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### Slavic Intensifiers *až/čak*

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#### *Abstract*

The adverbs *až*, found in Polish, Czech, Slovak and Russian, and *čak* found in Bulgarian, Serbian and other South Slavic languages, bear some similarity in meaning to the adverb *even*, and to the scalar adverb *only/merely*, but they also differ from *even* and *only* in crucial respects, cf. sentence (1):

- (1) Ivan je **čak** u Salzburgu. (Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian)  
Ivan is “even” in Salzburg.  
‘Ivan is **čak** in Salzburg.’

In Tomaszewicz (2012, 2013, 2014), I argued that *až* and *čak* are focus associating adverbs that have scalar semantics, like *even* and scalar *only/merely*. However, they are not additive, nor do they necessarily evoke a scale of likelihood/noteworthiness, in contrast to *even*. In Jasinskaja and Tomaszewicz (2016) we showed that in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian the two meaning components of *even*, scalarity and additivity, are lexicalized separately by *čak* and *i*. The meaning of *až/čak* can be decomposed into three components: exclusive assertion, scalar presupposition and a presupposition that the prejacent is high on the contextual scale. Thus, typologically, they can be placed between scalar additives and scalar exclusives.