

**END AND FINALITY.
ON SLAVIC UNITS DERIVED FROM COMPOSITIONS
WITH THE NOUNS *KONIEC*, *КРАЙ*, *КОНЕЦ*.**

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Статья посвящена рассмотрению в межъязыковом ключе единиц с неноминативным значением, главным образом на примере славянских языков. Анализируемые единицы: а) производны от существительных с семантикой окончательности, б) (почти) идентичны по форме, с) схожи по смыслу, но не по употреблению. Исследование грамматикализованных выражений, производных от сочетаний с русскими существительными *конец*, *окончателность* и их эквивалентов в болгарском и польском языках, позволяет осветить проблему непересекающейся природы неноминативных единиц в различных языках. Независимо от того или иного сходства в формировании таких единиц, семантически и функционально идентичные эквиваленты редко встречаются в двух (или более) языках. Кроме того, в отношении их классификации на основе значения или функции можно утверждать, что, как правило, такие подгруппы также не состоят из идентичных элементов в разных языках. Напротив, собранные данные подтверждают противоположную гипотезу: неноминативный уровень лексики структурирован по-разному в разных языках и только некоторые элементы имеют семантические или функциональные эквиваленты в других языках.

This article presents a case study in the field of interlingual analysis of units with non-referential meaning, with special focus on Slavic languages. The units analysed are a) based on finality nouns, b) (almost) identical in form and c) similar in meaning but not in usage. By examining grammaticalized expressions derived from compositions with Polish nouns *koniec* 'end', *ostateczność* 'finality' and their Bulgarian and Russian equivalents, we address the problem of the non-overlapping nature of non-referential units in various languages. Regardless of any similarity in respect to how such units are formed, it is rare for two (or more) languages to have semantically and functionally identical equivalents. Also, as regards categorizing such units into subgroups based on meaning or function, it is uncommon for these subgroups to consist of identical elements in various languages. The data collected support the opposite hypothesis: the non-referential layer of lexis is structured differently in various languages and only some elements have semantic or functional equivalents in other languages.

Keywords: non-referential meaning, multiword expressions, discourse markers, adverb, Slavic languages

1. Introduction

The pivotal role of units with non-representational meaning (henceforth, NRU) to reveal human cognition in discourse has frequently been described and become entrenched in linguistic reflection. While most studies on NRUs are usage-oriented (e.g. Vande Kopple 1985, Barton 1995, Hall 2007, Dér 2017, Crible 2018), this study takes a semantic approach. In this article, NRUs are seen as meaningful¹ and their meanings as potentially displayed in Natural Semantic Metalanguage, NSM (Wierzbicka 1996, Travis 2006; for discussion see Grochowski et al. 2014). A full semantic description of the NRUs discussed here is beyond the scope of the article and the validity of this semantic claim will be assessed by partial characteristics of NRUs' meanings and by exploring which contexts are unaccepted for their translational equivalents.

Nouns related to the concept of finality (Bg. *край*, obsolete *конец* 'end', Pol. *koniec*, obsolete *kraj* 'end', *ostateczność* 'finality', Rus. *конец, край* 'end') have served as a basis for many new, also multiword, units (comp. González Fernández & Maldonado 2006 for Spanish), such as Bg. *безкрай*, Pol. *bez końca*, Rus. *без конца* 'without end' or Bg. *накрая*, Pol. *w końcu*, Rus. *в конце* 'in the end'. Among them very few fall within the understanding of a NRU presented here. Section 2. presents a set of NRUs based on finality nouns in Bulgarian, Polish and Russian. This section also discusses the restrictions of corpus data analysis, the approach adapted in this paper, in particular the underrepresentation of some units and the problem of homonymy.

The third section proceeds with corpus data analysis from a comparative angle. For this purpose, the data extracted from Polish-Russian-Bulgarian parallel corpus (PRBPC; Clarin tool created by the Institute of Slavic Studies, Polish Academy of Science) was employed. The corpus contains 6 million token (2mln for each language) and consists of (mainly) literary translations between the three languages and translations from English into all three Slavic languages. Additionally, Polish-Russian Parallel Corpus (PRPC) was consulted for accessory bilingual contexts. Understanding the possible flows of using translational data, I tested the semantic properties on the material extracted from monolingual national corpora. The aim in this section is to explain why certain translations must be rejected as possible counterparts. Amongst these reasons are compositionality and membership in a different grammatical classes². As a result of the semantic approach adapted in this article, translational equivalents are only regarded as exact counterparts when they share the same meaning.

¹ An interesting discussion on the matter of NRUs' deprivation of meaning is offered by Schiffrin (1987) and Redeker (1991), with a commentary in Fraser (1999).

² Following Apresjan, units from different classes cannot be identical in meaning (Apresjan 1974).

The next two sections analyse the equivalency between Russian, Bulgarian and Polish finality-NRUs. Four Polish units, *w końcu*, *koniec końców*, *ostatecznie* and *w ostateczności*, are taken as a point of departure. In Russian, *в конце концов* seems to cover most uses of finality-NRUs in the other two languages, while Rus. *наконец* occurs only in purely sequential contexts. In Bulgarian, *накрая* and *в края на краищата* are central for the analysis but we also find many multiword expressions that are potentially interesting. Among them those that pair with Pol. *w ostateczności* are of greatest importance (*в крайна сметка*, *в последна сметка*, comp. Rus. *в крайнем случае*) as it does not seem to have any NRU counterpart. The final section provides an overview of the relation between finality-NRUs' translations.

2. Finality-related NRUs and certain corpora's restrictions

In *Słownik gniazdowy partykuł polskich* (SGPP), the latest dictionary presenting one of the NRU groups (particles) in Polish, *koniec końców* 'ultimately'³ and *w końcu* 'finally' are assigned to two different semantic subgroups. The former, together with i.a. *ostatecznie* / *w ostateczności* 'all in all, in the end', forms a subgroup of independent particles. The main semantic component this subgroup is organized around is 'R[hema] is true/possible regardless of other things': *koniec końców* 'p is true even if it does not result from what has been said'; *ostatecznie* 'what has been said points to p; if something else that has been said points to something else than p, it does not change the fact that p'; *w ostateczności* 'since nothing better that has been considered is not possible, then p'. *W końcu* is labelled a sequence particle with definition 'p is the last thing I am saying in this regard; even if something else can be concluded from what was said before, it does not change the fact that p'. It forms a subgroup with i.a. *wreszcie* 'finally'.

Since SGPP provides simple descriptions of Polish finality-NRU, I will use Polish units as a base for the analysis of the equivalency in this group. Interestingly, the equivalents of both *koniec końców* and *w końcu* in the other two languages are based on the same roots (cf. Tab.1).

³ The English equivalents are only approximate translations and should not be regarded as full semantic counterparts.

Bg. translations of <i>w końcu</i>	ab.freq.	Rus. translations of <i>w końcu</i>	ab.freq.
най-сетне	52	наконец	54
накрая	28	в конце концов	49
най-после	24	потом	11
най-накрая	10	под конец	5
в края на краищата	9	кончилось szem	4
в крайна сметка	7	в конце	3
после	5	затем	3
след това	5	тогда	2
на края	3	вскоре	2
тогава	3	когда	2
накрай	2	в конечном счете	1
след като	2	в конечном итоге	1
постепенно	2	в заключение	1
все пак	1	наконец-то 1	1
след малко	1	окончательно	1
след дълга пауза	1	после	1
докато	1	пока	1
измина доста време	1	со временем	1
окончателно	1	прошло много времени	1
и тъй като	1		

Tab. 1. Bulgarian and Russian translations of Pol. *w końcu* (absolute frequency) in the Parallel Corpus Polish-Russian-Bulgarian (PCPRB)

The data presented above requires two comments. First, not all Polish units from the groups discussed here are frequently represented in the corpus. In the NCP (National Corpus of Polish – balanced version) *koniec końców* (340 instances) and *w ostateczności* (895) are distinctly less frequent than *w końcu* (39 773) and *ostatecznie* (17 596). Unsurprisingly, such a disproportionate frequency of usage is also revealed in the parallel corpus. The PCPRB with its 6 million tokens provides only two occurrences of *koniec końców* and four of *w ostateczności*, numbers which are too low to draw any conclusions about the equivalents of these two units in other languages.

A second issue that has to be addressed here is the problem of homonyms. The data was extracted manually, which allowed the equivalents of NRUs to be sifted out. And yet, it is not uncommon for NRUs and adverbial homonyms to interfere (Virtanen 1992, Kortmann 1997, Liu 2008, Lenker 2011, Danielewiczowa 2012, Kisiel 2018). Even a NRU that does not have an adverbial homonym might be offered translational partners from both classes – if such NRU appears also in contexts identified as adverbial in the input language. For example, *w końcu* does not have adverbial function in Polish but

when used for sequencing events, it gets adverbial reading as the translations show, cf. Tab. 1 and (1).

(1) Pol. – *Lecz wysłuchawszy mnie, zlagodniał – ciągnął Jezua – a w końcu cisnął pieniądze na drogę i oświadczył, że pójdzie ze mną na wędrówkę.*

Bg. — *Но след като ме слуша известно време, поомекна — продължи Иешуа, — а после захвърли парите на пътя и каза, че тръгва да странства заедно с мен...*

‘But after he listened to me, he calmed down – continued Jezua – and Pol. in the end/ Bg. after he gave me some money for the way (and) said that he would join me in the travel.’

Translational equivalents not only distinguish between various types of usage, as in the case described above, but can indirectly help with separating meanings, like in the case of Pol. *ostatecznie*. The NRU *ostatecznie*₁ used in contexts in which after considering different options a speaker chooses one is illustrated by (2). Its adverbial homograph, *ostatecznie*₂, refers to an action finally ending a certain state or activity, as shown in (3). Although these meanings of *ostatecznie* are not commonly identified in Polish lexicography, the equivalents in Russian and Bulgarian show very clearly that such a distinction is justified. *Ostatecznie*₁ appears as a counterpart for the ‘finality’-related group (cf. Tab.2), while *ostatecznie*₂ is paired with *окончательно*, cf. (4)-(5).

(2) Pol. *Pomóż mi, **ostatecznie** to twój brat.*

‘Help him, he’s your brother after all.’

(3) Pol. *Tego wieczoru pożegnaliśmy się **ostatecznie** z naszymi marzeniami o końcu wojny.*

‘That evening we finally said goodbye to our dreams about the end of the war.’

(4) Rus. — *Почему, собственно, я так взволновался из-за того, что Берлиоз попал под трамвай? — рассуждал поэт. — В конечном счете, ну его в болото!*

Pol. — *Właściwie dlaczego tak się zdenerwowałem kiedy Berlioz wpadł pod tramwaj — rozważał. — **Ostatecznie**_p co mi do tego?*

Bg. — *Защо всъщност се развълнувах толкова, че Берлиоз го прегазил трамвай? — разсъждаваше поетът. — Да го вземат мътните, в края на краищата! [PCPRB]*

‘Why was I so emotional about Berlioz being hit by a tram? — he pondered. — After all, why do I care?’

(5) Rus. *Это (...) неприятное (...) событие почему-то **окончательно** потрясло финдиректора (...).*

Bg. *Кой знае защо, това (...) неприятно (...) събитие **окончательно** потресе финдиректора (...).*

Pol. *Ten nieprzyjemny (...) fakt, nie wiedzieć czemu, ostatecznie₂ wytrzącił dyrektora z równowagi (...).* [PCPRB]

‘This unpleasant fact eventually and unexpectedly threw the director off balance.’

Bg. translations of <i>ostatecznie</i>	ab.freq.	Rus. translations of <i>ostatecznie</i>	ab.freq.
накрая	8	в конце концов	11
в края на краищата	8	в конечном счете	3
в крайна сметка	5	наконец	2
накрай	1	в конечном итоге	1
най-послед	1	в итоге	1
все пак	1	потом	1
		ведь	1

Tab. 2. Bulgarian and Russian translations of Pol. *ostatecznie₁* (absolute frequency) in PCPRB

In the following sections the data analysis will be restricted to NRUs and all possible (adverbial) homographs will be disregarded.

3. Rejected translations

The first step when analyzing the data is to establish a clear overview of the relations between Bulgarian, Polish and Russian concerning the small group of NRUs presented here. The data extracted from PCPRB shows that other translations of ‘finality’-related units than those fulfilling the NRU characteristics described in Section 1. are very frequent. Not meeting the requirements to be considered a NRU, most of these translations can be classified as adverbs or adverbial phrases. What is interesting is that the majority refers to a point and/or longer period in time: Bg. *после* ‘after’, *тогава* ‘then’, *докато* ‘until’, *след малко* ‘after a while’, *измина доста време* ‘time passed by’, *постепенно* ‘gradually’, Pol. *zawsze* ‘always’, *znowu/ponownie* ‘again’, *póki* ‘until’, *zanim* ‘before’, *potem/następnie* ‘then’, *po chwili/po jakimś czasie* ‘after a while’, Rus. *после* ‘after’, *потом* ‘then’, *тогда* ‘then’, *вскоре* ‘soon’, *пока* ‘while’, *прошло много времени* ‘a long time passed by’. The frequency of these translational partners points to the interplay between non-representational context where a NRU refers to a relation between statements and temporal contexts where an adverb organizes a time-relation between events. Less frequent translational partners, like Pol. *zresztą* ‘anyhow’, *tak czy inaczej* ‘anyway’, Rus. *словом* ‘in one word’ or *однако* ‘however’ on one hand and Rus. *в заключение* ‘in conclusion’, *кончилось* ‘[it] ended’ on the other hand, indicate two more frequent readings characteristic for finality-related NRUs: dismissive and summarizing. Notice, that such translations are in line

with SGPP's classification of Polish NRUs based on finality-nouns as either sequence or independent markers that point to something being true regardless what has been said before (cf. section 2).

The thesis that NRUs from these two groups have homonyms in the class of temporal adverbs is wide-spread in Slavic lexicography. One of the few exceptions is aforementioned SGPP that offers a different solution in the spirit of Ockham's razor: apart from Pol. *ostatecznie*, none of the finality-NRUs is considered ambiguous. SGPP argues that in terms of these units' role in TRS (see Hajičová 1991, 2010, Wajszczuk 1997, 2005, Umbach 2005, Kisiel 2012), there is no difference between uses like (6) and (7). Both examples indicate that what was said before might not point to what then turns out to be true. The idea underlying SGPP's approach allows a generalisation to be made about a unit's meaning instead of multiplying meanings based on specific usages observed.

(6) Pol. *Kilka dni biegł za akwarelami, koniec końców w jego biednym pokoju zawisły oba arcydzieła.* [WSJP – adverb]

'For a few days he would try to get these aquarells and eventually both pieces hung on his cheap room's walls.'

(7) Pol. *Oczywiście nie ma się czym przejmować, bo widz (...) i tak wszystko przelknie; koniec końców chodzi o jej własne marzenia o księżciu z bajki.* [WSJP – NRU]

'Of course there is nothing to worry about: the viewer will accept anything, it is, in the end, all about his own dreams.'

Such approach, efficient in a monolingual description, might turn out to be too restrictive in an interlanguage examination. I argue that the comparative analysis requires correlation of the two perspectives: usage-oriented and a more general meaning-oriented. A proper understanding of a unit's meaning in one language makes it possible to establish its equivalents in another language without getting lost in a multitude of translational choices. The meaning also determines what functions a unit can perform. A careful study of usage, on the other hand, is necessary to differentiate the equivalents. This can, in turn, be used to clarify the description of a unit's meaning if necessary.

When focusing on NRUs, the first step is to sift out any equivalents that are not NRU themselves. This step, however, must be approached with care, especially if any of the following three scenarios occurs: a) non-NRU equivalents show up repeatedly, b) no NRU is present as an equivalent, c) non-NRU is a better equivalent in the input language. As we observed earlier, in most cases such non-NRU translational equivalent is adverbial, however, it can also be a composition or even a grammatical construction. A few complex cases of this kind will be discussed below (see 4.3. and 5.3.).

4. Russian equivalent

There are two main translations in Russian for the Bg. and Pol. ‘finality’-NRUs: *наконец* (dominating for Bulgarian NRUs and Pol. *w końcu*) and *в конце концов* (mainly for Bg. *в края на краищата*). *Наконец* ‘finally’ is also the most frequent translation of Pol. *wreszcie* ‘finally’ and Bg. *най-сетне*, not included in the analysis for formal reasons (not originating from finality-nouns). Conversely, both Bg. *най-сетне* and Pol. *wreszcie* are very frequent translations for both Russian finality-NRUs (cf. Tab.3. and 4.). In case of *наконец* they are – together with Bg. *най-после* and Pol. *nareszcie* ‘finally’ – by far the most dominant translation (cf. Tab.3.). This coincides with a very frequent use of *наконец* as a temporal marker ‘I have been waiting for it for a very long time and I feel good about it happening’.

Pol. translations for <i>наконец</i>	ab.freq	Bg. translations for <i>наконец</i>	ab.freq
<i>wreszcie</i>	299	<i>най-сетне</i>	220
<i>nareszcie</i>	50	<i>най-после</i>	144
<i>w końcu</i>	50	<i>накрая</i>	57
<i>na koniec</i>	12	<i>накрай</i>	16
<i>po czym</i>	5	<i>после</i>	16
<i>zanim</i>	4	<i>най-накрая</i>	13
<i>potem</i>	3	<i>докато</i>	9
<i>po niejaki / pewnym czasie</i>	2	<i>в края на краищата</i>	5
<i>na końcu</i>	1	<i>след това</i>	5
<i>pod koniec</i>	1	<i>след като</i>	4
<i>po chwili</i>	1	<i>тогава</i>	4
<i>po tym ostatnim słowie</i>	1	<i>на края</i>	2
<i>dopiero</i>	1	<i>в крайна сметка</i>	1
<i>znowu</i>	1	<i>най-вече</i>	1
<i>póki</i>	1	<i>след дълга пауза</i>	1
<i>zresztą</i>	1	<i>най-подир</i>	1
		<i>впрочем</i>	1
		<i>при последната дума</i>	1

Tab. 3. Polish and Bulgarian translations of Rus. *наконец* (absolute frequency) in the Parallel Corpus Polish-Russian-Bulgarian (PCPRB)

Pol. translations for <i>в конце концов</i>	ab.freq	Bg. translations for <i>в конце концов</i>	ab.freq
w końcu	38	в края на краищата	25
wreszcie	18	накрая	15
ostatecznie	10	най-сетне	12
koniec końców	4	най-накрая	6
nareszcie	1	в крайна сметка	6
na zakończenie	1	най-после	6
dopiero	1	все пак	2
zawsze	1	след това	1
ponownie	1	докато	1
tak czy inaczej	1	постепенно	1

Tab. 4. Polish and Bulgarian translations of Rus. *в конце концов* (absolute frequency) in the Parallel Corpus Polish-Russian-Bulgarian (PCPRB)

If we consult PRPC for additional information on Polish-Russian translational pairs (cf. Tab.5.), we see that depending on which language is chosen as a starting point, the data may be read differently. For example, from the perspective of Rus. *в конце концов* it is Pol. *w końcu* and *wreszcie* that should be considered its most frequent equivalents (covering, respectively, almost half and ¼ of its usages). From the perspective of the Polish units, however, Rus. *в конце концов* is by far the most frequent translation of similarly composed Pol. *koniec końców*, while Pol. *w końcu* and Pol. *wreszcie* are most often translated by Rus. *наконец*. Such a difference in output resulting from which language perspective is adopted supports the thesis that a description of the equivalents in a language A for units of a language B cannot simply be reversed to describe equivalents in language B for units of language A. For the sake of transparency, the analysis below will focus on each Russian equivalent separately.

	ab. freq.	<i>наконец</i>	<i>в конце концов</i>	<i>под конец</i>	<i>в конечном итоге</i>	<i>в конечном счете</i>	<i>в заключение</i>
ab.freq.		4059	445	98	7	28	34
<i>w końcu</i>	1071	388	183	57	5	6	8
<i>koniec końców</i>	33	4	24	1	1	1	0
<i>wreszcie</i>	2586	1531	118	17	0	1	9
<i>nareszcie</i>	690	498	62	2	0	0	0
<i>ostatecznie</i>	325	22	56	23	0	0	0
<i>w ostateczności</i>	14	0	0	0	0	0	0

Tab. 5. Polish-Russian translational pairs in PRPC

4.1. *Наконец*

In Russian, we have to distinguish between adverbial *наконец* ‘after a number of actions this happened’ as in (8) and its sequential meaning as in (9) (cf. section 3.).

(8) Rus. *Он встал и подошел к дверям — они были заперты; постучался — не было ответа; наконец посмотрел в окно и увидел — ужасное зрелище!* [RNC]

‘He got up and went to the door – it was locked; he knocked – no answer; **finally** he looked out of the window and then he saw an incredible sight!’

(9) Rus. *Сила искусства, попечения родства и, наконец, искренние молитвы любви возвратили Леонса к жизни.* [RNC]

‘The strength of art, family support and, **finally**, sincere prayers of love brought Leonce back to life.’

Sometimes also an expressive meaning (showing impatience, dissatisfaction) is mentioned. However, in this cases *наконец-то* is more common, as in the following example. Such contexts are characteristic for Pol. *w końcu* that can be even used independently as an expressions of a speaker’s irritation.

(10) Rus. *Наконец-то удалось войти...*

‘**Finally** I managed to enter...’

What differs Rus. *наконец* from previously discussed Pol. *w końcu*, *koniec końców*, *ostatecznie* is that the Russian unit does not appear in contexts typical for the Polish units, in which a certain statement is a justification of what was said before, as in (11). In such contexts the Polish unit is mostly omitted in translations and its meaning is expressed by punctuation and/or non-NRU means (such as verbs).

(11) Pol. *Wszystkie widziały, jak przechadzała się pod rękę ze swym „ukochanym”. **W końcu** przeżyć wielką miłość to nie wszystko. Trzeba jeszcze sprawić, by inni wiedzieli, że jest się osobą bardzo pożądaną.*

‘All of them saw her walking hand in hand with her beloved. **In the end**, experiencing great love is not everything. You also have to make other people see what a desired person you are.’

Rus. *Все ведь видели, как она гуляла со своим ухажером, — **согласимся**, что одной лишь любви, пусть хоть самой большой, мало: надо еще сделать так, чтобы и все вокруг знали, что ты — любима и желанна.*

4.2. *В конце концов* and *в конце концов*

В конце концов ‘finally’, contrarily to *наконец*, can appear in contexts where a previous statement is summarised with some kind of conclusion, like in

(12). It also can reveal negative emotions (like annoyance) of a speaker. In this respect, its usage is closer to Pol. *w końcu* and *ostatecznie* than Rus. *наконец*.

(12) Rus. *Что будет после коммунизма, про это ей не говорили. Хотя, в конце концов, какая разница, нас-то уже не будет...* [RNC]

‘What will happen after communism – that they did not tell her. But, in the end, what difference will it make, since we won’t be here anymore’

The data from PRPC suggests that *в конце концов* has one more equivalent in Polish: *koniec końcem* (they form 11 translation pairs out of a total of 14 occurrences of *koniec końcem*). However, this unit has a very low frequency in Polish (only 8 instances in NCP) and these cases should be considered accidental. The same can be said about Rus. *в конце концов*, which is registered in dictionaries, but not observed in corpus data (no occurrences in RNC).

4.3. Non-NRU equivalents?: *В конечном итоге, в конечном счете* and *в крайнем случае*

I would like to consider two multiword expressions, *в конечном итоге* and *в конечном счете* ‘in the long run’, that recur as less frequent Russian equivalents for Bulgarian and Polish finality-NRUs. Their status is not entirely clear. The total of 3529 occurrences of *в конечном _* ‘lit. in the final _’ registered in RNC includes 2043 cases of *в конечном счете* ‘lit. in the final score’ and 1280 occurrences of *в конечном итоге* ‘lit. in the final result’. Even though they constitute the overwhelming majority of *в конечном _* usages, other compositions should not be ruled out, for example:

(13) Rus. *Пэрри написал царю рапорт, где изложил всю историю рабóт, указал на роковую нехватку рабочих и усумнился в конечном благополучии.* [RNC]

‘Perry wrote a report to a tsar, in which he outlined the evolution of the works, showed the number of workers was insufficient and doubted a successful outcome.’

Moreover, *в конечном счете* does not allow for an omission of any of its components, whereas *в итоге* ‘eventually; lit. in the result’ is visibly more frequent (4729 occurrences in RNK) than *в конечном итоге*. And yet, Russian dictionaries (on-line, cf. www.lexilogos.com) register either *в итоге* or *в конечном итоге*, or else mark adjectival component as facultative: *в (конечном) итоге*. In similar cases in Polish, most frequent are *w ostatecznym rozrachunku* ‘in the end; lit. in the final settlement’ (282 for all 742 usages of *w ostatecznym _* ‘in the final _’) and *w ostatecznym rachunku* ‘in the end; lit. in the final bill’ (161). Just like for Russian, Polish dictionaries also note less frequent compositions such as *w ostatecznym razie* ‘lit. in the final time’ (SJPDor, 5 occurrences in NCP), *w ostatecznym wypadku* ‘lit. in the final case’ (USJP, 2 occurrences in NCP). The final decision as to which items are included in a

dictionary seems to depend purely on the lexicographer's assessment and is not supported by frequency of use.

There are at least three arguments against accepting these Russian expressions as finality-NRUs equivalents: i) uncertain status (unit or composition), ii) adverbial character (non-NRUs), and iii) low frequency as translations of finality-NRUs in corpus data.

However, there are two Russian units not presented in the charts above but worth considering as translations of Pol. *w ostateczności* 'eventually': *в крайнем случае* 'as a last resort' and *на худой конец* 'at worst'. Both have a high frequency in RNC (*в крайнем случае* accounts for 77% of *в крайнем* _ 'lit. in the extreme _', while *на худой конец* accounts for 89% of *на худой* _ 'lit. on the thin _'). In both cases, other compositions with a preposition *в / на*, an adjective *крайний / худой* and a noun are not lexicalised, see (14)-(15).

(14) Rus. — *Отста́нь, — буркнула Та́ня. Горя́ев встал в край́нем раздра́жении.* [RNC]

'– Get lost. – Tanja grunted. Gorjaev stood up **in extreme irritation.**'

(15) Rus. *На щека́х у него́ ре́дкая бороде́нка, а на худо́й ше́е си́ний плато́чек.* [RNC]

'On his cheeks there is a thin beard and around his **thin neck** a blue scarf.'

Even though *в крайнем случае* and *на худой конец* are rather adverbial than NRU and have a better translation in Polish (*w najgorszym przypadku* 'at worst; lit. in the worst case'), there does not seem to be any other option in Russian for Pol. *w ostateczności*. As such, these units, contrarily to previously discussed *в конечном итоге* and *в конечном счете*, have to be included in order to provide an accurate picture of finality-related units.

5. Bulgarian equivalents

It is clear from Tab.1-4 that there are three interesting translations of Polish and Russian finality NRUs in Bulgarian: *накрая* 'finally' (for Pol. *ostatecznie*, 'all in all'), *в края на краищата* 'in the end' (for Rus. *в конце концов*) and *най-сетне* (for Rus. *наконец* and Pol. *w końcu* 'finally'). PRBPC shows that finality-NRUs are also the most frequent translational partners for Bulgarian finality-NRUs, cf. Tab. 6-8.

Rus. translations for <i>накрая</i>	ab.freq.	Pol. translations for <i>накрая</i>	ab.freq.
наконец	49	w końcu	44
в конце концов	16	wreszcie	35
потом	12	ostatecznie	6
в конце	2	nareszcie	5
под конец	2	potem	5
в итоге	2	na koniec	2
в заключение	1	pod koniec	2
кончилось	1	na końcu	2
затем	1	na zakończenie	1
в конечном итоге	1	do póki	1
в этом случае	1	następnie	1
вдруг	1	tak czy inaczej	1
закончил	1		

Tab. 6. Russian and Polish translations of Bg. *накрая* (absolute frequency) in the Parallel Corpus Polish-Russian-Bulgarian (PCPRB)

Rus. translations for <i>в края на краищата</i>	ab.freq.	Pol. translations for <i>в края на краищата</i>	ab.freq.
в конце концов	26	w końcu	9
наконец	4	ostatecznie	7
в конечном итоге	2	wreszcie	2
в конечном счете	1	koniec końców	1
		w ostatecznym rozrachunku	1
		wcześniej czy później	1
		tak czy inaczej	1

Tab. 7. Russian and Polish translations of Bg. *в края на краищата* (absolute frequency) in the Parallel Corpus Polish-Russian-Bulgarian (PCPRB)

Rus. translations for <i>най-сетне</i>	ab.freq.	Pol. translations for <i>най-сетне</i>	ab.freq.
наконец	215	wreszcie	192
в конце концов	21	nareszcie	39
потом	9	w końcu	37
под конец	5	potem	3
затем	2	na koniec	1
окончательно	2	koniec końców	1
кончилось	1	po jakimś czasie	1
кроме того	1	po chwili	1
и вскоре	1	znowu	1

Tab. 8. Russian and Polish translations of Bg. *най-сетне* (absolute frequency) in the Parallel Corpus Polish-Russian-Bulgarian (PCPRB)

5.1. Накрая

The uses of Bulgarian *накрая* ‘at the end’ as referring to the end of something (with the preposition *на* (16), which can also be omitted (17)), which are similar to Rus. *под конец, в конце* and Pol. *pod koniec, na końcu* (or, less often, *w końcu*), are beyond of our interest here. However, Bg. *накрая* can also function as a NRU similar to *наконец* or Pol. *w końcu* and introduce the final fact, statement or item in a series (as in (18)-(19)).

(16) Bg. *Джей написа цената **накрая на** формуляра.* [BNK]
‘Jay wrote the price at the bottom of the form.’

(17) Bg. — *А какво е? — попита Деканът. — Беше — поправи го Пондър Стибънс — Дълги задни крака. Заешки уши. Дълга опашка, изострена **накрая.*** [BNK]

‘— What is it? — asked the dean. — Was — Ponder Stibbons corrected him. — Long hind legs. Rabbit-like ears. Long tail narrowing towards its end.’

(18) Bg. *Но пък през следващите шест години БКК продаде ОББ, Пощенска банка, ЕКСПРЕСБАНК (сега Societe Generale ОБВ ЕКС-ПРЕСБАНК), ХЕБРОСБАНК, БУЛБАНК (...) и **накрая** ‘Банка ДСК’.* [BNK]

‘But in the last six years BKK sold OBB, (...) Central Cooperative Bank and finally DSK Bank.’

(19) Bg. *Впрочем фактът, че такива кандидати, както и представящите ги партии са възможни в българската политика и в българския парламент, красноречиво говори, че доста хора не схващат не само смисъла на деня за размисъл, но са изключили от битието си и самия процес на мислене. И **накрая**, опитът показва, че прекалено надпартиен президент не е драг и на избирателите.* [BNK]

‘Indeed, the fact that such candidates and the parties they represent are involved in Bulgarian politics and the Bulgarian parliament clearly shows that many people not only do not understand the meaning of choice but simply excluded themselves from thinking process. Finally, we know from experience that too independent a president is not loved by voters.’

As a less frequent, older variant, *накрай* is often suggested (1214 occurrences in BNK compared to 46776 of *накрая*). *Накрай*, however, is primarily used as a space adverb (without a preposition, comp. *на края на града*, see (20)) and can only very rarely appear in sentences similar to (18)-(19), see (21)-(22). Even then, its temporal meaning is still visible (comp. section 3). Moreover, it is not recognised by Bulgarian native speakers as being in common use.

(20) Bg. *Заедно се радвахме на този концерт **накрай** града.* [BNK]
‘We were both happy about the concert on the peryphery of the city.’

(21) Вг. *Всеки ден хвърляхме по няколко трупа в морето. И нямаше кой да управлява платното, и нямаше кой да гребе с веслата. **Накрай**, когато бяхме помислили, че ще загинем сред безкрая на чуждото море, видяхме бреговете на богат зелен остров.* [BNK]

‘Every day we threw corpses in the sea. And there was no-one to manage the sail, no-one to row. In the end, when we thought we would perish in the foreign sea, we saw a green island.’

(22) Вг. *Двама братя намерили жила. Три месеца копали те, гладували, жадували. **Накрай** достигнали опалите.* [BNK]

‘Two brothers found a reef. For three months they were digging, starving, waiting with desire. In the end, they got to the opals.’

Both *накрая* and *накрай* can be used to refer to the last object, action, event, statement of a series and should therefore be regarded as close equivalents to the sequence units *w końcu* and *wreszcie*.

5.2. В края на краищата

Bulgarian *в края на краищата* ‘in the end’ shares its structure with Rus. *в конце концов* ‘finally’ and Pol. *koniec końców* ‘ultimately’, which proves that even grammatically different languages can share similarly constructed units (Bg. *на* here has the same function as the Rus. and Pol. genitive). Interestingly, it is paired in translations with the Russian equivalent but not so frequently with the Polish one. It has a wider usage than Polish and Russian homographs as it can provide a summary or even ‘justification’ for what is said, similar to previously described *в крайна сметка*, cf. (23)-(24). Regardless of its low frequency, this makes *в края на краищата* an essential element of the finality-NRU group.

(23) Вг. *Егеанин потърка уморено слепоочията си. Навярно всичко това **в края на краищата** наистина беше заговор.* [BNK]

‘Egeanin rubbed his temples. Everything was probably a conspiracy in the end.’

(24) Вг. *Колкото до напиването - те твърдят, че по масите не е имало алкохол, но дали това е истина – днес вече е невъзможно да се каже. Аз допускам, че може да е имало алкохол, но **в края на краищата** това не е установено и няма как да бъде установено.* [BNK]

‘As to intoxication, they claim there wasn’t any alcohol on the tables. Whether this is the truth is no longer possible to say. I suppose there might have been alcohol, but in the end there was no proof.’

5.3. Non-NRU equivalents?: *В крайна сметка, в последна сметка, в конечном итоге and в конечном счете*

Bulgarian expressions *в крайна сметка* ‘eventually; *lit.* in the final account’ (9498 occurrences in BNK), *в последна сметка* ‘in the end; *lit.* in the last account’ (less frequent – 564 occurrences) receive similar characteristics to Rus. *в конечном счете* ‘in the long run’. The usage of these Bulgarian units situates them close also to the analogically formed Pol. *w ostatecznym rozrachunku* ‘in the end; *lit.* in the final settlement’. But above all, its usage in summarizing function brings it close to Polish NRU *ostatecznie* ‘all in all’, *w ostateczności* ‘in the end’ or *w końcu* ‘in the end’, cf. (25)-(26). As such, *в крайна / последна сметка* should be considered as their less frequent equivalents.

(25) Bg. *Айнциайновата константа не е константа и не е център. Тя е самата идея за променливост. Тя е, в последна сметка, идеята за играта.* [BNK]

‘Einstein’s constant is not a constant and it is not a center. It is an idea of variation. It is, ultimately, an idea of a game.’

(26) Bg. *Макар и с усилие и често в свой ущърб съм се старал да живея в съгласие с вътрешните си принципи, но... може би, без да забележа, понякога съм вървял срещу тях? (...) в крайна сметка не съм ангел!* [BNK]

‘Despite my efforts to live by the house rules, I might have gone against them. In the end, I’m no angel!’

The importance of *в крайна сметка* should not be overlooked as it covers usages of Pol. *ostatecznie* and *w końcu* not widely represented in translation, i.e. providing a ‘justification’ for what is said, like in the translation of (11): *Всички те я бяха видели да излиза на разходка с бъдещия си „приятел“ - в крайна сметка не е достатъчно да имаш една голяма любов, трябва също така да показваш пред другите, че си много харесвана.*

5.4. *Най-сетне*

Last but not least, one more category of Bulgarian translations has to be discussed: lexicalizing expressions constructed around a superlative form: *най-после, най-сетне*⁴ ‘finally’ (from *най-* ‘the most’). It is not unusual for Slavic languages to form NRUs on a superlative (and comparative) model (e.g. Pol. *najwidoczniej* ‘evidently’, *najwyraźniej* ‘clearly’, *najwyżej* ‘at most’). The units mentioned here confirm this phenomenon being typical for the language family in question.

⁴ Another unit mentioned in the table, *най-подир*, has not been discussed as its frequency as a translation is extremely low. It also does not appear in BNK.

(27) Bg. *Можел да омекне и да стане великодушен към света като цяло, включително и към мащехата си; най-сетне да набере смелост, за да въстане срещу нея (...).* [BNK]

‘He might soften up and became generous towards the whole world, including his stepmother; he may finally get the courage to go against her.’

(28) Bg. *Грижила съм се за много неща в тази къща дълго време. Мисля, че най-после трябва да си получа наградата!* [BNK]

‘I have taken care of many things in this house for a long time. I think I should finally be rewarded!’

Най-сетне is by far the most frequent translation pair for most finality-NRUs in both languages. Therefore, regardless its non-finality origin, it should be included in the description of these NRUs.

6. Conclusions

The analysis of the data indicates that the most frequent translations of finality-related NRUs are also part of this same group, as illustrated in Table 9. At the same time, some finality-NRUs have not received a satisfying counterpart in this class (cf. Pol. *w ostateczności*), while some non-finality-NRUs or even units from outside of the NRU class (especially Bg. *най-сетне* and Pol. *wreszcie*) dominated in translations (cf. Fi.).

	Bg	Pol	Rus
<i>накрая</i>		19%	13%
<i>най-сетне</i>		27%	40%
<i>в края на краищата</i>		9%	7%
<i>wreszcie</i>	54%		68%
<i>w końcu</i>	24%		19%
<i>наконец</i>	68%	34%	
<i>в конце концов</i>	13%	36%	

Table 9 The top translations of finality-NRUs into two other languages (relative frequency) in the Parallel Corpus Polish-Russian-Bulgarian (PCPRB)

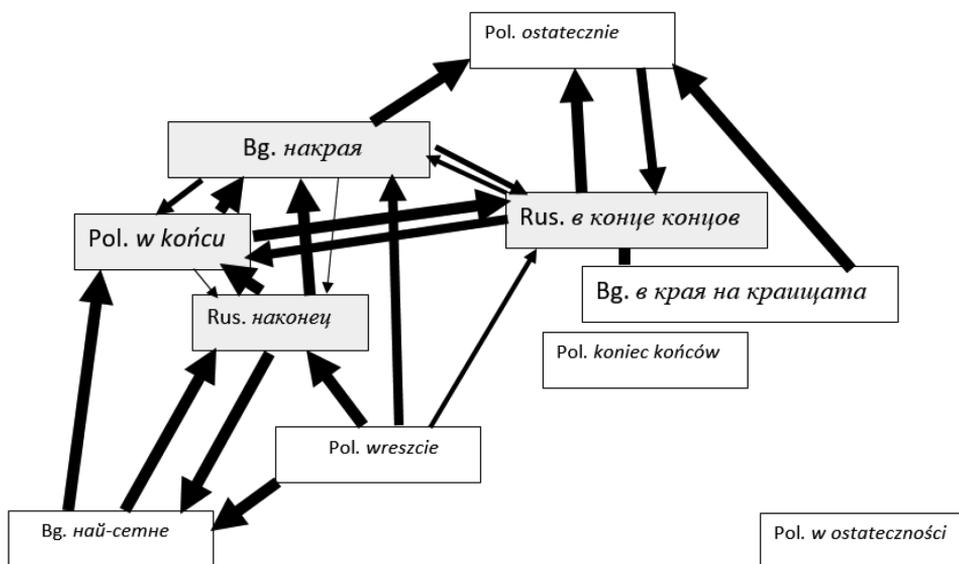


Fig. 1. Translational pairs (PRBPC). The units participating in most relations relevant in terms of frequency are marked in grey. Smaller font suggests that the units are not central for the analysis of the group as they wither are not a finality-NRU or even a NRU at all, or else are very unfrequent. The strenght of an arrow suggests how often a unit is used in translation of the unit it points to.

Even such a small contrastive sample as the one presented here allows a few general rules to be formulated: 1) NRUs often arise from similar sources, such as a grammaticalized composition (preposition + noun, see Pol. *w końcu* – Rus. *наконец*; preposition + adjective + noun Pol. *w ostatecznym rozrachunku* – Bg. *в крайна сметка*) or a superlative form of an adjective (Bg. *най-сетне*, Pol. *najwyraźniej*), 2) units with formal parallels can, but do not necessarily correspond in meaning (the case of *koniec końców*, *в конце концов*, *в края на краищата* or Rus. *в конечном счете* and Bg. *в крайна сметка*), 3) units similar in form and meaning can have homonyms in one or more languages that do not resemble the meaning of a homonym in another language (Pol. adverb *ostatecznie* is identical to Bg. and Rus. *окончательно*, but its homonym in the class of NRUs is not equivalent to the NRU homonym of *окончательно*; see also Pol. *w końcu* vs. Rus. *наконец* and *наконец-то*).

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- PRBPC: *Polsko-rosyjsko-bułgarski korpus paralelny. Polish-Russian-Bulgarian Parallel Corpus*, V. Koseska, A. Kisiel, W. Sosnowski, J. Satoła-Staškowiak, Warszawa [Clarín project; available on request]
- PRPC: *Polsko-rosyjski i rosyjsko-polski korpus równoległy. Polish-Russian Parallel Corpus*, <http://pol-ros.polon.uw.edu.pl/>
- RNC: *Russian National Corpus*, <http://www.ruscorpora.ru>
- SGPP: Grochowski, M., Kisiel A. and M. Żabowska. 2014. *Słownik gniazdowy partykuł polskich*. Kraków: PAU.
- SJPDor: *Słownik języka polskiego*. Witold Doroszewski (ed.). 1958–1969. Warszawa, PWN.
- USJP: *Uniwersalny słownik języka polskiego*. Stanisław Dubisz (ed.). 2003. Warszawa: PWN.

КРАЙ И ФИНАЛНОСТ.
ЗА СЛАВЯНСКИТЕ ЕЗИКОВИ ЕДИНИЦИ, ОБРАЗОВАНИЕ
СЪС СЪЩЕСТВИТЕЛНИТЕ *KONIEC*, *KRAJŃ*, *KONEC*

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Настоящата статия представлява изследване в областта на междуезиковото сравнение на единици, които означават метатекст в славянските езици. Изследваните единици а) произлизат от конструкции със съществителни със значение ‘край’, б) имат (почти) идентична форма във всички изследвани езици, в) имат подобно значение, но не и употреба. Изследвайки единиците, произлизащи от конструкции, съдържащи съществителните *край*, *конец* и техните полски и руски съответствия, авторката показва, че метатекстовите единици не се покриват в различните езици. Въпреки тяхната близка форма в два (и повече) езика между тях няма семантична и функционална еквивалентност. Освен това подялбата на категории в зависимост от значението и/или функционирането в различните езици не е идентична нито по отношение на съдържанието на тези категории, нито на техните характеристики. Събраните езикови данни подкрепят обратната хипотеза, т.е. различното структуриране на метатекстовия лексикален пласт в различните славянски езици.