

**A Nanosyntactic Analysis of Spatial Cases in Tsez.** Pavel Caha, Masaryk University

**Introduction.** Comrie and Polinsky (1998, C&P) provide a seminal discussion of spatial cases in Tsez. C&P show that if cases in Tsez are decomposed into morphemes, the 100+ different case forms can be reduced to a couple of markers and productive rules of their combination. This paper follows the spirit of C&P, but argues for an even more fine-grained decomposition, whereby C&P’s single ‘series marker’ is split into a sequence of an AxPart marker (Svenonius 2006) followed by a Place marker. This leads to a more elegant proposal that provides an insight into the phenomenon of P-drop and the functioning of the syntax-morphology interface.

**C&P’s analysis** is based on the idea in (1), according to which spatial cases in Tsez decompose into an orientation/series marker (Place in (1)) and an optional Path (also Van Riemsdijk 1990, Koopman 2010, Svenonius 2010). This template correctly generates the essive, allative and ablative in Table I, assuming three phonological rules. (i) In the essive, where only Place appears, some word-final vowels (*in gray*) drop. (They surface when not final.) (ii) In the allative, when *-r* follows a consonant, an epenthetic *-e* appears. (iii) In the ablative, vowels are *deleted* before the source marker *-āy*. (Many cases with similar structure are left out for simplicity.)

(1)

(2)

Tsez proximal cases (fragment)				Distal cases			
Table I	ESSIVE	ALLATIVE	ABLATIVE	Table II	ESSIVE	ALLATIVE	ABLATIVE
IN	ā	ā- r	ā-āy	IN	ā-āz	ā-āz-a-r	ā-āz-ay
AMONG	λ	λ-er	λ-āy	AMONG	λ-āz	λ-āz-a-r	λ-āz-ay
ON (HORIZONTAL)	χ'θ	χ'o- r	χ'θ-āy	ON (HORIZONTAL)	χ'θ-āz	χ'θ-āz-a-r	χ'θ-āz-ay

C&P’s analysis of **the distal cases** is based on the template in (2), where the distal *-āz* appears in between Place and Path. This proposal correctly derives the essive in Table II, where *-āz* triggers the deletion of the preceding vowel. However, the analysis has two problems. (i) In the allative, an unexpected *-a* appears: recall that the expected epenthetic vowel is *-e*. (ii) In the ablative, the expected source marker *-āy* unexpectedly shortens to *-ay*. C&P account for this by an additional phonological rule shortening *-āy* to *-ay* when there is an *ā* in the preceding syllable. However, they note that this rule cannot apply across the board, since when the ablative *-āy* follows a root that contains an *ā*, shortening fails, as in χ'θā-χ'-āy ‘off the roof.’ To remove these problems, my **new analysis** proposes that the two unexpected *as* are actually a part of the distal marker, which I propose to be *z(a)* (rather than *-āz*). This gives us the analysis of the distal forms as shown in Table III. Focussing first on the IN series, the analysis correctly handles the essive (*-ā-za*), with the final *a* dropping word-finally. Crucially, the appearance of *a* in the allative *-ā-za-r* is no longer problematic because *a* is not considered epenthetic, but a part of the distal marker. Now moving to the ablative of the IN series, the idea of a distal *za* leads to an analysis where C&P’s non-decomposable *āy* actually has two pieces, *ā* ‘in’ and *y* ‘from,’ yielding a parallel analysis of the allative *-ā-za-r* and the ablative *-ā-za-y*, thereby eliminating the need for a morphophonologically triggered shortening rule.

Table III	essive	allative	ablative
IN	-ā	-ā- r	-ā- y
IN (DIST)	-ā-za	-ā-za-r	-ā-za-y
AMONG (DIST)	-λ-ā-za	-λ-ā-za-r	-λ-ā-za-y
ON (DIST)	-χ'θ-ā-za	-χ'θ-ā-za-r	-χ'θ-ā-za-y

(3)

