Mixed realisations of KP are L2-difficult, accelerating language change.

This paper proposes that a mixed realisation of case features in the KP is more difficult than a harmonic realisation for L2 adults, leading, in the correct sociolinguistic scenario, to a shift in case and adposition systems. I will first highlight the similarity between The Final-Over-Final Condition (FOFC) (Biberauer, Holmberg and Roberts (2014), henceforth BHR) and the exploded KP approach adopted by Caha (2009) before suggesting that the alternative grammars L2 adults postulate when faced with a mixed realisation grammar gives rise to the diachronic pathway we see in the history of Bulgarian and Macedonian and indeed, many Indo-European languages.

FOFC was first formulated by Holmberg (2000), restricting certain surface word orders pertaining to hierarchical syntactic structure. A later formulation of FOFC is given below:

1) A head-final phrase αP cannot dominate a head-initial phrase βP, where α and β are heads in the same extended projection. (BHR, 2014).

Head-final structures fall out from implementing a proposed 'roll-up' feature (^) on the functional heads causing iterative, phrasal movement of the NP. Under a Single Engine Hypothesis approach, the ^ feature can similarly account for inventories of adpositions and case morphology. Caha's (2009) exploded KP approach also utilises roll-up, and therefore makes the same cross-linguistic predictions concerning adposition and case marker inventories and syncretisms as FOFC. The ratio of prepositions (or prefixes) to suffixes (or postpositions) in a language is determined by how far the NP rolls up the spine of the KP, to the specs of the functional heads. BHR (2014) also have implications for language change; to avoid FOFC violations, a change in word order must be bottom-up from VO to OV, and top-down for OV to VO. We can analogously apply this to the exploded KP, making predictions concerning the topic of case loss and the functional load-takeover by prepositions. In terms of adpositions and case markers, we can make the statement: case suffix loss is the erosion of roll-up: loss of the ^ feature on function heads begins at the top of the KP.

The related theory in Roberts (2019) makes learnability assumptions concerning the distribution of ^ in a system, making predictions about case loss too. He predicts that, without other pressures, harmonic head-initial or head-final are more common cross-linguistically than a mixed system, because they are easier to acquire. The learner must only postulate one rule and then extend it fully to cover the whole KP: either all the functional heads along the KP spine have ^, or none of them do. A system of heads with and without ^ is therefore harder to acquire. It is such a mixed realisation system that I argue is similarly L2-difficult: it is difficult for the second language learner to acquire (Walkden and Breitbarth, 2019).

I argue that the combination of number of L2 adults acquiring Balkan Slavic and the L2-difficulty of mixed realisation systems facilitated and accelerated the case loss in the diachrony of Balkan Slavic. Proto-Slavic including (Old) Church Slavonic exhibited all the case suffixes but ablative from PIE, many which can be seen in 2) ((Old) Church Slavonic, Steinke (1968)):

2) ov-omu   dajetь   sę   duh-otь   slov-o   na prěmǫdrost-i
   this-DAT.SG give.3SG refl.ACC spirit-INSTR.SG word-NOM.SG on wisdom-LOC.SG
   in-omu   že   slov-o   razum-ь
   other-DAT.SG moreover word-NOM.SG sensibility-NOM.SG/ACC.SG/GEN.PL

   'The word of wisdom is given by the Spirit to one, the word of sensibility to the other...'

All the functional heads except the one relating to the highest, comitative, have the ^ feature. For the L2 learner, this is almost a completely stable system. In the Middle Bulgarian period however, we see loss of the instrumental and ongoing loss of the genitive and dative cases, and the use of prepositions replacing these case suffixes:

3) i   ne daždь   na ny   krъve   pravednyǫ
   and not give.IMP.2SG prep us.ACC blood.GEN.SG righteous.GEN.SG
   'And do not give (to) us righteous blood.' (Mirčev, 1957)

3) shows the loss of dative case replaced here by the preposition *na*. These heads have lost their ^, and the lower ones not (accusative and nominative continue to be spelled out via suffixes). This is a more mixed realisation, L2-difficult system. Finally, standard modern Bulgarian and Macedonian retain no case in the noun phrase: all of the functional heads in the KP have lost ^, and prepositions have taken over the functional load of the previous case suffixes. I maintain that once this system became a mixed realisation one and L2- difficult, the high numbers of L2 adult speakers postulated fewer and fewer ^ heads than the standard language, easing their acquisition. Eventually then, the result is that L1 children also postulated a system with no ^ heads, giving us a fully prepositional system.

I additionally propose that the well-known preference for suffixing ties in with the slight tendency towards head initialism, all of which amounts to explaining why systems of prepositions and suffixes are more common cross linguistically. This is to say, a shift towards head-final is more unlikely, and perhaps even more L2-difficult. A shift towards the partly and fully head-initial (prepositions and suffixes and purely prepositions) is precisely what we can see in many Indo-European languages diachronically. I argue that the shift towards prepositions in Bulgarian and Macedonian was accelerated and maintained because of the number/proportion of L2 speakers: they are the Slavic languages with the fewest cases remaining. Furthermore, certain Balkan Slavic dialects have maintained more substantial case systems because of the lack of L2 adults historically.

In sum, I suggest that mixed realisation systems are L2-difficult and redundant, as they have two types of functional head, rather than one. Learners in these cases postulate a type of system with just one type of head (with or without the ^ feature). Under this theory, it is the L2 adults' aversion to redundancy in head type that triggers a change towards a harmonic system- accounting for the widespread loss of morphological case.

References

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