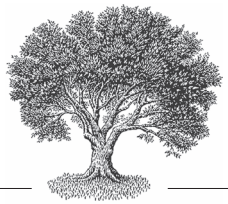

Case Marking and Definiteness in Slavic Appositional Constructions

Падежное маркирование и определенность в аппозитивных конструкциях в славянских языках

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Abstract

This paper is a corpus-based study of Slavic appositional constructions. Out of material taken from seven Slavic languages, two aspects of the morphosyntax of close appositions in Slavic are considered: case concord and definiteness marking. The first section of the paper considers the factors that affect case concord in appositions in Russian, Ukrainian, Belarusian, Czech, Polish, Croatian, and Slovenian. Based on the data of the corpora it is shown that in all seven languages, inherent plurality and frequency of proper names significantly affect the probability of concord being present. Moreover, it is shown that the likelihood of concord differs across cases, and almost all languages considered follow the case hierarchy GEN>DAT>LOC>INS. The second portion of the paper

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considers definiteness marking in Bulgarian and Macedonian appositional constructions. Based on the obtained data, it is argued that appositions with different lexemes can have different syntactic structures in these languages.

Keywords

appositional constructions, Slavic languages, case concord, case hierarchy, definiteness, corpus linguistics

Резюме

В настоящей статье представлено корпусное исследование связанных аппозитивных конструкций в славянских языках. На материале семи языков анализируются такие аспекты морфосинтаксиса аппозитивных конструкций, как необязательное падежное согласование между членами конструкции и маркирование определенности. В первой части настоящего исследования анализируются факторы, влияющие на вероятность падежного согласования в аппозитивных конструкциях в русском, украинском, белорусском, чешском и польском языках. С опорой на квантитативные данные показано, что во всех рассмотренных языках ингерентная множественность и частотность имени собственного значительно влияет на вероятность согласования. Кроме того, в статье показано, что вероятность падежного согласования различается в зависимости от падежа: практически все рассмотренные языки следуют падежной иерархии GEN>DAT>LOC>INS. Во второй части статьи рассматривается использование артикля в аппозитивных конструкциях в болгарском и македонском языках. Согласно полученным данным, можно сделать вывод, что маркирование определенности в аппозитивных конструкциях в этих языках отражает различие в синтаксической структуре конструкций с разными существительными.

Ключевые слова

аппозитивные конструкции, славянские языки, падежное согласование, иерархия падежей, определенность, корпусная лингвистика

1. Introduction

Close appositional constructions[1] consist of at least two nominals—a common noun and a proper name—which have a common referent and seemingly

[1] Close appositional constructions are generally opposed to the so-called *loose appositional constructions* [Heringa 2012]. Consider the following from the Russian National Corpus as an example of loose apposition:

(i) ***Drug-oĭ*** ***ministr, Margo Dzhejms***, *opisa-l-a* *eë* *kak*
another-NOM.SG.M minister Margo James describe-PST-SG.F she.ACC as
“kompetentn-uiū̆, *avtoritetn-uiū̆* *i* *sovershenno* *poriādochn-uiū̆”.*
competent-ACC.SG.F authoritative-ACC.SG.F and absolutely decent-ACC.SG.F
‘Another minister, Margot James, described her as, “competent, authoritative, and absolutely decent.”’

In contrast to the latter, close appositions are said to preserve intonational integrity and have “restrictive” semantics. For a broader discussion of the differences between the two constructions see [Heringa 2012: 2] among others.

occupy the same syntactic position in the sentence. The most typical representatives of this class are appositions with personal names of humans and toponyms, cf. the following examples from Russian and their translations to English: *pisatel' Arkadiev* 'the writer Arkadiev', *gorod Moskva* 'the city of Moscow'. Appositions were most extensively studied using data from English. Although several different approaches were suggested [Lee 1952; Haugen 1953; Hocket 1955; Burton-Roberts 1975; Quirk et al. 1985; Meyer 1992; Acuña-Fariña 1999; Acuña-Fariña 2009; Keizer 2007], the most important issues of appositions (including headedness and syntactic scope of construction) still remain not fully clarified, while appositions themselves are commonly regarded as an "unresolved pattern" by recent authors [Acuña-Fariña 2009]. At the same time, appositions were generally disregarded by linguists working with languages other than English (however, see several exceptions [Pereira, Pérez Gaztelu 2002; O'Connor, Patin 2015; Bauer 2017; Zbróg 2019]), so the existing theory of apposition is largely deprived of data from other languages. The present paper considers two remarkable aspects of variation observed in Slavic appositional constructions—case concord of proper names and definiteness marking.

One of the most widely discussed issues with respect to Russian close appositions concerns case concord within the appositional construction [Розенталь 1989: 265–267, Голуб 2010: 278–279]. In Russian, certain types of proper names in apposition to common nouns can either have the same case as the preceding generic term or preserve the default nominative. The observed variation is often striking since the same expression can show both case concord and lack thereof, even in the very same text. As an illustration, consider the following examples from the Russian National Corpus taken from the same text:

(1) Russian [RNC: M. L. Gasparov. Zanimatel'naja Grecija, 1998]

a. *Na* ***ostrov-e*** ***Krit-e*** *chtili* *peshcher-u* <...>
on island-LOC Crete-LOC honour.PST.PL cave-ACC
'(they) honoured a cave on the island of Crete'

b. <...> *razorila* *moguchee* *tsa̍rstvo* *na* ***ostrov-e*** ***Krit***
ruin.PST.F mighty.N kingdom(N) on island-LOC Crete
'(it) ruined the mighty kingdom on the island of Crete'

In both examples in (1) the appositional phrase *ostrove Krit*(*e*) is dependent on the preposition *na* which assigns Locative case to its dependent NPs. However, as example (1)b shows, the case marker can be omitted on the proper name. This also appears to be true about other Slavic languages. See an example from Ukrainian:

(2) Ukrainian (< Slavic < Indo-European [RNC: I. I. Akimuškin. Tropoju legend, 1961], https://studopedia.su)

a. <...> *ia̍kiĭ beshketuvav na* ***ostrov-i Rodos-i***
which rampage.PST.M on island-LOC Rhodes-LOC
'<...> who was rampaging on Rhodes Island'

b. *kolosal'na statuia̍ bog-a sonc'-a Helios-a na* ***ostrov-i Rodos***
enormous.F statue(F) god-GEN sun-GEN Helios-GEN on island-LOC Rhodes
'An enormous statue of the god Helios on Rhodes Island'

As demonstrated in the above examples from Russian, a proper name in an appositional construction shown in the Ukrainian examples can either show concord (2)a in case with the preceding common noun or preserve the "default" Nominative form, shown in (2)b.

In the present study, I will analyse variation in case concord in close appositions in seven standard extant Slavic languages—namely, Russian, Ukrainian, Belarusian (Eastern branch), Polish, Czech (Western branch), Croatian, and Slovene (Southern branch). The data for Russian has previously been thoroughly discussed in [Логвинова 2022]—for that reason, data on Russian presented in this paper is mainly taken from [Ibid.] and will not be discussed in detail. The literature on apposition in the other Slavic languages is scarce (see, for example, [Кулик 1961: 65–68, Ключковський 1962, 1963; Мізак 1966] for Ukrainian, [Бірыла, Шуба 1985: 34–35] for Belarusian, [Bartnicka et al. 2004] for Polish), with the exception of relatively recent studies of Croatian appositions [Marković 2008, Sesar 2013, Belaj 2014], focused mainly on the search for semantic grounds to define the head of the construction. The data comes from several electronic corpora available on the Sketch Engine platform[2]. For all languages except Croatian, corpora from the TenTen Corpus Family were used. In the case of Croatian, there is no available TenTen Corpus, therefore the Croatian web-corpus (hrWaC) was used instead. For statistical hypothesis testing, I predominantly used the multiple regression model (further—MLR). The significance level (*p-value*) of $\leqslant 0.05$ is taken as significant.

2.1. Case marking in Slavic appositional constructions

The bulk of literature [Шведова et. al 1980: 58; Розенталь 1989: 265–267; Граудина 1976: 138–145; Голуб 2016: 278–279; Matushansky 2012, Суперанская 1973, Логвинова 2022] discussing the phenomenon of optional case concord in appositions in Russian provides evidence that concord is conditioned by several factors, among which are the following:

[2] URL: https://www.sketchengine.eu/.

— lexical category of the common noun;

— number congruency of constituents (proper names congruent in number with a preceding common noun show more concord);

— gender congruency of constituents (proper names congruent in gender with a preceding common noun show more concord);

— the frequency of the proper name (more frequent names show more concord).

The underlying theoretical premise for the last of the factors listed above is that case marking of proper names in appositive structures may be conditioned by the degree of familiarity of the names for the speaker. Thus, it is expected that unfamiliar names tend to be preserved in their default Nominative form rather than display the case marking, given that declension of infrequent and uncommon proper names can be problematic for speakers. The relative frequency of the proper name in a representative collection of texts for that language appears to be a possible empirical indicator of the degree to which speakers are familiar with a particular name. In what follows I will discuss the relevance of the parameters listed above for case concord in appositions in the chosen Slavic languages.

Regarding the factor of the **lexical category** of the common noun, it seems that Slavic languages generally make the same contrasts between nouns preferring and disfavouring case concord. Table 1 below gives an overview of the frequency of case concord of proper names with different common nouns. In each column for the same expression (translated in different languages), it is calculated how many times the expression revealed case concord or absence thereof, as well as the percentage of instances with concord. The choice of proper names is conditioned by their potential frequency and, consequently, their presence in the corpora. In the case of the expressions *river* + *X* and *mountain* +*X* (where X is a proper name), two categories of names are considered—those having the same grammatical gender as the common noun and those where grammatical gender differs. The cases with concord frequency ⩾ 50 % are given in grey. As can be seen from the table, all the languages under discussion reveal a tendency for concord of proper name after the noun 'city' regardless of gender congruence (the only exception is Czech, where the percentage of occurrences with concord is slightly below the threshold), while after the noun 'river' the proper names tend to show concord, where the grammatical gender of the proper name is congruent (feminine in this case). In other cases, concord is generally avoided regardless of gender congruence. The language showing concord in most contexts is Croatian.

Table 1. Case concord of proper names in apposition to different common nouns in seven Slavic languages[3]

Language	con	−/+	% +	con	−/+	% +	con	−/+	% +	con	−/+	% +
	city 'the city of Moscow'			**river** 'the Volga river/ Danube river'			**mountain** 'the mountain Sinai/ the mountain X***'			**desert** 'the Sahara Desert'		
Russian	*gorod Moskva*	1*10³/ 3*10⁵	99%	*reka Volga*$_{(c)}$	6*10³/ 8*10³	57%	*gora Sinaĭ*	5*10³/ 400	7%	*pustyniā Sakhara*	2565/ 972	28%
				reka Dunaj	1500/ 194	11%	*gora Belukha*	582/ 429	42%			
Ukrainian	*misto Moskva*	4/16	80%	*richka Volha* $_{(c)}$	70/ 96	57%	*gora Sinaĭ*	207/ 8	3%	*pusteliā Sakhara*	342/ 150	30%
				rička Dunaj	462/ 28	6%	*gora Hverla*	440/ 278	78%			
Belarussian	*horad Maskva*	2/20	90%	*raka Volha* $_{(c)}$	0/3	100%	*hara Sinaĭ*	20/0	0%	*pustyniā Sakhara*	4/3	42%
				raka Dunaj	8/0	0%	–	–	–			
Polish	*miasto Moskwa*	57/ 129	70%	*rzeka Wołga*$_{(c)}$	12/70	85%	*góra Sinai*	54/0	0%	*pustynia Sahara*	102/ 71	41%
				rzeka Dunaj	165/1	<1%	*góra Cantoria*	53/ 35	40%			
Czech	*město Moskva*	455/ 388	46%	*řeka Volha*$_{(c)}$	6/7	53%	*hora Sinaj*	1800/ 102	5%	*poušť Sahara*	145 /67	31%
				řeka Dunaj	1200/ 615	32%	*hora Radhošť*	861/ 32	4%			
Slovene	*mesto Moskva*	10/11	52%	*reka Sava*$_{(c)}$	17/ 2660	99%	*gora Sinaj*	82/0	0%	*puščava Sahara*	31/ 11	26%
				reka Nil	248/ 0	0%	–	–	–			
Croatian	*grad Moskva*	3/100	97%	*rijeka Volga*$_{(c)}$	0/ 69	100%	*planina Sinaj*	22/4	15%	*pustinja Sahara*	14/ 49	77%
				rijeka Dunav	344/ 71	17%	*planina Učka*$_{(c)}$	22/82	79%			

[3] In Table 1 [−] stands for instances without concord, while [+] is for instances with concord. [con] is a contraction for construction.

[4] There were no examples of appositional constructions with the noun 'star' in Belarusian.

con	−/+	% +	con	−/+	% +	con	−/+	% +	con	−/+	% +
lake 'Lake Baikal'			**island** 'the island of Zanzibar			**planet** 'planet Earth'			**star** 'the star Sirius'		
ozero Baĭkal	>14*10³/ 302	2%	*otrov Zanzibar*	699/ 24	4%	*planeta Zemlia͡*	>3*10⁴/ 174	<1%	*zvezda Sirius*	513/ 39	7%
ozero Baĭkal	488/9	2%	*ostriv Krit*	624/ 42	6%	*planeta Zemlia͡*	>2*10³/ 33	3%	*zirka Sirius*	31/ 2	6%
vozera Baĭkal	20/0	0%	*vostraŭ Zyslaŭ*	33/ 2	6%	*planeta Zemlia͡*	46/ 0	0%	—[4]	—	—
jezioro Bajkał	636/3	1%	*wyspa Zanzibar*	136/ 3	2%	*planeta Ziemia*	1082/ 831	41%	*gwiazda Syriusz*	3/0	0%
jezero Bajkal	863/10	1%	*ostrův Zanzibar*	4/ 0	0%	*planeta Země*	3/48 + obl	94%	*hvězda Sirius*	166/ 0	0%
jezero Bajkal	120/3	2%	*otok Zanzibar*	47/ 0	0%	*planet Zemlja*	539/ 537	50%	*zvezda Sirius*	25/ 0	0%
jezero Baikal	4/0	0%	*otok Zanzibar*	0/ 11	100%	*planeta Zemlja*	110/ <2000 + obl	95%	—	—	—

Why cities and rivers are, in most cases, different from other contexts may appear puzzling. What is distinct about these expressions is their higher frequency in discourse. It seems reasonable that cities and rivers are more commonly seen in the landscape of Central, Eastern and South Europe (where the majority of Slavic languages are spoken) than mountains, islands, deserts, and lakes. Why this should be connected to the facts of concord is not clear at first sight, but as I will show in what follows, frequency comes out to be the factor of primary importance in relation to the discussed problems.

Furthermore, only data on case concord in appositions with the noun 'city' is considered. This decision is conditioned by a few considerations. First, appositions with the noun 'city' are usually the field of the greatest variation within concord (as can be seen from Table 1). Second, city names represent all possible variation in their grammatical characteristics (i. e. grammatical gender, inherent number) and are frequently met in the corpus. To discover the factors that can be significant for concord in appositions, I followed the same procedure as in [Логвинова 2022] for the Russian data. For each language, I created a dataset containing the information on a number[5] of randomly chosen city names of different frequency from the list of cities found in the country where the relevant language is spoken, including their relative frequency[6], relevant grammatical features (such as grammatical gender and inherent number[7]) and statistics about concord with the preceding common noun in an appositional construction in the corpus. In contrast to [Логвинова 2022], this time I also controlled for the factor of grammatical case, making different samples for each of the four cases considered. In this study, I will

[5] Since the number of the cities in Ukraine, Belarus, and other countries is different as well as the size of the corpus, it was impossible to make equal samples for all languages considered.

[6] The information about relative frequency is presented in the number of occurrences of the selected proper name per million words in the corpus. The conventionalised name for this measurement is *ipm*, which stands for **i**tems **p**er **m**illion. Since not all the corpora in the TenTen family allow to search for lemmas, in some cases a more complex CQL-query was necessary to find all the forms of a particular name in the corpus. Generally, the query in this case had a form similar to the following: [word= "Донецьк" | word="Донецьк." | word="Донецьк.."], where | is used to search for alternative conditions in the same query and [.] stands for any symbol. Accordingly, the query given above will find all the possible forms of the Ukrainian city name *Донецьк* 'Donetsk'. Note that this query does not prevent us from receiving in the search results a form *Донецький* (which is not the case form of the proper name *Донецьк*, but a derived adjective). However, this inaccuracy can be tolerated based on two considerations: (1) such forms occur very rarely in comparison to those looked for, and (2) in cases like that the frequency of the derivates can also serve as a reflection of the familiarity of this proper name.

[7] The inherent number of the noun is its grammatical number that is not conditioned by the context. For example, the inherent number of the toponym *Moskva* 'Moscow' is singular, whereas the inherent number of the name *Cheboksary* 'Cheboksary' is plural which can be figured out based on the concord of adjectives: *krasiv-aia*$_{(F.SG.NOM)}$ *Moskva* and *krasiv-ye*$_{(PL.NOM)}$ *Cheboksary*.

mainly discuss the data on the Genitive, Dative, Instrumental, and Locative cases. Analyzing data on Accusative is problematic, since with masculine inanimate and neuter nouns, the Accusative form is indistinguishable from the Nominative in most Slavic languages, thus the analysis of a considerable bulk of corpus data without manual filtering is impossible. Where possible, I consider data on the Accusative case, based on a smaller number of contexts—namely those allowing to accurately distinguish between the Accusative and the Nominative forms. This can only be done with feminine nouns. To exclude the necessity of manual filtering, I only consider cases where the Accusative context is ensured, which is after certain prepositions, such as *pro* 'about' and *cherez* 'through' in Ukrainian, as well as their equivalents in other languages.

1. *Ukrainian and Belarusian*

In Ukrainian, the word for 'city' is *misto*, which is neuter in grammatical gender. The sample for Ukrainian consisted of exactly 96 city names with relative frequency from 127.02 to 0.31 ipm. There were 5 inherently plural city names (such as *Sumy* 'Sumy' and *Roven'ki* 'Rovenky'), 14 feminine names (such as *Poltava* 'Poltava'), and 5 neuter names, with the remaining names being masculine in gender.

The result of applying the multiple regression model to the Ukrainian data revealed no significance for the factor of feminine grammatical gender (i. e., there is no difference in how feminine and masculine names tend to behave when used in apposition to the sortal term *misto*). However, the result for neuter names (which are congruent in grammatical gender with the sortal term and are expected to be prone to concord) is unexpected, with a strong negative correlation (E= –39.6340). This result can lead to the erroneous conclusion that gender congruency is not important in Ukrainian. This does not appear to be true. First, neuter city names are much less frequent than masculine or feminine, which results in a shortage of data in the corpus for proper comparison. Second, in other types of appositions, for example, with the noun *richka* 'river' (which is feminine in gender) in Ukrainian, just as in Russian [Логвинова 2022], there is a strong tendency for concord of feminine proper names from the 1st declension class and the preservation of the Nominative form for masculine proper names (see Table 2).

As in the case of appositions in Russian [Логвинова 2022], the inherent plurality of the name turned out to be a factor hindering concord (with the impact value being the highest among the factors). The frequency of the proper name was also confirmed to be significant for Ukrainian.

With respect to the differences observed between the cases, it appeared that concord in the Genitive case was, on average, more frequent (see Table 3). However, the pairwise comparison using t-test for dependent samples showed

Table 2. The concord of proper names with the sortal term ri̯ka in the Genitive case in Ukrainian*

Name	Grammatical features	NOM	GEN	SUM	% of the agreeing forms
Prut	masc	747	9	756	1
Dnister	masc	875	33	908	4
Dunaĭ	masc	405	25	430	6
Ros'	fem, 3rd Declination	607	40	647	6
Ustia̯	fem, 1st Declination	184	40	224	18
Desna	fem, 1st Declination	264	106	370	29
Bistric'a	fem, 1st Declination	165	106	271	39
Vorskla	fem, 1st Declination	195	119	314	38
Synjukha	fem, 1st Declination	63	94	157	60
Amazonka	fem, 1st Declination	36	131	167	78

*The significance of the difference between groups is checked with the t-test for independent samples (p = 0.0039)

that although there was a difference in how often city names show concord with the preceding sortal noun between cases, this difference is rather weak with the strongest contrast being between Genitive and Instrumental.

Table 3. The mean and median frequency of concord in Ukrainian depending on case

Type of frequency	GEN	DAT	INS	LOC
mean frequency of concord cases	62 %	51 %	42 %	49 %
median frequency of concord cases	72 %	58 %	43 %	56 %

The data on concord in the Accusative is scarce due to the limited size of the corpus and is rather controversial, therefore it is hardly possible to make any satisfying conclusions.

Table 4. Available data on the frequency of concord of Ukrainian feminine city names in appositional constructions in the Accusative case

Name of the city	NOM	ACC	SUM	% of the agreeing forms
pro/cherez misto				
Vinnycia̯	3	6	9	66,6
Poltava	6	2	8	25
Moskva	1	5	6	83,3
Odesa	1	4	5	80
Prip"jat'	3	0	3	0
Oleksandrii̯a̯	2	1	3	33,3
Jalta	2	0	2	0

The Belarusian word for city is *horad*, which is masculine like its Russian cognate. Due to the small size of the only available corpus, the sample for Belarusian consisted of only 29 city names with relative frequency from 906.601 to 4.71 ipm, with 2 inherently plural names, 5 feminine and no neuter names. The results for the Belarusian dataset did not reveal any significance for any of the tested factors except for the inherent plurality (concord is hindered when the proper name is inherently plural, as in the case of *Horki*$_{(PL)}$). This result can be explained by the scarcity of data, which itself is due to the limitations of the Belarusian corpus[8] when compared to other corpora used. There were problems in retrieving information on particular names in different cases. For that reason, no justified comparison between cases is possible.

2. Czech and Polish

In Polish and Czech, the word for 'city' is *miasto* and *město* respectively, both having neuter grammatical gender. The sample for Polish consisted of 49 city names with relative frequency from 133.32 to 1.34 ipm. Of the considered names, 6 were inherently plural, 8 neuter and 5 feminine in gender. There were 57 names in the Czech sample in total (relative frequency ranging from 794.51 to 0.02 ipm), with 2 names being inherently plural, 4 neuter and 9 feminine in gender. In both languages, the congruent gender feature on proper names (i. e., neuter proper names) positively correlated with concord, but only in Czech did the correlation prove statistically significant ($p = 0.01660$). Also in Czech, both frequency and the inherent plurality of the proper name influenced the percentage of cases with concord ($p < 0.05$ in both cases), with the restriction that the estimated impact of the frequency parameter was rather low when compared to the others ($E^9 = 0.06830$). In the case of Polish, only the impact of inherent plurality was confirmed when tested with the MLR ($E = -61.209742$, $p = 2.45e\text{-}09$). Just as with Belarusian, such an outcome appears to be, to a large extent, the result of data sampling.

What is remarkable about the Czech and Polish data is that in both samples there was a similar discrepancy in how frequent case concord was among the different cases. Namely, the percentage of forms with concord in the Genitive was on average significantly higher than in each of the three remaining cases. As an illustration, consider Table 5 demonstrating the data on the percentage of forms showing concord in the Genitive, Dative, Instrumental, and Locative cases in both Czech and Polish for masculine city names of comparable frequency.

[8] The TenTen corpus (≈64 million words) is not the only electronic corpus for Belarusian. Another large corpus is Беларускі N-корпус (https://bnkorpus.info) (≈163 million words). However, working with this corpus is difficult because it is impossible to download the results.

[9] Here, E stands for an Estimate value.

Table 5. The percentage of case-marked forms in different cases for the selected city names in Czech and Polish

Name	Freq., ipm	GEN[10]	DAT	INS	LOC
Czech					
Bohumín	3.51	48	24	36	17
Chotěboř	3.48	43	13	6	24
Tachov	2.86	47	26	23	11
Bechyně	2.3	0	38	17	52
Dobříš	2.06	62	10	1	34
Šternberk	2.05	43	31	15	13
Žamberk	1.88	46	15	14	13
Šenov	1.62	27	0	8	0
Slatiňany	1.38	8	0	0	0
Volary	1.26	12	0	0	8
Mean %		35	17	13	16
Median %		43	15	14	13
Polish					
Słupsk	9.92	78	0	16	48
Gniezno	9.9	92	33	55	6
Włocławek	9.72	48	0	0	0
Zamość	9.15	49	0	0	3
Przemyśl	8.95	89	0	63	65
Kołobrzeg	8.55	15	8	13	14
Tczew	6.79	87	0	26	65
Suwałki	6.65	26	0	0	4
Głogów	4.98	68	0	0	0
Będzin	3.98	72	50	22	5
Lębork	3.09	88	0	33	33
Mean %		65	8	21	22
Median %		72	0	16	6

As the descriptive statistics at the bottom of Table 5 show, the mean value for the percentage of agreeing forms in both Czech and Polish samples was higher in the Genitive than in the other cases. This observation proves to be statistically significant for the entire sample by pairwise comparison with the T-test

[10] The figures in the columns named GEN, DAT, INS, and LOC give the rounded result of computing the percentage of forms showing concord in appositions with a given name in the given case.

for the dependent samples. In both languages, only the Genitive showed a statistically significant deviation from all the other samples, while the result for the other pairs was below the adopted significance level. As can also be seen from Table 6, concord in the Accusative was, in all instances, less frequent than concord in the Genitive.

Table 6. Case concord between feminine city names and a sortal noun in the Accusative in Czech and Polish*

City name	NOM	ACC	SUM	% marked ACC	% marked GEN
Czech					
pro město... 'for the city...'					
Praha	167	55	222	25	96
Ostrava	155	77	232	33	89
Jihlava	57	24	81	30	83
Opava	40	17	57	30	86
Polička	23	20	43	47	84
Bílina	8	3	11	27	54
Mean %				27	82
Median %				30	85
Polish					
przez miasto... 'through the city...'					
Warszawa	32	14	46	30	60
Częstochowa	15	4	19	21	79
Gdynia	22	5	27	19	69
Łomża	33	0	33	0	61
Piła	5	1	6	17	84
Mean %				17	71
Median %				19	69

* The difference between the samples for Genitive and Accusative in both cases proved to be statistically significant by applying the t-test for dependent samples

That the Genitive showed the largest percentage of concord in all three samples considered so far (Ukrainian, Czech and Polish) resembles the Russian data concerning which I have previously argued [Логвинова 2022] that both the Genitive and the Locative were the cases conducive to case concord between names in apposition. This observation therefore leads to the conclusion that the rules applying to the phenomenon of optional case concord are universal among the Slavic family.

3. *Croatian and Slovenian*

In Croatian, as well as in Slovenian, the case endings for Dative and Locative are all identical throughout the paradigm (aside from some minor exceptions), which is why the data collection on these languages required manual sorting. In Croatian, the basic noun for 'city' is *grad,* which is masculine in gender, while for Slovenian it is *mesto*, which is neuter, as it is in Ukrainian, Polish, and Czech. The dataset for Croatian consisted of 47 city names with 2 inherently plural names, 2 neuter and 3 feminine in gender. The Slovenian sample includes 31 city names, of which 2 were inherently plural, 4 neuter and 7 feminine in gender.

Slovenian appears to be different from the other languages under discussion in generally disfavouring concord. Contrastingly, concord is the preferable strategy in Croatian, as can be seen in Table 7 below:

Table 7. The mean and median frequency of concord across four cases in Croatian and Slovenian

	type of frequency %	GEN	DAT	INS	LOC
Croatian	mean frequency	96	96	90	93
	median frequency	99	100	100	100
Slovenian	mean frequency	19	6	8	5
	median frequency	9	0	0	0

Even inherently plural names, which showed strong resistance to concord in all of the languages discussed above, are not different in their propensity for concord from the inherently singular names in Croatian. Applying the MLR to the Croatian dataset reported no significance for any of the alleged independent variables. The same result was obtained for the Slovenian data. As can be judged from Table 7, in Slovenian, just as in all the languages discussed above, concord in the Genitive was more frequent than in any other case.

The conclusions about the factors affecting concord in different languages partially made above can be summarized in the following table.

Table 8 clearly shows that, in all of the languages considered, frequency showed a positive correlation with concord (although the correlation was not statistically significant in all instances), while the effect of inherent plurality (and, consequently, incongruency of grammatical number with the common noun) was exactly the opposite: the correlation was negative in all instances. The situation is more complicated with non-congruent gender features, since in all languages (except for East Slavic) non-congruent gender features showed a positive correlation with concord. However, almost everywhere the correlation was statistically insignificant.

Table 8. Summary of the relevance of the three investigated factors on case concord in appositional constructions in seven Slavic languages[11]

Language	Common noun	Factor		
		Non-congruent gender	Inherent plurality	Frequency
Russian	*gorod* (m)	f:–* / n: ?	–*	+*
Ukrainian	*misto* (n)	m: – / f: –	–*	+*
Belarusian	*horad* (m)	f: – / n: ?	–*	+
Polish	*miasto* (n)	m: + / f: +	–*	+
Czech	*město* (n)	m: + / f: +*	–	+*
Croatian	*grad* (m)	f: +*/ n: +	–	+*
Slovenian	*mesto* (n)	m: +/ f: +*	–*	+*

2.2. Discussion

The fact that the Genitive allowed more concord than any other case in almost all of the languages considered raises the question about whether it is possible to provide a hierarchy of cases that allow for more or less case concord. The fact that there was no statistically significant difference between other cases within each separate language can be disregarded at this point if in each of the seven languages the hierarchy is the same. Table 9 below shows that this is not the case since cases appear to be ranged differently in different languages. The table compares mean and median percentage of forms with concord in each case and gives the ranks in round parentheses. Table 9 lacks the data on Belarusian since, as has been mentioned above, there was not enough data on certain cases in this language.

The same information is illustrated in Figure 1.

Even though the hierarchy is different across languages, if only the mean values are taken into consideration, then GEN was ranked 1st in 5 or 6 languages (since in Croatian the mean percentage of forms with concord was the same in GEN and DAT) out of 6, while DAT was ranked 2nd in 5 languages out of 6. INS was ranked 4th in 4 out of 6 languages and LOC was ranked 3 in the relative majority (4) of languages. This apparently means that the right edge of the possible hierarchy is less stable than its left edge. The addition of

[11] In the present table, the asterisk [*] marks cases where the correlation was proved statistically significant with the MLR model. The [+] sign is used to indicate a positive correlation between the feature and concord, while the [–] sign indicates that the correlation between concord and the feature was negative. A question mark indicates that the data was not considered.

Table 9. Comparison of mean and median frequency of concord of proper names in apposition

Language	type of frequency	Case			
		GEN	DAT	INS	LOC
Russian	mean %	82 (1)	81 (2)	63 (4)	68 (3)
	median %	86 (2)	90 (1)	68 (4)	72 (3)
Ukrainian	mean %	62 (1)	51 (2)	42 (4)	49 (3)
	median %	72 (1)	58 (2)	43 (4)	56 (3)
Polish	mean %	55 (1)	14 (4)	19 (3)	23 (2)
	median %	61 (1)	0 (4)	9 (3)	10 (2)
Czech	mean %	50 (1)	23 (2)	20 (4)	21 (3)
	median %	48 (1)	21 (2)	15 (4)	18 (3)
Slovenian	mean %	19 (1)	6 (3)	8 (2)	5 (4)
	median %	9	0	0	0
Croatian	mean %	96 (1-2)	96 (1-2)	90 (4)	93 (3)
	median %	99 (4)	100	100	100

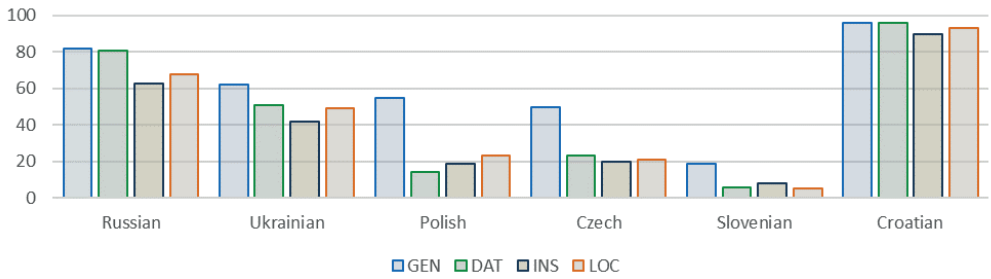

Figure 1. Mean percentage of forms with concord in four cases for six Slavic languages

Belarusian could potentially clarify the situation. However, at present the tentative hierarchy is the following:

(3) GEN > DAT > LOC > INS

where > means that concord is more probable in the case to the left than it is in the case to the right.

An evident deficiency of the resulting hierarchy is that it does not include the Accusative. Judging from the data on Czech and Polish, concord in the Accusative is again less probable than in the Genitive. However, the position of the Accusative relative to the other cases is different already in these two languages, and thus further generalisations concerning the placement of the Accusative in the hierarchy are impossible.

Nevertheless, a possible functional explanation for the observed asymmetry could again be frequency. In all of the considered samples, the Genitive was the most frequent case, i.e., there were more appositive structures of the type 'city X' in the Genitive than in any other case (excluding the Nominative and the Accusative, for which no data was collected). This is, however, not a special property of appositional constructions as the Genitive is argued to be the most frequently used case after the Nominative, at least in some Slavic languages (see [Копотев 2008: 146] for Russian and [Laskowski 1989: 213] for Polish). The fact that the Genitive, being most frequent with appositions, allows more case concord than the other cases is appealing, as it shows that the concord is not only conditioned by the frequency of the particular city name, but also by the frequency of the construction itself.

The main **conclusions** that can be made from this section are the following:

- for almost all of the languages considered, the factor of inherent plurality of the proper name hindered the concord in apposition;
- in all seven Slavic languages, higher frequency of proper names positively correlated with the percentage of forms with concord, however this correlation did not prove to be statistically significant in all of the languages of the sample;
- the factor of gender incongruency unexpectedly showed a positive correlation with concord in some languages, but the effect was not statistically significant;
- Slovenian and Croatian were different from the other languages in the sample, as well as opposed to each other, in their persistent dispreference vs. preference of concord, respectively;

3. Definiteness in appositional constructions in Slavic

Proper nouns are widely believed to be definite by default since their referents usually have high accessibility in discourse [Chafe 1972: 57]. This is why most linguists working on apposition in English agree that the feature of definiteness is inherited by the appositional construction from the proper names they contain (although some counterexamples from a text corpus are introduced in [Keizer 2007] and analysed in more detail in [Kojadinović 2018]). However, the data from the Slavic languages with grammaticalised definiteness marking—Bulgarian and Macedonian—casts doubt on the universality of definiteness of appositional constructions.

According to [Stojanov 1964: 235–240], Bulgarian common nouns in apposition are normally not marked for definiteness (*akademik*(-*ăt*$_{\text{DEF}}$) *V. V. Vinogradov* 'the academic V. V. Vinogradov'), but when they are (the conditions are not discussed by Stojanov), they should be considered the heads of the constructions, with the proper name being a modifier: *poruchik-ăt*$_{\text{DEF}}$ *Sokolov*

'lieutenant Sokolov'. On a separate note, Stoianova [1993] mentions the following contrast: kinship terms and titles in apposition never get definite marking, while nouns denoting profession or nationality always do: *profesor Penev* 'professor Penev', but *inzhiner-ăt*$_{\text{DEF}}$ *Kănev* 'engineer Kănev'. Things become even more complex with definiteness marking in appositional constructions with toponyms. Stojanov [1964: 144–145] indicates that common nouns in preposition to toponyms generally lack the definite article. He gives the following examples: *grad-Ø Sofija* 'the city of Sophia', *reka-Ø Marica* 'the river Maritsa'; but at the same time: *pustini͡a -ta*$_{\text{DEF}}$ *Gobi* 'the Gobi Desert', *ezero-to*$_{\text{DEF}}$ *Van* 'the lake Van'. Stojanov does not make any comments on how these articulated forms are distributed, but mentions that in some cases, definiteness marking is obligatory: *zvezda-ta Orion* 'the Orion star', *planeta-ta Venera* 'the planet Venus', *pustini͡a -ta Sachara* 'the Sahara Desert', *ezero-to Bajkal* 'the lake Baikal', *plato-to Pamir* 'the Pamir Plateau'. From the given examples it remains unclear as to what determines definiteness marking or the absence thereof. The most recent work on Bulgarian definiteness [Mladenova 2007] gives no special attention to this question. However, it seems possible to observe at least some patterns based on the corpus data. Thus, it appears to be true that the distribution of the definite article in appositional constructions in Bulgarian is clearly dependent on the lexico-semantic category of the common noun itself. As Table 10 below shows, certain categories of nouns are prone to show definiteness marking in appositive constructions, while others are not.

Table 10. Appositions carrying and not carrying the definite marker in Bulgarian[12]

Common noun in apposition	indefinite /definite forms[13] in apposition	% of definite forms	Total number of indefinite / definite forms in the corpus	% of definite forms in total
grad 'city'	>76*10^3/ 146	0	186679/ 13404	7
ostrov 'island'	13*10^3/ 39	0.03	236173/ 1165	0
reka 'river'	>21*10^3/345	1.5	33955/ 15384	31
i͡azovir 'reservoire'	1848/ 13	1.5	8213/ 449	5
selo 'village'	>57*10^3/ 2000	3	100773/ 36759	27
planeta 'planet'	703/ 2050	74	12834/ 21797	63
planina 'mountain'	988 / 2883	74	19827/ 18098	48
săvezdie 'constellation'	156/ 659	81	807/ 926	53

[12] The data is from bgTenTen12 corpus (Sketch Engine).

[13] Before the slash comes the number of non-articulated forms and after the slash, the number case with the article.

From Table 10 there is a clear difference between the use of the article in appositions with common nouns such as *grad* 'city', *ostrov* 'island', *reka* 'river', *i͡azovir* 'reservoir', *selo* 'village', on one hand, and *planeta* 'planet', *planina* 'mountain', *sa̍vezdie* 'constellation' — on the other, with the latter group showing significantly more instances with definiteness marking. The observed discrepancy could be partially attributed to the difference observed between the nouns even beyond the appositive contexts, since the percentage of forms carrying the definiteness marker throughout the entire corpus is significantly lower in the first group than in the second. However, although the difference between the nouns *reka* 'river' and *planina* 'mountain' is generally not that big (31 and 48 percent of definite forms, respectively), they behave very differently when used in appositional constructions (1.5% against 74% respectively). The homogeneity (at least syntactic) of the external context is also ensured in that case, as the majority of examples of both lexemes are found in the position following a preposition. This contrast is not fully clear but is similar to the contrast observed between common nouns observed in Section 2.1.

A theoretical conclusion that follows from this data is that appositional constructions with different common nouns possibly have different syntactic structures. The presence of an article is commonly considered to be an indication of the DP[14] status of a phrase. The fact that common nouns like *planeta* 'planet', *planina* 'mountain', and *săzvezdie* 'constellation' are usually marked for definiteness in appositions leads to the conclusion that they constitute separate DPs, while proper names following them are DPs by themselves (which is commonly assumed about proper names). The situation is different with constructions formed by nouns like *grad* 'city', *ostrov* 'island', *reka* 'river', *i͡azovir* 'reservoir', and *selo* 'village'. Since they usually do not carry the definiteness marker in appositions, they do not constitute DPs by themselves. What rather qualifies as DP in this case is the whole apposition, whose members are smaller constituents (possibly, "small nominals" [Pereltsvaig 2006]). The fact that nouns in appositions of the second group are less autonomous is not unexpected since appositions of this kind are much more frequent than appositions of the second group (which can be seen from Table 10).

Macedonian is very closely related to Bulgarian and is the second of the two Slavic languages to have articles. The situation with definiteness marking in Macedonian appositional constructions is similar to what is found in Bulgarian. According to [Усикова 2003: 138–139], (almost) exactly as in Bulgarian, titles followed by proper names generally do not receive definite marking, while nouns denoting profession or "qualification" are always marked. What is interesting is that the same nouns are sometimes classified differently in

[14] DP or Determiner Phrase is the highest functional projection of a noun accepted in the majority of existing generative theories and first proposed in [Abney 1987].

Bulgarian and Macedonian. For example, the noun for *engineer* in Bulgarian appositions is said to generally receive the definiteness affix, but in Macedonian it is usually unmarked. Regarding the constructions with toponyms, Usikova mentions that a common noun can be either marked for definiteness or not: *grad*(*ot*) *Oxrid* 'the city of Ohrid', *selo*(*to*) *Kosel* 'the Kosel village'. In contrast to Bulgarian, in Macedonian appositions, the common noun is generally marked for definiteness. The only exception is the noun *grad* 'city', which only received definiteness marking in about one-third of the cases considered. This is again consistent with the view that the frequency of the construction affects its syntactic structure since appositions with the noun *grad* 'city' are much more frequent in Macedonian than appositions with other nouns. The frequency of definiteness marking in appositions in Macedonian is presented in Table 11.

Table 11. Definiteness marking in Macedonian

Common noun in apposition	Non-articulated / articulated forms[15]	% of articulated forms	Total number of non- articulated / articulated forms in the corpus	% of articulated forms in total
grad 'city'	6466/ 2505	30	16809/ 7596	31
reka 'river'	115/ 2227	95	460/ 3022	86
planina 'mountain'	54/ 1052	95	328/ 1248	79
ezero 'lake'	16/ 40	71	208 /353	62
selo 'village'	541/ 1939	78	1886/ 2661	58
planeta 'planet'	4/ 21	84	186/ 134	41

4. Conclusions

In this paper I have discussed the core aspects of variability observed in Slavic appositional constructions. Based on the data of 9 Slavic languages, I have shown in the first section that the concord of proper nouns in appositions does not work uniformly across Slavic languages. Some languages (such as Croatian) prefer concord, while others (like Slovenian) generally avoid it. Nevertheless, in most of the languages considered, concord is subject to the same factors—congruency in grammatical number and frequency of the proper name. Moreover, I have shown that the probability of concord is dependent on the grammatical case and that for almost all of the languages considered it is

[15] Before the slash comes the number of non-articulated forms and after the slash, the number case with the article.

possible to propose a uniform hierarchy of cases (GEN > DAT > LOC > INS). In the second section, I considered the variation of articulation of appositions in Bulgarian and Macedonian. Based on the obtained data I have suggested that different types of appositions in these languages can differ in their syntactic structure. The theoretical conclusions made in this paper are significant for the theory of apposition as a separate type of syntactic relation generally dismissed by grammarians.

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