12. letno srečanje Združenja za slovansko jezikoslovje
Povzetki prispevkov

12th Slavic Linguistics Society Annual Meeting
Book of Abstracts

XII ежегодная конференция Общества славянского языкознания
Тезисы докладов

Ljubljana, 21.–24. 9. 2017

Žîvé naj vsi naródi
Ki hrepené dočákat' dan,
De kóder sónce hódi,
Prepîr iz svéta bó pregnán,
De rojàk
Prost bo vsák,
Ne mrág, le sósed bo mejàk.

Združenje za slovansko jezikoslovje

Znanstvenoraziskovalni center Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti
Inštitut za slovenski jezik Frana Ramovša

Univerza v Ljubljani
Filozofska fakulteta
Oddelek za slavistiko, Oddelek za slovenistiko, Oddelek za primerjalno in splošno jezikoslovje

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Slavic Linguistics Society

Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts
Fran Ramovš Institute for the Slovenian Language

University of Ljubljana
Faculty of Arts
Department of Slavistics, Department of Slovenian Studies, Department of Comparative and General Linguistics

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Общество славянского языкознания

Научно-исследовательский центр Словенской академии наук и искусств
Институт словенского языка имени Франа Рамовша

Люблянский университет
Философский факультет
кафедра славистики, кафедра словенистики, кафедра сравнительного и общего языкознания

XII ежегодная конференция Общества славянского языкознания

Тезисы докладов

Любляна, 21–24 сентября 2017 г.

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Uvodne besede

> Živé naj vsi naródi,
> što dočekati žele dan,
> che, là ch'al va il soreli,
> die Welt dem alten Streit entsag!
> Mennyi rab
> lesz szabad,
> amico, non ostile il vicino!

Tako sedma kitica *Zdravljice*, ki jo je leta 1844 napisal pesnik France Prešeren (1800–1849), odmeva v slovenskem jeziku in njegovih *mejakih sosedih*. Celotna pesem je v kontekstu politično-, družbeno- in kulturnozgodovinskih okoliščin tukajšnje jezikovne skupnosti na samem obrobju avstrijskega cesarstva prve polovice 19. stoletja zagovarjala tedaj utopične širokopotezne ideje svobode, samostojnosti, enakopravnosti, povezanosti in prijateljstva. Zaradi cenzure je bila v celoti lahko objavljena šele po marčni revoluciji leta 1848. Leta 1989 je postala himna tedaj osamosvajajoče se Republike Slovenije.

Pesnikovi plemeniti ideali so kljub časovni oddaljenosti v svoji osnovi aktualni še danes. Z njimi se podobno kot vsa humanistika pri svojem delu neposredno ali posredno srečuje tudi jezikoslovna znanost. Humanistika in jezikoslovje znotraj nje v sodobnem svetu sicer ne moreta preprečiti nastajanja gospodarske, družbene, kulturne in drugih marginalizacij v odnosu do globalnih centrov gospodarske, družbene, kulturne in drugih moči, lahko pa nanje s humanistično občutljivostjo opozarjata in s tem prispevata h gradnji sveta, v katerem imajo vsi enake možnosti.

Jezikoslovčeva radovednost, čudenje in navduševanje nad jezikovnimi pojavi in družbenimi okoliščinami njihovega pojavljanja ter jezikovno raznolikostjo v času, prostoru in družbi so nujni predpogoj za jezikoslovno znanstveno raziskovanje jezikov ne glede na njihovo genealoško, sociološko in tipološko klasifikacijo. Prav poudarjanje enakovrednosti in enakopravnosti vseh jezikov sveta lahko bistveno pripomore k njihovi svobodi in samostojnosti ter medsebojnemu spoštovanju in prijateljskemu sobivanju njihovih nosilcev. Samoumevna posledica vsega tega pa so splošno zagotovljene jezikovne pravice posameznika in skupnosti ter polnofunkcionalnost vseh jezikov v dobi digitalne pismenosti in globalne večjezičnosti.

Predano in poglobljeno jezikoslovno znanstvenoraziskovalno delo hkrati temelji na natančnem poznavanju jezikovnega gradiva ter v odgovorni in samokritični uporabi takšnih teoretičnih modelov in metodoloških pristopov, ki izkazujejo relevantne znanstvene dosežke. Temu se pridružuje uveljavljanje dejanskega metodološkega pluralizma, medsebojno spoštovanje različnih pristopov in dejanska skrb za njihov fizični obstoj v akademski skupnosti.

Jezikoslovci s svoje strani vse omenjene ideale med drugim lahko udejanjamo tudi s kakovostnimi jezikoslovnimi prispevki in v medsebojno spoštljivem znanstvenem dialogu na tako zelo pomembnem dogodku v stroki, kot je mednarodna znanstvena konferenca. Seveda brez *mejakov vragov* in (samo)cenzure!

Žive naj vsi jeziki in naj živi jezikoslovje!

Foreword

<div style="text-align:center">

Živé naj vsi naródi,
što dočekati žele dan,
che, là ch'al va il soreli,
die Welt dem alten Streit entsag!
Mennyi rab
lesz szabad,
amico, non ostile il vicino!

Let's drink to every nation
Will live to see that bright day's birth
When 'neath the sun's rotation
Dissent is banished from the earth,
All will be
kinfolk free
With neighbours none in enmity.

</div>

Thus teaches the seventh stanza of the toast, a text written back in 1844 by France Prešeren (1800–1849), as its revolutionary ideas of world peace and reconciliation echo in the original Slovene and its next-door neighbours. From the first through the last verse the poem was a bold attempt at introducing notions such as freedom, independence, equality, solidarity, and friendship into the world of socio-political, cultural and historical circumstances that shaped the destiny of a linguistic community on the periphery of the Austrian monarchy in the first half of the 19th century. Censorship delayed the publication of the unabridged version until the dramatic events of the March Revolution in 1848. In 1989 it was aptly chosen to become the national anthem in the wake of the emancipating endeavours of the future Republic of Slovenia.

Regardless of the time distance, the poet laureate's noble ideas retain undiminished relevance for the present-day society, and as any branch of the humanities linguistics is no exception to the pursuit of these seemingly almost unattainable ideals. Neither can prevent marginalisation at the hands of the global centres of economic, social, or cultural power – no such role is yet granted to the study of human culture on the stage of the contemporary world –, but by fostering humanistic sensitivity the unique and unrivalled chance remains to contribute significantly towards a world of equal opportunities.

A linguist's open curiosity combined with insatiable thirst for knowledge and the natural capacity to enthuse over language phenomena and linguistic diversity in time, space, and society are crucial predispositions for a passionate and successful investigation of language, be it from the genealogical, sociolinguistic, or typological perspective. A lot can be gained from a repeated message about the essential and thoroughgoing equality of all the languages of this world, especially in terms of mutual respect and peaceful coexistence between their speakers. The far-reaching consequence of such endeavours is mirrored in the insistent concern for language rights of every individual and their community, and appreciation of overarching functionality of any language in the age of digital literacy and global polyglossia.

Involved and in-depth scientific research work in linguistics rests on the uncompromising precision in dealing with the language data as well as the responsible and informed application of the theoretical models and methodologies that have proved to

yield relevant scientific results. All this in an academic environment that strives to foster methodological pluralism and seeks to respect and advocate diversity of theoretical approaches.

On a micro-level an international conference offers a unique opportunity to practise this dialogue and enrich the linguistic community with fresh insights into the plethora of significant research topics. May there be no enmities between the neighbours and down with (self)censorship!

Let's drink in honour of all languages and hail to linguistics!

Вступительное слово

<div style="text-align: center">

Živé naj vsi naródi,
što dočekati žele dan,
che, là ch'al va il soreli,
die Welt dem alten Streit entsag!
Mennyi rab
lesz szabad,
amico, non ostile il vicino!

Пьём за вечную свободу
Всех народов и племён.
Да не будет злу в угоду
Мир враждою осквернён.
За межой –
Не чужой,
Друг-товарищ дорогой.

</div>

Так седьмая строфа «Здравицы», написанная в 1844 году словенским поэтом Ф.Прешерном (1800–1849), отзывается в словенском языке и его *друзьях-товарищах за межой*. Это произведение в политических, социальных и историко-культурных условиях словенской языковой общности на периферии Австрийской империи первой половины XIX века отстаивало для своего времени масштабные утопические идеи свободы, независимости, равноправия, единства и дружеских взаимоотношений. Из-за требований цензуры оно было полностью опубликовано лишь в 1848 году, во время Мартовской революции. В 1989 году оно стало гимном Республики Словении, стремившейся к независимости.

Благородные идеи поэта, высказанные много лет назад, в своей основе актуальны до сих пор. Они непосредственно или опосредованно прослеживаются в гуманитарных науках, в том числе и в языкознании. Гуманитарные науки, включая языкознание, в современном мире не могут предотвратить дискриминацию в экономической, социальной, культурной и других сферах, однако они, со своей гуманитарной чуткостью, могут привлечь к ней внимание и этим внести вклад в устройство мира, в котором все имеют равные возможности.

Любознательность языковеда, его удивление и воодушевление, вызываемые языковыми явлениями и социальными условиями их бытования, языковым разнообразием во времени, пространстве и обществе – это необходимое предварительное условие научного изучения языков безотносительно их генеалогической, социологической и типологической классификации. Акцент на равнозначности и равноправии всех языков мира укрепляет их свободу и независимость, а также взаимоуважение и добрососедские отношения их носителей. Естественное следствие этого – повсеместно гарантированные языковые права человека и языковой общности, а также полное функционирование всех языков в эпоху цифровой грамотности и глобального многоязычия.

Преданный и углубленный научно-исследовательский труд языковеда в то же время основан на точном изучении языкового материала и на ответственном, самокритичном использовании теоретических моделей и методов, которые демонстрируют релевантные научные достижения. Сюда же относится фактическое

признание действительного методологического плюрализма, уважительное отношение к различным методам и реальная забота о продолжении их существования в академической среде.

Мы, языковеды, со своей стороны, можем воплотить все эти идеалы в качественных лингвистических работах и в научном диалоге, построенном на началах взаимоуважения, в рамках работы международной научной конференции. Разумеется, без *вражды, оскверняющей мир*, и (само)цензуры!

Пьем за все языки и за языкознание!

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Plenarna predavanja
Plenary talks
Пленарные доклады

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Praslavenska sintaksa u Brižinskim spomenicima i drugim starim slavenskim dokumentima

U predavanju će se raspravljati o nekim sintaktičkim osobitostima srednjovjekovnih i dijelom novijih slavenskih jezika za koje se može s razlogom tvrditi da potječu iz praslavenskoga jezika. Promatrat će se nominativus absolutus, dativus absolutus, dativus cum infinitivo, paratatičko podrijetlo hipotakse i korelirane čestice «že» i «dje». Ovo se predavanje nadovezuje na ono što je predavač izložio pod naslovom „Praslavenske sintaktičke osobitosti u svijetlu starih slavenskih tekstova" na skupu „Najstarije jezične potvrde i tekstovi slavenskih jezika" u Zagrebu 4. XI. 2016. i na opširnom uručku koji je tamo dijelio. Predavač će na ljubljanskom skupu donijeti dodatne osobitosti kao i dodatne primjere za osobitosti koje je već naveo u Zagrebu. Posebnu će pažnju sada posvetiti primjerima koji se nalaze u Brižinskim spomenicima.

Najvažnija su metodološka načela na koja se rekonstrukcija praslavenske sintakse može osloniti ova: (1) Jedna sintaktička pojava koja se javlja u više kutova i na više rubova slavenskoga govornog područja vjerojatno je naslijeđena iz praslavenskoga jezika, pogotovu ako je riječ o gramatičkim anomalijama, u kojima, prema načelu koje je formulirao Antoine Meillet, treba vidjeti prijašnje redovitosti. (2) Praslavenska je sintaksa ta koja proizlazi iz etimološke a ne iz „standardne" interpretacije vezničkih zamjenica i vezničkih priloga. (3) Sveslavensku sintaktičku podudarnost koja se očituje kao sveslavenska tek nakon oduzimanja određenih glasovnih mijena od riječi koje nose dotičnu sintaktičku funkciju treba datirati u doba prije tih mijena. Takve se riječi, naime, moraju prepoznavati kao identične kako bi se njihova sintaktička funkcija mogla širiti diljem svega slavenskoga govornog područja. (4) Ako se neka sintaktička pojava javlja i u praindoeuropskome i u starim slavenskim tekstovima, onda je ona vjerojatno bila i praslavenska pojava. Kršilo bi se naime dvaput načelo zvano „Ockhamova britva" kad bi se bez potrebe (*praeter necessitatem*) računalo s time da se ta pojava 1. najprije izgubila i 2. poslije opet uvela u situaciji koja se vrlo dobro može objasniti pretpostavkom da se nije dogodilo ništa i da je sve ostalo kako je bilo.

Proto-Slavic syntax in the Freising Fragments and other old Slavic documents

There exist a few syntactic peculiarities attested in medieval and to some extent more recent Slavic languages that can with some confidence be traced back to Proto-Slavic. The talk will focus on the nominative and dative absolute, the so-called dativus cum infinitivo construction, parataxis as the probable origin of hypotaxis, and the correlated particles «že» and «dje». The general ideas fall back on the lecture „Proto-Slavic syntactic peculiarities in the light of older Slavic textual evidence" delivered in November 2016 at the Zagreb conference on the oldest Slavic linguistic monuments („Najstarije jezične potvrde i tekstovi slavenskih jezika") and the exposition offered on the accompanying hand-out. The present talk promises to extend the list of reconstructible Proto--Slavic syntactic structures and support the already highlighted phenomena with new illustrative examples. Special attention will be paid to the particular informativeness of the Freising momuments (Brižinski spomeniki).

The research into the Slavic historical syntax should be based on the following four methodological fundamentals: (1) Any syntactic peculiarity surfacing in different parts of the Slavic-speaking world is probably inherited from Proto-Slavic – quite certainly so if we are dealing with obvious grammatical anomalies, which, according to the principle laid down by Antoine Meillet, one must recognise a reflection of foregoing regularity. (2) Proto-Slavic syntax can only be understood as the syntax that starts from the etymological rather than the "standard" interpretation of conjunctive pronouns and adverbs. (3) Across-the-board syntactic correspondences which only take shape after the reversal of particular sound changes must be dated before those particular sound changes. (4) If a certain syntactic trait can be convincingly shown to go back as far as Proto-Indo-European and recurs in older Slavic linguistic monuments, we are most likely dealing with a direct reflex of an already Proto-Slavic syntactic phenomenon. An opposing claim would namely go against the fundamental principle of Occam's razor, given that one would praeter necessitatem be forced to propose a rehabilitation of a previously lost feature rather than simply deduce that no change has in fact taken place.

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On "secondary word-forms" (in Russian and cross-linguistically)

The notion of "secondary word-form" (Russ. *vtoričnaja slovoforma*) is relatively new in general morphology; it seems, however, to feel an important gap within the cross-linguistically valid inventory of world-like units. Most probably, the term was first coined by Igor' Mel'čuk (see, for example, Mel'čuk 1993, esp. Ch. IV, § 2 and § 5 on "mot-forme secondaire" or "mot-forme de la parole"; cf. also Mel'čuk 1997: 234–235); on the other hand, a number of similar concepts has been tried from time to time by different authors, though generally remaining on the periphery of morphological theory (as, for example, "syntactic agglomerates", "syntactic amalgams", etc.). We do not want to go into all the details of Mel'čuk's sophisticated terminology; suffices it to say that among different kinds of "secondary word-forms" he proposes to distinguish the most non-trivial class appears under the label of "downgraded word-forms" ("mots-formes rétrogradés"); in what follows, only these units will be referred to as "secondary word-forms".

Very roughly, a secondary word-form in the above sense is a specific context-dependent inseparable combination of what can otherwise function as normal "primary" words (i.e., either standard autonomous linguistic units or clitics). Primary words within secondary word-form may undergo more or less significant phonemic changes triggered by contact effects (as combinations of prepositions and articles in Romance and German, like Italian *nel* 'in the', etc.) or remain unchanged – but still inseparable. A good example of the last case may be Russian "complex conjunctions" (as *potomu čto* 'because' or *tak kak* 'since') or "complex prepositions" (as *po otnošeniju k* 'in relation to'). Orthographically, they often look as a word sequence, but in fact they behave as a single morphological unit.

Actually, the number of "secondary word-forms" in Russian is very high; however, they seem to be never analyzed as a coherent class. We propose a tentative classification of main types of such units and consider some peculiar case studies – as, for example, combinations of prepositions and pronouns like *s nim* 'with him' which behave mainly as a single morphological unit. Cf. combinations like *s ètim* 'with this', where, despite significant degree of morphological coalescence, separability is still possible: thus, *s odnim ètim* 'only with this' is widely attested, while *s nim odnim*

'only with him' is strongly preferable over *?s odnim im*, and *s odnim nim is to be considered ungrammatical in standard language (cf. also Es'kova 2011). However, a closer look at oblique *n*-forms of Russian 3 person pronouns reveals further complications, interesting both for morphological theories of wordhood and for descriptive studies in Slavic morphology.

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Simple syntax in Slavic, evolution, neuroimaging: Middles and absolutes

This paper pursues a unified analysis of the particle *se* in its various manifestations in Serbian, including passive-like, middle-like, reflexive, reciprocal (all referred to as "middles"). The idea is that these middles have room for only one syntactic argument, a proto-participant in the event (cf. Dowty 1991), which is either subject-like, or object-like, or both simultaneously, instantiating essentially an absolutive-like grammar, resulting in massive vagueness/underspecification. Previous proposals have noted that *se* is best analyzed as a purely grammatical marker, such as an expletive (meaningless) pronoun (e.g. Franks 1995; Marelj 2004; Progovac 2005). However, providing a unified account of *se* requires thinking outside the box: i.e., seeing *se* as flagging a different, parallel type of grammar.

This approach ties into the proposal that syntax evolved gradually, in a piecemeal fashion, with the initial stage of proto-syntax characterized by two-word combinations, involving e.g. a verb and one absolutive-like (proto-participant) argument (Progovac 2015a, 2015b, 2016). From there, languages diverged in their expression of transitivity, including toward ergative-absolutive and nominative-accusative types. This account reveals deep connections and common ground between the two language types, and sees syntax as a patchwork quilt of various patterns accrued during language evolution. This characterization of ergative and accusative cases is well aligned with the dependent case theory (e.g. Yip et al. 1987; Marantz 1991; McFadden 2004; Baker 2015), as well as with Tchekhoff's (1973) view of ergativity. In this view, ergative is the dependent case added on the top, and accusative a dependent case added on the bottom. Importantly, this approach makes testable predictions regarding the processing of *se* middles.

In contrast to the flatter middles, the transitives in Serbian are analyzed as projecting an additional layer of structure, an active vP layer (Minimalism), which renders them more hierarchical. While middles show underspecification for the thematic role of their only expressed argument (*deca*) (e.g. *Deca se tuku/grle* "Children ₛₑ hit/hug"), true transitives are unambiguous in this respect (cf. *Deca me tuku/grle* "Children me hit/hug"). We hypothesized that Serbian middles, relative to (phonologically and semantically) matched accusative structures, would result in reduced activation in regions associated with syntactic processing, specifically in the Broca's–Basal Ganglia network (Progovac et al., in preparation). There is evidence that this network was bolstered in evolution, in the line of descent of humans, through increased synaptic plasticity and

neuronal connectivity (see e.g. Ullman 2006; Dediu 2015; Hillert 2014; for the role of FOXP2 and other genes). The fMRI experiments we conducted have yielded some promising initial results.

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Slovansko 'pajek'

V besedi s pomenom 'pajek' slovanski jeziki izkazujejo dve prevojni stopnji: hrv., srb. *pȁūk*, rus. *paúk*, ukr., belorus. *pavúk*, češ. *pavouk* in slovaš. *pavúk* se je razvilo iz praslovanskega izhodišča **pắǭkъ*, sloven. *pâjek*, mak. *pajak*, bolg. *pájak* in polj. *pająk* pa iz **pắę̄kъ*.

Dosedanje etimološke razlage, kot jih najdemo v etimoloških slovarjih, predpostavljajo sestavljenko iz predpone **pǎ-* in tematske tvorjenke iz ide. korena **h₂enk-* 'kriviti'.[1] Skladno s to povezavo se prvotni pomen slovanske besede s pomenom 'pajek' razume kot 'žival, ki zna ukrivljati' > 'plesti mrežo',[2] 'ki ima krive noge',[3] 'ki živi po kotih'[4] ali preprosto 'ki nastavlja mreže'.[5] Vendar bi, upoštevajoč oba pomena praslovanske samostalniške predpone **pǎ-*, ki sta 'poznejši' (npr. **pǎ-mętь* 'poznejša misel' > 'spomin') in 'nepravi, nepristen ipd.' (npr. **pǎ-storъka* 'neprava hči' > 'pastorka'), pričakovali, da bi sestavljenka pomenila 'poznejša krivina, poznejši kavelj' ali 'neprava krivina, nepravi kavelj', iz česar bi težko pričakovali razvoj edinega dejansko izpričanega pomena 'pajek'. Etimološko povezovanje obravnavane besede s korenom **h₂enk-* bi bilo problematično tudi s stališča prevoja. Obe praslovanski izhodišči namreč izkazujeta tematsko sklanjatev, pri čemer vemo, da v praindoevropskih tematskih sklanjatvah korenski vokalizem ni podlegal prevoju. Izvajanje iz korena **h₂enk-* bi bilo težavno tudi zato, ker ne dopušča nastanka dolgega nosnega prednjega samoglasnika: polnostopenjski koren **h₂enk-* bi se prek **h₂ank-* razvil v praslovanski **ǭk-*, ničtostopenjski **h₂n̥k-* pa bi dal praslovansko **ęk-* s pričakovano kratkim korenskim samoglasnikom.

V današnjem predavanju bom predstavil nov poskus razlage tega starega etimološkega problema. Če obravnavano besedo morfemsko segmentiramo **pǎ-ǭ-kъ* oz. **pǎ-ę̄-kъ* in v morfemu **-kъ* vidimo manjšalniško pripono (znano npr. v ide. **ǵʰói̯-enko-* 'majhen skakalec' > praslov. **zắi̯ęcь* 'zajec'), lahko v korenu prepoznamo ide. brezpriponski nomen agentis **h₁óm-s*, rod. **h₁em-é/ós* s pomenom 'kdor vzame, zgrabi' iz korena **h₁em-* 'vzeti, zgrabiti'.[6] K tvorbi prim. ide. **pód-s*, gen. **ped-é/ós* 'ki stopa' > 'noga'.[7] Predpona **pǎ-* je sicer lahko dodana pod vplivom refleksov tematskih tvorjenk

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[1]   Koren navaja LIV: 239.

[2]   ESJS X: 625

[3]   Vasmer 1955: 325; Machek 1969: 439; Derksen 2008: 391.

[4]   Snoj 2003: 487.

[5]   Rejzek 2006: 336 s.

[6]   Koren navaja LIV: 209 s.

[7]   O tem besedotvornem tipu 1972: 32–36.

iz glagola, ki se ohranja v lit. *paiম̃ti* 'vzeti, ujeti, zgrabiti, zapleniti, zajeti, napasti' in slovan. **poęti* (prim. stcslov. *pojęti* 'vzeti, zgrabiti', slovaš. *pojať*, češ. *pojati* /danes *pojmout*/, polj. *pojąć*), a se zdi verjetneje, da je **pǎ-ǭ/ę̄-kъ* prvotno manjšalnica iz predponskega baltoslovanskega korenskega samostalnika **pā-em-/*pā-am-*, tvorjenega iz že predponskega glagola. Najverjetnejša pomenska motivacija obravnavane slovanske besede je torej 'kdor zgrabi in je majhen', tj. 'mali plenilec'. Pomenska motivacija odseva dojemanja pajka kot živali, ki svoj plen ujame v mrežo in ga zgrabi, to pa je lastnost, po kateri se ta žival dejansko razlikuje od preostalih žuželk.

The Slavic word for 'spider'

Slavic languages attest to two differing ablaut grades in the word for 'spider'. Part of the available comparanda (e.g., BCS *pȁūk*, Russian, *paúk*, Ukrainian, Byelorussian *pavúk*, Czech *pavouk*, and Slovak *pavúk*) unproblematically point to Proto-Slavic *pǎǭkъ*, while Slovene *pâjek*, Macedonian *pajak*, Bulgarian *pájak*, and Polnish *pająk*, for instance, clearly necessitate *pǎę̄kъ* as the starting point.

The standard etymological explanation of this particular lexeme that found its way into the existing etymological dictionaries, if only reluctantly, assumes a compound of the familiar *pǎ-* prefix with a thematic derivative of the PIE root *h_2enk-* 'to bend'.[8] Such an interpretation obviously builds on the assumption that 'spider' is, historically, either 'the one who can bend' > 'weave threads, a web',[9] 'the one with bent legs',[10] 'the one inhabiting the corners',[11] or simply 'one who sets loops, traps, webs'.[12] Relying on the general semantic function of the Proto-Slavic prefix *pǎ-*, however, which clearly must have originally contained the semantic component distributable among 'later' (cf. PSl. *pǎ-mętь* 'later thought' > 'memory') and 'not genuine, false, pseudo' *vel sim.* (cf. *pǎ-storъka* 'not actual daughter' > 'stepdaughter'), one would rather expect the compound to signify a 'later bend' or, more likely, 'mock bend', none of which would, of course, lead to the actually attested meaning. The etymological interpretation that operates with the PIE root *h_2enk-* will moreover expectedly fail to account for the surprising ablaut relationship between the two reconstructed variants (note that thematic derivatives are not subject to paradigmatic ablaut alternations) and further complicate the explanation for the length of the front nasalised vowel, since it could under no circumstances have developed from any of the theoretically predictable ablaut grades of the root in question: the full grade *h_2enk-* would via *h_2ank-* yield Proto-Slavic +-ǭk-, while its zero-grade variant, viz. *$h_2n̥k$-*, would result in *-ęk-* with expected shortness of the nasalised vowel).

The present plenary talk offers a fresh etymological approach to this long-standing problem by proposing a significant revision of the lexeme's morphemic segmentation. Starting from *pǎ-ǭ-kъ* resp. *pǎ-ę̄-kъ*, which immediately allows for the interpretation of the suffixal morpheme *-kъ* as the ubiquitous diminutive suffix (for a structurally comparable case consider PIE *$ǵʰói̯-en-ko$-* 'little jumper' > PSl. *zǎę̄cь* 'rabbit'), one is able to recognise in the root morpheme the ablauting reflexes of the PIE agent noun *$h_1óm-s$*, gen. sg. *$h_1em-é/ós$* 'one who takes, grasps at something', historically a deverbative root-noun to PIE *h_1em-* 'to take'[13] of the type transparently observable in

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8   The root listed in LIV: 239.
9   ESJS X: 625
10   Vasmer 1955: 325; Machek 1969: 439; Derksen 2008: 391.
11   Snoj 2003: 487.
12   Rejzek 2006: 336 f.
13   The root listed in LIV: 209 f.

the likes of PIE *_pód-s_, gen. *_ped-é/ós_ 'that which steps' > 'foot'.[14] The prefixed *_pǎ-_ could either go back to the Balto-Slavic reflex of the thematic verbal derivative from the same root as attested in Lith. _paim̃ti_ 'to take, trap, grasp, capture, overtake, attack' and Slavic *_poęti_ (cf. OCS _pojęti_ 'take, grasp', Slovak _pojat'_, Czech _pojati_ /modern _pojmout_/, Poln. _pojąć_), or one should understand *_pǎ-ǭ/ę̄-kъ_ as a diminutive of the Balto-Slavic root-noun *_pā-em-_/*_pā-am-_, itself derived from the already prefixed verb. The likeliest etymological meaning of the Proto-Slavic word for 'spider' is accordingly 'one who grasps and is small', in other words 'a small predator' – a meaning that corresponds perfectly to the animal's characteristic behaviour of trapping its prey in a web, grasping at it, and sucking out its vital fluids.

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[14] The type of word formation process described by Schindler 1972: 32–36.

Prispevki
Papers
Доклады

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Language education policy and Slavic languages in Slovenia

Language education policy, firstly introduced as acquisition planning (Cooper 1989), is the third aspect of language policy and language planning, concerning, among others, the status of languages in education, e.g. the language of instruction, second and/or foreign languages, etc. As Tollefson (1991) states, it reflects governmental decisions in solving societal language issues and thus gives us the insight into various aspects of the organization of certain society. These decisions may be inclusive or exclusive, but in any case, we agree with Spolsky (2010) that they have a great power to affect language attitudes and beliefs, especially toward different language minority groups. In the time of globalization and intensive migrations, this issue concerns most of the societies.

In Slovenia, as the current language and education policy documents show, e.g. *White book on education in R Slovenia* (2011), *Resolution on national programme of language policy 2014–2018*, language education policy is following the European Union language policy, where, as it is stated in the *Guide for the Development of Language Education Policies in Europe* (2007), the previous idea of multilingualism was upgraded with the idea of plurilingualism, with the emphasis on neighbouring languages, languages of minorities and immigrant languages. In Slovenian schools, there is a long tradition of foreign language education (Skela, Sešek 2012), especially in learning/teaching "bigger" languages and Latin, but the primary school curriculum reform 1996–1999 also opened the door to "smaller" languages. The aim of the paper is to show the status of Slavic languages in current programmes for Slovenian primary and secondary school. With the critical discourse analysis method, in the first part of the research, we are trying to detect the ideological background for Slavic languages in different Slovenian language policy documents and its realisation in primary and secondary school curricula. In the second part, on the case of Croatian, Serbian and Macedonian in primary school, we are trying to find out how the theory of language education policy is realised in practice.

The results show that Slovenian language policy is in theory very inclusive, but in practice rather exclusive, in terms of de Beaugrande (1998). The status of some Slavic languages in the curriculum is quite good, especially of those that fulfil the criteria of neighbouring, minority and/or immigrant languages (Croatian, Serbian and Macedo-

nian only in primary school) or economy interests (Russian in secondary school). However, there are no West Slavic languages in the curricula at the moment. In practice, the situation is rather different. The results of the realisation in primary school show that these languages are actually rarely taught (Croatian in 5 to 10 schools per year, Serbian 2 schools in 10 years, Macedonian never), although all of the Slavic languages can be studied at the tertiary level at the University of Ljubljana. Thus, in the future Slovenian language education policy has a great challenge to deal with the issue of realising the language policy of "smaller" and economically less interesting languages.

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Проблема разграничения языковых и ситуативных синонимов в русском языке

В советском и российском языкознании сформулировано теоретическое разграничение языковых (т.е. зафиксированных в языковой системе, словарях) и ситуативных (регистрируемых в речи) синонимов.

Задачи настоящей работы связаны с разграничением языковой (системной) и ситуативной (контекстуальной, речевой) синонимии, точнее говоря, с определением механизмов, благодаря которым слова становятся синонимичными в контексте. Гипотеза состоит в том, что разграничение языковых и ситуативных синонимов основывается на компонентном методе анализа лексического значения, а при использовании когнитивных методов граница между ними оказывается условной.

С точки зрения системы языковыми синонимами становятся словами, обладающие близким или тождественным значением [Евгеньева 1966] и представленные в словарях синонимов. Ситуативные (контекстуальные) синонимы – окказиональные единицы, общность значений которых субъективно воспринимается носителями языка [Иванова 2006] и которые сближаются в речи. В зарубежной лингвистике такие синонимы называют контекстно-зависимыми (context-dependent synonyms), когнитивными [Cruse 1986] и связываются с прагматическим аспектом языка [Murphy 2002].

Основными методами анализа стали фреймовый [Fillmore 1982] и прототипические подходы [Rosch 1978] к описанию значения, которые рассматриваются в рамках когнитивной лингвистики. Выбор таких методов обусловлен тем, что традиционный компонентный метод анализа значения не отображает реальные семантические отношения в лексиконе, а, скорее, эксплицирует интуицию исследователя [Aitchinson 2003; Касевич 2013].

Кроме того, для выявления ситуативных синонимов был проведен психолингвистический эксперимент, в ходе которого 116 испытуемых подбирали синонимы к словам-стимулам. Далее анализировалось употребление языковых и ситуативных синонимов в высказываниях, которые представлены в Национальном корпусе русского языка (http://www.ruscorpora.ru).

Как показало наше исследование, анализируемые языковые и ситуативные синонимы реализуют единый механизм конкретизации обобщенной ситуации, прототипического значения доминанты, что с когнитивной точки зрения предполагает схожесть лингвистического значения.

Общая схема для многих синонимических отношений заключается в том, что доминанта (опорное, главное, ядерное слово синонимического ряда) представляет наиболее общую ситуацию, а другие синонимы делают ее конкретной.

В лексиконе и в реальных высказываниях синонимические связи оказываются значительно шире, чем они представлены в словарях синонимов.

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Пересказывание дискурса на примере говора Осиека и окрестностей

Под термином «пересказывание дискурса» (ПД) понимаются разные способы преимущественно или полностью вербального воспроизведения преимущественно или полностью вербальной информации, при чем вербальная составляющая является обязательной. Проще говоря, ПД – это чужая речь в несколько расширенном виде. Оно представляет собой своего рода функционально-семантическое поле, включающее довольно широкий спектр способов (преимущественно) вербального воспроизведения информации, источником которой являются реальные и воображаемые отрезки чужой и собственной, монологической и диалогической речи различной длины и функции.

ПД включает по меньшей мере два этапа: оригинал (исходный дискурс) и пересказ (актуальный дискурс). ПД – явление рекурсивное, так что этапов может быть и больше двух. У каждого этапа есть свои участники (адресант(ы) и адресат(ы)) и содержание (информация). Полное содержание оригинала состоит из ядра (суть сообщения: сухие факты) и оболочки (способ и условия сообщения: исходный дейксис, экспрессивнодиалогические элементы, диалектальные и паралингвистические особенности речи и др.). Содержание пересказа – это не копия, а, как правило, в более или менее значительной степени неверное отражение полного содержания оригинала или его ядра. Пересказ часто содержит маркеры пересказа: грамматические показатели репортатива, вводные элементы (глаголы речи и указания на исходных адресанта и адресата) и некоторые особенности подачи оригинального содержания (подражание речи оригинального адресанта, сохранение оригинального дейксиса). Исходя из отношения пересказа к оригиналу, можно выделить четыре основных типа ПД в языках среднеевропейского стандарта: прямая речь (ПР), несобственная прямая речь (НПР), косвенная речь (КР) и сообщение основной информации (СОИ). О трех первых типах см. Падучева 2010: 337 sqq. Четвертый же тип характерен тем, что ядро оригинала (вербальная информация) в пересказе подается таким же образом, как засвидетельствованный факт, если не считать факультативного указания на источник или тип источника информации.

В говоре Осиека и окрестностей ПР употребляется чаще всех остальных типов ПД вместе взятых. Пересказ отражает полное содержание оригинала, но претендует в основном только на верность его смыслу. Он является своего рода инсценировкой оригинала. В связи с этим ПР – единственный хорошо приспособленный к диалогической речи тип ПД. В случае же КР и СОИ пересказ отражает только ядро

оригинала. ПР можно было бы назвать нарративным режимом интерпретации, но не ситуации, а речи, в то время как КР – это речевой режим интерпретации речи, а СОИ интерпретацию речи подает как интерпретацию ситуации. НПР – самый редкий тип ПД. При ее помощи чужие слова передают с иронической дистанцией. Дейктическая ориентация пересказа в ПР совпадает с оригинальной, в КР і НПР она такая же, как и в русском языке (ср. также Forsyth: 69 sq.), а в СОИ дейксис полностью ориентирован на время и участников пересказа. Маркерами пересказа чаще всего выступают глаголы речи в настоящем историческом (*kâžet* (в первом лице и безударное *reko* – пережиток аориста), *kâže/kae* и др.), а в ненарративных контекстах (вопрос, придаточные предложения) также в прошедшем времени (*rèkla sam*, *rȅko je* и др.). Довольно интересен неспецифический маркер ПД *kȁo* (соответствующая эквативная частица обычно имеет форму *kȍ*).

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Pedagogical dialogues as sources for the history of address and linguistic politeness in Slavic languages

Although contemporary Slavic languages exhibit limited variation of their address systems, especially in the domain of pronominal address, their history was very diverse and similar outcomes were the result of later convergent developments (Betsch and Berger, 2009). My paper will discuss one type of source for historical address and politeness research, namely pedagogical dialogues, and their potential as sources, and identify some special cases and problems that appear in studies of Slavic languages based on these sources.

Older grammars and language textbooks often contained collections of dialogues, which presented practical situations and were also intended as practical exercises. Speakers were shown in interaction, with identi?able social roles; thus these dialogues could present information about address forms, and other features of interaction, which is mostly absent from traditional grammatical descriptions focussing on morphology and syntax. These dialogues are, however, not transcripts of real communication; they often tend to normalize interaction, e.g. by abstracting from multi-speaker scenarios and digressions frequent in real-life communication towards thematically coherent dyadic interactions (Radtke 1994: 169). Nevertheless, their authors strove for a language form close to colloquial language (see e.g. Radtke 1994: 333–335). While pedagogical dialogues are important sources, their data should thus be confronted with that from other sources.

Dialogue collections were often not original creations of the textbooks' authors, but copied, translated or adapted from other publications. It is possible to identify entire "family trees" of dialogues across different regions and languages. This begs the question whether address usage in a dialogue collection represents actual usage in the target language or rather copies that of its source text. In fact, both tendencies can be shown to play a role; by way of example, in (1), the second line is from a Slovene dialogue book based on a Czech one, thus it shows *on* as an address pronoun, which was not part of actual Slovene usage (Jelovšek 2011), but copied from the Czech version.

(1)   a. Co *mu* mám dát za djlo? (Czech, 1798)
       b. Kaj bom *mu* mógel platíti? (Slovene, 1812)

In some languages, during the National Revival of the 19th century, linguistic purism aimed at a radical change of the address system, and this is re?ected in dialogue collections (see Betsch 2000; Jelovšek 2011). Example (2) from three Czech grammars shows

how the same text was adapted to re?ect changes in address usage ((2-a) and (2-b) – indirect address with *pán* was replaced by "*onikání*"), and then to re?ect purist recommendations ((2-c) – *vy* as address pronoun, revitalization of the "polite" matrix verb *ráčiti*).

(2) a. Ljbj se *Pánu* kabát prubowat? (1704)
     b. Ljbj se *gim* Kabat prubowat? (1775)
     c. *Račte* kabát průbowati. (1795)

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What and how can we feel in Slavic? A cognitive analysis of constructions with verbs expressing 'to feel'

The subject of the study are constructions in which Russian *čuvstvovat'*, Polish *czuć*, Slovene *čutiti*, and *Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian osj(e)ćati* occur with an unbounded or bounded morpheme 'self' (Pol. *się*, Slo. and B/C/S *se,* and Rus. *-sja*, respectively), as well as constructions in which these verbs occur with a prefix (Rus. *do-, o-, pred-, pere-, po-, pred-, pro-, ras-, vos*, Pol. *od-, po-, w-, współ-*, Slo. *ob-, po-, so-, za-*, B/C/S *pred-*, Bos./Serb. *sa-*, Cro. *su-*)[15].

Dictionary definitions of these verbs indicate that they refer to various events in the domain of experience. This domain "covers more specific types of experiences that are ultimately related to the processing of inner and outer stimuli by the human (and animal) nervous system and other related systems" (Verhoeven 2007: 1). Since these verbs refer to experiences such as sensual perception, bodily sensations and feelings, cognitive abilities and emotional reactions (defined as subdomains by Verhoeven), each of them can be treated as a generalised verb of experience (Verhoeven 2000: 43). In other approaches these verbs are defined as semantically empty because their meaning is elaborated by a complement, for instance, a noun complement in verbo-nominal constructions (Jędrzejko 2002).[16] Therefore, it is suggested that semantic features of these verbs should be analysed in a particular syntactic frame, that is, as part of a complex syntactic construction (Goldberg 1995: 27). Consequently, the specific experiential state of an event participant is expressed not in the verb itself but in the overall meaning of the construction (Verhoeven 2007: 23). Constructions with such verbs, similarly to mental verbs (i.e. verbs of perception, emotion and cognition, as defined in Croft 1991), include the semantic role of an Experiencer; therefore they are defined as experiential constructions (Verhoeven 2007). In contrast to mental verbs in which the Experiencer can be ascribed either to a clausal subject or object, all constructions with the verbs expressing 'to feel' are Experiencer-subject.

Previous analysis of Slovene *čuti* in verbo-nominal constructions with an accusative complement (Będkowska-Kopczyk 2015) show that the semantics of this verb refers to: 1) sensory perception of stimuli from an external environment and from the body, and 2) intellectual, emotional or instinctive recognition of abstract outward events and

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[15] *B/S/C osj(e)ćati* is peculiar in this set of verbs because it inherently includes a prefix *o-*.

[16] Exceptions are constructions such as Slo. *on ne čuti več* 'he does not feel anymore' in which the verb expresses an ability to feel (Vidovič Muha 2000: 34).

abstract inward states. On the basis of the studies presented in Cejmer (2014), Rylina (2013), dictionary entries and corpora data it is assumed that in the same constructional type, Polish *czuć*, Russian *čuvstvovat'*, and *B/C/S osj(e)ćati* have the same semantics as Slovene *čuti*.

However, both a morpheme expressing 'self' and a prefix influence the syntactic frame of these verbs and, consequently, their ability to express the aforementioned faculty of experience. For instance, in constructions with an adverb or adjective, the meaning of Polish *czuć się* is constrained to an experiential subdomain of bodily experience (Pol. *czuł sie źle* 'he felt bad') and cognitive evaluation of our own state (e.g. *czuł się szczęśliwym* 'he felt happy'). In verbo-nominal constructions with Rus. *predčuvstvovat'*, B/C/S *predos(j)ećati*, and Pol. *przeczuwać* the verbal semantics is constrained to the subdomain of intuition or anticipation (e.g. Rus. *predčuvstvovat' opastnost'*, B/C/S *predos(j)ećati opasnost*, Pol. *przeczuwać niebezpieczeństwo* 'to sense danger').

The aim of the paper is to discuss in detail how the morpheme 'self' and prefixes influence the semantic frame of these verbs in the analysed languages and to present similarities and differences among them in this respect.

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Reanalysis in the Russian past tense: Northwest Russian past tense forms in *-vši*, cf. *ušodši* versus *ušël*

The Russian language has in historical times along with most of the Slavic languages undergone a comprehensive transformation of its expression of the past tense. The synthetic past tenses aorist and imperfect have been lost and replaced by the erstwhile analytic perfect based on the past active participle in *-l-* and an auxiliary from the present tense paradigm of *byti* 'to be', cf. Old Russian *ja jesmь vidělъ* 'I am/have seen'. Eventually, the auxiliary was lost and the expression of past tense was reduced to the *l*-participle only, e.g. Contemporary Standard Russian (CSR) *ja videl* 'I saw/have seen'. The new past tense could be considered rather atypical since it is declined not for person, but for gender and number only.

While the *l*-form is the only past tense form in CSR, in Russian dialects, above all in the Northwest, there are past tense forms based on other past participles, i.e. the passive *-n/t*-participle and the active *-vъs/-ъs*-participle.

This contribution will concentrate on the finite past tense based on the past active participle *-vъs/-ъs*, cf. *poezd ušodši* versus *poezd ušël* 'The train has left/left'. It will be argued that after the loss of the auxiliary the *l*-participle was reanalyzed as a finite verb form declinable for gender and number only. In that respect the *l*-participle came to share relevant properties with the predicative past active participles based on the suffix *-vъs/-ъs*, realized as *-v*, *-vše*, *-vši*. In a sentence from the Pskov Chronicles like (1) *da 3 noči nočovavъ*_{pap} *da pročь poechalъ*_{l-part} 'and stayed three nights and sat out again', the predicative participle *nočovavъ*_{pap} is apparently a nonfinite verb form subordinated by the finite verb form *poechalъ*_{l-part}. When comparing, however, (1) with the same sentence in another manuscript, *nočovavъ*_{pap} seems to behave like a finite verb: (2) *da 3 nošči nočeval*_{l-part} *da pročь poechalъ*_{l-part}. In other words, the interchangeability of *nočovavъ*_{pap} and *nočeval*_{l-part} should be considered to lend credence to the assumption that the erstwhile past active participle has been reanalyzed as a finite past tense verb form, able to form independent sentences like in (3): *oni perebrodivšesja*_{pap} *i stavše*_{pap} *stanmi na Kamně* 'they crossed over and put up camp at Kamen'. It will, accordingly, be a major issue in the contribution that the erstwhile nonfinite predicative participle has been reanalyzed as a finite past tense verb since it shared all relevant morphological properties with the finite *l*-participle and thereby became open for a novel analysis. This reanalysis will be further discussed in terms of transitions from nonfinite verb forms to finite verb forms and from subordinated clauses to coordinated clauses. Finally, it will

be argued that northwest Russian phonological changes can account for the fact that the diffusion of the past tense form in *-vši* is generally restricted to northwestern Russian dialects.

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The role of the distal deictic *там* in expressing irrealis modality in spoken Russian

This contribution seeks to establish the role that the Russian distal deictic *там* 'there' plays in conveying irrealis modality. The analysis is based on a corpus of transcriptions of the radio programme *Osoboe mnenie* 'Special opinion', which is broadcast daily on "Echo Moskvy", where journalists and politicians answer live questions from the audience. *Там* shows a sheer syntactic versatility, it can occur in every illocutionary act: assertions, exclamations, questions, sometimes even orders. It occurs within or after a noun group, within or after a verb group (also between subject pronoun and verb), at the end of propositions or utterances, and sometimes within connecting expressions. How is it possible to account for the polyfunctionality of *там*? The function of *там* seems often to be that of an irrealis marker. Repeated use of *там* results often embedded in clauses with epistemic verbs such as *представлять* 'imagine', *допустить* 'presume' or *предположить* 'suppose' to code potential events, that is events that may happen in the future, or perhaps are happening at the moment of speaking, but of which speakers are not sure about. Impersonal modal auxiliaries such as *могло бы* or *можно было бы* 'possibly', epistemic parenthetical phrases such as *я не знаю* 'I don't know', *я думаю* 'I think', *я полагаю* 'I should say', evidential adverbials such as *может быть* 'perhaps', epistemic constructions such as *мне кажется* 'it seems to me' and other epistemic indicators as adjectives such as *вероятный* 'probable' can also appear in these sentences.

   The corpus also shows other uses of *там*: 1) it is frequently employed as a vague approximator, indicating a rough zone around a number on a scale; 2) it is a marker of continuation and enumeration, signalling the speaker's intention to continue on with an example, a listing, an elaboration; 3) it appears in disjunctive coordination, an environment, according to Kibrik (2004), frequently associated with the irrealis mode; 4) it reinforces the indefiniteness of adverbs and pronouns in *-то* and *-нибудь*; 5) it is used evidentially with verbs of saying and opinion to indicate sources of knowledge; 6) it is often associated with negative propositions. The connection between negative forms and the irrrealis mode is quite straightforward from a semantic point of view, since the semantics of 'nonexistence' may arise from the notion of "distalness" (Mauri, Sansò 2012).

   What all of these contexts seem to have in common is that they can be seen to induce irrealis meanings, as defined in the sense of Givón (1994, 1995). *Там* not only expresses geographical or temporal semantic distance towards a proposition but also the speaker's attitude or stance towards the distance, i.e. an attitude/evaluation of the propo-

sition. The use of the distancing deictic *там* in the aforementioned contexts causes a conceptual shift of the whole situation from a real-world dimension to a hypothetical mental space. In a cross-linguistic perspective, the set of functions performed by *там* seems similar to the semantic network developed by several irrealis markers in various languages and echoes the use of deictic spatial morphemes to mark irrealis and future contexts (Nichols 2005; Nevins 2002; Mauri, Sansò 2012).

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Complex subjunctors in the Bosnian language

Conjunctions are the word class that, in grammatical descriptions of the Bosnian language, has always been recognized as a separate part of speech. Grammar classifies a *conjunction* both as a *part of speech* and a *part of a sentence*. This dual feature almost always results in simultaneously classifying *conjunctions as parts of speech* and *conjunctions as parts of a sentence*. In this paper, the distinction between the theoretical and terminological classification of conjunctions will be introduced. After taking into consideration the terms that had previously been used in linguistics for naming the linking words, we propose the term *conjunctions* for *parts of speech*, and the term *junctor* for *linking words at the sentence level*.

Junctors are defined as *words or functionally related groups of words that connect homofunctional units in a simple or complex sentence, or that introduce a dependent clause in a complex sentence structure*. In accordance with this definition, the following definition of conjunctions has been adopted: *Conjunctions are invariable words in the sentence functioning as junctors and they do not perform the function of any of the basic sentence elements (subject, predicate, object, adverbial, attribute, apposition)*.

The fact is that the role of linking homofunctional units and the introduction of the dependent clause in a complex sentence structure can be performed by more than one word. Grammars highlight such structures as *conjunctions* or *complex conjunctions*. In this paper, conjunctions are defined as a part of speech; therefore, each conjunction is a *single word*. Structures that consist of several words and perform the function of linking together or giving a subordinate clause the meaning of a certain type are classified as *junctors*. Based on the whether *junctors* consist of one or more words, they are divided into *simple* and *complex junctors* whereas all conjunctions belong to the group of *simple junctors*.

Junctors are divided into *conjunctors* and *subjunctors*. Conjunctors are those junctors *linking homofunctional units in a simple or complex sentence* (the first part of the definition of junctors) while subjunctors are junctors *that introduce a dependent clause into a complex sentence structure* (the second part of the definition of junctors). Both conjunctors and subjunctors can be divided into simple and complex ones. The simple ones consist of only one word. The complex ones consist of two or more words.

Complex subjunctors are very diverse in respect to the types of words that are their components. Research shows that the following complex subjunctor combinations are possible in the Bosnian language: *verb + conjunction, preposition + conjunction, preposition + noun + conjunction, adverb (adverbial expression) + conjunction, particle +*

conjunction, *conjunction + particle*, *particle + pronoun*, *pronoun + particle*, *particle + adverb* and *adverb + particle*. In this paper, all complex subjunctors in the Bosnian language and examples of their usage will be presented.

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Reforms of writing systems: Success or failure?

One hundred years ago, in May 1917, the Russian Provisional Government decreed a spelling reform that had been prepared for a long time. The reform turned out to be very successful – so successful that many young Russians, when confronted with a pre-1917 Russian text, do not know how to read ⟨ѣ⟩, ⟨θ⟩ or ⟨ея⟩. Other successful reforms conducted in Slavic and post-Soviet writing systems include Ljudevit Gaj's introduction of Czech and Polish diacritics into the Croatian alphabet in 1830 as well as their adaptation for Slovenian by Stanko Vraz in 1839, the replacement of ⟨j⟩ for /iː/ with ⟨í⟩ and ⟨g⟩ for /j/ with ⟨j⟩ in Czech in 1843, the Polish reunification of spelling in 1936, the Bulgarian alphabet reform of 1945, and the Latinization of Azerbaijani in 1991. Vuk Karadžić's reform of the Serbian alphabet nowadays also seems to be self-evident, though it took from 1814 to 1866 until it was officially recognized in the Kingdom of Serbia.

However, many reforms of writing systems have not met with success – among them the 1930 attempt to convert Russian to the Latin alphabet and the introduction of ⟨ё⟩ into the Russian alphabet, which was invented in 1783 but is still used only sporadically even now. Franc Metelko's Slovenian alphabet of 1825 was the only one that distinguished the phonemes /ɛ/, /e/, and /ə/ (by using the letters ⟨e⟩, ⟨ɛ⟩, and ⟨ɜ⟩, respectively), but it never won general acceptance. The Latinization of Uzbek of 1993/95 has not been implemented by newspapers and magazines even twenty years later and long after the end of the twice-extended 'transitional period' of fifteen years. Other examples are the Second Chinese Character Simplification Scheme of 1977, which the government of the People's Republic had to withdraw in 1986, and the French spelling reform of 1990, which is still ignored by most of the public.

In this talk I will examine a wide range of writing reforms (script reforms, spelling reforms, and glyphic reforms) of Slavic and post-Soviet as well as selected other languages. The aim is to determine which factors influence the success or failure of a reform to what extent. Among the factors considered will be the orthographic principles touched by the reform (phonological, syllabic, morphological, lexical, grammatical or etymological principle), the motivations for the reform, the scientific arguments put forward in the discussion, the semiotic values associated with the reformed writing system, the timing, the political system of the country, and the literacy rate of the speech community.

The results of this analysis might be a bit disillusioning for us as linguists because linguistic factors turn out to play a very minor role compared to extralinguistic factors. In fact the most decisive factor seems to be: timing.

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Morphologically incorporated universal quantifiers in superlatives: Evidence from Slovene

Bobaljik (2012) proposes universal constraints on the composition of degree adjectives; namely that superlatives, being built from comparatives, undergo suppletion if and only if the comparative is suppletive. This generalization, as he points out, is especially transparent in many[17] Slavic languages.

SLOVENE

dobr-i	→	*bolj-š-i*	→	*naj-bolj-š-i*
good-NOM.SG.MASC.		better-NOM.SG.MASC.		best-NOM.SG.MASC.

The notion that phonological words are not syntactic primitives, but rather that individual morphosyntacic features occupy syntactic heads and drive the syntax, has been argued for and adopted in much of the Minimalist literature (e.g., Koopman and Szabolcsi (2000), Kayne (2005), Starke (2009), etc.). Assuming, then, that superlative degree words are syntactic composites (consisting of an expanded portion of syntactic structure, i.e., not a single phrase), the question naturally arises: what are the sublexical components of the superlative degree adjective?

In this paper, I explore a piece of this puzzle, namely, the nature of the particular feature that transforms a comparative degree adjective into a superlative; in Slovene (among many other Slavic languages), instantiated through the morpheme *naj-*.

Slovene provides exceptional insight into this question, because unlike other Slavic languages (and in fact, unlike any other language that I am aware of), the Slovene superlative morpheme has c-selection properties that distinguish it from both the comparative and positive degree adjective. Superlatives in Slovene are frequently accompanied by CPs headed by the complementizer *kar*. These CPs serve to denote a quantifier domain restriction (as in Stanley and Szabó, 2000).

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[17] Macedonian is one of the only languages which seems to provide a counter-example to Bobaljik's generalization.

Maja	*je*	*najboljša*	*študentka,*	*kar sem*	***jih***	*imela.*
Maja_{NOM.SG.FEM.}	is	best_{NOM.SG.FEM.}	student_{NOM.SG.FEM.}	that AUX	**them_{ACC.PL.}**	had

'Maja is the best student that I have had.' (Maja is the best student [_{QDOMAIN} the students I have had])

The plural pronoun within the *kar*-phrase is the clearest indicator that the *kar*-phrase is indeed a quantifier domain restriction rather than a simple relative clause containing a resumptive pronoun.[18]

A quantifier domain restriction is necessarily a consequence of the presence of a quantifier; in this case, I argue that the relevant Q is a sublexical component of the superlative degree morpheme (at least roughly corresponding to the morpheme *naj-*). Furthermore, I argue that this quantifier is an instantiation of the universal quantifier. There is support for this within Slovene itself, as the universal quantifier is also frequently accompanied by a Q-domain restriction *kar*-phrase.

Slovene

Vsi	*študentje,*	*kar sem jih*	*imela, so*	*bili*	*dobri.*
All-_{NOM.PL.MASC.}	students-_{NOM.PL.MASC.}	that AUX them-_{ACC.PL.}	had AUX	were	good-_{NOM.PL.MASC.}

'All the students that I had are good.'

In addition to evidence from Slovene, I will present support from other languages (such as Tamil) in which superlatives are not formed synthetically but rather analytically to illustrate that the superlative degree adjective is obligatorily (and cross-typologically) formed by virtue of the inclusion of a universal quantifier.

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[18] Note that although this pronoun has no overt antecedent, the implicit antecedent, according to native speakers of Slovene, is perfectly obvious: namely, "the students".

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Неканонические подлежащие: Синтаксис и коммуникативная структура

В докладе обсуждаются критерии выделения неканонических подлежащих (приоритетных актантов) в русском языке в связи с механизмами приписывания падежа и контроля согласования. Предлагается выделять канонические подлежащие по совокупности трех признаков: 1) наличие т.н. синтаксического имен.п., 2) контроль согласования предиката, 3) наличие ненулевой формы. Неканонические подлежащие не обладают минимум одним из перечисленных признаков.

Состояние исследований. В [5] отмечается, что приоритетным актантам предикативов, ср. *мне стыдно*, и отчасти, т.н. нулям Мельчука, т.е. нулевым субъектам с ролевой семантикой в предложениях типа $\varnothing^{\text{ELEMENTS}}$ *улицу*$_{\text{ACC}}$ *засыпало*$_{\text{PST.3SG.N}}$ *песко*м, $\varnothing^{\text{PEOPLE}}$ *улицу*$_{\text{ACC}}$ *засыпали*$_{\text{PST.3PL}}$ *песком* присущи такие признаки подлежащих, как контроль деепричастного оборота и связывание рефлексивного местоимения. А.В.Бондарко [1] различает грамматические подлежащие (ИГ в имен.п., ИнфГ и придаточные) и «субъекты», т.е. приоритетные актанты в косв.п. И.А.Мельчук [2] признает сентенциальные подлежащие, но отрицает наличие подлежащих в косв.п., за исключением род.п. в контексте отрицания, ср. *Ответа не пришло*. В [4] утверждается, что инфинитивные группы при предикативе, ср. (*мне*) *стыдно признаваться в ошибке* являются внутренними аргументами и попадают в позицию подлежащего только при перемещении в левую периферию клаузы и отсутствии извлечений. В [3] и [4] обсуждается гипотеза о том, что дативные субъекты, сентенциальные валентности предикативов и формальное местоимение *это* (с непредметной референцией) продвигаются в позицию подлежащего по некоторой ранжированной шкале.

Анализ. Я принимаю выдвинутую в [6] гипотезу о том, что в русском языке реализуется дисгармоническое приписывание падежа: количественные группы типа *два помощника* в дативно-предикативных структурах (ДПС) типа *мне*$_{\text{DAT}}$ *надо*$_{\text{PRED}}$/*нужно*$_{\text{PRED}}$ [$_{\text{QP}}$ *два помощника*]$_{\text{PL}}$ имеют признак {+ морф. имен. п.}, но {- синт.имен.п.}. Запрет на синт. имен.п. подтверждает, что ИГ в дат.п. является неканоническим подлежащим ДПС. $\varnothing^{\text{ELEMENTS}}$ и $\varnothing^{\text{PEOPLE}}$ можно рассматривать как нулевые местоимения 3л. в синт. имен.п., контролирующие согласование, соответственно, в 3л.

ед.ч. ср.р. и мн.ч., но они не имеют фонологической формы, не являются группами и не могут быть приравнены к каноническим подлежащим. Инфинитивные группы и *что Р*-придаточные продвигаются в позицию подлежащего при топикализации, которая облигаторна для биноминативных предложений типа $\{_{TopP}[_{InfP}$ *Ходить в министерство*$]\} - \{_{FocP}[_{InfP}$ *только время терять*$]\}$, всегда являющихся коммуникативно-расчлененными структурами, и факультативна для предложений с предикативом, которые могут быть как расчлененными, так и нерасчлененными: $\{_{TopP}[_{InfP}$ *Ходить в министерство*$]\} -$ *приятно*$_{PRED} \sim \{\varnothing^{IMP}$ *приятно*$_{PRED}$ $[_{InfP}$ *ходить в министерство*$]\}$. Для коммуникативно-нерасчлененных структур без канонического подлежащего и топикализации ИнфГ постулируется нулевое подлежащее $\varnothing^{IMP}$ без ролевой семантики. Тот же анализ возможен для предложений со *что-Р* придаточным, без топикализации: $\varnothing^{IMP}$ *Васю*$_{ACC}$ *раздражает*, $[_{CP}$ *что начальник посылает его в министерство*]. $\varnothing^{IMP}$ не является визуализацией формального слова *это*, ср. $\varnothing^{IMP}$ *уже поздно*$_{PRED}$ $[_{InfP}$ *пить боржоми*], при невозможности моноклаузальной структуры **Это уже поздно$_{PRED}$ $[_{InfP}$ *пить боржоми*]. Вопрос о ранжировании сентенциальных и дативных подлежащих предлагается решать, тестируя структуры типа $[_{CP}$ что Р] Pred$_1$, но Pred$_2$- N$_{DAT}$, где *что Р*-аргумент относится к обоим предикативам, лишь один из которых имеет валентность на приоритетный актант в дат.п., ср. $^{?/*}[_{CP}$ *Что Вася проиграет*], *было ожидаемо*$_{PRED}$, *но неприятно*$_{PRED-DAT}$ *Кате*$_{DAT}$.

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The processing of unaccusative, anticausative and unergative verbs

Unaccusative verbs are a class of intransitive verbs that syntactically and semantically differ from another class of intransitive verbs - unergative verbs.

(1) He ran.
(2) He fell.

Unergative verbs as in (1) have Agent as a subject and unaccusative verbs as in (2) have Theme as a subject. Superficially, their syntactic structure looks identical. However, the subject of unergative verbs is generated in the preverbal position and the theme subject of unaccusative verbs is initially merged in the complement V position as an internal argument and then moved to the preverbal position. The reason for this is case checking. Unaccusative verbs do not have an external argument and cannot assign accusative case (Burzio's Generalization, 1986). The derivation of unaccusative verbs thus involves movement of a Theme from the postverbal to the preverbal subject position. Anticausative verbs, a subclass within the unaccusative group, have the same derivation as other unaccusatives. We single out anticausatives and compare them to other unaccusatives because anticausative verbs are the only among the unaccusatives that have a transitive counterpart and in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian (BCS) are realised with a particle *se* as in (3).

(3) slomiti se – break

To see the relationship between the syntactic structure and the processing of verbs, we designed a Cross-Modal Lexical Priming (CMLP, Swinney et al. 1979) comprehension study in BCS measuring reaction times for unaccusative, anticausative and unergative verbs. In CMLP tasks, the sentences are presented auditorily at a normal speaking rate and at several points in the sentence, other items (probes) are visually presented. Probes can be related to the subject NP, unrelated to the subject NP and a non-word. The participant is asked to make a lexical decision about the probe (word, non-word) via button press. We predict that reaction times (RT) for related probes will be faster for unaccusative and anticausative verbs than for unergative verbs. If the subject of unaccusatives and anticausatives originates postverbally within a VP, that means reactivation of the

antecedent should occur at the trace. For this reason, probe is inserted at the trace position (immediately after the verb) 750ms and 1000ms after the verb, because in case of reactivation, the probe related to the subject NP should be primed at the trace position or somewhat later. The reactivated antecedent will serve as a prime for a semantically related probe at the reactivation site. Thus, the participant is expected to decide faster whether the present string of letters is a word or a non-word - the reaction time is expected to be faster. Unergative verbs will not show reactivation at the object position since their subject never originated there. Therefore, lack of priming will mean slower reaction time.

Another aspect of this study is concerned with unaccusative meaning and verbal Aspect. Aljović (2000) argues that in BCS, unaccusative verbs lose their unaccusative properties in the imperfective aspect. To test this, in our study all verbs will be used twice, in the perfective and imperfective aspect. If the results show a significant difference in RT between perfective and imperfective unaccusative verbs, this will sugest that unaccusative verbs do lose their unaccusative properties in the imperfective aspect. This study will provide an empirical insight into language processing in real time and it will make an original contribution to the experimental investigation of a South Slavic language – BCS.

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The reflexes of *jat* in East-Bosnian ijekavian-shtokavian speech type noted in the surveys Questions about the speech of the populace (1897) and Bosnian-Herzegovinian dialectal complex (1975–1986)

One of the central questions in the hierarchy of dialectal realisations pertaining to Bosnian-Herzegovinian speech certainly is the *jat* sound. In the literature up until the modern day, it has been highlighted that the most interesting phenomenon of vocal alteration in our dialects altogether, and especially in the southern-based speech, was replacing the old Ѣ (*jat*) sound, while today's realisations without a doubt actualize the question of old *jat* sound reflex, because that very same question is vital for differentiating between standard languages of the central-south Slavic area. An uneven replacement of *jat* in the same sound positions is subject to various factors: differences in national spoken basis, differences in spoken and written language, discrepancies between artificial constructs and the actual language etc. Therefore, it is clear why so many papers widely compiled and analyzed in both, monographic studies and in normative manuals, have been committed to this very question. The basis of eastern Bosnian speech type is the eastern Herzegovinian dialect. We can base this conclusion on scientific works and research that focused on specific speech from this area. Thus, these speech types have often been observed within the eastern Herzegovinian dialect, and it is known that they form its central or northern side in the space between the rivers Bosnia and Drina. As these speech types belong to eastern Herzegovinian dialectal system based on its specific *jat* replacement, they are part of a much larger *ijekavian* complex with its *ijekavian* 'ije' spoken feature, as opposed to ě (*jat*) found in longer syllables, and its 'je' feature instead of ě found in shorter syllables, with its exceptions known to literary language of ijekavian speech. Therefore, eastern Herzegovinian dialectal system stems from the *(i)jekavian* speech, but in accordance with certain rules, many words have seen their diphthongs changed, as in 'ie' (written *ije*), vocal set 'je' and vowels 'i' and 'e': *cvijet, cvijeće / cvjetovi, cvjetati* (flower / flowers, bloom), *živjeti / živio* (live / lived), *brijeg / brjegovi / bregovi* (hill / hills), *vrijeme / vremena* (time / times). Linguistic and philological analysis of this work has been sourced from the 1897 questionnaire *Pitanja o govoru prostog naroda* (Questions about speech of the *populace)*, as well as *Bosanskohercegovački dijalekatski kompleks (Bosnian-Herzegovinian dialectal complex)* (1975–1986). In this paper, questionnaires relevant to the research of the east-Bosnian speech type, conducted in and around Čajniče, Foča, Goražde, Kalinovik, Rogatica and Višegrad will be analyzed, and are within the framework of 1897 govern-

ment project *Pitanja o govoru prostog naroda* (*Questions about speech of the populace)*, as well as questions conducted in and around Čajniče, Foča, Goražde, Kalinovik, Rogatica and Višegrad relating to the *Bosanskohercegovački dijalekatski kompleks* (*Bosnian-Herzegovinian dialectal complex*) (1975–1986), project lead by the Language Institute. The analysis will see the comparative and historical method combined, which will serve to not only paint a clearer spatial image of the *jat* replacement, but it will also shed more light on the nature of this replacement in morphologically and phonologically conditioned positions. Finally, this analysis will single out particular *jat* reflexes of east-Bosnian speech type which have, since the 19th century up until modern day dialectological research, been a part of that dialectal system.

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Еще несколько заметок по поводу глагола детерминированного движения *iti* в словенском языке

В истории развития категории глагольного вида в славянских языках глаголы движения играли немаловажную роль. Согласно работе Л. Янды, во взаимоотношении глаголов детерминированного и недетерминированного движения можно усмотреть прототипические отношения между перфективными и имперфективными глаголами (Janda 2008), хотя С. Дики (2013) с этим не согласен. Но Дики (Dickey 2011) считает, что очень важную роль в процессе формирования видовой системы восточного типа в славянских языках, в том числе в русском, сыграли взаимосвязанные процессы: активизация префикса *по-*, формирование видовой пары *идти-пойти* и более или менее обязательное употребление глаголов СВ в цепочке действий. Видовые системы западного типа более архаичны и, согласно С. Дики, под влиянием немецкого языка их развитие не пошло по этому пути.

Словенский язык является представителем западной группы славянских языков: в словенском языке при обозначении повторяющихся действий, в настоящем историческом, в перформативных высказываниях, в обще-фактическом значении и т. д. вполне возможны или даже преобладают глаголы совершенного вида, а в цепочке действий может выступать глагол несовершенного вида (Derganc 2003; Dickey 2003; Петрухина 2015).

Типичным представителем западной группы словенский язык является и в отношении глагола детерминированного движения *iti*. В словенском языке видовые партнеры *iti* - **poiti* не развились в полной мере, инфинитива **poiti* и претерита типа **pošel* (в значении глагола движения) в словенском языке нет, так что на месте русского *пошел* в словенском языке употребляется форма *šel*, которая в таких примерах считается перфективной. Во многих отношениях поведение словенского глагола *iti* похоже на поведение чешского глагола 'jít', ср. переводы из книги *Медвежонок Винни-Пух* на словенский, чешский и русский языки:

(1)   **Šel je** obiskat prijatelja Puja, ki sta z njim velika prijatelja. (23)
      Šel na návštěvu k svému příteli Medvídkovi Pú, je to jeho dobrý známý.
      Он **пошёл** в гости к своему другу Винни-Пуху.
(2)   Zato **je šel** domov kosit. (31)
      A **šel** domů na oběd.
      И он **пошёл** домой обедать.

Но в чешском языке глагол 'jít' интерпретируется как глагол несовершенного вида (Stankovska 2009: 207), а в словенском языке форма *šel* в приведенных примерах интерпретируется как перфективная, а глагол *iti* − как биаспектив (Derganc 2015; хотя ср. Dickey 2003: 203).

В связи с глаголом *hoditi* в докладе будут изложены некоторые факты, которые также говорят о более архаическом значении этого глагола в словенском языке, ведь он часто выражает значение образа действия движения (manner of motion), а не только значение глагола недетерминированного движения (ср. Dickey 2013).

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A diachronic morphological analyser for Polish based on a small corpus

The aim is to present morphological analyser of Polish, which can interpret forms with respect to older inflection and orthography in texts written after 1830. A by-product of this project is a tiny corpus of 1M tokens. However originally intended as a resource of linguistic data and a testing set for the analyser, the corpus is also adequate for research where smaller set of data is sufficient (inflection, phonetic/phonologic change, syntax cf. Sambor and Hammerl 1990). Making an analyzer from scratch is time- and work-consuming task. In most cases better, faster, simpler and cheaper solution is to adapt one. We used an analyser of contemporary Polish, Morfeusz (Woliński 2006, 2014) and modified it on various levels. Basically, the analyzer can be thought of as a large lexicon, where stems and endings are stored, a set of rules to compose them into wordforms, and a definition of a tagset. Normally a written text, apart from strings that represent word-forms, contains also strings that needs to be analysed as more than one word-form (e.g. compounds, cf. *żółto-niebieski* 'yellow-blue', *naukowo-techniczny* 'of science and technology') or regular, but not inflectional, forms, such as adjectives with negative prefix (*szczęśliwy* 'happy' : *nieszczęśliwy* 'unhappy', *gotowy* 'ready' : *niegotowy* 'unready' etc.). Such segmentation phenomena are handled by preprocessing. In the presented project scripts handle for example tokenization of compound pronouns, such as *który·bądź*, *kto·bądź* ('whichever', 'whoever'; dot marks suffix).

Most changes concerned the lexicon. Because the forms are combined by the program from numerous unique stems and sets of endings, in case, in which the stem differs from what it is now, a new entry needs to be introduced, e.g. *exaltowany* (contemporary *egzaltowany*) 'gushing', *znaydować* (cont. *znajdować*) 'find', *dimissya* (cont. *dymisja*) 'dimission'. If there is a difference in ending(s), a new set of endings needs to be introduced too. This set, however, can be linked to the stem as a variant of contemporary declension or conjunction. Let's take the example of innovative instrumental and locative singular masculine and neuter of adjectives. They are timestamped variants of con-

temporary forms (cf. Fig. 2). Obsolete accusative singular in female nouns that formed no longer present syncretism with instrumental is described in the same way (cf. Fig. 3). Similarly obsolete soft endings ~*ja* and ~*ya* in nouns were introduced, cf. *chemja*, *tragedya, tragedja*, *lilija* 'chemistry', 'intelligence', 'lily' (cont. *chemia, tragedia, lilia*, cf. Fig. 3 and 5) and *i/y* in forms of present tense indicative and imperative, respectively, of the verbs such as *stoię* 1.SG.PRES.IND, *stoią* 3.SG.PRES.IND, *stóy* 2.SG. IMPER 'stand' (cont. *stoję, stoją, stój*). Naturally a new entry could be linked to a new pattern, e.g. *znaydować*: *znayduię, znayduią, znayduy* 'find' (1,3.SG.PRES.IND, 2.SG. IMPER; cont. *znajduję, znajdują, znajduj*). The unwelcome consequence of such design of the lexicon is that forms with alternative endings sets are kept together, but those with alternations in stem are not. To avoid this discrepancy stemmatic variants (both historical and contemporary) are linked to each other — in a way similar to the idea of hyperlemma (Kučera 2007). As a result, in the lexicon substantive tragedia is linked to three patterns (contemporary, ending with ~*ia*, two historical: ~*ja* and ~*ya*) and stem variants: *trajedja* and *tragedyja* (both potentially have two historical patterns), cf. Fig. 4. In the same way two historical variants, *austryjacki* and *austrjacki* 'Austrian' (both generating forms with historical endings), are linked to *austriacki*. In Fig. 3 all forms generated for lilia are presented. However this feature is not active in the analyser now, it can be used in the future, for example for tagging with hyperlemmata.

The corpus is 1M token resource. Loosely defined, but clearly distinctive styles, divide it into five subcorpora (cf. Fig. 5; see also Kurcz et al. 1990): non-specialist scientific papers (1), press news (2), feuilletons (3), fiction (4) and drama (5), first printed between 1830 and 1918 (later texts are very well represented in the analyser's lexicon). A subcorpus consists of 200 samples, 1000 tokens each. Each year is represented by at least one sample in each style (then no less than 5 samples per year, 11 on average). Small samples helped to diversify texts in respect to authors (650 different) and sources (200 literary works, 299 newspapers, magazines, chapters in collections), cf. Bilińska et al. (2016). We used the corpus to observe some changes in Polish over this period, e.g. the decline of constricted vowel marking, contraction in nominal stems or dynamics of endings change (cf. Fig. 6), cf. Derwojedowa et al. (2016).

The analyser is available at http://sgjp.pl/morfeusz/demo-f19.

The corpus as plain text is available at http://www.f19.uw.edu.pl/2017/01/korpuswersja-zaktualizowana/.

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Variation in clitic placement in the history of Bulgarian

The paper discusses the placement of clitics in the history of Bulgarian with a focus on their occurrence with respect to V and items in Spec,CP. Observations are made on texts from three corpora: for Old Church Slavonic: Codex Marianus, Codex Zographensis, Codex Assemani, Codex Sabbae, Codex Suprasliensis (TOROT, TITUS); for Middle and Early Modern Bulgarian: Troya Legend and damaskin texts from Historical Corpus of Bulgarian Language (http://histdict.uni-sofia.bg/textcorpus/list).

The study deals with the placement of discourse clitics (же, бо) and pronominal clitics (dative ми, ти; later моу, etc.; accusative и, ѧ, мѧ, etc., later го, etc.; with notes on reflexive сѧ) incl. in periphrastic verb constructions and in wh-/k-constructions, to/да-clauses, and others with element in Spec,CP[19].

(1) ı въ водѫ да и.Acc вꙑ погоуꙗилъ (Mk. 9:22 Mar, Zogr, Assem, Sab)
   καὶ ι εἰς ὕ δατα ἵνα ἀπολέσῃ αὐτόν·

(2) ı равьнꙑ намъ сътворилъ ꙗ.Acc еси. (Mt. 20:12 Mar)
   ῒ равьнꙃи а.Acc намъ сътворилъ еси (Assem)
   ı равьнꙃиа (sic!) намъ створилъ еси (Zogr)
   καὶ ι ἴσους αὐτοὺὺς ἡμῖν ἐποίησας (NT 1904)
   καὶ ι ἴσους ἡμῖν αὐτοὺὺς ἐποίησας (Scriv)

(3) аште ми.Dat сѧ.Refl ключитъ съ тобоѭ оумьрѣти (Mt. 26:35, Mar, Zogr, Sab)
   аꙵꙃе ключитъ ми.Dat сѧ.Refl съ тобоꙗꙵ ᾿оумьрѣти (Assem)
   Κᾶν δέη με συὶν σοὶὶ ἀποθανεῖν

(4) тамо сѧ е обрѣло и тамо да сѧ и расѫдитъ (Troya Legend, 14th c.)
   да ꙋзме іѡаннꙋ дш҃та, и да мꙋ а́ занесѐ (Damascenus Troianensis, 17th c.)

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[19] 1C – complementizer; CP – complementizer phrase; Spec,CP – specifier of the CP; v – the functional head of the verbal phrase (controlling the object).

The discussion revolves around the hypothesis for different spots for the clitics much in line with the two phase approach advocated by Roberts (2010) where C and v are the two loci for cliticization (Ds are in C; φ(feature)s – at the edge of vP). The study attempts at testing the claim that diachronically (Roberts 2010) clitics may shift from C-oriented to v-oriented due to feature loss (for Bulgarian (Pancheva 2005); for Greek (Taylor 1994). In the earlier texts, there is a tendency for pronominal clitic to occur in 2P, after the first clausal element – though in the early texts, the preceding element is mostly the verb, if the clitic is preverbal, the first element can be a wh-item (к-, иже, etc.), то/да- and other subjunctions (аще, etc.), elements in focus. However, же and бо (2P) are always before them in the clitic cluster. Pronominal clitic and auxiliary may also precede the participle in a to-clause with pronominal clitic either before the periphrastic form of auxiliary and participle or between the two (with variant readings). Later texts reveal missing же and бо and a much higher incidence of pronominal clitics found after items in Spec,CP (under certain conditions) and before the verb. Observations on the texts of various character show that though the shift might have been already starting very early (with the changes in the pronoun system), the structure might have kept the two spots – C and the edge of vP – busy for some time (Roberts 2010: 74).

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The construction *возьми и* + V$_{imp}$ in the function of a narrative imperative

The object of the study is the construction [*возьми и* + V$_{imp}$] and its variants [*возьми да* + V$_{imp}$] and [*возьми да и* + V$_{imp}$] in the function of a narrative imperative. Purely semantically, this construction can be considered a partial realization of [*взять и сделать*]. Cf. (1), (2), and (3).

(1) И не успел он оглянуться, как этот прохвост Катькин *возьми и* плюнь ему прямо в рыло!.. [Булгаков. Театральный роман]

(2) Дело было в годы польской Солидарности, а Рихтер *возьми да и* сыграй на бис Революционный этюд Шопена. [Поспелов. Рихтер

(3) Как-то я *возьми да* скажи: нет, это не гражданский иск, это процесс политический. [Бакланов. Жизнь, подаренная дважды]

Formally, [*возьми и* + V$_{imp}$] in the meaning of a narrative imperative is homonymous with the genuine imperative and occupies an intermediate position between the construction [*взять и сделать*] and an ordinary imperative, which cannot help but be reflected in its semantics. Various aspects of narrative imperative were considered in Исаченко (1957), Прокопович (1969), Veyrenc (1980), Перцов (1998), and later in Fortuin (2000), Фортейн (2008), Kor Chahine, Torterat (2006), Кор Шаин (2007), etc.

The construction [*возьми и* + V$_{imp}$] is not described separately in dictionaries (Ушаков 1935–1940; Ожегов 1960; МАС 1985–1988; Ожегов 1989; Ожегов, Шведова 1999; Шведова 2007; БТС 2005; АС 2014). It appears only in the zone of illustrative examples as a realization of the construction [*взять и* + V] and is described as one of the meanings of the verb *взять* that is realized in co-occurrences with the conjunctions *да, и, да и* to express a sudden, unexpected action, and is marked as colloquial. Studies and lexicographical sources have not treated a number of questions, such as the filler of the V$_{imp}$ slot.

The goal of the present investigation is to identify a number of preferences for filling the V$_{imp}$ slot and empirically substantiate some usual preferences for filling this slot, such as verbs of speaking.

To answer this question we will analyze data in the main corpus of the RNC (Russian National Corpus) and the Sketch Engine ruTenTen [2011] subcorpus (more than 14.5 billion tokens). Each of these resources has its advantages and limitations. The RNC is relatively small, but from it one can obtain pure data supplied with source and temporal parameters. Subcorpus ruTenTen [2011] is many times larger, which is good for statistical analysis. The simultaneous use of both resources significantly increases the reliability of the results.

We are going to demonstrate that while purely theoretically this slot can be filled by any perfective verb denoting sudden action or a sudden change of state, actual usage clearly favors verbs of speaking. Among them *скажи* leads in this group by a wide margin. This can be explained by the fact that among our actions that come as a surprise even to ourselves, verbal actions are the most natural.

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The phonology of anglicisms in Czech: Exploring extralinguistic factors

Czech lexicon has been exposed to the influence of English for more than two centuries. Anglicisms usually undergo phonological adaptation, motivated by the need for communicative efficiency. The default adaptation principle is phonological approximation (replacing foreign elements by native substitutes with respect to their perceptual proximity, e.g. *science fiction* [saɪəns fɪkʃən]$_{EN}$ > [sajɛns fɪkʃn̩]). The second most common principle is that of spelling pronunciation, where the adaptation is based on the written form, irrespective of the original phonological structure (e.g. *bulldozer* > *buldozer* [buldozɛr]$_{CS}$, and not *[buldo͡uzr̩]). The other principles include original pronunciation (only used in specific situations) and different types of analogies, e.g. *musical* > *muzikál* [muzɪka:l]$_{CS}$, where the ending *-ál* is treated in a way typical of Latinisms.

Although it has been established that the principle of phonological approximation is largely prevailing, it is not easy to explain the choice of adaptation principle in individual cases. We hypothesise that this choice is partly influenced by extralinguistic, i.e. socially conditioned factors. Three of them are tested in the present paper: age of the loan, spelling adaptation, and semantic domain.

In our Database of Czech Anglicisms, comprising more than 4950 entries, 550 entries are provided with the date of first appearance. Three periods were defined: 19th century, first half of the 20th century, second half of the 20th century. Each of the 550 entries was classified according to the degree of spelling adaptation (adapted, not adapted, alternative), as well as semantic domain (science, sport, culture etc.)

The age of loan has a clear impact on the distribution of adaptation processes: the importance of spelling pronunciation was significantly greater in the 19th century, probably as a consequence of a lesser knowledge of English in the population and the absence of sound media. In the 20th century, the proportion of both principles seems to be steady. The data show that the likelihood of spelling adaptation is function of the loan age: the older the word, the greater the pressure to adapt it orthographically. Interestingly, anomalous pronunciations (e.g. *shoot* > *čutat* [tʃutat]$_{CS}$, where the modification [ʃ] > [tʃ] cannot be explained by any of the principles used) are mostly maintained in words with adapted spelling. The semantic criterion, although correctly motivated (different social groups may introduce different types of loans, and apply different phonological principles), did not reveal any notable regularity in the distribution of adaptation principles, perhaps with the exception of natural sciences, where the proportion of spelling

pronunciation is conspicuously high. One possible explanation would be the influence of Latin, which has a rather orthographic pronunciation in Czech, and which is widely used in this discipline.

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Touching matters: Metaphorical extensions of *dotknąć* and *touch*

In metaphorical extensions of the verbs of sensory perception these verbs often stand for mental states, as meaning shifts typically involve the transfer from concrete to abstract domains. Concerning the metaphors of touch Sweetser (1991) points out that "the sense of touch is not only linked with the general sense perception, but is also closely tied to emotional "feeling". Lakoff and Johnson (1980) claim that EMOTIONAL EFFECT IS PHYSICAL CONTACT, which is related the sense of touch as in *I was touched by this remark* and propose a further metaphor AFFECTING IS TOUCHING.

However, research into English and Polish sentences with touch verbs show dramatic contrasts in interpretation. While sentences with *touch* are typically positive, sentences with *dotknąć* are uniformly negative:

(1) a. But my colleagues' generosity has touched me more than anything else.
b. Ale ożenić się z tobą nie chce. Nie było to pytanie, lecz stwierdzenie, które głęboko dotknęło Iwana.
But she does not want to marry you. It was not a question, but a statement, which deeply hurt (lit. touched) Ivan.

Furthermore, the dimension of +/- human agent plays an important role in the meaning of "touch" sentences. In Polish active sentences with *dotknąć* if the subject is a person's action or words, to touch means to hurt as in (1b). If the subject is construed as non-human, to touch means to adversely affect:

(2) Specjaliści twierdzą, że ta dolegliwość dotyka nawet kilku milionów Polaków.
The experts claim, that this ailment affects (lit. touches) up to a few million Poles.

In English the +/- human agent is not relevant in the active voice but very much so in the passive. If the agent is human the interpretation is positive, otherwise not.

(3) a. I was touched by his interest and concern.
b. There are so many people whose lives were touched by the recession.

Thus, agentive verbs of touch lend themselves to metaphorical extensions in both Polish and English. These extensions concern emotions and well-being of people and places. They instantiate the conceptual metaphor of AFFECTING IS TOUCHING, but ways in which they do so depend on the lexical semantics of the verbs in question and whether the agent is human or not. Based on the data presented in the paper inclusion of HURTING IS TOUCHING in the list of "touch" metaphors seems warranted.

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"Helpless" verbs: Uses of the L-participle without auxiliary in BCS

0. The most usual BCS past tense (*perfekt*) has an auxiliary (= present tense of 'be', clitic forms *sam, si, je, smo, ste, su*; long/full/tonic forms *jesam, jesi, jest(e), jesmo, jeste, jesu*; negated forms *nisam, nisi, nije, nismo, niste, nisu*) plus an L-participle (LP) of the main verb (masc. sg. *-o*, fem. sg. *-la,* etc.). Yet in various instances an LP appears without Aux. Apart from non-tense uses (optative, concessive), there is the *krnji perfekt* 'truncated past' with no Aux. Several semantic types of this are distinguished in Grickat 1954 and Riđanović 2012, notably storytelling style (3). Yet not every LP lacking Aux on the surface is a *krnji perfekt.* Comparison with Slovenian helps sort these out; so do new data from a Bosnian variant of BCS.

1.1. An LP may lack Aux due to conjunction reduction: 1 Aux serves 2 or more main verbs, as *je* does *sjeo* and *počeo* in (1).

(1) | Sjeo | je | i | počeo | da | priča. |
| sat$_{msg}$ | Aux$_{3sg}$ | and | began$_{msg}$ | compl | talk$_{3sg}$ |

'He sat down and started to talk.'

1.2. An LP lacks Aux if used as a short answer to a question:

(2a) | Jesi li | ga | kupio | | ili | iznajmio? |
| aux$_{2sg}$ | q | it$_{acc}$ | bought$_{msg}$ | or | rented$_{msg}$ |

'Did you buy it or rent it?'

(2b) Iznajmio.
rented$_{msg}$

1.3. An LP may lack Aux in storytelling contexts, as both verbs in (3): this is *krnji perfekt.*

(3) | Dara | istukla | muža — | Ja | vidio | svojim | očima. |
| Dara | beat-up$_{fsg}$ | husband | I | saw | self's$_{inst}$ | eyes$_{inst}$ |

'Dara beat up her husband — I saw it with my own eyes.'

(Cf. the aorist, also a feature of storytelling style and also expressing immediacy.)

1.4. An LP may lack Aux in a news headline; is this also *krnji perfekt?*

(4)	Potpredsjednik	stigao	u	Sarajevo.
	Vice-president	arrived$_{msg}$	in	Sarajevo.

2. BCS rules affecting adjacent clitics:

(5a) *je$_{acc.sg}$ je —> ju je*
(5b) *se je —> se*

Rule (5b) causes 3sg. Aux *je* to be lacking on the surface when a clause has a reflexive clitic *se*. Thus (6):

(6)	Pilo	se	pivo. (< Pilo se je pivo.)
	drank$_{nsg}$	Refl	beer
	'Beer was drunk; people were drinking beer.'		

Might (6) also be a *krnji perfekt* and not the result of (5b)?

3. Some Bosnians have rule (5b') instead of (5b).

(5b') *se je $\Rightarrow$ sē*

Such speakers confirm that (6) as a statement has long *sē* but as storytelling can have short *se*. Thus we have a test for *krnji perfekt* in reflexive clauses as well.

4.1. Comparison with Sln helps answer the question in 1.4. Slovenian has no *krnji perfekt* for storytelling:

(3')	*Dara	pretepla	moža –	*jaz	videl	na lastne oči
	Dara	beat-up$_{fsg}$	husband	I	saw	on self's eyes

It also lacks (5a and b). But it has Auxless headline style:

(4') Podpredsednik prispel v Sarajevo.

4.2. Further, Sln lacks the non-tense helpless constructions found in BCS (even though Sln clitics are generally more independent, less influenced by each other than BCS clitics). At work here, we propose, are differences in the kinds of reduced clause structure the two languages admit.
(Ex. (1–4) Riđanović 2012; (6, 3', 4') from internet questionnaires.)

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Slovene dialects in Gorski Kotar, Croatia

The Kostel dialect of the Lower Carniolan dialect group of the Slovene language system in the south of Slovenia is bounded by the national border with Croatia. Local dialects south of the border in Croatia in the area of Gorski Kotar are traditionally claimed to be a part of the Western goranski subdialect group of the Western mountain subdialect of the mountain dialect in the Kajkavian dialect group of the Croatian language system. However, the treated local dialects in Croatia, Gorski Kotar, do not display definitive Kajkavian features. Therefore, the aim of this paper is to show, based on gathered dialectal material, that all of the treated local dialects belong to the same dialect group of one language system. With the defining characteristics of Slovene we will attempt to show that also the local dialects in Gorski Kotar are a part of the Slovene system.

Namely, the dialectal border between Slovenia and Croatia does not correspond with the dialectal border as the discussed local dialects present a language continuum. The local dialects were treated on a phonological level with the methods that are common within the synchronic and diachronic linguistics. The phonological (vowel and consonant) criterion was proved to be the most relevant for clasiffication, so mainly the phonological features were shown. A geolinguistic method was used to present the isophones that connect or differentiate all of the local dialects considered herein. In conclusion we firstly propose a change in the dialectal map of Slovene dialects in the area of the current Kostel dialect as it turned out we can divide the Kostel dialect in two parts: the Čabranka dialect, occupying the northern portion of the geographical distribution of the today Kostel dialect, and the Kostel dialect, occupying the southern portion of the geographical distribution of the today Kostel dialect; both being a part of the Lower Carniolan dialect group. Secondly, we showed the treated local dialects are not mixed and should all be, regardless to the national border, classified as either belonging to the Čabranka dialect or the Kostel dialect of the Slovene language system.

Therefore, the Čabranka and the Kostel dialect should be properly presented on the dialectal map of the Slovene language and include the area of Gorski Kotar.

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Non-standard forms of auxiliaries in North Slavic: A spoken corpus perspective

As is known, in North Slavic there are two different ways to form past tense: While both use the l-participle, the prototypically East Slavic way is to use an overt pronoun and no auxiliary specifying person and number, while the prototypically West Slavic way is to use pro-drop and an overt auxiliary (or relics thereof). The position of the clitic auxiliary, in turn, is governed by language-specific rules: in standard Polish today, the clitic is mostly attached to the verb form, while in Czech and Slovak, it is found in Wackernagel position (second place).

In non-standard varieties such as the Polish Spisz dialect or Rusyn dialects in Ukraine, Slovakia, and Poland, the picture is less clear-cut; for example, in the Polish Spisz data, the auxiliary is found much more often in Wackernagel position than in the standard, cf. the following example with the clitic first person:

(1)
no	to	robiła=**m**	co=**m**	mogła	a	jak	uż=**em**
then	PTC	did.F.SG=**1SG**	what=**1SG**	could.F.SG	and	when	already=**1SG**
dobrze	szyła	jak=**em**	miała	tak	szesnaście lat		
well	sewed.F.SG	when=**1SG**	had.F.SG	like	sixteen years		

'Well then I did what I could and I could already sew well when I was around 16 years old.'
(F, 1934, Niedzica)

In the talk, we will investigate how dynamic tendencies (including classical sociolinguistic variation, but also so-called border effects in the Rusyn case, i.e., diverging effects within the old dialect continuum due to influence of the respective umbrella languages) can be observed in the frequency of the auxiliaries as well as under qualitative analysis. Based on empirical data from newly created non-standard corpora, we quantitatively demonstrate which areal and social factors play a role in the realization of past tense forms. In doing so, we show the advantages of using a network of corpora of related varieties with similar data structure and interface.

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On *że*-relatives in spoken Polish: A corpus study

In standard Polish, *że* is a *that*-type complementizer that introduces complement clauses (CCs), as in (1). However, it has not been noted so far that, in colloquial spoken language, *że* is also used to introduce relative clauses (RCs), as in (2).

(1) ja   zrobiłem   błąd   że od razu   matki   nie   wezwałem (Spokes[20])
     I   made   mistake ŻE at once   mother-GEN   not   called-1SG
     'It was a mistake that I didn't call my mother immediately'

(2) one mają   taką   wełnę że ona   się   dostosowuje   do temperatury (Spokes)
     they have such   wool ŻE she   REFL   adjusts   to temperature
     'They have wool that adjusts to temperature'

This multifunctionality of *że* is in line with the common cross-linguistic trend whereby *that*-complementizers are multifunctional subordinators (cf. Eng. *that,* Rus. *čto*) with parallel relativizing and/or adverbializing functions (Boye, Kehayov 2016).

As the relativizing function of *że* is characteristic of spontaneous speech, the study is based on examples from Spokes – a corpus of conversational Polish. One aim of this paper is to run diagnostic tests to show that (i) such *że*-clauses form constituents with their heads (pseudo-clefting, topicalization, passivization, etc.), and (ii) that they are gapped RCs rather than CCs (the tests include replacing *że* with *któr-y* 'which/who', resumption, and pseudo-clefting). The presence of an underlying gap is postulated also for examples which are seemingly gapless, as in (3).

(3) mam   taką   robotę że muszę   sporo po   mieście   jeździć (Spokes)
     have-1SG such   job   ŻE have.to-1SG much over town   drive
     'I have a job that (in which) I have to drive around town a lot'

Another aim is to compare *że*-relatives with *co*-relatives – another variety of colloquial RCs introduced by the invariant relativizer *co*, as in (4).

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[20] The Spokes corpus is available at http://spokes.clarin-pl.eu

(4) ten   starszy co   tu   przychodził   do kościoła (Spokes)
    this elderly CO   here   came-3SG   to church
    'The elderly (one) that used to come to church here'

We establish that, unlike *co*-RCs, *że*-RCs function as so-called presentational RCs, in the sense used by Duffield et al. (2010); namely, the main clause includes a semantically 'light' verb (existential *być* 'be' or *mieć* 'have'), the 'light' pronoun *to* 'it' in subject position, and is relatively uninformative. The *że*-clause, on the other hand, is semantically salient and contains the assertion of the utterance, i.e. it asserts new information about the referent. In contrast, *co*-RCs, are typically non-presentational and serve the straightforward function of distinguishing the referent from others of its kind.

We conclude by noting the functional and categorial expansion of *że* from complementizer to relativizer (in presentational RCs).

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Historical development of tense and aspect in Slovene

Like most Slavic languages (other developments, particularly in the south-east, will not be discussed here), Slovene simplified the past tenses and developed a new future tense. Particularly the tripartite division of the domain of future-time reference by means of perfective present, BE + (-*l* participle) imperfective aspect, and BE + (-*l* participle) perfective aspect (cf. also Toporišič 1984) is rather peculiar in Slavic. West and East Slavic have only partial similarity by contrasting perfective present with imperfective periphrastic future (in Polish, BE + infinitive or -*l* participle, with a subtle semantic difference), the neighboring Croatian has BE + -*l* participle future in subordinate clauses, and (starting from Štokavian Croatian and extending to the East) South Slavic basically has WILL futures of a different type.

The present paper analyses the historical development of the Slovene tense and aspect system based primarily on textual evidence: the Freising Fragments (Brižinski spomeniki) for the oldest stage, Trubar's writings for the beginning of the literary tradition, and later texts, particularly also the Slovene Beseda Corpus (http://bos.zrc-sazu.si/s_beseda.html) for modern Slovene. Already the earliest attestations of Slovene provide evidence of an essentially present aspect system (in spite of further development and slight semantic shifts over the centuries up to the contemporary period, cf. e.g. Marušič, Žaucer 2006 for present-day Slovene, taking into account dialectal variation) and a highly elaborate tense system which becomes simplified in the past-tense realm and reshaped in the future-tense realm. The primary aim of the present study is to establish the conditions on the use and change of tenses in the history of Slovene relative to verbal aspect and binding properties of predicates in a more general temporal-semantic perspective (elaborating on Gvozdanović 2012). The paper also discusses the relation between future-time reference and modality in the investigated texts.

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Variation in the pronunciation and perception of the voiced and voiceless dental fricative ([ð] and [θ]) in anglicisms in Czech

The number of Anglicisms in Czech has increased noticeably over the past decades, as has English language awareness among Czech speakers. This paper investigates the various ways in which Czech speakers pronounce and evaluate the voiced and voiceless dental fricative ([ð] and [θ]), represented orthographically as *th*, in Anglicisms. Loanwords, especially recent borrowings, are marked by considerable instability in pronunciation, and this instability is the result of a 'clash' between the sound systems of two or more languages (Calabrese, Wetzel 2009). In Czech most loanwords are phonologically adapted; that is, they are not pronounced as in the donor language but undergo changes that make them more natural or easier to articulate for native speakers of Czech (Duběda 2016). Variation is especially likely in cases where a phoneme from the donor language has two or more equivalent phonemes in the recipient language. We see considerable variation in the pronunciation of Anglicisms that contain the voiced or voiceless dental fricative [ð] and [θ], as neither belongs to the Czech sound system. In works devoted to the use of Anglicisms in Czech recommendations are advanced for the pronunciation of *th* in different environments. The authors recommend [t] word-initially and acknowledge variation between [t] and [s] in word-final position (Palková 1994). Another common pronunciation of *th* (when it is voiced) is [d] in words like *Heather*; [f] has been observed for word-initial *th* in the compound *think tank* [fɪŋk tɛnk]. Therefore, there are at least five realisations of *th* ([t], [s], [d], [z], [f]) in Czech.

The pronunciation of individual loanwords is likely to be heavily influenced by external factors relating to individual speakers. For example, variation in loanword pronunciation may correlate with various independent variables and the way in which an individual pronounces a given loanword may reflect their social status, level of education, sex and age (Havlík, Wilson 2017). Therefore, the impact of an individual's proficiency level in English as well as their age and education on the production and perception of the voiced and voiceless dental fricative was examined. Special attention was given to the correlation between how Czech speakers pronounce Anglicisms (inc. proper nouns) that contain ([ð] or [θ]) and how they perceive them. To test this correlation a perception test with Anglicisms containing sounds [θ] and [ð] in various environments (word-initially (e.g. *think tank*), medially (e.g. *gothic*) and in word-final position (e.g. *faith no more*) was run. Various pronunciation variants in Czech, including original (source-language) pronunciation, were recorded.

The results show (i) that the production and perception of the sounds [θ] and [ð] in Czech Anglicisms exhibit a high degree of variation based on different (socio)linguistic factors (e.g. sex, education and age); (ii) a significant gap remains between respondents' pronunciation and their perception of the tested Anglicisms.

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Aspects of accent variation in the standard Bosnian language

This article provides an overview of the numerous identifiable accent variations in modern Bosnian. Some varieties are already contained in the existing dictionaries of the Bosnian language, and some can be found through the contrastive analysis of the differences between described accents in Bosnian dictionaries, as well as through the contrastive analysis of the Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian dicrionaries. We will discuss the causes of this phenomenon.

So, all accent variations in particular will be discussed in some distinct categories, namely: pronunciation of words of foreign origin (adaptation of loan words), the accent in words with the reflexes of jat, tolerance towards rising tone out of the first syllable, fluctuations in quality of short accents (neutralization difference between short rising and short falling tones, in favor of one of them), the absence of post-accentual length in various categories and forms of words (especially nouns and verbs), the differences between Eastern Shtokavian and Westhern Shtokavian accents, the differences between Old Shtokavian and New Shtokavian pronunciation, special attention to analogical accents, the differences in theoretical and usage pricnciples of pronunciation, different accents of personal names and surnames as well as certain new categories, etc.

According to the results of comparative and contrastive analysis of lexical items we will make a list of the most representative accents varieties (classified by all categories) from which we will create a dedicated questionnaire with the aim of interviewing native speakers. Respondents will be currently active and employed teachers of the Bosnian language and literature across all cantons in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (with the expected one hundred respondents in the first round of interviewing or at least ten related respondents in each of the cantons in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and with an ultimate goal of three hundred respondents).

To summarize, as a control test, we will do an analysis of the language of Bosnian radio and television stations, but not the specific examples of all accents varieties individually (by result s of contrastive and comparative analysis of lexical items), but for certain categories as a standard representatives of this phenomenon.

Special attention will be given to the theoretical aspect of contemporary accentology focusing on the analysis of the causes of present accents variations, taking particular account of the diachronic perspective in the approach to this occurrence.

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Lexical layers in Molise-Croatian language

According to the research on lexical and historical heritage, it can be noticed that Molise Croats settled in the area of South Italy toward the end of the 15th century due to the invasion of the Balkans by the Ottoman Empire. They started living in some 15 places, mainly in the regions of Campobasso and Molise and there were about 6000 people. Today, Molise-Croats officially live only in three areas: Acquaviva Collecroce (Živavoda Kruč), Montemitro (Mundimitar) and San Felice del Molise (Štifilić); located 10 kilometers from the Adriatic coast and populated with 2500 inhabitants. With their arrival, these people brought their mother tongue, which is preserved until this moment, regardless of all historical, social, cultural, immigrational and other influences. According to dictionaries which were published in 2000 and 2003 (Dizionario dell'idioma croato-molisano di Montemitro; Piccoli, Sammartino 2000; Dizionario croato-molisano di Acqaviva Collecroce; Breu, Piccoli 200) and grammar of Molise-Croatian language, this language is normed. In my work, I tried to make etymological and evolutional approach to lexems which are recorded in the above mentioned dictionaries.

I will try to explain the characteristics of each lexeme in Molise-Croatian language, put it in its original form, define its phonetic, phonological and morphological changes, as well as the influences of Italian and Croatian language and mainly Abruzzi dialect (for example: arma, atranguj, arvelivat, badnjak, bafat, manijat, zamastit) and dialects which during migration found their place among the local people, in other words, speakers of Molise-Croatian language. It is important to notice that I will estimate „na našo" language (Molise people call their language "na našo") and lexical characteristics through the following aspects:

1) Influence of migration and Italian language on lexical heritage of Molise-Croatian language (languages and contacts)
2) Substratum and Adstratum of Molise-Croatian language (original lexemes and their use)
3) Code Switching and forming of new lexemes in Molise-Croatian language
4) Evolution of Molise-Croatian language from arrival of Croats in Italy until today
5) Influence of dialects of the local people in the area (from Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Italy) on the newly-formed language
6) Standardization of Molise-Croatian language and literature in this language (accepted lexemes in standard Molise-Croatian language)

I conducted the research during the last academic year in the region of Molise and I interviewed 42 native speakers from three different generations (Molise people from the age of 14 to 28) and I analyzed their speech which largely changed and has been influenced by Italian language, then the second group of native speakers (age 28–40) who had a chance to learn the standard Croatian language at school and speak „na našo" at home, that is, the ones who mainly use words of Slavic origin and modern Croatian language in their daily lives, and finally the third generation of people (age 40–92) who speak „na našo"every day and use lexemes in the original form, in other words, lexemes characteristic only for Molise-Croatian language. During my presentation I will do my best to present an overall review of lexical heritage of the above mentioned language and statistically explain the percentage of different dialects and languages, their contacts and influences on modern Molise-Croatian language.

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Приглагольное дефисное употребление в русском языке

В докладе анализируется дефисное употребление при квазисинонимических глаголах в современном русском языке типа *съездили-сходили*, *пофантазировать-подумать*. Материалом анализа служат различные интернет-ресурсы, в частности база данных текстов СМИ *Integrum*.

Язык претерпевает изменения не только в лексике и грамматике, но и в орфографии и пунктуации. Сегодня последние сферы тесно связаны с возможностью и необходимостью все чаще создавать текст на клавиатуре. Дефисное написание наряду со слитным и раздельным описывается преимущественно в литературе справочного и нормативного характера. Если в ней даются многочисленные указания в отношении именных сочетаний, то мало упоминается приглагольное его употребление. В художественной литературе оно считается окказиональным явлением (Лю, Чжоу, Ахметова 2015: 115–116). Однако в электронных текстах, особенно публицистического жанра, несмотря на свою нерегламентированность, оно встречается часто, что больше не позволяет его называть окказиональным.

Рассматриваемые глаголы фактически представляют собой так называемые двойные глаголы, уже хорошо описанные Д. Вайсом. Правда, в его работе не обращается внимание на способ их написания: дефисное или раздельное. В нашем докладе анализируются глаголы, соединяющиеся через дефис, которые, по наблюдениям Вайса, являются квазисинонимическими (Вайс 2000: 358).

В соединенных дефисом глаголах нередко наблюдается один и тот же префикс, который придает глаголам общее значение – преимущественно разные способы действия (*угулялась-уездилась*, *намодеринизировал-наремонтировал школ*). Это объясняется тем, что они относятся к семам максимально общего, абстрактного характера (Норман 1993: 51). Такие префиксальные примеры подчеркивают общую категориальность соединенных дефисом глаголов.

Употребление квазисинонимов, семантически дополняющих друг друга, можно считать многословием, которое обычно относится к характерным чертам спонтанной разговорной речи. Говорящий не довольствуется с первого раза попыткой вложить передаваемую мысль в одно языковое средство, а прибегает к нескольким. Семантическая избыточность, с одной стороны, порой рискует вызвать неопределенность, а с другой обеспечивает коммуникацию. В целом можно отметить, что дефис на сегодняшний день функционирует как удобное средство, которое графически скрывает и тем самым обосновывает семантическую избы-

точность, и данное явление отражает процесс коллоквиализации современной письменной речи с помощью графического знака.

В докладе также освещается возможность перефразирования дефисных глаголов при помощи сочинительных союзов *и* и *или* и знака препинания – косая черта.

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Да в составных союзах болгарского языка и проблема *да*-конструкции[21]

Как известно, в болгарском языке элемент *да* входит в состав многих союзов, вводящих зависимые клаузы с обстоятельственным значением. Однако не все из этих союзов сохраняют присущие *да*-конструкциям темпоральные ограничения на сказуемое зависимой предикации.

Одна группа составных союзов диктует жесткие темпоральные ограничения, накладываемые *да* (т.е. только настоящее время сказуемого зависимой клаузы), напр. союзы *за да, колкото да*: ***За да*** *се разбираме* (PRES)*, трябва да се изслушваме.* 'Чтобы понимать друг друга, надо друг друга выслушивать'; *Попита,* ***колкото да*** *каже* (PRES) *нещо.* 'Он спросил, лишь бы что-то сказать'.

Вторая группа допускает формы перфекта и, реже, плюсквамперфекта (*преди да, без да*): *Не мога да си тръгна,* ***без да*** *съм се сбогувал* (PERF). 'Я не могу уйти, не попрощавшись' (*букв.* без того чтоб попрощался) [ГСБКЕ 1983: 354, 365; Иванова, Градинарова 2015: 296–297, 303–304 и др.].

Наконец, третья группа составных союзов с *да* (прежде всего, уступительные: *и да, макар да, който и да* и под.) имеет лишь небольшие ограничения на сказуемое вводимой клаузы: в них невозможны времена будущего плана и кондиционал [Ницолова 2004: 125], т.е. набор времен незначительно сужен по сравнению с теми, которые используются при синонимичных союзах без элемента *да* (*макар че, въпреки че*), ср. пример с имперфектом: *И те бяха направени от същите материали,* ***макар да*** *се различаваха* (IMPERF) *по форма.* 'Они были сделаны из того же материала, хотя и различались по форме'.

Отсутствие существенных темпоральных ограничений в этой последней группе можно было бы объяснять только историческим развитием этих союзов: *да* в уступительных и условных союзах имеет иное происхождение, не связанное с замещением инфинитива *да*-конструкцией [Деянова 1986: 492–493, 495, также: Дограмаджиева 1984: 194, 210; ГСБЕ 1993: 509]. Но и в этих случаях частица *да* показывает строгую контактность с глаголом. Встает вопрос, почему же, приняв такую важнейшую характеристику *да*-конструкции, как контактность с глаголом, уступительные и условные клаузы с *да* сохраняют широкие темпоральные возможности?

Одновременно требует объяснения, почему целевые клаузы (группа 1) не допускают иных времен, помимо настоящего, в то время как в группе 2 (с союзами *без да, преди да*) разрешается использование перфектных форм.

Итак, все три группы составных союзов с *да* в современном болгарском языке характеризуются контактностью *да* с глаголом, однако ведут себя по-разному в отношении временных ограничений на вводимое сказуемое. В докладе предлагается обоснование темпоральных различий указанных трех групп, связанное как с диахроническим фактором, так и с фактивным / нефактивным характером вводимых предикаций.

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Hierarchy of dual use by word type

The dual is always presented as a feature specific to the Slovenian language. In modern Indo-European languages, this grammatical category is an archaism that has disappeared in even those Southern Slavic languages most closely related to Slovenian. It has, however, been preserved to the present day in Standard Slovenian, to varying degrees in the majority of Slovenian dialects, and in some areas within neighbouring countries in which Slovenian-speaking minorities reside.

This paper will present the origins and development of the Slovenian dual, and bring together the most recent data on the Slovenian dual by addressing dual forms for over 400 local micro-dialects or data-points collected for the *Slovenian Linguistic Atlas,* including bordering dialects in Austria, Italy, Hungary and Croatia. The main aim of the paper is to present the ways in which Slovenian dialects use the dual in nouns, pronouns and verbs. The paper will also highlight the differentiation between masculine and feminine verb forms in the present tense dual in certain Slovenian dialects. This distinction does not exist in Standard Slovenian, although a number of grammarians have standardised different verb dual endings for masculine and feminine (from the 16th century on).

The general findings on dual use and dual loss according to word type will highlight the reasons for the differences in the stage of preservation of the dual in individual flexible word categories. The distribution of the dual is important because it allows us to examine the driving forces of language change: these can be external (contact with other languages) or internal (influences from other dialects). The results are comparable with Lucien Tesnière's *Les formes du duel en slovène* and *L'atlas linguistique pour servir à l'étude du duel en slovène* (1925). These two works, as well as literature on the dual in other languages, offer many further opportunities for comparative study and new findings on the typological features of the Slovenian dual.

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Slavic genitive in Bosnian language:
A diachronic perspective

In the most Slavic languages Slavic genitive as a category is lost (it is preserved only in Russian, Polish and Slovenian), but Bosnian dialects, according to some data from the literature (Gortan-Premk 1962), suggest that Bosnian language have preserved this feature. However, unlike in the other Slavic languages (Arkadiev 2015; Pirnat 2015; Krasovitsky et al. 2008), its diachronic occurrence isn't regular. Instead of mandatory use in Old Church Slavonic (which we can observe like Preslavic language), frequent use in Middle-age period, to rare and specific use today – we find it regular in Bosnian gospels from the Middle age, with significantly fewer examples in charters of the same period, then, in Ottoman period, the Slavic genitive occurs more frequently, while in present dialects it is common feature for whole territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Considering literature and examined examples from dialects, it's notable that the Slavic genitive today occurs more often if the noun is indefinite, which means abstract, inanimate, uncountable, and without some supplement (see also Vince 2008; Krasovitsky et al. 2008). Also, the male nouns and nouns in singular are more often used in genitive than female and plural (see also Vince 2008). If some intensifying particles are used, the Slavic genitive is almost mandatory (see also Partee et al. 2012). In verbs, the Slavic genitive occurs more often with static, perceptive, imperfective verbs, and if the predicate is simple (see also Borschev et al. 2007; Partee et al. 2012; Vince 2008). Finally, the Slavic genitive occurs more often if the object precedes the verb. In Old Church Slavonic, all of those were conditions for accusative, which means that, through the history, in the Bosnian language, accusative and genitive after negative verbs have switched their grammar meanings.

Last fact can be explained by difference in meanings of accusative and genitive today and before – it is obvious that the meanings of former genitive was more concrete than it is today. Maybe this is the key for understanding why in the Middle-age there is no significant occurring of Slavic genitive, as it should be expected.

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Demonstrative pronouns in comparison with morphologically bound article as exponents of definiteness

The function of definiteness – to present something as separate from the multitude, as familiar to the participants in the speech situation – can be expressed both lexically and morphologically. If, for a certain category, several different formal exponents exist, it is assumed that the grammaticalisation of one exponent as opposed to another gives rise to certain idiosyncrasies, that is, that such development necessarily imposes the specialisation of one exponent over another for certain speech and language situations. In the opposite case, though, the existence of one specialised type alongside another within the language system becomes pointless.

If we juxtapose the demonstrative pronouns and article, which in fact historically represents a demonstrative pronoun in post-position, we can assume that its grammaticalisation has also generated a specialisation for certain positions, contexts, and types of definiteness. According to Krámský, the essential property of the article is its use in generic constructions. In opposition to this view, Topolińska suggests situational definiteness as a context with article exclusivity. An important part in all this is also played by linearisation and syntactic function (e.g. the subject in an initial non-negated construction is accompanied by an article by analogy, and it is the theme in the sentence). To these two cases we shall add a third, marginal one, regarding the instances of article use in possessive (situational) constructions, as well as certain propositional contexts, non-equivalent with those where the article is used, which demonstrate examples of low frequency of the use of demonstrative pronouns in generic contexts and contexts of situational definiteness.

In conclusion, a question arises, which has already been tackled: if the demonstrative pronouns and article "are assigned different functions as bearers of definiteness of the nominal syntagma, that is, of various types of referential characteristics of this syntagma (…), then what is the function of the article? Also, does it differ from the function of demonstrative pronouns, and, if it does, how?" (Topolińska 2006: 8).

The answer may be found in cases and instances that distinguish the article, particularly that with a T-root, in relation to other exponents of definiteness; specialise as the sole exponent its field in the segments of situational definiteness and generic reference; and, according to the above criteria, identify it as a real article, as opposed to the other elements in the system. Thus, it may also be said that the definition of a "three-fold

article" is merely formal, rather than functional (see Topoljinska 2006). This viewpoint is also espoused by Lindstedt who offers a conditional interpretation of the three-fold article: the syntactic position of the other article morphemes (vis-à-vis the T-root) is the same, but "functionally and typologically, they are pronouns, and not definite articles" (Linstead 2013: 5–6). Other circumstances may be taken into consideration as regards the case of Macedonian (e.g. sentences such as *Daj mi go penkalovo* or *Izgreva soncevo*), where both the V- and N-roots perform purely article functions. Yet, in this case, we no longer view them through the lens of historical development, but as having received an additional functional (stylistic?) load, taking over some of the meanings of the "real article" (the T-root), albeit only in certain (marked) contexts.

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Loanwords in South Slavic languages (Bulgarian, Slovene, Croatian) from a crosslinguistic perspective: Problems and pitfalls

The general aim of the planned presentation is the analysis of loanwords in the core vocabularies of the South Slavic languages Croatian and Slovene. By doing this, the traditional claim that the core (basic) vocabulary usually does not incorporate "foreign" lexical material is challenged (Swadesh 1952; Embleton 1986; Hock, Joseph 1996: 257; Zenner, Speelman, Geeraerts 2014). However, recent studies (Kelih 2015; Tadmor, Haspelmath, Taylor 2010; Haspelmath 2009) give empirical evidence of a rather broad spectrum of various loanwords (cf. http://wold.clld.org/), which has been incorporated into the core vocabularies of languages (cf. Tadmor 2009; Haspelmath, Tadmor 2009). Since the analysis of South Slavic languages is clearly underrepresented in these studies, we present a series of pilot studies of the analysis of core vocabularies of Slovenian and Croatian, as represented in the well-known Swadesh word list. The identification of loan words is based on a modified Swadesh word list for Slavic languages (cf. Carlton 1991; Kelih, Garić 2016), containing 200 items and is generally far from being trivial. In particular the choice of appropriate equivalents, missing items, the synonymy and semantic and stylistic diversification are challenging problems of crosslinguistic studies in loanword studies. Special attention will be paid the question of the time-depth of the identification of loan words, in particular to loan words, already incorporated into Proto-Slavic and former periods. Based on Slovene, Croatian and partly Bulgarian the empirical dimension of these manifold problems will be illustrated, followed by an integration of the obtained results into the framework of existing borrowing scales (Thomason, Kaufman 1988). Moreover, finally some perspectives regarding the implementation of usage-based approaches and quantitative methods in loanword research will be given.

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Do untranslatable units exist and if so, to what extent are they untranslatable?

Even though the absence or insufficiency of equivalents has been a matter of interest in various fields of linguistics, it is rare to consider the problem with metatextual units[22] in view. However, studies confronting metatextual units in various languages (see eg. Aijmer, Simon-Vandenbergen 2006) allow for a thesis that metatexts in various languages differ to a great extent (Kisiel 2015a, 2015b).

Here one example will be presented: Polish sentences with *przecież* confronted with their translational equivalents[23] in Russian, Bulgarian and English. The four chosen languages draw a very interesting picture: in two of them we find metatextual units close in meaning (and function), see Pol. *przecież* and Rus. *ведь*, while the two other languages, Bulgarian and English, have no explicit one-word lexical means to express the meaning encoded in *przecież*. The case of non-existence of an equivalent (for 0-translation problem see eg. Aijmer, Altenberg 2002) will be further discussed.

Three possibilities will be discussed: a) accepting the most frequent translational equivalent, regardless its meta or non-meta status, as the best counterpart in the target language, b) selecting a set of equivalents as covering, each partially, the whole spectrum of an input unit's usages, even though not being semantically identical, c) considering various grammatical ways of expressing the meaning encoded in the input unit. By analyzing a wider context of *przecież*'s usages and the translations of these context, it will be proven that there are various means to recreate the meaning of *przecież*.

Even though the paper concentrates on metatextual units, the problems undertaken and the solutions suggested can be applied to lexis in general.

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[22] Metatextual units are specific language entities that tell something about us as speakers and about our speaking (see for details Wajszczuk 2005). Due to that they can serve as discourse organisers and are therefore called discourse markers.

[23] The data for the study was extracted from four sources. For Polish-English comparison two out of the Pelcra tools were used: OSW Polish-English Parallel Corpus and English-Polish Parallel Corpora (CC-BY); for Polish-Russian comparison: Polish-Russian Parallel Corpus; for Polish-Bulgarian comparison: Polish-Russian-Bulgarian Parallel Corpus. To assure that the data is less dependable on texts types gathered in corpora, it was supplemented by Multilingual (Polish-*) parallel corpus (CC-BY) and OPUS corpora: KDE4, OpenSubtitles, Tanzil.

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Принципы построения словарной статьи в Русско-польском словаре лексических параллелей

Цель статьи – представить принципы построения словарной статьи в *Русско-польском словаре лексических параллелей* (РПСЛП) (Словарь создается с 2016 года научным коллективом Лаборатории лексикографических исследований Института русистики Варшавского университета: Владимиром В. Дубичинским, Михалом Коздрой и Магдаленой Куратчик.). Во время доклада будут представлены также примеры разработанных до сих пор выбранных заголовочных единиц словаря.

РПСЛП представляет собой инновационный современный дидактический словарь, в котором отражение находят неполные, полные и ложные лексические параллели русского и польского языков. Неполные лексические параллели это внешне (формально) сходные слова сравниваемых языков, в случае которых можем говорить о совпадении одних и несовпадении других значений (Дубичинский, Ройтер 2015; Dubichynskyi, Reuther 2012). В свою очередь, полные лексические параллели это внешне (формально) сходные слова двух языков с полностью совпадающими семантическими структурами или единственным совпадающим значением (Дубичинский, Ройтер 2015; Dubichynskyi, Reuther 2012). Ложные лексические параллели являются различными по значениям или совокупности значений словами двух и более синхронически сопоставляемых языков (Дубичинский, Ройтер 2015; Dubichynskyi, Reuther 2012).

Словарная статья в РПСЛП включает в себя: заголовочную единицу русского словарного запаса с ее польскими соответствиями; краткую грамматическую характеристику заголовочной единицы; толкование каждого значения русского слова и его польского коррелята; переводной эквивалент; стилистические лексикографические пометы; иллюстративные словосочетания лексико-семантических вариантов заголовочной единицы.

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Corpus planning and corpus research: Language advice and actual usage in Croatian

Croatian language planning has been the object of a substantial amount of research, much of which focuses on what have been described variously as efforts to "purify" the language, to reverse the effects of language policies in the last century that promoted a unified Serbo-Croatian norm, or to further differentiate the language from Serbian, with the goal of promoting the status of Croatian as a distinct language and a symbol of Croatian national identity. The influence of English as a global language is also seen by some as a serious threat to Croatian. Language handbooks and features in the media offering advice on usage experienced a boom beginning in the 1990s (although such works have a long history in Croatia), and continue to play a prominent role today.

Some previous research has used corpus data to investigate patterns of language usage in relation to Croatian language planning; e.g., Grčević 2001; Rittgasser 2003; Czerwiński 2005; Langston, Peti-Stantić 2014. The corpora used in these studies were based primarily on texts from the late 1990s-early 2000s, and this work has certain other limitations due to the size and/or composition of these corpora. The availability of the Croatian Web Corpus (hrWaC 2.2, 1.2 billion words, http://nlp.ffzg.hr/resources/corpora/ hrwac/; see Ljubešić, Klubička 2014) allows us now to investigate a much larger and more representative sample of current usage. This paper will compare statistical data from hrWaC with earlier data on the usage of lexical items, grammatical features, and spellings that are recommended in various Croatian language handbooks. Comparing word frequency data across corpora is not a straightforward task, and authors disagree about the best methods (see, for example, the discussions in Kilgarriff 2001; Lijffijt et al. 2016). Given the limitations of some of the earlier data and the disparate nature of the corpora here, we will focus on the relative frequency of synonymous or nearly synonymous lexemes (e.g., *avion/zrakoplov* 'airplane', *gledalac/gledatelj* 'viewer'), as well as variant grammatical forms and spellings, within and across the different corpora. The occurrence of these items in different sources and contexts and their dispersion within the corpora (when this information is available) can be examined to elucidate the various factors that may influence their usage. When forms differ substantially in frequency among texts of the same type published in different sources (e.g., journalistic texts from different media outlets), it is likely that this usage reflects language policy decisions. Taken as a whole, the differences

in the relative frequency of recommended forms over time (comparing contemporary frequency data to those in Moguš et al. 1999, based on a corpus of texts dating from 1935–1977) can be used to gauge the effects of language planning.

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Phrasal or clausal conjunction? – Postverbal conjoined subjects in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian: An experimental study

In some previous experimental work on agreement strategies in South Slavic languages (see Marušič et al. 2015; Willer-Gold et al. 2016; Čordalija et al. 2016), it was demonstrated that the closest conjunct agreement (CCA) is the only available strategy for agreement with conjoined NPs in postverbal contexts. However, the examples that are claimed to be a result of closest conjunct agreement in postverbal contexts, as in (1a) from Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian (B/C/S), could potentially be analysed as clausal ellipsis, as in (1b):

(1a) U borbi   su se sudarala   koplja   i   sablje.
     in battle   collided.$_{neut}$ spears.$_{neut}$ and   swords.$_{fem}$
     'In the battle collided spears and swords.'

(1b) U borbi su se sudarala koplja i ~~u borbi su se sudarale~~ sablje.

The clausal ellipsis analysis of examples with postverbal conjoined subjects was actually argued for by Aoun, Benmamoun and Sportiche (1994). In their approach based on examples from three dialects of Arabic, the postverbal linear agreement was actually claimed to be a result of clausal ellipsis, not of closest conjunct agreement. Thus, they predicted a semantic independence of two coordinated events. However, Munn (1999) pointed out that this claim is difficult to defend if a specific type of predicates were taken into account – the so-called collective predicates. Therefore, we designed a sentence-

picture matching experiment with collective verbs and postverbal subjects with speakers of B/C/S in order to test whether postverbal linear agreement was a result of phrasal coordination or clausal ellipsis. The participants in the experiment were given sentences with accompanying pictures and they had to determine whether each sentence matched the corresponding picture and to what degree (on a 0–100% scale). Thirty participants were tested (mean age 21). A 2x2 factorial design was employed, with collective predicates (*collide*-type verbs) and simple, non-collective predicates (*display*-type verbs), eight of each, contrasting conjoined &P subjects (e.g. *spears* and *swords*) with simple NPs (e.g. *swords*), yielding 32 experimental items and 32 fillers.

The study managed to show that CCA is not a result of clausal ellipsis, but a distinct agreement strategy. Since the experiment demonstrated no significant difference in ratings between sentences containing conjoined &P subjects and simple NP subjects with collective verbs, we concluded that sentences with conjoined &P subjects and collective predicates (*collide*-type verbs) were not derived by means of clausal ellipsis. Otherwise, such sentences would be rated considerably lower than all others, because the picture with which such sentences were paired would be incompatible with the interpretation which assumes two-event semantics. And such readings would be inevitable if such sentences underlyingly had a biclausal structure.

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West, East, and South Slavic as different types of language spread

In the second half of the first millennium CE, the Proto-Slavic language, originally the language of a small ethnic group unknown to ancient authors, quickly expanded its speech area over Central, Eastern, and South-Eastern Europe. This process is still poorly understood. In the words of the historian Peter Heather (2010: 386), "the rise of Slavic Europe is one of the biggest stories of the entire first millennium. Where did it come from and what role did migration play in its creation?" This question, arguably the most important single question in the historical study of the Slavs and their languages, has so far been approached from two angles: the migration model and the language shift model, with mostly indirect evidence supporting either of them. The role of the Avar Khaganate and the Avar-Slavic symbiosis in the Slavic spread is often brought to the fore (Pritsak 1983; Nichols 1993; Holzer 1995), though the sphere of Avar influence was much smaller than that of the Slavic expansion.

There is no single major explanation for the Slavic spread in the east of Europe as there was in the west for the spread of Latin and Proto-Romance. The West, East, and South Slavic areas exhibit different scenarios.

The spread in the west, to the Elbe and the Pomeranian shore, was closest to a demic spread, that is, a classical migration model. The Germanic population of the area had already become rather scarce; historians speak about "Germanic collapse" that occurred there by the sixth century (Heather 2010: 371). There are no substratal influences in West Slavic, and the Germanic adstratal influence is from later centuries when Low and High German had again spread to these regions.

The East Slavic spread involved both migrations and language shift from Baltic and Finno-Ugric languages. A Finno-Ugric substrate is clearly visible in Russian (Kiparsky 1969) and especially in Old Novgrodian as attested in the birch bark documents (Dombrowski 2016). After the introduction of Christianity and Cyrillic literacy linked with it, the spread of East Slavic was a typical case of prestige language expansion.

In the south, the Avar-Slavic symbiosis supported Slavic spread into a densely populated area characterized by high linguistic diversity, and the result was a complex scenario of adstratal and substratal influences and language shifts to and from Slavic over the centuries. Slavic did not initially spread as a prestige language of a higher culture but as a language of strong local and tribal networks, not unlike Anglo-Saxon in

England (Higham, Ryan 2013: 111). The Byzantine social structure was weakened by Justinian's Plague and the Late Antique Little Ice Age (Büntgen et al. 2016).

The remarkable homogeneity of Slavic up to the jer shift was not due to a lingua franca function in a great area, as is often surmised. It was a founder effect: Proto-Slavic was originally a small Baltic dialect with little internal variation, and owing to this bottleneck, it took time for the individual Slavic languages to develop into different directions.

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The origin of Proto-Slavic *čьjь 'whose'

For the meaning 'whose, cuius', Proto-Slavic (PSl.) used an inflected interrogative pronominal adjective *čьjь *čьja *čьje (OCS čii, B/C/S čìjī, Sln. arch./dial. čȋj, Ru. čej č'ja č'je, Pol. czyj, Cz. čí etc.). Although obviously connected to the PIE interrogative stem *kʷo/e- ~ *kʷi-, the word has no direct counterpart in any other IE language [including the widely cited Lat. cuius, older quoius 'whose', already OLat. inflected as cuius -a -um 'whose', and Gr. ποῖος, -α, -ον 'which'; these are probably based on PIE *kʷosyo, the gen. sg. of the stem *kʷo- (cf. Ved. kásya). See discussion in Dunkel 2014: 456; Weiss 2009: 351. An exact match with PSl. *čьjь – as posited in some older literature, e.g. Фасмер ЭСРЯ 4: 323–324 – is untenable.]. Therefore, the etymological analysis has to involve positing a form (likely post-PIE) not direcly attested elsewhere. This can only be successful if the point of departure and the derivational mechanism are specified as precisely as possible.

Via regular phonological development, PSl. *čьjь may be projected onto hypothetical pre-forms such as *kʷiyo- or *kʷiho- (with the BSl. 'laryngeal hiatus', Smoczyński 2003) as well as *kʷeyo- (if the widely accepted regular development of PIE *-eyV- to PSl. *-ьjV-, rather than *-ejV, is assumed).

The analyses found in most etymological lexica, however, are quite vague, limiting themselves to calling PSl. *čьjь a derivative of the interrogative stem containing a suffix like *-yo-, thus e.g. SP 2: 309. Attempts at an inner-Sl. explanation, such as assuming a derivative of the type *vorgъ 'enemy' → *voržьjь 'of the enemy' applied to *kъ(to) 'who' (Meillet 1905: 377), are formally problematic.

In PIE simple thematic adjectives were often formed, via hypostasis, from various adverb-like elements (cf. *nokʷt- 'night' → *nokʷt-er 'at night' → hypostastis *nokʷt-er-o- 'nocturnal', Gr. νύκτερος), including paradigmatic case forms (cf. *h₂ep-i 'in water' → hypostasis *h₂ep-i-o- 'being in water', Ved. ápiya-). Therefore, it is likely that an entity of precisely this kind is to be sought in the element preceding *-o- in the potential *kʷih-o-, *kʷi(y)-o- or *kʷey-o-. A line of reasoning like this, formally superior to the analyses referred to in the previous paragraphs, was pursued, e.g., by Hujer 1909 (followed by ЭССЯ 4: 140). However, the analysis proposed – starting from a loc. sg. *kʷe-y – is not semantically ideal.

It is suggested here that the element in question may be *kʷi-h₁, i.e. the instr. sg. of the PIE interrogative stem *kʷi-. This analysis is supported by three arguments:

1) As is known, one of the functions of the 'instrumental' case in PIE and early IE languages was comitative: thus, one of the meanings of *k^wi-h_1* was 'with whom/what', therefore → *k^wi-h_1-o-* 'being with whom/what', whence easily 'whose'.

2) Although oblique case markers on the stem allomorph *k^wi-* are a rare occurrence in the IE languages (but cf. Osc. *piei* 'whom', dat. sg.), the instr. sg. *k^wi-h_1* 'with what/whom' is secure, since it is preserved in adverbialized meanings across IE (OEng. *hwī* 'why'; Alb. *si* 'how'; perhaps also in the uncertain Av. ᵓ*čī* 'how' and HLuv. REL-*i*(-*i*) conj. 'when'; Dunkel 2014: 464), including in PSl. itself (*$či$*, with a range of meanings: 'or', 'whether', interrogative particle).

3) Derivatives from hypostasized instrumentals in *-(e)h_1* (of the type *$ḱr̥n$-u-* 'horn(s)' → *$ḱr̥n$-u-h_1* 'with horn(s)' → *$ḱr̥n$-u-h_1-to-* 'being with horn(s), horned' > Lat. *cornūtus*) are found very widely in IE (cf. recently Höfler 2016; Nikolaev 2012 with lit.; the general idea goes back to H. Osthoff). The most commonly found suffixes are *-to-*, *-no-* and *-went-*, but examples using plain *-o-* (resulting in derivatives in *-h_1-o-*) have been proposed as well (Höfler 2016).

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The use of infinitive in peripheral Serbian dialects and language maintenance

The paper focuses on processes of language maintenance and language change in two peripheral dialectal varieties of Serbian: Timok variety of Torlak (a group of transitional dialects between Serbian and Bulgarian/Macedonian) and a migrant Novi Pazar dialect, spoken today in the Fier region in Southern Albania. Torlak dialects lack infinitive and use *da*-forms instead while Novi Pazar dialect retains only the shortened infinitive forms (*spâs* 'to save'), often substituted by *da*-forms (Example 1). Yet, in the Fier variety, we have not encountered so far any short infinitives.

(1) Rreth Libofsha, male, born in 1968.

Kralj	Zogu	ni=je		i	dao-	da	se
king	Z.	NEG=AUX.PRES.3SG		CL.DAT.PL(?)	give-PT.MASC.SG	COMP	REFL
vrat-u		na	svoje	mesto			
return-PRES.3PL		to	their	place			

'King Zog did not let them return to their place.'

However, speakers of the variety under scrutiny occasionally use full infinitive forms:

(2) Rreth Libofsha, male, born in 1968.

MM:	Zašto	su	rešili	da	pođu	u	Tursko
	why	AUX.PRES.3PL	decide.PT.MASC.PL	COMP	go.PRES.3PL	to	Turkey
	iz	Srbije?					
	from	Serbia.GEN.SG					

'Why did they decide to leave for Turkey from Serbia?'

ED:	Ja	to	ne=znam,		jesu	śeli…		to	je
	I	that	NEG=know.PRES.1SG		aux.PRES.3PL	want.PT.MASC.PL		that	AUX.PRES.3SG

bila		rata,	da…	to	da	spasti	glavu.		Samo	za	to
be.PT.FEM.SG		war	COMP	this	COMP	save.INF	head.ACC.SG		only	for	that

'I don't know that. It was war, to… to save one's head. Just for that.'

The underlined form (*to da spasti glavu*) is a full infinitive, which, for the first, is unattested in the previous descriptions of the dialect (Bajraktarević 1966), and, for the second, cannot be used after the complementizer in the standard language.

In Timok dialects, infinitive forms are rare, but occur still at times. However, since its use is often limited to fixed expressions as in Example 3, it could be argued that the form is no longer functionally an infinitive:

(3) Ćuštica, male, ~70 yo.

ona	otišla		može	biti	kolko		do	gornju	kamenicu
it	leave.PT.F.SG		can.PRES.3SG	be.INF	how_much		PREP	G.OBL	K.OBL

tolko		daleko	otišla
that_much		far	leave.PT.F.SG

'It [a fox] ran maybe as far as how long there is to Gornja Kamenica, that far it ran.'

In both the Fier and Timok varieties, the use of the full infinitive form results from the influence of the standard language. We argue that some of the uses of the full infinitive can be interpreted as acts of identity and represent language maintenance (Bucholtz, Hall 2004). Resorting to elements from a more prestigious linguistic variety can be used to promote the speaker's status.

To identify the factors contributing to the use of the full infinitive form, we use long narratives recorded through the years 2013–2016. These narratives are analyzed in an annotated corpus, consisting of 400 000 words, based on material collected in more than fifty villages in the Torlak region, and 30 000 words for the Fier variety, representing the language use in one family. Further, we will discuss the methodological challenges resulting from combining corpora of very different sizes.

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Conjunct and single NP subjects: A comparison of naïve and expert intuitions

The results of an experimental picture matching study (Willer-Gold et al, in preparation) lead to the conclusion that closest conjunct agreement (CCA) in South Slavic languages is not a result of ellipsis of a biclausal structure as no major differences were noted in ratings for conjunct subjects and single NP subjects, in line with previous studies on CCA in South Slavic languages (Marušič et al. 2015; Willer-Gold et al. 2016). The original experiment (Willer-Gold et al, in preparation) was conducted among a group of undergraduate students, i.e. naïve participants (in the sense of Dąbrowska 2008, 2010). In the present study, the same experiment is conducted with a group of expert participants of comparable size and dialectal background, Croatian language teachers and linguists (persons involved at the primary, secondary and tertiary level of education). In this study, the same stimuli have been used as in the original experiment, thus contributing to the discussion on the methodology of collecting empirical linguistic data (*inter alia*, Spencer 1973; Ferreira 2005; Culbertson, Gross 2009; Devitt 2010; Phillips 2010; Gross, Culbertson 2011; Gibson, Fedorenko 2013; Sprouse, Schütze, Almeida 2013).

Studies conducted by Dąbrowska (2008 with non-linguists as participants and 2010 with linguists as participants) showed that judgements of the same sentences by linguists differ systematically from those provided by non-linguists. The study presented in our paper is in line with Dabrowska's 2010 study, replicating the experimental study by Willer-Gold et al. (in preparation). One of the insights of Dąbrowska's 2010 study was that the difference in acceptability ratings between naïve and expert participants could be explained by the amount of exposure to sentences with long distance dependencies between the two groups of participants. This paper discusses whether a similar correlation between the level of expertise and the participants' linguistic intuitions for both conjunct and single NP subjects can be found. While we do not assume that the difference between the two experimental groups can be explained by satiation effects (cf. Snyder 2000), the data collected in the present study indicates a difference in speaker

intuitions between the two groups, noticeable primarily in terms of lower average acceptability ratings, both for critical conditions and fillers, and in terms of higher degree of variability in acceptability ratings for all items.

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Second-grade diminutives in Czech and Slovak: A contrastive study with data from corpora

Diminutivization is so productive in Slavic that it is even possible to attach more than one diminutive suffix on adjacent cycles: Czech / Polish *dom* 'house' → *dom-ek* 'small house' → DIM2 *dom-eč-ek* 'very small house'. In the literature, diminutives with two diminutive suffixes (DIM1-DIM2) can be found under second-grade, secondary or double diminutives.

A Slavic language has about ten DIM1 suffixes on average. Since all DIM1 suffixes derive the same meaning, one expects them to combine freely with each other in secondary diminutives but of all DIM1 suffixes only a few can be used as DIM2 suffixes. Manova and Winternitz (2011) (hereafter M&W) report heavy restrictions on the combinability of the diminutive suffixes in double and multiple diminutives in Bulgarian and Polish. M&W claim that only productive DIM1 suffixes surface as DIM2 suffixes and that all combinations of the DIM-DIM2 suffixes are fixed, in the sense that there are also phonological and morphological constraints on the combinability of the suffixes. In this study, we check M&W's observations against data from Czech and Slovak but go beyond M&W in validating DIM1-DIM2 combinations in corpora. Since a major problem with the analysis of double diminutives is the verification of the examples and one tends to believe that double diminutives are hardly used in written texts, we decided to turn to corpora. The 100 most frequent Czech and Slovak second-grade diminutives were extracted from the respective national corpora: SYN2015 and Prim-7.0-public-all. Both corpora were released in 2015 and are lemmatized and morphologically tagged. All words ending in a sequence of letters that coincides with a DIM1-DIM2 combination were collected and manually checked to ensure a step-by-step derivation as found in double diminutives: noun → noun-DIM1 → noun-DIM1-DIM2. In other words, we

have two types of nous: 1) expressing smallness, e.g. the above-cited *dom-eč-ek* 'house-DIM1-DIM2'*,* as well as 2) expressing affection, e.g. Czech *děd-eč-ek* 'grandfather-DIM1-DIM2'.

In the talk, we contrast the formation of first- and second-grade diminutives in Czech and Slovak. The established DIM1-DIM2 patterns are compared with those in Bulgarian, Polish and Russian double diminutives as reported in Szymanek and Derkach (2005), M&W and Manova (2015). Additionally, based on our corpus data, we draw conclusions about the prototypical semantics of double diminutives (in written texts), i.e. whether such diminutives are more frequently used for expression of smallness or for expression of affection. Thus, the results of our research are of relevance not only to linguistic theory but also to foreign language learning and can serve for mastering the formation and use of double diminutives in a number of Slavic languages.

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Corpora

Czech National Corpus, version SYN2015
    URL: https://wiki.korpus.cz/doku.php/en:cnk:uvod
Slovak National Corpus, version Prim-7.0-public-all
    URL: http://korpus.sk/structure1_en.html

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The US – THEM opposition in the consciousness of Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian speakers

Starting from Lévi-Strauss (1963), binary oppositions have been considered as a powerful tool to elucidate the fundamental structures of human consciousness, culture, and language. Nowadays, a number of questions related this issue remain open for further investigation. The analysis of US – THEM opposition seems to be of especial importance due to its use for manipulation in ideological discourse, such as "emphasizing OUR good things, and emphasizing THEIR bad things" (Dijk van 2006: 359).

The US – THEM opposition in the consciousness of Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian native speakers are analysed from the cognitive perspective. The study aims to reveal the archetypal reflexes of an old Slavic semiotic system and the changes it has undergone in the minds of contemporary bearers of cultures.

Geeraerts and Cuyckens (2007: 18) note the existence of a tension between "a broad methodological tendency in Cognitive Linguistics that considers introspection the most or perhaps the only appropriate method for studying meaning and a marginal but increasing tendency to apply empirical methods", and emphasize the importance of resolving this tension in the near future.

This empirical investigation of the binary opposition US – THEM are based on data presented in Associative Thesauri of Ukrainian (UAS) and Russian (RAS), and obtained via the associative experiment conducted with Polish native speakers. Associative responses received via the experiment are claimed to be not arbitrary but motivated by hierarchical conceptual structures existing in consciousness of speakers. The responses given by the speakers not only reveal corresponding cognitive domains and discover their specific traits, but also allow ranking them according to their relative prominence for bearers of cultures mentioned above.

The binary opposition, though with different hierarchies in different cultures, is an outcome of functioning of universal cognitive mechanism. On the one hand, data show the importance of the US – THEM opposition for cultures' bearers and, on the other, responses reveal the process of broadening and changes in spheres of US (belonging to us) and THEM (belonging to them). Concentric structuring of the space of US and THEM is a result of processes of generalization and specialization co-functioning with a cognitive mechanism of contradistinction.

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Processing suffix combinations in Slovene

In morphological theory, it is assumed that all derivations start from a lexical base (be it a root or a stem) to which then affixes are attached step by step, i.e. for suffixation: BASE → BASE+SUFF1 → BASE+SUFF1+SUFF2, etc. All theories, irrespective of the type of morphemes they recognize (classical morphemes relate meaning and form, e.g. as in Minimalist Morphology; abstract morphemes correspond to terminal nodes in a syntactic tree, e.g. as in Distributed Morphology; morphemes have also been seen as markings that are semantically empty, e.g. as in Paradigm Function Morphology), agree that affixes without bases do not play any role in morphology. However, recent psycholinguistic studies (Beyersmann et al. 2016; Crepaldi et al. 2016; Lázaro et al. 2016; Manova, Brzoza 2015) provide evidence that affixes have a life of their own and can be accessed and processed without reference to lexical bases or any other semantic cues. The results of the present study speak for this view.

The psycholinguistic experiment the results of which we will report in this talk was an adapted-to-Slovene replication of Manova and Brzoza (ms) that is on the processing of the Polish suffix combinations. The Slovene experiment consisted of the identification of 60 suffix combinations (30 existing and 30 non-existing), all without bases. We controlled for two variables: 1) existing versus non-existing combinations; and within the existing combinations, for 2) productive versus unproductive combinations. Productivity was determined based on type-frequency. The frequencies were counted in the *SSKJ (Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika)*. 32 native speakers of Slovene (age M = 37.06, SD = 14.72) participated in the experiment. The accuracy of recognition of the existing and non-existing combinations was very high (89.17 % for the existing and 85.67 % for the non-existing combinations) but the difference between the two types of combinations was not statistically significant, t(29) = –.99; p =.33. We interpret this result as convincing evidence that native speakers know which suffix combinations exist and which do not, i.e. suffix combinations should be listed in the mental lexicon as such. With respect to productivity, the participants were better at recognizing productive combinations and there was a statistically significant difference in the accuracy of recognition of the productive and unproductive combinations, t(29) = 8.16; p < .01, which we see as evidence that productive and unproductive suffix combinations should

be processed (and learned) differently. The talk will present the selection of the data as well as the experiment and its results in detail and will discuss the relevance of the results to both, linguistic theory and methodologies for foreign language learning. In the discussion, we will compare the findings of our research with the existing research on Slovene word-formation such as Toporišič (2006) and Vidovič Muha (1988, 2011).

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From prototypical meanings to metaphorical extensions: Verbs from the semantic field of speaking in Croatian

In this paper we analyse the semantics of verbs that belong to the semantic field of 'speaking'. Since these verbs refer to the basic channel through which humans exchange thoughts, ideas, information and feelings, it would be interesting to study them from the cognitive-linguistic point of view. Here we focus on verbs that denote any action that results in a product that could be construed as belonging to the sphere of human speech from the pragmatic point of view. This criterion served as the basis for compiling a list of speaking verbs which consists of verbs found in the three largest monolingual dictionaries of the Croatian language whose meanings were checked and attested with the help of the hrWaC web corpus. The final list contains about 500 speaking verbs. After the analysis of the verbs, a semantic network accommodating all the verbs was created. The core group consists of 'neutral' verbs which are not marked for direction and do not express the manner of speaking and are present in all types of discourse. The remaining verbs indicate that the network develops in two major directions: 'mutual verbs' (verbs that imply the obligatory presence of at least two interlocutors) and 'directed verbs' (communication is directed towards an interlocutor) which are linked to the 'neutral verbs' via 'transitional verbs' (an interlocutor is not obligatory). The semantics of the 'directed verbs' indicate development in seven main directions: 'manipulation', 'detrimental/nasty speech', 'small talk', 'sound prominence', 'query', 'positive' and 'negation of the action'. In addition to these verbs which are used in various discourses and everyday conversation, there are also those that are used in specialized discourses (academic/publicist/business; artistic; sacral). In our network they form a special group and are related to 'directed verbs' both because they have the potential to be directed and because some of them are used in everyday speech. Finally, our analysis has revealed that the semantic network of speaking verbs is quite complex, with the 'richest' branch being that of 'directed verbs', which confirms that speaking is conceptualised primarily as a transmission directed towards an interlocutor/listener. We can notice that the verbs can describe the type, mode, quality, meaningfulness, target, speed and strength/volume of human speech. The network is also much richer in verbs which have an overall negative meaning than in those that are neutral or positive (especially if the verbs

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that belong to specialized discourses are viewed separately). The obtained results are compared to a study carried out on the verbs of writing – another key process of human communication.

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The impact of Slavic languages on Romani

The aim of this paper is to give an overview of the impact the Slavic languages have had on the Romani varieties in Slavic-speaking countries on different linguistic levels and in the context of the historical migration routes of the Roma. In the past, great scholars such as Franz Miklosich (1813–1891) have already been researching this language contact, and the aim of this paper is to shed new light upon it and put it in the context of contemporary contact linguistic research.

Although Romani is not a Slavic, but an Indo-Aryan language, it is definitely of relevance for Slavicists: Next to English, it is the contact language number one in the Slavic-speaking countries today. Each of these countries is inhabited by Roma, who almost exclusively are bi- or multilingual. Usually their first language, spoken in private contexts, is Romani, and their second language is the respective Slavic language, spoken in official contexts and all contacts with the world of the „*gadže*" (non-Roma). The Slavic majority languages act as the donor, the Romani varieties as the recipient languages in the contact situation. Consequently, the different varieties of Romani are to different degrees influenced by the Slavic languages.

Historically, all Romani dialects in Europe have been in contact with South Slavic languages on the Balkans after the arrival of the Roma in Europe and have kept some of these features until today. Later contact-induced changes in Romani can differ depending on the contact language(s) in question. For example, Romani dialects influenced by Russian or Polish – two Slavic languages with a distinct aspect system – take over Slavic aspect prefixes to a great extent, whereas Romani dialects on the Balkans rather adapt other features more typical of the South Slavic languages (e.g. 'will'-future, modal constructions with *treba* or *morati*, object doubling). Consequently, the paper also aims at depicting regional differences and similarities due to the structural differences and similarities of the Slavic contact languages in question. Of course, the lexicon is concerned in the first part, but there are also influences on phonology, morphology and syntax.

Against this background, the questions the paper wants to answer are the following:

1) To what extent have the Slavic languages been influencing Romani in the past and to what extent are they influencing it today?
2) Are there Roma communities that have already completely given up on Romani in favour of a Slavic language?

3) Which linguistic levels are affected?
4) Which differences can be carved out regarding the results of the language contact in different Slavic-speaking countries?

As to methodology, I am going to present the current state of the research literature along with my own findings based on oral and written language data, first of all the Romani Morpho-Syntax (RMS) Database from the University of Manchester.

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The earliest lexical borrowings from Late Modern English into Serbian

One of the most intense language influences in contemporary Serbian is by far the impact that the English language has had in the past few decades. In this presentation we trace the first Anglo-Serbian language contacts which date back to the early 1700s. At the time, both Slavonic Serbian and folk Serbian were in use and the Serbian language was still in the process of standardization while English had already been standardized to a great extent (Samuel Johnson, 1755) and was slowly starting to spread beyond the British Isles. Due to specific social and historical circumstances the contacts between English and Serbian (language and culture) were quite few. English lexical borrowings (anglicisms) entered Serbian indirectly via German and Russian, which at the time were two main foreign languages that Serbian culture leaned against.

Since lexical borrowings of the English origin which entered Serbian at the time of its standardization have never been studied, the main goal of this paper is to collect, formally describe and classify anglicisms in Serbian from mid-1700s through mid- 1800s. The analysis includes the following aspects: a) exploring the channels and mechanisms of borrowing, b) the issues concerning morpho-phonological aspects of borrowing and morphological adaptation patterns of anglicisms, c) orthography of the borrowed forms, d) semantic transformation of the borrowed lexemes, e) stylistic and pragmatic matters and usage. Particular attention is paid to the mechanisms and patterns of morpho-phonological adaptation of English personal names and toponyms (e.g. Sara (Eng. Sarah), Viljem (Eng. William), Hari (Eng. Harry), Vorčester (Eng. Worcester) , Gločester (Eng. Gloucester) etc.).

The corpus contains examples such as *lord* (Eng. *lord*), *pudinga* (Eng. *pudding*), *haringa* (Eng. *herring*), etc and is collected from sources including the existing historical dictionaries (e.g. Velimir Mihajlović, *Građa za rečnik stranih reči u predvukovskom periodu*) and diverse publications such as daily papers *Slavenoserbskija vjedomosti, Novine Serbske.* As the largest number of the collected examples appeared in newspaper texts and articles, it is clear that anglicisms played an important role in formation of the newspaper style in modern Serbian.

We hope that our study will help uncover both direct and indirect language contacts that were crucial for establishing Anglo-Serbian cultural ties which were to fully develop in the late 1800s and early 1900s only to culminate in the 1990s and 2000s. In addition, such description and study of early lexical borrowings of English origin can offer explanations for and provide a better insight into some borrowing phenomena in contemporary Serbian, where anglicisms not only account for the largest number of new additions to the lexicon but certain English morpho-syntactic patterns have been noticed to have been affecting the patterns of Serbian word-formation and syntax (e.g. marketing menadžer).

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The syntactic structures of nominal phrases and relative clauses in Russian

The literature on Slavic nominal phrases without overt articles splits into two camps. Some researchers insist on the presence of DPs even in Slavic (Pereltsvaig 2007 etc.), and the others maintain that nominal phrases in Slavic are NPs (Bošković 2005 etc.). In this paper, I examine the structure of nominal phrases in Russian. Especially, I discuss the issue of whether the DP is always projected or not through binding phenomena in Russian by using Despić's (2013) paradigm. In addition to this, I discuss the structure of relative clauses in Russian based on this discussion on nominal phrases.

Russian binding phenomena and the structure of nominal phrases. In the same manner as Despić (2013), Kayne's (1994) definition of c-command (1) is adopted.

(1)   X c-commands Y iff X and Y are categories, X excludes Y and every category that dominates X dominates Y. (Kayne 1994: 16)

The Russian sentences such as (2a) are ungrammatical with co-reference between possessors and R-expressions but those such as (2b) are grammatical. There is a clear contrast between (2a) and (2b).

(2)   a.   *Kolin$_i$ poslednij   fil'm   sil'no   ego$_i$ razočaraval.
             Kolya's   latest   film   really   him   disappointed

       b.   Poslednij   fil'm   Koli   sil'no   ego$_i$ razočaraval.
             latest   film   Kolya-GEN   really   him   disappointed
             'Kolya$_i$'s latest film really disappointed him$_i$.'

The ungrammaticality of (2a) means that possessors bind R-expressions, causing the Condition C violation. If there are additional DP layers in the possessor phrases, DPs should prevent the Condition C violation. The ungrammaticality of (2a) shows that there is no DP layer in Russian. The differences of the grammaticality between (2a) and (2b) come from the syntactic positions of prenominal and postnominal possessors.

The structure of relative clauses. The complex sentences like (3a, b) are grammatical in spite of the position of possessors. The contrast like between (2a) and (2b) is neutralized in complex sentences.

(3) a.

Ja	posmotrel	Kolin$_i$	poslednij	fil'm,
I	watched	Kolya's	latest	movie
kotoryj	sil'no	ego$_i$	razočaroval.	
which	really	him	disappointed	

b.

Ja	posmotrel	poslednij	fil'm Koli$_i$,	
I	watched	latest	movie Kolya-GEN	
kotoryj	sil'no	ego$_i$	razočaroval.	
which	really	him	desappointed	

'I watched Kolya's$_i$ latest movie which really disappointed him$_i$'

Three analyses have been proposed on the structure of restrictive relative clauses: I.) head external analysis, II.) head raising analysis, III.) matching analysis. Which analysis does properly predict the grammaticality regarding these binding phenomena? When the above-mentioned claim is premised that there is no DP layer in Russian, possessors bind R-expressions at the position before moving under the head raising and the matching analyses but not under the head external analysis. Thus it is concluded that the head external analysis is the most appropriate in terms of the above-mentioned structure of nominal phrases and binding phenomena.

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When clitics don't climb in Slovenian

The goal of this talk is to account for a restriction on co-occurrence of similar clitics in the clitic cluster in Slovenian, first noted in Orešnik (1985). This restriction can primarily be observed in instances of clitic climbing. That is, while clitics typically climb from non-finite clauses in Slovenian, clitic climbing does not occur when it would result in a violation of this restriction.

Clitics in Slovenian undergo clitic climbing, i.e. clitics from non-finite clauses "almost obligatorily join the matrix-clause cluster in which they assume their usual position" (Golden, Milojević Sheppard 2000: 202), (1). This clitic cluster follows the first constituent of the matrix clause and clitics have a strict word order within the cluster, see Toporišič (2004: 671), but, following Orešnik (1985), only one clitic of a certain type (e.g. pronominal clitics in accusative) can occur in the clitic cluster at the same time, (2) and (3). If this restriction is violated, clitic climbing is ungrammatical, cf. Mišmaš (2016).

(1) | Lan | mu | ga | je | uspel | oprati | ~~ga~~.
| Lan | he.DAT | he.ACC | AUX | manage | wash |
'Lan managed to wash it for him.'

(2a) | Lan | ga | je | prepričal | oprati | ga.
| Lan | he.ACC | AUX | convince | wash | he.ACC
'Lan convinced him to wash it.'

(2b)   *Lan ga ga je prepričal oprati.

(3a) | Lan | mu | je | ukazal | oprati | ji | avto.
| Lan | he.DAT | AUX | order | wash | she.DAT | car
'Lan ordered him to wash the car for her.'

(3b)   *Lan mu ji je ukazal oprati avto.

While (2b) seems to be a result of a phonological restriction based on homophony, as proposed by Bošković (2001) based on a similar restriction in Serbo-Croatian, this does not account for the data in (3) or (4).

(4) | A | si | si | opral | lase?
| Q | AUX.2SG | REFL | wash | hair
'Did you wash your hair?'

The data, however, can be accounted for with the Principle of Distinctness, a condition on linearization according to which only distinct nodes can be linearized in one phase of the derivation (Richards 2010). While languages differ as to which nodes count as distinct, Mišmaš (2013) shows that in Slovenian nodes within one spell out domain (i.e. phase) must carry different grammatical features, most notably the case feature. Assuming clitics appear in C^0 in Slovenian, see Golden and Milojević Sheppard (2000), this means the clitics are in one spell out domain. This accounts for the ungrammaticality of (2b) and (3b). In (2b), the two clitics form the linearization statement <[CL, ACC, MASC, 1., SG], [CL, ACC, MASC, 1., SG]> in which the two nodes are *not* distinct enough to be successfully linearized as they have the same grammatical features. In (1), on the other hand, the clitics have different case features and form the linearization statement <[CL, DAT, MASC, 1., SG], [CL, ACC, MASC, 1., SG]>. The case features make the clitics distinct enough for linearization.

To sum up, clitic climbing in Slovenian is ungrammatical if it results in a clitic cluster in which clitics do not have distinct grammatical features. In these cases, clitic climbing is typically suppressed.

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Da-clauses as complements of propositional attitude and perception verbs in Bulgarian and in Macedonian

This paper examines the distribution of Bulgarian and Macedonian *da*-complements of verbs belonging to two semantic classes: the propositional attitude verbs *mislja/misli* 'think', *vjarva/veruva* 'believe', *nadjava se/se nadeva* 'hope' and the visual perception verbs *gleda* and *vižda* (*vidja*)/*vidi*. These verbs, placed in the middle of the hierarchy of semantic integration (Givón 2001; Cristofaro 2003), take the same two types of complements: an indicative clause headed by complementizers *če/deka* or a subjunctive *da*-clause, due to the semantic complexity of these verbs (Mitkovska, Bužarovska 2015, in press). In the propositional attitude verbs the choice of *da*-complements seems to be primarily motivated by speaker's lower degree of commitment to the truth of the proposition, i.e. when the epistemic component is stronger in *believe,* and the volitional one in *hope* (as illustrated in 1 and 2).

(1)   Az **se nadjavam**, **če** skoro šte ima položitelen rezultat. (B)
      'I hope that soon there will be a positive result.'
      (www.novini.bg)

(2)   Stiskam palci na vsički vi i **se nadjavam da** ima položitelen rezultat. (B)
      'I keep my fingers crossed for you all and I hope for a positive result.'
      (www.bg-mamma.com)

The complements of the basic visual perception verbs in the standard languages generally manifest a syntactic regularity based on the semantic distinction between 'immediate perception' vs. 'mental perception' (Dik, Hengeveld 1991), the former pairing with *kak/kako* clauses and the latter with *če/deka*. The subjunctive *da*-clauses cut across the two domains, appearing mainly with negated (3) or interrogative perception verbs and in expressive contexts (4).

(3)   **Ne gledam da** se trudi i da pokažuva deka me saka. *(M)*
      'I don't see him making an effort to show signs that he loves me.'
      (www.forum.femina.mk)

(4) **Sum videl da** se slučuvaat i počudni raboti. (M)
    'I've seen stranger things happen.'
    (www.lakers.mk)

The main hypothesis of the paper is that *da*-clauses are more frequent in Bulgarian because *da* penetrates into the functional sphere of *če* (suggested also by other authors, e.g. Genadieva-Mutafčieva 1970; Dejanova 1985; Aleksova, Tiševa 2000; Gjurkova 2015). To establish the current functional distribution of the *da*-patterns of the above verbs the authors have collected around 4000 examples from standard Macedonian and Bulgarian literature and internet texts. The analysis looks into structural and semantic factors that enhance the subjunctive realization of the embedded proposition such as tense, aspect, raising and factuality.

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The synthetization of grammatical forms of the preterite in Slovak dialects from a grammaticalization and language contact perspective

This contribution is based on the author's broader analysis (see Múcsková 2016) focused on the emergence and development of preterite forms in Slovak and related Slavic languages and their dialects.

The Proto-Slavic construction of the perfect, consisting of the present form of *be* and the *l*-form of the verb, was the basis for today's analytical constructions of the preterite: 1) personal pronoun and the *l*-form (in the East Slavic languages), 2) the present form of *be* and the *l*-form in the whole paradigm (in the majority of South Slavic languages and in Sorbian) and 3) a similar type, in which the verb *be* dropped out in the third pers. sing. and plur. (in the majority of West Slavic languages).

In West Slavic languages, due to the semantic and functional development of the verb *be*, this former copula, and later auxiliary, functions only as a person marker. This degree of desemanticization enabled the loss of *be* forms in the third person as well as the further development into the synthetization of the analytic form known in Polish.

In the Slovak dialects, besides prevailing analytical construction, there are three types of synthetized forms with the verb *be* changed into a suffix: 1) in the North-Eastern dialects there are suffixes -*m* and -*ś* in the 1st and 2nd pers. sing. (*robilam*, *buleś*), which co-exist with two other analytical forms (*robila som*, *ja robila*); 2) forms with the ending -*s* in the 2nd pers. sing. in the South-Western dialects (*robiųs*, *robiųas*); 3) forms with an ending -*ch* (*robila-x*) in the 1st pers. sing., which were found in small diasporas and are highly archaic and rare today.

In all three types, the position of the endings is movable – they are not fixed to the *l*-forms – so we cannot speak about proper synthetic form like in Polish. They correspond to the older state in the Polish language and we call this form a *synthetized* analytic form. An interesting fact connected with the archaization of the synthetized forms with the ending -*ch*, as well as the endings -*m* and -*ś*, is that they are historically younger but are today assumed to be older and archaic. The present-day situation in the particular dialects shows a reverse development and productivity of the former analytic forms caused by the prestige of standard language with its codified analytic type of the preterite. This partial reverse development does not contradict the unidirectionality of the grammaticalization process – in our interpretation it is an example of very partial degrammaticalization involving a later stage of the grammaticalization process in which the synthetization has not been completed, the situation is characterized by considerable variability and the development is affected by language planning factors.

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Конкуренция стратегий оформления стимула при страдательных причастиях русских (де)каузативных глаголов эмоций

При русских каузативных глаголах эмоций позицию подлежащего занимает стимул, а позицию прямого дополнения — экспериенцер, ср. *Такой результат удивил исследователя*; *Меня обидела его шутка*. Часть таких глаголов обладают необычным свойством: причастия типа *обижен(ный)*, *удивлен(ный)* допускают два способа оформления второго участника — стимула:

(1)   Так вот, эксперты были немало удивлены **способностями участников**. [НКРЯ]
(2)   В музыкальной школе тогда все были удивлены **этому скачку**. [НКРЯ]

Одним из способов оформления всегда является творительный падеж (1), что соответствует **дефолтному** правилу оформления смещенного подлежащего при пассиве. Второй способ задается **лексически**: для *удивлен(ный)* в (2) — дат.п.; для *обижен(ный)* — предлог *на* + вин.п., и т.д. Цель исследования — выявить условия употребления каждой из моделей, проследить их историческое развитие и приблизиться к интерпретации соотношения между семантической и синтаксической структурой таких причастий. Материалом послужили примеры из НКРЯ, размеченные по ряду параметров (модель управления, одушевленность, форма причастия, время и др.). Были получены следующие выводы.

1) В случае если при причастии фиксируется лексический способ оформления стимула, он совпадает с кодированием стимула при возвратном глаголе, ср. (2) и *удивился этому скачку*. Этот факт релевантен для дискуссии о том, с каким глаголом следует соотносить причастия этой группы: с переходным или с возвратным, см. [Падучева 2010; Князев 2007].

2) Не во всех случаях, когда при возвратном глаголе используется лексический способ оформления стимула, он оказывается возможным и при соответст-

вующем страдательном причастии. Так, при причастиях *испуган*, *смущен* стимул не может выступать в род.п., который используется при соответствующих возвратных глаголах, в текстах НКРЯ оформление дательным падежом наблюдается при причастиях *обрадован*, *удивлен*, *изумлен*, но не при причастии *поражен*, в то время как при всех причастиях, соотносимых с возвратными глаголами, при которых стимул оформляется предлогом *на* с вин.п., такое управление фиксируется (*обижен*, *разгневан*, *обозлен*). Можно предложить два (взаимно дополняющих) объяснения. Во-первых, лексически заданное оформление стимула более распространено при причастиях, обозначающих ситуации, в которых стимул в первую очередь выступает как участник, на который направлена реакция, а не как вызывающий реакцию участник (о соотношении этих двух сторон в семантике участников с ролью стимула см., например, [Verhoeven 2007: 62; Luraghi, Sausa 2013: 236]). Во-вторых, лексический способ кодирования не фиксируется при причастиях глаголов, сравнительно недавно сдвинувшихся от физических значений к экспериенциальным, например *смущен*(*ный*), *поражен*(*ный*).

3) Диахронически лексический способ кодирования стимула при всех причастиях фиксируется позже, чем дефолтный. Соответствующие изменения происходили в русском языке XVIII–XXI вв. (глубина покрытия НКРЯ) в разное время для разных глаголов, но порядок изменений оказывается в различных парах одинаковым.

В докладе наряду с лексическими условиями распределения мы рассмотрим связь между кодированием стимула при причастиях и грамматическими свойствами контекста. В целом в результате исследования мы делаем вывод о том, что с течением времени причастные формы сближаются с родственными им возвратными декаузативными глаголами. Предположительно, такое сближение связано с двумя взаимосвязанными семантическими изменениями: 1) с усилением способности причастий описывать состояние, наступающее в результате реакции на стимул, а не изменение этого состояния; 2) со сдвижением участника с ролью стимула от причины к содержанию эмоции.

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Insight into collocational competence among Polish students of Croatian as L2

Apart from the detailed description of noun collocations in Croatian as L1 (CL1) given by Blagus Bartolec (2014), research on collocational competence in Croatian as L1 or L2 is sporadic. Ordulj and Cvikić (forthcoming) discussed the factors that influence collocational competence in CL1, showing that native speakers have the best knowledge of collocations with high frequency and associative strength. So far, the most extensive research on collocational acquisition in Croatian as L2 (CL2) in heterogeneous groups was given by Ordulj (2016). This research shows that subjects of higher language proficiency have better receptive knowledge of more frequent noun collocations than subjects of lower CL2 proficiency. The analysis of tasks on the productive level showed that subjects of lower proficiency have very poor collocational competence, while subjects of higher CL2 proficiency show an equal knowledge of noun collocations in the nominative case and in oblique cases. The main goal of this paper was to examine the receptive and productive knowledge of noun collocations based on their frequency, collocational strength, morphological features and CL2 proficiency level among Polish students of CL2. It is assumed that subjects of higher CL2 proficiency will have a better receptive knowledge than subjects of lower CL2 proficiency. Furthermore, it is assumed that subjects of lower CL2 proficiency will have a better knowledge of morphologically unmarked collocations in the nominative case, whereas subjects of higher CL2 proficiency will have an equal knowledge of morphologically unmarked collocations in the nominative case and morphologically marked collocations in oblique cases. Collocations used in the research were collected from essays written by students of CL2 on B1 and B2 proficiency levels. The hrWaC corpus was used to count the frequency of collocations, whereas the associative strength of collocational elements was assessed by native speakers of Croatian. The respondent sample comprised of 27 students of Croatian at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland. In order to examine the receptive knowledge of collocations in CL2, respondents completed a multiple choice task. The influence of morphological features on collocational knowledge was tested on two blank-filling tasks with collocations in nominative and oblique cases. The results

showed that respondents of higher and lower language proficiency have equal receptive knowledge of more frequent noun collocations. The analysis of tasks on the productive level showed that morphological features did not influence collocational knowledge for respondents of lower and higher CL2 proficiency since on both CL2 proficiency levels, respondents had the best knowledge of collocations of high frequency.

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The prepositional oppositions in Ukrainian and Serbian through the prism of an associative experiment

Most of Ukrainian and Serbian linguists assume that the proper meaning of preposition cannot be revealed without its relation with grammatical case of a notional part of speech. This argument is the base for denial of lexical meaning of a preposition. Any research of semantics is usually based on the analysis of contextual use, which a priori makes it impossible to study prepositions in isolation. Therefore, I suggest applying associative experiment (AE) to investigate the semantics of prepositions. It will provide the ability to check up empirically the existence of conceptual sense related to prepositions. The existence of several phonetic variants (*в* / *у* / *уві* / *ввi*) of preposition *в* and the fact that preposition ***поза*** has a homonymic form of noun *поза* 'posture, pose' make the AE more complicated for the Ukrainian language. The experiment has been carried out with Ukrainian and Serbian native speakers of both genders in equal quantities. The interpretation of results is based on the approach of cognitive grammar that is: perceiving grammar as an complex of symbolic structures, each of which representing symbolic unity of phonological and semantic structures (Langacker 2008: 1–23), profiling of image schema (Johnson 1987), theory of embodied cognition and figure–ground opposition based on special features of visual perception (Evans 2010), and the theory of conceptual metaphor (Lakoff, Johnson 1980).

Statistical and conceptual analyses of the AE data have revealed several types of responses, e.g. oppositions (srb. *у*: *на* 'on', *ван* 'out', *из* 'from / out'; ukr. *в*: *на* 'on', *за* 'behind'), grammatically fit collocations (srb. *у*: *кући* 'house$_{Loc.}$', *мени* 'me$_{Loc.}$'; ukr. *в*: *літаку* 'airplane $_{Loc.}$', *хаті* 'house $_{Loc.}$'), grammatically unfit potential collocations (srb. *у*: *кућа* 'house$_{Nom.}$', *црква* 'church$_{Nom.}$', ***ван***: *памети* 'memory$_{Gen.}$'; ukr. *в*: *погляд* 'view$_{Nom.}$', ***поза***: *межі* 'boundaries$_{Nom.}$'), image schema (srb. *у*: *унутар* / *unutra* 'inside', *unutrašnjost* 'inside, interior'), hypernym (srb. *у*: *простор* 'space$_{Nom.}$', *mesto* 'place$_{Nom.}$'), rhyme / assonance (srb. *ван*: *Johan*), corresponding prefix (ukr. *в*: ***в****дома* (adverb) 'at home', ***в****двох* (adverb) 'the two of us / you / them, together', ukr. *у*: ***у****голос* (adverb) 'aloud'). Frequency analysis of obtained responses proves that the spatial meaning of the abovementioned prepositions is primary and more common.

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Reconstruction in progress: Clitic interpretation in Slovenian

Slovenian clitics that are generated in embedded non-finite clause, are reported to climb to the matrix clause (Golden, Sheppard 2000; Golden 2003). The type of this movement is indicative of the nature of Slovenian clitics as such (Bošković 2001; Sauerland, Elbourne 2002). This paper questions Marušič's (2008) observation that, when fronted, Slovenian clitics trigger no semantic effect whatsoever.

Marušič gives examples cited in (1), stating that ga_i 'him' refers to *Janez* independently of its surface position. Note that ga_i is pronominal element that does participate in binding. If ga_i was moved in syntax, it would c-command *Janez* from its landing site and thus violate Principle C. Since the co-indexation is felicitous, Marušič labels it as a clear example of total reconstruction and concludes that the clitic was moved only phonologically.

(1a)	Peter		je	pri	$Janezu_i$	doma	sklenil	predstaviti	$\textbf{ga}_i$	Meti.
(1b)	Peter	$\textbf{ga}_i$	je	pri	$Janezu_i$	doma	sklenil	predstaviti		Meti.
	Peter	(him)	AUX	at	Janez	home	decided	introduce	(him)	Meta

'Peter decided at Janez's house to introduce him to Meta.' (Marušič 2008, ex. 20)

In (2) to (4), I present counter examples, where the attempts to interpret fronted clitics according to their base-generated position systematically fail. Co-indexation of clitic and the genitive complement of a DP is only grammatical with a DP c-commanding the surface clitic position (2a) but not vice versa (2b).

(2a)	$Sosed_i$		je	fantu	svoje	$hčerke_j$	dovolil	postriči	$\textbf{jo}_j$	na	irokezo.
(2b)	$Sosed_i$	$\textbf{jo}_{*j}$	je	fantu	svoje	$hčerke_j$	dovolil	postriči		na	irokezo.
	Neighbour	(her)	AUX	friend	SELF	daughter	allow	cut	(her)	on	mohawk

'Neighbour allowed a friend of his daughter to cut her hair mohawk style.'

Furthermore, in the same construction, the reflexive clitic observes Principle A, again with respect to its surface position: in (3a) it can only refer to *the daughter*, so that the *daughter's hair is cut*, while in (3b) it refers to *neighbour* so that the *neighbour's hair is cut*.

(3a)	Sosed$_i$		je	svoji	hčerki$_j$	dovolil	postriči	**se**$_{*i/j}$	na	irokezo.
(3b)	Sosed$_i$	**se**$_{i/*j}$	je	svoji	hčerki$_j$	dovolil	postriči		na	irokezo.
	Neighbour	(SE)	AUX	SELF	daughter	allow	cut	(SE)	on	mohawk
	'Neighbour allowed his daughter to cut his/her hair mohawk style.'									

Finally, in (4), the interpretation of reflexive possessive pronoun *svoj* that does not move out of the embedded clause, correlates with the interpretation of the clitic *se*. The reference of the clitic itself, however, is unexpectedly calculated on the basis of its surface position. In (4a) the closest c-commanding r-expression of the clitic is *daughter,* and consequently, reflexive possessive pronoun within a PP also refers to *daughter.* In (4a) the closest c-commanding r-expression of the clitic is *neighbour,* and consequently, reflexive possessive pronoun within a PP also refers to *neighbour*.

(4a)	Sosed$_i$		je	svoji	hčerki$_j$	dovolil	ostriči	se$_{*i/j}$	po	svojih$_{*i/j}$	željah.
(4b)	Sosed$_i$	se$_{i/*j}$	je	svoji	hčerki$_j$	dovolil	ostriči		po	svojih$_{i/*j}$	željah.
	Neighbour	(SE)	AUX	SELF	daug.	allow	cut	(SE)	acc.	SELF	wishes
	'Neighbour allowed his daughter to cut his/her hair according to his/her wishes.'										

Examples (2) to (4) present a new piece of data in the discussion that focuses on Slovenian pronominal clitics (namely *ga/jo* 'him/her' and *se* 'self') and show, that in certain syntactic environments their interpretation is dependent on their surface position rather than calculated according to their base-generated position. This indicates that clitic climbing might not (only) be a phonological process in Slovenian and suggests that the trigger and the nature of clitic movement will have to be reconsidered in this language.

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The internal order of the Serbian/Croatian clitic string: A Distributed Morphology approach

In this work, I provide an account for the strict internal order of Serbian/Croatian (SC) clitic strings (1) within the Distributed Morphology theory (Halle, Marantz 1993). First, I propose that this order – followed by most of the clitics in SC (2) – can be explained by a specification constraint which requires the most feature-specified clitics to be linearized at the left of the string. Secondly, I argue that the single exception to this order – the 3SG auxiliary clitic for Perfect: *je*, which is aligned at the right of the string (3) – is caused by the application of a post-syntactic operation that modifies the feature structure of this clitic, causing it to be linearized differently.

(1)   Auxiliaries=Datives=Accusatives/Genitives=Reflexive

(2)
a.   Poslao   **=sam**/**=bih**   **=ti**   **=ga**
       sent   PRF/COND.1SG   2SG.DAT   3SG.ACC.NEUT

     'I sent/would send it to you.'

b.   *Poslao **sam**/**bih ga ti**   b'.*Poslao **ti sam/bih ga**

(3)
a.   Poslao   **=ti**   **=ga**   **=je**
       sent   2SG.DAT   3SG.ACC.NEUT   PRF.3SG.NOM

     'He sent it to you.'

b.   *Poslao **ti je ga**   b'.*Poslao **je ti ga**

Although there is extensive work on SC clitics that has described the behavior of *je* (Bošković 1995, 2000, 2002, 2004; Franks 1998; Franks, Holloway 2000; Progovac 1993, 1996; Rivero 1991, 1993; Runić 2012; Stjepanović 1998a, 1998b; Wilder, Ćavar 1994), only Bošković (2004) has provided an account for its exceptional order. He argues that the morphophonological status of *je* prevents it from being the head of a string. This, however, requires *je* to be pronounced in different syntactic projections depending on whether it co-occurs or not with other clitics. Additionally, it faces a problem when comparing *je* to an accusative clitic of the paradigm, which has an identical phonological form (/je/), but doesn't behave as the auxiliary (i.e. the accusative can be the head of a string).

I propose here that clitics in SC have a specific morphological configuration which consists of a hierarchical structure of features that can be modified by morphological rules after Spell-Out (Bonet 1991, 1995). Auxiliaries in SC are the conjunction of a Tense and an agreement morpheme, what makes them more feature-specified than other clitics. This causes the auxiliaries to be aligned at the left of the string, following the linearization constraint assumed here and already proposed for other languages (Harris 1995; Heap 2005). The order of *je* is explained by an Impoverishment rule that deletes a feature from the clitic, causing it to become less specified and, therefore, to be linearized at the right of the string.

This proposal builds on Bošković's idea that *je* has a distinct morphological status with respect to other clitics. It also accounts for the different behaviour of the two phonologically identical – but morphologically distinct – *je* clitics. This is accomplished without proposing that the auxiliary can be pronounced in different syntactic projections.

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On Wackernagel ten years later: Personal pronouns in information structure

In some languages some pronominal forms contain so called full forms and clitics. Although treatment of clitics differ within particular theoretical frameworks, most linguists take them to be syntactically independent and phonologically dependent, always attached to a host (Nespor, Vogel 1986). Emphasizing the role of syntax and phonology, and leaving the semantics out of the picture, suggests that the clitics are just "shortened" version of their full counterparts (hence their name), both fulfilling the same roles in the sentence structure. I analyze the clitic forms of Croatian personal pronouns in the framework of Parallel Architecture (Jackendoff 1997, 2010) aiming to show that the phonology-syntax connection does not exhaust all there is because they participate in a sentence information structure through their position in a linear structure. Such a claim rests on the scrambling hypothesis, put forth for Slavic, but also for other languages, mainly Japanese (Franks 2000; Bošković 2000, 2001, 2009).

My hypothesis is that full forms and clitics do not differ in syntax, but they differ in a semantic potential, which leads to their ability to change the information structure of a sentence. Therefore, I analyze sentences such as:

1.1.   Studentica socijalne psihologije iz Zagreba ***mi*** donosi brojne nove i zanimljive knjige.
        'The student of social psychology brings me many new and interesting books FROM ZAGREB.'

The potential syntactic structures of this sentence are 1.1. a and b while potential prosodic structures are 1.1. c and d:

1.1. a [$_S$ [$_{NP}$ [$_N$ studentica] [$_{AP\ GEN}$ socialne psihologije] [$_{PP}$ iz Zagreba]] [$_{VP}$ {$_{CL}$ mi} [$_V$ donosi] [$_{NP}$ [$_{AP}$ brojne nove i zanimljive knjige]]]]

or

1.1. b [$_S$ [$_{NP}$ [$_N$ studentica] [$_{AP\ GEN}$ socialne psihologije] [$_{VP}$ [$_{PP}$ iz Zagreba] {$_{CL}$ mi} [$_V$ donosi] [$_{NP}$ [$_{AP}$ brojne nove i zanimljive knjige]]]]
1.1. c ($_U$ ($_{IP}$ studentica socijalne psihologije iz Zagreba) ($_{IP}$ mi donosi brojne nove i zanimljive knjige))

or

1.1. d ($_U$ ($_{IP}$ studentica socijalne psihologije) ($_{IP}$ iz Zagreba mi donosi brojne nove i zanimljive knjige))

I will analyze these structures and compare them to the following ones:

1.2. Studentica socijalne psihologije iz Zagreba donosi **mi** brojne nove i zanimljive knjige.
    'The student of social psychology from Zagreb BRINGS me many new and interesting books from Zagreb.'

The potential syntactic structures of this sentence are 1.2. a and b while potential prosodic structures are 1.2. c and d:

1.2. a [$_S$ [$_{NP}$ [$_N$ studentica] [$_{GEN}$ socialne psihologije] [$_{PP}$ iz Zagreba]] [$_{VP}$ [$_V$ donosi] {$_{CL}$ mi}] [$_{NP}$ [$_{AP}$ brojne nove i zanimljive knjige]]]

or

1.2. b [$_S$ [$_{NP}$ [$_N$ studentica] [$_{GEN}$ socialne psihologije]] [$_{VP}$ [$_{PP}$ iz Zagreba] [$_V$ donosi] {$_{CL}$ mi}] [$_{NP}$ [$_{AP}$ brojne nove i zanimljive knjige]]]]

1.2. c ($_U$ ($_{IP}$ studentica socijalne psihologije iz Zagreba) ($_{IP}$ donosi mi brojne nove i zanimljive knjige))

or

1.2. d ($_U$ ($_{IP}$ studentica socijalne psihologije) ($_{IP}$ ($_{PPh}$ iz Zagreba) ($_{PPh}$ donosi mi brojne nove i zanimljive knjige))

All the aforementioned sentences are grammatical in Croatian and the variation among them is due to the scrambling potential. As presented, in these sentences, contrary to perpetuated claims in the literature about their mechanical positioning, clitics participate in scrambling and therefore in the information packaging. Although such claim is not uncontroversial, my aim is to show that the linear order informs the structural difference between 1.1 and 1.2 and not the vice versa.

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Speakers/Learners of Macedonian as a second language: The use and acquisition of evidentiality

This study investigates how Albanian-speaking speakers/learners of Macedonian use evidentials in Macedonian, and it empirically examines whether there is a transfer effect from the learners' first language to the target language. Data were collected through oral tests/interviews in which the interviewees were instructed to verbally convey hearsay information to specified addressees.

The focus is on these speakers'/learners' evidential strategies: what Macedonian evidential forms (grammatical and lexical) did they choose to use to express these particular meanings? Two types of meaning considered as evidential in Macedonian were analyzed: direct (confirmative) and indirect (nonconfirmative). We are interested in the acquisition of indirect (nonconfirmative) evidentiality. Aorist and imperfect have confirmative meaning and sum+l-forms past tenses have non-confirmative meaning. However, these evidential markers can have different evidential interpretations when specific particles are used. We were particularly interested in testing the use and interpretation of the following evidential and/or modal particles and their combinations with grammatical markers of evidentiality: наводно 'don't think I am the one who is saying this'; божем 'don't think that I am the one who thinks this is true' (doubts); демек 'that is' 'in other words', 'so', 'consequently', 'id est.' and ѓоа 'as if'.

We present three case studies and seek to understand the experiences, abilities and performance of Albanian speakers/learners of Macedonian. The oral test and interview consists of reading two articles, one in Albanian first and retelling in Macedonian, and the other in Macedonian and then retelling in Macedonian, and answering questions on the veracity of the source of information. Results reveal first language influence in choosing markers (evidential/epistemic particles) for specific evidential strategies, and text interpretations.

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Титулования в белорусской этнокультуре в зеркале польско-белорусского и русско-белорусского взаимодействия

В каждой этнокультуре титулования играют важную роль, так как отражают отношение общества к «регламентации приобретенного социального достоинства человека, связанного … с его заслугами перед обществом», что проявляется в сочетаниях *получить титул за что-либо*, *быть удостоенным титула*. Наличие / отсутствие тех или иных титулований, их количество показывают, какие социальные позиции имеют в этом этносоциуме особый вес, насколько в обществе ценится власть и ее атрибуты, как оценивается принадлежность к аристократии, насколько уважаются привилегии.

Например, в белорусском этикете, в отличие от русского и польского с их развернутыми системами апеллятивов-титулований, отсутствовали собственные символические титулования в силу однородности белорусского социума; все они были заимствованы из русского или польского языков (ср. бел. *Ваша Яснасць!* из пол. *Wasza Jasność!*). Белорусскими языковедами предпринимались попытки создания их по той же модели метонимического переноса, например В. Ластовским: *крывічэсьлівасць* (как эквивалент русскому *высокоблагородие*), *вялечэсьлівасць* (рус. *высочество*), *Ваша Дастойнасць!* (рус. *Ваша честь!*), но в речевой практике такие титуловния так и не закрепились. В результате во многих случаях белорусские символические апеллятивы представлены лексемами из разных языков-источников, ср.: *Ваша праасвяшчэнства!; Ваша правялебнасць!* (РБС); *Ваша яснавяльможнасць!; Ваша яснасць!, Ваша сіяцельства!* (БРС).

Этикетные обращения с корневой основой *пан-* пришли в белорусскую речь из польского языка и получили широкое и длительное распространение в ней благодаря сильному влиянию считавшейся престижной польской культуры. В начале 90-х годов XX в. в Беларуси были предприняты попытки использования апеллятива «*пан* + імя» в качестве общенародного стандартного обращения (прежде всего в белорусскоязычных СМИ), но они были единичными и не стали нормой. Белорусская оппозиция *пан:селянін* была настолько актуальной, что нивелировала или подчиняла себе в той или иной степени все остальные значения; однако поскольку в польском языке слово *пан* постепенно приобрело статус местоименного субститута вежливости и стало употребляться при обращении ко

всем членам общества без исключения как показатель равных гражданских прав, то второе значение также, хоть и в меньшей степени, получило свое отражение в функционировании апеллятива *пан* в белорусской речи. Отсюда тавтологичные апеллятивные формулы типа: *А вы,* **пане пан**, *во сюды!* (Я. Купала).

Можно отметить, что системы символических титулований в русском и польском этикете были четко градуированы, в то время как в белорусском этикете отмечались лакуны, вариантность лексем, большое количество стяженных («упрощенных») форм (*васць, ваша, вашэць, вашэця и т.д.* – (ср с пол. *waszmość mościwy pan → waszmość, waszeć, waść; mości*), образование ласковых форм: *імостачка, панюхна, панічочак, таварышок.*

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Adjective order restrictions of attributive adjectives in Slovenian

Several languages exhibit restrictions on adjective ordering inside the noun phrase (e.g. Cinque 1994; Scott 2002). This relatively strict order of adjectives inside the noun phrase has been recently used as an argument for the cartographic approach to the internal structure of the noun phrase (e.g. Cinque 1994; Scott 2002).

For Slovenian, ordering restrictions on attributive adjectives have been described in Toporišič (2000), but the ordering as stated there is not very detailed (see also Vidovič-Muha 1981; Marušič, Žaucer to appear, for discussion of the ordering within specific subsets of Slovenian adjectives). Additionally, there have been no attempts to test adjective ordering restrictions in Slovenian experimentally so far. This paper presents the results of an experiment with which adjective ordering restrictions in Slovenian were tested. The main purpose of the experiment was to determine the most basic and unmarked orders of adjectives for SIZE, SHAPE, COLOR and PROVENANCE/ORIGIN in the complex noun phrase. To test this we used sets of two adjectives followed by a noun. Each set was was presented with the two adjectives in both orders, as in (1), and the participants had to choose the order they prefer.

(1) a. Drobni trikotni uhani
         'tiny triangular earrings'

     b. Trikotni drobni uhani
         'triangular tiny earrings'

Of special interest was the ordering of adjectives for SIZE and SHAPE since, for Toporišič (2000), both of these fall in one and the same category ('General property' adjectives).

Our results show that the order of adjectives in the Slovenian noun phrase is rather strict and it follows the proposed universal ordering of prenominal adjectives from Scott (2002): SIZE > SHAPE > COLOR > PROVENANCE/ORIGIN. These results are an indirect argument for the cartographic approach to the syntax of the noun phrase, as they reflect adjective ordering restrictions in the complex noun phrase that can't easily be captured by the competing adjunct approach, which claims that the order of adjectives inside the noun phrase is relatively free. I will argue that the observed adjective ordering restrictions in Slovenian can be best explained in terms of the universal hierarchy of a limited number of hierarchically ordered adjectival functional projections in the nominal phrase and that the observed ordering restrictions follow directly from the syntax.

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Влияние семантического фактора на выбор окончания *-у/-ѣ* существительными мужского рода в местном падеже единственного числа в русском языке 17 века

В древнерусском языке в местном падеже единственного числа существительные мужского рода могли иметь окончания *-ѣ* или *-у* (как и в современном предложном падеже *-е* или *-у*): *бить челом о сыске/сыску*. Окончание *-ѣ* является стандартным для существительных ŏ-склонения в данной форме, а окончание *-у* – нестандартное, оно пришло в парадигму ŏ-склонения под влиянием существительных древнего й-склонения: *в лесу, в снѣгу* (ŏ-основа, вместо *в лесѣ, в снѣге*) как *в верху, в дому* (й-основа). Но впоследствии некоторые существительные бывшего й-склонения перестали присоединять окончание *-у*, а многие существительные ŏ-склонения, наоборот, стали это окончание охотно принимать. Таким образом, в древнерусском языке выбор окончания *-ѣ/-у* уже не зависел от изначального типа основы существительного, появились другие факторы, определяющие этот выбор.

Среди подобных факторов называется семантический – падежное значение в конкретном контексте [Хабургаев 1990: 99, 101–102; Кузнецов 2005: 74; Ломоносов 1755: 85]. Считается, что окончание *-у* более характерно для форм со значением временной или пространственной локализации, а окончание *-ѣ* – для изъяснительного значения, что видим и в современном русском языке, где для форм с локализующим значением характерны предлоги *в* и *на*, а для форм с изъяснительным значением – *о* и *про* (*говорить о лесе*, но *быть в лесу*). Поэтому исследователи дополняли семантический фактор фактором сочетания с определенным предлогом, полагая, что существительные с предлогами *в* и *на* чаще присоединяли окончание *-у*, так как выражали значение локализации [Шахматов 1957: 250; Кузнецов 1959: 21; Ломоносов 1755: 85].

Однако круг значений древнерусского местного падежа был шире, чем у современного предложного, многие его значения уже утрачены. В текстах 17 века встречаются разнообразные контексты, где существительное с предлогом *в* или *на* не обозначает локализацию: *в грабежу дана очная стаѵка* №194 л.3, *робята стали на воꙁрасте* №224 л.5об., *Якушкова жена взята в лиховаꙋноꙧ члѵке* №139 л.1, *на <...> попѣ велѣꙋ взеꚍ* там же №301 л.45об., *грамоту в Серякове долъгу* №85 л.36об. [Пам.Влад], *кабала в рубле* №283, *все их на том хлѣбе 14 человек* №244, *поручилися <...> по смолянину* №159 [Пам.Смол].

Подобные примеры привели к необходимости создания классификации значений местного падежа в языке 17 века. Это облегчило проверку семантического фактора, как влияющего на выбор окончания, и позволило сделать вывод о невозможности считать значение падежа само по себе важным фактором выбора окончаний в местном падеже.

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Русский язык и семейная языковая политика

За последние 25 лет в положении русского языка в мире многое изменилось. Россия перешла от массового открытия Запада к повседневности контактов с ним. Было обнаружено, что «благополучный» Запад неоднозначен, не все страны одинаковые, проблемы есть везде. Изменилось отношение метрополии к диаспоре: приняты законы в отношении соотечественников, проводится особая политика «Русского мира», появилась идея «пятой колонны», за рубежом создан новый образ России и русских в СМИ. Репатрианты приходят к пониманию: «Там мы были финны (немцы, поляки, болгары, евреи, греки…), а здесь мы русские». Эмигранты сталкиваются с опытом старых русских общин, других иммигрантских диаспор, осознают мультикультурность любых современных сообществ. Постоянно происходит самопонимание через создание текстов, участие в дискурсе, определение терминов. В русском языке новое сначала появляется в диаспоре, а потом в метрополии (это такие слова, как *проект*, *амбициозный*, *вызовы*, *национальный*, *икона*, *идол*, *приоритизировать*; мн. ч. *статистики*, *рекламы*) (Yelenevskaya, Protassova 2015).

В любой стране структура русскоязычного сообщества многокомпонентна: это старые русские, репатрианты, супруги, приглашенные на работу, усыновленные дети, учащаяся молодежь, а также местные русскоговорящие и заинтересованные в России. Между различными группами русскоязычных в разных странах возникают личные, профессиональные контакты, сетевые сообщества по интересам. Связь транснациональных сообществ приводит к возникновению проектов, обмену опытом самоидентификации. Чем больше группа русскоязычных, тем чаще имеются свои представители во всех структурах общества. Происходит постоянное выстраивание отношений внутри группы и за ее пределами, саморазвитие группы, в которую вливаются и к которой адаптируются новые члены, совершенно по-другому подготовленные к жизни в других странах. Эмигранты разных поколений приезжают со своим особым опытом жизни в СССР, России, других странах постсоветского пространства, ближнего и дальнего зарубежья, использования Интернета, отношения к России и русскому языку.

Меняются возможности сохранения русского языка. Появляется новое двуязычное поколение, лозунгом которого становится: «Там мы не русские, здесь мы не финны/шведы и т.п.». Встает задача воспитания детей во втором и третьем поколении. Трудно найти общие ценности и понять, что значит «быть русским». Есть изобилие материалов для обучения языку, но их качество повышается очень медленно, отсутствуют конкурентоспособные учебники, есть тяготение к старому советскому. Доступны разнообразные формы обучения через Интернет, в т.ч. лекции, курсы, частные уроки; проводится множество международных детских лагерей.

В первой части доклада анализируется семейная языковая политика (Spolsky 2012; Schwartz, Verschik 2013; King, Lanza 2017) на основе осуществленных в Финляндии и Швеции в 2017 г. опросов. Во второй части доклада приводятся конкретные ошибки билингвов в письменной речи, выявляются их причины, сопоставляется общее и различное в материале, делаются выводы о перспективах обучения.

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Бурная история семантики одного русского прилагательного в свете типологических данных: *славный*

В докладе речь пойдет о семантике русского прилагательного *славный* в микродиахронической перспективе, начиная примерно с XVIII века. Задача работы – последовательно обсудив семантические сдвиги, которые претерпело это прилагательное, и соотнеся их с материалом других языков, показать, что эти семантические изменения не случайны.

Материалом исследования послужили, прежде всего, корпусные данные НКРЯ. Будучи отыменным производным, это прилагательное имело значение 'имеющий (снискавший) славу, прославившийся' – обычно в ходе войны – человек (*славный воин, славный государь*), событие (*славная победа, битва*), место (*великий и славный город*) и др. Эти употребления семантически предсказуемы даже внутри системы одного языка: они связаны друг с другом метонимически. То же верно и для наречия *славно*, ср. из архиепископа Платона (Левшина): <…> *люди так славно венчаются* <…> в смысле: 'со славой'.

Между тем через век, с начала XIX-го, на определенном этапе постепенного семантического развития, *славный* обнаруживается в текстах уже как чисто оценочный маркер: первое упоминание знаменитого *славного малого* в НКРЯ встречается у А. С. Грибоедова в пьесе «Студент» уже в 1817 году. Ср. также:

(1) *Завтра будет **славная** погода!*
     [М. Ю. Лермонтов. Герой нашего времени (1839–1841)]
(2) *У вас **славный** повар, — сказал он.*
     [М. В. Авдеев. Иванов (1851)]

Заметим, что еще через два века, в наше время, эти примеры выглядят мало приемлемыми: новое поколение так уже не говорит, заменяя *славный* на совсем другие прилагательные, из ряда *чудесный / фантастический / сказочный* или *отличный / выдающийся / прекрасный*. Кажется, что по своему происхождению и

семантической структуре эти новые оценочные модификаторы не имеют ничего общего с *славный*, которое на их фоне выглядит неожиданным исключением.

Тем не менее, апеллируя к более широкому материалу, мы покажем, что возникновение оценочного значения у слова *славный* как описывающего специальную разновидность объекта отличного от других, неслучайно. Той же модели превращения в оценочный маркер может в некоторых контекстах следовать, например, фр. *fameux* (ср. *pas fameux* 'посредственный') или рус. *знатный* (*знатный борщ*).

В докладе будут затронуты и вопросы более общего характера. В частности, судьба лексики, превратившейся в квази-грамматический оценочный маркер без перспективы дальнейшей морфологизации, а также общие механизмы таких изменений, не подходящих ни под классическое определение грамматикализации (см. Traugott 1994; Heine, Kuteva 2002; Bybee 2003), ни под классическое определение метафоры (Lakoff, Johnson 1980).

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The normative effect of ritual language on spoken Doukhobor Russian

The Doukhobors brought two Russian languages with them when they emigrated to Canada in 1899: their ritual language and their spoken language, in essence a Southern dialect of Russian. Both had been handed down from generation to generation since the late 17th century in an oral form (somewhat like Vulgar Latin). The ritual language for their psalms, prayers and hymns was first recorded in a written form (a type of Russian Church Slavonic) by the Soviet Russian land surveyor travelling in Central Canada, Vladimir Bonč-Bruevič (1909 [1954]), in his book *Životnaja kniga* (translated by Doukhobor experts as "The Living Book"). Bonč-Bruevič had considerable difficulties with some passages in this book, so he sent these passages to friends in Canada for clarification (see also Schaarschmidt 2008). Not all of his queries were answered satisfactorily and some of them have puzzled scholars into our days. In their ritual practice the Doukhobors maintained the normative character of the language with its folkloric elements, biblical allusions, repetitions, and parallelisms, carrying over many such features into their spoken language. Since the Doukhobors' first large settlements in Canada coincided with settlements by Ukrainians (or "Galicians", as they were often called) and there were frequent intermarriages, the closeness of Southern dialects contributed to the assimilation of Ukrainian pronunciation and vocabulary in the ritual language as well as the spoken language (for a concise survey of Doukhobor history in English, see Wilkinson 2006; for a more detailed, comprehensive study, see Malov 1948). As a result, the latter became much more prescriptive than, for example, the Russian language of the Old Believers; this may have contributed to the minimal loss of grammatical features, such as declension, conjugation, and lexical selection. And, as the spoken language is becoming increasingly moribund due the fact that only speakers in their 70s and up are still able to use it as a means of communication, retaining the use of the ritual language in Russian rather than in English acts as a factor in slowing down the death of the spoken language in the Province of British Columbia. By comparison, the use of the ritual language mainly in English in the Province of Saskatchewan seems to be partly responsible for the impending death of spoken Doukhobor Russian there (Makarova et al. 2011).

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Observations on an archaic *jat'* reflex in the Aegean Macedonian emigree dialect of Strupino (Meglen)

Our acoustic analysis of two spontaneous narrative texts first tape recorded by the Macedonian dialectologist Stojka Bojkovska in the Federal Republic of Macedonia in 1970 (then converted to CD format for the monograph Bojkovska 2006) from a 53-year-old female native speaker emigree from the Meglen village of Strupino (northern Greece, situated northwest of the Lower Vardar river valley) indicates the consistent presence of a reflex of Common Slavic *ě* distinct from that for *e*. The acoustic impression of the *ě*-reflex is basically similar to that of [ae] (between cardinal points 3 and 4), but in some examples is accompanied by an onglide portion and a lower offglide. Note that a similar gradation is exhibited by the reflex of etymological *o*, which at times gives the acoustic impression of *uo*. A comparative analysis of the average F1 values for the stressed reflex of *e* (17 lexically distinct tokens), *ę* (6 tokens), and *ě* (24 tokens) at quarter intervals of the vowel's duration indicates that 1) the relevant vowels in all three etymological classes display increases in the value of F1 over the entire term of the vocalic segment, and 2) the reflex of *ě* not only exhibits a higher comparative value for F1 at .25 (a difference of roughly 170-190 Hz), but also displays an earlier and more dramatic shift between .25 and .50 of the vowel's duration shift toward [a] (i.e., lowering) in the course of its formation, thus mirroring its acoustic diphthongal character, 3) the increase in the value of F1 in tokens for the reflexes of *e* and *ę* is strongest between .50 and .75 of the vowel's duration (see average F1 values for *ě* of 651-753-819 at .25/.50/.75 vs. 477-511-602 for *e* and 456-487-578 for *ę*, which also suggests that the *e* : *ę* etymological distinction is neglible). Our analysis is to some degree anticipated by sporadic indications in Bojkovska's own transcription of the texts in question (where stressed vowels derived from *ě* are at times rendered as [ɛ], vs. [e] for the reflex of *e*), although Bojkovska elsewhere asserts in the section on historical phonology that the Meglen regional dialect is consistently ekavian in its treatment of jat', a claim that is consistent with Dumev 1943 with respect to the Voden regional dialect as a whole).

From the viewpoint of historical dialectology, the presence of a distinct jat'-reflex in Meglen is unexpected (as we hope to discuss in the presentation of our paper).

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On semantics of the Slavic pluperfect in parallel texts: Corpora and questionnaires

The Pluperfect is known cross-linguistically (beginning with Dahl 1985; see also Squartini 1999; Plungian, Auwera 2006) to be much more than just "perfect-in-the past" or a combination of two categories: it is a verbal category *sui generis* showing little compositionality in most contexts. It is rather seldom used, as in English, to signal a pure temporal consequence; it is charged in most languages by a set of meanings linked to past temporal frame (cancelled result, remoteness, etc.), as well as with modal, discourse-related, and pragmatic functions.

The Slavic Pluperfect is not an exception. It has, or used to have, different forms deriving from different past tenses of the **byti* auxiliary (which is also a cross-linguistic feature), and is shown, by different authors in different languages, to have some additional (or, sometimes, the only possible) functions that divert from the traditional template of *consecution temporum.* They are particularly often found with the newest form with *byl-,* which is a "passé surcomposé" tense of a kind attested both in Western Europe and in the Asian (mostly, although not exclusively, Turkic and Iranic) areal zone. It is further grammaticalized towards irreal forms, as in East Slavic, or starts to be used predominantly with conditional, as in Czech. Even in Bulgarian, where the oldest forms are preserved, the use of pluperfect is far from automatic and is related to the semantics past temporal frames. Finally, there are languages where the pluperfect forms are obsolescent or nearly extinct in either function, as in Polish or Slovene. Overall, as it is already shown by Adriaan Barentsen (2015), there exist Slavic (and of course non-Slavic) languages with "strong" and thus frequent and "weak" and thus rare perfect.

We use Slavic parallel corpora, taking into consideration all the sentences where Pluperfects are attested at least in one language (more than thousand) and analyzing the contexts semantically. It is shown that there are contexts, mainly the ones of cancelled result, past resultative situation or otherwise ambiguous, where Pluperfect is attested even in the otherwise "weakest" languages. The languages ara also grouped using the NeighbourNet system, and distances between them are represented graphically. Non-Slavic languages are also included into this network for comparison, showing that the "Balkan" Pluperfect type is actually closer to Lithuanian, which fact parallels also the distribution of Perfects.

As the Pluperfect forms are found to be in competiton with other Past forms, questionnaires are presented and analyzed similarly, including contexts of different types.

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Dual number in Slovenian: Why did it survive?

Slovenian is one of the three contemporary Slavic languages (besides Upper and Lower Sorbian) that has preserved dual number in its pronouns. Slovenian dual pronouns were not replaced by the plural as in the majority of Slavic languages (1a), but reanalyzed as bimorphemic consisting of a plural pronoun and the numeral *dva* ('two') (1b). While previous studies (Derganc 1988, 1998, 2003; Corbett 2000; Jakop 2008 a, 2008 b; Nevins 2011) recognize these diachronic changes in the Slovenian dual, they do not address the (i) underlying reasons of it historical reanalysis, and bimorphemic structural composition. I propose that diachronic changes in Slovenian dual pronouns are driven by the principle of Morphosyntactic Feature Economy (MFE) which restructures its morphosyntactic composition to make it more computationally efficient.

(1)   a. dual → plural   the rest of Slavic languages
       b. dual → plural + dva   Slovenian

The diachronic reanalysis of Slovenian dual pronouns involved two stages: dual/plural syncretism and morphosyntactic reconstrual. During the 1st stage of diachronic reanalysis, Old Slovenian monomorphemic dual pronouns *my*, *vy*, *oni* became syncretic with their plural counterparts. Only the verbal agreement suffixes *-va* and *-mo* could distinguish dual from plural referents (2a-b).

(2)   a.   **My** bo-**va**   letu   mejʃtu konzha-l-**a** ...
             1.PL be-1.DU.FUT this place   destroy-PART-DU.MASC
             'We two will destroy this place...'   (Jakop b 2008:363)

       b.   **My** iei-**mo**   ta   sad
             1.PL eat-1.PL   this   fruit
             'We eat this fruit ...' (Derganc 1988:245)

The 2nd stage of diachronic development involved morphosyntactic reanalysis. The speakers began to add the numeral *dva* ('two') to a plural pronominal stem to disambiguate the dual from the plural. As a result, the monomorphemic 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person Slovenian dual pronouns *my*, *vy*, *ona/oni* became bi-morphemic - *my-dva*, *vy-dva*, *oni-dva*, and were easily distinguished from the plural (3).

(3) Oſtani-te tukaj, dokler **my-dva** supet k'vam   pride-**va**
     stay-IMP here until 1.**PL**-**two** to   2.PL.DAT return-1.**DU**.PRES
     'Stay here until we two come back to you.'   (Jakop b 2008:363)

In the framework of Distributed Morphology (Harley, Noyer 1999), I argue that the principle of MFE is the reason for the reanalysis of the Slovenian dual and its bimorphemic structure. I assume (Chomsky 2005, 2008, 2013) that MFE is a "third factor" principle of computational economy of a syntactic derivation. Following Nevins (2011) and Harbour (2011), I suggest that dual number is represented by a marked feature bundle [-singular –augmented]. The principle of MFE states that a marked [-singular, -augmented] feature combination of the dual cannot be realized at Phonological Form without eliminating markedness of its features at Morphological Structure.

In Old Slovenian, the MFE applied via fission which split a marked [-singular -augmented] feature combination of the dual into two separate terminal nodes – [-singular] and [-augmented] (4). The result of fission was a less marked and more economical morphosyntactic representation of the dual with two separate positions of exponence. Two Vocabulary Items (VIs) were needed to realize these positions. The [-singular] feature was filled by the plural pronoun. The [-augmented] feature was filled by the numeral *dva* ('two') as a minimal non-singular semantic unit (5).

(4) **Fission Rule for Old Slovenian**
     [-singular -augmented] → [-singular] [-augmented]

(5) **VIs for Slovenian**
     /mi & vi/ or /my & wy/ ↔ [-singular]
     /dva/ ↔ [-augmented]

I have argued that the principle of MFE is a driving force behind diachronic changes in the Slovenian dual. MFE predicts that over time languages with a singular~dual-plural number systems will develop in two directions. They will either become singular~plural languages or continue to use a singular~dual-plural number system with a reanalyzed dual. This prediction is borne out in a number of languages typologically unrelated to Slavic, such as Manam (Austronesian), Hopi (Uto-Aztecan), Hebrew (Afro-Asiatic), Kokota (Austronesian), Tonkawa (isolate), and Warlpiri (Australian).

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Aspectual choice of Russian speech act verbs

This study explores semantic, pragmatic characteristics of aspectual choice for Russian speech act verbs (SAVs). The corpus of the study is based on Russian National Corpus, as well as on Ljashevskaja and Sharov (2009)'s New Frequency Dictionary. As drawn on Wierzbicka (1987)'s 37 semantic classes of English SAVs, the given study classifies approximately 160 Russian SAVs and it is found that a tendency or pattern showing a correlation of verbal aspect on the one hand and the verbal semantic class and its lexical 'outliers' on the other.

Aspectual preferences and perfective/ imperfective percent proportions are very distinct from one semantic class to another, and even within one and the same semantic class, SAVs reveal distinct patterns depending on semantic features of apparently synonymous SAVs. Previous studies on aspectual choice for verba dicendi or SAVs, such as Israeli (2001), Fielder (1990), failed in delineating SAVs consistently and exhaustively, and randomly elicited only a portion of SAVs showing perlocutionary effects of the perfective aspect, arguing that the perfective aspect entails success, whereas the imperfective failure of a given perlocutionary act. In this study I have tried to show this is an oversimplified argument.

Among SAVs in the corpus, there are imperfective-prone SAVs, perfective-prone SAVs, and heterogeneous SAVs and aspectual choice is dictated by speaker-addressee intersubjective dynamism and cognitive coordination, as well as process-oriented vs. goal-oriented verbal semantics. Imperfective aspect is also employed in ritual, typified acts, which focus on the attitude or relationship than on the action itself.

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Complexities in between:
Oscillating clausal structures

Complex clausal structures are usually categorised according to the relation holding between their constituent parts, with criteria such as coordination/subordination, modification/coreference and independence/integration playing a crucial role. They are reflected in the traditional dichotomies "paratactic vs. hypotactic connexion", "restrictive vs. appositive relative clauses" and "complement vs. adverbial clauses". However, when it comes to the analysis of actual data, in particular non- and pre-standardised data, matters are more intricate and structures often defy an unequivocal categorisation, see (1)–(5):

(1) restrictive relative clause ~ anaphoric resumption
     dziewkę uranił, ktorąż ranę […] (Kodeks Działyńskich, 15th c.) [Po.]
     'he hurt a girl, which wound […]'
(2) jussive main clause ~ final adverbial clause
     starega vina primešamo [...], naj bodo možilost dobile (Čebelarstvo, 1831) [Sln.]
     'we add some old wine, they shall gain / such that they gain virility'
(3) relative clause ~ clausal complementation
     kakto kazva za Xrista či rekalъ, kakъ e sъ nasъ do svъrešenieto na světa (Sofronij Vračanski, Poučitelno evangelie 1806) [Bulg.]
     'as he says about Christ, who said / that he said […]'
(4) coordination ~ conditional
     a u ženy ditja roditsja ino babit' muž'(Afanasij Nikitin, Troicjki spisok 379) [Ru.]
     'and (if) a women has a child, (and) the man accepts it'
(5) free relative ~ conditional
     a kto u nixъ umretь . ini tě žgut (Afanasij Nikitin, Troicjki spisok 379) [Ru.]
     'Whoever died, was burned/ if someone died, they burned him.'

Therefore, the binary concepts have been replaced by parametric approaches as proposed by Lehmann (1988), Weiss (1989), Raible (1992). These fit the data more appropriately because they allow to model the oscillation of individual examples between two ends of a scale from a synchronic point of view and in their diachronic dimension.

In addition, parametric approaches are able to capture commonalities between structures that remain otherwise opaque, such as similarities between relative clauses and NP complementation (Arsenijević 2009; Topolinjska 1997).

In our presentation we want to tackle the diachronic dimension. Using data from various Slavic languages, we will analyze the transitions between restrictive relative clause and anaphoric resumption (1), jussive main clause and final adverbial clause (2), relative clause and clausal complementation (3), clause coordination and conditional (4) and free relative clause and conditional (5). In addition, we will discuss if and how the parameters are useful in describing the emergence of syntactic patterns.

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Interrelation of grammatical gender and inflectional class: A case study of Russian "common gender" nouns

There are two conflicting claims concerning correlation between grammatical gender and inflectional class of Russian nouns. Some claim that grammatical gender can be predicted form inflectional class (Corbett 1982, 1991; Corbett, Fraser 2000). In contrast, others claim that inflectional class can be predicted from grammatical gender (Crockett 1976; Thelin 1975). However, there is a class of nouns in Russian — the so-called "common gender" nouns — which cannot be accounted for in any of these proposals.

Common gender nouns denote individuals, like *s'irot-á* 'orphan' and *sudj-á* 'judge' that can trigger either masculine, or feminine agreement (1a–b). Compare with other Russian nouns that can trigger only masculine or only feminine agreement (2–3).

Common gender nouns differ from other Russian nouns, because their grammatical gender cannot be predicted from inflectional class and vice versa, their inflectional class cannot be predicted from grammatical gender. For example, in (1a–b), the common gender noun *s'irot-á* 'orphan' belongs to the inflectional class II, which is evident from the inflectional suffix *-a* (only class II nouns have the inflectional suffix *-a* in Russian). Nonetheless, it can be either masculine or feminine, which is evident from either masculine (1a) or feminine (1b) agreement. With this respect, the question arises: What is so special about common gender nouns, which sets them apart from all other nouns?

I propose that the difference between common gender nouns and other Russian nouns is that the former are unmarked for grammatical gender, while the latter are marked for either [MASC], or [FEM] (4a–c). This proposal makes the following predictions. First, in case of common gender nouns, either masculine or feminine agreement can be used when they refer to an individual whose sex is unknown. However, when the sex of an individual is known, one or the other agreement will be used. This prediction is borne out (5a–b). Second, in case of other Russian nouns, we predict that it would not matter whether the sex of an individual they refer to is known or not. If they are marked for [MASC], they will only trigger masculine agreement, regardless of the sex of an individual they refer to. Similarly, if they are marked for [FEM], they will only trigger feminine agreement. This prediction is borne out (6a–b).

I show in detail how the current proposal works with respect to Russian expressive suffixes. First, I argue that expressive suffixes cannot be marked for grammatical gender in Russian. Instead, they are marked for the inflectional [CLASS II]. Second, I argue that the grammatical gender of a derived word can be predicted from the inflectional class of an expressive suffix; which gives additional evidence for the first claim discussed above (grammatical gender can be predicted from inflectional class). Third, I illustrate how this works with respect to common gender nouns. I argue that since common gender nouns are unmarked for grammatical gender, their gender cannot be predicted from the inflectional class of an expressive suffix. Thus, a derived common gender noun with an expressive suffix will always trigger either masculine or feminine agreement (7 where the vulgar suffix –in is used), just as it does without an expressive suffix, as shown in (1).

(1) a. bol'š-ój   s'irot-á   b. bol'š-ája   s'irot-á
      big-**MASC**.N.SG orphan-N.SG (**MASC; CLASS II**)   big-**FEM**.N.SG orphan-N.SG (**FEM; CLASS II**)
      'big orphan'   'big orphan'

(2) a. bol'š-ój   j'únoš-a   b. *bol'š-ája   j'únoš-a
      big-**MASC**.N.SG young-N.SG (**MASC; CLASS II**)   big-**FEM**.N.SG young-N.SG (**FEM; CLASS II**)
      'big young person (male)'   'big young person (male)'

(3) a. bol'š-ája   n'án'-a   b. *bol'š-ój   n'án'-a
      big-**FEM**.N.SG nurse-N.SG (**FEM; CLASS II**)   big-**MASC**.N.SG nurse-N.SG (**MASC; CLASS II**)
      'big nurse'   'big nurse'

(4)   a.   n   b.   n[masc]   c.   n[fem]

      n   √sud'j-   n[masc]   √j'unoš-   n[fem]   √n'an'-
           'judge'   'young male'   'nurse'

(5)   a.   bol'š-ój   s'irot-á   (referring to a <u>male</u> individual)
         big-**MASC**.N.SG   orphan-N.SG (**MASC; CLASS II**)
         'big orphan (masculine)'

       b.   bol'š-ája   s'irot-á   (referring to a <u>female</u> individual)
         big-**FEM**.N.SG   orphan-N.SG (**FEM; CLASS II**)
         'big orphan (feminine)'

(6)   a.   bol'š-ája   n'án'-a   (referring to a <u>male</u> individual)
         big-**FEM**.N.SG   nurse-N.SG (**FEM; CLASS II**)
         'big nurse (masculine)'

       b.   bol'š-ája   n'án'-a   (referring to a <u>female</u> individual)
         big-**FEM**.N.SG   nurse-N.SG (**FEM; CLASS II**)
         'big nurse (feminine)'

(7)   a.   bol'š-ój   s'irot'-**ín**-a   (referring to a <u>male</u> individual)
         big-**MASC**.N.SG   orphan-**EXPR**-N.SG (**MASC; CLASS II**)
         'big orphan (vulgar expressive)'   (masculine)

       b.   bol'š-ája   s'irot'-**ín**-a   (referring to a <u>female</u> individual)
         big-**FEM**.N.SG   orphan-**EXPR**-N.SG (**FEM; CLASS II**)
         'big orphan (vulgar expressive)'   (feminine)

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Expressive derivations and a change in gender:
A case study of Russian

This is a case study of Russian nominalizing expressive suffixes, as listed in table 1.

Affectionate suffixes:	-án', -áš, -ón, -úl', -ún', -úr, -ús', -úš
Vulgar suffixes:	-ág, -ák, -ál, -ár, -áx, -íl, -in, -ób, -ot, -óx, -úg,--úk,- úx

Table 1: Russian nominalizing expressive suffixes (from Steriopolo 2008: 62)

These suffixes can attach to various syntactic categories (adjectives, verbs, nouns) and always form nouns. What is puzzling about these suffixes is that they can change grammatical gender of the base, except in cases when the base is a kinship noun. When they attach to kinship nouns, gender of the base is always preserved, although declension class of the base can change.

Consider, for example, the expressive affectionate suffix *-ul'*. In (1), the suffix attaches to an inanimate feminine noun *kras-ot-a* 'beauty'. The resulting noun in (1b) is animate and has no fixed gender (it can trigger either masculine or feminine agreements). Thus, we observe a change in animacy and gender of the base.

(1) a.   kras-ot-á
           pretty-NOM-N.SG (INANIM; FEM; CL II)
           'beauty'

        b.   kras-ot-**úl'**-a
            pretty-NOM-**EXPR**-N.SG (ANIM; NO FIXED GENDER; CL II)
            'pretty person (affect)'

In (2), when the same suffix *-ul'* attaches to a masculine kinship noun *syn* 'son', the resulting noun remains animate and masculine, but there is a change in declension class of the base, as in (2b).

(2) a.   syn
           son.N.SG (ANIM; MASC; CL I)
           'son'

        b.   syn-**úl'**-a
            son-**EXPR**-N.SG (ANIM; MASC; CL II)
            'son (affect)'

The data above lead to the following question: how can we account for the differences in animacy, gender and declension class of the base when the expressive suffixes attach?

This research is done in the framework of Distributed Morphology (Halle, Marantz 1993; Halle 1997; Marantz 1997) that distinguishes between word formation from √roots and from syntactic categories. I will argue that the expressive suffixes in *table 1* are nominal heads specified for the syntactic features [ANIMATE] and declension [CLASS II], but they have no grammatical gender features, as in (3).

```
                      n[anim][cl II]
                     /            \
        n[anim][cl II]             n/v/a
        eval suffix               /     \
                          n/v/a         √root
```
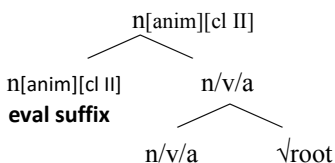
I will show that kinship nouns like *syn* 'son' in (2) remain masculine not because the grammatical feature [MASCULINE] can ascend the structure (I will argue that it cannot), but because the meaning 'male' is present as part of the lexical meaning of the resulting expressive derivation.

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Возможность и ее виды в русском языке

Доклад посвящен различным видам возможности и тому, как эти виды соотносятся с различными словами, выражающими, или сигнализирующими, или предполагающими различные виды возможности в русском языке.

В наиболее общем виде возможность P (P = положение дел) — это наличие **альтернативных** положений дел, «возможных миров», в одном или одних из которых P есть, а в других нет. Эти альтернативы могут существовать объективно, так что это реальные альтернативы развития событий (объективная возможность), или же быть только в уме субъекта (С), при том, что в действительности (необходимо) P или (необходимо) не P — эпистемическая, или субъективная возможность (*Возможно, он уже приехал*) [Булыгина, Шмелев 1997: 210–211; Зализняк, Падучева 1989; Шатуновский 1996: 207] .

В свою очередь, объективная возможность делится на различные виды в соответствии с тем, какой фактор обуславливает наличие или отсутствие P в альтернативных мирах [Теория 1990: 126; Шатуновский 1996: 196–197]. Два основных вида объективной возможности — это возможность случайности и возможность закономерности. В случае возможности случайности фактором, обуславливающим P или не P, является (всегда объективный) случай: *Земля может столкнуться с кометой.* Возможность закономерности, в свою очередь, делится на два вида: возможность неконтролируемой закономерности — P имеет или не имеет место в зависимости от некоторого условия, не зависящего от субъекта возможности (*Мост может выдержать нагрузку в 100 тонн*) — и возможность выбора действия волей субъекта, контролирующего это действие — возможность выбора. В случае возможности выбора P имеет место в тех случаях, когда С выбирает его, и отсутствует в тех случаях, когда С не выбирает его: *Он может поднять эту штангу.*

Наряду с базовыми видами возможности существуют и выражаются в языке комбинированные виды возможности. Так, в *Он может поднять штангу весом 100 кг* (= *до 100 кг*) = 'P будет, если он выберет поднять штангу и если вес штанги 100 кг и менее' — соединяются возможность выбора и возможность неконтролируемой закономерности. Реализация P может зависеть от выбора С, но сам выбор при этом с точки зрения постороннего С, не С выбора, определяется случаем. Так, *Он может приехать* (сейчас или вообще) может значить 'если **выберет**, приедет', но может значить 'если **случится** так, что он выберет, то он приедет' (комбинированная возможность). Различные комбинированные типы возможно-

сти предполагаются в русском языке глаголами *(по)пытаться, (по)пробовать* и *(по)стараться*, предполагающими возможность достижения цели, но в разных смыслах. В *(по)пытаться* соединяются объективные возможность выбора и возможность случайности, в *(по)пробовать* соединяются субъективная, эпистемическая возможность и объективная возможность выбора, в *(по)стараться* (в разных употреблениях по-разному) объединяются возможность выбора, возможность случайности и дополнительная возможность выбора и приложения особых, дополнительных усилий для достижения цели (*сможет, если постарается*). Эти и другие комбинированные виды возможности будут подробно рассмотрены в докладе.

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Case-marking of arguments of nouns: Russian versus Serbo-Croatian

In this talk, I discuss the analyses of Russian and SC result and process nominals. The data is direct evidence against Bošković's (2008) adnominal genitives parameter, whereby languages without articles do not allow nominals with two genitive arguments.

Russian and SC behave differently with respect to case-marking of arguments of nouns. Russian allows two genitive arguments with result (1a), but not with process nominals, where the agent must be in instrumental (1b).

(1)
a.   fotografija krest'jan Smirnova
     photograph peasants.GEN Smirnov.GEN
     'the photograph of the peasants by Smirnov'
b.   fotografirovanie krest'jan *Smirnova/Smirnovym
     photographing peasants.GEN *Smirnov.GEN Smirnov.INST
     'photographing of the peasants by Smirnov'

SC allows two genitives with both result (2a) and process nominals (2b). In process nominals agents can also be expressed with od strane phrase - the equivalent of Russian instrumental.

(2)
a.   fotografija Frankfurta slavnog umetnika
     photograph Frankfurt.GEN famous.GEN artist.GEN
     'the photograph of Frankfurt by the famous artist'
b.   osvajanje Vimbldona srpskog tenisera / od strane srpskog tenisera
     winning Wimbledon.GEN Serbian.GEN tennis-player.GEN/from side.GEN Serbian.GEN
     tennis-player.GEN
     'the winning of Wimbledon by the Serbian tennis player'

Rappaport argues that result, unlike process nouns, are inherent case assigners. Thus in (1a) *krest'jan* gets genitive from *fotografija*, and *Smirnova* gets genitive from D. *Fotografirovanie* lacks a nominal root and cannot assign genitive to its complement. The only source of genitive in (1b) is D, hence only one argument can get it. The other argument must be in instrumental. The same analysis does not work for SC. To account for two genitives in (2b), one would have to assume either (i) that process nominals have nominal roots and assign genitive; or (ii) that *srpskog tenisera* is an elided version of *od*

strane srpskog tenisera. (i) is improbable for conceptual reasons. (ii) is undesirable as it would raise the question of why this ellipsis cannot happen in passives.

Pesetsky (2013) argues that Russian cases are not independent categories, but affixal realizations of parts of speech: Genitive = N, Nominative = D, Accusative = V, Oblique = P. A noun can acquire specific morphology by merging with a particular part of speech: it will surface as genitive either because (i) no other morphology has been assigned to it (it is in its "primeval genitive form"); or (ii) it has merged with another noun which has assigned genitive. Pesetsky shows that adnominal genitives are instances of (ii).

In Pesetsky's framework, SC and Russian can have a unified analysis: the head noun, by virtue of the fact that it is of category N assigns genitive to all the elements that merge with it. In (1b), *Smirnovym* is merged as a PP with a null P assigning instrumental. In the od strane version of (2b), the agent is merged as a complex PP *od strane*, with the noun *strane* assigning genitive morphology to the agent - *srpskog tenisera*.

Process nominals are assumed to contain verbal material, raising the question of the possible assignment of accusative, which does not occur. Furthermore, P is associated with oblique cases, yet in (2b) it assigns genitive. These issues are discussed in the talk.

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Typology of linguogeneses of the Slavic languages

Genealogical linguistics studies the genetic relationship between idioms (i.e. linguistic systems and diasystems which can be subdivided into geolects and sociolects each with its own subset of the various chronolects) and establishes their genealogical classification based on genetic affiliation. In the 1870s, the Leipzig neogrammarian school of linguistics came to the correct conlusion that sound change is by far the most systematic process among the changes that affect a given language. Sound changes can be accurately captured by mathematically precise rules (rather appropriately, the Neogrammarians called them *Lautgesetze*, i.e. sound laws). As such the historical phonology of a language is undeniably the most important criterion for accurate linguistic affiliation and genealogical classification. Accordingly, the individual idioms are either vertically or horizontally affiliated if and only if they display regular and systematic correspondences on the phonological level which can (by the reversal of the divergence principle) be projected back to a single starting-point, the phonological diversity that naturally exists on the synchronic level being at the same time possible to account for as the direct result of regular sound change.

Non-common Slavic innovations that started around the 9th century AD quite naturally resulted in a split into three distinct Slavic macro-geolects (South, East and West Slavic), with simultaneous fragmentation into considerably smaller units. In this way the major Old Slavic geolects (classified according to their defining characteristics) branched out.

Old South Slavic geolects and their defining characteristics

Proto-Slavic	North Alpine	South Alpine-West Pannonian-Littoral	East Pannonian-Dinaric	Ras	Eastern South Slavic
*tl, *dl	*tl, *dl	*l	*l	*l	*l
*ť, *ď	*č, *j	*č, *j	*č, *ʒ́	*č, *ʒ́	*št, *žd
*šč, *žʒ	*šč, *žʒ	*šč, *žʒ	*šč, *žʒ	*št, *žd	*št, *žd

Old East Slavic geolects and their defining characteristics

Proto-Slavic	North-Eastern	Novgorod-Pskov	Polock-Smolensk	Poles'e-Kijev	South-Western
$*k^{E2}$, $*g^{E2}$, $*x^{E2}$	*c, *ʒ, *s	*k, *g, *x	*c, *ʒ, *s	*c, *ʒ, *s	*c, *ʒ, *s
$*sk^{E2}$, $*zg^{E2}$	*sc, *zʒ	*sk, *zg	*šč, *žǯ	*sk, *zg	*sc, *zʒ
$*kv^{E(2)}$, $*gv^{E(2)}$	$*cv^{E(2)}$, $*ʒv^{E(2)}$	$*kv^{E(2)}$, $*gv^{E(2)}$	$*cv^{E(2)}$, $*ʒv^{E(2)}$	$*kv^{E(2)}$, $*gv^{E(2)}$	$*cv^{E(2)}$, $*ʒv^{E(2)}$
*tl, *dl	*l	*tl, *dl	*l	*l	*l
$*č/*t́ : *c/*k^{E2}$	*ç	*ç	*ç	*č : *c	*č : *c
*ö/*ъ̈ : *ò	*o : *ǫ	*o : *ǫ	*o	*o	*o

Old West Slavic geolects and their defining characteristics

Proto-Slavic	Polabian-Pomeranian	Polish-Sorbian	South West Slavic	Central Tatry	
$*x^{E2} > *ś$	*š'	*š'	*š'	*š'	*s'
*tl, *dl	*tl, *dl	*tl, *dl	*tl, *dl	*l	
*ŏRC/*oRC *CoRC *CeRC	*RoC *CaRC/*CRoC *CReC	*RoC *CRoC *CReC	*RoC *CRaC *CRěC	*RaC *CRaC *CRěC	
*CRъC *CRьC	*CRъC *CRьC	*CRъC *CRьC	*CRъC *CRьC	*Ŗ *Ŗ'	

It was from these Old Slavic geolects that the individual Slavic languages (in the genealogical linguistic sense) evolved, as is of course well known. According to genealogical linguistic classification, the term *language* must be defined as a geographical linguistic phenomenon (geolect) which encompasses groups of dialects and their local dialects that display the same set of linguistic characteristics (i.e. archaisms and innovations).

The contribution attempts to systematically lay out the typology of linguogeneses of the Slavic languages. The models of linguogeneses are described depending on the linguistic uniformity or heterogeneity of the starting point and subsequent convergent or divergent development. Together with the central vs. marginal position of the geolects within the wider linguistic area and the presence vs. absence of innovations these four parameters can be used as the defining characteristics or genealogical criteria of any given geolect.

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Adjective declension and its accent
in the local dialect of Kropa

Kropa local dialect belongs to the Gorenjsko (Upper Carniola) dialect, but it has many peculiarities, especially on the phonological level. In the article some of its morphological characteristics will be presented, with special focus on the adjective (forms, declension and comparison) and adjective pronouns.

In the Kropa local dialect adjectives, like nouns, distinguish gender, case and number; for example: Nsg. *mè:ixən s'toṷ* 'little chair', Gsg. *mè:ixəŋga stó:la*, Dpl. *mè:ixnəm stó:ləm …*, Nsg. *fɨ:ʀpčna bá:ba* 'curious woman', Gsg. *fɨ:ʀpčne bá:be*, Gpl. *fɨ:ʀpčnəx bà:p …* Masculinisation of neutral in singular and dual and feminisation in plural can be additionally observed, as is typical of other closely related dialects, e.g. *vé:lək mẹ́:st* 'a big town', *velì:ke mè̩:sta* 'big towns', *velí:ka mè̩:sta* '(two) big towns'.

The definite and indefinite forms of qualitative adjectives are expressed with the article *ta* and/or the change of accent and/or quality of the stressed vowel (like: *lsè̩:n* 'a wooden' – *ta lsè̩:n* 'the wooden', *jẹ́:zən* 'an angry' – *ta jè̩:zən* 'the angry', *vé:lək* 'a big' – *ta vè̩:lk* 'the big'), while possesive and relational adjectives tend not to distinguish between definite and indefinite forms (*sosẹ́:doṷ* 'neighbour's', *mà:mən* 'mother's', *mọ́:ị̆* 'my'; *kʀọ̀:paʀsk* 'from Kropa', *kʀà:ụ̆ji* 'cows').

The comparative is mostly formed by derrivational suffixes, for example: *lè̩:p* 'beautiful' – *lè̩:ụ̆š* – *(ta) 'neị̆lè̩:ụ̆š*, *xù:t* 'mad, angry' – *xù:ị̆* – *(ta) 'neị̆xuị̆*, *s'taʀ* 'old' – *starè̩:ị̆š* – *(ta) 'neị̆starè̩:ị̆š*, or using comparative adverbial forms *'bəl* 'more', *'neị̆'bəl* 'the most', *'mən* 'less', *'neị̆'mən* 'the least'.

In their declension the adjectives can display a fixed accent on the stem – circumflex (Nsg. *snežè̩:n* 'snow', Gsg. *snežè̩:ŋga*) or acute (Nsg. *plẹ́:šast* 'bald', Gsg. *plẹ́:šazdga*), mobile accent on the stem (Nsg. *dẹ́:boṷ* 'fat', Gsg. *debẹ́:lga*), or can be stressed on their ending (Nsg. *lo'xən* 'light', Gsg. *loxəŋ'ga*). Some adjectives also have mixed accent (Nsg. *m'lat̩* 'young', Gsg. *mlá:dga/mlad'ga ...*). Some adjectives always have ending -ø in their declension (Nsg., Gsg. … *fà:jən* 'fine', Nsg., Gsg. … *za'nəč* 'worthless' ...).

At the end of the paper adjective pronouns such as *ká:šen* 'what kind', *'kaka:ʀšən(kò̩:l)* 'whatever', *an* 'a sort of', *(mà:ʀs)kặšən* 'diverse', *ụ̆sà:k* 'every', *nobè̩:n* 'none, any', *da:ʀgà:čən* 'different', *enà:k* 'the same', *tá:k(le)* 'such', *mọ́:ị̆* 'my', *sọ́:ị̆* 'one's own' etc. and their declension will be presented.

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New words in the second edition of the Slovene Standard Language Dictionary with examples of nouns denoting females

This article presents the vocabulary treatment of nouns denoting females in the standard Slovenian language which allows the use of the generic masculine gender for naming women. Due to such use, the analysis of text sources expectedly results in a higher number of masculine nouns denoting persons, and the compilers should regard this fact when setting the criteria for the acceptance of entries.

The names have been classified according to the change of meaning in comparison with the first edition of the Slovene Standard Language Dictionary (SSLD) and according to their structure.

The first group contains neo-semantemes. According to the editions of the Slovene Standard Language Dictionary, in this group, the meaning had been changed from 'a spouse' to 'a practising female professional or a woman holding a rank', e. g. *notarka, bankirka* and *majorka*.

The second group contains expressions derived from masculine nouns, the s. c. feminatives. In Slovene, they are formed by adding suffixes, e.g. -ka: *konzulka*, *menedžerka*; -ica: *magistrica, navijačica*; -esa: *klovnesa*; -arka: *bulimičarka, bioenergetičarka*; -inja: *astrologinja*, *numerologinja* and -ja: *podžupanja*, *prodekanja*.

The third group contains expressions derived from a verb, an adjective or a noun which is not a denoting a male, e.g. *častnica*, *dojenčica; alternativka*, *marginalka*.

The analysed material shows that the majority of the new words were formed by adding suffixes. The second edition of the Slovene Standard Language Dictionary also includes some forms which appear infrequently in the Gigafida reference corpus, e.g. *imenoslovka* (0), *japijka* (1), *neoliberalka* (1) and *obrobnica* (1). Bearing in mind the weak points of the corpora, these examples pose questions in terms of the criteria for the inclusion of entries into the Slovene Standard Language Dictionary and the question of whether the dictionary should include words which appear so infrequently.

The Gigafida corpus contains some nouns denoting females which are not included in the second edition of the Slovene Standard Language Dictionary, e. g. from derived words *antijunakinja* (32), *arhivistka* (42), *rezidentka* (45), *izganjalka* (903); from loanwords, e. g. *luzerka* (51), *tajkunka* (39); compounds like *devetošolka* (147) and *hipnoterapevtka* (19); universalisations like *heteroseksualka* (62) and *individualka* (26) and multi-word lexemes like *gorska kolesarka* (239), *državljanka sveta* (44) and *gostujoča profesorica* (118).

These examples show that the treatment of nouns denoting females is a challenging topic, since the sources do not provide sufficient information about the usage stability. As the consequence of this, the dictionary lacks some words and includes some others which are not based on the sources, and some variants of expressions with the same meaning, e. g. *dekanica*, *dekanja*, *dekanka* and *koordinatorica*, *koordinatorka*.

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Imageability of unimageable: Researching imageability of pseudoverbs in Croatian language

Imageability of lexical units can be defined as degree of ease with which the visual or auditive picture of a reference is created. Previous research on imageability of verbs and nouns point to higher imageability of nouns (Bird, Franklin, Howard 2001; Simonsen, Lind, Hansen, Holm, Melvik 2012). However, in the course of preliminary research on imageability carried out on the sample of 200 Croatian verbs and nouns (selected from the list of most frequent 1000 verbs and nouns from the hrWaC, Croatian web corpus), containing the pseudowords formed as nouns and pseudowords formed as verbs as well, the participants (students of the University of Zagreb) rated Croatian pseudoverbs significantly higher than pseudonouns (Peti-Stantić, Tušek 2015).

Pseudowords by definition lack lexical meaning, having form only. This means that they actually represent a string of phonemes that would be acceptable according to phonotactic rules of a given language, without any semantic meaning attached. Without any semantic content, however, pseudowords should not be imageable.

Pseudowords were composed by replacing first letter in the Croatian word with another differing from the original one in four distinctive features. Their resemblance to the real word has been tried to reduced to minimum by testing their possible meanings with a group of native Croatian speakers. The participants were given a list of pseudowords and were asked to answer whether the word resembles to any word from their native dialect. If more than 70% of the participants answered negatively, the pseudoword was considered adequate for the research. If in the remaining 30% who answered positively, more than 20% gave the same answer, the pseudoword has not been used.

In this presentation we start from the results of this preliminary research. Consequentially, our hypothesis is that the pseudowords in/with verbal form – although the verbs themselves are supposed to be less imageable than the nouns – will be rated higher in imageability than the nouns. The reason for such a hypothesis is in the recognizeability of word-formation suffixes for infinitive which we used in composing pseudowords. Namely, in Croatian there are only two infinitive suffixes, *-ti* and *-ći*, and therefore the effect of familiarity should be very high (i.e. pseudoverb *njolati* signalizes the verb through morpheme *-ti*). As a result, we expect these two verbal word-formation

morphemes to be more transparent than, for example, null-morpheme in nominative of pseudonoun *snub*, or *-a* in the feminine form *snuba*.

The report on the results of an experimental study in which the participants evaluated the imageability will be given. Firstly, they rated imageability of pseudoverbs and pseudonouns using the scale from 1 to 5. In the next part of the experiment, they got the list of the same pseudoverbs, but with additional verbal prefixes added, for example *raz-, pred-, nad-, po-* etc. Then they ranked pseudoverbs both without a prefix and with prefixes according to their imageability.

Using this technique, we tested the impact of prefixes to the imageability of verbs in an isolated context, without the influence of root imageability.

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Da-клаузы при предикатах манипуляции и желания в словенском языке

В современном словенском языке союз **da** занимает особое место, являясь полифункциональным подчинительным союзом, который вводит разные типы придаточных предложений.

В словенском, как и в других западно-южнославянских языках, союз *da* вводит прежде всего

объектные изъяснительные (словен. *Andrej je vesel (tega), da ga je Ivan obiskal*. 'Андрей рад (тому), что Иван навестил его'. *Povedal je, da ga je obiskala.* 'Он сказал, что она его навестила'. *Zahtevam, da ga obiščeš.* 'Я требую, чтобы ты его навестил') и субъектные изъяснительные придаточные (словен. *Veseli me (to), da si me obiskal* 'Мне приятно, что ты меня навестил'), которые конкретизируют значение сказуемого главного предложения.

В словенском языке при сказуемых со значением желания и манипуляции возникает конкуренция сентенциального дополнения (обычно в изъявительном наклонении настоящего времени или при предикатах желания в сослагательном наклонении) и дополнения, выраженного неличными формами глагола (инфинитив или супин). Выбор формы дополнения чаще всего зависит от значения предиката, кореференции субъектов и отношения говорящего к значению дополнения.

В словенском языке наблюдается постепенная грамматикализация слова **da**: от роли модальной частицы до уже грамматикализованной роли союза. Слово **da** в качестве модальной частицы в Словаре словенского литературного языка (SSKJ) имеет стилистические пометы, напр. 'экспрессивно' для выражения приказа и желания: *Da mi pri priči izgineš!* 'Чтобы я больше тебя здесь не видел!', *Da ste mi zdravi! –* дословно 'Чтобы вы были здоровы!', *Da bi te strela!* 'Разрази тебя гром!'. Однако в простых оптативных и повелительных предложениях в современном употреблении *da* вытесняется частицей *naj* (оптативное употребление: *Naj bo zdrav!* – дословно 'Пусть он будет здоров!'; аналитическое повелительное наклонение в основном используется в 3. лице: *Naj pri priči izgine!* 'Глаза б мои его больше не видели!'). Таким образом, *da* теряет изначальную роль частицы и становится грамматикализованным средством для связи частей предложения.

При глаголах манипуляции в словенском языке чаще всего используется сентенциальное дополнение, при этом, если субъекты в частях предложения разные, вместо самостоятельного союза *da* используется сложный союз *da naj*, в котором *da* может опускаться, напр. *Ukazal je, (da) naj nihče ne zamuja* 'Он велел, чтобы никто не опаздывал'.

При сказуемых манипуляции da-клауза может заменяться инфинитивом (*Silili so ga, (da) naj dela. – Silili so ga delati.* 'Его заставляли работать')) или супином (*Poslali so ga, (da) naj gre na študij v tujino. – Poslali so ga študirat v tujino.* 'Его отправили учиться за границу'). Дополнения с супином встречаются в тех примерах, когда матричное сказуемое содержит значение детерминированности (*Mati je dala/poslala sina študirat.* 'Мать отправила сына учиться'). Для дополнений, выраженных неличными формами глаголов при глаголах манипуляции, характерно отсутствие кореференции субъекта матричного сказуемого и субъекта неличной клаузы.

В отличие от сказуемых манипуляции, при сказуемых желания использование инфинитивного дополнения связано с необходимой кореференцией субъектов главного предложения и инфинитивного дополнения (*Želi plavati/zaplavati* 'Он хочет поплавать', *Želi vstopiti* 'Он хочет войти', *Želi pozdraviti* 'Он хочет поприветствовать' и т.п.).

Употребление инфинитивного дополнения при предикатах желания в то же время указывает на более низкую частотность употребления da-клауз, чем в сербском и восточно-южнославянских языках.

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Bunjevci from Bačka: Language situation

The language and culture of Bunjevci from Bačka were the subject of research by mainly Serbian (Ivanić 1894; Erdeljanović 1920; Gavrilović 2007; Petrović 2007) and Croatian scholars (Pekić 1930; Sekulić 1991, 1997; Skenderović 2010). Bunjevci – a South-Slavic neoštokavian ikavian Roman Catholic (sub)ethnic group – are at the intersection of the two communities' narratives of identity, so a large body of research has been framed by the wish to prove that they are a "natural" part of either the Serbian or the Croatian nation. It has been widely ignored that Bunjevci from Bačka neither identify themselves as Serbs, nor a significant number of them consider themselves Croats. Bunjevci have more recently attracted wider scholarly attention, especially after their language variety was recognized as a distinct language in Serbia in 2005 (Dudek 2016). Several studies have attempted to explain the language situation of Bunjevci by applying the concepts of "microlanguage" (Henzelmann 2016) or "emergence of linguistic frontier" (Belić 2014); however, they display a lack of knowledge of both sociolinguistic reality and literature on the subject. Existing research on Bunjevci tends to overlook many important facts, including the most conspicuous one: Bunjevci from Bačka are a deeply divided community when it comes to their language and identity. While some of them believe they are a distinct ethnic group with a distinct language, others consider themselves a subgroup of Croats who speak a Croatian dialect.

The aim of the paper is to present the language situation of Bunjevci from Bačka in its full complexity and in a historical perspective. Its point of departure is the emergence of the Bunjevac ethnicity in Dalmatia in the 16th century within the ethnic and confessional differentiation of the local Vlachs. An overview is then given of the group's migrations (first to the regions of Lika and Croatian Littoral, and later to Bačka) and the gradual integration of Bunjevci in Dalmatia, Lika and Croatian Littoral into the emerging modern Croatian nation (Šarić 2008). The paper then turns to the specific development of Bunjevci in Bačka. It touches upon their participation in the tradition of the neoštokavian ikavian ("Illyrian") literacy, founded by the Bosnian Franciscans in the 17th century and cultivated in Bosnia, Dalmatia, Slavonia and Hungary by the beginning of the 19th century. It discusses their national movement in the 19th century, led by the bishop Ivan Antunović, who accepted early-modern standard Croatian in his publications and was the first to call Bunjevci from Bačka Croats. Finally, the paper explains the complex development in the 20th century that prevented the convergence of the ethnic consciousness of Bunjevci and came to define their present language situation: most Bunjevci from Bačka use standard Serbian; their neoštokavian ikavian variety has almost completely retreated and standard

Croatian is only used in limited domains. The paper concludes with a short comparison of the two models of language planning practiced by the two communities of Bunjevci from Bačka (Vuković 2010, 2011, 2013, 2014, 2015).

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From 'to' to 'into': The parallel history of a preposition in Polish and Czech

In both Czech and Polish, the Common Slavic preposition **do* 'to, towards, up to' has evolved to assume more general semantics as a marker of direction 'to, up to a landmark or into a container'. This process largely consisted of *do* taking over the spatial functions of **vъ*+acc. 'into'. In Czech, this process has basically reached completion, while in modern Polish, there is variation in respect to the use of *do* and *w*+acc to this day (Waldenfels 2017; Przybylska 2002: 246–269).

In this paper, we focus on this expansion as it can be traced in historical texts. The replacement of *v/w*+acc by *do* is an intriguing change because it takes place all across West Slavic (and extending into East Slavic) and is still ongoing in Czech and Polish (where we have a good written records) long *after* their branches of West Slavic diverged. The following questions arise:

1) How similar are the processes? Can we find a similar trajectories of change even if the processes evidently go further in Czech than in Polish?
2) Did this change have (a) a common origin and ran its course largely independently or (b) did language contact via the literary languages sustain the development?
3) If the change was basically independent but along a common trajectory, how can the features of this development be explained by general principles, e.g., of semantic change?

Preliminary results from our corpus work shows that some results of this change can be found in the earliest texts both in Polish and in Czech, but that it is still an ongoing development at this point. E.g., in the Dalimil chronicle (Czech, early 14. cent.) we find both *do města* and *v město* 'into the city' (today, only *do* would be admissible):

(1)   Kněz u městě bieše, Míšňany **v město** pustiti chtieše. (CZ, Dalimil chronicle)
(2)   Ale když města dojide, **do města** ho nepustichu. (CZ, Dalimil chronicle)

In this text, *v*+acc is clearly still dominant with some referents. It is used without exception if the governing verb is prefixed with *v-*, as in

(3)   Ten dospěv, **vnide u město** spieše, a chtě měščanóm pomoci (CZ, Dalimil chronicle)

We find this to be a significant symptom: *v*-prefixed verbs focus movement into a container, and *do* seems to be still dispreferred for this meaning at this point.

For Polish we do not find *do* for movement *into* a landmark this early, and where we do, this may very well reflect direct influence of Czech originals (such as in *Biblia królowej Zofii* from ca. 1450 or *Psałterz floriański*); generally, Polish is not documented well enough for the 14th or even 15th century to draw definite conclusions that *do* had not already acquired the new spatial meanings to some extent at this point. With place names, we find uses of *do* that clearly do not exclude, but also do not focus the movement 'up to' a landmark:

(4)   A tako więc jesci on to był przykazał, abyć wszeliki człowiek **do tego to miasta do Betlehem** przyszedł był a z sobą tę to dań przyniosł był, jażci jest ona rzymskiemu cesarzewi daćbyła miana. (PL, Kazania gnieźnieńskie, late 14. cent.)

Like in Czech, in the earliest Polish texts, with *w*-prefixed verbs we find only *w*+acc, e.g.

(5)   A tedy więc potem on jego syn jestci on był **w klasztor wstąpił** a świętemu Janu jestci on był barzo służył i jestci ji on teże nasilnie miłował był. (PL, Kazania gnieźnieńskie, late 14. cent.)

In both languages, the use of *do* with *w/v*-prefixed verbs increases with the passage time; by the 17th century, in Czech only metaphoric or idiomatic, rather than actual spatial uses of *v*+acc with v-prefixed verbs are attested. In Polish, we see a similar decline of *w+acc*, but it does not reach the point where *w+acc* goes out of use with these verbs; rather, this context is cited as typical for the use of *w*+acc rather than do by Przybylska (2002).

In our talk, we discuss the following three hypotheses:
1)   The functional expansion of *do*+Gen starts with referents that can be conceptualized both as *containers* and landmarks the borders of which are not necessarily salient. As a case in point, we find that city and place names are used with *do* from early on. We argue that movement to cities is usually movement *into a city*; however the crossing of the border of the city is usually not nearly as salient as traversing the distance to that city, which is why the expansion of *do* for *w*+acc can easily take place in many contexts without a change of denotational meaning.
2)   A crucial indicator of the meaning of *do* is its use with w/v-prefixed verbs. We hypothesize that the verb triggers the conceptualization of the landmark as a container

and for this reason, the use of *w* rather than *do* persists longer than in other contexts. At the same time, this persistence thus shows that *do* has not fully acquired its new semantics yet.

3) In general, *w+acc* yields to *do* in cases of actual movement to and into concrete referents in both languages; metaphorical movement and non-compositional, phraseological constructions (such as *wejść w radę* 'take counsel', *dáti se v hádku* 'begin to quarrel', and verbs of transformation and belief as in *zmienić w*+acc 'change into' or *wierzyć* w+acc 'believe in') are retained longer.

Overall, we see a picture emerging where a semantic expansion of *do* starts with non-prototypical containers with actual movement, gradually expands to include actual movement into prototypical containers, and finally reaches constructions that do not involve actual movement. Czech traversed faster and further along this pathway than Polish.

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Palatalization and depalatalization before a diminutive affix /-k-/

The contrast between 'soft' (palatal/palatalized) and 'hard' (non-palatal/non-palatalized) consonants is observed in some Slavic languages. This contrast is neutralized under certain phonological or morpho-phonological conditions. One complicated case is diminutive derivation by an affix /-k-/. In Polish, as can be seen in (1a), while non-palatalized velar consonants undergo palatalization, non-velar ones not. On the other hand, as shown in (1b), palatal/palatalized consonants change to non-palatal(ized) ones, although this process shows variation. Similar phenomena are also observed in Russian.

(1) (As for Polish, see also Gussman 2007)

a. Palatalization
[Polish] zе**k**-a 'river' ~ zе**tʂ**-k-a (dim.) but xa**t**-a 'cottage' ~ xa**t**-k-a (dim.)
[Russian] daro**g**-a 'road' ~ daro**ʂ**-k-a (dim.) but di**r**-a 'hole' ~ di**r**-k-a (dim.)

b. Depalatalization
[Polish] ko**ɕtɕ** 'bone' ~ ko**st**-k-a (dim.) cf. ogʲe**ɲ** 'fire' ~ ogʲe**ɲ**-k-u / ogʲe**n**-k-u (dim., gen. sg.)
[Russian] sʲe**tʲ** 'net' ~ sʲe**t**-k-a (dim.) cf. sʲirʲe**nʲ** 'lilac' ~ sʲirʲe**nʲ**-k-a (dim.)

The palatalization case has been regarded as a lexically specific process (Gussman 2007). With regard to the depalatalization, Gussman (2007) attributes it to the underlying 'hardness' of 'soft' stem-final consonants. Given the variation, however, this account must not be appropriate.

   This presentation proposes that the given processes should be triggered in order to avoid disfavored consonant clusters and to preserve paradigm uniformity. First, the palatalization case should be distinguished from general palatalization observed in these languages: it is triggered by the avoidance of velar clusters (e.g. *zе**kk**a). Similarly, the depalatalization occurs in order to avoid certain palatal(ized) consonants preceding [k] (e.g. *ko**ɕtɕk**a). However, it should be considered that these processes still occur even if such consonant clusters do not emerge due to the emergence of a vowel:

(2)

a. Palatalization
[Polish] zɛ**k**-a 'river' ~ zɛ**ʈʂ**-ek / *zɛ**k**ʲ-ek (dim., gen. pl.)
[Russian] daro**g**-a 'road' ~ daro**ʐ**-ik / *daro**g**ʲ-ik (dim., gen. pl.)

b. Depalatalization
[Polish] dʑɛ**ɲ** 'day' ~ dʑo**n**-ek / *dʑɛ**ɲ**-ek (dim., nom. sg.)
[Russian] sʲetʲ 'net' ~ sʲe**t**-ək / *sʲe**t**ʲ-ək (dim., gen. pl.)

This suggests that paradigm uniformity (McCarthy 2005 among others) of stem-final consonants is related to these processes.

In summary, both palatalization and depalatalization shown in (1) should be conditioned by common phonological or morpho-phonological factors, i.e. the avoidance of certain consonant clusters and the preservation of paradigm uniformity.

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Русские классифицирующие существительные *тип* и *вид* как предмет изучения в корейской аудитории

Практика преподавания русского языка носителям корейского языка настоятельно требует изучения правил функционирования классифицирующих слов *тип* и *вид*, так как в ходе работы учащиеся регулярно делают ошибки: *Теннис – любимый *тип спорта, Вот собака хорошего *типа (*вида).*

Лексемы *тип* и *вид* указывают на место объекта в классификационной сетке сходных объектов: *Кальдера – **тип** вулкана (впадина), Футбол – **вид** спорта.* «Этажей» в классификации может быть от двух (как в приведенных примерах) до нескольких десятков (например, в систематике животных).

Изучение функционирования данных слов в разного рода такстах позволило сделать следующие выводы.

Обнаружен ряд лексем, которые сочетаются преимущественно со словом *тип*: такие немотивированные (идиоматические) словосочетания следует задать закрытым списком. Это

1) лексемы, обозначающие внешние характеристики человека (*Тип лица, Тип фигуры* и др.) и объекты, к которым приложимо понятие «внешний вид» (*Тип планеты.Тип моста* и др.*)
2) лексемы, обозначающие какой-либо процесс: *Тип извержения. Тип размножения живых организмов. Типы взаимодействия животных.*
3) лексемы, обозначающие сложные философские и социологические понятия: *Тип общества. Тип культуры. Тип отношений в семье. Типы религий.*

С остальными лексемами русского языка могут сочетаться оба слова (*тип* и *вид)*. Но в одних случаях они могут синонимизируются, в других синонимизизация не допускается. Это зависит от содержания и стиля текста.

В научных текстах слова *тип* и *вид* обозначают разные этажи классификационной иерархии, то есть имеют разное значение. Например, *Транспорт делят на два **типа** – сухопутный и воздушный. А воздушный делится **на виды** – военный и*

гражданский. В этом случае в значении слов *тип* и *вид* есть одна общая сема ('отдельная часть совокупности однородных предметов') и дополнительные семы: у слова *тип* – это '*группа* объектов в *мегагруппе*', а у слова *вид* – '*минигруппа* объектов в *группе*'. Аналогично в корейском языке: *тип* транспорта – kyotong-suedan youhyung (youksang-kyotong-suedan, suesang-kyotong-suedan, hangong-kyotong-suedan deong) modes of transportation (land transport, water transport, air transport, etc.), и *вид* транспорта – kyotong-suedan jongryu (taxi, bus, kicha, behangki deong) kinds of transportation (taxi, bus, train, airplane, etc.)

Данные слова могут употребляться как синонимы во «вненаучных» текстах (художественных, бытовых и др.), которые **не** ставят целью описание многоранговых (многоступенчатых) классификаций и ограничиваются двумя этажами. Пример: *В мире есть много типов=видов вулканов, я знаю только купольные и стратовые* (высокий этаж – *вулкан* как объединяющее понятие, более низкий этаж – *купольные, стратовые* и др. разновидности вулканов).

Общий вывод. И в корейском, и в русском языках в научных текстах, посвящённых многоступенчатым классификациям, слова *тип* и *вид* обозначают разные этажи классификационной сетки: слово 유형 (youhyung) – более высокий этаж в иерархии (*тип*), а лексема 종류 (jongryu) – более низкий (*вид*) и синонимизироваться не могут. Принципиальное различие заключается в том, что если корейская лексема 유형 (youhyung) встречается преимущественно в научных текстах, то русские слова *тип* и *вид* – как в научных, так и в текстах «вненаучных», и при этом в последних данные слова допускают синонимическое использование. Другими словами, объём значения слов *тип* и *вид* в русском языке может меняться в зависимости от стиля и содержания речевой единицы более высокого уровня – ***текста,*** а именно – от того, ставит ли автор текста цель описать научную классификацию каких-либо объектов.

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On complex numeral noun constructions (NNCs): A view from Polish

The debate on the structure of complex NNCs has yielded two distinct representations applicable to NNCs across languages, across NNC types within the same language or even within the same paradigm (e.g. Polish and Russian): the cardinal-as-head and the cardinal-as-specifier representations (cf. Bailyn 2004; Bošković 2006; Ionin, Matushansky 2006; Kayne 2010; Danon 2012; Norris 2014; Willim 2015). Our analysis of Polish complex NNCs rests on two pillars: (**A**) An updated structure for Slavic QPs in Bailyn (2004) and related to Burzio's Generalization (1986):

(1) Structure (a) is a default option for NNCs:
   a. $[_{QP} [_{NumP}$ Cardinal$] [F_Q [...NP...]]]$
   b. Whenever NumP bears independent case (feature), F_Q licenses case on NP.

The postulate in (1) implies that in most cases both the case-matching NNCs and case-independence NNCs have the same internal structure, in contrast to Danon (2012) and Norris (2014). (**B**) The notion of syntactic case realization, a movement-based process within the Case Projection sequence (Kseq, Caha 2009, 2010) dominating every nominal phrase, which follows case feature valuation/assignment. Case realization places the NP/QP in the specifier of a given case projection and facilitates subsequent spread of case features (case concord) within the NP/QP in PF (dative is realized within QP in 2b):

(2) a. $[_{DatP}$ Dat $[_{GenP}$ Gen $[_{AccP}$ Acc $[_{NomP}$ Nom $[_{QP} [$NumP$] [F_{Q[-c]} [...NP...]]]]]]]]]$
   b. $[_{DatP} [_{QP} [$NumP$] [F_{Q[-c]} [...NP...]]]$ Dat ... $[_{QP} [$NumP$] [F_{Q[-c]} [...NP...]]]]$

We apply two diagnostics to Polish complex NNCs: (a) adverbial pre-modification of the cardinal numeral independent of the NP the numeral modifies and (b) variable agreement with the passive participle/adjective. (a) shows that the cardinal numeral functions as a (possibly complex) specifier, which is also confirmed by the NP topicalization test, cf. Kayne (2010). (b) shows whether the independent cases in the NNC are realized within one or two Kseqs. Consequently, we account for puzzling properties of two types of Polish complex NNCs:

(3)   a. the complex NNC in the case independence pattern, with QP$_2$ forming a constituent which can be independently modified, and the NP complement to F$_{Q1}$ with its own Kseq, where genitive is realized:

(a')   [$_{NomP}$ [$_{QP1}$ [$_{QP2}$ [$_{NumP}$ trzy] F$_{Q2}$ [$_{NumP}$ tysiące]] F$_{Q1[+c]}$ [$_{GenP}$ [$_{NP}$ studentek] Gen]] Nom]
three   thousand$_{PL.ACC}$ students$_{F.PL.GEN}$

[t$_{QP1}$]   były   nagrodzone/*nagrodzonych
were$_{3PL.F}$ rewarded$_{PL.NOM/*PL.GEN}$

The NP complement cannot agree for case with participle/adjective in (a'), as with case both valued and realized within its own Kseq, such NP is 'inactive' in the sense of Chomsky's (2000, 2001). The multiplicative cardinal has a full case paradigm, including nominative. This type is widespread crosslinguistically and embraces most cases discussed in Danon (2012) and Norris (2014).

(3) b. the complex NNC in the case independence pattern, in which the entire QP is dominated by one Kseq:

(b')   [$_{Kseq}$ [$_{QP1}$ [$_{QP2}$ [$_{NumP}$ trzy] F$_{Q2}$ [$_{NumP}$ tysiące]] F$_{Q1[+c]}$ [$_{NP}$ studentek]]]
three   thousand$_{PL.ACC}$ students$_{F.PL.GEN}$

było   nagrodzone/nagrodzonych
was$_{3SG.N}$ rewarded$_{PL.ACC/PL.GEN}$

With no Kseq available on top of NP, the entire QP$_1$ is moved to [spec,Acc] for the realization of case on *tysiące* 'thousands' and subsequently the entire QP$_1$ is moved to [spec, Gen] for the realization of case on *studentek* 'students'. The resulting hybrid structure of the Kseq allows for variable case agreement in (b').

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Problems, pitfalls and solutions in quantitative analyses of language variation in Belarusian Trasyanka and Ukrainian Surzhyk

The rapid growth of corpus linguistics in the last decades has given rise to the use of more sophisticated quantitative methods in analyzing corpora. Corpus linguists leave behind simple monofactorial statistical tests and turn to multifactorial designs. However, the quantitative analysis of linguistic corpora still has to deal with certain problems (cf. Gries 2015).

In this talk, I will present examples of quantitative analyses of language variation based on two corpora: the Oldenburg Corpus of Belarusian-Russian Mixed Speech (OK-WRGR) and the Oldenburg Corpus of Ukrainian-Russian Mixed Speech (OK-URGR). In Ukraine and Belarus, mixed forms of speech containing features of Belarusian / Ukrainian autochthonous dialects and Russian (derogatively called "trasyanka" and "surzyhk", respectively) are spread widely. The proportions of Belarusian / Ukrainian and Russian features at different linguistic levels, the degree of variation and stabilization of these forms of speech, as well as the connection with social characteristics of the speakers have long been completely unexplored. The two corpora, containing 400 000 running words each and being tagged for grammatical values, for correspondence of word forms and utterances with Belarusian / Ukrainian and Russian on both phonic and deeper structural levels, and for sociodemographic characteristics of the speakers, allow to address these issues (cf. Hentschel 2014; Hentschel, Zeller 2012, 2014; Zeller 2015).

I will address three methodological problems: Firstly, most often one speaker provides several instances of one variable in a corpus. The data points in corpora are therefore usually not independent of each other. Analyses which ignore this fact run the risk of being misled by unusual idiolects of certain single speakers. More so, corpora often have a hierarchically-nested structure. In the discussed corpora, speakers are nested into families and families into location points, and misleading effects can be located at each of these levels.

Secondly, most quantitative corpus analyses take a paradigmatic point of view, ignoring the context in which a variable is embedded. However, it is well known from psycholinguistic research that the choice of a speaker for a given variable is influenced by the choice he has made for this variable before. In variational linguistics, a comparable phenomenon is known as code-shifting. This autocorrelation of linguistic variables calls for the integration of a syntagmatic perspective into quantitative analyses (cf. Muysken 2000, 126).

Thirdly, linguistic variables are sometimes not only correlated with itself in the mentioned sense, but also with other variables: The presence of a certain variant of one linguistic variable in a given domain may influence or even restrict the presence of a certain variant of another variable in this domain. Ignoring such "co-occurrence restrictions" (Auer 1997) would mean to ignore an important dimension of language variation.

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Constructions with the preposition spustja in modern Russian: Their meaning, structure and use

In modern Russian there is a whole range of verbal prepositions that came about on the basis of gerunds as a result of grammaticalization. To such prepositions belong, for example, the following simple verbal prepositions: *blagodarja komu-n./čemu-n.* 'thanks to someone/something', *vključaja kogo-n./čto-n.* 'including someone/something', *končaja kem-n./čem-n.* 'ending with someone/something' and others, as well as to this group also belong such compound verbal prepositions as: *smotrja po čemu-n.* 'depending on something', *nesmotrja na kogo-n./čto-n.* 'despite someone/something' etc. (Russkaya grammatika 1980, vol. 1: 708). The verbal secondary prepositions also include the preposition *spustja*, constructions with which form the subject of this study.

With the help of the analysed construction a time interval between the previous situation P_1 and the subsequent situation P_2 is designated. Schematically this can be represented in the following iconic order:

$$P_1 \text{ - } \textbf{spustja T}_{\textbf{int}} \text{ - } P_2,$$
$$\text{where } P_1 \text{ precedes } P_2$$

(1) **Spustja** *neskol'ko dnej* (T_{int}) posle ètoj informacii (P_1) po televideniju rasskazali i pokazali (P_2) novyj «mersedes» kostromskogo gubernatora … .
[B. Vareckij. «Sovetskaja Rossija», 2003.08.21]
'A few days (T_{int}) after this information (P_1) they reported and showed (P_2)
on TV the Kostroma governor's new "Mercedes" ... .'
[B. Varetsky. "Soviet Russia", 2003.08.21]

At the sentence level this construction forms various combinations. This paper examines these combinations, the composition of their components as well as the dynamics of the formation of this construction, and the peculiarities of its use in modern Russian.

According to observations by S. Birzer, the word form *spustja* finally became functionally formed as a preposition in the middle of the 19th century (Birzer 2010: 224–225). We demonstrate that a number of uses of the analysed construction indicate that the process of its grammaticalization (Hopper, Traugott 2003), that is, complete conversion of *spustja* into a preposition, has not yet been completed in the present period.

Particular attention is paid to the functioning of the construction with the preposition *spustja* in the future plan, where in a number of cases a limited possibility of its use

is revealed. Cfr. examples (2) and (3): the impossibility of using *spustja* in the future plan in situations of dialogue (primary deixis):

(2) – Kogda ty prideš? 'When will you come?'
    – *Ja pridu **spustja** dva časa. 'I will come two hours later'.

But:

(3) – Ja pridu **čerez** dva časa. 'I will come in two hours'.

The National Corpus of the Russian language provided the primary material for this study.

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Avoiding salty words

This paper focuses on profanity and profanity avoidance in Russian. I briefly present the history of Russian's taboo lexicon, specifically the concept of *русский мат*, and the attempts at censorship and control which have led to interesting ways for speakers to express themselves. Examples of *мат* include a variety of words such as: *блядь* 'whore' or 'fuck', *хуй* 'dick', *пизда* 'cunt', *ебать* 'to fuck', along with all the infinite derivations that could be made from the roots thanks to inflectional morphology and derivational embedding, such as: *пиздоёб,* which is a pejorative term for someone of unimportant, and *проебать* lit. 'to fuck on by', fig. 'to lose or waste' (Boulter 2016; Cooper 1996; Coyle, Fisun 2009; Romanov, Wedel 1973; Shlyakhov, Adler 2006; von Timroth 1986).

Cultural values are intertwined with both the profane vocabulary itself and with the patterns of its avoidance. These values change over time, changing the motivations to avoid certain items. Kovalev (2014) claims that before the Russian Revolution obscene words were frowned upon as being of the lower classes. During the early period of the Soviet Union, use of obscene items was briefly encouraged as a mark of working class pride, but then swearing was demonized as inappropriate for an enlightened Soviet citizen. During Glasnost' and after 1991, obscene vocabulary rose in popularity among artists and writers as a mark of expressive freedom. Ironically it is during this period of flourishing 'f-bombs' that Russian writers came together to limit the use of profane vocabulary to maintain the 'purity' of the language.

How do Russians avoid profanity? Aside from outright censorship in the media or by government organizations, people are prone to several shades of self-censorship which can be preliminarily categorized as euphemism, substitution, deformation, rhyming, and omission. Examples include: euphemism - *давай сделаем это* 'let's do it', substitution - *блин* lit. 'pancake' instead of *блядь*, deformation - *хер* from *хуй*, phrase rhyming - *в лоб тебя драть,* which is a nonsense phrase, lit. 'to drill you in the forehead', from the iconic *ёб твою мать* lit. 'fuck your mother', and omission - telling pauses, letters replaced with other symbols, or the familiar television censor bleep. These mechanisms are by no means exclusive to Russian and I provide analogous examples from English and Polish. However, I will show, that, unlike English which simply drops profane words at will with little to no change, Russian's inflectional morphology and highly productive derivational embedding leads to a myriad of ways to cuss and, consequently, to a myriad of ways to avoid the ubiquitous *селёные слова* 'salty words'.

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Representing Slovene initial CCC consonant clusters in GP 2

The Government Phonology (GP)'s Binarity Theorem allows branching onsets to contain a maximum of two members. While this restriction generally enjoys great empirical support (most notably, Kaye (1992) convincingly argues that *sC(C)* clusters are not branching onsets), a few problematic clusters remain.

Assuming that Kaye's conclusion about *sC* clusters extends to all consonant clusters beginning with a sibilant or *h* and ignoring *vC* clusters where *v* is pronounced as a bilabial, we are left with the following Slovene initial consonant clusters that seem to violate the Binarity Theorem: *blj, cvr, dlj, dnj, gnj, klj, knj, plj*. Obviously, these can be categorized as either *CCj* or *CvC*, the latter category containing a single word, *cvreti* 'to fry', and its derivations (most notably, *scvreti*).

This paper tries to account for the problematic cases by using and extending the framework of the so-called GP 2, originally developed in Pöchtrager (2006). The main feature of GP 2 is that its phonological representations are, like syntactic representations, fully hierarchical. As Pöchtrager (2006) does not deal with branching onsets, the present paper extends the framework by proposing a structure of branching onsets: essentially, the second member is contained within the first under the assumption that a maximal phrase can serve the function of an unannotated skeletal point.

All the offending $C_1C_2C_3$ clusters are such that C_1C_2 and C_2C_3 are well-formed branching onsets and could thus be analyzed as recursive branching onsets, a structure arising naturally from the structure of branching onsets proposed in this paper, given the hierarchical nature of phonological representations in GP 2.

However, even assuming one correctly predicted the list of non-recursive branching onsets, allowing unbounded branching onset recursion overgenerates by predicting (in Slovene) the existence of (i) C_1C_2j clusters where C_1 is not a stop and (ii) clusters *Cml*, *Cmn*, *Cmr*, *Cnr*, *Cvl* and *Cvn*. Focusing solely on the latter list, this paper tries to curb the overgeneration by adopting the phonological version of the Binding Theory, developed by Živanović and Pöchtrager (2010).

It is first observed that the only sonorants allowed as the first member of a branching onset not ending in *j* (ignoring *nr*, exhibited by a single word family) are *m* and *v*, both of which contain element U (roughly: are labial). This observation is borne out by applying the Binding Theory, per which U is the only element without restrictions on binding. The absence of *CmC* can then be attributed to the presence and high position of element L (for nasality) in *m*.

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Kratke predstavitve
Short presentations
Краткие презентации

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Interference errors caused by the influence of a second/foreign language in the texts written by Slovene students of Polish language

Language interference is most often discussed as a source of errors known as *negative transfer*, which occurs when speakers and writers copy structures that are not the same in both languages. Most frequently researchers analyze interference which occurs between the mother tongue of the student (L1) and the foreign language which is being learned (L2). However, more and more attention is being payed also to polyglotism and influence of L1 and L2 on another language (L3) (eg. Gibson, Hufeisen, Libben 2001; Leung 2005; Na Ranong 2009; Bardovi-Harlig, Stringer 2010; Schmid 2002). The importance of such studies was underlined by Hoffmann: "A comparison of bilingual and trilingual processing suggests that these similarities and differences are both of quantitative and qualitative kind, and therefore trilingual competence is distinct from bilingual competence" (Hoffmann 2001:1).

The main aim of the paper is to examine the interference errors caused by the influence of a second language and made by Slovenes in written texts when learning Polish as a foreign language. Following the introduction and the part dealing with the theory of language transfer between L2 and L3 and methodology, the paper focuses on interference errors which occur on the lexical, morphological, and syntactic level of the language.

The investigation is based on a corpus of 61 written utterances collected at the University of Ljubljana during Polish language classes. The authors of utterances were students of first, second, third and fourth year of Polish Studies. The analysis of the results confirmed the suppositions that language transfer between L2 and L3 has an importance for the acquisition of Polish by Slovenes and that the teacher's task should be to minimalize the effects of interference and simultaneously to emphasize similarities between the languages, which can advance and facilitate the process of learning.

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The Ustya River Basin Corpus: Modelling dialect to standard convergence in the Russian North

The recordings for URB were collected in the course of four field trips in 2013 – 2016 years in several villages in the Ustya district of the Arkhangelsk oblast, on the border with Vologda region. The dialect spoken here belongs to the Vologda group of Northern Russian dialects. Its typical features are the absence of vowel neutralization in unstressed syllables (the so-called okanje, as opposed to the standard, where some major oppositions are neutralized), the merger of two voiceless affricates in palatalized [t͡s'] (retained in the standard as [t͡s] and [t͡ʃ]), realization of the non-palatalized /l/ as alveolar [l] before vowels, and bilabial [w] in certain other positions (all realized as velarized dental [l] in standard Russian), a postpositional particle *-to* that is realized as *-to*, *-tu, -ta, -ot* but is invariable in standard Russian (Dialektologicheskiy Atlas 1986–2000; Pozharitskaia 2002; Vaahtera 2009).

All transcription and analysis of particular variables involved the students of the School of Linguistics (National Research University Higher School of Economics) in the context of five Swiss-Russian joint expeditions. The spoken data are transcribed using ELAN and Praat in standard Russian orthography rather than a phonetically faithful representation. Since the corpus provides access to the aligned audio source, detailed phonetic analysis can be relegated to the users of the corpus (see Waldenfels, Daniel, Dobrushina 2014 for advantages of this approach). Transcribed data are archived in ELAN XML format and further processed automatically to add lemmatization and pos-tagging and connect to a web-based corpus interface (for technical details see von Waldenfels, Daniel, Dobrushina 2014; Waldenfels, Woźniak 2017).

At present, 97 hours of interviews have been transcribed and the corpus comprises 767,149 tokens of the speech of 62 respondents.

In the paper, we describe the corpus and report on results of an apparent time study of dialect change in respect to a large number of features. By applying mixed effect logistic regression models to nine dialect features observed in 34 speakers of various age, ranging from 1922 to 1996 year of birth, we show that dialect loss correlates with the age of the speakers and that the rate of loss is different in different variables.

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A corpus outlook on regional varieties of Russian in Daghestan

Regional varieties of Russian remain largely understudied. Connected to the growing local identity in Daghestan, one of the strikingly different varieties of Russian is the one spoken by the Russian speakers in Daghestanian villages and towns. This variety is strongly fed by endemic languages of the Daghestan (East Caucasian language family), both typologically different from Russian (ergative alignment, converbial subordination and many other features) and very close between each other, structurally though not lexically. While families moving to the plains from the highlands very quickly lose their ethnic languages (in the first to second generation), their linguistic properties, markedly different from the typological profile of the Russian, seem to survive in those who already speak Russian as first language. Some observable properties include the use of the particle *тоже* (paralleling the use of the additive particle in East Caucasian) or the use of *оказывается* as indirect evidential (the latter being an obligatory morphological category in many East Caucasian languages).

In our previous studies, we presented some qualitative observations on the villagers' Russian as a second language, as represented by a corpus of free interviews collected in 2005 to the present. We have discussed, tentatively, how various observed properties may be traced back to typological properties of their first languages (such as some properties of case marking), while other should be explained by the effects of imperfect learning (such as some properties of aspect use). However, this research was only based on irregular evidence from our recordings.

At present, we are planning to transform the collection of the interviews into an electronic corpus aligned with the audio tier, so as to make possible a more systematic study of linguistic features of highlanders' Russian. The project is run by Linguistic Convergence Laboratory together with University of Oslo (represented by Ruprecht von Waldenfels).

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Project Slavic dendronymic place names on an on-line map

The main aim of our paper is to present our project, which includes onomastics, cartography and etymology. Diachronical onomastics as one of the linguistic disciplines is based on historical research of proper names and their meanings that change over time. We focus especially on toponymy of the Slavic regions and intend to popularize linguistics.

There were two basic motivations for this project. The first was spurred by the interest in linguistic research of the old toponyms (oikonyms) in the area of the Czech Republic that feature names of trees (oak villages as Dubno, Dubová, Doubek, Doubí etc.), alongside the utility of the so-called etymological nests for the reconstruction of the old dendronymic systems in Slavic languages. There is also a slightly more personal reason behind the research. I was asked by a non-linguist, a taxi-driver in fact, how it was possible that he could find Macedonian place names that included names of trees in his come country as well. He presumed that there had to be something special about this particular set of place-names.

The project we will present is meant as a connection between onomastics and the lay public to show how interesting linguistics can be.

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The Spisz Dialect Corpus

The Spisz Dialect Corpus aims at documenting a dialect of southern Poland. The corpus is projected to encompass the Polish part of the Spisz dialect area (a larger part of Spisz is located in Slovakia), with multiple speakers of different backgrounds in each settlement to be recorded in open interviews in order to be able to gauge social and areal factors in the dialect and processes of convergence with standard Polish. The corpus will cover evenly transcripts from the 15 Spisz villages, however preference is given to those of older inhabitants, whose dialectal features are best preserved.

The interviews are transcribed and made available with Spoko, an online interface developed in cooperation with similar projects working on Slavic data in other regions (Waldenfels, Woźniak 2017).

The corpus currently comprises 1,2 million running words, what places it among largest dialectal corpora. With the help of this interface, the user is presented with both transcription and the audio in close alignment. As far as possible the quality of recordings allows for phonetic analyses.

Annotation currently involves morphosyntactic tagging and lemmatization; possible future annotation may involve semantic and syntactic annotation as well as the closer alignment of text segments and speech signal.

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Croatian Adult Spoken Language Corpus (HrAL): Overview and first analysis

Spoken-language corpora are based on spontaneous, unscripted speech defined by varieties of styles, registers and dialects. Consequently, these types of corpora represent the most comprehensive data source about everyday language of ordinary speakers.

This paper has two main goals:

1) To present first Croatian spoken corpora - the *Croatian Adult Spoken Language Corpus* (HrAL, Kuvač Kraljević, Hržica 2016) - its structure and its possible application in different linguistic disciplines. HrAL was built by sampling spontaneous conversations of 617 speakers from all Croatian counties, and it comprises more than 250 000 tokens and more than 100 000 types.

2) To present the research of linguistic complexity in adult speakers of Croatian. The interrelation between two syntactic complexity measures was analysed: length of the production unit, as measured by the mean length of communication unit (MLCU); and syntactic sophistication, as measured by the ratio of relative clauses (RRC) in the total number of C-units. Results indicate a significant positive correlation between these two measures, confirming that speakers who produce longer utterances also produce less frequent and more complex syntactic structures.

Since HrAL reflects actual use of language in everyday situations, it is expected that it will provide objective information about Croatian language and deeper insights in its usage. HrAL is available within *TalkBank*, a large database of spoken-language corpora covering different languages (https://talkbank.org), in the *Conversational Analyses corpora* within subsection *Conversational Banks*. Data were transcribed, coded and segmented using the transcription format *Codes for Human Analysis of Transcripts* (CHAT) and the *Computerised Language Analysis* (CLAN) suite of programmes within the *TalkBank* toolkit. Such open access should provide opportunities for the usage of HrAL in research of Croatian spoken language and its varieties, but also in cross-linguistic studies comparing various linguistic properties.

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The Corpus of Spoken Rusyn

Subcarpathian Rusyn is an essentially East-Slavic variety which is predominantly spoken in Eastern Slovakia, South-East Poland (where the language is usually called Lemko), Subcarpathian Ukraine, and in some language islands in Northern Hungary. Stretching across several states, the Rusyn territory is divided up by several linguistic and political borders, among them the external border of the European Union. The fragmentation of the Rusyn territory has two consequences: On the one hand, old dialect spaces are destabilized; on the other, new spaces are being constructed in a process of nation building across borders. In view of these configurations, the following questions arise: What is the current situation of the Rusyn vernacular? In which ways does the Rusyn minority variety change in different sociolinguistic and contact settings? What role do borders (as well as different national languages functioning as umbrella languages, i.e., Standard Ukrainian, Slovak, Polish, and Hungarian) play? What impact do structural, socio-, and extra-linguistic factors have on linguistic attitudes, language contact and language change?

In order to empirically analyze these questions, the Corpus of Spoken Rusyn (Rabus, Šymon 2015, www.russinisch.uni-freiburg.de/corpus) has been created. It is a collection of Rusyn vernacular speech from different regions of the Carpathians. The recordings were made in Poland, Slovakia, Ukraine, and Hungary in 2015 and 2016. The corpus engine is CWB (Christ 1994; the GUI functionality has been continuously expanded for several Slavic corpus projects (see Waldenfels, Woźniak 2017) and allows for, among other functions, selecting metadata. Grammatical annotation will be realized semiautomatically: Natural language processing (NLP) resources for vernacular Rusyn are being created by making use of tools for other Slavic languages where NLP resources already exist (Scherrer, Rabus 2017).

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Corpus-based analysis of post-posed definite articles in Torlak dialect

The research focuses on the post-positive definite article in South Slavic Torlak dialect, spoken in the area close to the border between Serbia, Bulgaria and Macedonia. Bulgarian and Macedonian are the two Slavic languages that use post-posed definite article, while in standard Serbian this feature is not present. The transitional group of Torlak dialects has post-posed definite articles, but they are not used in the same way as in Macedonian and Bulgarian. The analysis will examine the pragmatic or semantic situations enabling the usage of the articles used in these dialects. Pragmatic context includes distinction between new and given information, while semantic context refers to semantic classes of nouns, such as human, non-human, location, time reference, etc, since they may have an effect on article use (Laury 1997).

The research sample is provided by the fieldwork recordings collected in rural parts of South-Eastern Serbia between 2015 and 2016. The materials amount to over 300 hours of audio and video recordings, out of which 100 hours have been selected for the research. The aim is to create a corpus which would be designed for the analysis of the post-posed definite article. For the analysis to be possible, several layers of additional information will have to be provided. The basic ones are part-of-speech and morpho-syntactic tags, and the more specific ones those regarding information structure and semantic classification of nouns.

The recordings are being transcribed, and the current size of the corpus is around 70.000 tokens. The texts are annotated with part-of-speech and morphosyntactic tags using standard Serbian tagger created within ReLDI project (Ljubešić et al 2016), which will be adjusted for this dialect specifically. Together with information structure and semantic annotation the corpus will enable precise quantitative analysis.

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Spoken Corpus of Bosnian/Montenegrin/Serbian and Albanian

This contribution reports on a collaborational project between Humboldt-University (Berlin) and the universities of Belgrade, Kragujevac, Montenegro, Prishtina, and Sarajevo. The aim of the project is to enable the joint creation and use of a corpus of spoken B(C)MS and Albanian and to develop a first comprehensive resource for the research on spoken language for these languages.

The corpus structure includes several subcorpora and one central corpus. The central corpus whose projected structure is balanced and representative for Bosnian, Montenegrin, Serbian, and Albanian respectively. Representativeness is achieved by demographic and geographical balancing as well as the integration of usage frequency of discourse types and situations (Čermák 2009; Válková et al. 2012). The latter has been measured in a pilot study in Sarajevo, using a specially programmed mobile application, where speakers traced their kind of speech they produce or perceive during two days of the week. The balanced corpus also includes parts of the subcorpora, if they correspond to the balanced structure.

The subcorpora contain data from existing, but not necessarily representative, resources and specialized corpora. The former will include dialectal corpora or data from anthropological, ethnolinguistic or sociolinguistic fieldwork as well as experiments. In this section, the corpus currently contains a corpus of the Serbian dialects in Sandžak, the language of Jews in Sarajevo and data from the Southern Banat. Specialized corpora will contain data not usually incorporated in balanced corpora, like bilingual data, learner corpora, samples of heritage language or child speech. Subcorpora in this part already include a bilingual corpus of the Serbian minority in Hungary and data from heritage and migrant speakers of BCMS in Berlin.

All corpora are designed to be annotated deeply, although the levels available for the time being differ between the subcorpora. They include accent, hesitations, morphological description, part-of-speech categorization, language affiliation, syntactic function, constructions, narrative elements. Annotations will be enhanced using a query-driven approach (Voormann, Gut 2008). Special attention is paid to metadata, as the corpus is also to be used as resource for sociolinguistic research. Therefore, a TEI-conform metadata schema is being developed, that is both comprehensive and flexible in order to cope with different expectations and needs. The linguistic identity of the speaker is in the focus.

The aim of the corpus is both didactic and research-oriented. One the one hand, it is used in order to provide students to participate in the creation and use of a corpus. On the other hand it enables researchers from various disciplines to contribute to its emergence. Therefore, a special online environment is being created (Ecco - Environment for corpus creation and use), that offers clearly defined workflows and interfaces from the adding of audio and demographic data to publishing. Contributions of every kind are marked with the ORCID of the respective researcher or student.

The presentations describes the corpus architecture, its subcorpora and available annotations, but focuses on aspects of balancing of spoken corpora and the results of the usage-based pilot study. The proposed metadata schema for spoken corpora will be presented and compared to existing schemas IMDI and metasysco (Gasch et al. 2008) and general aspects of metadata models.

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The TriMCo-corpus: A tool in studying areal convergence and diversification in Baltic and Slavic dialects

The DFG-financed *TriMCo*-project aims to uncover mechanisms that lead to the rise of linguistic areas and their internal differentiation. The approach is multifactorial as it consists in an attempt at triangulating methods and findings of typology, areal and contact linguistics, historical-comparative linguistics, and dialect geography (see https://www.trimco.uni-mainz.de/). The focus is on low-scale areas and an in-depth analysis of variation of phonological and morphosyntactic features. However, local variation shall also be mapped against larger areal clusters and clines in accordance with the *matrëška*-principle of concentric circles surrounding the Baltic-Slavic contact zone (Wiemer 2013, forthcoming; Wiemer et al. 2014).

On the contemporary level, we accept coherent oral discourse from dialects as the main basis of analysis. For this purpose we have concomitantly been creating a comparative corpus of spoken discourse from northern Belarusian in three adjacent countries, from Russian dialects of the Pskov region, from southern and eastern Aukštaitian (Lithuanian) dialects, and from Latgalian (southeastern Latvia); see the table below. All texts are transcribed in Elan, i.e. the transcripts are synchronized with the original sound recordings.

In collaboration with the *SpoCo*-network, we are presently developing effective tools of morphological annotation that would do justice to the differences and variation between closely related (e.g., Russian and Belarusian) varieties and opens up perspectives for application to Baltic, in particular Lithuanian, dialectal speech.

TriMCo-corpus of Elan-transcribed dialectal speech (stage: May 2017)

variety; region	hours:minutes	number of informants
Belarusian; Belarus, border region to Lithuania (from Lida to Braslav)	27:00	83
Belarusian; southern and eastern Lithuania	17:12	71
Belarusian; Latgalia	7:00	9
Russian; Pskov region	14:00	30
Σ ***East Slavic***	***65:12***	***193***
Lithuanian; Ignalina region	10:19	41
Lithuanian; Dzūkija	06:06	24
Lithuanian; Pelesa, Ramaškonys (Belarus)	05:00	17
Latgalian	16:50	42
Σ *Baltic*	*38:15*	*124*
ALTOGETHER	103:27	317

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Triangulation Approach for Modelling Convergence with a High Zoom-In Factors (TriMCo): URL: https://www.trimco.uni-mainz.de/

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The Corpus of Spoken Silesian

Not many varieties in the Polish dialectal continuum are today as vital as the Polish-Silesian dialects of Upper Silesia. They have always been characterized by language contact: first with German, today with standard Polish.

As part of the historical region of Silesia, Upper Silesia has for centuries been a bridge between "German" and "Polish". This contact has left certain linguistic traces in the autochthonous Polish dialects of this area, mainly in vocabulary, but also in (morpho-)syntax. There is a large number of descriptions which provide lists of "interesting and eye-catching phenomena" but do not show to what extent these phenomena are actually used. The intensity and extensity of the traces of historical contact between Polish and German in today's Silesian have thus not been yet described in adequate empirical way (cf. Hentschel 2001; Tambor 1998, 2006, 2013).

After the Second World War (in the eastern part of the region even earlier, after the First World War) the Polish standard language assumed the dominant position in the language architecture of Upper Silesia. Although considered to be vital with efforts being made to enhance and further develop it (Tambor 2002; Kamusella 2013), Silesian – under the influence of standard Polish – shares the course of the general European development towards the standard languages, i.e. the abandoning of dialects and / or their convergence with the standard languages. This is especially true in the urban landscape of Upper Silesia, the Upper Silesian industrial district, where the development of new urban subvarieties, new urban dialects can be expected. However, the actual used Silesian – positioned between autochthonous dialects and standard Polish – has not yet been investigated with the instruments of modern, variational dialectology.

In this poster, I will present the design of a planned corpus of family conversations in the Upper Silesian industrial district which parallels corpora of Belarusian-Russian and Ukrainian-Russian mixed speech (OK-WRGR 2014; OK-URGR in prep.). The aim of the corpus is to examine the linguistic consequences of the "double hybridization" through historical and current language and dialect contact. For the first time, a quantitatively and qualitatively comprehensive data collection on Silesian going beyond a description of "interesting phenomena" is aimed at. Special attention will be payed to the

double "etymological" annotation of the corpus, i.e. the tagging units as etymologically German vs. etymologically not German on the one hand and as specifically Silesian vs. common vs. specifically (standard) Polish on the other hand.

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Program delavnice SlaSpoCo – Slavic Spoken Corpora
SlaSpoCo – Slavic Spoken Corpora Workshop Programme
Программа воркшопа SlaSpoCo – Slavic Spoken Corpora

Corpus-based Research into Sociolinguistic and Dialectal Variation in Slavic Languages

The workshop is the third meeting of an open network of independent projects working on corpora of Slavic non-standard varieties (including, but not limited to, oral corpora with audio). Our aim is to collaborate in respect to research methodologies and computational tools in order to ensure cost-effectiveness, versatility and sustainability of the development of the computational tools that are indispensable for effective research and adequate presentation of the varieties we are working on.

By cooperation and the exchange of tools we ensure that development work that is needed by all is not repeated, freeing up much needed capacities and opening up exciting possibilities of data sharing on a common platform. An important aim is to lower the technological threshold involved in working with state-of-the-art corpus tools for smaller projects that may not have extensive technological expertise.

Core members of the project at this point are:
1) *The Corpus of Spoken Rusyn* (Universität Freiburg i.B.; PI Achim Rabus)
2) *The Spisz Dialect Corpus* (IJP PAN Kraków; PI Helena Grochola-Szczepanek)
3) *TriMCo Dialectal Corpus* (Universität Mainz; PI Björn Wiemer)
4) *URB: The language of the Ustja River Basin* (HSE Moscow; PIs Nina Dobrushina, Mikhail Daniel, Ruprecht von Waldenfels)

Program / Programme / Программа

RUPRECHT VON WALDENFELS, ACHIM RABUS
The SlaSpoCo Network, or: bottom-up collaboration in Slavic corpus development

RAFAŁ L. GÓRSKI, ACHIM RABUS, RUPRECHT VON WALDENFELS
Non-standard forms of auxiliaries in North Slavic: A spoken corpus perspective

JAN PATRICK ZELLER
Problems, pitfalls and solutions in quantitative analyses of language variation in Belarusian Trasyanka and Ukrainian Surzhyk

Odmor / Break / Перерыв

Ruprecht von Waldenfels, Michał Woźniak
SpoCo and Dialecta – tools in the SpokenSlavic Network (a hands-on introduction)

Kratke predstavitve / Poster session / Краткие презентации

Jan Patrick Zeller
The Corpus of Spoken Silesian

Achim Rabus
The Corpus of Spoken Rusyn

Михаил Александрович Даниэль / Mikhail Daniel, Нина Роландовна Добрушина / Nina Dobrushina
The Ustya River Basin Corpus: Modelling dialect to standard convergence in the Russian North

Teodora Vuković
Corpus-based analysis of post-posed definite article in Torlak dialect

Gordana Hržica, Jelena Kuvač Kraljević
Croatian Adult Spoken Language Corpus (HrAL): Overview and first analysis

Philipp Wasserscheidt
Spoken Corpus of Bosnian/Montenegrin/Serbian and Albanian

Helena Grochola-Szczepanek, Rafał L. Górski, Michał Woźniak
The Spisz Dialect Corpus

Михаил Александрович Даниэль / Mikhail Daniel, Анастасия Борисовна Панова / Anastasia Panova
A corpus outlook on regional varieties of Russian in Daghestan

Björn Wiemer, Aksana Erker
The TriMCo-corpus: A tool in studying areal convergence and diversification in Baltic and Slavic dialects

Diskusija / Final discussion / Дискуссия

Obvestila organizatorjev
Bulletins
Сообщения организаторов

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Opremljenost slovenščine z elektronskimi viri

Jezikovna opremljenost slovenščine je razmeroma solidna – to velja tako za korpuse (zlasti sodobnega jezika) kot tudi za slovarske portale, ki obsegajo še druge jezikovne pripomočke; obstajajo tudi jezikovne svetovalnice in portali, ki predstavljajo predvsem zbirke povezav na druge portale in strani z jezikovnimi viri.

Med slovarskimi portali, obsegajočimi tudi druge jezikovne pripomočke, je treba omeniti portal, ki vse zgoraj našteto (slovarji in drugi viri, jezikovna svetovalnica, povezave do korpusov) združuje ne le inovativno, temveč tudi interaktivno – **portal Fran** (Fran, Slovarji Inštituta za slovenski jezik Frana Ramovša ZRC SAZU): http://www.fran.si. Trenutno je portal mogoče uporabljati v slovenščini in angleščini. V uporabo je bil dan oktobra 2014 in do danes beleži že skoraj 20 milijonov iskanj oz. obiskov (http://www.fran.si/o-portalu?page=Statistics) – to ni nič nenavadnega, saj predstavlja dober vpogled ne le v trenutno stanje slovenske leksikografije, temveč v slovarsko bogastvo in leksikografsko obdelanost slovenščine nasploh. Združuje namreč tako razlagalne, pravopisne in terminološke kot tudi etimološke, zgodovinske in dialektološke (med drugim tiste, ki so plod projekta OLA – Splošnoslovanski lingvistični atlas in SLA – Slovenski lingvistični atlas) slovarje in priročnike slovenščine. Ponuja tudi **jezikovno svetovanje** – tako glede splošnih jezikovnih (https://svetovalnica.zrc-sazu.si/#v), kot tudi terminoloških vprašanj (**Terminologišče**: http://isjfr.zrc-sazu.si/terminologisce/svetovanje#v). Dopolnjuje ga še zbirka najrazličnejših jezikovnih virov in pripomočkov: vnašalni sistem **ZRCola** (http://zrcola.zrc-sazu.si/ru), slovenske slovnice in pravopisi od 16. do 21. stoletja (http://www.fran.si/slovnice-in-pravopisi), stran, kjer je mogoče predlagati slovenske ustreznice prevzetemu besedju (http://www.fran.si/ustreznice) in drugo.

Iskanje po portalu Fran poteka hkrati inovativno in interaktivno; čeprav uporabnik iskanje lahko omeji le na posamezni slovar/priročnik, se to vedno izvede po celotni vsebini portala: v seznamu zadetkov se izbrani slovar/priročnik prikaže na osrednjem delu ekrana, vse ostalo pa v okencu desno – v njem so spodaj še zadetki v korpusih **Gigafida** (http://www.gigafida.net), **Kres** (http://www.korpus-kres.net), **Nova beseda** (http://bos.zrc-sazu.si/a_beseda.html), **Gos** (http://www.korpus-gos.net), pa tudi na nekaterih drugih portalih, npr. Termanii (gl. spodaj). Po drugi strani lahko uporabnik po portalu Fran išče tudi, če je nanj naletel po naključju in o njem ne ve popolnoma nič – v tem primeru se v seznamu zadetkov novejši (zlasti razlagalni in pravopisni) slovarji prikažejo zgoraj, ostali nižje, vsi skupaj pa tudi v okencu desno. Tako torej portal uporabniku sam ponuja najpomembnejše oz. najbolj relevantne rezultate. Za zahtevnejše uporabnike je na voljo napredno iskanje po različnih delih slovarskega sestavka (http://www.fran.si/

napredno). Vsi podatki na portalu so prvenstveno zapisani v formatu XML; novejše vsebine v takšnem ali podobnem formatu že nastajajo, ostale pa so bile digitalizirane.

Med ostalimi portali si posebno pozornost zasluži portal **Termania** (http://www.termania.net), ki je namenjen zlasti iskanju prevodnih ustreznikov, posebej pri terminološkem prevajanju, saj združuje celo vrsto dvojezičnih slovarjev slovenščine, pa tudi znatno število terminoloških (s področij kot npr. medicina, mikrobiologija, informatika, turizem, vojska idr.) in nekaterih drugih slovarjev, mdr. tudi slovarje slenga. Podobno kot portal Fran tudi Termania ponuja napredno iskanje (http://www.termania.net/iskanje/napredno).

Portal **Jezikovna Slovenija** (http://www.jezikovna-politika.si) je posvečen zlasti vprašanjem sociolingvistike, jezikovne politike in načrtovanja – med drugim vprašanjem o statusu slovenščine v Sloveniji in tujini, tudi v povezavi z zakonodajo in pravicami ter (odgovori v svetovalnici) njihovim (ne)upoštevanjem (http://www.jezikovna-politika.si/jezikovna-slovenija, http://www.jezikovna-politika.si/slovenscina-v-evropski-uniji, http://www.jezikovna-politika.si/vprasanja-odgovori), vprašanjem o možnostih izobraževanja v slovenščini ali za pridobitev znanja slovenščine (http://www.jezikovna-politika.si/izobrazevanje). Portal je opremljen tudi s povezavami na druge portale ali strani z jezikovnimi viri, ki jih spremljajo krajši komentarji oz. pojasnila (http://www.jezikovna-politika.si/opremljenost). Obstajajo še nekateri drugi portali, ki delujejo predvsem kot zbirka takih povezav, ki jih običajno spremlja krajši opis ali navodila/nasveti za uporabo, npr. **Portal jezikovnih virov** (http://viri.trojina.si).

Poleg zgoraj omenjenih korpusov slovenščine, ki so vključeni v seznam zadetkov na portalu Fran, slovenščina razpolaga tudi z več specializiranimi korpusi, kot so npr. **Šolar** (http://solar.sketchengine.co.uk/run.cgi/first_form?corpname=fidaplus_solar), **Lektor** (http://lektor.sketchengine.co.uk/run.cgi/first_form?corpname=fidaplus_lektor), korpus slovenskih besedil od 16. do 19. stoletja **IMP** (http://nl.ijs.si/imp/#corpus), korpus znanstvene študijske slovenščine **KAS** (http://nl.ijs.si/kas), korpus spletnih besedil, zlasti tvitov, **JANES** (http://nl.ijs.si/janes); na voljo je tudi korpus slovenskega znakovnega jezika **SIGNOR** (http://www.lojze.si/signor/en.html).

Vse našteto dokazuje, da majhnost jezika ni nujno nepremostljiva ovira ne za kvantiteto ne kvaliteto njegove jezikovne opremljenosti.

Обеспеченность словенского языка электронными ресурсами

Словенский язык сравнительно хорошо обеспечен электронными ресурсами: как корпусами (современного) языка, так и порталами со словарями и другими языковыми пособиями; имеются также справочно-информационные языковые порталы и порталы, на которых собраны ссылки на другие порталы или сайты с языковыми пособиями.

Среди порталов со словарями и другими языковыми пособиями следует отметить портал, не только инновативно, но и интерактивно объединяющий все ресурсы (словари и другие языковые пособия, справочно-информационные порталы, ссылки на корпусы) – **Fran** (Fran, Slovarji Inštituta za slovenski jezik Frana Ramovša ZRC SAZU/Фран, Словари Института словенского языка Франа Рамовша Научно-исследовательского центра Словенской академии наук и искусств): http://www.fran.si. Сейчас порталом можно пользоваться на словенском и английском языках. Запуск портала состоялся в октябре 2014-го года; к настоящему моменту зафиксировано почти 20 миллионов поисков (http://www.fran.si/o-portalu?page=Statistics) – это не удивительно, так как портал является хорошим показателем не только текущего этапа словенской лексикографии, а также лексикографической разработанности словенского языка вообще: он объединяет как толковые, орфографические и терминологические, так и этимологические, исторические и диалектологические (включающие также результаты работы в рамках проекта OLA – Общеславянский лингвистический атлас и SLA – Словенский лингвистический атлас) словари и справочники словенского языка. Кроме того, на этом портале можно получить справку и информацию как по общим языковым (**Jezikovna svetovlanica**: https://svetovalnica.zrc-sazu.si/#v), так и терминологическим (**Terminologišče**: http://isjfr.zrc-sazu.si/terminologisce/svetovanje#v) вопросам. Портал обеспечен также набором самых разных языковых пособий: системой ввода **ZRCola** (http://zrcola.zrc-sazu.si/ru), словенскими грамматиками и орфографическими справочниками XVI-XXI вв. (http://www.fran.si/slovnice-in-pravopisi), сайтом подбора словенских эквивалентов заимствованных (прежде всего из английского) слов (http://www.fran.si/ustreznice) и др.

Поиск по порталу Фран проводится инновативно и интерактивно: не смотря на то, что поиск может быть ограничен лишь одним словарем/справочником согласно выбору пользователя, он всегда проводится по всему имеющемуся на портале содержанию: в результатах поиска выбранный словарь/справочник появляется в центре экрана, а все остальные – в рамочке справа; внизу рамочки находятся результаты поиска по корпусам **Gigafida** (http://www.gigafida.net), **Kres** (http://www.korpus-kres.net), **Nova beseda** (http://bos.zrc-sazu.si/a_beseda.html), **Gos** (http://www.korpus-gos.net), а также по некоторым другим порталам, напр. Termania (см. ниже). С другой стороны, поиск можно проводить и попав на портал, не зная о нем ничего – в том случае в списке результатов поиска новейшие (в частности, толковые

и орфографические) словари/справочники появляются наверху, остальные ниже, а все вместе также в рамочке справа. Таким образом, портал сам предлагает пользователю наиболее значимые, релевантные результаты. Для более требовательных пользователей предназначен расширенный поиск по разным словарным полям и/ или пометам (http://www.fran.si/napredno). Все данные, содержащиеся на портале, записаны преимущественно в формате XML; новейшее содержание в таком или подобном формате разрабатывается по умолчанию, остальное (старейшее) содержание портала подверглось процессу оцифровки.

Среди других порталов следует обратить внимание на портал **Termania** (http://www.termania.net), специализированный, в первую очередь, для поиска переводных эквивалентов, особенно при терминологических переводах, так как он объединяет целую серию словарей иностранных языков, а также значительное количество терминологических (таких областей, как напр., медицина, микробиология, информатика, туризм, военная наука и др.) и некоторых других словарей, в том числе словарей сленга. Так же, как и портал Fran, портал Termania предоставляет расширенный поиск(http://www.termania.net/iskanje/napredno).

Портал «Языковая Словения» (**Jezikovna Slovenija**: http://www.jezikovna-politika.si) посвящен, в частности, вопросам социолингвистики, языковой политики и планирования – в том числе вопросам о статусе словенского языка в Словении и за границей, консультированию по вопросам соблюдения и нарушения законодательства в этой сфере (http://www.jezikovna-politika.si/jezikovna-slovenija, http://www.jezikovna-politika.si/slovenscina-v-evropski-uniji, http://www.jezikovna-politika.si/vprasanja-odgovori) и вопросам об образовании на словенском языке или возможностях изучения словенского языка (http://www.jezikovna-politika.si/izobrazevanje). Портал обеспечен также ссылками на другие порталы или сайты с языковыми пособиями, сопровождающимися краткими комментариями (http://www.jezikovna-politika.si/opremljenost). Существуют также некоторые другие порталы, представляющие собой преимущественно набор таких ссылок, обычно сопровождающихся информацией в сжатом виде или инструкциями по использованию, например Портал языковых источников (**Portal jezikovnih virov**: http://viri.trojina.si).

Кроме вышеупомянутых корпусов словенского языка, входящих также в результаты поиска на портале Fran, словенский язык обеспечен также несколькими специализированными корпусами, например **Šolar** (http://solar.sketchengine.co.uk/run.cgi/first_form?corpname= fidaplus_solar), **Lektor** (http://lektor.sketchengine.co.uk/run.cgi/first_form?corpname= fidaplus_lektor), корпусом текстов на словенском языке XVI-XIX вв. **IMP** (http://nl.ijs.si/imp/#corpus), корпусом научных текстов **KAS** (http://nl.ijs.si/kas), корпусом языка интернета **JANES** (http://nl.ijs.si/janes), а также корпусом словенского жестового языка **SIGNOR** (http://www.lojze.si/signor/en.html).

Все вышеперечисленное доказывает, что малое распространение языка не обязательно является непреодолимым препятствием ни для количества, ни для качества электронных ресурсов, которыми он обеспечен.

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Infrastruktura slovenistik na 57 univerzah po svetu

Slovenščina je na univerzitetni ravni izven Slovenije podprta preko programa Slovenščina na tujih univerzah (STU), ki vključuje 57 univerz, na katerih delujejo lektorati slovenščine oziroma se izvajajo študijski programi slovenščine. Program je del Centra za slovenščino kot drugi in tuji jezik Oddelka za slovenistiko Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani, financira pa ga Ministrstvo za izobraževanje, znanost in šport Republike Slovenije. Na ta način država Slovenija hkrati izpolnjuje bilateralne dogovore s tujimi državami in na nacionalni ravni skrbi za slovenščino v mednarodnem prostoru (Pravilnik 2016). V prispevku bo predstavljeno, na kakšen način program STU s svojimi dejavnostmi spodbuja in nudi strokovno ter organizacijsko podporo učenju, študiju in raziskovalnemu delu na področju slovenskega jezika, kniževnosti in kulture na tujih univerzah (Nidorfer Šiškovič, Zupan Sosič 2009).

Študij slovenščine je bodisi kot študijski program akreditiran na 26 univerzah po Evropi, v izvenevropskih državah pa je povsod organiziran na ravni lektorata. Porazdelitev je logična posledica lege Slovenije, vpetosti slovenščine v skupino (južno)slovanskih jezikov in kot enega uradnih jezikov v Evropsko unijo. Slovenščina je umeščena v študijske programe 12 univerz v sosednjih štirih državah, na 22 univerz v slovansko govorečih državah ter na 35 univerz v neslovansko govorečih državah. Izven Evrope deluje deset slovenistik: pet v Aziji, tri v Severni Ameriki in dve v Južni Ameriki (Letno poročilo 2016).

Posebno vlogo v programu STU imajo tudi skupni projekti programa, t. i. Svetovni dnevi slovenskega jezika / kulture / sodobne literature / filma itn., ki se izvajajo od leta 2004, vanje pa so vključeni učitelji vseh 57 univerz. V okviru zadnjega projekta je bila leta 2016 v sodelovanju več kot 40 učiteljev razvita e-učilnica z gradivi za poučevanje slovenske kulture na tujih univerzah.

The infrastructure of Slovene studies at 57 universities around the world

Slovene studies at the university level around the world are supported through the programme Slovene at Foreign Universities (STU). The programme includes 57 universities at which the Slovene studies are organized as lectorates or degree studies. The programme STU is a part of the Centre for Slovene as a Second and Foreign Language at the Department of Slovene Studies, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, and funded by the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport. In this way the Republic of Slovenia fulfills the obligations from the bilateral agreements with other countries, and on a national level supports Slovene studies internationally (Pravilnik 2016). The article will present the activities of the STU programme through which there is professional and organizational support available for learning, studying and researching the Slovene language, literature and culture at the universities around the world (Nidorfer Šiškovič, Zupan Sosic 2009).

Slovene studies are acredited as degree study programme at 26 universities in Europe, and as a lecturate at all the universities outside Europe. This is a consequence of the geographical position of Slovenia, inclusion of the Slovene in the group of (South) Slavic languages, and Slovene being one of the official languages in the European Union. Slovene studies are included in the degree programmes at 12 universities in the Slovenia's neighbouring countries, at 22 universities in the states with Slavic official languages , and at 35 universities in the non Slavic language speaking countries. Outside Europe, there are ten universities with Slovene subjects: five in Asia, three in North America and two in the South America (Letno poročilo 2016).

An important role have common projects organized by the programme STU, i. e. World Festival of the Slovene language/culture/(contemporary) literature/film etc., which are carried out since 2004, and include teachers of Slovene at all 57 universities. In the last project in 2015 and 2016 there an e-classroom was developed by 40 teachers, with the materials for teaching the Slovene culture at foreign universities (Poročilo 2016).

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Kratek pregled jezikovne zgodovine Istre: ekskurziji na pot

Istra je polotok v severovzhodnem delu Jadranskega morja. Razteza se južno od reke Glinščice in Tržaškega zaliva na zahodu do Kvarnerskega zaliva na vzhodu. Upravno-politično se nahaja v Italiji, Sloveniji in na Hrvaškem.

Polotok in njegovo zaledje izkazujeta šest izpričanih, medsebojno izjemno prepletenih jezikovnih plasti, pri čemer nekatere od njih lahko samo posredno razberemo iz tukajšnjih zemljepisnih lastnih imen. Ena od mnogih nalog zgodovinsko primerjalnega jezikoslovja je tudi določanje jezikovnih plasti nekega prostora. Zgodovina določenega jezikovnega areala (nem. Sprachlandschaft) se nam razodene šele po njegovi natančni jezikovni razplastitvi, pri čemer ima nesporne zasluge metodološko dobro utemeljena relativna kronologija jezikovnih sedimentov.

Predindoevropska jezikovna plast, ki je na tem območju zagotovo obstajala pred prihodom Indoevropejcev, ostaja za zdaj skrita pod jezikovnimi plastmi prišlekov. Zapletena jezikovna zgodovina prežitkov, kot sta vodni imeni *Dragonja* (ital. *Dragogna*) in *Soča* (furl. *Lusìnç*, ital. *Isonzo*), pa nam nedvomno že razkriva definicijske lastnosti najstarejše **indoevropske** plasti tukajšnjih zemljepisnih imen (prim. **Argău̯o(n)-* < pide. **H₂erǵ-o/eH₂-u̯o(n)-* 'svetleča, bleščeča se' za prvo in **(E)is-ant-i̯ā-* < pide. **H₁(e) isH₂-n̥t-iH₂-* za drugo ime; obe imeni izkazujeta še neizdiferenciran, a jasno določljiv sistem glasovnih sprememb in besedotvornih vzorcev).

Z nastajanjem novejših jezikovnih sprememb se je na tem prostoru kmalu izoblikovala **severnojadranska** jezikovna ploskev. Njen najznačilnejši predstavnik je jezik venetskih napisov, pri čemer se območje severovzhodnih Alp nahaja na njenem obrobju. Glasovne značilnosti npr. že omenjenega staroevropskega vodnega imena *Argao*, vodnega imena *Formio*, ki ima jasen izvor v pide. **gʷᵘʰorm-i̯o-* (prim. lat. *formus* 'topel'), in gorskega imena *Ocra* (današnji *Nanos*) iz pide. **H₂oḱr-eH₂-* 'ostra, strma' z regularnim prehodom praindoevropskega labiovelara **gʷᵘʰ* v **f* in ohranjenim praindoevropskim **o* že napovedujejo oblikovanje novejše, samostojne indoevropske jezikovne plasti, ki je v zaledju predromanskega *caput Adriae* zapustila pomembno zemljepisnoimensko dediščino.[24]

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[24] Latinsko ime *Isontius ~ Aesontius* z nepričakovanim **o* in moškim spolom kaže na to, da je prvotno staroevropsko vodno ime na glasovni in besedotvorni ravni najprej šlo skozi venetski

Po ustanovitvni antične Akvileje (današnji *Oglej*) leta 181 pr. n. š. in osvojitvi Istre leta 177 pr. n. š. (ponovno leta 129 pr. n. š.) s strani Rimljanov se je na tem območju začel proces romanizacije, ki je bila popolna. Najstarejše romansko jezikovno stanje, ki ga je mogoče rekonstruirati, pa kaže na že oblikujoča se staroromanska geolekta; to sta bili **zahodna in vzhodna romanščina**. Razlika med obema je vidna v prisotnosti lenizacije (sonorizacije nezvenečih nezvočnikov v zvenečem položaju) in palatalizacije *k*, *g* v položaju pred sprednjimi samoglasniki v prvi ter njuni odsotnosti v drugi. Izogloso, ki ločuje oba areala, je mogoče določiti na osnovi lokalnih zemljepisnih imen, ki so bila prevzeta v slovanščino, npr. **Cīvitātem → *Čьvъdadъ > Čedad* 'Cividale/Cividât/Čedad', **Tarvisium → *Torvižь > Trbiž* 'Tarvisio/Trbiž/Tarvis', **Caprētum → *Koboridъ > Kobarid*, **Silicētum → *Sъlьǯidъ > Sužid*, *Aquilēia → *Ogъlějь > Oglej* 'Aquileia/Aquilee', **Mūcla → *Mugĺa > Milje* 'Muggia/Milje' (tj. s sonorizacijo in palatalizacijo) na zahodu proti **Bil(li)ācum → *Bъĺakъ > Beljak* 'Villach/Beljak', **Gīla → *Ʒiĺa > Zilja* 'Gail/Zilja', *Celeia → *Celьje > Celje*,[25] **Silicānum → *Sъlьkanъ > Solkan*, *Tergeste → *Tьrʒьstъ > Trst* 'Trieste/Trst', *Capris → *Koprъ > Koper* 'Koper/Capodistria', *Longǎtico → *Lǫgatьcь > Logatec* (tj. brez sonorizacije in palatalizacije) na vzhodu. Meja med obema staroromanskima geolektoma je potekala približno po črti Solkan–Beljak. Za območje jugozahodno od trikotnika Solkan–Logatec–Trsat pa se zdi, da se je na prvotno vzhodno romanščino že zelo zgodaj naplastila zahodna romanščina.

Neposredna potomka alpske (ki je bila del zahodne) romanščine na tem prostoru je (bila) **furlanščina** (furl. *furlan*, ital. *friulano*). Njeno **tergestinsko** (ital. *tergestino*) in **muglizansko** (ital. *muglisano*) narečje, značilni za Trst in Milje, sta izumrli v 19. stoletju. Edina avtohtona sled balkanske (vzhodne) romanščine v Istri danes pa je **istri-otščina** (ital. *istrioto*). **Zahodni istriotski** govori so prisotni v krajih Rovinj/Rovigno, Vodnjan/Dignano in Fažana/Fasana, medtem ko se **vzhodni istriotski** govori govorijo v krajih Bale/Valle, Galižana/Gallesana in Šišan/Sissano. Istriotščino je bilo vse do 20. stoletja še mogoče slišati v krajih kot Piran/Pirano, Vrsar/Orsera in Pulj/Pula/Pola.

Jezikovna podoba Istre se je temeljito spremenila s prihodom Slovanov v 6. stoletju. Na območjih strnjene slovanske poselitve je romanska jezikovna dediščina v slovanščini substratna; romanska občna in lastna imena so bila namreč tu glasovno in oblikovno prilagojena slovanščini. Na obrobju slovanskega poselitvenega prostora pa je romansko-slovanski jezikovni stik mlajši, romanske jezikove prvine v slovanščini pa so adstratne. Na istrskem polotoku tako danes sobivata **slovenski jezik**, natančneje njegovo istrsko narečje **primorske narečje skupine**, in **hrvaški jezik**, in sicer **čakavska narečna skupina** s svojima buzetskim in severnočakavskim narečjem.

Od 14. stoletja naprej tako furlanščino v Istri kot istriotščino začenjajo postopoma izpodrivati alohtona **kolonialna beneška narečja italijanščine** (ital. *veneto coloniale*), ki so danes najbolj razširjeni romanski idiomi na polotoku. Z naplastitvijo beneške ita-

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jezikovni filter. Nato je bilo v romanščino (staro furlanščino) prevzeto kot **ē/izonťǫ > *Izụɪnč* in od tod (v očitno stari obliki z aferezo **Sončǫ*) v slovanščino kot **Sunčā > *Sǫ́ča > Sóča*.

[25] Palatalizirana mehkonebnika v *Zilja* in *Celje* nista nastala v romanščini, temveč sta rezultat slovanske mlajše regresivne (druge) palatalizacije velarov.

lijanščine na južno obrobje furlanščine so nastala naslednja kolonialna beneškoitalijanska narečja: **gradeško** (ital. *gradese*) v Gradežu (ital. *Grado*), **bizjaško** (ital. *bisiacco*) v Tržiču (ital. *Monfalcone*), **tržaško** (ital. *triestino*) v Trstu in **miljsko** (ital. *muggesano*) v Miljah. Današnja istriotščina pa je dejansko konglomerat beneškoitalijanskih soglasniških značilnosti, ki so skoraj popolnoma prekrile prvotne arhaične istriotske (prim. lat. FOCUM 'ogenj' > istriotsko *fogo*; lat. CENTUM '100' > istriotsko *sento*), in v romanskem svetu zelo posebnih avtohtonih istriotskih samoglasniških značilnosti (prim. lat. FĪLUM 'nit' > istriotsko (Rovinj/Rovigno) *féil* vs. (Bale/Valle) *fil*; lat. DŪRUM 'trd' > istriotsko (Rovinj/Rovigno) *dóur* vs. (Bale/Valle) *duro*; prim. tudi *ov* in čak. *Motovun* iz rom. **Montōna*).

Najmlajši jezik prišlek na polotoku pa je **istroromunščina**, ki se govori v krajih Žejane, Sušnjevica, Nova vas in Brdo. Gre za potomca dakoromunščine, njegov alohtoni jezikovni status v Istri pa je povezan z relativno pozno naselitvijo njegovih govorcev v 16. stoletju.

V Istri se pojavljajo **trije uradni jeziki**, in sicer **italijanščina** in slovenščina v Italiji (prim. Bagnoli/Boljunec), **slovenščina** in italijanščina na dvojezičnem območju v Sloveniji (prim. Koper/Capodistria, Izola/Isola, Piran/Pirano) ter **hrvaščina** in italijanščina na dvojezičnem območju na Hrvaškem (prim. Buzet/Pinguente, Motovun/Montona, Novigrad/Cittanova, Poreč/Parenzo, Pula/Pola, Labin/Albona, Opatija/Abbazia).

An outline of the linguistic history of Istria/Istra: Excursion guide

Istria (Slov. *Ȋstra*, Croat. *Ȉstra*, Ital. *Istria*), a peninsula in the north-eastern part of the Adriatic, stretches south the River Glinščica/Rosandra (Slov. *Glinščica*, Ital. *Rosandra*) in the West and the Gulf of Trieste (Ital. *Golfo di Trieste*, Slov. *Tržaški zaliv*) to the Kvarner Gulf (Croat. *Kvarnerski zaljev*, Ital. Golfo del Quarnero) in the East, and falls under the administration of Italy, Slovenia, and Croatia.

The peninsula with its immediate hinterland has in the course of its traceable linguistic history been shaped by no less than six complexly interrelated language layers, some of which are only still traceable in toponymy. A linguistic stratification of any given region is one of the many tasks of historical comparative linguistics. As the precise incision into the multilayered strata enabled by the indefectible methodology lays bare the relative chronology of linguistic sedimentation, a history of a *Sprachlandschaft* will emerge.

The **pre-Indo-European** linguistic landscape, which surely must have existed prior to the arrival of the Indo-Europeans, remains for the time being impenetrable behind the curtain of the oldest linguistic remains of the new settlers. A look behind the complicated history of the survivors such as the river names *Dragonja* (Ital. *Dragogna*) and *Soča* (Friul. *Lusìnç*, Ital. *Isonzo*) incontestably shows the defining characteristics of the most archaic layer of **Indo-European** toponymy (consider *$Arg\breve{a}\underset{.}{u}o(n)$- < PIE *$H_2er\acute{g}$-o/e$H_2$-$\underset{.}{u}o(n)$- 'The Shiny/Bright one' vel sim. for the former and *$(E)is$-ant-$\underset{.}{i}\bar{a}$-< PIE *$H_1(e)isH_2$-$\underset{.}{n}t$-iH_2- for the latter with their underdifferentiated but clearly recognisable systems of sound change and word formation).

On the convergence of the newly emerging isoglosses in the area, the **Northern-Adriatic** language continuum soon takes shape. Its most famous representative being the language of the Venetic inscriptions, the Northern Adriatic areal subdivision of the South-Eastern Alpine region clearly stands on the periphery of Italic. The characteristic traits of the river *Formio*, for instance, adjacent to the Old European *Argao*, plainly traceable to PIE *$g^{uh}orm$-$\underset{.}{i}o$- (cf. Lat. *formus* 'warm'), or the oronym *Ocra* (nowadays *Nanos*) from PIE *$H_2o\acute{k}r$-eH_2- 'The sharp/steep one', with the PIE voiced aspirated labiovelar *g^{uh} systematically yielding a voiceless aspirate *f and PIE *o preserved unaltered, indubitably speak of a later, independent linguistic layer that left its important heritage in the wider hinterland of pre-Romance *caput Adriae*.[26]

Subsequently, the area is thoroughly Romanised with the founding of Aquileia in 181 BC and the Roman conquest of Istria in 177 BC (and again in 129 BC). The oldest recoverable linguistic situation after these events points to a contact zone between two

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[26] The Latin name *Isontius ~ Aesontius*, with its surprising *o and masculine gender, incidentally betrays the fact that the Old European river name must in terms of its phonetic and word-formational makeup have gone through the Venetic filter as well, before it landed into Romance (Old Friulian) as *$\bar{e}/izont\acute{o}$ > *$Iz\underset{.}{u}n\check{c}$ and was (in an obviously old aphaeretic form *$Son\check{c}\underset{.}{o}$) finally adopted by Slavic as *$Sun\check{c}\bar{a}$ > *$S\acute{o}\check{c}a$ > *Sóča*.

emerging Romance linguistic units, **Western and Eastern Romance**, separated by the absence of such innovations as lenition (sonorisation) and palatalisation in the consonant system in the latter. The isogloss separating the two continua is most clearly observable from epichoric toponymy integrated into Slavic as *Cīvitātem → *Čьvьdadъ > Čedad 'Cividale/Cividât/Čedad', *Tarvisium → *Torvižь > Trbiž 'Tarvisio/Trbiž/Tarvis', *Caprētum → *Koboridъ > Kobarid, *Silicētum → *Sьlьǯidъ > Sužid, Aquilēia → *Ogъlějь > Oglej 'Aquileia/Aquilee', *Mūcla → *Muǵla > Milje 'Muggia/Milje (i.e. with sonorisation and/or palatalisation) versus *Bil(li)ācum → *Bьĺakъ > Beljak 'Villach/Beljak', *Gīla → *Ʒiĺa > Zilja 'Gail/Zilja', Celeia → *Celьje > Celje,[27] *Silicānum → *Sьlьkanъ > Solkan, Tergeste → *Tьrʒьstъ > Trst 'Trieste/Trst', Capris → *Koprъ > Koper 'Koper/Capodistria', Longătico → *Lǫgatьcь > Logatec (i.e. without sonorisation and/or palatalisation), tracing a surprisingly coherent beeline from Solkan to Villach/Beljak. The area to the south-west, circumscribed by the Solkan – Logatec – Trsat triangle, however, seems to speak in favour of an older Eastern Romance foundation with an early superstratal influence from the West.

The direct descendant of the Alpine Romance dialect of Western Romance in the region is **Friulian** (Friul. *furlan*, Ital. *friulano*). The ***Tergestino*** and the ***Muglisano*** dialects of Friulian, the first spoken in Trieste/Trst and the latter in Muggia/Milje (Friul. *Mugla*), have been extinct since the 19th century. Eastern or Balkan Romance, on the other hand, has left its nowadays only faint trace in the other autochthonous Romance language in the region, **Istriot** (Ital. *istrioto*). **Western Istriot** is still spoken in Rovinj/Rovigno, Vodnjan/Dignano, and Fažana/Fasana, the **Eastern Istriot** local dialects are limited to Bale/Valle, Galižana/Gallesana, and Šišan/Sissano, all on the Istrian peninsula proper. Up until the 20th century Istriot was probably also heard in Piran/Pirano, Vrsar/Orsera and Pula/Pola.

With the arrival of Slavic in the 6th century the linguistic landscape changes considerably. Where colonisation is strong, the substratal linguistic heritage sieves through in the form of Slavic integrations and logical subsequent phonetic and morphological adaptations of Romance appellatives and place-names, while on the outer reaches of the Slavic colonisation wave such adaptations show unmistakable signs of a more recent contact and tend to be adstratal. Istria itself lies in the contact zone between **Slovene**, with its Istra dialect (Slov. *istrsko narečje*) of the **Littoral dialect group** (Slov. *primorska narečna skupina*), and **Croatian**, i.e., the **Čakavian** dialect group (Croat. *čakavsko narječje*), with its Buzet (Croat. *buzetski diajelekt*) and Northern Čakavian dialect (Croat. *sjevernočakavski dijalekt*).

From the at least the 14th century AD onward both Friulian in Istria and Istriot are to a different extent gradually overlayered by the allochthonous **Colonial Venetian Dialects of Italian** (Ital. *veneto coloniale*), which soon spread to become the predominant Romance idiom in Istria. The superimposition on the southern outskirts of Friulian has yielded the ***Gradese*** in Grado/Gradež, ***Bisiacco*** in Monfalcone/Tržič, ***Triestino*** in

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[27]   The palatalised velars in the last two examples are not old, but are due to the second Slavic palatalisation wave.

Trieste/Trst, and ***Muggesano*** in Muggia/Milje dialects of Colonial Venetian, while Istriot as known to linguists today is in fact a conglomerate of Venetian linguistic features that managed to significantly influence the originally rather archaic Istriot consonantal system with the typically Western Romance innovative features (cf. Lat. FOCUM 'fire' > Istriot *fogo*; Lat. CENTUM '100' > Istriot *sento*) overlapping with the idiosyncratic sound changes in the surely inherited vowel system (consider Lat. FĪLUM 'thread' > Istrot (Rovinj/Rovigno) *féil* vs. (Bale/Valle) *fil*; Lat. DŪRUM 'hard' > Istriot (Rovinj/Rovigno) *dóur* vs. (Bale/Valle) *duro*, cf. also *ov* in Čakavian *Motovun* from Romance **Montōna*).

The youngest language in the region seems to be **Istro-Romanian**, spoken in Žejane, Sušnjevica, Nova vas, and Brdo. Essentially a descendant of Daco-Romanian, the allochthonous status of Istro-Romanian in Istria is due to a relatively late settlement, dating back to the 16th century.

Presently the peninsula is dominated by **three official languages**, viz. **Italian** and Slovene in Italy (cf. Bagnoli/Boljunec), **Slovene** and Italian in the bilingual region in present-day Slovenia (cf. Koper/Capodistria, Izola/Isola, Piran/Pirano), and **Croatian** and Italian in the Croatian bilingual area (cf. Buzet/Pinguente, Motovun/Montona, Novigrad/Cittanova, Poreč/Parenzo, Pula/Pola, Labin/Albona, Opatija/Abbazia).

Program konference
Conference Programme
Программа конференции

Četrtek, 21. septembra 2017 / Thursday 21 September 2017 / Четверг, 21 сентября 2017

	Atrij ZRC SAZU (preddverje / foyer / фойе) Novi trg 2 pritličje / ground floor / 1-й этаж
08.00–08.45	Registracija / Onsite registration / Регистрация
	Atrij ZRC SAZU Novi trg 2 pritličje / ground floor / 1-й этаж
09.00–09.45	Pozdravni nagovori / Conference opening / Приветственные слова **Joseph Schallert**, predsednik Društva za slovansko jezikoslovje / Slavic Linguistics Society Chair / председатель Общества славянского языкознания **Oto Luthar**, direktor Znanstvenoraziskolvanega centra Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti / Director of the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts / директор научно-исследовательского центра Словенской академии наук и искусств **Branka Kalenić Ramšak**, dekanja Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani / Dean of the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana / декан Филологического факультета Люблянского университета **Namita Subiotto**, predstojnica Oddelka za slavistiko / Head of the Department of Slavistics / заведующий кафедрой славистики **Matej Šekli**, vodja konference / on behalf of the conference board / руководитель конференции
10.00–10.45	Plenarno predavanje / Plenary talk / Пленарный доклад **Georg Holzer** Praslavenska sintaksa u Brižinskim spomenicima i drugim starim slavenskim dokumentima / Proto-Slavic syntax in the Freising Fragments and other old Slavic documents
	Atrij ZRC SAZU (preddverje / foyer / фойе) Novi trg 2 pritličje / ground floor / 1-й этаж
11.00–11.30	Odmor za kavo / Coffee break / Перерыв

	Atrij ZRC SAZU Novi trg 2 pritličje / ground floor / 1-й этаж	Prešernova dvorana Novi trg 4 pritličje / ground floor / 1-й этаж	Mala dvorana Novi trg 4 2. nadstropje / 2nd floor / 3-й этаж
Vodi / Chair / Руководитель	Vesna Požgaj Hadži	Andreja Žele	Petar Vuković
11.30–11.50	**Екатерина Владимировна Рахилина / Ekaterina Rakhilina, Дарья Александровна Рыжова / Daria Ryzhova** Бурная история семантики одного русского прилагательного в свете типологических данных: *славный*	**Елена Юрьевна Иванова / Elena Ivanova** *Да* в составных союзах болгарского языка и проблема *да*-конструкции	**Gabriela Múcsková** The synthetization of grammatical forms of the preterite in Slovak dialects from a grammaticalization and language contact perspective
12.00–12.20	**Вадим Алексеевич Белов / Vadim Belov** Проблема разграничения языковых и ситуативных синонимов в русском языке	**Лилјана Митковска / Liljana Mitkovska, Елени Бужаровска / Eleni Bužarovska** *Da*-clauses as complements of propositional attitude and perception verbs in Bulgarian and in Macedonian	**Jan Ivar Bjørnflaten** Reanalysis in the Russian past tense: Northwest Russian past tense forms in -*vši*, cf. *ušodši* versus *ušël*
12.30–12.50	**Світлана Мартінек / Svitlana Martinek** The US – THEM opposition in the consciousness of Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian speakers	**Максим Максимович Макарцев / Maxim Makartsev, Max Wahlström, Teodora Vuković** The use of infinitive in peripheral Serbian dialects and language maintenance	**Дмитрий Владимирович Сичинава / Dmitri Sitchinava** On semantics of the Slavic Pluperfect in parallel texts: corpora and questionnaires
	Atrij ZRC SAZU (preddverje / foyer / фойе) Novi trg 2 pritličje / ground floor / 1-й этаж		
13.00–14.00	Kosilo / Lunch break / Обед		

Time	Atrij ZRC SAZU / Prešernova dvorana / Mala dvorana	Prešernova dvorana	Mala dvorana
	Atrij ZRC SAZU Novi trg 2 pritličje / ground floor / 1-й этаж		
14.00–14.20	Obvestilo organizatorjev / Bulletin / Сообщение организаторов **Domen Krvina** Обеспеченность словенского языка электронными ресурсами		
15.00–15.45	Plenarno predavanje / Plenary talk / Пленарный доклад **Владимир Александрович Плунгян / Vladimir Plungian** On "secondary word-forms" (in Russian and cross-linguistically)		
	Atrij ZRC SAZU (preddverje / foyer / фойе) Novi trg 2 pritličje / ground floor / 1-й этаж		
16.00–16.30	Odmor za kavo / Coffee break / Перерыв		
	Atrij ZRC SAZU Novi trg 2 pritličje / ground floor / 1-й этаж	**Prešernova dvorana** Novi trg 4 pritličje / ground floor / 1-й этаж	**Mala dvorana** Novi trg 4 2. nadstropje / 2nd floor / 3-й этаж
Vodi / Chair / Руководитель	Екатерина Владимировна Рахилина / Ekaterina Rakhilina	Елена Юрьевна Иванова / Elena Ivanova	Gabriela Múcsková
16.30–16.50	**Tatjana Balažic Bulc, Vesna Požgaj Hadži** Language education policy and Slavic languages in Slovenia	**Mladen Uhlik, Andreja Žele** *Da*-клаузы при предикатах манипуляции и желания в словенском языке	**Petar Vuković** Bunjevci from Bačka: Language situation
17.00–17.20	**Antonia Ordulj, Nikolina Sokolić** Insight into collocational competence among Polish students of Croatian as L2	**Wojciech Guz, Anna Bondaruk** On *ze*-relatives in spoken Polish: A corpus study	**Anna-Maria Meyer** The impact of Slavic languages on Romani

Vodi / Chair / Руководитель	Ruprecht von Waldenfels
17.30	**Delavnica SlaSpoCo – Slavic Spoken Corpora** **SlaSpoCo – Slavic Spoken Corpora Workshop** **Воркшоп SlaSpoCo – Slavic Spoken Corpora** **Rafał L. Górski, Achim Rabus, Ruprecht von Waldenfels** Non-standard forms of auxiliaries in North Slavic: A spoken corpus perspective **Jan Patrick Zeller** Problems, pitfalls and solutions in quantitative analyses of language variation in Belarusian Trasyanka and Ukrainian Surzhyk **Jan Patrick Zeller, Jolanta Tambor** The Corpus of Spoken Silesian **Achim Rabus** The Corpus of Spoken Rusyn **Михаил Александрович Даниэль / Mikhail Daniel, Нина Роландовна Добрушина / Nina Dobrushina** The Ustya River Bassin Corpus: Modelling dialect to standard convergence in the Russian North **Teodora Vuković** Corpus-based analysis of post-posed definite articles in Torlak dialect **Gordana Hržica, Jelena Kuvač Kraljević** Croatian Adult Spoken Language Corpus (HrAL): Overview and first analysis **Philipp Wasserscheidt** Spoken Corpus of Bosnian/Montenegrin/Serbian and Albanian **Helena Grochola-Szczepanek, Rafał L. Górski, Michał Woźniak** The Spisz Dialect Corpus **Михаил Александрович Даниэль / Mikhail Daniel, Анастасия Борисовна Панова / Anastasia Panova** A corpus outlook on regional varieties of Russian in Daghestan **Björn Wiemer, Aksana Erker** The TriMCo-corpus: A tool in studying areal convergence and diversification in Baltic and Slavic dialects

Petek, 22. septembra 2017 / Friday 22 September 2017 / Пятница, 22 сентября 2017

	Župančičeva dvorana	Prešernova dvorana	Mala dvorana
	Atrij ZRC SAZU (preddverje / foyer / фойе) Novi trg 2 pritličje / ground floor / 1-й этаж		
08.00–08.45	Registracija / Onsite registration / Регистрация		
	Atrij ZRC SAZU Novi trg 2 pritličje / ground floor / 1-й этаж	**Prešernova dvorana** Novi trg 4 pritličje / ground floor / 1-й этаж	**Mala dvorana** Novi trg 4 2. nadstropje / 2nd floor / 3-й этаж
Vodi / Chair / Руководитель	Тамара Анатольевна Пивоварчик / Tamara Pivavarchyk	Tilman Berger	Aleksandra Derganc
09.00–09.20	**Agnieszka Będkowska-Kopczyk** What and how can we feel in Slavic? A cognitive analysis of constructions with verbs expressing 'to feel'	**Paola Bocale** The role of the distal deictic *там* in expressing irrealis modality in spoken Russian	**Keith Langston** Corpus planning and corpus research: Language advice and actual usage in Croatian
09.30–09.50	**Katarzyna Dziwirek** Touching matters: Metaphorical Extensions of *dotknąć* and *touch*	**Mislav Benić** Пересказывание дискурса на примере говора Осиека и окрестностей	**Екатерина Протасова / Ekaterina Protassova, Наташа Рингблом / Natasha Ringblom** Русский язык и семейная языковая политика
10.00–10.20	**Anita Memišević, Mihaela Matešić** From prototypical meanings to metaphorical extensions: Verbs from the semantic field of speaking in Croatian	**Hak-Soo Yoo, Раиса Александровна Кулькова / Raisa Kulkova** Русские классифицирующие существительные *тип* и *вид* как предмет изучения в корейской аудитории	**Daniel Bunčič** Reforms of writing systems: Success or failure?
	Atrij ZRC SAZU (preddverje / foyer / фойе) Novi trg 2 pritličje / ground floor / 1-й этаж		**Župančičeva dvorana** Novi trg 4 pritličje / ground floor / 1-й этаж
10.30–11.00	Odmor za kavo / Coffee break / Перерыв		Odmor za kavo / Coffee break / Перерыв

	Atrij ZRC SAZU Novi trg 2 pritličje / ground floor / 1-й этаж	**Prešernova dvorana** Novi trg 4 pritličje / ground floor / 1-й этаж	**Mala dvorana** Novi trg 4 2. nadstropje / 2nd floor / 3-й этаж
Vodi / Chair / Руководитель	Agnieszka Będkowska-Kopczyk	Paola Bocale	Keith Langston
11.00–11.20	**Frane Malenica, Marijana Kresić, Dario Lečić** Conjunct and single NP subjects: A comparison of naïve and expert intuitions	**Антон Владимирович Циммерлинг / Anton Zimmerling** Неканонические подлежащие: Синтаксис и коммуникативная стратегия	**Jožica Škofic** Adjective declension and its accent in the local dialect of Kropa
11.30–11.50	**Nedžad Leko, Nermina Čordalija, Ivana Jovović** Phrasal or clausal conjunction? – Postverbal conjoined subjects in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian: An experimental study	**Мария Александровна Овсянникова / Maria Ovsjannikova, Сергей Сергеевич Сай / Sergey Say** Конкуренция стратегий оформления стимула при страдательных причастиях русских (де)каузативных глаголов эмоций	**Анастасия Ильинична Плотникова / Anastasiia Plotnikova** Влияние семантического фактора на выбор окончания -у/-ѣ существительными мужского рода в местном падеже единственного числа в русском языке 17 века
12.00–12.20	**Jelena Tušek, Maja Anđel** Imageability of unimageable: Researching imageability of pseudoverbs in Croatian language	**Zenaida Karavdić** Slavic genitive in Bosnian language: A diachronic perspective	**Tjaša Jakop** Hierarchy of dual use by word type
12.30–12.50	**Nermina Čordalija** The processing of unaccusative, anticausative and unergative verbs	**Anja Šarić** Case-marking of arguments of nouns: Russian versus Serbo-Croatian	**Tatyana Slobodchikoff** Dual number in Slovenian: Why did it survive?
	Atrij ZRC SAZU (preddverje / foyer / фойе) Novi trg 2 pritličje / ground floor / 1-й этаж		
13.00–14.00	Kosilo / Lunch break / Обед		

Time	Atrij ZRC SAZU / Prešernova dvorana	Mala dvorana
	Atrij ZRC SAZU Novi trg 2 pritličje / ground floor / 1-й этаж	
14.00–14.20	Obvestilo organizatorjev / Bulletin / Сообщение организаторов **Mojca Nidorfer Šiškovič** The infrastructure of Slovene studies at 57 universities around the world	
15.00–15.45	Plenarno predavanje / Plenary talk / Пленарный доклад **Marko Snoj** Slovansko 'pajek' / The Slavic word for 'spider' **Atrij ZRC SAZU (preddverje / foyer / фойе)** Novi trg 2 pritličje / ground floor / 1-й этаж	
16.00–16.30	Odmor za kavo / Coffee break / Перерыв **Atrij ZRC SAZU** Novi trg 2 pritličje / ground floor / 1-й этаж	
16.30–17.30	Delovno srečanje društva SLS / SLS Business Meeting / Рабочее заседание общества SLS **Atrij ZRC SAZU** Novi trg 2 pritličje / ground floor / 1-й этаж	
	Prešernova dvorana Novi trg 4 pritličje / ground floor / 1-й этаж	**Mala dvorana** Novi trg 4 2. nadstropje / 2nd floor / 3-й этаж
Vodi / Chair / Руководитель	Антон Владимирович Циммерлинг / Anton Zimmerling	Jožica Škofic
17.30–17.50	**Ruprecht von Waldenfels, Tilman Berger** From 'to' to 'into': The parallel history of a preposition in Polish and Czech	**Aleksandra Derganc** Еще несколько заметок по поводу глагола детерминированного движения *iti* в словенском языке
	Тамара Анатольевна Пивоварчик / Tamara Pivavarchyk Титулования в белорусской этнокультуре в зеркале польско-белорусского и русско-белорусского взаимодействия	

18.00–18.20	**Michael Betsch** Pedagogical dialogues as sources for the history of address and linguistic politeness in Slavic languages	**Nadezhda Zorikhina-Nilsson** Constructions with the preposition *spustja* in modern Russian: Their meaning, structure and use	**Jadranka Gvozdanović** Historical development of tense and aspect in Slovene
18.30–18.50	**Magdalena Derwojedowa, Joanna Bilińska, Monika Kwiecień** A diachronic morphological analyser for Polish based on a small corpus	**Barbara Sonnenhauser, Imke Mendoza** Complexities in between: Oscillating clausal structures	**Eun-Ji Song** Aspectual choice of Russian speech act verbs
19.00–19.20	**Katarzyna Bednarska** Interference errors caused by the influence of a second/foreign language in the texts written by Slovene students of Polish language **Kristýna Dufková** Project Slavic dendronymic place names on an on-line map	**Halid Bulić** Complex subjunctors in the Bosnian language	**Илья Борисович Шатуновский / Ilya Shatunovskiy** Возможность и ее виды в русском языке

Sobota, 23. septembra 2017 / Saturday 23 September 2017 / Суббота, 23 сентября 2017

	Atrij ZRC SAZU / Prešernova dvorana	Mala dvorana
	Atrij ZRC SAZU (preddverje / foyer / фойе) Novi trg 2 pritličje / ground floor / 1-й этаж	**Mala dvorana** Novi trg 4 2. nadstropje / 2nd floor / 3-й этаж
08.00–08.45	Registracija / Onsite registration / Регистрация	

	Atrij ZRC SAZU	Prešernova dvorana	Mala dvorana
	Atrij ZRC SAZU Novi trg 2 pritličje / ground floor / 1-й этаж	**Prešernova dvorana** Novi trg 4 pritličje / ground floor / 1-й этаж	**Mala dvorana** Novi trg 4 2. nadstropje / 2nd floor / 3-й этаж
Vodi / Chair / Руководитель	Vrinda Chidambaram	Wayles Browne	Emmerich Kelih
09.00–09.20	**Virgilio A. Partida Peñalva** The internal order of the Serbian/Croatian clitic string: A Distributed Morphology approach	**Дмитрий Олегович Добровольский / Dmitrij Dobrovolskij, Ludmila Pöppel** The construction *возьми и* + V_{imp} in the function of a narrative imperative	**Joseph Schallert, Alexei Kochetov** Observations on an archaic *jat'* reflex in the Aegean Macedonian emigree dialect of Strupino (Meglen)
09.30–09.50	**Petra Mišmaš** When clitics don't climb in Slovenian	**Бобан Карапејовски / Boban Karapejovski** Demonstrative pronouns in comparison with morphologically bound article as exponents of definiteness	**Haris Ćatović** The reflexes of *jat* in East-Bosnian ijekavian-shtokavian speech type noted in the surveys Questions about the speech of the populace (1897) and Bosnian-Herzegovinian dialectal complex (1975–1986)
10.00–10.20	**Matic Pavlič** Reconstruction in progress: Clitic interpretation in Slovenian	**Оксана Володимирівна Орленко / Oksana Orlenko** The prepositional oppositions in Ukrainian and Serbian through the prism of an associative experiment	**Jasmin Hodžić** Aspects of accent variation in the standard Bosnian language

	Atrij ZRC SAZU	Županičeva dvorana
	Atrij ZRC SAZU (preddverje / foyer / фойе) Novi trg 2 pritličje / ground floor / 1-й этаж	**Županičeva dvorana** Novi trg 4 pritličje / ground floor / 1-й этаж
10.30–11.00	Odmor za kavo / Coffee break / Перерыв	Odmor za kavo / Coffee break / Перерыв

	Atrij ZRC SAZU Novi trg 2 pritličje / ground floor / 1-й этаж	**Prešernova dvorana** Novi trg 4 pritličje / ground floor / 1-й этаж	**Mala dvorana** Novi trg 4 2. nadstropje / 2nd floor / 3-й этаж
Vodi / Chair / Руководитель	Virgilio A. Partida Peñalva	Дмитрий Олегович Добровольский / Dmitrij Dobrovolskij	Joseph Schallert
11.00–11.20	**Sašo Živanović** Representing Slovene initial CCC consonant clusters in GP 2	**Saška Štumberger** New words in the second edition of the Slovene Standard Language Dictionary with examples of nouns denoting females	**Marek Majer** The origin of Proto-Slavic *čьjь 'whose'
11.30–11.50	**Naoya Watabe** Palatalization and depalatalization before a diminutive affix /-k-/	**Michał Kozdra** Принципы построения словарной статьи в Русско-польском словаре лексических параллелей	**Jouko Lindstedt** West, East, and South Slavic as different types of language spread
12.00–12.20	**Tomáš Duběda** The phonology of anglicisms in Czech: Exploring extralinguistic factors	**Stela Manova, Dušan Ptáček, Renáta Gregová** Second-grade diminutives in Czech and Slovak: A contrastive study with data from corpora	**Matej Šekli** Typology of linguogeneses of the Slavic languages
12.30–12.50	**Martin Havlík** Variation in the pronunciation and perception of the voiced and voiceless dental fricative ([ð] and [θ]) in anglicisms in Czech	**Špela Medvešek, Stela Manova** Processing suffix combinations in Slovene	**Januška Gostenčnik** Slovene dialects in Gorski Kotar, Croatia
	Atrij ZRC SAZU (preddverje / foyer / фойе) Novi trg 2 pritličje / ground floor / 1-й этаж		
13.00–14.00	Kosilo / Lunch break / Обед		

Time	Atrij ZRC SAZU Novi trg 2 pritličje / ground floor / 1-й этаж	Prešernova dvorana Novi trg 4 pritličje / ground floor / 1-й этаж	Mala dvorana Novi trg 4 2. nadstropje / 2nd floor / 3-й этаж
14.00–14.20	Obvestilo organizatorjev / Bulletin / Сообщение организаторов **Luka Repanšek, Matej Šekli** An outline of the linguistic history of Istria/Istra: Excursion guide		
15.00–15.45	Plenarno predavanje / Plenary talk / Пленарный доклад **Ljiljana Progovac** Simple syntax in Slavic, evolution, neuroimaging: Middles and absolutives		
	Atrij ZRC SAZU (preddverje / foyer / фойе) Novi trg 2 pritličje / ground floor / 1-й этаж		
16.00–16.30	Odmor za kavo / Coffee break / Перерыв		
Vodi / Chair / Руководитель	Sašo Živanović	Бобан Карапејовски / Boban Karapejovski	Marek Majer
16.30–16.50	**Vrinda Chidambaram** Morphologically incorporated universal quantifiers in wuperlatives: Evidence from Slovene	**Steven Franks, Wayles Browne** "Helpless" verbs: Uses of the L-participle without auxiliary in BCS	**Emmerich Kelih, Katharina Krebs-Garić, Ivan Šimko** Loanwords in South Slavic languages (Bulgarian, Slovene, Croatian) from a crosslinguistic perspective: Problems and pitfalls
17.00–17.20	**Jacek Witkoś, Dominika Dziubała-Szrejbrowska** On complex Numeral Noun Constructions (NNCs): A view from Polish	**Цветана Димитрова / Tsvetana Dimitrova** Variation in clitic placement in the history of Bulgarian	**Azra Hodžić-Kadić** Lexical layers in Molise-Croatian language

17.30–17.50	**Vesna Plesničar** Adjective order restrictions of attributive adjectives in Slovenian	**Anita Peti-Stantić** On Wackernagel ten years later: Personal pronouns in information structure
		Александар Милановић / Aleksandar Milanović, Јелена Вујић / Jelena Vujić The earliest lexical borrowings from Late Modern English into Serbian
18.00–18.20	**Daiki Horiguchi** Приглагольное дефисное употребление в русском языке	**Wilhelm R. Zuercher** Avoiding salty words
	Atrij ZRC SAZU Novi trg 2 pritličje / ground floor / 1-й этаж	
19.00	Skupna večerja / Farewell dinner / Фуршет	

Nedelja, 24. septembra 2017 / Sunday 24 September 2017 / Воскресенье, 24 сентября 2017

Celodnevna ekskurzija k Cerkniškemu jezeru in v slovenski del Istre / Full-day excursion to Lake Cerknica and the Slovenian part of Istria / Экскурсия на весь день на озеро Церкница и в словенскую часть Истрии.

Ch'a vivin ducj i popui
ch'a bramin il dì spietât
che, là ch'al va il soreli,
la barufe si le pararà vie dal mont,
che ogni paisan
libar al sarà,
ni diaul, dome un bon vicin
al sarà il confinant!

Vivan tutte le genti
che sperano nel giorno
quando, ove s'affacci il sol,
non ci saran più guerre,
ognun sarà
libero, amico,
non ostile il vicino!

Es leben alle Völker,
die sehnend warten auf den Tag,
dass unter dieser Sonne
die Welt dem alten Streit entsag!
Frei sei dann
jedermann,
nicht Feind, nur Nachbar mehr fortan!

Živé naj vsi naródi,
ki hrepené dočakat' dan,
da, koder sonce hodi,
prepir iz svéta bo pregnan,
da rojak
prost bo vsak,
ne vrag, le sosed bo mejak!

Éljenek mind a népek,
kik várják már a nagy napot,
mely a földkerekségnek
hoz békésebb virradatot;
mennyi rab
lesz szabad
és jó szomszéd a nap alatt!

Živ narod svaki dà je,
što dočekati želi dan,
da, kud god sunce sjaje,
sa svijeta razdor buden zgnan,
slobodni
da su svi,
a susjed, brat, ne dušman zli!

Let's drink to every nation
Will live to see that bright day's birth
When 'neath the sun's rotation
Dissent is banished from the earth,
All will be
kinfolk free
With neighbours none in enmity.

Пьём за вечную свободу
Всех народов и племён.
Да не будет злу в угоду
Мир враждою осквернён.
За межой –
Не чужой,
Друг-товарищ дорогой.