *le* which refer to a point in time to which direct referral is possible. Only two such temporal demonstratives exist in Slovenian, "now" and "just (before) now", and as we have shown, these are the only ones that allow the addition of *le*.

Examples (11)-(13) offer some more (minimal) pairs showing the semantic import of *le*.

(11) a. *Tinček je preveč razdražljiv. A Tone je tud tak(#le)?*
      Tinček AUX over sensitive Q Tone AUX also like-this-LE
      "Tinček is over sensitive. Is Tone also like this?"
   b. *Lej ga, takle mi gre najbolj na jetra.*
      look he-ACC like-this-LE I-DAT goes most on liver
      "Look at him, I really hate him when he is like this."

(12) a. *Peter je šel včeraj na Triglav. A ti si že bil tam(#le)?*
      Peter AUX gone yesterday on Triglav Q you AUX already were there-LE
      "Yesterday, Peter climbed Mt. Triglav. Have you been there yet?"
   b. *Lej, na tisti hrib tamle gremo.*
      look onto that mountain there-LE go
      "Look, that hill over there is where we're going."

(13) a. *Vid je kupil 5 kil mesa. A misliš, da bo tok(#le) zadost?*
      Vid is bought 5 kilos meat. Q think that will that-much-LE enough
      "Vid bought 5 kilos of meat. Do you think this will be enough?"
   b. [at a butcher's] *Tokle tistgale mesa prosim, pa semle mi ga dejte.*
      that-much that-LE meat please PTCL here-LE me it give
      "That much of that kind of meat please. Give it here."

In (11a), *le* cannot be used to refer to "being sensitive" unless there is someone in visible sight which seems sensitive and to whom we can point. Similarly, (11b) suggests a scenario where the person uttering the sentence is simultaneously pointing at someone visibly in sight. In (12a), the demonstrative *tamle* cannot be used to refer to Mt. Triglav from the previous utterance, unless Mt. Triglav is in visible sight from where the interlocutors are standing (or else both interlocutors know exactly in which direction Triglav is) and at the same time the speaker points towards it. Just like in (11b), (12b) suggests a scenario where a simultaneous pointing gesture is needed. (13) shows the same for the demonstrative of quantity. While in (13a) we cannot use *tokle* to mean the previously mentioned 5 kilos, we can use it in (13b) if we accompany the utterance with a hand-gesture that shows how much meat we want to buy. At the same time, as shown in (11a), (12a) and (13a), using the plain (i.e. *le*-less)

demonstrative to refer back to an entity from the discourse works fine.

To summarize, the apparently reinforced interpretation of the *le*-suffixed demonstrative variants comes from *le*'s narrowing a regular demonstrative to a strictly spatio-temporal deictic, essentially restricting its deictic potential to reference to the physical visual field and stripping it of its discourse-deictic use. The *le*-variants thus cannot be used to refer to an entity that is present only in the linguistic context, such as through the previous utterance. If *le* evolved from an imperative form of the verb "look", as has been suggested, this semantic narrowing is not at all unexpected.

3.2 Possible analyses for le?

As we have seen above, *le* appears on all types of demonstratives. Further, *le* is impossible with any other determiner, as well as with numbers, adjectives, nouns or any other noun phrase-internal element, (14).

(14) a. *mnogo(*le) / nekaj(*le) / malo(*le) / vse(*le) / pet(*le) / vsak(*le)*
      a-lot-LE   some-LE   few-LE   all-LE   five-LE   every-LE

   b. *Prinesel mi   je   mnogo(*le)/nekaj(*le)/malo(*le)/vse(*le)/pet(*le)   žog.*
      brought I-DAT AUX a-lot-LE   some-LE few-LE   all-LE five-LE   balls
      "He brought many/some/few/all/five balls to me."

   c. *Prinesel   mi   je vsako(*le) žogo.*
      brought   I-DAT is every-LE   ball
      "He brought me every ball."

So with respect to an analysis, the first option that comes to mind is that *le* should be analyzed as the spell-out of some head or phrase that is specific to demonstratives. Some such elements have been independently proposed in the literature, so it is worth checking if they can be adopted for a succesfull analysis of *le*.

Leu (2008) proposes that demonstratives combine a determiner of some extended AP projection (xAP) and a silent HERE or THERE inside this xAP, so that every demonstrative looks like (15).

(15) [xAP D [AP HERE/THERE]]

However, *le* cannot be the overt realization of these null elements, for the simple reason that we have only one element, namely *le*, which is found on both proximal and distal demonstratives, (16), whereas the silent element is argued to come in two flavors for the two types of demonstratives – HERE vs. THERE.

(16) a. *ta*   = proximal, "this"   → *tale*
        tisti = distal/medial, "that" → *tistile*
        oni   = distal, "that"   → *onile*

   b. *Tale/tistile/onile   nogometaš mi   je   pa   še   kar   všeč.*
      this-LE/that-LE/that-LE footballer   me   AUX PTCL *still rather   like*
      "I rather like this/that football player."

Kayne's (2004) analysis of demonstratives also involves a demonstrative-specific null

element, but unlike Leu (2008), Kayne argues that demonstrative adverbials contain a null noun PLACE. However, trying to invoke this account for analyzing *le* also results in problems. *Le* cannot be the realization of this null noun inside the demonstrative because it occurs with all kinds of deitic elements, not just with demonstrative place adverbials; as shown above, it can combine with manner, temporal, quantitative and adjectival demonstratives. All these demonstratives are composed ot *t-/s-* + PLACE/TIME/MANNER + AGR + *le*, so we would need more than just one single empty noun. For the demonstrative adverbial in (17), we would thus presumably need something like an empty noun WAY. So just as was the case above with multiple adjectives, it does not seem reasonable to assume that the one and only *le* is the overt realization of several null nouns.

(17) *Tkole   se   igra fuzbal na   prvenstvu.*
     this-way-LE   REFL play football at   world-cup
     "This is how football is played at the world cup."

In order for such an analysis to work, we would need to assume that the null element inside demonstratives is not HERE/THERE or PLACE/WAY but something less specific. But if the null noun/adjective in demonstratives is more general, we lose the original motivation for the null noun/adjective. Moreover, such a null noun/adjective analysis cannot explain the possibility of having multiple occurrences of *le* inside a single demonstrative, an example of which was given in (1a) above and two more are offered in (18) below ((18b) is from the internet).

(18) a. *Tkolele   se   igra fuzbal na   prvenstvu.*
        this-way-LE-LE   REFL play football at   world cup
        "This is how football is played at the world cup."
     b. *Hod tistlele   na   leu, k   se   ga   sam pou vid, na lesnoo??*
        go   that-LE-LE on   left that REFL him   only half see   on   wooden
        "Does the partly hidden guy on the left go to the wood-industry high school?"

3.3 Le *as the head of a functional projection*

In this section, we will show that *le* forms a constituent together with the demonstrative and propose to analyze *le* as the head of the functional projection that tops off the phrase containing the demonstrative.

Firstly, the demonstrative *ta* and *le* cannot be separated. When they do appear separated, as in (19b), we are not dealing with the same *le* (cf. section 3 above); the interpretation that *le* gets in such cases is "only", so that (19b) means "only these three books". And as was explained in section 3.1 above, the formal-Slovenian construction *le-ta* is also separate from our use of *le*, so does not constitute a counterexample to our *le*'s forming a constituent. Secondly, the demonstrative+*le* complex behaves like an independent unit since it can appear in different positions inside the noun phrase, as shown in (20), where it appears either before or after the numeral; since (20a) and (20b) receive different interpretations, they are likely not related by movement.

(19) a.* *te   tri   le knjige*   b. #*le te   tri   knjige*   c. * *te   tri   knjige le*
       these three LE books   LE these three books   these three books LE
       (intended reading for (a)-(c): "these three books/these here three books")

(20) a. *tele   tri   hruške*   b. *tri   tele   hruške*
       these-LE three pears   three these-LE pears
       "these three pears"   "three pears of this type"

Next, since *le* can appear on various kinds of demonstratives, and in particular, on at least three kinds of noun phrase-internal elements (regular demonstratives, quantity demonstratives, and kind demonstrative), positing a dedicated functional projection (e.g. *Le*P/Deic$_{ST}$P) in the main DP-NP projection line does not appear to be an option, since these three types of elements should be hosted in three separate functional projections. Furthermore, the adjectival demonstrative+*le* can stand for any type of adjective, as shown in (21), where *takale* 'this kind' stands for size in the (a) example and for color in its (b) counterpart.

(21) a. *ena   takale   rdeča žoga*   b. *ena   velika   takale   žoga*
       one   this-kind-LE   red   ball   one   big   this-kind-LE   ball
       "a red ball of this type"   "a big ball of this type"
       (e.g. pointing to an object   (e.g. pointing to an object
       of a particular color)   of a particular size)

Given that different types of adjectives, such as size and color, are hosted in different functional projections (e.g. Scott 2002), this suggests that *takale* in (21a) and (21b) is hosted in different projections, and hence an analysis with *le* occupying a single functional projection is untenable.

   Therefore, we could say that *le* occupies the same dedicated functional projection of the NP-DP projection line only if all demonstratives were part of a noun phrase with a null noun PLACE/KIND/WAY/etc., which is itself situated somewhere inside the main noun phrase, as in (22). Now, a similar line of analysis was rejected in 3.2 above; note, however, that what we argued against there was the possibility that *le* represents an overt realization of the otherwise null nominal element. But in (22), *le* is not an overt counterpart of this otherwise null nominal element; and at the same time, in accordance with what we have just demonstrated to be the case, (22) correctly has the demonstrative and *le* forming a constituent to the exclusion of any other noun phrase-internal element.

(22)   [$_{DP}$ … [$_{DP}$ [$_{DemP}$ *ta* [$_{LeP/DeicP}$ *le* [$_{NP}$ PLACE/KIND/…]]]] … [$_{NP}$ *žoga*]]
                    this   LE   ball

Finally, note that the sequence DEM+AGR+*le*, which was the only pattern taken into consideration till now, is actually not the only option for combining *le* with the demonstrative. As was the case in the data discussed so far and as is shown in (23b) below, several Slovenian dialects and standard Slovenian have *le* on the outside of case morphology; but in other Slovenian dialects, *le* appears on the inside of case morphology, as shown in (23c) (cf. Logar 1967).[1] When the latter is the case, the constituency of the demonstrative and *le* is even more

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[1] The brackets in (23) generally indicate the existance of alternative spellings of the same form; *tel(e)ga* thus means that the form can be found spelled either as *telega* or as *telga*.

unquestionable (there is no independently established case of productive infixation in Slovenian).

(23)   a.   b.   c.

            le-less form   Standard and   Colloquial Slovenian
            (no variation)   Colloquial Slov.

NOM   *ta*   >   *tale* | *tale*
ACC   *tega*   >   *tegale* | *tel(e)ga*
GEN   *tega*   >   *tegale* | *tel(e)ga*
DAT   *temu*   >   *temule* | *tel(e)mu*
LOC   *v tem(u)* >   *v tem(u)le* | *v telem*
INST   *s tem*   >   *s temle* | *s telim/telem*

So if we accept the constituency we argued for above, the structure of a noun phrase with any of the demonstrative+*le* complexes will be along the lines of (24). Following Brugè (2002) and Cinque (2005), (24a) places the demonstrative in DemP, which, in turn, is located in the specifier position of some dedicated functional head in the main NP-DP projection line. Following Roehrs (2010), we label this dedicated functional projection IndexP.

(24) a.   …
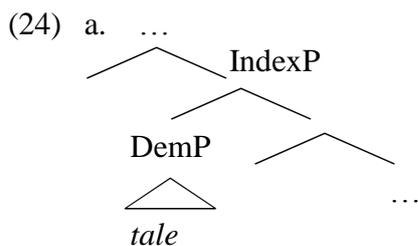
Other demonstrative elements—locatives, directionals, numerals, etc.—are located in the relevant position that hosts adverbs, numerals ('that-much'), adjectives ('that-type') etc.

  With respect to the internal structure of the demonstrative, however, the situation may be less clear. Since whatever follows *t-* seems to determine the grammatical category of the demonstrative (that is, whether it is an adverb, a numeral or an adjective), this should presumably be the highest head of the demonstrative phrase. We will call this AgrP (as a cover term for various projections). The internal structure of a regular demonstrative could then be as in (25a), and that of other, e.g. adverbial demonstratives as in (25b).

(25) a.   b.
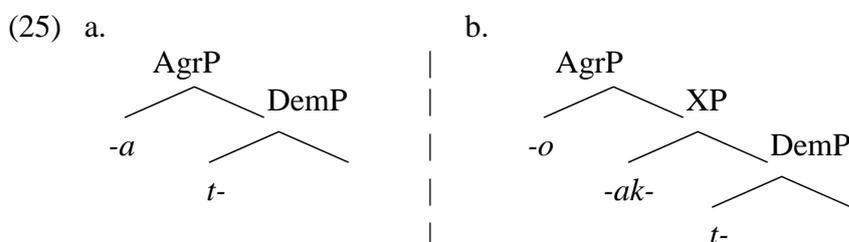
Next, we have to determine where *le* merges. As we have argued above, *le* only attaches to demonstratives, which could suggest that -*le* and the demonstrative head are merged together, with one selecting the other. But since in at least some varieties of Slovenian, -*le* is found on the outside of agreement morphology, we can conclude that at least in these varieties, -*le* merges with AgrP, and the relevant demonstrative feature then percolates up from DemP to

AgrP. Furthermore, it is clear that in more complex demonstratives, *le* never merges directly with their demonstrative subpart, because we never get combinations like **tleako/*taleko* (DEM-*le-ak*-AGR) and **tleakšen/*talekšen* (DEM-*le-ak-š*-ADJ-AGR) but always only *takole* and *takšenle* ("this way" and "this kind"). So the internal structure of the demonstrative may be—depending on its components—something like (26); since we claimed above that *le* turns a deictically underspecified demonstrative into a strictly spatio-temporal deictic, we will label the projection that introduces *le* Deic$_{ST}$P.

(26) a.

        Deic$_{ST}$P

             AgrP

  -le   DemP

      -a-

       t-

b.

        Deic$_{ST}$P

             AgrP

  -le   XP

      -o-   DemP

       -ak-

           t-
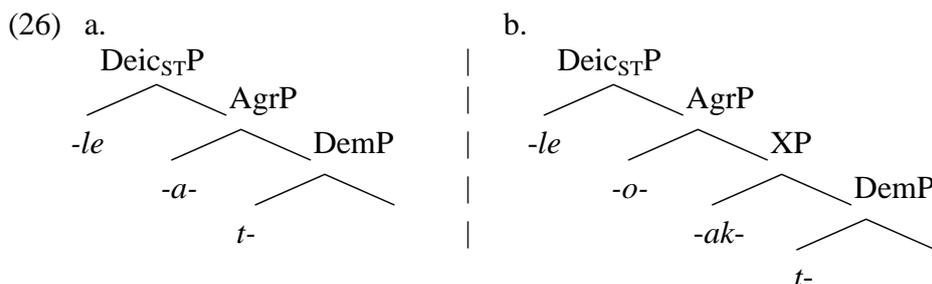
In-between DemP and AgrP, there may also be additional structure, such as projections that determine a determiner's proximal vs. distal character, etc.

3.4 Further data and their structures

So far we have only discussed the simple cases of demonstrative+*le* combinations and have not said much about the structural position of case morphology. As already mentioned in the previous section and summarized for one the masculine singular paradigm in (27b) and (27c) below, case can appear either above or below the Deic$_{ST}$P of our structure in (26a) above. In this section we present the third option of the three possible patterns with respect to the placement of *le* and case morphology, i.e., the option—attested in some varieties of colloquial Slovenian—in which case morphology can be doubled, appearing on both sides of *le*. The column in (27d) gives the entire masculine singular paradigm for this option. The number to the right of a colloquial form is the number of hits we found for the form by searching the internet with Google (search restricted to Slovenian pages, numbers reported from January/February 2011); the purpose of the numbers is mostly to convince the reader that we are dealing with real patterns. The numbers reported are combined totals for all spelling alternatives (as indicated by brackets), so that, for example, *temulemu*, *temulmu* and *temlemu* have all been included in the figure reported for the dative form of (27d). Occurrences of the same form, when it covers more than one value (e.g. *tegal(e)ga*, which covers both accusative and genitive), have not been kept apart; we just checked to make sure the occurrences attest the use of the form for both values.

(27)

	a. le-less form		b. Stand. & Coll.		c. Colloquial		d. Colloquial	
NOM	*ta*	>	*tale*	|	*tale/tela**	noise |	*tala†*	noise
ACC	*tega*	>	*tegale*	|	*tel(e)ga*	1800 |	*tegal(e)ga*	4000+
GEN	*tega*	>	*tegale*	|	*tel(e)ga*	|	*tegal(e)ga*	
DAT	*temu*	>	*temule*	|	*tel(e)mu*	400 |	*tem(u)l(e)mu*	70
LOC	*v tem(u)*	>	*v tem(u)le*	|	*v tel(e)m(u)*	830 |	*v tem(u)lem(u)*	1200+
INST	*s tem*	>	*s temle*	|	*s telim*	4400 |	*s temlem*	8000+

* *tela avto* "this car" gives 2 hits

† *tala avto* "this car" gives 3 hits

Note that although (27) gives the three paradigms of the demonstrative pronoun only for masculine singular, the same three options are restricted neither to this value of gender nor to this value of number. The neuter paradigm differs from the masculine only in nominative case, while in plural all genders share the same paradigm; (28) below offers the feminine singular paradigm, and (29) offers the plural paradigms.

(28) *FEMININE*

	a.		b.		c.		d.	
NOM	*ta*	>	*tale*	/	*tela**	noise /	*tala‡†*	noise
ACC	*to*	>	*tole*	/	*telo†*	noise /	*tolo‡†**	noise
GEN	*te*	>	*tele†**	/	*tele†**	noise /	*tele†**	noise
DAT	*tej*	>	*tejle*	/	*telej/teli‡*	noise /	*tejli*	1000+
LOC	*v tej*	>	*v tejle*	/	*v telej/teli*	2 /	*v tejlej*	2
INST	*s to*	>	*s tole*	/	*s telo‡**	noise /	*s tolo*	800+

* *tistala* "that one" (Fem.Nom) gives 800+ hits

† *tistalo* "that one" (Fem.Acc) gives 140+ hits

†* *tele strani* "this page"/"these pages" gives 8000+ hits

‡ *teli punci* "this girl" gives 250+ hits

‡* we found *s tistalo* "with that one" (Fem.Inst) on the internet

‡† *tala stran* "this page" gives 5 hits

‡†* *tolo stran* "this page" gives 520+ hits

(29) *PLURAL*

	a.		b.		c.		d.	
NOM	*te/ti*	>	*tele/tile*	/	*tele/teli**	noise /	*tele/tili‡**	noise
ACC	*te*	>	*tele†*	/	*tele†*	noise /	*tele†*	noise
GEN	*teh*	>	*tehle*	/	*teleh†**	noise /	*tehleh*	1200+
DAT	*tem*	>	*temle*	/	*telem‡*	noise /	*temlem*	8000+
LOC	*v teh*	>	*v tehle*	/	*v telih*	1000+/	*v tehleh*	84 (na)
INST	*s temi*	>	*s temile*	/	*s telemi*	43 /	*s temilemi*	200+

* *teli tipi* "these guys" gives 2500+ hits

† *tele punce* "these girls" gives 5000+ hits

†* *teleh slik* "these pages" 2 hits

‡ we found *telem stvarem* "these things"

‡* *tili tipi* "these guys" gives 9 hits

As shown in (28) and (29) above, essentially all forms are attested on the internet, i.e. in a corpus of written Slovenian. We have to stress again that the counts we report above are really just to show that these forms do exist (an actual example for each of the forms is given in the

Appendix); doing reliable counts that would make it possible to compare the relative freqnencies of individual forms unfortunately seems more or less impossible.[2]

So what could be the structure for the third, case-doubling pattern? We suggest that the doubling paradigm—which may well be in free variation with the standard/(b)-column alternatives—arises as a combination of the other two other patterns. In (30), we sketch the proposed structures for all three patterns.[3]

(30) a. Deic_{ST}P

      -le   AgrP

           -ga-   DemP

                   t-

                                               tegale   Standard & Colloquial Slovenian

b.

      AgrP

    -ga   Deic_{ST}P

           -le-   DemP

                   t-

                                               telega   Colloquial Slovenian

c.   AgrP

    -ga   Deic_{ST}P

           -le-   AgrP

                 -ga-   DemP

                         t-

                                             tegalega   Colloquial Slovenian
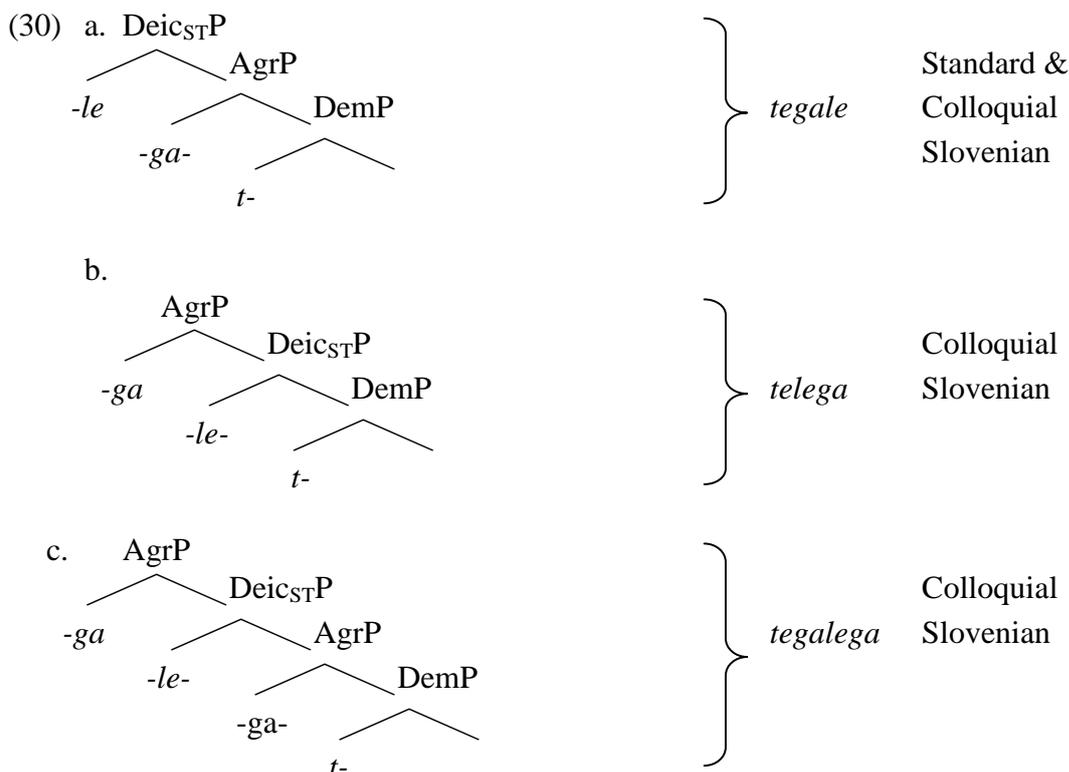
4. *Other languages, same phenomena*

Patterns similar to the ones we presented above for Slovenian can be found in Czech and Slovak. Both of these languages use the particle *-hle* as a reinforcer that appears to be functionally parallel to the Slovenian *-le*. Just as has been suggested for Slovenian *-le* (Snoj

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[2] As has already been mentioned, two of the three patterns are colloquial only. Accordingly, the internet is currently the only corpus that can be used to search for these forms. For example, whereas *tegal(e)ga* and *tel(e)ga* prove to be among the more frequent forms of their respective paradigms on the internet, both the *FidaPlus* (http://www.fidaplus.net/Pisni/Pisni_index.html) and the *Nova beseda* (http://bos.zrc-sazu.si/s_beseda.html) corpora of written Slovenian return no hits for *tegal(e)ga* and one single hit for *tel(e)ga*, and the emerging *GOS* corpus of spoken Slovenian (http://www.korpus-gos.net/) returns no hits for either form (all checks from March 1, 2011); admittedly, the *GOS* corpus currently contains only about 280,000 words, of which only 13% are from registers where one may expect these forms, and furthermore, only an (unspecified) part of this share includes speech from the dialects where one may expect these forms.

[3] As pointed out by a reviewer, it is unusual to have a variable ordering of AgrP and Deic_{ST}P even if these are three different dialects/systems. One option to address this problem is to try and analyze the two *le*'s as heads of two different projections (e.g. Deic_{ST1}P vs. Deic_{ST2}P). Another option to explore is to put *le* in either the specifier or else the head of Deic_{ST}P. We discuss these options (and their possible problems), offer further argumentation for positing an AgrPs on each side of DeicP and a discussion of the implications for the theory of agreement in Marušič and Žaucer (in preparation).

2003), the Czech and Slovak *-hle* is also claimed to derive historically from the imperative form of the verb "look" (Janda & Townsend 2002).

A doubling pattern that seems to be best known for Czech and Slovak *-hle*-forms is the one in (31), in which the adnominal demonstrative allows the demonstrative to reduplicate, yielding a form that does not seem to exist in Slovenian.[4]

(31) *tenhleten* / *togohletogo,* / *techhletech* etc.
 this$_{NOM}$-hle-this$_{NOM}$ this$_{GEN}$-hle-this$_{GEN}$ this$_{GEN.PL}$-hle-this$_{GEN.PL}$

However, just like in the case of Slovenian, colloquial Czech and Slovak apparently also exhibit forms that double only the case morphology, as in (32) (data again from the internet, culled from Czech sentences confirmed as native by Pavel Caha). Just like in Slovenian, the entire paradigm is attested on the internet.

(32) *tohohleho* = to-ho-hle-ho »DEM-AGR-*hle*-AGR« - GEN.SG
 tomuhlemu = to-mu-hle-mu »DEM-AGR-*hle*-AGR« - DAT.SG
 techhlech = t-ech-hle-ech »DEM-AGR-*hle*-AGR« - GEN.PL
 ...

We have not looked at these cases in any detail, but at first sight, it seems safe to assume that these forms are structurally parallel to the Slovenian double-case forms discussed above.

Furthermore, Haspelmath (1994) reports on similar cases of agreement doubling from Georgian and other languages, and Harris and Halle (2006) and Nevins (2009) discuss doubling of agreement in Spanish. In all of these cases a clitic is claimed to first get reinterpreted as a derivational suffix, which thus finds itself at the external edge of the word, outside the inflectional morpheme. According to Haspelmath, variation between the three patterns (reinterpreted derivational suffix outside inflection, inflection doubled inside and outside the reinterpreted derivational suffix, inflection only outside the reinterpreted derivational suffix) reflects a change in progress which is driven by the universal preference for inflectional morphology to be located outside derivational morphology.

The Slovenian demonstratives exhibit a surprisingly similar pattern to the patterns described for Georgian, Spanish, etc. So the coexisting Slovenian patterns we presented might also involve a historical change in progress. In fact, Logar (1967) does consider the form with case morphology trapped between the stem and *-le* to be the older form, although without much discussion. We will have to leave the historical aspect, and the question of how the three synchronically coexisting patterns are historically related, for future research.[5]

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[4] According to Logar (1967), some Upper Soča Valley dialects show DEM-*le*-DEM forms, but from what we can tell from the brief mention, these forms might differ from the Czech and Slovak forms in (31) in not doubling an inflected demonstrative form but rather combining an uninflected demonstrative with *le* and an inflected demonstrative (the only form given is *tltie*, which we reconstruct as DEM-*le*-DEM-AGR).

[5] The literature documents many other kinds of data that are sometimes mentioned as case doubling but whose potential (un)relatedness to our cases is, unfortunately, not very clear to us. One such case is the phenomenon that is often also termed suffixaufnahme, in which a nominal ends up with two different-value case suffixes as a result of the case of the entire noun phrase repeating on every noun in it, despite the fact that the nominal complement to the noun already carries its own genitive case, (i); another comes from substandard Hungarian, where the case suffix on the demonstrative can be doubled or marginally even tripled, with no intervening material, (ii); another comes from Chichewa, where the universal quantifier *-ri -onse* 'each/every' carries two instances of a class prefix (*-ch(i)-*), (iii); and another comes from English (McIntyre 2009), (iv).

5. Conclusion

This paper constitutes an initial investigation into a Slovenian demonstrative-reinforcer-like construction in which the attachment of the particle *le* was shown to restrict a demonstrative's use to one of strict spatio-temporal deixis, preventing a discourse-deictic use. Confronting our construction with the theoretical literature on demonstratives, we first tested and rejected two potential analyses and then—having demonstrated that *le* forms a constituent with the demonstrative—proposed that it originates in a dedicated functional projection (Deic$_{ST}$P) on the projection line of the demonstrative, which in turn sits in the dedicated demonstrative-hosting functional projection in the projection line of the relevant category (e.g. for an adnominal demonstrative, the IndexP of the the NP-DP line). Furthermore, we presented the three variants that our construction comes in (DEM-AGR-*le*, DEM-*le*-AGR, and the case-doubling DEM-AGR-*le*-AGR), and given the lack of awareness of the two substandard patterns, we also equipped the paradigm tables with some corpus counts and added some corpus data in the appendix. We suggested three variations of the proposal to capture the three distinct patterns, and concluded by briefly showing that the peculiar case-doubling pattern also exists in the possibly perfectly parallel demonstrative-reinforcer-like construction in Czech and Slovak. We had to leave diachronic aspects of the three construction variants for future work.

6. Acknowledgments

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(i) *ba:ba-gu junuy-gundi-yu*   Gumbaynggir
    father-Erg child-Gen-Erg
    'the child's father (ergative)'   (Moravcsik 1995: 458)

(ii)   a. *ez-t-et*   b. $^?$ *ez-t-et-et*   Hungarian
          this-acc-acc   this-acc-acc-acc
          'this'   (cf. standard *ez-t* this-acc)   'this'   (Moravcsik 1995: 456-7)

(iii) *Pa-li nchenche pa-chi-seko   chi-ri-ch-onse.*   Chichewa
      16-be 10-fly   16-7door   7every
      'There are flies on every door.'   (Carstens 1997: 384)

(iv)   a. *sisters-in-laws* in addition to *sister-in-laws* and *sisters-in-law*
       b. *governors-generals* in addition to *governor-generals* and *governors-general*

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8. Appendix

In this appendix we give examples with the nonstandard demonstratives from tables (33)-(35) below, which repeat the tables (27)-(29) from the main text. In the examples that follow the tables, the examples in (a) give masculine forms, the examples in (b) give feminine forms and examples in (c) give plural forms. Examples i. contain the demonstrative from column (c) in the cited tables and examples ii. contain the demonstrative from column (d). Due to excessive noise we include examples with *tisti* 'that' instead of *ta* 'this' in a couple of cases. Since the forms for the plural accusative and the feminine genitive are the same across the three paradigms in columns (b), (c), and (d), we do not give any examples in (37c) and (38b). The examples are quoted in their original form and thus typically contain nonstandard spelling.

(33) Masculine a. b. c. d.

Nom	*ta*	>	*tale*	|	*tale/tela/tel*	|	*tala*
Acc	*tega*	>	*tegale*	|	*tel(e)ga*	|	*tegal(e)ga*
Gen	*tega*	>	*tegale*	|	*tel(e)ga*	|	*tegal(e)ga*
Dat	*temu*	>	*temule*	|	*tel(e)mu*	|	*tem(u)l(e)mu*
Loc	*v tem(u)*	>	*v tem(u)le*	|	*v tel(e)m(u)*	|	*v tem(u)lem(u)*
Inst	*s tem*	>	*s temle*	|	*s telim*	|	*s temlem*

(34) Feminine a. b. c. d.

Nom	*ta*	>	*tale*	/	*tela*	/	*tala*
Acc	*to*	>	*tole*	/	*telo*	/	*tolo*
Gen	*te*	>	*tele*	/	*tele*	/	*tele*
Dat	*tej*	>	*tejle*	/	*telej/ teli*	/	*tejli*
Loc	*v tej*	>	*v tejle*	/	*v telej/ teli*	/	*v tejlej*
Inst	*s to*	>	*s tole*	/	*s telo*	/	*s tolo*

(35) Plural a. b. c. d.

Nom	*te/ti*	>	*tele/tile*	/	*tele/ teli*	/	*tele/ tili*
Acc	*te*	>	*tele*	/	*tele*	/	*tele*
Gen	*teh*	>	*tehle*	/	*teleh*	/	*tehleh*
Dat	*tem*	>	*temle*	/	*telem*	/	*temlem*
Loc	*v teh*	>	*v tehle*	/	*v telih*	/	*v tehleh*
Inst	*s temi*	>	*s temile*	/	*s telemi*	/	*s temilemi*

(36) NOMINATIVE

a) i. *Zdena, tal tip ti je pa padel v oko.*
Zdena this guy you aux ptcl fell in eye
'Zdena, it seems like you really like this guy.'

ii. *Kakor vem, je bil tala avto kar resno "vandaliziran"* [...]
as know aux was this car quite seriously vandalized
'As far as I know, this car was seriously vandalized.'

b) i. *Kaj pomen tela beseda?*
what means this word
'What does this word mean?'

ii. *Tala stran je kar bogato založena z njihovimi izdelki* [...]
this page aux quite rich stacked with their products
'This page seems to be fairly abundant with their products.'

c) i. *Joj, teli tipi so tko smešni...*
boy these guys were so funny
'Boy are these guys funny!'

ii. *tili tipi pa rulajo!!!!*
these guys ptcl rock
'These guys rock!'

(37)   ACCUSATIVE
    a) i. *drugače   pa   podpiram   telega   wikija*
          otherwise   ptcl   support   this-acc   wiki.acc
          'Otherwise I support this wiki.'
      ii. *Tegalega bi   se   pa   ustrašil, če bi   ga   srečal nekje   na samem!*
          this   would   refl   ptcl   scared   if   would   him   meet   somewhere in private
          'This guy would definitely scare me, if I met him in some deserted place.'
    b) i. *Seveda bi   tistalo zgornjo zadevo lahko skrčil   v   par   vrstic,* […]
          sure   would   that   upper   thing   can   compres into   pair   lines
          'Sure, I could compres that thing above into a couple of lines.'
      ii. *Zdravo, mene znima   če je   že   kdo   probal   tolo zadevo?*
          hello   me   interests   if aux   already   anyone   test   this
          'Hello, I'd like to know if anyone has already tried this thing.'
    c)   The three options are indistinguishable - *tele*

(38)   GENITIVE
    a) i. *Poskusiš   preko   telega   linka*
          try   over   this   link
          'Try it over this link.'
      ii. *Kaj   ni   gradnja   tegalega modela nekje   na forumu.....*
          Q   not   construction   this   model   somewhere on forum
          'Isn't the construction of this model somewhere on the forum.'
    b)   The three options are indistinguishable - *tele*
    c) i. *Ej   od   teleh tvojih   koktajlov   bi   bili   pa   malo pijani   ane?*
          hey   from   these   your   coctails   would   were   ptcl   little   drunk   right
          'We'd be a little drunk with these your coctails, wouldn't we.'
      ii. *Tolk   o   tehleh   servisih.*
          this-much   about   these   car-shop
          'This much about these car shops.'

(39)   DATIVE
    a) i. *Pa   kaj   telemu   Nikotu   ne   bodo priredili nobene   zabave?*
          ptcl   what   this   Niko   neg   will   organize no   party
          'Aren't they going to throw a party for Niko?'
      ii. *Z   Anico   sva   se   včeraj   iz   srca   nasmejale temulemu   stricu.*
          with   Anica   aux   refl   yesterday   from   hearth   laugh   this   dude
          'Yesterday, Anica and me laughed a lot at this guy.'
    b) i. *Teli   punci   pa   domišljija   laufa sto na uro.*
          this   girl   ptcl   imagination   runs   100 on hour.
          'This girl has wild imagination.'
      ii. *Ideja je   narediti nekaj   podobnega tejli   stvari*
          idea   aux   make   something   similar   this   thing
          'The idea is to make something similar to this thing.'
    c) i. *jst   telem stvarem zlo   mal   vrjamm, ker   usak pravi drugače*
          I   these things   very   little   believe   because every says   different
          'I don't trust these things, since everyone says it differently.'

ii. *Tanaja tud če se boš kdaj poročila, tega temlem fantom ne povej.*
Tanaja even if refl will ever married this these guys not tell
'Tanaja, even if you ever get married, don't tell this to these guys.'

(40) LOCATIVE
a) i. *Komad na telmu posnetku (reklami) me zanima:* […]
song on this recording (commercial) me interests
'I'm interested in the song on this recording.'

ii. *Predvidevam da se je to zgodilo na temlem prehodu* [...]
suspect that refl aux this happened on this crossing
'I suspect it happened on this crossing.'

b) i. *Na telej fotki se vidi, kako se izza table vije dim*
on this photo refl see how refl from-behind board goes smoke
'On this photo, one can see the smoke coming out from behind the blackboard.'

ii. *Jaz pa še nisem bil na tejlej lokaciji nikoli*
I ptcl still neg-aux were on this location never.
'I've never been to this location.'

c) i. *a teb normalno laufa v telih mrzlih pogojih?*
Q you normally runs in these cold conditions
'Do you have problems running it in these cold conditions.'

ii. *V tehleh besedah ginekologinje ne vidim nobenega obsojanja*
in these words gynecologist not see no accusations
'I don't see any accusations in these words of the gynecologists.'

(41) INSTRUMENTAL
a) i. *S telim je bilo pa kar precej dela*
with this aux was ptcl quite a-lot work
'There was quite a lot of work with this.'

ii. *sem pa full zadovoljna s temlem forumom, ker sem dobila* [...]
aux ptcl very satisfied with this forum, since aux got
'I'm very pleased with this forum, since I got ...'

b) i. *a ti resn misliš s tistalo kopčijo.*
Q you seriously think with this deal
'Are you serious about this deal?'

ii. *s tolo izjavo se pa popolnoma strinjam.*
with this statement refl ptcl completely agree
'I completely agree with this statement.'

c) i. *sploh pa morfin se ne da primerjat s telemi švoh zdravili*
anyway ptcl morphine refl not can compare with these weak pills
'Anyway, you can't compare morphium with these weak medications.'

ii. *najprej so bli vsi blogi iz ZDA poplavljeni s temlemi ajfouni,* [...]
first aux were all blogs from USA swamped with these iphones
'First all phones in the USA were swamped with Iphones, ...'