

Project proposal

The emergence of narrativity in Early Neo-Balkan Slavic

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1. Aims

Genetically, the South Slavic languages divide into Eastern and Western South Slavic. This division is cross-cut by the areal-typological distinction between (Western) South Slavic and Balkan Slavic. The characteristic morpho-syntactic traits of Balkan Slavic have been analysed in depth as regards their structural aspects. More recently, the focus of attention is shifted towards their functioning on the text level, for instance, as regards their contribution to expressing the relation of narrator and narration. This discourse-pragmatic orientation provides the background for the proposed project which aims at probing the narrative potential of particular morpho-syntactic features from a diachronic point of view. The phenomena to be investigated are verbal forms based on the 'I-participle', the definite article and clitic doubling constructions. The time span under consideration stretches from the 17th to the 19th century and is termed here 'Early Neo-Balkan Slavic'.

'Early' refers to the state prior to standardization and codification, 'neo' to the fact that the manuscripts under consideration are increasingly vernacular and less Church Slavonic in style. This temporal delimitation is crucial. On the one hand, later language policy may have excluded the Balkan features from the standard languages and hence from written documents. If still used, they are subject to prescriptive rules instead of pragmatic considerations. On the other hand, the respective features are not displayed in older, predominantly Church Slavonic documents beyond random occurrences. It can therefore be assumed that the texts dating from the 17th to the 19th century indeed reflect 'Balkan' structures and usage patterns.

One motivation for the change in style to be observed in Early Neo-Balkan Slavic manuscripts can be sought in the striving for greater distribution and intelligibility. This in turn is basic to the emergence of new genres, which is accompanied by the increasing role of author and narrator as opposed to the copyists and translators of earlier texts. Whereas the author gets visible, e.g., in apostils and annotations, the narrator may manifest himself in the structuring of the texts. This structuring consists in the introduction of viewpoints and viewpoints alternatives, making thereby possible the explicit reflection on the relation between narrator and narration. This reflection is considered here as important precondition for, and feature of, 'narrativity'.

The constellation sketched raises the hitherto largely neglected question as to the functional dimension of the structural changes, more precisely, to possible interrelations between these changes, the increasing role of the narrator and the emergence of new genres. Combining a philological, linguistic and narratological perspective, the proposed project purposes to contribute to closing this research gap, targeting the following questions:

- 1) In which way are the newly emerging structures exploited discourse-pragmatically, i.e. in order to introduce viewpoints and viewpoint alternatives? The introduction of viewpoints is basic to the perspectival organization of the discourse and a precondition for the distinction between reference to events and objects and reference to the presentation of events and objects. This distinction is regarded here as essential feature of narrativity. Closely related is the issue of possible interrelations between usage and interpretation of these structures on the one hand, and genre on the other.
- 2) What is the role of Turkish for the exploitation of these structures? Turkish has been recognized as 'catalyst' for the development and systematic usage of the Balkan linguistic features, and as decisive factor in the formation of common epic topics. As regards its influence on the discourse-pragmatic functionalisation of morpho-syntactic structures investigations are still rare.
- 3) In which way can the notion of perspectivity contribute to a better understanding of 'narrativity'? The perspectival conception of narrativity pursued here is essentially text-immanent and linguistic: viewpoints are not induced from 'outside', but emerge from the interaction of specific linguistic structures. As a consequence, instances such as 'author', 'narrator' or 'character' are not presupposed, but constructed within and by the text. This may help dealing with their problematic status especially in the field of historical narrativity.
- 4) In how far can there be assumed a specific 'Balkan narrativity'? This question is interesting first of all from an (areal) typological perspective and may contribute a new aspect to Balkan linguistics and philology. Moreover, it is relevant to historical narrativity and the question of language specificity and universality in the emergence and usage of narrative structures.

The main focus is put on aims 1 and 2, which will be accomplished largely in terms of corpus-based analyses. Aim 3 embeds this primarily Balkan linguistic orientation into an interdisciplinary perspective, mainly as regards the co-operation with literary studies. Taken together, 1-3 provide the basis for discussing aim 4, which at the same time offers the starting point for further research.

With its outstanding tradition in Slavic and Balkan studies and its renowned philological expertise, the Slavic department of the University of Vienna provides the most suitable scientific environment to carry out this project.

2. State of the art and previous work

In her seminal work on Balkan linguistics, Asenova (2002: 296) interprets the syntactic similarities of the Balkan languages, such as clitic doubling and the definite article, as basic text-forming means. Moreover, the closeness of the single syntactic systems suggests closeness in the structure of the single variants of what she calls the 'Balkan text' (ibid.). What reads like a research program has so far been dealt with in passing at most (with the exception of Civ'jan's 2005 work on the *balkanskaja*

model' mira 'Balkan model of the world'). The same holds for the emergence of narrativity in Early Neo-Balkan Slavic, which constitutes the main focus of the proposed project. Whereas there is extensive research on some of the project's key notions, they have not yet been considered in the common context of 'Balkan narrativity'. These key notions will be presented in the following overview, which situates the project within its research context and specifies its points of departure.

2.1 Balkan Slavic

Synchronically, 'Balkan Slavic' covers those varieties of Bulgarian, Macedonian and Serbian that exhibit typologically specific features not to be found in the other South Slavic languages (e.g. Birnbaum 1965, Alexander 2000). However, not having been chosen as features of the standard languages, these 'balkanisms' have often been relegated to the domain of dialects in the course of standardisation (Fiedler 1998: 347 speaks of a process of 'de-Balkanisation'). Therefore, the contemporary standard languages exhibit much more differences among each other than their dialects (e.g. Asenova 2002: 117), as Friedman (2000: 1344) illustrates on the example of clitic doubling and auxiliary variation in Bulgarian and Macedonian. In order to capture the morpho-syntactic similarities, that may remain unnoticed when simply speaking of Bulgarian, Macedonian and Serbian,¹ this project applies the notion 'Balkan Slavic'.

Using this notion is also justified when dealing with the pre-standardized period. The text documents hardly ever unambiguously classify into what would later be Macedonian, Bulgarian or Serbian (e.g. Koneski 1996: 14-19; Ilievski 2005: 129²). Instead, they can be regarded as common part of the history of these later standard languages – the more so as even the first 'national' writers continued the common tradition (cf. Hill 1992 on Macedonian, Dell'Agata 1984 on Bulgarian, Bogdanović 1991: 264 on Serbian). Hill (1992: 124) therefore assumes a joint language history up to the beginnings of standardization. Here, the language of these documents is referred to as East, West or Middle Balkan Slavic (as do, e.g., Fielder 1998 on auxiliary variation, Tomić 2008 on clitic doubling).

Diachronic investigations put the focus on the emergence of the Balkan structures, with specific emphasis on the differences between the grammatical systems of the 'old' and 'new' stages of the languages, at least as far as one can judge from the written documents. Opinions differ as regards the beginning of this new phase (mid 15th to mid 17th century, e.g. Mirčev 1963, Petkanova-Toteva 1965, Velčeva 1966, Koneski 1996, Spasov 2008), but agree in the 'new quality' (Mirčev 1963: 56) of

¹ This is of special importance for Serbian. It displays Balkan features in its Kosovo-Resava dialects, which are considered another major dialectal group besides Štokavian, Čakavian and Kajkavian (Birnbaum 1965); Popović (1960) speaks of 'Balkan-Štokavian'.

² Speaking of 'Serbian', 'Macedonian' or 'Bulgarian' is a quite unfortunate in this context. These notions are to be understood as shortcuts for 'what would later be classified as Serbian/Macedonian/Bulgarian'.

the grammatical structure as decisive characteristic.³ However, the functional dimension of these changes, which is central to this project, has not yet been investigated. Among the rare examples is Bunina (1970) on the development of the temporal system in 11th–20th century Bulgarian, which includes some remarks on functional changes, and Fielder (1998, 2000) on the development of narrative strategies in the *damaskini* (cf. below) and in pre-modern Bulgarian prose.

The ‘new’ features are getting more and more established in written documents from the late 15th century onwards. They therefore provide the main source for sketching the development of the respective standard languages. The most prominent role is ascribed to the *damaskini*, that is, translations of the sermons of Damaskin Studit (first published in 1558) from Greek into Slavic (e.g. Petkanova-Toteva 1965, Ilievski 2005) and texts belonging to that tradition. Being Church Slavonic in the beginning, their language was soon getting more and more vernacular, especially in passages narrating the biblical contents in an increasingly free way (Ilievski 1970: 62).⁴ Some of these texts developed into ‘belles-lettres work’ close to novels or folk-tales (Petkanova-Toteva 1965: 124; cf. Miklas 1994 on the variation of medieval and early modern texts in the *Slavia orthodoxa* and the emergence of ‘narrative’ texts). This vernacularisation can be regarded as reaction to the loss of national identity during the Ottoman period. Religion remaining the main factor ensuring cultural and national identity, intelligibility of the texts also by the ‘ordinary people’ was of utmost importance (cf. Ilievski 2005; the same holds for the original, which is vernacular Greek, Ilievski 1970: 61).⁵ At the same time, adherence to the original translations was decreasing also in terms of the topics described (cf. Ilievski 1960/61: 36-39, Petkanova 1987: 224-229), and they are to be regarded “less a translation than an original composition based on the source text” (Fielder 1998: 355). Due to the multiple mutual influences, much more than ‘Bulgarian’, ‘Macedonian’ or ‘Serbian’ these texts are ‘Balkan Slavic’ – not only linguistically, but also from a cultural point of view (cf. Bogdanović 1991: 264 who interprets the *damaskini* as indicator of the ‘cultural unity of the orthodox people of the Balkans’).

2.2 Narrative / Narrativity

‘Narrative’ is among the most controversially debated notions in literary theory, not to mention its application to the visual arts and music (cf., e.g. the compilations Herman 2007, Abbott 2008, Hühn

³ This periodisation pertains to the appearance of the features in written documents. Their actual emergence dates, of course, much earlier. A radical position is held by Hinrichs (2004), who assumes that Bulgarian has been analytic, i.e. ‘Balkan’, since the times of the Protobulgar-Slavic contact.

⁴ Here, the history of Serbian differs from that of Macedonian and Bulgarian, since there was no further development of a written vernacular language until the times of Vuk Karadžić. One attempt to replace Church Slavonic was the introduction of Slaveno-Serbian in the 18th / 19th century (cf. Kretschmer 1989).

⁵ This is not to imply large-scale alphabetization, but also pertains to oral comprehension.

et al. 2012; for an attempt towards a definition cf. Ryan 2007). Igl & Zeman (2012) propose a distinction of approaches according to the levels of analysis they apply to: macro- and micro-level. The former pertains to the classification of texts as '(non-)narrative' and is used predominantly in literary studies. Schmid (2008: 10) distinguishes narrative texts telling a story from non-narrative texts describing a situation. Within narrative texts, he further differentiates between texts exhibiting a narrating authority ('narrative' in the narrow sense) and texts lacking such an authority (mimetic texts). This illustrates the double-faced nature of 'narrative' as both a characteristic of texts and a mechanism of presentation. In this latter, micro-level understanding, 'narrative' is also used in linguistics where it refers to the sequential presentation of events and is regarded as one of several 'discourse modes' (Smith 2005) or 'discourse relations' (Lascarides & Asher 1993). The simplest understanding of 'narrative' pertains to a sequence of interrelated sentences. This conception is basic, e.g., to Friedman's (2002) study of factivity in Balkan narrative and discourse. Yet other approaches define 'narrative' as "method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which [...] occurred" (Labov 1972: 359f). Narratives in this sense exhibit a 'narrative syntax' consisting of elements such as abstract, complicating action, evaluation or result/resolution (Labov 1972: 363), which are characterized by specific linguistic features each.

Another closely related aspect is genre. Genre is assumed to restrict and/or influence the interpretation of the narrative systems used (cf. Čakřova on the use of the 're-narrative system' in fairytales; more generally also Wiemer & Kampf to appear). Fielder (2000) emphasizes the influence of genre on the discourse-structuring reinterpretation of auxiliary variation in 19th centural East Balkan Slavic prose. Friedman (1999) analyses the relation between the genre of proverbs and the use of gnomic tenses in the Balkan languages.

More recently, also the diachronic dimension of narrativity is getting into the focus of attention, as "vital and exciting new area of research" (Fludernik 2003: 332). Historical narrativity brings with it further problems (cf. the contributions in Haferland et al. 2010), such as how to deal with the instances of 'author', 'narrator' and 'character'. Schweier (2012) emphasizes the need to take into consideration the 'historic producer' of a text, shifting the focus towards cognitive aspects. Unzeitig (2004) is concerned with the question as to whether the texts themselves provide semantic criteria enabling the differentiation of author and narrator or whether they are (at least partially) indifferent in this respect. Stock (2010) points out some of the problems concerning the characters in the text, e.g. as regards their literary conception and cognitive conceptualization.

In this project, a procedural, dynamic conception of 'narrativity' is pursued. It is understood not as a feature inherent to specific linguistic elements and structures in isolation or to texts as such, but as emerging from the interaction of various viewpoints. For the beginning, Ducrot's (1984) distinction

between *producteur*, *locuteur* and *énonciateur* will be assumed to establish possible viewpoints. That is, viewpoints and hence ‘perspectivity’ are regarded as the central building block of narrativity. Along the lines of Graumann (2002), perspectivity is conceived as a relational phenomenon arising from the interplay of point of view, object and the aspect based on which this object is perspectivised. Contrary to linear conceptions of perspectivity presupposing simply some *origo* as anchor (cf., e.g. the discussion of ‘perspective / point of view’ in Niederhoff 2012), according to the conception proposed, viewpoints are assumed to be constructed within the text. This may help dealing with the above mentioned problems surrounding author, narrator and character.

Understood this way, narrativity emerges from the interplay of viewpoint-inducing structures. These structures contribute to different aspects of narrativity. Three of these aspects and the underlying structures are studied in this project (for more details cf. section 2.3):

- Presentation of reference within and outside the text: definite article
- Presentation of events : *l*-forms, role of presence/absence of 3rd person auxiliary
- Presentation of information: clitic doubling

2.3 Structures

The morpho-syntactic structures constituting the ‘new quality’ of Early Neo-Balkan Slavic have received a lot of attention in the literature. They are mostly analysed in isolation, mainly as regards their formal development and frequency of occurrence. Focusing on narrativity as dynamic, procedural phenomenon, this project studies the respective structures in terms of patterns, i.e. as regards (the emergence of) regularities in usage within specific constellations and contexts. This focus on patterns is correlated to the functional perspective taken up here. The following presentation of the state of the art is restricted to the phenomena under consideration here, i.e. the postponed definite article, verbal forms based on the *l*-participle and clitic doubling.

Definite article

Contrary to the other Slavic languages, Balkan Slavic possesses a postponed definite article. In a diachronic perspective, the decisive role of Greek is emphasized, which enforced the usage of the demonstrative pronoun as definite article in the translated documents. However, the appearance of definite articles also deviates from the original text, which points toward a self-contained development in Balkan Slavic (e.g. Ilievski 1970). For these instances, the main focus of research is put on the question in which contexts and under which conditions the postponed pronoun developed into an article. The functional dimension is dealt with only marginally.

As definiteness marker, the articles serve the structuring of the discourse by relating the referent of a noun phrase to the previous discourse. In several Balkan Slavic dialects, the definite article appears in three forms (Kanevska-Nikolova 2006, Adamou 2011, Topolinjska 1996), adding

further components, such as spatial or temporal distinctions. By these components, the 'tripartite article' is usually analysed in terms of speaker-relatedness or deixis (e.g. Topolinjska 1996). Civ'jan (2005) analyses the different forms of the definite article as means to locate the narrator within or outside his text. Sonnenhauser (2009a, 2010a, 2012a) argues for a more general account as indication of the referential anchoring of the noun phrase to the narrator or to some character in the text.

Contributing to the organizing of the discourse by the marking of definiteness and the anchoring of reference by the marking of specificity (on this interpretation of definiteness and specificity cf. von Heusinger 2002), the Balkan Slavic definite article – both simple and tripartite – can be assumed an important building block in the emergences of narrativity.

I-forms

The term '*I*-forms' is used here as a shortcut for verb forms consisting of the *I*-participle and the present-tense auxiliary 'to be'.⁶ These forms are amongst the most intensively investigated structures of Balkan Slavic (for references cf., e.g., Levin-Steinmann 2004, Nicolova 2008), mainly as regards their semantics (with 'evidentiality' being the most recent point of controversy) and their integration into the morphological systems of the languages.

As regards the diachronic development, Trummer (1971) observes for 14th century Bulgarian a preference for the *I*-forms – as opposed to aorist and imperfect – to appear in dialogical settings, which complies with findings for the usage of the perfect – as opposed to the preterit – in Middle High German. Zeman (to appear) shows that this can be interpreted as pointing towards the structuring of texts in terms of perspectivity. Of special interest are *I*-forms lacking the 3rd person auxiliary.⁷ Being still marginal in 17th century texts, their number increases towards the 19th century. They are no longer restricted to specific contexts such as direct speech, but can also be used as 'basic narrative tense' (Demina 1960: 10), whereas *I*-forms with the 3rd person auxiliary indicate the present relevance of some previous action (Demina 1960: 30). Demina (1960: 36) also observes occasional transitions between both forms, which she regards as different 'aspects of viewing the action'. Lindstedt (1994: 46) relates the omitting of the auxiliary to narrativity; Fielder (1998, 2000) shows how this 'auxiliary variation' serves the structuring of texts in terms of grounding and expressing the relation between narration and narrative. On the basis of Mutafčiev (1964), Fielder (1995) and

⁶ Other forms based on the *I*-participle, such as, e.g., the pluperfect (imperfect auxiliary + *I*-participle) and the conditional (conditional marker + *I*-participle), will not be dealt with here.

⁷ The contemporary standard languages differ in this respect: Macedonian systematically lacks the 3rd person auxiliary with the *I*-participle, Bulgarian has both options (with functional differences). Auxiliary variation is also observed in Serbian, but still needs to be investigated in more detail (cf. Grickat 1954 on Serbo-Croatian, Lindstedt 1998 on Torlak).

Čakärova (2004) illustrate the systematic interaction of *I*-forms with each other and with other tense-aspect-mood-forms on different planes (event level, level of narration) and within different narrative systems (e.g. visualization, reminiscence, direct/indirect mode). Makartsev (2010) provides a comparative analysis of the usage of *I*-forms in different versions of one and the same folkore text.

As can be seen from this short overview, the discourse-level contribution of *I*-forms has already been pointed out in some approaches. These approaches provide the starting point for a more thorough analysis of these forms in terms of narrativity.

Clitic doubling

Instances of clitic doubling, i.e. the doubling of the direct or indirect object with the short form of the personal pronoun in the accusative or dative case, can be observed already in Old Church Slavonic texts (e.g. Ilievski 1962/63, Hinrichs 1990). Being initially restricted to specific contexts, this structure got established more systematically during the subsequent centuries, where it seems to be used mainly in the characters' and less in the author's speech (e.g. Lopašov 1978: 9f). It is ascribed to a Greek-Latin substratum and the areal context (Friedman 2008). Its systematic emergence is oftentimes associated with the increasing tendency towards analytism, i.e. the loss of nominal morphology and the need to express syntactic relations by other means (e.g. Ilievski 1962/63). That this cannot be the main function of clitic doubling has been pointed out by Aronson (2007), who analyses it as means to overtly code transitivity. This is plausible given the number of 'labile' verbs especially in West Balkan Slavic. Since these verbs can be used transitively and intransitively, clitic doubling is the only way to distinguish between both possibilities (cf. also Lopašov 1978: 106, 117f).

More recently, clitic doubling is accounted for in terms of clause level information structuring. Doubled objects are assumed to signal the topicality of the referent (e.g. Guentchéva 2008). This pragmatic condition is relevant mainly in East Balkan Slavic, whereas towards the western part, clitic doubling has been grammaticalized and is obligatory under certain conditions. As with the *I*-forms, there can be observed a continuum on conditions and obligatoriness for clitic doubling (Guentchéva 2008, Tomić 2008). Focusing on spoken Bulgarian, Laefgren (2002) points out the relevance of clitic doubling for the structuring of information on the discourse level: it indicates that the object referent is topical within the sentence, but different from the discourse theme.

Again, indications towards a viewpoint-inducing function can be found. They are investigated in more detail in this project, as regard their contribution to the emergence of narrativity.

2.4 Convergence

Among the first to point out the similarities of genetically unrelated languages in the Balkan area, as well as their unusual structure as compared to the other members of their families, was Kopitar (1945[1829]: 253) in his famous dictum of 'one form, three substances'. As regards the mechanisms

behind the development of common structures, opinions diverge between assuming a shared substratum (Balkan Romance, Greek), a common ad-/superstratum (Turkish) and the emergence of a kind of inter-language conditioned by multiple bi- and multilingualism. While all of these factors seem to play a role, the potential for the emergence of the structures has already been present in the early stages of the languages (cf., e.g. Hinrichs 1990 on balkanisms in Old Church Slavonic). Their entrenchment and grammaticalization was enforced during the Ottoman period (e.g. Friedman 2006b: 112). Therefore, the role of (Ottoman) Turkish is of special interest as catalyst for the systematisation of these structures and their functional exploitation.

The Balkan convergences have been described mainly for the morpho-syntactic level (e.g. Asenova 2002) and the common inventory of epic topics (Friedman 2012, Civ'jan 2005). Another focus has been on the lexical and conceptual level, cf., e.g., the project on the 'lexicon of civilisation' that has been carried out by the Balkan commission of the Austrian Academy of Sciences.⁸ From a semiotic perspective, Civ'jan (2005) argues for a shared 'model of the world', which manifests itself not only in structural aspects, but also in the 'Balkan text' (cf. also Asenova 2002: 296f).

More recently, it has been shown that convergences can also be observed on the level of pragmatics, i.e. as regards the borrowing of discourse patterns. This process of 'conceptual convergence' has been illustrated by Fielder (1999) on the example of the narrative usage of the auxiliary-variation. Basic to this kind of borrowing are structural convergences, e.g. in the verbal system (Gołab 1960), and the functional (re-)interpretation of these innovations (Fielder 1999). That is, regarding the similarities, one has to differentiate between their actual emergence, which is mainly Slavic and enforced by Greek-Romance substratum and areal contact, on the one hand, and convergence in functional terms on the other. Importantly, 'convergence' as functional notion does not imply the emergence of a common Balkan language system. Even if convergences are observed on the performance level, the language-specific organisations of the respective systems may very well differ (cf. Joseph 2001 on this distinction).

One of the project's aims consists in probing the possibility of conceptual convergence with Turkish as regards the emergence of narrative structures. This will be done based on the functional interpretation of the definite article, *I*-forms and clitic-doubling, focusing mainly on the latter two. The following observations serve as starting points:

- *I*-forms: Fielder (1999) has shown convergences in the narrative syntax, as regards the usage of Balkan Slavic *I*-forms vs. aorist/imperfect and Turkish *-miş* vs. *-di*.
- clitic doubling: Clitic doubling seems to have its functional equivalent in the Turkish accusative, which marks 'specificity' in the case of canonical word order, but serves the structuring of information with non-canonical word order (Johanson 1991, 2006; Römer

⁸ Cf. the project homepage: http://www.oeaw.ac.at/balkan/projekte_ziv.htm (9-9-2012).

1998). Friedman (2006a: 662f) briefly comments on the functional similarity of the Turkish definite accusative and clitic doubling.

- definite article: As regards nominal definiteness and specificity, it will be interesting to compare the usage of demonstrative pronoun, the numeral 'one', zero-marking and usage of definite article/accusative marking (cf. the suggestions in Sonnenhauser ms⁹ on Turkish *bir* 'one', *bu* 'this', \emptyset and accusative-marking in relation to specificity).

The data basis for the question of convergence will be Turkish texts dating to the early 20th century onwards. This owes to the fact that the language of the text documents dating to the time span under consideration is Ottoman Turkish, a "hybrid idiom" (Lewis 2000: xx) exhibiting a considerable amount of Persian and Arabic lexical and structural borrowings. This language was not spoken by the majority of the Turkish people, whereas their idiom was not used in written documents. The usage of common Turkish as literary language has begun with Atatürk's reforms in the 1920s. Given that the Balkan Slavic people had not been in contact with written Ottoman but spoken Turkish, taking Turkish texts from more recent times instead of contemporary Ottoman documents is justified.

2.5 Previous work of the applicant

In her previous research, the applicant has already been concerned with some of the project's main aspects, albeit from a synchronic perspective. Of special relevance is the analysis of perspectivity in Balkan Slavic (Sonnenhauser 2010c). Perspectivity is studied mainly on the example of the tripartite definite article in Macedonian and the auxiliary-variation in Bulgarian. Their specific semantics is argued to encode viewpoint relations which can be exploited at the text level in order to construct perspectivity (Sonnenhauser 2010a,d, 2009a). Sonnenhauser (2012b) hints at the central role of perspectivity for narrativity, and briefly comments on the factor of genre. The specific focus on perspectivity has emerged from her habilitation thesis (Sonnenhauser 2012a) on linguistic subjectivity and subjectivity of language, for which Civ'jan's (2005) semiotic conception of the 'Balkan model of the world' served as an important theoretical basis.

The structuring of texts in terms of viewpoint is of special importance for reported speech. It is one of the structures where viewpoints are crucial in interpretation, since reporting speech presupposes the introduction of a viewpoint which may also differ from the narrator's. In this context, the applicant has been concerned with the role of the *l*-forms (2011b), and alleged 'quotative' particles in Russian and their relation to the Bulgarian *l*-forms (2010b).

Two important notions for the structuring of texts and the positioning of the narrator are definiteness and specificity, as manifested in the nominal (object reference) and verbal (reference to

⁹ Sonnenhauser, B. 2004. The discourse basis for lexical categories in universal Grammar. Zur Kategorialität von Nomen und Verben im Türkischen. Unpublished seminar paper, University of Leipzig.

events) domain. Along the lines of von Heusinger (2002), definiteness is assumed to organize the discourse in terms of – roughly speaking – familiar and unknown information, specificity as a means for referential anchoring. This has been illustrated by the applicant (2010a, 2009a,b, 2007, 2006b) for Russian and Bulgarian in the verbal (tense and aspect) and Macedonian in the nominal (definite article) domain.

The applicant has also been doing research on Turkish, focusing on its system of grammatical aspect, comparing it with Russian and Bulgarian (Sonnenhauser 2004, 2006a, 2008). In this context, the Turkish morpheme *-miş* is most relevant for the present project, since it is often interpreted as evidential marker and assumed to provide the model for Balkan Slavic evidentiality.

3. Scientific problems addressed

3.1 Questions

The aim of this project consist in the investigation of the functional potential and exploitation of the newly developing Early Neo-Balkan Slavic structures that come along with the vernacularisation of the literary language and the emergence of new genres. This aim requires the addressing of three complexes of questions (cf. figure 1): the structures and their patterns of usage (complex A), their perspectivising potential and contribution to micro-level viewpoint patterns (complex B), and the role of genre for the usage and interpretation of these structures as narrative patterns (complex C).

Within all three complexes, the focus is on patterns, not on single occurrences of the structures in question. As has been pointed out above (section 2.3), focusing on occurrences – e.g. in terms of frequency counts – is not sufficient for a functional analysis, and may even suggest the usage of the structures in question to be idiosyncratic or random.

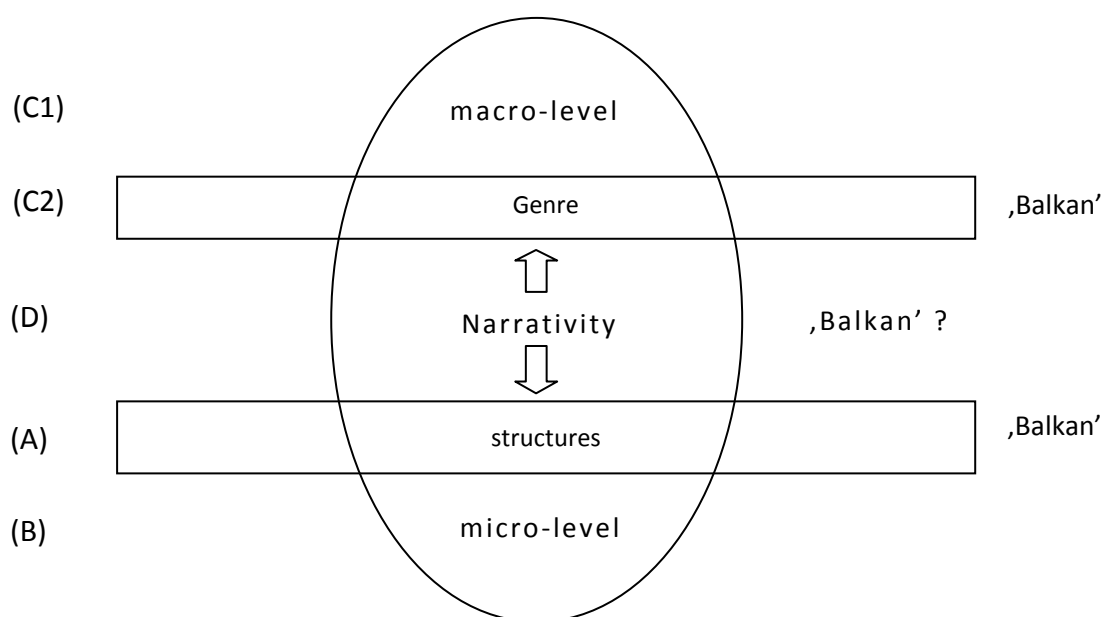


Figure 1: questions

The complexes A-C are further divided into several sub-questions each, pertaining to the emergence of patterns and their functions on the one hand, and possible convergences with Turkish in terms of discourse functions on the other:

A) Structures

A1: usage patterns

- interaction of the relevant structures with other structures from the same subsystem
- preference for the structures in question within specific syntactic and semantic contexts
- interrelation of usage patterns and extra-linguistic factors related to the specific text

A2: convergence

- convergence in usage patterns

B) Mirco-level

B1: viewpoint patterns

- relation between viewpoints/viewpoint alternations and structures/structural alternations
- typology of perspectivity relations
- interrelation of perspectivity and narrativity

B2: convergence

- convergence in viewpoint patterns

C) Macro-level

C1: narrative patterns / genre

- relation of viewpoint patterns to specific parts of the 'narrative syntax'
- influence of genre on usage of structures and interpretation of viewpoint patterns
- preference of specific genres for specific narrative systems

C2: convergence

- convergence in narrative patterns

The interaction of A-C establishes the basis for further research questions, such as the possibility of assuming a 'Balkan narrativity' and its constitutive linguistic components (complex D).

3.2 Innovation potential

The innovation potential of the proposed project arises from the interaction of philological, linguistic and narratological aspects in a diachronic perspective. It manifests itself in the following domains:

- Focusing on the functional aspect of the newly emerging structures by relating morpho-syntax and discourse-pragmatics takes a new perspective on the text documents under consideration.
- By its Balkan Slavic instead of single language focus, this project provides a typological basis for related investigations into Balkan Romance and Albanian. Moreover, its discourse-

pragmatic orientation contributes new aspects to Balkan philology, embedding it into a broader empirical, theoretical and comparative perspective.

- Dealing with the emergence of narrativity, this project ties in with narratology. The collaboration of linguistics and literary theory is getting more and more into the focus of attention. One of the factors impeding collaboration consists in the heterogeneous usage of central notions, among them 'narrativity'. Profiting itself from the current discussion surrounding this notion, this project may also contribute to shaping it as common area for both linguistics and literary studies.
- Combining the question of convergences with the interest in narrativity, this project contributes to the question as to whether there can be assumed a specific type of 'Balkan narrativity'. This is very much in compliance with Civ'jan's (2005) assumption of a semiotic 'Balkan model of the world' and Asenova's (2002) notion of the 'Balkan text'. In the long term, this might eventually provide the basis for a functionally oriented Balkan Slavic history of literature.

4. Work program

4.1 Program

The work program complies with the questions described in section 3.1. Their examination proceeds in three phases which are basically consecutive, but in each case allow for partial overlapping:

- phase I (A1, B1): patterns
- phase II (A2, B2): convergences
- phase III (C1, C2): genre

Providing the basis for the subsequent phases, phase I is allotted the longest time span. Phase II starts with the second half of the run-time. It builds on the structural analysis provided in phase I and probes into the possibilities of convergences with Turkish. This can to a certain degree be done in parallel with phase I, especially when it comes to the survey of structures and their functional interpretation. Phase III integrates insights from both preceding phases and has a look at narrative patterns from the macro-level perspective. It will at the same time pave the way for further studies on the Balkan text, Balkan narrativity and its typological embedding.

4.2 Methods, time and work schedule

The time and work schedule follows the work program outlined in section 4.1. Table 1 gives an overview of the work steps and the time span they are planned to cover:

Task		Month	1/2	3/4	5/6	7/8	9/10	11/12	13/14	15/16	17/18
I	Compilation of corpus										
	Research stays in Bulgaria and Macedonia										
	Extraction of structures, compilation of data base										
	Survey of patterns, functional interpretation										
	Workshop										
II	Overview of previous work										
	Extraction of data										
	Comparison of Turkish and Balkan patterns										
III	Role of genre										
	Preparation of publications										
	Theoretical embedding										

Table 1: work steps

Phase I

Compilation of corpus and research stays

The first task consists in completing the compilation of the corpus of texts, for which preliminary work has already been done. This will be texts dating from the 17th to the 19th century, stemming from different regions (East, West, Middle) and different genres. To a large part, this will be *damaskini*, for which different versions of one and the same original text or translation can be compared as regards geographic and temporal origin. Further genres include epics and folk tales, as well as the newly emerging genre of newspapers. For the beginning, this are manuscripts and texts that have already been edited, such as for instance:

- Damaskini: e.g. Demina (1971), Miletič (1908, 1923)
- Damaskinari: e.g. Vračinskij, Peijčinović (1816)
- Epics / folk tales: various compilations
- Newspapers: e.g. *Carigradski Vestnik*

For the compilation of the corpus, six months are estimated. Within that time, two weeks will be spent at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (Scientific Center for Cyrillo-Methodian Studies, Institute for Balkan Studies / Prof. Lora Taseva). A second research stay of two weeks is planned at the end of phase I / beginning of phase II, at the Macedonian Academy of Sciences (Research Center for Areal Linguistics / Prof. Zuzanna Topolińska). The estimated costs for each research stay are 1.100 € (400 € flight costs, 14 nights à 50 €), i.e. 2.200 € altogether (cf. the forms for international cooperation).

Extraction of structures and compilation of data base

The extraction of structures and the compilation of a data base will start shortly after the first steps of corpus compilation. Since the specific data relevant for this project have not been collected in previous studies, this will take a large part of the project's duration and will also be carried out accompanying to other tasks. The structures extracted will be gathered in a data base (Excel for the beginning, since this format can be transformed into other formats as well) and annotated for the following types of information:

- Genre: e.g. autobiography, liturgical, epic, news,; narration, description
- Sociolinguistic data: time and place of compilation; information on the author
- Linguistic aspects: type of structure; syntactic environment (word order, \pm subordination), information structural context (given/new information, direct/indirect speech); dramaturgical context (narrative syntax)
- Perspectivity relation: viewpoint, object, aspect

Survey of patterns and functional interpretation

For a functional interpretation of the structures under investigations it is necessary to have a closer look at possible patterns of usage. This is based on the underlying methodological assumption of a strict separation of semantic, e.g. coded, information and pragmatic, e.g. context-triggered, interpretation. As the synchronic investigation of perspectivity has shown (cf. section 2.5), it is not the forms themselves that are 'perspectival' or 'narrative', but their exploitation in specific contexts and in their interaction with other forms. The survey of patterns is thus basic to the functional interpretation of the forms and structures in question. Both tasks rely on the extraction of structures and will therefore be begun only after a certain amount of data has already been compiled.

Workshop

Within the second half of phase I, a 2-day workshop with the cooperation partners will be organized in order to discuss the empirical and theoretical findings, and to possibly adjust the further steps. It is planned to publish the contributions in an edited volume or as special issue of a relevant journal. The estimated costs are about 2.700 € (5 guests from Europe à 400 €, one guest from Russia à 700 €).

Phase II

Overview of previous work

As regards the possible role of Turkish as catalyst in establishing the specific structures and patterns, it is first of all necessary to thoroughly review the literature on definiteness/specificity, information structuring and viewpoint alternations in Turkish. The question of functional and conceptual convergence will pertain mainly to the use of *-miş* in interaction with other tense-aspect-mood forms and to the usage of the definite accusative for the marking of the direct object. The *-miş* suffix is

relevant as regards the usage of 'evidential' forms in Balkan Slavic, the definite accusative both as regards the usage of the articles and of clitic doubling.

Extraction of examples

Examples will be extracted and compiled from textbooks, grammars and theoretical literature on the structures in question, as well as from 'real life' texts. One main source will be texts translated from and into one of the Balkan Slavic languages. This allows for the construction of a small parallel corpus, which can be annotated along the same lines as the corpus data collected in phase I.

Comparison of patterns

The parallel corpus compiled in extracting examples serves as starting point for the comparison of Turkish and Balkan Slavic morpho-syntactic and viewpoint patterns. Additionally, the usage of structures will be compared on the basis of the variables annotated for in the database for Balkan Slavic set up in phase I.

Phase III: Genre

Phase III is devoted to the question as to whether the usage of specific structures is conditioned by the genre (such as fairytales preferring *I*-forms without the auxiliary) and whether genre displays specific influences on the interpretation of the structures used. This question presupposes the annotation of the data and the survey of patterns and their functional interpretation carried out in the preceding steps. Given that Turkish has displayed considerable influence also on the emergence of specific genre and their topics, it will be interesting to see as to whether there can be observed convergences in the interaction of structures and genres as well. In this way, this work step brings together the results from the questions dealt with in the preceding work steps, and will therefore be carried out towards the end of the project. Moreover, this phase provides the basis for the question as to a possible 'Balkan narrativity' as one of the further research issues.

Accompanying activities

Theoretical embedding

The work steps described above are all accompanied by the theoretical embedding of the specific questions and the exchange within the applicant's scientific network (cf. section 4.3). This pertains most prominently to the following aspects:

- semantics basis of the phenomena and pragmatic mechanisms in their interpretation
- usage patterns
- diachronic development
- interaction of micro and macro level
- historical narrativity

Moreover, this theoretical embedding also serves the establishing of further research questions.

Preparation of publications

While contributions to conference proceedings can be written during the run-time of the project, contributions to high-quality papers will be prepared towards the end.

4.3 Dissemination strategy

Apart from the publication of results in high-quality journals, the main strategies for the dissemination of the project's purposes and results consist in the presentation at conferences and the publication of the contributions in the conference proceedings. Up to date, the following conferences will take place during the possible run time of the project:

- Prescription & Tradition, Leiden 6/2013
- Jungslavistentreffen, Munich 9/2013; t.b.a. 9/2014
- Societas Linguistica Europaea (Workshop on Balkan syntax), Split 9/2013
- Slavic Linguistic Society, Poland 10/2013
- 19th Biennial Conference on Balkan and South Slavic Linguistics, t.b.a. USA 2014

In addition, it is planned to organize a workshop in Vienna (cf. section 4.2) and to publish the contributions within an edited volume or a special issue of a relevant journal.

Moreover, the project will be discussed within the scientific network of the applicant, which consists, amongst others, of the following colleagues with their relevant areas of research:

- International
 - Prof. Dr. Björn Wiemer (Slavic linguistics, University of Mainz): evidentiality, epistemic modality
 - Prof. Dr. Ulrich Schweier (Slavic linguistics, University of Munich): (Old) Church Slavonic, historical text linguistics, intertextuality
 - Prof. Dr. Lora Taseva (Balkan studies, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences): Balkan studies, Bulgarian language and literature of the 9th-15th century
 - Prof. Dr. Zuzanna Topolińska (Slavic and Balkan linguistics, Macedonian Academy of Sciences): Semantic categories in the Balkan languages, definite article, /-forms
 - Prof. Dr. Lars Johanson (Turkic linguistics, University of Mainz): Turkish linguistics, esp. verbal categories and information structure
 - Dr. Maksim Makartsev (Slavic and Balkan linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences): Balkan linguistics and semiotics
 - Dr. Sonja Zeman (German linguistics, University of Munich): (historical) orality, tense in texts, narrativity
 - Dr. Natalia Igl (German literature, University of Bayreuth): narrativity

- University of Vienna
 - Prof. Dr. Anna Kretschmer (Slavic linguistics): editing of older South Slavic texts, vernacularisation of older written languages, Slavia orthodoxa
 - Prof. Dr. Heinz Miklas (Slavic and Balkan linguistics): Cyrillo-Methodianian literature, Balkan lexical and conceptual convergences, editing of older Balkan Slavic texts
 - Prof. Dr. Thede Kahl (South Slavic linguistics and Balkan Studies, Austrian Academy of Sciences / University of Jena): Balkan linguistics and culture; Grammatica balkanica
 - Prof. Dr. Claudia Römer (Turkic linguistics): Ottoman morpho-syntax and lexicology
 - Prof. Dr. Matthias Meyer (German literature / medieval studies): historical narrativity
 - Assoc. Prof. Dr. Dalina Kallulli (General linguistics): clitics, information structure, comparative syntax in Balkan languages, information structure

The discussions within this network guarantee the national and international dissemination of the project's ideas and aims besides official conferences.

In addition, the project shares research interests and closely interacts with two neighboring projects: an ongoing project on "Perspectivity in Balkan Slavic" (Slavic linguistics / Munich)¹⁰ and the interdisciplinary network "Basic principles of narrativity" by Sonja Zeman (German Linguistics / Munich) and Natalia Igl (German Literature / Bayreuth).¹¹ The former provides for the thematic association with synchronic aspects, the later offers the possibility of discussing and developing the central notion of 'narrativity' from an interdisciplinary point of view. Both connections guarantee for a longer-term and international embedding of the project.

5. Research site

Vienna is one of the most outstanding research sites for Slavic and Balkan philology, both as regards tradition and present. One of the founding fathers of Slavic philology, Jernej Kopitar, was working in Vienna and it was him who pointed out the peculiarity of what is now referred to as 'Balkan languages', namely their having 'one form with three substances'. It is therefore not exaggerated to call Vienna as one of the founding places of Balkan philology. This tradition is still visible at the university offering a specialised study programme *Balkanstudien* ('Balkan studies') and the participation of members from various departments at the Balkan Commission at the Austrian Academy of Sciences. Even though the commission has been closed by the end of 2011, some of the

¹⁰ Funded by the German Research Foundation, run-time 08/2011–07/2014; cf. Sonnenhauser (2010c).

¹¹ Cf. the book of abstracts to the kick-off workshop (http://www.ndl.uni-bayreuth.de/de/team/Wissenschaftliche_Mitarbeiter/Ordner_der_Mitarbeiter/Igl_Natalia/WS_Narrativitaet_Programm_Igl.pdf, accessed 9-9-2012) and Igl & Zeman (2012).

projects carried out there provide points of contact with the project proposed, most prominently the project on the 'lexic of civilization' and 'Grammatica balkanica' (cf. below).

This tradition is also visible at the institute of Slavic studies with its decidedly South Slavic and Balkanistic orientation. In this respect, Prof. Miklas' expertise as one of the leading experts in older Balkan philology and text editing has to be mentioned. His research focuses on the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition, i.e. the time span preceding the period under investigation in this project and therefore providing important input. Moreover, he has been conducting various projects at the Balkan Commission at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, some of which are closely related to this project. For instance, dealing with the development of the *Zivilisationswortschatz* in Bulgarian ('lexic of civilization', cf. section 2.4), embedding it into the Balkan context, he has partially investigated documents that are central to this project as well (e.g. the *Carigradski Vestnik*). Moreover, he has been a member of the project 'Grammatica balkanica', which aimed at a comparative grammar of the Balkan languages not only in terms of morpho-syntactic categories, but also in terms of semantics and pragmatics.¹²

Equally important is Prof. Kretschmer's expertise on editing Slaveno-Serbian which is highly relevant in methodological terms as well as regards the dealing with 'mixed texts', i.e. texts comprising Church Slavic as well as vernacular elements. Her work on Slaveno-Serbian focuses also on the issue of text-genres, text-tradition and the breaking with the conventions of genres and traditions, and – equally important to the project proposed – the peculiarities of translated texts. Prof. Kretschmer is an expert on the development of standard languages, from both a comparative and South Slavic perspective.

Also outside the Slavic department, the University of Vienna offers highly exciting opportunities to carry out this project and discuss its main ideas with leading experts in the respective fields. Prof. Kahl (Austrian Academy of Sciences) has been part of the Balkan commission of the Austrian Academy of Sciences. He is a renowned expert on Balkan languages and culture and has taken part, amongst others, in the Project 'Grammatica balkanica'. With its focus not only on morpho-syntactic structures, but also on semantics and pragmatics, it shares main research interests with the proposed project. Prof. Römer (Turkology) has been dealing with case and information structuring in (Ottoman) Turkish, which is central to the discussion of convergences as regard clitic doubling, Assoc. Prof. Kallulli (General linguistics) is an expert on Balkan syntax and information structure, and Prof. Meyer (German literature) is an outstanding researcher as regards historic narrativity.

Taken all these factors into consideration, the scientific environment at the University of Vienna provides the most suitable context in order to carry out this project, both in its Slavic aspects and its interdisciplinary embedding.

¹² Cf. the project description: http://www.oeaw.ac.at/balkan/projekte_balk.htm (9-9-2012).

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