



## **STOPENJSKO BESEDOTVORJE**

23. mednarodna konferenca  
Komisije za besedotvorje pri  
Mednarodnem slavističnem komiteju  
Ljubljana, 17.–20. 9. 2024

## **MULTISTAGE WORD FORMATION**

23<sup>rd</sup> International Conference  
of the Commission on Word Formation  
of the International Committee of Slavists  
Ljubljana, September 17–20, 2024

**Zbornik povzetkov | Book of Abstracts**

Boris Kern, Duša Divjak Race,  
Jera Sitar, Maruša Žibred



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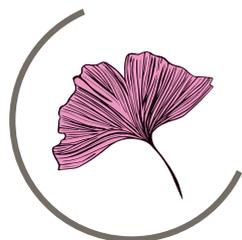


**Institut  
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Boris Kern, Duša Divjak Race  
Jera Sitar, Maruša Žibred

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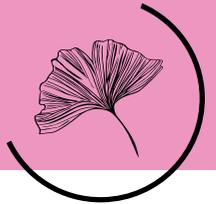
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**Andreja Žele**, Univerza v Ljubljani, Filozofska fakulteta; ZRC SAZU, Inštitut za slovenski jezik Frana Ramovša

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## PREDGOVOR

Zbornik vsebuje povzetke 23. mednarodne znanstvene konference Komisije za besedotvorje pri Mednarodnem slavističnem komiteju (17.–20. september 2024), ki poteka v soorganizaciji ZRC SAZU, Inštituta za slovenski jezik Frana Ramovša, Inštituta "Jožef Stefan" in Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Mariboru.

Tema *Stopenjsko besedotvorje* naslavlja raziskave, ki presegajo obravnavo binarnega odnosa med motivirajočo in motivirano besedo ter tako vključujejo več besed, ki so v tvorbenem razmerju (*jezik* → *jezikati*, *jeziček*, *jezikovni*). Tvorbeno razmerje je lahko večstopenjsko, pri čemer je prva beseda podstava druge, druga podstava tretje itn., kar tvori t. i. besedotvorne nize (npr. *pisati* → *dopisati* → *dopisovati* → *dopisovalec* → *dopisovalčev*; *mlad* → *mladost* → *mladosten* → *mladostnica* → *mladostničin*), kar je posebej značilno za slovanske jezike.

Naslov konference ne določa nujno metodološkega pristopa, ampak predvsem opredeljuje gradivsko razširitev analiziranega besedja. Cilj konference je torej predstaviti besednodružinski vidik tako sinhrono kot diahrono, in sicer v kontekstu:

- leksikografije,
- leksikologije,
- fonetike,
- dialektologije,
- sociolingvistike,
- jezikovnih tehnologij,
- raziskav jezikov kot drugih in tujih jezikov,
- znakovnih jezikov.

Prispevki v zborniku so razvrščeni abecedno.

## FOREWORD

This volume contains the abstracts of keynote presentations from the 23<sup>rd</sup> International Conference of the Commission on Word Formation of the International Committee of Slavists. The conference is being held at ZRC SAZU from September 17 to 20, 2024, and is jointly organized by ZRC SAZU Fran Ramovš Institute of the Slovenian Language, the Jožef Stefan Institute and the Faculty of Arts, University of Maribor.

The conference theme—Multistage Word Formation—focuses on studies that extend the binary relationship between motivating and motivated words. This encompasses several words engaged in word-formation relations (e.g., *to teach* → *teacher*, *teaching*, *teachable*). These relations may involve multiple stages, each word serving as the word-formation base for the next, thereby forming word-formation chains (e.g., *to respond* → *to correspond* → *correspondence*; *hope* → *hopeful* → *hopefulness*). Such patterns are particularly characteristic of Slavic languages (e.g., in Slovenian: *mladost* 'youth' → *mladosten* 'youthful' → *mladostnik* 'adolescent' → *mladostnikov* 'adolescent's').

The conference title does not prescribe a methodological approach but instead emphasizes the material expansion of the vocabulary under analysis. Consequently, the conference aims to explore aspects of word families both synchronically and diachronically and across various fields of linguistics, including:

- lexicography,
- lexicology,
- phonetics,
- dialectology,
- sociolinguistics,
- language technologies,
- second and foreign language research,
- sign languages.

The papers in this volume are arranged alphabetically.

POVZETKI | ABSTRACTS

Лидија Аризанковска [Lidija Arizankovska]

Filološki fakultet "Blaže Koneski",  
Univerzitet "Sv. Kiril i Metodij"  
larizankovska@yahoo.com



### ГРАДАЦИСКО ЗБОРООБРАЗУВАЊЕ ВО МАКЕДОНСКИОТ ЈАЗИК ВО СОЦИОЛИНГВИСТИЧКИ КОНТЕКСТ

Целта е да се претстават зборообразувачките можности на македонскиот јазик во насока на образување деривати од иста мотивирачка основа, како дел од градациското зборообразување, поттикнато од социолингвистички фактори, а како тенденција на начинот на изразување, особено во публицистичкиот, новинарскиот и во разговорниот функционален стил, во насока на експресивно обојување на изразот, како и семантичко диференцирање (на пример: *форум* – *форумција* – *форумџиски*; *директор* – *директорче* – *директориште* – *директорува*, итн.).

**Клучни зборови:** градациско зборообразување, македонски јазик, публицистички и новинарски функционален стил, разговорен функционален стил.

### MULTISTAGE WORD FORMATION IN THE MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE IN A SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONTEXT

The goal is to present the word-formation possibilities of the Macedonian language in the direction of forming derivatives from the same motivating base, as part of the multistage word-formation, encouraged by sociolinguistic factors, and as a tendency of the way of expression, especially in the publicistic and journalistic functional style and in the colloquial functional style, in the direction of expressive coloring of the expression, as well as semantic differentiation (for example: *forum* – *forumcija* – *forumџиски*; *director* – *directorche* – *directorište*

– директорува [forum – forumdzhija – forumdzhiski; director – directorche – directorishte – directoruva]).

**Keywords:** multistage word-formation, Macedonian language, publicistic and journalistic functional style, colloquial functional style



### ЗА МЯСТОТО НА БЪЛГАРСКИТЕ И ЧЕШКИТЕ АБСТРАКТНИ СЪЩЕСТВИТЕЛНИ С ФОРМАНТ *-(E)CTB(O)//-STV(I)//-(C)TV(I)* И НЕГОВИТЕ ВАРИАНТИ В СЛОВООБРАЗОВАТЕЛНОТО ГНЕЗДО

Докладът се спира на въпроса за мястото на българските и чешките абстрактни съществителни с формант *-(e)ctb(o)//-stv(i)//-(c)tv(i)* в словообразователното гнездо. Както е известно, словообразователното гнездо е йерархично подредена съвкупност от еднокоренни думи, свързани с отношения на словообразователна производност / мотивация, и се състои от една до n на брой словообразователни вериги. Беглият поглед върху чешките и българските изследвания показва разминаване в интерпретацията на посочените съществителни, както по отношение на техните непосредствено мотивиращи, така и по отношение на тяхната словообразователна семантика и отнасянето им към транспозиционните (синтактичните) деривати. Това показва актуалността на предложената тема.

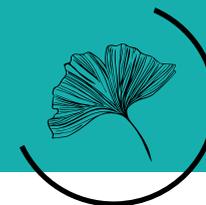
**Ключови думи:** абстрактни съществителни, форманти *-(e)ctb(o)//-stv(i)//-(c)tv(i)*, словообразователно гнездо, словообразователна верига, транспозиция, мутация

### ON THE POSITION OF BULGARIAN AND CZECH ABSTRACT NOUNS WITH THE FORMANT *-(E)CTB(O)//-STV(I)//-(C)TV(I)* AND ITS VARIANTS IN THE WORD-FORMATION NEST

The report focuses on the question of the place of the Bulgarian and Czech abstract nouns with the formant *-(e)ctb(o)//-stv(i)//-(c)tv(i)* in the word-formation nest. As is known, a word-formation nest is a hierarchically ordered collection of monosyllabic words connected through word-formation derivation/motivation relations, and consists

of one to n in number word-formation chains. A cursory glance at the Czech and the Bulgarian studies shows a divergence in the interpretation of the mentioned nouns, both in terms of their immediate motivation, and in terms of their word-formation semantics and their relation to transpositional (syntactic) derivatives. This shows the relevance of the proposed topic.

**Keywords:** abstract nouns, formants -(e)stv(o)//-stv(i)/-(c)tv(i), word-formation nest, word-formation chain, transposition, mutation



## SLOVOTVORNÁ PARADIGMATIKA ANGLICISMŮ V ČEŠTINĚ

Příspěvek se zaměří na derivační desubstantivní slovotvorná paradigmata anglicismů, materiálových přejímek z angličtiny, např. *image – imageový – imageově, imageovost*. Záměrem bude zjistit, zda se derivováním z anglických slovotvorných základů v českém prostředí realizují slovotvorná paradigmata desubstantiv analogicky, shodně, plně, nebo jen částečně jako u obdobných typů desubstantiv domácích (od domácích slovotvorných základů). S oporou o Dokulilovy onomaziologické kategorie (S – Adj1, 2, ..., S – V, Adj1 – Adv1, Adj2 – Adv2, ... S – S atd.; Dokulil 1962) stanovíme základní (ilustrativní) typologii desubstantivních paradigmat, viz např. (1) *lifestyle – lifestyleový – lifestyleovost*; (2) *manažer – manažerský – manažerství, manažerův, manažerka, manažerovat*; (3) *outsider – outsiderský, outsidersův, outsidersovitost, outsiderska*; (4) *selfie – selfiáda, selfičko* atd. U jednotlivých typů desubstantivních paradigmat anglicismů pak budeme posuzovat a analyzovat stupeň obsazení pozic podmíněný morfologicko-sémantickými vlastnostmi slovotvorných základových substantiv, tedy jejich derivační možnosti (do jaké míry význam anglických základů podmiňuje počet a povahu derivovaných slov). Zvážíme případně i potenciální bariéry, proč se někdy nerealizují celá slovotvorná paradigmata jako u českých základů. Podle potřeby ověříme existenci dílčích slovotvorných paradigmat ve slovotvorné síti lexikální databáze DeriNet (<http://ufal.mff.cuni.cz/derinet/search>) a v textech Českého národního korpusu. Zdrojem analyzovaného materiálu bude především (rozšířený a doplněný) soubor anglicismů shromážděný pro monografii Klégr – Bozděchová 2024.

**Klíčová slova:** slovotvorné paradigma, anglicismus, desubstantivum

## WORD-FORMATION PARADIGM OF ANGLICISMS IN CZECH

The paper will focus on the derivational desubstantive word-formation paradigms of Anglicisms, loans from English, e.g., *image* – *imageový* – *imageově*, *imageovost*. The intention will be to find out whether the derivation from English word-formation bases in the Czech environment realizes the word-formation paradigms of desubstantives analogously, identically, fully, or only partially as for similar types of domestic desubstantives (from domestic word-formation bases). Relying on Dokulil's onomasiological categories (S – Adj1, 2, ..., S – V, Adj1 – Adv1, Adj2 – Adv2, ... S – S, etc.; Dokulil 1962), we establish a basic (illustrative) typology of desubstantive paradigms, see e.g., (1) *lifestyle* – *lifestylový* – *lifestylovost*; (2) *manažer* – *manažerský* – *manažerství*, *manažerův*, *manažerka*, *manažerovat*; (3) *outsider* – *outsiderský*, *outsiderův*, *outsiderovitost*, *outsiderka*; (4) *selfie* – *selfiáda*, *selfičko*, etc. For each type of desubstantive paradigms of Anglicisms we will then consider and analyze the degree of position occupation conditioned by morphological-semantic properties of word-forming base nouns, i.e., their derivational possibilities (to what extent the meaning of English bases conditions the number and nature of the derived words). We will also consider potential barriers as to why sometimes entire word-formation paradigms are not realized as in the case of Czech bases. As appropriate, we will verify the existence of partial word-formation paradigms in the word-formation network of the lexical database DeriNet (<http://ufal.mff.cuni.cz/derinet/search>) and in the texts of the Czech National Corpus. The source of the analysed material will be mainly the (expanded and supplemented) list of Anglicisms collected for the monograph Klégr – Bozděchová 2024.

**Keywords:** word-formation paradigm, Anglicism, desubstantive noun

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## CZYNNIKI WPŁYWAJĄCE NA STRUKTURĘ I WIELKOŚĆ POLSKICH GNIAZD SŁOWOTWÓRCZYCH

Celem referatu jest przedstawienie czynników wpływających na strukturę i wielkość gniazd słowotwórczych, a zwłaszcza długość łańcuchów słowotwórczych. W świetle dostępnych opracowań (m. in. Jadacka 1995; Karpiłowska 2007; Skarżyński 2003; Vogelgesang 1984; Burkacka 2011, 2012, 2018, 2021) i analizy materiału *Słownika gniazd słowotwórczych współczesnego języka ogólnopolskiego* (Jadacka red. 2001 i Skarżyński red. 2004) istotne znaczenie mają następujące czynniki: część mowy, nacechowanie stylistyczne i ekspresywne, długość i geneza leksemu bazowego, a także liczba znaczeń, zakres stosowania i aktywność frazeologiczna. Duże znaczenie ma także obecność terminów wśród derywatów.

**Słowa kluczowe:** aktywność słowotwórcza, język polski, derywacja, językowy obraz świata, odmiany języka

## FACTORS INFLUENCING THE STRUCTURE AND SIZE OF POLISH WORD-FORMATION NESTS

The aim of the paper is to present the factors influencing the structure and size of word-formation nests, especially the length of word-formation chains. In the light of available studies (including Jadacka 1995; Karpiłowska 2007; Skarżyński 2003; Vogelgesang 1984; Burkacka 2011, 2012, 2018, 2021) and the analysis of the material of the *Słownik gniazd słowotwórczych współczesnego języka ogólnopolskiego* (Jadacka ed. 2001 and Skarżyński ed. 2004), the following factors are important: part of speech, stylistic and expressive character, length and origin of the base lexeme, as well as the number of meanings,

scope of use and phraseological activity. The presence of terms among derivatives is also important.

**Keywords:** word-formation activity, Polish language, derivation, linguistic image of the world, language varieties

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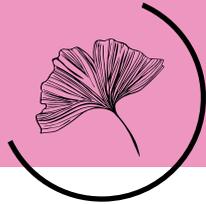
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## STROJNO LUŠČENJE ARHETIPSKIH BESEDOTVORNIH DREVES V SLOVENŠČINI: PRVI KORAKI

Slovenski oblikoslovni leksikon *Sloleks* je največja odprto dostopna zbirka slovenskih besed. V različici 3.0 (Čibej et al. 2022) vsebuje približno 365.000 iztočnic, vključno z njihovimi pregibnimi oblikami in določenimi medbesednimi povezavami. Izdelana je bila že metoda za strojno luščenje medbesednih povezav med iztočnicami (npr. *delodajalec* → *delodajalčev*) na podlagi strojno berljivega nabora približno 580 pravil, ki upoštevajo začetne, osrednje in končne besedne dele (več o postopku v Čibej 2021). Odvisno od predvidljivosti in produktivnosti pravila je luščenje uspešno v približno 75–80 % primerov, iz *Sloleksa 2.0* pa je bilo na ta način izluščenih več kot 66.000 potencialnih morfološko povezanih parov (Čibej et al. 2020).

V prispevku predstavljamo nadaljnji korak, v katerem izluščene pare prerazvrstimo v verige, ki jim je mogoče pripisati posplošeno obliko: verigi *dež* → *deževen* → *deževnost* in *kraj* → *krajeven* → *krajevnost* lahko predstavimo kot  $[O] \rightarrow [O]_{ev\_en} \rightarrow [O]_{ev\_n\_ost}$ . Posplošene verige je nato mogoče združiti v mrežo, ki predstavlja arhetipsko besedotvorno drevo, npr.:

- $[O]_{ati}$  ( $pis_{ati}$ ,  $sklad_{ati}$ ,  $ravn_{ati}$ , ...)
- $[O]_{at\_elj}$  ( $pis_{at\_elj}$ ,  $sklad_{at\_elj}$ ,  $ravn_{at\_elj}$ , ...)
- $[O]_{at\_elj\_ev}$  ( $pis_{at\_elj\_ev}$ ,  $sklad_{at\_elj\_ev}$ ,  $ravn_{at\_elj\_ev}$ , ...)
- $[O]_{at\_elj\_ic\_a}$  ( $pis_{at\_elj\_ic\_a}$ ,  $sklad_{at\_elj\_ic\_a}$ ,  $ravn_{at\_elj\_ic\_a}$ , ...)
- $[O]_{at\_elj\_ič\_in}$  ( $pis_{at\_elj\_ič\_in}$ ,  $sklad_{at\_elj\_ič\_in}$ ,  $ravn_{at\_elj\_ič\_in}$ , ...)
- ...
- ...
- ...

Statistična analiza izluščenih arhetipskih besedotvornih dreves bo pokazala najpogostejše, najbolj tipične in najproduktivnejše skupke pravil, ki jih je mogoče v prihodnje izkoristiti tudi pri nadaljnjem širjenju *Sloleksa*, tako da pri iskanju novih iztočnic iz korpusa hkrati izluščimo več potencialno povezanih besed, ne le posameznih kandidatov.

**Ključne besede:** arhetipska besedotvorna drevesa, Sloleks, strojno luščenje, morfološka pravila, besedotvorje

## AUTOMATIC EXTRACTION OF ARCHETYPAL WORD-FORMATION TREES FOR SLOVENE: FIRST STEPS

*The Sloleks Morphological Lexicon of Slovene* is the largest open-source database of Slovene words. Version 3.0 (Čibej et al. 2022) contains approximately 365,000 entries along with their inflected forms and certain links between words. In our previous work, we presented a method for the automatic extraction of word relations between morphologically related entries (e.g., *delodajalec* 'employer' → *delodajalčev* 'employer's') based on a machine-readable set of cca. 580 rules that take into account initial, central and final word parts (for more on this process, see Čibej 2021). Depending on the predictability and productivity of the rule, the extraction is successful in cca. 75–80% of examples. The extraction from *Sloleks 2.0* resulted in more than 66.000 potentially morphologically related pairs (Čibej et al. 2020).

In this paper, we present the next step of the process: we redistribute the extracted pairs into chains which can be assigned a generalized form: for instance, the chains *dež* 'rain' → *deževen* 'rainy' → *deževnost* 'raininess' and *kraj* 'place' → *krajeven* 'local' → *krajevnost* 'localness' can be represented as  $[O] \rightarrow [O]_{ev\_en} \rightarrow [O]_{ev\_n\_ost}$ . The generalized chains can then be joined into a network representing an archetypal word formation tree, as seen below:

- $[O]_{ati}$  (*pis\_ati*, *sklad\_ati*, *ravn\_ati*, ...)
- $[O]_{at\_elj}$  (*pis\_at\_elj*, *sklad\_at\_elj*, *ravn\_at\_elj*, ...)
  - $[O]_{at\_elj\_ev}$  (*pis\_at\_elj\_ev*, *sklad\_at\_elj\_ev*, *ravn\_at\_elj\_ev*, ...)
  - $[O]_{at\_elj\_ic\_a}$  (*pis\_at\_elj\_ic\_a*, *sklad\_at\_elj\_ic\_a*, *ravn\_at\_elj\_ic\_a*, ...)
    - $[O]_{at\_elj\_ič\_in}$  (*pis\_at\_elj\_ič\_in*, *sklad\_at\_elj\_ič\_in*, *ravn\_at\_elj\_ič\_in*, ...)
    - ...
    - ...
    - ...

A statistical analysis of the extracted archetypal word formation trees will show the most frequent, typical, and productive series of rules which can be leveraged in the future to further expand Sloleks by extracting multiple new potentially related entries from corpora instead of focusing on individual candidates.

**Keywords:** archetypal word-formation trees, Sloleks, automatic extraction, morphological rules, word formation

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### СЕМАНТИЧКО-ДЕРИВАЦИОНИ ПОТЕНЦИЈАЛ ГЛАГОЛА *ГЛЕДАТИ* НА ОСНОВУ ГРАЂЕ ИЗ ДЕРИВАЦИОНИХ РЕЧНИКА НЕКИХ СЛОВЕНСКИХ ЈЕЗИКА

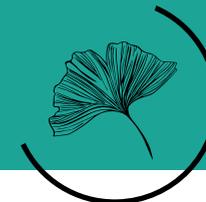
У раду се анализирају деривациона гнезда глагола *гледати* и његових еквивалената у деривационим речницима неких словенских језика. Истраживање има три основна циља: 1)-истражити везу између полисемије и деривације глагола *гледати* у српском језику; 2) упоредити семантичко-деривациони потенцијал овог глагола у неким словенским језицима; 3) упоредити обраду семантичког и деривационог потенцијала овог глагола у деривационим речницима различитих словенских језика.

**Кључне речи:** полисемија, деривација, деривационо гнездо, деривациони речници, словенски језици

### SEMANTIC-DERIVATIVE POTENTIAL OF THE VERB *GLEDATI* BASED ON MATERIAL FROM THE DERIVATIONAL DICTIONARIES OF SOME SLAVIC LANGUAGES

The paper analyzes the derivational nests of the verb *gledati* and its equivalents in the derivational dictionaries of some Slavic languages. The research has three main goals: 1) to investigate the relationship between polysemy and the derivation of the verb *gledati* in the Serbian language; 2) compare the semantic-derivative potential of this verb in some Slavic languages; 3) compare the description of the semantic and derivational potential of this verb in the derivational dictionaries of different Slavic languages.

**Keywords:** polysemy, derivation, derivational nest, derivational dictionaries, Slavic languages



## AVTOMATSKO LUŠČENJE BESEDOTVORNIH PRAVIL IN VERIG ZA SLOVENSKI JEZIK

V prispevku predstavimo računalniški pristop za podporo besedotvorni analizi slovenskih besed. Digitalizirali smo *Besednodružinski slovar slovenskega jezika: Poskusni zvezek za iztočnice na B* in ga pretvorili v kodiranje TEI Lex0. Iz tega smo nato izluščili priponska besedotvorna pravila, ki zajemajo globinsko in površinsko obliko pravila, npr. iz iztočnice *boj-evati* (GLAGOL), iz katere je izpeljana iztočnica *bojev-anje* (SAMOSTALNIK), sestavimo globinsko pravilo GLAGOL:X-evati → SAMOSTALNIK:X-anje in ga pridružimo površinskemu pravilu, ki opisuje minimalno transformacijo površinskih oblik, v tem primeru "GLAGOL:.X+ti → SAMOSTALNIK:.X+nje". Takšna pravila se nato zberejo v zaporedja izpeljav (verige), izpričanih v slovarju.

Konstruirana površinska pravila in njihove verige smo nato aplicirali na pare besedna vrsta/lema iz dveh jezikovnih virov, tj. oblikoslovnega leksikona Sloleks in leksikona, izluščenega iz največjega korpusa slovenščine, imenovanega metaFida. S tem se je prvotni nabor derivacijsko povezanih besed s poskusnega slovarja, ki vsebuje samo korene, ki se začnejo na črko b in njihove tvorjenke, razširil na besede, ki se začnejo z vsemi drugimi črkami abecede. Seveda niso vsi najdeni pari in verige – predvsem za leksikon metaFida – veljavne izpeljanke, vendar bi dobljeni vir lahko bil dobro izhodišče za ročno preverjanje kandidatov za tvorjenke.

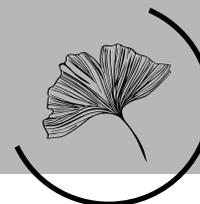
**Ključne besede:** slovenščina, obdelava naravnega jezika, jezikovni viri

## AUTOMATIC EXTRACTION OF DERIVATIONAL RULES AND CHAINS FOR SLOVENIAN

We present a computational approach for supporting word formation analysis in Slovenian. We first converted the digitised trail volume (containing words starting with b) of the *Word Family Dictionary of the Slovene Language: Pilot Volume for Entries Starting with B* into the widely used TEI Lex0 encoding. From this we then extracted suffixal word-formation rules, which pair the deep and surface form of a rule, e.g., from the entry *boj-evati*/to fight (VERB) from which the entry *bojev-anje*/figthing (NOUN) is derived, we construct the deep rule VERB:X-evati → NOUN:X-anje and pair it with the surface rule describing the minimal transformation on surface forms, in this case “VERB:X+ti → NOUN:X+nje”. Such rules are then gathered into sequences of derivations (chains) attested in the dictionary.

We next applied the constructed surface rules and their chains to part-of-speech / lemma pairs from two resources of Slovenian, i.e., the morphological lexicon Sloleks, and the lexicon constructed from the largest corpus of Slovenian, called metaFida. With this, the initial set of derivationally related words from the trail lexicon consisting only of roots starting with the letter b and their derivations was extended to words starting with all the other letters of the alphabet. Of course, not all the found pairs and chains—esp. for the metaFida lexicon—are valid derivations but the resulting resource could offer a good starting point for manual verification.

**Keywords:** Slovenian, natural language processing, language resources



## BESEDNA DRUŽINA S SINHRONEGA IN DIAHRONEGA ZORNEGA KOTA

Nastanek novega leksema je vedno le sinhrono jezikovno dejanje, iz česar sledi, da so bili leksemi, ki na sinhroni ravni jezika spadajo v isto besedno družino, tvorjeni na časovno različnih razvojnih stopnjah konkretnega jezika ali pa še prej, v njegovih mlajših in starejših genetičnih predhodnikih. Členi sinhronne besedne družine so torej različno stari. Enaka realnost se potrjuje tudi pri stopenjskem besedotvorju, saj besedotvorne verige nikoli niso posledica sočasnih besedotvornih postopkov.

Sinhrono besedotvorje jezikovno gradivo morfemizira s statičnega, ploskovnega zornega kota, a brez časovne in razvojne komponente, zato je rezultat, kaj še spada v konkretno besedno družino, odvisen od tega, da se koren pomensko ni spreminjal in da so nekorenski morfemi besedotvorno, tj. funkcijsko, ostali živi. Kar ne ustreza tema pogojeva, ne tvori sinhronne besedne družine (npr. *pisati, pisalo, pisar, pisec ...*), lahko pa diahrono (npr. *pisati, pisalo, pisar, pisec ... pismo, postrv, pes ...*). Besedna družina je zato enako kot vsaj še koren relativen pojem, saj je njena identifikacija odvisna od števila jezikovnih sistemov, ki so v raziskavo vključeni. Neupoštevanje časovne komponente pri glasovnem razvoju v morfemskem šivu lahko privede tudi do morfemizacij tipa *bedak* → *bedaš-ki* in celo *gospa* → *gosp-od*, čeprav pridevniškega morfema *-ki* slovenščina ne pozna, prav tako tudi ne maskulinativne pripone *-od*.

Sinhrono besedotvorje je kot raziskovalno področje neobhodno potrebno za vsak jezik. Uzavešča funkcioniranje jezika in živost besedotvornih vzorcev, ki so zanesljiva podlaga za tvorbo neologizmov. Oba temeljna razlagalna principa jezika, sinhrono in diahrono jezikoslovje, ki sta se sčasoma oddaljila in sta vedno bolj vsaksebi, bi morala ostati komplementarni, ne pa izključujoči raziskovalni področji.

Vsaka diahrona analiza se mora začeti s preučitvijo sinhronega stanja obravnavane jezikovne sestavine in njenega položaja v sinhronem sistemu ter se pri preučevanju njenega spreminjanja skozi čas (in prostor) upošteva starejše, tudi pisno nepotrjene sinhrono stopnje jezikovnih sistemov, koristno pa bi bilo, da bi se pri sinhronih analizah sodobnih jezikovnih sestavin vsaj kot preverjalno sredstvo in možen korektiv vključevala tudi znanja diahronega jezikoslovja.

**Ključne besede:** besedna družina, sinhrono jezikoslovje, diahrono jezikoslovje, morfemizacija, slovenščina

### THE WORD FAMILY FROM A SYNCHRONIC AND DIACHRONIC POINT OF VIEW

The emergence of a new lexeme is always only a synchronic linguistic act. From this it follows that lexemes that belong to the same word family at the synchronic level of language were formed at chronologically different development stages of a specific language or even earlier, in its earlier or more recent genetic predecessors. Hence, the members of a synchronic word family vary in age. The same reality is also attested in multistage word formation because word-formation chains are never a result of concurrent word-formation procedures.

Synchronic word formation morphemizes linguistic material from a static or flat perspective, but without the chronological and developmental component. Therefore, lexemes must fulfill two conditions to still belong to a particular word family: their root must have not changed semantically, and their non-root morphemes must have remained derivationally (i.e., functionally) productive. Whatever does not meet these two criteria does not form a synchronic word family (e.g., *pisati* 'write', *pisalo* 'pen', *pisar* 'scribe', *pisec* 'writer', etc.), but it can form a diachronic one (e.g., *pisati*, *pisalo*, *pisar*, *pisec* . . . *pismo* 'letter', *postrv* 'trout', *pes* 'dog', etc.). Hence, a word family, at least to the same extent as a root, is a relative concept because its identification depends on the number of language systems included in the research. A failure to consider the chronological component in the phonetic developments at the morphemic boundary can also lead to morphemization of the type *bedak* 'fool' → *bedaš-ki* 'foolish' or even *gospa* 'madam' → *gosp-od* 'sir', even though Slovenian does not use the adjectival morpheme *-ki* or the masculinizing suffix *-od*.

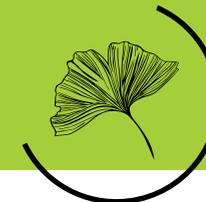
Synchronic word formation is a crucial research field for any language. It raises awareness of how a language functions and of the viability

of word-formation patterns that provide a reliable basis for forming neologisms. Both fundamental explanatory principles of a language—that is, synchronic and diachronic linguistics—which gradually grew apart and are still increasingly doing so, should have remained complementary rather than mutually exclusive research areas. Any diachronic analysis must begin by exploring the synchronic state of the linguistic component analyzed and its status in the synchronic system, and, in studying its changes over time (and across space), older synchronic stages of linguistic systems, including those unattested in writing, should be taken into account. In addition, it would be useful to include the insights of diachronic linguistics in synchronic analyses of contemporary linguistic components, at least as a checking measure or a potential corrective.

**Keywords:** word family, synchronic linguistics, diachronic linguistics, morphemization, Slovenian

Robert Hammel

Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin  
robert.hammel@hu-berlin.de



### UPORABA STOPENJSKE METODE V AREALNEM JEZIKOSLOVJU

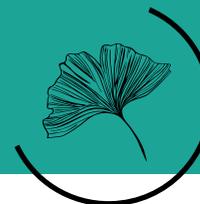
Stopenjska metoda kot hierarhično urejen prikaz odnosa med netvorjeno besedo in vsemi njenimi neposrednimi in posrednimi tvorjenkami omogoča obravnavo besedotvorja tudi v okviru primerjalnih raziskav. Pričujoči prispevek jo poskuša uporabiti za analizo besedotvorja sosednih jezikov izbranih geografskih območij (balkanske in srednjeevropske jezikovne zveze).

**Ključne besede:** stopenjska metoda, besedotvorje, arealna lingvistika, jezikovna zveza

### THE STUDY OF MULTISTAGE WORD FORMATION IN AREAL LINGUISTICS

The description of multistage word formation, i.e., the hierarchical ordering of underived lexemes and all their direct and indirect derivatives, also allows for comparative studies of word formation. The present paper investigates the possibility of applying the description of multistage word formation to the study of linguistic areas (Balkan and Central European sprachbund).

**Keywords:** multistage methodology, word formation, areal linguistics, linguistic areas



### СЕМАНТИКА ЧЛЕНОВ СЛОВООБРАЗОВАТЕЛЬНЫХ ГНЕЗД С ЦИКЛИЧЕСКИМИ ИМЕНАМИ В КАЧЕСТВЕ ВЕРШИН (НА МАТЕРИАЛЕ РУССКОГО ЯЗЫКА)

Циклические имена, или члены темпоральных циклов - объединений лексических единиц, «назначение которых заключается в репрезентации постоянно повторяющейся последовательности в наступлении и смене событий в течение определенного промежутка времени, образующей завершённый кругооборот [Лебедев 2008: 273] (названия времен года, дней недели, месяцев года и т.д.) предстают как семантически «бедные» слова, дескрипция которых в лексикографических описаниях сводится к указанию в основном последовательности и повторяемости. Особенно показательны в этом плане названия месяцев, дней недели и др. Ср. *Осень* - Время года, следующее за летом и предшествующее зиме; время увядания природы. [ Сем.сл ].

Контекстуальный анализ и психолингвистический эксперимент позволяют получить более полную картину семантических характеристик циклических имен в русском языке (например, для весны испытываемыми отмечаются и таяние снега, ледоход, пение птиц, оживание природы, расцвет подснежников, тюльпанов, грязь, слякоть и т.д.) и тем самым выявить богатство имеющихся у носителей языка знаний о температурных, погодных, событийных, деятельностных и т.д. свойствах обозначаемых периодов времени.

В центре нашего сообщения - актуализация прагматических смыслов, наследуемых производными словами русского языка - членами словообразовательных гнезд с циклическими именами в качестве вершин. Наряду с темпоральными значениями производные слова данных гнезд наследуют многочисленные наслоиения, выраженные эксплицитно в контексте (летнее *горячее*

*солнце, Долгим зимним вечером* и др.) или имплицитно (*зимняя дорога, осенние листья* и т.д.).

**Ключевые слова:** циклические имена, производное, гнездо, значение, прагматические смыслы

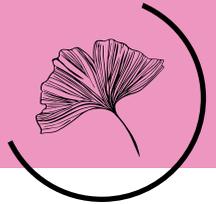
### SEMANTICS OF CYCLE NAME DERIVATIVES: WORD-FORMATION CLUSTER MEMBERS IN RUSSIAN

Cycle names, or the names of temporal cycles that group lexical items “aimed at representing regularly repeated sequences of onset and change of events over a certain time period, forming a complete circle” (Лебедев [Lebedev] 2008: 273). Instances include names of seasons, days of the week, months of the year and similar terms. Cycle names seem to be semantically impoverished: their descriptions in lexicographic resources are limited to indicating sequence and repetition. This is particularly evident in terms denoting months, days of the week, etc. For example, compare *Осень* (‘autumn’), described as “the time of the year that follows summer and precedes winter; the time of nature’s revival”.

However, contextual analysis and psycholinguistic experiments provide a more comprehensive understanding of the semantic properties of cycle names in Russian. For instance, when thinking of *spring*, respondents mention melting snow and ice, ice drifts, birds singing, nature’s revival, blooming snowdrops or tulips, dirt, slush, etc. Such responses reveal the rich knowledge language speakers have about temperature, weather, events, activities and other characteristics of these time periods.

This paper focuses on actualization of pragmatic senses in Russian derivatives—members of word formation clusters headed by cycle names. In addition to temporal meanings, the derivatives of these word formation clusters express various nuances, which are either contextually explicit (e.g., *летнее горячее солнце, Долгим зимним вечером*) or implicit and inferred (e.g., *зимняя дорога, осенние листья*).

**Keywords:** cycle names, derivatives, clusters, meaning, pragmatic senses



### INVESTIGATING GERMAN WORD FORMATION: THE COMPOUND PATTERN EXPLORER ‘KoMuX’

In my talk I will present the compound pattern explorer ‘KoMuX’ which has been developed in our project “word-formation patterns” at the Leibniz Institute for the German Language (IDS). The aim of this project is to empirically carve out patterns of word-formation (mainly patterns of compounding) on the basis of large corpus data and – as a second step – to describe these patterns from a qualitative (theoretical) perspective.

Our findings are based on an automatically extracted list of ~450 million nominal compound tokens from a subpart of the German Reference Corpus (cf. DeReKo 2017). This systematically gained inventory of German nominal compounds also contains automatic morphological annotations (part of speech of the non-head; word-formation type of the immediate constituents, etc.) as well as abstract thematic categories for the immediate constituents (cf. Brunner/Engelberg/Hein 2021). A part of this data by now is also freely available online and can be browsed with KoMuX (cf. Brunner/Hein 2022).

In my talk I will illustrate the main search functionalities of KoMuX by conducting some exemplary search queries. As will be shown, KoMuX is based on a pattern-based approach to compounding in which complex words are understood as realizations of abstract or semi-abstract (i.e., lexically partially specified) underlying patterns. This perspective on compounding is also theoretically motivated in that patterns serve not only for the coining of new complex words, but also structure the lexicon (cf. Booij 2010: 4; 42). Moreover, patterns can be used to explain observable differences in productivity (cf. Hein/Engelberg 2018; Hein/Brunner 2020; Bauer et al. 2019). All in all, our project resp. KoMuX can

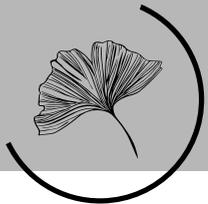
be understood as a contribution to 'empirical word formation research' which is still considered a desideratum (cf. Stumpf 2021).

**Keywords:** German, compounding, corpus linguistics, patterns, productivity

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Kijivs'kij nacional'nij universitet  
imeni Tarasa Ševčenko  
lidahnatjuk@gmail.com



### ВТРАЧЕНІ СЛОВОТВІРНІ ГНІЗДА В СУЧАСНІЙ УКРАЇНСЬКІЙ ЛІТЕРАТУРНІЙ МОВІ

У процесі розвитку нової української літературної мови, яка постала на народній основі в першій половині XIX ст. завдяки творчості Івана Котляревського і Тараса Шевченка, деякі словотвірні гнізда, успадковані зі старої української літературної мови, поступово були витіснені синонімами з народнорозмовного мовлення. Через це сучасна українськомовна людина може сприймати деякі непохідні архаїчні лексеми і деривати від них як неукраїнські, хоча відповідні словотвірні гнізда активно функціонували в староукраїнський період (XIV–XVIII ст.), окремі елементи словотвірних парадигм гнізда – і в новій українській літературній мові аж до першої чверті XX ст.; деякі з них і нині побутують в українських говірках.

У доповіді показано «українськість» архаїчних лексем *бодрий, болезнь, воздух, время, год, жизнь, звезда, кожа, лікарство, минута, первый, победа* та словотвірних гнізд від цих вихідних лексем. На матеріалі лексикографічних праць XIX – першої чверті XX ст., зокрема «Словника української мови» П. Білецького-Носенка, «Словаря української мови» за редакцією Б. Грінченка, «Малорусько-німецького словаря» Є. Желехівського і С. Недільського, «Російсько-українського словника» М. Уманця та А. Спілки, «Російського-українського словника» за редакцією А. Кримського та С. Єфремова із проєкцією на «Словник української мови XVI – першої половини XVII» та його картотеку простежено історію словотвірних гнізд упродовж століть. Шляхом залучення діалектних словників з'ясовано, що елементи давніх словотвірних гнізд нині продовжують функціонувати в різних українських говірках, зокрема бойківських, буковинських, гуцульських, середньонаддніпрянських, східнословобожанських та ін.

Це – сліди минулої літературно-писемної традиції, яка спиралася на церковнослов'янську основу, а не елементи російської мови чи суржику. Нерозуміння природи таких лексичних одиниць може спотворювати уявлення українців про мовний складник національної ідентичності.

**Ключові слова:** архаїчні лексеми, словотвірні гнізда, стара українська літературна мова, нова українська літературна мова, українські говірки

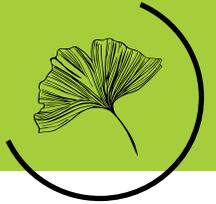
### LOST WORD FAMILIES IN MODERN UKRAINIAN LITERARY LANGUAGE

In the development of the new Ukrainian literary language, which emerged from folk traditions in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century through the works of Ivan Kotliarevskyi and Taras Shevchenko, several word families inherited from the Old Ukrainian literary language were gradually supplanted by synonyms from colloquial speech. As a result, contemporary Ukrainian speakers may perceive certain non-derivative archaic lexemes and their derivatives as non-Ukrainian, even though these word families were actively used in the Old Ukrainian period (14<sup>th</sup>—18<sup>th</sup> centuries). Elements of these word-formation paradigms continued to exist in the new Ukrainian literary language until the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and some are still found in Ukrainian dialects today.

This report explores the “Ukrainianness” of archaic lexemes, such as *бодрий, болезнь, воздух, время, год, жизнь, звезда, кожа, лікарство, мінута, первий, побіда*, and the word families derived from these source lexemes. By analyzing material from lexicographic works from the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, including P. Biletskyi-Nosenko's *Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language*, *Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language* edited by B. Hrinchenko, Y. Zhelekhivskyi and S. Nedilskyi's *Ukrainian-German Dictionary*, M. Umanets and A. Spilka's *Russian-Ukrainian Dictionary*, and A. Krymskyi and S. Yefremov's *Russian-Ukrainian Dictionary* alongside projections onto the *Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language of the 16<sup>th</sup> to the First Half of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century* and its card index, the historical trajectory of these word families is traced. Moreover, dialectal dictionaries show that elements of ancient word families continue to function in various Ukrainian dialects, including those spoken by Boykos, Bukovynian, Hutsul, Central Dnieper, Eastern Slobozhanshchyna, and others.

These are remnants that reflect the legacy of a past literary-written tradition, rooted in Church Slavonic, rather than in elements of the Russian language or surzhyk. A misunderstanding of the origins and nature of such lexical units can lead to a distorted perception of the linguistic component of Ukrainian national identity.

**Keywords:** archaic lexemes, word families, Old Ukrainian literary language, modern Ukrainian literary language, Ukrainian dialects



## TVORBA RIJEČI U MREŽNIKU I JENI

U radu će se prikazati pristup tvorbi riječi u projektima *Hrvatski mrežni rječnik – Mrežnik i Hrvatsko jezikoslovno nazivlje – Jena* Instituta za hrvatski jezik. Rezultat je projekta *Mrežnik* općejezični normativni mrežni rječnik s trima modulima (za učenike, za odrasle izvorne govornike te za neizvorne govornike). U strukturi *Mrežnika* (modul za izvorne govornike) predviđena je i rubrika *Tvorba*. U njoj se donosi tvorbena raščlamba natuknice (rubrika *Tvorbena raščlamba*:) te njezine tvorenice (rubrika *Tvorenice*:), koje su obrađene u *Mrežniku*, ali i koje u njemu nisu obrađene. Podatci o tvorbi i tvorbenim odnosima nalaze se i u modulu za osobe koje uče hrvatski kao ini jezik, zasad samo uz glagole, u napomenama u kojima se donose podatci o vidskim parnjacima te o prefiksnim tvorenicama (*trčati – dotrčati, natrčati se, otrčati, potrčati...*) te primjeri njihove uporabe (*Danas smo trčali dva sata, baš smo se natrčali.*). U sljedećoj se fazi obradbe prefigurane glagole koji se navode u takvim napomenama planira obraditi u zasebnim rječničkim člancima.

Rezultat je projekta *Jena* terminološki rječnik i baza jezikoslovnoga nazivlja. U rječniku *Jene* dosljedno se u napomeni navode pridjevne tvorenice nekih kategorija riječi (npr. *hidronim – hidronimni; hodronimija – hidronimijski, sufiksacija – sufiksacijski*). Razlog su donošenja tvorenica u *Jeni* česti problemi i nedosljednosti pri uporabi pridjevnih paronima tvorenih od jezikoslovnih naziva (npr. *antroponimni – antroponimijski; frazemski – frazeološki, sufiksni – sufiksacijski, glagoljični – glagoljaški*).

U obama projektima velika je pozornost posvećena prikazu tvorbe riječi na način koji je primjeren ciljnim korisnicima. U izlaganju će se posebna pozornost posvetiti primjerima stupanjske tvorbe i tvorbenih mreža iz *Jene* i *Mrežnika*.

**Ključne riječi:** tvorba riječi, stupanjska tvorba, Mrežnik, Jena

## WORD FORMATION IN *MREŽNIK* AND *JENA*

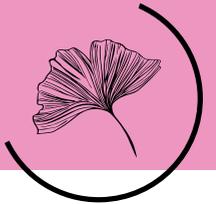
The presentation gives an overview of the approach to word formation in the projects *Croatian Web Dictionary – Mrežnik and Croatian Linguistic Terminology – Jena* of the Institute for Croatian Language. The result of the *Mrežnik* project is a general normative dictionary with three modules (for elementary school students, for adult native speakers of Croatian, and for international students learning Croatian). In the structure of *Mrežnik* (module for native speakers) there is the field *Word formation*. In this field, the formational analysis of the headword is given (field *Word formation analysis*:) and compounds and derivatives from the headword are also given (field: *Compounds and derivatives*:), which are headwords in *Mrežnik* but also the ones that are not headwords in *Mrežnik*. Data on word formation can also be found in the module for international students, at present only for verbs in notes which give data on aspectual pairs and derivatives (e.g., *trčati – dotrčati, natrčati se, otrčati, potrčati...*), and usage examples (*Danas smo trčali dva sata, baš smo se natrčali.*). In the next phase, the derivatives given in these notes will become headwords and have separate entries.

The main result of the *Jena* project is a terminological dictionary and database. In the notes adjectival derivatives of some word categories are given (e.g., *hidronim – hidronimni; hodronimija – hidronimijski, sufiksacija – sufiksacijski*). The reason for giving these derivatives in *Jena* are problems and inconsistencies in the usage of adjectival paronyms derived from linguistic terms (e.g., *antroponimni – antroponimijski; frazemski – frazeološki, sufiksni – sufiksacijski, glagoljični – glagoljaški*). Both projects focused on providing word formation data in the most suitable way for the target user. The presentation will pay special attention to examples of gradational word formation and word formation networks.

**Keywords:** word formation, multistage word formation, *Mrežnik*, *Jena*, Croatian

Nicol Janočková, Ivana Šrámeková

Jazykovedný ústav Ľ. Štúra SAV, v. v. i., Bratislava  
nicol.janockova@juls.savba.sk  
ivana.sramekova@juls.savba.sk



## DESAŤROČNÝ JEDNOROŽEC JE PRVOTRIEDNY SEDMOSPÁČ. O (DE)NUMERÁLNEJ KOMPOZÍCII V SLOVENČINE

Deriváty a (kvázi)kompozitá motivované číslovkami sú dôležitou súčasťou lexiky každého jazyka. V rámci (de)numerálnej slovtvorby rozlišujeme intranumerálnu slovtvorbu (tvorenie čísloviek od čísloviek: *dvadsaťosem, siedmy, päťkrát/päť ráz, trojnásobný, dve tretiny*) a denumerálnu slovtvorbu (tvorenie iných slovnodruhových motivátov od čísloviek: *trojica, päťdňový, storočie, štvornožky*). Výslednými motivátmi v oboch prípadoch môžu byť deriváty (*šestina; šestka*), kvázikompozitá (*šesťkrát*), kompozitá (*šesťsto; šestonedelie, šesťročný*), ale aj analytické lexémy (*šesť a pol*).

V našom príspevku sa zameriame na pozíciu numerálnych a denumerálnych kompozít a kvázikompozít v slovtvornom rade s osobitným zreteľom na ich motivačnú históriu a motivačný potenciál. Metodologicky budeme vychádzať z teórie slovtvornej motivácie podľa J. Furdíka (2004). Výskumný materiál, čerpaný zo slovenských výkladových slovníkov (*Slovník slovenského jazyka*, 1959 – 1968; *Krátky slovník slovenského jazyka*, 2003; *Slovník súčasného slovenského jazyka*, A – G, 2006; H – L, 2011; M – N, 2015; O – Pn, 2021), budú predstavovať kompozitá, kvázikompozitá a okrajovo aj analytické lexémy (*poldruha milióna*) motivované slovenskými základnými číslovkami *nula – desať, sto, tisíc, milión, miliarda, bilión* a usporiadané do slovtvorných hniezd (tie budú konfrontované so *Slovníkom koreňových morfém slovenčiny*, 2012).

**Kľúčové slová:** číslovky (numeráliá), slovtvorný rad, motivačný stupeň, (kvázi)kompozitá, slovenčina

## A TEN-YEAR-OLD UNICORN IS A FIRST-CLASS SLEEPER. ON (DE)NUMERAL COMPOUNDING IN SLOVAK

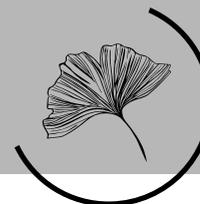
Derivatives and (quasi) compound words motivated by numerals are an important part of the lexis of any language. We distinguish intranumeral word-formation process (forming numerals from numerals, e.g., Slovak *dvadsaťosem, siedmy, päťkrát/päť ráz, trojnásobný, dve tretiny* – English *twenty-eight, seventh, five times, triple, two thirds*) and denumeral word-formation process (through which other parts of speech are formed, motivated from numerals, e.g., *trojica, päťdňový, storočie, štvornožky* – *trio, five-day, century, on four feet*). In both cases, the resulting motivated units can be derivatives (*šestina; šestka* – *sixth; the six*), quasi compound words (*šestkrát* – *six times*), compound words (*šesťsto; šestonedelie, šesťročný* – *six hundred; the period of six weeks after childbirth, six-year-old*), as well as analytical lexemes (*šesť a pol* – *six and a half*).

In our paper, we focus on the position of numeral and denumeral (quasi) compound words in the word-formation series, with particular attention paid to their motivational history and motivational potential. Methodologically, the approach will be based on the theory of word-formation motivation by Juraj Furdík (2004). Research material drawn from Slovak monolingual dictionaries (*Dictionary of the Slovak Language, 1959 – 1968; Short Dictionary of the Slovak Language, 2003; Dictionary of the Contemporary Slovak Language, A – G, 2006; H – L, 2011; M – N, 2015; O – Pn, 2021*) will be represented by (quasi) compound words and marginally also by analytical lexemes (*poldruha milióna* – *one and a half million*) motivated by basic Slovak numerals *nula – desať, sto, tisíc, milión, miliarda, bilión* (*zero – ten, one hundred, one thousand, one million, one billion, one trillion*) and arranged in word-forming nests (confronted with the *Dictionary of Slovak Root Morphemes, 2012*).

**Keywords:** numerals, word-formation series, degree of motivation, (quasi) compound words, Slovak

## Євгенія Карпіловська [Ievgeniia Karpilovska]

Institut ukrajins'koji movi  
Nacional'noji akademiji nauk Ukraini  
karpilovska@gmail.com



## СЛОВТВІРНЕ ГНІЗДО В КОЛІ ІНШИХ ОДИНИЦЬ СИСТЕМАТИЗАЦІЇ ЛЕКСИКИ

Похідна лексика завдяки подвійній референції (до дійсності і до інших одиниць системи мови), а також спільним складникам форми та семантики уможливує вивчення мовної концептуалізації, категоризації та аспектуалізації понять, а також виявлення способів і засобів систематизації лексики. Словотвірне гніздо посідає особливе місце серед інших системотвірних одиниць лексику, оскільки корелює з меншими системотвірними одиницями в своєму складі (пара, ланцюжок, ряд, парадигма, підгніздо, частиномовна зона (блок) та з іншими типами гнізд слів (кореневими (морфемними), мішаними (коренево-словотвірними), потенційними (нульовими), тематичними, лексико-семантичними) та іншими типами комплексних системотвірних одиниць мови: полями (поняттєвими, концептуальними, лексико-семантичними, словотвірними), класами (зокрема дериваційними в трактуванні І.І. Ковалика) і відмінами (зокрема словотвірними в трактуванні К. Бузашшіової).

У доповіді на матеріалі морфемно-словотвірного гніздового словника сучасної української мови (обсяг реєстру понад 177 тис. слів), над яким я зараз працюю як над продовженням мого «Кореневого гніздового словника української мови» (Київ, 2002), планую проаналізувати формальні, семантичні та функціональні ознаки похідних слів різних частин мови, різного походження, належні до різних тематичних груп, які набувають системотвірної сили і формують словотвірні гнізда. Формально-семантичну будову таких гнізд передбачаю зіставити з будовою інших одиниць систематизації українського лексику на початку ХХІ ст.

Мета запланованої доповіді – представити можливості словотвірного гнізда для вивчення тенденцій формально-семантичної стратифікації понять та для функціонально-стильової

диференціації похідної лексики. Перша тенденція розвитку лексикону засвідчує роль словотворення у посиленні когнітивної потужності української мови. Друга тенденція доводить його значення для зростання комунікативної потужності мови.

**Ключові слова:** українська мова, словотвірне гніздо, лексикон

### **WORD-FORMATION NESTS IN RELATION TO OTHER UNITS OF LEXICON SYSTEMATIZATION**

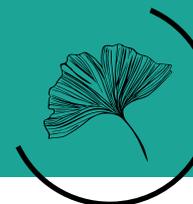
Derived lexicon, with its double reference to both reality and other units of the language system, as well as shared components of form and semantics of derived words, enables the study of language conceptualization, categorization and aspectualization of concepts. It also aids in identifying the mechanisms of lexicon systematization. Among the system-forming units of the lexicon, word-formation nests hold a unique position due to their correlation with smaller system-forming units, such as pairs, chains, series, paradigms, sub-families of words, and part-of-speech zones (blocks), and because of their correlation with other types of word families, i.e., root (morphemic), mixed (root-word-formative), potential (zero), thematic, lexical-semantic, and with other types of complex system-forming linguistic units, such as fields (conceptual, lexical-semantic, word-formative), classes (notably derivational, as interpreted by I. I. Kovalyk) and conjugations (particularly word-formative conjugations, as interpreted by K. Buzassyova).

In this report, based on materials of the morphemic-word-formational dictionary of word families in Modern Ukrainian language (currently under development, with a register of more than 177,000 words), which I am currently working on as a continuation of my *Root Dictionary of Word Families in the Ukrainian Language* (Kyiv, 2002), I plan to analyze the formal, semantic, and functional characteristics of derived words from various parts of speech, origins, and thematic groups, which acquire system-forming power and form word-formative nests. Additionally, I will compare the formal and semantic structure of these word families with that of other units of lexical systematization of the Ukrainian lexicon at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

The purpose of this report is to present the possibilities the study of word-forming nests provides in the analysis of trends in formal-semantic stratification of concepts and in exploring the functional-stylistic differentiation of the derived lexicon. The first identified trend in the

development of the lexicon testifies to the role of word formation in strengthening the cognitive power of the Ukrainian language. The second trend proves the importance of word formation for the growth of the communicative power of the language.

**Keywords:** Ukrainian language, word-formation nest, lexicon



## IZSAMOSTALNIŠKE STOPENJSKE TVORJENKE Z VIDIKA MORFOTAKTIKE

Prispevek bo prikazal tridelno analizo izsamostalniških stopenjskih tvorjenk. V prvem delu bo prikazana njihova statistična analiza, ki bo opredelila razmerje med višjo stopnjo tvorjenosti in pojavitvami tvorjenk na posamezni stopnji tvorjenosti v korpusih *Gigafida 2.0* in *metaFida*. Drugi del bo namenjen morfološki analizi najpogostejših besedotvornih nizov s samostalniških izhodiščem. Gradivsko osnovo za drugi del analize predstavljajo: *Besednodružinski slovar slovenskega jezika: Poskusni zvezek za iztočnice na B I*. Stramljič Breznik (2004), *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika, 2. izdaja*, korpus *Gigafida 2.0* in monografija *Stopenjsko besedotvorje (Na primeru glagolov čutnega zaznavanja)* B. Kerna (2017). Za iskanje primerov najpogostejših priponskih nizov bo uporabljena tudi umetna inteligenca (ChatGPT), pri čemer bo v tretjem delu analize raziskano in ovrednoteno, v kolikšni meri je gradivo, pridobljeno na podlagi pozivov, ustrezno.

**Ključne besede:** besedotvorje, stopenjsko besedotvorje, besedotvorni morfemi, morfotaktika, umetna inteligenca

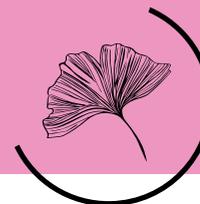
## MORPHOTACTICS OF NOMINAL MULTISTAGE DERIVATIVES

This paper presents a three-part analysis of nominal multistage derivatives. The first part includes a statistical analysis to identify the relationship between higher stages of derivation and the occurrences of derivatives at each stage in the *Gigafida 2.0* and *metaFida* corpora. The second part focuses on a morphotactic analysis of the most frequent nominal multistage derivatives. The material for this section is drawn from *Besednodružinski slovar slovenskega jezika: Poskusni zvezek za iztočnice na B* (Word Family Dictionary of the Slovene Language:

Pilot Volume for Entries Starting with B) authored by I. Stramljič Breznik (2004), *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika* (Dictionary of the Slovenian Literary Language, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition), the *Gigafida 2.0* corpus, and the monograph *Stopenjsko besedotvorje: na primeru glagolov čutnega zaznavanja* (Multistage Word Formation: Case Study of Sense Perception Verbs) authored by B. Kern (2017). Additionally, artificial intelligence (ChatGPT) will be utilized to find examples of the most common suffix chains. The third part of the analysis will investigate and evaluate the relevance of the material retrieved through these prompts.

**Keywords:** word formation, multistage word formation, formants, morphotactics, artificial intelligence

Institut ukrajins'koji movi  
Nacional'noji akademiji nauk Ukrajini  
larysa.kysliuk@gmail.com



### РЕСУРСИ ВЕРБАЛІЗАЦІЇ ПОНЯТТЯ В СЛОВТВІРНОМУ ГНІЗДІ: ПИТОМЕ І ЗАПОЗИЧЕНЕ

Запозичення лексики у різні часи приводило до конкурування питомих і запозичених одиниць на позначення того самого поняття. У доповіді поставлено за мету на прикладі вербалізаторів тотожних понять проаналізувати наслідки конкурування і взаємодії питомих і запозичених ресурсів у системі українського словотвору; з'ясувати чинники засвоєння чи блокування сучасною мовною нормою того чи іншого конкурента. Предметом розгляду є будова словотвірних гнізд або їхніх фрагментів, мотивованих питомими й запозиченими твірними з тотожною або близькою семантикою (*дах – криша; правний – правничий – правовий – юридичний; правник – правовик – юрист; фарба, барва – краска; цукор – сахар*). Матеріал зібрано з різнотипних словників та текстів XIX – XXI ст. Нас цікавлять результати конкурування запозичених слів, формантів та словотвірних моделей із неблизькоспоріднених та близькоспоріднених мов із питомими відповідниками, зокрема, вплив запозичень на типологічні особливості системи українського словотвору. Окрему увагу приділено залежності розвитку словотвірного гнізда або підгнізда від сфери функціонування мотиватора, зокрема від належності його до термінологічної лексики, а також впливу змін у семантиці та функціонуванні базового слова на категорійне наповнення словотвірного гнізда (*бавовна*). Спостереження за динамікою складу словотвірних гнізд, мотивованих питомими та запозиченими словами з тотожною або близькою семантикою, підтверджують кореляцію будови гнізда зі змінами в житті суспільства та вплив позамовних чинників на словотворення й загалом на розвиток української номінації.

**Ключові слова:** ресурс словотворення, запозичення, словотвірне гніздо, словотвірне підгніздо

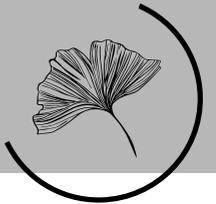
## RESOURCES FOR CONCEPT VERBALIZATION IN WORD-FORMATION NESTS: NATIVE AND BORROWED

Word borrowing leads to competition between native and borrowed terms denoting the same concept. This report aims to: i) analyze the consequences of this competition and the interaction between native and borrowed resources within the Ukrainian word-formation system with regard to the verbalization of identical concepts; and ii) identify the factors within the modern linguistic norm that either facilitate or hinder the assimilation of competing terms. The study focuses on the structure of the word-formation nests, or their fragments, motivated by specific and borrowed forms with identical or similar semantics. The data have been collected from various dictionaries and texts spanning the 19<sup>th</sup> to the 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. We are particularly interested in the outcomes of competition between borrowed (from both closely related and unrelated languages) and native elements: words, formants, and word-formation models, and particularly, how these borrowings have influenced the typological features of the Ukrainian word-formation system. The development of a word-formation nest or sub-nest is influenced by the domain in which the motivating term operates, such as whether it belongs to terminological vocabulary and how changes in the base word's semantics affect the categorical structure of the word-formation nest. The dynamics within word-formation nests (motivated by native and borrowed words with identical or similar semantics) correlate with social changes and other non-linguistic factors influencing word formation and, more generally, the development of the Ukrainian vocabulary, as our observations demonstrate.

**Keywords:** word-formation resource, borrowing, word-formation nest, word-formation sub-nest

Elena Koriakowcewa

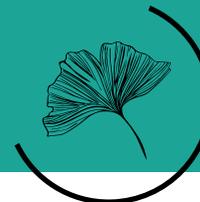
Uniwersytet w Siedlcach  
elena.koriakowcewa@gmail.com



## PROFESSOR MIROSŁAW SKARŻYŃSKI ABOUT PROBLEMS OF THE THEORY OF WORD-FORMATION NESTS AND METHODS OF THEIR ANALYSIS

The aim of the article is to present the main methodological assumptions of nest-oriented description of word-formation that has been developed within the framework of linguistic research by Professor Skarżyński, who wrote about the possibility of applying nest-oriented method also to diachronic research. Professor Skarżyński showed, the perspective of internal linguistics within the framework of historical linguistic research – the visualization of data in a nest word-formation system superimposed on semantic fields – makes it possible to observe the historical processes in word-formation system. According to Professor Skarżyński, the nest-oriented description can be supplemented by approaches from the field of sociolinguistics and linguistic pragmatics against the background of quantitative corpus analysis. He also indicated advantages the research of word formation nests may bring to lexicography.

**Keywords:** Skarżyński, theory of word-formation nests



## SŁOWOTWÓRSTWO GNIAZDOWE JAKO NARZĘDZIE INTERPRETACJI RZECZYWISTOŚCI JĘZYKOWEJ

Punktem wyjścia rozważań, które sytuuję w polu komunikacji słowotwórczej, będzie profilowanie pojęć słowotwórstwa gniazdowego w polskiej tradycji słowotwórczej na tle słowiańskim. Wychodzę z rozumienia paradygmatu gniazdowego jako interpretanta przestrzeni słowotwórczej w wąskim ujęciu, ale przede wszystkim rzeczywistości językowej w ujęciu szerokim. Chodzi zatem o patrzenie na język przez pryzmat gniazdologiczny, dlatego w polu moich zainteresowań będą formy konceptualizacji wiedzy z zakresu słowotwórstwa gniazdowego, zagadnienia związane z konstytuowaniem się pojęć w tej przestrzeni opisu języka oraz implikacje wynikające z ich zastosowania przy interpretacji materiału językowego.

**Słowa kluczowe:** słowotwórstwo, słowotwórstwo gniazdowe, język polski, języki słowiańskie

## WORD FAMILY AS A TOOL FOR INTERPRETING LINGUISTIC REALITY

The starting point of my considerations, which I place in the field of word-formation communication, will be the profiling of the concepts of word family in the Polish word-formation tradition in the broader Slavic background. I begin by understanding the word family paradigm as an interpreter of the word-formation realm in a narrow sense, but above all, in a broad sense, of linguistic reality. Therefore, it is about looking at language through the prism of word family, which is why my field of interest will be the forms of conceptualization of knowledge in the field of word family, issues related to the formation of concepts in this realm

of language description and the implications resulting from their use in the interpretation of linguistic material.

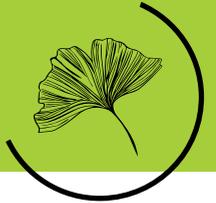
**Keywords:** word formation, word family, Polish language, Slavic language

<sup>1</sup> Marjetka Kulovec, <sup>2</sup> Boštjan Jerko, <sup>3</sup> Boris Kern

<sup>1</sup> Zavod za gluhe in naglušne Ljubljana  
marjetka.kulovec@zgnl.si

<sup>2</sup> Japina d. o. o.  
bostjan@japina.eu

<sup>3</sup> ZRC SAZU, Inštitut za slovenski jezik Frana Ramovša;  
Univerza v Novi Gorici, Fakulteta za humanistiko  
boris.kern@zrc-sazu.si



## STOPENJSKE TVORJENKE V SLOVENŠČINI IN SESTAVLJENE KRETNJE V SLOVENSKEM ZNAKOVNEM JEZIKU

Slovenski jezik in slovenski znakovni jezik sta dva samostojna jezika in sta tudi jezika v stiku, ki pa imata prav gotovo veliko sistemskih razlik, vendar imata hkrati tudi veliko skupnega. V izhodišču gre poudariti, da beseda s svojo običajno večpomenskostjo najpogosteje ni prekrivna z eno kretnjo v slovenskem znakovnem jeziku, in obratno, kot je to tudi sicer med različnimi jeziki običajno.

Tako kot je v slovenščini ena od najproduktivnejših poimenovalnih možnosti tvorba novih besed z besedotvornimi postopki, v znakovnem jeziku poznamo sestavljene kretnje, ki sicer v kontekstu poimenovalnih možnosti združujejo tako besedne zveze kot tvorjenke. Med besedotvorjem v slovenščini in sestavljenimi kretnjami v slovenskem znakovnem jeziku lahko potegnemo več vzporednic, pri čemer pa je treba upoštevati, da so v slovenskem znakovnem jeziku pomenotvorni tako oblika rok (dlan in prsti), usmerjenost, gibanje (intenziteta, hitrost) ene oziroma obeh rok, lega izvedbe (prostor in telo) kot tudi obrazna mimika in uporaba telesnih delov, kot so glava, roke ali ramena (npr. pri tvorjenju pomanjševalnice). Poleg tega je zavezanost k ekonomičnosti v slovenskem znakovnem jeziku večja.

Prispevek bo dvodelen. V prvem delu bo izhodišče slovenščina, cilj pa bo prikazati, kako se pri posameznih tvorjenkah v besedotvornem nizu, predvsem pri tvorjenkah s pomenom vršilca dejanja, tvorjenkah s konotativnim pomenom (*pisun*, *bogatun*, *klepetulja*), feminativih,

svojilnih pridevnikih, skupnih imenih (tvorjenke z obrazilom *-stvo*) in manjšalnicah sistemsko realizirajo ustreznice v slovenskem znakovnem jeziku. V drugem delu pa bo izhodišče slovenski znakovni jezik, kjer bo na izbranih primerih predstavljeno, kako deluje tvorba kretenj v slovenskem znakovnem jeziku in katere so ustreznice za določene sestavljene kretnje v slovenščini.

**Ključne besede:** slovenščina, slovenski znakovni jezik, besedotvorje, sestavljene kretnje, tolmačenje

### MULTISTAGE DERIVATIVES IN SLOVENIAN AND COMPOUND SIGNS IN SLOVENIAN SIGN LANGUAGE

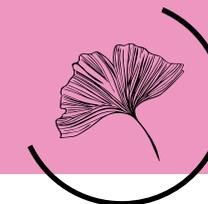
Slovenian and Slovenian Sign Language are two distinct languages, yet they are also languages in contact. While they certainly have many systemic differences, they also share many similarities. It is important to emphasize that a word in the Slovenian language, being typically polysemous, often does not correspond to a single sign in the Slovenian Sign Language, and vice versa, which is usually the case between different languages.

Just as word-formational processes are one of the most productive naming means in Slovenian, in the Slovenian Sign Language, compound signs serve a similar function, combining both multiword lexical units and derivations within the framework of naming possibilities. There are several parallels between word-formation processes in Slovenian and compound signs in the Slovenian Sign Language. However, it is important to consider that in the Slovenian Sign Language meaning arises from the combination of hand shape (palm and fingers), orientation, movement (intensity, speed) of one or both hands, the location of execution (space and body), as well as facial expressions and the use of body parts, such as the head, hands, or shoulders (e.g., in forming diminutives). Additionally, in Slovenian Sign Language there is a stronger tendency towards language economy.

The paper is divided into two parts. The first part focuses on Slovenian lexemes, aiming to show how the Slovenian Sign Language equivalents are systematically realised for individual derivatives within word-formation chains, especially for derivations denoting the agent, derivations with connotative meanings (e.g., *pisun* – 'hack writer', *bogatun* – 'rich person', *klepetulja* – 'gossip'), feminatives, possessive adjectives, common nouns (derivations with the affix *-stvo*), and diminutives. The second part focuses on the Slovenian Sign Language, presenting

selected examples to illustrate the functioning of sign formation and identify equivalents for certain compound signs in Slovenian.

**Keywords:** Slovenian, Slovenian Sign Language, word formation, compound gestures, interpretation



## BESEDOTVORNI NIZI V SLOVENSKEM KNJIŽNEM JEZIKU 16. STOLETJA S SLOVNIČNEGA IN SLOVARSKEGA VIDIKA

Nastanek novih besed z besedotvornimi postopki je bil v 16. stoletju, ko se je oblikoval slovenski knjižni jezik, pogost način zapolnjevanja poimenovalnih vrzeli. Razmejitev motivirajočih besed (netvorjenk) od motiviranih (tvorjenk) ni vedno enostavna: le z večjo ali manjšo gotovostjo lahko določimo smer tvorbe, oz. katera tvorjenka/netvorjenka je bila izhodišče za nadaljnjo tvorbo, in zaporedje večstopenjskih tvorjenk. Za najstarejšo knjižno slovenščino je značilno, da se na (pretežno iz nemščine) prevzete besedotvorne podstave pripenjajo slovenski obrazilni morfemi, predvsem priponska obrazila. Problematika izhodiščnih, motivirajočih besede in oblikovanja besedotvornih nizov bo prikazana na zgledih iz razlagalnega zgodovinskega *Slovarja slovenskega knjižnega jezika 16. stoletja* (SSKJ16/eSSKJ16).

V knjižni slovenščini 16. stoletja je bilo tvorjenih veliko (poskusnih) izpeljank. Analiza besedotvornih pomenov je pokazala, da besedotvornega pomena ni mogoče zanesljivo razložiti s pretvorbo v sinhrono določeno skladijsko podstavo, temveč ga razkriva šele raba v sobesedilu. Zaradi besedotvornopomenske nediferenciacije obrazilnih morfemov se je oblikovalo veliko število besedotvornih različic, tj. tvorjenk, pri katerih se na enako besedotvorno podstavo pripenjajo različni (konkurenčni) obrazilni morfemi. Besedotvorne različice oblikujejo t. i. vzporedne besedotvorne nize. Ta posebnost knjižnega jezika 16. stoletja je vplivala tudi na konceptualno odločitev pri pripravi *SSKJ16*, da so besedotvorne različice samostojne iztočnice, kar kaže na veliko besedotvorno razčlenjenost zgodovinskega besedja.

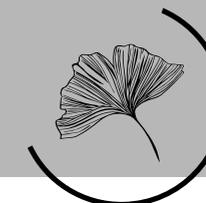
**Ključne besede:** slovenski knjižni jezik 16. stoletja, besedotvorje, izpeljanke, besedotvorni nizi, besedotvorne različice

## WORD-FORMATION CHAINS IN THE 16<sup>TH</sup>-CENTURY SLOVENIAN LITERARY LANGUAGE FROM A GRAMMATICAL AND LEXICOGRAPHICAL POINT OF VIEW

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, when the Slovenian literary language was being formed, the creation of new words through word-formation processes was a common way of filling in naming gaps. The demarcation of motivating words (base words) from motivated words (derivated words) is not always straightforward: only with greater or lesser certainty can we determine the direction of formation, or which base/derivated word was the starting point for further word formation, and the sequence of multistage formations. The oldest literary Slovenian is characterised by the attachment of Slovenian morphemes, especially suffixes, to the (mainly German) base words. The problem of base, motivating words and the formation of word-formation chains will be illustrated with examples from the explanatory historical *Dictionary of the 16<sup>th</sup>-century Slovenian Literary Language* (SSKJ16/eSSKJ16).

Many derivatives were (tentatively) formed in 16<sup>th</sup>-century literary Slovenian, and the analysis of word-formation meanings has shown that they cannot be reliably explained by conversion into a synchronous syntactic base, but is only revealed by use in context. The non-differentiation of the word-formative meaning of various affixes has led to a large number of word-formation variants, i.e., derivatives in which different (competing) formants are attached to the same base. The word-formation variants form so-called parallel word-formation chains. This peculiarity of 16<sup>th</sup>-century literary Slovenian also influenced the conceptual decision in the preparation of the *SSKJ16* that the word-forming variants are independent headwords, which indicates the high word-formational fragmentation of the historical vocabulary.

**Keywords:** 16<sup>th</sup>-century Slovenian literary language, word formation, derivatives, word-formation chains, word-formation variants



## SLOVOTVORNÝ RAD V JAZYKOVOM VEDOMÍ DIEŤAŤA

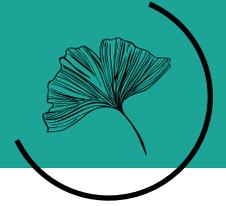
Cieľom príspevku je prezentovať výsledky empirického výskumu slovotvorného vedomia dieťaťa so zameraním na spontánnu predstavu o slovotvornom rade. Z hľadiska teoretickej derivatológie je východiskom výskumu teória slovotvornej motivácie reprezentovaná najmä prácami J. Furdíka a M. Ološtiaka a kolektívu. Z hľadiska aplikovanej derivatológie sa opierame o doterajšie výskumné zistenia o detskej slovotvorbe v slovenskom a v zahraničnom kontexte. Zisťovanie detských predstáv o jazykových fenoménoch prináša zaujímavé informácie o ich implicitných jazykových znalostiach. Predstava detí o lineárnej postupnosti motivovaných slov doteraz na Slovensku nebola skúmaná. K dispozícii sú však isté zistenia o implicitných znalostiach paradigmatickej dimenzie slovotvorného hniezda u 6- až 7-ročných detí. Empirický výskum je kvalitatívneho charakteru. Na zber dát využívame techniku elicitácie, čiže vopred pripravených podnetov, ktoré vyvolávajú detské slovotvorné interpretácie. Výskumný súbor pozostáva z troch skupín participantov, a to zámerne vybraných žiakov 3., 5. a 9. ročníka základného vzdelávania. Výberom týchto troch vekových skupín chceme zistiť vývinovú dynamiku implicitných znalostí dieťaťa o slovotvornom rade. Zaujímá nás aj to, ako sa v slovotvornom vedomí dieťaťa odrážajú dynamické tendencie v slovotvorbe súčasnej slovenčiny. Predpokladáme, že empirické dáta zároveň poskytnú implikácie pre vyučovanie slovotvorby v škole.

**Kľúčové slová:** dieťa, slovenčina, slovotvorný rad, slovotvorné vedomie, vývinová dynamika

## WORD-FORMATION SEQUENCE IN THE CHILD'S LANGUAGE AWARENESS

The aim of this paper is to present the results of an empirical investigation of children's word-formation awareness, focusing on the spontaneous conception of the word-formation sequence. From the point of view of theoretical derivatology, the starting point of the research is the theory of word-formation motivation represented mainly by the works of J. Furdík and M. Ološtiak and collective. In terms of applied derivatology, we rely on previous research findings on children's word-formation in the Slovak and foreign contexts. Investigating children's conception about linguistic phenomena yields interesting information about their implicit linguistic knowledge. Children's conception about the linear sequence of motivated words have not yet been investigated in Slovakia. There are, however, some findings on 6- to 7-year-old children's implicit knowledge of the paradigmatic dimension of the word-formation cluster. The empirical research is qualitative in nature. We use the elicitation technique, i.e., pre-prepared stimuli that elicit children's word-formation interpretations, to collect data. The research sample consists of three groups of participants, namely, intentionally selected pupils in Years 3, 5 and 9 of basic education. By selecting these three age groups, we aim to investigate the developmental growth of children's implicit knowledge of word-formation sequence. We are also interested in how the child's word-formation awareness reflects the dynamic tendencies in the word-formation of contemporary Slovak language. We suggest that the empirical data will also provide implications for the explicit learning of word-formation in school.

**Keywords:** child's language, Slovak, word-formation sequence, word-formation awareness, developmental growth



## СЛОВАЎТВАРАЛЬНАЕ ГНЯЗДО: МЕСЦА Ё СІСТЭМЕ КОМПЛЕКСНЫХ АДЗІНАК СЛОВАЎТВАРЭННЯ, СІНХРОННЫЯ МЕЖЫ І ПРАБЛЕМЫ ТЫПАЛОГІІ

У дакладзе на матэрыяле беларускай мовы будзе ахарактарызавана месца словаўтваральнага гнязда ў сістэме комплексных адзінак словаўтварэння з улікам асаблівасцей яго структуры і лексічнага складу. Асобна ўвага будзе звернута на праблему сінхронных межаў гнязда з улікам фармальных і семантычных матывацыйных сувязей паміж састаўнымі кампанентамі гнязда. Напрыклад, *загаловак* → *загаловачны, загалоўны, азагаловіць* і г.д. утвараюць асобнае словаўтваральнае гняздо, ці ўваходзяць у склад гнязда з вяршыняй *галава*?

Будзе закранута праблема месца складаных слоў і абрэвіатур у структуры словаўтваральных гнёзд. Напрыклад, абрэвіатуры *ААН* (Арганізацыя аб'яднаных Нацыя) і *загс* (запіс актаў грамадзянскага стану) павінны **а)** ўключацца ў склад адпаведных словаўтваральных гнёзд зыходных слоў (*арганізацыя, яднаць (яднаць → аб'яднаць → аб'яднаны), нацыя; пісаць (пісаць → запісаць → запіс), акт, грамадзянін (грамадзянін → грамадзянскі) і стан*), **б)** утвараць самастойныя словаўтваральныя гнёзды (*ААН → аанаўскі, аанавец; загс → загсаўскі*) ці **с)** наогул не ўключацца ў словаўтваральныя слоўнікі. Таксама ў дакладзе будзе пастаўлена пытанне аб мэтазгоднасці выдзялення асобнай разнавіднасці словаўтваральных гнёзд складаных слоў.

У якасці магчымых крытэрыяў тыпалогіі словаўтваральных гнёзд будуць разгледжаны **а)** часцінамоўная прыналежнасць зыходнага слова (вяршыні) гнязда, **б)** колькасны склад гнязда, **с)** глыбіня

разгортвання гнязда, d) стылістычная маркіраванасць зыходнага слова гнязда, e) парадыгматыка зыходнага слова гнязда і інш.

**Ключавыя словы:** словаўтваральнае гняздо, комплексныя адзінкі словаўтварэння, складанае слова, абрэвіятура, сінхранія

### WORD-FORMATION NEST: ITS POSITION IN THE SYSTEM OF COMPLEX WORD-FORMATION UNITS, SYNCHRONIC BOUNDARIES AND TYPOLOGY ISSUES

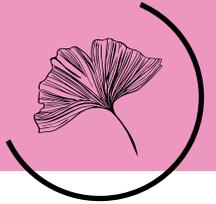
This report will examine the position of the word-formation nest within the system of complex word-formation units using examples from the Belarusian language and considering the peculiarities of its structure and lexical composition. Special attention will be given to the issue of synchronic boundaries of nests, taking into account formal and semantic connections between their components. For instance, in the case of *загаловак* and its derivatives → *загаловачны, загалойны, азагаловіць* and others, the question arises: do these form a separate nest or are they part of the nest centered around *галава*?

The report will also discuss the position of complex words and abbreviations in the structure of word-formation nests. For example, should abbreviations such as *ААН (Арганізацыя Аб'яднаных Нацый)* and *загс (запіс актаў грамадзянскага стану)* a) be included in the corresponding word-formation nests of their original words (*арганізацыя, яднаць (яднаць → аб'яднаць → аб'яднаны), нацыя; пісаць (пісаць → запісаць → запіс), акт, грамадзянін (грамадзянін → грамадзянскі)* and *стан*), b) form independent word-formation nests (*ААН → аанаўскі, аанавец; загс → загсаўскі*) or c) be excluded from word-formation dictionaries altogether? The report will also consider whether it is suitable to create a separate category of word-formation nests for complex words.

We will consider the following conditions as possible criteria for the typology of word-formation nests, a) the part of speech to which the initial word of the nest belongs, b) the quantitative composition of the nest, c) the depth of the nest's structure, d) the stylistic marking of the nest's initial word, and e) the paradigmatic relations formed by the nest's initial word etc.

**Keywords:** word-formation nest, complex word-formation units, compound word, abbreviation, synchrony

Minskij gosudarstvennyj  
lingvističeskij universitet  
elukashanets1956@gmail.com



### СЛОВООБРАЗОВАТЕЛЬНЫЕ ГНЕЗДА В СОЦИОЛЕКТАХ: ПРОБЛЕМЫ И ПУТИ ИХ РЕШЕНИЯ

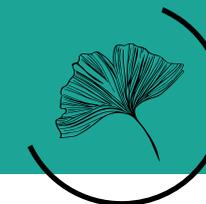
В докладе на материале различных русских социолектов (молодежного сленга, криминального аргота и т.д.) будут рассмотрены проблемы, возникающие при построении словообразовательных гнезд. В частности, будут освещаться следующие вопросы: применение синхронного / диахронического подхода, возможности объединения со словообразовательными гнездами общелитературного языка, включение / невключение результатов семантической деривации, отношение к заимствованной лексике, трактовка случаев чересступенчатого словообразования и др.

**Ключові слова:** словообразовательные гнезда, социолект, литературный язык, семантическая деривация, заимствование

### WORD-FORMATION NESTS IN SOCIOLECTS: CHALLENGES AND SOLUTIONS

This report will explore the challenges that arise in the creation of word-formation nests when working on the material drawn from various Russian sociolects (youth slang, criminal argot, etc.). Specific issues will be addressed: the application of the synchronic versus the diachronic approach, the possibility of combining these word-formation nests with those of the standard language, the inclusion or exclusion of results from semantic derivation, the treatment of borrowed vocabulary, the interpretation of instances of interlaced word-formation processes.

**Keywords:** word-formation nests, sociolect, standard language, semantic derivation, borrowing



### ТВОРБЕНИ ЛАНЦИ И ПРОБЛЕМ РАЗГРАНИЧАВАЊА СИНХРОНИЈСКОГ СТАЊА И ДИЈАХРОНИЈСКИХ ПРОЦЕСА У ДЕРИВАТОЛОГИЈИ

Дериватологија се сматра једном од најсложенијих и најпрецизнијих лингвистичких дисциплина, с јасним критеријумима разграничавања синхронијског стања и дијахронијских процеса. Међутим, синхронијска истраживања творбе ријечи понекад захтијевају и дијахронијску провјеру, нарочито када је потребно установити мотивационе односе међу ријечима, а то је, између осталог, кључно и за утврђивање структуре творбених ланаца. Тај задатак није увијек једноставан, као што показују неки спорни примјери у српском језику. Предмет овог рада управо су случајеви којима се са становишта савременог језичког осјећања не може са сигурношћу одредити деривациони статус, као што су неке глаголске лексеме с префиксом *по-*, српски односни и описни придјеви, те ријечи страног поријекла чија је морфемска структура доживјела промјене. Основни циљ рада јесте да се укаже на методолошке проблеме с којима се суочава синхронијско проучавање творбе ријечи и да се понуде потенцијална рјешења.

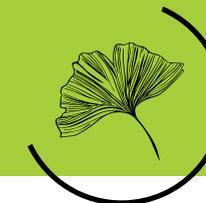
**Кључне речи:** дериватологија, творбени ланци, деривациони односи, синхронијско истраживање, српски језик

### WORD-FORMATION CHAINS AND THE PROBLEM OF DEMARCATIION OF THE SYNCHRONIC STATE AND DIACHRONIC PROCESSES IN DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY

Derivational morphology is considered one of the most complex and precise linguistic disciplines, with clear criteria for demarcation of the synchronic state and diachronic processes. However, synchronic

studies of word formation sometimes also require a diachronic check, especially when it is necessary to determine motivational relationships between words, which is, among other things, crucial for describing the structure of word-formation chains. This task is not always simple, as shown by some disputed examples in the Serbian language. The subject of this paper are precisely the cases whose derivational status cannot be determined with certainty from the point of view of contemporary linguistic sense, such as some verbs with the prefix *po-*, Serbian relative and descriptive adjectives, and foreign words whose morphemic structure has undergone changes. The main goal of this paper is to point out the methodological problems faced by the synchronic study of word formation and to offer potential solutions.

**Keywords:** derivational morphology, word-formation chains, derivational relations, synchronic research, Serbian language



### **JEZIČKI TRANSFER KOD GOVORNIKA POLJSKOG JEZIKA PRILIKOM USVAJANJA SRPSKOG JEZIKA – NA PRIMERU TVORBENIH PORODICA GLAGOLA *GLEDATI*, *MISLITI*, *GOVORITI* I *PRAVITI***

U radu je predstavljena analiza tvorbe, značenja i upotrebe derivata tvorbenih porodica nekih od najfrekventnijih glagola u srpskom i poljskom jeziku: glagola *gledati*, *misliti*, *govoriti* i *praviti*. Posebna pažnja je posvećena greškama poljskih studenata srpskog jezika prilikom stvaranja derivata pomenutih glagola i određivanja njihovog značenja u srpskom jeziku, nastalih kao rezultat negativnog jezičkog transfera.

Osnovu rada čine testovi, eseji i domaći zadaci studenata svih godina osnovnih i master studija, prikupljeni tokom petnaest godina lektorskog rada, kojima je srpski prvi ili drugi jezik studija, kao i dodatni zadaci pripremljeni za potrebe ovog istraživanja. Cilj istraživanja je predstavljanje osnovnih tipova tvorbe derivata u okviru pomenutih tvorbenih porodica, njihovo poređenje, kao i analiza najčešćih grešaka koje nastaju kao rezultat negativnog transfera. U radu će takođe biti predstavljene i mogućnosti izbegavanja i minimalizacije grešaka tog tipa kroz različite tipove lektorskih vežbi.

**Ključne reči:** tvorbene porodice, jezički transfer, greške prilikom učenja stranih jezika, srpski jezik, poljski jezik

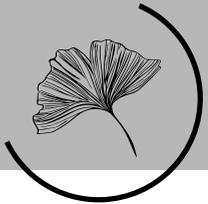
### **LANGUAGE TRANSFER IN SPEAKERS OF POLISH LEARNING SERBIAN, AS EXEMPLIFIED BY WORD FAMILY OF THE VERBS *LOOK*, *THINK*, *SPEAK* AND *MAKE***

The paper presents an analysis of the formation, meaning and use of derivatives of the word family of some of the most frequent verbs in

the Serbian and Polish languages: *look, think, speak* and *make*. Special attention is paid to mistakes made by Polish students of the Serbian language when creating derivatives of the mentioned verbs and determining their meaning in the Serbian language, resulting from negative language transfer.

The analysis is based on tests, essays and homework assignments written by students from all years of undergraduate and master-level programs, with Serbian as either the primary or the secondary language of study. The samples were collected during the author's fifteen years of language teaching work; certain assignments were prepared specifically for the purpose of this research. The analysis is based on the comparative method. The goal is to present the basic types of verbs inside one word family and their derivatives, to compare them, and to analyze the most common mistakes arising from negative transfer. Finally, the work outlines the possibilities of minimizing and avoiding errors of the aforementioned type via different types of activities.

**Keywords:** word family, linguistic transfer, errors in language teaching, Serbian language, Polish language



## PODALJŠEVANJE KORENOV V SLOVENŠČINI Z VIDIKA RAZPRŠENE MORFOLOGIJE

V prispevku, ki jemlje kot teoretično osnovo razpršeno morfologijo, se osredotočimo na t. i. podaljšave korenov, tj. pripone, ki nimajo nikakršnega pomenskega doprinosa v izpeljavi besed in ki zgolj podaljšajo koren (ali osnovo) in mu tako omogočajo sodelovanje v nadaljnjih besedotvornih operacijah. Kot je prikazano v Simonovič idr. (sprejeto), je primer tega *-l* v verjetno vseh primerih izglagolskih nominalizacij s pomenom vršilca z *-lec* v slovenščini (npr. *igr-a-ti*, *igr-a-l*, *igr-a-l-ec*), pri čemer je bil *-l* v tem elementu v preteklosti opisan kot deležniški *-l* v nekaterih primerih in podaljšava korena v drugih (gl. npr. Marvin 2002) oz. kot del morfema *-lec* (gl. npr. Toporišič 2004). V prispevku (i) prikažemo druge morfeme, ki jih lahko (v eni izmed njihovih funkcij) analiziramo kot podaljšave korenov. Med te lahko med drugim uvrstimo *-t* v *oče-t-ov* (*oče*, *\*oče-t*, *\*oče-ov*, pri čemer lahko *-t* sicer uvrstimo med oblikotvorne elemente, kot pokaže rodilnik samostalnika *oče*, tj. *oče-t-a*) in *-ov* v *cen-ov-en* (*cen-a*, *\*cen-ov*, *cen-en*, pri čemer lahko tudi *-ov* sicer najdemo v domeni oblikotvorja, npr. v imenovalniku množine samostalnika *grad*, tj. *grad-ov-i*). V prispevku hkrati (ii) pokažemo metode, ki jih rabimo za določitev tovrstnih elementov, in (iii) predlagamo analizo pojava v okviru razpršene morfologije.

**Ključne besede:** slovenščina, podaljšava korena, razpršena morfologija, besedotvorje, pripone

## ROOT EXTENSIONS IN SLOVENIAN – A DM VIEW

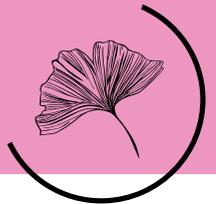
This talk, couched within the Distributed Morphology (DM) approach, focuses on root extensions, that is, affixes that have no semantic input in the derivation of words, but seem to only extend the root (or base)

and therefore enable it to undergo further derivational steps. As argued in Simonović et al. (forthcoming), one such example is *-l* in potentially all agentive deverbal nominalizations with *-lec* in Slovenian (e.g., *igr-a-ti* 'to play', *igr-a-l* 'played', *igr-a-l-ec* 'player'), which has been previously analyzed as the past participial *-l* in some cases and as a root extension in others (e.g., in Marvin 2002), or simply as part of a nondecomposed nominalizing suffix *-lec* (e.g., Toporišič 2004). In this talk, we (i) identify further affixes which, in one of their functions, can be analyzed as root extensions, e.g., *-t* in *oče-t-ov* 'father's' (*oče* 'father', *\*oče-t*, *\*oče-ov*, *-t*, even more strikingly, seems to not only extend the root to enable it to undergo further derivational steps but also participates in inflection, *oče* 'father.NOM.SG', *oče-t-a* 'father.GEN.SG') and *-ov* in *cenov-en* 'price related.A' (*cen-a* 'price', *\*cen-ov*, *cen-en* 'cheap. A', note that *-ov* too can be required even in the absence of further derivation, just for the purposes of adding inflection, e.g., *grad-Ø*, *grad-ov-i* 'castle.NOM.SG, castle.NOM.PL'). We will (ii) furthermore show methods used to identify such items and (iii) propose a tentative analysis within the DM framework.

**Keywords:** Slovenian, root extensions, Distributed Morphology, derivation, affixes

Sonja Nenezić

Filozofski fakultet  
Univerziteta Crne Gore  
nenezicsonja@gmail.com



## TVORBENO-SEMANTIČKO GNIJEZDO LEKSEME *JAD* U CRNOGORSKIM DIJALEKATSKIM RJEČNICIMA

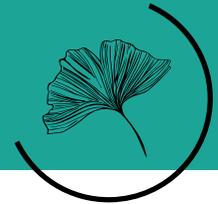
Uvidom u rječnike crnogorskih narodnih govora uočili smo da se leksema *jad* javlja kao korijen u velikom broju tvorbenih riječi, tj. da ima dosta razgranato tvorbeno-semantičko gnijezdo. Zato će cilj rada biti da istražimo i utvrdimo tvorbeno-semantičke veze i odnose među brojnim članovima ovog gnijezda, odnosno između motivne riječi *jad* i njenih prvostepenih derivata, s jedne strane, te prvostepenih i drugostepenih derivata, s druge strane. Na njegovom primjeru analiziraćemo i način obrade tvorbeno-semantičkog gnijezda u ispitivanom leksikografskom korpusu.

**Ključne riječi:** leksema *jad*, tvorbeno-semantičko gnijezdo, derivati, crnogorski narodni govori.

## THE DERIVATIONAL-SEMANTIC NEST OF THE LEXEME *JAD* IN MONTENEGRIN DIALECT DICTIONARIES

Through examination of dictionaries of Montenegrin folk dialects, we have observed that the lexeme *jad* serves as a root in a large number of derived words, i.e., it possesses a considerably branched derivational-semantic nest. Therefore, the goal of this paper will be to explore and determine the derivational-semantic connections and relations among the numerous members of this nest, specifically between the motive word *jad* and its primary derivatives on one side, and between primary and secondary derivatives on the other. Through its example, we will also analyze the method of processing the derivational-semantic nest in the examined lexicographical corpus.

**Keywords:** lexeme *jad*, derivational-semantic nest, derivatives, Montenegrin folk dialects



### **МОДЕЛИРОВАНИЕ ФРАГМЕНТОВ СЛОВООБРАЗОВАТЕЛЬНЫХ ГНЕЗД И ПРАКТИКА ЛЕКСИКОГРАФИРОВАНИЯ**

Статья посвящена некоторым аспектам лексикографирования таких фрагментов словообразовательных гнезд, как словообразовательная цепочка и словообразовательная парадигма. Построение комплексных единиц системы словообразования базируется на основе различных объединений родственных единиц, прежде всего словообразовательных пар, однако с учетом особенностей словообразовательной лексикографии представляется достаточно актуальным вопрос о их семантическом наполнении в некоторых, безусловно так или иначе взаимосвязанных, подсистемах русского языка (литературный язык/говоры). Очевидно, что рассматриваемые единицы – результат моделирования, при котором учитывается собственно словообразовательная семантика. Современная словообразовательная лексикография демонстрирует достаточно различные результаты подобного моделирования, и степень различий между некоторыми словарями соответствующего типа определяется целым рядом моментов, одним из которых является привлечение/непривлечение к анализу диалектных слов.

Автор обращает внимание на наличие одних и тех же закономерностей, характеризующих построение комплексных единиц системы словообразования как объединений родственных единиц в системе литературного языка (1), в русских народных говорах (2) и в таких фрагментах словообразовательных гнезд синтезированного типа, когда возможное объединение связывает слово диалектное и слово литературного языка (3). В последнем случае диалектные слова нередко претендуют на роль «заполнителей» словообразовательных и семантических лакун.

Сопоставление деривационных возможностей различных подсистем русского языка позволяет обратиться к выявлению когнитивно значимых смыслов, представленных одним словом в говорах и не имеющих однословного соответствия в литературном языке. Лексическая семантика и словообразовательная мотивированность целого ряда диалектных слов позволяет выявить и охарактеризовать целый спектр лексико-словообразовательных значений, не имеющих однословного представления в системе русского литературного языка. Обращение же к словарным дефинициям диалектных слов, представляющим зачастую результат взаимодействия деятельности лексикографа и интерпретации внутренней формы слова носителем языка, позволяет глубже понять механизм появления различных фрагментов словообразовательных гнезд, дифференцирующих ту или иную предметную область.

**Ключевые слова:** лингвистическое моделирование, фрагменты словообразовательных гнезд, диалектное слово

#### **MODELLING OF FRAGMENTS OF DERIVATIONAL NESTS AND THE PRACTICE OF LEXICOGRAPHY**

The article is devoted to some aspects of lexicography of such fragments of derivational nests as word-formation chain and word-formation paradigm. The construction of complex units of the word-formation system is based on various associations of related units, primarily word-formation pairs; however, taking into account the peculiarities of derivational lexicography, the question of their semantic content in some subsystems of the Russian language (literary language/dialects) that are certainly interconnected in one way or another seems quite relevant. It is obvious that the units under consideration are the result of modelling, which takes into account the derivational semantics proper. Modern derivational lexicography demonstrates quite different results of such modelling, and the degree of differences between some dictionaries of the corresponding type is determined by a number of points, one of which is the involvement/non-involvement of dialectal words in the analysis.

The author draws attention to the presence of the same regularities characterizing the construction of complex units of the word-formation system as associations of related units in the system of the literary language (1), in Russian folk dialects (2), and in such fragments of

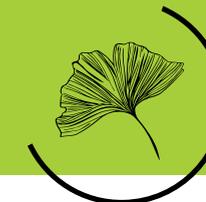
derivational nests of the synthesized type, when a possible association connects a dialectal word and a word of the literary language (3). In the latter case, dialectal words often claim to be "fillers" of word-forming and semantic lacunas.

The comparison of the derivational capabilities of various subsystems of the Russian language allows us to turn to the identification of cognitively significant meanings that are represented by one word in dialects and do not have one-word correspondence in the literary language. Lexical semantics and word-formation motivation of a number of dialectal words make it possible to identify and characterize a whole range of lexical and word-formation meanings that do not have one-word representation in the system of the Russian literary language. Turning to dictionary definitions of dialectal words, which often represent the result of interaction between the activity of a lexicographer and the interpretation of the internal form of a word by a native speaker, allows us to better understand the mechanism of the appearance of various fragments of derivational nests that differentiate one or another subject area.

**Keywords:** linguistic modelling, fragments of derivational nests, dialectal word

Gjoko Nikolovski

Filozofska fakulteta  
Univerze v Mariboru  
gjoko.nikolovski@um.si



## BESEDOTVORJE V OKVIRU KONTEKSTUALNEGA POUČEVANJA SLOVNICE SLOVENŠČINE KOT NEPRVEGA JEZIKA

V morfološko bogatih jezikih kot je slovenščina, je poznavanje tvorjenja besed zelo pomembno pri usvajanju jezika kot neprvega jezika, vendar različne raziskave ugotavljajo, da so besedotvorne vsebine pri poučevanju jezikov kot neprvih jezikov nesistematično prikazane in manj zastopane. Prispevek prinaša kontekstualni pristop k poučevanju besedotvornih vsebin v slovenščini kot neprvem jeziku, s čimer se uvaja celovitejši pristop k poučevanju slovenske slovnice, ki poleg drugih slovničnih vsebin upošteva tudi pestrost slovenskega besedotvornega mehanizma. Pristop temelji na sporazumevalnih kontekstih, ki odpirajo možnosti za obravnavo kontekstualno ustreznih vrst tvorjenk, pri čemer sta v izhodišču pristopa stopenjska metoda tvorjenja besed (Stramljič Breznik 2004; Kern 2017, 2022) in jezikovna stopnja poučevanja. Izbrana poskusna gesla iz nastajajočega *Besednodružinskega slovarja slovenskega jezika kot tujega jezika* bodo predstavljala osnovo za analizo zastopanosti stopenjskih tvorjenk v izbranih gradivih za učenje slovenščine kot neprvega jezika. Cilj prispevka je ugotoviti, katere stopenjske tvorjenke je smiselno vključiti na posameznih ravneh znanja jezika, zlasti za ravni A2–B1.

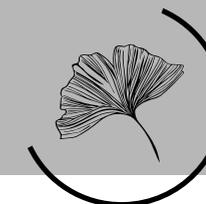
**Ključne besede:** besedotvorje, slovenščina kot prvi jezik, stopenjske tvorjenke, stopenjska metoda, kontekst

## WORD FORMATION IN THE CONTEXT OF CONTEXTUAL GRAMMAR TEACHING OF SLOVENE AS A NON-FIRST LANGUAGE

In morphemically rich languages such as Slovene, knowledge of word formation is very important in the acquisition of a language as a

non-first language, but various studies have found that word-formation content in the teaching of languages as non-first languages is unsystematically presented and under-represented. This paper presents a contextual approach to the teaching of word-formation content in Slovene as a non-first language, thus introducing a more complete approach to the teaching of Slovene grammar that takes into account the diversity of the Slovene word-formation mechanism alongside other grammatical content. The approach is based on communicative contexts that open up possibilities for addressing contextually relevant types of formations, with a gradual method of word formation (Stramljič Breznik 2004; Kern 2017, 2022) and a language level of teaching at the heart of the approach. Selected experimental entries from the emerging *Word Family Dictionary of Slovene as a Foreign Language* will form the basis for the analysis of the representation of graded formations in selected materials for learning Slovene as a non-first language. The aim of the paper is to identify which graded forms are reasonable to include at each level of language proficiency, in particular for A2-B1 levels.

**Keywords:** word formation, Slovene as a non-first language, multistage derivatives, multistage method, context



## SLOVOTVORNÁ PARADIGMATIKA A SLOVOTVORNÉ RADY V SLOVENČINE

Príspevok sa zameriava na vybrané problémy slovotvornej paradigmatiky v slovenčine. Slovotvorná paradigma sa definuje ako súbor lexikálnych jednotiek spätých slovotvornými vzťahmi. S využitím štatistických dát zo *Slovníka koreňových morfém slovenčiny* (Sokolová et al., 2005, 2007, 2012) prezentujeme kvantitatívne a kvalitatívne parametre dvoch typov paradigiem – slovotvorných hniezd a slovotvorných radov. V skúmanom súbore sa nachádza 10 427 slovotvorných hniezd, ktoré obsahujú jednu až 281 lexém. Priemerná veľkosť slovotvorného hniezda je 7,3 lexémy. Najfrekvencovanejšie hniezda pozostávajú z troch lexém, dvoch lexém a jednej lexém. Celkový počet slovotvorných radov v súbore je 44 705, ktoré môžu byť jednočlenné až osemčlenné. Priemerná dĺžka motivačného radu sú presne tri lexémy. Najpočetnejšie rady pozostávajú z troch lexém, dvoch lexém a štyroch lexém. V tejto súvislosti pozornosť venujeme aj ďalším relevantným slovotvorným javom, akými sú polymotivácia, remotivácia, vzájomná motivácia, slovotvorná analógia, motivačná intencia, dynamika, slovnodruhová príslušnosť komponentov v slovotvorných paradigmách.

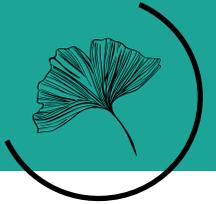
**Kľúčové slová:** slovenčina, slovotvorná paradigma, slovotvorný rad

## WORD-FORMATION PARADIGMS AND CHAINS IN SLOVAK

The presentation is focused on selected problems of lexical paradigmatics of words coined by word-formation motivation in the Slovak language. By making use of statistical data taken from the *Dictionary of Slovak Root Morphemes* (Sokolová et al., 2005, 2007, 2012) quantitative and qualitative parameters of two type of paradigms

(word-formation nests and chains) are analysed. In the investigated corpus there are 10,427 word-formation nests containing from one up to 281 lexemes. The average size of a nest is 7.3 lexemes. The most frequent nests are those containing two lexemes, and one lexeme respectively. Overall, there are 44,705 word-formation chains of sizes ranging from one to eight members. The most frequent word-formation chains consist of three lexemes, two lexemes, or four lexemes, respectively. Moreover, another relevant word-formation features are investigated (i.e., polymotivation, remotivation, reciprocity, analogy, motivational intention, dynamics, parts-of-speech characteristics of components involved in word-formation paradigms).

**Keywords:** Slovak, word-formation paradigm, word-formation chain



### AKTYWNOŚĆ SŁOWOTWÓRCZA XVI-WIECZNYCH ZAPOŻYCZEŃ ŁACIŃSKICH WE WSPÓŁCZESNEJ POLSZCZYŹNIE

Przedmiotem podjętych analiz jest aktywność słowotwórcza XVI-wiecznych zapożyczeń łacińskich w polszczyźnie. Sondaż materiału pokazuje, że łacińskie rdzenie przejęte na wcześniejszych etapach rozwoju języka (XVI wiek) ciągle wykazują moc tworzenia nowych konstrukcji słowotwórczych. W wystąpieniu przedstawię wyniki badań odnoszące się zarówno do struktury morfemowej nowych derywatów, jak i do ich zawartości semantycznej. Podejmę próbę wskazania zależności semantycznych między znaczeniem łacińskiej podstawy a wartością formacji utworzonych już na gruncie polszczyzny. Celem dodatkowym prowadzonych badań jest wskazanie czynników stabilizujących pożyczkę w języku-biorcy. W artykule wykorzystam metodę gniazdową oraz metody semantyki historycznej (badanie kolokacji, pól znaczeniowych, analizę kontekstową). Podstawą materiałową badań są słowniki dawnej i współczesnej polszczyzny oraz korpusy historyczne.

**Słowa kluczowe:** historia języka polskiego, słowotwórstwo, semantyka historyczna, zapożyczenia łacińskie

### THE WORD-FORMATION ACTIVITY OF 16<sup>TH</sup>-CENTURY LATIN BORROWINGS IN CONTEMPORARY POLISH

The subject of the analysis is the morphological activity of 16<sup>th</sup>-century Latin borrowings in the Polish language. Material survey shows that Latin roots adopted in earlier stages of the language's development (16<sup>th</sup> century) still demonstrate a strong capability for creating new derivational constructions. In the presentation, I will show the research results related to both the morphemic structure of new derivatives and

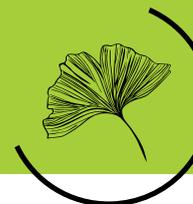
their semantic content. I will indicate semantic dependencies between the meaning of the Latin base and the value of formations already created within the Polish language. An additional research aim is to identify factors stabilizing loanwords in the recipient language. In my investigation, I will use the nest method as well as methods of historical semantics (collocation analysis, semantic fields, contextual analysis). The research material is based on the dictionaries of old and contemporary Polish as well as historical corpora.

**Keywords:** history of the Polish language, word formation, historical semantics, Latin borrowings

**Елена Петрухина [Elena Petrukhina]**

Moskovskij gosudarstvennyj universitet  
imeni M. V. Lomonosova

elena.petrukhina@gmail.com



### **СОПОСТАВИТЕЛЬНЫЙ АНАЛИЗ ГЛАГОЛЬНЫХ СЛОВООБРАЗОВАТЕЛЬНЫХ ГНЕЗД В РУССКИХ И ЧЕШСКИХ ЛИТЕРАТУРНЫХ ТЕКСТАХ И ИХ ПЕРЕВОДАХ**

В русистике с 70-х годов XX в. активно развивается гнездовое направление в русском словообразовании. В Словообразовательном словаре русского языка (1985) А.Н. Тихонова словообразовательное гнездо (СГ) представлено как совокупность всех однокоренных слов, упорядоченных отношениями непосредственной производности дериватов в словообразовательных цепочках, идущих от вершины гнезда. Такой системно-структурный подход к изучению однокоренных слов способствовал решению многих спорных вопросов теории словообразования, в его рамках были изучены типы мотивационных отношений слов, словообразовательные парадигмы, словообразовательный потенциал слов разных частей речи и др. В начале XXI в., прежде всего в связи с выходом Толкового словообразовательного словаря (2004) И.А. Ширшова, происходит уточнение границ и структуры СГ за счет актуализации семантического аспекта его построения. В толково-словообразовательном гнезде мотивационные цепочки однокоренных многозначных слов строятся с учетом их лексико-семантических вариантов. Такой подход способствовал формированию и развитию когнитивного направления в словообразовании, в рамках которого гнезда рассматриваются как комплексные единицы хранения и упорядочивания языковой информации, связанной с познавательной и коммуникативной деятельностью человека. Также изучается, как через взаимодействующие мотивировочные признаки в словообразовательных цепочках СГ отражается действительность и развивается исходный концепт, выраженный словом на вершине гнезда. В меньшей степени в русистике изучены функции

словообразовательных цепочек и микрогнезд в разных типах дискурса – художественном, публицистическом и церковно-религиозном. В докладе будут представлены результаты когнитивно-дискурсивного сопоставительного исследования словообразовательных пар и цепочек (как составляющих словообразовательных гнезд) в художественном дискурсе – на материале русских и чешских параллельных текстов литературных произведений и их художественных переводов.

**Ключевые слова:** глаголы, словообразовательные гнезда, художественный дискурс

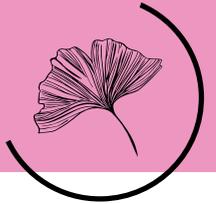
### **COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF VERBAL DERIVATIONAL FAMILIES IN RUSSIAN AND CZECH LITERARY TEXTS AND THEIR TRANSLATIONS**

Since the 1970s, the derivational family approach in Russian word formation has actively developed. In A.N. Tikhonov's "Word Formation Dictionary of the Russian Language" (1985), a derivational family is defined as a collection of all cognate words, organized by relationships of direct derivational links in word formation chains that originate from the top of the family. This systematic and structural approach to studying cognate words has facilitated the resolution of many debated issues in word formation theory. Within this framework, research has explored types of motivational relationships, word formation paradigms, and the word formation potential of different parts of speech, among other aspects.

At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, particularly with the publication of I. A. Shirshov's "Explanatory Word Formation Dictionary" (2004), the boundaries and structure of the derivational family were refined by highlighting its semantic construction. In this explanatory derivational family, motivational chains of polysemous cognate words are constructed while considering their lexical-semantic variants. This approach has promoted the development of a cognitive direction in word formation, in which derivational families are considered to be complex units for storing and organizing linguistic information related to cognitive and communicative activities. The study also examines how interacting motivational features in word formation chains of the derivational family reflect reality and develop the original concept expressed by the word at the family's root.

The functions of word formation chains and micro-families in different types of discourse—literary, journalistic, and ecclesiastical-religious—are less studied. The presentation will show case the results of a cognitive-discursive comparative study of word formation pairs and chains (components of the derivational family) in literary discourse, based on the material of Russian and Czech parallel texts of literary works and their artistic translations.

**Keywords:** verbs, derivational families, literary discourse



## OD STUPNJEVITOG RJEČOTVORJA DO OPISA MORFONOLOŠKIH ALTERNACIJA

Razumijevanje tvorbe riječi kao stupnjevita, višerazinskog procesa ne doprinosi samo valjanu opisu konkatenativnih rječotvornih postupaka u hrvatskome standardnom jeziku nego je i nužan temelj za prepoznavanje i imenovanje morfonoloških alternacija koje se događaju pri kontaktu tvorbenih osnovi i derivacijskih afikasa. Precizan prikaz ulančavanja tvorbenih procesa – koji počinje izoliranjem korijenskog morfa kao baze određene tvorbenih porodice (npr. *sel-*) i nastavlja se dodavanjem derivacijskih morfema s njegove lijeve i desne strane (npr. prefikasa *do-*, *pre-*, sufikasa *-i-ti*, *-sk-i*, *-jak-ø*, *-b-a* itd.) – otkrit će točne granice između sastavnica svake hrvatske izvedenice i omogućiti njezinu dubinsku morfsku raščlambu (npr. *do-sel-i-ti* 'doseliti', *pre-sel-i-ti* 'preseliti', *sel-sk-i* 'seoski', *sel-jak-ø* 'seljak', *sel-jak-sk-i* 'seljački', *sel-b-a* 'seoba'). Rezultat je takve raščlambe prikaz nealterniranih, osnovnih ili temeljnih morfova (npr. *sel-*, *děl-*, *-jak-*, *-sk-*) koje na površinskoj razini vidimo kao alomorfe (npr. *selj-*, *seo-*, *dio-*, *-čk-*), a na temelju usporedbe tih dviju morfoloških reprezentacija možemo precizno imenovati morfonološke promjene koje se događaju pri kontaktu morfova u tvorbenom procesu (npr. jotaciju u primjeru *seljak*, vokalizaciju u primjeru *seoski*, vokalizaciju i prijeglas u primjeru *dio*, palatalizaciju i ispadanje konsonanta u primjeru *seljački* itd.). Primjerima triju hrvatskih tvorbenih porodica (1. *sel-*: *selo*, *seoce*, *seoski*, *seljak*, *seljakinja*, *seljačina*, *seljakuša*, *seljačić*, *seljačija*, *seljakluk*, *seljački*, *seljaštvo*, *seoski*, *seliti*, *selica*, *seoba*, *selidba*, *selidbeni*; 2. *uk-*: *nauk*, *pouka*, *poduka*, *učiti*, *učitelj*, *učiteljica*, *učiteljev*, *učiteljičin*, *učiteljski*, *učiteljstvo*, *učiteljevati*, *učilište*, *učilišni*, *proučiti*, *proučavati*, *proučavatelj*, *proučavateljica*; 3. *děl-*: *dio*, *dijeliti*, *djelitelj*, *djeliteljica*, *dijeljenje*, *udio*, *odjel*, *podjela*, *djelić*, *dioba*, *dijelni*, *dionik*, *dionica*, *dioničar*, *dioničarka*, *dioničarski*) ilustrirat će se intrinzična povezanost morfonologije, morfske raščlambe i stupnjevita rječotvorja čija suradnja rezultira najboljim opisom ustroja autosemantičnih hrvatskih riječi.

**Ključne riječi:** morfonološke alternacije, morfska raščlamba, stupnjevito rječotvorje, hrvatske tvorenice

## FROM MULTISTAGE WORD FORMATION TO THE DESCRIPTION OF MORPHONOLOGICAL ALTERNATIONS

Understanding word formation as a gradual, multi-level process not only contributes to a valid description of concatenative word-formation processes in the Croatian standard language but is also a necessary foundation for recognizing and naming morphonological alternations that occur when the stem and derivational affixes come into contact. A precise representation of the chaining of word-formation processes – which begins with isolating the root as the base of a specific word-formation family (e.g., *sel-*) and continues by adding derivational affixes to its left and right sides (e.g., prefixes *do-*, *pre-*, suffixes *-i-ti*, *-sk-i*, *-jak-ø*, *-b-a*, etc.) – will reveal the exact boundaries between the components of each Croatian derivative and enable its underlying morphemic analysis (e.g., *do-sel-i-ti* 'doseliti', *pre-sel-i-ti* 'preseliti', *sel-sk-i* 'seoski', *sel-jak-ø* 'seljak', *sel-jak-sk-i* 'seljački', *sel-b-a* 'seoba'). The result of such analysis shows basic or default morphs (e.g., *sel-*, *děl-*, *-jak-*, *-sk-*) that we see at the surface level as allomorphs (e.g., *selj-*, *seo-*, *dio-*, *-čk-*), and based on comparing these two morphological representations, we can accurately name morphonological alternations that occur when morphs come into contact (e.g., iotation in the derivative *seljak*, L-vocalization in the derivative *seoski*, L-vocalization and vowel mutation in the derivative *dio*, palatalization and elision of consonant in the derivative *seljački*, etc.). Examples of three Croatian word-formation families (1. *sel-*: *selo*, *seoce*, *seoski*, *seljak*, *seljakinja*, *seljačina*, *seljakuša*, *seljačić*, *seljačija*, *seljakluk*, *seljački*, *seljaštvo*, *seoski*, *seliti*, *selica*, *seoba*, *selidba*, *selidbeni*; 2. *uk-*: *nauk*, *pouka*, *poduka*, *učiti*, *učitelj*, *učiteljica*, *učiteljev*, *učiteljčin*, *učiteljski*, *učiteljstvo*, *učiteljevati*, *učilište*, *učilišni*, *proučiti*, *proučavati*, *proučavatelj*, *proučavateljica*; 3. *děl-*: *dio*, *dijeliti*, *djelitelj*, *djeliteljica*, *dijeljenje*, *udio*, *odjel*, *podjela*, *djelić*, *dioba*, *dijelni*, *dionik*, *dionica*, *dioničar*, *dioničarka*, *dioničarski*) will illustrate the intrinsic connection between morphonology, morphemic analysis, and multistage derivations, whose collaboration results in the best description of the structure of autosemantic Croatian words.

**Keywords:** morphonological alternations, morphemic analysis, multistage word formation, Croatian derivatives



## RAZVOJ AUTOMATSKE MORFOLOŠKE SEGMENTACIJE ZA SLOVENSKI JEZIK

Automatska morfološka segmentacija riječi podrazumijeva raščlanjivanje zadanog pojma na morfeme i morfove, manje jedinice koje imaju svoje značenje. Za razliku od segmentacije na morfeme, kanonske oblike u dubinskoj postavi riječi, segmentacija na morfove podrazumijeva raščlambu površinske postave riječi i svodi se na određivanje granica unutar riječi kojima možemo odvojiti korijen riječi i afikse. Fokus našeg rada je potonji i, primjerice, segmentacijom slovenske riječi *lahkost* (hrv. *lakoća*) pronalazimo granicu kojom odvajamo morfove *lahk|ost*. Ovim radom predstavljamo nove metodološke napretke iz područja računalne lingvistike u domeni automatske segmentacije morfova u slovenskom jeziku. Korištenjem probnog sveska slovenskog derivacijskog riječnika za izvedenice na B, evaluirali smo nekoliko modela strojnog učenja na problemu automatske segmentacije riječi na morfove: naš novi LLMSegm model temeljen na velikim jezičnim modelima i njegovu prilagodbu za slovenski jezik, naš BiLSTM-CRF model, kao i druge pristupe ovom problemu iz srodne znanstvene literature. Sve pristupe ocjenjujemo mjerenjem preciznosti, odziva i F1-metrike detekcije granica morfova, kao i uspješnosti modela u točnoj segmentaciji svih morfova u riječi. Razvojem pristupa točne morfološke segmentacije, odnosno raščlanjivanja riječi na korijene i afikse, težimo ne samo boljem razumijevanju morfologije i procesa tvorbe riječi, već i napretku u računalnom modeliranju i analizi jezičnih struktura.

**Ključne riječi:** morfološka segmentacija, računalna lingvistika, slovenski jezik, strojno učenje, veliki jezični modeli

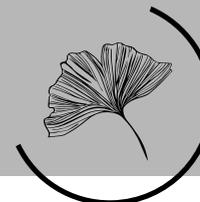
## ADVANCEMENTS IN AUTOMATIC MORPHOLOGICAL SEGMENTATION FOR SLOVENE

Automatic morphological segmentation involves breaking down a given word into its constituent morphemes. Unlike canonical segmentation, which segments words into standardized morphemes, surface-level segmentation identifies the boundaries of morphemes within a word as they appear in their surface form. The focus of our contribution is the latter, where for example, segmentation of the Slovene word 'lahkost' results in an output word with the identified morpheme boundary 'lahk|ost'. We present methodological advancements in the field of computational linguistics, specifically targeting the automatic morphological surface segmentation for Slovene. Based on the digitised trail volume of the derivational dictionary of Slovenian (words starting with B), we train and evaluate various methods for automated morpheme segmentation: our large language models-based LLMSegm model newly trained for Slovene, our character-level BiLSTM-CRF morphological segmentation model, as well as several baselines from related work. We evaluate the methods using boundary precision, recall and F1-score on each morpheme. Additionally, we employ accuracy as a metric to determine whether a word has been segmented correctly in its entirety. By establishing an accurate morphological segmentation, allowing for a delineation of roots, affixes, these models can also allow for better understanding and computational modeling of word formation processes.

**Keywords:** morphological segmentation, computational linguistics, Slovene, machine learning, large language models

Irena Stramljič Breznik

Filozofska fakulteta  
Univerze v Mariboru  
irena.stramljic@um.si



## ZNAČILNOSTI IZPRIDEVNIŠKIH SAMOSTALNIŠKIH IZPELJANK IN TVORBENA KOMBINATORIKA OBRAZIL -ICA TER -EC V SLOVENŠČINI

Najpogostejše prvostopenjske izpridevniške izpeljanke so samostalniki, med katerimi po številu tvorjenk prevladujejo trije zastopani besedotvorni pomeni, povezani s kategorijo živo (nosilec lastnosti: *grbav-ec*), s kategorijo neživo (nosilnik lastnosti: *šumn-ik*) ter izpeljanke s pomenom stanja ali lastnosti (*debel-ost*). Pri izpeljavi nastopa več kot sto različnih priponskih obrazil, med najproduktivnejšimi pa so: *-ost*, *-ica*, *-ina*, *-ec* in *-ka* (Stramljič Breznik 1992).

V okviru analize produktivnih besedotvornih modelov in priponski nizov izpridevniških izpeljank iz *Besednodružinskega slovarju slovenskega jezika: Poskusnega zvezka za iztočnice na B* (Stramljič Breznik 2004) ugotavljamo, da je s petpriponskim nizom potrjena peta stopnja tvorbe kot najvišja možna. V razponu od dvo- do petpriponskih nizov je pričakovano največ dvopriponskih (244), ki predstavljajo 64,4 % vseh nizov. Skupno število takih tvorjenk je 372 in zavzemajo 73-odstotni delež vseh tvorjenk. S 107 različnimi nizi se delež tripriponskih nizov v primerjavi z dvopriponskimi prepolovi (30,7 %), trikrat manjše je tudi število tvorjenk (121), ki tako zavzemajo 23,7 % izpridevniških tvorjenk. Štiripriponski nizov je le 16 (4,6 %) s 16 tvorjenkami (3,1 %). Najdaljši možni petpriponski niz je le eden, ki predstavlja 0,3-odstotni delež in je potrjen le z eno tvorjenko (0,2 %).

Med besedotvornimi modeli z največjim številom realiziranih priponskih nizov, pri čemer smo spodnjo mejo postavili na deset nizov, so naslednji: Ad,S,Ad (37), Ad,S,S (35), Ad,V,V,S (35), Ad,Ad,S (21), Ad,V,S (21), Ad,V,V,Ad (21), Ad,V,V,Ad,S (15), Ad,V,V,V (14), Ad,V,V,V,S (14), Ad,Ad,S,S (13) in Ad,V,Ad (11).

Z največ različnimi priponskimi nizi nastopa model s prvostopenjsko samostalniško izpeljanko (Ad,S,Ad), zato bomo izbrali in predstavili kombinatoriko oz. sposobnost morfemske povezljivosti dveh najproduktivnejših samostalniških obrazil *-ica* in *-ec*.

**Ključne besede:** izpridevniške samostalniške izpeljanke, besedotvorni modeli, priponski nizi, kombinatorika obrazil *-ica* in *-ec*

### CHARACTERISTICS OF DEADJECTIVAL NOMINAL DERIVATIVES AND WORD-FORMATIONAL COMBINATION POTENTIAL OF THE SUFFIXES *-ICA* AND *-EC* IN SLOVENIAN

The most common first-order derivations are nouns. Such nouns most commonly realize three types of word-formational meanings, i.e., meanings exhibited in derivatives associated with the animate category (animate carrier of the property: *grbav-ec*), derivatives associated with the inanimate category (inanimate carrier of the property: *šumn-ik*), and derivatives with the meaning of state or property (*debel-ost*). More than a hundred different suffixes appear in derivation, the most productive of which are *-ost*, *-ica*, *-ina*, *-ec*, and *-ka* (Stramljič Breznik 1992).

The analysis of productive word-formational models and suffix chains in deadjectival nouns found in the *Word Family Dictionary of the Slovene Language: Pilot Volume for Entries Starting with B* (Stramljič Breznik 2004) has determined that their highest order of derivation is the fifth-order derivation with a five-suffix chain. Within the range of two- to five-suffix chains, the most common are two-suffix chains (244), which represent 64.4% of all chains. The total number of derivatives in this category is 372, with a 73% share. In the category of three-suffix chains, there are 107 different suffix chains, amounting to 30.7%, which is about half of the proportion of the two-suffix chains, while the number of derivatives is three times smaller (121), which accounts for 23.7% of deadjectival derivatives. There are 16 four-suffix chains (4.6%) with 16 derivatives (3.1%). There is only one five-suffix chain as the longest suffix chain possible, representing a 0.3% share and realized by only one derivative (0.2%).

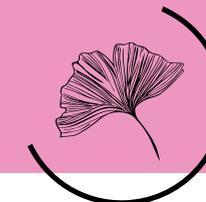
Among the word-forming models with the highest number of realized suffix chains, i.e., chains that exhibit at least 10 different suffix chains, are the following: Ad,N,Ad (37), Ad,N,N (35), Ad,V,V,N (35), Ad,Ad,N (21), Ad,V,N (21), Ad,V,V,Ad (21), Ad,V,V,Ad,S (15), Ad,V,V,V (14), Ad,V,V,V,N (14),

Ad,Ad,N,N (13) and Ad,V,Ad (11). The model with the first-order nominal derivatives (Ad,N,Ad) exhibits the highest number of different suffix chains. For this reason, we present the combination potential of two of the most productive nominal suffixes *-ica* and *-ec*.

**Keywords:** deadjectival nouns, word-formational models, suffix chains, combination potential of the suffixes *-ica* and *-ec*

**Amela Šehović**

Filozofski fakultet,  
Univerzitet u Sarajevu  
amela.ami.sehovic@gmail.com



### **TVORBENO-SEMANTIČKO GNIJEZDO PRIDJEVA STAR U BOSANSKOM JEZIKU**

U radu se istražuje tvorbena-semantičko gnijezdo pridjeva *star* u bosanskom jeziku na korpusu koji čine savremeni rječnici bosanskoga jezika, *Rečnik srpskohrvatskoga književnog jezika*, elektronski portali i anketa provedena među studentskom populacijom Filozofskog fakulteta. Rezultati tako koncipiranog istraživanja ukazuju na veliki broj prvostepeni imeničkih i glagolskih tvorenica od pridjeva *star*, ali i primjer barem jedne prvostepene pridjevske tvorenice. Drugostepene tvorenice su mahom pridjevske i priloške, ali i tu su zabilježene i imeničke i glagolske tvorenice. Drugostepene imeničke tvorenice različitih su načina nastanka i značenja, a glagolske su pretežno derivirane prefiksima kao markerom svršenosti onoga što označava tvorbena osnova. Također, u radu se ukazuje na neke sociolingvističke pojavnosti upotrebe tvorenica od pridjeva *star* u bosanskom jeziku, s posebnim osvrtom na njihovo značenje i funkciju u savremenom razgovornom bosanskom jeziku.

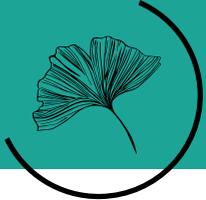
**Ključne riječi:** tvorbena gnijezdo, semantičko gnijezdo, pridjev *star*, bosanski jezik, sociolingvistika

### **THE DERIVATIONAL-SEMANTIC NEST OF THE ADJECTIVE OLD IN THE BOSNIAN LANGUAGE**

The paper explores the derivational-semantic nest of the adjective *old* (Bosnian: *star*) in the Bosnian language, using a corpus consisting of contemporary Bosnian language dictionaries, the *Dictionary of Serbo-Croatian Literary Language*, websites, and a survey conducted among the students of the Sarajevo Faculty of Philosophy. The results of such research indicate a large number of primary noun and verb

derivatives from the adjective *old*, as well as at least one example of a primary adjectival derivative. Secondary derivatives are predominantly adjectival and adverbial, with some noun and verb derivatives also having been recorded. Secondary noun derivatives have various methods of formation and meanings, while verb derivatives are predominantly formed by using prefixes as markers of perfectivity of what the derivational base signifies. In addition, the paper points out to certain sociolinguistic occurrences of the use of derivatives of the adjective *old* in the Bosnian language, with a special focus on their meaning and function in contemporary spoken Bosnian.

**Keywords:** derivational nest, semantic nest, adjective *old*, Bosnian language, sociolinguistics



### MORFOLOŠKO PRENAVLANJE SLOVANSKIH GLAGOLSKIH SIMPLEKSOV V LUČI KATEGORIALNE ANALOGIJE

Novejše etimološke raziskave je pospeševala priprava slovarjev slovanskih jezikov in načrtovana rekonstrukcija obsega že vseslovskega besedja v krakovskem in moskovskem etimološkem projektu. Pomnožena je bila gradivna osnova, osveženi metodološki pristopi, deloma tudi zaradi dosežkov sodobnega sinhronega jezikoslovja.

V jedru prispevka je besedotvorje oziroma pojav, ki ga najlaže označimo kot diahrono besedotvornega, odkritega pri slovanskih nedovršnih in neprehodnih glagolskih simpleksih in prvič predstavljenega leta 2012. Gre za skupino pomensko prekrivnih glagolov, tj. enakih slovničnih (kategorialni) pomenov in istih korenov, po katerem se razvrščajo v pare sinonimnih dvojnic. Člena takih parov se ločita le po glagolski vrsti (po nedoločniški klasifikaciji) oziroma po dveh morfoloških vzorcih z enakimi kategorialnimi lastnostmi. Z razvojnega (diahronega) vidika je razmerje med členoma para videti kot besedotvorno s potekom iz izhodiščne dvojnice → ciljno dvojnico. To pa pomeni, da ciljna dvojnica predstavlja izhodiščno dvojnico, ki je morfološko (oblikoslovno) prenovljena zaradi kategorialne analogije. Morfološko prenavo povzroča slabitev kategorialnega pomena v izhodiščni tvorjenki, jezik pa – v zaščiti ravnovesja v morfološki zgradbi – to preprečuje s tvorbo produktivnih (analognih) ciljnih dvojnic. Jezikoslovni mehanizem besedotvornega prenavljanja bo ilustriran z nedovršnimi in neprehodnimi simpleksi iz prvih treh psl. glagolskih vrst (tj. I → II, ali/in II → III po nedoločniški klasifikaciji), kjer so bili doslej opaženi.

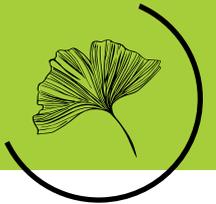
**Ključne besede:** besedotvorje, slovansko, glagol, kategorialna analogija

## MORPHOLOGICAL RESTRUCTURING OF SLAVIC SIMPLEX VERBS IN THE LIGHT OF THE CATEGORIAL ANALOGY

Recent etymological research has been facilitated by the preparation of Slavic-language dictionaries and planned reconstruction encompassing the shared Slavic lexicon in the Krakow and Moscow etymological project. The base material has been greatly expanded and methodological approaches have been updated, in part thanks to the achievements of modern synchronic linguistics.

This article focuses on word formation, or a phenomenon that can most easily be characterized as diachronic word formation detected in Slavic imperfective and intransitive simplex verbs, and first presented in 2012. This includes a group of semantically overlapping verbs—that is, verbs with the same grammatical (categorical) meanings and roots—based on which they are categorized into pairs of synonymous doublets. The two members of such pairs are only distinguished by their verb type (according to infinitive classification) or two morphological patterns with the same categorial characteristics. From the developmental (diachronic) perspective, the relationship between the two members seems word-formative with development from the initial doublet → the final doublet. However, this means that the final doublet represents the initial doublet, which has been morphologically restructured due to categorial analogy. Morphological restructuring is caused by the weakened categorial meaning in the initial derivative, whereas—to protect the balance of morphological structure—language prevents this through the formation of productive (analog) final doublets. The linguistic mechanism of word-formative restructuring is illustrated by imperfective and intransitive simplexes from the first three PSI verb types (i.e., I → II, and/or II → III following the infinitive classification) in which they have been observed to date.

**Keywords:** word formation, Slavic, verb, categorial analogy



## BESEDOTVORNA PODOBA NAREČNEGA BESEDJA V SLA

V prispevku bo predstavljena besedotvorna podoba narečnega besedja, zbranega in jezikoslovno analiziranega v *Slovenskem lingvističnem atlasu*, kjer geolingvistična predstavitev razširjenosti narečne leksike temelji na abstrahiranju fonetično zapisanih narečnih odgovorov na posamezno vprašanje iz Vprašalnice SLA, ki so v legendi h karti prikazani v poknjženi obliki, poknjžitve pa temeljijo na sinhrono-diahroni morf(on) ološki analizi leksemov, ki so razloženi s praslovanskimi rekonstrukti in transponati ter njihovimi besedotvornimi predhodniki ali, če gre za prevzete lekseme, z morfemsko segmentiranim transponatom neposrednega tujejezičnega vira.

Tako urejena narečna leksika je osnova za oblikovanje geslovnika vseslovenskega narečnega slovarja, kjer bodo gesla leksikografsko urejena in opremljena z morfološkimi analizami in preko njih besednodružinsko povezana, s spletno dostopnimi jezikovnimi kartami pa bo iz slovarja mogoč tudi vpogled v geografsko razporejenost narečne leksike. Primer: tvorjenke s korenomo **-mlat-** < **\*-molt-**:

- nedovršni glagol

**mlatiti mlatim** nedov. 1. 'mlatiti' (V293.01, 3/014), 2. 'meti' (V196.01, 3/024)  
MA < \**mol-t-i-ti* 'mlatiti' ← \**mol-ti* 'drobiti, mleti, tolči'

- dovršni glagol

**zmlatiti zmlatim** dov. 'mlatiti' (V293.01, 3/014) MA < \**sb(n)-mol-t-i-ti*  
← \**sb(n)-* 'skupaj z; od zgoraj navzdol' + \**mol-t-i-ti*

- vršilec dejanja

**mlatec mlatca** m 1. 'mlatič' (V292.01, 3/015) MA < \**mol-t-ьc-ь* ← \**mol-t-i-ti*

- sredstvo dejanja

**mlat mlata** m 2. 'cepec' (V290.01, 3/016) MA < \**mol-t-ь* ← \**mol-t-i-ti*  
**mlatec mlatca** m 2. 'cepec' (V290.01, 3/016) MA < \**mol-t-ьc-ь*

## • dejanje

**mlat mlati** ž 1. 'mlačev' (V294.01, 3/013) MA < \**mol-t-ь* ← \**mol-t-i-ti*  
**mlatitev mlatitve** ž 'mlačev' (V294.01, 3/013) MA < \**mol-t-i-t-ьv-ь*  
**mlatitva mlatitve** ž 'mlačev' (V294.01, 3/013) MA < \**mol-t-i-t-ьv-a*  
**mlatitba mlatitbe** ž 'mlačev' (V294.01, 3/013) MA < \**mol-t-i-t-ьb-a*  
**mlatidva mlatidve** ž 'mlačev' (V294.01, 3/013) MA < \**mol-t-i-d-ьv-a* ≤ *mol t-i-d-ьb-a* < \**mol-t-i-t-ьb-a* ← *mol-t-i-t-ьv-a*  
**mlatidev mlatidve** ž 'mlačev' (V294.01, 3/013) MA < \**mol-t-i-d-ьv-ь* ≤ \**mol-t-i-d-ьv-a*

## • mesto dejanja

**mlatilnica mlatilnice** ž 'gumno' (V162C.01, 2/63) MA < \**molt-i-l-ьn-ic-a* ← \**molt-i-l-ьn-ь* ← \**molt-i-ti*

**Ključne besede:** Slovenski lingvistični atlas (SLA), narečni slovar, narečno besedotvorje, morfološka analiza, besedna družina

**WORD-FORMATION OF DIALECT LEXIS IN SLA**

The paper will present the word-formation image of dialect lexis, collected and linguistically analyzed in the *Slovenian Linguistic Atlas*. In the atlas, the geolinguistic presentation of dialect lexis is based on abstracting the phonetically recorded dialect answers to individual questions from the SLA Questionnaire. These answers are shown in the legend of the map in a standardised form. Standardisation of dialect lexemes is based on a synchrono-diachronic morphological analysis of the words, which are interpreted with Proto-Slavic reconstructions and transposes and their word-forming predecessors or, in the case of loanwords, with a morphemically segmented transpose of a direct foreign language source. The dialect lexis arranged in this way is the basis for creating a glossary of the all-Slovenian dialect dictionary, where the words will be lexicographically arranged and equipped with morphological analyzes and linked by word families through them, and with online language maps, the dictionary will also provide an insight into the geographical distribution of the dialect lexis. Example: word formations with the root **-mlat-** < \***-molt-**:

## • imperfect verb

**mlatiti mlatim** imp. 1. 'to thresh' (V293.01, 3/014), 2. 'to tread (millet)' (V196.01, 3/024) MA < \**mol-t-i-ti* 'to thresh' ← \**mol-ti* 'to crush, to grind, to pound'

## • perfective verb

**zmlatiti zmlatim** perf. 'to thresh' (V293.01, 3/014) MA < \**sb(n)-mol-t-i-ti* ← \**sb(n)-* 'together with; from top to bottom' + \**mol-t-i-ti*

## • nomen agentis

**mlatec mlatca** m 1. 'thresher' (V292.01, 3/015) MA < \**mol-t-ьc-ь* ← \**mol-t-i-ti*

## • nomen instrumenti

**mlat mlata** m 2. 'flail' (V290.01, 3/016) MA < \**mol-t-ь* ← \**mol-t-i-ti*  
**mlatec mlatca** m 2. 'flail' (V290.01, 3/016) MA < \**mol-t-ьc-ь*

## • nomen actionis

**mlat mlati** f 1. 'threshing' (V294.01, 3/013) MA < \**mol-t-ь* ← \**mol-t-i-ti*  
**mlatitev mlatitve** f 'threshing' (V294.01, 3/013) MA < \**mol-t-i-t-ьv-ь*  
**mlatitva mlatitve** f 'threshing' (V294.01, 3/013) MA < \**mol-t-i-t-ьv-a*  
**mlatitba mlatitbe** f 'threshing' (V294.01, 3/013) MA < \**mol-t-i-t-ьb-a*  
**mlatidva mlatidve** f 'threshing' (V294.01, 3/013) MA < \**mol-t-i-d-ьv-a* ≤ *mol t-i-d-ьb-a* < \**mol-t-i-t-ьb-a* ← *mol-t-i-t-ьv-a*  
**mlatidev mlatidve** f 'threshing' (V294.01, 3/013) MA < \**mol-t-i-d-ьv-ь* ≤ \**mol-t-i-d-ьv-a*

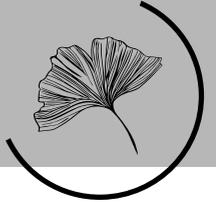
## • nomen loci

**mlatilnica mlatilnice** f 'barn' (V162C.01, 2/63) MA < \**molt-i-l-ьn-ic-a* ← \**molt-i-l-ьn-ь* ← \**molt-i-ti*

**Keywords:** Slovenian Linguistic Atlas (SLA), dialect dictionary, dialect word-formation, morphological analysis, word family

Гордана Штасни [Gordana Štasni], Гордана Штрбац [Gordana Štrbac], Милан Ајџановић [Milan Ajdžanović]

Filozofski fakultet Univerziteta u Novom Sadu  
gordanastasni@ff.uns.ac.rs  
gordana.strbac@ff.uns.ac.rs  
ajdzanovic@ff.uns.ac.rs



### СЕМАНТИЧКО-ДЕРИВАЦИОНЕ КАРАКТЕРИСТИКЕ ОНОМАТОПЕЈСКИХ ГНЕЗДА У СРПСКОМ ЈЕЗИКУ

Обим и структура деривационог гнезда најрелевантнији су показатељ деривационог потенцијала ономатопејских узвика, који се, како показују наша ранија истраживања, одликују сасвим неуједначеним потенцијалом будући да неки од њих уопште немају својих деривата, док други формирају гнезда с више од стотину чланова. Основни циљ овог истраживања стога јесте да се утврде узроци који код ове врсте речи доводе, с једне стране, до блокирања деривације, односно, с друге, до деривационе експанзије. Поред тога, идентификоване су основне деривационе матрице за гнезда мањег (до 10 деривата), просечног (од 10 до 50 деривата) те већег обима (преко 50 деривата) састављене од одређеног типа деривата и њихових узајамних веза, којим се илуструје њихов деривациони домет, као неодвојив део деривационог потенцијала једне лексеме. За потребе истраживања, као референтна, овом приликом биће разматрана три гнезда неједнаког обима: *цију* (седам деривата), *луп* (42 деривата) и *трес* (135 деривата). Грађа је екцерпирана из *Речника српскохрватског књижевног и народног језика*, односно *Речника српскохрватског књижевног језика*, док је као контролни корпус коришћен *Обратни речник српског језика*. Полазна хипотеза јесте да су обим и састав гнезда у непосредној вези не са самим центром гнезда већ с њиме директно мотивисаним глаголом (нпр. *цијукати*, *лупати*, *трескати*), односно, прецизније, његовим семантичким и граматичким карактеристикама.

**Кључне речи:** српски језик, ономатопеје, семантичко-деривационо гнездо, обим и структура гнезда

## DERIVATIONAL AND SEMANTIC CHARACTERISTICS OF ONOMATOPOEIC DERIVATIONAL NESTS IN THE SERBIAN LANGUAGE

The size and structure of their derivational nests are the most relevant indicator of the derivational potential of onomatopoeias, which, as shown by our earlier research, are characterized by a dissimilar derivational potential since some of them have no derivatives at all, while others form nests with more than a hundred derivatives. Therefore, the main goal of this research is to determine the causes that lead, on the one hand, to the blocking of derivation, or, on the other hand, to derivational expansion in this class of words. In addition, basic derivation matrices were identified for nests of smaller (up to 10 derivatives), average (from 10 to 50 derivatives) and larger size (over 50 derivatives) made of a certain type of derivatives and their mutual connections, which illustrate their derivational range as an inseparable part of the derivational potential of a lexeme. On this occasion, for research purposes as a reference three nests of unequal size will be considered: *ciju* (seven derivatives), *lup* (42 derivatives) and *tres* (135 derivatives). The material was excerpted from *Rečnik srpskohrvatskog književnog i narodnog jezika* and *Rečnik srpskohrvatskoga književnog jezika*, while *Obratni rečnik srpskoga jezika* was used as a control corpus. The initial hypothesis is that the size and composition of the nest are not directly related to the nest center itself, but to the verb directly motivated by it (eg. *cijukati*, *lupati*, *treskati*), or, more precisely, to its semantic and grammatical characteristics.

**Keywords:** Serbian language, onomatopoeia, semantic-derivative nest, size and structure of nests



## TVORBENI POTENCIJAL GERMANIZAMA U KAJKAVSKOME KNJIŽEVNOM JEZIKU

Tijekom jezičnoga posuđivanja inojezični leksički materijal prilagođuje se sustavu jezika primaoca. U dodirnoj jezikoslovnoj se literaturi smatra da veći broj jezičnih razina (grafijska, fonološka, morfološka, sintaktička, semantička) na kojima dolazi do prilagodbe znači bolju uklopljenost posuđenice u sustav jezika primaoca (Filipović 1986., Sočanac 2004., Sočanac et al. 2005., Piškorec 2005., Dabo-Denegri 2007., Štebih Golub 2010.). Međutim, nakon primarnih adaptacijskih procesa slijede sekundarni, tj. rječotvorbeni procesi motivirani posuđenicom. Upravo tvorbeni potencijal posuđenice i sudjelovanje u rječotvorbenim procesima svjedoči o njezinoj potpunoj prilagođenosti.

U radu se istražuje tvorbeni potencijal germanizama u kajkavskome književnom jeziku, jednome od hrvatskih povijesnih književnih jezika koji se u razdoblju od 16. st. do sredine 19. st. rabio na području sjeverozapadne Hrvatske. Naime, zbog specifičnih društveno-povijesnih okolnosti broj germanizama u književnoj kajkavštini veoma je velik, a te posuđenice pripadaju različitim područjima ljudske djelatnosti. Analizirani korpus ekscerpiran je iz kartoteke Instituta za hrvatski jezik, građa koje je i temelj za izradbu velikoga *Rječnika hrvatskoga kajkavskoga književnog jezika*.

Osim što se istražuje tvorbeni potencijal germanizama, raspravlja se i o leksikografskoj obradi posuđenica u specijaliziranim rječnicima (rječnici stranih riječi, rječnici pojedinih vrsta posuđenica).

**Ključne riječi:** germanizmi, kajkavski književni jezik, tvorba

## THE WORD FORMATION POTENTIAL OF GERMANISMS IN THE KAJKAVIAN LITERARY LANGUAGE

During language borrowing, foreign lexical material is adapted to the system of the recipient language. There is a consensus in the theory of linguistic borrowing that the better integration of loanwords correlates to their adaptation at more linguistic levels (graphic, phonologica, morphological, syntactic, semantic) within the recipient language (Filipović 1986; Sočanac 2004, Sočanac et al. 2005; Piškorec 2005; Dabo-Denegri 2007; Štebih Golub 2010). However, primary adaptation processes are followed by secondary, i.e., word formation processes motivated by loanwords. It is precisely the exploitation of that potential of loanwords in word formation processes that confirms the complete adaptation of loanwords to the systems of recipient languages.

The paper explores the word formation potential of Germanisms in the Kajkavian literary language, one of the Croatian historical literary languages that was used in the area of northwestern Croatia in the period from the 16<sup>th</sup> century to the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Namely, due to specific socio-historical circumstances, the number of Germanisms in the literary Kajkavian is quite substantial, and these loanwords come from various areas of human activity. The analyzed corpus was excerpted from the files of the Institute for the Croatian Language, material that is the basis for the compilation of the large *Dictionary of the Croatian Kajkavian literary language*.

In addition to looking into the word formation potential of Germanisms, the lexicographic treatment of loanwords in specialized dictionaries (dictionaries of foreign words, dictionaries of certain types of loanwords) is also discussed.

**Keywords:** Germanisms, Kajkavian literary language, word formation

Hotimir Tivadar

Filozofska fakulteta  
Univerze v Ljubljani  
hotimir.tivadar@ff.uni-lj.si



## PROBLEMATIKA NAGLASA IN GLASOSLOVJA V SODOBNI KNJIŽNI SLOVENŠČINI S STALIŠČA STOPENJSKEGA BESEDOTVORJA

Slovensko jezikoslovje se je v preteklosti osredotočalo predvsem na pisne analize tako v strukturalnem kot v korpusnem jezikoslovju; v tem okviru je seveda glasoslovna problematika ostajala v ozadju. V članku želimo opredeliti osnovne značilnosti naglaševanja in glasoslovne procese v slovenskem jeziku, pri čemer se bomo osredinili predvsem na dela, ki se ukvarjajo s stopenjskim besedotvorjem. Načeloma so se v preteklosti glasoslovno-naglasni procesi obravnavali s stališča pisnega jezika, pogosto usmerjeni le v historične glasoslovne procese oz. vnaprej predvideno strukturo jezika. Pomembnejša pa je sama fonetična realizacija danes in fonološkost posameznih glasovnih realizacij v realnih besedilih. V tem članku bomo seveda izhajali iz leksikalnih enot, ki pa so realizirane v realnih besedil. Izpostavili bomo tudi glasoslovne in naglasne tendence, ki so oz. bodo uporabne tudi v besedotvornih raziskavah.

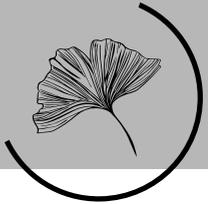
**Ključne besede:** naglas, fonetika, fonologija, besedotvorje, knjižna slovenščina

## THE ISSUE OF ACCENT AND PHONOLOGY IN CONTEMPORARY LITERARY SLOVENE FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF MULTISTAGE WORD FORMATION

Historically, Slovene linguistics has mainly focused on analyses of written texts within the framework of both structural and corpus linguistics often overlooking phonological issues. This article aims to define the fundamental characteristics of accentuation and phonological processes in the Slovenian language, with a particular focus on works dealing with

multistage word formation. Traditionally, phonological and accentual processes were considered from the perspective of the written language, often focusing only on historical phonological processes or the theoretically predicted structure of the language. However, the phonetic realization in contemporary language use, as well as the phonological significance of individual phonetic realizations in actual texts, is of greater significance. This article is based on lexical units as they are realized in authentic texts and highlights phonological and accentual trends that are or will be considered valuable for research in lexicology and word formation.

**Keywords:** accent, phonetics, phonology, word formation, literary Slovene



## VIRTUELNA STEPENASTA DERIVACIJA RIJEČI

Predmet analize jeste stepenasta derivacija riječi pomoću vještačke inteligencije. U radu će biti izvršen pokušaj da se utvrdi koliko je vještačka inteligencija u stanju da lančano niže tvorenice iz istog tvorbenog gnijezda, drugog tvorbenog gnijezda ili bez tvorbenog gnijezda, pri čemu može dolaziti do dva rezultata: 1. stepenastog ulančavanja leksema koje postoje u standardnom jeziku, 2. stepenastog ulančavanja novih leksema koje vještačka inteligencije genešire po njoj poznatim tvorbenim modelima i postupcima. Jedan od zadataka istraživanja sastoji se u utvrđivanju mogućnosti vještačke inteligencije da obavi automatsko generisanje onoga za šta je čovjeku potrebno vrijeme i strpljenje, odnosno da se provjere mogućnosti vještačkog razuma u realizaciji navedenog zadatka putem zamjene biološkog razuma ili jednostavno kao dodatna pomoć. Istraživački korpus čini građa nekoliko južnoslovenskih jezika (srpskog, makedonskog, slovenačkog) i jednog istočnoslovenskog (ruskog). Teoretsku osnovu za ovakvu vrstu analize čini knjiga: Тошович, Бранко. *Лингвистика, стилистика и поезика виртуалности*. Москва: Фланта, 2024. 517 с. [Tošović Branko: *Lingvistika, stilistika i poëtika virtual'nosti*. Moskva: Flinta.]

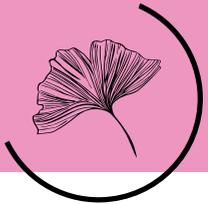
**Ključne riječi:** virtuelni derivacija, stenepesti, vještačka inteligencija

## VIRTUAL-MULTISTAGE WORD DERIVATION

The subject of the analysis is the graded derivation of words using artificial intelligence. In the paper, an attempt will be made to determine the extent to which artificial intelligence is able to chain lower creations from the same formation nest, another formation nest, or no formation nest, whereby two results can occur: 1. step-by-step chaining of lexemes that exist in the standard language, 2. stepwise chaining of new lexemes

that artificial intelligence generates according to its known creative models and procedures. One of the tasks of the research consists in determining the possibility of artificial intelligence to perform the automatic generation of what a person needs time and patience for, that is, to check the possibilities of artificial reason in the realization of the mentioned task by replacing biological reason or simply as additional help. The research corpus consists of several South Slavic languages (Serbian, Macedonian, Slovenian) and one Eastern Slavic language (Russian). The theoretical basis for this type of analysis is the book: Тошович, Бранко. *Лингвистика, стилистика и поэтика виртуальности*. Москва: Фланта, 2024. 517 с. [Tošović Branko: *Lingvistika, stilistika i poëtika virtual'nosti*. Moskva: Flinta.]

**Keywords:** virtual derivation, multistage word formation, artificial intelligence



## BESEDOTVORJE V POIMENOVALNI STRUKTURI SLOVARJA

Da je besedotvorje konstitutivni segment poimenovalnih enot jezika, leksemov torej, dokazuje podredna zgradba tvorjenk, nastalih s priponskim obrazilom ali pripono, ki je identična pomenskoestavinski (semski) zgradbi netvorjenih besed. V obeh primerih imamo opraviti s podrednim razmerjem med konstitutivnima enotama; znotraj netvorjenega leksema – besede je to razmerje zakrito, sestavljeno iz pomenskih sestavin (semov), pri tvorjenkah izraženo morfološko z razmerjem med obrazilom in besedotvorno podstavo.

**Ključne besede:** besedotvorje, slovaropisje, poimenovalne možnosti

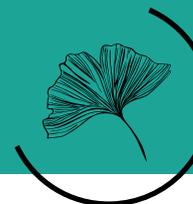
## WORD FORMATION IN THE NAMING STRUCTURE OF THE LEXICON

Word formation is a constitutive segment of the naming units of language, namely lexemes. This is evidenced by the subordinate structure of derivatives formed with suffixes, which is identical to the semantic-compositional (semic) structure of non-derived words. In both cases, we are dealing with a subordinate relation between the constitutive units. Within a non derived lexeme—word, this relation is hidden, composed of semantic components (semes), whereas in derived words, it is expressed morphologically through the relationship between the suffix and the word-formation base.

**Keywords:** word formation, lexicography, naming possibilities

**Maria Wtorkowska**

Filozofska fakulteta  
Univerze v Ljubljani  
mariazofia.wtorkowska@ff.uni-lj.si



## **STOPENJSKE NOVOTVORJENKE V SPLETNEM SLOVARJU POLJSKIH NEOLOGIZMOV**

Jezikovni observatorij UV (Obserwatorium Językowe Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego) je raziskovalna skupina, ki se od leta 2014 ukvarja z najnovejšim poljskim besediščem. Osrednja naloga Jezikovnega observatorija je oblikovanje internetnega *Slovarja poljskih neologizmov* (*Słownik neologizmów polskich*). Iztočnice za slovar predlagajo internetni uporabniki, obdelajo, po potrebi dopolnijo in objavljajo pa jih uredniki, jezikoslovci, člani raziskovalne skupine. Gre torej za pridobivanje leksikografskih podatkov s t. i. *množičenjem* oz. *crowdsourcingom*. Besedišče, zbrano v slovarju poljskih neologizmov, sega na različna področja – najpogostejša tematska polja so politika, pandemija, hrana, hobiji in prosti čas, življenje v mestu in ekologija. V prispevku so na podlagi izbranih osnovnih besed, predvsem samostalnikov, med katerimi so tudi lastna imena, prikazani nekateri poljski besedotvorni postopki pri tvorbi novega besedja in produktivnost takšnih besed, npr. priimek politika kot jedro besedotvornega sestava – prim. izraze, tvorjene iz priimka politika Adama Hofmana v zvezi s t. i. *madridsko afero*, katere glavni akter je bil (npr. *hofmanić*, *hofmanienie*, *hofmaniarstwo*, *zahofmanić* – poimenovanja za ‘neprestano goljufanje, zavajanje z namenom pridobiti korist, izvabiti denar’). Stopenjska metoda je lahko uporabna tudi pri poučevanju poljščine kot drugega/ tujega jezika – v slovarju neologizmov zbrano besedje namreč odraža določene družbene pojave, kulturne, pa tudi etične spremembe; s pomočjo tovrstnega besedja širimo besedni zaklad študentov, hkrati pa razlagamo kulturno in zgodovinsko ozadje besed.

**Ključne besede:** novotvorjenka, stopenjsko besedotvorje, poljščina, spletni slovar z uporabo množičenja

## GRADED-DERIVATION NEOLOGISMS IN THE ONLINE DICTIONARY OF POLISH NEOLOGISMS

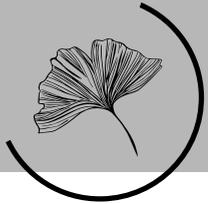
The UV Language Observatory (Obserwatorium Językowe Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego), a research group dedicated to the description of latest Polish vocabulary since 2014, creates the online *Dictionary of Polish Neologisms* (*Słownik neologizmów polskich*), which includes graded-derivation neologisms. The entries are suggested by internet users and then processed, expanded, and published by a team of editors, linguists, and researchers. This crowdsourcing approach enables the collection of lexicographical data. The *Dictionary of Polish Neologisms* collects vocabulary from diverse fields such as politics, pandemics, food, hobbies and leisure, city life, and ecology. The article uses selected basic words, mainly nouns, including proper nouns, to illustrate some Polish word-forming procedures in the creation of new vocabulary and the productivity of these words, e.g., the surname of a politician as the core of a word-forming structure – cf. the expressions formed from the surname of the politician Adam Hofman in connection with the so-called *Madrid affair*, in which he was the main player (e.g., *hofmanić*, *hofmanienie*, *hofmaniarstwo*, *zahofmanić* – expressions for 'to cheat continually, to deceive in order to gain advantage, to extort money').

The method of graded derivation can also be useful in teaching Polish as a second or foreign language: the words collected in the dictionary of neologisms reflect certain social phenomena, cultural and ethical changes, and are used to expand the students' vocabulary, as well as to explain the cultural and historical background of the words.

**Keywords:** word-formation neologism, multistage word formation, Polish, online dictionary using crowdsourcing

## Roman Yangarber

University of Helsinki,  
Department of Digital Humanities  
roman.yangarber@helsinki.fi



## WHY LINGUISTICALLY INFORMED SEGMENTATION IS CRUCIAL FOR GENERATIVE LANGUAGE MODELING

We study the importance of intelligent and linguistically informed morphological segmentation of words into sub-word tokens (morphs), and its effect on today's state-of-the-art models used in natural language processing.

Especially in morphologically rich languages—such as all the Slavic languages—the number of possible words that can be encountered in text is so impractically large, that most current methods \*split\* words into smaller units, to make the resulting “vocabulary” more manageable.

Most researchers working with generative language models (LMs) today use very simple algorithms—BPE (Byte-pair Encoding) and its variants—to segment words into sub-word units—based on how \*frequently\* such units are found in text. While BPE is very efficient, for many words it creates sub-units that—although frequent—are meaningless from a linguistic point of view, since they do not represent actual morphemes.

To compare with BPE, we study several algorithms that attempt to split words into units that are closer to “true” morphemes. These algorithms find these splits in an unsupervised way, to reduce the manual work that is required to create morphological analyzers.

We conduct experiments with over 40 languages, many with highly complex morphology, to show that linguistically informed morphological segmentation yields better performance than the naive algorithms used for splitting words. Performance is measured along several dimensions, including accuracy, speed, and the size of the resulting models—which has a direct impact on the \*sustainability\* of these methods, since it reduces the consumption of computational resources.

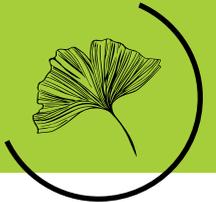
**Keywords:** morphological segmentation, word formation, linguistically informed segmentation into morphemes, large language models

<sup>1</sup> Andreja Žele, <sup>2</sup> Ines Voršič, <sup>3</sup> Nina Ledinek

<sup>1</sup> Filozofska fakulteta Univerze v Ljubljani;  
ZRC SAZU, Inštitut za slovenski jezik Frana Ramovša  
andreja.zele@ff.uni-lj.si

<sup>2</sup> Pedagoška fakulteta, Filozofska fakulteta  
Univerze v Mariboru  
ines.vorsic@um.si

<sup>3</sup> ZRC SAZU, Inštitut za slovenski jezik Frana Ramovša  
nina.ledinek@zrc-sazu.si



### **MED BESEDOTVORJEM IN SKLADNJO: KOLOKABILNOST SLOVENSkih GLAGOLSKIH ZVEZ TIPA GlagPrisl IN NJIHOVA SISTEMSKA PRETVORBA V ZVEZE TIPA PridSam**

Prispevek ima dvodelno zasnovo in prikaže medsebojno prepletenost besedotvorja in skladnje v smislu družljivosti besednih zvez, v katerih je samostalniško jedro izglagolsko in pridevniško določilo izprislovno. Na besedotvorni ravni predstavljamo sistemske tvorbeno zmožnosti izbranih netvorjenih glagolov in prislovov, motivirajočih za nadaljnjo stopenjsko tvorbo v slovenščini. Predstavljene so temeljne lastnosti izglagolske in izprislovne tvorbe, tj. dolžina priponskih nizov, tipična sestava priponskih nizov glede na stopnjo tvorbe, tipična priponska kombinatorika, besednovrstna pripadnost posameznih priponskih obrazil in njihova pomenska vloga, s čimer se raziskava umešča na za slovenistiko relativno novo raziskovalno področje morfotaktike. Obenem nas zanima, katere samostalniške zveze z levim pridevniškim določilom, npr. zunanje delo, lahko dobimo iz netvorjene glagolske zveze s prislovom, npr. delati zunaj, pri čemer netvorjeni prislov izhodiščne zveze izraža t. i. zunanjo okoliščino prostora ali časa kot sestavino propozicije.

Ob besedotvornih nas zanimajo tudi skladenjskopomenske lastnosti – ustaljenost, idiomatičnost ipd. – tovrstnih besednih zvez. Na primeru izbranih izhodiščnih glagolov s prislovi, ki strukturirajo tipične samostalniške zveze s pridevniškim določilom, prikažemo besedotvorne zmožnosti slovenščine na eni strani, na drugi pa skladenjskopomenske zmožnosti prehodov med ustaljenima zvezama, ki sta sicer stavkotvorni sestavini stavčne povedi Glag + Prisl → Prid(>Prisl) + Sam(>Glag).

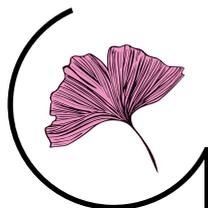
**Ključne besede:** stopenjsko besedotvorje, morfotaktika, priponska kombinatorika, kolokabilnost besednih zvez, skladnja

### **BETWEEN WORD FORMATION AND SYNTAX: COLLOCABILITY OF SLOVENE VERB PHRASES OF TYPE VAdv AND THEIR SYSTEMIC CONVERSION INTO PHRASES OF TYPE AdjN**

The paper has a two-fold structure and presents the interplay between word formation and syntax in terms of the compatibility of phrases in which the noun core is deverbal and the adjectival complement is deadverbial. At the word-formation level, we present the systemic formative capacities of selected simplex verbs and adverbs that motivate further multistage word formation in Slovenian. The basic features of the deverbal and deadverbial formation are presented, i.e., the length of the suffix strings, the typical composition of the suffix strings according to the level of formation, the typical suffix combinatorics, the word-class correspondence of individual suffix inflexions and their semantic role, all of which places this research in the relatively new research area of morphotactics within the Slovene studies. Concurrently, the paper explores which noun phrases with a left adjectival complement, e.g., *zunanje delo*, can be derived from a simplex verb phrase with an adverb, e.g., *delati zunaj*, where the simplex adverb of the initial phrase expresses the so-called external spatial circumstance or external temporal circumstance as a constituent of the proposition.

In addition to the word formative properties, we also look at the syntactic and semantic properties – fixity, idiomaticity, etc. – of such phrases. Using the example of selected initial verbs with adverbs which form typical noun phrases with an adjectival complement, we demonstrate the word formative capabilities of Slovene on the one hand, and on the other hand, the syntactic and semantic capabilities of transitions between two established phrases, which are normally sentence-forming constituents of a clausal sentence  $V + Adv \rightarrow Adj(>Adv) + N(>V)$ .

**Keywords:** multistage word formation, morphotactics, suffix combinatorics, collocability of phrases, syntax



## PROGRAM KONFERENCE CONFERENCE PROGRAM

Lokacija | Venue: Atrij ZRC,  
Novi trg 2, Ljubljana

Torek | Tuesday, 17. 9. 2024

8.00–9.00 REGISTRACIJA | REGISTRATION  
9.00–9.45 ODPRTJE KONFERENCE | OPENING & WELCOME  
Pozdravni nagovori | Welcome address  
Kulturna točka | Performance: Katarina Stegnar, Duo Silence, Marina Mårtensson  
In memoriam: Prof. Mirosław Skarżyński

### PLENARNA PREDAVANJA | KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

9.45–10.20 **Ada Vidovič Muha:** Besedotvorje v poimenovalni strukturi slovarja  
10.20–10.55 **Alenka Šivic Dular:** Morfološko prenavljanje slovanskih glagolskih simpleksov v luči kategorialne analogije  
10.55–11.30 **Katrin Hein:** Investigating German Word Formation: the Compound Pattern Explorer 'KoMuX'  
11.30–11.50 ODMOR | BREAK

### PRVA SEKCIJA | SESSION 1 Vodja sekcije | Chair: Ievgeniia Karpilovska

11.50–12.50 **Ievgeniia Karpilovska:** Словотвірне гніздо в колі інших одиниць систематизації лексики  
**Metka Furlan:** Besedna družina s sinhronega in diahronega zornega kota  
**Goran Milašin:** Творбени ланци и проблем разграничавања синхроніјског стања и дијахроніјских процеса у дериватологији  
12.50–14.00 ODMOR ZA KOSILO | LUNCH BREAK

### DRUGA SEKCIJA | SESSION 2 Vodja sekcije | Chair: Rajna Dragičević

14.00–15.20 **Aliksandr Lukashanets:** Словаўтваральнае гняздо: месца ў сістэме комплексных адзінак словаўтварэння, сінхронныя межы  
**Pawel Kowalski:** Słowotwórstwo gniazdowe jako narzędzie interpretacji rzeczywistości językowej  
**Iwona Burkacka:** Czynniki wpływające na strukturę i wielkość polskich gniazd słowotwórczych  
**Rajna Dragičević:** Семантичко-деривациони потенциал глагола гледати на основу грађе из деривационих речника неких словенских језика  
15.20–15.40 ODMOR | BREAK

### TRETTJA SEKCIJA | SESSION 3 Vodja sekcije | Chair: Lidija Arizankovska

15.40–17.00 **Lidija Arizankovska:** Градациско зборообразување во македонскиот јазик во социолингвистички контекст  
**Larysa Kysliuk:** Ресурси вербалізації поняття в словотвірному гнізді: питоме і запозичене  
**Elena Lukashanets:** Словообразовательные гнезда в социолектах: проблемы и пути их решения  
**Robert Hammel:** Uporaba stopenjske metode v arealnem jezikoslovju  
17.00–18.30 ODMOR | BREAK  
18.30 Zbor na Kongresnem trgu | Meeting point at Kongresni trg  
19.00 Slavnostna večerja v Švicariji | Gala dinner at the Švicarija

Sreda | Wednesday, 18. 9. 2024

**PRVA SEKCIJA | SESSION 1**  
Vodja sekcije | Chair: Senja Pollak

- 9.00–10.20 **Roman Yangarber:** Why Linguistically Informed Segmentation is Crucial for Generative Language Modeling  
**Tomaž Erjavec:** Avtomatsko luščenje besedotvornih pravil in verig za slovenski jezik  
**Senja Pollak, Marko Pranjic:** Razvoj avtomatske morfološke segmentacije za slovenski jezik  
**Jaka Čibej:** Strojno luščenje arhetipskih besedotvornih dreves v slovenščini: prvi korak
- 10.20–10.40 **ODMOR | BREAK**

**DRUGA SEKCIJA | SESSION 2**  
Vodja sekcije | Chair: Martin Ološtik

- 10.40–12.20 **Amela Šehović:** Tvorbeno-semantičko gnijezdo pridjeva *star* u bosanskom jeziku  
**Martin Ološtik:** Slovtvorná paradigmatica a slovtvorné rady v slovenčine  
**Branko Tošović:** Virtuelna stepenasta derivacija riječi  
**Lana Hudeček, Milica Mihaljević:** Tvorba riječi u *Mrežniku* i *Jeni*  
**Maria Wtorkowska:** Stopenjske novotvorjenke v spletnem Slovarju poljskih neologizmov
- 12.20–13.30 **ODMOR ZA KOSILO | LUNCH BREAK**

**TRETJA SEKCIJA | SESSION 3**  
Vodja sekcije | Chair: Milan Ajdžanović

- 13.30–14.50 **Cvetanka Avramova:** За мястото на българските и чешките абстрактни съществителни с формант *-(e)cmв(o)//-stv(i)//-(c)tv(i)* и неговите варианти в словообразователното гнездо  
**Gordana Štasni, Gordana Štrbac, Milan Ajdžanović:** Семантичко-деривационе карактеристике

ономатопејских гнезда у српском језику  
**Tatjana Pišković:** Od stupnjevitog rječotvorja do opisa morfonoloških alternacija

**Petra Mišmaš, Lanko Marušič, Rok Žaucer:** Podaljševanje korenov v slovenščini z vidika razpršene morfologije

14.50–15.10 **ODMOR | BREAK**

**ČETRTA SEKCIJA | SESSION 4**  
Vodja sekcije | Chair: Magdalena Pastuch

- 15.10–16.30 **Lidiia Hnatiuk:** Втрачені словотвірні гнізда в сучасній українській літературній мові  
**Andreja Legan Ravnikar:** Besedotvorni nizi v slovenskem knjižnem jeziku 16. stoletja s slovničnega in slovarskega vidika

**Magdalena Pastuch:** Aktywność słowotwórcza XVI wiecznych zapożyczeń łacińskich we współczesnej polszczyźnie

16.30–16.40 **ODMOR | BREAK**

16.40–17.20 Vodeni ogled središča Ljubljane v slovenščini ali angleščini; zbor na Novem trgu 2 | Guided tour of Ljubljana city center in Slovenian or English; meeting point at Novi trg 2

17.20–18.20 Ogled galerije sodobne umetnosti Cukrarna | Visit to the Cukrarna Gallery of Contemporary Art

Četrtek | Thursday, 19. 9. 2024

PREDSTAVITEV NOVIH DEL | PRESENTATION OF NEW PUBLICATIONS

9.00–9.20 **Ivana Bozděchová:** Česká slovotvorná koncepce v kontextu slovanské jazykovědy  
**Rajna Dragičević:** Тенденции во зборообразувањето на глаголите во словенските јазици

PRVA SEKCIJA | SESSION 1  
Vodja sekcije | Chair: Ivana Bozděchová

9.20–10.40 **Hotimir Tivadar:** Problematika naglasa in glasoslovja v sodobni knjižni slovenščini s stališča stopenjskega besedotvorja

**Elena Petrukhina:** Сопоставительный анализ глагольных словообразовательных гнезд в русских и чешских литературных текстах и их переводах

**Ivana Bozděchová:** Slovotvorná paradigmatica anglicismů v češtině

**Marjetka Kulovec, Boštjan Jerko, Boris Kern:** Stopenjske tvorjenke v slovenščini in sestavljene kretnje v slovenskem znakovnem jeziku

10.40–11.00 ODMOR | BREAK

DRUGA SEKCIJA | SESSION 2  
Vodja sekcije | Chair: Barbara Štebih Golub

11.00–12.00 **Barbara Štebih Golub:** Tvorbeni potencial germanizama u kajkavskome književnom jeziku  
**Sonja Nenezić:** Tvorbeno-semantičko gnijezdo lekseme *jad* u crnogorskim dijalekatskim rječnicima  
**Jožica Škofic:** Besedotvorna podoba narečnega besedja v SLA

12.00–12.10 ODMOR | BREAK

TRETJA SEKCIJA | SESSION 3  
Vodja sekcije | Chair: Nicol Janočková

12.10–13.10 **Zinaida Kharitonchik:** Семантика членов словообразовательных гнезд с циклическими именами в качестве вершин (на материале русского языка)

**Aleksey Nikitevich:** Моделирование фрагментов словообразовательных гнезд и практика лексикографирования

**Nicol Janočková, Ivana Šrámeková:** Desätročný jednorozec je prvotriedny sedmospáč. O (de) numerálnej kompozícii v slovenčine

13.10–14.20 ODMOR ZA KOŠILO | LUNCH BREAK

ČETRTA SEKCIJA | SESSION 4  
Vodja sekcije | Chair: Gjoko Nikolovski

14.20–15.40 **Ludmila Liptakova:** Slovotvorný rad v jazykovom vedomí dieťaťa  
**Gjoko Nikolovski:** Besedotvorje v okviru kontekstualnega poučevanja slovnice slovenščine kot neprvega jezika

**Sanja Miletić:** Jezički transfer kod govornika poljskog jezika prilikom usvajanja srpskog jezika – na primeru tvorbenih porodica glagola *gledati, misliti, govoriti i praviti*

**Elena Koriakowcewa:** Professor Mirosław Skarżyński about Problems of the Theory of Word-Formation Nests and Methods of Their Analysis

15.40–16.00 ODMOR | BREAK

PETA SEKCIJA | SESSION 5  
Vodja sekcije | Chair: Irena Stramljič Breznik

16.00–17.00 **Andreja Žele, Ines Voršič, Nina Ledinek:** Med besedotvorjem in skladnjo: Kolokabilnost slovenskih glagolskih zvez tipa *GlagPrisl* in njihova sistemska pretvorba v zveze tipa *PridSam*

**Irena Stramljič Breznik:** Značilnosti izpridevniških samostalniških izpeljank in tvorbeno kombinatorika obrazil *-ica* ter *-ec* v slovenščini

**Boris Kern:** Izsamostalniški besedotvorni nizi v slovenščini z vidika morfotaktike

17.00–17.20 ZAPRTJE KONFERENCE | CLOSING CEREMONY

19.00 Zbor na Kongresnem trgu | Meeting point at Kongresni trg

19.30 Koncert Simfoničnega orkestra RTV Slovenija v Cankarjevem domu | Concert of the Radio Television Slovenia Symphony Orchestra at Cankarjev dom

Petek | Friday, 20. 9. 2024

- |            |  |
|------------|--|
| 9.00–10.30 | Zasedanje članic_ov Komisije za besedotvorje pri Mednarodnem slavističnem komiteju   Assembly of Members of the Commission on Slavic Word Formation of the International Committee of Slavists |
| 10.45      | Zbor na Trgu francoske revolucije   Meeting point at Trg francoske revolucije  |
| 11.00      | Ekskurzija na Bled   Excursion to Bled   |