

Cliticisation processes and the emergence of complex derivational morphology – decomposition and non-linear concatenation

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In a series of articles and monographs Muriel Norde (cf. e.g. NORDE 2009, 2006) was able to identify certain cases of degrammaticalisation / decomposition, most notably the peculiar morphosyntactic development of the genitive marker =s in English and Swedish, which sets out as an inflectional marker and finally becomes an enclitic element having scope over an entire noun phrase (group-inflection). Although Norde succeeded in identifying the phenomenon, which had hitherto been neglected in grammaticalisation research, and in describing it along the lines of Lehmann's grammaticalisation parameters (bounding, structural scope etc.), a detailed description of the exact path of development, taking into account relevant mechanisms which would ultimately lead to the given results, is still lacking. This paper aims to scrutinise relevant phenomena by identifying the mechanisms behind such developments. It is a well-known – yet still unexplained – fact that in certain Polish (Silesian and Lachian) dialects, the suffix of the *s*-aorist (*-s- > *-x- through *ruki*) ends up as an enclitic marker of the 1st singular, replacing the Standard Polish equivalent =(e)m (on the forms see HANNAN [1993: 307], DÉCAUX [1955: 16sq.]):

bych (1st sg. aor. of *być* 'be') → =(e)*ch* (1st sg.prs., enclitic copula)

It will be demonstrated that a combination of two well-established mechanisms, commonly reckoned with in the Neo-Grammarian framework of language change, namely *sound change* and *proportional analogy*, is sufficient to account for the observed developments. It is, however, necessary to assume that zero morphology (such as a zero copula in certain non-emphatic contexts) can take part in the proportion enabling the analogical change. In this manner the peculiar Watkins-like paradigm of Modern Polish, which takes as its derivational basis the 3rd sg. form *jest* (*jest=em*, *jest=eś*, *jest=Ø*) can easily be accounted for (cf. a), as can be the 1st singular marker =(e)*ch* deriving from the aorist marker *-s- (cf. b):

copula, non-emphatic context			copula, emphatic context		
(a)	3sg (zero)	1sg (clitic)	3sg (ortothone)		1sg (ortothone)
	=Ø	: =em	<i>jest</i>	:	X

X = *jest=em* (replacing Old Polish ortothone full form *jeśm*)

aorist of the copula			copula, non-emphatic context		
(b)	3sg aor.	1sg aor.	3sg (zero)		1sg. (clitic)
	<i>by</i>	: <i>bych</i>	=Ø	:	X

X = =(e)*ch* (replacing =(e)m)

It will also be shown that the Watkins-like paradigm *jest=em* etc. cannot be accounted for by a simple univerbation process (*pace* ANDERSEN 1993) nor by any other analogical process that has so far been proposed in order to explain the peculiar shape of the Polish copula (*pace* e.g. BYNON [1977: 132] or HOCK [1986: 221-222]).

The assumption of a proportion involving zero morphology is thus a necessary one. It is, however, compatible with the nature of proportional analogy as we reckon with today. The combination of phonological and morphological change is a powerful tool able to account for developments such as the decomposition, cliticisation and subsequent univerbation of a several thousand year old derivational suffix (*-s-) and its ultimate reinterpretation as an inflectional marker (Pol. dial. 1st sg. =*ch*).

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