



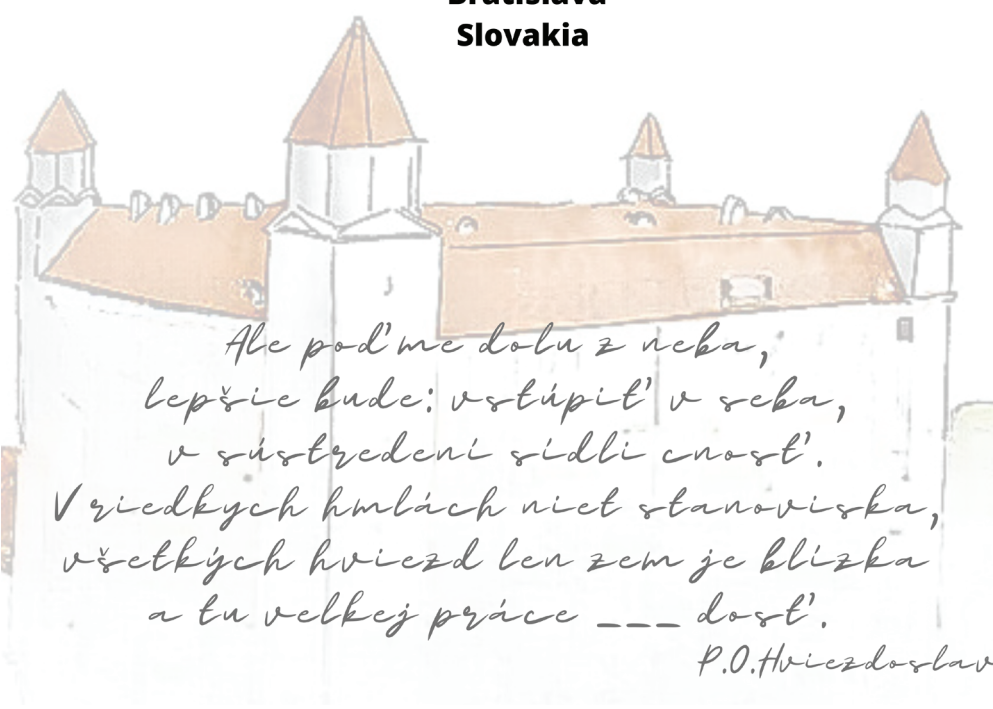
Book of Abstracts

18th Annual Meeting of the Slavic Linguistics Society (SLS-18)

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Bratislava

Slovakia



*Ale pod' me doba z neba,
lepšie bude: vstúpiť v seba,
v sústredení sídli cnosť.
V riedkych hmlách niet stanoviska,
všetkých hviezd len zem je blízka
a tu veľkej práce --- dosť.*

P.O. Hviezdoslav

18th Annual Meeting of the Slavic Linguistics Society

Book of abstracts

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Clitics in Slovak with(out) restraint

1 Introduction: definitions and formulation of the problem

Clitics represent one of the most specific and intricate phenomena within the word order of many languages. Slovak, which is usually described as having so-called free word order, allows for positional permutations of phrases depending on information structure, but the position of clitics is fixed within the clause. Slovak belongs to those languages which follow Wackernagel's Law and its clitic elements belong to the category of second-position clitics (2P). Clitic elements are typical of having "dual citizenship" (Hana 2007): within the sentence, they follow an initial element called prosodic host (anchor), a clause-initial unit, usually the first sentence constituent. However, morphologically, lexically, or syntactically they belong to the verb or verb base, the position of which within the sentence is not conditioned prosodically. The fact that the prosodic host of the clitic component and its lexical base or syntactic governor do not necessarily correspond may lead to the emergence of constituent discontinuity: separation of the clitic item from its lexical base or syntactic governor (which means the necessity of linear detachment of conceptually united entity). However, Wackernagel's Rule is not always applicable without exception and the pattern of clitic placement undergoes systematic variations under certain conditions. Depending on the information structure, morphological features, and syntactic patterns within the clause, clitic components can be placed at positions different than 2P within the clause. As Franks et al. (2004: 12) argue, the study of clitics is thus not limited to research on prosodical conditions in a clause, but it "can shed light on the interfaces between syntactic, morphological, and phonological linguistic representations." As a result, even languages which share a great many similarities may differ in clitic placement, as was pointed out by Uhlířová (1987) regarding Czech, Slovak, and Polish or by Hana & Rosen (2017).

2 The present-day state of research on clitics in Slovak

Slovak lacks usage-based theoretical and practical investigation into word order, which would show preferential word order patterns in contemporary Slovak texts including clitic components. The only work on this topic in the Slovak context is *Slovosled a vetosled v slovenčine* which was published in 1966 by J. Mistrík; other works concerning Slovak word order focus mostly on syntagmatic word order (cf. Kačala 2013) and are not based on corpus data. Investigation of clitics in Slovak as L2 can be found in works by Ivanová, Kyseľová & Gáľisová (2021a, 2021b), Ivanová & Bashir Géčová (2021) and Ivanová (2022). The description of Slovak enclitics and their linear ordering within the Slavic context can be found in Frank & King (2000) and Beličová & Uhlířová (1996). The situation in Slovak is largely at odds with that of Czech in which word order behaviour of clitics has attracted significant attention both in investigation of Czech as L1 (Uhlířová 1987, Junghanns 2002, Avgustinova & Oliva 1995, Hana 2007, Kosek 2011, etc.) as well as L2 (Starý Kořánová 2017). The same holds for the situation in South-Slavic languages where clitics have been investigated with respect to US-based linguistics, formal grammar theories, or prescriptive and stylistic aspects (cf. Kolaković et al. 2022).

3 Methodology

The paper is a data-oriented, empirical in-depth study of the preferential placement of clitic components in Slovak. Slovak clitics are subject to various degrees of word order variations

within a clause. The prescriptive norms and theoretical claims as presented in theoretical studies are thus confronted with real language usage as found in observable language data. The paper adopts a multi-methodological approach to linguistic research, employing statistical corpus analysis and acceptability rating task by native speakers to show how introspection and the analysis of authentic corpus data can converge or diverge in different types of constructions and even brings the evidence of noticeable differences between judgments and actual use as well as between the judgments of individual users (even linguistic experts). Positional variations of clitics are investigated with regard to different types of hosts (complementizers, conjunctions), different types of complement clauses, phenomena like delayed placement, clitic climbing with control complement-taking predicates, word order templates “light verb + noun + infinitive complement of the noun” and other types of constructions, in which the departure from expected placement of clitic component may occur. It is shown that Slovak clitics can exhibit complex ways of interaction with information structure and syntactic patterns of a clause. At the same time, some word order matrices are preferentially associated with specific registers in which certain permutations of clitics are favoured or disfavoured. The idea that empirical evidence for theoretical claims should be gathered from multiple sources is becoming increasingly important for linguistic research. It is shown that each method adds to better understanding of the studied phenomenon, thus overcoming the possible shortcomings of methods if used independently. At the same time, it is shown that the relative rareness of a particular word order matrix in a corpus can be associated with non-preference in selection, but such infrequency does not categorically always entail substantially lower acceptability, and vice versa, lower acceptability does not always go hand in hand with the scant evidence of a particular word order matrix in the corpus data. The investigation shows that grammaticality is not a dichotomous notion and grammatical constructions are not simply environments or non-environments for rules; rather they may be environments to a degree and form hierarchies along which different speakers have different acceptability thresholds (cf. Schütze 2019).

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What goes around, comes around: Cases that keep me going

I am fascinated by the treasure trove of meanings tucked away in the grammatical morphemes that many people think of as mere functional fillers. As a student, the Slavic case endings baffled me, then later delighted me with their complex stories about trajectories, time, benefit and harm, labels, and so much more. Some twenty years ago I was satisfied that I had cracked that code, and after writing some articles and a couple of textbooks on the topic, I moved on. But the cases came back to me again and again. I will tell the story of how my work on case semantics later helped to inspire three further projects: two major online resources, the Russian Constructicon and the Strategic Mastery of Russian Tool, and an analysis of president Putin's portrayal of Russia, Ukraine, and NATO.

Case Semantics

After studying Russian for three years in the 1970s, I realized I had a problem. I knew a lot of words, and I could parse just about any sentence, but I was still often stumped about what was meant. A big part of my problem was the meanings of the Russian (and *mutatis mutandis* Slavic) cases. Later, when I had a steady job, I tackled what I assumed were the hardest cases, the Dative and Instrumental (Janda 1993). Little did I suspect that the Genitive (Janda 1999) and Accusative (Janda 2000) cases would offer plenty of challenges as well. Even the Nominative and Locative were not trivial, and they rounded out the set for two textbooks that I co-authored (Janda and Clancy 2002 and 2006). Here is a very condensed version of the contents of this line of research (illustrated with Russian examples):

Nominative Case has two central meanings.

NOMINATIVE: A NAME can point out an item or be used to call someone, or serve as the grammatical subject.

NOMINATIVE: AN IDENTITY is associated with verbs meaning 'be' in formulations meaning 'X is Y' (as in Ivan *xorošij* student 'Ivan is a good student').

Genitive Case establishes the relationship of a focused entity (a trajector) to something that is backgrounded (a landmark marked with the Genitive).

GENITIVE: A SOURCE references a point of departure further specified by prepositions meaning 'from' as well as verbs expressing withdrawal (like *izbegat'* 'avoid', *bojat' sja* 'be afraid of'). This meaning is extended metaphorically to other domains such as time, cause, and human relationships.

GENITIVE: A GOAL references the opposite maneuver, further specified by prepositions (like *do* 'up to, until', *dlja* and *radi* 'for', *protiv* 'against') and verbs and adjectives expressing (mostly metaphorical) approach (like *ždat'* 'wait for', *želat'* 'wish'). This meaning is extended metaphorically to other domains such as time, purpose, states of being.

GENITIVE: A WHOLE references the existence of something as a part of a larger unit or collection. This meaning motivates uses of the Genitive case that translate into 'of' and expressions of possession or color in English. This meaning is also associated with complex prepositional phrases as well as quantification by numerals (*sto studentov* 'one hundred students'), and in partitive expressions (*vypit' čajju* 'drink some tea').

GENITIVE: A REFERENCE locates an item with respect to a landmark in domains of space (like *u* 'by, at'), time (like calendar dates), comparison, and absence (*bez* 'without').

Dative Case encodes the capacity of an entity to interact with its surroundings, by receiving objects, absorbing experiences, or exerting equal or superior strength.

DATIVE: A RECEIVER is used primarily to mark the indirect object, including with verbs of communication and payment.

DATIVE: AN EXPERIENCER is associated with words denoting harm, benefit, belonging to, and needing.

DATIVE: A COMPETITOR expresses the capacity of the Dative entity as compared to another entity that is either equal or lesser in strength or influence, and is associated with the prepositions *k* ‘toward’ and *po* ‘along’.

Accusative Case signals a path toward a destination, or just the endpoint.

ACCUSATIVE: A DESTINATION marks a direct object, which is a metaphorical version of the destination meaning, and is associated with metaphorical extensions to domains such as time, purpose, change of state, mathematics. In the spatial domain, the path referenced by the **Accusative case** is further specified by prepositions such as *v* ‘into’, *na* ‘onto’, *za* ‘beyond’, *pod* ‘under’.

ACCUSATIVE: A DIMENSION measures a distance or size in the domain of space (*rasstojanie v dva kilometra* ‘a distance of two kilometers’), or a duration in the domain of time (*interval v dve nedeli* ‘an interval of two weeks’).

ACCUSATIVE: AN ENDPOINT is primarily associated with the domains of space and time as specified by both prepositions (such as *v* and *za*, both indicating the end of a distance or duration) and postpositions (such as *nazad* ‘ago’).

Instrumental Case expresses “an accessory for something else” (Janda & Clancy 2002: 19).

INSTRUMENTAL: A MEANS expresses a conduit for an action, such as a path that facilitates motion (as in *idti lesom* ‘go through/by means of the forest’) or an instrument that makes an action possible (as in *rezať xleb nožom* ‘slice bread with a knife’). This meaning is metonymically extended to include use with verbs signifying control and evaluation, and to the agent in a passive construction.

INSTRUMENTAL: A LABEL is used with verbs denoting being, becoming, and seeming, as in *koška javljaetsja mlekopitajuščim* ‘a cat is a mammal’.

INSTRUMENTAL: AN ADJUNCT occurs with the preposition *s* ‘with’ and expresses companionship.

INSTRUMENTAL: A LANDMARK signifies peripheral locations without contact with the prepositions *nad* ‘above’, *pod* ‘under’, *pered* ‘in front of’, *za* ‘behind’, and *meždu* ‘between’.

Locative Case has only one meaning – LOCATIVE: A PLACE, which identifies locations in space or other domains, always further specified by prepositions *v* ‘in’, *na* ‘on’, *pri* ‘at’, *o* ‘about’, *po* ‘after’.

The Russian Constructicon (<https://constructicon.github.io/russian/>)

Like the work on case semantics, this project grew out of a frustration with existing resources. According to Construction Grammar (Goldberg 2006), an entire language can be described in terms of the form-meaning pairings that constitute grammatical constructions, but the vast majority of constructions are not represented in reference works. An example of the multiword constructions that are underrepresented is NP-Dat Cop daleko do NP-Gen, as in *Tebe daleko do lučšego rabotnika* ‘You are by far not the best worker (lit. To you it is far to the best worker)’. The Russian Constructicon is an attempt to fill this gap (Janda et al. 2018), and our online resource currently provides semantic and syntactic descriptions, examples, and much more for over 2200 Russian constructions on a website that is freely open to the public and searchable according to a large number of parameters. Case semantics play a role in a large portion of Russian multiword grammatical constructions, and the initial inventory of the Russian Constructicon was based on

my earlier work on case semantics, and then later expanded through various methods (Janda et al. 2021). The Russian Constructicon is a multipurpose resource, designed to serve linguists as well as learners and teachers of Russian, and has spawned further publications (Endresen and Janda 2020; Endresen et al. To Appear; Janda, Endresen and Zhukova To Appear; Janda et al. To Appear; Rakhilina et al. 2022).

The Strategic Mastery of Russian Tool (SMARTool: <https://smartool.github.io/smartool-rus-eng/>)

I used to make beginning Russian students rehearse entire paradigms, but research into the distribution and learnability of inflected forms has made me change my approach. Even a modest vocabulary of a few thousand Russian words has hundreds of thousands of associated inflected forms, however the majority of those word forms are rarely (or never) encountered, and furthermore learning is enhanced by focusing exclusively on the few frequent forms of each noun, verb, and adjective (Janda and Tyers 2018). Corpus data make it possible to discover what forms are most strategic for each lexeme, as well as what grammatical constructions and collocations motivate those forms. The SMARTool (Janda 2019) is a free publicly available resource that presents the three most common inflected forms for over 3000 Russian words at CEFR levels A1-B2, along with their typical contexts, and searches can be filtered according to level, topics (weather, time, health, etc.), grammatical analysis (case, number, tense, etc.), and dictionary form. Case semantics play a large role across the board, as we see in these examples of highly frequent forms for each of the three inflected parts of speech, all of which involve the Dative case:

Dative Singular for a noun: *Kto ty po special'nosti?* ‘What is your profession (lit. who are you according to specialty)?’

Dative Singular Masculine for an adjective: *Kostja oč'en' nexotel idti k zubnomu vraču.* ‘Kostya really didn’t want to go to the dentist.’

Imperfective Present Active Participle Dative Masculine Singular for a verb: *Oni dogovorilis' otpraviti' dvadcat' tonn xleba dlja pomošči golodajuščemu naseleniju.* ‘They agreed to send twenty tons of bread to help the starving population.’

Putin Makes His (Grammatical) Case

While one’s choice of words is deliberate and conscious, grammatical case is obligatory and serves as a second channel for signaling the roles notions have in a discourse. Over- and underrepresentation of grammatical cases can be identified by measuring deviations from corpus norms. We compared the use of grammatical case for the nouns meaning ‘Russia’, ‘Ukraine’, and ‘NATO’ in Putin’s speeches in the period leading up to and immediately after the invasion of Ukraine (Janda et al. 2022). Our analysis reveals a narrative in which Putin depicts Russia as a dynamic, agentive, foregrounded actor, a reliable partner for collaboration, but also the victim of unfair geopolitical maneuvers. Ukraine, by contrast, is dehumanized as relatively static and backgrounded, often merely a territorial location rather than a state. NATO appears primarily as the label for an untrustworthy organization and a destination for Ukraine.

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In search of patterns of historical language variation and user interaction (or: *Who used what linguistic features with whom, when, where, why, and how?*)

The field of historical sociolinguistics studies the interaction of language and society in historical periods and from historical perspectives in order to elucidate the social factors at play in language variation and change over time. The traditional research paradigm in the investigation of language history has long been based on the equation “language history = standard language history = history of national identity”, but in recent decades it has been recognized that to truly understand the course of historical language change, one must investigate all varieties of a language in play in a given socio-cultural context (not just a superposed “standard variety”) and one must take a multifaceted approach to questions of language and identity (not just a superposed “national identity”) (cf. Milroy 2001; Crowley 2003; Elspaß 2020; Ayres-Bennett and Bellamy 2021). Taking this stance to its most granular interpretation, it becomes necessary to explore in full detail “who used what linguistic features with whom, when, where, why, and how” (paraphrasing Fishman 1965) in order to fully understand the social history of language varieties and their users.

The research paradigm proposed in this talk seeks to advance the field in this direction by investigating historical language variation and change in all its breadth and in its intimate connection to language users and their interactions. **To do so, it is essential to adopt methods that pursue socio-historical analysis of language variation and change through data-driven/inductive pattern identification in large datasets encompassing both linguistic and socio-cultural data.** This methodological approach can be summarized as follows:

Data-driven corpus-based sociolinguistic investigation of historical language variation and user interaction in their complex socio-political and socio-cultural environments, using statistical and visualization methods of data analysis to identify and correlate salient patterns in the linguistic and socio-historical data.

In order to pursue a historical sociolinguistic research agenda of discovering “who used what linguistic features with whom, when, where, why, and how”, deploying a data-driven/inductive methodological approach, I call for an overarching *modus operandi* that “Use[s] all the data!”. This “Use all the data!” approach involves the following principles (Lauersdorf 2018b: 211–212):

- (1) Identify all possible sources of language data – data may be “hiding” where you don’t expect it, in unexplored physical locations and in unexplored textual locations.
- (2) Consult the entirety of the language data available to you – avoid selective sampling (inclusion or exclusion) of language data on the basis of *a priori* notions of what kind of data you need, how much data you need, where it should come from, etc.
- (3) Language data isn’t the only data – use all the socio-historical data!
 - (a) Identify and use all possible sources of socio-historical data (again being on the lookout for sociohistorical data “hidden” in unexpected places and using the entirety of the socio-historical data available to you).

- (b) We only have the language data that history leaves us (what has “survived” through time), so wrap the language data in all possible socio-historical datasets to help complete the picture.

These principles also include a corollary set of guidelines, formulated originally in regard to data visualization (Lauersdorf 2018a: 112), but proposed here as necessary for all data analysis in historical sociolinguistics:

Corollary 1: If you use all the data, view all the data.

- (a) If you view all the data, view all the combinations.
- (b) If you view all the data, view all the angles.
- (c) If you view all the data, use all the techniques.

This call to “Use all the data!” in historical sociolinguistic investigation derives, in part, from the fact that historical data is inherently “incomplete” (e.g., limited, fragmentary, unbalanced) in ways that the researcher has no control over. Thus it is imperative to identify and gather as much of it as possible for a given investigation, from all interrelated sources, both linguistic and socio-historical, and to consider especially nontraditional data sources (Lauersdorf 2021: 218–219), if one hopes to be able to assemble a sufficient dataset for datadriven/inductive analysis. If one follows the principle of gathering “all the data” in data collection, the extant historical record can often produce richly layered datasets containing linguistic features of language users in their socio-cultural interactional contexts.

Additionally, this call to “Use all the data!” and “View all the data!” also derives from the conviction that using only a selective sample and/or selective methods of analysis of the available data (generally based on *a priori* assumptions about the features and categories that one should expect to find in the data) limits what one is actually able to discover, given that portions of the data are not being considered and that only certain analytical viewpoints are being entertained. Thus it is imperative to assemble and interrogate the data in a way that facilitates data-driven examination of all possible combinations of all linguistic and socio-cultural information contained in the rich data layers.

From a methodological perspective, this approach clearly implies a scale of operations that requires the assistance of *computational processing*, and *statistical and visualization methods of data analysis*. It has become commonplace in historical sociolinguistics to work with digital corpora of historical source texts, and there is also a growing awareness of the need for digital preparation of the socio-historical data in a way that it can be analyzed interactively with the textual corpora. However, with the approach espoused here, these digital datasets, both linguistic and socio-cultural, grow in size and sophistication; and the computational complexity involved in using and viewing “all the data” increases significantly, benefitting from “big-data” methods, models, and tools to explore the correlations between language users and linguistic features (Lauersdorf 2021: 219).

From a theoretical perspective, this approach allows us to engage fully with notions and models previously unavailable (or only limitedly available), enabling exploration of historical language variation and change within the theoretical frames of mundane mobility, social networks, and communities of practice. *Mundane mobility*, the “mundane movements we engage in in everyday life” (Britain 2013: 165), is “small-scale, less dramatic in distance, and perhaps in life impact at the level of the individual, [but] their scale, intensity and pervasiveness at the level of the community as a whole mean they cannot be ignored as a source of rather striking dialect contact” (Britain 2013: 168). The contact patterns formed by such mobility can be modeled as *social networks* that examine the interactions of individuals in their communities and in their networks of contacts as potential determinants in historical language variation

and change (cf. Bergs 2005; Conde-Silvestre 2012). And “[t]he *community of practice* takes us away from the community defined by a location or by a population. Instead, it focuses on a community defined by social engagement – after all, it is this engagement that language serves, not the place and not the people as a bunch of individuals” (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992: 95; emphasis mine).

Data-driven use-all-the-data exploration of the correlation of mundane mobility, social networks, and communities of practice with language variation and change among language users in their interactions in historical periods is expressly the investigation of “who uses what linguistic features with whom, when, where, why, and how”, a research paradigm that holds the potential to paint a more detailed picture of the social history of language varieties and their users.

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Multilingualism in the Habsburg monarchy and Slavic linguistic heritage in German in Austria

Multilingualism on the current territory of Austria has existed for a long period of time. Roughly since the 6th and 7th centuries, Slavs have settled in Central Europe, including much of present-day Austria. The subsequent expansion of the Magyars as well as the Bavarianisation of the area separated the northern and southern Slavs. For the former Habsburg state, we have to reckon with eleven main languages in addition to numerous smaller ones. Moreover, already the main languages represented a number of widely divergent languages: German; two Romance tongues, Italian and Romanian; a range of Slavic languages from all the three branches of that family — western, eastern, and southern; and Hungarian, or Magyar, from the Finno-Ugric group.

Now, due to the long history of mutual language contact, especially Slavic languages have had a considerable influence on German and attitudes towards multilingualism in Austria. Moreover, the Habsburg state's capital Vienna and its surroundings were multilingual not only due to migration movements triggered by the influx into the flourishing centre of the monarchy. A varying degree of German-Slavic bi- and multilingualism had been common in the rural areas east and north-east to Vienna for centuries. Therefore, we can conceive of this whole region as a micro-area of linguistic convergence and language contact within a larger Central European area.

With regard to the multilingual setting in the Habsburg state and its repercussions to this day, our talk outlines the basic assumptions, the methodological toolkit as well as the main general findings of our research projects on language contact in this area which have been running since 2016 as part of the special research programme (SFB) “German in Austria. Variation – Contact – Perception”. We conclude with possible implications for further linguistic research in multilingual historical contexts and some links to contemporary phenomena.

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How to make a friend in Balto-Slavic

My talk discusses the Balto-Slavic and Germanic continuants of **d^hreug^h- /d^hrug^h-* meaning both ‚amicus, socius, proximus‘, and ‚alter, alius‘. Related to the pragmatic context, this semantic development is particularly striking. The same stem gives rise to designations taking place at the opposite sides of the conceptual axis “own” – “foreign”, central for name-giving in any sociocultural setting of human interaction. Clearly, not every “other” or “different” person is a “friend”, that would counter the self-preservation instinct.

The clue to this phenomenon is hidden in the original expression. In order to identify the syntactic collocation underlying the univerbation that should have yielded the secondary root **d^hre* ‘support, hold’ + *°g^{(w)h}*, and elucidate the context of its idiomaticization, both a formal (specifically the provenience of the root-extension *°g^{(w)h}*), and a conceptual analysis is needed. “Friends” and specifically “a group of armed followers/supporters” (a frequent meaning documented in historical sources) are neither connected by blood (family relation if co-occurrent is not crucial to become a name-giving feature), nor by marriage (co-occurrence is marginal) – the two important ways of securing a peaceful relationship and support. Loyalty of those who do not belong to either group has to be secured.

Taking a closer look at the reflexes of older (pre-Christian) customary law in the early sources and at ancient vow rituals in areal perspective allows for interesting observations for both the development of the concept within the IE and from the point of view of conceptual transfer / concept sharing across linguistically diversified areas, encompassing not only the regions where Baltic, Slavic or Germanic idioms were spoken, but also traceable from the Ancient Anatolia to the Caucasus, the Middle and the Far East.

Thus, it has been possible to discern a ritual formula anchored in the expressions like “to drink oath” / “to drink support” / “to drink trust”, and similar, whereas some survived into the modern languages though completely decontextualized, like the Russian как пить даст (3sg. aorist), meaning “totally sure/trustworthy”, as if “under oath”.

This semantic and pragmatic evidence allows us to narrow the search for the possible candidate providing the **°g^{(w)h}*-reflex, found not only in one of the PIE roots for “to drink” but in a number of secondary roots with the last radical continuing PIE *g^{wh}* and the secondary meaning “to give oath”, “to take oath”, “to ensure under oath”.

In the talk I provide the plausible formal and semantic derivational history of the BSl. root-derivatives in descendant languages and put them into context.

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Typology of lexicalization patterns of motion events and L2 acquisition

This experimental study investigates L1 transfer effects in Korean speakers' acquisition of the lexicalization patterns of semantic components of motion event in Russian. In Talmy's (1985, 2000) typological study, Korean and Russian are distinguished as verb-framed and satellite-framed languages, respectively, depending on whether Path is conflated with the verb or expressed as a satellite. In addition to Path, Manner and Direction are also expressed in different ways in Korean and Russian, as summarized in Table (1).

(1)

| | Direction | Manner | Path |
|----------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------|
| <i>Russian</i> | verb or satellite | verb | satellite |
| <i>Korean</i> | not expressed | adjunct (optional) | verb |

In Korean, a motion event is described by a compound verb form consisting of a deictic generic motion verb and a manner or path verb. The Manner morpheme is optional and freely omitted, and the generic verb alone may express motion event. Path and Manner in compound verbs have different syntactic status: verb vs. adjunct.

Experiments. The differences in (1) are expected to result in difficulty in Korean speakers' learning of Russian motion verbs. To verify hypotheses in (2), we conducted two experiments with 66 Korean learners of Russian (3 test groups based on the Level Test score) and 10 Russian native speakers (1 control group). The first experiment examined the acquisition of lexicalization patterns of Manner (WALK, RUN, CRAWL, RIDE, FLY, SWIM) and Direction (UNI, MULTI).

The second experiment examined Manner and Path (*v-*, *vy-*, *ob-*, *ot-*, *pere-*, *pod-*, *pri-*, *pro-*, *u-*). A participant was requested to fill the blank in the description of a picture with an appropriate motion verb form.

- (2) Hypothesis 1: There will be a correlation between a participant's general language skill and Correct Answer Rate (CAR) for each semantic element.
- Hypothesis 2: a. The CAR for Direction will be lower than the CAR for Manner.
b. The CSR for Manner will be lower than the CAR for Path.
- Hypothesis 3: The lower the Level Test score is, the stronger the tendency to use a WALK verb as a pseudo-generic verb in place of other Manner verbs will be.

Results and discussions. Hypothesis 1 is readily confirmed by the experiment result: For all three semantic elements, the higher the level of a participant group is, the higher the average

CAR is. As expected by Hypothesis 2(a), the CAR for Direction appears lower than the CAR for Manner in the first experiment. Direction is naturally a challenging aspect for Korean speakers to learn because this component is not lexicalized in Korean. Unlike Hypothesis 2(b), however, the CAR for Manner appears higher than Path in the second test. Two explanations are in order: First, although Manner has been assumed to be adjunctive and thus omissible in Korean compound motion verbs, there is a possibility that the “Manner+Generic” form has undergone lexicalization, functioning as a simple, monolithic verb. Korean speakers choose between a bare generic verb and a lexicalized manner motion verb when describing motion events. Korean then appears like Russian in that both Manner and Motion may be encoded in a single verbal root. Second, Paths are diverse in terms of cognitive prominence. “Boundary-crossing” motion events are arguably more prominent in cognition (Aske 1989, Slobin and Hoiting 1994). The Path prefixes involving a clearly recognized spatial boundary, such as *vy-* and *pere-*, appear to be more easily learned while the Path prefixes without definite spatial orientation, such as *pro-*, show relatively low CARs in all test groups. This variation may be responsible for the lower average CAR for Path. Hypothesis 3 is also supported by the result: The lower the level of overall language skill is, the lower the precision rate of WALK is (Level1 48.0%, Level2 70.1 %, Level3 79.3 %, Native 90.6%). The optionality of Manner expression in Korean clearly has transfer effects in this regard. Considering that Path, which is obligatorily expressed in both languages (although it is realized as satellites in Russian and as verbs in Korean), is more difficult to learn than Manner, it can be suggested that the difference in lexicalization patterns between L1 and L2 may affect acquisition more than the difference in obligatoriness of overt expression.

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Morphological allomorphy in Slovak nouns

Morphological variation is a favourite topic amongst Slovak linguists, and many works have been published, both prescribing which variant is normative and describing the actual usage of morphologically variant forms by Slovak speakers. However, as has been alluded to in Bosák (1993), little attention has been paid to understanding the processes that motivate speakers to select one form over another.

The talk aims at addressing the following research questions: Do Slovak speakers systematically apply formal criteria when confronted with rival morphological forms?; and: Does the manner in which formal criteria are applied by Slovak speakers differ depending on whether the rival forms are motivated on a semantic basis or a phonological basis?

Working on the basis of Sokolová's (2007) categorisation of declensional paradigms in Slovak, two paradigmatic cells in the masculine inanimate paradigm were investigated: genitive singular (semantic-derivationally motivated variation) and instrumental plural (phonologically motivated variation). The acceptability of variant forms among native speakers was tested using a forced choice survey similar to Bermel and Knittl (2012).

The results showed that formal criteria play a role in the selection of morphological form; though the extent to which this is the case differs between the two paradigmatic cells. In the instrumental plural condition, clear formal phonological factors were found to motivate the choice of morphological form, even when this contradicted the data from the Slovak National Corpus. In the genitive singular condition, whilst formal factors (e.g., governance) were found to have some effect on the selection of morphological form, other variables including token frequency and sociolinguistic variables were also found to effect choice of morphological form.

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On the syntax of instrumental NPs in Ukrainian

The paper is concerned with the syntax of Instrumental Phrases in Ukrainian found in the so-called *Transitive Impersonals* (Lavine 2022). It provides a novel type of argument in support of Lavine’s (2022) position against the Undifferentiated Initiator view (Cf. Ramchand 2008; Bruening 2013; Legate 2014; Wood 2017, i.a.), diverging from Lavine, however, on the question of the exact Merge position of such Instrumentals.

Examining a range of constructions from Ukrainian, which he labels “Transitive Impersonals”, Lavine argues that the “Initiator” argument in all such constructions is an Oblique Causer argument that originates in the VP, licensing the Accusative case on the direct object in the absence of an Agent or an active Voice layer (Cf. *Burzio’s Generalization*). Lavine’s conclusions, which he reaches based on independent types of evidence, receive strong support from the quantifier scope data, specifically the comparison of QP scope ambiguity-scope freezing distribution patterns in Ukrainian Passives and Transitive Impersonals analyzed within Antonyuk’s (2015) deductive approach to scope freezing, and in particular her *Scope Freezing Diagnostic*, according to which scope freezing points to a derived structure, i.e., one that is derived via an instance of overt A-movement of a lower QP across the higher one, termed *Argument Inversion* (see esp. Antonyuk & Mykhaylyk 2022).

Perhaps the strongest argument for limiting the domain of application of the Scope Freezing Generalization (Antonyuk 2015; under review) to vP/VP has been the absence of scope freezing in doubly quantified SVO sentences (i.e., subject QP >> V >> object QP structures) as well as any other constructions involving a subject QP (Cf. doubly quantifier ditrasitives). Crucially, passive sentences do not exhibit scope freezing either. Lavine’s analysis of Transitive Impersonals (which all involve an Instrumental Causer argument morphologically indistinguishable from the Instrumental Agent of passives in Ukrainian) makes a strong prediction regarding QP scope. It predicts that a passive structure and a superficially similar impersonal passive construction will differ with respect to the availability of scope freezing. This is so since on Lavine’s analysis the NPINSTR of a Transitive Impersonal is merged lower than the merge position of a subject NP (assumed to be an argument of Voice). Hence, the former, but not the latter, is predicted to show scope freezing under Argument Inversion. The prediction is correct:

- | | | | | |
|--------|--|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| (1) a. | Jakas’ cerkv-a | bul-a spalen-a | kožnym okupantom. | <i>Passive</i> |
| | Some church _{NOM} | was burned down _{PASS} | every invaders _{INSTR} | |
| | ‘Some church was burned down by every invader’ | | | scope ambiguous |
| b. | Jakymos’ | okupantom | bul-a spalen-a | kožn-a cerkv-a. |
| | Some invader _{INSTR} | was | burned | every church _{NOM} |
| | ‘Every church was burned down by some invader’ | | | scope ambiguous |
| (2) a. | Jak-us’ cerkv-u | bul-o spalen-o | kožnoju blyskavkoju. | <i>Transitive impersonal</i> |
| | Some church _{ACC} | was burned down | every lightning _{INSTR} | |
| | ‘Some church was burned by every lightning.’ | | | scope frozen |
| b. | Jak-ojus’ blyskavkoju | bul-o spalen-o | kožn-u cerkv-u. | |
| | Some lightning _{INSTR} | was burned down _{IMP} | every church _{ACC} | |
| | ‘Every church was burned down by some lightning’ | | | scope ambiguous |

After examining and discarding alternative explanations of the above scope patterns, I conclude that the QP scope contrast between a passive and a transitive impersonal is indeed due to a difference in the status of the Instrumental argument in the two structures under consideration, thus providing a novel argument in support of Lavine's position. In a point of departure from Lavine (2022), I argue that the Merge position of the Instrumental NP in Transitive Impersonals must be higher, therefore, VP-external, and provide novel arguments from QP scope as well as from the contribution of Aspectual morphology to argument structure building in Argument Structure Alternations (both not shown here, but see also esp. Arsenijević 2006; Kovačević 2020; Quaglia et al. 2023 for other relevant arguments), in favor of this conclusion.

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Actors in language policy and language planning in the Central South Slavic area in the new century

The study of language policy and language planning (LPP) always reflects the socio-political situation and gives us insight into social relations and the distribution of power in society. This is especially important in societies where language acquires the status of a national symbol, as in the case of the languages of the Central-South Slavic area, which underwent major socio-political changes in the 1990s. In this area, after the disintegration of the common state and the dissolution of the common Serbo-Croatian language into four standard languages: Croatian, Serbian, Bosnian and Montenegrin based on the same dialectal base, the Štokavian dialect. Thus, the changes were initially reflected in the status of the language through the transition of linguistic variants (Western or Zagrebian and Eastern or Belgradian) and expressions (Bosnian-Herzegovinian linguistic expression, later also Montenegrin linguistic expression) of the polycentric standard language to four independent standard languages. Moreover, under the influence of national policies, these languages have also undergone turbulent changes in the corpus of the language, with intense interventions in language standardization (also known in the literature as restandardization, language engineering or language nationalization), mainly in vocabulary and orthographic rules, much less in grammatical structure itself. In the last decade, the passion for linguistic intervention has subsided, at least to some extent, but new questions are being raised in the context of LPP. Given all this, it is not surprising that the fundamental issues of LPP, such as the construction, implementation, and effects of LPP, are still of research interest in these languages, rather than the issue of linguistic human rights. Since LPP is always about choice and decision-making, one of the challenging questions is who makes decisions, how they are made, and what characterizes the decision-making process. These are also the basic starting points of our research, which aimed to gain insight into current LPP issues in Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro. In this paper, we focus mainly on the first question, more specifically on the question of who the actors of LPP in these countries are. This question is particularly interesting because LPP is implemented implicitly in all four countries, and usually without a common agreement, as the results of the research show. The research was conducted using the method of e-mail interviews with open-ended questions. Our target respondents were scholars in the field of linguistics and sociolinguistics, many of them also actors of LPP who exercise agency, institutional or individual. According to the respondents, LPP is not only implemented at the macro-level, with state LPP actors, as one would traditionally expect, but mainly at the meso-level, within different institutions, as well as at the micro-level, where individuals exercising agency are at the forefront. The results of the survey also show that there is a lack of interconnection and agreement among the actors, and it seems that the biggest challenge in the future is to achieve a consensual LPP that considers the opinions of different actors as well as language users.

Идентификационные относительные придаточные в осиекском говоре

Тема доклада – идентификационные относительные придаточные в спонтанной речи уроженцев города Осиека в Хорватии. Идентификационными здесь называются относительные придаточные тождества, т. е. относительные придаточные с такими союзами как *кто, что, который*, в отличие, например, от относительных придаточных качества с такими союзами как *какой, каков*.

Относительные предложения в литературном хорватском языке изучены неплохо (Kordić 1995 и др.), в то время как об относительных придаточных в хорватских диалектах мы не знаем почти ничего. Здесь, на материале около 1200 осиекских относительных придаточных, произнесенных двадцатью говорящими в спонтанной речи, предпринимается попытка хотя бы частично восполнить этот пробел.

Исследование затрагивает целый ряд вопросов и дает некоторые интересные результаты. Так, например, нетривиальным оказалось употребление относительного местоимения *šta* ‘что’, которое в литературной норме считается просто восточным вариантом. В относительных придаточных местоимение *šta* предпочитает контексты, где оно имеет общее значение типа *всё, что, что бы ни*. Употребление относительного местоимения *što* более универсально. Скорее всего, распределение двух форм исходно связано с ударением (ср. Starčević, Kapović, Sarić 2019: 54, 116), но со временем фонетическое различие перешло в семантическое.

У относительного местоимения *koji* ‘который’ неодушевленный им. п. ед. ч. мужского рода в осиекском говоре, как и в литературной норме, совпадает с именительным падежом, но в субстандартном хорватском встречается также форма, совпадающая с родительным падежом (об этом явлении и теориях его происхождения см. van Tilburg 1988). Эту форму можно услышать и в осиекском говоре, но в более официальной обстановке (влияние сверху).

К местоимению *koji* близок союз *što* (несклоняемое *što* и – крайне редко – *šta*). *Koji* и *što* также очень близки по частотности. В большинстве контекстов эти союзные элементы взаимозаменяемы, но союз *što* предпочитает определенные вершины и обычно дает строгую рестрикцию, тогда как союз *koji* предпочитает неопределенные вершины и обычно дает родовую рестрикцию или своего рода дескрипцию. С этим распределением согласуется и тот факт, что союз *što*, в отличие от местоимения *koji*, (почти) не вводит нерестриktивных относительных придаточных. С союзом *što* при неодушевленных вершинах резюмptивное местоимение употребляется крайне редко. При одушевленных же вершинах, когда релятивизируется винительный падеж, примеры с резюмptивным местоимением и без него приблизительно равночастотны. В примерах с одушевленной вершиной и релятивизованным косвенным падежом резюмptивное местоимение обязательно.

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Parametrizing structural gaps: An addendum on Russian passive participles

The availability of (paradigmatically integrated) passive participial forms in Contemporary Russian (CR) is conditional upon a set of structural constraints—holding in complementary distribution—that cut across both the morphological makeup of the target predicate (e.g., conditioned alternations between present and infinitive stems) and the configuration of its event structure (in terms of its aspectual, actional, and lexical properties). On the one hand, (telic) present passive participles (PrPP) seldom obtain from simplex imperfectives (IPF1), although such forms are still part of stylistically marked registers (Saj 2016: 400), as in (1);

- (1) Doma i solom-a ed-om-a.
Home-LOC and straw-NOM.SG eat-PRT.PRS.IPF.PAS.NOM.SG.F
'There is no place like home' (lit. 'At home even straw is edible')

Interestingly, where such possibility is provided for, paradigmatic gaps can be filled by corresponding secondary imperfective forms (IPF2), as in (2);

- (2) ?p'-em-yjIPF1 / vy-p-iva-em-yjIPF2 'drinkable / that is being drunk'
#stav-im-yjIPF1 / po-stav-lja-em-yjIPF2 'deliverable'
??klad-om-yjIPF1 / v-klad-yva-em-yjIPF2 'invested'

On the other hand past passive participles (PstPP), which can still be formed from IPF1 despite their default selection for perfective stems (Borik & Gehrke 2018), are virtually non-existent with IPF2, see (3);

- (3) pere-čita-nn-yjPF 'reread' / čita-nn-yjIPF1 'read' / ??pere-čit-yva-nn-yjIPF2
pro-pisa-nn-yjPF 'prescribed' / pisa-nn-yjIPF1 'written' / ??pro-pis-yva-nn-yjIPF2
ot-dela-nn-yjPF 'decorated' / dela-nn-yjIPF1 'done' / ??ot-del-yva-nn-yjIPF2

Diachronic data seems to suggest that both processes may have followed a similar chronological path, with strengthening restrictions on PrPP from IPF1 and on PstPP from IPF2 unevenly applying in the lexicon from the first half of the XIX century onward (Wiemer et al., in press). Cashing in on this remark, this corpus-based survey investigates the interaction between event structure and the voice system at the syntax-semantics interface (Gehrke 2015), supplying new evidence in favor of the following two working hypotheses: 1) the drop in the number of PstPP from IPF2 is linked to the spread of the (telos-defocusing) general-factual meaning across IPF stems, incompatible as such with the projection of a full Result Phrase in the syntactic structure; 2) the restricted productivity of PrPP from IPF1 is linked to the (unevenly distributed) parasitic attachment of the middle voice marker -sja to the set of active present participles.

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The imperfectivizing suffix in North Slavic

This paper is concerned with morphosyntactic and semantic properties of North Slavic predicates. It focuses on *-yva-*, its positioning and related properties in verbal predicates, participles and various types of nominalizations (*-yva-* is a shorthand for allomorphs of the secondary imperfective suffix and the habitual suffix). It claims that there are at least three – *yva-*, progressive (PROG), iterative (ITER) and habitual (HAB) that differ morphosyntactically, semantically and phonologically to some extent (factuals are left aside).

-Yva- brings about ITER and PROG meanings but with delimitative *po-* (see (1)), it only induces ITER (Zaliznjak & Šmelëv 1997, Kačny 1994).

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (1) a. <i>po-čit-yva-t'IPF (R)</i> | b. <i>po-plāk-iwa-čIPF (P)</i> |
| DEL-read-YVA-INF | DEL-cry-YVA-INF |
| 'to read a little from time to time' | 'to cry a little from time to time' |
| *'to be reading for a while' | *'to be crying for a while' |

The generative literature (e.g. Romanova 2004, Tatevosov 2008, Klimek-Jankowska & Błaszczak 2021) mostly locates delimitative *po-* above *-yva-*, which explains ungrammaticality of the PROG imperfectivization. But it makes two false scope predictions wrt. ITER meaning: diminutive-iteratives like (1) should be perfective and denote the repetition of actions in a short time frame, contrary to the facts. This suggests placing ITER - *yva-* higher than DEL *po-*, which in turn is higher than PROG *-yva-*.

Thus, assuming the measure function meaning of DEL *po-* from Součková (2004) and ITER operator deriving non-atomic events (based on Lasersohn 1995), the resulting meaning of e.g. (1b) is in (2):

(2) $[[\textit{poplāk}i\textit{wa}]] = \lambda e[\textit{cry}(e) \wedge m(e) = c_{\textit{relatively.small}} \wedge |e| > 1 \wedge \forall e', e'' \subseteq e[\neg \tau(e') \circ \tau(e'')]]$

For the PROG operator, I assume (3), with the proper part relation (modified Krifka 1992 and Filip 2005):

(3) $\lambda P \lambda e \exists e' [P(e') \wedge e < e']$

Since PROG *-yva-* selects pf., telic stems, verbs in (1) cannot be derived as shown in (4), i.e. as delimited progressives.

- | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------|
| (4) a. * [po-[čít-yva]]-t' | b. * [po-[plāk-iwa]]-č |
|----------------------------|------------------------|

Also, since PROG brings about homogeneity (see (3)) but ITER needs a quantized stem, the combination of ITER *-yva-* and PROG *-yva-* is ungrammatical. Therefore, in *dávával* the higher *-va-* can only be habitual:

- | | |
|------------------------------|------|
| (5) <i>dá-vá-va-l</i> | (Cz) |
| give-PROG/ITER-HAB-PAST | |
| 'he had the habit of giving' | |

PROG *-yva-* is not responsible for imperfectivity; morphological aspect (operators) is determined in AspP via Agree with aspectual markers.

HAB *-yva-* differs from ITER and PROG *-yva-*: It selects impf. stems (6); induces only HAB interpretation (6); cannot occur in nominalizations in Czech (7); in certain cases uses different markers ((8) and also Tatevosov 2013, Matushansky 2009).

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| (6) a. [pis ^{IPF}]-yva ^{IPF} -t' (R) | b. [pis ^{IPF}]-ywa ^{IPF} -č (P) | c. [psá ^{IPF}]-va ^{IPF} -t (Cz) |
| All: 'to have the habit of writing' | | |

- (7) a. vy-pis-ová-n-í
out-write-PROG/ITER-N/T-N.NOM
'excerpting'
- b. * ps-á-vá-n-í (Cz)
write-TH-HAB-N/T-N.NOM
- (8) a. vy-proš-ova-t
out-beg-PROG/ITER-INF
'to beg repeatedly'
'to be begging'
- b. pros-í-va-t (Cz)
beg-TH-HAB-INF
'to have the habit of begging'

Since HAB scopes over ITER (not shown here) and Czech stem nominalizations have morphological aspect (=AspP) but not HAB (7b), the simplified structure is:

- (9) [HAB -yva- ... [Asp ... [Voice ... [ITER -yva- ... [DEL po- ... [PROG -yva-...√]]]]]]

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Failed eventualities in peripheral West South Slavic

This paper analyses the corpus of the peripheral West South Slavic dialects spoken in Montenegro (Vušović 1927; Vuković 1938/39, 1954; Miletić 1940; Pešikan 1956, 1965), in a centuries-long contact with neighbouring Romance and Albanian, in order to identify an array of “semantically elaborate grammatical categories” marking *failed* (i.e., unexpectedly non-realized/counterfactual) past eventualities (or outcomes), that have been only recently defined in the typological literature (cf. Kuteva 1998; Overall 2017; Kuteva, Aarts, Popova & Abbi 2019; Arkadiev 2019; Caudal, *forthc.*), viz. apprehensional (1), avertive (2), and frustrative (3).

- (1) *imah poginut (ima sam poginut)* (Pešikan 1965: 205)
‘I nearly got killed’
- (2) *čaš-umrijet da ne dođe doktor* (Pešikan 1965: 206)
‘He nearly died, if it weren’t for the doctor’
- (3) *A ja čekaj, čekaj neće li ko doć, a ono niđe nikoga* (Pešikan 1956: 154)
‘I was waiting in vain for someone to arrive; nobody was there’

In contrast to the closely related and/or areally contingent East South Slavic and Balkan Romance (e.g., Modern Bulgarian *štjax da padna* = Romanian *era să cad* ‘I nearly fell’), where a single periphrastic form with VELLE or ESSE auxiliary has been grammaticalized to mark both apprehensional and avertive meanings, in Montenegrin dialects, apprehensionals, marking non-realization of a potential, but undesired, unpleasant or harmful event, as in (1), are formally distinguished from the ‘general’, all-purpose avertive, typically marking once imminent, but unexpectedly non-realized eventualities (2); the latter being grammaticalized with VELLE (*čah*) and the former with HABERE-based auxiliary (*imah/ima sam*). In addition, a third, frustrative category, expressing past eventualities whose expected or desired outcome failed to realize, is marked in turn by reduplicated narrative imperative (3). This is rather remarkable cross-linguistically, as well, given that in the majority of better described cases in the literature, the boundaries between these categories are often not so clear-cut, as they tend to be expressed by related formal markers and to feature shared grammaticalization paths.

With such an elaborate system, Montenegrin dialects featuring constructions in (1)–(3) present an important case study into the semantic composition and grammatical realization of failed eventualities. By more closely examining their use in the traditional corpus, supplemented with own fieldwork on the present-day usage, in this paper I trace their areal distribution and their grammaticalization paths in more detail.

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The Russian genitive of negation and proper names: An argument for propositionalism

In this paper I discuss the genitive of negation (GenNeg): an alternation between nominative/accusative case and genitive under sentential negation (1).

- (1) Ja ne pil vodu/vody. (Kagan, 2013, p. 5)
I NEG drink water.Acc/water.Gen
“I wasn’t drinking the/any water.”

The alternation corresponds to a number of semantic properties, where genitive nominals lack existential commitment, take narrow scope, and are indefinite/non-specific, and accusative nominals tend to have the opposite properties (e.g., Kagan, 2013). As a result, the ability for proper names to participate in the alternation is greatly reduced. In the literature, GenNeg proper names are typically restricted to perception verbs (2) and existential sentences (3).

- (2) Maša ne vidna. / Maši ne vidno. (Padučeva, 1997, p. 106)
Maša.Nom NEG seen. / Maša.Gen NEG seen
“Maša can’t be seen.”
- (3) Peti na koncerte ne bylo. (Partee et al., 2012, p. 9)
Petja.Gen at concert NEG was
“Petja was not at the concert.”

Additionally, there is also variation in that some speakers allow an alternation with fiction (e.g., *predstavljat’* ‘imagine’, *izobražat’* ‘picture’) and epistemic predicates (e.g., *oždat’* ‘expect’, *ždat’* ‘wait for’).

This alternation has been much discussed in the literature, and the current primary approach is an intensionalist analysis (Partee et al., 2012; Kagan, 2013). Under this analysis, genitive nominals are property-denoting, whereas accusative nominals are individual-denoting or quantificational. However, where this approach faces issues is that it cannot distinguish the set of verbs with which GenNeg proper names are (im)possible and the individual variation therein, requires recourse to extraneous principles, and predicts that some verbs will alternate that do not, such as *razrešat’* ‘allow’ and *zapeščat’* ‘prohibit’.

Here, I argue that a propositionalist analysis, in the spirit of den Dikken et al. (2018), can best account for the (un)acceptability of GenNeg proper names and individual variation in that acceptability when in combination with the property-type analysis above. That is, a hidden clausal analysis, in combination with NEG-raising (e.g., Horn, 1978) and an analysis of subject control as in Grano (2015), delimits the set of predicates that are expected to license GenNeg proper names. Further narrowing down of the set of verbs is accomplished through reference to separately established constraints on licensing of GenNeg under constituent negation (e.g., Babby, 1980) and variation in the possibility for NEG raising with certain verbs commonly found within and across languages (e.g., Popp, 2016). This account also predicts the non-alternation of verbs such as ‘allow’ through recourse to well-known syntactic constraints on GenNeg, i.e., object control (e.g., Franks, 1995).

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A featural analysis of Cyrillic

Phonemes can be analysed as consisting of distinctive features, and graphemes also consist of smaller elements. However, while there is a correspondence between graphemes (letters) and phonemes (sounds), the features of letters do not seem to correlate with phonetic features (except for the Korean Han’gŭl script, which Sampson 1985: 120–140 analyses as a “featural” writing system). For example, those letters that contain a right half-circle \circ (b, o, p, s; B, D, O, P, Q, R, S) do not correspond to any meaningful group of sounds.

However, the late Beatrice Primus (2004) presented an analysis of the modern Latin alphabet in which letters are grouped according to graphic features in such a way that these groups correspond to groups of sounds. For example, she showed that letters for obstruents tend to have ascenders or descenders (p, t, k, b, d, g, q, f, j, h), whereas letters for sonorants are largely constrained to the x-height (a, e, i, o, u, m, n, r; Primus 2004: 252–253; Primus & Wagner 2014: 41–43). Consequently, syllables tend to have a vertically concave \approx shape (e.g. but, tank, peg, track, etc.; for words like take, see Evertz 2018 for the correspondence between graphemic syllables and phonemic syllables). Such regularities are a consequence of ‘natural’ development of the Latin alphabet over the centuries (Primus 2007).

Similar regularities have also been shown for Greek (Primus & Wagner 2014: 43), Arabic, and Tifinagh (ibid. 48–57) but not for Cyrillic. The history of Cyrillic – with its letters derived from two sources, Greek and Glagolitic, Peter I’s alphabet reform of 1708, and the conservative Soviet typography – is complicated and relatively short, so that it is not at all clear whether grapho-phonetic correspondences at the level of features can already have developed.

In this talk I will present a featural analysis of Cyrillic which will show that:

a) the ‘standard’ Russian print alphabet (whose letters are remarkably uniform, as Kempgen 1993 has shown) is indeed much less featural than the Latin alphabet;

b) Cyrillic cursives as well as the recent Bulgarian variant of Cyrillic (cf. Kempgen 2015) exhibit an astonishing number of correspondences at the level of graphetic and phonetic features.

This demonstrates that the development of the Cyrillic alphabet unequivocally goes in the direction of a ‘featural’ alphabet.

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Gesture timing in palatalization

While palatalization is a common, broadly discussed process, there is no clear agreement as to its phonological representation. Different authors operate with different palatalization features, executed by different parts of the tongue as the major articulator, e.g., Dorsal[-back] (Halle 1995), Coronal (Clements and Hume 1995), or [+ATR] (Cavar et al. (2020)). The different theories make different assumptions about the mechanism of palatalization but could not be easily disambiguated based on the earlier phonetic studies. However, with the advancement of speech imaging technology and articulatory data collection methods, we have tools to look at articulation from perspectives that have not been available before. In this talk we want to focus on the dynamic temporal aspects of the palatalization gesture and interpret the findings in the theoretical phonological context.

We have collected and analyzed speech data from 10 native speakers of Polish using 3D/4D ultrasound equipment. In this study, we have tracked the changes in the tongue height throughout consecutive frames during the palatalization gesture. We have plotted the relative raising of the tongue surface as a function of time, and aligned the articulatory plots with the corresponding acoustic signal. The relative raising of the tongue surface has been tracked separately for the anterior part of the tongue (including blade and dorsum) and the posterior part (with the tongue root).

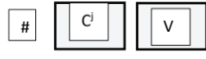
We have evaluated the data focusing on phonemically palatalized alveopalatals [ɛ, z, ʦe, ʦz] and allophonically palatalized labials [pʲ] and dentals [tʲ, sʲ]. While speakers differ in their articulatory strategies, the results indicate that the posterior movement tends to be strongly anticipatory, while the movement of the more anterior part of the tongue is relatively delayed as compared to the movement of the posterior part. In phonemic palatalization (Fig. 1), the vertical displacement of the tongue is both initiated and also peaks before the beginning of the target palatalized consonant (either during the preceding vowel or in the silence before the beginning of the word). The effect of palatalization in the anterior part of the tongue is visible only shortly before the beginning of the consonant. The anticipatory nature of the posterior gesture is also visible in the allophonic palatalization that occurs in Polish before vowel [i], (Fig. 2). Here, the onset of the posterior gesture in the CV sequence is visible directly at the consonant begin, and only shortly before the beginning of the triggering vowel [i] for the anterior part. Additionally, the allophonic palatalization gesture does not show a separate articulatory goal for the palatalized consonant and the following triggering vowel but rather one trajectory of movement in which the consonant gets palatalized ‘on the way’ to the target vowel. On the other hand, two separate articulatory goals are visible in many images for the phonemic palatalization even if the following vowel is [i].

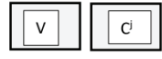
The results may be interpreted as evidence in support of the analysis of palatalization as initiated by the tongue root rather than tongue body or tongue blade, as advocated by Cavar et al. (2020). Additionally, phonemic and allophonic palatalization in Polish differ in terms of temporal dynamic structure of the gesture.

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(1) Phonemic

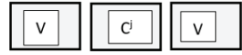




----- ANTERIOR
----- POSTERIOR

(2) Allophonic





----- ANTERIOR
----- POSTERIOR

Drienkovica, bombovisko and jebláreň: What can Slovak (lexical) suffixes tell us about (the practice of) typology

Lexical suffixes are a type of affixes described exclusively for native American languages (Mithun 1999, 54–55). Considered one of the hallmarks of the Northwest Coast Sprachbund (Mithun 2015), they have also been found in Mesoamerican languages (Campbell 2021).

In simplest terms, lexical suffixes are derivational affixes that “do not affect the syntactic category of the root or stem” (Czaykowski 1982, 1), but rather “change or augment its meaning” (Czaykowski 1982, 1). They do so in a typologically unique way; in the words of Campbell (2021, 281, emphasis mine):

Lexical affixes are bound morphemes that, because of their **unexpectedly concrete semantic content**, would be **expected** to be coded, based on experience with **more familiar languages**, as **independent lexical items**, as members of major lexical classes (e.g., nouns, verbs, adjectives), and not as affixes.

Typical examples of lexical suffixes include:

– Halkomelem (Salish) =*éwtx*^w meaning “building” (e.g. *liwəyəl=éwtx*^w “church < pray + building”, Gerdts 2003, 346)

– Nivaclé =*nôk* meaning “(fermented) drink” (e.g. *fhtsuk=inôk* “an alcoholic beverage made from *fhtsu7uk*, a type of palm”, Campbell 2021, 288)

In this paper, we examine the typology of lexical suffixes and the question of whether such affixes can be found languages outside of America. We will do so primarily on the basis of three Standard Slovak nominal derivational suffixes (cf. Vužňáková 2006) which display semantic characteristics similar to those of lexical suffixes:

- *X=ovica* meaning “an alcoholic drink produced by distillation from X”,
- *X=(i)sko* “a place where X can be found”, and
- *X=áreň* “a source of X”

Using corpus data and acceptability judgments, we analyze the productivity of these suffixes, as well as the root/base selection, in both semantic and morphological terms.

We note, for example, that there are inherent semantic restrictions to suffixes such as =*ovica*, since there is only a limited set of items that can be used to produce distilled alcoholic drinks. This, naturally, applies to Nivaclé =*nôk* as well. Similar – but less obvious – restrictions can be found with other putative lexical suffixes. For the Slovak suffix =*isko*, for example, the base is restricted to “things that grow organically”.

Sometimes there is a morphological distinction, too: =*isko* as a lexical suffix attaches to the bare noun (e.g., *malinisko* “a place where raspberries grow”). In contrast, its non-lexical/homophone meaning “place where X happens” is derived from a verbal base itself derived using the suffix =*ova*=, e.g., *parkovisko* “parking place/spot” < *park=ova=t* “to park”.

Based on our analysis, we reexamine lexical suffixes from a typological standpoint and challenge the notion that they – or a subclass of them – are atypical or surprising. Finally, we

examine some general issues with linguistic typology as practiced today, and the contribution of “less familiar” languages, in this case Slavic ones, to addressing those issues.

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Conflict avoidance vs. conflict resolution in Slovak, Slovene, and Croatian

The phenomenon of resumptive pronouns in relative clauses has been heavily researched over the past many decades (e.g., Browne, 1984; Bošković, 2009), and somewhat more recently, a related but nonetheless distinct phenomenon has come to light, involving the inclusion of a plural resumptive pronoun under the scope of a superlative degree adjective, as in Slovene.

- (1) Maja je najpametnejša jezikoslovka, [_{CP} kar sem **jih** spoznala včeraj].
Maja is the-smartest linguist_{NOM.SG.FEM.} that AUX **them**_{ACC.PL.} met yesterday
‘Maja is the smartest linguist that I met yesterday.’
(Slovene)

In contrast, neither Slovak nor Croatian (both of which employ resumptive pronouns in regular, non-degree relative clauses) can use a plural pronoun in this context. In Croatian, only the singular pronoun is licensed, as shown in (2), and in Slovak, the presence of any pronoun renders the sentence ungrammatical, as illustrated in (3).

- (2) Vladimir Beara je najbolji vratar što ga / *jih
Vladimir Beara is best_{NOM.SG.MASC.} goalie_{NOM.SG.MASC.} that him_{ACC.SG.MASC.} / *them_{ACC.PL.}
svijet ikada imao
world ever had
‘Vladimir Beara is the best goalie that the world ever had’
(<https://www.tacno.net/sport/vladimir-beara-najbolji-vratar-sto-ga-je-svijet-ikada-imao/>)
(Croatian)

- (3) Toto je fakt najlepši recept čo som *ho_{ACC.SG.MASC.} / *ih_{ACC.PL.MASC.}
This is truly best_{NOM.SG.MASC.} recipe_{NOM.SG.MASC.} that I-have *it/*them
našiel na segedín
found for segedin
‘This is truly the best recipe that I have found for segedin’
(<https://varecha.pravda.sk/recepty/segedinsky-gulas/32704-recept.html>)
(Slovak)

In other contexts we see similarities to this pattern of presence or avoidance of the resumptive pronoun, specifically in combination with the universal quantifier (UQ) ‘all’.

- (4) Saj slike od malih airedalčkov si ti že itak
But photos of little Airedales AUX you already anyway
vse kar jih imam videla.
all that them I-have seen
‘But as for the pictures of the little Airedales you have already seen all that I have, anyway.’
(<https://www.pesjanar.si/forum/index.php?topic=5093.60>)
(Slovene)

- (5) Kupili su sve slike što (ih) je imao.
They-bought AUX all pictures that (them) AUX he-had.
‘They bought all the pictures that he had’

(<http://casopis.hrsume.hr/pdf/027.pdf>)
(Croatian)

- (6) Beriem všetky plavky, čo *ich mám doma.
I-take all bathing-suits that *them I-have at-home
‘I am taking all the bathing suits that I have at home’

(<https://www.modrykonik.sk/forum/zakladna-vybavicka/co-mam-obliect-dcere-do-tatier-2/>)
(Slovak)

In this paper, I aim to show how these two patterns are related but why they result in distinct realizations of the resumptive pronoun across languages.

I will show that these contexts (i.e., clauses within the scope of a superlative and clauses within the scope of a UQ) are distinct from typical relative clauses. The differences between superlative and UQ arise from the inclusion of the superlative and universal quantifier, both of which introduce a conflict between morphosyntactic agreement requirements with the relative head to which they refer and semantic restrictions that are imposed by either the universal quantifier or the superlative degree morpheme themselves.

While Slovak exhibits a general pattern of conflict-avoidance (i.e., omission of the resumptive pronoun), Slovene and Croatian apply distinct strategies; namely, the form of the pronoun in Slovene is governed by semantic requirements while in Croatian the pronominal form follows directly from the morphosyntactic properties of the relative head.

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Two sides of a coin: A comparison of the Fran and Franček lexicographic portals

This article compares the design of the lexicographic parts of two language portals developed by the Fran Ramovš Institute of the Slovenian Language: Fran and Franček. Fran is a dictionary portal for general users, and Franček is an educational portal for students. Both portals are accessible for free, without ads, and do not require registration. However, they differ in the manner in which they display content. Fran simultaneously provides information from multiple dictionaries, whereas content on Franček is carefully selected from a variety of dictionaries, adjusted for the end user, and organized into content modules.

Currently, Fran contains 44 dictionaries that can be accessed via a search field. The search result list presents extracts from all dictionaries that contain the headwords found. Full dictionary entries are shown upon selecting an entry from the search result list. In contrast, the lexicographic data in Franček are organized into content modules: meaning, synonymy, morphology, pronunciation, phraseology, dialect variation, history, and etymology. Although the data is obtained and adapted from various dictionaries and linguistic atlases, it is organized by content rather than individual underlying dictionaries. The design and content are adjusted for different age groups, with elementary-school users given more illustrated icons and explanations (in tooltips), whereas secondary-school users are provided with visualizations closer to those in dictionaries for adults.

The quantity and variety of dictionaries on Fran represent a significant advantage, but they also pose a challenge in presenting content in a simple manner with a uniform design. Users that are unfamiliar with the dictionaries included may not know what information each dictionary provides. Displaying data consistently across multiple dictionaries can be problematic because different dictionaries prioritize different information. In addition, some display options may not be feasible or optimal for certain types of dictionaries. The advantage of Franček lies in its provision of content that students actually need, presented in a manner adapted to their level of knowledge. To achieve this, it was necessary to connect data from different sources, thereby overcoming problems arising from the different conceptual designs of dictionaries and structuring of data in databases.

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Perception of the supernatural in Slavic languages and cultures with the accent on West and South Slavic area

The Department of Slavic Studies of the Faculty of Arts, Comenius University Bratislava, has been, under the leadership of Professor M. Dobříková, for six years carrying out the project “Perception of the Supernatural in Slavic Languages and Cultures with the accent on West and South Slavic area”, which is divided into two parts. The first one was conducted in 2018 – 2020, the second one has run from 2021 until now. Both projects are a continuation of a previous research grant of the Department dealing with musical motifs in phraseology, during which the perspective to expand phraseological research with new ethnophraseological, ethnolinguistic and broader interdisciplinary aspects became evident. The main research goals are analysis and interpretation of cultural codes which express the worldviews and spiritual profiles of the national communities of Western and Southern Slavs.

The theoretical-methodological basis of the research is mainly the Moscow ethno-linguistic school of N. Tolstoy and partly cognitive ethno-linguistics of J. Bartmiński. The publication outputs of the research team members can be divided into several thematic groups according to the typology of codes through which semantic associations and conceptualisation schemes are fixed in the collective consciousness. These are e. g. physical codes (flora, fauna, ritual food), temporal codes (noon, dusk, night), verbal codes (spells, curses), mythological codes (Slavic pantheon, demonology), etc.

In the first phase, the research concentrated on the ethnolinguistic interpretation and confrontation analysis of the means of expression, which help reconstruct the way of perceiving the supernatural in the languages and cultures of the West and South Slavs and which contributed to the formation of the Slavic linguistic image of the world. The processes of empirical cognition and reception of such phenomena in a wide genre scope of linguistic manifestations ranging from oral folk literature to the contemporary social discourse were analysed. The most significant event of this research stage was the international ethnophraseological conference “Slavofraz 2019 – Perception of the Supernatural in Phraseology”. It was attended by more than 70 participants from 14 countries. Its outcome is a monothematic book of proceedings of the same title, which has been well-received by the international professional community. The second part of the project largely builds on the previous research, focusing on those manifestations of the suprasensory perception of the world in which mental, ethical, symbolic

and social stereotypes or norms are encoded, while approaching the analysed segment of the linguistic image of the world with an emphasis on a multilingual and interdisciplinary research approach. The research papers written in the second phase of the project have been published in international journals and in the book of proceedings titled “Phraseological Studies VII”. In the last year of the project, the research team has been focusing mainly on the relics of supernatural phenomena in the emotional sphere, represented e. g. by primary emotions (fear, joy, sadness), emotional relationships (love, hate, envy), etc.

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A multilingual portal for teaching Slovak as foreign language meets language technologies

Slovakie.eu is a multilingual website designed to help non-native speakers learn Slovak. The website offers language courses at different proficiency levels, currently A1, A2, B1, and B2, with various exercises, tests, and dictionaries. In addition to language courses, the website also provides reading materials covering topics such as Slovakia's history, geography, and fiction, aimed at improving users' proficiency with the language.

To further enhance the language learning experience on slovakie.eu, we have integrated a multilingual dictionary that learners can access by clicking on any word in the teaching texts. In the previous version of the portal, we used WordNet to bootstrap the multilingual dictionary (in fact, the Slovak WordNet project began with the explicit purpose to be used for the dictionary).

We are currently developing an enhanced version of the portal. The texts will be lemmatized and morphologically annotated using (classical) state-of-the-art Slovak Natural Language Processing tools. The portal will include a new version of the dictionary that uses DBpedia to extract structural information for each word and present relevant data to the users. DBpedia is a community-driven project that extracts structured information from Wikipedia and makes it available as a Linguistic Linked Open Data.

We believe that our approach has the potential to enhance other multilingual language learning portals by providing them with a reliable source of structured data that can be used to improve the quality of language learning materials.

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A psycholinguistic analysis of speaker preferences to understand the vibrancy of doublet forms in the Bosnian language

While recent research in language policy and planning (LPP) globally has focused on the way speakers shape, appropriate or reject language policy (Johnson & Johnson, 2015; Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech, 2020), language standardization in Bosnia and Herzegovina is still largely a top-down activity involving multiple linguists and groups competing to gain the linguistic authority determining the direction for the Bosnian language (Halilović Senahid, 2016; Željko Jozić, 2012). Indeed, their work has largely provided historical justifications of changes made to the Bosnian language over the past 30 years in their attempts to distance it from other standards (Monnesland, 2005).

The emergence of the Bosnian standard language and accompanying LPP efforts have created complex and at times contradictory effects in the speaker community that need to be studied empirically in a speaker-focused approach rather than the prevailing top-down approach in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Our contribution to filling this gap in Bosnian LPP research is a series of psycholinguistic experiments designed to produce speaker-focused data. The first experiment was an online cross-sectional language processing experiment using acceptability ratings and reaction time measures to collect speaker attitude and preference data on competing doublet forms in standard Bosnian. The experiment results showed significant tolerance for doublet items introduced during recent language planning efforts (e.g. >40% of participants consider *prijelaz* and *prijevod* entirely acceptable). This raised further questions about speaker agency and the difference between acceptability ratings and actual use (Gerasimova & Lyutikova, 2020; Vanroy et al., 2019). To explore this difference, we designed a second experiment – an interpretation task where participants were asked to translate single words in English into one of the items in a doublet (e.g. *prijevod* or *prevod*). This experiment correlates the time it takes to produce a translation and the number of possible translations with cognitive effort, showing whether the choice made by translators/interpreters is conscious (Wei, 2022). Conscious production of items would imply agentive engagement with language policy maneuvers and show the extent to which interpreters/translators reject or appropriate top-down changes in LPP.

The purpose of this series of experiments is to offer an alternative to the current trend of abstracting language from its speakers and looking to the past to legitimize LPP choices. By shifting the focus from top-down approaches to local actors, this study will demonstrate the advantages of adopting an empirical and multidisciplinary approach to language policy research. Using speaker data as a better source of legitimacy than prescriptive manoeuvres can open a space for a more dynamic and inclusive LPP research, which centers speakers instead of marginalizing them in favor of extra-linguistic agendas.

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Perceptual analysis of onomatopoeias in Slovak and in Ukrainian. A comparative study

Onomatopoeias are usually defined as verbal imitations of the sounds from the extra-linguistic reality. Although, in the past, onomatopoeic expressions seemed to be neglected in theoretical account of languages, much has been written about these words in the last decades. Onomatopoeias were approached from various perspectives: from the viewpoint of the theory of sound symbolism, semantics, lexical and morphological classification, as well as their application in literature and poetry (see, e.g., Bredin 1996, Sasamoto & Jackson 2016, Körtvélyessy 2020 or Gregová 2021). As to their function in communication, onomatopoeias are considered the representatives of the iconic-symbolic semiotic principle (with symmetry between form and meaning) in language as opposed to the rest of lexicon falling into the arbitrary semiotic principle (with dominant asymmetry between form and meaning) (Sabol & Zimmermann 2014: 145–146). The iconic-semiotic principle has its reflection in the motivated connection between form and meaning (Körtvélyessy 2020, 512). Following from this it is assumed that onomatopoeias indicate what they are, and thus language users should easily connect them with the sounds they represent. Nevertheless, the position of onomatopoeias in adult everyday speech is characterised as only marginal and their imitative nature makes them an essential part of the infant speech (see, e.g., Laing 2014). Obviously, “natural resemblance” of the form of onomatopoeias to their meaning is overestimated and these words are also determined by convention (see, e.g., Bredin 1996). To look at the role of onomatopoeias in one’s lexicon in detail, we decided to carry out extensive cross-linguistic research. In its 1st step, a perceptual analysis encompassing two typologically similar languages, Slovak and Ukrainian, was carried out. Native speakers of both languages were asked (1) to indicate the sound imitated by the given onomatopoeia, and (2) to assign an existing lexical onomatopoeia to the sound played. The research results indicate that although both languages are relatively rich in onomatopoeias, adult natives are not very familiar with meaning of those units. Most of the respondents could not identify the sound imitated by the given onomatopoeic word and were not able to capture the sound by the existing lexical sound-imitating expression.

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Ideology, language choice and language change

Language ideology, related to ideas, beliefs and opinions about the relation between language and sociocultural norms and values, construes frames for language use and interpretation. These have a bearing on language choice in different types of discourse (cf. e.g. Verschueren 2012), and on (especially lexical) codification. The research presented here adds to the research tradition by focusing in addition to (a) ideological self-ascription and (b) choice of the intended addressees, also on (c) language choice on three levels:

- the macro-level of the extended social group, usually with an intended ethnic, religious or political identity,
- the meso-level of ideological group differentiation within the frame provided by the macro-level, and
- the micro-level of the (Self or Other) ascription by an individual speaker.

The paper will briefly discuss an indicative issue of language attitude: the changing treatment of Croatian language variants and the construal of norms in the Renaissance, the Catholic Counterreformation, the Illyrian Movement, the Communist Era Serbo-Croatian and the Contemporary Croatian. For each of these turning points, texts and codification works exhibit a change of attitude and concrete language changes which cannot be assumed to have been instigated by any internal or external cause other than aligning the language with the ideology. Specifically, the Renaissance in the 16th century exhibits an inclusive attitude to all the variants along the Adriatic coast with differentiated stylistic functions. The catholic Counterreformation in the 17th century extends the area to encompass most of the other Croatian areas (by the Catholic initiative from Rome called Illyrian) and aims at designing a supraregional language, similar to (but not identical with) the most widely spread regional dialect to transmit the religious ideas. In the 19th century, the first standardization aiming to equate the language with the nation state introduced the criterion of the national cultural heritage for the language. In the 20th century, in contrast to the ethnic notion of nation, the supra-ethnic norm of Serbo-Croatian was imposed over the national ideologies and linguistically levelled most of the lexical differences. There was a linguistic upheaval to restore the differences since the 1960s, which preempted the political dissolution of Yugoslavia and restoration of the historical linguistic developments.

All these were primarily macro-level processes steered by the changing language ideologies. In the contemporary language, systematically different choice of variants occurs in mass media and public communication to signalize ideological differentiation (Gvozdanić 2010, Peti-Stantić 2013). This is neither destandardization nor demotization (as defined by Kristiansen & Coupland 2011), but ideologically driven symbolic dissection on the meso-level within the macro-frame of the standard language.

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A new approach to the emergence of Slovak

Slovak evolved at the intersection of the two major Slavic macrodialects, which explains its somewhat transitional nature, consisting of the features characteristic of South Slavic languages appearing in Central Slovak dialects. Two major problems concerning the rise of Slovak are the facts that: 1. Central Slovak dialects also show some specific West Slavic features, 2. South Slavic features (or features assumed to be South Slavic) also appear in other Slovak dialects, namely West Slovak.

R. Krajčovič (1974) tried to explain this unevenness by developing his Migration-Integration Theory, which assumes the settling of the historical territory of Slovak by two migration waves: one from the South (Central Slovak) and the other from the North-East (West and East Slovak), with later centralizing and leveling processes enabled by the establishment of the Principality of Nitra and Great Moravia. Although Krajčovič's theory dominated Slovak historical linguistics, it contains some serious chronological inconsistencies and fails to take into account the major shift in understanding the nature of Proto-Slavic at the time of migrations developed in the 60's and 70's by Ch. Bidwell, G. Shevelov, Z. Stieber, and H. Birnbaum.

A new approach, which could be labeled as Pannonian-Migration theory, is based on the assumption that the differentiation of Proto-Slavic and its gradual transformation to Common Slavic started, with a few possible exceptions as the development of the clusters *dl, *tl, only after new post-migration settlements had been established. It will be argued that the extinct Slavic Pannonian continuum had been an area of intersection of West Slavic and South Slavic innovations and that some areal circum-Pannonian processes took place as well, which resulted in an irregular distribution of non-West Slavic features in Slovak. It will be shown that many features, traditionally considered South Slavic, can be explained as a result of internal development or analogy. By using the postulates of linguistic geography, it will also be argued that the migration of the predecessor of Central Slovak must have occurred from what is today northern Hungary to the north.

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The initial stage of film-related terminology in Russian and Czech languages

The paper will deal with the early stages of the development of film terminology in Russian and Czech languages. Throughout the historical development of cinema, the film-related language has undergone considerable changes. With the emergence of film there was a need for new names, which were initially taken from other fields of art, primarily theatre and photography. The linguistic aspect of language in film thus corresponds to the very nature of cinema as a synthetic art. The development of cinema as a new phenomenon also took place simultaneously in several countries, which entailed the creation of new terminologies in several languages. Although film terminology does not have strictly defined boundaries at present, it usually includes all film-related terms from such areas as cinema as an art form, its theory and history (film studies), film narration and narratology (which mainly includes terms and concepts of fictional space construction), film industry etc. In my paper I will focus on a wide range of early terms related to the cinema from the birth of film till the mid1920, the period when the basic film vocabulary was established according to my previous research.

This paper will examine the linguistic features and cultural influences that shaped formation of film-related terms in two Slavic languages. Based on the analysis of historical documents (mainly consisting of early film articles and critical publications from mentioned period) the paper will explore differences and similarities within the same terminology in two different languages throughout their cultural and historical contexts. It will also examine the impact of technological innovations and international nature of film on the development of its terminologies. The paper will contribute to our understanding of the early stage of evolution of film-related language and to what extent it was shaped by cultural and national background in two Slavic languages and its global development at the same time. It will also show some tendencies of how the two Slavic languages deal with the new terminological field with respect to their geographic location, the influence of neighboring states, tendencies in the society and its linguistic trends. The paper argues that despite the linguistic affinities between the two languages and the general similarities in the development of film terminology, there are also differences due to the cultural and social context of both countries.

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Fall of the jers in the Old Novgorodian birch bark texts: Factors behind the process

The graphics of the birch bark texts produced in Novgorod from the 11th to the 13th centuries show effects of the fall of the jers in the weak position in that the jers in word-initial and word-medial syllables of word forms are rendered inconsistently, or not at all (Janin & Zaliznjak, 1993; Zaliznjak, 2004). According to Eom et al. (2004), the progression of the underlying sound change, as reflected in these texts, is associated with the process of optimization of word structure. However, it is still an open question whether and how the position of weak jers in the phonological word influenced the progression of their fall (Zaliznjak, 2004, 63). This paper investigates the progression of this process in birch bark texts as a function of structural and usage-based factors.

The data were coded and analyzed with respect to the following variables: (estimated) time of text creation; jer position in the phonological and morphological word; length of the phonological and morphological word (in syllables); status of the morpheme containing the weak jer; alternation of the target form with inflectional forms having strong jers in the word paradigm; nature and frequency of the resulting consonant clusters (if present in the lexicon). A multifactorial analysis of the data was performed using logistic regression with the random variables “text or author” and “time” (cf., Baayen, 2008; Szmrecsanyi, 2013).

The analysis demonstrates that the fall first affects the jers in the initial syllables of morphological words, then the jers in the word-medial syllables of morphological words, and finally the jers in the proclitics. In addition to the random variable “time”, the writing or non-writing of the weak jers in the word-initial and the word-medial syllables is determined by (a) the status of the morpheme containing the jer (suffixes are affected earlier than prefixes and prepositions), (b) the resulting consonant cluster’s frequency and (c) the cluster’s phonological makeup. The progression of the fall of jers can thus be explained by an interaction of structural – both morphological and phonological – and usage-based factors.

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Linguistic methods in onomastics and onomastic methods in linguistics – mutual inspiration

Onomastics is considered by some onomasticians and linguists and in some schools as a separate scientific discipline, by others as one of the disciplines of linguistics, because proper names, like appellatives, are elements of language. Notwithstanding this difference in conceptions, modern research on proper names must be conducted on the basis of the general theory of onomastics in a comprehensive manner, studying all linguistic and extra-linguistic aspects of the origin, development, functioning and (eventual) extinction of individual proper names, onymic systems and subsystems.

In order to ensure as comprehensive analysis of proprial material as possible, the findings of non-linguistic disciplines are used as well, while the linguistic approach combines synchronic and diachronic perspectives in terms of methodology.

With regard to their specificity, which is given primarily by their functions, proper names are generally considered to represent the “second layer of language” in general lexicology. It can be defined as the result of an opposition of the appellative and proprial spheres of language; however, this binary opposition cannot be understood as an absolute opposition but as an opposition of two different relationships between the naming and the named within the same language. Therefore, when studying proper names, the onomastician must be securely oriented in the appellative sphere of language, since the opposition between the characteristics and functions of appellatives and proper names can be traced, among other things, by studying and analysing the differentiating features of the two named groups. Although, as mentioned above, proper names represent a specific, so-called second layer of language, they are rooted in and grow out of the appellative ground.

For this reason, onomastics makes use of a number of methodological findings from linguistics, builds on them, adapts them depending on the specificity of proper names and further develops them independently into a coherent methodology of onomastic research.

The aim of this paper is to present the most important and most effective methods of studying and analysing proper names, which have been developed mainly by Czech and Slovak onomasticians from the second half of the 20th century to the present day, to point out their applicability beyond the proprial sphere of language and to highlight the current possibilities of using new methodological trends in contemporary onomastic research.

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On the diachronic development of Slovene masculine genitive singular ending *-u*

A few masculine nouns in Slovene have a unique genitive singular ending *-u*. The regular ending in this case is *-a*. This ending has been proved to be a remnant of the u-stem declension of Proto-Indo-European. Philological and comparative evidence indicates that the Proto-Indo-European u-stem declension once appeared in its full form in ancient Indo-European languages. Until the stage of Proto-Slavic, the u-stem declension remained an independent form. However, in Slovene, the u-stem and o-stem declensions merged, and only some forms of the original u-stem declension survive in modern standard Slovene. The genitive singular ending *-u*, which will be discussed in the article, belongs to one of these forms. Masculine nouns with the genitive ending *-u* follow the masculine first declension in standard Slovene grammar, have a long circumflex stem vowel and a mobile accent, which lies on the stem in nominative singular form and on the ending in the genitive singular. It is interesting to find out that most of the nouns with this ending belong to the Proto-Indo-European o-stem declension, but not the u-stem one. The reason for this is that the declension of u-stem nouns was already separated from the u-stem declension in Proto-Slavic, under the influence of the more prevalent o-stem declension. These nouns demonstrate different degrees of preference for the usage of the ending *-u* in comparison to the regular ending *-a*. A contamination process has probably taken place that triggered the transition of u-stem declension from an independent paradigm to incomplete forms, which rely on the o-stem declension paradigm. Diachronically speaking, there have been words that took the genitive ending *-u* in the 16th century Slovene but lost this marked inflectional feature in modern Slovene. In this article, the suffix *-u* is treated with a historical-contextual and corpus-based approach, to further explore its development in the period of literary Slovene and its use in modern Slovene. Factors that motivated the disintegration of u-stem declension into o-stem declension paradigms, as well as the possible contamination mechanism that rendered u-stem declension forms nearly obsolete, will be explored here in detail. The reason that the ending *-u* was not generalised to *-a* will remain one of the foci here. Comparative evidence from other Slavic languages and non-Slavic Indo-European languages will be also provided for a better explanation of the historical fact that needed to be unveiled.

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Endangerment of the Bosnian language in a multilingual society

According to the Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees of Bosnia and Herzegovina, more than 1,350,000 people of Bosnian origin live abroad, which represents one third of the country's total population. Mass evictions occurred in the 1990s due to the war. We now have the third generation of Bosnian speakers in as many as 51 countries around the world.

During the presentation, the status of the Bosnian language as a mother tongue, minority language or second language in Europe will be presented, i.e. in countries with the highest concentration of population from Bosnia and Herzegovina (Austria, Germany, Sweden, Denmark and the United Kingdom).

The author's research is based on the status of the Bosnian language in these countries, i.e. teaching the Bosnian language within the education system, supplementary schools and extracurricular activities and on the challenges faced by speakers (aged 8–17), their attitudes towards the language and the mother country itself, as well as the way in which bilingualism and multilingualism are maintained.

Based on the empirical research conducted with pupils from the mentioned countries, the author will offer an insight into the current state and status of the Bosnian language and point out the threat posed to the Bosnian language in a multilingual society on phonetic-phonological, morphological and syntactic-semantic level. In this presentation, the author will present the specifics characteristic of the phonetic-phonological level, due to time constraints. Examples of native speakers in these countries will show how and to what extent the majority language has influenced the inherited language. The author has also initiated an association named "Discover Bosnian – Entdecke Bosnisch – Discover Bosnian" in Vienna, which aims to promote the revitalization of the Bosnian language in a multilingual society. Moreover, she has organized numerous seminars for Bosnian language teachers around the world. The final part of the presentation refers to the perception of Bosnian language teaching in these countries by lecturers/teachers.

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Russian prefixal combination *pripod-*

This paper will describe derivational properties of the Russian prefixal combination *pripod-* like in *pripodzakryt* ‘close slightly’ (< *zakryt* ‘close’). It consists of two synonymous attenuative prefixes *pri-* and *pod-*. The empirical data are taken from the Russian mass media database Integrum. In this paper, verbs where *pod-* as primary prefix is lexicalized, like *pripodnjat* ‘lift slightly’ are not analyzed.

In the database, only a dozen of *pripod-*verbs is attested. Many of them should be regarded as nonce words, since only one or two cases of their use are attested. The most frequently used verb (over 500 examples) is the forementioned *pripodzakryt*, originally used in the Russian comedy movie “Election Day” (2007). All the examples of this verb, as well as its imperfective counterpart *pripodzakryvat* attested in the data base are dated after 2009, and in most cases the verb collocates with *glaza* ‘eyes’, as it does in the movie.

Unlike the other prefixal combination *pona-* (distributive *po-* + cumulative *na-*) quite productively referring to a great quantity of subjects or objects and functioning almost as a complex formant as to some verbs (*ponaexat* ‘come (in a great quantity)’, *ponastroit* ‘build (in a great quantity)’, *pripod-* seems to be hardly regarded as a complex formant and merely represents semantic pleonasm as a result of multiple prefixation. A low frequency and productivity of the *pripod-*verbs makes us to assume that they are derived from *pod-*verbs that can be found indeed in lexicographical sources:

pripodvypit ‘have a couple’ > *podvypit* ‘have a couple’ > *vypit* ‘have a drink’
pripodustat ‘get slightly tired’ > *podustat* ‘get slightly tired’ > *ustat* ‘get tired’

The same is expected to be true for the reverse prefixal combination *podpri-* as in *podpribalet* ‘get ill slightly’. In both cases, their derivation is a marginal phenomenon even in multiple prefixation addressed on the material of different prefixal combinations (Tatevosov 2009, Horiguchi 2018).

In this paper, the distribution of the two synonymous prefixes as secondary prefixes, as well as the distribution of *pripod-*verbs and *podpri-*verbs and pragmatic aspects of these verbs will be analyzed too.

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Weight effects on word order in Slovak: Evidence from MET experiments

The tendency to place light before heavy constituents to facilitate processing is known as the “principle of end-weight” (Quirk et al. 1985): Thus the basic English word order is VP[V NP PP], since PPs tend to be more complex and longer (‘heavier’) than NPs (Hawkins 1994: 20). However, when the NP is heavier, Heavy Noun Phrase Shift (HNPS) occurs, resulting in a VP[V PP NP] order (1):

(1) *I*_{VP}[*gave*_{PP}[*to Mary*]_{NP}[*the valuable book that was extremely difficult to find*]]

In research on word order in Slavic languages, weight receives little attention (Kizach 2012: 251). Instead, the focus is on information structure: Functional Sentence Perspective (FSP, Firbas 1992) posits that “pragmatic constituent order takes precedence over syntax” (Short 2002: 494). In fact, Slovak grammars (e.g. Pauliny et al. 1963, Pauliny 1981, Ivanová 2016) only discuss FSP in the context of word order. However, it seems unlikely that the principle of end-weight should not apply to here: Goldberg’s Tenet #5 (2003: 219) predicts that cognitive restraints such as processing efficiency apply cross-linguistically.

To test this, I conducted an experiment with 39 Slovak speakers, employing the Magnitude Estimation Test (MET) method (Bard et al. 1996; Cowart 1997: 73-84, Hoffmann 2013). It features relative judgments and grammatical and ungrammatical fillers that provide ‘baselines’ against which test items are compared. The results were normalized as z-scores and analyzed using mixed-effects models to ensure there was no influence from extralinguistic factors.

The MET tested the variables WEIGHT ORDER and PHRASE ORDER, i.e. the following conditions: LIGHT NP-HEAVY PP, HEAVY NP-LIGHT PP, LIGHT PP-HEAVY NP, HEAVY PP-LIGHT NP. They were presented as sentences in isolation to minimize interference from pragmatic factors. Mixed-effects modelling revealed both variables to be significant. The results¹ in Fig. 1 show that LIGHT-HEAVY is always preferred, confirming the principle of end-weight and Goldberg’s Tenet #5. There is also a clear difference regarding PHRASE ORDER, especially when HEAVY precedes LIGHT, to the effect that LIGHT-HEAVY was rated better than HEAVY-LIGHT, indicating that the NP-PP order that has been identified as ‘basic’ for English is also entrenched in Slovak. It thus seems appropriate to place more emphasis on cognitive factors in word order research in Slovak.

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Retrodigitization of the Croatian premodern grammar books – the challenges in using modern technology on older Croatian grammar books

The topic of this presentation is the process of the retro-digitalization of the Croatian premodern grammar books as part of the project *Retro-digitization and Interpretation of Croatian Grammar Books before Illyrism* – RETROGRAM that is being carried out at the Institute of Croatian Language and Linguistics (HRZZ IP-2018-01-3585).

The term *retro-digitalization* refers to the transfer of printed media into computer-readable and searchable text. Our retro-digitization project also includes marking the transcribed or translated text of the selected grammar books using TEI (Text Encoding Initiative) tags and linking the text to the images of the facsimiles. As a part of our project, the TEI tags for grammar books were created according to TEI guidelines for humanities, which was a big challenge because there was no TEI module for marking grammar books. To ensure the consistency of our marking, we had to ensure that the tags corresponded to all the grammar books. For that reason, the common structure of grammar books was made. The additional problem was that in our corpus, not all grammar books describing the Croatian language were written in Croatian. Some grammar books have a foreign language as a metalanguage. In them, the language that is the object of the description was most often presented in contrast to the metalanguage of the grammar, i.e., the mother tongue of the target group for which the grammar book was intended or the Latin language as a language of science and education. Our corpus also includes grammar books of foreign languages with a comparative Croatian structure. All selected grammar books are based on the tradition of Latin grammar books and are similar structurally and in terms of language description.

In this presentation, we will discuss the digitization process and the problems connected to it. We will show the proposed solutions and describe the common structure of the header of the digital editions of selected grammar books. We will also show examples of marking nouns and share some issues with creating an open-access web portal. The web portal will include facsimiles of the selected grammar books with their transcription or translation, linguistic terminology index, and thematic search tool. This presentation will mainly focus on the following three grammar books. The first Croatian grammar *Institutiones linguae Illyricae* (1604) by Bartol Kašić was written in Latin. The *Gramatika talijanska ukratko* (1649) by Jakov Mikalja describes the Italian language but with Croatian as a metalanguage. It is the oldest source of Croatian grammatical terminology. The *Svašta po malo* (1761) is the first Slavonian-German grammar and exercise book.

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“Hidden” modality in anticausative constructions

It is commonly held that anticausative predicates lack an implied external argument in their semantics. However, recent evidence demonstrates that anticausative predicates in Latin, Modern Greek, and Albanian lack *agency* rather than an implied external argument *per se* and involve a causative component in their semantic representation (Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou and Schäfer, 2006; Kallulli, 2007). Evidence from anticausatives in Serbian, which is presented in (1) through (5), corroborates these findings (Ilic, 2013). It is therefore reasonable to assume that anticausative predicates involve a causal relation between the implied (non-agentive) external argument and the patient. However, the exact semantic contribution of this causative component remains unclear.

Because causal relations are usually associated with causative predicates, it is commonly assumed that CAUSE always yields a causative interpretation. However, crosslinguistic evidence demonstrates that the concept of CAUSE also gives rise to modality, in addition to causation (Ilic, 2014). Utilizing framework of the force-dynamics theory of causation (Talmy, 1988), which argues that both causative and modal meanings arise as the expressions of causal relations, it is proposed that CAUSE in anticausative predicates gives rise not to a causative, but to a modal necessity meaning. This modal necessity is a non-cancelable presupposition which tells us that the event had to happen due to some unexpressed factors that rendered the resulting change of state unavoidable (such as, e.g., an explosion in near proximity of the window) (7).

The proposed account provides a principled explanation for the accidental causative (8) and the modal desiderative meaning (9) which arise as two interpretations of the same morphosyntactic dative anticausative structure across South Slavic languages (and beyond), and furthermore contributes to our understanding of anticausative predicates and the notions of modality and causation.

- (1) Prozor se slomio.
window.NOM SE PERF-break.MASC.SG
‘The window broke.’
- (2) Prozor se slomio od promaje.
window.NOM SE PERF-break.MASC.SG from draft
‘The window broke from the draft.’
- (3) Prozor se slomio sam od sebe.
window.NOM SE PERF-break.MASC.SG alone from self
‘The window broke by itself.’
- (4) Zakon je donešen od strane vlade.
Law.NOM AUX.3.SG pass.PART.MASC.SG from the.side.of government
‘The law was passed by the government.’
- (5) *Prozor se slomio od strane vladinih
window.NOM SE PERF-break.MASC.SG from the.side.of government’s
pristalica.
supporters.GEN
‘The window broke by the supporters of the government.’

- (6) Marku su se slomile naočare.
 Mark.DAT AUX.3.PL SE PERF-break.FEM.PL glasses.NOM.P
 ‘Mark accidentally broke his/the glasses.’
- (7) ??Prozor se slomio (ali nije morao da se slomi).
 window.NOM SE PERF-break.MASC.SG (but it didn’t have to break)
 Intended: ‘The window broke (but it didn’t have to break).’
- (8) Marku se prosipa kafa.
 Mark.DAT SE IMPERF.spill.PRS.3.SG coffee.NOM.SG
 ‘Mark is accidentally spilling the coffee.’
- (9) Marku se pije kafa.
 Mark.DAT SE IMPERF.drink.PRS.3.SG coffee.NOM.SG
 ‘Mark is craving coffee.’

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The relative chronology of the back nasal vowel fronting in Polabian and Proto-Slavic word for ‘spider’

As all the other languages of the so-called Lekhitic sub-branch of Slavic, Polabian preserved nasal vowels. In most positions PSl. **o* and **e* yielded Plb. *o* and *e*, respectively, but in certain environments Proto-Slavic **o* was fronted in Polabian and its reflex coalesced with that of **e*, e.g., PSl. **večerjō* > **večerje* > Plb. *vicerq* ‘supper’ (acc.sg.), *stazq* < **stbzo* ‘path’ (acc.sg.) as opposed to (non-fronted) **roko* > Plb. *roko* ‘hand’ (acc.sg.). This change has been long recognized, and it is usually defined as “a merger of the back nasal with the front one after Proto-Slavic palatal consonants and yod” (e.g., Lehr-Splawiński 1929: 36–37) with no regard to other Polabian developments. Although a similar change, but from a later period, is known from Czech dialects, Polabian fronting must be considered a very early innovation preceding the so-called Lekhitic soundshift, which encompasses the backing of PSl. **e* > **o* before non-palatal dentals (e.g., PSl. **ezykь* > **jězykь* > **jōzyk(ь)* > Plb. *jōzěk* ‘tongue’). If the fronting were posterior to the Lekhitic soundshift, the results of the latter in nasal vowels would have been erased in Polabian (i.e. PSl. **ezykь* > **jōzyk(ь)* > ***jězyk(ь)* > Plb. ***jzěk* ‘tongue’). Although Polabian fronting has been overlooked in the discussion on Proto-Slavic umlauts (i.e. the fronting of back vowels after yod and consonants that underwent progressive palatalization, where PSl. **a* and **o* remained unchanged), it is hard to determine its significance for the issue (however, Polabian exhibits interesting levelings in verbal morphology, where soft-stem endings replaced hard-stem ones). Nevertheless, one may attempt to delineate the easternmost range of the fronting of **o* known from Polabian. In order to do that, one assumption must be made in terms of the Proto-Slavic form of the word for ‘spider’. Since J. Basara’s paper (1983) it is often considered that modern Slavic languages reflect two proto-forms for ‘spider’, namely, **paokь* (> Ru. *pauk*, Uk., Br. *pavúk*, Cz. *pavouk*, Slk. *pavúk*, US, LS *pawk*, BCS *păūk*) and **paekь* (> Po. *pajak*, Kash. *pajik*, Slvn. *pajek*, Bg. *pájak*, Mk. *pajak*). The twofold reconstruction of this item is mainly due to one factor, namely, the quality of the glide filling the hiatus, whereby the forms with a labial consonant (or no hiatus filler at all) are traced back to **pa(v)okь* and those with yod to **pa(j)ekь* (e.g., ËSSJa 41). However, there is something unusual in the geographical distribution of the two proto-forms in question: the forms going back to PSl. **paokь* are found exclusively in those Slavic dialects with a high reflex of **o* (> *u*), while forms going back to PSl. **paekь* occur only in those with non-high reflexes of **o*. Considering that this distribution is not random, one may assume that all forms can be traced back to **paokь* and the yod filled the hiatus only in the dialects not raising PSl. **o* (note also that PSl. **paekь* shows no progressive palatalization). Special attention must be paid to Kashubian *pajik* and Slovene *pajek* unambiguously reflecting **pa(j)ekь*, where the former most probably shares the fronting of **o* with Polabian (cf. Plb. *pojāk* < **pa(j)ekь* < **paokь* < **paekь*), while the latter presumably requires a non-phonetic explanation.

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Периферия видовой коррелятивности в словацком языке

Ключевые слова: словацкий язык, глагольный вид, перфективация

Объектом нашего исследования являются пары глаголов, видовая соотносительность которых не получила единой оценки ни в русской, ни в чешской/словацкой аспектологии. Нас интересуют две глагольные группы, отличающиеся друг от друга и от глаголов центральной зоны (терминативных и моментативных/тривиальных пар) аспектуально релевантными компонентами значения.

Глаголы первой группы, называемые тоже перфектными или инхоативно-статальными парами, обозначают неконтролируемое психическое переживание и чувственное восприятие, напр. *chápať – pochopiť, hnevať sa – nahnevať sa, vidieť – uvidieť* (понимать — понять, сердиться — рассердиться, видеть — увидеть). Эта группа глаголов в словакистике входит в класс процессов, а не состояний. Производные перфективы выражают момент возникновения процесса, но не в смысле его начальной стадии (ингрессивности), а как непосредственное вхождение в новую ситуацию (инцептивность).

Вторую группу составляют глаголы непоступательного движения, напр. *mávať rukou na rozlúčku – zamávať, vrtieť sa na stoličke – zavrtieť sa* (махать рукой на прощание – помахать, ерзать на стуле – поерзать), далее глаголы, называющие звуки издаваемые людьми, животными и предметами, напр. *smiať sa – zasmiať sa, brechať – zabrechať, škripať – zaškripať* (смеяться – засмеяться, лаять – пролаять, скрипеть – скрипнуть) и, наконец, глаголы, описывающие разные деятельности, чаще всего речевое поведение, напр. *dakovať – poďakovať* (благодарить – поблагодарить). Производные перфективы не выражают значение начала действия. Они описывают одно проявление действия в его естественной продолжительности, в стандартном кванте. В отличие от делимитативов, это ограничение длительности носит ингерентный характер (ср. *zalistovať* и делимитатив *polistovať*).

Целью нашего анализа является проверка гипотезы о том, что отношение между базовым имперфективом и производным перфективом носит в данных глаголах характер полноценной видовой корреляции, несмотря на ряд особенностей. На фоне схемы акциональных классов, упрощенной в соответствии с задачам исследования, мы попытаемся показать сходства и различия между этим типом и центральной аспектуальной зоной.

Единицей описания является не лексема, а слово в одном из своих значений, т. е. лексико-семантический вариант, но не только в смысле нумерованного словарного значения. Для нас важны те контекстуально обусловленные оттенки, обобщением которых словарное значение как раз является. На этом более конкретном уровне формируются семантически тождественные корреляции и редко встречаются видовые биперфективные тройки с одинаковой дистрибуцией перфективов.

Анализ ведется как в случае исходных, так и сравниваемых групп в направлении от базовых глаголов к морфологически производным.

Для установления объема исследуемых пар применяем диагностический тест Маслова в контексте многократности на материале корпуса.

Перфективацию рассматриваем на уровне ситуации как дискретизацию базовых гетерогенных или гомогенных процессов, т.е. их трансформацию в индивидуально

обособленное и отчетливое целое – точечное или интервальное событие. Этот механизм имеет на уровне вида несколько форм, которые можно назвать завершением (комплетизацией), инцептивацией и квантизацией. Нас интересуют результаты сравнения видовых значений изучаемых производных перфективов и базовых перфективов.

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“Da” in Macedonian: Conjunction and/or particle

The particle “da” is well-known and frequent in South and Balkan Slavic languages. Its origin can be traced back to the Indo-European pronominal *do- or back to *d/(t)ōd, an ablative form meaning that something should happen in near future, or so-called expectativity (cf. Грковић Мејџор 2004; Beekes 2011; Иванова 2022). In the Balkan Slavic languages it has developed meanings and functions such as being an equivalent to infinitive, subjunctive, optative and so on (cf. Иванова 2022; Бужаровска & Митковска 2021). We will try to examine examples in which “da” is treated as conjunction in sentences called “declarative” (“iskazni”) in the Macedonian syntax tradition (Минова-Гуркова 2020a), or “complementary” sentences, (Тополињска 1995; Тополињска 2007).

- (1) Ми рече да дојдам.
I_{DAT} say_{3SG.PF.PST} to_{conj/part} come_{1SG.PRS}
‘(S)He told me to come.’
- (2) Ми рече дека ќе дојде.
I_{DAT} say_{3SG.PF.PST} that_{conj} will_{PART} come_{3SG.PRS}
‘(S)He told me that (s)he will come.’
- (3) Сакам да дојдам.
Want_{1SG.PRS} to_{conj/part} come_{1SG.PRS}
‘I want to come.’
- (4) Сакам да дојдеш.
Want_{1SG.PRS} to_{conj/part} come_{2SG.PRS}
‘I want you to come.’
- (5) ...уште барам човек да работи во кујна...
still_{ad} look for_{1S.PRS} men to_{conj/part} work_{3SG.PRS} in_{PREP} kitchen
‘...still looking for somebody to work in kitchen...’

Comparing the examples (1)–(5), we can see that in (1), using ‘da’, we are talking about an action in the dependent clause that is completing (therefore ‘complementary’) the meaning of an action introduced in the independent clause (predicates of speaking, hearing etc.; so-called predicates of second and third rank) that is not presented as a fact (or we are unaware about its completion). In (2), we have the same case as in (1) but with expected result in the future, therefore we are using the particle “ќе” (will) – we can’t use the particle “da” because the future tense, ex definitione, talks about prospected action, a nonfactive one, and two markers of nonfactivity cannot be used in one predicate. (3) and (4) are examples of second rank predicates, but the complement varies regarding the category of the person, and that brings us to (5) in which the so-called “da-construction” is primarily linked to a nominal rather

that to a verbal element in an independent clause. Therefore, we can talk about “subjunctive relatives” and we can call it an adnominal usage of the “da-construction” (cf. Буџаровска & Митковска 2021, Карапејовски 2023).

On various Macedonian corpora we will try to establish the use of the “da-construction” as a marker of nonfactivity vis-à-vis other conjunctions in the same type of sentences. As a result we expect to make an initial classification of the different usages of the “da-construction”, and the predominant use of “da” as a particle and/or conjunction.

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Historical accentology can contribute to grammaticalization studies: evidence from Russian proclitics

During the last thousand years, numerous secondary prepositions and conjunctions have emerged in Slavic languages. Although there are some monographs describing their history like (Cherkasova, 1967) and several case studies, no general overview of the Sl. conj. And prep. diachrony has yet been written from the viewpoint of present-day grammaticalization theory.

It is known that grammaticalization processes can be reflected in prosodic change (Wichmann, 2012). Also, it has been widely accepted that many Sl. clitics were earlier phonologically independent words. Although there exist great works on Sl. clausal clitics, less known are the proclitics of the nonclausal domain (Wiemer, 2020). Unfortunately, diachronic studies on function words largely mistreat accentological data. E. g., *ili* ‘or’ in standard varieties of Bulgarian and Russian are proclitics, and in those languages the inherently unaccented lexemes pronounced in isolated/emphasized positions take stress in non-final syllable, so (Georgiev, 1979, 66) states that the word *ili* was originally initially-accented. That is incorrect: Bulg. dictionaries list final-stressed *ilí* as the only option up till the mid-20th century (Romanski, 1955, 552), this (earliest) variant is supported by Church Slavic and Old Russ. data.

In the talk, I am going to illustrate how the study of prosodic change can be insightful for our understanding of grammatical history. For example, in the literature, grammaticalization of several Middle Russ. spatial adverbs (like *kromě*, *skvozě* and *protívu*) as prep. is depicted as a more or less homogeneous process. It is clearly not the case: 1) in *skvozě* happened the apocopation (hence Modern Russ. *skvoz’*), whilst *kromě* did not undergo it; 2) *kromě* lost the adverbial function, but the other two retained it together with adpositional; 3) while the last consonant of *skvoz’* usually devoiced before vowel-initial words, for *protív* both options are possible. And, of course, the accentuated manuscripts show varying rates of prosodic change for those words (Zalizniak, 2019). These pieces of evidence have never been collected together to form a coherent picture. As to conj., the general pattern is unambiguous (prosodically independent lexemes lose their status), but the details vary: whereas *ibó* ‘because’ become proclitic by the 17th century and *ili* by 19th, for *daby’* ‘in order to’ the process has not finished yet.

Also, it has been reported that in Russ. the patterns of vowel reduction are not the same for all prep. and conj. (Kalenchuk, 2007), and the term ‘weakly stressed’ was proposed for unusual vowel features within. What acoustically is ‘weak stress’? Do those properties of Russ. function words reflect the pathways of their grammaticalization? How are these findings interconnected with the above mentioned evidence? Those are the questions that will be addressed in the talk, along with a thorough analysis of the accentuated manuscript data, as well as examination of the relevant problems like irregular syncope in Russ. *dě́l’a* > *dl’a* ‘for’ or etymological issues of some other prep.

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Scenarios method in language policy research and case studies of Slavic language situations

The concept of uncertain futures is broadly used in the social sciences, economy, history, psychology, and security studies. Big social catastrophes of recent years, such as the Covid-19 Pandemic, climate change, and Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine forced the scientific and academic community to use foresight methods in different fields even more often. Mapping different scenarios of future events not only enables scientific and public discussions on important current issues, but also provides possible solutions to complicated social problems: "Scenarios – and other foresight methods – help to initiate discussions and make the future tactile. They make the future more realistic and visualize the challenges we have to face – if we want to or not. Scenarios can help us to be aware of future threats and to initiate preparations – we should use this chance" (Peperhove, Steinmüller, Dienel 2018, 14). Sociolinguistics as a research field emerged at the crossroad between sociology and linguistics. It is constantly bringing together methods of both disciplines for innovative approaches and a better understanding of linguistic diversity and the development of language situations, improving language planning and management across the globe, and analyzing societal discourses with regard to language questions. Therefore, the presentation seeks to discuss the possibility of applying prognostic methods in sociolinguistics, in particular, concerning the language situation and language policy in Eastern Europe. This also includes the analysis of the functioning of Slavic languages in Europe in general. The presentation will attempt at answering such research questions: What methods and models could sociolinguistics as an interdisciplinary field propose for mapping future scenarios of linguistic diversity? What could prognostic models and methods in language policy and planning look like? How could communication between researchers, authorities, media, and language managers improve the current and future language policy? What are possible scenarios for the development of language situations and language policy in Eastern Europe and beyond? How do recent sociopolitical events in the region, such as for instance, Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine influence language policy, situations, attitudes, ideologies, and preferences?

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Disambiguating double and single negation readings in Russian

As a strict negative concord (NC) language, Russian is predicted to not permit double negation (DN) readings within a single clause (Giannakidou 2006, Zeijlstra 2008). However, certain freestanding Negative Concord Items (NCIs) allow for DN readings in small clause predicates and PP complements (Fitzgibbons 2010). One analysis predicts that while certain NCIs are ambiguous between a DN and SN reading in small clause predicates, NCIs in PP complements have either a DN or NC reading, depending on word order (Fitzgibbons 2010). However, McMahon & Pember (Accepted) find that at least one NCI in a PP complement (*ni za chto*) under sentential negation is ambiguous between a DN and an NC reading, as in (1).

- (1) DN reading with narrow focus
On ne otdal svoju zhizn' **ni za chto.**
He **NEG** gave.perf his life **for nothing.**
DN: 'He did not give his life for nothing.'
SN: 'He did not give his life for anything.'

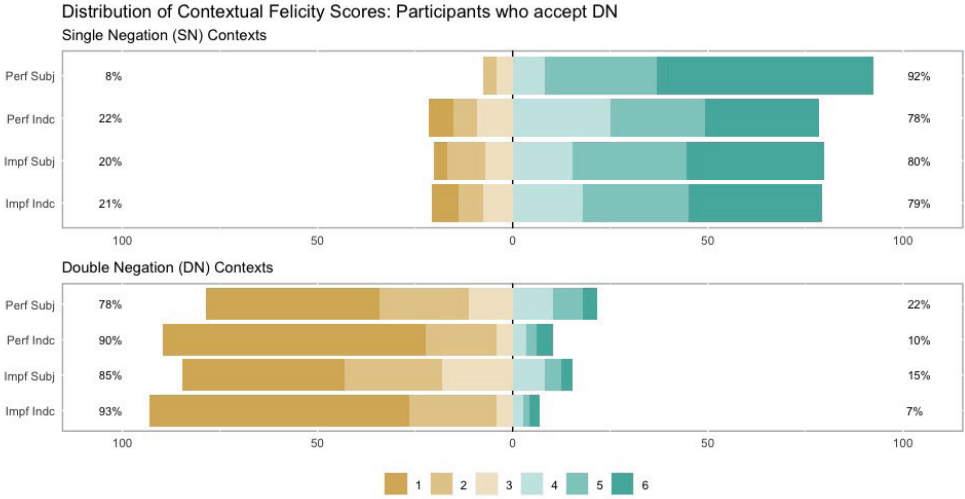
Additionally, perfective and imperfective verbs often derive a different set of implications under negation. With imperfective verbs the entire event is denied, but with perfective accomplishment verbs, only a subpart of the event is necessarily denied (Zinova, Filip 2014). Given that McMahon & Pember only considered perfective verbs in indicative mood, the following question arises: do aspect and mood potentially bias speakers towards one available reading (DN/SN)? Furthermore, in light of conflicting reports on the availability of DN readings, is it possible that these readings are subject to interspeaker variation?

To address these questions we conducted a survey of native Russian speakers ($N = 52$; $M_{age} = 31$, range = 19–65). Bolded test sentences appeared in contexts compatible with one reading: DN or SN. Participants were asked to rate how well the sentence fit the context (Contextual Felicity (CF) score) on a 6-point scale (1=strongly disagree, 6=strongly agree). Test sentences consisted of sentential negation and the PP *ni za chto*. Test sentences used one of four verbs and varied by aspect (perfective/imperfective) and mood (indicative/subjunctive). We analyzed the results with a mixed effects linear regression treating CF score as the dependent variable; mood, aspect, and context type (SN/DN) as independent variables; and participant and verb as random variables.

The survey results corroborate the claim that sentences with sentential negation and *ni za chto* are ambiguous between a DN and SN reading. The present study expands on McMahon & Pember by showing that DN readings are subject to interspeaker variation (of 52 participants, 16 did not assign a CF score above 3 to any DN item). This suggests that different grammars exist in Russian: one that accepts DN readings and one that does not.

Regarding context, even speakers who accept DN readings prefer SN readings across the board ($\beta = 2.89$, $p < 0.001$), indicating that DN readings are rare, but present, in Russian.

Consequently, any analysis of strict negative concord should account for DN readings unrestricted contexts. Additionally, we found a significant interaction between context type and aspect ($\beta = 0.39, p = 0.01$), but not context type and mood. This constitutes novel evidence that semantic variables may play a role in disambiguating negated sentences with multiple readings



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Linguistic-communication specificities of pre-election social media discourse

This paper summarises the results of the partial research outcomes achieved under the eponymous research project funded by the Štefan Schwartz Support Fund (2020–2023). Its goal was to map the basic linguistic-communication characteristics and specificities of Slovak pre-election discourse taking place in the social media environment. The research material within this project comprised statuses published by the official Facebook profiles of six successful political parties (OLaNO, Smer – SD, Sme rodina, ESNS, SaS, Za ľudí) in the period before the Slovak parliamentary elections in 2020 (1/1/2020–29/2/2020). The results of the analyses were interpreted in the context of the communication specificities that characterise the selected political parties and other parties holding similar views, parties with different political views, and the specificities of the social media discourse in general. From the viewpoint of methodology, the partial research tasks employed quantitative linguistic approaches and, in some cases, qualitative research methods were used.

The linguistic-communication specificities of the pre-election social media discourse in Slovakia were summarised into three categories:

- a) The category of the text type deals with the genre characteristics of status as a specific text form integrated into the electronic communication environment. The conclusions were drawn based on the frequency analysis of the ratio between semantic and grammatical words, analysis of the nominal style (Kolenčíková, 2021a), and analysis of text activity (Kolenčíková, 2022a).
- b) The lexical-thematic category focused on the contents of the pre-election statuses (Kolenčíková, 2022b) identified based on the analysis of thematic words (Kolenčíková, 2021b), key words (Kolenčíková, 2021c), and personal names (Kolenčíková, in print). The basic starting point was the research of the verbal richness of these statuses and other related frequency characteristics of these texts (Kolenčíková – Místecký, manuscript in preparation).
- c) The category of pragmatic communication involved a qualitative analysis of persuasion techniques employed in the pre-election statuses, their typical linguistic elements, means, and procedures. Special attention was paid to the techniques working with emotions as well as populism as a communication technique.

This research project yielded new knowledge of the stylistic, lexical, and pragmatic communication specificities of the Slovak social media discourse. These findings proved useful for further specification of the existing information about these research areas. Moreover, the presented research yielded further questions inspiring ongoing research in this area.

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Contested ideologies and double standards? The case of Montenegro

Ever since declaring its independence in 2006, the country of Montenegro has turned into a living example of various sociolinguistic phenomena. Two most significant of them were, on the one hand, the birth of a (new) language – Montenegrin, and, on the other, the almost immediate emergence of the Montenegrin language as a pluricentric language, i.e., a language that has two interacting centers, each providing a national variety with its own codified norms. With such a background and particularly the latter in mind, the language policy in Montenegro has proved itself to be a nest of contested ideological positions regarding the actual language standard. The only apparent point of agreement of those contested ideological positions was that the existence of a standard language is crucial for legitimizing the nation's identity. In my ongoing study of what might be seen as contested ideologies surrounding the Montenegrin language's two standards, I investigate the link between personal and sociopolitical/cultural attitudes and identities in Montenegro through the following main research questions:

1. What effect does the language policy that stipulates a pluricentric language with two standard variants of one language, i.e., Montenegrin, have on the people affected by the said policy most directly: students and their parents; teachers and professors?
2. To what particular standard language variant, if not another (standard) language altogether, for there are five constitutionally recognized languages in official use, do these people ascribe social power and prestige and why?
 - a. Do these people believe that one standard variant is more correct than the other and, if so, why?

My presentation is based on the fieldwork I conducted in Montenegro in the summer of 2022. In order to bring to light to and analyze the role language plays in the construction of social power, I conducted interviews with the citizens of Montenegro belonging to the focus groups listed in the first question above. In the interviews, the participants responded to questions and talked about their attitudes regarding the language policy in Montenegro as it has been evolving since 2006 and the way the said policy affects them. The interviews allow for an in-depth understanding of how discourses on language ideology in Montenegro influence one another, who has the agency within the reception of a discourse, i.e., what makes a discourse domineering, and how this affects those who are subjected to it. I analyze my participants' responses through the language ideologies framework, including Critical Discourse Analysis. My study offers an informed linguistic and social analysis of the people's attitudes toward the existing language policy in Montenegro and its power and can also be used as a steppingstone for future studies in the field of South Slavic sociolinguistics as extensive scholarship on this topic has been lacking.

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Use of glottal stop and voicing assimilation in Czech regional TV news

The paper presents the results of a research in the use of glottal stop before vowels and voicing assimilation before sonorants by Czech TV news presenters living and presenting in linguistically distinctive regions of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia.

The use of glottal stop and voicing assimilation can show some regional differences. As for the glottal stop, the speakers from Bohemia incline to the normative use in pre-vocalic positions intuitively, so they pronounce the sound not only after non-syllabic prepositions *v, k, z, s* (*v Olomouci* [fʔolomouci]), but in all positions given by the phonological rules. On the other hand, Moravian and Silesian speakers are expected to delete the sound more often, e.g., [v olomouci]. Considering voicing assimilation, it cannot occur with nearby sonorants, e.g., *k ránu* is only [k ra.nu]. This rule is followed by Bohemian speakers, while Moravians and Silesians tend to assimilate the consonants before the sonorants inappropriately, e.g., [g ra.nu].

Recent studies on the pronunciation quality of spoken discourses (Kopečková, 2022[a]; Štěpánová, 2019) have suggested that the normative use of glottal stop increases the quality of speaking, while its deletion is evaluated as negligent or incomprehensible. On the contrary, non-normative voicing assimilation does not affect comprehension, but can be perceived as a regional feature in some accents.

This study, therefore, examines whether the professional speakers from different regions follow standard pronunciation rules, or tend to (1) delete the glottal stop, (2) use assimilation before sonorants. The analysis focuses on both features in the four-minute speeches by 53 presenters of regional TV news *Události v regionech* (20 men, 33 women). The aim is to assess standard and non-standard pronunciation with respect to these key factors: broadcasting location (Praha, Brno, Ostrava); speaker's regional accent; gender.

The data indicate that most presenters use the glottal stop normatively, so its distribution is affected significantly neither by their accent, nor the broadcasting location. Still, the deletion was detected in spontaneous performances during the outside broadcasting. With regard to the gender, the analysis confirms the results of the previous study (Kopečková, 2022) suggesting that female speakers usually articulate more carefully, which reduces potential glottal stop deletions. Evidently, most presenters seek to articulate carefully, which has the positive impact on the use of the glottal stop. Contrarily, incorrect assimilation seems to be influenced by the regional accent inherently: it occurs more frequently in the speech of Moravian and Silesian presenters, regardless the gender.

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“Aká je voda?” “Mokrý.” “Aký je čas?” “Stredoeurópsky letný.” Unconventional phraseological replies in Slavic phraseology (phraseography) and the example of the Slovenian paremiological dictionary

František Čermák classifies humorous and unconventional phraseological replies among the so-called polypropositional intersubjective phrasemes. In the article, we will briefly present the definition and linguistic functions of these expressions using examples from Polish, Slovak, Czech, Russian, Croatian and Slovenian.

We will outline the current state of research on this lesser-known, but very promising part of phraseology in Slavic linguistics. Unconventional replies are tied primarily to the spoken language, although they also appear episodically in written communication. Both phraseology and phraseography have successfully used corpus tools to their advantage in recent decades. Phraseological replies are numerically underrepresented in language corpora. Nevertheless, we will present a few examples that can be found by searching the language corpus. This is the part of the language that, despite advancing digitization, is relatively difficult to grasp compared to monosubjective phrasemes. We will summarize the results of online survey research in Slovenian, Slovak and Polish, which have provided several hundred examples of unconventional phraseological replies since 2019, which is comparable to the amount of material that Viktor Bondarenko presented in his dictionary in 2013. In addition, we will present several sporadic examples of unconventional replies presented in Slavic general and phraseological dictionaries as well as in some paremiological collections. We will focus in more detail on the presentation of these units within the Slovenian paremiological dictionary, which has been published since 2020 in an internet version with annual additions.

In addition to exploring the systematic side of the idiomatic humorous and unconventional phraseological replies, the second part of this paper deals with the question of turn-taking. Co-author 3 will prove that answers of type Czech Speaker 1 (Question): *Proč?* Speaker 2 (Reply): *Pro slepičí kvoč* deliberately violated the maxim of quantity and relation (according to Grice 1967) in order to trigger an indirect speech act, which, via conversational implicatures of the following kind, leads to the interpretation “you ask too much and therefore I give you a nonsensical unconventional response”, which leads to the indirect SA <<who asks stupid questions gets a stupid answer>>. We refer to our book “Turn initiating elements in everyday conversations” (Kosta, 2023), which is currently in print, where a theoretical basis of turn-taking in the area of particles and erotetic speech acts (according to Searle) is given. We take examples from the Oral corpus of the Czech national corpus and some parallel corpora to give the equivalents in other languages.

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Hierarchy as a conceptual category in Slavic linguistics

The aim of the speech is to present the hierarchy in Slavic languages, which is understood as a universal, multi-faceted conceptual category. The topic outlined in the title sets out at least two major research areas. One concerns the implementation of the category of hierarchy in different Slavic languages, discussing and showing its exponents, the other – as a form of linguistic conceptualising – the use of this category in the description of languages, in metalanguage, and in Slavic linguistic discourses.

The classes of units expressing hierarchical meanings in the contemporary Slavic linguistic systems are heterogeneous from the point of view of their lexical and grammatical status. When describing the linguistic exponents of hierarchy I will concentrate on the material from different Slavic languages and especially on word formation level. I accept the approaches already proposed in the linguistic literature, synthesizing semantics understood positivistically (logically, within propositional structures) and phenomenologically (as an element of cognition). The linguistic material in the speech will mainly serve as an exemplification, explaining the discussed issues, and it is not intended for a detailed contrastive analysis, however, some remarks on such an analysis will be presented.

In order to show the hierarchy in terms of the linguistic conceptualisation and the topics, theories and methodologies taken up in the description of the Slavic languages I will use the elements of discourse analysis. They make it possible to show the implementation of the category of hierarchy as a form of negotiating meanings in the Slavic linguistic discourses (and in broader perspective linguistic communication) within the framework of individual theoretical and practical proposals. Hierarchy in language thus becomes socialized and by the process of socialization language can introduce, create, impose and constitute different forms of hierarchies. They reflect the system of values of a particular society.

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“*Aj starodávňa zviki zakapívajú.*” A Slovak Contribution to the Study of Slavic Imperfective Verbs in **-yvati*

Franz Miklosich was probably the first to point out the existence of imperfective verbs in **-yvati* in Slavic (cf. the chapter on “ova-stämme”, Miklosich 1875: 480–486 – e.g., “asl. [Old Church Slavonic – E. K.]... cêlova, cêlyva *salutare*: cêľъ...”; p. 480, etc.). Since then, these verbs have attracted the attention of various linguists who tried to explain the origin of this word-formation type, probably connected with imperfectives in **-ovati* and **-ъvati*; for an overview of the literature, see Ševelëva (2010), Petrušin, Silina, Krys’ko (2020).

At the same time, languages have been identified in which imperfectives in **-yvati* exist, i.e., Old Church Slavonic, Russian (and maybe Belorussian), Polish and Serbo-Croatian.

The aim of our proposed presentation is to draw attention to Slovak language data which may expand the state of knowledge about the occurrence of these verbs in Slavic.

Imperfectives with the suffix **-yvati* (**-yva-ti*) are nonexistent in contemporary standard Slovak which uses the suffixes *-a-*, *-ova-*, *-áva-*, *-iava-*, *-ieva-*, *-úva-* to form imperfective derivatives of perfective verbs (cf. Morfológia... 1966: 415–416). Similarly, Stanislav (1967: 515–519) does not mention any forms in **-yvati* when treating the history of Slovak imperfectives.

However, verbs of this type are attested in Slovak dialects; cf. the data collected already by the Slovak dialectologist Jozef Orlovský (cf. Orlovský 1975: 92, 193; 1981: passim). Unfortunately, the existence of this verb class in Slovak seems to remain unknown to the international linguistic community.

In the proposed contribution, we intend to present a list of Slovak dialectal imperfectives in **-yvati* based primarily on the comprehensive Dictionary of Slovak Dialects (Slovník slovenských nářečí, 1994 ff.: letters A–R). Special attention will be paid to the geographical distribution of these forms in the Slovak language territory and to the nature of their relationship with the corresponding phenomena in other relevant Slavic languages.

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Language variation and contact between closely related varieties: Čakavian dialects in the Istria-Kvarner region of Croatia

Istria-Kvarner is a multilingual border region with a long history of contact between different Slavic and Romance varieties. The Čakavian dialects in this area differ significantly from standard Croatian and colloquial Štokavian varieties that have become increasingly influential beginning in the last century (in Istria proper, only after the end of World War II). There is also substantial variation among the Čakavian dialects in the region, which belong to different subgroups and exhibit differences that are highly salient to speakers of the individual local varieties.

The aspect of language contact that has arguably attracted the most attention from scholars since the 1950s, when the term first appeared in print, is code-switching (MacSwan, 2021, p. 88). However, code-switching has been conceptualized in various ways. Different authors use different terminology and attempt to draw distinctions between various types of language mixing behaviors (e.g., Muysken, 2000). Some approaches rely on distinguishing a matrix language into which elements from another code are embedded, and may treat borrowing as a separate phenomenon entirely (see Myers-Scotton, 1993), although there is a fundamental disagreement among researchers as to whether it is possible to make this distinction. As Poplack (2004) notes, nonce-borrowings are the most commonly observed type of language mixing. Many researchers have proposed various system-internal constraints on code-switching, but these are often contradicted by the data (see MacSwan, 2021 for a survey). There are, naturally, also competing theoretical models for the mental grammars of bi- or multilingual speakers.

Contact between closely related varieties remains relatively understudied. A fundamental distinction has often been drawn between the choice of variants from different dialects or registers within a single language (style-shifting) and from different languages (code-switching). However, given that different varieties cannot be characterized as representing dialects of the same language or different languages solely on the basis of structural similarities/differences or mutual intelligibility, the distinction between style-shifting and code-switching is questionable.

This paper analyzes sociolinguistic interview data from Čakavian dialects collected as part of a larger project to document endangered language varieties in contact in the Istria-Kvarner region. Speakers sometimes exhibit prototypical code-switching behaviors that can be accounted for by established theoretical models, but we also find many examples where it is difficult to define a matrix variety (for example) or stretches of discourse where the variety is ambiguous. There are also examples that blend phonological or morphological features from both varieties in the same word, which contradict some theoretical models. Speakers of these varieties exhibit complex patterns of variation that allow us to test different hypotheses

about grammatical restrictions on code-switching and pragmatic and social factors that may influence this behavior.

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Not only “v Ukrajini”. Prepositions with the names of countries in North Slavic languages

The paper presents the historical and contemporary repartition of the prepositions “na” and “v(w)” (“do/v” and “na” in the adlative meaning) before names of countries in North Slavic languages (excluding “na” before names of islands and peninsulas). Special attention will be paid to the choice of the preposition before the name “Ukraine”.

In the independent Ukraine “в Україні” had been gradually displacing the earlier “на” since the 1990s. The Russian aggression finally sealed these changes. The official Russian language has followed a similar direction since the 1990s, but contemporary Putin’s propaganda has reversed the process. Both prepositions can be found in medieval Old Russian.

In Polish, “w Ukrainie” was given the equal status to “na” only in 2022, after the war broke out. In Czech and Slovak, the only correct syntax is still “na Ukrajině”. Preposition “na” with geographical names refers in Polish to a common cognitive space including a given region. It refers to the names Litwa (Lithuania), Łotwa (Latvia), Białoruś (Belarus), Ukraina (Ukraine), Słowacja (Slovakia), and Węgry (Hungary), which once formed a kind of community with Poland: the Yagellonian dynastic union, Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth or Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The changes are being discussed in all Slavic countries now. Defenders of “na” syntax refer to the linguistic and national tradition. Proponents of “v(w)” refer to the feelings of the group to which the country name with preposition applies.

In the comparable corpora Araneum Maius (more than 1 billion words from 2014 in each language), there can be found:

20808 “на Україні” and 654694 “в” (3%) in Ukrainian, 14809 “на Украине” and 9647 “в”(39%) in Russian, 9439 “na Ukrainie” and 119 “w” (1,2%) in Polish, 9939 “na Ukrajině” and 302 “v” (3%) in Slovak, 3374 “na Ukrajině” 46 “v” (1,2%) in Czech.

The data above does not reflect changes of the last decades. In Ukrainian itself, “na” distinctly predominates “v” only from the turn of the milleniums. In 2023, there is slightly more “w Ukrainie” (17766) than “w” (17371) in the Polish Monco Corpus.

Until the mid-nineteenth century “w Ukrainie” was more frequent in Polish than “na”. Likewise in Czech: in the Archive of the 19th century of the Czech National Corpus (33 million words), there are 13 examples of “v Ukrajině” and only 6 “na”. It can be assumed that the Czech and Slovak tradition of saying “in Ukraine” is in fact a Polish or Russian tradition.

The association of “w/v” with the names of countries and “na” with the names of districts/regions is a rule in North Slavic languages, although not all connections are equal. In Polish, one say “na Śląsku”, in Czech “ve Slezsku”. Slovaks tell about their own country “na Slovensku” probably reflecting its geographical location and height.

For speakers of English, the bitter argument about “v/w” and “na” corresponds to the discussion about the article the before name “Ukraine”. To put it (too) simply: “[W]e say «the Ukraine» because in Russian and in Polish, you can say, «na Ukraine»”. (Snyder 2022).

We will enumerate different grammatical, historical and sociolinguistic factors that influence the preposition choice: origin of the country name, phonology, syntactic patterns (attribute preceding the name), and the general context of the discussion inclusive changes in language.

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Russian colloquial construction: quotative properties

Russian, as many European languages, opposes indirect and direct speech. Normally, in indirect speech, the person system is built into the main clause: the speaker of the inner speech act is no longer marked with *ja*. In (1), it is marked with *on* 'he', because the first person can only mark the main speaker (the author of the whole utterance).

- (1) *Сеня сказал, что он опаздывает.*
'Senja said that he was (lit. 'is') late.'

In my talk, I will discuss a special type of colloquial construction that combines properties of direct and indirect speech (2). It occurs mainly in spontaneous oral speech and in internet texts.

- (2) *А когда я напомнил о договоре, начал орать, что я же тебе деньги плачу*
(<https://pikabu.ru/story/.../6510312>)
'And when I reminded him of our agreement, he began to yell at me that he (lit. I) pays me money.'

In this type of examples, the default Russian complementizer *čto* is used. However, no person change characteristic of oral speech takes place. As in the original utterance 'I did not do it on purpose', the speaker of the inner speech act is marked with the first person *ja* 'I'. The construction is characterized with a cluster of properties that are all explicable from the special nature of the construction.

- (i) Non-canonical person use.
- (ii) Possibility of imperative, interrogative and exclamative embedded clauses.

- (3) *В голове появился страх, что как я буду всех Вас искать заново?*
(https://vk.com/pedikur_petrozavodsk)
'The fear emerged in my head, that how I will search you all again?'

(iii) Possibility of embedded clauses with the semantic role of content even with verbs that normally are compatible with complement clauses with another semantic role. While many verbs like *govorit* 'say; tell' and *znat* 'know' allow content embedded clauses, there are verbs like *izvinjat'sja* 'apologize' and *otkazyvat'sja* 'refuse' that do not take content complements in the literary language. Normally, the complement clause of *izvinjat'sja* marks not a content of apologies, but rather the reason why the person apologizes. The same is with *otkazyvat'sja* 'refuse' and *soglasit'sja* 'agree' that take complement clauses marking the thing which the person refuses or agrees to, but not the precise content of refusal / agreement.

However, in the colloquial construction, even this type of verbs can host content clauses:

- (4) *Водитель ... выскочил из машины и на плохом польском языке начал извиняться, что он очень сожалеет.*
(<https://inna-korogid.me/articles/moe-pervoe-beloe-palto/>)
'The driver ran out of the car and began to apologize that he is terribly sorry.'

All the three properties show that the colloquial construction with *čto* is not simply a type of complex sentence. It fulfills the quotative function, and the purpose of its use is to repeat the initial speech act as literally as possible. This is why, for instance, the precise content of the speech is expressed in the embedded clause (see Güldemann 2008 for the detailed analysis of quotatives and their properties). For the same reason, questions and imperatives are acceptable in this construction: the colloquial construction repeats the illocutionary force of the original utterance.

Note that the colloquial construction is not necessarily characterized by all the three properties: for instance, in (4), only the role of content is non-standard, while the person marking is standard (the speaker of the inner speech act – the driver is marked with the third person pronoun *on*).

Some formal properties distinguish the construction from its standard literary variant. In the colloquial construction, the subject of the embedded clause is almost never omitted (cf. (6)), though in Russian standard constructions, subject omission is very common in embedded clauses, as in (5).

(7) *Полина сказала, что (она) не ходит туда.*

‘Polina said that (she) does not go there.’

(8) *Полина сказала, что ??(я) не хожу туда.*

‘Polina said that ??(she) cannot do it.’

The reason lies, again, in the quotative nature of the construction. While in the standard construction, the subject omission is regulated by the co-reference with the matrix clause subject, in the colloquial construction, the embedded clause subject is usually expressed because the utterance quotes an original speech act, where the subject pronoun was presumably expressed.

In the talk, I will discuss other special properties of the construction.

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‘Suffixless’ comparatives across Slavic: Typology, origins, implications

All Sl languages have a grammaticalized comparative degree. Its structure may be either 1) analytic (Ukr *bil’š* *važlyvyj* ‘more important’; Mac *poubav* ‘more beautiful’) or synthetic, i.e. 2) additive-affixal (Pol *tward-y* ‘hard’ : *tward-sz-y* ‘harder’; Cz *mil-y* ‘nice’ : *mil-ějš-í*), 3) substitutive-affixal (Slk *šir-ok-y* ‘wide’ : *šir-š-í*; Sln *glob-ok-(i)* ‘deep’ : *glob-lj-i*) or 4) suffixless (BCMS *mlad-(i)* ‘young’ : *mlad-í*; USorb *wus-k-i* ‘narrow’ : *wuš-i*). It has been noticed in recent research (Majer & Szeptyński, 2021) that while types 1) and 2) are easily accommodated by the oft-quoted cross-linguistic generalizations/typologies of comparative forms (Jakobson, 1965; Dressler, 1986; Bobaljik, 2012 etc.), type 3) is unusual in that the comparative is not more complex – and sometimes less so – than the positive. The widespread attestation of type 3) in Slavic – as well as in some other branches of Indo-European, though primarily in their earlier stages – requires the adoption of a less strict typology than commonly assumed.

We observe that type 4) is just as problematic in this regard, if not more. However, surface suffixlessness may be interpreted in various ways; the morphological makeup of such forms is not always evident. A comprehensive and nuanced approach is required. We attempt to fill two gaps in the existing scholarship, namely: i) to register all Sl languages and dialectal areas in which such suffixless comparatives are found, and ii) to arrange them by types and offer a basic analysis. For i), apart from standard publications, we also rely on extensive in-situ queries of dialectal data sourced from (mostly unpublished) materials of the Slavic Linguistic Atlas (OLA) as well as local, language-specific atlases. This guarantees an unprecedentedly high degree of coverage, at least regarding the most common adjectives.

For ii), our finding is that Slavic suffixless comparatives fall into three types, arranged here in a rising order of typological significance: a) phonetically conditioned, b) phonologically conditioned, and c) morphologized. Type a) refers to cases where the surface realization of the form may be explained by synchronically active phonetic rules: Cz [vis-ok-i:] ‘tall’ : [vɪf-i:] (cf. etymological spelling <vys-ok-ý> : <vyš-š-í>); Cz dial [mokr-i:] ‘wet’ : [mokr̩-i:] (/mokr̩-ɸi:/). The underlying structure may thus easily be substitutive or additive. Far rarer but more interesting is type b), apparently limited to cases where the root-final consonant in the cpv allomorph is -ž- and the -š- of the cpv suffix is ‘consumed’ by it: Cz dial *draž-y* (lit. *draž-š-í*) ‘more expensive’, Slk dial *niž-í* (lit. *niž-š-í*) ‘lower’, Cash dial *vqž-í* (lit. *vqž-š-í*) ‘narrower’, in a way Ru dial *mlač-ij* (lit. *mlad-š-ij*) ‘younger’. Progressive assimilation /žš/ > [ž] is never found in these systems outside such comparatives and therefore cannot be phonetic; still, at a deeper level, a suffixal analysis is possible. In type c) we include cases where such an analysis is clearly dispreferred (beside the well-known BCMS type *mlad-í*: also Sln dial *mlaj-i* ‘younger’, Ukr dial *šyr’-yj* ‘wider’, *molodž-yj* ‘younger’). Finally, we inspect the diachronic rise of these types. We accept the standard view that type c) originates from the reanalysis and generalization of the CSI nom.sg allomorph (**mold’-bjb*) at the cost of the obl allomorph (**mold’-bš-*, generalized in most of Sl), but we observe that some degree of interaction with types a) and b) was likewise crucial here.

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Metodi Efremov

On the structure of double-coordinator constructions. Double coordination construction, distributivity, binding, anaphora

double-coordinator construction, also called emphatic coordination by Haspelmath (2007), presents an interesting problem for binding. As shown in (1), when a subject oriented anaphor is bound by the double-coordinator subject, the default interpretation is the distributive reading where the anaphor is bound by the two conjuncts separately. (The distributive interpretation of the anaphor is marked with ‘i+j’ index.). (2) shows this reading is impossible with regular coordination.

- (1) [In Peteri in Majaj]_k sta brala o sebi_{i+j/*k}. SLO
and Peter and Maja aux.du read.du about self
‘Both Peter and Maja read about themselves.’
= Peter read about himself and Maja read about herself
- (2) [Peteri in Majaj]_k sta brala o sebi_{*i+j/k}. SLO
Peter and Maja aux.du read.du about self
‘Peter and Maja read about themselves.’
= Peter and Maja read about Peter and Maja.

The impossibility of distributive interpretation with regular coordination shown in (2) is expected under the typical understanding of how binding works and assuming either of the proposed structures for coordination. In neither of the few available structures the two conjuncts simultaneously bind the (subject-oriented) anaphor.

Distributed binding (as in (1)) is available with all types of anaphors including reciprocals. (3) shows binding with a subject oriented possessive anaphor in Macedonian.

- (3) [I Petari i Marija j]_k se vozat vo svojata_{i+j/k} kola. MAC
and Petar and Marija refl drive.pl in refl-poss+the car.
‘Both Peter and Marija drive in their (individual) cars.’
=‘Peter likes to drive in his car and Marija likes to drive in her car.’

Note that a biclausal analysis of the type proposed in Aoun, Benmamoun, and Sportiche (1994) is not available as the verb agrees with the entire coordinated subject in dual in Slovenian and in plural in Macedonian.

Kayne (1994) proposes the structure in (4a) for the French doubled-coordinator construction, while Progovac (1998) argues against it suggesting, following Collins (1988), it should receive the structure in (4b) (Progovac and Collins actually argue coordination always involves structure in (4b) even when there’s only one overt coordinator).

- (4) a. [_{&P} [_{&’} &⁰ [_{&P} DP₁ [_{&’} &⁰ DP₂]]]] Kayne (1994)
- b. [_{&P} [_{&P} [_{&’} both/&⁰ DP₁]] [_{&’} &⁰ DP₂]] Progovac (1998)

Neither Kayne nor Progovac discuss distributive binding and in neither of the two structures, is it obvious how to derive it. We argue (following Kayne and Progovac) that the double-coordinator construction ‘& X & Y’ construction is parallel to the English ‘Both X and Y’, but that the two structures presented in (4) lack the crucial ingredient.

We propose that the ‘distributive binding’ should be understood as a case of a bound variable reading, which means the examples (1)-(3) are parallel to examples like (5). In our view, the head of the double-coordinator structures is a null universal quantifier, while the two coordinated noun phrases act as the restrictor of the universal quantifier. Either of the two structures in (4) can be used as the complement of the silent universal quantifier. Admittedly, the structure in (4b) seems a better fit, but crucially, the universal quantifier does not sit in the position of the first coordinator (contra Progovac) as it is the head of the entire coordination phrase.

- (5) [Vsi kolesarj_i] pazijo na svoje_i kolo. SLO
 all cyclists look-after on refl-poss bike
 ‘All cyclists look after their bike.’
 = For each cyclist it is true, he takes care of his bike.

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The pragmatic meaning of expressive-assertive rising declaratives in Polish dialogues

The aim of this paper is to analyze pragmatically a new tendency in the Polish language, which consists in uttering declarative sentences with rising intonation. In the English literature, this tendency is referred to as assertive rising declarative (ARD). In Polish, this phenomenon has not yet been analyzed.

For English, there have been distinguished two types of ARD – utterances that implicate the speaker’s uncertainty and so-called ‘uptalk’ (Jeong, 2018). Although both are also found in Polish, based on the interpretation of the collected material consisting of utterances posted on social media and excerpts from films, series, programs, and vlogs, I can conclude that there is one more type of ARD, that has not been described in the literature. In some contexts, ARD has a specific illocutionary force, understood according to Austin’s thought (1962), in which the speaker conveys additional content and emotion not contained in the semantic layer of the message. I have called this type of sentence ‘expressive-assertive rising declarative’ (EARD). Therefore, I will determine what are the functions of EARD in dialogues, what additional content can be implicated through it, and how it affects the perception of the message.

In the paper, I will present three groups of EARD depending on their pragmatic function in a particular context. The first includes utterances in which rising intonation is a form of defense against a verbal attack by the interlocutor whose utterance violates cultural norms related to linguistic etiquette and good manners (– Why didn’t you do your homework? – Because I didn’t have time?). The second group includes utterances in which rising intonation serves to highlight the refusal and is a reaction to the interlocutor’s violation of generally established cultural norms, but whose utterance does not involve a verbal attack (– Will you clean my room for me? – No?). The third group includes utterances in which rising intonation is an expression of the speaker’s irritation caused by the interlocutor’s ignorance about something generally known or about the participant in the speech act (– Why is it so cold? – Because it’s January?). In all of the examples, an answer in rising intonation is intended to discredit the speaker and communicate the obviousness of their question.

In order to analyze the utterances I will describe EARD as a speech act that a speaker uses to signal differences (or rather assumptions about differences) between what the recipient believes to be common belief and what is actually common belief (Stalnaker, 2002). I will present this use of rising intonation as an example of conversational implicature by means of which the sender communicates the recipient’s false assumptions about Common Ground and intentionally violates a Maxim of Manner (Grice, 1975) or – in the terminology proposed by Hirschberg – Maxim of Pitch (Hirschberg, 2002). The method of contextual analysis will also be helpful to investigate the function of messages.

The use of methods developed by pragmatic linguistics will make it possible to classify and describe this particular type of rising declarative occurring in a dialogue situation. This objective seems all the more important as the analysis of such contexts has not yet been undertaken neither in Polish or foreign scientific works.

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New English name-based eponyms and their relations with Polish ones. The case of ‘Chad’, ‘Karen’, ‘Julka’ and ‘Karyna’ in social media

Despite the very meaning of eponyms being inseparable from the language or culture in which they originated, the mechanisms leading to their creation are universal (Langacker 2009, Lalić 2004, Rutkowski 2007). Since those processes lead also to the ‘sense-acquisition’ of names, users are capable of transferring foreign eponyms and their meaning during the language contact episodes. However, not every attempt seems to be successful and I decided to describe factors that might be responsible for it in the case of ‘Chad’ and ‘Karen’.

Polish-speaking online communities absorbed the first one very well and at some point failed during the same with the second, even though Karen is a much bigger phenomenon in the English-speaking world (Negra and Leyda 2021, Podlecka 2021). The main question was, what lies behind the success of loan-eponym ‘Chad’, and why it did not work with Karen? To reveal and describe the differences, I conducted a qualitative analysis of 250 samples (e.g. posts, memes, and comments) published on Facebook, Wykop, and Twitter in the last 3 years, focusing on socio-cultural background and linguistic factors that led Poles to transition and popularization of the foreign eponym.

In the analysis, I use a cognitive paradigm, following the metaphor and metonymy theories (Radden and Kövecses 1999, Langacker 2009, Wachowski 2019). However, I had to modify the classic models, due to their incapability to explain the source of the meaning in metaphor and metonymy that includes new name-based eponyms. It is related to the special status of names subjected to appellativization. Classical examples (e.g. Judas) have a single personal root whose features are the source of the eponym. The same cannot be indicated in the case of new eponyms – their single personal source remains unknown, yet later meaning is still clear for the language users (Rutkowski 2007, Walkowiak 2018).

With modified models, I described the undifferentiated creation mechanism of new name-based eponyms in Polish and English. It led to the conclusion that social problems and conflicts related to the meanings of ‘Karen’ (such as a racial conflict) do not fit the reality of Poles (Negra and Leyda 2021). Also, the word ‘Karen’ is too similar on a phonological level to the already existing Polish eponym ‘Karyna’ and it is supplanted by the native one (Burkacka 2020). At the same time, ‘Chad’ has no such barriers and indicates a much more universal socio-cultural background as gender conflict (Menzie 2020). Thus, ‘Chad’ can be easily implemented in the Polish context and even enter into a relationship with native Polish eponyms with similar semantic patterns (Chaciński 2020).

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Love is stronger than hate: Queer and trans Slovaks fighting for safety, liberation, and justice in post-shooting linguistic landscapes

In this paper, I analyze strategies used in queer and trans linguistic landscapes (Landry and Bourhis 1997, Milani 2013, Reershemius 2019, and Motschenbacher 2020) to demand safety, liberation, and justice in Slovakia after the anti-queer, anti-trans shooting at the Tepláreň in October 2022.

Common strategies employed in these linguistic landscapes included defining what something was or was not, for example, “We are people, not ideology,” and “Love is not a crime, but murder is!” in order to demonstrate community values. Queer and trans Slovaks and their allies also linked the October 2022 attack to past violent crimes against other marginalized groups in Slovakia. In this case, the names of those who died, Matúš Horváth and Juraj Vankulič, were placed on signs next to the names of others who faced violent hate crimes to make clear that the impact of the harm done was just as significant and deserved just as much attention from the media, politicians, and the country as a whole.

Similarly, queer Slovaks utilized multiple linguistic landscapes to correct the harmful, reductive misidentification of Matúš and Juraj as “gay men,” both explicitly by creating memes that called this issue out (For example, “They weren’t gay men. Matúš was bisexual. Juraj was a nonbinary person. It didn’t/doesn’t matter to the killer and the media who they were, but it does matter to us”) and implicitly, by placing their names on a sign in the colors of the bisexual and nonbinary flags. This correction ensured that Matúš, Juraj, and their loved ones had access to linguistic justice regarding their identities after their deaths.

Queer communities across the globe are vibrant, and focus heavily on love, community care, and community support. One popular phrase among queer communities across the globe is “Love [Always] Wins.” This phrase was particularly common when gay marriage was legalized in the U.S. and other countries (Baumle and Compton 2017), but is also used in other contexts. But if love wins, what (or who) loses? In the post-shooting linguistic landscape at the memorial in front of the Tepláreň, queer Slovaks asserted that, “hate, fear, and violence never win.” Additional strategies included positioning certain acts as stronger than others, or as winning or losing based on people’s actions. For example, “Evil wins when good people do nothing.” These signifiers indicate that though community values are important, everyone, not just the queer and trans community, must stand up against hate and harm in order for love to win.

Based on the data, this paper posits that queer and trans Slovaks and their allies use(d) various linguistic landscapes as collective resistance against anti-queer and anti-trans rhetoric, political policy, and violence, which are on the rise in Slovakia and across the globe. Samples of the 200+ images I analyzed are provided in the attachment.

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Ov to the rescue

In Slovenian, simplex verbs are typically imperfective, become perfective through prefixation, and can become imperfective again through suffixation in a process called secondary imperfectivization, (1a), (2a). There are 4 typical secondary imperfective (SI) suffixes in Slovenian (listed according to their productivity, the last two being equally productive, the item in brackets being the theme vowel (TV)): *j(a)*, *ov(a)*, *av(a)*, *ev(a)*. Different deverbal nouns or adjectives can be derived from these forms, among them *-lec* nominalizations, i.e., agentive deverbal nominalizations which tend to be derived from imperfective forms.

- (1) a. *del-a-ti* *iz-del-a-ti* *iz-del-ov-a-ti* b. *iz-del-ov-a-lec*
work-TV-INF.IPFV out-work-tv-INF.PFV out-work-SI-TV-INF.PFV out-work-SI-TV-er
'work, produce, produce' 'manufacturer'
- (2) a. *račun-a-ti* *ob-račun-ati* *ob-račun-av-a-ti*
calculate-TV-INF.IPFV at-calculate-TV-INF.PFV at-calculate-SI-TV-INF.PFV
b. *ob-račun-ov-a-lec*
at-calculate-SI-TV-er
'calculate calculate calculate'
'calculator'

Surprisingly, the suffix *-lec* induces morphological changes to the SI base, (2b), as certain *-lec* nominalizations exhibit a replacement of a SI affix with *ov(a)*:

- (3) *ob-račun-av-a-ti* * *ob-račun-av-a-lec* b. ? *ob-račun-ov-a-ti*
ob-račun-ov-a-lec
at-calculate-SI-TV-INF.PFV at-calculate-SI-TV-er at-calculate-SI-TV-INF.PFV
at-calculate-SI-TV-er
'calculate' 'calculator'
- (4) *iz-trebl-j-a-ti* * *iz-trebl-j-a-lec* b. ?? *iztreblj-ev-a-ti*
iztreblj-ev-a-lec
ex-terminate-SI-TV-INF.PFV ex-terminate-SI-TV-er ex-terminate-SI-TV-INF.PFV
exterminate-SI-TV-er
'exterminate' 'exterminator'

The scale of the phenomenon becomes apparent if we consider the data from the Dictionary of Standard Literary Slovenian (SSKJ) in which there are only 5 *-lec* nominalizations from SI forms with *ava* (from just 2 roots – *zn* 'know' and *ravn-* 'straight'), while there are more than 50 *-lec* nominalizations that contain *ova* – derived either from existing verb forms (from a variety of roots), unattested bases or rare SI forms. In this talk we therefore tackle the issue, first observed in Simonović (2020), of such modified bases in deverbal *-lec* nominalizations and offer an account in terms of constraints on stress overwriting.

In Slovenian verbs, stress can be either on the TV or the last syllable of the root. If we consider the biggest TV-class - the a/a-class, e.g., *jádr-a-ti*, *jádr-a-mo* ‘to sail, we sail’, verbs of this class tend to be stressed on the root (also in past participles, e.g., *jádr-a-l*). In -lec nominalizations derived from such verbs, however, stress moves to the TV, *jadr-á-lec* ‘sailor’. In fact, all -lec nominalizations are stressed on the TV preceding the affix. This is also evident in SI forms, where we can observe a contrast between SIs in which imperfectives are formed with a change in the form of the root, i.e., ablaut, (5a), which is sometimes accompanied in the change of the TV, compared to the ones in which imperfectives are formed with overt affixes. In the former, the agentive nominalization can be formed just like in simplex forms - the stress migrates to the TV.

- | | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| (5) a. po-žg-á-ti | požíg-a-ti | b. požig-á-lec |
| over-burn-TV-INF.PFV | over-burn-TV-INF.IPFV | over-burn-TV-er |
| ‘burn, burn’ | | ‘arsonist’ |

In SI verbs formed with overt SI affixes, however, the stress of the imperfective form depends on the choice of the affix – *av(a)* is always stressed on the first a (*áva*, e.g., *iz-črp-áva-ti* ‘exhaust’) and *ov(a)* on the only a (as in *iz-del-ová-ti* ‘to produce’). Informally, we can state that in -lec nominalizations from SIs, only affixes that have stress on TV can be used since only in these forms stress is on the TV preceding the affix. A formal analysis, that will be given in the talk, however, hinges on the structure of -lec nominalizations, and on the claims that *av(a)* and *ov(a)* are both a combination of a root and a TV with lexical stress and default stress assignment in structures with multiple roots.

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Verum in biased polar questions: *zar*- and *neli*-questions in Macedonian

This paper focuses on biased polar questions in Macedonian headed by interrogative particles *zar* and *neli*. It is assumed that they introduce a covert epistemic operator VERUM (cf. Romero & Han 2004; Gutzmann et al. 2020, Bill & Koev 2021) in the semantics of the question generating bias: *neli* foregrounds prior belief, while *zar* highlights the contextual contradiction. We set out to examine the pragmatics of these questions and determine the factors influencing their distribution. Verum-marked questions in Macedonian formed with *neli* and *zar(em)* cannot occur in neutral contexts characteristic of polar interrogatives (1), whose goal is to get a true answer out of the binary space of possible answers (Lohnstein 2018: 74).

- (1) a. Dali Marko ima brat?
b. Ima (li) brat Marko?
'Does Marko have a brother?'

The fact that *neli*- and *zar(em)*-questions are epistemically biased restricts the contexts they can occur in. What makes the questions in (2) felicitous is the common ground (CG) status given the interlocutors' long acquaintance with Marko's family.

- (2) A: Brat mu na Marko e bolen. 'Marko's brother is ill.'
B₁: *Neli* Marko nema brat? 'Doesn't Marko NOT have a brother?'
B₂: *Zar(em)* Marko ima brat? 'DOES Marko have a brother?'

The two questions convey different type of bias: *neli* (2B₁) affirms the truth of the proposition, while *zar* (2B₂) contradicts it. Both operators signal that the speaker's belief about whether Marko has a brother does not match the evidence available in the context, but the difference between them lies in the prior belief grounds. We suggest that in the case of *neli* it rests on shared interpersonal knowledge between the interlocutors, while *zar*, on the other hand, does not have to evoke CG since it focuses on questioning the contextual evidence.

Consequently, these questions have different communicative goals in discourse. A speaker posing a *neli*-question seeks agreement from the addressee that the proposition is true, while the use of a *zar(em)*-question signals disbelief in the truth of the proposition shading into surprise. Since *neli* is a fusion of the negation and question particles (2B₁), negative bias is achieved by negation on the proposition, as in English internal negation questions.

The pragmatic-discourse aspects of these types of questions in Macedonian are largely understudied. Thus, the main goal of this research is to account for the VERUM effects in *neli*- and *zar(em)*-questions and to examine their functional distribution. To achieve this, we posit the following questions:

- What factors influence the distribution of each particle?
- In what contexts do they overlap?

The answers to these questions will be sought in the analysis of collected conversations from written sources (fiction and social media). We hope that the findings will contribute to the discussion on the typology of polar interrogatives with VERUM.

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The 'free not-so-free' ordering of adjectives in Slavic

Issue. Bošković (2005: 6) and much literature following him claim that the order of adjectives in languages without articles (like most Slavic languages) is “relatively free” (as in Serbo-Croatian, Russian, Polish, and Czech) due to lack of functional structure and the consequent adjectival nature of determiners. The argument holds if in these languages adjectives are freely adjoined to NP and do not respect the Cinque’s (1994) functional hierarchy. Notably most evidence for free orders involve a descriptive AP and a poss[essive]AP, as in (1)–(2). Opponents of this proposal, (e.g., Migdalski 2001 a.o.) show that this does not hold with other nominal modifiers, as in (3).

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|---------------|--------------------------|
| (1) | { <i>Jovanova</i> | <i>skupa / skupa</i> | <i>Jovanova</i> } | <i>slika</i> | (Serbo-Croatian) |
| | John’s | expensive / expensive | John’s | picture | [Bošković (2005: 7)] |
| (2) | { <i>mamina</i> | <i>novaja / novaja</i> | <i>mamina</i> } | <i>rabota</i> | (Russian) |
| | mom’s | new / new | mom’s | job | [Gepner (2021: ex.6)] |
| (3) | <i>Mój</i> | { <i>nowy czarny / *czarny</i> | <i>nowy</i> } | <i>plecak</i> | (Polish) |
| | my | new black / black new | | rucksack | [Migdalski (2001: ex.6)] |

Aim. This paper wants to provide a principled explanation for the different status of acceptability of marked and unmarked orders in the combination of APs, possAPs and Dem[onstratives] along the lines of Giusti’s (2015) bare phrase structure hypothesis.

Proposal. Giusti claims that possessive adjectives that have a referential index behave like the subject of the clause, i.e., their [iPers] feature is targeted by a high functional head of the nominal expression (POSS), parallel to T. POSS is a non-phasal head which inherits its uninterpretable features from the nominal edge D, complying with Richards’s (2007) generalization on the nature of probes. Once agreement has taken place, possAP can but needs not move to SpecPOSSP, as in (4):

Consequences:

- Descriptive APs comply with Cinque’s hierarchy and do not move in the nominal domain.
- Only possessive APs carrying a referential index display this kind of movement. Relational APs do not; they are not referential as they cannot be antecedents of an anaphor, unlike possAPs.
- Optional movement depends on the ‘heaviness’ of the possessive AP. Pronominal possessive APs, lexically lighter than denominal ones, preferably move, displaying a ‘more fixed’ order.
- The property of carrying a referential index is subject to variation: Bulgarian denominal possessive APs cannot bind an anaphor and do not trigger free orders.
- The extremely strong preference for Dem > AP (of any kind) over AP > Dem (only marginally admitted in the case of pragmatically marked orders) is dealt with by proposing that also Slavic languages have a left peripheral escape hatch that may host only one topical or contrasted AP, along the lines of Giusti and Iovino’s (2016) analysis of Latin.

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Challenges and opportunities for NLP in addressing gender bias in Czech language

Natural Language Processing (NLP) has become an increasingly important tool for detecting and mitigating gender bias in text data. However, the application of NLP techniques to non-English languages, such as Czech, presents a unique set of challenges and opportunities. This paper explores the challenges and opportunities for NLP in addressing gender bias in the Czech language, including issues such as linguistic complexity, data scarcity, and cultural specificity. Drawing on existing research and case studies, the paper examines the current state of NLP research in the Czech language, and proposes potential solutions for improving the accuracy and effectiveness of gender bias detection and mitigation techniques. The study also considers the broader implications of NLP for promoting gender equality and diversity in language use, and highlights the need for interdisciplinary collaboration and cross-cultural awareness in the development and application of NLP tools. Ultimately, this paper aims to contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the challenges and opportunities of NLP in addressing gender bias in the Czech language, and to promote the development of more effective and inclusive NLP tools and techniques.



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Language and the war: language attitudes, language practices, and language ideologies of Ukrainians

The paper addresses how language is fueled by political actions and accrues sociopolitical meaning in the context of war, focusing on language-related activity of Ukrainians. The primary aim is to tackle the following research questions: i) What are the narratives about languages in Ukraine during the current war?; ii) What shifts are taking place with respect to language attitudes and language practices?; iii) How do these narratives and changing practices relate to language ideologies that are being constructed and foregrounded due to the war?; and iv) How do language ideologies contribute to the construction of ‘new’ or shifting social identities through language?

I analyze texts that appeared since the start of the war in February 2022. These are texts from social media sites that represent narratives about languages, Ukrainian and Russian in particular and texts that address transformations of language practices of Ukrainians, namely a switch from Russian into Ukrainian (Facebook, Instagram, TikTok, and YouTube). These texts of public discourse, or peoples’ voices, their attitudes and sensitivities towards particular language(s) and language practices are studied as ‘ideological sites’ (Silverstein, 1979), which construct specific ideological tendencies of a community. The texts are analyzed qualitatively within the framework of language ideologies, relying on Kroskrity’s framework (2000; 2004). Within this framework, language ideologies are viewed as various conceptions and beliefs about language(s) and language practices, and also as constructions of language image, place and role in a community. All of these conceptions index certain belongings, boundaries, and specific interests of members of a community.

The discourse analysis, informed by the theoretical framework of van Dijk (1995), considers both verbal and visual texts relying on the premises of the multimodal analysis (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996/2006). The results of both verbal and visual analyses allow to discuss the positionality of multiple and diverse online communities in producing and shaping beliefs and feelings with respect to languages in Ukraine at the time of war, representing a diversity of voices and positions. The studied discourses are also linked with larger-scale social processes of exclusion or alterity, belonging or access, legitimacy, ideologies, and identity (Kroskrity 2000; Blommaert 2005; Duchene & Heller 2007; Gal & Irvine 2019).

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Language contact and/or language conflict in Belarusian newspapers from mid-19th and early 20th century

Nelde (1986: 469) once stated that “in most cases language contact is connected to language conflict”. This is especially true for the Belarusians, who have always been an area of **contact** between the Catholic/Protestant West and the Orthodox East. This is reflected in the language contact between Belarusian and Russian and/or Polish, which defines the Belarusian community as a **multilingual** one. Moreover, it is also reflected in the Belarusian writing culture, which is the reason for a (parallel) use of the Latin and/or Cyrillic script in Belarusian newspapers from the pre-orthographic phase (e.g. Mužyckaja Praŭda (1862–1863), Homan (1916), Krywičanin (1918), Bielarus (1913–1915), Sacha (1912–1915), Ranica (1914), Dziannica (1916), Świetač (1916), Naša Dolja (1906) and Naša Niva (1906–1915). In accordance with the previous term, the Belarusian community can be characterized as **biscriptal** (Bunčić & Lippert & Rabus 2016). However, at the time of the emergence of the modern Belarusian press and language in the mid-19th and early 20th century the Belarusian language, and especially the Latin script, were subject to restrictive bans by the Tsarist Empire, which resulted in a **(language) conflict**. The conflicting parties are not the languages, but rather specific groups of the societies involved in the conflict, or even specific actors that pursue different interests in the conflict. As Wingender (2020: 15) emphasizes, such an “ubiquitous asymmetry of bi- and multicultural language situations” is characteristic for communities that live in conflict situations.

In my talk I will focus on newspapers from the pre-orthographic phase of the Belarusian language which exhibit a high degree of variability in the **morphological, lexical, graphic, and orthographic** realizations. In research these phenomena have been mostly interpreted as contact-induced inference of the two most influential neighboring languages, Polish and Russian (see e.g. Haponenka 2014; Bieder 2017, 2021). I will address the question of whether it is more fruitful to speak of (language) conflict rather than language contact, since, as Wingender (2020: 21) points out, “language conflict becomes the driving force behind language development” and, moreover, a catalyst for the formation of identities in general. Another contribution of my talk will be the identification of the conflicting parties and their antagonistic interests, focusing on the **semiotic and symbolic values** of the scripts used, the orthographic principles applied, the morphology implemented, and the lexis in the relevant newspapers. My second contribution will be to identify the most prominent **strategies and narratives** used by the actors involved in the conflict to differentiate themselves from their neighbors and their languages in the relevant areas.

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Aspectual triplets in Bulgarian: Semantics and situation types

This proposal is based on research of the correlation between aspectuality and situation types in Bulgarian verbs within the framework of linguistic typology and functionalism.

In their 2017 article “Aspectual triplets in Russian: semantic predictability and regularity” J. Kuznetsova and S. Sokolova argue that “the secondary imperfective of a natural perfective [as opposed to “specialized perfectives” – my note] fills a gap in the aspectual system of Russian”. Also, they find “unified semantics for the secondary imperfectives, namely, a telic process”.

In Bulgarian the corresponding secondary imperfectives are not marginal at all and the usage of verbs such as *‘napisvam’* ‘write (up)’ is widely used in colloquial Bulgarian as well as in the written language (unlike the uncertainty of the Russian *‘napisyvat’*). The triplets in which the primary imperfective verbs are Activities or States (according to the situation types, or Aktionsarten, described by Van Valin, Jr. (2005, 2006)) have secondary imperfectives which have a clear telicity, i.e. their situation type is different. For example, while the sentence *Всяка сутрин пия мляко* is perfectly grammatical, the sentence **Всяка сутрин изпивам мляко* is definitely not. The secondary imperfectives differ from the primary imperfectives in different ways depending on their semantics, as well as on their situation types.

In this presentation I examine aspectual triplets or aspectual pairs from different subgroups of verbs according to their semantics and according to their situation types.

My research shows a system of aspectual triplets in Bulgarian that is more developed than in other Slavic languages, with secondary imperfectives that share more characteristics with their corresponding perfectives and not so much with the primary imperfectives. I focus on verbs derived from primary imperfectives that are Activities or States (i.e. [– telic]) but I explore other verbs for comparison.

Ultimately, this type of research will contribute to a better theoretical description of Bulgarian aspectuality and verb semantics, as well as to improvement of the field of presenting and describing Bulgarian in relevant applied-linguistics fields (e.g. teaching it as a foreign language).

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Feminatives in Slovak neological lexis

The presentation looks to explore the specifics of formation and usage of feminatives in Slovak neological lexis.

In Slovakia, the last 34 years after the Velvet Revolution of 1989 and the subsequent opening of the country and its culture to the “western” way of living have seen a significant influx of new stimuli concerning virtually all parts of society, politics, technology, as well as everyday life. This created pressure for the language to deal with the situation through the process of neologization. The transition of socialism to democracy also enabled more extended and complex discussions of the roles of women in society apart from the ones that were traditionally recognized (a wife, a mother, a homemaker, and a comrade, a co-builder of socialist society). From linguistics point of view, it initiated an interest into the field of gender linguistics and questions of representation of women in language. From that, Slovak gender linguistics has emerged as a productive research area currently centered mainly around issues of gender fair language and its implications (for example Cviková – Juráňová 2015; Urbancová 2022) or formation of female surnames (for example Molnár Satinská – Valentová 2016).

The proposed presentation, following the works of M. Sokolová (2000) and M. Micháľková (2009, 2014), takes another approach to the question of women’s representation in language. Through analysis of neological database built in preparation of the Dictionary of Slovak Neologisms, comprised of words that entered the lexicon in the past thirty-four years, the presentation attempts to describe processes of formation and usage of new feminatives in Slovak. Since the process of coining feminatives in Slovak by means of word-formation from masculine personal nouns is relatively straightforward and can usually be applied without many restrictions, the research focuses on whether these straightforward rules translate into actual formation and usage of new feminatives in ways that would be comparable to masculine personal nouns. A corpus-based research helps to identify the occurrences of gender symmetry (i.e. both masculine personal noun and feminine exist: *influencer* – *influencerka* “woman influencer”) and asymmetry (i.e. one of the masculine – feminine pair is not attested: *hoaxer* – **hoaxerka*). The presentation explores these occurrences and attempts to analyze causes behind the asymmetries. It also touches upon the feminatives’ place in the methodology of the Dictionary of Slovak Neologisms, as well as how the dictionary treats gender asymmetries.

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Lessons from minoritised Slavic varieties on inflectional morphology

This paper aims to sketch potential connections between inflectional morphology and sociology of language. Phenomena around inflectional morphology are often explained by pure morphology, morphophonological processes and/or diachrony (e.g. Baerman, 2011; Thornton, 2019). These analyses are plausible and have enlightened our understanding of morphology. However, as I propose, they fall short of explaining other language external causes that can contribute to the emergence or absence of overabundance.

OVERABUNDANCE is a phenomenon in morphology which happens when two or more forms are available for one single slot. For example, burnt and burned are both past tense forms of the same verb in English and can be interchangeably used in any context without any sociolinguistic or stylistic weighting (Thornton, 2019). In this paper, I argue that the sociolinguistic setting can play a determining role in the emergence or absence of overabundance, based on fieldwork data from Slavic minoritised varieties spoken at the intersections of several national borders.

Dorian (2010) claimed that certain sociolinguistic settings could create a climate that favours the preservation of overabundance. Among the most defining factors would be being a small-speech community, economically deprived (and thus, everyone belongs to the same socio-economic class) and a lack of awareness of a standard form of their variety. In this paper, I try to replicate the experiment with several minoritised Slavic varieties spoken around international border areas (cf. Woolhiser, 2008); namely: Podlasian, Rusyn and West Polesian. They are in similar settings like the ones described by Dorian (2010), with the addendum of a multi-side and more pronounced language contact with other closely related and more standardised Slavic varieties. First, I have selected 50 parameters of inflectional paradigms (including nouns, verbs, adjectives and pronouns), in order to look at instances of overabundance. The criteria for choosing these have been based on points in which Slavic languages differ from each other as possible sources of overabundance; e.g. [POLISH] *siostr-q* vs. [RUSSIAN] *sestr-oj* vs. [UKRAINIAN] *sestr-oju* 'sister'[INS.SG]. Second, I have tested whether there are more or fewer instances in the minoritised varieties than in the more prestigious and standardised varieties looking at relevant online corpora and my own fieldwork data. Not surprisingly, minoritised varieties score higher in overabundance, since as Dorian (2010) argued, speakers in such settings are far less likely to judge it negatively. Third, I have been considering the etymology of each overabundant form. I show how language contact can also contribute to having more forms per cell (cf. Meakins & Wilmoth, 2020).

In sum, I focus on phenomena around overabundance to test some hypotheses about the correlation between language contact, sociolinguistic status and inflectional morphology. The results point to the fact that future studies on inflectional morphology should be more considerate of language-external factors.

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What Russian Aktionsarten prefixes should be taught in L2 Russian classrooms

Russian prefixes can add to the verbal stem temporal-quantitative semes of Aktionsarten (Janda et al. 2014), which the Russian Linguistics terms *Sposoby glagol'nogo Dejstvija* (Zaliznjak et al. 2015, 110), from now on SD. For learners of Russian as a foreign language (L2) the verbs with a prefix carrying a seme of SD (as for *na-stroit* 'to build too much') remain a subcategory almost unknown. This is because the description of these verbs is either absent (or very limited) in textbooks of Russian as a L2, or their semes are just "mixed" among the spatial ones.

Aiming to provide learners of Russian as L2 with a structured overview of the SD groups to help them autonomously identify a SD verb in a context, distinguishing it from homonyms referring to a spatial (*zachodit* 'to go into'; 'to start to walk') or a Perfective (PFT) value (*pročitat* 'to read for too long'; 'to read-PFT'), two questions arise: 1. Which SD classes are to be inserted into the syllabus of Intermediate and Advanced courses of Russian as L2? 2. How often do the native Russian speakers use the SD classes that the textbooks show in their tables and exercises? To answer both questions we propose an approach that takes into account the following key-issues:

1. The term SD is meant to point out the subcategory of the Russian verbal lexicon, and of all the Slavic languages, which includes in itself only affixed verbs, whose prefix, suffix, and circumfix refer to a quantitative-temporal seme of phase (beginning, delimited duration, ending), quantity, or intensity that restructures the manifestation along the time axis of the action of the verbal base (Avilova 1976, 270; Zaliznjak et al. 2015, 110; Isačenko 1960, 300; Čujkova 2022).

2. The prefix of a SD verb is considered 'superlexical' (Romanova 2004), 'external', i.e. it acts as a syntactic head for the whole verbal phrase. By this way, it predetermines the possibility of creating an aspectual pair, the suffix choice, and the aspect of the verbal base (Tatevosov 2013).

After an analysis of SD occurrences and use in textbooks of Intermediate (B1-B2) and Advanced (C1-C2) levels, we investigated whether these SD classes are common in the speech of a sample of Russian speakers. On the basis of this data, we propose a list of SD prefixes that should be introduced in Russian L2 classrooms.

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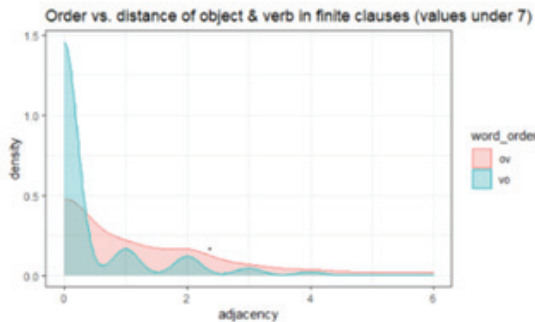
Exploring the placement of direct objects in Russian

1. Intro: Russian has only few hard constraints on word order. However, different word order patterns occur with varying frequencies. We view these as a set of alternatives none of which is syntactically or processing-wise more basic. Word order in Russian is notoriously a multifactorial phenomenon (Siroтина 1965[2003]). Factors from at least the following domains affect the selection of a particular word order pattern: *rigid syntactic rules* (*sensu stricto*) such as initial relative-pronouns or head-first in converbial clauses; the *semantic roles*, e.g., in terms of Dowty’s proto-agent vs. proto-patient (Dowty 1991) because proto-agents and proto-patients are naturally *biased* towards the syntactic roles of subject and object and towards the information-packaging roles of topic and comment, respectively; *the discriminatory function* – i.e. the need to distinguish the roles of the main participants (Siroтина 1965[2003]: 5; Junghanns & Zybatow 1997: 313); *information packaging* favors topic-before-comment order and the postverbal placement of the focus (Junghanns 2001: 331; Siroтина 1965[2003]; 1966; Rodionova 2001; Junghanns & Zybatow 1997); a diachronic effect of *conventionalization of particular input configurations*; preference for *efficiency-driven orderings* such as Hawkinsian principles Minimize Domains or Early Immediate Constituents (Hawkins 2014); *priming effects* on the word order; interactional effects of *turn-taking projectability* (Selting & Couper-Kuhlen 2000: 86-89), and others.

Our aim here is to tease apart particular factors at play in a probabilistic approach.

2. Data and coding conventions: From the syntactically annotated subcorpus of the Russian National Corpus (RNC) we have selected and annotated 1750 transitive clauses. Additionally, the following criteria known to have a potential impact on object placement: negation, aspect, finiteness, the order of object and the lexical verb, distance between the object and the verb, object type and definiteness (according to the German translation), animacy, number and the object case (accusative/genitive).

3. Results: This is a pilot study and our results are only preliminary.



First, we found that OV allows for a greater distance between V and O than VO (Figure). Second, the OV word order is more frequently found in negative clauses ($p < 0.001$). Third, we argue that word order is not solely driven by information packaging as is sometimes assumed. Definite NPs prefer OV more often than indefinite and personal pronouns stand out in that this type has an absolute preference for OV. This points towards conventionalization of particular information-packaging configurations. Thus, definite NPs by virtue of being more topicworthy than indefinite NPs are placed more often preverbally regardless of their information-packaging function in each particular case.

Furthermore, the discriminatory function counteracts this trend. Since definite NPs are more likely to be confused with subjects, they are placed postverbally, especially if they are not capable of distinguishing subjects and objects by case (the NOM=ACC type). Our counts corroborate this trade-off between referentially-driven ordering and the discriminatory function.

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“Surzhyk” in letters: how two different alphabets (Russian and Ukrainian) can be mixed in Transcarpathia, Ukraine

This paper analyzes the linguistic landscape of Transcarpathia (Zakarpattia oblast) in western Ukraine. Some people there consider Ukrainian, Hungarian, Romanian, Russian or other languages as their mother tongue, but they also need to know the state language. In Soviet times it was the Russian language, but now the only official language in Ukraine is Ukrainian. That is why Hungarians or Romanians of Transcarpathia who studied Russian as a second language in Soviet schools now use it very rarely. At the same time, the importance of the Ukrainian language is increasing, but not all have learned it at school. Of course, the problem of mixing Russian and Ukrainian languages is relevant for Ukraine as a whole and even has its name (“surzhyk”). However, this phenomenon looks especially in the Transcarpathian region because some locals speak neither Russian nor Ukrainian well. As a result, we can see the letter mixture of two different Slavic languages in Transcarpathia. For instance, the letters of the Russian alphabet («Э», «Ђ», «Ь») may appear in Ukrainian street inscriptions and vice versa («Є», «І» in Russian ones). Some authors researched the problems of teaching Ukrainian as a state language in Transcarpathia (Bárány, 2015; Cserniczkó, 2015; Huszti et al., 2019) and the language diversity of the region (Cserniczkó & Orosz, 1999; Hires-László, 2019; Karmacsi, 2019). This work aims to emphasize that the issue of mixing Russian and Ukrainian languages here may be even more significant than in other areas of Ukraine. The necessary data are analyzed based on photographs of street signs in Transcarpathian cities.

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Evidentiality in narratives

I. Overview. While evidentiality has been subject to a great deal of interest cross-linguistically and specifically in Bulgarian ('Bg') (cf. Smirnova, 2021 for a recent overview, a.m.o.), how evidentials are used in modes other than everyday speech has usually not been the focus of much dedicated attention. This work presents a survey of the uses of Bg evidential markers in four types of narratives. The main findings are:

- (i) There are two perspectives from which evidentials occur in narratives: that of the characters and that of the narrator; they have different properties.
- (ii) Different narrator-oriented evidential markers are restricted to different modes of narrative with strikingly little optionality.
- (iii) Their distribution is related to their prototypical use (in speech).
- (iv) The evidentially loaded past determines the distribution of historical present in Bg.

II. Background: the evidential system in Bg has the typical split of the so-called Eurasian areal evidential belt (Aikhenvald, 2004): the present is not obligatorily evidentially marked, but the past is. Standard Bg (as in traditional descriptive grammars, Nicolova, 2017) has three evidential markers: direct, generic indirect, and reportative.

III. Narratives represent two evidential perspectives: that of the narrator and that of the characters. The perspective of the characters can be conveyed with direct speech, indirect speech, or free indirect discourse. The perspective of the narrator depends on the type of narrative and is described next.

IV. Fables and folk tales are told in the reportative evidential. I propose that the evidential choice of this narrative mode is explained with two semantic properties of reportative evidentials. First, this mode can never use the first person for the narrator, and the reportative evidential can never refer to a report made by the speaker, producing the effect of distancing. Second, folk tales' original source is unknown and the Bg reportative evidential on its standard use also usually refers to report from an unspecified source.

V. Fiction employs direct evidentials. They express that the speaker was a direct witness to the events, and in fiction they express the narrator (who in fiction is a known author) as the all-seeing eye with the full authority to tell the story.

VI. Two types of non-fiction.

a. Journalistic speech predominantly uses the indirect evidential (cf. Moskova, 2020), which expresses non-eyewitness knowledge but without reduced reliability, although sometimes direct evidentials are used to convey that the media was at the place of the action and 'saw' what happened.

b. General knowledge (e.g. biographical or historical texts), unlike journalistic speech, is almost entirely conveyed in the historical present. I propose that this is because of the property described in II: the past, but not the present is obligatorily evidentially unmarked, i.e.

the only way to talk about the past without any evidentiality and convey knowledge in a truly impersonal, factual manner, removing the narrator altogether, is to use historical present.

VIII. Impact. The findings presented here have intriguing theoretical implications. For example, the finding that different types of narratives are sensitive to the formal semantic properties of evidentials can be used to inform competing theories of evidentiality, as they should be able to capture also the distribution of evidentials in those modes of speech. The findings also have methodological implications: care must be taken to control for how informants might interpret the type of narrative in which the evidential (or even the present) occurs.

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The Evolution of subjunctive constructions in the Polish language

The article explores the evolution of *żeby*-clauses in the Polish mood system. Clauses introduced by the complex complementizer *żeby* defy a unified description, and traditional Polish grammars classify them either as indicative (Puzynina 1971; Nagórko 2007) or conditional/subjunctive (Tokarski 1973/2001; Laskowski 1984). We will use the term ‘conditional/subjunctive mood’ to refer to *tryb przypuszczający* understood as a category traditionally recognized by Polish grammarians, which encompasses a variety of irrealis moods, such as conditional, hypothetical, subjunctive, and optative. The term ‘conditional/subjunctive mood’ should be distinguished from ‘subjunctive mood’ which we define as an irrealis dependent mood usually found in embedded clauses (following Quer 2006), according to the Polish descriptive grammar described as complement clauses (*zdania dopełnieniowe*), which serve as complements to *verba sentiendi et dicendi* (Pisarkowa 1972). In the literature, there is also the discussion whether *żeby* is a complex complementiser composed of the simple complementizer *że* (subordinating conjunction equivalent to English ‘that’), the particle *by*, and person and number suffixes (or auxiliaries) that mark the 1st and 2nd person singular and plural or, because in subjunctive mood we cannot separate *że* and *by*, it is a united complementiser with past tense auxiliary clitics (see Witkoś 1998, Migdalski 2006, Sadowska 2012). The diachronic view of processes leading to a contemporary state, especially grammaticalization and reanalysis, is the authors’ contribution to this discussion. The approach is mainly based on the Construction Grammar model (Goldberg 2006, Fried 2015) and corpus analysis. We follow Fried’s definition of constructions as “conventionalized clusters of features (syntactic, prosodic, pragmatic, semantic, textual, etc.) that recur as further indivisible associations between form and meaning”. We argue that the subjunctive mood has its representation in a specific construction pattern based on a limited group of verbs opening position for subordinated clauses with complementiser (*że*)/*by* and l-participium. The diachronic changes involve grammaticalization of the particle *by*, lexicalization of the complex complementizer, differentiation of the pattern dependent on the identity or non-identity of the subjects, etc.

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Tracing KNOW in Slavic at the interface of family, culture and nature

Abstract concepts are typically accessed and lexicalised based on more concrete domain. This cross-conceptual transfer is driven by metaphorical and metonymic mappings (Lakoff 1987; Padučeva 2004), which are motivated by very basic physical experiences (Louwse 2010). The fact that lexicalisations of abstract concepts display language-specific preferences even within one and the same family points to the relevance of cultural factors in these processes. This presentation traces the interaction of cognitive experiences, family-internal linguistic predispositions and cultural embedding on the example of the concept KNOW and its lexicalisation in the Slavic family, expanding on Buck's (1988 [1949]) insight that the history of words is closely tied to the history of the ideas they express.

Despite their common lexical heritage, the Slavic languages differ in their (co-)lexification patterns for the concept KNOW and its major domains 'know-that', 'know-s.th.' (Popović 1960; Grković-Mejdžor 2007) and 'know-how' (Sonnenhauser 2017; Bužarovska 2013), i.e. proposition-, action- and object-oriented knowledge (Ryle 1945; Vendler 1957; Apresjan 1995). Our analysis of the lexification choices (e.g. *wiedzieć*, *мочь*, *razumeti*, *разбурам*), the domains of conceptual transfer (e.g. SEE, POWER, MIND, TAKE) and the experiential basis (perception, action, state) for 132 KNOW-contexts from 120 verses of 22 spatiotemporally diverse Slavic translations of the New Testaments, reveals characteristic differences in the choice of lexical means and the domains of KNOW they lexify; slightly less differences for the relevant conceptual mappings and their cognitive bases. The differences do not strictly correlate with the branches of Slavic, nor do they display a clear historical signal. What they do suggest, however, is a correlation with the cultural history of the different New-Testament-varieties.

These results provide insight into the interplay of vertical transmission and cultural embedding with physical experience and indicate how the former may override the latter (see also Boroditsky and Ramscar 2002). In a larger perspective they suggest that also abstract lexical meanings may at least in part be motivated instead of being completely arbitrary.

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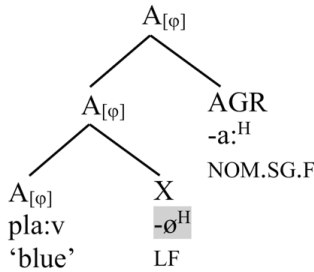
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Cyclicity and empty moras leading to compensatory vowel lengthening

Vowel-final suffixes in long-form adjectives (LFAs) in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian (BCS) have a longer vowel than suffixes in their short-form (SFA) counterparts, e.g. plá:v-a (blue-NOM.SF) v. plá:v-a: (blue-NOM.LF). This difference is present in addition to the prosodic differences the stems of the two forms exhibit. As Talić (2017) argues, the final vowel of the stem has an extra High tone in LFAs that is missing in SFAs. The suffix vowel lengthening, however, is not yet well-understood. In this paper, I show that the extra stem-final High tone and the suffix vowel length in LFAs are closely related. I argue the lengthening results from the interaction of cyclicity, the timing of rule application, a segmentally null exponent of a functional head, and a phonological tendency to link empty moras to adjacent vowels.

Talić (2017) shows BCS LFAs have a functional projection above AP. Looking closely at prosodic differences between LFAs and SFAs, she demonstrates that the exponent of the head of this functional projection is a segmentally empty suffix with a High tone. Regarding nominal concord, it has been argued that it happens post-syntactically via AGR-node insertion and Feature Copying (Kramer 2010, Norris 2014). This leads to the following structure of LFAs:

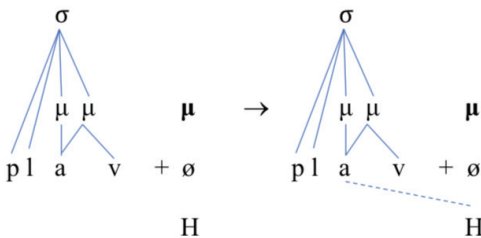
(1)



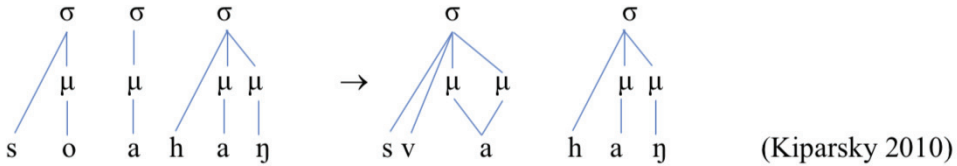
Vocabulary Insertion rules apply cyclically – one exponent at a time from the most embedded terminal node outwards, so the order of insertion in (1) is: (i) pla:v, (ii) -ø^H, (iii) -a^H. Crucially, any time that a condition for a rule is met, it automatically applies, without looking ahead to those that will apply later (Embick and Marantz 2008). Therefore, when [-ø^H] is inserted, the AGR suffix is not present. In this configuration, the floating High tone is preceded by a vowel, which meets the conditions for High tone reassociation (see Goldsmith 1976: 55-67 for a discussion of floating tones in Sub-Saharan languages, and Michaud 2006 for reassociation of tones in Naxi) and it links to the final vowel of the stem.

(2)

LFA stem before the VI of AGR



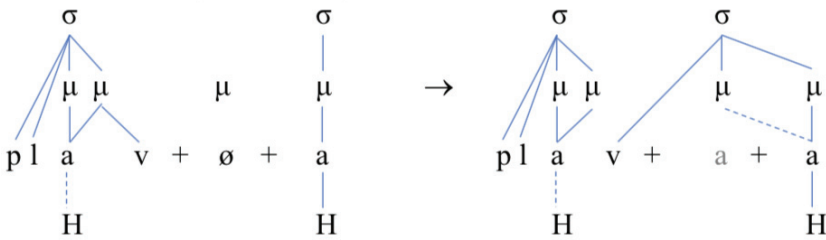
Now, the long-form exponent historically originates from a pronoun (-ju/i, -jego, -jemu ...; Schenker 1993) that had at least one syllable. It is known cross-linguistically that historical changes where the segmental content of a nucleus or a coda is emptied can lead to the process of compensatory lengthening, where the empty mora is not deleted, but it is filled with new content from adjacent vowels (see e.g. Hayes 1989; Kiparsky 2010). The example from Pāli in (3) illustrates the gliding of a prevocalic /o/ which empties its nucleus. Subsequently, the vowel /a/ from the following syllable links to the empty mora, which results in its lengthening.



The vowel lengthening with BCS LFA inflection also suggests that there is a mora in its exponent that remained after diachronic deletion of its segmental content. After the floating High tone associates with the closest vowel available (2), the exponent of AGR (1) is inserted (4). Since an empty mora precedes the vocalic exponent of AGR, the vowel /a/ links to it, resulting in its lengthening.

(4)

LFA stem after the VI of AGR



Therefore, the length on vocalic AGR exponents present only in LFAs is not a part of the underlying representation of these exponents, but a regular and independently motivated process of compensatory lengthening through historical vowel loss that occurs frequently cross-linguistically (see Jensen 1977 (Yapese); Timberlake 1983 (Slavic); Hock 1986 (Balto-Slavic, Hungarian, Jutland Danish, Korean, dialects of German, Slavic) Repetti 1989 (Friulian)). Thus, the AGR exponent for both SFAs and LFAs in these forms is the same. Since the prosodic contrasts and lengthening can only be captured if the insertion of the long-form inflection (X) exponent takes place before the vocabulary insertion of AGR within the complex adjectival head, this further supports the Talić's proposal that the functional head projected by the long-form inflection is in the extended domain of A, rather than N (see e.g. Aljović 2002).

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Some particularities of quantified expressions in Western South Slavic languages

The presentation explores the syntactic properties of quantified expressions with cardinal numerals in Western South Slavic languages. When considering their syntactic properties within these constructions, the numerals can be categorized into two groups: those from 1 to 4, often referred to as ‘minor numbers’, and those from 5 onwards. This analysis focuses on the peculiarities of these constructions in Slovene, Štokavian, as well as in a Kajkavian and a Central Čakavian dialect.

The initial part of our presentation discusses the interaction between cardinal numerals and nouns denoting the entity counted. Within this context, we will contrast the different types of agreement that dominate among minor numbers with the syntactic governance that defines numerals starting from 5.

The subsequent part of our presentation deals with predicate agreement with quantified expressions. Numerals ranging from 1 to 4 in constructions involving a quantified subject do not impact the predicate’s form. In such instances, the predicates agree with the nouns encompassed within the quantified subjects.

Across all Western South Slavic languages and dialects, quantified subjects that incorporate numerals such as 5 trigger the default agreement pattern. This pattern entails the predicate being expressed in the neuter singular form. Exclusively within the Štokavian, quantified subjects featuring numerals from 5 onwards can take plural agreement.

In adjectival copular clauses in all the analyzed languages, the quantified expressions containing the numeral 5 induces default 3SG agreement on the copula. Regarding the adjectival form marking within these constructions, Slovene stands apart from the other languages we are examining due to its two distinct patterns. It can either adopt the plural genitive form, in correspondence with the Noun Phrase within the quantified expression, or, similarly to the other languages being studied, it can employ the singular neuter form.

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Pronominal clitics in Resian

In this paper, we focus on the exceptional system of pronominal clitics of the autochthonous Slovene dialect spoken in the Resia valley located in northern Italy. Like standard Slovene, Resian has clitic variants of the genitive, dative, and accusative forms of the personal pronouns. As a result of intense language contact with neighboring Romance varieties (most notably Friulian), it has however additionally developed a clitic variant of the nominative forms and it, moreover, shows clitic doubling with subjects and objects (Skubič 1997, Steenwijk 1992, Šekli 2010, Runić 2018).

In the literature, the Resian clitic system has been mostly discussed as part of works with a more general scope (Benacchio 1984, Steenwijk 1992, Skubič 1997). Studies dedicated to issues regarding pronominal clitics specifically are rare (e.g., Šekli 2010, Runić 2018), and some basic characteristics of the clitic system still remain to be determined. In our study, we therefore intend to provide a detailed description of the placement and order of pronominal clitics in the Resian clause. As a resource, we use the recent translation of *Le petit prince* into Resian (de Saint-Éxupery 2021). Working with a translated text, while having some disadvantages, proves useful in distinguishing doubling constructions from cases of left- and right-dislocation (cf. Coveney 2005).

We find that subject clitics always precede the verb while object clitics follow the verb in imperative constructions (cf. also Benacchio 1984). In periphrastic verbal constructions, the subject clitic precedes the entire verbal complex while object clitics are proclitic to the main verb (1). Both subject and object clitics can occupy the first position in the clause.

- (1) Ja mēšon je ni pušlūšat
I-SC have-IMPERF.1SG they-OC NEG listen-INF
'I should not have listened to her!'

The investigated data allow us to establish the clitic cluster in (2) for both doubling and non-doubling constructions. However, as marked by parentheses, some variation can be observed and the clitic cluster can, moreover, be split up by adverbs.

- (2) SC > EMPH > (NEG) > OC > (REFL) > (NEG) > (REFL) > verb

The Resian system of pronominal clitics has characteristics that make it unique within Slavic (subject clitics, subject doubling and others) (Franks & King 2000, Franks et al. 2005). By offering a description of the placement and ordering of the Resian pronominal clitics we intend to contribute to our understanding of how this system emerged. In particular, our description is meant to provide a basis for a better comparison of the Resian clitic system with that of the neighboring Romance languages and thus to help getting new insights in how language contact can shape the clitic system of a language.

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Contrastive linguistics meets heritage languages: A cross-linguistic study on address forms in bilingual Russian speakers in Germany and Israel

Despite contrastive linguistics mainly deals with comparison of different baseline languages, migrant heritage languages (HL) offer a fertile ground for contrastive investigations as well. Within HLs, at least two language systems come in contact. Analysis of the emerging contact-induced results and their trigger mechanisms can shed light onto structural specifics of the languages in contact or onto pragmatic features of their usage. This is where the present paper comes in.

Previous research on the pragmatic skills of HL speakers has mainly concentrated on speech acts of making requests, in HLs in contact with English as a dominant Societal Language (SL) (Dubinina / Malamud 2017, Pinto / Raschio 2007). As first of its kind, the present paper 1) investigates the address forms in Russian HL in Germany and Israel and 2) compares pragmatic phenomena in contact situations of Russian with two typologically different languages.

The paper focuses on the formal speech based on the following hypothesis. As a result of the functional distribution of HL and SL (familiar resp official language), HL speakers mainly use only their SL in the formal communication. In turn, a functionally reduced use of their HL contributes to an uncompleted acquisition of its formal register(s) (Wiese / Yannick 2021). Accordingly, Russian HL speakers in line with the multilingual variation as a main feature of their communication (Francescini 1998) resort to a number of diverse strategies in the formal speech, based on SL, HL or on their own creativity.

The study describes these strategies and analyzes the pragmatic and linguistic factors influencing their choice, among others, regarding to the certain lacunae and divergences in the Russian address system itself.

The empirical data of the study were collected from 35 participants split into two groups: adult Russian-Hebrew (n=10) and Russian-German bilinguals (n=25). The participants' requests at the hypothetical communicative situations elicited by means of a speech-productive task were coded for the choice of the (a) pronominal (T resp V) and nominal address forms (form of address, title, first or second name etc. and diverse forms' combinations) and (b) their syntactic combinations.

The comparative evaluation of data from each experimental group shows that the choice (or creation) of concrete address forms in the formal speech is caused by both HL-gaps in HL-speakers and gaps in Russian address form's system itself. However, the strategies of filling these gaps are also related to the dominant address system (Hebrew or German), which exerts a linguistic but also pragmatic influence on HL. Moreover, the analysis of the data shows that the specifics of the address forms' use emergent not only due to system-linguistic and contact-linguistic factors, but also due to pragmatically relevant factors (e.g., interpretation of status/power and distance/ solidarity, individual social and cultural identity etc.).

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**/v/ Sonorancy and regressive voicing assimilation:
 An optimality theory analysis**

Previous research in various languages (Andersen 1969, Barkai and Horvath 1978, Rice 1993, Padgett 2002) in phonetics and phonology has suggested that /v/ may not behave in the ways expected of other obstruents. Padgett (2002) provides an Optimality Theory analysis that suggests there is a special /v/ phoneme in Russian and similar languages. However, Padgett’s analysis is disproven by the phonetic evidence and analysis presented by Bjorndahl (2018). I propose an analysis of /v/ voicing assimilation in Russian using positional faithfulness (Beckman 1998, Rubach 2008) and licensing constraints (Walker 2011), which follows the phonetic evidence presented by Bjorndahl (2018).

Russian data shows that /v/ behaves differently in regressive obstruent voicing assimilation than other obstruents do (1ab), in that it fails to trigger the voicing assimilation process (1c) but successfully undergoes regressive voicing assimilation (1d):

- (1) Russian regressive obstruent voicing assimilation
 - a. /bis zʲini/ → [bis zʲini] ‘without a wife’
 - b. /bis ʂarə/ → [bis ʂarə] ‘without a shell’
 - c. /bis vɛdi/ → [bis vɛdi] (expected: [biz vɛdi]) ‘without water’
 - d. /vʲtsɛl/ → [fʲtsɛl] ‘on target’

Rubach (2008) uses IDENT(PRESON) to correctly predict the winning candidate in situations without /v/, but incorrectly predicts *[biz vɛdi] to be the winning candidate in cases like (1c).

(2) Russian voicing (Rubach 2008)

| | IDENT(PRESON) | AGREE | IDENT |
|---------------|---------------|-------|-------|
| /bis vɛdi/ | | | |
| i. bis vɛdi | | *! | |
| ii. biz vɛdi | | | * |
| iii. biz fɛdi | *! | * | ** |
| iv. bis fɛdi | *! | | * |

(3) Proposed account for Russian voicing

| | IDENT(PRESON) | AGREE | LIC-V[+son] | IDENT |
|--------------------|---------------|-------|-------------|-------|
| /bis vɛdi/ | | | | |
| i. bis v[+son]ɛdi | | | | |
| ii. biz v[-son]ɛdi | | *! | * | * |
| iii. bis v[son]ɛdi | | *! | * | |
| iv. biz v[son]ɛdi | *! | | | * |

Adopting Rubach’s use (2008) of the positional faithfulness constraint Ident(preson), the tableau in (3) adds Lic-V[+son] to correctly predict the winning candidate by assigning a [+sonorant] feature to [v] when it appears to the left of another sonorant (i.e., [ɐ]). This constraint is specific to [v] due to its phonetic differences of less friction and higher salience compared to other obstruents (Andersen 1969) and the positional differences in sonorancy values (Bjorndahl 2018). The Lic-V[son] constraint allows [v] to carry a [+sonorant] feature, avoiding a fatal violation of Agree since there is no longer two neighboring obstruents that disagree in the feature [voice]. Under this analysis, [s] remains an obstruent, and [v] becomes a sonorant on the surface representation. Crucially, Rubach’s (2008) presonorant faithfulness constraint, required to account for the majority of regressive voicing assimilation, still predicts the correct winning candidate, even when [v] is classified as a sonorant, creating a violation of the presonorant constraint in (3)iv. This proposal is an improvement on Padgett’s (2002) proposal, in that it proposes a single underlying phoneme with two possible realizations according to the phonological environment and is supported by the phonetic analysis presented by Bjorndahl (2018).

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On the presence of vP in the structure of *-liwy* adjectives in Polish

In Polish, the suffix *-liwy* can attach to a number of verbal bases to form adjectives (e.g. *topliwy* ‘fusible’, *dociekliwy* ‘inquisitive’, *kłamlivy* ‘lying, deceitful’). While these adjectives have been a popular topic among linguists (Szymanek, 2010; Bloch-Trojnar, 2018), available accounts of them make use of lexical and semantic approaches. Hence, this study examines *-liwy* adjectives within a syntactic theory of word formation, and more specifically Distributed Morphology (DM – Halle & Marantz, 1993). The research will attempt to answer the question of whether the derivation of *-liwy* adjectives involves the vP layer, argued to be the locus of event implications (Alexiadou, 2001), or whether they are formed by the merging of the suffix directly to the root.¹

Adjectives derived from middle verbs (e.g. *topliwy* ‘fusible’, *łamlivy* ‘brittle’) are arguably deverbal because they can be modified with the adverb *łatwo* ‘easily’. The data in (1) additionally shows that adjectives such as *dociekliwy* ‘inquisitive’ or *życzliwy* ‘friendly’ can license the internal argument of their verbs; *zaraźliwy* ‘infectious’ is shown to be possible with an instrumental modifier, whereas *troskliwy* ‘caring’ or *przenikliwy* ‘piercing’ are able to occur with PPs typical of their verbs, which is indicative of their eventive nature.

- (1) a. *dociekliwi* *prawdy* *dziennikarze*
inquisitive truth.3SG.GEN journalists
‘inquisitive journalists’
(cf. *dociekać prawdy* ‘seek the truth’)
- b. *człowiek* *bardzo* *życzliwy* *wszystkim*
man very friendly all.3PL.DAT
‘a man very friendly to all.’
(cf. *życzyć dobrze wszystkim* ‘wish everyone well’)
- c. *muzyka* *zaraźliwa* *swoim* *optymizmem*
music infectious own.3SG.INSTR optimism.3SG.INSTR
‘music infectious with its optimism’
(cf. *zarażać optymizmem* ‘infect with optimism’)
- d. *troskliwy* *o* *swe* *gospodarstwo* *gospodarz*
caring of his farm.3SG.ACC farmer
‘a farmer who takes care of his farm’
(cf. *troszczyć się o gospodarstwo* ‘care about the farm’)
- e. *przenikliwy* *do* *szpiku kości* *wiatr*
piercing to bone marrow.3SG.GEN wind
‘bone-crushing wind’
(cf. *przenikać do szpiku kości* ‘chill to the bone’)

¹ This research does not discuss *-liwy* adjectives with non-transparent meanings (e.g. *cierpliwy* ‘patient’ or *zdradliwy* ‘treacherous’). Adjectives that can be argued to be derived from nouns (e.g. *wadliwy* ‘defective’, cf. *wada* ‘defect’ or *kłopotliwy* ‘troublesome’, cf. *kłopot* ‘trouble’) are also beyond the scope of the study.

The ability to license event-related modifiers is not universal in *-liwy* adjectives. Words such as *szkodliwy* ‘harmful’ or *dotkliwy* ‘painful, acute’, are not found with internal arguments,² while *kłamiwy* ‘lying, deceitful’ cannot appear with PPs that typically follow their verb (**Ta żywność jest szkodliwa zdrowiu*, cf. *Ta żywność jest szkodliwa dla zdrowia* ‘This food is harmful to health’; **Ten problem jest dotkliwy mieszkańcom*, cf. *Ten problem jest dotkliwy dla mieszkańców* ‘This is an acute problem for the residents.’; **Ten artykuł jest kłamiwy o nauczycielach*, cf. *Ten artykuł kłamie o nauczycielach* ‘This article lies about teachers’). Thus, adjectives such as *szkodliwy* and *kłamiwy* can be argued to lack elements of verbal structure in their syntactic representation. This nevertheless indicates that verbal structure may be present in result nominals such as *klamstwo* ‘lie’, which do license the relevant PPs (e.g. *klamstwo o nauczycielach* ‘a lie about teachers’).

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² Interestingly, *szkodliwy* and *dotkliwy* used to be possible with internal arguments, which means that they started their lives as deverbal constructs.

- (i) a. *Motyl ten jest szkodliwy wszystkim lasom iglastym.*

‘This butterfly is harmful for all coniferous forests.’

J. Wagner, *Podręcznik dla dozorców lasów i gajowych* (1875).

- b. *ból dotkliwy wszystkich członków*

‘a pain that is severe for all limbs’

Siedem Groszy (newspaper, 1935)

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Distributional properties of directive-optative markers in contemporary Slavic languages

All Slavic languages possess units that introduce directive-optative speech acts and, at the same time, have acquired permissive, concessive, and similar functions; see (1-5). These units derive from LET-verbs (**nehati, pustiti*) or an older stock of ‘particles’ (Cz. *at*). We will refer to them as DIR-units. Their syntactic behavior may resemble auxiliaries in ‘analytical moods’ or subordinating connectives (Wiemer 2023).

- (1) Polish *Ja tam wierzę swoim metodom, a komputerami **niech** się zajmują geniusze.* (PNC)
‘I believe in my methods; as for computers, **may** geniuses deal with them.’
- (2) Slovene *Tu notri stoji zapisano: Vsak **naj** vzame svoj križ na rame.* (Gigafida)
‘Here it is written: **Let** each one take his cross on his shoulder.’
(lit. ‘... Everybody **may** take ...’)
- (3) Serbian *majka mi reče, **neka** mu skočim na leđa.* (Topolińska 2008: 208)
‘my mother told me to jump on his back’
(lit. ‘...**may** I jump...’)
- (4) Russian *Ja by skazal: **pust’** Stalin menja snova pošlet v Kazaxstan.* (RNC)
‘I would say: **may** Stalin send me again to Kazaxstan.’
- (5) Czech *Nechal sem ji, **at’** vybere a objedná nám oběma.* (ČNC)
‘I let her choose (so that) she **may** order for both of us.’

Our analysis of small random samples on DIR-units from Polish, Russian and Slovene yielded some preliminary observations:

A) Most of the functions distinguished by Dobrushina (2019) for Russ. *pust’/puskaj* occur with DIR-units across Slavic. However, their frequency may differ considerably. Thus, Pol. *niech* is less prominent in concessive function than Russ. *pust’*; Sln. *naj* frequently combines with the assumed standard complementizer (*da*), whereas Pol. *że niech* and Russ. *čto pust’* are less common; see (6–7):

- (6) Slovene *Rekel mi je, **da naj** vas pričakam.* (<http://opus.npl.eu>)
‘He told me to pick you up.’
(lit. ...**that may** I...)
- (7) Russian *On govoril ej, čtoby ne vydumyvala, **čto pust’** pol’zuetsja vsem, čem nado.* (RNC)
‘He told her not to invent, that she should use everything needed.’
(lit. ...**that may** she use...)

B) For an adequate picture we need to account for vague (oscillating) cases (cf. Mendoza/Sonnenhauser 2023), e.g., optative-purpose as in (5), and also for the presence of expressions that potentially introduce DIR-clauses as their complements (see 2-4).

C) Whenever DIR seems to occur in quoted speech, person deixis shifts in accordance with the reporting speech event; thus, the pattern of DIR indicates a hybrid status between direct and indirect speech (see 3, 6). Our talk presents a pilot study with random samples from a set of modern Slavic languages. In pursuing a usage-based analysis of the syntactic and semantic properties of DIR-units, we do not assume any underlying structures on clause level and are agnostic as for any categorial status of DIR (e.g., part of complex predicate or subordinator; see above). In particular, we want to make a case for token-based semantic maps which create a more adequate picture of the functional distribution of linguistic units than maps based only on types (cf. Levshina 2016 on analytic causatives).

Towards that aim, our annotation targets (a) features of linear sequence and distance (e.g., between DIR and finite verb), (b) semantic functions (Dobrushina 2019) with a special focus on oscillating cases.

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Exceptive-additive constructions in a cross-linguistic perspective

The linguistic representation of exceptive-additive constructions has fascinated the interest of many scholars of different languages, see inter alia [Inkova, Manzotti 2019], [Polinsky 2019], [Vostrikova 2019]. The goal of this paper is to provide a description of exceptive-additive constructions in different languages and consider their syntactic and semantic properties.

I. Ways of expressing exception/addition in Russian and beyond

One of the most common ways to express exceptive/additive meaning is by a dedicated word. In many languages one and the same marker can be ambiguous between ‘except’ and ‘in addition to’, as has been reported in [Mayer 1993] for German *außer*, and recently in [Vostrikova 2019] for similar facts in Russian, Bulgarian, Hindi, Turkish, Persian, etc.:

RUSSIAN

- (1) *Пришли все мои коллеги, кроме <помимо...> Ивана.* *Exceptive inference*
‘All my colleagues came, except Ivan’ → *Ivan didn’t come*
- (2) *Кроме <помимо...> Ивана, пришли все мои коллеги.* *Additive inference*
‘In addition to Ivan, all my colleagues came’ → *Ivan came*

An absolutely different way may be found in Polynesian languages, namely in Tahitian. According to [Potsdam, Polinsky 2017] the exceptive phrase in Tahitian is a juxtaposition of two clauses in which the first makes a generalization and the second explicitly states an exception to that generalization via a negative clause.

TAHITIAN

[Potsdam, Polinsky 2017]

- (3) ‘*Ua tae pauroa mai te mau tamari’i, ‘o Poe noa ‘aita*
PFV come all DIR DET PL child DET Poe just NEG
‘All the children came, just/only Poe didn’t.’

II. The linear position of the exception phrase

The semantic and pragmatic properties of the analyzed connectors determine other properties, namely syntactic and communicative ones. Thus, the additive markers are typically used in preposition to the ExP-associate:

RUSSIAN

- (4) *Кроме английского, я знаю ещё французский и испанский.*
(5) **Я знаю ещё французский и испанский, кроме английского.*
while position of exceptive markers in Russian is relatively free, as is characteristic of Russian word order:
(6) а. *Я не знаю никаких языков, кроме английского.*
 б. *Кроме английского, я не знаю никаких языков.*
 с. *Я не знаю, кроме английского, никаких языков.*

III. Quantifier Constraint

Revisiting data on the syntax of exceptive constructions, I will examine the so-called *Quantifier Constraint*, which says an exception phrase must denote a universal or negative universal quantifier, in particular, *every*, *all* and *no* [Hoeksema 1995], [Moltmann 1995].

(9) Every boy except Ivan came.

(9a) *Most/*Few boys except Ivan came.

Later [Polinsky 2019] shows the prediction that exceptive DPs whose associates are headed by non-universal determiners are semantically ill-formed is incorrect.

RUSSIAN

(10) Многие газеты его опубликовали (кроме «Известий», конечно).

Mnogiye gazety yego opublikovali (krome «Izvestiy», konechno).

Free exceptive constructions may function without any ExP-associate, for example:

ENGLISH

[Polinsky 2019]

(11) We seldom eat out, except for Indian food.

The ExP-associate is optional and can be omitted without affecting the well-formedness of negative sentences in Arabic. The only obligatory elements are the particle 'illā and the ExP-complement, as demonstrated in (12).

ARABIC

[Alhawary 2011:310]

(12) mā qābal-tu 'illā ṭālib-a-n

not met-1SG.SBJ except student-ACC-INDEF

'I met only one student.'

In our study, we will consider in detail these and other features of exceptive-additive constructions in Russian in comparison with other languages.

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New experiences and learning opportunities in heritage and majority languages during the COVID-19 pandemic

Over the course of the COVID-19 pandemic, school has entered the home in a unique way, where parents act as primary guides who support the children's learning at home (UNESCO, 2020). Even though research has shown that the lockdown has offered mostly favorable conditions for heritage language learning (Afreeen & Norton, 2021; Sheng et al., 2021), not much is known about the way the learning space in a multilingual family has been organized and affected by the pandemic conditions and about the dynamics between heritage and majority languages in these families.

Given the intense space and time sharing that families have experienced during the pandemic, the present study aims to explore how these conditions affected the acquisition of heritage and majority languages and the dynamics of this interaction. In particular, we aim to explore: (1) what were the families' experiences of heritage and majority language learning during the intense period of the lockdown and (2) what new experiences and opportunities the pandemic era provided to multilingual families in five countries which we examined, each having different lockdown policies.

In order to answer our research questions, a qualitative study with 50 semi-structured interviews was conducted during spring 2022 in Cyprus, Estonia, Germany, Israel, and Sweden. Historically, these countries have had different migration waves as well as reasons for migration and different Russian as HL maintenance policies. The five cases differ in the country and HL Russian community size. Furthermore, the countries varied with respect to lockdown policies.

We employed qualitative analysis. Based on the obtained data, we identified an overarching theme across all the countries. It points at new (technical) solutions to enhance language learning during the pandemic. Access to digital technologies provided new opportunities for learning the languages, such as remote lessons in a heritage language and even individual tutorials. However, when formal and community schooling moved on-line, the parents became not only the guides who supported the children's learning at home (UNESCO, 2020), but rather, the learning of both heritage and majority languages became the primary responsibility of those parents (or viewed as such).

In our study, we were particularly interested in whether HL-Russian-speaking families sought new opportunities to improve HL-Russian during the pandemic when the children were spending more time at home with the family members. Despite the notable differences in HL-Russian community schooling before the pandemic and the lockdown national policies, the interviewed families in all the five countries reported similar experiences. This shows the extreme importance of the family and their language policy as well as the sensitivity to the changes, both linguistic and societal. The pedagogical and research implications of the lessons distilled from the lockdown period will be discussed.

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Postcyclic stress in Russian

Since at least (Chomsky & Halle, 1968), stress has been taken as the domain that is most evidently expected to require cyclic rule application in rule-based phonology (which are preferable to constraint ranking on independent grounds (Vaux, 2008)) — including, of course, in Russian (Halle & Vergnaud, 1987, pp. 81–83, 97–98) (Melvold, 1989).

However, phonological cycles do not match with syntactic cycles, aka phases (D’Alessandro & Scheer, 2015); and if that were a feature of variably applied Phase Impenetrability Condition, as the paper suggests, we would expect cycle-bound postsyntactic operations to match with phonology rather than syntax, which is plainly not true in Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz, 1993), where a number of operations are phase-bound (for instance, Amalgamation (Harizanov & Gribanova, 2018)) but none are bound by phonological cycles. In Nanosyntax (Starke, 2009), of course, there are no postsyntactic operations to speak of, yet spell-out itself is so intertwined with syntax that it is difficult to understand how it can generate phonological cycles unless one accepts the idea (espoused by (Melvold, 1989)) that *all* affixes are cyclic.

Against this background, it is high time to re-introduce boundary segments. Most of their rebuttals (so in (Rotenberg, 1978) and (Steriade, 1982)) crucially rely on accessibility of syntactic structure to phonology, which is doubtful on independent grounds (Scheer, 2008) and doesn’t explain why postsyntactic agreement is structure-insensitive, as shown by Wurmbrand (2016).

One then has to show that stress can be accounted for in generative phonology without cycles, using boundary segments. There are pre-generative (and thus obviously non-cyclic) descriptions for Russian stress, most famously (Zaliznyak, 2010). I shall set out to show that their main insights can be adapted into cycle-less generative phonology without losing generality.

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Subjective veridicality in Polish and clausal embedding: The unusual case of *czy*

This talk discusses selectional properties of subjectively veridical clause-embedding predicates in Polish like *być pewnym* ‘be certain’, *być jasnym* ‘be clear’, *być oczywistym* ‘be obvious’. Subjectively veridical predicates are verbs that are associated with truth, but, in contrast to objectively veridical verbs like ‘manage’ or ‘prove’, the truth they base on is being subjectively estimated by an epistemic agent, for instance the speaker (Giannakidou, 1998; Giannakidou & Mari, 2021; Öhl, 2017; 2018). As a result, only objectively veridical verbs entail the truth of their propositional complements (Egré, 2008; cf. also implicative verbs in Karttunen’s, 1971 sense).

Subjectively veridical verbs select for *that*-clauses (1), but they can also take *whether*-clauses (2) if a non-veridical operator (negation, modal verb) is provided (Öhl, 2017; 2018; Schwabe, 2019).

- (1) To jest pewne / jasne / oczywiste, że / #czy Marek straci pracę.
It is certain / clear / obvious that / whether Marek loses_{FUT} job
‘It is certain / clear / obvious that / whether Marek will lose his job.’
- (2) To nie jest pewne / jasne / oczywiste, że / czy Marek straci pracę.
It NEG is certain / clear / obvious that / whether Marek loses_{FUT} job
‘It is not certain / clear / obvious that / whether Marek will lose his job.’

In this talk, I will discuss cases where at least some subjectively veridical predicates in Polish allow for the combination with *czy*-clauses without the presence of non-veridical operators. Based on Zuchewicz (2022: 163), I assume that following conditions are necessary for such a case to arise: 1) the sentence speaker and the matrix subject are distinct entities, 2) the speaker does not know whether a proposition expressed by the *that*-clause holds true or not, 3) the speaker knows that there is someone who knows whether a proposition expressed by the *that*-clause holds true or not. Additionally, lexical properties of subjectively veridical predicates contribute to (non-)licensing of their well-formedness with *czy*-clauses.

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Clitics in contact situations: the case of Molise Croatian

Molise Croatian, also known as Nanaš or Nanašu, is a non standardized South Slavic variety spoken in the Italian region of Molise. Despite having received a relatively good amount of attention from the scientific community (Breu 1992, 2003; Luraghi & Krstić 2018; Marra 2005, 2021; Rešetar 1997 [1911] a.o.), very little has been said about its clitic placement and the structure of the clitic cluster.

Unlike clitics in BCMS, which are traditionally described as occurring in second position (cf. Franks & King 2000: 217) or in the second position of their intonational phrase (cf. Bošković 2001; Radanović-Kocić 1988), Luraghi & Krstić (2013) claim that MC also has second position clitics, as in (1), with a growing tendency to immediately precede the verb.

- (1) *Večer je divojk ponila klupka*
evening aux.cl girl bring.pst hank
'In the evening, the girl brought a hank'

However, there are numerous attestations of clitic-first constructions, as in (2) and (3):

- (2) *Ču lejit džurnal*
aux.cl.fut.1sg read.inf journal
'I will read the journal' (cf. Marra 2021: 235)

- (3) *Se strašahu čuda do štreği*
refl be_afraid.impf.1sg much of witch.gen.pl
'I was very much afraid of witches' (cf. Breu and Piccoli 2012: 128)

Similar constructions can be found in Old Shtokavian and Torlak varieties, for instance, *Će idemo do grat[d]?* 'Should we go to town?'. Arsenijević (in preparation) argues that clitics in such varieties originate in the first position, but are subjected to a set of phonological constraints and are realizations of C. Building up on such considerations, I claim that MC clitics present consistent differences compared to the BCMS system, having first-position clitics whose realization is contact-induced and follows the Italian system (cf. *Si (refl) stanno vestendo?* 'Are they getting dressed?'), rather than the one proposed by Arsenijević (in preparation).

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PANEL SECTIONS

1. The Ukrainian language today: Issues of history, sociolinguistics, and areal typology

Panel leader:

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The proposed panel deals with the sociolinguistic, areal-typological, and historical aspects of the standard and non-standard varieties of the Ukrainian language. Such a multifaceted approach provides a “global picture” of both standard and non-standard varieties of Ukrainian viewed in both synchrony and diachrony. A special emphasis is placed on the state and history of standard Ukrainian, viewed as a pluricentric system. The vagaries of Ruthenian are discussed on the material of a series of records written in both *prostaja mova* and Church Slavonic of the Ukrainian recension. In addition to an inquiry into the history of standard Ukrainian, combined with a survey of the respective cultural background, the participants of the panel will explore an array of the most salient features of the Ukrainian language system. Thus, the origins of Ukrainian and its both diatopic and diachronic profiling are introduced in the light of major sound transformations in some of the most archaic Ukrainian (Hutsul) dialects. Within the multifaceted approach, the Ukrainian language system is also discussed in terms of areal grammaticalization which demonstrates the concurrent and competing trends in both phonetic and sematic articulation of the Ukrainian language system.

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Moldavian charters: The case of 'a umlaut in Hutsul of Ukrainian

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Aspects of Ukrainian as a pluricentric language: *u mene je* vs. *ja maju*

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On the Language of Kyrylo Tranquillion Stavrovets'kyi's Homiliary Gospel of 1619

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Ukrainian as a Split System

2. Actional Features of Nouns: The Case of Binominal Constructions with Classifier-like Nouns in Slavic Languages and Beyond

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On Slavic binominal constructions: Introduction and state of the art

Natural languages have developed different strategies to classify noun referents (Aikhenvald 2003). Many languages, such as Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Persian, Ancient Egyptian, and the like, classify nouns through specific bounded and unbounded morphemes, namely, classifiers, which reflect a conceptual classification of nouns, mainly based on features of their referent (Allan 1977). Non-classifier languages, such as English, Italian, or Slavic languages, display functionally equivalent constructions with nominal elements (Zhang 2017; Benigni 2022; Lacroce 2023; Cotta Ramusino 2016). Among such constructions, in which N1 performs the functions of a classifier and N2 is a classified noun, the most recurring structural patterns are the following:

1. (DET)/(NUM) + [N1] + [PREP] + [N2]
Eng. (*The*)/(*Three*) *bales of hay*
It. (*Le*)/(*Tre*) *balle di fieno*
2. (NUM) + [N1] + [N2.GEN]
Ru. (*Odin*) *tjuk sena*
Pol. (*Jedna*) *bela siana*

Among such classifier-like elements, metaphorical ones, as in Ru. *reka krovi*, Pol. *rzeka krwi* ‘a river of blood’, or Ru. *volna protestov*, Pol. *fala protestów* ‘a wave of protests’, are attested in many languages (Benigni 2022; Benigni & Latos 2023; Benigni & Latos forth.).

In this panel, binominal constructions are taken as the starting point for the investigation of verbal properties in nouns, paying specific attention to actionality (or lexical aspect) and grammatical aspect. An attempt to identify verb-like properties of nouns was made by Janda (2004), who motivated the aspectual distinction of perfective and imperfective verbs through an ontological metaphor that takes concrete entities as the source domain (the imperfective aspect is perceived as a liquid, fluid substance with no clear-cut delimitations and perfective as a solid, bounded entity). This panel aims to further investigate the existence of juncture points between the nominal and verbal categories, proposing that classifier-like elements might be one of the joining links.

More specifically, our claim is that certain kinds of classifier-like elements include actional features in their semantics which are mapped to the second noun or the overall construction meaning when the classifier-like term and N2 are linked together. Others, instead, seem to be less suitable to convey an actional meaning and can do so only if they are qualifying a specific type of N2, which is the source of the actional meaning. Compare examples 3 and 4:

(3)

- a. Ru. *rjad mašin* ‘a row of cars’
- b. Ru. *rjad ubijstv* ‘a row of murders’ or B(osnian)-C(roatian)-M(ontenegrin)-S(erbian) *niz ubistavā* ‘a series of murders’, (lit. ‘a wire of murders’)

(4)

- a. Ru. *reka ljudej* ‘a river of people’
- b. Ru. *volna smecha* or BCMS *talas sm(ij)echa* ‘a wave of laughter’

In (3), when ‘row’ co-occurs with concrete entities (i.e., cars as in 3a), the focus is mainly on the quantitative and strictly compositional meaning of the construction. On the other hand, when ‘row’ co-occurs with event nouns (i.e., *murders* as in 3b), the focus is shifted from the quantitative meaning (that is to say, from the spatial domain) to an actional meaning (namely, to an idea of quantity in the temporal domain). In (4), *reka*, *volna*, *talas* refer to entities from the natural world, whose denotation is inherently linked to ideas of movement and cyclicity. For this reason, they are more likely to activate an actional reading despite the type of N2 they qualify (i.e., concrete entities such as *people* in 4a, or event nouns such as *laughter* in 4b).

Given these observations, the questions addressed in the panel mainly include—but are not limited to—the following:

- What kinds of classifier-like elements carry actional features that are activated in the construction?

- What kinds of source domains are exploited to produce metaphorical classifiers with an actional or purely quantifying reading? E.g., geographic natural elements (Ru. *gora* ‘mountain’, *les* ‘forest, wood’ or BCMS *more* ‘sea’, *r(ij)eka* ‘river’), natural phenomena (Ru. *dožd* ‘rain’, *veter* ‘wind’, Pol. *burza* ‘storm’ or Cz. *záplava* ‘flood’), human artifacts (Ru. *fontan* ‘fountain’);

- What kinds of N2 provide an actional meaning to the construction? To what extent does the type of N2 (e.g., nouns with a concrete referent, events, abstract nouns) influence the activation of an actional reading?

- What is the cognitive nature of actional features in binominal constructions? How do they spread from the classifier-like noun to N2 or vice versa?

- Does the actional reading depend on the co(n)text? If so, which co(n)texts are more likely to activate it?
- What is the role of factors like case and number, or noun distinctions like count/mass, concrete/abstract, animate/inanimate in the interaction between the constructional elements and actionality?
- Do actional features develop diachronically, and, in case, how?
- How do proper classifiers behave with respect to aspect and actionality? Do they convey any actional features as in the case of their classifier-like counterparts?

Other research questions might include:

- What other strategies do Slavic languages employ to classify nouns? How do they differ in comparison with other languages?
- How are categorization and classification related in the perception and description of reality?
- How does the behavior of classifiers-like elements in Slavic languages differ from those of languages from other families, including classifier languages?
- Does the binominal construction perform any pragmatic functions? If so, which are they, and how have they developed?

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Binominal constructions of small quantity in Belarusian, Russian, and Ukrainian

This study explores binominal constructions that follow the pattern [N1 nom] + [N2 gen] and express small quantities in Russian (1), Belarusian (2), and Ukrainian (3):

- (1) *Odnako po ètomu povodu u nego ni kroški sožalenija*
 ‘However, he doesn’t have a shred (lit. crumb) of regret about it’ [charter97.org]
- (2) [...] *kali ũ jaho èsc’ choc’ krolja honaru, èn pavinen tut ža pakinuc’hèty dom*
 ‘If he has even a drop of pride, he must leave this house right away’ [Ivan Šamjakin. Gandljarka i paèt (1976)]
- (3) *Šèodnja na odnomu zvyčajnomu misci na bazari stojala kupka ljudej*
 ‘Every day, at the same spot in the marketplace, there stood a bunch of people’ [Boris Grynèenko. Sered temnoï noèi (1900)].

In (1)–(3), the nouns *kroški* ‘crumbs’, *krolja* ‘drop’ and *kupka* ‘heap’ undergo a metaphorical shift and serve as quantifiers (classifier-like nouns) denoting small quantities. Other nouns used in this type of constructions as N1 include *kaplja* ‘drop’, *gorst* (gorstka) ‘handful’, *kučka* ‘heap’, *krupica* (krupinka) ‘grain’, *kusoček* ‘tiny piece’ and others in Russian; *kupka* ‘heap’, *kučka* ‘heap’, *žmen’ka* ‘handful’, *kavalačak* ‘tiny piece’, *krupinka* ‘grain’ and others in Belarusian; and *kraplja* ‘drop’, *gorstka* ‘handful’, *žmin’ka* ‘handful’, *šmatočok* ‘tiny piece’, *kryxta* ‘crumb’ and others in Ukrainian.

While previous research has primarily focused on quantifiers of large quantities (Ljaškevič 1985; Li 2005; Rakhilina & Li 2009; Kibisova 2020; Benigni 2022; Benigni & Latos 2023), small quantity quantifiers have received less attention (Ljaškevič 1985; Li 2005; Rakhilina & Li 2009) probably due to their limited set and lower frequency in language.

The primary research objectives of this study are as follows:

- Investigate which N1 of small quantity allow both a literal and metaphorical use;
- Examine the types of metaphors that activate the quantitative interpretation of N1;
- Identify the range of nouns that can fill the N2 slot in each construction and explore the semantic-actional classes of N2;
- Determine differences between near-synonymous constructions based on semantic preferences and restrictions;
- Analyze preferences and consistent co(n)textual patterns of these constructions. The analysis of Russian constructions relies on data extracted from Timestamped Jsi Web Corpus 2014–2021 Russian available at SketchEngine, while the Belarusian and Ukrainian equivalents are examined using data from the Belarusian and Ukrainian parallel corpora of the Russian National Corpus.ñ

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Conceptual conjunction and unique reference in nouns and verbs

This paper argues that conceptual conjunction is a strategy for definite/specific reference as an alternative to definite articles. Conceptual conjunction is evident in N&N constructions and two kinds of perfective verbs (the East Slavic perfective and the Mandarin Chinese perfective including resultative verb compounds, or RVCs).

N&N constructions in SAE languages, e.g., English *Goblet and spoon were set on the right of the plate* tend to have definite reference (= ‘the goblet and the spoon...’; Le Bruyn & de Swart 2014). Conjunction is necessary for singular bare nouns to refer, cf. **Goblet was set on the right of the plate*. Though N&N constructions need not refer definitely, they have a strong tendency to.

The perfective aspect in East Slavic and Mandarin Chinese also fits the pattern of conceptual conjunction analogously to N&N constructions, and with analogous referential effects. De Wit & Dickey (in press) have analyzed the perfective in both languages as expressing epistemic contiguity: the perfective in one way or another links one situation to another. Thus, East Slavic perfective verbs refer to a situation (e.g., Russian *napisat’*, referring to a writing event) as well as some other unspecified situation(s) recoverable in the discourse, which has produced a strong tendency for such perfective verbs to refer to a unique situation in a context (cf. the so-called *konkretno-faktičeskoe značenie soveršennogo vida* ‘concrete-factual meaning of the perfective aspect’ in Russian aspectology). Mandarin Chinese perfective *-le* functions in a similar fashion (de Wit & Dickey in press). Mandarin Chinese RVCs work somewhat differently, combining two lexical units, verb + verb/adjective (e.g., *chàng-hóng* ‘sing-popular’ = ‘sing something so that it becomes popular’), cf. Yu (2018). RVCs almost invariably refer to unique and therefore specific/definite actions in a context.

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Semantic restriction on the N1-N2gen constructions with quantifying nouns in Polish (with the meaning ‘many x-s’)

Nouns have been frequently incorporated into the class of numerals in the history of Polish (see the nominal origin of numerals above *pięć* ‘five’; Słoboda 2012). Even today, the class is expanding by means of numeralization. Nominal items that undergo this process usually refer to concrete objects or phenomena in their primary meaning and only when combined with

other nouns (in the genitive) they gradually gain a new meaning of (indetermined) small/large quantity. This development can be enabled by a semantic element referring to non-singularity that is already present in the original, primary meaning (see *masa* ‘mass, mixture’, *las* ‘forest’) (Kozioł 2020). To be classified as a numeral, such linguistic items should take a numeral syntax (3PL.N predicate). Kozioł (2020) argues that the change from N1N.ACC/NOM+N2.GEN VN1 as in (1) to N1N.NOM+N2.GEN VNEUTRUM as in (2), to N1N.ACC+N2.GEN VNEUTRUM as in (3) marks the final stage of numeralization of nominal items.

- | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (1) <i>Masa</i> mixture-NOM.F | <i>ciasta</i> pastry-GEN.SG.N | <i>wypelniała</i> fill-PAST.SG.F | <i>miszę.</i> bowl-ACC.SG.F |
| (2) <i>Masa</i> / mass.NOM.F / | <i>*Dużo</i> many | <i>udzi</i> people.GEN | <i>przyszła.</i> come-PAST.SG.F |
| (3) <i>Przyszło</i> come-PAST.SG.N | <i>masę</i> / mass.ACC.F / | <i>dużo</i> many | <i>ludzi.</i> people.GEN |

In this talk, I look at the semantic-syntactic development of a few such items that have developed the meaning ‘many x-s’, namely as *burza* ‘storm’, *deszcz* ‘rain’, *grad* ‘hail’, *lawina* ‘avalanche’, *las* ‘forest’. As all of them retain their original syntactic requirements toward a predicate, I call them quantifying nouns (Schabowska 1967; Staszko-Maniawska 1986; for terminological discussion see also Żabowska 2005). To fully understand their nature, I look at their lexicalization path and current grammatical status as well as semantic restrictions imposed on the right-hand N2 in their quantitative uses. The latter allows to explain their semantic diversity and is used as an argument against their promoted (in lexicography) synonymy.

| nominal meaning | | +N2, GEN | predicate | |
|-----------------|-------------|--|-----------|---------|
| | | | original | neutrum |
| <i>burza</i> | ‘storm’ | ‘hail’ | + | - |
| | | ‘applause’ | | |
| <i>deszcz</i> | ‘rain’ | ‘money’ | + | - |
| | | ‘signs of appraisal’ | | |
| | | ‘bullet’ | | |
| | | ‘celestial body’ | | |
| | | ‘elements of nature (stone, flower, raindrop, spark)’ | | |
| <i>ulewa</i> | ‘downpour’ | ‘water parts’ | + | - |
| <i>grad</i> | ‘hail’ | ‘hard objects’ | + | - |
| | | ‘sign of approval’ | | |
| | | ‘speech products’ | | |
| | | ‘goals’ | | |
| <i>lawina</i> | ‘avalanche’ | no clear restrictions | + | - |
| <i>las</i> | ‘forest’ | ‘straight vertical objects’ | + | - |
| | | ‘something causing difficulty’ | | |

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The interaction between verbal predicates and metaphorical classifiers: A temporal-actional analysis of three Russian binominal constructions

The aim of this paper is to examine how verbal predicates interact with metaphorical quantifiers in Russian. In particular, the analysis focuses on three types of binominal constructions composed of a metaphorical quantifier (N1) – *reka* ‘river’, *gora* ‘mountain’ and *volna* ‘wave’—and a genitive modifier (N2). Taking as a starting point the claim that this kind of constructions present, among others, some actional features (Benigni 2022; Benigni & Latos 2023; Rakhilina & Li 2009), this work represents an attempt to further investigate the phenomenon in the above-mentioned Russian binominals. Adopting a corpus-based approach, the three binominal constructions will be taken into consideration when appearing in subject position, on the assumption that an extensive analysis of the type of ‘actions’ they perform might shed light on their actional properties, making it possible to establish i) what actional meanings are exactly activated and ii) which element activates them (the N1, the N2 or both).

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“Seas and drops”: twenty years later

The paper is a follow-up to our previous research on Russian constructions of measure (Rakhilina & Li 2009; Li 2005). Our main claim was that modern Russian had a large group of partly grammaticalized genitive constructions of measure (no less than forty) with extremely peculiar distribution, of the type *kuča ljudej*, lit. ‘pile of people’. We argued that this distribution is based on the original semantics of the head noun in genitive construction. Corpus-based Russian examples like *more flagov*, lit. ‘sea of flags’ or *bezdna problem*, lit. ‘abyss of problems’ looked quite exciting, since they questioned – among other things – one of the main universals of Lakoff’s theory of metaphors: MORE IS UP / LESS IS DOWN (Lakoff & Johnson 1980/2003). Indeed, *sea* is a horizontal ‘flat’ object, but *sea of X* unambiguously relates to a big quantity, and *abyss of X* should be interpreted as ‘a little’, but it means ‘a lot’ instead. Supporting this idea, some typological correlations with European languages were found for these effects (Dönninghaus 2001).

Twenty years later, due to the rapid development of RNC (ruscorpora.ru), we can look at the same problem diachronically. Using the Panchronic subcorpus, it can be proven that genitive constructions of measure appeared in Russian not earlier than the XVIII century, i.e., the period of exponential growth in French-Russian contacts; it is not by accident that most early examples are found in translated texts. This suggests that the Russian construction of measure is a pattern-borrowing from the European system via French and then developed independently within Russian. Thus, a cross-linguistic study of observed variation must take into account that some of the items are best regarded not as independent development, but rather as a result of language contact, at least at an earlier stage. This aspect requires additional research on a broader sample of European languages.

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