

**SLS 2009: Book of Abstracts**  
**4<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the**  
**Slavic Linguistic Society**

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September 2009

University of Zadar & IHJJ



# Contents

<b>1. Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1. Purpose . . . . .	1
1.2. Invited speakers at the 4 <sup>th</sup> annual SLS meeting in Zadar . . . . .	1
<b>2. Program</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>3. Abstracts</b>	<b>9</b>
Relative frequency effects in Russian morphology (E. Antic) . . . . .	9
Gender and Adjective Agreement in Russian (A. Asarina) . . . . .	10
Are there sonority reversal clusters in Slovak? (Z. Bárkányi) . . . . .	12
Emotions – between sensations and thoughts. About categorization of emotions in Polish and Slovene (A. Będkowska-Kopczyk) . . . . .	13
The conceptual-semantic basis of grammatical relations: the case of the Croatian predicate instrumental (B. Belaj & G. Tanacković Faletar) . . . . .	14
Systemic Subject-Verb Inversion in Romance (Western) and Slovene (J. Belc) . . . . .	15
Is the Serbian bare NP really bare? (A. Bene) . . . . .	18
Empirical evidence for the functional determiner projection in Croatian (M. Birtić & D. Čavar) . . . . .	19
Decomposed PPs and Case (P. Biskup) . . . . .	21
Are languages named after peoples or places? Word-formation of language names in Slavic languages (W. Browne) . . . . .	24
Croatian language corpus as basis for the analysis of the impact of changes on the shaping of the Croatian standard language (D. Brozović Rončević & S. Runjaić) . . . . .	26
Genitives and Classificatory Adjectives as Typing Attributes (B. Cetnarowska, A. Pysz & H. Trugman) . . . . .	28
Non-canonical feature specifications in Slavonic and Baltic (G. Corbett) . . . . .	30
Definite article in Macedonian – Second language acquisition perspective (E. Crvenkovska) . . . . .	32
Ditransitive verbs in spoken and written Czech (R. Čech) . . . . .	33
Sibilant inventory and the realization of vowels: A study of the dialects of Pag (M. Čavar & A. Oštarić) . . . . .	34
Impact of English on Croatian prepositional structures (B. Drljača Margić & A. Memišević) . . . . .	35
Functionally-pragmatic realization of category „definiteness/indefiniteness” in Ukrainian (O. Dubchak) . . . . .	37
Constraining Russian Anticausatives (P. Dudchuk, S. Minor & E. Pshehotskaya) . . . . .	39
Pronominal Clitics as Agreement in East Balkan Slavic (S. Franks) . . . . .	42
Frequency correlations in processing, familiarity, and language usage data of clitics in Croatian (T. Frleta & D. Čavar) . . . . .	43
The semasiological structure of Croatian Verbal prefix <i>iz</i> (D. Glynn & G. Buljan) . . . . .	44

Polish and English diminutives – A contrastive study (D. Gorzycka) . . . . .	45
The production of palatalized and unpalatalized consonants in Russian by advanced American learners of Russian (J. Hacking) . . . . .	46
Suffix of nomina actionis *-ьb(a) in the Proto-Slavic language (I. Itkin & M. Tagabileva) . . . . .	47
Topic-Marking Clitic-Doubling in Bulgarian and its L2 Acquisition (I. Ivanov & R. Slabakova) . . . . .	48
Typology of antipassive constructions in Slavonic languages (K. Janic) . . . . .	52
Patterns of vowel reduction in Russian (S. Jaworski) . . . . .	54
Versatile morphosyntax: Reflexive forms cross-Slavic (U. Junghanns, D. Fehrmann & D. Lenertová) . . . . .	56
Resolving a semantic puzzle: <i>ne wh</i> items in Russian (N. Kondrashova & R. Šimík) . . . . .	58
Modal particles in Croatian? A contrastive description of their meaning and function (M. Kresić) . . . . .	61
Russian defective verbs: synchrony or diachrony? (E. Kulinich & L. Baronian) . . . . .	62
Slavic Languages in the Brain (H. Leheckova) . . . . .	64
Grammaticalization of a “strange” derivation in Russian (A. Letuchiy) . . . . .	65
A corpus-based analysis of the locative alternation in Polish and Spanish (W. Lewandowski) . . . . .	67
About the directional meaning of locative phrases in Polish (W. Lewandowski) . . . . .	69
“ <i>Budalo jedna!</i> ”-Type Construction in Contemporary Serbian (I. Mel’čuk & J. Milčević) . . . . .	70
Verba Dicendi in Croatian Church Slavonic (M. Mihaljević) . . . . .	73
Arbitrary or Motivated? Aspectual Prefixes and Russian Verbs of Perception (T. Nessel) . . . . .	75
Grammaticalization properties of Russian primary prepositions (M. Ovsyannikova) . . . . .	76
Arguments of Russian deverbal nominals: A corpus study (A. Pazelskaya) . . . . .	77
Clitic Positioning in Croatian and Functional Sentence Perspective (A. Peti-Stantić) . . . . .	78
Interactions between Some Lexical Markers of Evidentiality and the Grammatical Evidentials in Macedonian (E. Petroska) . . . . .	79
The Old Russian periphrastic form <i>bjaše xodja</i> : origins, semantics and use (P. Petrukhin) . . . . .	80
Towards the automatic construction of a valence dictionary for Polish (A. Przepiórkowski) . . . . .	81
Manual annotation of the National Corpus of Polish with Anotatornia (A. Przepiórkowski & G. Murzynowski) . . . . .	83
The ‘Orphan Accusative’ in Slovene: Grammatical features lexicalized (G. C. Rappaport) . . . . .	84
Let’s Talk about Postnominal Adjectives! (P. Rutkowski) . . . . .	86
The Macedonian ‘tripartite article’: a discourse-pragmatic account (B. Sonnenhauser) . . . . .	88
Learning from Corpora: About most Frequent Differences between Contemporary Serbian and Croatian (I. Srdanović) . . . . .	90
Multiple AGREE and Case Licensing: Structural Case on Adverbials (L. Szucsich) . . . . .	91
Superlexicals and structure of verb stem in Russian (S. Tatevosov & X. Kisseleva) . . . . .	93
Verbs Eexpressing Telic Aaspectual Configuration in Macedonian (S. Tofoska) . . . . .	95
Unorthodox Adjectival Modification in Russian NPs (H. Trugman) . . . . .	96
Two unrecognized vowel phonemes in Proto-Slavic? (R. Viredaz) . . . . .	97

Aggressive pro-drop and the specificity of the 3 <sup>rd</sup> person in Slavic languages (A. Zimmerling) . . . . .	99
A New Concept for a Network Dictionary of Meanings in Slovenian Language (J. Zupan) . . . . .	100
Croatian Dialects Abroad (V. Žužak) . . . . .	102
<b>Appendices</b>	<b>105</b>
<b>A. List of Presentations</b>	<b>107</b>
A.1. By Author . . . . .	107
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>113</b>



# 1. Introduction

The 4<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the Slavic Linguistic Society [ling.unizd.hr/~sls2009/](http://ling.unizd.hr/~sls2009/) was held from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 4<sup>th</sup> September 2009 at the University of Zadar in Croatia.

It was organized by the University of Zadar and the Institute of Croatian Language and Linguistics, in cooperation with the Slavic Linguistic Society. The conference was sponsored by:

- The Ministry of Science, Education and Sports of the Republic of Croatia (MZOS) [www.mzos.hr](http://www.mzos.hr)
- The University of Zadar [www.unizd.hr](http://www.unizd.hr)
- The Institute of Croatian Language and Linguistics [www.ihjj.hr](http://www.ihjj.hr)
- The Slavic Linguistic Society [www.utexas.edu/world/sls](http://www.utexas.edu/world/sls)
- Maraska d.d. (Zadar, Croatia) [www.maraska.hr](http://www.maraska.hr)

We are grateful to the administration of the University of Zadar, numerous colleagues and students, many helpers, all the reviewers, Linguist List [linguistlist.org](http://linguistlist.org) providing Easy Abs and online support, various individuals, including Dunja Brozović Rončević, Steven Franks, Antonio Oštarić, and Vladimir Skračić, for making this event possible.

## 1.1. Purpose

The purpose of SLS is to create a community of students and scholars interested in Slavic linguistics, that is, the systematic and scholarly study of the Slavic languages. The Society aspires to be as open and inclusive as possible; no school, framework, approach, or theory is presupposed, nor is there any restriction in terms of geography, academic affiliation or status.

For the annual meeting conference, the submission of papers dealing with any aspect of Slavic linguistics and within any framework are appropriate, as well as those that represent cross-disciplinary approaches (sociolinguistics, computational linguistics, language acquisition, etc.). The only restriction is that all papers should address an issue pertaining to Slavic linguistics. Everyone is encouraged to participate.

## 1.2. Invited speakers at the 4<sup>th</sup> annual SLS meeting in Zadar

Keynote speakers:

**Greville Corbett** (The University of Surrey): *Non-canonical feature specifications in Slavonic and Baltic*

**Laura Janda** (The University of Tromsø): *A Curious Case of Allomorphy: Russian Verbs Meaning 'Do It Once'*

## 1. Introduction

**Milan Mihaljević** (Staroslavenski institut, Zagreb): *Verba Dicendi in Croatian Church Slavonic*



## 2. Program

3 <sup>rd</sup> of September			
From 10:00 registration			
12:45	Opening		
13:00	Plenary: G. Corbett		<i>Non-canonical feature specifications in Slavonic and Baltic</i>
Coffee break			
14:00	A	A. Zimmerling	<i>Aggressive pro-drop and the specificity of the 3rd person in Slavic languages</i>
	B	L. Szucsich	<i>Multiple AGREE and Case Licensing: Structural Case on Adverbials</i>
14:30	A	O. Dubchak	<i>Functionally-pragmatic realization of the category “definiteness/indefiniteness” in Ukrainian language</i>
	B	Z. Barkanyi	<i>Are there sonority reversal clusters in Slovak?</i>
15:00	A	E. Crvenkovska	<i>Definite article in Macedonian – second language acquisition perspective</i>
	B	M. Čavar, A. Oštarić	<i>Sibilant inventory and the realization of vowels: A study of the dialects of Pag</i>
Coffee break			
15:45		A. Bene	<i>Is the Serbian bare NP really bare?</i>
16:15	A	B. Sonnenhauser	<i>The Macedonian ‘tripartite article’: a discourse-pragmatic account</i>
	B	A. Przepiorkowski, R. Górski, B. Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, M. Łaziński	<i>Towards the National Corpus of Polish</i>
16:45	A	P. Rutkowski	<i>Let’s Talk about Postnominal Adjectives!</i>
Break			
19:00	Reception in the Restaurant Barbakan (Citadela at the University building)		

## 2. Program

4 <sup>th</sup> of September			
09:00	Plenary: M. Mihaljević <i>Verba Dicendi in Croatian Church Slavonic</i>		
Coffee break			
10:00	A	H. Trugman	<i>Unorthodox adjectival modification in Russian NPs</i>
	B	D. Glynn, G. Buljan	<i>Usage-Based Grammatical Semantics: The semiological structure of Croatian verbal prefix iz-</i>
10:30	A	G. Rappaport	<i>The 'Orphan Accusative' in Slovene: Grammatical features lexicalized</i>
	B	A. Będkowska-Kopczyk	<i>Emotions: between sensations and thoughts. About categorization of emotions in Polish and Slovene</i>
Coffee break			
11:15	A	I. Mel'cuk, J. Miličević	<i>"Budalo jedna!"-type construction in contemporary Serbian</i>
	B	T. Nessel	<i>Arbitrary or Motivated? Aspectual Prefixes and Russian Verbs of Perception</i>
11:45	A	P. Dudchuk, S. Minor, E. Pshehotskaya	<i>Constraining Russian Anticausatives</i>
	B	E. Petroska	<i>Interaction between Some Lexical Markers of Evidentiality and the Grammatical Evidentials in Macedonian</i>
12:15	Plenary: SLS business meeting		
Lunch break			
14:15	A	B. Drljača Margić, A. Memišević	<i>Impact of English on Croatian prepositional structures</i>
	B	M. Ovsyannikova	<i>Grammaticalization properties of Russian primary prepositions</i>
14:45	A	R. Čech	<i>Ditransitive verbs in spoken and written Czech</i>
	B	M. Kresić	<i>Modal Particles in Croatian? A contrastive description of their meaning and function</i>
15:15	A	S.-S. Tofoska	<i>Verbs expressing telic aspectual configuration in Macedonian</i>
	B	D. Gorzycka	<i>Polish and English diminutives – a contrastive study</i>
Coffee break			

<b>16:00</b>	A	P. Biskup	<i>Decomposing PPs and Case</i>
	B	G. Tanacković Faletar, B. Belaj	<i>The conceptual-semantic basis of grammatical relations: The case of the Croatian predicate Instrumental</i>
<b>16:30</b>	A	J. Hacking	<i>The production of palatalized and unpalatalized consonants in Russian by advanced American learners</i>
	B	W. Lewandowski	<i>About the directional meaning of locative phrases in Polish</i>
<b>17:00</b>	A	A. Asarina	<i>Gender and Adjective Agreement in Russian</i>
	B	B. Cetnarowska, A. Pysz, H. Trugman	<i>Genitives and Classificatory Adjectives as Typing Attributes</i>

## 2. Program

<b>5<sup>th</sup> of September</b>			
<b>9:00</b>	A	J. Zupan	<i>A New Concept for a Network Dictionary of Meanings in Slovenian Language</i>
	B	U. Junghanns, D. Fehrmann, D. Lenertová	<i>Versatile morphosyntax: Reflexive forms cross-Slavic</i>
<b>9:30</b>	A	J. Belc	<i>Systemic Subject-Verb Inversion in Romance (Western) and Slovene</i>
	B	K. Janic	<i>Typology of antipassive constructions in Slavonic languages</i>
<b>10:00</b>	A	W. Lewandowski	<i>A corpus-based analysis of the locative alternation in Polish and Spanish</i>
<b>Coffee break</b>			
<b>10:45</b>	A	S. Franks	<i>Pronominal Clitics as Agreement in East Balkan Slavic</i>
	B	I. Srdanović	<i>Learning from Corpora: About Most Frequent Differences between Contemporary Serbian and Croatian</i>
<b>11:15</b>	A	N. Kondrashova, R. Šimík	<i>Resolving a semantic puzzle: ne-wh Items in Russian</i>
	B	H. Leheckova	<i>Slavic Languages in the Brain</i>
<b>12:00–19:00 Excursion with a ship to the Island Kornat (Tarac)</b>			

6 <sup>th</sup> of September			
9:00	Plenary: L. Janda		<i>A Curious Case of Allomorphy: Russian Verbs Meaning 'Do It Once'</i>
Coffee break			
10:00	A	A. Pazelskaya	<i>Arguments of Russian deverbal nominals: a corpus study</i>
	B	W. Browne	<i>Are languages named after people or places?</i>
10:30	A	M. Birtić, D. Ćavar	<i>Empirical evidence for the functional determiner projection in Croatian</i>
	B	I. Ivanov, R. Slabakova	<i>Topic-marking clitic-doubling and its L2 acquisition</i>
Coffee break			
11:15	A	A. Peti-Stantić	<i>Clitic Positioning in Croatian and Functional Sentence Perspective</i>
	B	P. Petrukhin	<i>The Old Russian periphrastic form bjaše xodja: origins, semantics, and use</i>
11:45	A	T. Frleta, D. Ćavar	<i>Frequency correlations in processing, familiarity, and language usage data of clitics in Croatian</i>
	B	I. Itkin, M. Tagabileva	<i>Suffix of nomina actionis *-ъb(a) in the Proto-Slavic Language</i>
12:15	A	A. Przepiórkowski, G. Murzynowski	<i>Manual annotation of the National Corpus of Polish with Anotatornia</i>
	B	R. Viredaz	<i>Two unrecognized vowel phonemes in Proto-Slavic</i>
Lunch break			
14:15	A	S. Jaworski	<i>Patterns of vowel reduction in Russian</i>
	B	V. Žužak	<i>Croatian Dialects Abroad</i>
14:45	A	E. Antić	<i>Relative frequency effects in Russian morphology</i>
	B	A. Przepiórkowski	<i>Towards the automatic construction of a valence dictionary of Polish</i>
15:15	A	E. Kulinich, L. Baronian	<i>Russian defective verbs: synchrony or diachrony?</i>
	B	D. Brozović, Rončević, S. Runjaić	<i>The Croatian Language Corpus as the basis for the analysis of the impact of changes on the shaping of the Croatian Standard language</i>
Coffee break			

## 2. Program

<b>16:00</b>	A	S. Tatevosov, X. Kisseleva	<i>Superlexicals and structure of verb stems in Russian</i>
<b>16:30</b>	A	A. Letuchiy	<i>Grammaticalization of a “strange” derivation in Russian</i>
<b>17:00</b>	<b>Plenary: Closing remarks</b>		
<b>19:00</b>	<b>Reception</b>		

### 3. Abstracts

#### ***Relative frequency effects in Russian morphology*** **Eugenia Antic**

**University of California – Berkeley**

Currently, morphological processing of words is viewed to have two routes: a whole-word access route and a decompositional route. More frequent words are assumed to be processed via the whole-word route and the less frequent words via the decomposition route (Caramazza et al. 1988, Wurm 1997). However, newer research in English, Italian and Tagalog shows that the relevant factor is not absolute, but relative frequency (Hay 2001; 2002, Hay and Baayen 2002, Burani and Thornton 2003, Zuraw 2009). The purpose of this paper is to further investigate relative frequency effects on the basis of experimental evidence in Russian.

The experiments investigate relative frequency effects in Russian prefixed words and differences between more frequent and less frequent prefixes. Subjects are asked if a certain word contains a certain Russian prefix; a longer reaction time is presumed to mean that in that particular word the prefix is harder to separate. Test items include words with two Russian prefixes, one more frequent than the other; and words are split into two sets: one where the base frequency is larger than the word frequency and the other one where the base frequency is smaller than the word frequency.

Results demonstrate that relative frequency effects do appear in Russian prefixed words. Reaction times for words where the base frequency is higher than the word frequency are lower than for words where the base frequency is lower than the word frequency. The effect appears independent of the frequency of the prefix; however, the more frequent prefix shows shorter reaction times for words that are more frequent than their bases.

These results provide cross-linguistic evidence of relative frequency effects, suggesting a universal principle of word organization. They are also compatible with a network theory of morphology (Bybee 1985, Langacker 2002, Booij 2005, Bochner 1993), where only words are units (form/meaning pairings) with frequency information associated with them.

## Gender and Adjective Agreement in Russian

Alya Asarina

MIT

**Summary.** It is proposed that Russian gender agreement is not irreducible, but is based on a combination of declension class and semantic features. Semantic type restricts where the relevant semantic features can be introduced, which results in classifying adjectives having special agreement properties.

**Background.** Traditional descriptions of Russian make reference to three grammatical genders (masculine, feminine, neuter), and three closely connected declension classes (I, II, III). While declension class is seen directly on the noun, gender is reflected on agreeing elements (e.g. adjectives).

Declension I nouns normally take masculine (or neuter) agreement, but profession-denoting nouns can occur with mixed masculine/feminine agreement when referring to women (Crockett 1976):

- (1) moja zubnoj vrach  
my-FEM dental-MASC doctor(I)  
'my [female] dentist'

Predicates and intersective adjectives generally show feminine agreement with these nouns (2a), but classifying adjectives never do (2b) (cf. Rothstein 1980):<sup>1</sup>

- (2) a. umnaja/(\*)umnyj vrach  
smart-FEM/(\*)smart-MASC doctor  
'smart doctor'  
b. zubnoj/\*zubnaja vrach  
dental-MASC/\*dental-FEM doctor  
'dentist'

### Questions.

- (3) a. What is the status of the relationship between declension class and gender?  
b. How is it that mixed gender agreement is possible?  
c. What accounts for the difference in agreement between classifying and non-classifying adjectives?

**Proposal.** These questions can be resolved by proposing that gender agreement in Russian is based not on irreducible gender features, but rather on a combination of class features (I, II, III, IV)<sup>2</sup> and semantic features (feminine, human). In the simple cases, the class I feature triggers masculine agreement, classes II and III trigger feminine agreement, and class IV triggers neuter agreement.

Suppose that for the purposes of agreement an adjective only has access to features that are present lower in the derivation. While class features are present directly on the noun (and determine its case endings), semantic features are introduced higher in the structure.

Semantic gender introduces a presupposition on individuals, and is thus of type  $\langle e, t \rangle$ , with the following denotation:

<sup>1</sup> “(\*)” is used to indicate forms that are marked in certain registers.

<sup>2</sup> We follow Corbett (1982) in treating the neuters as falling into a separate declension class (IV).



- (4)  $\llbracket \text{female} \rrbracket = \lambda x : x \text{ is female} . x$

Following (de Swart et al. 2007), we treat profession nouns as denoting capacities. Classifying adjectives combine with the noun directly, modifying the capacity (e.g. doctor  $\rightarrow$  dental doctor (dentist)). On the other hand, semantic gender can only be introduced through Predicate Modification (Heim and Kratzer 1998) after the type has been shifted to  $\langle e, t \rangle$ . The gender agreement of classifying adjectives is thus based solely on the class feature, and is therefore masculine in examples like (2b). On the other hand, the features [female], [human] and [I] together trigger feminine agreement, so that intersective adjectives in examples like (2a) show feminine agreement if the relevant semantic presuppositions have been introduced.<sup>3</sup>

Further support for the proposal regarding covert gender presuppositions is provided by the behavior of overt gender presuppositions, which must also be introduced above classifying adjectives. Any higher adjective must (in all registers) show feminine agreement:

- (5) a. umnaja/\*umnyj                      zhenshchina zubnoj                      vrach  
       smart-FEM/\*smart-MASC woman                      dental-MASC doctor(I)  
       ‘woman-dentist’  
   b. \*zubnoj/zubnaja                      zhenshchina-vrach  
       dental-MASC/dental-FEM woman-doctor(I)

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<sup>3</sup> Introducing the presuppositions is obligatory in some registers, but not others.

## ***Are there sonority reversal clusters in Slovak?***

**Zsuzsanna Bárkányi**

**HAS, Research Institute for Linguistics**

In this paper we will discuss word-initial onset clusters in Slovak whose first member is a sonorant. Henceforth, we refer to these clusters as ‘sonority reversal clusters’. Sonorant initial onset clusters are typologically marked. Slovak, however, possesses a handful of words with these conspicuous word-initial clusters. All such onsets in Slavic languages are rooted in Common Slavic #sonorant-yer-C sequences and were created by the loss of yer. So in those Slavic languages which did not react against the new clusters arising in this way we find such clusters. The situation within Slavic languages in this respect is scalar with Slovak representing a midpoint with ‘some’ word-initial clusters where sonority decreases towards the nucleus (Scheer 2007). The question for phonologists is whether the fact that there are such clusters really means that they are well formed in the language. Should the grammar of Slovak be formulated as to allow this type of clusters? Are marked and unmarked clusters equally well-formed in Slovak?

We seek to answer these questions with the help of a nonseword test in which 38 speakers judged the well-formedness of 8 sonority reversal clusters, 2 sonority plateau clusters and 8 *m* initial clusters – some of the clusters tested are actually attested in Slovak. Each cluster appeared in four testwords and each subject was tested on all testwords. Our results show that speakers reject sonority reversal clusters despite the fact that there are such clusters in the language and despite the fact that some of the tested clusters are actually attested in Slovak. This suggests that not only accidental gaps (a well-formed but unattested sequence) are allowed in a language but true exceptions as well (an ill-formed but attested sequence). The question is how this relates to the phonotactic grammar. We compared our data to two computational models: the Generalized Neighborhood Model (Bailey and Hahn 2001), an exemplar-based model and the UCLA Phonotactic Learner (Hayes and Wilson 2008), a grammatical model. On the basis of the simulations we hypothesize that gradient phonotactic judgments are the result of gradient phonotactic intuitions, which are indicative of a gradient phonotactic grammar. Although, the issue is far from settled.

Onset clusters with *m* as their first member, in some respects pattern with obstruent clusters, while in other respects, with sonority reversal clusters. We address this issue as well.

## ***Emotions – between sensations and thoughts. About categorization of emotions in Polish and Slovene***

**Agnieszka Będkowska-Kopczyk**

**University of Bielsko-Biala, Poland**

In oriental cultures, concepts such as thoughts, emotions and desires are integrated into one category, which is confirmed by the fact that they tend to be associated with the same body parts (e.g. *hara* in the Japanese culture or *wanbun* in Papua New Guinea). On the linguistic level, the same verbs express sensory, emotional and intellectual experiences simultaneously (Huang 2002, Telban 1993).

In occidental cultures, in turn, feelings and thoughts are associated with other body parts; feelings with heart, thoughts with head. This provides the basis for the following linguistic metaphors: HEART IS THE SEAT OF EMOTIONS, HEART IS THE INSTRUMENT OF THE FEELING OF EMOTIONS and HEAD IS THE SEAT OF THOUGHTS, HEAD IS THE INSTRUMENT OF THINKING. A lot of proverbs and phraseological collocations are based upon these metaphors. Looked at from another perspective, however, as R. d'Andrade (1997; 158–167) demonstrates, in a culturally conditioned mental framework, typical for the Western culture, emotions spread across such mental events as the perception of events, thinking, desires and intentions.

As the starting point of our deliberations in this paper, we hypothesise that although the occidental pattern of the world associates emotions and thoughts with other body parts, the category of EMOTIONS has fuzzy boundaries because, on the one hand, it overlaps with the category of SENSATIONS or FEELINGS (such as the feeling of pain, warmth, cold, etc.) and, on the other, it overlaps with thoughts and intentions. In order to justify this hypothesis, the author of this paper draws upon linguistic data (Polish and Slovene language material) and, on the basis of the cognitive linguistics methodology, she analyses the following:

- 1) the conceptualisation of DUSZA/DUŠA ('a soul'), which in Slavonic languages refers to a symbolic seat of both feelings and thoughts
- 2) the meaning of the verb *čutiti/czuć* ('to feel'), which can express various kinds of experiences: sensory, emotional and intellectual
- 3) the categorization of feelings on the basis of the meaning of selected prepositional phrases containing nominal emotion names.

## ***The conceptual-semantic basis of grammatical relations: the case of the Croatian predicate instrumental***

**Branimir Belaj & Goran Tanacković Faletar**

**University of Osijek, Faculty of Philosophy**

This paper starts from the assumption that morphological cases in inflectional languages do not represent semantically “empty” categories, but may each be assigned a common schematic meaning. Using the methodological apparatus of cognitive grammar, authors will propose a general schematic meaning for the Croatian instrumental case and describe one of its interesting grammatical functions, namely, its use as the nominal part of the predicate. In the first part of the paper authors will describe the meaning of the instrumental case, using the cognitive grammar notions of the *trajector*, *landmark*, *schematicity* and *specificity*. First, its meaning in relation to the nominative will be described – the case with an exclusively naming function (nominative being the case marking of the subject/trajector in a simple clause), and then in relation to other, oblique, cases. In the second part of the paper authors will explore the syntactic implications of the semantic model proposed. Using cognitive linguistic methodology, authors will explore, in particular, the function of the instrumental as the nominal part of the predicate when used in combination with different forms of the verb *biti* (*to be*), and the linking verbs *postati* (*to become*), *imenovati* (*to name*), *nazvati* (*to call*) etc. Most native speakers of Croatian seem to agree that sentences with the predicate use of the instrumental are stylistically highly marked. But it will also be shown that their stylistic markedness is judged to be a matter of degree. Such sentences are considered as the most marked when used to express present time reference (*On je predsjednikom*: ‘He is president<sub>Inst</sub>’), but the markedness seems less extreme with past or future time reference (*On je bio predsjednikom*: ‘He was president<sub>Inst</sub>’, *On će biti predsjednikom*: ‘He will be president<sub>Inst</sub>’). Competing with this marked choice of the instrumental is the stylistically neutral alternative – the use of the predicate nominal in the nominative case (*On je/je bio/će biti predsjednik*; ‘He is/was/will be president<sub>Nom</sub>’). Drawing on the semantic description of the instrumental proposed in the first part of the paper, authors will turn to the question of what makes the instrumental an eligible candidate for coding the nominal part of the predicate in the first place. It will be argued that there are compelling reasons for this, which are related to the nature of human conceptualization. However, as to the question of how the degrees of stylistic markedness of the predicate instrumental correlate with the category of time, it will be shown that the answer must be sought in the vantage point of the interlocutors, i.e. the context of use. In the third part of the paper authors shall provide the same kind of analysis of the case of the instrumental-accusative competition as exemplified in *Imenovali su ga za ravnatelja/ravnateljem*: ‘They appointed him for manager<sub>Acc</sub>/...him manager<sub>Inst</sub>’, *Proglasit će ga za pobjednika/pobjednikom*: ‘They are going to proclaim him for victor<sub>Acc</sub>/...him victor<sub>Inst</sub>’ etc. In such cases, too, the instrumental represents the stylistically marked alternative compared to the unmarked accusative (where the latter belongs to the semantic subgroup of the accusative of purpose). It will be shown that, here too, the occurrence of the instrumental as the marked alternative is motivated by some components of its general meaning, i.e. by the nature of human conceptualization. All of these results converge on a single general conclusion, viz that the syntactic function of the instrumental described in the paper rests on solid semantic foundations.

# ***Systemic Subject-Verb Inversion in Romance (Western) and Slovene***

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## **Introduction**

The Article discusses a linguistic phenomenon known under the name of subject inversion (SI) where only syntactic or lexical conditions play a role. The languages taken in consideration are mostly Western Romance and Slovene.

So called **Subject Inversion (SI)** is a common linguistic term that is used for a linear word order represented as a sequence of VS or AuxS in traditional descriptive grammars as well as in different types of functional or generative grammars, including optimality theory.

SI refers to a “change of linear positions” of subject and the verb in a sentence, in a Parameter-and-Principles Approach this change of position is conveyed by a verb movement past the subject to the hierarchically higher position, or by means of moving verbal-features to the appropriated hierarchical position where these could be checked in a Minimalist Approach.

Languages within this paper exhibit the agreement of features between the subject and the predicate, subject and predicate being in an universal configurational relation defined as “head-specifier” or “argument-predicate” relation, where the specifier as a recipient of the agreement-features has to c-command the head, an assigner of the features. The relation of feature-agreement is spelled out overtly (in the phonological form) when the subject linearly precedes the verb, but not always when it follows the verb (finite form). In this case the agreement of features is the generic or minimal one (usually in the features of masculine/neuter and singular), satisfying the minimal conditions. In Slovene, the agreement between subject and corresponding finite verb(al form) is always present, in some of Romance languages, special cases have been reported where the postverbal subject do not need to agree with the finite verb. If the subject is a complex NP with the head represented by the quantifier, the agreement is a minimal one.

Let us have a more close look within the set of corresponding examples.

## **Empirical evidences**

French / Slovene:

A) pronominal inversion:

Yes/No interrogatives and ‘inversed’ conditional sentences:

*Avez- vous du feu?*

*Do you have a light?* (SL ‘*Imate (vi) ogenj.*’)

*As- tu été contacté? Have you been contacted?* (SL ‘*So te (oni) poklicali.*’)

*M’en aurait- il proposé un million, je ne lui aurait pas vendu ce souvenir de famille.*

*Even if he proposed to give me a million, I wouldn’t have sold him this family treasure.* (SL ‘*Četudi bi mi jih (ON) ponudil (on) milijon (tj. evrov), mu ne bi prodal tega družinskega spomin(k)a.*’)

B) nominal inversion:

*Quand part le prochain train pour Paris?*

*When runs the next train for Paris?/When does the next train for Paris run?* (SL ‘*Kdaj pelje naslednji vlak v Pariz.*’)

*Dans ce camps de fortune avaient réussi à trouver refuge plusieurs milliers de sinistrés. In this*

*(concentration) camp many thousands of refugees have found shelter.* (SL ‘V tem taborišču je uspelo najti zatočišče več tisoč(em) prizadetih.’)

Translated examples (SL) into Slovene confirm the same statement as French ones, with exception for the linearly non-expressed subject, position of which could be posited and confirmed in other frameworks, except for the S. Dik’s or similar Functional Grammar approach.

(3) A variety of inversion possibilities in the discussed languages:

One of the theoretical premises has to start from the study of the sentence constituent structure – derived from the verbal lexical or syntactic structure where the subject inversion occurs in the languages such as French, Spanish, Portuguese or Slovene: for example – interrogative matrix wh-clauses (where inversion occurs in all its types: nominal, pronominal or complex – in French) or in embedded wh-clause (where inversion occurs only in its nominal version in French) or in Y/N-questions (where it occurs only in its pronominal or complex version in French), in non-interrogative sentences SI occurs especially within un-accusative verbal paradigm, within the postponed ‘saying-verb/VP’ announcing the reported-speech (where in French only pronominal or nominal inversion occurs), in postponed matrix clause to the temporal, final or concessive – where subject inversion can occur in both clauses – if the verb included is the un-accusative or the similar, in comparative clauses and in juxtaposed, postponed (matrix to the conditional) or in ordinary conditional clauses, in the affirmative sentences, introduced by some type of (sentential) adverbial. In addition, except for the interrogatives, SI is present in all un-accusative contexts.

## A unaccusative context

Usual un-accusative contexts include: verbs of changing the state (physical, psychical, chemical; visual; discreet or non-discreet such as existence and non-existence; position-location etc.). Semantically speaking, most of these contexts of SI exclude the subjects with the role of actors. Some of the syntactic contexts, involving subject inversion are yet not the systemic ones: ex. pragmatically, prosodically or stylistically conditioned inversions, such as frontings, left-dislocations, relative clauses, mentioned in Bonami, Godard in Marandin – BGM (1999); some of them are triggered by lexical or formal characteristics of constituents (i.e. heavy subject). Transitive verbal/sentential paradigm is weird with the subject inversion in ‘common’ Spanish (word order VSO or VSPP, in spite of the claims that this order should be an underlying one in the course of change into the nowadays commonly claimed SVO as a canonical word order). Generation of the canonical word order common to all discussed languages is sometimes argued to be connected with the EPP condition (Bravo 2007), Zubizarreta (1998), Ordóñez and Treviño (1999), Goodalla (2001), Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998), Groos and Bok-Bennema (1986)), which should be active in Spanish. More or less, the arguments in favour of one or another position is connected with the (prosodically or pragmatically) marked word order.

## Some restrictions

Portuguese case is a bit special in interrogative (wh-) clauses. Where all other discussed languages would normally use a default case of the word order (SVO), Portuguese sticks with the ‘inversed subject’. It looks like the subject inversion is not a special case of the word order and the constituent positioning, it is rather a former generalized and simpler case of a canonical case for the common word order, where one would suggest that the nowadays default or canonical word order is historically derived one. The conclusion is not so obvious

or simple. Both word orders are rather better understood as some kind of language reply to satisfy economical conditions of language expression that should be understood by a hearer, and not applying more than necessary means of ‘word order’ variants where some constituents may play various roles in various syntactico-semantic contexts (acting as poles, specifiers, redundancy markers etc.) – Grice maxims and Occam’s Razor principles etc.

There are some varieties in the obligatoriness of the use of pronominal subjects among the non-pro-drop languages (here: Slovene, Spanish or Portuguese), but in Generative Grammar approaches this doesn’t play crucial role to confirm the position of empty subjects (pro’s etc.).

## ***Is the Serbian bare NP really bare?***

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My main assumption is that the capability of Serbian noun phrase to express definite reading is an evidence of existing DP-projection in this language. My other presumption is that in cases where “bare” NPs receive definite reading, we actually witness the occurrence of the DP headed by empty determiner.

In order to prove these hypotheses I am applying the method of contrastive analysis. I am examining the structure and the semantics of Serbian (Progovac 1998, Zlatić 1998) and Hungarian noun phrases (e.g. Szabolcsi 1983; 1992, Kiss 1995) in order to identify their structural differences and similarities. Subsequently I am presenting semantic and syntactic evidences which prove that (i) Serbian indeed projects the determiner phrase (Progovac 1998) and (ii) occasionally the head of this functional projection is occupied by an empty determiner.

These are some of the facts which came up during the analysis:

(i) the apparently bare noun phrase receives either generic or partitive interpretation; moreover, it looks as if definite reading were possible too. Such interpretations are always linked to DPs, but never to bare NPs.

(ii) There is strong syntactic evidence in favor of Serbian empty determiner: only the existence of an empty determiner explains the ability of the “bare” NP to appear in the topic position.

(iii) It can be proven that this empty determiner carries person properties.

In the course of my analysis I am taking a look at the traditional classification of Serbian determiners (Ivić 1964/1983, Radovanović 1972, Zec and Kojen 1981, Kordić 1992) too. This step has dual aim: to locate the empty determiner, and to suggest an alternative, revisited classification. The revisited classification of Serbian determiners entails a new proposal on the structure of Serbian noun phrase, i.e. DP.



# *Empirical evidence for the functional determiner projection in Croatian*

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A common view in generative literature seems to be that there are good reasons to assume in addition to a lexical layer also a functional projection layer for nominal phrases. Since the formulation of the DP-hypothesis (Abney 1987) it is also assumed that this functional layer includes the determiner (D) category. While the D category is a category mainly motivated on syntactic grounds, i.e. one that subsumes different lexical classes (and subclasses), various researchers engaged in the debate whether the D category can be motivated or argued for in languages without an overt article system, closely linking it to this particular lexical class only. In particular with respect to Croatian, there are various opinions about the motivation for the assumption of a D category (Progovac 1995, Leko 1999, Aljović 2002), and some strong claims are made about the lack of empirical evidence for it in this particular case (Zlatić 1997, Bošković 2004).

While the direct transfer of the empirical arguments from English and other Germanic languages to Croatian and other Slavic languages often is problematic, there remains enough empirical evidence for the assumption of a syntactic category of the D type, that subsumes the same set of lexical classes found in the respective Germanic languages, with articles missing in the lexical base, and thus also in the syntactically motivated D category.

In this presentation we discuss some empirical facts of Croatian, which support the assumption that even in a language without lexical articles the D category is well motivated.

Among the empirical data we discuss verbs that impose specific restrictions on their arguments. For example the verb *misliti* (“to think”) has various constituent selection (c-selection) properties, where it either requires a clausal complement as in (1a), or a prepositional phrase complement (1b).

- (6) a. Ivan misli [ da će Marija sutra stići ]  
I. thinks that will M. tomorrow arrive  
b. Mislim o ljubavi.  
think about love

On the other hand, the subcategorization frame of verbs like *misliti* also licenses constructions as in (2), where obviously demonstratives and quantifiers can head syntactic constructions that satisfy the verbal subcat restrictions, while bare nouns for example cannot.

- (7) a. Mislim to.  
think this  
b. Mislim nešto.  
think something  
c. Mislim sve to.  
think all that  
d. Ništa ne mislim.  
nothing not think

### 3. Abstracts

We argue that these structures are best described as projections of D categories, and that in fact the selection restriction excludes other nominal categories. We support the assumption of a functional category D in Croatian with further empirical evidence and theoretical considerations.

# Decomposed PPs and Case

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This paper proposes a minimalist analysis of case in Czech prepositional phrases. Specifically, it proposes that in addition to the standardly assumed locative and directional projection, prepositional phrases also contain Tense-head, which bears a valued Tense-feature and unvalued  $\varphi$ -features and is responsible for the case assignment. From the syntactic point of view, case on the prepositional complement is a reflex of the operation Agree between Tense-features and  $\varphi$ -features on the prepositional complement and the Tense-head. From the semantic point of view, case on the prepositional complement is a reflex of semantic features of the particular projections of the decomposed preposition.

It is a well-known fact that certain prepositions can assign only one case, as shown in example (1), whereas other prepositions can assign more cases, as shown in (2) and (3). Example (2) shows the instrumental/accusative alternation and (3) the locative/accusative alternation. In the case of prepositions assigning two cases, the different cases typically express the difference between the stative meaning, as in examples (2a) and (3a), and the dynamic meaning, as in examples (2b) and (3b).

- (1)    od + gen    do + gen    z + gen    u + gen    k + dat    přes + acc    při + loc  
         from        to           out        at           toward    across        at
- (2)    a.    mezi     / nad     / pod     / před        / za        bedn-ami  
             between above    under    in front of    behind box-inst.pl  
          b.    mezi     / nad     / pod     / před        / za        bedn-y  
             between above    under    in front of    behind box-acc.pl
- (3)    a.    po     / na / o        dom-ě  
             along / on / about house-loc.sg  
          b.    po     / na / o        dům  
             along / on    about house-acc.sg

Czech also has complex prepositions, as demonstrated in example (4). The preposition *za* assigns instrumental and accusative and the same holds for *pod*. Since the preposition *z(e)* assigns genitive and the prepositional complements are marked by genitive, the example shows that in the case of complex prepositions, case is assigned by the leftmost (highest) preposition.

- (4)    a.    ze-za        stol-u  
             out-behind table-gen.sg  
             ‘from behind the table’  
          b.    z-pod        stol-u  
             out-under table-gen.sg  
             ‘from under the table’

In the case of adverbial prepositional phrases, case is also determined by the higher preposition, as demonstrated by example (5), with case endings of the paradigm *hrad* ‘castle’. The preposition *před* assigns instrumental and accusative and for example *do* assigns genitive. Thus, (5c) shows that case is assigned by the preposition *do* and not by *před*.

- (5)    a.    ve-před-u

### 3. Abstracts

- in-in.front.of-loc.sg  
'in the front'
- b. ku-před-u  
toward-in.front.of-dat.sg  
'forward'
- c. do-před-u  
to-in.front.of-gen.sg  
'forward'
- d. na-před  
on-in.front.of.acc.sg  
'ahead'

Example (5) and the following example demonstrate that the prepositional case can be spelled out on different categories, for example, on a preposition (5), on a noun, as in (6a), on an adjective, as in (6b), and on an adverb, as in (6c).

- (6)
- a. do Prah-y  
to Prague-gen.sg  
'to Prague'
  - b. z-říd-k-a  
out-rare-gen.sg  
'seldom'
  - c. z-tam-a  
out-there-gen.sg  
'from there'

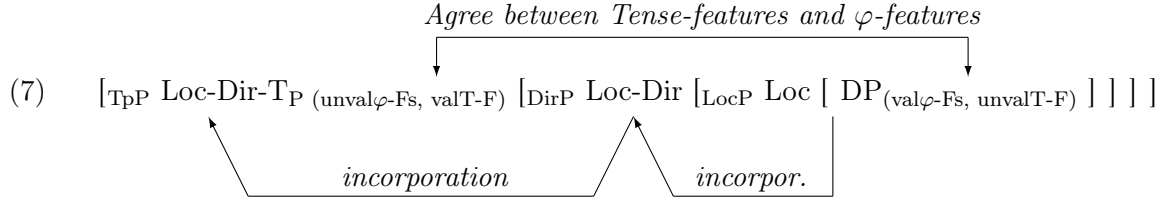
I make the standard assumption that there is a mapping between syntax and semantics so that prepositional phrases can be decomposed into the directional phrase, which encodes the directional (dynamic) meaning, and the locative phrase, which encodes the locative (stative) meaning. When a simple preposition has the locative meaning, as in (2a) and (3a), only the locative head projects and the preposition assigns the locative case. When the preposition has the directional meaning, the directional head projects as well and the preposition assigns the directional case because the directional head is higher than the locative head in the prepositional structure.

Thus, the case-assigning head(s) should somehow know whether or not the directional head projects. It seems that the locative and directional head cannot be the case-assigning heads because in such a case the directional head should assign case exactly when the locative head does not assign case and the locative head should assign case when the directional head does not project. This, however, poses the look-ahead problem because given the derivational approach the locative head does not know whether or not the directional head will be merged in the structure. Another problem is that, given that the locative head always projects, it is not clear why in certain cases the locative head could assign case and in other cases could not.

Therefore, I propose that case is assigned by a higher head, which can see all the relevant information, concretely, by Tense-head with the valued Tense-feature and unvalued  $\varphi$ -features. I extend Pesetsky & Torrego's analysis (2004, 2006) and propose that all cases are unvalued Tense-feature on the head D. This has the advantage that all cases are treated uniformly as an operation Agree between Tense-features and  $\varphi$ -features of the probe and goal. Another advantage is that the Tense-feature on the prepositional Tense-head can account for the

relation between the prepositional case, the morphological aspect and the definiteness effects of the perfective structural accusative (not discussed here).

The directional case or the locative case is not identical for all prepositions, as shown by data in (1)-(3). This means that Tense-head must get the information which case it should assign. This is ensured by incorporation of the locative head and the directional head (if it projects) into the Tense-head. Consequently, the case-assignment process in a directional preposition works as shown in (7) (only relevant projections are shown here).



Example (6a) shows that if the prepositional complement agrees with the Tense-head and is overt, it bears the case ending. The prepositional complement can also be covert, as demonstrated by example (5) and (6b,c). Since case is a reflex of the Agree operation between  $\varphi$ -features (and T-features), there must be a covert noun in the relevant examples and case is valued in accordance with its  $\varphi$ -features. Concretely, in (5), there is a covert noun of the paradigm *hrad* ‘castle’ and in (6b,c) there is a covert noun of the paradigm *město* ‘city’.

Case then is spelled out in accordance with the syntactic structure, i.e., on the closest overt element. This means that if there is no modifier in DP, case is spelled out on the preposition because it is the closest overt element, as shown for the adverbial prepositional phrase *dopředu* in the simplified structure (8a). If a modifier is present in DP, e.g. an adjective, case is spelled out on the adjective because it is the closest overt element, as shown for the adverbial prepositional phrase *zřídka* in (8b). Similarly, if the modifier is an adverb, as in *ztama* in (6c), case is spelled out on the adverb, as shown in (8c).

- (8) a.  $[_{TpP} \text{ T}_P [_{DirP} \text{ do } [_{LocP} \text{ před } [_{DP} \text{ -u } ] ] ] ]$   
 b.  $[_{TpP} \text{ T}_P [_{DirP} \text{ z } [_{LocP} \text{ z } [_{DP} [ \text{řídka} ] \text{ -a } ] ] ] ]$   
 c.  $[_{TpP} \text{ T}_P [_{DirP} \text{ z } [_{LocP} \text{ z } [_{DP} [ \text{tam} ] \text{ -a } ] ] ] ]$

Regarding case and the meaning of prepositions, I propose that case is not determined by particular prepositions but rather by their particular submeanings, i.e. by the heads with appropriate features incorporated into the Tense-head. Since all source prepositions assign genitive, I propose that in this case the directional head bears a source-feature and when it incorporates into the Tense-head, the head values the unvalued Tense-feature on the prepositional complement as genitive. Directional prepositions with the goal meaning mostly assign accusative. Thus, if the directional head with the goal-feature incorporates into the Tense-head, the head values the unvalued Tense-feature on the prepositional complement as accusative. But there are also goal prepositions like *do* and *k*, which assign genitive and dative, respectively. *Do* differs from other goal prepositions in the fact that the Figure argument ends in the Ground, hence I assume that *do* also bears a contain-feature. Then, when the locative and directional head with the contain-feature and the goal-feature incorporate into the Tense-head, the head values the prepositional complement as genitive. As for the dative goal preposition *k*, the directional head bears an oriented-feature because the Figure argument is oriented wrt. the non-oriented Ground. Consequently, the goal-feature and the oriented-feature incorporated into the Tense-head bring about dative.

## ***Are languages named after peoples or places? Word-formation of language names in Slavic languages***

**Wayles Browne**

**Cornell University**

In Slavic languages, the name of one or another language is nearly always an adjective made with the *-sk* suffix or an adverb derived from the adjective (*russskij jazyk* = adjective, *porusski* = derived adverb). True nouns as language-names are rare (Russian *latyn'* 'Latin', Polish *greka* 'Greek') except in a minority of the languages which have more or less productive derivation of nouns from the language adjectives (Polish *polski* > *polszczyzna*, Czech *český* > *čeština*, *hindský* > *hindština* 'Hindi' etc., Slovenian *slovenski* > *slovenščina*, *hindijski* > *hindijščina* etc.).

In the majority of instances, the adjectival language name—in Slavic languages as well as in English—can be equally easily derived from a noun naming the group who speaks it and from the place where it is spoken. Thus *Karelian* can be from *Karelians* (the people) or from *Karelia* (the location). In Croatian, *mađarski* 'Hungarian' could be derived directly from *Mađar* 'a Hungarian' by adding the adjective suffix *-ski*, or from the name of the country *Mađarska* 'Hungary' by changing the feminine-gender suffix *-ska* to *-ski*. The Croatian language name *albanski* 'Albanian' can be derived with equal ease—or difficulty—by dropping one suffix *-ac* from *Albanac* 'an Albanian' or by dropping another suffix *-ija* from *Albanija* 'Albania'.

But instances exist where the language name (or linguonym, in Duličenko 1978's terminology) is easy to derive from the name of the nationality (ethnonym) and not at all from the name of the country or other location (toponym). Thus, in English, *Danish* is from *Dane* and clearly not from *Denmark* with its differing vowel. The same relationship is mirrored in Polish: *duński* 'Danish' is straightforwardly derivable from *Duńczyk* 'a Dane' and not from the country name *Dania* 'Denmark'. Perhaps based on such instances, scholars have claimed that it is natural to derive a language name from the speakers, rather than from its country.

In the most frequent situation, there exists only one derived adjective and, no matter what its morphology suggests, it refers equally to the country and to the language and other cultural phenomena. Thus Polish, like English, says both *paszport duński* (*duński paszport*) 'Danish passport' for a document from the Kingdom of Denmark and *język duński, literatura duńska* for 'Danish language/literature'. Much rarer, but instructive, are cases where there are two differentiated adjectives. Russian *latvijskij* is morphologically derived from *Latvija*, the country, while *latyšskij* is from *latyš* 'a Latvian'. Then we distinguish *latvijskij pasport* and *latyšskij jazyk, latyšskaja literatura*. This example, like *germanskij* < *Germanija* vs. *nemeckij (jazyk)* < *nemec* 'a German', supports the claim "linguonym < ethnonym".

However, this cannot be a universally valid conclusion. We find other instances in which the language name comes morphologically from the country and not so easily from the people. Thus, in English, despite the relationship *Finnish* < *Finn* rather than < the country *Finland* and *Polish* < *Pole* rather than < *Poland*, we cannot generalize about *-land* country names. *-land* is kept when we make linguonyms *Icelandic* and *Greenlandic* from the countries *Iceland* and *Greenland*; it is more difficult to derive these from the ethnonyms *Icelander* and *Greenlander*. German *polnisch* with its *n* reveals itself to be from *Polen*, the country, rather than from *der Pole*, the person.

As a Slavic example, the Polish adjective *łotewski* 'Latvian' applies equally to the *paszport* and the *język*, but is derived morphologically from the country *Łotwa* and not the inhabitant *Łotysz*. Similarly Russian *čukotskij* 'Chukchee' is more directly derived from the region

*Čukotka* than from the ethnic name *čukča*.

A potentially large number of adjective < country cases exist in Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian, depending on how we decide to relate adjectival country names like *Danska* 'Denmark' and the corresponding adjectives *danski* 'Danish'. Do we drop *-ska* and add *-ski* (1 or 2 derivational steps), or do we change nothing apart from gender endings (zero derivational steps)?

In the data sets accompanying the paper, we have avoided this dilemma by applying the criterion "degree of similarity" rather than counting derivational steps. Thus *danski* is more similar to *Danska* than it is to *Danac* 'a Dane' with the extra morpheme *-ac*, while *hrvatski* 'Croatian' (given that every adjective has *-ski*) counts as equidistant from *Hrvatska* 'Croatia' and from *Hrvat* 'a Croat(ian)'.

Even very closely related languages can differ in the placement of a linguonym. In Croatian, *slovenski* 'Slovenian' is equidistant from *Slovenija* and the inhabitant *Slovenac*, while Serbian *slovenački* shares a morpheme with *Slovenac* that is not present in *Slovenija*.

A further rare but interesting case has greater similarity between the country name and the ethnonym than between either and the linguonym, e.g. Bulgarian *Francija* 'France', *Francuzin* 'Frenchman', but *frenski* 'French'.

## ***Croatian language corpus as basis for the analysis of the impact of changes on the shaping of the Croatian standard language***

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Processes of forming individual standard languages are based on defining relationships between intralinguistic (genetical and structural) and historical and cultural properties, and from the synchronic point of view we look at standard languages within the South Slavic linguistic world. In that context, only standard languages as concrete and hierarchically most highly ranked inorganic dialects can be studied and compared between each other as relevant and equivalent sociolinguistical categories. All standard Slavic languages, as well as standard Croatian, are systematic, explicitly standardized by grammar rules and lexical items, and have a special role in the society and public communication. Basic characteristics of a standard language are autonomy, conscious standardization, multifunctionality and stability in space and elastic stability in time. Affirmation of complete standardization, in other words determination of individuality of Croatian standard language as a common language of a certain community demands scientific study of characteristics and functions which were reflected on the structure and concrete sociolinguistical indicators of development of Croatian language.

The Croatian Language Corpus is a sub-corpus of the standard language at the Croatian Language Repository, the complete language corpus that is being compiled at the Institute of Croatian Language and Linguistics. The written sources analyzed in the corpus are publicly available on the Institute's web page and have been purposefully collected to create a source of complete language heritage of the Croatian standard language and thus enable various linguistic researches. The sources include literary works from the period between the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the final phase of the shaping of the standard language took place, and today. The traditional textual research so far has shown that the works of certain Croatian writers from the end of 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century were altered in their later 20<sup>th</sup>-century editions for non-linguistic reasons, and not only on orthographic level, which would be the only acceptable one. Based on the written sources of the corpus which continuously covers development of language, one can study relationships and development of morphological, syntactical and lexical characteristics that show superstructure of dialectal neo-štokavian base on the mentioned level of multifunctionality and polycentricity of a standard language. One of the reasons for that being so is the fact that the Croatian literary word has from its very beginning gone through the absurd process of text editing, having no similar examples in other Slavic languages. While all other texts/works from pre-standard period were published in their original form, the literature created in the early standard phase was violently edited and subjected to štokavian dialect which is not the original base for Croatian standardization. The process of editing was carried out especially under the influence of Croatian followers of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the same pattern was continued in the later social and political circumstances. The Croatian Language Corpus therefore obligatory includes the first editions (or the latest author's versions of manuscripts) of the books that are crucial for the study of standardization. Those versions can then be compared with "forgeries" in later editions.

Digitized texts and computer programmes enable a precise comparison of the different text versions and this paper will deal with the analysis of several literary works published at various times. The goal of this paper is to show the advantages of the automated display of



spotted changes, using computer and corpus tools, to analyze those changes on orthographic and stylistic levels in detail and especially on the grammatical levels of morphology, syntax and lexical choice. Our aim is to explain the sociolinguistic aspects of the impact they have had on the shaping of the Croatian standard language at different phases.

## *Genitives and Classificatory Adjectives as Typing Attributes*

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This paper deals with the mutual distribution of Classificatory Adjectives (ClassAs) and Genitive satellites (GenPs) in Polish nominals. Though often claimed to be confined to a unique postnominal position within NP (Rutkowski and Progovac 2005, Rutkowski 2007), ClassAs may occupy a prenominal position in the presence of a GenP in the same NP:

- (1) a. *neolityczne* narzędzie **pracy**  
Neolithic<sub>CLASSA</sub> tool work<sub>GENP</sub>  
b. \*narzędzie *neolityczne* **pracy**  
c. \*narzędzie **pracy** *neolityczne*  
'a Neolithic (work) tool'

Intriguingly, not all NPs hosting ClassA+GenP exhibit the same strict word order, and the optional placement of ClassAs either pre- or post-N is often attested:

- (2) a. *dziennie* zużycie **wody**  
daily<sub>CLASSA</sub> consumption water<sub>GENP</sub>  
b. zużycie *dziennie* **wody**  
c. \*zużycie **wody** *dziennie*  
'everyday consumption of water' / 'everyday water consumption'

To account for the contrast in (1) and (2) we adopt the distinction between different kinds of GenPs proposed for Russian in (Trugman 2004a;b). Specifically, we distinguish between argument GenPs and Type Genitives, which are semantically analogous to other modifiers of N denoting the *typing attribute* of N. This fine classification of GenPs coupled with the representational approach towards ClassAs in Polish NPs advanced in Cetnarowska et al. (to appear) (CP&T) allows to account for seemingly contradictory distribution of GenPs and ClassAs in Polish NPs. For instance, GenP **pracy** in (1) is analyzed as a Type Genitive (TypeGen) denoting the *typing attribute* of N; while GenP **wody** in (2) is ambiguous between a TypeGen and an internal argument of N. Consequently, the GenP can be non-adjacent in (2b), but not in (1b). Consider another example in (3), wherein an argumental GenP follows a ClassA *koncertowe*:

- (3) nagranie *koncertowe* **improwizacji** **fortepianowych**  
recording concert<sub>CLASSA</sub> impromptu<sub>GENP</sub> piano<sub>CLASSA.GEN</sub>  
(z festiwalu w Dusznikach)  
(from festival in Duszniki)  
'concert recording of piano impromptus from a festival in Duszniki'

The same ambiguity is attested with GenPs realizing external arguments and possessors of Ns, which is demonstrated in (4):

- (4) a. *galowy mundur admirała*  
 b. *mundur galowy admirała*  
 c. \**mundur admirała galowy*  
 ‘the Admiral’s parade uniform’ / ‘an Admiral(’s) parade uniform’

The ClassA together with the GenP in (4) can be both interpreted as denoting the type of the uniform. Alternatively, the GenP can denote the referential possessor of the uniform, some specific admiral. Note the same ambiguity exhibited by the possessive forms in English:

- (5) a. her rear admiral’s parade uniform  
 b. Naval Admirals’ and Generals’ Victory Parade uniforms  
 c. the black winter Admiral parade cap

While in (5a) the possessive pronoun *her* denotes the referential possessor of the uniform, the GenP *rear admiral’s* specifies the type of her uniform together with a noun modifier *parade*. (5b) and (5c) further support the non-referential nature of TypeGens: they freely alternate between a singular possessive (5a), plural possessive (5b), or ClassA (5c).

As argued in CP&T (*ibid.*), Polish ClassAs are found both in pre- and post-N position depending on a number of semantic factors. Hence they may compete with TypeGens for the postnominal position, especially when they cannot get classificatory interpretation in pre-N. We claim that the conflict resolution is semantically driven and grounded in the semantic hierarchy of modifiers (Bouchard 1998, Scott 2002, Pereltsvaig 2007), which precludes (1b) and (4c) in neutral contexts. However, semantic hierarchy is not sufficient to exclude (1c) and (2c), which comply with the hierarchy, yet are ungrammatical. We argue that their ungrammaticality follows from the inability of ClassAs to form ‘tight units’ (proposed in CP&T (*ibid.*)) across GenPs.

Such an approach to modifier distribution coupled with a more refined classification of GenPs in Polish will be shown to account for a wide sample of data in a rather parsimonious way.

## ***Non-canonical feature specifications in Slavonic and Baltic***

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Concentrating on a particular family of languages, like Slavonic, can bring advantages. For instance, closely related languages act like a laboratory, providing variation while maintaining some key factors constant. Conversely, it is also helpful to have an outside perspective, to gauge the extent to which these languages are unexceptional and – more interestingly – the ways in which they are remarkable.

A means of calibrating differences is the Canonical Approach to typology. A short account can be found in Corbett (2007) and an extended treatment in Corbett (2006). In brief, we take definitions to their logical end point, and this enables us to build theoretical spaces of possibilities. Only then do we investigate how this space is populated with real instances. Canonical instances are those that match the canon: they are the best, clearest, the indisputable ones. Given that they have to match up to a logically determined standard, they are unlikely to be frequent. They are more likely to be rare, and may even be non-existent. A working bibliography of this growing body of research can be found at <http://www.surrey.ac.uk/LIS/SMG/CanonicalTypology/index.htm>

The analogy of the cardinal vowels may be helpful. Given the observation that vowels may be more or less front, and more or less close, we may set up the extreme points in the space. This is a useful measure, irrespective of whether a given language has a particular cardinal vowel. There is a practical point to canonicity: since the examples nearest to canonical are those which are ‘indisputable’, when defining a canonical use of a term we should be able to assume it covers the canonical core; in the ideal scenario, differences in use of terms can be specified in terms of how far out from the canonical point different researchers allow particular terms to apply.

Turning then to morphosyntactic features, I have characterized canonical morphosyntactic features and values in terms of two overarching principles. The key ideas are that canonical features have robust formal marking and are manipulated or constrained by simple rules of syntax. These two umbrella principles cover ten converging criteria, and weakenings of the criteria define a space for situating features that are ‘less good’, arguable or marginal, and for systematizing various earlier observations in the literature, some of which can be traced back to Zaliznjak’s seminal paper (1973).

I will summarize this research briefly, and then go on to the issue of newer morphosyntactic criteria, each of which in different ways could be seen as exemplifying the notion of simple syntax. In a nutshell, in the canonical situation rules of agreement and government involve: a statement of the controller or governor’s requirement, the domain of the rule, and no more than that. When we look at Slavonic morphosyntax, it is striking that a good deal of it is actually canonical in this respect (this is an unusual result compared with most investigations based on canonicity). And yet there are also fascinating instances of non-canonical behaviour: some of which are so familiar to us as Slavists that we have almost stopped noticing them, and some of which are less well known.

I will offer examples of the following non-canonical behaviours (and will be delighted to learn of further instances):

1. the government requirement of a controller is affected by its own case value
2. the government requirement of a controller is affected by a different feature (this repre-

sents a non-canonical interaction of features)

3. agreement is affected by the part of speech of the target
4. government is affected by the part of speech of the controllee.
5. lexical items show idiosyncratic contextual specification (when governed, they partially determine their own case).

Stated like this, the ‘deviations’ sound exotic, and in a sense they are. As we shall see, some are indeed instances we are all familiar with. As a striking comparison, I will also outline data from Latvian, which show highly non-canonical interaction of features within morphosyntax.

Besides the specific conclusions from the data, I hope to demonstrate the value of working within the Slavonic family, the importance of taking a broader perspective at intervals, and the value of Canonical Typology for doing so.

## ***Definite article in Macedonian – Second language acquisition perspective***

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The definite article is a grammatical exponent of the grammatical category of definiteness. Its presence in Macedonian is a result of language contact in the Balkans, and it is a product of interference from non-Slavic Balkan languages, through bilingual and polylingual situations. The definite article in Macedonian is postpositive, like in Romanian dialects, Bulgarian and Albanian.

In this paper, the formal exponents will be presented, and the meanings of the articles will be discussed, proximate and distance forms concerning the tripartite distinction (there is a three-way opposition, corresponding to the demonstratives in Macedonian) which is specific for Macedonian only – the only Slavonic standard language with a three-way opposition.

How can we make the acquisition of these articles easier for non-native speakers? The survey of textbooks of Macedonian as second language (L2) will show the way basic rules are presented: the form of the definite noun/adjective, the position of the article in the noun phrase, and so on. Possible rules according to the syntactic use of definite / indefinite noun forms will be discussed: if it is a subject in the sentence the definite form is used, if the noun is a part of a predicate the indefinite form is used, etc.

Attention will be paid on some aspects of the use of the article which cannot be formed as rules, because of its subjective nature.

# ***Ditransitive verbs in spoken and written Czech***

## **Radek Čech**

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The paper is focused on a corpus-based analysis of Czech ditransitive verbs. The methodology presented by Mukherjee (2005) is followed, which means that formal characteristics of ditransitive constructions are defined as a parsing scheme for the identification of all verbs that occur under the definition of ditransitivity. The formal characteristics of ditransitivity are defined as follows: a verb is assigned as ditransitive, if it requires a subject, a direct object (accusative), and an indirect object (dative) for a complete syntactic complementation, all objects have to be realized as noun phrases. If a verb is attested in this form of the ditransitive complementation, other forms of complementation (infinitive verb, clause) are also considered.

The analysis is based on a usage-based theoretical framework (Bybee and Hopper 2001b). It means that the only language in actual use in authentic discourse contexts is a material for linguistic study. Therefore, two Czech corpora have been used: the Prague Dependency Treebank 2.0 (Hajič et al. 2006) and the Prague Spoken Corpus (2001).

There are three main goals of the presented paper: (1) to detect verbs which have strong tendency to occur in ditransitive constructions; (2) to compare ditransitivity with regard to data character (spoken versus written); (3) to test the Transitivity Hypothesis (Hopper and Thompson 1980, Thompson and Hopper 2001) with regard to ditransitivity. As for the latest, the Transitivity Hypothesis predicts the character of clauses with ditransitive verbs with respect to different grammatical categories (e.g., aspect, verb semantics, mode of verb, object property).

Czech National Corpus – PMK. Institute of the Czech National Corpus, Praha 2001. Accessible at WWW: <http://www.korpus.cz>.

## ***Sibilant inventory and the realization of vowels: A study of the dialects of Pag***

**Małgorzata E. Čavar & Antonio Oštarić**

**University of Zadar**

The current decade has been marked by a revived interest in the phonetic grounding of phonology (Hume and Johnson 2001, Hayes et al. 2004, Flemming 2002, Boersma 1998, Padgett 2001; and many others). One issue is the influence of small phonetic detail on the shaping of the overall inventory of contrasts. Research has been done on the modeling of contrast development, given the nature of the phonetic distinction between the contrasting consonants, e.g. Boersma and Hamann (2008). Our research question concerns the fate of the rest of the phonemic system once one contrast threatens to collapse or is lost. The research concentrates on the dialects of the island of Pag, since in a small geographic distance a number of similar and genetically related yet distinct phonological systems can be investigated and compared. All of them belong to the Čakavian ikavsko-ekavski dialect (Moguš 1977, Lukežić 1990, Vranić 2002).

Our starting point is the realization of the reflexes of the standard Croatian distinction between prepalatal and the other posterior affricate series, namely, orthographic /ć/ and /č/, and, on the other hand, between /đ/ and /dž/. We acoustically analyze the phonetic realizations in two communities on Pag island. In the first community, in town Pag, the contrast is impressionistically not realized (cf. Houtzagers 1987, Vranić 2002: 68–83), in the other, Kolan, the contrast is preserved (Vranić 2002: 95–107). Interestingly, the realizations are distinct from the realizations typical for other Croatian dialects (cf. Vranić 2002: 99). Further, we check the influence of the preservation or loss of the contrast on the other elements of the systems, in particular, the realization of high front vowels. The reason why high front vowels have been chosen for the investigation is the following. High front vowels are articulated with a tongue position similar to that of palatal consonants and giving similar acoustic effects. Consequently, these two types of sounds cross-linguistically tend to interact with each other in one of two ways: (a) forcing co-occurrence as an effect of articulatory assimilation (Flemming 1995, Hume 1992), or (b) banning co-occurrence (Ohala 1990; 1992, Kawasaki 1982). We investigate whether any of these phonetic tendencies is present and what phonological conditions induce the particular type of the vowel-consonant interaction.

Apart from the theoretical relevance, the study is meant to contribute to a detailed basic phonetic description of the discussed dialects.



# ***Impact of English on Croatian prepositional structures***

## **Branka Drljača Margić & Anita Memišević**

**University of Rijeka**

Prepositions belong to the group of grammatical words and their function is to express relations in language (spatial, temporal, etc.). However, they do so differently in different languages, and this according to some authors reflects different perceptions of reality that are conditioned by expressive means of a particular language (cf. Slobin's (1996) thinking-for-speaking hypothesis). According to Talmy (1985) there is a difference between the content expressed by grammatical as opposed to lexical words – grammatical words such as prepositions express content that is cognitively limited.

English as a global language exerts an overwhelming influence over other languages (Picone 1996, Görlach 2002, Anderman and Rogers 2005, Onysko 2007, Fischer and Pułaczewska 2009). This influence is most obvious on the lexical level; however, influence of the English language on other levels, such as syntactic, is far from negligible. Over the past years an increase in the use of inappropriate prepositions in both public and private communication in Croatia has been noticed. The same phenomenon has been noticed in other languages, such as German (*in Deutsch* instead of *auf Deutsch*, *in 1978* instead of *im Jahre 1978*; Muhvić-Dimanovski (1992)), and Spanish (unnatural prepositional constructions influenced by English: *en línea con* (Engl. in line with), *en orden a* (Engl. in order to) and *en profundidad* (Engl. in depth); Smith 1997). According to Melchers and Shaw (2003) grammatical calquing shows the deepest influence of one language on the other, and not infrequently it has been subject to puristic reactions. Thomas (1991) believes that calques may incur restructuring of the word-formational and syntactic system and hence constitute a greater danger than loanwords, whose presence does not pose a threat at the grammatical level, and Picone (1996) describes the borrowing of syntactic elements as a matter of great concern, which could be an indicator that the integrity of the recipient language is at risk.

The aim of this paper is to find out whether native speakers of the Croatian language will recognize Croatian prepositional structures influenced by English structures as incorrect in the standard Croatian language. Since results of neurolinguistic research (e.g. Fabbro 2001, Wartenburger et al. 2003) indicate that prepositions and other words that belong to the closed classes of words are processed by implicit memory which implies a high level of automaticity, the paper also aims to see if there will be any difference in the speed of processing of structures influenced by English structures compared to the acceptable structures of the standard Croatian language, which should reflect the level of automaticity with which they are processed.

The experiment is conducted using *E-prime 2* software. The sample includes 40 students of the English language at the University of Rijeka. The authors focus on several structures that have appeared in the Croatian language in recent years that are literal translations of English structures, such as *zainteresiran u* (Engl. *interested in*) instead of *zainteresiran za* (Engl. *interested for*), *hvala za* (Engl. *thank you for*) instead of *hvala na* (Engl. *thank you on*) and *u hrvatskome* (Engl. *in the Croatian language*) instead of *na hrvatskome* (Engl. *on the Croatian language*). The structures of this type are incorporated into three types of sentences. The first type of sentences are those that include prepositional structures that are correct in the standard Croatian language, the second type is sentences that include the structures that follow the English pattern (*incorrect A*), and the third type is sentences in which the prepositional structures are incorrect in Croatian, and do not follow the pattern

### 3. Abstracts

of English structures (*incorrect B*). In total the research employed 54 sentences (6 types of structures x 9 sentences incorporating prepositional structures – correct, *incorrect A* and *incorrect B* – in initial, medial and final position).

The analysis of overall responses shows that in over 90% of cases subjects recognize the correct and *incorrect B* structures, but in case of *incorrect A* structures they recognize them as incorrect in only 45% of cases. The analysis of correct responses shows that out of six different structures tested in case of five in over 50% of cases subjects tend to accept *incorrect A* structures as correct and only one type of structure was convincingly recognized as incorrect. This indicates that the knowledge of English and its presence in every day life coupled with bad translations present in the media and insufficient instruction in Croatian in schools have led to structures that follow English pattern being considered acceptable in the standard Croatian language.

Reaction times (RTs) to *incorrect A* structures in cases when they are deemed acceptable by the subjects indicate a high level of automaticity, which confirms that the subjects in such cases perceive *incorrect A* structures as correct in the standard Croatian language.

# ***Functionally-pragmatic realization of category „definiteness/indefiniteness” in Ukrainian***

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Під час категорійного розмежування денотатів суб'єкт надає важливого значення наявності певної ментальної інформації про них. Якщо такої інформації недостатньо і/або ця недостатність умовна, об'єкт, як правило, набуває ознак „невизначеного”. В українській мові семантичній ознаці „невизначеності” властивий високий ступінь актуальності. Реалізація цієї категорії пов'язана із пропозитивною ситуацією мисленнєвого (уявного) контакту, коли у вигляді здогаду, передбачення знеособлюваній дискредитації підлягають визначальні ознаки того чи іншого предмета думки як об'єкта пейоративного відчуження (за відсутності точного і повного знання про нього).

Мовне „позбавлення” певних об'єктів їхніх специфічних рис і надання їм статусу „невизначених” для суб'єкта відбувається за рахунок синтагматичного поєднання номінантів із займенниковими словами неозначеної семантики. Передусім функцію „знеособлення” в українській мовній картині світу виконують неозначені займенникові іменники *абихто, абихто, дехто, децо, будь-хто, будь-що, казна, хтозна, хто-небудь, що-небудь, хтось, щось, бозна-хто* і под., яким притаманна вказівка на особу, іншу істоту, предмет без їхньої конкретної, індивідуалізованої визначеності для мовця або співрозмовника. Високий потенціал у реалізації „відчужувального знеособлення” мають також неозначені займенникові прикметники *якийсь, котрийсь, абиякий, деякий, який-небудь, казна-який, хтозна-який, бозна-який* і под., що вказують на чітко не окреслену якість, властивість або іншу ознаку предмета. „Позбавляти” денотатів визначеності здатні також деякі неозначені займенникові прислівники, зокрема ті, що вказують на чітко не окреслене місце: *десь, кудись, звідкись* і под.

Функціонально-прагматичний вияв когнітивних ознак за допомогою вживання одиниць – показників „невизначеності” властивий номінантам:

- територіальної невідповідності (*якийсь далекий край, десь у чужій землі*);
- духовної (ідейної, соціальної) відмінності (*якийсь чужий чоловік, хтось інший, десь в іншому колективі*);
- чужої власності (*чийсь речі, якась власність*);
- кровної непов'язаності (*якась нерідна жінка, чийсь брат*) тощо.

усім без винятку ментальним ділянкам концепту ‘ЧУЖИЙ’, пор.:

Складнішим і специфічним для української мови є функціонально-прагматичний вияв категорії „визначеності / невизначеності” щодо тих денотатів, які загалом не є для суб'єкта невідомими, незрозумілими чи невизначеними. Така реалізація можлива в ситуації прямого предметного контакту, коли дискредитації підлягають визначальні ознаки певного, відомого, безпосереднього, конкретного об'єкта.

Мовними засобами вираження категорії „невизначеності” у такому випадку є стверджувально-узагальнювальні та неозначені займенникові прикметники *всякий, будь-який, який-небудь* та *якийсь*.

У ситуації, коли мовець має справу із відомим йому об'єктом, але свідомо відсуває його за межі „визначеного”, займенникові слова *всякий* та *будь-який (будь-хто)*, поряд

із основною семантикою „виокремлення предметів, що входять до відповідного їхнього класу”, набувають незайменникового експресивно-оцінного значення „не вартий уваги, поганий”.

Лексеми *всякий* і *якийсь* поєднує спільна пейоративно-відчужувальна, ознако-дискредитивна функція і загальне – незайменникове – експресивно-оцінне значення.

У випадку, коли „всякий” негативно оцінює і відчужує об’єкт, генералізуючи конкретно-одиничне, тобто представляючи його як усезагальність, у якій нівелюються усі множинності різноманітності ознак об’єкта, „якийсь” негативно оцінює і відчужує, представляючи визначене невизначеним і тим самим дискредитує його ознаки. Значення чужорідності, відчуженості зазнає значного посилення під час синтагматичного поєднання слів *якийсь*, *який-небудь* із часткою *там*, що свідчить про відкидання мовцем можливості приналежності об’єкта до його особистісної сфери, навіть якщо цей об’єкт йому (мовцеві) відомий.

Окремий спосіб прагматичної реалізації „невизначеності” в українській мові становлять уживання займенникових прикметників *якийсь* і *який-небудь* стосовно власних назв, тобто тих денотатів, які відомі суб’єктові і, більше того, є для нього одиничними й конкретно визначеними, наприклад: *Я не смію чогось іще хотіти від життя, бо саме цим воно мене обдарувало по саму зав’язку, ніби якогось там Гете* (Ю. Андрухович). У такому випадку генералізація й знеособлення набувають найвищого вияву, а відчуження можна вважати оптимально реалізованим. Незважаючи на те, що об’єкт (як правило, особа), безпосередньо відомий суб’єктові, він, проте, не зараховує його до „визначеного” й відсторонює від себе. Синтагматичне поєднання власної назви з показником знеособлення реалізує передусім не раціональне, а емоційне відчуження денотатів, яке при цьому є одностороннім, адже лише суб’єкт здатний виконувати цю функцію, наприклад.

Функціонально-прагматичне значення категорії „визначеності / невизначеності” – стосовно будь-якого показника – може бути посилене за рахунок уживання аналізованих одиниць у множині. Важливу роль при цьому відіграє дистрибутивне оточення мовної одиниці, яка реалізує аналізовану категорію.

## ***Constraining Russian Anticausatives***

**Philip Dudchuk, Serge Minor & Ekaterina Pshehotskaya**

**Moscow State University**

**Problem.** A number of Slavic languages possess an anticausative derivation which turns transitive predicates into unaccusatives. Moreover, the anticausative derivation is usually restricted to a subclass of transitive verbs. In this talk we examine two classes of verbs in Russian: transitives which allow for anticausativization (T1 verbs), and transitives which never undergo anticausativization (T2 verbs). We give an account for regular distinctions between the behavior of these classes partly in terms of aspectual compositional semantics and partly in terms of syntactic restrictions. Consider the distinctions between the two verb classes illustrated in (1).

**Basic assumptions.** In our analysis we adopt Kratzer's (1994, 1995) treatment of the external argument. We assume that the external argument is not a lexical argument, and therefore it is not specified in a verb's lexical entry, but is introduced within the derivation in Spec vP by means of Event Identification. Moreover, in the spirit of Ramchand (2008) we assume that introduction of the external argument is possible iff the event structure contains a causing (initiating) sub-event.

**Core hypothesis.** We suggest that T2 verbs differ from T1 verbs in that they lexically specify a causing relation between the initiating subevent and resulting state, (4b). T1 verbs, on the other hand, have a less complex lexical structure which does not contain the causing relation, (4a). This implies then that T1 verbs can be either states or processes, but not transitions. The anticausative morpheme is a phonological realization of a *v*head (we will label it *v*ANTICAUS), which is deficient in the common sense that it does not introduce an external argument. Then, *v*ANTICAUS cannot combine with T2 verbs, because their lexical meaning contains a causing subevent and hence, according to the basic assumptions, requires an external argument. If it is the case that some T1 verbs are born stative, then one would expect to find contexts where this stativity is overtly manifested. Such contexts are found in passive constructions with participles in *n/t*.

**Evidence from past passive participles (PPPs).** Crucial data about the distinction between the two classes of transitives comes from the aspectual interpretation of Russian past passive participles (PPPs), exemplified in (2). The T1-verbs in (2a) allow for the ambiguity between an eventive and a stative reading, while T2-verbs in (2b) do not. The stative readings of PPPs derived from some T1 verbs purely manifest the core stative semantics of the verb stem (4a). Consequently, one would expect that under a stative reading of PPPs, the sentence would not imply the existence of any causative relation. Indeed, the sentence (5b) is controversial since there should be a sweeping event preceding the yard's state of being swept, while (5a) is perfectly uncontroversial: the window should not be opened by someone to be in an open state. It could be created (built) open to begin with, cf. Kratzer (2000). The same observation seems to hold for other verbs from the two (T1 and T2) classes. Furthermore, (3) shows that in agentive sentences the ambiguity found in (2a) disappears: under this condition verbs from the first class allow only for an eventive reading.

**Formal details.** To account for the above observations we suggest that in Russian there exist four types of the *v* head, namely, a non-deficient transitive *v*, and three deficient ones in the sense that they do not check accusative: *v*PASS spelled out as the PPP morpheme and found in eventive passives, *v*ANTICAUS spelled out as the anticausative *s'a*, and *v*STATE spelled out as the PPP morpheme and found in stative passives. Of these heads, *v*, *v*PASS,

and *vANTICAUS* combine with predicates over events, while *vSTATE* only with predicates over states. Moreover, only *v* and *vPASS* introduce an external argument (in the case of *vPASS* this argument is  $\exists$ -bound). We also employ two null operators. The first, *Event*, adds a culmination point to a state turning predicates over states into predicates over events. The second, *Cause*, introduces a causing subevent to the event structure. Note that these operators are reminiscent of Dowty’s (1979) and Levin and Hovav (1998) lexical primitives BECOME and CAUSE. With this, we argue that the non-deficient *v* can combine directly with T2 verbs. Transitive and eventive passive constructions with T1 verbs are derived by first combining the stative verb stem with *Event* and *Cause*. Furthermore, stative passive sentences are derived by combining directly *vSTATE* and T1 verb stem, while combination of *vSTATE* and T2 verbs is ruled out since the latter is inherently eventive. Finally, *vANTICAUS* takes only T1 verbs modified by *Event*, but not T2 verbs, since the latter necessarily identify a causing subevent while *vANTICAUS* does not introduce an external argument.

**Further implications.** The above analysis does not preclude the existence of T1 verbs which denote predicates over events (rather than states). Such verbs may not specify a causing subevent in their lexical meaning. Our analysis predicts that such verbs would allow for anticausativization, but not for a stative reading of their PPPs. Such verbs include *vysušit’* ‘dry’, *svarit’* ‘boil (cook)’, *vskip’atit’* ‘boil’, etc. We assume that they are interpreted as in (7). Such verbs can combine with *Cause* and non-deficient *v* giving standard transitive clauses. They can also combine directly with *vANTICAUS* yielding the anticausative construction (8a). On the other hand, such verbs are incompatible with *vSTATE* since these verbs denote predicates over events, as illustrated in (8b).

- (1) **Transitives 1 (T1)** (*slomat’* ‘break’, *zakryt’* ‘close’, *razlit’* ‘spill’, *podnjat’* ‘raise’, etc.)
  - a. Dver’        otkryla-s’  
The door opened-DECAUS
  - Transitives 2 (T2)** (*sjest’* ‘eat’, *opustošit’* ‘empty’, *sprjatat’* ‘hide’, *počistit’* ‘clean’, etc.)
  - b. \*Ulitsa        podmela-s’  
The street swept-DECAUS
- (2) a. Dver’ byla otkry-t-a        { 2 časa / za 2 časa }. event/state  
door was open-PRT-F.SG { 2 hours / in 2 hours }  
‘The door was opened for 2 hours / in 2 hours’  
b. Ulitsa byla podmete-n-a        { \* 2 časa / za 2 časa }. event/\*state  
street was sweep-PRT-F.SG { 2 hours / in 2 hours }  
‘The street was swept \*for 2 hours / in 2 hours’
- (3) Dver’ byla otkryta Ivan-om { \* 2 časa / za 2 časa }.  
door was open Ivan-INST { 2 hours / in 2 hours }  
‘The door was opened by Ivan \*for 2 hours / in 2 hours’
- (4) a.  $\llbracket \textit{otkry-} \rrbracket = \lambda x \lambda y [\text{open}(x)(s)]$  (T1 verb)  
b.  $\llbracket \textit{podme-} \rrbracket = \lambda x \lambda y \exists e' \exists s [\text{swept}(x)(s) \wedge \text{RESULT}(e') = s \wedge \text{CAUSE}(e')(e)]$  (T2 verb)
- (5) a. Okno v komnate bylo otkry-t-o,        xotja ego        nikto ne otkryval.  
window in room was open-PRT-N.SG though it.ACC nobody not opened  
‘The window in the room was open, though nobody had opened it’

- (6) \*Okno v komnate bylo odkryto za 5 minut, xotja ego nikto ne odkryval.  
 window in room was opened in 5 min though it.ACC nobody not opened  
 ‘The window in the room was opened in 5 minutes, though nobody had opened it’
- (7)  $\llbracket vysuši- \text{ ‘dry’} \rrbracket = \lambda x \lambda y \exists s [dry(x)(s) \wedge RESULT(e) = s]$
- (8) a. Odežda vysušila-s’.  
 clothes dry-ANTICAUS  
 ‘The clothes dried’
- b. Odežda byla vysuše-n-a { \*dva časa | <sup>OK</sup> za dva časa}. (\*stative / <sup>OK</sup>eventive)  
 clothes was dry-PPP-F two hours in two hours  
 ‘The clothes were dried \*for two hours / <sup>OK</sup>in two hours’

## *Pronominal Clitics as Agreement in East Balkan Slavic*

Steven L. Franks

Indiana University

This paper builds on suggestions in Rudin (1997) that East Balkan Slavic pronominal clitics instantiate Agr(eement) and submits them to traditional criteria (cf. Zwicky 1977 and more recently Fuß 2005) for distinguishing words, clitics, and affixes. Applying the diagnostics for ageement status in Franco (2000) to Bulgarian and Macedonian, I argue that the Mac pronominal clitics are almost fully developed as verbal inflection markers of object agreement. In comparison with Bg, and according to every test which distinguishes them—lack of separability, obligatoriness of doubling, feature erosion, the viability of “dative” possessive clitics, etc.—the pronominal clitics in Mac are further advanced than are their Bg counterparts. Consider, for example, clitic doubling in Rudin’s (1):

- (9) Petko **mu**      **go**      dade      pismoto   na detoto.  
 Petko him<sub>DAT</sub> it<sub>OBJ</sub> gave<sub>2/3SG</sub> letter<sub>DEF</sub> to child<sub>DEF</sub>  
 ‘Petko gave the letter to the child.’

As a sentence of Mac, the clitics *go* and *mu* in (1) obligatorily double the direct and indirect objects *pismoto* and *na detoto* since these bear the definite article –to, but as a sentence of Bg this doubling depends on additional factors, such as topicality, which is not morphologically marked. The grammaticization of clitic doubling in Mac indicates the extent to which its pronominal clitic system has progressed towards becoming a fully fledged objedifference in separability between Bg (2) and Mac (3):

- (10) a. ?Az **sâm**   veče      **ti**      **go**      dala?!  
          I    aux<sub>1SG</sub> already you<sub>DAT</sub> it<sub>OBJ</sub> given  
          ‘I have already given it to you?!’  
       b. Az **sâm** **ti** **go** veče dala.  
       c. Ti   **ne**   **si**      **mu**      **go**      vse ošte dal.  
          you NEG aux<sub>2SG</sub> him<sub>DAT</sub> it<sub>OBJ</sub> still      given  
          ‘You still have not returned it to him.’  
 (11) a. \*Jas **sum** vek’e **ti** **go** dala.  
       b. \*Jas **sum** **ti** **go** vek’e dala.  
       c. \*Ti **ne** **si** **mu** **go** seušte dal.

Whereas Bg speakers generally find such examples possible, given the right intonation and pragmatic context, “adverb interpolation” is completely absent in Mac, where speakers consistently reject any attempt to break up the Mac, but it can in Bg.

The account, adapting proposals in Franks and Rudin (2005), formally involves regarding the Bg clitics as K(ase) heads which (mostly) move to Agr and the Mac ones as (mostly) being introduced in Agr from the start. I show that the reanalysis is closest to completion in south-western dialects. A final speculation is that the shift of the pronominal clitics in Mac towards agreement could be part of a larger evolutionary process leading to the complete disappearance of special clitics in this language.



# ***Frequency correlations in processing, familiarity, and language usage data of clitics in Croatian***

**Tomislav Frleta & Damir Ćavar**

**University of Zadar**

The peculiarities found in syntactic, morphological and phonological properties of clitics in Croatian led to many interesting discussions wrt. numerous linguistic theories and models over the last decade. This study aims at contributing to the ongoing debate by contributing results from processing experiments with native speakers from different dialectal regions in Croatia. We relate those results to corpus analyses of the frequency of single clitics, as well as clitic cooccurrence patterns.

Our target data focuses on different pronominal and auxiliary clitics, including a variation of case like e.g. dative, accusative and genitive, with all possible permutations of the relative order of clitics wrt. each other, as well as variations in syntactic placement.

The experiments were performed as controlled rapid repetition tasks of acoustic stimuli, and text correction tasks. In the first set of experiments subjects had to repeat 100 sentences presented as acoustic stimuli that contained 10% target structures with variations in clitic relative order, as well as placement variations. The observations measured were accuracy and response time. In the second experiment subjects were asked to correct text that contained similar target structures as in the acoustic repetition task. Subjects were divided into three groups with different instructions, increasing and decreasing the false alarm rate and their error tolerance.

Currently, the initial data sets from 30 subjects allow for the formulation of particular hypotheses.

We argue that the results of familiarity and behavioral language processing experiments show a frequency-based correlation with corpus data, using the Croatian Language Corpus as a source of language usage frequencies. In particular, we show that relative order preferences of clitics are most likely not determined by their (morpho-)syntactic properties and functions (e.g. case, person, reflexivity), given the lack of intuition wrt. certain clitics and order combinations. As a potential source for ordering and placement constraints we suggest inherent and contextual prosodic and phonological properties of the utterance, as well as grammar external factors that include e.g. frequency.

## ***The semasiological structure of Croatian Verbal prefix iz***

**Dylan Glynn**

**University of Lund**

**Gabrijela Buljan**

**University of Osijek**

This study applies quantitative multifactorial techniques to the study of grammatical semantics. It follows the Lexical Network Approach (Rudzka-Ostyn 1996, Cienki 1989, Janda 1990; 1993, Dąbrowska 1997, Šarić 2003; 2006a;b). This approach, an analytical framework of Cognitive Linguistics (Langacker 1987, Lakoff 1987), argues semasiological variation can be understood as a set of related meanings. Our study, however, accepts the criticism of Sandra and Rice (1995), who demonstrate the method employed in such analyses produces *ad hoc* and un-testable results. In a bid to remedy this, our study applies quantitative multifactorial methods to an analysis of the Croatian verbal prefix *-iz*.

Using traditional techniques, it has been shown that the semasiological variation of grammatical categories may be carefully mapped. An important line of research has been Slavic verbal prefixes (Dąbrowska 1996, Janda 1986; 1988, Pasich-Piasecka 1993, Twardzisz 1994, Belaj 2004; 2008). We take Belaj's (2005) intuition based analysis of *-iz* as the starting point to be tested using empirical techniques. Such techniques have been successfully applied to lexical semasiology (Gries 2006, Divjak 2006, Glynn 2009) and the extension of the methods to grammatical categories is straightforward.

The analysis is based on a sample of 600 occurrences, distinguished for three text types, Literature (*Croatian language Corpus*), news press (on-line newspaper), and familiar language (on-line personal diaries). The analysis covers formal, semantico-pragmatic and extralinguistic features. Examples include motion (*istjerati* 'chase out' – *izraziti se* 'express oneself'), distribution (*ispolagati ispite* 'have passed many exams' – sative *ispavati se* 'sleep enough'), and effectiveness (*iskidati* 'cut into pieces' – *isklesati* 'carve out'). Special care is taken to include the parameters identified by Belaj, viz. the concreteness of the moving entity; agency, dynamicity; distinctness of the mover / causer. The results are treated with a range of multifactorial techniques, such as Hierarchical Cluster Analysis. The findings are in-turn compared with those of Belaj. The general tendencies are confirmed but it is shown that a multifactorial approach offers a better understanding of especially the relationship between the verbal and grammatical semantics as well the effects of context on usage.

## ***Polish and English diminutives – A contrastive study***

**Dorota Gorzycka**

**Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń**

Diminutives are considered to be a universal category present in many, often very different, languages. Because of structural differences between languages, diminutives display a spectrum of features. They are a puzzling phenomenon not only due to their structure, but also owing to their semantic and pragmatic characteristics. The complexity of this category and dissimilarities between diminutives across languages cause problems when it comes to forming definitions. For the sake of this presentation, I use Schneider's definition of the diminutive. He treats diminutives as any expressions carrying the sense of smallness with all its literal and metaphorical meanings and the positive and negative attitudes (Schneider 2003). The aim of the presentation is to show an empirical analysis of Polish diminutives as compared to English diminutives and to explain why the differences between them occur.

The introductory part will present the mechanisms of Polish as well as English diminutive formation described in literature, e.g., Grzebieniowski (1995), Grzegorzczkova (1984), Grzegorzczkova et al. (1998), Kreja (1969; 2000), Schneider (2003), and Warchoń (1984). Moreover, semantic and pragmatic meanings of the diminutive will be also briefly discussed with particular attention drawn to Jurafsky's (1996) and Taylor's (2003) findings.

In the main part of the presentation, I am going to demonstrate the results of a small pilot study concerning the use of Polish and English diminutives. The study was organized in two stages: the first stage consisted in text analysis of diminutives on the basis of literature for children. The second stage showed how Polish students learning English deal with diminutive translation. The results derived from the study include data concerning the frequency with which diminutives appear in Polish and English, the devices of diminutive formation in both languages as well as the impact of the level of English on students' translation of diminutive expressions. Finally, I will attempt to provide an explanation for the dissimilarities revealed during the study.

***The production of palatalized and unpalatalized consonants in Russian by advanced American learners of Russian***

**Jane Hacking**

**University of Utah**

The Russian phonological system is characterized by the opposition of a set of palatalized and unpalatalized consonants, a phonemic distinction not found in English. This paper reports on research that addresses two questions. First, to what extent have advanced American learners of Russian mastered this contrast? And second, is the ability of these learners to produce palatalized and unpalatalized segments dependent on type of consonant or the consonant's position? Participants in the study were American university students all of whom had spent two years living in a Russia. They were recorded reading words constituting minimal pairs. Each word was presented in a carrier phrase and was recorded three times. Words were subsequently extracted using PRAAT and scaled for intensity. The resulting stimuli were presented to native Russian speakers as a forced-choice word identification task. The data show that proficient L2 speakers do not reliably produce palatalized consonants that are perceivable as such by native speaker listeners. Preliminary data suggest that for these American learners producing the contrast between palatalized and unpalatalized segments is particularly difficult in word final position.

# ***Suffix of nomina actionis \*-ьb(a) in the Proto-Slavic language***

**Ilya Itkin**

**Russian Academy of Sciences**

**Maria Tagabileva**

**Moscow State University**

The purpose of this research is to reconstruct the range of derivatives with suffix \*-ьb(a) in Proto-Slavic and to establish some constraints on its combinatorial properties.

The main criteria of reconstruction was the presence of the derivative in all three branches of Slavic languages. The total number of reconstructed nomina actionis with \*-ьb(a) is more than 20 words.

Analysis of the received wordlist shows that in Proto-Slavic there was a whole number of uncommon constraints on the combinatorial properties of the suffix:

1. **Suffix \*-ьb(a) could not apply to stems with prefixes and formed no compounds.** This constraint, noted already in (Orzechowska 1966; 172), was weak and was no longer in force in the majority of languages soon after the breakup of Slavic linguistic unity (compare slk. *výučba* "teaching", mkd. *божослужба* "liturgy").

2. **Suffix \*-ьb(a) could not apply to multisyllabic stems.** As a result of constraints 1 and 2 all Protoslavic words with \*-ьb(a) were strictly trisyllabic (compare *\*gordьba*, *\*borьba*, *\*družьba*).

3. **Suffix \*-ьb(a) could not apply to stems ending with labial consonants.** This constraint is a particular case of a widespread in Slavic languages morphotactical rule, according to which if a suffix includes a consonant C1 or a group of consonants C1C2, its combination with stems, ending with this (group of) consonant(s), is impossible or impeded (for Russian see Itkin 2005). Unlike constraints 1 and 2 constraint 3 remains in the majority of Slavic languages.

4. **Suffix \*-ьb(a) could not apply to stems ending with \*j.**

5. **Suffix \*-ьb(a) could not apply to stems of a- verbs like *\*prygati*.** The reason for this constraint still active in Bulgarian can be explained by morphological unoriginality of the majority of these verbs in Proto-Slavic.

As for the categorial features of productive stems, it seems like the most convincing assumption is that nouns with \*-ьb(a) could be derivated only from verbs and nomina agentis like *\*svatъ*.

During the research we also marked out a range of suffixes, competing with \*-ьb(a) in formation of nomina actionis. Primarily, these are suffixes *\*-ežv*, *\*-tva*, *\*-j*.

## **Topic-Marking Clitic-Doubling in Bulgarian and its L2 Acquisition**

**Ivan Ivanov & Roumyana Slabakova**

**University of Iowa**

The hypothesis that narrow syntactic properties are fully acquired at the stage of ultimate attainment whereas interface properties involving the syntax and other cognitive domains (e.g., discourse-pragmatics) are much harder and may even be impossible to acquire is referred to as the Interface Hypothesis (IH, Sorace 2006). The purpose of this study was to expand the testing ground of the IH by investigating the degree to which L2 learners of Bulgarian, with English as their L1, had acquired the pragmatic function of clitic-doubling. English has no clitics; in Bulgarian, clitic-doubling is an overt marking of topicality (Leafgren 1992; 1997). In (1) where the question introduces Ivan, answers are felicitous if the object (fronted in [a], in situ in [b]) is doubled by a clitic; not felicitous otherwise. In contrast, if *Ivan* is new information in answer to a *wh*-question as in (2), clitic doubling is infelicitous:

- (1) Njakoǵ viždali e Ivan dnes? (Question)  
 Somebody seen Q is Ivan today  
 ‘Has anybody seen Ivan today?’
- a. Ivan go vidjax sutrinta (Answers)  
 Ivan him-cl see-1p.sg.PAST in the morning  
 ‘I saw Ivan in the morning.’
- b. Sutrinta go vidjax Ivan.
- c. #Ivan vidjax sutrinta.
- d. #Sutrinta vidjax Ivan.
- (2) Kogo vidja dnes? (Question)  
 Whom see-2p.sg.PAST today  
 ‘Whom did you see today?’
- a. #IVAN go vidjax (Answers)  
 Ivan him-cl. see-1p.sg.PAST  
 ‘I saw Ivan.’
- b. #Vidjax go IVAN.
- c. Vidjax IVAN.
- d. IVAN vidjax.

Ten advanced and 14 intermediate L2 speakers of Bulgarian, as well as a control group of 20 Bulgarian native speakers, participated in the experiment. The experimental materials included a proficiency test, a grammaticality judgment task to check syntactic knowledge of clitics, and a pragmatic felicity task. The latter involved a situation described in English and a short question-answer sequence in Bulgarian where the participants had to choose from four answer options as in (1-2): (a) Clitic doubling with fronting; (b) Clitic doubling without fronting; (c) Fronting without clitic doubling; (d) Neutral SVO word order. Four conditions were tested in a 2x2 design (Topic/Focus x Dative/Accusative). Participants had to evaluate the felicity of each answer on a 5-point scale. The question-answer sequences were presented both in writing and in spoken language to ensure the absence of confounding factors such as intonation coercion.

Results show that 8 of the advanced and 2 of the intermediate L2 learners of Bulgarian have successfully acquired the syntax of clitics as well as the pragmatic meaning of clitic doubling. Their performance on the pragmatic felicity task does not differ significantly from that of the control group of native Bulgarian speakers. The intermediate L2 speakers of Bulgarian, however, do not clearly differentiate between the four options (a-d) above and their responses do not exhibit statistically significant difference as they either give high evaluations to most of the options or strongly prefer the L1-like SVO word order in the Topic conditions. Their knowledge of the syntactic properties of clitics, as revealed by the grammaticality judgment task, was also incomplete.

Our study highlights the fact that successful learning at the syntax-discourse pragmatics interface is in fact possible. We compare our findings to those of other studies investigating learner performance at the same interface (Belletti et al. 2007, Tsimpli and Sorace 2006, Sorace and Filiaci 2006, Lozano 2006). Even advanced participants in those studies displayed residual optionality in knowledge of interface properties. We argue that our advanced learners' successful acquisition is due to high frequency of clitic-doubling in the native input and to lack of (very high) processing demands in the test itself.

## ***A Curious Case of Allomorphy: Russian Verbs Meaning ‘Do It Once’*** Laura A. Janda

University of Tromsø

Definitions of language phenomena make precise distinctions using absolute criteria. However, the realities these definitions are designed to capture often reveal gradient, rather than absolute structure. The problem of reconciling the disconnect between absolute definitions and scalar data has become more acute with the availability of electronic language corpora, providing access to authentic, detailed data on an unprecedented scale. At the same time, this problem has become more solvable with the advent of statistical software that can analyze the structure of complex data. Traditional linguistic definitions have been inherited from an era that predates both of these technological advances, and perhaps it is time to re-evaluate these definitions. In this presentation I will focus on our traditional definition of allomorphy and a phenomenon that challenges this definition, namely the formation of semelfactive verbs in Russian.

The traditional description of allomorphy (cf. Bloomfield 1933: Chapters 10 & 13; Matthews 1974: Chapter 6) can be stated as two absolute criteria on meaning and form:

- (a) Meaning: the function is identical
- (b) Form: the distribution is complementary.

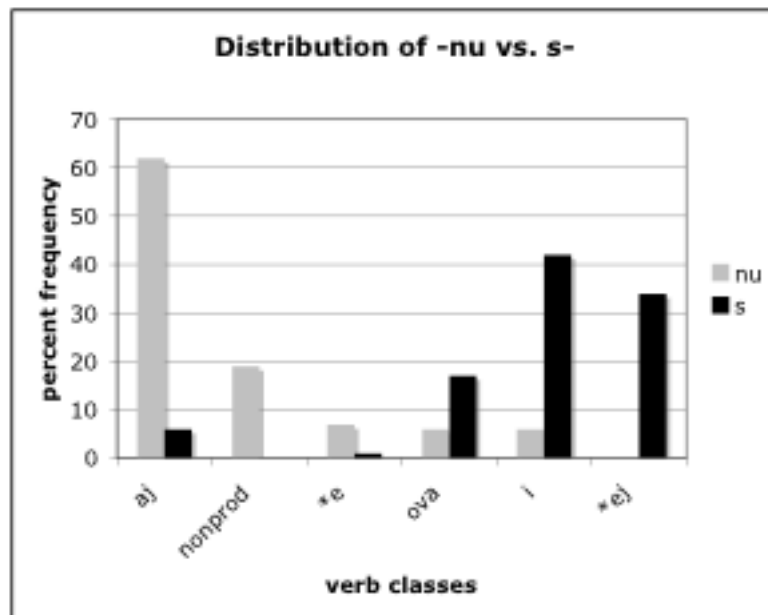
There are certainly examples that meet both criteria for allomorphy, but many (perhaps most) exhibit some deviation from the criteria. For example, the plural marker in English has three allomorphs: [-s] after roots ending in voiceless consonants as in *cats*, [-z] after roots ending in voiced consonants as in *dogs*, and [-əz] after roots ending in sibilant consonants as in *foxes*. This is a typical example of allomorphy in which the three forms are all clearly related to each other and distributed according to phonological factors. But English also has a zero morpheme for the plural that can appear in the same three environments as the above-mentioned allomorphs, as we see in *sheep*, *deer*, and *fish*. In the case of English such deviations are rare and can be handled as exceptions. Norwegian has a more complicated competition between zero and non-zero plural markers that requires a more nuanced interpretation. However, such examples only hint at the challenges we face in identifying allomorphy in language. As Newman (2008) demonstrates, corpus-based analysis of authentic language data invariably yields observations that are difficult to reconcile with theories of language. In other words, the real distribution of linguistic facts often overwhelm our traditional definitions by presenting complex structures that those definitions cannot handle.

Russian has two semelfactive morphemes that fail to comply perfectly to both criteria for allomorphy, yet nonetheless present a compelling case for allomorphy (cf. Dickey and Janda forthcoming). Semelfactives are verbs that mean ‘do something once’, such as *liznut’* ‘lick once’ (derived from *lizat’* ‘lick’) and *sgrubit’* ‘perform one rude act’ (derived from *grubit’* ‘behave rudely’). As the two examples illustrate, such verbs are formed either by adding the suffix *-nu* or the prefix *s-* to a verb. In terms of criterion (a), identity of function, the two morphemes fail an absolute test because verbs that use *-nu* tend to describe cyclic physical actions (like licking), whereas verbs that combine with *s-* tend to describe more heterogeneous behaviors (like acting rude). However, there are cases of verbs that use both morphemes synonymously either in separate formations (as in *xvastat’* ‘boast’, which forms both *xvast(a)nut’* and *sxvastat’* meaning ‘boast once’), or simultaneously (as in *trusit’* ‘be a coward’ which forms *struxnut’* ‘do one cowardly thing’ with both morphemes). Such examples demonstrate overlap in the range of verbs that can combine with *-nu* and *s-*, indicating that



they belong to one functional continuum.

To assess these morphemes in terms of criterion (b), complementary distribution, we can profile their frequency of association with verb classes. A database of *-nu* and *s-* semelfactives yields the type frequencies for Russian verb classes shown in the diagram below. The two morphemes fail to show complementary distribution, particularly in the case of verbs suffixed in *-ova-* and *-i-*. However, a statistical analysis yields very significant values: chi-square is 257.3, with 5 degrees of freedom. The probability that this distribution could have arisen by chance (p-value) < 2.2e-16. Furthermore Cramer's V is 0.8, which is an extremely high value, indicating a robust effect (Cramer's V gives 0.1 for a small effect, 0.3 for a medium effect, and 0.5 for a large effect; cf. King and Minium 2007; 329).



In short, despite the fact that *-nu* and *s-* fail both absolute criteria for allomorphy, their distribution, both in terms of function and position, shows a clear and significant relationship. A grammar that failed to recognize this relationship would be missing an important fact about the structure of Russian. Our solution is to suggest that the traditional definition of allomorphy be retained but revalued as a prototype rather than as an absolute standard. Deviations from the prototype can be accepted or rejected in accordance with statistical measures of significance. Relationships that achieve statistical significance merit recognition as allomorphy. However, we need sample analyses of a whole range of case studies, covering both more certain and more questionable candidates for allomorphy, in order to establish realistic guidelines for such analysis. The guidelines can serve as the basis for similar projects involving other linguistic concepts that are typically defined in absolute terms, such as markedness, neutralization and allophony.

## ***Typology of antipassive constructions in Slavonic languages***

### **Katarzyna Janic**

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Antipassive, considered as a derived detransitivized construction with a two-place predicate in which the patient-like argument is either suppressed (left implicit) or realized as an oblique complement, raised considerable interest in the syntactic description of ergative languages (Comrie 1978, Dixon 1994; among others). Defined on the structural grounds, the antipassive is claimed to be driven by semantic and/or pragmatic factors. Although it is traditionally related to ergativity, certain typologically oriented publications extended discussions of antipassive phenomenon to accusative languages (Heath 1976, Lazard 1989, Polinsky 2005).

This paper argues in favour of the recognition of antipassive constructions in accusative languages with a double objective. It aims, first, at providing some positive evidence according to which Slavonic languages, in particular Polish and Russian, possess a type of constructions which pattern with morphosyntactic derivation of an antipassive in ergative languages; and, second, at unearthing those pragmatic and/or semantic factors that entail the antipassive derivation.

The present study is based on data taken from a corpus of utterances systematically elicited from native speakers of Polish and Russian, and expanded by the examples from the literature. The clauses (1b)–(3b) illustrate three types of antipassive construction derived from the transitive ones (1a)–(3a) respectively:

- (3) Lexical antipassive: Russian (Say 2005)
- a. Ja                zažmuril                glaza.  
PRO.1SG screw.up.PST.1SG eye.ACC.PL  
'I screwed up my eyes.'
  - b. Ja                zažmuril-sja.  
PRO.1SG screw.up.PST.1SG-AP  
'I screwed up [my eyes].'
- (4) Absolute antipassive: Russian (Creissels 2006; 41)
- a. Sabaka                kusaet                Ivana.  
dog.NOM.SG.F bite.PRS.3SG Ivana.ACC.SG  
'The dog bites Ivan.'
  - b. Berežite-s'                sabaki,                ona                kusaet-sja.  
take.IMP.PL-REFL dog.GEN.SG.F PRO.3SG.F bite.PRS.3SG-AP  
'Be careful on the dog, it bites (it is a biter).'
- (5) Grammatical antipassive: Polish (personal communication)
- a. Nie   mogę                spakować   plecaka.  
NEG can.PRS.1SG pack.up.INF rucksack.ACC.SG.M  
'[I] cannot pack up my bag.'
  - b. Nie   mogę                się   spakować.  
NEG can.PRS.1SG AP pack.up.INF  
'[I] cannot pack up [my rucksack].'

The analysis shows that in Slavonic languages there is a positive morphosyntactic relation between the relevant construction and the antipassives of ergative languages, i.e. in both cases

the valency-decreasing mechanism is morphological (cf. Terrill 1997; for ergative languages). A valency-affecting operator, i.e. the reflexive marker *się* (in Polish), *-sja* (in Russian), derives (a) lexical antipassives which presupposes a particular type of semantically incorporated object, always recoverable out of context (1b), (b) absolutive antipassives which implies generic unspecified object, whose referent is never semantically recoverable from the pragmatic environment (2b), and (c) grammatical antipassives wherein the interpretation of the implicit object, viewed as semantic variable, is a context-dependent phenomenon. A fine-grained analysis reveals also lexical restrictions on the use of antipassive.

## Abbreviations

AP: antipassive	NEG: negation	PRS: present	SG: singular
IMP: imperative	NOM: nominative	REFL: reflexive	

## ***Patterns of vowel reduction in Russian***

### **Sylwester Jaworski**

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One of the most characteristic features of stress-timed languages is the fact that unaccented vowels undergo obligatory reduction to schwa. In Russian the process appears to be more complex because the five-element vowel inventory found in accented syllables is reduced to a sub-system made up of [i, a, u] in immediately pre-tonic position, which is further reduced to [i, ə, u] in other pre-tonic and post-tonic positions (cf. Avanesov 1972, Kasatkin 2006, Kniazev and Pozaritskaya 2005). It is claimed in the phonetic literature that the low vowel [a] that results from 1st degree reduction differs both qualitatively and quantitatively from [ə], which is the outcome of 2<sup>nd</sup> degree reduction. On the other hand, the vowels [i, u], as well as [i], seem to be resistant to phonetic change in the sense that they are affected neither by the position within the word, nor by the character of the preceding segment. Even though the sounds do not undergo obligatory phonological reduction, they are susceptible to substantial phonetic reduction in fast speech (cf. Jaworski 2008).

In a recent publication, Barnes (2006) argues convincingly that there is only one degree of phonological vowel reduction in Russian which simplifies the [i, e, a, ə, u] inventory to the [i, a, u] subsystem and that the change of the low vowel to schwa is the result of phonetic vowel reduction that does not take place in certain phonological contexts, e.g. in hiatus and in phrase-final position. On the other hand, Crosswhite (2000a) maintains that in the South West of Russia there are accents in which speakers apply only one degree of vowel reduction and the only vowels that are found in unaccented syllables are [i, ə, u]<sup>4</sup>.

The present paper reports the results of an empirical study that was designed to shed more light on the reduction process in Russian. The major objective of the study was to provide acoustic evidence proving that there exist at least two different vowel reduction patterns in the Russian language. Given that low vowels are dispreferred in unaccented positions, particular attention was paid to immediately pre-tonic [a] sounds that result from 1<sup>st</sup> degree reduction, but which are believed to be weakened to [ə] in this position. In order to find out whether the acoustic characteristics of pre-tonic [a] sounds differ substantially from those of [ə] found in other unaccented positions, four native speakers of standard Russian were asked to read a number of short meaningful sentences in slow, natural and fast speech. The F1 and F2 values of twenty [a] sounds found in immediately pre-tonic position as well as twenty [ə] sounds resulting from 2nd degree reduction were measured at the peak of F1. Vowels placed in palatalised environments were excluded from the experiment, and so were word-initial and word-final ones. Next, the acoustic parameters of the twenty tokens of [a] were compared with those of [ə] by means of a T-test for independent samples, which is a standard procedure used to determine whether two sets of data are statistically different. In this test, values of the p-level lower than 5% ( $p < .05$ ) mean that two sets of data are, statistically speaking, significantly different. In other words, the higher the p-level, the lesser the differences between two groups of vowels. In terms of this experiment, p-levels higher than 5% ( $p > .05$ ) will indicate one degree of reduction, while low p-levels will be regarded as convincing evidence of two degrees of vowel reduction.

The acoustic and statistical analyses have revealed that vowel reduction in Russian is a

<sup>4</sup> Crosswhite (2000a;b; 2004) refers to the strategy of avoiding low vowels in unaccented positions as prominence reduction. She explains that since low vowels require long gestures, their articulatory cost is high and for that reason they are not preferred in prosodically weak positions.

speaker-specific phenomenon. As far as the low vowel [a] is concerned, two of the subjects apply only one degree of vowel reduction as in their speech the differences between the acoustic parameters of the [a] and [ə] sounds did not reach the level of statistical significance ( $p > .05$ ), whereas in the speech of the other participants there are, in fact, two degrees. The acoustic data strongly suggest that if a speaker applies one degree of vowel reduction, then the [i, e, a, ə, u] inventory is simplified to [i, ə, u] rather than [i, a, u] because there is a highly significant difference ( $p < .001$ ) between the sounds found in immediately pre-tonic position and the [a] sounds placed in stressed syllables. It is also worth emphasising that vowels undergoing 2nd degree reduction are considerably shorter than those found in immediately pre-tonic position. In the light of the data, duration appears to be the only phonetic indication of 2nd degree reduction in the speech of those who reduce [a] to [ə] in immediately pre-tonic position.

Summing up, the data strongly suggest that there exist two distinct patterns of vowel reduction in Russian, namely one in which the subsystem of unaccented vowels found in immediately pre-tonic position consists of [i, a, u], and the other one whose sub-system is made up of [i, ə, u]. However, it is absolutely necessary to bear in mind that in this study the author analysed samples of read speech which, by definition, is reduced to a lesser extent than spontaneous, casual speech. Had these utterances been produced naturally, there is little doubt that more profound vowel reductions would have been observed. Consequently, one can hazard a guess that the [i, ə, u] pattern predominates in casual speech. Naturally, data produced by only four speakers do not suffice to draw far-reaching conclusions as to the nature of the process investigated in this study. There is no doubt that more detailed research is needed to provide more insight into the process and verify the results.

## ***Versatile morphosyntax: Reflexive forms cross-Slavic***

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**University of Leipzig**

### *Phenomenon*

In the Slavic languages, the reflexive exponent (refl) shows up in a range of expressions associated with diverse interpretations. Traditionally, a taxonomy of reflexive constructions is made up. However, a closer look reveals non-homogeneous properties within the various types. Optional by-phrase realization may serve as an example, cf. (1)-(7). We find surprising cross-Slavic variation that sometimes correlates with the classical split into East, West, and South Slavic languages and sometimes cuts across this classification.

### *Issue*

The ground for a systematic theoretical explanation of the varying properties is yet to be laid. Formal accounts that have been given so far (e.g., Růžička 1986, 1992; Franks 1995, Babby 1998, Rivero 2003, Rivero & Milojević-Sheppard 2003) leave unconsidered part of the data, thus failing to account for the whole range of systematic variation. Růžička (1986) invokes UG-parameters correlated with modules of grammar, however, descriptive rather than explanatory in character. Franks (1995) parametrizes properties in the lexical specification of the voice altering morphemes (e.g., case absorption) and the level of their application (lexicon vs. syntax). Reinhart & Siloni's (2005) parametrization concerns only the level of application of arity operations. However, the approaches cannot correctly predict the whole range of cross-Slavic variation concerning optional by-phrases. Semantic representations for Slavic verbs and morphemes have yet to be brought into the picture. *By*-phrase tests and the interpretation of their results constitute another issue.

### *Proposal and Goal*

Evaluation of the results of syntactic tests used in the literature, as well as filling data gaps in East Slavic, lead to a more complex picture of the phenomenon. Thus the parametrized features that are relevant for the striking cross-Slavic variation have yet to be argued for, as are the parameter specifications for the various languages. (8) contains the proposed meaning representation of refl. Importantly, the dummy *z* can replace any argument variable. It follows that interpretation must be largely conceptually based. Thus we speculate that more levels have to be considered – besides lexical semantics there is conceptual structure that may be a target of parametrization as well.

#### I. Reflexive passive (correlated with transitive verbs)

*by*-phrase: East Slavic – ok, West/South Slavic – \*

- (1) Matèryjal      zbirawsja                      (awtaram)    bol'sh za      čvèrc'              stahoddzja.  
material.nom collect.past.sg.m.refl author.instr more than quarter.acc century.gen  
(BRu)
- (2) Sukienka się właśnie szyje      (\* przez mamę). (Po)  
dress.nom refl right-now sews.3sg (\* by      mother)

II. Impersonal reflexive (correlated with intransitive verbs)

*by*-phrase: East Slavic attested (Ru – ok, BRu/Ukr – judgments vary), West/ South Slavic – \*, Po – ok in combination with *n/t*-passive

- (3) Ob ètom (nami) uže govorilos'. (Ru)  
about this we.instr already talk.past.sg.n.refl
- (4) O tom se hodně mluvilo (\* všemi politiky). (Cz)  
about this.loc refl much talk.past.sg.n (\* all.instr politicians.instr)
- (5) Było się bitym (przez kaprała). (Po, cf. Kibort 2006: 12)  
was.sg.n refl beat.pass-part.instr by corporal

III. Impersonal reflexive assigning Acc (correlated with transitive verbs)

not available: Ru, BRu, Cz; available: Ukr, Po, Slvn, Kajkavian SC *by*-phrase only in Ukr

- (6) Cerkvu budujet'sja (robitnykamy). (Ukr, cf. Franks 1995: 345)  
church.acc builds.3sg workers.instr
- (7) Tu buduje się szkołę (\* przez robotników). (Po)  
here builds.3sg refl school.acc (\* by workers)
- (8) Meaning representation of refl  
 $\lambda P[Pz]$

**Resolving a semantic puzzle: *ne wh* items in Russian****Natalia Kondrashova**

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**Radek Šimík**

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**Background.** It is often assumed that natural language exploits two mechanisms for quantification: quantifier raising (QR) and unselective binding (UB). Under QR May (1977) the quantificational expression is a generalized quantifier base generated within the vP and subsequently raised (at LF) to the position of interpretation. Under UB (Heim 1982, Nishigauchi 1990, Diesing 1992) the quantificational expression is a functional head (often associated with an adverbial) which is base generated in the functional clausal domain, from which it indiscriminately binds all free variables. In this talk, we explore the possibility of a “hybrid” quantificational mechanism, combining the properties of both QR and UB. We propose that such a mechanism is employed in Russian modal existential constructions (MEC, cf. Grosu 2004), and argue that *ne wh* items (3) Rappaport (1986) present an example of such a “hybrid” quantifier.

**Empirical puzzle.** Russian MECs can license multiple bare *wh*-words (1), (2). However, MECs involving the *ne wh* item, despite the semantic and structural affinity to (2), fail to license additional *wh*-words (3). The facts in (1) and (2) are captured if we assume that both *wh*-words are unselectively bound by a quantifier, expressed by the existential BE, as proposed e.g. in Izvorski (1998). On the other hand, when a *ne wh* item is present, unselective binding becomes impossible in MECs (3). This means that in such cases the existential quantifier which must be present in MECs is of a selective generalized quantifier type (this analysis is in line with Rappaport’s (1986) proposal that *ne wh* items are lexicalized). Given these facts, the structures in (1) and (2) seem to be of a different type than the one in (3).

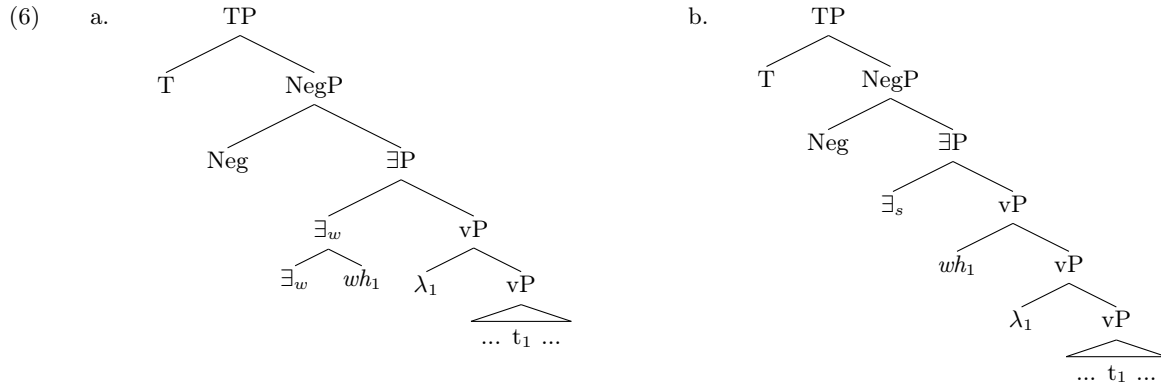
**Proposal.** We propose a unified analysis of all three types of MECs (1) through (3). All structures are monoclausal (Kondrashova 2008, Šimík 2008) and have the following underlying ingredients: (i) *wh*-words denote sets of Hamblin alternatives (Kratzer and Shimoyama 2002, Šimík 2009); (ii) *wh*-words are generated in their respective base positions within the vP; (iii) the existential quantifier is base-generated in a designated position in the functional domain of the vP Kondrashova (1996); (iv) negation is a functional head generated directly above the existential quantifier. We derive the difference between (1) and (2) on the one hand and (3) on the other by assuming that there are two quantifiers that can head the existential projection,  $\exists_w$  (4) and  $\exists_s$  (5), differing in their semantic and morphophonological properties.  $\exists_w$ , being semantically a determiner and morphologically null, requires a semantic restriction in its complement position and morphological support. The *wh*-word moves to satisfy these interface requirements; see (6a).  $\exists_s$  is semantically a Hamblin alternative quantifier and is morphologically realized as the copula BE, in which case the *wh*-movement is motivated by information structure reasons (escaping focus); see (6b). The negation cliticizes on the existential quantifier. In the presence of  $\exists_s$ , we get *ne* BE, in the presence of  $\exists_w$ , we derive the *ne wh* item. Finally, notice that the derivation of the *ne wh* items (3) combines the properties of QR and UB: there is a syntactic movement of a *wh*-element (semantically a set/property), creating an operator-variable dependency (à la QR) and at the same time the quantificational element originates in the functional domain (à la UB).

**Implications.** One important property of the present analysis is that the quantificational



part of *ne wh* items originates in the functional domain of the vP. We therefore predict that multiple *ne wh* items per MEC are impossible (given that there is no clause-internal recursion of the relevant functional projections); see (7). Notice that the lexicalist analysis of *ne wh* items cannot explain this effect, since nothing prevents two generalized quantifiers of the same type to co-occur in one clause. Another important and conceptually appealing feature of the present analysis is a high degree of lexical and structural uniformity of (1)–(3). This implies that (idiosyncratic) restrictions on *wh*-words in (1) and (2) carry over to *ne wh* items, which appears to be empirically correct. For instance, *wh*-words cannot be postmodified in all three types of MECs (8) and lexical restrictions of individual *wh*-items are manifested uniformly across different types of MECs (9).

- (1) Mashe bylo s kem (o chem) pogovorit'.  
Masha:DAT BE:PAST with who (about what) talk  
'There was someone for Masha to talk with (about something).'
- (2) Mashe ne bylo s kem (o chem) pogovorit'.  
Masha:DAT NEG BE:PAST with who (about what) talk  
'There was noone for Masha to talk with (about something).'
- (3) Mashe bylo ne s kem (\*o chem) pogovorit'.  
Masha:DAT be:PAST NEG with who ( about what) talk  
'There was noone for Masha to talk with (about something).'
- (4) Semantics:  $\llbracket \exists_w \rrbracket = \lambda P_{\langle et \rangle} \lambda Q_{\langle et \rangle} \exists x. P(x) \wedge Q(x)$   
Morphology:  $\exists_w \leftrightarrow \emptyset$
- (5) Semantics:  $\llbracket \exists_s \rrbracket = \lambda \pi_{\langle st, t \rangle} \exists p_{\langle st \rangle}. p \in \pi \wedge \vee p = 1$   
Morphology:  $\exists_s \leftrightarrow \{\text{est}', \text{bylo}, \text{budet}\}$



- (7) \*Mne budet nekomu nechego podarit'.  
I:DAT be:FUT NEGwho NEGwhat give  
'There will be nobody whom I can give nothing.'
- (8) a. \*Mashe (ne) bylo s kem umnym pogovorit'.  
Masha:DAT (NEG) BE:PAST with who smart talk  
'There was someone/noone smart for Masha to talk with.'
- b. \*Mashe bylo ne s kem umnym pogovorit'.  
Masha:DAT be:PAST NEG with who smart talk  
'There was noone smart for Masha to talk with.'
- (9) a. Kole est' zachem /\* pochemu zhenit'sja.  
Kolja:DAT BE:PRES why1 / why2 marry  
'Kolja has a reason to get married.'
- b. Kole nezachem /\* nepochemu zhenit'sja.  
Kolja:DAT NEGwhy1 / NEGwhy2 marry

### 3. *Abstracts*

‘Kolja has no reason to get married.’

# ***Modal particles in Croatian? A contrastive description of their meaning and function***

**Marijana Kresić**

**University of Zadar**

The paper discusses the question of whether a formally and functionally distinct word category of modal particles exists in Croatian. In some Germanic languages, such as German, modal particles occurring in utterances like *Wie sind Sie denn darauf gekommen?* (Croatian: *A kako ste se toga sjetili?*) serve to relate the expressed proposition to the pragmatic context (cf. Diewald et al. to appear). In this paper, Croatian will be contrasted with the particle-rich German language in order to demonstrate that both of them possess a class of particles which display largely the same characteristics with respect to form, function and semantics. On the basis of previous works (esp. Engel and Mrazović 1986, Uvanović 2006) a set of modal particles will be proposed for Croatian. As far as the paradigmatic distribution of particles is concerned, there are no 1:1-correspondencies between German and Croatian. Croatian even appears to have more particle lexemes than German. The contrastive analyses in this contribution will focus on the highly frequent and polysemous particles *ma*, *pa* and *a*. It will be shown that the single particle lexemes and their meaning variants are distributed across specific speech acts and sentence types. Two more semantic features will be presented as relevant for the description of the meaning of this word class: on the one hand, particles have doublets in other word classes (e.g. German *denn*, Croatian *a*: conjunction and modal particle), and on the other hand single particle lexemes have different-meaning variants. By drawing on data of spoken language it will be shown that both German modal particles and their Croatian equivalents modalise the proposition expressed by the respective utterance in the same way. A contrastive description is proposed which illustrates the basic function of this word class. It will be argued that modal particles are pragmatically indispensable and typical of spoken Croatian.

## ***Russian defective verbs: synchrony or diachrony?***

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This work studies paradigm gaps of Russian defective verbs, which pose a particular difficulty for current linguistic theory (Albright 2003, Baronian 2009). The phenomenon consists in the difficulty or inability of native speakers to produce certain forms of some verbs. According to Zaliznjak's dictionary (2003), there are about 60 Russian verbs attested as being defective in the 1<sup>sg</sup> non-past. The most cited example is the verb *pobedit'* 'win'. Russian speakers are unable to generate the 1<sup>sg</sup> non-past of this verb replacing it by the periphrastic 'obtain a victory'.

All Russian defective verbs of this type are second conjugation verbs associated with a morphophonemic alternation: the final dental of the stem undergoes palatalization as in, for example, the non-defective verb *vodit'* ('conduct'), whose 1<sup>sg</sup> non-past is *vožu*. Halle (1973) first mentioned the problem of the Russian verbal paradigm gaps in generative grammar, and since then, the question of whether such gaps are synchronically motivated within the Russian verbal system has been raised by various authors. Recent studies by Daland et al. (2007) and Baerman (2008) on this phenomenon deny the existence of synchronic motivations for this defectiveness. According to them, the alternations that second conjugation verbs undergo in the 1<sup>sg</sup> non-past apply automatically (Daland et al. 2007; 937) and are exceptionless Baerman (2008; 83) in the standard language. However, we have found new verbs in the language of computer users, which suggest that the alternations in question do not apply automatically and without exception, and that the reason for the appearance of the Russian defective verbs could be related to the synchronic grammar of the language. These verbs have appeared recently in spoken Russian due to the coming of computer technologies. Here are several examples of them:

Verb in Russian	Transliteration	Origin
флудить	fludit'	to flood
чатить (-ся)	čatit'(-sja)	to chat
коннектиться	konnektit'sja	to connect
(от-) роутить	(ot-) routit'	to route
френдить	frendit'	make friends
апгрейдить	apgrejdit'	to upgrade
(за-) холдить	(za-) holdit'	to hold

In a written survey, we gave 23 native Russian speakers a production task involving 38 verbs: 10 attested defective verbs, 10 neological computer terminology verbs, 10 rare verbs and 8 non-defective high frequency verbs used as fillers. All these verbs are second conjugation verbs and their final dental of the stem could potentially alternate. The results of the production experiment show that Russian speakers experience difficulties in deriving the 1<sup>sg</sup> non-past of defective, new and rare verbs. Also, they do not agree about a single form for the 1<sup>sg</sup> non-past of these verbs, producing forms either with or without alternation. By contrast, the same speakers do not have any difficulty in deriving the same form of non-defective high frequency verbs and largely agree about the only form with alternation for the 1<sup>sg</sup> non-past (see table below for details).

	Subj. 18	Subj. 20	Subj. 21	Subj. 22
<b>разубедить</b> (def.)	разубежу	разубедю	разубежу	разубежу
<b>учудить</b> (def.)	учудю	учужу	учужу	учужу
<b>флудить</b> (new)	флужу	флудю	флужу	флужу
<b>апгрейдить</b> (new)	апгрейжу	апгрейжу	апгрейжу	апгрейдю
<b>ремизить</b> (rare)	ремижу	ремизю	ремижу	ремизю
<b>каверзить</b> (rare)	кавержу	каверзю	каверзю	каверзничаяю
<b>просить</b> (frequent, non-def.)	прошу	прошу	прошу	прошу
<b>изводить</b> (frequent, non-def.)	извожу	извожу	извожу	извожу

A careful comparison of the factors at hand suggests that morphophonemic alternation (the choice of whether to participate or not in the alternation) and word frequency are the significant factors for Russian paradigm gap motivation and thus the paradigm gaps must be synchronically motivated. That is, defectiveness in the Russian verbal system cannot be reduced to attested defective verbs. These results remind us of the observations of Bernštejn (1974), who remarked that the palatal alternation maintained in the standard language is often lost in Russian dialects. We suggest that modern speakers are torn between the two options of this choice in the cases of novel and rare verbs, an analysis coherent with the integrated approach of Albright (2003) in his analysis of Spanish paradigm gaps.

## ***Slavic Languages in the Brain***

**Helena Leheckova**

**University of Helsinki**

The paper deals with the relation between linguistic functions and neurophysiological structures. Evidence about the organization of language in the brain can be obtained only indirectly, one of the most important sources being aphasia. I have studied aphasia in Slavic languages, i.e. highly inflecting languages with a large number of forms for each inflected word. This morphological richness is especially challenging for users with impaired linguistic ability. The manifestation of aphasia in languages with such a complicated grammar yields data not only about the physiological deficit but also about the functioning of language in general.

In my paper I treat aphasia as a linguistic problem and focus on the correspondence between language typology and aphasic symptoms. I present an analysis of the spontaneous speech of Czech patients with different types of aphasia. I argue that this material offers a unique insight into the neuropsychological organization of an inflecting language, and I draw conclusions concerning the storage of grammatical categories in the brain.

# ***Grammaticalization of a “strange” derivation in Russian***

## **Alexander Letuchiy**

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Recently, grammaticalization of voice and valency derivations occupy an important place in linguistic research: see Haspelmath (1990) on passives, Peterson (2007) on applicatives and so on.

In my talk I want to analyze a very odd type of unmarked derivation which is grammaticalized in Russian. It expresses the meaning of threat. For instance, (1b) can be an answer to (1a):

- (1) a. Vasja pojed-et                      v Moskvu  
Vasja go-3SG.NPAST to Moscow  
‘Vasja will go to Moscow’ (intransitive verb);  
b. Ja        jemu    pojed-u  
I.NOM he.DAT go-1SG.NPAST  
‘I will make him something if he go’ (literally ‘I will go (to) him’).

The verb in the construction like (1b) is always in future. The base subject of the verb (for instance, Vasja in (1a)) is now in dative, cf. jemu referring to Vasja in (1b), and the subject position is occupied by the speaker who threatens the base subject.

Therefore, in (1b) we see, indeed, a strange increasing valency derivation (a “threater” is added to the argument structure) – it resembles causative in that the new subject is introduced, whereas the former subject is decreased to the object position.

Although the derivation does not have any specific marker, it can be regarded as grammaticalized. The construction (1b) can be formed from all verbs, therefore, the derivation is productive. This is generally very peculiar for Russian, in which valency derivations rarely remain unmarked.

Grammaticalization of this derivation cannot be accounted for in a usual grammaticalization theory. I think that we must use here the construction grammar approach (see Fillmore 1997, Goldberg 1995), comparing constructions like (1b) to other Russian constructions. Two of them are particularly important in this respect:

1. Construction of threat with verbs like pokazat’ ‘show’:

- (2) Ja        tebe        pokaž-u!  
I.NOM you.DAT show-1SG.NPAST  
‘I will do you something bad!’ (literally ‘I will show you!’).

In constructions like (2), the object of the threat is marked with the dative case, like in (1b).

2. Construction of threat with the object of the threat in nominative case:

- (3) On        u menya poyed-et!  
he.NOM at I.GEN go-3SG.NPAST  
‘I will do him something bad if he will go!’ (literally ‘He will go at me’)

In (3), the subject of the verb is not affected by the derivation, but the oblique argument u menya is added (which is possible with almost all verbs with different meanings).

I suppose that the construction of threat is a hybrid construction between (2) and (3). On the one hand, the lexical verb is preserved in the threat construction (1b), just like in (3).

### 3. Abstracts

On the other hand, the pattern with the subject of threat in the nominative case is borrowed from (2), where this pattern is inherited from the direct use of the verb *pokazat'* 'show'.

The Russian construction of threat is important in several aspects:

- first, it provides a new fact about the set of possible derivations in the languages of the world – particularly, causative-like derivation;
- second, it shows that what synchronically resembles derivation is in fact motivated by merging of two syntactic constructions;
- third, it provides an example of increasing valency-changing derivation – this type of derivations is rather rare in Slavic languages (see Nichols et al. (2004) who show that Slavic languages are mainly 'detransitivizing', that is, they generally do not have increasing / transitivizing derivations).



# *A corpus-based analysis of the locative alternation in Polish and Spanish*

Wojciech Lewandowski

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

In this paper, we provide a typological corpus-based analysis of the locative alternation in Polish and Spanish. As is well known, the locative alternation involves two different argument realizations of the same verb, one of them denoting a change of location (cf. *John sprayed water onto the wall*) and the other denoting a change of state (cf. *John sprayed the wall with water*) (Rappaport and Levin 1988, Pinker 1991). Following Mateu (2001) we argue that in Polish many manner verbs allow both the change of location and the change of state pattern, whereas in Spanish the change of location variant is more restricted. This hypothesis relies on Talmy's (1985, 1991, 2000) typology of satellite-framed languages (e.g., Slavic and Germanic) vs. verb-framed languages (e.g., Romance). In satellite-framed languages (Polish), the Manner component is allowed to be encoded in the verb, whereas the Path remains as a satellite. By contrast, in verb-framed languages (Spanish), the Path is encoded in the verb, whereby the Manner component is not typically allowed to be conflated with the motion verb. Accordingly, Polish should allow more cases of the change of location variants of the locative alternation than Spanish, since this variant involves the lexicalization pattern [conflation of Manner with Motion + Path satellite]. In order to test our hypothesis we collected a random sample of data from the *National Corpus of Polish* and *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual* and constructed a database containing a total of 1840 occurrences of 10 alternating manner verbs (4 Spanish and 6 Polish). Each occurrence was classified according to the construction it represented (change of location or change of state). The diagrams 1 and 2 summarize the relative distribution of manner verbs in the locative alternation variants in Polish and Spanish. A paired t-test was run with the R statistical program in order to test the statistical significance of this distribution. The t-value for Spanish is -3.2303, with 3 degrees of freedom. This is a statistically significant value, with the probability that this distribution could have arisen by chance (p-value) <0.04821. In contrast, the t-value for Polish is -1.6784, with five degrees of freedom and the p-value <0.1541. This is a statistically not significant result, indicating, thus, that there is no pattern of distribution of manner verbs in the locative alternation constructions in Polish. In short, the quantitative analysis of data shows that our prediction is borne out: in Polish, many manner verbs allow both the change of location and change of state variants (e.g., *Smarował masło na chleb* 'He smeared butter on the bread' / *Prysnął wybielacz na koszulę* 'He sprayed bleach on the shirt'; *Posmarował chleb masłem* 'He smeared the bread with butter' / *Spryskał koszulę wybielaczem* 'He sprayed the shirt with bleach'), whereas in Spanish, the change of location variant (cf. *Untó mantequilla en el pan* 'He smeared butter on the bread'), which, as noted, involves conflation of manner with motion plus a path PP, is by far more restricted.

### 3. Abstracts

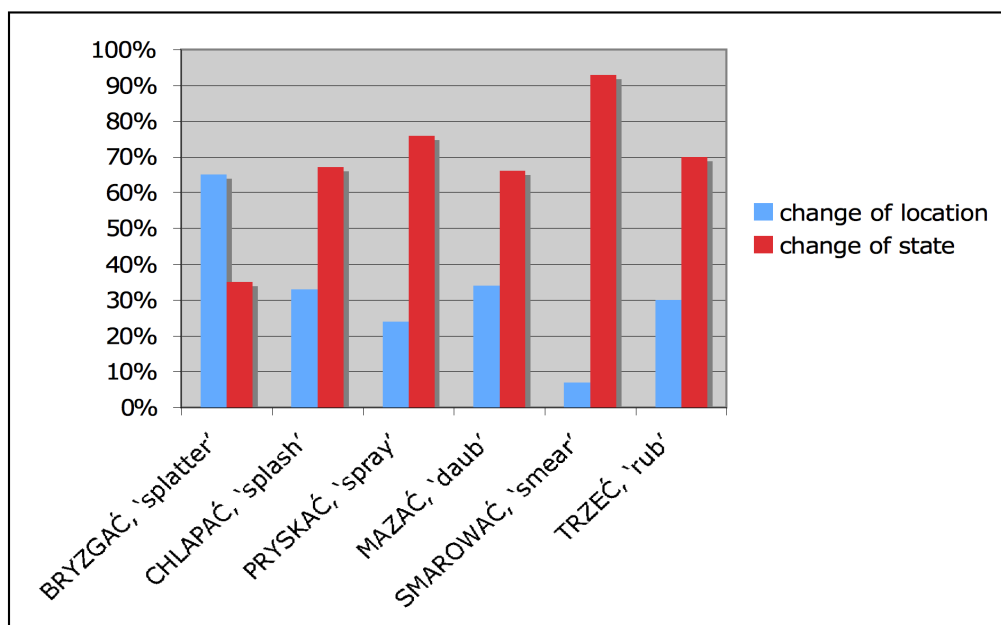


Diagram 1: Distribution of manner verbs in the locative alternation variants in Polish

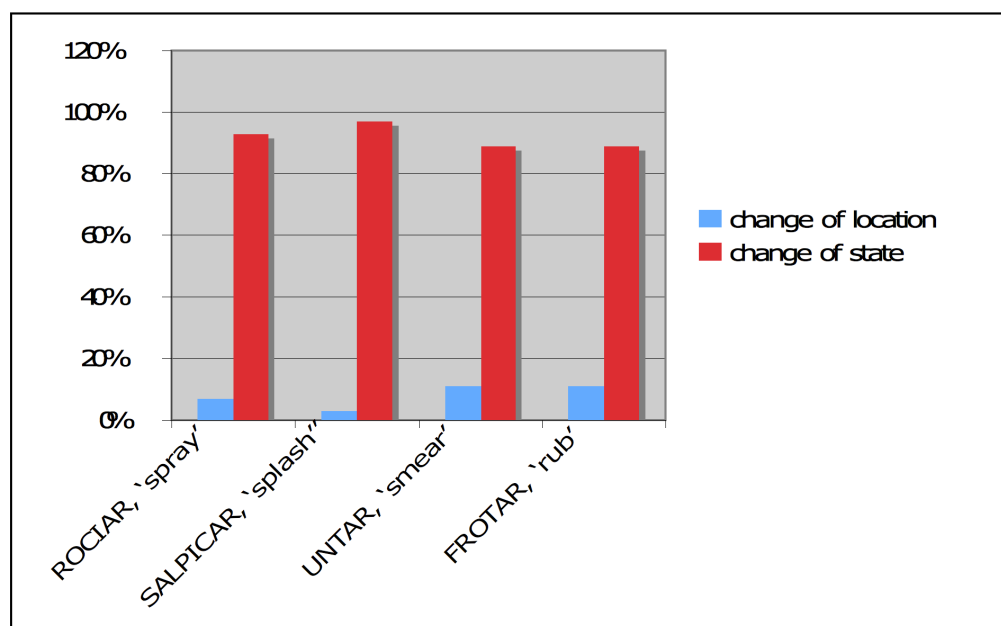


Diagram 2: Distribution of manner verbs in the locative alternation variants in Spanish

# ***About the directional meaning of locative phrases in Polish***

## **Wojciech Lewandowski**

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Languages differ in the ways they describe spatial goals. Variation in the encoding of directed motion events is particularly well-studied. Talmy (1985, 1991, 2000) first observed that in some languages, which he calls *verb-framed*, such as Spanish, the directional meaning is usually encoded in the verb stem (cf. *La pelota entró en la cueva (flotando)* ‘The ball entered the cave (floating)’), whereas in others, which are labeled *satellite-framed*, such as English, the path component is expressed in a satellite, e.g. a particle or a directional phrase (cf. *The bottle floated into the cave*). Another option, disregarded by most studies on motion events, consists in a strategy in which the directionality is neither encoded in the verb stem nor in a satellite (cf. *He ran in the room* which can have both locative and directional interpretation), so that it relies on the pragmatic context. Interestingly, as noted by Nikitina (2008), in a single language more than one of these linguistic resources for describing directionality may compete. Polish, being a satellite-framed language, expresses the directional meaning by means of morphosyntactic marking. For instance, with some prepositions, such as *na* ‘on’ or *pod* ‘under’, *inter alia*, directional goals are distinguished from locations by means of morphological case: while the accusative case denotes directional goals, the locative or instrumental case is a formal marker of locative phrases (cf. *Jan wskoczył na stół* ‘John w-jumped on table-Acc’ [directional reading] vs. *Jan tańczył na stole* ‘John danced on table-Loc’ [locative reading]). However, with some verbs denoting caused motion, such as *kłaść* ‘put’ or *wieszać* ‘hang’, the goal can be marked either with accusative or with locative case. The aim of this paper is to investigate the use of locative phrases as a strategy for expressing goals in Polish. Drawing on the *National Corpus of Polish*, we study the factors that favor the use of locative phrases with directional meaning. Our preliminary observations suggest that this strategy is used exclusively in cases where the directional meaning can be inferred from other components of the construction, usually a causative verb encoding path. As a consequence, locative phrases cannot bear directional meaning with manner verbs. In such a sense, this strategy is parallel to that used in verb-framed languages. On the other hand, the choice of locative phrases instead of the directional ones is related to the conceptualization of the motion event: while the directional phrase profiles the path of motion, the latter is used when emphasis is on the endpoint of the movement (cf. Tutton 2009). The second factor is particularly important for the metaphorical extensions of motion constructions in domains such as emotions. For instance, in metaphorical expressions where a strong mental identification with the goal of movement is implied, the locative phrase is preferred (*Postaw się na moim miejscu* ‘Put yourself in my place’ [lit. stand yourself on my place-Loc]). The use of the directional phrase in similar contexts suggests a lack of affective connection with the metaphorical goal (*Postaw się na konsumpcyjny ideał życiowy* ‘Adjust yourself to a consumptionist life-style’ [lit. stand yourself on a consumptionist life’s ideal-Acc]). We illustrate this important issue, providing a network of metaphorical senses related to the directional interpretation of locative phrases.

## **“Budalo jedna!”-Type Construction in Contemporary Serbian**

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The paper describes a particular construction of Serbian: the *qualifying exclamatory construction*;<sup>5</sup> cf. (1):

- (1) a. *Lažljivice jedna!* lit. ‘Lier<sub>FEM</sub> one!’ | *Budale jedne!* lit. ‘Fools ones!’ | *Magarče jedan tvrdoglavi!* lit. ‘Donkey one stubborn!’  
 b. *Iznervirala me je, alapača jedna!* lit. ‘She annoyed me, gossip one!’ | *On će meni da odgovara, dubre jedno bezobrazno!* lit. ‘He will contradict me, trash one impudent!’

The construction consists minimally of a human evaluative noun  $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$  immediately followed by the indefinite adjective JEDAN#III.2 ‘one’ and has a heavy stress on the noun, with falling contour. It belongs to the colloquial style and is used either to directly address a person, as in (1a), in which case the noun is in the vocative, or to refer to a third person, as in (1b), with the noun in the nominative. It can be glossed, roughly, as ‘What an  $N_{\text{eval}}$  you are <this person is>!’.

An  $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$  is a qualifying lexeme whose meaning involves an axiological dimension. It ascribes a property P to an individual, associating P with a value judgment: to have the property P is bad/good. Typically,  $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$  used in the construction under discussion is a negative evaluative noun. A small number of positive  $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$  are allowed as well: nouns specifically reserved for children (i.e., containing the component ‘child’ in their definitions), such as VREDNICA ‘industrious child’ or PAMETNICA ‘clever child’; the use of any other positive  $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$ , as well as that of “children nouns” to refer to adults, produces an ironic effect.

Serbian has another closely related construction in which  $N_{\text{eval}}$  denotes a state of affairs; again, in most cases,  $N_{\text{eval}}$  is a negative evaluation:

- (2) *Užas jedan!* lit. ‘Horror one!’ | *Ludilo jedno!* lit. ‘Madness one!’ | *Sramota jedna da se ovako nešto toleriše!* lit. ‘Shame one that something like this is being tolerated!’

In what follows, we will be referring to the variant of the construction illustrated in (1); most of the things that will be said about it are also valid for the variant exemplified in (2).

The qualifying exclamatory construction, which is quite common in Serbian and yet has not been described in any detail (a simple mention of the construction, as belonging to “special sentence types”, is made in Stanojčić & Popović, (1997; 370 and 373), is an example of a non-descriptive, or signalative, linguistic expression (Mel’čuk 2001; 243ff,354). Signalatives include, among other things, all interrogative, imperative and exclamative constructions. The dominant component of the meaning of a signalative contains a reference to the Speaker (his feelings, wishes, attitudes, opinions, etc.) and has the form ‘I [= the Speaker] signal that

<sup>5</sup> The construction exists in Croatian and Bosnian, as well; in this paper we use Serbian data but our statements are valid for the three languages. The construction in question is marginally found also in Macedonian and Western Bulgarian dialects; outside South Slavic, it is attested in Czech and Slovak.

I feel/believe/wish/...' Signalatives are characterized by an important linguistic property that opposes them to descriptive expressions: they cannot be negated, interrogated or freely modified. So far, their lexicographic description has not received enough attention (see, for instance, Wierzbicka 1991 and Dostie 2004). The paper is an attempt to treat, on the basis of Serbian data, a typologically important general question of how to describe (at least one type of) signalative expressions in the dictionary. Our frame of reference is the Meaning-Text linguistic theory (Kahane 2003), in particular Explanatory-Combinatorial Lexicology (Mel'čuk et al. 1995, Mel'čuk 2006).

We argue that in the above construction JEDAN#III.2 intensifies the Speaker's negative feelings about someone whose behavior he evaluates negatively by calling him an  $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$ ; thus, the meaning of the construction is 'You are <This person is> an  $N_{\text{eval}}$  and I feel very negatively about your <their> being  $N_{\text{eval}}$ '.

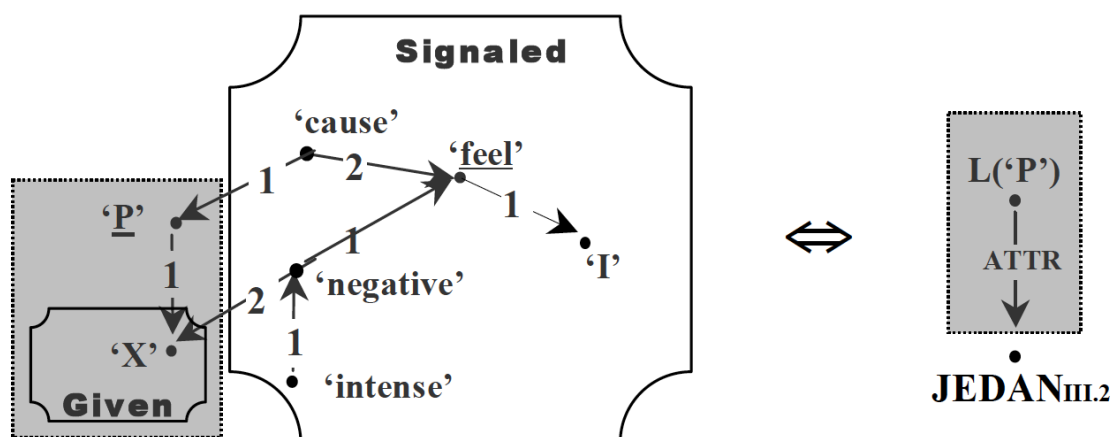
There are two extensions of the qualifying exclamatory construction. The first one, illustrated in (3a), covers the use of JEDAN#III.2 with positive evaluative nouns (other than those reserved for children), which produces an ironic effect. The second use, which implicates non-evaluative nouns, results in the "transfer" of negativeness to the noun. It is possible only if the noun in question has some negative, linguistic or cultural, connotations Iordanskaja and Mel'čuk (to appear); thus, the noun KOČIJAŠ 'coachman' which has a linguistic connotation of vulgarity (cf. *psovati kao kočijaš* '[to] swear as a coachman') can be used in such a way, unlike the noun OBUČAR 'shoemaker', for instance, which does not have any cultural or linguistic connotations; cf. (3b).

- (3) a. *Genije jedan!* 'Genius one!'  $\approx$  'You are < this person is > opposite of a genius, and I feel very negatively about it'.  
 b. *Kočijašu jedan!* 'Coachman one!'  $\approx$  'You act as a typical coachman [which is bad], and I feel very negatively about it' vs. *#Obučaru jedan!* 'Shoemaker one!'  $\approx$  '???'

Since all these effects are attributable to the indefinite adjective JEDAN#III.2, we describe the qualifying exclamatory construction in the lexical entry of this lexeme, which is a particular word-sense of the vocable (= polysemous word) JEDAN, whose sketch is also provided (for a classical description of the vocable, see Stevanović et al. (1967; 574–5).

Lexicographic definition of the lexeme JEDAN#III.2 in standard, i.e., linear, form and in the form of a semantic network, follows.

[*P*] *jedan*#III.2!  $\equiv$  '[a contextually given X is a P,] I signaling that I feel very negatively towards X because of X's being a P—as if X were one [= *jedan*#III.1] typical representative of the class of Ps'.



Meaning description of the lexeme JEDAN#III.2 poses an interesting theoretical problem. Traditionally, a lexeme is understood as being a set of signs whose lexical signifieds are identical. But in this case we allow for some elements of a lexeme to have different signifieds: as we have seen, JEDAN#III.2 intensifies negative feelings in some cases and positive in others; also, in some uses it produces an ironic effect and in others it does not. If we followed the Meaning-Text lexicographical principles to the letter, we would actually have to split JEDAN#III.2 into three lexemes. However, these would-be lexemes are lexicographically identical except for the semantic difference in question. Moreover, intensifying the positive feeling constitutes a very special case: it is possible only with a few evaluative nouns when addressed to children. Therefore, we prefer to take care of this semantic “deviation” by means of an amendment to the definition of JEDAN#III.2 and consider it a single lexeme. The same type of treatment is reserved for the rhetorical marker “**ironic**”, appearing in strictly circumscribed environments.

# Verba Dicendi in Croatian Church Slavonic

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The semantic frame of verba dicendi includes: the speaker; the addressee; the topic (the person or the thing that the speech is about); the benefactor (the person for whose benefit, or against whom the speech is aimed); the information (the content of the speech), and sometimes the instrument. The aim of this paper is to describe the syntactic realization of these roles in Croatian Church Slavonic. The speaker, whose referent is typically human, is in active sentences usually realized as a subject in the nominative case. In passive sentences it is realized as a genitive complement of the preposition *ot* 'from, of', less frequently as a locative complement of the preposition *po* 'by', or as the instrumental without preposition. With most of the surveyed verbs the addressee can be expressed as an indirect object in the dative, with or without the preposition *kъ* 'to'. The exception is the verb *prosi* 'beg, request, ask', as well as its derivatives such as *vprašati*/*vprosi* 'ask, question', with which this role is realized either as a direct object in the accusative or as a PP consisting of *u* 'in' + accusative, or *ot* + genitive. The addressee of the verb *vъzvati* 'call (out)' can be expressed either as a PP consisting of *kъ* + dative, or as a direct object in the accusative. With the verb *vъvpiti* 'cry out' this role can be expressed by *kъ* + dative, as well as by *protiv* 'against' + dative. The topic is most often realized as a PP consisting of *o* 'about' + locative or *ot* + genitive. The latter is a loan translation for Latin *de* + genitive. Quite exceptionally, it can be expressed by *ob* 'round, about' + locative, for example: *kako nam' pravi ob tom' edan' notarъ komu estъ ime lav* (C Žg 79rv). With verbs *otgovarati*, *otvečati* 'answer, reply' and *vprašati*/*vprosi* this role can also be realized as a PP consisting of *na* 'on' + accusative or *kъ* + dative: *vprašaei ego na zdravie* (Br VO 295b), *ne otgov(a)raeši li nič'če na ona · ka tebi ob'mičut' se ot sêh' ·* (C Par 250r), *ničesože otvečaeši k sim' · êže si na te svêdêtel'stvuât ·* (M Vat4 75ab), *ni smê k'to ot dne togo vprašati ego k tomu* (M Roč 122b). I have also noted one example of the verb *skazati* 'tell (at length)' with *po* + locative: *očito skazati imêu po vsem' razumno* (C Pet 140r). With the verb *vъvpiti* this role can also be expressed by *nad* 'over' + instrumental: *v'zvapiše vinograđane nad p'seniceu i ozimcemъ* (Br Vat5 234d). The fact that the speech is directed against somebody is indicated by the PP consisting of *na* + accusative or *protiv(u)* + dative. In one example with the verb *govoriti* this is indicated by *suprotiv'* + dative: *i ne smih' suprotiv' nim' govoriti* (C Oxf 23b). If it is necessary to stress for whose benefit one speaks, this can be done by a PP consisting of *za* 'for' + accusative, but with the verb *prosi* it can also be achieved by an indirect object in the dative: *prosi tebê zn(a)m(e)niê ot g(ospod)a b(og)a tvoego* (M Vat4 3d). As expected, the instrument is usually expressed by an NP in the instrumental case: *g(lago)la g(ospod)ъ rukoû anĵea pr(o)r(o)ka* (Br VO 459c), or less frequently by a PP consisting of *po* + locative: *ki govoril' e(stъ) po pr(oro)cih'* (C Par 138v). The information, which is typically the complement of the verb of speaking, is syntactically the most interesting part of the frame. It can be either nominal or clausal in structure. The nominal complement is either a direct object NP in the accusative or a predication (small clause) consisting of an accusative NP (DP) followed by a participial construction which agrees with it in gender, number and case: *êko sego c(êsa)rstvuûca dêem'* (Br VO 74d), *kogo i g(lago)lât' č(lovê)ci suča* (Br Pm 232b). Clausal complements can be finite or infinitival. The first group consists of clauses introduced by complementizers *êko* ([jako]), *da*, *ače/ako*, as well as different kinds of wh-interrogatives. The second group consists of: 1. infinitives without overt subjects, 2. infinitives with accusative subjects, 3. infinitives

with dative subjects and 4. infinitives with nominative subjects (with reflexive verbs, i.e. in se-passives). There are two types of constructions *dativus cum infinitivo*. The first are the so-called control structures in which the dative NP is an indirect object of the verb of speaking (addressee) and controls the subject of the infinitive: *da povelita lûdemъ prъvu pasku stvoriti* (Br VO 194d), *reci mi ti ženu i decu i blago moe ostaviti* (C Žg 104r), and the second are the structures in which the dative NP is only a subject of the infinitive: *B(og)ъ же ѣже прѣжде рече уsti vsěh' pr(o)r(o)kъ · postradati h(rъst)u svoemu · i isplni tako ·* (MVat4 113d). The information can further be presented either as direct or as indirect speech. In written texts, which have no orthographic means for marking direct speech, in many instances it is not easy to determine whether we are dealing with direct or indirect speech, and sometimes it is almost impossible. The distinguishing features of direct and indirect speech in Croatian Church Slavonic are the following: (i) indirect speech is typically a clause, while direct speech may be less than a clause, or may consist of several sentences; (ii) as in all other languages, person shift is the most prominent feature for distinguishing direct and indirect speech; (iii) indirect speech can be marked with a special verb form. The use of conditional, as well as infinitive and participial constructions, usually implies indirect speech; (iv) the occurrence of imperative and vocative is restricted to direct speech; (v) indirect questions introduced by hypothetical complementizers *ače* and *ako* may occur only in indirect speech. On the other hand, the complementizers *ěko* and *da* may be used in both direct and indirect speech. This suggests the existence of a speech report continuum in Croatian Church Slavonic, where some constructions display features of both direct and indirect speech; (vi) a reporting marker can be a combination of any verb of speaking with the verb *reči* or *glagolati*. In that case the speech report is always a direct speech: *i uprosi ego reki · čto esi slišal'* (Br VO 314d). Direct and indirect speech in Croatian Church Slavonic do not differ in their position relative to the reporting verb. In both cases, the reporting verb may precede or follow the speech report, and in both cases the speech report may be discontinuous, i.e. parenthesis is possible in both cases. Only in examples from (vi) the speech report must always follow the reporting verb.



# ***Arbitrary or Motivated? Aspectual Prefixes and Russian Verbs of Perception***

**Tore Nessel**

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At the heart of the notoriously complex Russian aspectual system is a simple rule whereby a perfective verb is formed by the addition of a prefix to an imperfective verb. Thus aspectual partners of *delat'* 'do' and *pisat'* 'write' are formed by adding the prefixes *s-* and *na-*: *sdelat'* and *napisat'*. Since Russian has 19 different perfectivizing prefixes (Krongauz 1998), the question arises as to how native speakers of Russian know which prefix to choose for a given verb. Is the choice arbitrary, thus representing idiosyncrasies that native speakers simply have to memorize? Or are there linguistically significant generalizations motivating the choice of prefix? As a first step in a larger project on prefixation and semantic classes, I offer in this paper a thorough study of all verbs classified as perception verbs in the Russian National Corpus (<http://www.ruscorpora.ru>). I argue that for this semantic class the choice of prefix is indeed motivated. The contribution of my study is threefold. First, I demonstrate that the two prefixes *u-* and *po-* are dominant for perception verbs. Second, it is shown that *u-* combines with verbs of so-called passive perception (e.g. *slyšat'* 'hear'), while *po-* is used for active perception (e.g. *služat'* 'listen'). Third, I advocate the Overlap Hypothesis, according to which the observed correlations are motivated by conceptual overlap between stem and prefix. In particular, it is shown that *u-* involves movement away from an implicit observer's domain of accessibility (cf. Zaliznjak 2006), and that this meaning is compatible with the meaning of passive perception verbs. As for *po-* and active perception, I suggest that atelicity is relevant for both stem and prefix. In this way, the analysis provides evidence in support of the Overlap Hypothesis, and has implications for other semantic classes in Russian, as well as for the aspectual system of other Slavic languages.

## ***Grammaticalization properties of Russian primary prepositions***

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The paper focuses on the diachronic aspects of grammaticalization properties characteristic of the primary prepositions in Russian (*v, na, dlja, u, pered*). According to cross-linguistic paths of grammaticalization the content words (relational nouns or transitive verb) serve as the source for secondary prepositions which then develop the properties of the central members of the class (i.e. primary prepositions). The former in some languages undergo morphologization turning into case affixes. (Hopper and Traugott 2003; 110), (Lehmann 2002). Russian primary prepositions give no evidence of morphologization. The aim of the study is to discover the grammaticalization changes of Russian primary prepositions on the basis of changes in the distribution of various types of uses that reflect the semantic change. The study is corpus-based ([www.ruscorpora.ru](http://www.ruscorpora.ru)).

The study shows that Russian primary prepositions cannot be strictly regarded as a homogeneous class in terms of grammaticalization. Some of them (*v, dlja, pod*) are characterized by the properties typical of strongly grammaticalized elements cross-linguistically (they are monosyllabic, unstressed) as well as specific to Russian (e.g. they are obligatorily used with the allomorph of the 3SG pronoun with epenthetic /n/: *dlja nego*; cf. *vopreki emu* – secondary preposition). However, some primary prepositions are less grammaticalized (*cherez, radi, mezhdu*) and form the periphery of the group.

Moreover, the central primary prepositions (*v, u, pod, dlja*) can be regarded as developing in two major directions. Some of them (*v, na, pod, za, pered*) in the course of time come to be more frequently used in the contexts where the head verb obligatorily governs a particular preposition and in such cases the verb-preposition combination is partly lexicalized (*izvinjat'sja pered* – ‘apologize to’, *otlichat'sja ot* – ‘differ from’). For such prepositions the connection with the head verb is strengthened. The other group of prepositions (*u, dlja, iz*) is not characterized by the increase of government uses; the development of such prepositions is that of partial semantic and distributional equality with the Dative and Genitive cases (possessive and experiential uses).

The diachronic study of Russian primary prepositions shows that such prepositions undergo grammaticalization changes but those that affect rather the distribution of their uses in texts than their general formal properties.

# *Arguments of Russian deverbal nominals: A corpus study*

Anna Pazelskaya

ABBYY Software

This paper presents a corpus study<sup>6</sup> of deverbal nominals in Russian derived with three most productive nominalizing suffixes; the question under discussion is how often these nominals express their semantic arguments, and how they prefer to do this. In a number of languages deverbal nominals derived via various patterns have been reported to display different aspectual (see Brinton 1995) and event structure (Martin 2008) properties. Previous investigations showed that Russian most productive pattern *-ni(e)/ti(e)* (*razrushit* ‘destroy’ – *razrushenie* ‘destruction’) in general shows a slight bias for transitive verbal stems; pattern *-k(a)* (*obrabotat* ‘process’ — *obrabotka* ‘processing’) displays a strong preference for transitive verbal stems; and nominals formed with zero derivational suffix (*udarit* ‘to knock’ — *udar* ‘a knock’) are mostly derived from intransitive stems.

It is expected that deverbal nominals derived via these three patterns will differ in their behavior in “real life”, i.e. in texts: e.g., nominals derived via “transitive-friendly” models might more often overtly express by them their arguments, especially their external argument.

In our study, for every pattern, a sample of 1100 examples of derived nominals was collected and every use of the nominal was annotated for the following parameters:

- presence and expression of internal and external arguments;
- other arguments and adjuncts;
- “control context”, i.e. a context where one or more of the arguments of the deverbal noun are controlled by any other NP in the sentence.

The study shows that:

- nominals in *-ni(e)/ti(e)* more often express their external argument with a possessive pronoun;
- zero-nominals express their internal argument more rarely than other nominals, but they more often have by them a prepositional phrase referring to non-argumental participants of the situation;
- *-k(a)*-nominals are more often used in control contexts and much more often have by them their external argument expressed with an NP in genitive case.

These results generally confirm the a priori expectations, especially with respect to expression of external arguments (the exact method of expression can also be explained on the basis of what we know about these types of nominals). Zero-nominals, however, behave completely unpredictably, which raises the question of argument inheritance from verb to deverbal nominal, both generally (which seems to be the case, but see Grimshaw 1992, Markantonatou 1995, Marantz 1997, Alexiadou 2001; a.m.o.), and in the case of zero-nominals in Russian.

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<sup>6</sup> Based on the Russian National Corpus, [www.ruscorpora.ru](http://www.ruscorpora.ru).

## ***Clitic Positioning in Croatian and Functional Sentence Perspective***

**Anita Peti-Stantić**

**Philosophical Faculty of the University of Zagreb**

I understand the scrambling as semantically driven notion which affects syntactic, semantic and information-structural properties of a sentence. Although all western South Slavic languages are canonical scrambling languages, clitics and clitic clusters present a special problem because they tend to be much more restricted in their distribution than the other word classes.

For that reason I will present the types of Croatian clitic placements that have been the source of much controversy in contemporary linguistics and try to explain them. As noted, language such as Croatian, although claimed to be robust Wackernagel type languages, permit many unexpected clitic/clitic cluster positions. These positions involve the following phenomena:

1. Clitic positioning lower than second position (“clitic third” or “delayed clitic placement”)
2. Clitic positioning apparently internal to or “splitting” NPs.

The actual type of phenomena can be illustrated by the following sentences:

- (1) a. *Od jučer **ga** prodaje za velike novce.* (no splitting; neutral reading)  
‘Since yesterday (s)he’s selling it for big bucks.’  
b. *Od jučer prodaje **ga** za velike novce.* (no splitting; neutral reading)  
‘Since yesterday (s)he’s selling it for big bucks.’  
c. *Za velike **ga** novce prodaje od jučer.* (neutral reading preferred)  
‘Since yesterday (s)he’s selling it for big bucks.’  
d. *Od jučer prodaje za velike **ga** novce.*  
‘Since yesterday (s)he’s selling it for big BUCKS.’ or ‘Since yesterday (s)he’s selling it for BIG bucks.’ or JUST ‘Since yesterday (s)he’s selling it for big bucks.’  
e. \**Od jučer prodaje za **ga** velike novce.*

(Bold = clitic, underline = constituent being split)

Since these sentences differ radically from what has been reported in the literature, I hope to be able to show that they can be consistently explained by an overarching functional perspective that polices both syntax and phonology to determine which scrambling possibilities are acceptable.

# ***Interactions between Some Lexical Markers of Evidentiality and the Grammatical Evidentials in Macedonian***

**Elena Petroska**

**Indiana University**

The subject of interest in this paper is the interaction of some lexical markers and the grammatical markers (verbal *l*-forms) in Macedonian.

Macedonian is a Slavic and Balkan language with grammatical marking of evidentiality. This grammatical coding of evidentiality presents two main indirect evidential meanings: reportative and inferential. The goal of this paper is to take into consideration not only the grammatical but also the lexical coding of evidentiality.

Grammatical evidential encodes a more general evidential meaning, and the evidential lexical marker (*navodno* ‘allegedly, supposedly’, *ochigledno*, *izgleda* ‘apparently’) specifies the meaning (reportive or inferential). The focus is on the cooccurrence of these lexical and grammatical markers. How the lexical items can specify (into narrower terms) the Macedonian indirect evidential? If the grammatical evidential and the lexical marker present a concord reading (Kehajrov 198 in Wiemer and Plungjan 2009), the evidential function would be more specific (reportative with *navodno*, and inferential with *izgleda*).

***The Old Russian periphrastic form bjaše xodja: origins, semantics and use***

**Pavel Petrukhin**

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The participial construction my paper is dedicated to is made up of the auxiliary verb *byti* in form of the imperfect or aorist and the active present participle (cf. *Kain" že bě dělaja zemlju* ‘Cain was a tiller of the ground’). It is testified both in Old Church Slavonic and in Old Russian. There is no scholarly consensus as to the origins of this construction. Thus according to A.V. Issatschenko and B.A. Uspenskij it is a calque of the corresponding Greek form; R. Večerka and R. Růžicka, however, characterize it as pertaining to the original Slavic verbal system. Hence the East Slavic examples of the form in question can be considered as: 1) the original Slavic construction; 2) a borrowing from Greek into Old Church Slavonic and consequently into Old Russian; 3) pertaining to the South Slavic dialects the Old Church Slavonic texts were based on, but unfamiliar to the East Slavic dialects. My paper will present new evidence in favor of the “Greek origin” version. Interestingly, the Greek construction is not original either, apparently coming in its turn from Biblical Hebrew. So we are dealing here with a typical biblical construction with a long history of its own. Although this circumstance, as far as I know, has never been mentioned in scholarly literature directed to Slavic material, it should be necessarily taken into account not only in order to clarify the origins of this form, but also in order to adequately describe its semantics and understand the mechanisms of its adoption and reanalysis by East Slavic scribes. The paper will analyze the semantics and use of the form in question in the Old Russian Primary Chronicle. Additionally, I will demonstrate how the analysis can contribute to understanding the meaning and linguistic structure of some “obscure” fragments of the Primary Chronicle.

# ***Towards the automatic construction of a valence dictionary for Polish***

**Adam Przepiórkowski**

**Institute of Computer Science, Polish Academy of Sciences**

Valence acquisition is the task consisting in the automatic extraction (learning) of subcategorisation – or argument structure – from corpora. The aim of this paper is to present the results of a recent project aiming at the automatic acquisition of a valence dictionary for Polish from a morphosyntactically annotated corpus.

The procedure follows the general methodology common from Brent 1993 and Manning 1993, and is divided into two steps: the linguistic step in which, for each sentence in the corpus, all possible argument phrases are identified and candidate subcategorisation frames are proposed, and the statistical step, in which statistical tests are applied to observations collected in the previous step, to decide which of them are statistically reliable. In this paper we will concentrate on the linguistic step and on the final results.

The empirical basis for the experiments is the morphosyntactically annotated IPI PAN Corpus of Polish (<http://korpus.pl/>), at the time of the experiments the largest publicly accessible Polish corpus. For each sentence in the corpus, a shallow parser (Spejd; <http://nlp.ipipan.waw.pl/Spejd/>) was used to identify nominal phrases, prepositional phrases, and other types of potential argument phrases. For this purpose, a shallow grammar of Polish was developed within the project, consisting of about 50 general rules identifying syntactic group and a couple of hundred of specific rules identifying various lexical constructions and correcting the morphosyntactic analysis.

Various statistical tests were used for filtering observations into a valence dictionary, and various evaluation methods were used, including a comparison of the automatic results to manually created valence dictionaries, and a comparison to a small test corpus manually annotated with valence frames. The numerical results are far from impressive; e.g., the dictionary-based evaluation gives only 53% precision and 31.5% recall, but we argue that these relatively poor results follow to some extent from the inherent weaknesses of these standard evaluation procedures. The manual inspection of the results shows that the system has automatically acquired a great deal of linguistic knowledge, and a sample of the results will be presented in the talk to substantiate the claim.

To the best of our knowledge, these were the first experiments in the fully automatic acquisition of valence frames from morphosyntactically annotated corpora for any Slavic language, with previous work concentrating on English and German.

## ***Towards the National Corpus of Polish***

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**Polish Scientific Publishers PWN**

This paper presents a new corpus project, aiming at building a national corpus of Polish.

For Polish, the biggest Slavic language of the EU, there still does not exist a national corpus, i.e., a large, balanced, linguistically annotated and publicly available corpus. Currently, there exist three Polish corpora which are — to various extents — publicly available. The largest and the only one that is fully morphosyntactically annotated is the IPI PAN Corpus (<http://korpus.pl/>), containing over 250 million segments (over 200 million orthographic words), but — as a whole — it is rather badly balanced. The PWN Corpus of Polish (<http://korpus.pwn.pl/>), more carefully balanced, contains over 100 million words, of which only a 7.5 million sample is freely available for search. The PELCRA Corpus of Polish (<http://korpus.ia.uni.lodz.pl/>) also contains about 100 million words, all of which are publicly searchable.

What makes the National Corpus of Polish project different from a typical YACP (Yet Another Corpus Project) is 1) the fact that all four partners in the project have in the past constructed corpora of Polish (including the 3 corpora mentioned above), 2) the partners bring into the project varying areas of expertise and experience, so the synergy effect is anticipated, 3) the corpus will be built with an eye on specific applications in various fields, including lexicography (the corpus will be the empirical basis of a new large general dictionary of Polish) and natural language processing (a number of NLP tools will be constructed within the project).



# ***Manual annotation of the National Corpus of Polish with Anotatoria***

**Adam Przepiórkowski & Grzegorz Murzynowski**

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The aim of this paper is to present the procedure of the manual annotation of a subcorpus of the National Corpus of Polish (Przepiórkowski et al. 2008).

Within the National Corpus of Polish (NCP) project, a one-million word balanced and representative subcorpus is being manually annotated with information at the following linguistic levels:

1. Segmentation: disambiguating cases of segmental ambiguity, as in Polish "gdzieś" which may be segmented into two segments "gdzie|ś" (as in: "Gdzieś był?" – "Where were you?", "ś" is a mobile verbal clitic), or treated as a single segment "gdzieś" ("somewhere").
2. Morphosyntactic marking with an exhaustive morphological tagset, the so-called IPI PAN Tagset (Przepiórkowski and Woliński 2003).
3. Partial syntactic marking, consisting in the identification of main syntactic constituents (nominal groups, prepositional groups, etc.), without necessarily dealing with all attachment ambiguities.
4. Named Entity Recognition, i.e., identifying main types of names, dates, etc.
5. Word-sense annotation, where, for a given collection of lexemes, each occurrence of a form of the lexeme is assigned its appropriate meaning.

At each level annotation is performed in accordance with the current best practices, i.e., each information is added independently by two annotators (more on that below).

Manual annotation is carried out by means of the on-line Anotatoria system (Hajnicz et al. 2008), originally developed within another project carried out at ICS PAS and used for the annotation of syntactic arguments with their semantic classes. Anotatoria has a typical client-server architecture, where clients are simply web browsers connecting with the central database containing the annotated corpus and a web interface for annotating the corpus.

Anotatoria has been intensively modified for the purpose of NCP. First, it controls dependencies between annotation levels, e.g., it makes sure that only morphosyntactically marked sentences are subject to partial syntactic marking and named entity marking, but these two latter levels of annotation are independent and may be adduced in any order. Second, the resolution of conflicts between annotators is more careful: while originally Anotatoria asked the two annotators to agree on the right annotation and involved the super-annotator only in case such agreement was not reached, here Anotatoria informs the two annotators that there is a difference in a given fragment, without – however – informing them what the other annotation looks like. This forces the annotators to look again at their own annotation and perhaps correct an obvious mistake. If, however, annotators abide by their decisions, the case is sent to the super-annotator who 1) decides on the right annotation, 2) sends feedback to the annotators, 3) perhaps modifies the annotation guidelines accordingly.

We expect this procedure to lead to the rapid increase of inter-annotator agreement during the annotation process and, consequently, to the very high quality of the manually annotated corpus – a prerequisite for training automatic annotation tools.

## ***The ‘Orphan Accusative’ in Slovene: Grammatical features lexicalized***

**Gilbert C. Rappaport**

**University of Texas at Austin**

Perlmutter and Orešnik (1973) analyze what they called the Orphan Accusative, found among the Slavic languages only in Slovene. The phenomenon is observed in certain ellipsis constructions licensing an Identity of Sense reading, in which a head noun in an oblique case context is omitted in the answer under identity with a noun in the paired question, the answer comprising modifiers constituting the new information. When the omitted noun (present, e.g., in a paired question) is feminine singular (1) or non-singular (dual or plural) of any gender (2), the accusative of the modifiers is in the expected form, corresponding to the question. When the omitted noun is masculine singular, the modifiers take the morphological form of the genitive. While this is expected for an animate noun, it is unexpected for an inanimate noun (3), where the accusative is normally syncretic with the nominative. This is the Orphan Accusative.

The analysis by Perlmutter and Orešnik shows convincingly that (and we simplify) the Orphan Accusative is related to two key facts of Slovene. First, as in all Slavic languages with nominal case, the accusative case of masculine animates is syncretic with the genitive in the singular. Moreover, throughout the fully cased Slavic languages, the accusative third-person masculine singular pronoun has the same form as the genitive even when denoting an inanimate object, indicating that this pronoun is lexically identified as animate regardless of reference. Second, Slovene (alone among Slavic languages) uses the same third-person pronoun to denote Identity of Sense and Identity of Reference (note the ambiguity of (4)). The type of ellipsis illustrated in (1)-(3) represents the former usage (often rendered in English by the pronoun ‘one’). Perlmutter and Orešnik argue that the facts are explained by a derivation of the ellipsis in question through the intermediation of a pronoun which is a) marked animate and b) deleted after modifier agreement.

While the basic theses of this analysis seem convincing, we would agree with Zwicky (1987) that it is couched in a highly derivational framework based on questionable assumptions (at least now, 35 years later, to be fair!); we disagree with Zwicky’s conclusion that a non-derivational approach is indicated. What seems to be lost in the discussion is the uniqueness of Slovene in exhibiting Orphan Accusatives.

We have been developing a model of Minimalist Morphology which pursues the idea that language-specific properties be limited to the lexicon. This is a non-trivial program, because lexical information would be of an impoverished nature, in the form of uninterpretable features; these must be removed from the derivation by morphological spell-out rules, which replace those features with (phonologically) interpretable exponents. Moreover, an A-Morphous approach (cf. Anderson 1992) greatly simplifies the derivation assumed by Perlmutter and Orešnik, because lexically empty categories like personal pronouns and auxiliaries are in fact feature bundles which are assigned phonological form only ‘later’ in the derivation. What distinguishes Slovene from the other Slavic languages is the lexical fact that in this language the feature bundles representing personal pronouns can be used to convey Identity of Sense. It is then a straightforward matter to account for the spell-out of this bundle. Descriptively, it is phonologically zero in the presence of other NP material, and vocalized as a personal pronoun when it represents the entire nominal phrase. In fact we would opt for a more syntactic account appealing to the distinction of a NP anaphor (in the former case) versus DP

anaphor (in the latter).

- (1) a. Katero ajdo hočete?  
'Which.ACC.FEM.SG buckwheat.ACC.FEM.SG do you want?'  
b. (Hočem) navadno (ajdo).  
'(I want) ordinary.ACC.FEM.SG (buckwheat)'
- (2) a. Katere površnike hočete?  
'What-kinds-of.ACC=NOM.PL raincoats do you want?'  
b. (Hočem) navadne (površnike).  
'(I want) ordinary.ACC=NOM.PL (raincoats).'
- (3) a. Kateri jechmen hočete?  
'What-kind-of.ACC=NOM.MASC.SG barley.ACC=NOM.MASC.SG do you want?'  
b. (Hočem) navadnega.  
'(I want) ordinary.ACC=GEN.MASC.SG  
c. (Hočem) navaden jechmen  
'(I want) ordinary.ACC=NOM.MASC.SG barley.ACC=NOM.MASC.SG)  
d. \*Hočem navaden/\*Navaden.  
'(I want ordinary.ACC=NOM.MASC.SG./'Ordinary.ACC=NOM.MASC.SG.)'
- (4) Stane je videl plav avto in tudi Tone ga je videl.  
'Stane saw a blue car and Tone also saw it/one'

## ***Let's Talk about Postnominal Adjectives!***

**Paweł Rutkowski**

**University of Warsaw**

The aim of this paper is to report an empirical study that sheds new light on a recent debate over the syntactic status of postnominal adjectives in Polish (cf. Rutkowski and Progovac (2005), hereafter RP05, Rutkowski (2007) – R07, Cetnarowska, Pysz and Trugman (to appear) – CPT09). When postposed, Polish adjectives typically receive a classifying interpretation, in other words, they indicate a type/category that the denoted entity belongs to, cf. (1a). This makes them different from regular prenominal adjectives, whose function is purely descriptive, cf. (1b).

- (1) a. *linia krzywa*  
       line curved-ADJ  
       ‘a curve’ (a type of line)  
       b. *krzywa linia*  
       curved-ADJ line  
       ‘a line that happens to be curved’

RP05 and R07 propose that the postnominal location of the classifying adjective in (1a) results from N-raising: the noun moves from N to the head of a higher functional projection, located immediately above NP. According to the analysis in question, the postnominal classifying modifier is merged in SpecNP, which is considered a non-iterative position. Therefore, classifying adjectives do not allow recursion: only structures such as NA, and not NAA, may be derived by this N-raising operation: [DP D<sup>0</sup> ... [FP Ni [NP ClassifyingA ti ]]]. CPT09 argue against the above account because, according to them, the number of postnominal adjectives is not restricted in Polish. They base their argumentation on examples such as (2-3), with two or more adjectives following the head noun.

- (2) *drukarka atramentowa kolorowa*  
       printer ink-jet-ADJ color-ADJ  
       (3) *produkty lecznicze homeopatyczne weterynaryjne*  
       products medicinal homeopathic veterinary

According to R07, the structures illustrated in (1a), on the one hand, and (2-3), on the other, cannot be derived by the same mechanism: the NA construction results from a very productive and stylistically unmarked syntactic operation (N-raising), whereas structures with more than one adjective in postposition can be merged only by placing the additional adjective(s) in a reduced relative clause. Therefore, it could be expected that native speakers of Polish should find the latter as essentially different (e.g. less productive, less acceptable) from the former. Since CPT09's criticism of RP05's model hinges on the grammaticality status of structures such as (2-3), it seems crucial to establish whether phrases of the NAA(A) type are indeed perceived as different from those with only one adjective following the noun. In order to achieve this goal, I have carried out a questionnaire investigation, designed to test the acceptance of structures such as (2-3) by native speakers of Polish. I asked 50 adult informants (mostly undergraduate students) to assess the naturalness of 66 test sentences such as (4a-c):

- (4) a. *Porozmawiajmy o tej koncesji ogólnopolskiej telewizyjnej.*  
 let's-talk about this license all-Poland-ADJ television-ADJ
- b. *Porozmawiajmy o tej ogólnopolskiej koncesji telewizyjnej.*  
 let's-talk about this all-Poland-ADJ license television-ADJ
- c. *Porozmawiajmy o tej ogólnopolskiej telewizyjnej koncesji.*  
 let's-talk about this all-Poland-ADJ television-ADJ license

The informants were asked to use a 4-point scale: “fully natural”, “rather natural”, “rather strange” and “very strange”. I then graded the questionnaire judgements on a scale ranging from 0 to -3 (0 for “fully natural”, -1 for “rather natural”, -2 for “rather strange” and -3 for “very strange”). Therefore, the mean score for a sentence judged perfectly natural by all informants would be 0.000, whereas the mean score for an example judged very unnatural would be -3.000. The results show very clear tendencies, as illustrated in the table below:

Porozmawiajmy o tej koncesji ogólnopolskiej telewizyjnej. [NAA]	-2,28
Porozmawiajmy o tej ogólnopolskiej koncesji telewizyjnej. [ANA]	-0,14
Porozmawiajmy o tej ogólnopolskiej telewizyjnej koncesji. [AAN]	-1,12
Porozmawiajmy o produktach leczniczych homeopatycznych weterynaryjnych. [NAAA]	-2,08
Porozmawiajmy o leczniczych homeopatycznych produktach weterynaryjnych. [AANA]	-0,7
Porozmawiajmy o leczniczych homeopatycznych weterynaryjnych produktach. [AAAN]	-1,52

In the present paper, I discuss the questionnaire results in detail and conclude that the level of acceptability of the structures on which CPT09’s argumentation is based is very low, which means that CPT09’s analysis cannot be sustained on empirical grounds. I further argue that the NAA(A) structure is only marginally possible in a very limited context, namely that of labels and product names. Interestingly, the postnominal placement of adjectives in this context is attested also in languages that do not have a productive NA structure comparable to the Polish one shown (1a). I discuss this cross-linguistic observation on the basis of data from Lithuanian.

## ***The Macedonian ‘tripartite article’: a discourse-pragmatic account***

**Barbara Sonnenhauser**

**LMU München**

This paper deals with the so-called ‘tripartite definite article’ in Macedonian,<sup>7</sup> which is usually (cf. e.g., Конески 1996, Минова-Ѓуркова 2000, Тополињска 2006) accounted for in terms of deixis (neutral, proximal, distal), cf. (1):

- (1) човекот (neutral) – човеков (proximal) – човекон (distal)

Moreover, -ов and -он are also ascribed possessive, (2a), and expressive interpretations, (2b):

- (2) a. Имав многу жени, а со тебе ми е како прв пат. [...] Сите патишта на светов ме враќаат кај тебе. [Дејан Дуковски, ММЕ Кој прв почна]  
b. Оној, мојон, утринава пак замина. [...] Чесен збор, понекогаш ми се чини како да не сум се омажила за маж, [...] туку за – политика [Коле Чашуле, Црнила]

The purely deictic account, however, does not capture the distribution and implications of article use in texts, as can be seen in (3), where it is hard to account for the variation of *змијата* and *змијава* in terms of deixis only:

- (3) Кога видел, *змија* пиштит. Станал је угаснал околу *змијата*. Му велит *змијава*: „Што ме куртули од огнов, што сакаш бакшиш да ти да?“ [...] „Сакај ти – рекла *змијата* – па ќе вида“. Рече овчарот: [...] *Змијата* рече: „Ако сакаш јазик да знаеш, камо в уста да ти дуфна“. [...] И дуфнала. И рече (vi) *змијава*: [...] [Немушти јазик, Видоески 2000: 48f]

This paper proposes that proximal -ов and distal -он differ from neutral -от not only as regards deixis, but, more importantly, in specificity and – hence – perspective. As a consequence, -от, -ов and -он interact to differentiate the text of the narrator from the text of the persons involved, (4a), to differentiate perspectives within the respective text levels, (4b), and to distinguish persons in the text, (4c):

- (4) a. Владата конечно реши да признае дека буџетот за годинава бил преамбициозен [...]. Среќна околност е што изборите за локалните и за претседателските избори не беа кон крајот на годината бидејќи [...] [Нова Македонија, <http://www.novamakedonija.com.mk/>, 24.4.09]  
b. И му викат жена му [...]: „Мажу, ќе ме водиш на гости кај татка“. [...] Спремај ги кон’от и кобилата, ќе ги јаваме“. Кобилата била ждребна, жената била трудна. Кинисале да одат. Кон’ов застанал, кобилаа заминала. И виснала кобилата, рекла: [...] И маж е рекол: „Жено бре, запри ја кобилата“. Таа ја запрела кобилата. „Слези – рече – от кобилата, качи се на кон’ов“. [...] [Немушти јазик, Видоески 2000: 49]  
c. Имаше еден чоек<sub>1</sub> богат и с имаше една жена уба. [...] Ама на чоekoф<sub>1</sub> коа ќе

<sup>7</sup> The question whether all three forms are indeed true ‘articles’ is not dealt with here (cf. Тополињска 2006).

легне да спије и на сонот *некојси чоек*<sub>2</sub> му доаѓал и му викал [...]. И *чоekoф*<sub>1</sub> не смеел да се рече ништо. Неколку вечера така му се јавуело. [...]. И така *чоekoф*<sub>1</sub> и рекол на жената [...]. И жената му вика [...]. И *чоekoф*<sub>1</sub> легнал да спије и одма му дошол *чоекот*<sub>2</sub> па го прашуе, рече: „Што напраи ти?“ И *овој* [= *čovек*<sub>1</sub>] одгоори: „Поарно нека биде сега него после.“. И *чоekoф*<sub>1</sub> почна да дава кому нива, кому ливада [...].  
[Среќата се враќа, Видоески 2000: 46f]

The perspectivising function derives from the markedness of *-ов* and *-он* NPs for specificity and the resulting need for the anchoring of their referents to some other referent (von Heusinger 2002). This anchoring is thus basic to the perspectivising function of the Macedonian articles in discourse, the possessive and expressive interpretations, the stylistic effects noted by native speakers, and also its variance as concerns text genres (written vs. oral, newspaper vs. prose, etc.).

Due to the anchoring to the narrator or the persons in the text, the Macedonian articles not only serve to introduce various perspectives into the text, but also to integrate foreign speech – ‘foreign speech’ understood in the sense of Волошинов (1993: 125) as “речь в речи, высказывание в высказывании“, i.e. as integrating the different voices of narrator and persons. In this sense, polyphony constitutes one possible interpretation of the perspectives introduced by the opposition of *-от* and *-ов/-он* (cf. Sonnenhauser 2010).

## ***Learning from Corpora: About most Frequent Differences between Contemporary Serbian and Croatian***

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As large collections of texts, corpora offer valuable information about a language. They can be used for language learning and teaching, directly in the classroom or indirectly in the creation of various language materials. One of the products obtained from corpora that has been widely used in the creation of lexical syllabi are frequency lists. Frequency based studies show that a small group of high frequency words are very important in language learning, since these words cover a very large proportion of spoken and written texts and occur in all kinds of language use (Nation 2001). As such, they should be given priority in language learning. Studies on the English language set the 2000-word level as the most suitable limit for high-frequency words for learners going on to academic study (Nation and Hwang 1995).

In this paper we explore the most frequent differences in contemporary corpora for the Serbian and Croatian languages, with the aim to suggest what language differences should be given priority in the process of learning both languages or in the process of advancing from receptive to productive knowledge of one of the languages' variants. We examine the frequency list of tokens from the Croatian Language Corpus and compare its frequencies and concordances to other language resources for Serbian and Croatian: the GRALIS BKS-Corpus and the Corpus of Contemporary Serbian Language.

Typically for frequency lists, function words appear as the most frequent words. First, we obtained a list of the most frequent function words that are different or have different distributions in the two languages (for example, *prije, takoder, tko* etc.). Then we examined the usage of function words that appear in both languages but with remarkably different frequencies (*je, da, će, s, što, kako* etc.) and discovered what variations in patterns of usage in both languages could be pointed out first in the process of learning. Analyzing the most frequent content words reveals some information on the nature of the text incorporated into the corpus (such as *predsjednik, kuna, europske, vlada*). Also it gives us suggestions about the differences in lexical distribution of nouns (*milijuna, vrijeme, dio, ponedjeljak, srijeda, rujna* etc.), verbs (*kazao, bit, vidjeti, htio*) or adjectives (*vanjskih, posljednje, svjetskog* etc.) that could be given priority when learning differences between the two languages.

The results could be utilized directly in language learning, in the creation of language materials, as well as in the development of interrelated language resources for both languages.

### **Related Links**

- Croatian Language Corpus <http://riznica.ihjj.hr/>
- GRALIS BKS-Corpus (Bosnian/Bosniac-Croatian-Serbian) <http://www-gewi.uni-graz.at/cocoon/gralis/>
- Corpus of Contemporary Serbian Language <http://www.korpus.matf.bg.ac.yu/korpus.html>



# Multiple Agree and Case Licensing: Structural Case on Adverbials

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There is ample evidence that case on certain adverbials is structural rather than non-structural (“semantic”). To give one piece of evidence: In Russian, genitive with durative adverbials (alternating with accusative) is licensed basically under the same conditions as genitive with internal arguments.

On the other hand, if accusative on duratives is structural, unaccusative predicates as in (3) pose a problem for approaches linking case licensing to  $\phi$  feature agreement between a potentially case licensing probe and a goal containing unvalued case features: Since  $v$  is classified as  $\phi$  defective, it shouldn’t license accusative at all. I assume that structural case morphology is a materialization of nominal temporal features independent of  $\phi$  features (cf. Pesetsky and Torrego 2006, 2007). T’s and  $v$ ’s Tns-features (the latter aspectual) license nominative and accusative, respectively. Interpretable instances of features remain active and may be accessed by further AGREE-relations resulting in multiple AGREE.

With unaccusatives,  $v$  also contains interpretable (aspectual) Tns-features, but it fails to step into an AGREE-relation with the internal argument. The internal argument’s case features are valued by T. Crucially,  $v$  still has the potential to “deliver” its Tns-feature to a DP.

This is exactly what happens with adverbials. As non-selected phrases, adverbials themselves have to establish a relation to their syntactic targets. Duratives limit the temporal extension of an unbounded situation.

With regular transitive verbs as in (4), durative adverbials target a  $v$ P whose head already established an AGREE-relation with the internal argument. Since the Tns-feature of  $v$  is interpretable, it remains accessible for a feature relation with the durative. AGREEing  $v$ , DP<sub>ADV</sub> (*odin mesjac*) and DP<sub>int.arg</sub> (*etu knigu*) contain instances of the same feature occurrence.

- (1) a. Maša pisala pis'mo celyj čas / \* i časa. [RU]  
Maša wrote letter<sub>ACC</sub> whole hour<sub>ACC</sub> even hour<sub>GEN</sub>  
'Maša was writing a/the letter for one hour.'  
b. Maša ne pisala pis'mo i čas/časa.  
Maša NEG wrote letter<sub>ACC</sub> even hour<sub>ACC/GEN</sub>  
'Maša didn't write a/the letter even for one hour.'
- (2) a. Pëtr čital knigu / \* knigi. [RU]  
Pëtr read book<sub>ACC</sub> / book<sub>GEN</sub>  
'Pëtr read a/the book.'  
b. Pëtr ne čital knigu/knigi.  
Pëtr NEG read book<sub>ACC/GEN</sub>  
'Pëtr didn't read a/the book.'
- (3) Lilija cvela odnu nedelju. [RU]  
lily<sub>NOM</sub> bloomed one<sub>ACC</sub> week<sub>ACC</sub>  
'The lily bloomed for one week.'
- (4) Pëtr čital etu knigu odin mesjac. [RU]  
Pëtr<sub>NOM</sub> read book<sub>ACC</sub> one<sub>ACC</sub> month<sub>ACC</sub>

### 3. *Abstracts*

‘Pëtr was reading this book for one month.’

# *Superlexicals and structure of verb stem in Russian*

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**Proposal.** Much recent work (Babko-Malaya 1999, Ramchand 2004, Svenonius 2004, Sciullo and Slabakova 2005, Romanova 2004; 2007) have established that prefixes in Russian fall into two groups, **lexical** and **superlexical**, listed in (1), each associated with special semantic and morphosyntactic properties. It is generally agreed upon that lexicals merge inside and superlexicals outside VP, (2). We argue that superlexical prefixes fall into two distinct classes that differ as to how their distribution is constrained. The first class consists of prefixes in (3) that show a **selectional restriction (SR)** on co-occurrence with its complement: the latter has to be imperfective, (5a). Another class of superlexicals exhibits a **positional restriction (PR)**: in the hierarchical structure of verbal domain, the prefix cannot occur outside the projection of the secondary imperfective morpheme *-iva-*, (5b). The overall architecture of verbal domain is represented in (6).

**Evidence and discussion.** Evidence supporting the proposal comes from multiple prefixation and secondary imperfectivization facts. For the sake of space, in (7)-(12) we take the cumulative *na-* and completive *do-* to represent whole classes of SR- and PR- superlexicals, respectively.

First, SR-prefixes are systematically ungrammatical if combined with perfective stems, either simplex, (7a), or derived by prefixation, (8a). PR-prefixes do not exhibit selectional restrictions and readily combine with simplex imperfective, simplex perfective, and prefixed perfective stems in (9a-c). Secondly, in hierarchical terms, PR-prefixes cannot merge with an XP if that XP contains *ivaP*, the projection of *-iva-*. If a PR-prefix co-occurs with *-iva-*, the overall stem is obligatorily imperfective, (10a) and (11a), hence imperfectivization by *-iva-* happens after prefixation. Alternative (ungrammatical) derivations where prefixation and secondary imperfectivization occur in the reverse order are demonstrated in (b) examples. SR-prefixes are not subject to this restriction: (7b) and (8b) illustrate verbs where SR-prefixes attach outside the secondary imperfective morpheme.

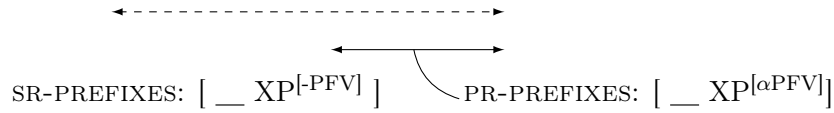
**Predictions.** The above analysis makes a number of non-trivial predictions about possible combinations of superlexicals. Due to space limitations we only provide two illustrations. If an SR-prefix attaches on top of a PR-prefix, then, hierarchically, they cannot merge as adjacent heads: the secondary imperfective morpheme must merge in between, (12). In contrast, if an PR-prefix attaches on top of a SR-prefix, they must merge as adjacent heads, (13a), and the secondary imperfective morpheme occurs outside both of them, (13b).

- (1) Superlexicals in Russian:  
cumulative *na-* (*na-brat' gribov* 'collect a quantity of mushrooms'), delimitative *po-* (*posidet' v kresle* 'sit in a chair for a while'), inchoative *za-* (*zapet' pesnju* 'start singing a song'), distributive *pere-* (*perestreljat' vsex vragov* 'shoot all the enemies one by one'), repetitive *pere-* (*perecitat' knigu* 'read the book again'), completive *do-* (*dopisat' statju* 'complete writing a paper'), attenuative *pod-* (*podustat'* 'get tired slightly').
- (2) [ ... superlexical prefix ... [VP ... lexical prefix ... ] ]
- (3) SR-superlexicals: cumulative *na-*, delimitative *po-*, inchoative *za-*, and distributive

### 3. Abstracts

*pere-*.

- [illegible]



- (7) a. \***na-** [ da ]<sup>PFV</sup> -t'  
       'give a quantity of sth.'  
       b. <sup>OK</sup> **na-** [ [ da ]<sup>PFV</sup> -va ]<sup>IPFV</sup> -t'
- (8) a. \***na-** [ ot-kry ]<sup>PFV</sup> -t'  
       'open a quantity of sth.'  
       b. <sup>OK</sup> **na-** [ [ ot-kry ]<sup>PFV</sup> -va ]<sup>IPFV</sup> -t'.
- (9) a. **do-** [ pisa ]<sup>IPFV</sup> -t'  
       'complete writing'  
       b. **do-** [ da ]<sup>PFV</sup> -t'  
       'complete giving'  
       c. **do-** [ ob-sudi ]<sup>PFV</sup> -t'  
       'complete discussing'
- (10) a. [ [ [ do- [ uc& ]<sup>IPFV</sup> ]<sup>PFV</sup> -iva ]<sup>IPFV</sup> -t'  
       'complete learning'  
       b. \*[ do- [ [ uc& ]<sup>IPFV</sup> -iva ]<sup>IPFV</sup> ]<sup>PFV</sup> -t'
- (11) a. [ [ [ do- [ za-bi ]<sup>PFV</sup> ]<sup>PFV</sup> -va ]<sup>IPFV</sup> -t'  
       'complete hammering'  
       b. \*[ **do-** [ [ za-bi ]<sup>PFV</sup> -**va** ]<sup>IPFV</sup> ]<sup>PFV</sup> -t'
- (12) a. [ na- [ [ do- [ pis ]<sup>IPFV</sup> ]<sup>PFV</sup> -yva ]<sup>IPFV</sup> ]<sup>PFV</sup> -t'  
       'accumulate a quantity of sth. as a result of completing writing it'
- (13) a. [ do- [ na- [ bra ]<sup>IPFV</sup> ]<sup>PFV</sup> ]<sup>PFV</sup> -t'  
       'complete collecting a quantity of sth.'  
       b. [ [ do- [ na- [ bir ]<sup>IPFV</sup> ]<sup>PFV</sup> ]<sup>PFV</sup> -a ]<sup>IPFV</sup> -t'

## ***Verbs Eexpressing Telic Aaspectual Configuration in Macedonian***

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This paper aims to summarize the semantic principles of classification of the telic verbs in Macedonian (as a part of a bigger work “Semantics of the Primary Telic Verbs in Macedonian”).

The theory of the analysis of these verbs is postulated by Karolak 1994, 2005. Telicity is a complex aspect, a configuration which consists of three simple components / simple aspects: two continuous and one non-continuous, which means that the dominating aspectual component is the continuous one, so telic verbs (verbs expressing telic aspectual configuration) are only imperfective verbs.

At first, the telicity will be defined and the telic verbs within the accepted framework, and in opposition to the other well known concepts of it (Chung and Timberlake 1985, Dahl 1981, Declerck 1979, Depraetere 1995; etc.): a telic verb denotes an ongoing action or process which leads to a change of the state of affairs.

The method of semantic decomposition will be used, of the verbal predicates expressing telic aspectual configuration in Macedonian. The idea is that the type of the change of the state of affairs which is supposed to happen, is a basic principle for classification of telic verbs (Karakol 1994, Laskowski 1996). There are four main types of changes – change in the *existence of the object/subject* (creation or destruction of an object); change of the *characteristics of the object/subject*; change in the relations of the object/subject with other objects; change of the *location of the object/subject*, and accordingly four main classes of telic verbs. Changes of the state can affect the subject or the object of the action/ process, which is another principle of subclassification of these verbs.

At the end, the main accent will be on presenting the semantic fields of the verbs in each class.

## Unorthodox Adjectival Modification in Russian NPs

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This paper examines a number of nominal constructions in Russian that exhibit an unorthodox word order between a noun (N) and its modifier (Adj). Specifically, it will be claimed that such word order permutations are attested in NPs denoting a natural class or kind. The paper discusses several constructions of this type, such as kind-referring subjects and characterizing NP-predicates, (1); vocatives, (2), and labels and/or scientific terminology, (3):

- (1) a. Čelovek *bol'noj* — razdražitelen / \* sedit u okna.  
man sick (is) irritable / is-sitting by the window  
'A sick man is irritable.'
- b. Petr byl čelovekom *molodym*.  
Peter was man young.  
'Peter was a young man.'
- (2) Durak *bezmozgij!* / \* *prisutstvujuščij!*  
fool brainless / present  
'Brainless idiot!'
- (3) *vetčina kopčena*ja / \* *porezanna*ja  
cold-meat smoked / sliced  
'smoked cold meat'

The kind-referring nature of N-Adj constructions is buttressed by their properties: compatibility with kind predicates (1a) and individual-level Adjs (2&3), as well as incompatibility with quantifiers/numerals—\**dva človeka molodyx* 'two people young'; or a need for a measure phrase—*vetčina kopčena*ja, *tri kilo* 'smoked cold meat, three kilos'.

Following Bouchard's (2002) representational approach to adjective distribution, it is argued that such N-Adj strings are formed before the N gets atomized; hence the modifiers that establish a relationship with N as a whole follow the latter rather than precede it. Such NPs will be argued to refer to a class-as-one, similarly to singular generics in English Chierchia (1998), yet those in (2&3) may get atomized under certain pragmatic conditions (cf. Curat 1999).

I extend this analysis to postnominal NP-modifiers of N in appositives and N-GenP constructions. I argue that such non-atomized NP-modifiers combine with non-atomized N-heads, yielding new natural kinds, as in *student-otličnik* 'an honors student' (appositive) or in *lovkost* 'obez'jany<sub>GEN</sub> 'a monkey's agility' (N-GenP).

## Two unrecognized vowel phonemes in Proto-Slavic?

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1. Although the vowels of Proto-Slavic have traditionally been transcribed in the same way as their OCS reflexes, it is known, mainly from the witness of loans, that their phonetic values were different:

Old transcription:				Phonetic values more like:			
ь	ѣ	і	у	і	u	ī	ū
		(i <sub>2</sub> )	u			ē	ō
e	o	ě	a	æ	a	ǣ	ā

Thus, for instance, \*«*gord-*» ‘town’ > South Slavic *grad-* is to be understood phonetically as \**gard-* > SSI \**grād-*.

The changes \*ē, \*ō, \*ū > \*ī, \*ū, \*ȳ are Pan-Slavic. However, as shown by e.g. \**teixas* > \**tēx-* > \**tixō*», they are later than the “2nd-and-3rd palatalization”, which is itself later than Proto-Slavic since it did not reach North Russian (“Novgorodian”) (or only partially).

2. On the other hand, Pre-Slavic final \*-*as*, \*-*an* and \*-*ās*, \*-*ans* yield Proto-Slavic \*«-ѣ» and \*«-y» (after hard consonants).

Evidence for \*-*as* (and \*-*an*) > \*«-o» is inconclusive:

- The reflexes of thematic and sigmatic nom.-acc. sg. neuters \*-*an*, \*-*as* are not regular (except with change of gender: *darъ*, *vidъ*, cf. Hirt), but \*«-o» has been borrowed from the pronominal inflexion, where \*-*a* < PIE \*-*ot* (cf. Fortunatov).
- Men’s names in -*o* (mostly in -*ko*; never compound names?) are a minority and show no sign of being archaic. Perhaps former neuter hypocoristics (the gender of \*«*děte*»).
- The 1 pl. ending PIE (dialectal) \*-*mos* yields Proto-Slavic \*«-mō» only, altered later in most languages to -*me*, -*mo*, -*my*, mostly to preserve the distinction with 1 sg. \*«-mō». Only -*mo* is difficult to explain, but it is not old, cf. OCS *věmō*, *damō*, P *wiemy*, R *dadím*.
- If *tamo*, *jamo*, *kamo* ‘there, where’ are akin to Greek *tēmos*, *hēmos*, *pēmos* ‘then, when’, perhaps they have taken an adverbial, i.e. neuter, ending.

As for Pre-Slavic \*-*ās*, \*-*ans*, the reflex «-y» is common to gen. sg. and nom.-acc. pl. of ā-stems, acc. pl. of o-stems, the South Slavic nom. sg. of nt-stems, and (with secondary \*-*s*) the nom. sg. of some masc. n-stems. The sound law thus cannot be doubted (pace Igartua). Other reflexes are not regular:

- \*«-a» in 2 sg. forms like Pre-Slavic \**dās* > *da* ‘you gave’ can be analogical (the preservation of the vowel of the root or suffix was apparently more important than the distinction of 2 and 3 sg. preterite, which got neutralized anyway after \**e* and \**ē*).
- On North Slavic participles in -*a* < Pre-Slavic \*-*ans* see our remark below (6.5).

3. Now, taking 1 and 2 together, one fails to see why Pre-Slavic \*-*as*, \*-*ās* should have been labialized to Proto-Slavic \*-*u*, \*-*ū*, only to be delabialized shortly afterwards to Slavic -*o*, -*y*.

Our tentative conclusion is that Pre-Slavic *\*-as*, *\*-ās* > Proto-Slavic *\*-ǫ*, *\*-ǭ* (the two unrecognized phonemes of our title) > later Common Slavic *-ǫ*, *-y* (= *\*[ǫ]*, *\*[w:]*), the merger with the reflexes of Proto-Slavic *\*-u*, *\*-ū* occurring only with the latter change.

On the other hand, Pre-Slavic *\*-an* did labialize to Proto-Slavic *\*-u*, witness the prothesis in the preposition *vǫ(n)* ‘in’ < *\*wu(n)* < Proto-Slavic *\*u(n)* < Pre-Slavic *\*an* (a contamination of *\*æn* ‘in’ = Greek *en* ‘in’ and *\*an* ‘on’ = Greek *an*, *ana* ‘up’). Labialization by a nasal is possible, cf. *\*rankā* > Žemaitian *runkà*, Latvian *rūoka*, various Slavic languages *ruka*.

4. The important point is that the phoneme *\*ǫ* posited above might account directly for the Novgorodian ending *-e*, i.e. the North Russian non-palatalizing *-e* of the nom. sg. of *o*-stems.

However, there are also instances of Pre-Slavic *\*-as* > North Russian *-ǫ*. Do they refute the above interpretation of thematic nom. sg. *-e* ?

5. The North Russian (NR) birchbark evidence is as follows (Zaliznjak):

- Short endings:

Pre-Sl. *\*-as*: nom. sg. of *o*-stems *-e* (soft stems *-ǫ*); dat. pl. *-mǫ*; verbal 1 pl. *-me* [analogical?] and *-mǫ* [borrowed?].

Pre-Sl. *\*-us* > *-ǫ* (nom. sg. of *u*-stems and of active past participles) (after a hard consonant).

Pre-Sl. *\*-an* > *-ǫ* only (after a hard consonant).

The nom. sg. neuter is in *-o* (soft stems *-e*) as in the rest of Slavic.

- Long endings:

Pre-Sl. *\*-ās*, *\*-ans* (after hard consonants) yield *-ě* in the gen. sg. and nom.-acc. pl. of *ā*-stems and in the nom.(!)-acc. pl. of *o*-stems; but personal pronouns *my*, *vy*; and instr. pl. of *o*-stems (Pre-Sl. *\*-aix* > *\*-āx* ? >) *-y*.

(!) Cf. nom. pl. PIE *\*-ōs*: apparently its substitution with the pronominal ending *\*«-i»* is younger than Proto-Slavic. Lithuanian circumflexed *-ai* is in any case a different innovation.

6. Our tentative interpretation:

1. To some extent, Novgorodian is to Slavic what Hittite is to Indo-European (cf. also NR *kěl-*, *vǫx-*, *gord-*). One difference is that the contact with the rest of Slavic (i.e. with Russian) was soon restored.
2. The NR endings *-e*, *-ě* are the regular reflexes of PSl *\*-ǫ*, *\*-ǭ* < Pre-Sl *\*-as*, *\*-ās*, *\*-ans*.
3. Russian influence on NR began early and it even affected some pronouns and endings, while some other resisted better. The choice has to do with homophony avoidance.
4. The rule complex Pre-Sl. *\*-ās/\*-ans* > Sl. *-y* (NR *-ě*) after hard consonants, South Slavic *-ę* / North Slavic *-ě* after soft consonants, is best explained as follows:  
Pre-Sl. *\*-ans* first merged with *\*-ās*, hence Proto-Sl. *\*-ǭ* (> NR *-ě*, rest of Slavic *-y*, after hard consonants), whose allophone after soft consonants yielded *-ě* in North Slavic (including NR) but underwent spontaneous nasalization in South Slavic.
5. In North Slavic the active present participle in *\*-ans* (PIE *\*-onts*) yields *-a* after a hard consonant (which we still do not explain, but *\*-ans* > *\*-ās* as assumed in 4 may bring us closer to a solution) and *(\*)-ę* after a soft consonant (analogy of the inflected and feminine forms was made possible by the same factors that made *-ę* regular in South Slavic).



# ***Aggressive pro-drop and the specificity of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person in Slavic languages***

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The paper revises the Null-Subject-Parameter responsible for dropping thematic pronominal subjects of a finite clause and offers a new classification of Slavic languages in terms of pro-drop. I am focusing on two non-trivial facts. A) Some languages including Vojvodina Rusinsky and Old Novgorod developed a constraint blocking BE-auxiliaries in clauses with overt subject pronouns. In this group inflected auxiliaries are licensed by T only in clauses with pro, cf. *pro dobri=e* and *Von dobri* ‘He is good’ but not \**Von=e dobri* where both the 3Sg. auxiliary *=e* and 3Sg.M. pronoun *von* are spelled-out. Old Novgorod lacks 3<sup>rd</sup> person auxiliaries but in 1<sup>st</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> persons it patterns with Rusinsky. I refer to this group as ‘aggressive pro-drop’. B) Some other languages including Russian license pro-drop only in 1<sup>st</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> persons. Franks (1995; 299) claims that Russian is non-pro-drop while Meyer (2007) assumes the reversed. I prove that 3<sup>rd</sup> person pro is licensed in Russian only if its antecedent is D-linked. I refer to this option as ‘weak/non-pro-drop’ and argue that it is different from ‘standard pro-drop’ (Polish, Czech). Neither Jaeggli & Safir’s (1989) ‘morphological uniformity’ of verbal paradigms nor Müller’s (2005) ‘impoverishment/neutralization of  $\varphi$ -features’ criteria predict the contrast of 1<sup>st</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> vs. 3<sup>rd</sup> person pro-drop. Holmberg’s (2005) hypothesis that 1<sup>st</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> pronouns can be dropped since they are Ns while 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns cannot since they are Ds is falsified by Russian data.

Historically, aggressive pro-drop results from a combination of two features – 1) pro-drop licensing with non-D-linked referents 2) licensing of zero auxiliaries/copula dropping. Standard pro-drop languages don’t license zero auxiliaries or restrict them to the 3<sup>rd</sup> person. The weak/non-pro-drop option in the history of Russian resulted from two processes – 1) loss of 3<sup>rd</sup> person auxiliaries 2) licensing of 1<sup>st</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> auxiliary dropping. Standard pro-drop languages kept the balance between these two extremes by making overt auxiliaries obligatory.

## ***A New Concept for a Network Dictionary of Meanings in Slovenian Language***

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The basic idea and the preliminary working version of the new concept of a network dictionary of the meanings of the Slovenian words is shown and discussed. The computer driven network-dictionary differs in many aspects from the hierarchical form of the standard ones. In the computerised network each word or word group is represented as a node (knot) linked to other nodes. Any node, be a single word (lemma), or a cluster of nodes, can serve as an entry to the dictionary where the search can start and the line of meanings can be inspected by the user in a sequential or in an arbitrary random manner. The nodes (entries) are of two types: a) one-word descriptions of lemmas (there are few two-word lemmas as well, like *black widow* or *Kranjska gora* [a town name]), but these are rather exceptions than a rule), and b) one-, two-, or even more word tags describing the meaning or the collective or common concept of all lemmas, or groups of lemmas linked in that particular node. At any specified node (be single or multi-word entry) the links to other nodes are available. These connections enable two possible directions of the search in which the user can continue his/her inspection of the dictionary: up-search from specific to general, i.e., towards the nodes representing the groups having broader concept of meaning, or down-search from the located node towards the ones with more specific or narrower meanings. Because the dictionary is not a hierarchy with nodes forking only downward, but a network, where each node can be at least in principle connected to any other node in the network, the user can search in loops through the entire dictionary of meanings as long as he or she pleases.

For example: the lemma *konj* (Engl. *a horse*) has three upward and two downward links. The upward links lead to: a) the concepts *Domestic animal*, *Mammal*, *Animal*, etc., b) to the *Chess piece*, *Chess*, *Game*, *Social activity*, etc., and c) to the *Sport's product*, *Man-made object*, etc. All the tree upward links close their loops at the node *Object/Subject* which is just below the top node. The two downward links lead to: a) the node containing lemmas of several breeds and arts of horses, and b) to the node *Skakač* (Engl. *a jumper*), the synonym for the *konj* as a particular *Chess piece*. At the path b) the lemma *Chess* three links are encountered which result in three sub-paths: b1) chess as *Material object*, b2) chess as *Social activity* (which was already mentioned), and b3) chess as *Physical activity* and *Sport*. The top node has links to four nodes (*Subject/Object*, *Object description*, *Predicate*, *Predicate description*). All the mentioned paths are shown schematically in Figure 1. One of the most important feature of the network dictionary is that lemmas from one node can simultaneously be members of several nodes on different levels representing different meanings. Some members of the node *Domestic animals*, for example, are members of the node *Mammal*, while some other ones are members of the node *Bird*.

To a certain point the division of verbs follows the work of Levin (1993) on English verbs. However, by taking into account Slovenian meanings and variation of meanings of verbs, the breakdown into separate meaning-classes is far from being in one-to-one correspondence to Levin's classification scheme. The branching of the dictionary's nodes that materializes the links between the words and their meanings is much shallower in the case of verbs as is in the case of nouns. At present, various break-down and linking schemes and possible interconnections of various groups of verbs are still under investigation. Because the meaning of the verbs is heavily influenced by their transitive/intransitive character and by the meaning

of related nominals, the possibility of linking the verbs with relevant nouns is considered as well, however, it is not yet implemented.

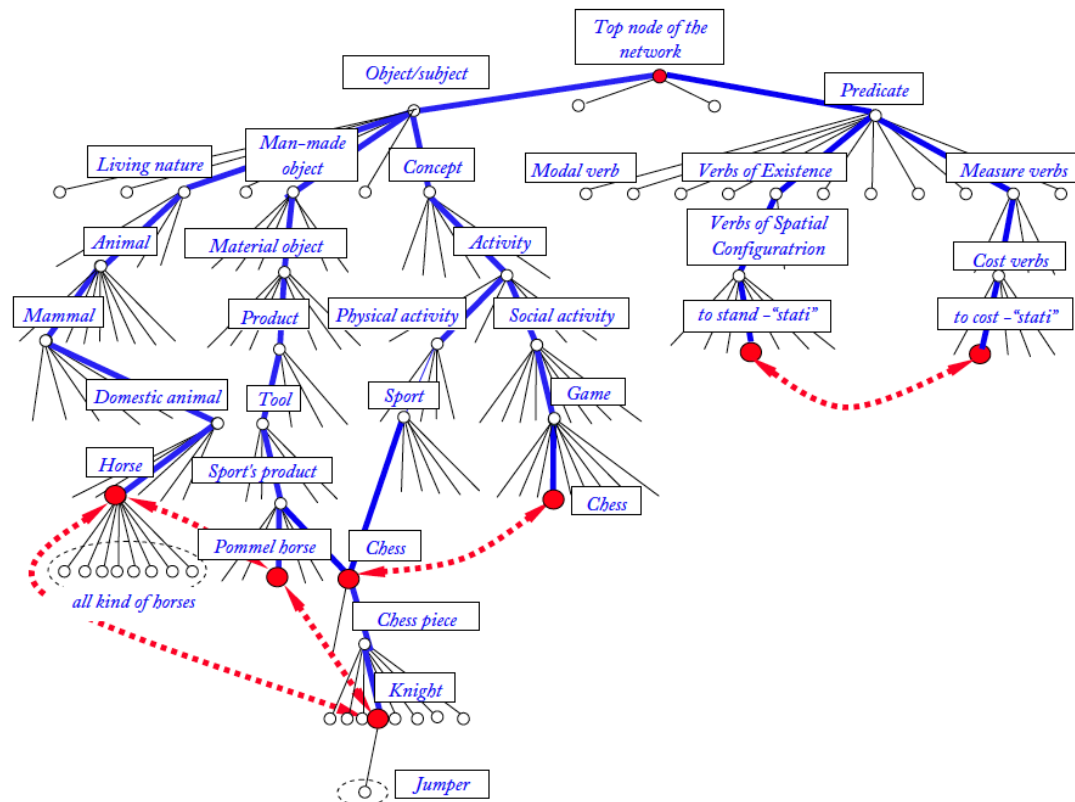


Figure 1: Network dictionary showing paths to the nodes of different meanings of the Slovene noun *konj* (Engl. *horse*, *pommel horse*, and *knight*) and verb *stati* (Engl. *stand* and *cost*).

At the moment, in the preliminary network dictionary of meanings about 7000 words are linked and interconnected, approximately 5000 of which are nouns and 2000 are verbs. The verbs are taken mainly from the study of Lečič (2005).

## ***Croatian Dialects Abroad***

**Vedran Žužak**

**University of Zadar**

The paper deals with organic idioms used by the speakers of Croatian origin, spoken outside the homeland (the Croatian emigration). In introduction, the author defines and limits the subject of work, highlights the basic objectives and methods and defines terms used in presentation. Main part of presentation content is divided into two parts.

In the first part of presentation the author gives an overview of so far published studies referring to Croatian dialects abroad. The most important results of previous researches of both older Croatian emigration (15<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> century) and later emigration dialects (19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century) are brought and commented here.

There is a certain number of monographs and papers treating a language of older Croatian immigration (15<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> century), but only in the European countries geographically closest to Croatia. Some aspects of the language of Croats in United States (more recent diaspora – 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century) have also been processed, but generally not linguistically adequate (especially not from dialectological perspective). However, most of the areas this phenomenon appears are almost totally unresearched (Latin America, South Africa, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, recent and the most recent diaspora in many European countries). A list of locations in the world where Croatian idioms are spoken also hasn't been made yet. Author also comments the previous researches of dislocated Croatian organic idioms in the aspect of the quality of linguistic description – he is interested in how those idioms are processed and described at all linguistic levels, as well as in totality of their communicative function.

By examining the available literature it can be noted that so far processing and describing of these idioms has been limited to a mostly one-sided description from a position of certain linguistic discipline (phonology, lexis, sociolinguistic aspect of keeping a language...) but at the expense of complete insight into this complex phenomenon.

Sociolinguistic aspects are mostly dealt with investigations of Croatian dialects in the United States (mainly at the expense of typological and dialectological description), while the dialects of Croatian enclaves in the neighboring states have been handled mostly dialectological and bringing the main sociolinguistic factors, but neglecting the majority of the knowledge of the theory of languages in contact and only marginally mentioning contact influence.

It is the study of the language contact between Croatian organic idioms and the idioms of other genetically distinct languages that is weakest processed, and also limited to contact with geographically closest neighboring nation languages (Romanian, Italian, Austrian, Hungarian, Slovakian and Czech) of Croatian older diaspora and some studies of the contact with American English of recent Croatian diaspora in United States, while the contact of Croatian idioms with other languages (Romance languages in Latin America, English in Australia and New Zealand, Canadian English and French, European and African languages in South Africa, other European languages in numerous Croatian diaspora in Europe) remains completely unexplored.

In the second part the author deals with the current state and possible perspectives of linguistic processing of the above idioms. The level of previous processing, as shown in the first part, is not satisfactory, and the conclusion is that there is great need for systematic research of Croatian organic idioms abroad.

First, there is a need of making a detailed list of locations (points) on which is possible to

record the Croatian dialects (including the dialects of the „latest diaspora“ – the last decade of 20<sup>th</sup> century). The task of recording and studying Croatian dialects abroad is of great significance for Croatian contact linguistics, since these descriptions will provide important theoretical and practical information about Croatian language contact with a number of other languages. However, for a Croatian dialectology this is of even greater significance, because these dialects extinct rapidly under the influence of the language of prestige (much faster than those in homeland – although those extinct fast too). In many locations and for many of these dialects it is a question of very urgent response at least to record samples for later linguistic processing. Such research can provide us with important knowledge from history of Croatian organic idioms, as well as from the history of Slavic languages in general.

Old diaspora can provide us information about the characteristics of Croatian dialect physiognomy before the migrations (15<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> century). It is a valuable source of information for Croatian dialectology and the history of both Croatian and Slavic idioms in general. More recent diaspora can provide information on the state of Croatian dialects form before 100-150 years. The most recent diaspora probably does not provide a clean dialectological material, but is, as the old and recent, a source of valuable knowledge in the field of contact linguistics and sociolinguistics.

Further, in future descriptions it is necessary to study these idioms interdisciplinary, taking into account all relevant factors responsible for their emergence and development. Such research would not be limited to a description from a perspective of individual linguistic discipline, but should, unlike the previous, include a full genetic, typological and contact linguistic description, as well as a detailed sociolinguistic study.

Therefore, except of speech recording, it is necessary to develop special questionnaires suitable for describing this phenomenon from the perspective of all the linguistic disciplines. However, a satisfactory processing will not be possible until a field research in numerous unexplored and completely ignored areas (locations) of the Croatian diaspora is conducted.

The conclusion is that these researches would bring a direct benefit to the Croatian linguistics and linguistics in general – especially dialectology, contact linguistics and sociolinguistics – which is the reason they should occupy a high place on the list of priorities of contemporary croatistics, slavistics and general linguistics.



# Appendices





# A. List of Presentations

## A.1. By Author

**Antić, Eugenia** (University of California-Berkeley) *Relative frequency effects in Russian morphology*

**Antonenko, Julia** (Ivan Franko National University of Lviv) *Corpus-Driven Analysis and Onomasiology*

**Asarina, Alya** (MIT) *Gender and Adjective Agreement in Russian*

**Barkanyi, Zsuzsanna** (HAS, Research Institute for Linguistics) *Are there sonority reversal clusters in Slovak?*

**Baronian, Luc** (Universite du Quebec a Chicoutimi) *Russian defective verbs: synchrony or diachrony?*

**Będkowska-Kopczyk, Agnieszka** (University of Bielsko-Biala) *Emotions – between sensations and thoughts. About categorization of emotions in Polish and Slovene*

**Belaj, Branimir** (University of Osijek) *The conceptual-semantic basis of grammatical relations: the case of the Croatian predicate instrumental*

**Belc, Jasna** (European Commission, Luxembourg) *Systemic Subject-Verb Inversion in Romance (Western) and Slovene*

**Bene, Annamária** (University of Novi Sad) *Is the Serbian bare NP really bare?*

**Birtić, Matea** (Institut za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje) *Empirical evidence for the functional determiner projection in Croatian*

**Biskup, Petr** (University of Leipzig) *Decomposing PPs and Case*

**Brozović Rončević, Dunja** (Institut za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje) *The Croatian Language Corpus as the basis for the analysis of the impact of changes on the shaping of the Croatian standard language*

**Browne, Wayles** (Cornell University) *Are languages named after peoples or places? Word-formation of language names in Slavic languages*

**Buljan, Gabrijela** (University of Osijek) *Usage-Based Grammatical Semantics The semasiological structure of Croatian Verbal prefix iz*

**Čavar, Damir** (University of Zadar) *Frequency correlations in processing, familiarity, and language usage data of clitics in Croatian and Empirical evidence for the functional determiner projection in Croatian*

## A. List of Presentations

- Čavar, Malgorzata** (University of Zadar) *Sibilant inventory and the realization of vowels: A study of the dialects of Pag*
- Čech, Radek** (University of Ostrava) *Ditransitive verbs in spoken and written Czech*
- Crvenkovska, Emilija** (Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje) *Definite article in Macedonian – Second language acquisition perspective*
- Drljača Margić, Branka** (University of Rijeka) *Impact of English on Croatian prepositional structures*
- Dubchak, Olga** (National Pedagogical Dragomanov University) *Functionally-pragmatic realization of category „definiteness / indefiniteness” in Ukrainian language*
- Dudchuk, Philip** (Moscow State University) *Constraining Russian Anticausatives*
- Fehrmann, Doro** (University of Leipzig) *Versatile morphosyntax: Reflexive forms cross-Slavic*
- Franks, Steven** (Indiana University) *Pronominal Clitics as Agreement in East Balkan Slavic*
- Frleta, Tomislav** (Sveučilište u Zadru) *Frequency correlations in processing, familiarity, and language usage data of clitics in Croatian*
- Glynn, Dylan** (University of Lund) *Corpus-Driven Analysis and Onomasiology and Usage-Based Grammatical Semantics The semasiological structure of Croatian Verbal prefix iz*
- Górski, Rafał** (Polish Academy of Sciences) *Towards the National Corpus of Polish*
- Gorzycka, Dorota** (Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń) *Polish and English diminutives – A contrastive study*
- Hacking, Jane** (University of Utah) *The production of palatalized and unpalatalized consonants in Russian by advanced American learners*
- Itkin, Ilya** (Russian Academy of Sciences) *Suffix of nomina actionis \*-ъb(a) in the Proto-Slavic language*
- Ivanov, Ivan** (University of Iowa) *Topic-marking clitic-doubling and its L2 acquisition*
- Jaworski, Sylwester** (University of Szczecin) *Patterns of vowel reduction in Russian*
- Janic, Katarzyna** (Université Lyon2) *Typology of antipassive constructions in Slavonic languages*
- Junghanns, Uwe** (University of Göttingen) *Versatile morphosyntax: Reflexive forms cross-Slavic*
- Kisseleva, Xenia** (Russian Academy of Sciences) *Superlexicals and structure of verb stem in Russian*
- Kondrashova, Natalia** (University of Michigan, Ann Arbor) *Resolving a Semantic Puzzle: ne-wh Items in Russian*

- Kresić, Marijana** (University of Zadar) *Modal particles in Croatian? A contrastive description of their meaning and function*
- Kulinich, Elena** (Universite du Quebec a Chicoutimi) *Russian defective verbs: synchrony or diachrony?*
- Łaziński, Marek** (Polish Scientific Publishers PWN) *Towards the National Corpus of Polish*
- Leheckova, Helena** (University of Helsinki) *Slavic Languages in the Brain*
- Lenertová, Denisa** (University of Leipzig) *Versatile morphosyntax: Reflexive forms cross-Slavic*
- Letuchiy, Alexander** (Vinogradov Russian Language Institute of Russian Academy of Sciences) *Grammaticalization of a "strange" derivation in Russian*
- Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, Barbara** (University of Łódź) *Towards the National Corpus of Polish*
- Lewandowski, Wojciech** (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona) *A corpus-based analysis of the locative alternation in Polish and Spanish and About the directional meaning of locative phrases in Polish*
- Mel'cuk, Igor** (OLST, Université de Montréal) *"Budalo jedna!"-Type Construction in Contemporary Serbian*
- Memišević, Anita** (University of Rijeka) *Impact of English on Croatian prepositional structures*
- Miličević, Jasmina** (Dalhousie University) *"Budalo jedna!"-Type Construction in Contemporary Serbian*
- Minor, Serge** (Moscow State University) *Constraining Russian Anticausatives*
- Murzynowski, Grzegorz** (Polish Academy of Sciences) *Manual annotation of the National Corpus of Polish with Anotatoria*
- Nesset, Tore** (University of Tromsø) *Arbitrary or Motivated? Aspectual Prefixes and Russian Verbs of Perception*
- Oštarić, Antonio** (University of Zadar) *Sibilant inventory and the realization of vowels: A study of the dialects of Pag*
- Ovsyannikova, Maria** (S.-Petersburg State University) *Grammaticalization properties of Russian primary prepositions*
- Pazelskaya, Anna** (ABBYY Software) *Arguments of Russian deverbal nominals: a corpus study*
- Peti-Stantić, Anita** (University of Zagreb) *Clitic Positioning in Croatian and Functional Sentence Perspective*
- Petroska, Elena** (Indiana University) *Interactions between Some Lexical Markers of Evidentiality and the Grammatical Evidentials in Macedonian*

## A. List of Presentations

**Petrukhin, Pavel** (Vinogradov Russian Language Institute) *The Old Russian periphrastic form bjaše xodja: origins, semantics and use*

**Przepiórkowski, Adam** (Polish Academy of Sciences) *Manual annotation of the National Corpus of Polish with Anotatornia and Towards the automatic construction of a valence dictionary for Polish and Towards the National Corpus of Polish*

**Pshehotskaya, Ekaterina** (Moscow State University) *Constraining Russian Anti-causatives*

**Pysz, Agnieszka** (University of Poznan) *Genitives and Classificatory Adjectives as Typing Attributes*

**Rappaport, Gilbert** (University of Texas at Austin) *The ‘Orphan Accusative’ in Slovene: Grammatical features lexicalized*

**Runjaić, Siniša** (Institut za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje) *The Croatian Language Corpus as the basis for the analysis of the impact of changes on the shaping of the Croatian standard language*

**Rutkowski, Paweł** (University of Warsaw) *Let’s Talk about Postnominal Adjectives!*

**Šimík, Radek** (University of Groningen) *Resolving a Semantic Puzzle: ne-wh Items in Russian*

**Slabakova, Roumyana** (University of Iowa) *Topic-marking clitic-doubling and its L2 acquisition*

**Sonnenhauser, Barbara** (LMU München) *The Macedonian ‘tripartite article’: a discourse-pragmatic account*

**Srdanović, Irena** (Tokyo Institute of Technology) *Learning from Corpora: About most Frequent Differences between Contemporary Serbian and Croatian*

**Szucsich, Luka** (Humboldt-University Berlin) *Multiple AGREE and Case Licensing: Structural Case on Adverbials*

**Tagabileva, Maria** (Moscow State University) *Suffix of nomina actionis \*-ъb(a) in the Proto-Slavic language*

**Tanacković Faletar, Goran** (University of Osijek) *The conceptual-semantic basis of grammatical relations: the case of the Croatian predicate instrumental*

**Tatevosov, Sergei** (Moscow State University) *Superlexicals and structure of verb stem in Russian*

**Tofoska, Stanislava-Stasha** (Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje) *Verbs expressing telic aspectual configuration in Macedonian*

**Trugman, Helen** (Holon Institute of Technology) *Genitives and Classificatory Adjectives as Typing Attributes and Unorthodox adjectival modification in Russian NPs*

**Viredaz, Remy** *Two unrecognized vowel phonemes in Proto-Slavic*

**Zanon, Ksenia** (Indiana University) *Coordinated Multiple Wh-Questions in Russian and BCS: Evidence for Biclausality*

**Zimmerling, Anton** (Moscow State University of the Humanities) *Aggressive pro-drop and the specificity of the 3rd person in Slavic languages*

**Zupan, Jure** (University of Ljubljana & Institute of Chemistry) *A New Concept for a Network Dictionary of Meanings in Slovenian Language*

**Žužak, Vedran** (University of Zadar) *Croatian dialects abroad*



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