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## Slavic Linguistics Webinars

### Slovak dial. *blikší* 'closer', Polish dial. *wyrszy* 'taller' and their kin: Sound change versus analogy in some irregular Slavic comparatives

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Several areas of Slavic attest comparative adjectives with unexpected alternations  $z > k$ ,  $s > k$ , and  $s > r$ , unparalleled in the respective languages. Cf. for *\*blizьkъ* 'close' and *\*vysokъ* 'high':

Slk	<i>blíz-k-y</i>	:	dial. CPV <i>blik-š-í</i>	Slk	<i>vys-ok-ý</i>	:	dial. CPV <i>vyk-š-í</i>
Ukr	<i>blyz'-k-yj</i>	:	dial. CPV <i>blyk-š-yj</i>	Ukr	<i>vys-ok-yj</i>	:	dial. CPV <i>vyk-š-yj</i>
				Sln, BCMS	<i>vis-ok-(i)</i>	:	dial. CPV <i>vik-š-i</i>
				Pol	<i>wys-ok-i</i>	:	dial. CPV <i>wyr-sz-y</i>

So far, the phenomenon has only been referred to vaguely as due to dissimilation or resuffixation (e.g. for Ukr: AUM 1; Hryščenko 1978); furthermore, the facts in the respective languages have been described in isolation. Instead, we offer a principled explanation, arguing that the alternations could arise by analogy to adjectives with root-final velars and rhotics: e.g., for velars, *\*dorgъ* 'dear' > Slk *drah* (CPV *\*dorž-ьš-* 'dearer' > Slk dial *draš-š-*, but also restored *drah-š-* > *drak-š-*, paving the way for innovative *vyk-š-* 'taller' alongside inherited *vyš-š-*). The proposed diachronic mechanism ('analogy between variants') cannot be framed within classical four-part analogy and resembles 'product-oriented innovations' (Bybee & Slobin 1982 etc.), but is more constrained. We attempt a preliminary typological contextualization and explore similar explanations for further unetymological alternations in Slavic.

#### Organising committee:

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