

## The internal structure of Slovenian demonstratives

Slovenian demonstratives may appear with a particle-like element *le*. This particle combines only with demonstrative and it further does not combine with non-deictic demonstratives. It is not a simple clitic particle, but rather a proper deictic morphology marker since it can appear on the inside of case morphology. We propose that *le*, is the head of a functional phrase that is shared only by proper deictic elements. Our proposal has some further consequences for the syntax of noun phrases.

*Le* can appear on basically any demonstrative pronoun, be it in adnominal or pronominal use. As shown in (1) for 'this', 'there', 'that one'. It's semantic contribution is not clear. Grammar books (e.g. Toporišič 2001) name it an optional emphatic particle, while speakers don't find it's contribution clear, but they agree that it is used for emphasis.

Since *le* only appears on demonstratives (as shown in (1d) it is impossible with any other determiner, and is equally impossible with numbers, adjectives, nouns or any other noun phrase internal element), the intuitive analysis would suggest *le* is the spell-out of some head or phrase that is specific to demonstratives. Leu (2008) proposes demonstratives are composed of the determiner of some extended AP (xAP) projection inside which a silent HERE or THERE is located. Following Leu, one might propose that *le* is the overt realization of one such element. This turns out to be problematic, since *le* is used for both proximal and distal demonstratives, which supposedly use different silent adjectives (e.g. HERE vs. THERE), (2).

Similarly, *le* cannot be the overt realization of some empty noun in demonstratives, since it occurs with all kinds of deictic elements. On top of the regular adnominal demonstratives, Slovenian has also demonstratives replacing adjectives. *Le* appears without any problems on any of these demonstrative elements, (3). So since these elements cannot have the empty noun PLACE, but if anything an empty noun TYPE/PROPERTY, *le* couldn't be the overt realization of all of them.

If we try to pursue the *le* as an overt realization of the empty elements analysis, we would need to assume that the empty element inside demonstratives is not HERE/THERE or PLACE/TYPE but something less specific. But if we go for a more general adjective or noun, we lose the original motivation for the empty nouns/adjectives.

We propose that *le* is really the realization of the head of the projection differentiating between proper deictic demonstratives and demonstratives that can be used to point to an entity known from the context. As shown in (4a), *le* cannot be used with the demonstrative referring to an individual mentioned in the previous utterance (if this individual is not around). A particle with the same phonological form can be used in this context, but it combines with the demonstrative differently. This other *le* is more like an independent word and could be related to the adverbial *le* meaning 'only', (4b). It also cannot be so freely used on temporal demonstratives, (4c), which are not properly deictic. It can appear on some temporal deictic adverbs like 'now', which is obviously deictic, (4d).

There seem to be four paradigms for the declination of the demonstrative pronoun, one without the *le* and three with the *le*. The standard Slovenian demonstrative paradigm for masculine singular 'this' is shown in the first column, (5a). In the second column the standard Slovenian demonstrative is shown to co-occur with *le*, (5b). In the colloquial (not true of all dialects), *le* can be merged directly with the demonstrative root and followed by the case ending, (5c). The difference between the standard and the colloquial regarding the position of *le* preceding or following the case morphology, (5b) and (5c), is intriguing. But even more intriguing is the fact that case morphology can be duplicated on both sides of *le*, as shown in the paradigm in (5d). This kind of case doubling is suggestive that concord case marking (case marking on adjectives and other adnominal elements) is really a PF phenomena, where PF interface fills in the empty slots left unfilled by syntax.

- (1) a. *Ta(le) mi manjka.*  
This-le me lacks  
'I lack this one.'
- b. *Tam(le) je padel Robert Koren.*  
There-le aux<sub>SG</sub> fell Robert Koren  
'That's where Robert Koren fell.'
- c. *Ta(le) žoga je pa res prehitra.*  
This-le ball aux<sub>SG</sub> ptcl really too-fast  
'This ball is a little too fast.'
- d. *Mnogo(\*le)/dosti(\*le)/nekaj(\*le)/malo(\*le) žog mi je prinesel.*  
A-lot plenty some few balls me aux<sub>SG</sub> brought  
He brought many/plenty/few/some .... balls with him to SA
- (2) a. *Tale nogometaš mi je pa še kar všeč.*  
This-le footballer me aux<sub>SG</sub> ptcl still rather like  
'I rather like this football player.'
- b. *Tistle vratar zgleda pa že rahlo zmatran.*  
That-le goalie looks ptcl already somewhat tired  
'That goalie already looks a bit tired.'
- c. *Unle navijač je pa res hecno oblečen.*  
That-le fan aux<sub>SG</sub> ptcl really funny dressed  
'That supporter is really funny dressed.'
- (3) *Takšnele nogometne ekipe svet še ni videl.*  
This-kind-le football team world yet not see.  
'The world has not yet seen such a good football team.'
- (4) a. A: *Peter se je včeraj navduševal nad Valterjem Birso.*  
'Peter was a fan of Valter Birsa yesterday.'  
B: *A tega(#le) tipa ti poznaš? / A ti ga poznaš?*  
Do you know this guy?
- b. A: *Peter je igral z novo žogo.*  
Peter played with the new ball.  
B: *Le ta tudi meni ni všeč.*  
'This one is also not to my kujubg,
- c. *\*Takratle je prišel sam pred gol in zadel.*  
That-time-le aux came to the goal alone and scored.'
- d. *Zdajle mam pa jaz tega zadost.*  
Now-le have-1 enough of this
- (5)
- |      | a.                 | b.                  | c.                   | d.                |
|------|--------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
|      | Standard Slovenian |                     | Colloquial Slovenian |                   |
| Nom  | <i>ta</i>          | <i>tale</i>         | <i>tale</i>          | <i>tale</i>       |
| Gen  | <i>tega</i>        | <i>tegale</i>       | <i>tel(e)ga</i>      | <i>tegal(e)ga</i> |
| Dat  | <i>temu</i>        | <i>temule</i>       | <i>tel(e)mu</i>      | <i>temul(e)mu</i> |
| Acc  | <i>tega</i>        | <i>tegale</i>       | <i>tel(e)ga</i>      | <i>tegal(e)ga</i> |
| Inst | <i>s tem</i>       | <i>s temle</i>      | <i>s telim/telem</i> | <i>s temlem</i>   |
| Loc  | <i>pri tem(u)</i>  | <i>pri tem(u)le</i> | <i>pr telem</i>      | <i>pr temlem</i>  |

Toporišič, Jože. 2001. *Slovenska slovnica*. Založba Obzorja Maribor.

Leu, Tom. 2008. *The Internal Syntax of Determiners*. Phd dissertation New York University.