#### **Selected Topics in Slavic linguistics**



Slavic languages are sufficiently similar and sufficiently different to provide an attractive research laboratory. (Corbett 1998)

## Language-family-oriented research



#### Rationale

- novel perspective on grammar sharing
- Inguistically sound and theoretically motivated modularity
- incorporating important insights from Slavic linguistics
- Typological similarities and systematic differences
  - observed at various intermediate levels of linguistic abstraction
  - detectable as parameters of systematic variation

#### **Observable tendencies**



#### East > West > South

- elaborate case system  $\rightarrow$  case syncretism  $\rightarrow$  case remnants
- copula-less predication  $\rightarrow$  morphosyntactic verb complex
- infinitival complements  $\rightarrow$  finite complements

#### South > West > East

- aux & pron clitics  $\rightarrow$  none
- definite article → none



### The extent of grammatical relatedness?

#### Bulgarian > South Slavic

- lacks morphological cases and infinitive,
- but shows an impressively complex verbal system,
- a definite article, a full-fledged clitic paradigm,
- and a phenomenon of clitic doubling.
- Czech, Polish > West Slavic
  - clausal-domain auxiliary and pronominal clitics, along with morphological cases and infinitive.

#### Russian > East Slavic

has morphological cases and infinitive, but lacks any auxiliary or pronominal clitics, and extensively employs non-verbal predication.





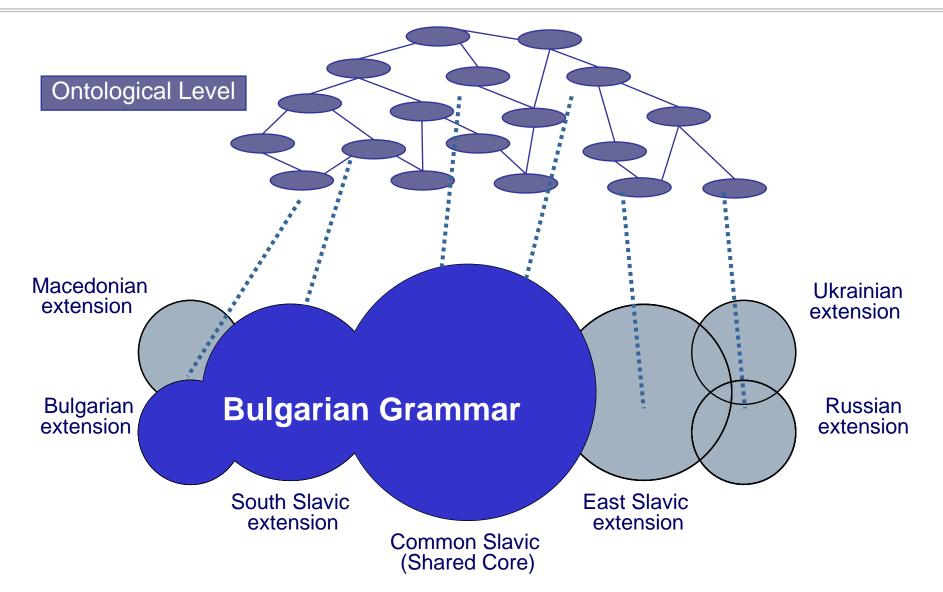
### Phenomena-driven modelling strategy



- Grammar as knowledge repository
  - encoded in rich ontologies
  - multidimensional hierarchical organisation
  - various degrees of abstraction
  - language-specific and construction-specific parameterisation
- Typological insights
  - across languages and constructions
  - across frameworks

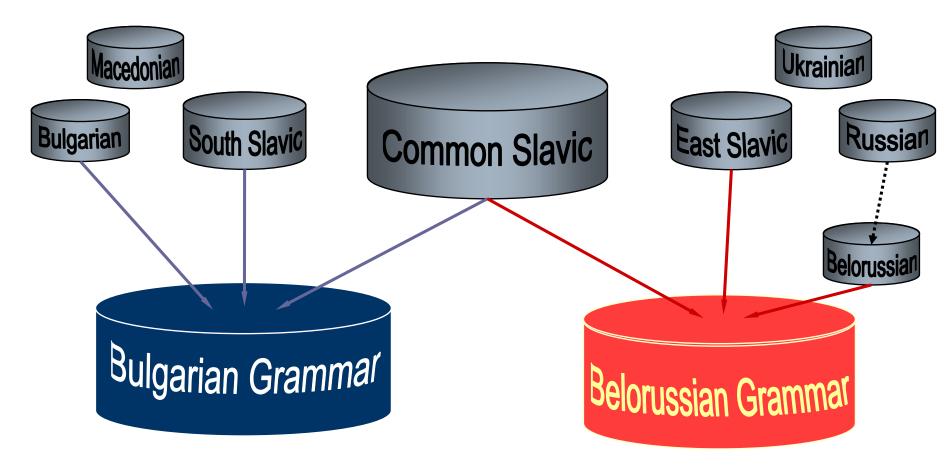
#### Phenomena-driven modelling strategy





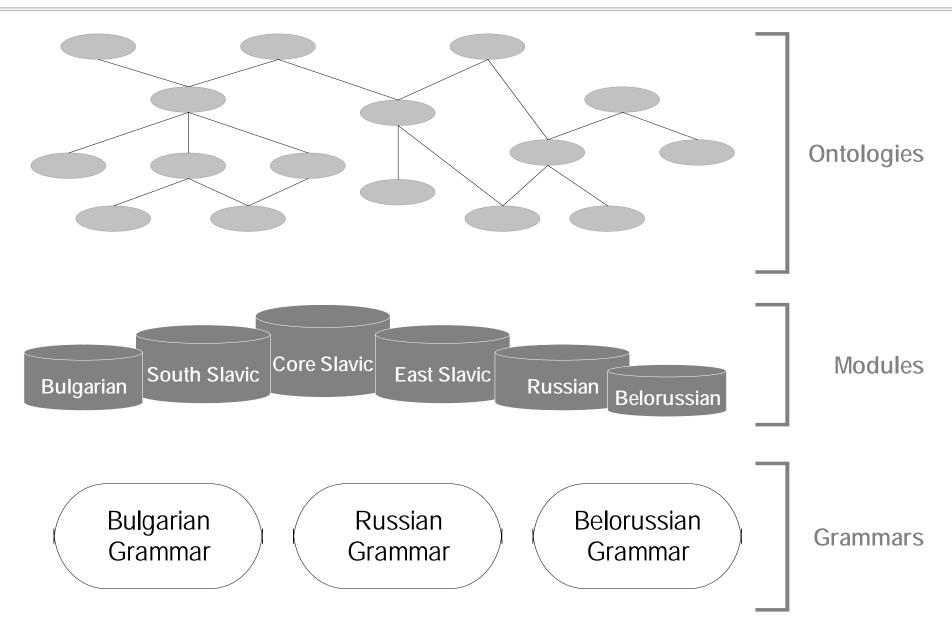


Depending on formalisation, shared grammar components can be combined by logical conjunction or unification.



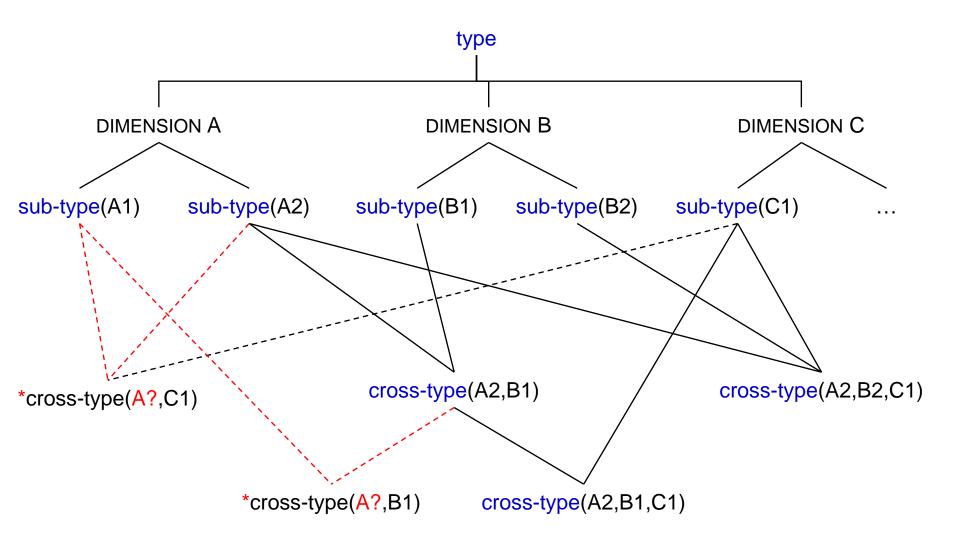
#### **Resource architecture**





#### Adopted representation of type hierarchies





### Phenomena in focus



- Case in Slavic
  - Common Slavic inventory of functional cases
  - Functional and marking dimensions of case classification
  - Shared Slavic case hierarchy
  - Clitics in Slavic
    - Common Slavic inventory of special predicative clitics
    - Module of inflecting (aux & pron) clitics

#### Agreement in Slavic

- Systematic relations of co-variation
- An ontology of co-variation phenomena

## Canonicity of morphosyntactic features (Corbett 2009)



- Principle I: Features and their values are clearly distinguished by formal means.
  - The clearer the formal means by which a feature or value is distinguished, the more canonical that feature or value.
  - Clear formal means allow a straightforward and regular mapping from form to function.
  - In the canonical situation we have clear evidence both for the feature and for each of its values.
- Principle II: The use of canonical morphosyntactic features and their values is determined by simple syntactic rules.
  - Syntax–morphology interface (!)
  - In the canonical situation,
    - the rules of syntax determine the required case value, and
    - the morphology realizes this value without further complications.

## Canonicity of morphosyntactic features: Russian



- Given such a set of requirements, the traditional case values are confirmed, though some are more canonical than others.
  - Accusative is in many instances not clearly distinguished by formal means.
  - There are case values with various non-canonical characteristics, i.e. second locative, second genitive, vocative, adnumerative.
- Instead of a homogeneous system, we have a set of values of differing status,
  - some being close to canonical, and
  - some showing non-canonical and sometimes even quite exotic behaviour.
- In terms of obligatoriness too, we find a mixed picture.
  - While case as a feature is obligatory in Russian, not all of the values are.
  - E.g., for several nouns which have a *second genitive* its use is facultative.

#### Slavic case system



- The notion of "case" is used differently at different descriptive levels
  - case marking
  - syntactic function
  - semantic role
- How is case acquired by case-marked categories?
  - in concord (concordial case)
  - under government (relational case)
- Terminological complexity
  - With case-related concepts, it is crucial to pursue explicitness, and avoid presentational ambiguity and simplification.

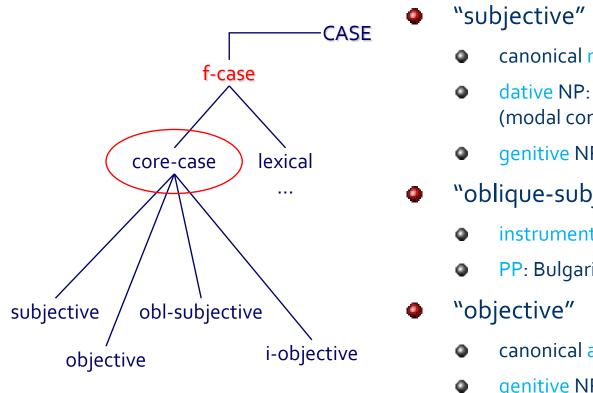
### **Common Slavic inventory of functional cases**



- Notion of functional case as morphosyntactic abstraction over
  - regular case variation and
  - language-specific constraints with regard to case marking
- Parametric constraints on the instantiation of functional case
  - Ianguage-specific
  - idiosyncratic
  - context-sensitive
- Functional dimension of case classification (f-case)

#### **Functional dimension of case classification**





- canonical nominative NP
- dative NP: with Polish and Russian infinitives (modal construction)
- genitive NP: Russian (in context of negation)
- "oblique-subjective"
  - instrumental NP: Russian / Czech / Slovak
  - PP: Bulgarian (ot) / Polish (przez) / Slovene (od)
  - canonical accusative NP
  - genitive NP: Polish / Russian
  - instrumental NP: Polish / Russian ٥
- "indirect-objective" •
  - canonical dative NP •
  - PP: Bulgarian (на) •

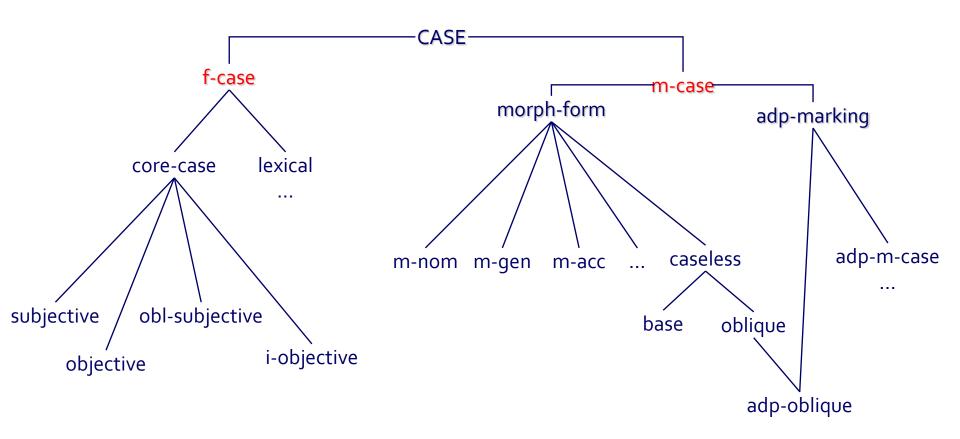
# Generalising the concept of case marking

- Spectrum of case marking CASE possibilities m-case synthetic means 0 morph-form adp-marking analytical means 0 suppletion of forms 0 caseless adp-m-case The idea of case marking m-nom m-gen m-acc ... traditionally: 0 base oblique inflectional marking extension: ٩ to cover adpositions, too adp-oblique
- Marking dimension of case classification (m-case)

•

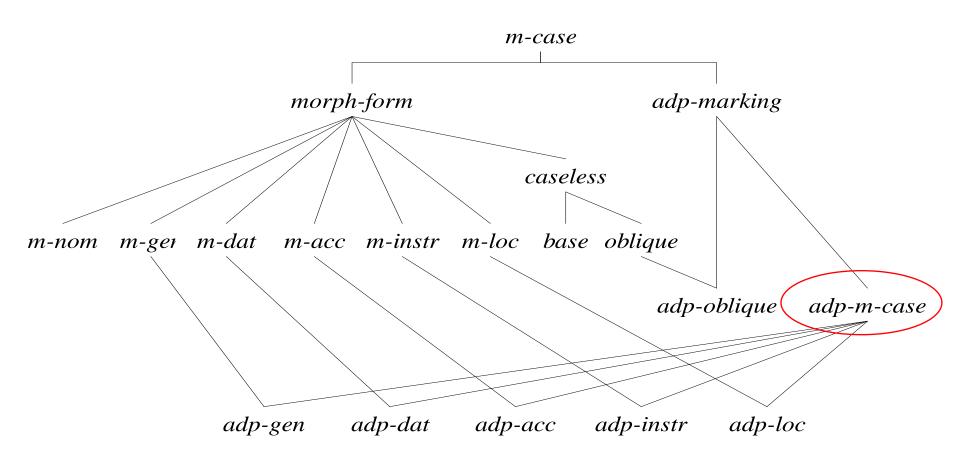
#### **Functional and marking dimensions**





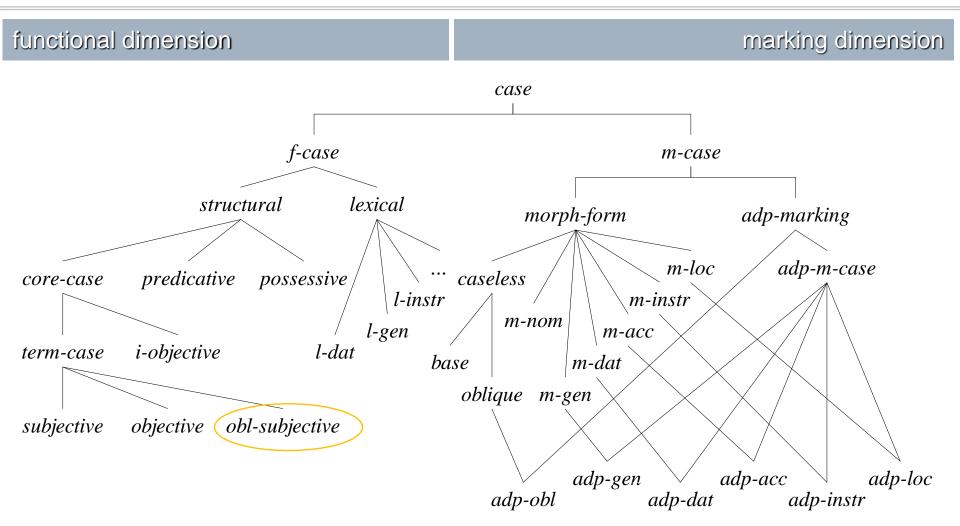
#### Marking dimension of Slavic case hierarchy





### Shared Slavic case hierarchy





### Parametric constraints on f-case instantiation



- Language-specific the particular encoding of functional case, e.g., the instrumental / prepositional marking of the agentive phrase in passive.
- Idiosyncratic: lexically determined subclasses of structural arguments, e.g. accusative, genitive and instrumental direct objects in Polish.
- Context-sensitive: case alternations triggered by syntactic or semantic context, e.g., genitive of negation.

