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.





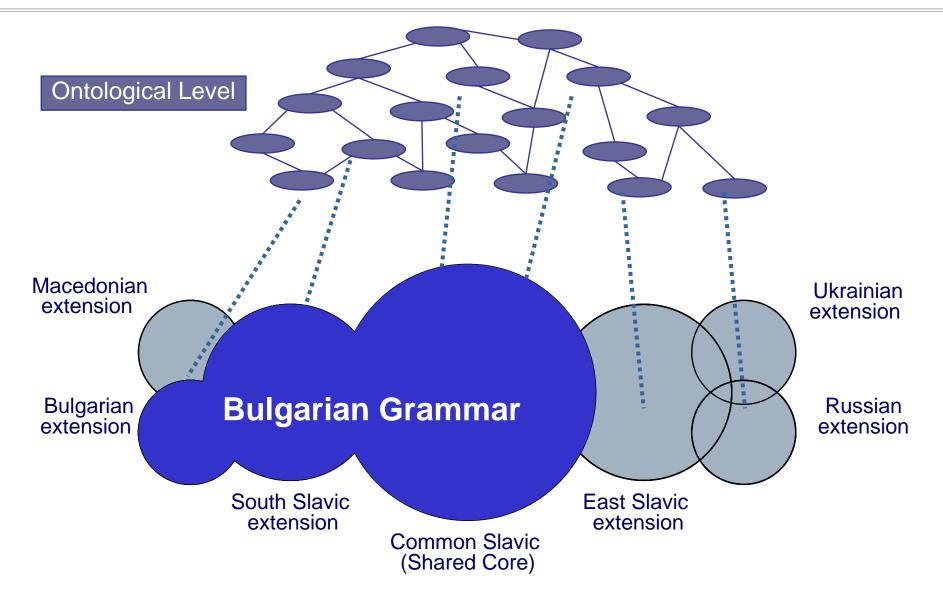
Phenomena-driven modelling strategy



- 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

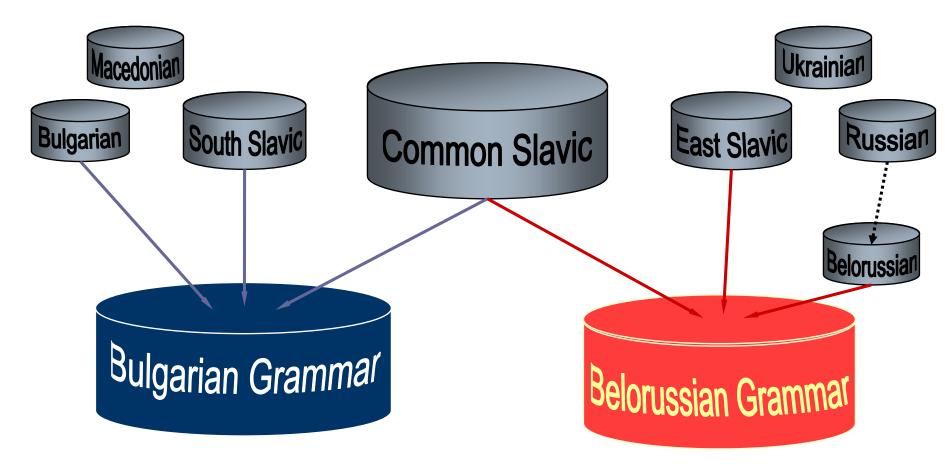
Phenomena-driven modelling strategy





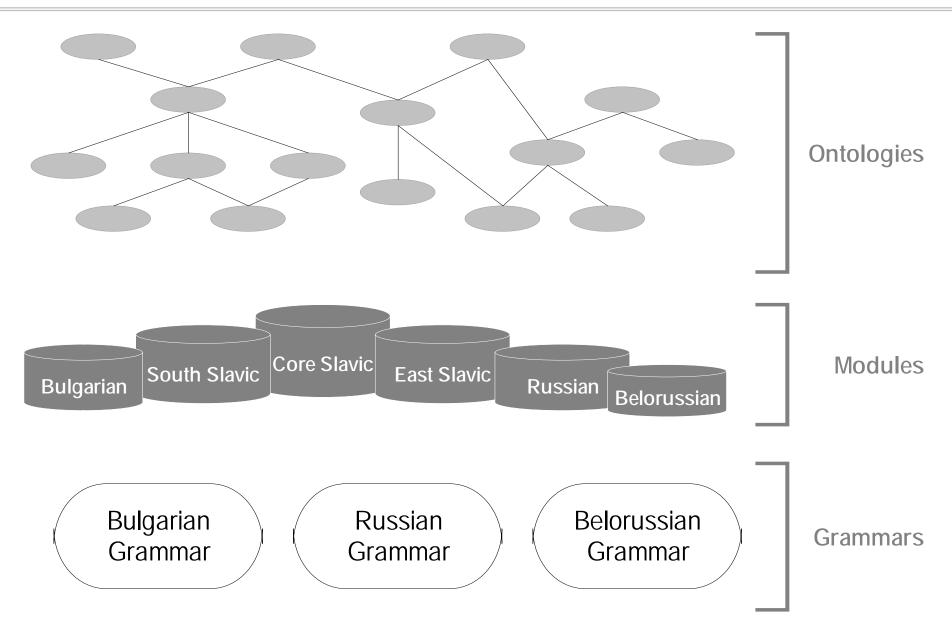


Depending on formalisation, shared grammar components can be combined by logical conjunction or unification.



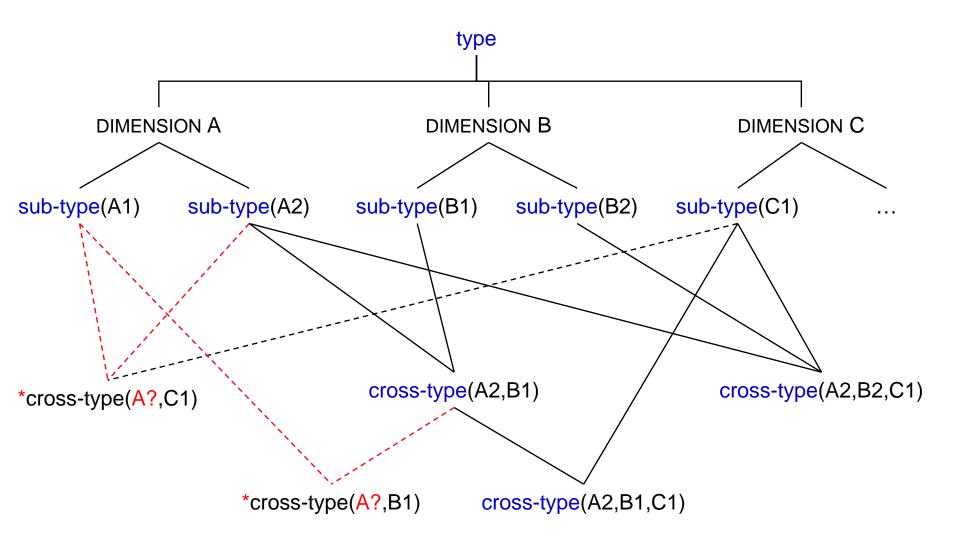
Resource architecture





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.

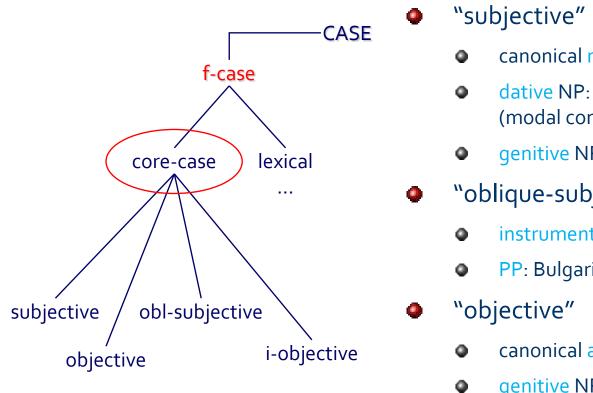
Common Slavic inventory of functional cases



- 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) •

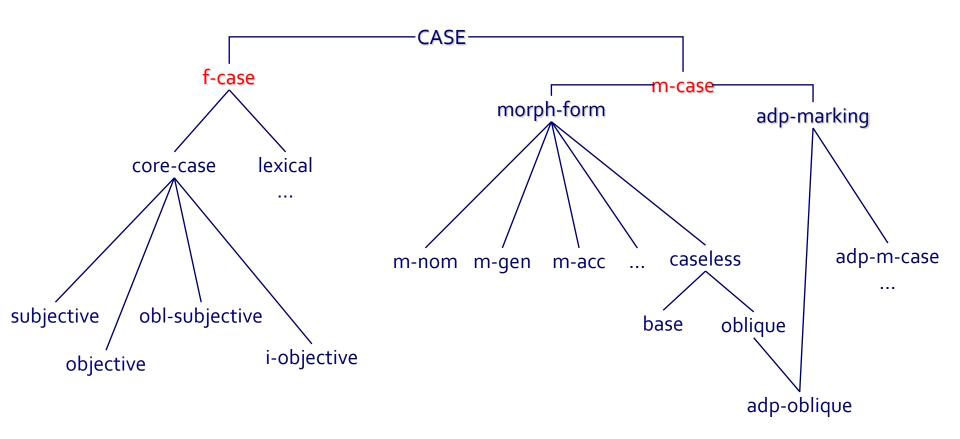
Generalising the concept of case marking

- 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)

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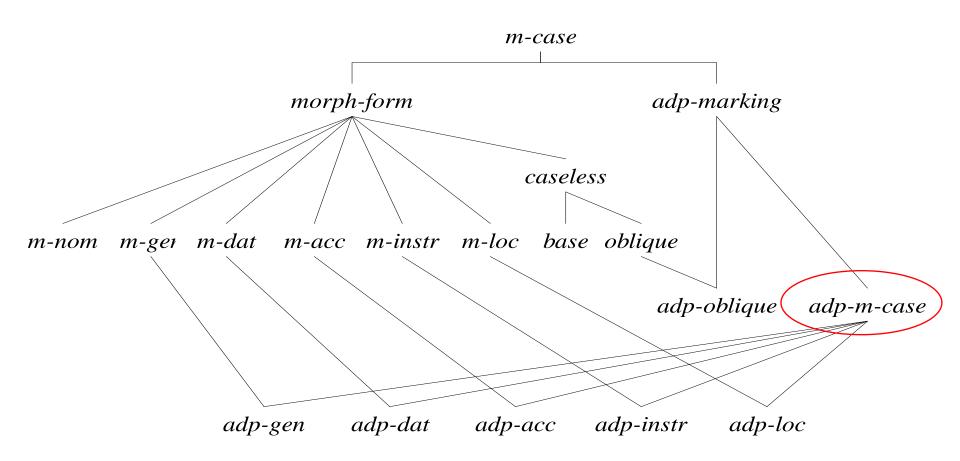
Functional and marking dimensions





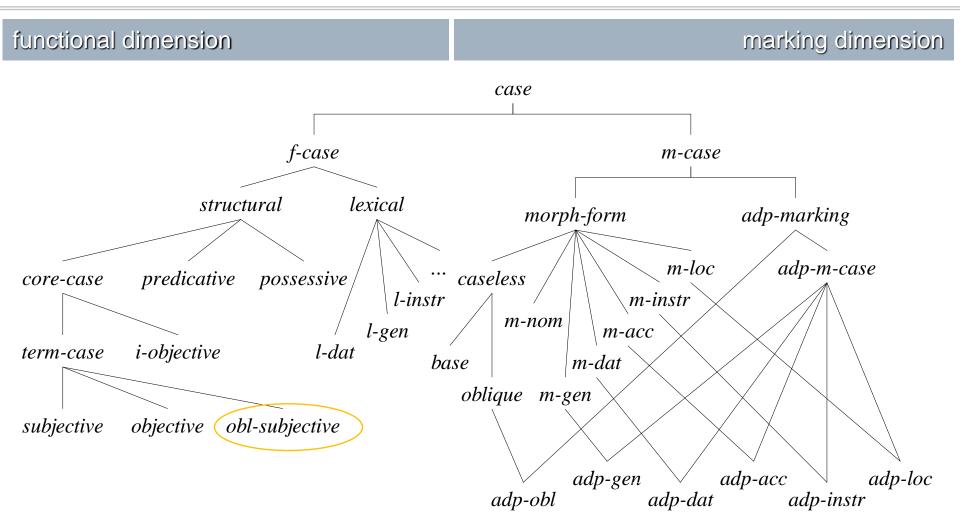
Marking dimension of Slavic case hierarchy





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.

