

ČIV, ČIV, ŠE SEM ŽIV

JEZIKOSLOVNE ŠTUDIJE V SPOMIN PROFESORJU JANEZU OREŠNIKU

Uredila: Tatjana Marvin Derganc

LJUBLJANA 2025

Čiv, čiv, še sem živ

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Uvodnik

Če ne bi bilo profesorja Orešnika, mene danes ne bi bilo tu. S tem seveda ne želim reči, da ne bi pisal, z žalostjo v srcu, uvodnika v zbornik, s katerim želimo počastiti spomin na tega vélikega slovenskega jezikoslovca. Reči želim, da sploh ne bi bil jezikoslovec. Profesor Orešnik mi je na poti v in skozi jezikoslovje pomagal mnogo več, kot je vedel. Dovolite mi, da vas popeljem skozi vijuge svojih spominov – prepričan sem, da bi kdorkoli, ki ga je poznal, lahko delil podobne zgodbe.

Odločilen vpliv name je imelo že kar najino prvo srečanje na informativnem dnevu Oddelka za primerjalno in splošno jezikoslovje. Nadebudni bruc matematike sem nanj spremljal prijateljico, ki jo je zanimalo primerjalno jezikoslovje. Iz predavalnice šest sem izstopil prevzet od splošnega jezikoslovja, gotov, da vzporedno vpišem ta študij. Kako me je profesor Orešnik v kratke pol ure tako navdušil za jezikoslovje? V tisto dolgo vrstico na tabli je zapisal dva zgleda, spominjam se ju, kot da je bilo včeraj: 'Janez sanja o svojem/*njegovem avtu' in 'Janezu se sanja o *svojem/njegovem avtu'. Zgleda je opremil z indeksi, kar je nadebudnemu matematiku sploh ugajalo, nato pa razložil, zakaj se lahko v prvem na Janeza nanašamo zgolj s povratnim, v drugem pa zgolj z osebnim zaimkom. Tako sem izvedel, čemu služijo osebki. Ostalo, kot pravijo, je zgodovina.

Namero vzporedno vpisati študij splošnega jezikoslovja sem dejansko uresničil. Ampak spet, če ne bi bilo profesorja Orešnika, je najbrž ne bi. Na prvi stopnji je študij jezikoslovja bil (in še vedno je) samo dvopredmeten, mene pa ni mikalo, da bi poleg rednega študija matematike študiral še dva predmeta. Mojo zadrego je razrešil profesor Orešnik, ki mi je na govorilnih urah prijazno razložil, da lahko študiram splošno jezikoslovje samostojno, če le ob njem opravi nekaj izpitov iz matematike (ki sem jih že tako ali tako opravil); kasneje mi je prišlo na uho, da se je povezava študijev rodila iz poznanstva profesorja Orešnika s profesorjem Globevnikom z matematike. Kolikor vem, sva možnost študija splošnega jezikoslovja v povezavi z matematiko v vseh letih, kar je obstajala, sicer izkoristila le dva študenta – in kar nekako prav se zdi, da sva prispevek za ta zbornik napisala skupaj – pri čemer želim poudariti, da je možnost povezave kazala, da se je profesor Janez Orešnik močno zavedal dejstva, ki Janeza na cesti običajno zelo preseneti: na nekaterih področjih splošnega jezikoslovja brez matematike ne gre!

Leta so tekla in jaz sem se potopil v splošno, predvsem tvorbeno jezikoslovje. Moj naslednji problem se je pojavil, ko sem diplomiral iz matematike (z zelo jezikoslovno obarvano nalogo) in želel vpisati doktorski študij splošnega jezikoslovja. Ni

mi namreč bilo do tega, da bi dokončal tudi vzporedni študij jezikoslovja. Poslušal in opravil sem vse izpite, povezane s tvorbenim jezikoslovjem, pa še kakšnega za povrh, predmetom, ki so me manj zanimali, sem se pa želel izogniti. Saj sem opravil svojo mero “balasta” že na matematiki, kajne? S profesorjem Orešnikom sva se spet srečala na govorilnih urah – in kaj kmalu so vpisni pogoji omogočali vpis na doktorski študij z diplomo iz matematike!

Profesor Orešnik sicer ni bil mentor mojega doktorskega dela, pa vendar je k njemu prispeval ključno idejo v obliki drobne pripombe, ki mi jo je postavil na Lingvističnem krožku, ko sem predstavljal logični jezik, ki je predstavljal teoretično jedro mojega nastajajočega dela. Opozoril me je namreč na preprosto dejstvo, da beseda ‘večina’ ni določilnik, temveč samostalnik, in že naslednji dan je moja teorija pogrnala empirična krila. Rodila se je namreč medjezikovna posplošitev, ki sem jo za potrebe doktorskega dela uspešno preveril na dvajsetih raznolikih jezikih.

Prišel je dan zagovora doktorata – komisiji je predsedoval kdo drug kot profesor Orešnik – in kmalu zatem dan, ko sem potreboval službo. Profesor Orešnik je ne le pričaral polovičko asistentskega mesta, temveč mi je tudi prijazno odstopil del svojih Izbranih predavanj iz splošnega jezikoslovja, na katerih sem lahko prišel graditi svoje pedagoške veščine.

Pravijo, da nam v spominu na osebo najgloblje ne ostanejo njeni nazivi ali dosežki, temveč njene človeške lastnosti, ki so se nas dotaknile. In res, vem, da se bom profesorja Orešnika v prvi vrsti vedno spominjal po njegovi prijaznosti, sočutju in toplini. Upam, da mi je v zgornjih odstavkih uspelo vsaj namigniti, kako zvrhano poln teh lastnosti je bil profesor Orešnik.

Kljub temu seveda ne morem in nočem iti mimo nazivov in dosežkov profesorja Orešnika. Sam s svojo značilno skromnostjo v spominih sicer zmanjšuje svoj prispevek k pridobljenim nazivom in nagradam, vendar ni dvoma, da si je več kot prislužil redno članstvo v Slovenski akademiji znanosti in umetnosti, naziv zaslužnega profesorja Univerze v Ljubljani, nagrado Sklada Borisa Kidriča, zlati red za zasluge Republike Slovenije ter Zoisovo nagrado za življenjsko delo na področju jezikoslovja — in, morda najpomembnejše, neomajljiv ugled v jezikoslovni skupnosti tako v Sloveniji kot v svetu.

Sam sem širino in globino njegove misli spoznaval zlagoma. Na predavanjih sem se seznanil s slovensko teorijo naravne skladnje, ki jo je utemeljil prav profesor Orešnik in s katero se je intenzivno ukvarjal v zadnjem obdobju svojega življenja. Priznati moram sicer, da tedaj še nisem bil dorasel bogastvu jezikovne tvarine, ki nam jo je predajal profesor Orešnik, se mi je pa v kosti neodtujljivo zagrizel postopek

ustvarjanja znanstvene teorije; poleg tega sem občasno dobil tudi priložnost brusiti svoje argumentacijske veščine v debatah s profesorjem, v katerih je vedno krepil mojo samozavest s tem, da me je obravnaval kot enakopravnega partnerja v razpravi (četudi sem bil v resnici še povsem zelen). Kmalu sem izvedel tudi za njegove nepozabne prispevke k razumevanju zgodovinskega razvoja islandščine ter njene sinhrona fonologije, področij, s katerimi se je ukvarjal še pred mojim rojstvom. Ugotovil sem tudi, da je oral ledino tvorbenega jezikoslovja v slovenskem prostoru, bil je namreč avtor tako prve slovenske mednarodne razprave v okviru tvorbene slovnice kot tudi prve tvorbeno študije o slovenski skladnji.

Jasna mi je postajala tudi ključna vloga profesorja Orešnika v slovenski jezikoslovni skupnosti. Da se je dolga leta zavzemal za dosledno rabo slovenščine v javnem življenju in še posebej v znanstvenih besedilih. Da je že leta 1967 pozval slovenske jezikoslovce k proučevanju slovenščine v okviru tvorbeno slovnice in da je tudi kasneje, ko se sam s tvorbeno slovnico ni več ukvarjal, to (moje) področje vedno podpiral. Da si je prav on zamislil razširitev Oddelka za primerjalno jezikoslovje in orientalistiko s splošnim jezikoslovjem ter da je bil prvi in dolgoletni predstojnik tako razširjenega Oddelka za primerjalno in splošno jezikoslovje. Da je prav on jedro Lingvističnega krožka Filozofske fakultete, ki se od leta 2024 njemu v spomin po pravici imenuje Lingvistični krožek Janeza Orešnika, in najbrž edini, ki je lahko profesorju Toporišiču (v razpravi o Slovenskem pravopisu na Lingvističnem krožku) dejal "Joža, nekje je bilo treba črto potegniti!"

Nenazadnje, profesor Orešnik je "oče" generacijam slovenskih jezikoslovcev. O tem priča tudi zbornik, ki ga imate pred sabo. Vsi avtorji prispevkov v tem zborniku smo ponosni, da smo bili kolegi in sodelavci profesorja Orešnika, mnogi pa smo poleg tega svojo jezikoslovno pot pričeli kot njegovi študentje ter v kolege in sodelavce zrasli ob njegovi neomajni podpori. Drznem si trditi, da pričujoči zbornik skozi dela nas, njegovih jezikoslovnih potomcev, odseva širino jezikoslovne misli profesorja Orešnika. Zbornik vsebuje dela z vseh krovnih jezikoslovnih področij: sinhrona, diahrona in uporabna jezikoslovja. Nekateri prispevki neposredno razvijajo misel profesorja Orešnika na najrazličnejših temah, tudi v okviru njemu najljubše naravne skladnje, drugi v njegovih delih najdejo iztočnico ali inspiracijo. Večina prispevkov se ukvarja s slovenskim jezikom, na kar bi bil profesor Orešnik gotovo ponosen. Žal nam je edinole, da nobeden od nas ni zmožal dodati nič novega razpravam profesorja Orešnika o islandščini.

Že kot študenta me je vedno znova osupnilo, kako je profesor Orešnik vsaj nekaj vedel o prav vsaki jezikoslovni temi. Na Lingvističnem krožku sem bil

mnogokrat povsem izgubljen v novi temi, profesor Orešnik pa je vedno znal postaviti vprašanje, ki je ne le razkrivalo, da snov povsem razume, temveč običajno tudi ponudilo predavatelju nov uvid v obravnavani jezikovni pojav. Prepričan sem, da bi profesor Orešnik vedel nekaj o vsaki od tem, ki jih obravnavajo prispevki v tem zborniku, in nam znal svetovati, kako jih napraviti še boljše. Žal takšne priložnosti ne bo več, vendar profesor Orešnik prek svoje obsežne jezikoslovne zapuščine ter naših spominov na njegovo modrost in srčnost, pa tudi hudomušnost, ostaja z nami. Vsekakor ostaja resničen stavek, s katerim je rad odgovoril na vprašanje, kako je kaj: “Čiv, čiv, še sem živ!”

dr. Sašo Živanović
predstojnik Oddelka za primerjalno in splošno jezikoslovje,
oktober 2023 – oktober 2025

In memoriam Janez Orešnik

*Kdor jasno misli, se tudi jasno izraža, kjer pa ni jasne misli,
tudi jezik tega ne more skriti.*

Janez Orešnik

Profesor Orešnik je bil Človek z veliko začetnico.

Bil je jezikoslovec, ki je imel s svojim genijem, dobroto, modrostjo, vztrajnostjo, disciplino, sočutnostjo, empatijo in iskrivo hudomušnostjo neprecenljiv vpliv na ravni Oddelka za primerjalno in splošno jezikoslovje, na ravni fakultete in univerze, prav tako pa v svetovnem merilu. Posvečen je bil jezikoslovju, predan pa svoji dolgoletni soprogi, prof. dr. Varji Cvetko Orešnik. Z njegovim odhodom je nepreklicno konec nekega obdobja. Bil je jezikoslovec, ki je presegel meje jezikoslovja, saj je s svojim zgledom in pomenom vplival in še vedno vpliva na samozavest govorcev slovenskega jezika.

Celo življenje je bil predan študiju in raziskovanju jezika. Nekoč mi je povedal, da je v njegovih člankih in knjigah vse premišljeno in dokazano, saj ko piše, neprenehoma misli samo na temo, ki se ji tisti trenutek raziskovalno posveča, dokler je ne nadomesti naslednja tema.

Odlikovala ga je pristna radovednost. Tako se je med letoma 1969 in 1970 izpopolnjeval na Harvardu, istočasno pa se je na MIT pri znamenitem jezikoslovcu Noamu Chomskem seznanil s teorijo tvorbenne slovnice, ki jo je nato prenesel na slovenska tla. V slovensko skladnjo je nato prenesel še teorijo naravnosti, ki jo je razvijal vse do smrti, njegovo pionirsko delo na področju islandščine pa predstavlja prelomnico v raziskovanju tega, zanj in za marsikoga osupljivega germanskega jezika.

Ob vsem tem je ohranjal veliko spoštovanje do mladih jezikoslovcev na začetku kariere. Nema lokrat sem bila priča, kako je brezkompromisno pomagal mladim doktorskim študentom, če so bili v stiski, tudi če iz zgolj nestrokovnih, življenjskih razlogov, da so lahko uspešno doktorirali.

Hkrati je bil srce Lingvističnega krožka ljubljanske Filozofske fakultete. Povedal mi je, kako se je velikokrat zgodilo, da so bili nastopajoči v Lingvističnem krožku sveto prepričani, da so odkrili nekaj povsem novega, on pa je bil tedaj raje modro tiho, saj mladim upom ni hotel kvariti veselja, čeprav je dobro vedel, da je bil problem že zdavnaj razvozlan. Njemu v spomin se krožek sedaj imenuje *Lingvistični krožek Janeza Orešnika*.

Če je po svojem prihodu na Oddelek za primerjalno in splošno jezikoslovje profesor Orešnik sprejel na oddelek novega sodelavca, mu je od prvega trenutka popolnoma zaupal. Vedno bom cenila in spoštovala dejstvo, da je tudi meni odobril vsako prošnjo brez najmanjšega pomisleka, še preden mi jo je sploh uspelo izreči, s tem pa mi je vsa leta sodelovanja podeljeval dragoceno akademsko svobodo in dajal vrednost mojemu lastnemu strokovnemu delu.

Kadar sva se srečala, sem ga vedno vprašala: »Profesor Orešnik, kako ste?« On pa je odgovoril: »Še sem živ, ampak noben'mu povedat'!«

In res, profesor Orešnik je še kako živ, saj nam s svojim žitjem in bitjem lahko služi kot zgled za to, kako mora v teh kaotičnih, materialističnih, nemoralnih, izgubljenih časih ravnati slovenska akademska skupnost, kajti samo v njeni moči je, da spremeni svet.

Ana Mehle

O priimku *Orešnik*

*Marko Snoj**

Povzetek

Članek se najprej osredini na etimološko razlago slovenskega priimka *Orešnik*, ki je tvorjen s pripono *-nik* iz dendronima *oreh* 'Juglans regia' in prvotno označuje posestnika ob orehu ali orehih. V nadaljevanju skuša odgovoriti na nekatera temeljna vprašanja o izvoru pripon *-nik* < *-bn-ikъ.

Ključne besede: slovenščina, imenoslovje, priimki, etimologija

The etymology of the surname *Orešnik*

The article first focuses on the etymological explanation of the Slovene surname *Orešnik*, which is derived with the suffix *-nik* from the dendronym *oreh* 'walnut tree'. Its original meaning was *'possessor of the territory where walnuts grow'. The second part of the article raises some questions and provides answers about the origin of the compound suffix *-nik* < *-bn-ikъ.

Keywords: Slovene, onomastics, surnames, etymology

Ne primeri se pogosto, da bi bil kak priimek – sploh priimek zapletene osebnosti – v etimološkem pogledu tako preprost, kot je preprost priimek *Orešnik*. Gre za izimensko tvorjenko s pripono *-nik* iz dendronima *oreh*, kakor so iz drugih dendronimov z isto pripono tvorjeni še slovenski priimki *Baznik*, *Beznik* (iz *bez* 'bezeg'), *Jelšnik*, *Jeušnik*, *Jevšnik*, *Javšnik*, *Jaušnik*, *Elšnik*, *Vošnik* (iz *jelša* oz. *olša*), *Jevnik* (iz *jela*), *Lešnik* (iz *leska*), *Breznik*, *Lipnik*, *Topolnik*, *Vrbnik* itd. Prvi nosilci teh priimkov so prebivali ob drevesu (ali skupini dreves), katerega poimenovanje nosijo v podstavi. Redkeje so priimki s to pripono tvorjeni iz podstav, katerih pomen je manjše ali

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vsaj tanjše rastlinje, npr. *Koprivnik*, *Praprotnik*, *Prapotnik*, *Prapertnik*, *Srebotnik*. Neredko pa se s to pripono tvorijo priimki iz osnov, katerih pomen je kaka druga zemljepisna danost, npr. *Kržišnik* (iz *križišče*), *Gradišnik* (iz *gradišče*), *Mirnik* (iz *mir* 'zid'), *Pestotnik*, *Pistotnik*, *Pustotnik* (iz *pustota* 'pust, neobljuden kraj'), *Suhadolnik*, *Suhodolnik* (iz *suhi dol*), *Mrzdovnik* (iz *mrzli dol*), *Potnik* (iz *pot*), *Cestnik* (iz *cesta*), *Vršnik*, *Veršnik*, *Uršnik* (iz *vrh*), *Pungartnik* (iz *pungart* 'sadni vrt'), *Gačnik* (iz *gača* 'zaprta dolina'), *Globelnik*, *Globevnik*, *Globovnik* (iz *globel*), *Sopotnik* (iz *sopot* 'slap') in celo zemljepisnih lastnih imen, npr. *Savnik*, *Murnik*.

A tudi v jezikoslovju je tako kot v življenju: kjer so stvari preproste na površju, se rade zapletejo pod njim. Pripona *-nik* poraja vrsto vprašanj, ki čakajo na kompleksen odgovor. V nadaljevanju navajam nekatera in jim pridajam predloge, kako nanja odgovoriti.

1. Iz česa je sestavljena pripona *-nik*? – Iz pridevniške *-an* < **-bnъ* in posamostaljujoče *-ik* < **-ikъ*, ki v južni slovanščini ni več tvorna.¹ Dokaz tej trditvi so lastnoimenski prežitki s pripono *-ik* iz pridevnikov s pripono **-ovъ*, npr. *Bizovik* in *Bazovik* < **Bъz-ov-ikъ*, *Snovik* < **Jesenov-ikъ*.²
2. Ali je posamostaljujoča pripona **-ikъ* izvorno ista kot enako glaseča se severno-slovanska, ki tvori manjšalnice? – Da. Argumenti v prid tej trditvi so vsaj trije. (a) Ženska oblika *-nica* je v južni slovanščini še razgradljiva na pridevniški del in posamostaljujoči *-ica*, katere primarna vloga je tvorba manjšalnic: *žena* → *ženica*. (b) Pridevniki se posamostaljajo tudi z drugimi manjšalniškimi priponami, npr. *mlad* → *mladič* (< **-itъ*) 'kdor je mlad', *bel* → *belič* 'kdor je bel'. (c) Pripona *-ica* < **-ik-a*, ki se je posplošila po paradigmatski izravnavi iz oblik, v katerih je delovala druga ali tretja palatalizacija, in je torej ženska oblika ob moški **-ikъ*, ostaja tvorna za tvorbo ženskih samostalnikov iz pridevniških osnov ne glede na strukturo, npr. *mlad-a* (žival) → *mlad-ica*, *povit-a* (jed) → *povitica* > *potica*.

1 Manjšalniška pripona **-ikъ* se je v slovenščini ustalila v palatalizirani obliki *-ic*. Verjetno gre za sovpad posledice druge palatalizacije, ki je v ednini pričakovana v mestniški obliki, v množini pa v imenovalniški in mestniški, in tretje, ki je v ednini pričakovana v rodilniški in dajalniški. Primerov je malo, npr. *možic* = rusko *mužik*, in po vsej verjetnosti priimki *Blažic*, *Pavlic*, *Petric*. Vprašanje izvora pripone *-ika*, ki večinoma tvori poimenovanja rastlin in njihovih delov, npr. *trobelika*, *sadika*, *korenika*, ostaja odprto. Morda je zbirna oblika ob **-ikъ*.

V južni slovanščini so izsamostalniška imena s pripono *-ikъ* redka in verjetno prežitki iz časov, ko je bila taka tvorba še mogoča. Na Hrvaškem je kraj *Lipik*, na slovenskem zahodu pa *Gabrak*, pri katerem zapis *Gabrich* iz leta 1286 (SHT) kaže na izvorno **Gabrik*.

Poimenovanja kemijskih elementov *kisik*, *ogljik*, *vodik*, *dušik* so proti koncu 19. stoletja prevzeta in prilagojena iz češčine. Izhodišče je verjetno *vodik* iz češ. *vodík*, ki je prevzet samo z naglasno prilagoditvijo. Po tem zgledu so narejeni *ogljík* iz *ogljě* (kakor češ. *uhlík* iz *uhlí* 'ogljje, premog'), *kisík* iz *kis* (kakor češ. *kyslík* ob *kyselý* 'kisel') in *dušík* iz *dušiti* (kakor češ. *dušik* iz *dušit* 'dušiti'). Pomenska motivacija je v vseh primerih že nemška in latinska. Tudi beseda *vidík* je pri nas mlada izposojenka iz hrvaščine, ki je pri nas prvič izsledljiva leta 1898: *Fabij, sezuj čevljev, pa ga s puško porini na vidík* – v prevodu Hrizogona Majarja romana *Gozdovnik* nemškega pisatelja Karla Maya. – Povzeto po korpusu IMP.

2 Snaj 2009, 63, 385.

3. Kako točno je potekal razvoj pomenske motivacije priimkov s pripono *-nik* in strukturnim pomenom 'kdor prebiva tam, kar je pomen podstave'? – Izimenska pripona *-nik* je pri nas razen v priimkih tvorna tudi v krajevnih lastnih imenih, npr. *Hrastnik*, *Javornik*, in občnih imenih, ki označujejo (a) prostor, npr. *rudnik*, *snežnik*, in (b) človeka, npr. *bolnik*, *mladostnik*. Nekatere so ali bi bile lahko tvorjene tudi iz glagolskih podstav, npr. *vodnik*, *budnik*, *grešnik*, a tu je treba vzeti v obzir to, da dejansko so ali so lahko bile tvorjene s pripono *-ik* iz izglagolskih pridevnikov *voden*, *buden* oz. *grešen*. Omejimo se na tvorjenke iz podstav s pomenom ime prostora, ki so relevantni za priimke obravnavanega tipa. *Rudnik* je prvotno 'kar je tam, kjer je ruda', *kurnik* je 'kar je tam, kjer so kure', *ribnik* 'kar je tam, kjer so ribe' in *senik* < **šěbnikъ* je prvotno 'kar je tam, kjer je seno'. Krajevna imena s pripono *-nik* so torej izvorno opravkarji s prav takim prvotnim pomenom: *Hrastnik* je 'kar je tam, kjer je hrast, so hrasti' > 'kraj ob hrastu, hrastih', in *Javornik* je prvotno 'kar je tam, kjer je javor, so javori' > 'kraj ob javoru, javorih'. Občnih imen s pripono *-nik* iz imen prostora v slovenščini ni zaslediti, zato bi kazalo sklepati, da so prvi priimki s to pripono nastali po metonimiji iz krajevnih lastnih ali še občnih imen: *hrastnik* 'prostor, kjer je hrast, so hrasti' > *Hrastnik* 'kraj, ki ga od sosednjih ločujemo po tem, da tam raste hrast, rastejo hrasti' in ob tem *Hrastnik* 'kdor prebiva v Hrastniku' ali še 'kdor prebiva ob hrastu, hrastih'.³ Metonimični prenos iz občno- ali že lastno-imenskega poimenovanja kraja zasledimo v več priimkih dendronimskega izvora, npr. *Brest*, *Brin*, *Gaber*, *Hrast*, *Javor*, *Topol*. Ker ženski dendronimi, kot so *breza*, *jelša*, *lipa*, derivirajo metonimična krajevna imena *Breza*, *Jelša*, *Lipa*, ne pa tudi metonimičnih priimkov, smemo sklepati, da so priimki obravnavanega tipa prvotno imena hišnih gospodarjev, katerih domačije so stale na prostoru z enakim imenom ali na prostoru, kjer je rastlo drevo ali so rastla drevesa, katerih poimenovanje je v osnovi. Prvotni *Orešnik* je bil torej 'hišni gospodar v Orešniku' ali še 'hišni gospodar v orešniku', pri čemer je občno ime **orešnik* pomenilo *'prostor, kjer raste oreh, rastejo orehi'. Njegova žena je bila *Orešnica*, preostali družinski člani *Orešniki*, posamezni otroci, morebitne tete in strici ter drugi člani širše družine pa npr. *Orešnikova Barbara* ali *Orešnikov Janž*.

3 Zemljepisna imena s pripono *-nik* poznajo tudi drugi južnoslovanski jeziki, npr. hrvaško *Dubrovnik*, srbsko *Lopušnik*, slovaško *Lipník*, *Dubník*, češko *Ořešník*. Priimki s to pripono so na Hrvaškem omejeni na kajkavščino, npr. *Breznik*, v zahodni Slaviji so predvsem slovaški, npr. *Brezník*. Zemljepisna imena s to pripono in posledično priimki so pogosta tudi iz osnov, ki označujejo druge zemljepisne danosti, npr. *Cestnik*, *Potnik*, *Pungartnik*, *Presečnik*, *Mirnik*.

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Audience interaction in Trubar's sermon on faith: a systemic functional analysis*

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Abstract

This paper examines the interactional aspects of Trubar's sermon on faith from the *Catechism* of 1550 (2008), analysing how the preacher engages with his audience through language. Drawing on Hyland's concepts of stance and engagement (2005) and Cloran's concept of rhetorical units (1994), the study examines the dominant interactional rhetorical units in Trubar's sermon from a discourse semantics perspective. The findings indicate that the rhetorical units of Reflection and Avocation signal the presence of the author and/or the addressee in the text, while the rhetorical units of Generalization, Conjecture, Rhetorical questions, and Reported speech function to engage the addressee and encourage adherence to Jesus' teachings. Through these linguistic devices, Trubar, as the preacher, establishes a strong interactive connection with his silent audience.

Keywords: interaction, rhetorical unit, Trubar's sermon, systemic functional linguistics

Interakcijske značilnosti Trubarjeve pridige o veri: sistemsko-funkcijska analiza

Prispevek obravnava interakcijske značilnosti Trubarjeve pridige o veri iz *Katekizma* 1550 (2008) tako, da razkriva, s katerimi jezikovnimi izbirami avtor nagovarja poslušalstvo. Z uporabo Hylandovih pojmov stališča in sodelovanja (2005) ter pojma retorične enote, ki jo predlaga Cloran (1994), opišemo prevladujoče interakcijske retorične enote v Trubarjevi pridigi z vidika besedilne semantike. Ugotovitve potrjujejo, da sta refleksija in zahteva retorični enoti, ki označujeta avtorjevo in/ali naslovnikovo besedilno navzočnost, medtem ko retorične enote posplošitev, domneva, retorično vprašanje in premo poročanje izražajo sodelovanje z naslovniki in jih spodbujajo, naj živijo v skladu z Jezusovim naukom. S temi jezikovnimi sredstvi Trubar-pridigar ustvarja močno sporočevalno vez z molčečim občinstvom.

Ključne besede: interakcija, retorična enota, Trubarjeva pridiga, sistemsko-funkcijsko jezikoslovje

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1 Introduction

Over the past 40 years, scholars in the humanities, social sciences, and linguistics have explored the roles of authors and audiences in texts under the concept of *metadiscourse*.¹ Within Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), metadiscourse refers to the social interactions conveyed through writing and speech – both between authors and their texts and between authors and audiences (e.g., Vande Kopple 1985; Hyland and Tse 2004). It highlights the inherently social character of communication (Hyland 2005; Dafouz-Milne 2008) and resonates with Bakhtin’s view that all discourse is, to some extent, dialogic, even in monologue (Bakhtin 1979, 94–96).

Bakhtin’s theory of dialogism closely corresponds with SFL theory, which conceptualizes language as interaction (Halliday 1994; Halliday and Matthiessen 2014). Halliday, an early proponent of the interpersonal metafunction², states:

“[i]nterpersonally, a text is a series of exchanges between speaker and addressee – even if it is a one-sided monologue that is essentially a series of statements acknowledged silently by the addressee.” (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 45)

Within SFL, Hyland (2005; 2008) introduced a key model for investigating the interactive nature of communication, which has gained widespread acceptance in metadiscourse research over the past 20 years. My analysis of Trubar’s sermon on faith from the *Catechism* of 1550 (2008) contributes to this field by expanding theoretical models across diverse languages and registers. To demonstrate this, I examine the interactive mechanisms in Trubar’s sermon, a compelling choice for two reasons. First, sermons are inherently persuasive, designed to engage and influence audiences, making them ideal for such analysis. Second, Trubar’s sermon is historically

1 The terminology surrounding *metadiscourse* is diverse and not uniformly adopted across disciplines or theoretical frameworks. Related concepts may appear under alternative labels such as *metatext*, *metalinguage*, or *metapragmatics*, depending on the field or approach. For example, text linguistics might refer to *metatextual markers*, while pragmatics emphasizes *metapragmatic cues* that guide interpretation. Hyland (2017, 17) describes *metadiscourse* as a “fuzzy term” that has come to encompass a broad range of interpersonal and textual functions, serving as a form of metalanguage through which writers organize their discourse and engage with readers. Despite this terminological variation, these perspectives share the view that communication involves not only propositional content but also reflexive commentary on how that content is structured, interpreted, and socially situated.

2 The *interpersonal metafunction*, as defined in SFL, refers to the role of language in enacting social interactions and negotiating relationships between speakers and listeners (or writers and readers). It concerns how speakers express attitudes, judgments, and engage with others through choices in mood, modality, and evaluation, positioning language as a tool for interaction rather than merely for representing experience or organizing discourse (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 29–45).

significant as the first Slovenian-authored text explicitly designated a sermon, offering a valuable starting point for investigating the diachronic development of interactive features. This paper positions that line of inquiry as a promising trajectory for future research within the Slovenian context.

2 Literature review

Linguistic interest in metadiscourse has grown steadily since the mid-2000s, with an increasing emphasis on empirically testing theoretical assumptions. Research has addressed a wide range of genres, including academic texts (e.g., Hyland 1998; Hyland and Tse 2004), advertising and media discourse (e.g., Fuertes-Olivera et al. 2001; Dafouz-Milne 2008), business communication (e.g., De Groot et al. 2016), and parliamentary debates (e.g., Ilie 2003). In Slovenian linguistics as well, metadiscourse has been explored across various contexts. Pisanski Peterlin (2005) examined its use in English and Slovenian scientific articles; Verdonik (2007) analysed its role in spoken interaction; and Lengar Verovnik (2015) focused on lexical hedging in radio interviews.

In parallel, a substantial body of research in historical pragmatics has examined how language was used in earlier periods to perform interpersonal and textual functions, with particular attention to speech acts. These studies offer critical insights into how communicative intentions were encoded in historical texts and provide a valuable foundation for understanding metadiscursive strategies. Kohnen (2007, 2008), for example, investigates directive speech acts in Early Modern English sermons – texts typically written for oral delivery – demonstrating how such acts often fulfilled metadiscursive functions by guiding attention, structuring discourse, and facilitating interaction. Building on this intersection between pragmatics and metadiscourse, Mäkinen (2022) analyses Early Modern English medical recipes by combining Aristotelian rhetorical appeals – ethos, pathos, and logos – with a metadiscursive framework. Drawing on data from the *Corpus of Early Modern English Medical Texts*, he shows how these instructional genres blended informative and persuasive goals, with quantitative analysis underscoring the rhetorical sophistication of the texts.

Shifting from rhetorical function to historical change, several studies have explored the diachronic development of metadiscourse within specific genres. Chaemsaitong (2013) examines how 16th-century witchcraft pamphleteers constructed persuasive authorial identities through metadiscursive resources, while his subsequent analysis (2014) of 18th-century courtroom discourse demonstrates how

stance markers, personal pronouns, and reported speech were used to influence jury perception. Collectively, these studies highlight how genre-specific communicative goals shaped the evolution of metadiscursive practices. The only diachronic study focused exclusively on sermons is Boggel's (2009) functional analysis, which examines English sermons from the Middle English period through to the Early Modern English period. Her study categorizes metadiscourse into four types – intertextual, text-organizing, instructional, and stance-marking – and illustrates how preachers employed these resources to structure discourse and guide audience interpretation. By tracing developments across several centuries, Boggel reveals rhetorical sensitivity to shifting historical and social contexts. While her typology differs from the interpersonal framework adopted in this study (Hyland 2005), her findings reinforce the broader insight that metadiscursive practices in sermons are both contextually and rhetorically shaped.

Amid growing interest in religious discourse, recent studies have increasingly adopted established theoretical models – particularly Hyland's interpersonal framework – to examine how interpersonal meaning is constructed. A notable example is Malmström (2016), who applies Hyland's model to a corpus of 150 contemporary Easter sermons, identifying frequent use of questions, imperatives, personal pronouns, and hedges. The present study builds on this work by using the same framework but extends the analysis to explore how semantic and lexicogrammatical levels interact in the realization of metadiscursive resources in a historical context (see Section 3).

In Slovenian scholarship, sermons have primarily been approached from a literary-historical perspective, often examined as transitional forms in the evolution of Slovenian narrative prose (Kmecl 1975). In this context, Trubar's sermon on faith from the *Catechism* of 1550 (1935, 202–243) has received limited theoretical attention beyond stylistic commentary (Sajovic 1986) and theological interpretation (Rajhman 1977). By contrast, from a linguistic perspective, the rhetorical and stylistic features of Slovenian Protestant texts have been more substantially addressed. Pogorelec (1972) first identified the rhetorical structure of Trubar's sentences, noting his use of double and triple formulae – an observation that influenced later studies (Pogačnik 1976; Seitz 1995; Ahačič 2007). Among the rhetorical devices discussed, rhetorical questions and biblical quotations (Ahačič 2007, 305) are particularly significant for understanding author–audience interaction in Trubar's sermon.

Taken together, international and Slovenian studies underscore the importance of analysing how Trubar constructs and manages author–audience interaction in his sermon. The following section outlines SFL theoretical framework adopted in this

study to examine how Trubar employs metadiscursive strategies to shape and sustain audience engagement within the rhetorical landscape of the Slovenian Reformation.

3 Theoretical framework and research design

Hyland (2005) and Hyland and Tse (2004) developed an SFL-based model for investigating writer-reader interaction, distinguishing between interactive resources which guide information flow, and interactional resources, which engage the reader and shape the writer's persona. Each includes several subcategories (Hyland and Tse 2004, 169). Applying this model to contemporary English sermons, Malmström (2016) found that preachers use over three times more interactional than interactive metadiscourse, with engagement markers being the most frequent – occurring 39.5 times per 1,000 words and accounting for 43% of all metadiscourse. These findings highlight the centrality of interactional features in sermon discourse and provide the rationale for the present analysis.

While Hyland's model offers a valuable lexicogrammatical approach to writer–reader interaction, its focus on discrete linguistic items presents limitations for analysing extended texts in languages other than English. Applying the engagement and stance categories to Slovenian proved challenging, particularly because engagement markers constitute an open set of expressions whose grammatical and lexical realizations vary across languages. As Hyland and Tse (2004) note, these must be identified manually, through corpus searches and text analysis tailored to the target language and genre. Since no comparable inventory exists for Slovenian, a new list of potential metadiscourse expressions had to be compiled from scratch – an effort that was further complicated by the lack of robust concordancing tools for Slovenian.

To overcome these limitations and enrich the analysis of interpersonal meaning, this study incorporates additional tools from SFL. Specifically, it draws on Cloran's (1994) model of message semantics, which connects lexicogrammatical choices with human experience through two central notions: Entity and Event. This discourse-semantic perspective allows interactional resources to be interpreted not only as isolated items, but as semantically coherent rhetorical units embedded within larger stretches of text.

In Cloran's model, the Entity typically functions as the Subject in the clause and refers to different participant types: interactants (e.g., speaker and addressee), generalized persons, absent individuals, or co-present entities. In sermonic discourse, the roles of interactants are reconfigured as preacher and congregation. The Event

is expressed in the verb group and anchored in time or modulated by features such as probability, necessity, hypothesis, or habituality. These parameters position actions and experiences within specific experiential and interpersonal contexts. Cloran (1994, 243) maps these semantic options across experiential, interpersonal, and textual metafunctions.³

In this study, attention is focused on experiential semantics, specifically the role of the Central Entity and Event Orientation. As Cloran (1994, 234–242) explains, the configuration of these features determines how rhetorical meaning is realized. For example, in the clause *We imprison ourselves in our own hell*, the central entity *we* refers to the preacher and congregation (co-present interactants), while the event is expressed in the habitual present. This configuration corresponds to what Cloran calls a Reflection – a rhetorical unit that constructs shared beliefs or recurrent actions.

To operationalize this framework, the analysis proceeded in two stages. First, we selected Trubar's sermon on faith from the *Catechism* of 1550 (1935, 202–243). Given the linguistic and interpretative challenges of working with a 16th-century text, we used the modern Slovenian translation (Trubar 2008), which allowed us to apply a Slovenian part-of-speech tagger (Jakopin and Bizjak 1997).⁴ Noun and verb forms were automatically extracted from the linear sequence of the sermon, enabling the construction of a structured dataset.

In the second stage, we compiled a table of lexicogrammatical characteristics and manually assigned a rhetorical label to each clause. Based on Cloran's semantic parameters, each clause was annotated according to its central entity and event orientation. This process made it possible to distinguish meaningful units of interaction and provided a fine-grained perspective on how interpersonal alignment is semantically constructed throughout the sermon.

Through this approach, six prominent types of interactional rhetorical units were identified. The first is the Reflection, which conveys shared beliefs or habitual actions involving both preacher and congregation, often marked by expressions such as *we know* or *we believe*. The Avocation exhorts the audience to act, typically using imperative forms or modal verbs such as *must*. In contrast, the Generalization introduces

3 In SFL, the *experiential metafunction* relates to how language construes our experience of the world, including processes and the participants who execute them. The *interpersonal metafunction* concerns interaction and the enactment of social roles and relationships, including relationships between speakers and audiences. Finally, the *textual metafunction* joins together elements of discourse, weaving separate parts into a coherent whole. See Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) for a detailed discussion.

4 Another reason for selecting the modern version is the availability of an English translation (Trubar 2008a) alongside the modern Slovenian version (Trubar 2008).

broad social roles or types – such as a believer – and presents particular behaviours as typical or expected. The Conjecture introduces hypothetical or conditional scenarios, often used to pre-empt objections or invite contemplation. Rhetorical questions are not intended to elicit answers, but rather to provoke reflection or subtly shape the listener's understanding. Finally, Reported speech brings in external voices – especially biblical or divine sources – to confer authority and moral weight.

The following section presents a detailed analysis of the lexicogrammatical and semantic features that define these rhetorical units in Trubar's sermon. Drawing on Cloran's systemic networks, it illustrates how each unit was identified and interpreted, offering a consistent framework for capturing their interactional significance.

4 Analysis of dominant interactional rhetorical units in the data

The analysis of Trubar's sermon focuses on the dominant interactional rhetorical units. The following descriptions illustrate how the configuration of the central entity (realized through the Subject's interpersonal role) and event orientation (expressed in the verbal group) determine the types of interactional rhetorical units. These units reflect the presence of the author or addressee in the text or guide the listener in various ways.

4.1 Reflection

The first interactional rhetorical unit in Trubar's sermon is Reflection, which expresses typical states of an interactant, as shown in example (1).

(1)⁵

/... / kakor **mi vsi** vemo in verujemo, da je Bog /.../ (Trubar 2008, 9)

‘/.../ just as **we all** know and believe that God /.../ exists /.../’ (Trubar 2008a, 9)

At the level of discourse semantics, the rhetorical unit Reflection is defined by its central entity, which refers to the interactants – *the preacher and the listeners*⁶ – and

5 In this and the following examples, which illustrate the semantic and linguistic features of an entity in the role of Subject and event orientation realized in the verbal group, the markings are as follows: entities are in bold, while events are underlined.

6 In Slovenian, the entity interactant is lexicogrammatically realized through first-person plural verb endings (e.g., *vemo*) or a combination of pronouns and verb endings (e.g., *mi vemo*). In English, it is realized through first-person plural pronouns (e.g., *we*).

an event characterized by a temporal reference concurrent with the moment of speaking.⁷ In addition to simultaneity, this event is also marked by the feature of habituality,⁸ understood as the regular, repeated nature of the action or state described. Cloran (1994, 212–213) identifies habituality as one of the systems of semantic choices for predicate events that enables the formation of generic statements. These statements do not describe isolated occurrences, but rather refer to patterns of behaviour or states perceived as typical or recurring. In his analysis of Slovenian, Orešnik (1994, 151) presents a compatible perspective, emphasizing that general statements characteristically refer to law-like, regularly occurring situations rather than singular, specific instances. Thus, habituality functions as a key semantic feature in the textual construction of Reflection, linking individual discourse units to broader social norms and shared experiential knowledge.

In Table 1, the semantic characteristics of the rhetorical unit Reflection are schematized using Cloran's semantic networks for entity and event (Cloran 1994, 221, 242).

Table 1. Criterial semantic features of Rhetorical Unit Reflection

Rhetorical Unit	Central Entity	Event Orientation
Reflection	interactant	concurrent; habitual

Using the rhetorical device of Reflection, Trubar emphasizes shared experiences (e.g., *we know, we believe*), fostering a sense of equality between preacher and believers. This underscores their equal standing before God as members of a single body – the ‘church’ (Van Seters 1991, 269). These Reflections serve two purposes: (1) downplaying differences within the religious community while highlighting shared beliefs; and (2) strengthening the bond between the preacher and the believers, reinforcing their unity in relation to God.

4.2 Avocation

The second interactional rhetorical unit identified in Trubar's sermon is Avocation. This unit directs the interactant by conveying a strong sense of obligation, as illustrated in example (2).

7 In Slovenian, temporal reference is lexicogrammatically realized by the present tense, while in English, it is realized by the simple present tense.

8 For the lexicogrammatical realization of habituality in Slovenian, see Orešnik (1994, 149–152) and Bizjak (2005, 64–67); for English, see Cloran (1994, 212–222).

(2)

In **vsi** se moramo dobro zavedati, da je vera kakor roka, mošnja ali kakšna druga posoda, s katero se oprimemo Jezusovega imetja, ga vzamemo in sprejmemo. (Trubar 2008, 21)

‘And **all of us** must be fully aware that faith is like a hand, with which we grasp Jesus’ property, take it and receive it.’ (Trubar 2008a, 17)

The central entity of Avocation refers to the co-present interactants – *the preacher and the addressee* – lexicogrammatically realized by the phrase *all of us*. The event orientation emphasizes obligation, lexicogrammatically expressed through the word *must*.

Table 2 outlines the key semantic characteristics for identifying the rhetorical unit Avocation.

Table 2. Criterial semantic features of Rhetorical Unit Avocation

Rhetorical Unit	Central Entity	Event Orientation
Avocation	interactant	concurrent; obligation

The rhetorical unit Avocation, essential to shaping the interactional dynamics of Trubar's sermon, directs the audience towards an understanding of faith by conveying a strong sense of obligation.

4.3 Generalization

Unlike Reflection and Avocation, which involve interactants, the rhetorical unit Generalization refers to categories of common things, naming general classes rather than specific individuals. Example (3) illustrates its role in the preacher's reasoning.

(3)

Človek, ki veruje, ima najprej to dobro navado in mišljenje, da Božjo besedo ljubi, jo rad posluša ali sam bere, jo ima za resnico in vanjo veruje. (Trubar 2008, 15)

‘First of all, a **believer** has this good habit and way of thinking that **he** loves God's word, loves to listen to it, or read it himself, considers it true and believes it.’ (Trubar 2008a, 13)

Semantically, Generalization highlights a generalized entity (e.g., *believer*⁹) and an event that is both habitual and concurrent with the moment of speaking, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Criterial semantic features of Rhetorical Unit Generalization

Rhetorical Unit	Central Entity	Event Orientation
Generalization	generalized	concurrent; habitual

By using Generalizations, Trubar presents his views on believers (example 3) and other class entities as common knowledge. These Generalizations, woven throughout the sermon on faith, ensure that the audience recognizes timeless truths and shared values.

4.4 Conjecture

In the rhetorical unit Conjecture, Trubar speculates on what might or might not even-tuate, as illustrated in example (4).

(4)

Če pa zdaj, v tem življenju ne prejememo vsega, kar nam je Bog obljubil, bomo to gotovo prejeli po tem življenju, v nebesih. (Trubar 2008, 13)

‘If we do not receive everything God has promised us now in this life, we will certainly receive it in heaven after this life.’ (Trubar 2008a, 11)

Conjecture is realized through two clauses: the main event must indicate possibility or likelihood, while the supplementary message expresses a condition. The central entity is irrelevant to its identification. Table 4 summarizes the event orientation criteria for Conjecture.

9 The category *believer* functions here not as a reference to a specific individual, nor to “human” in general as a biological category, but rather as a generalized social identity. As Cloran (1994, 237–239) argues, generalization in rhetorical units often involves typical representatives of a social group rather than abstract, universal humans. In this sense, generalization occurs through the evocation of socially recognizable roles – such as the believer – whose behaviours and values are construed as typical and shared. Similarly, Orešnik (1994, 150) notes that noun phrases are used generically when they refer to any member of a particular type, rather than to a specific individual. This rhetorical strategy is consistent with the sermonic discourse, where participant types are mobilized to construct shared truths within the discourse community.

Table 4. Criterial semantic features of the Rhetorical Unit Conjecture

Rhetorical Unit	Central Entity	Event Orientation
Conjecture	/	forecast; probability; hypothetical

In Trubar's sermon, rhetorical units of Conjecture are used to encourage believers to live according to Jesus' teachings.

4.5 Rhetorical question

Trubar effectively engages his audience through the use of questions. Even in sermons, where no direct response is expected, interrogatives establish a connection with the addressee. Rhetorical questions, in particular, draw attention to specific aspects of the discourse. Trubar's use of Rhetorical questions to involve the audience is illustrated in example (5).

(5)

In kako naj jemo njegovo telo in pijemo njegovo kri? (Trubar 2008, 19)

'And how should we eat his body and drink his blood?' (Trubar 2008a, 16)

The rhetorical unit Rhetorical question features an interrogative statement about event options, with the type of central entity being irrelevant to its identification (Table 5).

Table 5. Criterial semantic features of the Rhetorical Unit Rhetorical question

Rhetorical Unit	Central Entity	Event Orientation
Rhetorical question	/	interrogative

Rhetorical questions are Trubar's primary means of acknowledging the addressee and encouraging audience engagement.

4.6 Reported speech

Trubar not only speaks in his own voice but also incorporates those of God, Jesus, and other scriptural authorities through reported speech, as illustrated in example (6).

(6)

Jezus pravi: “Bog je tako ljubil svet, da je dal svojega edninega Sina, da nihče, ki veruje vanj, ne bo pogubljen, temveč bo imel večno življenje /.../” (Jn 3,16–18). (Trubar 2008, 21)

‘**Jesus says** “God so loved the world that he gave his only Son that no-one who believes in him will perish but will have eternal life /.../” (John 3:16-18)’ (Trubar 2008a, 16)

Although we cannot examine every voice Trubar introduces through Reported speech, it is worth noting that the words of Christ take centre stage in Trubar’s sermon, as He is the ultimate Christian authority.

Semantically, the rhetorical unit Reported speech comprises at least two clauses: the reported clause and the quoted clause (enclosed in quotation marks). It allows the speaker to convey information about the original speech event, particularly absent entities and non-habitual events, as outlined in Table 6.

Table 6. Criterial semantic features of the Rhetorical Unit Reported speech

Rhetorical Unit		Central Entity	Event Orientation
Reported speech	Reported clause	absent entity	concurrent/prior; non-habitual
	Quoted clause	/	/

Reported speech is a key interactional feature of Trubar’s sermon. By citing biblical authorities, he strengthens his arguments and persuades believers to embrace a life of faith.

5 Conclusion

This paper offers a deeper insight into Trubar’s sermon as an interaction between the preacher and his audience. It examines how the preacher employs various strategies to engage a silent congregation and incorporates interactional elements into an otherwise monologic structure. The findings suggest that specific rhetorical units – such as Reflection and Avocation – signal the presence of both author and addressee in the text. Meanwhile, Generalization, Conjecture, Rhetorical questions, and Reported speech actively engage the audience and persuade them to live according to Jesus’s

teachings. These two groups of linguistic devices not only shape the interactive nature of Trubar's sermon, but also reflect the genre conventions of sermonic texts. As a form of argumentative discourse, the sermon relies on credible and persuasive arguments and interpretations. Thus, the preacher must consider his audience, anticipate their questions, doubts, and challenges, and address them through various rhetorical means. By employing these linguistic strategies, Trubar establishes a strong interactional link with his silent audience.

This study has not only uncovered the interactional features of Trubar's 16th-century sermon to some extent, but has also demonstrated that engagement resources, while typically analysed through the lens of lexicogrammar, can also be examined from a discourse semantic perspective.

Although this study is based on a detailed analysis of a historical case, expanding the scope to a larger corpus and incorporating sermons from different periods would likely yield more generalizable findings and stronger conclusions.

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O skladenjski dinamiki

*Stojan Bračić**

Povzetek

V prispevku gre za pojav nedoslednega upoštevanja norme in za pojav skladenjskega zgoščanja na zgledih iz sodobnega nemškega jezika. Napake, ko je zavestno kršena skladenjska norma, so večinoma motivirane slogovno in učinkujejo pod pogojem, da tudi recipient¹ razpolaga s poznavanjem norme in razbere odmik od nje. V drugem delu je prikazanih nekaj možnosti za izražanje predikacije na verbalni in nominalni ravni, ki pa so soznačne samo delno, saj pomensko ujemanje še ne pomeni funkcijskega in slogovnega ujemanja. V obeh primerih je tako za tvorca besedila kakor za naslovnika za uspešno vzajemno sporazumevanje merodajno znanje. Znanje pa ni eno. Poleg jezikovnega znanja so nujna še druga, pretežno pragmatična znanja, ki z različnimi težišči glede na tematiko besedila posegajo onkraj jezikovnega sistema. Spričo tega imajo lahko zgoraj obravnavani zgledi iz nemškega jezika do neke mere univerzalno veljavo.

Ključne besede: skladnja, slog, vrste znanja, norma

On syntax dynamics

This article deals with the inconsistent adherence to linguistic norms and with the syntactic information density in the modern German language. In the first part, the norm is deliberately broken. In most cases, such errors are stylistically motivated and fulfil stylistic functions if the recipient of the text knows the norm and is able to recognize a deviation from it. The second part deals with the possibilities of producing linguistic forms of predication on a verbal and a nominal level, which are only partly interchangeable. Semantic synonymy does not imply functional and stylistic appropriateness. In both cases, knowledge is a prerequisite for mutual understanding between the author of the text and the recipient. But there is not just one kind of knowledge. In addition to linguistic knowledge, other, primarily pragmatic types of knowledge beyond the boundaries of the language system, are also required, which focus on different aspects, depending on the topic of the text. Therefore, to a certain extent the examples from the German language presented in the article can have a universal value.

Keywords: syntax, style, knowledge, linguistic norm

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1 Moške oblike veljajo v prispevku v takih primerih tudi za ženski spol.

V prispevku za zbornik, posvečen spominu na spoštovanega profesorja in dragega kolega Janeza Orešnika, želim prikazati dva skladenjska pojava z vidika nemškega jezika. Skladenjska norma v določenih primerih (namerno) ni upoštevana. Temu sta namenjeni dve poglavji: o kongruenci (1) in o glagolski valenci (2). V drugem primeru je predmet prikaza skladenjsko zgoščanje, ko stoji eksplicitnim strukturam nasproti sintetično izražanje. Kot zgleda za to sta predstavljena asindeza (3) in nominalizacija. Na slednjo se navezuje tudi sklep (5).

1 Kongruenca

Ujemanje v različnih jezikovnih kategorijah se pojavlja na različnih jezikovnih ravneh na različne načine. Pri skladenjski kongruenci gre za ujemanje v številu in osebi – včasih tudi spolu – med osebkom in povedkom. Množinski osebek zahteva praviloma množinsko obliko povedka.

- 1) Bund, Länder und Gemeinden dürfen ihre Anlagen selbstständig gestalten.
Država, dežele in občine smejo svoje naprave oblikovati samostojno. (Orešnik 2011, 41)
- 2) Das Laufen und Springen macht den Kindern Spaß. (Bračič/Čuden 2022, 79)
Tek in skakanje dela otrokom veselje.
Tek in skakanje veselita otroke.

Tukaj se »das Laufen und Springen« lahko razume kot smiselna enota in parafrazira npr. s samostalnikom šport ali telovadba v ednini. Prekršek zoper pravila kongruence pa lahko ima tudi poseben slogovni učinek.

- 3) Die Wissenschaft und ihre Lehre ist frei. (Ernst 2014, 30)
Znanost in njeno poučevanje je svobodna.²
Znanost in njeno poučevanje sta svobodna.

Edninski povedek v zgornjem primeru učinkuje tako, da vzbudi pozornost. Glede na vsebino napisa ob vstopu v univerzo na Dunaju deluje vzneseno, arhaično, brezčasno.

2 Zadrega pri prevodu v slovenščino, ker samostalnika znanost in (njeno) poučevanje za razliko od nemškega jezika nista istega spola.

2 Valenca

Upoštevanje glagolske vezljivosti se lahko v določenih primerih opusti pod pogojem, da se od prejemnika pričakuje specifično (pred)znanje, s katerim si lahko pomaga pri razumevanju izjeme in njene sporočilne vloge. V večini primerov gre pri tem za redukcijo vezljivosti.

- 4) Die Nachbarn bitten um Hilfe. (Bračič/Čuden 2022, 35)

Sosedi prosijo za pomoč.

Samostalnik sosedi kot osebek semantično implicira poznanstvo s tožilniškim predmetom, ki se zato lahko izpusti.

- 5) Dieser Wandel ist ein komplizierter Prozess. Das dauert. (Bračič/Čuden 2022, 99)

Ta sprememba je zapleten proces. To traja.

Predvidena sprememba (iz izkušenj) predpostavlja veliko časa. Prislovno določilo časa se zato lahko izpusti. Zdi se, da tak izpust deluje čustveno celo bolj zaznamovano kot slogovna varianta »To traja in traja«. Presoja o tem je seveda odvisna tudi od sobesedila.

- 6) Nimm dir Zeit und nicht das Leben. (Bračič/Čuden 2022, 36)

Vzemi si čas in ne življenja.

To je zgled za stilistično figuro zevgma (Toporišič 1992, 373). Večpomenski glagol v isti povedi se veže z različnimi valenčnimi partnerji. Lahko kot polnopolnomen (npr. dvovalentni etwas nehmen/nekaj vzeti), lahko pa samo kot funkcijski, se pravi z okrnjenim pomenom, tako da šele skupaj s samostalnikom tvori polnopolnomen sklop (vzeti si življenje).

3 Asindeza³

Vsebinska razmerja med deli povedi ali med povedmi na besedilni ravni so povečini izražena eksplicitno z različnimi jezikovnimi sredstvi, ki nedvoumno izražajo vsebinska razmerja: z vezniki, vezniškimi prislovi, s členki.

Lahko pa sredstev za tako eksplicitno izražanje ni. Takrat so stavki v povedi ali na medpovedni ravni povezani brez posebnih jezikovnih sredstev (če odštejemo ortografska – npr. vejico, podpičje, piko, klicaj, vprašaj – in fonološka – intonacijo), ki bi enoznačno nakazovala medsebojno vsebinsko povezavo.

Logičnost sosledja je zajamčena, če imata poročevalec in prejemnik sporočila dovolj skupnega splošnega ali/in tudi specifičnega znanja. Agricola tako povezavo imenuje koneks (Agricola 1977, 246). V naslednjem primeru bi šlo za kavzalni ali kar diagnostični koneks.

7) Es hat Frost gegeben. Ein Wasserrohr ist geplatzt.

Bila je zmrzal. Počila je vodovodna cev.

Tudi v dialogu je podlaga za sporazumevanje specifično skupno znanje (Motsch/Reis/Rosengren 1979, 117).

8) A: Es ist wieder unter Null.

Spet je pod ničlo.

B: Hast du blaues Schiwachs?

Imaš moder vosek za smuči?

Sledi zgled za implicitno utemeljevanje v potopisu iz revije *stern*.

9) Lesotho erkundet man am besten zu Pferde, selbst wenn man vom Reiten nichts versteht. Die Tiere wissen genau, wo sie galoppieren können und wo sie vorsichtig einen Huf vor den anderen setzen müssen. (*stern*, 19. 12. 2024, Lesotho, Mein magischer Ort; str. 100)

Lesoto najbolj raziskuješ na konju, tudi če nimaš pojma o ježi. Živali točno vedo, kje lahko galopirajo in kje morajo previdno postavljati kopito pred kopito.

3 Tu ni mišljena stilna figura brezvezje/asindeton, kjer je izpuščenih več (istih) veznikov v povedi.

Druga poved zgornjega besedilnega fragmenta implicitno prinaša utemeljitev, zakaj se tudi tisti, ki ne znajo jahati, lahko brez skrbi odločijo za jezenje po Lesotu.

4 Nominalizacija

Poglavje o nominalizaciji prikazuje implicitno izražanje predikacije. V prvem podpoglavju (4.1) je punktualno prikazano nekaj načinov, kako se da z določno glagolsko obliko izraženo predikacijo nadomestiti v zgoščeni/komprimirani/kondenzirani nominalni obliki. V drugem podpoglavju (4.2) je na primeru kratkega besedilnega fragmenta prikazano, kako nominalni slog učinkuje na besedilni ravni.

4.1 Komprimirano izražanje predikacije

Skupni imenovalec komprimiranega izražanja je ponazorjen v citatu, v katerem von Polenz pojavnost oblike jezika kot orodja za sporazumevanje primerja z drugimi vrstami orodja, kot sta npr. kladivo in vzvod na eni strani ter žepni računalnik na drugi strani.

»Der Vorteil der Raumersparnis ist bei kompakter Struktur mit dem Nachteil verbunden, daß die Teile so k o m p r i m i e r t angeordnet sind, daß sie unüberschaubar und schwer zugänglich sind.« (von Polenz 1988, 24)

Prednost prostorskega prihranka pri kompaktni strukturi je povezana s slabostjo, da so njeni deli razporejeni tako k o m p r i m i r a n o, da so nepregledni in težko dostopni.⁴

4.1.1 Tožilnik z nedoločnikom

Eden klasičnih primerov je tako imenovani *accusativus cum infinitivo*⁵.

Posebno pri glagolih čutnega doživetja je predmet hkrati osebik glagola v nedoločniku. Možna je pretvorba v daljšo obliko z odvisnikom:

10) Ich sehe ein Gewitter nahen. (Bračič/Čuden 2022, 89).

Jaz vidim eno nevihto bližati se.

Vidim, da se bliža nevihta.

4 Primerjaj tudi odnos dobička in izgube (Beaugrande/Dressler/Derganc/Miklič 1992, 56).

5 Primerjaj povedkovno-prilastkovni nedoločniški polstavek (Toporišič 1992, 130, 200).

4.1.2 Povedkovo določilo v tožilniku

11) Nach der neuerlichen Geldspende sieht Maaß⁶ ihre Stadt »am Scheidepunkt«
(Spiegel Nr. 52/21.12.24, Gesegnete Stadt, str. 37)

Po zadnjem finančnem darilu vidi Maaß svoje mesto »na prelomnici«.

Po zadnjem finančnem darilu misli Maaß, da je njeno mesto »na prelomnici«.

Tudi tu je predmet v tožilniku (Stadt) po pretvorbi osebek samostojnega odvisnika. Hkrati gre pri tem tudi za izraz distanciranja avtorja besedila do mnenja osebkov v povedi.

4.1.3 Prilastkovna zveza

Eden najpogostejših načinov komprimiranega izražanja predikacije je atribuiranje. Prilastke je mogoče pretvoriti v povedkova določila.

12) Ein guter Tipp.

En dober namig.

Kar pomeni toliko kot

Der Tipp ist gut.

Namig je dober.

Ambivalentnost prilastkovih zvez se kaže v tem, da je včasih težko določiti, ali gre za verbalno (prislovno določilo) ali za nominalno (prilastek) odvisnost. (Bračič/Čuden 2022, 131)

13) Er hat uns über die Versammlung gestern Abend berichtet.

Poročal nam je o zborovanju sinoči.

Ali se je sinoči zgodilo poročanje ali zborovanje?

14) Er steht am Haus rechts.

Stoji ob hiši desno.

Ali stoji (on) desno od (ene) hiše ali stoji ob tisti hiši (od dveh), ki je na desni strani?

6 Županja mesta Lommatzsch.

4.1.4 Deležniške fraze

Tudi deležniške fraze so kot skrajšana alternativa za določno glagolsko obliko v predikativni funkciji podvržene ambivalentnemu razumevanju.

- 15) Der Schriftsteller, zu Hause gemieden und im Ausland übersehen(,) war nach 1900 völlig isoliert. (Bračič/Čuden 2022, 222)

Pisatelj, doma zapostavljen in v tujini spregledan, je bil po letu 1900 popolnoma izoliran.

Prilastkovno pomensko razmerje: pisatelj, ki je bil zapostavljen ..., je bil ... izoliran; prislovno pomensko razmerje: pisatelj je bil ... izoliran, ker je bil ... zapostavljen.

- 16) Alle Tatsachen zugrunde legend(,) kommt man zu einer realistischen Bewertung.

Upošteva vse dejstva se pride do realistične ocene.

Pogojno – če ...; načinovno – s tem, da ... (primerjaj Bračič/Čuden 2022, 223)

4.1.5 Implicitna rematizacija

Posebej zanimiva je v tem okviru ekonomičnega krčenja implicitna rematizacija. V članku iz revije *stern* (štev. 52, 19.12.2024, str. 26, 28) z naslovom »Horror und Hoffnung« (Groza in upanje), ki opisuje, kakšno razdejanje vlada po padcu Asadovega režima v Siriji, beremo med drugim:

- 17) ... Wie schwer das Erbe der Assads auf der neuen Zeit lastet, lässt sich im Stadtteil Kafr Sussa besichtigen. »Haben Sie die 'Abteilung 215' schon gesehen?«, fragt Mohammed Schurba. »Kommen Sie mit, ich zeige sie Ihnen.« Im wehenden schwarzen Mantel und mit Revolutionsschal um den Hals läuft der Anwalt die Straße entlang. Dies ist sein Viertel, hier ist er aufgewachsen ...
... 2018 entkam er ins Rebellengebiet im Norden Syriens. Von dort ist der 40-Jährige zurückgekehrt ...
... Kako težko bremeni dediščina Asadov sedanja čas, se lahko vidi v mestni četrti Kafr Susa. »Ali ste že videli 'Oddelek 215'?«, vpraša Mohamed Schurba. »Pridite, vam ga bom pokazal.« V odpetem črnem plašču in z revolucionarnim šalom okrog vratu odvihra odvetnik po cesti. To je njegova četrt, tu je odraščal ...

... leta 2018 mu je uspelo zbežati na uporniško področje na severu Sirije. Od tam se je 40-letnik vrnil ...

»Der Anwalt« in »der 40-Jährige« se kot koreferenčna osebkata v zgornjem besedilnem fragmentu anaforično navezujeta na Mohameda Schurbo in implicirata dve predikaciji: 'Mohamed Schurba je advokat' in 'Mohamed Schurba je 40-letnik'. V obeh primerih sta z vidika členitve po aktualnosti osebkata hkrati tudi implicitno rematizirana.

4.1.6 Primična fraza z *als*

Zelo pogost primer indirektna predikacije je tudi sklop z adjunktorjem *als*.

»Mufasa« se kot eden redkih uspešnih filmov (»blockbusterjev«) dogaja v Afriki, številni otroci pridejo tako prvič v stik s to kulturo. Režiser filma Barry Jenkins s tem v zvezi v reviji *stern* (štev. 52, 9. 12. 2024, str. 93) pojasnjuje svojo vlogo:

18) Als schwarzer Regisseur war das dann doch eine große Verantwortung für mich.«

Kot črn režiser je bila to potem vendarle ena velika odgovornost za mene.

Kot črnc sem imel tako pri režiranju vendarle veliko odgovornost.

V prvični frazi »als schwarzer Regisseur« se prekrivata a) predikacija in b) kavzalnost.

a) Bil sem črncski režiser.

b) Ker sem bil črncski režiser ...

4.1.7 Besedotvorje

Najvišjo stopnjo komprijze predstavljajo besedotvorne konstrukcije. Delujejo kot neke vrste »črne luknje« – v eni besedi je sintetizirana analitična skladienska relacija.

Zgled v pridevniški zloženki:

19) tagaktiv

danaktiven

kar je aktivno (samo) podnevi; npr. žival

Podobna so razmerja pri samostalniških besedotvornih konstrukcijah:

- 20) Nahrungserwerb
pridobivanje hrane

pomeni kot glagolnik proces, ko si (npr.) neka žival išče in lovi hrano.

4.2 Nominalni slog

Nominalni slog pomeni, da se v besedilu predikacija povečini ne izraža z določnimi glagolskimi oblikami kot povedki (verbalni slog), temveč nominalno, se pravi s samostalniki, pridevniki ter nedoločnima glagolskima oblikama (deležje, nedoločniška fraza). (Bračič/Čuden 2022, 213, 219) To naj ponazori analiza sledečega kratkega besedila iz leksikona.

- 21) Chamäleons

Die großen, unabhängig voneinander bewegl.⁷ Augen sind bis auf eine zentrale Öffnung von den zu einer Halbkugel verwachsenen Lidern bedeckt und dienen den vorwiegend tagaktiven Tieren beim Nahrungserwerb der Fixierung und Anpeilung der Beute ... Durch blitzschnelles Hervorschleudern der (manchmal bis körperlangen) Zunge wird das Beutetier gefangen ... (Meyers Enzyklopädisches Lexikon)

Kameleoni

Veliki, drugo od drugega neodvisno gibljivi očesi sta do središčne odprtine pokriti z do polovične krogle zraščanima vekama in pri pridobivanju hrane služita pretežno podnevi aktivnim živalim za fiksiranje in sledenje plena ... z bliskovito hitro iztegnjenim (včasih kot celo telo dolgim) jezikom ujamejo plen ...

V zgornjem besedilu so nominalne predikacije realizirane s pridevniki (großen, beweglichen, zentrale, verwachsenen, tagaktiven, blitzschnell, körperlangen) in samostalniki (Nahrungserwerb, Fixierung, Anpeilung, Hervorschleudern; Öffnung, Halbkugel, Beutetier).

Pridevniki pri tem funkcionirajo kot prilastki (prim 4.1.3), nekateri samostalniki pa kot (predložna) prislovna določila, ki jih je mogoče iz strnjene nominalne oblike razvezati v predikate z določnimi glagolskimi oblikami.

7 H kondenziranju prispevajo celo okrajšave: bewgl. za beweglich (= gibljiv).

... bis auf eine zentrale Öffnung: razen v odprtini na sredini, razen če se odmisli odprtina v sredini (restriktivnost)

... beim Nahrungserwerb: pri pridobivanju hrane, kadar se išče hrana (časovnost)

... dienen der Fixierung und Anpeilung: služijo temu, da fiksirajo in sledijo plen (funkcijski sklop s funkcijskim glagolom z reducirano semantiko; namernost)

Durch ... Hervorschleudern der ... Zunge: z ... iztegnjenim ... jezikom (instrumentalnost).

Kot kolateralna škoda zgoščenega podajanja informacij (primerjaj 4.1), ki je med drugim tipično za besedilno vrsto geslo v leksikonu (čim več podatkov na čim manjšem prostoru – Fandrych/Thurmair 2011, 90), v tem primeru ni prizadeta enoznačnost podajanja informacij, temveč je ekonomski (materialni) vidik kondenzacije dosežen na račun otežene recepcije. Bralec tega enciklopedičnega gesla mora biti kompetenten na več področjih, vsaj na strokovnem in jezikovnem, imeti mora dobre bralne navade (koncentracija, pomnjenje). Kljub temu je dvomiti, da bo že kar ob prvem branju ustrezno zaobjel in povezal vse podane informacije. Prag razumljivosti je pri tem postavljen visoko. V kaki mladinski enciklopediji bi bile tako komprimirane formulacije neprimerne. Za primerjavo sledi izpis iz leksikona, namenjena mladini.

22) Chamäleons

... Sie bewegen sich wenig und nur sehr langsam und können im Sitzen ihre Beute, vor allem Insekten, fangen. Dazu schleudern sie ihre körperlange, klebrige Zunge blitzschnell wie ein Katapult heraus. Die Beute bleibt nicht einfach daran haften, sondern wird von der Zungenspitze umfasst. Als weitere, sehr seltene Besonderheit können Chamäleons ihre Augen unabhängig voneinander bewegen ... (Der Jugend-Brockhaus)

Kameleoni

... Gibljejo se malo in le zelo počasi in lahko sede ujamejo plen, predvsem insekte. Za to sprožijo kot telo dolgi, lepljivi jezik bliskovito hitro kot katapult. Plen se na jezik ne le prilepi, marveč ga konica jezika objame. Nadaljnja zelo redka posebnost je, da lahko kameleoni premikajo očesi neodvisno eno od drugega ...

Tabela: Kvantitativna primerjava stopnje informativnosti verbalnega in nominalnega sloga

	Der Jugend-Brockhaus	Meyers Enzyklopädisches Lexikon
Število besed	55	55
Finitni predikati	6	3
Implicitne predikacije	5	17
Predikacije skupno	11	20

Iz primerjave obeh besedil izhaja:

Nominalnim strukturam pomensko ustrezajo nekomprimirane strukture z določno glagolsko obliko. Globinsko strukturo imajo skupno, na površini pa je realizacija različna. Vendar je gostota informacij v nominalnem slogu ob enaki količini jezikovnega gradiva praviloma dosti večja. Iz zgornje tabele je to razvidno iz razmerja 20 : 11.

5 Sklep

Akademik profesor dr. Janez Orešnik ni bil samo vrhunski teoretik. Bil je tudi vzoren pedagog s posluhom za uspešne didaktične pristope. Gotovo bi se povsem strinjal s sklepno pripombo: nominalne in verbalne strukture so sicer semantično adekvatne, v diskurzu pa nikakor niso preprosto izmenljive, saj je treba upoštevati sobesedilo, besedilno vrsto, v kateri se uporabljajo, stilno ravnino in sporazumevalni položaj z vsemi pripadajočimi parametri. Tudi Fandrych in Thurmair opozarjata, da bi pretvorbene vaje brez pragmatičnega preudarka vodile v mehanično »jezikovno akrobatiko«. (Fandrych/Thurmair 2018, 255)

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Multiple source explanations in constructional change: the case of V1 word order in Welsh*

*Oliver Currie***

Abstract

The characteristic VSO word order of Modern Welsh developed in part as a result of the increase in use in the Early Modern Welsh period of a specific verb-initial construction, Absolute V1, where a synthetic finite verb comes in absolute-initial position in a positive declarative main clause. Although Absolute V1 is attested throughout the history of Welsh, there is major diachronic and synchronic variation in its use. This paper argues that the increase in use of Absolute V1 in prose texts from the 16th century has multiple sources, representing, on the one hand, the continuation of an existing construction (i.e. Absolute V1 in earlier Welsh) and, on the other hand, an innovation where Absolute V1 also derives from other constructions through the loss of a preverbal particle. It is further argued that a multiple source approach can help explain certain patterns in the variation in use of Absolute V1 in Early Modern Welsh.

Keywords: Multiple source constructions, multiple causation in language change, V1, Welsh, word order, Diachronic Construction Grammar

Večvzročnost v jezikovnem spreminjanju: primer razvoja besednega reda z začetnim glagolom v valižanščini

Za moderno valižanščino značilen besedni red VSO je deloma rezultat večje rabe posebne konstrukcije z glagolskim začetkom v obdobju zgodnje moderne valižanščine, in sicer konstrukcije z absolutno stavbo V1 (Abs V1), kjer sintetična osebna glagolska oblika zaseda absolutni začetni položaj v trdilnih glavnih stavkih. Čeprav je konstrukcija Abs V1 izpričana skozi celotno zgodovino valižanščine, so razlike v njeni rabi velike, tako na diahroni kot na sinhroni ravni. Prispevek skuša pokazati, da je na povečano rabo konstrukcije Abs V1 v proznih besedilih iz 16. stoletja vplivalo več dejavnikov, saj gre pri tej rabi po eni strani za nadaljevanje že obstoječe konstrukcije (Abs V1 v zgodnji valižanščini), po drugi pa za inovacijo, pri kateri Abs V1 izvira tudi iz drugih konstrukcij, ki so izgubile predglagolski členek. Članek skuša obenem pokazati, da večdejavniški pristop lahko pomaga pri razlagi določenih vzorcev v raznolikosti rabe konstrukcije Abs 1 v obdobju zgodnje moderne valižanščine.

Ključne besede: večdejavniške konstrukcije, večvzročnost v jezikovnem spreminjanju, V1, valižanščina, besedni red, diahrona konstrukcijska slovnica

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1 Introduction

1.1 Multiple source constructions

Although the prototypical conception of a linguistic change is of one linguistic unit changing into another (A > B, e.g. the sound change in the history of French involving the fronting of [u] to [y]), there are also frequent cases, known as MULTIPLE SOURCE CONSTRUCTIONS (De Smet, Ghesquière, and Van de Velde 2015b), where a phoneme, morpheme, word or grammatical construction has more than one diachronic origin.¹ De Smet, Ghesquière and Van de Velde (2015b) understand multiple source constructions broadly as encompassing all linguistic subsystems and give examples of the phenomenon in phonology, morphology, lexical semantics and syntax. Often the existence of more than one diachronic source may be apparent in the synchronic form and/or meaning of a lexeme or construction, and in some such cases, for example the English word *brunch*, a lexical blend of “breakfast” and “lunch”, the existence of multiple sources and origin of the form are transparent to language users. In other cases, synchronic irregularities or alternations provide evidence of multiple sources, as in, for example, the suppletive past tense *went* of the English verb “to go”, though their actual origin may not be (fully) transparent to the language user unless they have historical linguistic knowledge (i.e. that *went* derives from another verb, Old English *wendan* “to turn”). Such formal traces of multiple sources may also be present in syntactic constructions. Gaeta (2015), for instance, examines the so-called “German scandal construction”, illustrated in (1), thus termed because it displays “a number of synchronic form-meaning mismatches” (2015, 95).

(1)

<i>Hans bedauert,</i>	<i>es</i>	<i>nicht</i>	<i>verhindert₃</i>	<i>haben₁</i>	<i>zu</i>	<i>können₂</i>
Hans regrets	it	not	prevent:PSTPTCP	have:INF	to	can:INF

Karl regrets not having been able to prevent it' (Gaeta 2015, 96)

The ‘German scandal construction’ contains the following mismatches, according to Gaeta:

1 Professor Janez Orešnik, to whom I am dedicating this chapter, was a pioneer of theoretical linguistics in Slovenia in many fields, one of which is historical linguistics. It is a privilege to contribute a paper on historical linguistics to this volume in recognition of his contribution to the teaching and research of historical linguistics in Slovenia.

- deviant form/meaning relation:
 - a past participle (*verhindert*) instead of an infinitive (*verhindern*)
 - an infinitive (*können*) instead of a past participle (*gekonnt*)
- deviant linearization:
 - inverted order of *haben*₁ *zu können*₂ instead of **können*₂ *zu haben*₁
 - displacement of *zu* with regard to its logical dependency *haben* (Gaeta 2015, 96)

Gaeta (2015, 95) argues that “[t]he scandal is solved if a diachronic point of view is adopted, which shows that the mismatches result from the intraference of two different source constructions expanded in the course of the German linguistic history, namely the *Perfekt* construction and the *zu*-infinitive construction”.

Multiple source approaches to constructional change are relatively new: Van de Velde, De Smet, and Ghesquière’s (2013) special issue on the topic, republished as an edited volume (De Smet, Ghesquière, and Van de Velde 2015a), represented a landmark in the field. The volume includes broader theoretical discussions of multiple source explanations in syntactic change: a general overview of the phenomenon in different areas of grammar (De Smet, Ghesquière, and Van de Velde 2015b); a discussion of the relevance of the Construction Grammar concept of multiple inheritance for multiple source analyses of constructional change (Trousdale 2015); a discussion of the role of multiple sources in grammaticalization processes (Fischer 2015), and a discussion of multiple source explanations in relation to multiple causation in language change more generally (Joseph 2015). At the same time, the volume includes several case studies of multiple source constructional change in different languages: in English and Dutch (De Smet and Van de Velde 2015), German (Gaeta 2015), Finnish and Estonian (Riionheimo 2015) as well as a multiple source perspective on the development of HAVE and BE perfectives in multiple European languages (Drinka 2015). However, such multiple source approaches to constructional and syntactic change also overlap theoretically and to an extent methodologically with broader and longer-established MULTIPLE CAUSATION approaches to language change (Malkiel 1983 [1967]). Multiple causation approaches have played a particularly significant role in the explanation of contact-induced language change, where it has been argued that language-internal motivations or mechanisms often complement contact phenomena (e.g. linguistic borrowing, copying, interference) and that a holistic or multi-model approach, encompassing both language-internal and language-external dimensions, is necessary to understand contact-induced change as well as language change more generally (Thomason and Kaufman 1988, 57-61; Matras 2007; Chamoreau and Léglise 2012). Multiple

causation is, however, not limited to contact scenarios, but is a more general feature of language change, since, as Breban and De Smet (2019, 896), note ‘there is also a multiplicity of factors involved in individual cases of change.’ Similarly, Joseph (2015) argues that

if multiple causal pressures on some part of a language system can be recognized, then rather than having to simply choose one, arbitrarily, as the single cause explaining why a change happened as it did, we can perhaps come closer to a true understanding of the developments in question by considering multiple causes acting in concert or even independently. (Joseph 2015, 207)

Multiple sources of language changes could thus be seen as a subtype of multiple causation or multifactoriality, which in turn raises the question where we draw the line between sources, on the one hand, and CAUSES of or FACTORS contributing to language change, on the other. I prefer the term FACTORS to CAUSES here, as CAUSES can be understood in a deterministic way, though not by Joseph 2015 cited above, as implying that if given causes or conditions apply, then a change necessarily follows, whereas factors tend to be understood in a more neutral sense. Breban, Börjars, and Moretti (2025, [2]) distinguish between PRIMARY and SECONDARY SOURCES in multiple source change, where primary sources are ‘the source constructions that combine to form’ another construction (English auxiliary *do* in their study), and secondary sources ‘include other factors that play a role in, and facilitate, the innovation, but do so in an indirect way.’² The rationale for grouping together the direct sources of a construction and other factors which contributed to its development as different types of source is that, according to Breban, Börjars, and Moretti (2025, [2]), ‘both types are integral to a multiple source explanation.’ While the primary and secondary sources of constructional change, in Breban, Börjars and Moretti’s terminology are complementary, they are, however, different in nature. The multiple source constructional change discussed in the present paper, for instance, involves the development and increase in use of a specific verb-initial construction in Early Modern Welsh (ABSOLUTE V1 – defined in the following section), which I argue derives from at least two different source constructions. At the same time, one

2 I am grateful to Kersti Börjars for sending me copy of the draft article (Breban, Börjars, and Moretti 2025), which had been accepted for publication but not yet published by the journal *Diachronica* at the time of writing of the present chapter; the page numbers of citations, given in square brackets, are provisional. I also thank her, Tine Breban and Lorenzo Moretti for organising the workshop on ‘Multiple source explanation in syntactic change’ on 21 August 2025 at the 27th *International Conference on Historical Linguistics* at the Pontificia Universidad Católica, Santiago de Chile, which also informed this chapter.

of the factors which contributed significantly to the increase (and variation) in use of this new(ish) verb-initial construction, is that it seems to have been perceived as functionally equivalent to and interchangeable with two other existing and productive constructions. Absolute V1 could thus expand into the syntactic environments occupied by these existing competing constructions, which in turn influenced the semantics of Absolute V1. Nevertheless, these competing (secondary source) constructions remained productive throughout the period under investigation and so cannot be said to have merged into the Early Modern Welsh Absolute V1 construction, unlike its direct or primary source constructions.

1.2 Absolute V1 in Welsh as a potential multiple source construction

This paper focuses on a construction – Absolute V1 in Early Modern Welsh (c.1500-c.1800) – where there are no obvious formal traces of multiple sources such as form-meaning mismatches or formal alternations or irregularities. However, it is argued here that it may not be possible to explain certain patterns of diachronic change as well as of synchronic variation in its use without invoking multiple sources. In the Absolute V1 construction, a synthetic finite verb comes in absolute-initial position in a positive declarative main clause, illustrated in (2), which gives examples from each of the main periods in the history of Welsh. In Construction Grammar terminology, Absolute V1 is a schematic, lexically open construction (Fillmore, Kay, and O'Connor 1988, 505; Croft 2001, 17), even more so than the German ‘scandal construction’ discussed by Gaeta (2015), and it has a very general function, essentially as an unmarked word order. The term *Absolute* V1 is used to distinguish the construction from other finite verb-initial constructions where the verb does not come in absolute-initial position in a positive declarative main clause, but is preceded by an affirmative verbal particle or a negative particle in a negative main clause or subordinating conjunction in a subordinate clause.

(2)

a. Old Welsh (OW) prose (c.700- c.1100)

Rodesit	elcu	guetig	<i>equis</i>	<i>tres</i>	<i>vache</i>
Give-3SG.PAST	Elgi	afterwards	[Latin] horse	three	cows

‘Elgi gave afterwards a horse and three cows’³ (c.8th century) (Jenkins and Owen 1983)

3 All translations of examples are my own unless otherwise stated.

b. Middle Welsh (MW) prose (c.1100- c.1500)

Gwelsant niuer Otgar eu meint
 See-3PL.PAST retinue Otgar their strength
 ‘Otgar’s retinue ascertained their strength’ (c.1300-c.1350) (Bromwich and Evans 1988, line 1039)

c. Early Modern Welsh (EMnW) prose (c.1500-c.1800)

Lladdodd Meurig eu brenin hwy mewn brwydr
 Kill-3SG.PAST Meurig their king they in battle
 ‘Meurig killed their king in battle’ (1677) (Edwards and Williams 1936 [1677], 152)

d. Modern Welsh (MnW) prose (c.1800-)

Tynnodd y wraig ei llaw yn ôl yn frysio
 Pull-3SG.PAST the woman her hand back ADVZ hurried
 ‘The woman hurriedly withdrew her hand’ (1977) (Roberts 1977, 12)

The fact that the construction Absolute V1 is found in a similar form throughout the documented history of Welsh but shows considerable diachronic variation in its frequency of use highlights a fundamental challenge in investigating constructional change, which is to what extent we can talk of continuity in the history of a construction. While diachronically it would appear relatively straightforward to trace the history of a construction which looks the same in the textual record, from a synchronic perspective the question arises whether it can be regarded as the same construction if, at least from a structuralist or formal perspective, it is used in different synchronic systems or is generated by different synchronic grammars.

Although the Insular Celtic languages, of which Welsh is one, are generally associated with VSO word order, only the Goidelic subgroup – Irish, Scottish Gaelic and Manx – have been consistently VSO throughout their history. Welsh, in the Brythonic subgroup along with Breton and Cornish, is, however, characterised by major word order variation and change throughout its history. In Old Welsh, Absolute V1 is attested in both prose and poetic texts, but the textual record is fragmentary, so it is not possible to conclude how frequently Absolute V1 was used overall and whether Old Welsh can be described as a VSO language. In Middle Welsh, Absolute V1 is frequent in poetry but is rare in prose, where instead we find a predominant V2 word order in positive declarative main clauses (PDMCs). At the same time, there is word order variation in Middle Welsh prose between positive declarative main clauses, on the one hand, which have V2, and negative main and subordinate clauses, on the other, which have predominantly VSO word order. In Early Modern Welsh, there is a noticeable increase in the frequency of use of Absolute V1 in PDMCs in prose texts

from the second half of the 16th century, but we find marked variation between different prose writers, not just variation between prose and poetry as in Middle Welsh. At one extreme, some writers use Absolute V1 as the single most frequent word order (e.g. in over 50% of PDMCs), and at the other extreme, other writers avoid the construction altogether. In between these two extremes, other writers still show various intermediate patterns of use of Absolute V1, using it alongside competing word orders (notably personal pronoun subject or dummy subject + verb constructions), in some cases interchangeably, in other cases preferring Absolute V1 in certain environments and the competing constructions in different environments. There are even cases, such as in the 16th-century Welsh Bible translations, as discussed in Currie (2016, 2023) and in section 3.2 below, of writers style shifting between Absolute V1 and competing constructions. Finally, Modern Welsh has generalised VSO, which is the predominant word order in positive declarative main clauses, negative main clauses and subordinate clauses, though there is variation between different verb-initial constructions in positive declarative main clauses, with competition between Absolute V1, finite verb-initial constructions with affirmative preverbal particles and analytical (progressive and periphrastic) verb-initial constructions.

This paper focuses on the increase in use of Absolute V1 in Early Modern Welsh prose and investigates whether this increase may have multiple sources. More specifically, the paper argues that the Absolute V1 construction in Early Modern Welsh may in part represent the continuation of an existing construction (i.e. Absolute V1 in Middle Welsh) and in part represent an innovation where Absolute V1 also derives, on the one hand, from other constructions – the Adv+y+Verb construction in (4) and the *y(r)*+verb construction in (5)a and (5)b through the loss of the preverbal particle *y(r)* – and on the other hand, from the extension of the use of Absolute V1 in poetry, where it was common, to prose, where it had been rare. Absolute V1 in Welsh is, thus, potentially a more unusual instance of a multiple source construction and at the same time a particularly interesting one. First, the evidence for multiple sources is of a different nature than that discussed in other studies of multiple source constructional change (Fanego 2015; Gaeta 2015; Trousdale 2015; Drinka 2015; Fischer 2015; Riionheimo 2015), as it is based on syntactic and stylistic/sociolinguistic variation rather than differences or mismatches in form and function. Second, the case of Absolute V1 in Welsh highlights, in turn, another aspect of the contribution which multiple source explanations can make to our understanding of constructional change, that is how different sources of a construction can influence subsequent stylistic and sociolinguistic patterns of variation in its use.

The rest of this chapter is structured as follows. The next section (2) gives a brief general overview of the word order change under investigation, the increase in Absolute V1 in Early Modern Welsh. Section 3 then examines three potential sources for the increase in use of Absolute V1: in 3.1, the loss of the preverbal particle *y* in Adverb+*y*+verb constructions; in 3.2, the extension of Absolute V1 from poetry to prose and in 3.3 the loss of the preverbal particle *y* in [Subordinate clause], *y(r)*+verb constructions.⁴ Finally, section 4, the discussion and conclusion, discusses the significance of multiple sources in explaining the development of Absolute V1 in Early Modern Welsh as well as the interest of this constructional change in Welsh for the study of multiple source constructions more generally.

2 The change from V2 in Middle Welsh towards V1 in Early Modern Welsh

2.1 Middle Welsh word order

The change under investigation – the increase in use of Absolute V1 in Early Modern Welsh – is part of a wider systemic word order change in Welsh from V2 in positive declarative clauses in Middle Welsh (prose) to VSO in Modern Welsh (Willis 1998; Currie 2025). In the Middle Welsh V2 word order, a constituent (or argument) is fronted before a finite verb in a positive declarative clause and a preverbal particle – *a* or *y* – comes between the fronted constituent and the verb. If the fronted constituent is a subject (as in examples 3a and 3b), direct object (3c) or verbal noun object of an auxiliary verb in a periphrastic construction (3d), the particle *a* is used (Pope Forthcoming; Meelen 2020; Currie 2025). If the fronted constituent is an adverbial or prepositional phrase, the particle *y* is used, as illustrated in example 4.

(3)

Fronted subjects or direct objects in Middle Welsh prose

- a. Personal pronoun Subject + *a* + verb (PronS-V)

mi **a** wnaf dy gynghor di

I **PRT** do-1SG.FUT your.2SG advice you.2SG

‘I will act on your advice’ (Thomson 1957, line 402)

4 In Middle Welsh, the particle *y* takes the form *y* before verb beginning with a consonant and *yd/əð/* before verbs beginning with a vowel. In Early Modern and Modern Welsh, the form *yr* is used before verbs beginning with a vowel. Here *y* is used to refer to the particle in Middle and Early Modern Welsh, instead of *y(d)* or *y(r)*.

- b. Nominal Subject + *a* + verb (NomS-V)
 E kennadeu **a** aethant ar ol Matholwch
 the messengers **PRT** go-3PL.PAST after Matholwch
 ‘The messengers went after Matholwch’ (I. Williams 1930, 33)
- c. Nominal Object + *a* + verb (Obj-V)
 Y march **a** gymerth
 the horse **PRT** take-3SG.PAST
 ‘He took the horse’ (Thomson 1957, line 217)
- d. Verbal noun object + *a* + AUX *gwneuthur* ‘to do’ (the ‘*gwneuthur*-inversion’, Gwn)
 Kynhewi **a** oruc Pwyll
 Fall silent-VN **PRT** do-SG.PAST Pwyll
 ‘Pwyll fell silent’ (Thomson 1957, line 323)
- (4) Adverb + *y(d)* + Verb (Adv-y-V)
 Ac y’r llys **y** deuthant yn dangneuedus (Adv-y-V)
 And to the court **PRT** come-3PL.PAST ADV peaceful
 ‘And they came to the court in peace’ (I. Williams 1930, 34)

The particles *a* and *y(d)* are identical in form to relative particles: *a* is the relative particle used in direct relative clauses when the antecedent is a subject or direct object, and *y* is used in oblique relative clauses when the antecedent is an indirect object, genitive or prepositional phrase. It is believed, relatively uncontroversially, that the Middle Welsh as well as the cognate Middle Breton and Cornish V2 constructions derive diachronically from cleft focus constructions with a clause-initial copula (i.e. a VSO structure) which expanded in use, lost the initial copula and became semantically bleached as topicalization constructions (Eska 2020, 44-45; Meelen 2020; Padel 2021, 282-283; Willis Forthcoming).

Finite verb-initial constructions are also found in PDMCs in Middle Welsh prose, most frequently with the preverbal particle *y*, less frequently with the preverbal particle *neu*, while Absolute V1 (as in example 2b) is rare (Willis 1998, 123-124; Meelen 2020, 428-429; Currie 2025, 15-17). The *y*+Verb construction is particularly common in positive declarative main clauses which follow subordinate clauses, as in example 5a (the form “*y kymher*”), but is also found in standalone positive declarative main clauses, especially after the coordinating conjunction *a(c)* “and”, as in example 5b.

(5)

- a. Y+Verb order in a PDMC following a subordinate clause (postposed PDMC)

A phan del yno, y kymher vn o'r kyllleill
 And when come-3SG.PRES-SUBJ there, PRT take-3SG.PRES one of the knives

yn y law ac y dywait o'e lawn llef, "Yr karyat ar vyn duw
 in his hand and PRT say-3SG.PRES in his full voice out of love for my god

y torraf i vying kic."
 PRT cut-1SG.PRES I my meat

- b. Y+Verb order in a standalone of sentence-initial PDMC (non-postposed PDMC)

Ac y kymher yr hynn a dorro
 And PRT take-3SG.PRES what REL cut-3SG.PRES-SUBJ

ac y bwrw yn wyneb y geu duw;
 and PRT-it throw-3SG.PRES in face the false god

“And when he comes there, he takes one of the knives in his hand and says in his full voice “Out of love for my God I cut my meat.” And he takes what he cuts off and throws it in the face of the false god.’ (S.J. Williams 1929, 40)

A key challenge in analysing Middle Welsh word order – which is particularly relevant to understanding the later increase in use of Absolute V1 in Early Modern Welsh – is determining the status of V1 word orders and in particular Absolute V1 in Middle Welsh. Willis (1998, 129) analyses Middle Welsh within a formal, Principles and Parameters framework as a strict V2 language where *unmarked* verb-initial order is ungrammatical. Verb-initial constructions with the preverbal particle *y* are, thus, in Willis’ analysis assimilated to the V2 system by positing a null topic operator. Instances of Absolute V1 in Middle Welsh, as in example 2b, are recognised as genuine exceptions to the V2 grammar but are rare and also considered by Willis to be marked constructions in contrast to the general, unmarked VSO word order in Modern Welsh (example 2d). There remains, however, the problem of explaining the variation between Middle Welsh prose, where Absolute V1 is rare, and Middle Welsh poetry, where the construction is frequent. The evidence of 16th and 17th-century slander case records (Suggett 1983, 1992), where we have transcriptions of oral statements (the texts closest to spoken discourse available) and where Absolute V1 is also rare, suggests that Middle Welsh prose word order is likely to have been closer to spoken usage than that of Middle Welsh poetry. The more frequent use of Absolute V1 in poetry could perhaps be attributed, on the one hand, to greater conservatism and continuity in the Welsh poetic compared to the prose tradition, and on the other

hand, to the fact that the use of Absolute V1 came to be incorporated into key formal features of medieval Welsh poetry such as metre, syllable count and assonance patterns. Absolute V1 may, thus, have become a feature of Welsh poetic style – in the prestigious *canu caeth* (“strict metre”) poetic tradition (Fulton 2011, 201) – at a time when Absolute V1 was more frequent in spoken discourse and may have subsequently been maintained because it was formally useful.

It is not necessary on either empirical or theoretical grounds, as I have argued in Currie (2013; 2025, 4-5, 15-17), to go as far as Willis (1998) in analysing (“unmarked”) Absolute V1 as ungrammatical. From an empirical perspective, since Absolute V1 is attested in Middle Welsh prose, an alternative approach would be to analyse Absolute V1 as a grammatical but marginal and weakly motivated construction, as it does not conform to the predominant V2 pattern. Further, from a theoretical perspective, since V1 is attested as a variant word order in other languages analysed as V2, including within formal frameworks, there is also no theoretical necessity to rule out grammatical V1 in a V2 language (Fontana 1997, 210).

2.3 Increase in use of Absolute V1 in Early Modern Welsh

The diachronic development of Absolute V1 in the early modern period was investigated using a self-compiled corpus of 32 prose texts by 26 different writers for the period c.1550-1763 including 6,507 PDMCs. The corpus is subdivided into four (approximate) 50-year periods: six texts for the period c.1550-1599, six texts for 1600-1649, eight texts for 1650-1699 and six texts for 1700-1763. The composition of the corpus reflects the different types of prose texts available during the period, which have been subdivided into the following broad categories: expository prose, that is discursive texts and treatises mostly religious in subject matter (Exp. prose), first-person narrative prose (Narr. prose 1SG), third-person narrative prose (Narr. prose 3SG) and autograph manuscript sermons (Sermons). In addition, there is a separate subcorpus comprising six extracts from the 16th-century Bible translations: the 1567 New Testament and Psalms translated mostly by William Salesbury and the 1588 revised translation of the New Testament and Psalms and new translation of the rest of the Old Testament and Apocrypha by William Morgan. The Bible subcorpus includes extracts from the 1567 gospel of Mark (books 1-5) and 1567 Psalms (books 1-21) translated by William Salesbury, the corresponding extracts of William Morgan’s revised 1588 translations of Mark and the Psalms, as well as Morgan’s 1588 translations of the book of Esther and Isaiah (1-9), which had not previously been translated. Since insufficient Early Modern Welsh texts have been digitalised and tagged, the corpus was compiled by manually extracting

and annotating PDMCs from the selected texts. The linguistic features that were annotated include the word order or construction used, the syntactic status of fronted adverbials (whether they are arguments of the verb or not), information relating to the verb (person, number, lexical item, voice) as well as the retention or omission of the preverbal particles *a* and *y*.

Tables 1-5 show the frequency of Absolute V1 (abbreviated as “Abs. V1”) both in absolute numbers and as a percentage of PDMCs (that is the only clause type where Absolute V1 can occur) in each half-century period of the corpus: Table 1 non-biblical texts for 1550-1599, Table 2 extracts from the 1567 and 1588 Bible translations, Table 3 1600-1649, Table 4 1650-1699 and Table 5 1700-1763.

Table 1: Frequency of Absolute V1 in prose corpus texts 1550-1599 (excl. Bible)

Text	Text type	Date	PDMCs n°	Abs. V1 n°	% Abs. V1
Ff c.1550	Exp. prose	c.1550	213	0	0.0%
Ep 1567	Exp. prose	1567	128	1	0.8%
Cr c1575	Narr. prose 3SG	c.1575	82	0	0.0%
Gw 1580	Exp. prose	1580	198	2	1.0%
Eg 1583	Narr. prose 3SG	1583	160	0	0.0%
De 1595	Exp. prose	1595	170	3	1.8%

Table 2: Frequency of Absolute V1 in extracts from 1567 and 1588 Bible translations

Text	Text type	Date	PDMCs n°	Abs. V1 n°	% Abs. V1
Mark 1-5 (1567)	NT prose	1567	219	5	2.3%
Psalms 1-20 (1567)	OT poetry	1567	268	55	20.5%
Mark 1-5 (1588)	NT prose	1588	217	14	6.5%
Esther	OT prose	1588	191	18	9.4%
Psalms 1-20 (1588)	OT poetry	1588	278	114	41.0%
Isaiah 1-9	OT poetry	1588	226	56	24.8%

Absolute V1 was rare in Middle Welsh prose, with no examples in some texts and often only one or two when it is attested. The frequency of use of Absolute V1 in the six prose texts in Table 1, ranging between 0% and 2% of PDMCs does not seem to be significantly different from that of Middle Welsh prose. However, the 1567 and 1588 Bible translations, especially the extracts from books translated from Old Testament Hebrew poetry – the 1567 Psalms, 1588 Psalms and 1588 Isaiah – show a much

a much higher frequency of Absolute V1: 21% of PDMCs for the 1567 Psalms, 41% for the 1588 Psalms and 25% for Isaiah (1588). Although the frequency of Absolute V1 in the prose books of the 1567 and 1588 Bibles is significantly lower than that of the poetic books, it is still for most of the books in the corpus sample within a range of 2.3%-9.4%, which is noticeably higher than that of Middle Welsh prose texts.

Table 3: Frequency of Absolute V1 in prose corpus texts 1600-1649

Text	Text type	Date	PDMCs n°	Abs. V1 n°	% Abs. V1
WG c1600	MS sermon	c.1600	192	2	1.0%
EM 1610	MS sermon	c.1610	154	1	0.6%
Go 1615	Exp. prose	1615	216	57	26.4%
Ed 1629	Exp. prose	1629	170	0	0.0%
Ca 1631	Exp. prose	1631	126	21	16.7%
JP c1641	MS sermon	c.1641	179	18	10.1%

Table 4: Frequency of Absolute V1 in prose corpus texts 1650-1699

Text	Text type	Date	PDMCs n°	Abs. V1 n°	% Abs. V1
LITA 1653	Exp. prose	1653	378	2	0.5%
NLW3 1675	MS sermon	1675-6	176	10	5.7%
Ys 1675	Exp. prose	1675	243	0	0.0%
Ffydd 1677	Narr/Exp. prose	1677	390	246	63.1%
Gwydd 1679	Exp. prose	1679	200	80	40.0%
JG 1683	MS sermon	1683-5	175	0	0.0%
YBM 1691	Exp. prose	1691	299	64	21.4%
Be 1693	Exp. prose	1693	202	95	47.0%

Table 5: Frequency of Absolute V1 in prose corpus texts 1700-1763

Text	Text type	Date	PDMCs n°	Abs. V1 n°	% Abs. V1
BC 1703	Narr. prose 1SG	1703	185	66	35.7%
HBA 1718	Narr. prose 3SG	1718	258	55	21.3%
Pel 1735	Narr. prose 3SG	1735	197	44	22.3%
H1 1737	Narr. prose 1SG	1737	138	13	9.4%
Pr 1750	Narr. prose 1SG	1750	138	6	4.3%
H2 1763	Narr. prose 1SG	1763	141	42	29.8%

After 1600, not only is Absolute V1 widely attested in texts outside the Bible translations (occurring in 10% or more of PDMCs in 11 out 20 corpus texts after 1600), but in some texts it is used particularly frequently (in 40% or more of PDMCs) and as the single most frequent word order, for example with a frequency of 63% in Charles Edwards' *Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant* (Ff 1677), 40% in Charles Edwards' *Gwyddorion y Grefydd Gristnogol* (Gwydd 1679) and 47% in James Owen's *Bedydd Plant o'r Nefoed* (Be 1693). Over time, we also find relatively fewer texts with no or only one or two examples of Absolute V1. In the period 1550-1650, 8 out of 12 texts have a frequency of Absolute V1 of 1% or less compared to 3 out of 14 in the period 1650-1763. There is still, however, marked variation between contemporary and near contemporary texts, for example Rondl Davies' 1675 *Profiad yr Yspriton* (Ys 1675) has no instances of Absolute V1 in contrast to Charles Edwards' 1677 *Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant* (Ffydd 1677), which has Absolute V1 in over 63% of PDMCs.

The underlying reason for the marked variation in the frequency of use of Absolute V1 between individual writers seems to have been competition with other productive constructions, specifically Personal pronoun subject (PronS) + Verb and Dummy subject (DU) + Verb, with which Absolute V1 seems to have been perceived as largely functionally equivalent and interchangeable. The variation between Absolute V1, Personal Pronoun Subject + Verb (PronS-V) and Dummy Subject + Verb (DU-V) constructions has been examined in more detail in Currie (2000, 2013, 2023, 2025). Here, for reasons of space, I will simply illustrate the interchangeability with examples (in 6-10 below) of the substitution of Absolute V1 for PronS-V or DU-V or vice-versa as well as of Adv-V for Adv-PronS-V and Adv-DU-V in different versions of the same text. Example 5 gives corresponding lines from two different manuscript versions of an original (untranslated) verse morality play (*Y Gwr Kadarn* – “The Strong Man”), with Absolute V1 in the earlier version (6a) dated to the mid-16th century and PronS-V order in the later version (6b) dated to c.1600. Such interchangeability of Absolute V1 and PronS-V is possible because Welsh is optionally pro-drop. A personal pronoun subject can be overtly expressed with a preverbal pronoun, which can be either emphatic and stressed (as in 6b) or unstressed (as in 7a), or with a postverbal clitic pronoun (as in 6a). Alternatively, since the person of the verb is indicated in the verbal inflections, a personal pronoun subject need not be used at all (as in 7b and 8a).

(6)

- a. **Absolute V1** – *Y Gwr Cadarn*, Cardiff MS 2.83, 71 (c.1550)

gadawa fi hi yn sykutor om holl goweth
leave-1SG.FUT I her PRED executor of my whole wealth

- b. **PronS-V** – *Y Gwr Cadarn*, NLW MS Peniarth 65, 56 (c.1600)

Myfi ai gadawa hi yn secktor Ar fy holl olyd
I PRT-her leave-1SG.FUT her PRED executor on my whole wealth

‘I shall leave her as executor of all my wealth [...]’

Examples showing the interchangeability of Absolute V1 and PronS-V order are found throughout the two-century corpus period and in different text types. Example 7 illustrates such interchangeability in two 18th-century Welsh translations of John Bunyan’s *Grace Abounding*: the earlier translation of 1737 by John Einnion in 7a has PronS-V order, while 1763 translation by Rhys Thomas of the corresponding sentence has Absolute V1. Similar interchangeability is also found after clause-initial adverbial phrases, so that Adv-V constructions are substituted for Adv-PronS-V and Adv-DummyS-V or vice versa. Thus, in 8a, Adv-PronS is used in the 1737 translation of *Grace Abounding*, which has been replaced with Adv-V order in the 1763 translation of the corresponding sentence, as shown in 8b.

(7)

- a. **PronS-V** – *Grace Abounding*, 1737 (H1 1737, 18)

mi a ddichwelais yn ffromwyllt at fy chwariaeth drachefn
I PRT return-1SG.PAST ADVZ brazen to my play back
‘I returned brazenly to my play’

- b. **Absolute V1** – *Grace Abounding*, 1763 (H2 1763, 18)

dychwelais at fy Ynfydrwydd drachefn
return-1SG.PAST to my folly back
‘I returned to my folly’

(8)

- a. **Adv-PronS-V** – *Grace Abounding*, 1737 (H1 1737, 12)

amser arall mi syrthiais or Bad i Afon Bedford
Time other I fall-1SG.PAST out of-the boat into river Bedford

- b. **Adv-V** – *Grace Abounding*, 1763 (H1 1763, 10)

Amser arall syrthiais o'r Bâd i afon Bedford
Time other fall-1SG.PAST out of-the boat into river Bedford

‘Another time I fell out of the boat into the Bedford River’

Examples (9) and (10) illustrate the interchangeability of DU-Verb and Absolute V1 as well as Adv-DU and Adv-V respectively. In 9b, William Morgan has substituted Absolute V1 in his 1588 revised translation of Mark 1:40 for the dummy subject in William Salesbury's 1567 translation of the same sentence (9a). Nearly two centuries later, in example 10b, Rhys Thomas uses Adv-V in his 1763 translation of John Bunyan's *Grace Abounding* where John Einnion in his 1737 translation of the same sentence had used Adv-DU-V (10a).

(9)

- a. **Dummy Subject (DU-V)** – Mark 1:40, 1567 (Salesbury, Davies, and Huet 1567)

Ac e ddaeth ataw ddyn clavrllt
And DU come-3SG.PAST to-him man leprous

- b. **Absolute V1** – Mark 1:40, 1588 (W. Morgan and National Library of Wales 1987 [1588])

A daeth atto ef [vn] gwahan-glwyfus
And come-3s-PAST to-him he [one] leprous
'And a leper came up to him'

(10)

- a. **Adv-DU-V** – *Grace Abounding*, 1737 (H1 1737, 12)

Heblaw hynny amser arall pan oeddwn yn y maes gyd ac un
Besides that time another when be-1SG-IMPERF in the field with one

o'm cydfilwyr, fe ddigwyddodd i Neidir groesi 'r ffordd
of my fellow soldiers DU happen-3SG.PAST to snake cross-VN the road

'Besides that another time, when I was in the field with one of my fellow soldiers, a snake happened to cross the road'

- b. **Adv-V** – *Grace Abounding*, 1763 (H2 1763, 4)

Bryd arall, pan oeddwn yn y maes gyd ag un
time another when be-1SG-IMPERF in the field with one

o'm cyfeillion, digwyddodd i neidr ymlusgo o'm blaen
of my companions happen-3SG.PAST to snake slither-VN of my front

'Another time, when I was in the field with one of my companions, a snake happened to slither in front of me'

The functional equivalence and interchangeability of Absolute V1 with the PronS-V and DU-V constructions is relevant for explaining both the diachronic increase and the synchronic variation in the use of Absolute V1. PronS-V and DU-V were productive constructions which together covered a wide range of syntactic

environments: DU-V could be used with nominal subjects and in impersonal constructions, while PronS-V could be used with all personal pronoun subjects. Therefore, once Absolute V1 was reintroduced as a productive construction as a result of the changes described in the following section and was perceived as interchangeable with PronS-V and DU-V, it could expand into the syntactic environments where these two constructions were used. Absolute V1 could thus potentially be used extremely frequently, even as the majority or single most dominant word order, which we find, for example, in Charles Edwards' *Y Ffydd Ddi-ffvant* (Ffydd in Table 4, with 63% Absolute V1) and James Owen's *Bedydd Plant o'r Nefoedd* (Bedydd in Table 4, with 47% Absolute V1). On the other hand, since the competing constructions (PronS-V, Du-V and Nominal Subject + Verb) remained productive, Absolute V1 need not be used at all and, indeed, we find authors who seem to avoid Absolute V1 altogether, such as Rondl Davies in *Profiad yr Ysprydion* (Ys 1675 in Table 4) and John Griffith in his manuscript sermons (JG in Table 4) with no examples of Absolute V1 in the corpus sample. In between these two extremes there are various intermediate patterns of use.

3 Possible multiple sources for the increase in Absolute V1

3.1 The omission of the preverbal particle *y* in Adverb-*y*-Verb constructions

Evans (1950, 1968) was the first to argue that Absolute V1 in Early Modern and Modern Welsh was the result of syntactic change in the early modern period, specifically the loss of the preverbal particle *y* in Adv-*y*-Verb constructions. Noting examples of Absolute V1 as well as of Adverb+Verb (Adv-V) constructions in late 16th and early 17th-century Welsh prose texts, and supposing that Adv-V constructions derived from Adv-*y*-Verb constructions as a result of the loss of *y*, Evans argued that the loss of *y* after clause-initial adverbial phrases also effectively enabled the emergence of Absolute V1 order:

With the disappearance of the unaccented *y* the syntactical connection between adverb and predicate, which was an essential element in the sentence order adverb+*y*+verb, which had evolved in M.W., was broken. The adverb would no longer be confined to the position it occupied in the 'abnormal' order. Consequently its position could be changed, and '*Yma gellir dangos*' [here can-3s-PRES/FUT-PASS show-VN — 'here it can be shown' — my tagging] could be rendered '*Gellir dangos yma*', or '*Gellir yma ddangos*' without change of meaning. (Evans 1968, 335)

Evans' statement that adverbs were confined to initial position in the 'abnormal order' (i.e. the V2 and SV word order patterns in Middle and later Welsh prose, so called in traditional Welsh grammar as they deviate from the characteristic VSO order of Modern Welsh) is an oversimplification, since adverbs could also already appear regularly in other positions in Middle Welsh prose, in particular postverbally (Poppe 1989/90, 1991). Nevertheless, Evans' hypothesis of a link between the loss of the preverbal particle *y* in Adv-*y*-Verb constructions was an important insight which marked a turning point in the investigation of the diachronic development of VSO in Welsh. Using a formal Principles and Parameters framework, Willis (1998) argued more systematically that the loss in the sixteenth century not only of the preverbal particle *y* but also of the preverbal particle *a* combined with other syntactic changes led to a loss of V2 word order and the emergence of grammatical unmarked V1, specifically Absolute V1. Willis (1998) proposed a formal (Principles and Parameters, P&P) analysis of the loss of V2 and rise of V1 in Welsh, where unmarked V1 was ungrammatical in PDMCs in Middle Welsh (a strict V2 constraint), but became grammatical after the resetting of the V2 parameter to negative in the 16th century ("the loss of V2"). One of the most important triggers for the resetting of the V2 parameter in Willis' analysis is the loss of the preverbal particles *a* and *y*, which Willis (1998: 62, 183) argues functioned as topic or Spec-Head agreement markers and which he claims were lost as a result of 'phonological erosion' in the 16th century (Willis 1998: 204). However, neither Evans (1968) nor Willis (1998) provide systematic empirical corpus data to demonstrate, on the one hand, that the loss of the preverbal particles *a* and *y(d)* actually happened as claimed and, on the other hand, that the increase in use of Absolute V1 can be linked to the loss of the particles.

Currie (2025) investigated empirically the putative connection between the loss of the preverbal particles *a* and *y* on the basis of a corpus comprising 94 prose and verse texts and over 10,000 PDMCs spanning the period c.1550-1772. While Currie (2025) shows that there is no evidence of a widespread and rapid loss of the preverbal particles *a* and *y* in the sixteenth century as claimed, but rather only a more gradual and partial omission of the particles which varied depending on the syntactic environment, there does seem to be evidence of a more specific connection between omission of *y* and the increase in the use of Absolute V1. Currie (2025) compared the frequency of Adv-V order (as a proxy for the omission of *y* in Adv-*y*-Verb constructions) with the frequency of Absolute V1 in individual corpus texts and found that there was a strong positive correlation between the use of Adv-V order, on the one hand, and the use of Absolute V1 on the other. In other words, writers who used Adv-V order frequently also tended to use Absolute V1 frequently, while writers who

used Adv-V order infrequently also used Absolute V1 infrequently and, indeed, some writers in the sample of texts included in the corpus also avoided both constructions. The correlation between Adv-V order and Absolute V1 is, moreover, part of a wider pattern of symmetry between the word order in PDMCs with clause-initial adverbial phrases, on the one hand, and PDMCs without clause-initial adverbial phrases, on the other, as the frequency of Adverb+XP (personal pronoun subject and dummy subject)+ Verb constructions also correlates with that of XP+verb constructions, as illustrated in figure 1.

#Adv + V (S) (O)	↔	#V (S) (O)
#Adv + PronS + V (O)	↔	#PronS + V (O)
#Adv + DU + V (S) (O)	↔	#DU + V (S) (O)

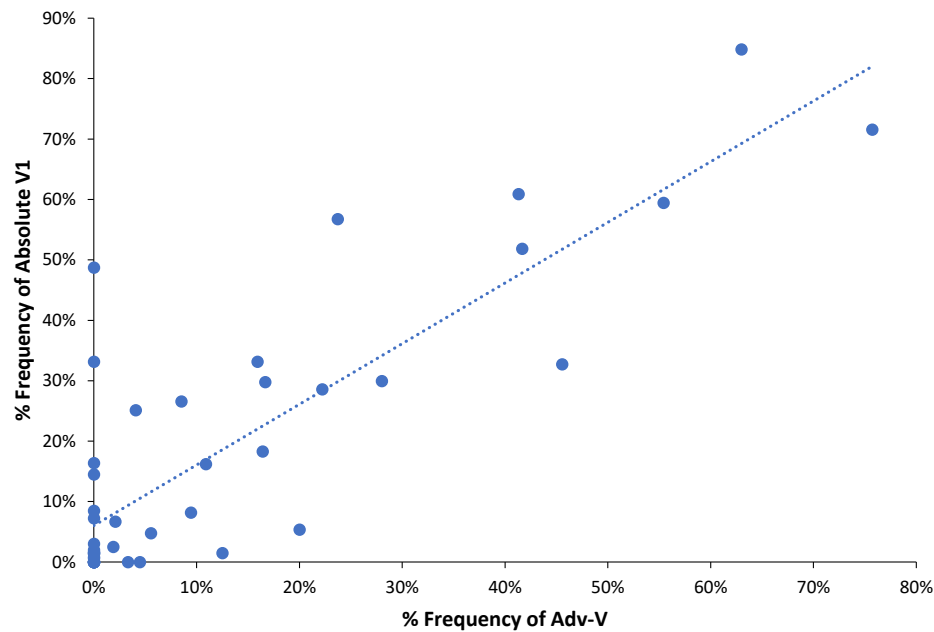
Figure 1: Word order symmetry between adverb-initial and non-adverb-initial PDMCs⁵

The emerging pattern of word order symmetry between adverb-initial and non-adverb-initial PDMCs in Early Modern Welsh corpus texts is significant for two reasons. First, it represents a fundamental change in relation to Middle Welsh, where there was a different, V2-based pattern of structural symmetry: all types of fronted constituents, including adverbials, followed a similar schema, *C-particle-V*, though a different particle (*y*) was used after fronted adverbials compared to fronted subjects or direct objects (*a*). Second, although there is an apparent association between the omission of *y* after adverbial phrases and the use of Absolute V1, the omission of *y* does not necessarily give rise to Absolute V1, since, as shown in the previous section, there is variation between individual writers, with some writers using both Adv-V order and Absolute V1 frequently and other writers using the constructions less frequently or avoiding them altogether.

Evidence of the correlation between the use of Adv-V order and Absolute V1 is shown in Graph 1, which plots the frequency of Absolute V1 in PDMCs without clause-initial adverbial phrases (along the y-axis) against the frequency of Adv-V order in PDMCs with a clause-initial adverbial phrase (along the x-axis) for the larger corpus of 73 prose texts by 40 different writers in Currie (2025). Table 6 also gives the corresponding Pearson correlation coefficients between the frequency of the three adverb-initial constructions and their non-adverb-initial counterparts: Adv-V vs. Absolute V1, Adv-PronS-V vs. PronS-V and Adv-DU-V vs. DU-V. Both Graph 1 and

5 Abbreviations: “#” denotes the beginning of a clause, PronS = personal pronoun subject, DU = Dummy subject

Table 6 show that there is a strong positive linear correlation between the frequency of Adv-V and that of Absolute V1 (with a Pearson correlation coefficient of 0.842), but there are less strong positive correlations for the personal pronoun and dummy subject constructions (0.608 and 0.655 respectively).



Graph 1: Correlation between the frequency of Adv-V and Absolute V1

Table 6: Correlation between frequency of adverb-initial orders with corresponding non-adverb-initial orders

Word orders compared	Pearson correlation coefficient	
	All prose corpus texts	Prose corpus texts excl. Bible
Adv-V vs. Absolute V1	0.842	0.919
Adv-PronS-V vs. PronS-V	0.608	0.604
Adv-DU-V vs. DU-V	0.655	0.615

While in most prose corpus texts both Absolute V1 and Adv-V co-occur and with a comparable frequency, there is a significant exception to this pattern: the Bible translations and John Piers’ manuscript sermons, which seem in turn to have used the Bible as a linguistic model. As shown in Table 6, if we exclude the Bible translations,

the Pearson correlation coefficient for Adv-V and Absolute V1 is even more strongly positive (0.919). In the texts which represent an exception to the correlation, shown in Table 7, we find Absolute V1 with varying degrees of frequency (ranging from 2% of non-adverb-initial PDMCs in 1567 Mark to 48% in the 1588 Psalms) together with frequent Adv-y-V order but with no or (in the case of the 1567 Psalms) few examples of Adv-V order.

Table 7: Exceptions to the correlation between the Adv-V and Absolute V1

	% frequency in adv-initial PDMCs		% frequency in non-adv-initial PDMCs
	Adv-y-V	Adv-V	Absolute V1
Mark (M1 1567)	94%	0%	2%
Psalms (S1 1567)	84%	4%	21%
Psalms 1588 (S2 1588)	96%	0%	48%
Mark 1588 (M2 1588)	76%	0%	9%
Esther 1588 (Es 1588)	44%	0%	16%
Isaiah 1588 (Is 1588)	84%	0%	33%
John Piers' sermons (JP c.1640)	82%	0%	15%

The 1588 Bible translations were in part a revision of the 1567 translations and the 1588 translator, William Morgan, seems to have reacted against the inconsistent and idiosyncratic language of the 1567 translations (I. Thomas 1976, 1988; Currie 2022). One of William Morgan's linguistic revisions was to consistently retain the preverbal particles *a* and *y* which were occasionally omitted in the 1567 translations; (11) is an example where Morgan adds the particle *y(r)* after a clause-initial adverbial phrase where it was omitted in the 1567 Bible.

(11)

- a. 1567 Psalms
yntho ymddiriedaf
in-3SG.M trust-1SG.PRES
- b. 1588 Psalms
ynddo ef **yr** ymddiriedaf
in-3SG.M him **PRT** trust-1SG.PRES

'In him I trust' (Psalm 18:2)

The correlation between the frequency of use of Adv-V and Absolute V1 suggests that the omission of the preverbal particle *y* in Adv-*y*-V constructions may indeed have been a source of Absolute V1. However, the fact that the earliest prose texts where Absolute V1 occurs most frequently – the 16th-century Bible translations – are also those which represent an exception to the correlation suggests that either the use of Absolute V1 in the Bible had another source or that subsequent changes (e.g. linguistic standardization) have partly obscured the link between the diachronic origin of Absolute V1 and its textual distribution, or perhaps both factors are at work at the same time.

The preverbal particle *y* may have begun to be lost after adverbial phrases as a result of sound change. It seems likely that *y* was unaccented at least when the preceding adverbial phrase was not an argument of the verb or a focused constituent. Willis (1998, 188) posits a ‘widespread’ loss of the particle by the second half of the 16th century, which he attributes to ‘phonological erosion’ (1998, 204). While the ‘phonological erosion’ of an unaccented particle seems plausible, this was not an abrupt across-the-board loss as Willis argues, since Adv-*y*-V continues to be used relatively frequently in 18th-century corpus texts alongside Adv-V and Adv-XP-V (i.e. Adv-S-V and Adv-DU-V) constructions. Table 8 shows the frequency of Adv-*y*-V, Adv-V and Adv-XP-V constructions in adverb-initial PDMCs alongside that of Absolute V1 in non-adverb-initial PDMCs in chronological order for all corpus texts. In the latest corpus text, Rhys Thomas’ 1763 Welsh translation of John Bunyan’s *Grace Abounding*, Adv-*y*-V occurs in 38% of clause-initial adverbial phrases compared to 42% for Adv-V. While Table 8 also shows that there is a gradual decline in the frequency of use of Adv-*y*-V order over the corpus period from an average of 66% for the 16th-century to an average of 25% for the 18th-century texts, this decline does not consistently correlate with an increase in use of Adv-V order. In fact, in texts up to the mid-17th century, a less frequent use of Adv-*y*-V is associated with a more frequent use of Adv-XP-V rather than of Adv-V order. This means that the decline in use of Adv-*y*-V cannot be attributed solely to the omission of the particle *y* (if the use of Adv-V is taken as proxy for the loss of *y* in Adv-*y*-V constructions), but rather to a combination of competition with Adv-XP-V orders and (to a lesser extent) the loss of *y*.

Table 8: Frequency of Adv-y-V, Adv-V, Adv-XP-V and Absolute V1 orders in prose corpus texts

Text	Adverb-initial PDMCs				Non-adverb-initial PDMCs	
	n° clauses	% Adv-y-V	% Adv-V	% Adv-XP-V	n° clauses	% Abs. V1
Ff c1550	118	84%	0%	14%	95	0%
Ep 1567	62	85%	0%	10%	66	2%
M1 1567	53	94%	0%	6%	166	3%
S1 1567	49	84%	4%	4%	219	25%
Cr c.1575	30	20%	3%	77%	52	0%
Gw 1580	59	34%	0%	66%	139	1%
Eg 1583	67	40%	4%	54%	93	0%
M2 1588	52	77%	0%	23%	165	8%
S2 1588	44	95%	0%	5%	234	49%
Es 1588	81	44%	0%	56%	110	16%
Is 1588	57	84%	0%	16%	169	33%
De 1595	52	52%	2%	45%	118	3%
WG c1600	72	60%	0%	38%	120	2%
EM 1610	26	46%	0%	54%	128	1%
T 1615	44	32%	16%	52%	172	33%
Ed 1629	52	65%	0%	33%	118	0%
Ca 1631	47	64%	9%	28%	79	27%
JP c1641	55	82%	0%	18%	124	15%
LI 1653	61	33%	0%	66%	317	1%
NLW3 1675-6	53	75%	9%	15%	122	8%
Ys 1675	71	63%	0%	37%	172	0%
Ff 1677	100	35%	63%	1%	290	85%
G 1679	59	59%	24%	17%	141	57%
JG 1683-5	43	37%	0%	63%	132	0%
YBM 1691	84	55%	17%	29%	215	30%
Be 1693	46	39%	41%	20%	156	61%
BC 1703	74	12%	55%	32%	111	59%
HBA 1718	90	28%	46%	27%	168	33%
Pe 1735	50	24%	28%	48%	147	30%
H1 1737	67	27%	16%	57%	71	18%
Pr 1750	48	23%	2%	75%	90	7%
H2 1763	60	38%	42%	20%	81	52%

If the particle *y* is lost in Adv-*y*-V constructions, a possible mechanism by which this could have given rise to Absolute V1 is proportional structural analogy. The use of a construction after clause-initial adverbial phrases also motivated its use in clause-initial position and vice versa. So, if Adv-XP-V motivated #XP-V constructions and vice versa, then Adv-V motivated Absolute V1 constructions and vice versa, as illustrated schematically in figure 2.

Adv-PronS-V	:	#PronS-V
Adv-NomS-V	:	#NomS-V
Adv-DU-V	:	#DU-V
Adv-V	:	X, i.e. #V (Absolute V1)

Figure 2: Proportional structural analogy motivating the use of Absolute V1

Moreover, if clause-initial adverbial phrases are analysed as outside the verbal phrase – which is more likely when the clause-initial adverbial or prepositional phrase functions as a clausal connector or scene setter as in example 10 as opposed to 11 where it is an argument of the verb – the occurrence of a verb directly after such a clause-initial adverbial could in turn be analysed as an instance of Absolute V1 (i.e. Adv-V > Adv, #V). In this way, the omission of the particle *y* in Adv-*y*-V constructions could have led directly to a more frequent use of Absolute V1 in discourse.

The fact that the use of Adv-V correlates with the use of Absolute V1 throughout the two-century corpus period from the mid-16th to the mid-18th century can be interpreted in two ways. The first interpretation is that the loss of *y* after clause-initial adverbial phrases was gradual, increasing in extent over time. In Currie (2025, 42-46), I presented evidence of a gradual decline in the use of Adv-*y*-V order, noting a sharper fall in the frequency of use of Adv-*y*-V where clause-initial adverbial phrases were not arguments of the verb compared to when they were. As a result, Adv-*y*-V order came to acquire a more specialised function as marking fronted adverbials which were an argument of the verb or focused, as opposed to fronted adverbials more generally. As *y* came to be more frequently omitted over time, Absolute V1 in turn came to be used more frequently. The second interpretation is that since Absolute V1 also motivated the use of Adv-V, the observable increase in use of Adv-V over time could be a secondary phenomenon driven primarily by an increase in use of Absolute V1. So, if Absolute V1 came to be used more frequently, perhaps motivated by other factors complementary to or even independent of the omission of *y* in Adv-*y*-V constructions, this could have also contributed to the increase in use of Adv-V.

3.3 Extension of Absolute V1 from poetry to prose

It was noted in section 2.1 above that while Absolute V1 was rare in prose in Middle Welsh, it was common in contemporary poetry, and it was suggested that the poetic use of Absolute V1 could have been a potential additional source for the increase in its use in Early Modern Welsh prose. Now, it may seem a priori unusual for poetic language to be the source of major word order change in written prose let alone spoken discourse, however, there is a specific context where poetic language might (logically) have influenced prose style and this is the (prose) translation of poetic parts of the Bible. The 1567 and 1588 Welsh Bible translations also seem to have coincided chronologically with the beginning of the loss of *y* after adverbial phrases. In section 2.1 and specifically in Table 2, it was shown that the 1567 Psalms which were translated from Biblical Hebrew poetry had a significantly more frequent use of Absolute V1 (20.4%) than the 1567 Gospel of Mark, which was translated from New Testament Greek prose (2.3%). The Psalms were the only Old Testament and only poetic book translated in 1567. In 1588, however, the whole Old Testament was translated and the contrast between more frequent Absolute V1 in poetic books and less frequent Absolute V1 in prose books is even more marked: not only does William Morgan, the 1588 translator, use Absolute V1 twice as frequently in his 1588 revision of the 1567 translation of the Psalms (41.0% vs. 20.4%) and maintain a less frequent use of Absolute V1 in Mark (6.5%), but he also extends the pattern to Old Testament books which had not been translated in 1567. He, thus, uses Absolute V1 more frequently in Isaiah (24.8%), a mostly poetic book, but less frequently in Esther (9.4%), a prose book. To investigate further the question of word order differentiation between prose and poetic parts of the Bible, the biblical subcorpus was expanded to include additional extracts of different text types from the 1567 and 1588 Bibles: from the (prose) New Testament, the 1567 and 1588 translations of the book of *Revelation* (a prose vision) and Paul's letter to the *Galatians* (expository prose); from the Old Testament, the 1588 translation of the *Song of Songs* (lyric poetry) and *Ecclesiastes* (a prose sermon). Table 9 gives the frequency of Absolute V1 for all the extracts in the expanded biblical subcorpus and shows that there is a consistent pattern of more frequent Absolute V1 in the books translated from Old Testament Hebrew poetry compared to Old Testament Hebrew or New Testament Greek prose.

Table 9: Frequency of Absolute V1 in selected books of 1567 & 1588 Bible translations

Book of Bible	Translated from	Prose/Poetry	% Abs. V1 order (n° PDMCs)		
			1567 ⁺	1588	1620
Song of Songs	Hebrew	Poetry	n/a	46.8% (79)	44.6% (83)
Psalms (1-21)	Hebrew	Poetry	20.5% (268)	41.0% (278)	41.0% (271)
Isaiah (1-9)	Hebrew	Mostly poetry	n/a	24.8% (226)	26.2% (222)
Esther	Hebrew	Prose	n/a	9.4% (191)	10.5% (200)
Ecclesiastes	Hebrew	Prose	n/a	3.9% (128)	4.4% (136)
Mark (1-5)	Greek	Prose	2.3% (219)	6.5% (217)	11.4% (210)
Acts (1-4)	Greek	Prose	2.9% (103)	6.7% (105)	9.1% (110)
Galatians	Greek	Prose	6.6% (61)	1.9% (53)	2.0% (50)
Revelation (1-6)	Greek	Prose	0.0% (93)	4.0% (100)	8.9% (101)

The main 1567 Bible translator, William Salesbury seems to have initiated this pattern, possibly to exploit the stylistic association of Absolute V1 with earlier and contemporary 16th-century Welsh poetry and to give a poetic flavour to a prose translation of Biblical Hebrew poetry. This may have been an individual, idiosyncratic decision on his part, but significantly his stylistic choice seems to have been noted and indeed extended by 1588 Bible translator William Morgan. Table 9 also gives the frequency of Absolute V1 in the 1620 revised Bible translation and shows that William Morgan's use of Absolute V1 was retained in this version, which remained the authoritative Welsh Bible translation until as late as 1988 and formed the basis for an emerging Welsh literary standard. As a canonical and widely used text, the 1620 Bible provided a linguistic model for later writers, and it should be stressed that a majority of Welsh prose texts from the period are religious works that drew on and quoted from the Welsh Bible. Although the word order of the Bible was mixed and SVO predominated in the more numerous prose books, the frequency of Absolute V1 was greater in the Bible as a whole than in other contemporary prose texts. Absolute V1 was also particularly frequent in the Psalms, which was arguably one of the most frequently encountered and influential books of the Bible, as psalm singing and reading was a regular part of public and family worship. Absolute V1, as I have argued in Currie (2016, 2023), is also particularly salient in the Psalms, because it occurs in sequences of consecutive clauses and verses and its use is integral to rendering the parallelism characteristic of Biblical Hebrew poetry. Oliver Thomas' 1631 popular printed religious work *Carwr y Cymry* (Ca 1631) is perhaps a text where a strong

argument could be made for a specific linguistic and stylistic influence of the Psalms in the use of Absolute V1, as Absolute V1 is used significantly more frequently in the prayer section of the text (50%, 12 out of 24 PDMCs), which is similar to the Psalms in genre and discourse type, than in the rest of the text, which is expository prose (9%, 9 out of 102 PDMCs).

We do not have any commentary by the Bible translators themselves explaining their linguistic and stylistic choices, so the analysis suggested here of poetic stylistic influence on their prose word order must remain a hypothesis rather than a confirmed fact. Further arguments supporting the plausibility of this hypothesis – notably the salience of Absolute V1 as a stylistic feature of Middle Welsh poetry and the fact that the 1567 Bible translator, William Salesbury, who initiated the use of frequent Absolute V1 in the Psalms, consulted a medieval Welsh liturgical text with prose translations (without Absolute V1) of extracts from the gospels and verse translations (with Absolute V1) of some psalms and hymns – are discussed in more detail in Currie (2016, 2023).

3.4 The omission of preverbal particle *y(r)* in PDMCs following a subordinate clause

It was shown in section 2.1 that in addition to Adv-*y*-V constructions, the preverbal particle *y* was also used commonly in Middle Welsh prose in clause initial position, both in standalone or sentence-initial PDMCs ('non-postposed PDMCs' for short, as in example 5b) and especially in PDMCs following a subordinate clause (or 'postposed' PDMCs for short, as in example 5a). Another potential – and possibly more straightforward – source for the increase in use of Absolute V1 in Early Modern Welsh prose could, therefore, have been the loss of *y* in these constructions, as it could have given rise directly to Absolute V1 ($\#y-V > \#V$). This hypothesis was tested by comparing the frequency of both *y*+Verb and Absolute V1 order in non-postposed PDMCs with that in postposed PDMCs, which is shown in Table 10 for 16th-century and in Table 11 for 17th and 18th-century texts.

Table 10: Frequency of *y*+Verb order and Absolute V1 in 16th century corpus prose texts

Text	Date	Sentence-initial / standalone PDMCs			Postposed PDMCs		
		PDMCs	<i>y</i> +Verb	Abs V1	PDMCs	<i>y</i> +Verb	Abs V1
Ffes	c.1550	195	5.1%	0.0%	18	22.2%	0.0%
Epist	1567	114	0.9%	0.9%	14	0.0%	0.0%
Mark 67	1567	180	1.7%	6.7%	39	46.2%	2.6%
Psalms 67	1567	260	0.0%	21.2%	8	50.0%	0.0%
Crwydrad	c.1575	62	1.6%	0.0%	20	0.0%	0.0%
Gwss	1580	159	0.6%	0.6%	41	0.0%	2.4%
LIEC	1583	142	0.0%	0.0%	12	0.0%	0.0%
Mark 88	1588	181	0.0%	6.7%	36	16.7%	5.8%
Psalms 88	1588	271	0.0%	41.3%	7	42.9%	28.6%
Isaiah	1588	217	0.0%	24.8%	8	25.0%	25.0%
Deffyn	1592	135	0.0%	2.2%	35	0.0%	2.9%

Tables 10 and 11 show that *y*+Verb order had already become infrequent in sentence-initial or standalone PDMCs at the beginning of the corpus period, that is before the observable increase in Absolute V1. The earliest corpus prose text, the mid-16th century *Y Llyfr Ffestifal* has the highest frequency of *y*+Verb order in non-postposed PDMCs at 5% and no other text has a frequency of more than 2%; most texts, even 16th-century ones, have no examples at all. In the 17th and 18th-century, *y*+Verb is unattested in non-postposed PDMCs in 18 out of the 20 texts and the remaining two texts only have one example each. This suggests that the loss of *y* in *y*+Verb constructions in non-postposed PDMCs is an unlikely source for the increase in Absolute V1.

The situation is quite different in postposed PDMCs, where *y*+Verb order is used relatively frequently (ranging between 17% and 50%) in six 16th-century texts (*Y Llyfr Ffestifal* and the Bible translations) and continues to be used though at a lower frequency (2%-9%) in six 17th-century texts and in one 18th-century text. This suggests that by the 16th century *y*+Verb order may have become practically limited to postposed PDMCs and therefore could have become associated with this specific syntactic environment. If the particle *y* also came to be lost in *y*+Verb constructions in postposed PDMCs, one might expect to see more frequent Absolute V1 in postposed PDMCs.

Table 11: Frequency of *y*+Verb order and Absolute V1 in 17th and 18th-century prose texts

Text	Date	Sentence-initial / standalone PDMCs			Postposed PDMCs		
		PDMCs	<i>y(r)</i> +Verb	Abs V1	PDMCs	<i>y(r)</i> +Verb	Abs V1
EM	c.1610	130	0.0%	0.8%	24	0.0%	0.0%
Gors	1615	167	0.0%	20.4%	49	2.0%	46.9%
Edif	1629	123	0.0%	0.0%	21	0.0%	0.0%
Carwr	1631	103	0.0%	18.4%	23	8.7%	8.7%
JP	c.1641	146	0.0%	11.0%	33	6.1%	6.1%
LITA	1653	329	0.0%	0.6%	49	0.0%	0.0%
NLW 3	1675-6	154	0.0%	5.2%	22	4.5%	9.1%
Ysryd	1675	199	0.5%	0.0%	41	7.3%	0.0%
Ffydd	1677	328	0.3%	59.8%	62	0.0%	80.6%
Gwydd	1679	172	0.0%	41.3%	28	0.0%	32.1%
JG	1683-5	153	0.0%	0.0%	22	0.0%	0.0%
YBM	1691	226	0.0%	14.2%	73	0.0%	32.1%
Bedydd	1693	177	0.0%	48.0%	25	0.0%	40.0%
Gwel	1703	143	0.0%	28.7%	42	0.0%	59.5%
HBA	1718	221	0.0%	20.4%	37	0.0%	27.0%
Pel	1735	168	0.0%	20.2%	28	0.0%	35.7%
Hel I	1737	107	0.0%	9.3%	31	0.0%	9.7%
Prof	1750	113	0.0%	4.4%	25	0.0%	4.0%
Hel II	1763	113	0.0%	26.5%	28	7.1%	42.9%

Table 10 provides no evidence of more frequent Absolute V1 in postposed PDMCs in 16th-century texts. In the case of the non-biblical texts, Absolute V1 is too infrequent to perform any meaningful analysis and, in the case of the biblical texts where Absolute V1 is relatively frequent, *y*+Verb order is still productive in postposed PDMCs and is used more frequently than Absolute V1. In the 17th and 18th-century texts in Table 11, the frequency of Absolute V1 has been highlighted in the column denoting the environment (sentence-initial/standalone or postposed PDMCs) where it is used significantly more frequently. Eight of the twenty texts in Table 11 show significantly more frequent Absolute V1 in postposed PDMCs compared to four texts which show significantly more frequent Absolute V1 in non-postposed PDMCs; of the remaining eight texts, three have no examples of Absolute V1 in either environment, and five show only a very small difference in

the frequency of Absolute V1 between the two types of PDMC. In contrast to the strong positive correlation between the use of Adv-V and Absolute V1 (with the well-defined exception of the Bible translations), the distribution of Absolute V1 according to whether a PDMC is postposed or not shows more unpredictable variation, which raises the question whether we are dealing with a more random pattern or perhaps only a partial association between postposed PDMCs and Absolute V1, apparent only in certain writers.

The use of Absolute V1 in 17th and 18th-century corpus texts seems, indeed, to be characterised by unpredictable variation more generally. We find marked variation between contemporary or near contemporary texts of the same type (religious expository and narrative prose, original and translated) and by authors of a similar background (mostly clergy), the most extreme contrast in the corpus being between Rondl Davies' 1675 original religious treatise *Profiad yr Ysprydion* (Ys 1675), which has no examples of Absolute V1, and Charles Edwards' 1677 original religious treatise *Y Ffydd Ddi-ffvant* (Ffydd 1677) with 63% Absolute V1. We also find significant variation between different versions of the same text, such as between William Salesbury's (1567, 21% Absolute V1) and William Morgan's (1588, 41% Absolute V1) translations of Psalms 1-21 and between John Einnion's (1737, 9.4% Absolute V1) and Rhys Thomas' (1763, 29.8% Absolute V1) translations of John Bunyan's *Grace Abounding*. The predominant factor influencing the variation thus seems to be writers' individual stylistic choice. While such marked individual variation may *a priori* appear unusual, it is perhaps understandable given the nature of the construction Absolute V1. As noted in section 1.2 above, Absolute V1 is a schematic, lexically open construction with a very general function – essentially an unmarked word order – which could be used in a very wide range of syntactic environments and with any verb. Since Absolute V1 was also interchangeable and competed with other productive constructions, PronS-V and DU-V, Absolute V1 could be used very frequently or not at all. Absolute V1 seems to have reemerged as a productive construction in written prose and spoken discourse as a result of the omission of the preverbal particle *y* in Adv-*y*-V and perhaps also *y*-Verb constructions in postposed PDMCs. In the absence of pre-existing models on how and where to use Absolute V1, different writers seem to have rationalised different patterns of use. At one extreme, Charles Edwards (Ffydd 1677 – 63%, Gwydd 1679 – 40%) and James Owen (Be 1693 – 47%) use Absolute V1 as the predominant word order; at the other extreme, writers like Rondl Davies (Ys 1675 – 0%) and John Griffith (JG 1683-5 – 0%) avoid the construction. In between there are various intermediate patterns of use, with some

writers preferring Absolute V1 in some environments (e.g. in postposed PDMCs) or in certain constructions, and other writers using Absolute V1 and DU-V interchangeably in the same constructions or idioms (Currie 2013). Other writers still, mostly notably the Bible translators William Salesbury and William Morgan, but also Oliver Thomas (O. Thomas and Ballinger 1930 [1631]) and Charles Edwards (Gwydd 1679) exploit the interchangeability between Absolute V1 and the competing constructions for stylistic purposes and style shift in their use of Absolute V1 between different parts of the same text (Currie 2023).

4 Discussion and conclusion

The goal of this paper has been to explore whether the construction Absolute V1 in Early Modern Welsh can be analysed as a multiple source construction and how such an approach can contribute to explaining the observable diachronic increase and synchronic variation in its use. Absolute V1 might not appear *a priori* to be an obvious candidate for a multiple source construction, as it is attested continuously throughout the history of Welsh and is not a amalgam of formally different constructions like the English *-ing* gerundive (Fanego 2015). Indications of possible multiple sources for Absolute V1 in Early Modern Welsh can, however, be found in the diachronic and synchronic variation in its use: first, synchronic variation in Middle Welsh between prose (where it is rare) and poetry (where it is common) and second, the diachronic increase in its use in Early Modern Welsh prose characterised by marked inter- and intra-writer variation. Certain patterns of variation in the use of Absolute V1 in Early Modern Welsh prose texts can be associated with different potential sources of the construction. The first and most systematic association is the strong positive and linear correlation between the use of Absolute V1 and another construction, Adverb-Verb, which, it has been argued here as well as in Evans (1968), Willis (1998) and Currie (2025), may have originated from the loss of the preverbal particle *y* in Adverb-*y*-Verb constructions. This correlation, which appears to hold for all corpus texts except the Bible translations and texts linguistically modelled on the Bible translations, suggests that the loss of the particle *y* may have been a significant source for the increase in the use of Absolute V1 in Early Modern Welsh. The second association is that between Absolute V1 and poetry, evidenced by the more frequent use of Absolute V1 in poetic compared to the prose books of the Bible. It was argued here, as in Currie (2016, 2023), that the Bible translators William Salesbury and William Morgan may have exploited the

association of Absolute V1 with poetry by using Absolute V1 more frequently in poetic books of the Bible to create a poetic style in their prose translations of Biblical Hebrew poetry. In this way, the synchronic variation between Middle Welsh poetry and prose in the use of Absolute V1, which enabled Absolute V1 to be perceived as indexing poetic style, in turn became a source for the diachronic increase in use in Absolute V1 in Early Modern Welsh prose. While this association is less systematic in that it affected a limited number of texts (the 1567, 1588 and 1620 Bible translations) it seems to have made a significant contribution to the wider increase in use of Absolute V1 and complemented the effect of the loss of *y* in Adverb-*y*-Verb constructions. The poetic books of 1567 and 1588 Bible texts were the first prose texts to show a frequent use of Absolute V1 and as canonical and influential texts, they in turn provided a model for a more frequent use of Absolute V1 by later writers. The third and last association identified was that between the use of Absolute V1 and postposed PDMCs: in a number of 17th and 18th-century corpus texts Absolute V1 occurs more frequently in PDMCs which follow a subordinate clause compared to standalone PDMCs or ones which preceded a subordinate clause. Since the construction *y*+Verb had by the 16th century come to be associated with postposed PDMCs, it is argued that the loss of *y* in *y*+Verb constructions, in parallel to the loss of the same preverbal particle in Adverb-*y*-Verb constructions could have given rise to Absolute V1. While this correlation is the least systematic and conclusive, it may also have contributed to the increase in use of Absolute V1 in Early Modern Welsh.

In addition to these direct sources – or primary sources in the terminology of Breban, Börjars, and Moretti (2025) – of the Early Modern Welsh Absolute V1 construction, I also argue that other indirect factors – or secondary sources in Breban, Börjars and Moretti's terminology – contributed significantly to the increase (and variation) in its use. This is the perceived functional equivalence and interchangeability of Absolute V1 with two other existing and productive constructions: Personal pronoun subject + Verb (PronS-V) and Dummy subject + Verb (DU-V). Absolute V1 could thus expand into the syntactic environments occupied by these two existing competing constructions, which turn influenced the way Absolute V1 was used. The two competing (secondary source) constructions remained productive throughout the period under investigation and so cannot be said to have merged into the Early Modern Welsh Absolute V1 construction, unlike its direct or primary source constructions. The various direct (or primary) sources of and factors contributing to the development of Early Modern Welsh V1 are summarised in Table 12.

Table 12: Possible sources of Early Modern Welsh Absolute V1 and factors contributing to its increase in use

Possible direct or primary sources	Other factors or secondary sources
Loss of <i>y</i> in Adv- <i>y</i> -V constructions Loss of <i>y</i> in <i>y</i> -V constructions (postposed PDMCs) Use of Absolute V1 in poetry Existing use (rare) of Absolute V1 in prose and/or spoken discourse (?)	Perceived interchangeability with PronS-V Perceived interchangeability with DU-V

The influence of poetic usage on prose – especially in the Welsh Bible translations – can be argued to be a primary (as opposed to secondary) source of Early Modern Welsh Absolute V1, in that Absolute V1 seems to be formally identical in poetry and prose and to have been perceived at least by some writers as the same construction (unlike PronS-V or DU-V which were and remained distinct constructions from Absolute V1). Nevertheless, the process by which poetic usage may have influenced prose usage is comparable to the process which led to the increase in use of Absolute V1 through the perceived interchangeability of Absolute V1 with the PronS-V and DU-V constructions. Observable variation between Absolute V1, on the one hand, and PronS-V and DU-V, on the other, both between prose and poetry and also within prose was the underlying common factor which enabled the increase in use of Absolute V1 in both cases. In this respect, the influence of poetic style on prose could be argued to be both a primary and secondary source of Early Modern Welsh Absolute V1 at the same time.

The multiple source analysis of Absolute V1 in Early Modern Welsh presented in this paper can also be framed as a multiple causation approach in the tradition of studies of contact-induced change which, as noted in 1.1, explore the interaction of internal (e.g. structural) and external (contact and sociolinguistic) factors in language change, since the sources proposed here for the increase in Absolute V1 are both structural and sociolinguistic in nature. The structural sources encompass formal and functional changes to existing constructions (the loss of *y* in Adverb-*y*-Verb and *y*-Verb constructions and the expansion in range of the resulting construction Absolute V1), while a key sociolinguistic or stylistic factor is the influence of poetic style, characterised by frequent Absolute V1, on prose. Language contact is also at least indirectly present in the latter, in that the (hypothesised) poetic influence on prose takes place in a translated text through the apparent emulation of Biblical Hebrew poetic style, though using existing Welsh linguistic resources. Multiple source

analyses of constructional change and multiple causation approaches to language change can, further, be argued to be inherently complementary, since sociolinguistic factors can also be involved in constructional change, in particular in changes in their frequency of use.

Abbreviations

ADVZ	Adverbializer
DU	Dummy subject
Exp. prose	Expository prose
IMPERF	Imperfect
INF	Infinitive
M	Masculine
Narr. prose 1SG	First-person narrative prose
Narr. prose 3SG	Third-person narrative prose
NT	New Testament
NomS	Nominal subject
OT	Old Testament
PL	Plural
PronS	Personal pronoun subject
PRED	Predicative particle
PRT	Particle
PSTPTCP	Past participle
SUBJ	Subjunctive
VN	Verbal noun

Appendix – Early Modern Welsh corpus

Abbreviation	Text
BC 1703	Wynne, Ellis. 1703. <i>Gweledigaethau y Bardd Cwsc</i> . Llundain gan E. Powell. Edited in Wynne and Lewis (1976 [1703], 5-49).
Be 1693	Owen, James. 1693. <i>Bedydd Plant o'r Nefoedd Neu Draethawd am Natur a Diben Bedydd yn profi, Trwy ddeuddeg o Resymmau Scrythuraidd y dylid bedyddio plant y ffyddloniaid</i> . 1-126. Llundain.
Ca 1631	[Thomas, Oliver.]. 1631. <i>Carwr y Cymry</i> . Edited in O. Thomas and Ballinger (1930 [1631], 7-115).
Cr c1575	<i>Y Marchog Crwydrad</i> . Edited in Parry-Williams (1988, 96-105).
De 1595	Kyffin, Maurice. 1595. <i>Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr</i> . Edited in Kyffin and Williams (1908 [1595], vi-xix, 1-105).
Ed 1629	Lloyd, Robert. 1629. <i>Pregeth dduwiol yn traethu am iawn ddull, ac agwedd gwir edifeirwch</i> . Llundain: Printiedig gan Nicholas Derwen dros Mihangel Wreichionen. [Translation of Dent, Arthur (1613) <i>A Sermon of repentance. A Very godly and profitable sermon preached at Lee in Essex</i> . London: for John Harrison.]
Eg 1583	Puleston, Roland. 1583. <i>Llefr o'r Eglwys Crhistnogedd</i> MS., NLW 716B, 1a-25a, 149a-153b, 161a-168a.
EM 1610	Evan Morgan, vicar of Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant 1588, vicar of Llanasaph 1601. MS, NLW 8498B: 1-35, 54-63. 4 sermons: 3 untitled and 1 on Rom 4:25. Dated 1610. Edited in G. Morgan (1969, 578-647).
Ep 1567	Davies, Richard. 1976 [1567]. <i>Epistol Episcop Menew at y Cembru</i> . Edited in Hughes (1951, 17-43).
Es 1588	Morgan, William. 1588. <i>Llyfr Esther</i> . In W. Morgan and National Library of Wales (1987 [1588], 202a-205a).
Ff c.1550	<i>Darn o'r Ffestifal (Liber Festialis): allan o lawysgrif Havod 22</i> . Edited in Lewis (1925, 18-34).
Ffydd 1677	Edwards, Charles. 1677. <i>Y Ffydd Ddi-ffvant sef, Hanes y Ffydd Gristianogol, a'i Rhinwedd</i> , 3 rd ed. Facsimile reprint and edited in Edwards and Williams (1936 [1677], 1-21, 150-162, 259-280).
Go 1615	Smyth, Rhosier. 1615. <i>Theater du Mond (Gorsedd y Byd)</i> . Edited in Smyth and Parry (1930 [1615], 1-110).
Gw 1580	Gwyn, Robert. 1580. <i>Gwssanaeth y Gwyr Newydd</i> . Edited in Gwyn and Bowen (1970 [1580], 4-39)
Gwydd 1679	Edwards, Charles. 1679. <i>Gwyddorion y Grefydd Gristianogol Wedi eu hegluro i ddealltwriaeth y gwaelf, Ai Cymmwyso tuag at hyfforddi buchedd dda</i> 1-53. Llundain: Printiedig gan Tho. Dawkes. [Translation of Gouge, Thomas. 1679. <i>The Principles of the Christian Religion explained to the Capacity of the Meanest with Practical Applications to each Head Whereby the Great and Necessary Duty of Family-Catechising may with ease be performed</i> . London.]

Abbreviation	Text
HBA 1718	Thomas, Simon. 1718. <i>Hanes y Byd a'r Amseroedd</i> . 1-48, 59-67, 91-103, 140-9. Y Mwythig: Argraphwyd gan John Rhydderch.
H1 1737	Einnion, John. 1737. <i>Helaethrwydd o Ras i'r Gwaelaf o Bechaduriaid. Mewn hanes gywyr a ffyddlon o fywyd a marwolaeth John Bunyan</i> . 3-30. Caerfyrddin. [Translation of Bunyan, John. 1692. <i>Grace Abounding to the chief of sinners</i> . 7th ed. London: Printed for Robert Ponder.]
H2 1763	Thomas, Rhys. 1763. <i>Helaethrwydd o ras i'r pennaf o bechaduriaid, mewn cywir hanes o fywyd a marwolaeth John Bunyan</i> . 1-17. Caerfyrddin. [Translation of Bunyan, John. 1692. <i>Grace Abounding to the chief of sinners</i> . 7th ed. London: Printed for Robert Ponder.]
Isaiah 1588	<i>Llyfr Prophvyddoliaeth Esay</i> , chapters 1-9. In W. Morgan and National Library of Wales (1987 [1588], 261a-264a).
JG 1683	John Griffith, rector of Llanellian 1683-1689, vicar of Llangernyw 1689. MS., Bangor 95. 9 sermons on 1 John 5:4, Eph. 5:3, Luke 17:10, 1 John 4:7, Philip 4:4, James 5:12, Col. 3:16 (twice) & Luke 24:6. Preached in Llanellian 1683-1685.
JP c1641	John Piers, vicar choral of Caerwys 1637-8, vicar 1640-3, rector of Llandderfel 1663-1675. MS., NLW 12205A. 5 sermons on Gen 2:17-24, Mark 16:14, Luke 14:7-11, Luke 2:21 & John 1:1. c. mid C17th (English sermon in same collection annotated as preached in 1641).
LITA 1653	Llwyd, Morgan. 1899 [1653]. <i>Llyfr y Tri Aderyn</i> . Edited in Ellis (1899, 157-266).
Mark 1 67	Salesbury, William. 1567. <i>Llyma Cysseersanct Euangel Iesu Christ yn ol Marc</i> , chapters 1-5. Edited in Parry (1967, 1-12).
Mark 2 88	Morgan, William. 1588. <i>Efengyl Iesu Grist yn ôl S. Marc</i> , chapters 1-5. Edited in W. Morgan and National Library of Wales (1987 [1588], 454b-457a).
NLW3 1675	MS., NLW 3B, 23-97. 6 sermons on: Acts 11:27-28, Rom. 7:19, Matt. 6:31-34, 1 Cor. 2:2, Eph. 5:15 & Eph. 6:12. Preached 1675-1676.
Pe 1735	Thomas, Simon. 1735. <i>Histori yr Heretic Pelagius</i> . 13-73, 137-141. [Hereford: Argraphwyd gan Nicholas Thomas?]
Prof 1750	Lloyd, Henry. 1750. <i>Profiad Tufewinol o Nefoedd ag Uffern</i> . Brista.
S1 1567	Salesbury, William. 1567. <i>Psalmae David</i> , chapters 1-21. In Richards and Williams (1965 [1567], ii-xii).
S2 1588	Morgan, William. 1588. <i>Psalmau Dafydd</i> , chapters 1-21. In W. Morgan and National Library of Wales (1987 [1588], 218a-221a).
TB 1687	Owen, James. 1715 [1687]. <i>Trugaredd a Barn neu yn agos i Drichant o Siampleu Rhyfeddol o farnedigaethau Duw ar yr Annuwiol</i> . 2nd ed., 1st edition in 1687. 1-30. Llundain.
WG c1600	William Griffith. MS, NLW 5264B: 95-111, 249-264, 295-303. 3 sermons on Rev 3:20, Rom 5:1 & 1 Cor 11: 27-29. Late C16th/early C17th. Edited in G. Morgan (1969, 70-92, 144-153, 314-331)

Abbreviation	Text
YBM 1691	Williams, Thomas. 1691. <i>Ymadroddion Bucheddol Ynghylch Marvvolaeth</i> . 1-84, 200-359. Rhydychen: Thomas Jones. [Translation of William Sherlock. 1689. <i>A Practical Discourse concerning Death</i> . London.]
Ys 1675	Davies, Rondl. 1675. <i>Profiad yr Ysprydion neu Ddatcuddiad Gau Athrawon, A rhybudd iw gochelyd NEU Draethawd byrr ar 1. St. Jo. 4. 1....</i> Rhydychen: Printiedig gan H. HALL. ym mlwyddyn yr Arglwydd 1675.

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Glagolska predpona *za-* pri zvočnih glagolih v slovenščini

*Aleksandra Derganc**

Povzetek

Članek izhaja iz analize Rosanne Benacchio o vidski tvorbi zvočnih glagolov v rezijanščini, terskem in nadiškem narečju. Rosanna Benacchio ugotavlja, da je stanje v rezijanščini bolj arhaično kot v terskem in nadiškem narečju. V rezijanskem narečju se razlikujejo semelfaktivi, tvorjeni s sufiksom *-nu-* in kasneje dodatno s prefiksom *za-* na eni in dovršniki, ki pomenijo kratko, večkratno dejanje, tvorjeni s prefiksom *s-/z-* (*blejat* – (*za*)*blejnut* – *zblejat*), na drugi strani. V terskem in nadiškem narečju obstajajo samo tvorjenke s predpono *za-* in brez sufiksa *-nu-* (*bleati* – *zableati*; *blejat* – *zablejat*). Takšno je tudi stanje v slovenščini. Glagoli zvočnega oglašanja tvorijo dovršnike oz. vidske korelative (Krvina) s predpono *za-* (*kričati* – *zakričati*), v katerih se zliva pomen enkratnosti, kratke izvedbe dejanja in začetnosti, tudi preprosto celostnosti/dovršnosti. V tem oziru se glede delovanja glagolskega vida spet kaže pripadnost slovenščine in njenih narečij v zahodno skupino slovanskih jezikov.

Ključne besede: glagolski vid, predpona *za-*, zvočni glagoli, slovenščina, rezijansko, tersko, nadiško narečje

The verbal prefix *za-* with sound verbs in Slovene

The article is based on the analysis of the aspectual derivation of sound verbs in the Slovene dialects of Rezija, Ter and Nadiža valleys by Rosanna Benacchio. In the dialect of Rezija there exist two means of perfectivation of these verbs: with the suffix *-nu-* and later by adding the prefix *za-* on one hand (*za/blejnut*) and by adding the prefix *s-/z-* (*zblejat*) on the other. The first verb has a semelfactive meaning and the second verb has the meaning of a short action. In the Ter and Nadiža valleys there exist only the derivatives in *za-* (*bleati* – *zableati*; *blejat* – *zablejat*), used in both contexts. The Rezija derivation of semelfactives in *-nu-* is according to Benacchio more archaic. In Slovene, the situation is roughly the same as in the Ter and Nadiža valleys: the perfective derivatives of sound verbs are typically formed by the prefix *za-*: *kričati* – *zakričati*. In the prefix *za-* there is a syncretism of the meanings of semelfactives, short duration and ingressivity, as well as just the totality of the action – depending on the context. In this respect, Slovene and its dialects again show that they belong to the western type of aspectual behaviour in the Slavic languages.

Keywords: verbal aspect, prefix *za-*, sound verbs, Slovene, Slovene dialects of the Rezija, Ter and Nadiža valleys

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Profesor Janez Orešnik je napisal dragoceno monografijo o glagolskem vidu v slovenščini in univerzalni slovnici (1994), kjer je – kot je sam opozoril v uvodu – v slovensko glagolskovidsko problematiko predvsem hotel vpeljati tudi pristope, ki so nastali zunaj slavistike. Ta prispevek bo drobec s področja glagolskega vida oz. glagolskih predpon v slovenščini.

1

Spodbudil ga je članek Rosanne Benacchio (v nadaljevanju RB) 'Segmentativnoe značenie s mul'tiplikativnymi glagolami v slovenskih dialektah Friuli: sravnitel'nyj analiz'.¹ RB v rezijanskem, terskem in nadiškem narečju opazuje dva pomenska tipa glagolov, ki jih tradicija ponavadi prišteva k multiplikativnim, in sicer glagole, ki pomenijo gibanje telesa, in glagole, ki izražajo zvočne pojave; opisana je tudi tvorba dovršnikov iz teh glagolov. Kot kaže, tu rezijanščina izkazuje večjo arhaičnost, terska in nadiška narečja pa so bližje knjižni slovenščini.

1.1 Pogledjmo najprej njen opis rezijanskih glagolov,² ki jih je razdelila v dve skupini:

1.1.1 Najprej gre za glagole telesnega premikanja. Gre za glagole, kot so *kapat*, *kīnkat* (brcati), *pījat* (pihati), *pīkat* (kljuvati, pikati – o kuri, kači, koprivih), *pjūwat* (pljuvati), *rīgat* (rigati), *trūšat* (bosti) ... Ti glagoli tvorijo dovršnike na dva načina:

- a) s sufiksom **-nu-**: *kāpnut* (kapniti), *kynknut* (brcniti), *pyhnut* (pihniti), *pyknut* (pičiti, pikniti), *pjūwnut* (pljuniti), *rygnut* (rigniti), *trūšnut* (zbosti). Ti dovršniki imajo pomen enkratnega dejanja/semelfaktiva;
- b) s prefiksom **s-/z-**: *skapat*, *skīnkat*, *spījat*, *spīkat*, *spjūwat*, *zrīgat*, *strūšat*. Ti dovršniki pomenijo, da se je dejanje dogajalo zelo kratek čas ali pa tu in tam, na več mestih. To razmeroma neizrazito razliko v pomenu med tema dvema skupinama derivatov je RB preverjala s pogovori z nosilci narečja in jo ilustrirala z zgledi (navajam številke zgledov, kot jih ima RB), npr.:

1 Članek sicer še ni objavljen, nastal pa je na podlagi njenega referata, predstavljenega na zasedanju Komisije za gramatični ustroj slovanskih jezikov pri MKS (18.–20. IX. 2023). Rosanna Benacchio, raziskovalka s padovanske univerze, je napisala vrsto člankov o rezijanščini, zlasti o glagolskem vidu v tem narečju, gl. navedeno literaturo.

2 RB izhaja iz virov, ki jih je zbral H. Steenwijk, pa tudi iz lastnih pogovorov z nosilci narečja.

- (3) *Kača me jě pyknula*. Kača me je pičila.
(4) *An jě pjüwnul dō na zēmjo anu vilizal*. Pljunil je na tla in šel ven.
(7) *Pukriwa mi jě spikala*. Kopriva me je opikala/opekla.
(8) *An jě spjüwal (powsod / na tä nu na sě) anu vilizal*. Nekajkrat je pljunil in šel ven.

V zgledih (3) in (4) gre za enkratno dejanje, pri zgledih (7) in (8) pa za nekajkratno dejanje v kratkem času.

1.1.2 Druga skupina so zvočni glagoli, ki se tradicionalno tudi prištevajo k multiplikativnim glagolom, čeprav so notranje manj členljivi (težje je ločiti posamezne enote dejanja): *blejat*, *bükat* (mukati), *lajat*, *njawkat* (mijavkati), *wöwkat* (kričati) ... Tudi ti glagoli tvorijo dovršnike na dva načina:

- a) s sufiksom *-nu-*, vendar ta sufiks pogosto ni sam, ampak ga spremlja še prefiks *za-*: *blejnut/zablejnut*, *büknut/zabüknut*, *lajnut/zalajnut*, *njawknut/zanjawknut*, *wöwknut/zawöwknut*. Ti dovršniki pomenijo enkratno dejanje. Pogovor z nosilci narečja razkriva, da so oblike brez prefiksa občutene kot zastarele in jih uporabljajo zlasti starejši. Od zgledov omenimo:

(12) *Pys jě lajnul/zalajnul*. Gre du. Pes je zalajal. Nekdo gre.

- b) Zvočni glagoli lahko tvorijo dovršnike tudi s prefiksom *s-/z-*: *zblejat*, *zbükat*, *zlajat*, *znjawkat*, *zwöwkat*. Ti glagoli niso semelfaktivni, pomenijo – tako kot glagoli gibanja – kratek čas dejanja, pogosto jih spremljajo prislovi ali prislovne zveze tipa *na par čas* (parkrat), *nu malu* (malo):

(16) *Pys jě zlajal (na par čas) anu je muknul*. More bi da je bil du. Pes je zalajal (parkrat), potem je utihnil. Najbrž je tam kdo bil.

1.2 Nato avtorica prehaja k obravnavi glagolov v terskem in nadiškem narečju.

1.2.1 Pri glagolih gibanja se ustavlja zgolj na kratko, omenja semelfaktive s sufiksom *-ni-*: *upikniti*, *utufniti* v terskem in *piknit*, *pjuvnit* v nadiškem narečju.

1.2.2 Do opazne razlike glede na rezijansko narečje pa prihaja v teh dveh narečjih pri tvorbi dovršnikov zvočnih glagolov. Tu so dovršniki tvorjeni samo s prefiksom *za-*, ne sodelujeta niti sufiks *-ni-* niti prefiks *s-/z-*. Ter. *bleati* – *zableati*, nad. *blejat* – *zablejat*; ter. *lajati* – *zalaniti*, nad. *lajat* – *zalahaj*; ter. *mjaukati* – *zamjaukati*; nad. *njaukat* – *zanjaukat*. Takoj opazimo, da je v teh dveh narečjih tvorba dovršnikov taka kot v knjižni slovenščini, na kar opozarja tudi RB. Posebnost je oblika *zalaniti* v terščini, ki je strukturno taka kot v rezijanščini. V teh dveh narečjih torej ni dveh tipov tvorb, ki imata tudi različne pomenske odtenke: namreč tvorbe z *za-* in *-nu-*, ki ima semelfaktivni pomen (*zalahajnul*, zgled 12) in tvorbe s *s-/z-* (*zalahaj*, zgled 16), ki ima pomen večkratnega kratkotrajnega dejanja. V teh dveh narečjih nosilci uporabljajo dovršnike z *za-* tako v kontekstih, kjer gre izrazito za en kvant dejanja, kot v kontekstih, kjer gre za večkratno kratkotrajno dejanje. Tako v spodnjih dveh zgledih iz nadiškega narečja:

(12") *Pas je zalahaju. Kajšan gre.* (Nad)

(16") *Pas je zalahaju (vič krat) an potle je genju. Morebit de je biu kajšan.*
(Nad)

Tudi tu je stanje torej tako, kot je v knjižni slovenščini. Pri predponskem glagolu *zalahajati* ni razvidno, ali gre za enkratno ali za večkratno kratkotrajno dejanje – ta dva odtenka se zlijeta. Če želimo poudariti eno ali drugo, je to treba izraziti kontekstualno: *Pes je enkrat zalahajal. Pes je nekajkrat zalahajal*. RB dodaja, da nosilci terskega in nadiškega narečja svoje zglede interpretirajo kot enkratne, po dodatnem spraševanju pa pojasnjujejo, da gre lahko tudi za kratko zaporedje zvokov.

1.3 Nato RB preide k paralelam iz drugih slovanskih jezikov. Pri opazovanju obnašanja prefiksa *za-* v analiziranih narečjih RB namreč ugotavlja, da ta slovenska narečja sodijo – pričakovano, tako kot slovenščina sploh – v zahodno vidsko skupino slovanskih jezikov, skupaj s češčino, slovaščino in lužiško srbščino (Dickey 2000, o tem Derganc 2010).

Navaja nekaj avtorjev, ki so opazovali prefiks *za-* v zahodni skupini jezikov, npr. Petruhino (2000) in Dickeyja (2000), ki se jima bomo posvetili kasneje. RB izpostavi poimenovanje 'segmentativ', ki ga povzema po delih Hilchey 2014 in Łaziński 2020 in 2020a. Hilchey za češčino piše, da predpona *za-* pri razčlenjenih glagolih, kot sta *zamávat* (pomahati) in *zaklepat* (potrkati), pomeni izvedbo nekaj kvantov dejanja, ki se dojema kot tipična za to dejanje. Ta pomen imenuje 'segmentativni'. Enako pri

zvočnih glagolih tipa *křičet* (kričati) in *syčet* (sikati), čeprav so ti glagoli po svoji notranji strukturi bliže nerazčlenjenim glagolom. Tudi tu *za-* izraža 'tipično' izvedbo dejanja. Ta izraz uporablja tudi Łaziński 2020 pri opisu derivacije nekaterih glagolov v poljščini. RB pripominja, da je to v slovanski aspektologiji nov izraz, ki pomeni pomemben korak k podrobnejšemu opisu glagolskega vida. Meni, da je to poimenovanje za glagole tipa ter. *zableat* ter nad. *zablejati*, ki pomenijo 'kratek čas blejati, nekajkrat zablejati', in za glagole v rezijanščini s predpono *s-/z-* (*spjüwat*, *zblejat*) zelo ustrezno, in ugotavlja, da segmentativni pomen, ki je bil doslej ugotovljen za češki in poljski jezik, obstaja tudi v slovenskem jezikovnem arealu.

Stanje v rezijanščini je po mnenju RB bolj arhaično od stanja v terskem in nadiškem narečju. Najstarejše so po njenem mnenju oblike tipa rez. *blejnut*, kasnejše tipa rez. *zablejnut* in najmlajše tipa ter. *zableat* in nad. *zablejati*, kjer se je pomen semelfaktivnosti in kratke večkratne kratkotrajne izvedbe dejanja zlil v en pomen.³ Pripona *-nu-* za izražanje vidskih razmerij je namreč starejša od predpon (Wiemer, Seržant 2017, 260–263; 256–258).

1.4 V zaključku RB poudarja, da so rezultati njene analize povsem v skladu z ugotovitvami zadnjih desetletij glede 'zahodnoslovanske' in 'vzhodnoslovanske' skupine delovanja glagolskega vida, kjer se kot glavna semantična komponenta dovršnikov v vzhodni skupini izpostavlja *časovna določnost* (angl. *temporal definitness*) in v zahodni skupini *celostnost* (angl. *totality*) (Dickey 2000). Zato ima v ruščini predpona *za-* zelo pomembno in produktivno vlogo kot predpona, ki tvori začetnostno/inkohativno vrsto glagolskega dejanja, kar pripomore k časovni določnosti npr. v nizu dovršnikov, medtem ko je taka funkcija v zahodni skupini manj pomembna, tu ima *za-* pogosto funkcijo označevanja celostnosti dejanja.

RB tudi meni, da bodo ugotovitve o semelfaktivnem sufiksu *-nu-* v perifernih slovenskih narečjih pripomogle k osvetlitvi diahronega razvoja gramatikalizacije kategorije vida in razvoja vrst glagolskega dejanja v slovanskih jezikih, in spodbuja k poglobitvi teh raziskav – tako na področje drugih, ne le multiplikativnih glagolov – kot tudi k obravnavi te problematike v knjižni slovenščini.

3 RB opozarja na nekatere reliktnne oblike, npr. ter. *zalanitii*, v Pleteršniku pa je našla tudi obliki *laniti* in *zalaniti*. Kar na tem mestu naj dodam še *zajekniti*, *zabrlizgniti* v SSKJ 2, Merše navaja za 16. st. *zažvenkniti*, v Pleteršniku najdemo *zavekniti*; v Hipolitu in Vorencu *zamukniti* (vse dostopno na Franu).

2

Sama se bom v tem prispevku skušala le dotakniti nekaterih vprašanj, obravnavanih v članku RB v slovenščini, in sicer pomena predpone *za-* pri zvočnih glagolih, kot je bila opisana v novjšem slovenskem jezikoslovju. Glede izraza segmentativ bi pustila vprašanje odprto oz. mislim, da gre v predponi *za-* pri zvočnih glagolih v slovenščini, kot navajajo npr. Merše, Šekli in Krvina, za zlitje pomenov začetnosti, enkratnosti in kratkotrajnosti, na prevlado tega ali onega pomena pa vpliva sobesedilo. Vsekakor pa je poudarek na celostnosti, v smislu zahodnega tipa slovanskih jezikov.

2.1 Glede prve skupine glagolov, ki jih RB opisuje kot glagole telesnega gibanja, lahko rečemo le, da jih večina tvori dovršnike tako kot rezijanščina, s pripono *-ni-*: *kapati – kapniti, brcati – brcniti, pihati – pihniti, pljuvati – pljuniti, rigati – rigniti, švrkati – švrkniti*. V rezijanščini RB te tvorjenke opisuje kot semelfaktive, za slovenščino bi lahko trdili, da so to preprosto dovršniki (kot npr. piše za češčino Dickey 2001, 41). Zdi se, da sestavljenk s predpono *s-/z-* s pomenom segmentativa (*skapat, spjüwat ...*) v slovenščini ni.

2.2 Več zanimanja bomo posvetili zvočnim glagolom s predpono *za-*. Da pomen te predpone ni le začetnost oz. inkohativen,⁴ pišejo med drugimi že Ada Vido-
vič Muha (1993), Majda Merše (1995), Domen Krvina (2015, 2018) in Matej Šekli (2016). V tem smislu so citirani tudi nekateri starejši avtorji, npr. Breznik (Krvina 2018, 160) in Bajec (Merše 1995, 288). Navsezadnje o tem pričajo razlage v SSKJ 2, navajam samo zadnja dva pomena od osmih:

za... predpona

1. v glagolskih sestavljenkah za izražanje

f) začetka dejanja: zagospodariti, zajokati, zavladati

g) same dovršnosti: zakikirikati, zakričati / začutiti, zaželeti / zapisati, zaščititi

Zvočni glagoli so razvrščeni med dva pomena: za *zajokati* se trdi, da pomeni začetek dejanja, za *zakikirikati* in *zakričati* pa, da pomenita samo dovršnost dejanja. To nas ne bi smelo vznemirjati – v nadaljevanju se bo pokazalo, da gre za nekakšen sinkretizem pomenov, saj *za-* pri akustičnih glagolih lahko pomeni tako začetnost kot časovno omejenost dejanja, lahko pa jih dojemamo tudi preprosto kot dovršnike k brezpredponskemu nedovršniku. Navedimo razlago iz SSKJ 2 (pri čemer

4 Glede izrazov inkohativen, inhoativen, ingresiven gl. Orešnik 1994, 160–161.

bomo opustili morfološke podatke in omenili samo tisto, kar je za našo obravnavo relevantno):

- zajókati – 1. izraziti veliko čustveno prizadetost, zlasti žalost, ali telesno bolečino s solzami in glasovi // začeti jokati
- zakričáti – 1. spregovoriti z močnim, rezkim glasom // izraziti jezo, nejevoljo z zelo glasnim govorjenjem 2. dati neartikuliran, rezek glas
- zakikiríkati – oglasiti se z glasom kikiriki

Vsi trije glagoli so opisani kot izvršitev dejanja/dovršnik; pri *zajokati* je znotraj razlage podpomen začetek dejanja.

2.3 Za naše razpravljanje je zelo relevanten prispevek D. Krvine. Krvina (2015, 100 in d.; 2018, 158 in d.) pri obravnavi glagolskih predpon piše, da *za-* velja v slovenski jezikoslovni literaturi od Miklošiča dalje zlasti za predpono z začetnostnim pomenom, čeprav opozarja tudi na mnenja, da lahko pomeni *za-* enkratnost (npr. Breznik in Vidovič Muha; 2018, 160, op. 383). Pomembno je, da Krvina opozarja, da je pomen predpone *za-* odvisen od pomena brezpredponskega glagola. Pri glagolih netelične dejavnosti ali stanja je pomen predpone *za-* skoraj brez izjeme začetnosten (*zacveteti*, *zagoreti*). Ti predponski glagoli tudi predstavljajo inkohativno/začetnostno vrsto glagolskega dejanja (sposob glagol'nogo dejstvija, Aktionsart).

Pri glagolih oddajanja zvoka ali svetlobe (tudi drugih) pa predpona *za-* izraža ali enkratnost ali začetnost dejanja: kaj od tega, je pri besedilni uresničitvi pogojeno s sobesedilom, je pa enkratnost, kot poudarja Krvina, vsaj v slovenščini navadno pogostejša od začetnosti. Enkratnost je namreč vsebovana že v netvorjenem NDV (potencialno neskončno mnogo istovrstnih ponovitev), zato Krvina meni, da lahko govorimo o *vidskem razmerju*. To je poimenovanje, ki ga Krvina uvaja za poimenovanje širše in gradualno pojmovanih vidskih parov (2018, 73). V vidsko razmerje vstopata dva glagola nasprotnega vida, če se vsaj en njun pomen razlikuje samo v vidu. So pa pari zvočnih glagolov tipa *kričati* – *zakričati* (pa tudi drugih) po mnenju Krvine zaradi zmožnosti izražanja začetnosti na meji med vrstami glagolskega dejanja in vidskimi pari. Slovarska razlaga zvočnih glagolov v SSKJ 2 je ponavadi oglasiti/oglašati se z zvokom ali dati/dajati zvok. Krvina našteva vrsto takih glagolov (2018, 160 in d.), mi jih naštejmo samo nekaj: *bevskati* – *zabevskati*, *bobnati* – *zabobnati*, *brenkati* – *zabrenkati*, *brlizgati* – *zabrlizgati*, *brneti* – *zabrneti*, *bučati* – *zabučati*, *cingljati* – *zacingljati*, *cviliti* – *zacviliti*, *dreti se* – *zadreti se*, *gagati* – *zagagati*, *gosti* – *zagosti*,

(...) *kašljati – zakašljati, kričati – zakričati, lajati – zalajati, meketati – zameketati, vpiti – zavpiti, bleščati se – zableščati se, iskriti se – zaiskriti se ...*

Kot že omenjeno, Krvina piše, da *za-* skoraj brez izjeme tvori inkohativno vrsto glagolskega dejanja z glagoli, ki pomenijo notranje nečlenjena stanja ali dejavnosti, npr. *zacveteti zagospodariti, zajadrti, zakraljevati*. Ko Dickey (2000, 227) piše o tem, da je našel v slovenščini le okoli 150 inkohativnih glagolov s predpono *za-*, Krvina dodaja, da gre tu najbrž prav za ta tip glagolov. Krvina je glagolov tipa *kričati – zakričati* v SSKJ 2 naštel okoli 800 in ti predstavljajo tudi številčno zelo pomemben del vidskorazmernih glagolov v slovenščini.

V tem oziru se spet kaže, da glede delovanja glagolskega vida slovenščina sodi k zahodnemu tipu slovanskih jezikov, saj za vzhodni vidski tip slovanskih jezikov, npr. ruščino, velja, da je vloga predpone *za-* zlasti začetnostna.

2.4 M. Šekli v svojem prispevku *Pomeni glagolskih predpon v slovenščini* (2016, 283) piše, da ima predpona *za-* (seveda ob drugih pomenih) inkohativni/začetnostni pomen; med zgledi, ki nas zanimajo, našteva *zapeti, zadihati, zajokati, zapihati*. Dalje piše, da ima *za-* pri glagolih s slovarskim pomenom zvočnega uresničevanja, npr. *zavpiti, zaječati, zašumeti, zagrmeti, zakričati, zacviliti, zatrobiti, zašepetati, zalajati* tudi delimitativni pomen (da Šekli te sestavljenke tradicionalno uvršča med vrste glagolskega dejanja, tu ni relevantno). Ob težnjah po pomenskih spremembah pri postopnem slabljenju krajevnega slovarskega pomen predpon Šekli (2016, 284) opozarja, da se inkohativni pomen pojavlja ob delimitativnem pomenu: 'majhna mera' in 'začeti': ... *zapeti, zakričati*. Šekli ob inkohativnem pomenu opozarja tudi na pomen: kratek čas, v majhni meri izvršiti neko dejanje, kar uvrsti v delimitativni pomen.

2.5 Oglejmo si zdaj nekatere ugotovitve M. Merše (1995), ki je raziskala vrstnost in vid glagola v slovenskem knjižnem jeziku 16. stoletja. Pri opredeljevanju vidskih parov se drži bolj tradicionalnega pogleda kot D. Krvina, vendar to za naše razpravljanje spet ni pomembno, zanima nas, kakšen pomen pripisuje posameznim predponskim glagolom v besedilih 16. stoletja.

Merše omenja, da gre pri glagolih *vpiti – zavpiti* in *kričati – zakričati* za odnos večkratnosti in enkratnosti. Dalje omenja, da predpona *za-* pri *zacvičati* in *zalajati* daje pomen majhne mere ali začetka. Pri *zatrobentati* meni, da *za-* označuje bodisi začetek dejanja bodisi njegovo kratkotrajnost (Merše 1995, 244–250). Če povzamemo, meni, da lahko pri zvočnih glagolih *za-* daje pomen enkratnosti, majhne mere (kratkotrajnosti) ali začetka.

V poglavju, kjer opisuje začetnostno vrsto glagolskega dejanja, omenja, da je tu najpogostejša predpona *za-* (288 in d.): med pomenskimi skupinami, ki s to predpono tvorijo začetnostno vrsto glagolskega dejanja, pa omenja zvočne glagole (*zacviliti, zagrmeti, zajokati, zalajati, zapeti, zatrobentati*). Hkrati pa omenja, da sobesedilo pogosto ne omogoča ločevanja pomenov začetnosti od kratkotrajnosti in enkratne uresničitve, npr. *nebo fmel en Pes na tebe salajati*.

V poglavju o časovno omejenem trajanju (delimitativnosti) je seveda na prvem mestu predpona *po-*. Vendar ponovno opozarja, da je pri zvočnih glagolih za označevanje kratkotrajnosti običajno rabljena predpona *za-*: *zacviliti, zaskovinčati, zažvenkniti*. *Zažvenkniti* spominja po strukturi na zglede tipa *zablejnut* pri RB. Merše piše, da je pri tem glagolu izbor predpone pomensko usklajen s pripono *-ni-*, ki poleg enkratnosti dejanja pogosto uzavešča tudi njegovo kratkotrajnost ali celo trenutnost izvedbe, v posebnih primerih pa lahko vzporedno označuje celo pravo manjšalnost (Merše 1995, 193–194).

Glede na tvorjenke iz članka RB je zanimivo omeniti tudi obliko *zakriknoti*, ki se omenja kot pokrajinska varianta (slovensko, bezjaško) k *zavpiti* (kranjsko) (Merše 1995, 309). Je pa glagol *zakrikniti* tudi v SSKJ 2 z oznako *star.* in razlago 'krikniti, zakričati'.

2.6 Povzemimo: pomen predpone *za-* pri akustičnih glagolih je pri navedenih avtorjih opisan kot začetnost in enkratnost – Krvina na podlagi konkretne analize glagolov v SSKJ 2 ugotavlja, da gre pogosteje za enkratnost – tudi kratkotrajnost in majhno mero dejanja. Tako Krvina kot Merše poudarjata, da je pomen odvisen od sobesedila, da pa včasih tudi sobesedilo ločevanja pomena začetnosti od kratkotrajnosti ali enkratne uresničitve ne omogoča. Šekli piše, da se inkohativni pomen pojavlja ob delimitativnem pomenu.

Vsi trije avtorji torej opozarjajo, da gre pri obravnavanih zvočnih glagolih s predpono *za-* za pomen enkratnosti (Krvina, Merše) oz. majhne mere (Merše, Šekli) in začetnosti: razmerje je odvisno od sobesedila. Nobeden od teh avtorjev pri razlagi ne opusti povsem pomena začetnosti. Kot piše Krvina, razlage zvočnih glagolov v SSKJ 2 skoraj vedno vsebujejo *oglasiti se*, razlaga tega glagola v SSKJ 2 pa je: dati, začeti dajati zvok, glas. V razlagi je torej prisotna tudi komponenta *začeti*. Tako je najbrž mogoče govoriti o sinkretizmu/zlitosti pomenov, kjer prevlada zdaj ena zdaj druga komponenta.

3

Zdaj se ozrimo, kot je to naredila že RB, k nekaterim podatkom iz češčine in slovaščine, ki vidsko sodita k zahodnemu tipu slovanskih jezikov.

3.1 Že A. Isačenko (1960, 228–229) v svoji slovnici ruskega jezika, kjer ruščino primerja s slovaščino in češčino, opozarja, da slovaško *zaplakat'* pomeni 'nedoločeno mero dejanja', torej med rus. *zaplakat'* in slovaškim *zaplakat'* ni semantičnega paralelizma. Slovaški *zaplakat'* prej ustreza ruskemu *vsplaknut'* ali *poplakat'* (delimitativ). V nekaterih primerih ustreza slovaškim glagolom s predpono *za-* ruski semelfaktiv s pripono *-nu-*, npr. slovaško *zakričat'* – rus. *kriknut'*. Ruskima *zahodit'* in *zagovorit'* ustreza v teh dveh jezikih opisni prevod *začeti hoditi* in *začeti govoriti*.

Gornje Isačenkove pripombe popolnoma ustrezajo stanju v slovenščini. Vsekakor tudi slovenščina nima sestavljenk *zagovorit'* in *zahodit'* z začetnostnim pomenom – edina izrazna možnost je tu 'začeti govoriti, začeti hoditi' (Sever, Derganc 2006, 128).

Zanimiva je tudi Isačenkova pripomba (226–227), da imajo v ruščini mnogi začetni glagoli s predpono *za-* tudi semelfaktive s pripono *-nu-*. Našteje precej takih glagolov, npr. *(za)ahat'* – *ahnut'*, *(za)kričat'* – *kriknut'*, *(za)mjaukat'* – *mjauknut'*, *(za)šeptat'* – *šepnut'*. V slovenščini imamo nekaj takih dvojic: *zakričati* – *krikniti*, *zamijavkati* – *mijavkniti*, *zašepetati* – *šepniti*, pomenita pa oba člena dvojice isto, kar potrjujejo razlage v SSKJ 2: *zamijávhati* in *mijavkniti* pomenita 'oglasiti se z glasom mijav'. Morda bi lahko trdili, da so v vsakdanjem pogovornem jeziku bolj uporabljane oblike tipa *zakričati*, oblike *krikniti* pa so nekoliko bolj knjižne, čeprav to v SSKJ 2 ni navedeno.

3.2 E. Petruhina (2000, 203) piše o zvočnih in nekaterih drugih multiplikativnih glagolih v češčini in slovaščini. Opozarja na zelo fine razlike med pomeni nekaterih derivatov z *za-* v češčini in slovaščini na eni in v ruščini na drugi strani. Medtem ko imajo v ruščini mnogi derivati glagolov oglašanja s prefiksom *za-* izrazito inkohativen pomen, imajo v češčini in slovaščini ustrezni glagoli pomen, ki ga Petruhina poimenuje 'ograničitel'no-kvantovj, kratkovremennoe pojavlenie neskol'kih aktov dejstviya'. Slovaško *Železné vráta zaškrípali* Petruhina prevede v ruščino z *Zaskripeli železnye vorota*, vendar dodaja: dobesedno: *skripnuli neskol'ko raz*. V ruščini je namreč v ospredju začetek dejanja, v češčini pa celostno kratkotrajno dejanje. Seveda so tudi v češčini in slovaščini nekatere pomenske skupine glagolov, pri katerih daje prefiks *za-* inkohativni pomen (npr. češ. *zaveslovat* – *zaveslati*). Zdi se, da je bistvo njenih ugotovitev opozorilo, da prefiks *za-* v češčini in slovaščini ob vrsti zvočnih in

multiplikativnih glagolov nima izrazito inkohativne vloge, temveč prej vlogo izražanja kratkotrajne oz. nekajkratne (če se da dejanje šteti) izvedbe dejanja. Vsekakor so navedena opažanja Petruhine glede češčine in slovaščine spet popolnoma primerljiva s stanjem v slovenščini.

3.3 O razliki pri pomenu in vlogi predpone *za-* v okviru svoje teorije o vzhodnem in zahodnem vidskem tipu slovanskih jezikov piše tudi S. Dickey (2000, 219–229; citirata ga tako RB kot tudi Krvina). Dickey ugotavlja, da je ena od razlik med vzhodno in zahodno vidsko skupino slovanskih glagolov tudi pomembna vloga začetnostne/inkohativne vrste glagolskega dejanja s predpono *za-* v vzhodni skupini. Ta vrsta glagolskega dejanja je v vzhodni skupini izredno produktivna. Zlasti zvočni glagoli, glagoli nedeterminiranega premikanja in čustvenega doživljanja radi tvorijo začetno vrsto glagolskega dejanja s to predpono. V češčini, slovaščini in lužiški srbščini je *za-* kot začetna predpona mnogo manj produktivna. V teh jezikih ima *za-* lahko začetnostni pomen, vendar tega pomena ponavadi ni mogoče ločiti od pomena celostnosti, delimitativnosti ali trenutnosti dejanja. V vzhodnih jezikih tvorjenja delimitativnosti ali trenutnosti z *za-* ni.

Za slovenščino Dickey citira Merše, ki piše, da je začetnost pogosto težko ločiti od trenutnosti ali enkratnosti, če sobesedilo tega ne omogoča (gl. zgoraj). Dickey je naštel v SSKJ okoli 155 začetnih glagolov z *za-*, kar je bistveno manj od bolgarščine (720), ki sodi v vzhodno skupino. Krvina (2018, 166), kot smo že omenili, dodaja, da so ti glagoli gotovo glagoli notranje nerazčlenjenih stanj ali dejavnosti. Sam je namreč naštel okoli 800 sestavljenk z *za-* od glagolov tipa *kričati* – *zakričati*, ki nimajo izrazito začetnostnega pomena, pač pa pogosteje pomen enkratnosti. Ti glagoli predstavljajo v slovenščini tudi številčno zelo pomemben delež vidskorazmernih glagolov.

Na drugem mestu (2001, 41) Dickey tudi piše, da so glagoli s sufiksom *-nu-* v ruščini razlagani kot vrsta glagolskega dejanja – semelfaktivi (npr. *kriknut'* proti *kričat'*), medtem ko so v češčini glagoli s to pripono razloženi preprosto kot perfektivi, *křiknout* je dovršnik od *křičet'*. Dodajmo, da je tako očitno tudi v slovenščini, npr. enak pomen *krikniti* – *zakričati*, pri čemer gre pri odnosu med *kričati* – *zakričati*, kot piše Krvina, za vidsko razmerje, torej za odnos na meji med vidskim parom in vrsto glagolskega dejanja.

4

Povzemimo: vsekakor drži že opažanje RB, da je stanje glede zvočnih predponskih glagolov z *za-* v slovenščini tako kot v terskem in nadiškem narečju, medtem ko je stanje v rezijanščini drugačno in po mnenju RB bolj arhaično. Drži tudi, da tudi v tem segmentu delovanja glagolskega vida slovenščina s svojimi narečji vred sodi v zahodno vidsko skupino slovanskih jezikov. Predpona *za-* v slovenščini namreč nima prevladujoče teže kot začetnostna predpona, začetnost pomeni zlasti pri ciljno neusmerjenih notranje nerazčlenjenih dejanjih (*zagospodariti*, *zaveslati*). Mnogo pogostejše (Krvina 2018, 166) izraža (sicer lahko ob začetnosti) enkratnost, dovršnost, majhno mero dejanja (Krvina, Šekli, Merše), pri čemer je te pomene ponavadi težko ločiti med sabo in je potrebna podpora sobesedila. Tako je zlasti pri glagolih oddajanja zvoka in svetlobe, pa tudi drugih. Vprašanje, ali bi bilo te predpanske glagole ustrezno poimenovati segmentative, po mojem mnenju za zdaj ostaja odprto.⁵

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5 Če že, se mi zdi to poimenovanje ustrežnejše za predpanske glagole tipa *pomahati in potrkati*, ki jih tu nismo obravnavali in so tvorjeni s sicer tipično delimitativno predpono *po-* iz členljivih multiplikativnih glagolov. Navedena glagola res pogosto pomenita: opraviti tipično količino imenovanih gibov.

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Slovenska teorija jezikovne naravnosti ter vprašanji sonaravnosti in merila pogostnosti ob preučevanju slovenskega gradiva

*Helena Dobrovoljc**

Povzetek

Prispevek predstavlja razvoj slovenske teorije naravnosti in njene metodološke spremembe v zadnjem desetletju (npr. spremembe pri zapisovanju lestvic naravnosti, spremembe pri upoštevanju meril teorije, postavitev govorca v fokus raziskave) ter odpira dve vprašanji ob gradivu za slovenščino, in sicer, kako v teoriji naravnosti obravnavati tiste slovenske (obliko)skladenjske dvojnice, ki so s stališča slovenske knjižne norme manj primerne oz. nepravilne, hkrati pa so žive prvine naravnega slovenskega jezika in so zato sonaravne; kako uveljavljati načela pogostnosti ob pomanjkanju gradivskih virov za nestandardni jezik. Prikazana sta dva pojava, v katerih prihaja do protislovja, ob trku nesonaravnega pojava in merila pogostnosti, ki je posledica regulacije standardnega jezika. Gre za (1) polvikanje (ujemanje v glagolski obliki) in vikanje ter za (2) priredno povezane predložne zveze tipa *pred predavanji in po predavanjih*, ki jih pogovorno krajšamo (*pred in po predavanjih*), četudi sta samostalnika v predložnih zvezah v različnih sklonih (*pred uporabo* – tožilnik, *po uporabi* – mestnik).

Ključne besede: teorija naravnosti, oblikoskladnja, slovenščina, sonaravnost, jezikovna kodifikacija, merilo pogostnosti.

The Slovene theory of language naturalness and the questions of co-naturalness and frequency criteria in the study of Slovene corpora

The article presents the development of the Slovene theory of linguistic naturalness and its methodological transformations over the past decade (for example, modifications in the representation of naturalness scales, changes in the application of the theory's criteria, and the placing of the speaker at the center of the research focus). It highlights two central issues arising from the study of Slovenian language data: how the theory of naturalness should address (morpho)syntactic variants that are regarded as less appropriate or incorrect according to the standard norm, yet function as living, co-natural elements of the language; how to

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apply the principles of frequency in contexts where sources of material for the non-standard language are lacking. The article highlights two phenomena in which contradictions arise from the clash between unnatural linguistic features and the frequency criteria, as shaped by the regulation of the standard language. These are: (1) polvikanje in vikanje (agreement in verb form within forms of address combining formal and informal elements); and (2) coordinated prepositional phrases of the type *pred predavanji in po predavanjih* (*before the lectures and after the lectures*), which are colloquially shortened to (*pred in po predavanjih* – *before and after the lectures*), even though the nouns in the prepositional phrases appear in different cases (*pred uporabo* – accusative; *po uporabi* – locative).

Keywords: naturalness, morphosyntax, Slovene, co-naturalness, language prescriptivism, frequency criteria

1 Naravnost in zaznamovanost v obratnem sorazmerju

Slovenska teorija jezikoslovne naravnosti¹ si z drugimi vejami naravnega jezikoslovja (Mayerthaler 1981, Dressler et al. 1987, Dressler 2000, Orešnik 2001) deli predpostavko, da v jeziku obstaja naravni red oz. sistem univerzalnih preferenc, v katerem so nekatere jezikovne zgradbe manj zaznamovane ali nezaznamovane ter za možgane lažje, zato tudi »naravnejše«.

V izhodišču teorije naravnosti je torej koncept zaznamovanosti, porojen v Praškem lingvističnem krožku v tridesetih letih 20. stoletja, tedaj kot pomagalo pri razlikovalnem ovrednotenju nasprotnostnih parov fonemov (Trubeckoj² 1931, 1939) in za ponazoritev bolj ali manj značilnih lastnosti v okviru oblikoslovnih kategorij, kot so sklon, število, oseba, čas in vid, npr. ednine glede na množino in sedanjika glede na preteklik (Jakobson 1932, za ponazoritev nezaznamovanosti moškega slovničnega spola glede na ženskega v ruščini) (Waugh in Lafford 2000: 272). V naslednjih razvojnih fazah teorije zaznamovanosti je bil ugotovljen tudi nebinaren koncept zaznamovanosti. Tako npr. v kategoriji »slovnično število« ne spremljamo zaznamovanih in nezaznamovanih slovničnih števil, temveč razvrščamo slovnična števila sorazmerno glede na manjšo ali večjo stopnjo zaznamovanosti, in sicer je

1 Prispevek je nastal v okviru raziskovalnega programa P6-0038, ki ga financira ARIS. Obema recenzentoma se zahvaljujem za pripombe in komentarje.

2 Npr. fonem /p/ je opisan glede na fonem /b/ kot nezveneč, fonem /b/ pa glede na fonem /m/ kot nenosnik – /p/ [–zveneč]; /b/ [+zveneč], [–nosnik]; /m/ [+nosnik]) ter določil zvenečnost in nosnost v okviru fonetičnih značilnosti kot zaznamovani (Andersen 1989: 21–22).

množina zaznamovana glede na ednino, toda nezaznamovana glede na dvojino ipd., kar dopušča univerzalno hierarhijo slovničnih števil v zaporedju ednina < množina < dvojina < tri/pavkal (Greenberg 1966; Croft 1990).

Manj zaznamovano ali nezaznamovano se v teoriji zaznamovanosti istoveti z normalnim, pričakovanim, (bolj) zaznamovano pa s tistim, kar se razlikuje od nevtralnega (tj. nezaznamovanega) po specifičnih parametrih. Nezaznamovane prvine univerzalno izkazujejo, da so izražene s preprostejšim pomenom, pogostnejše, usvojene hitreje, redko cilj jezikovnih sprememb itd. (Bussmann 1996, 294–295). Zaznamovani pa so tisti pojavi, ki veljajo za manj splošne oz. bolj specializirane, navadno pa tudi manj razširjene. Zaznamovanost je povezana tudi z zapletenostjo (kompleksnostjo): bolj zapleteni izrazi so zaznamovani (Živanović 2015, 205).

V **teoriji naravnosti** (Mayerthaler, Dressler) je zaznamovanost enačena z nenaravnostjo (Dressler 1989), pojma *naraven* in *zaznamovan* pa sta obratno sorazmerna Mayerthaler (1987, 27). V raziskovalnem fokusu teorije naravnosti pa ni zaznamovanost, temveč *nezaznamovanost*. V slovenski teoriji naravnosti so se (o tem Orešnik 2001, 237) zato odločili za rabo pojma *naravnost*,³ ki jo razumemo kot bolj intuitivno sprejemljivo, kognitivno preprostejše, lažje usvojljivo, prvotnejšo in zato bolj razširjeno (Dressler 2000, 288). Vendar pa prihaja med obema teorijama tudi do nevzporednosti, saj paru *nezaznamovan* (neoznačen) – *zaznamovan* (označen) ne moremo vedno prisoditi para *naraven* – *nenaraven*. Le redki so namreč tisti jezikovni pojavi, ki so nenaravni, pogosteje govorimo o bolj ali manj naravnih pojavih. V slovenski teoriji jezikovne naravnosti se je zaradi specifičnih okoliščin preučevanja jezikovnih praks začel uveljavljati tudi pojem *sonaravnosti* (angl. *co-natural*), o čemer več v nadaljevanju.

3 Besedne zveze *naravna skladnja*, *naravno jezikoslovje* in *teorija jezikovne naravnosti* so z vidika pojmovanja teorije naravne skladnje sopomenske generične oznake za način ukvarjanja z jezikovnimi zgradbami. Izraz *naravnost* je sicer prevzet po mednarodni teoriji o jezikovni naravnosti, in sicer kot prevod angleškega *naturalness* oz. nemškega *Natürlichkeit*. Pri Orešniku se je uveljavil teorem *naravna skladnja* (Orešnik 2015), v drugih razpravah pa zaradi različnih jezikovnih ravni ukvarjanja uporabljajo tudi izraz *slovenska teorija naravnosti*.

2 Osnovni pojmi v razvoju slovenske teorije jezikovne naravnosti

Zamisel za slovensko teorijo naravnosti se je Janezu Orešniku po lastnem pripovedovanju (Orešnik 2019, 194) porodila leta 1979, med poletno šolo Ameriškega jezikoslovnega združenja (LSA) v Salzburgu. Izhodišče slovenske teorije je bilo razlikovanje med preprostimi in zapletenimi jezikovnimi pojavi in povezava tega razmerja s spoznanjem, da je tisto, kar je naravno za govorca, navadno manj naravno za ogovorjenega. Udeleženec sporazumevalnega procesa kot govorec uresničuje težnjo po gospodarnosti izražanja (težnji manjšega napora), kot ogovorjeni pa težnji po natančnosti izražanja (težnja po učinkovitem sporazumevanju). Ta razmerja je Mayerthaler opisoval z lestvicami naravnosti, in sicer sem-naravnost (*sem* – semantika) zadeva kognitivno zapletenost in je v interesu govorca, sym-naravnost (*sym* – simbol) pa zadeva kodiranje in je v interesu ogovorjenega.

Slovenska teorija je prevzela Mayerthalerjeve lestvice naravnosti, gradivsko jedro preučevanja pa je bilo preusmerjeno iz oblikoslovja v skladnjo (Orešnik 1999), kasneje pa zaradi raziskovalne podhranjenosti v (obliko)skladnjo (Orešnik 2001; Orešnik 2019, 194).

Težišče slovenske teorije je postalo preučevanje (obliko)skladenjskih sopomenskih izrazov – dvojnic, ki imata različno stopnjo naravnosti, ki ju povezuje ista krovna kategorija (tj. tipska povezovalna lastnost) in ki se ločita v največ dveh razlikovalnih parametrih (Orešnik 1999, 18). Npr. veznika *in* in *ter* sta dvojnici, ker ju povezuje krovna kategorija »priedni veznik«.

V osemdesetih letih so bili narejeni prvi koraki v razvoju slovenske veje teorije: Orešnik je s štirimi magistrandi⁴ germanistike vzpostavil diahrono teorijo o krepkih (oz. okrepljenih zgradbah) in šibkih dvojnica (oz. ošibljenih zgradbah) (Orešnik 1999). Pri tem so krepke dvojnice veljale za tiste, ki so zgradbeno in pomensko bolj zapletene, so bolj razvidne, bolj obvestilne, s stališča govorca manj gospodarne in s stališča ogovorjenega lažje razumljive (npr. besedna zveza *naša oče in mama* je nasproti zvezi *naš oče in naša mama* šibka dvojnica). Za šibke dvojnice velja, da se pogosteje uveljavljajo v manj zapletenem okolju oz. v manj zaznamovanih besedilih (Petrič 2001).

V devetdesetih letih je Orešnik teorijo preusmeril v sinhrono preučevanje jezikovnih zgradb in jo preverjal na gradivu dobro opisanih jezikov. Leta 2005 sta izšli dve študiji: v Kavčič (2005) je teorija preverjena na sistemu glagolskega

4 Na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani: Frančiška Trobevšek Drobnak, Karmen Teržan Kopecky, Teodor Petrič in Andrej Snedec, v 1990. se je skupini pridružila Alja Lipavica Oštir.

dopolnjevanja v zgodnji bizantinski grščini; v Dobrovoljc (2005a) pa na slovenskem (obliko)skladenjskem gradivu. V Dobrovoljc (2005a) so bile vse lestvice opisane z vidika vrednosti sem, saj je veljalo, da so pretvorljive v lestvice sym ($\text{sem}(A, B) = \text{sym}(B, A)$), s čimer je bilo preverjeno tudi delovanje načela konstrukcijskega ikonizma⁵ (Dressler idr. 1987), po katerem je kodiranje ikonično, če je kognitivno manj naravna kategorija (torej manj sem-naravni element lestvice) kodirana kot bolj razvidna (Mayerthaler 1987, 48). Drugo načelo iz tega obdobja razvoja teorije se povezuje s prijemom obratne zaznamovanosti (angl. *markedness reversal*) in uveljavlja zamenjavo členov A in B v lestvici, ki deluje v nekem ožjem okolju (npr. $\text{sem}(B, A)$ / MR: čeprav je naravnejša 1. glagolska oseba, je v okolju »velevanje« bolj naravno uporabiti 2. glagolsko osebo). Manj naravno okolje je mogoče pojmovati tudi kot podsistem, v katerem veljajo drugačne zakonitosti kot v nadrejenem sistemu (Dobrovoljc 2005b).

Lestvice naravnosti so bile v slovenski teoriji prvotno utemeljene z desetimi načeli – (1) načelo najmanjšega napora, (2) načelo filogenetske starosti, (3) načelo prototipičnosti, (4) načelo včlenjenosti v stavek, (5) načelo pogostnosti, (6) tipološko načelo, (7) načelo velikosti razreda, (8) načelo specializirane rabe, (9) načelo rabe kategorije in izvedbe poteka, (10) načelo sprejemljivosti. V nadaljnjem razvoju teorije je bilo umaknjeno filogenetsko načelo, saj je bilo protislovno z nekaterimi drugimi procesi (npr. s procesom poenobesedenja). Največ lestvic je bilo utemeljeno z načelom najmanjšega napora, ki izhaja iz Haversove misli (Havers 1931: 171), da sta v jeziku dve nasprotujoči si naravni težnji – težnja po gospodarnosti (kratkosti, udobnosti) in težnja po jasnosti (nedvoumnosti, določenosti) izraza. Tako utemeljene lestvice, aktualne ob slovenskem (obliko)skladenjskem gradivu, so bile npr. naslednje: primernik je bolj naraven od presežnika, hotativ od želelnika, sintetično stopnjevanje od analitičnega, trdilni naklon od nikalnega, slovnično ujemanje od pomenskega, neprehodna skladijska zgradba od prehodne, svojilni pridevnik od rodilnika (pri izražanju svojine), ponovitev od izvirnika ... (Dobrovoljc 2005a, 40–41).

5 Konstrukcijski ikonizem torej temelji na načelu, da je neenakost med dvojnicama z različno vrednostjo sem pogojena z neenakostjo njunega kodiranja (Mayerthaler 1988, 10).

Del pridevniških besed, lastnostne pridevnike, stopnjujemo z desnim obrazilom, tj. sintetično – *lepši, boljši*, in z mernim prislovom, tj. analitično (opisno) – *bolj lep, najbolj lep*. (Prim. Toporišič 2000: 317.) Stopnjujemo lahko navzgor (*lepši, bolj lep, najbolj lep*) ali navzdol (*manj lep, najmanj lep*), vendar je stopnjevanje navzdol samo analitično, tj. opisno.

Skladenjski dvojnici: analitično in sintetično stopnjevanje lastnostnih pridevnikov.

1 Domneve teorije jezikovne naravnosti:

1.1 > sem (navzgor, navzdol) / stopnjevanje

Tj., glede na kognitivno zapletenost je stopnjevanje navzgor bolj naravno od stopnjevanja navzdol. – **Utemeljitev:** S stališča teorije jezikovne naravnosti so bolj naravne dejavnosti, ki so usmerjene navzgor, bliže, naravnost ipd. Večina teh dejavnosti je namreč v govorčevem vidnem polju ali bližini. Stopnjevanje navzgor je v pretežno ugodni smeri za govorca, stopnjevanje navzdol pa je v pretežno neugodni smeri za govorca.

1.2 > sem (sintetično, analitično) / stopnjevanje

Tj., glede na kognitivno zapletenost je sintetično stopnjevanje bolj naravno od analitičnega. – **Utemeljeno z načelom najmanjšega napora:** S stališča govorca je sintetični način stopnjevanja bolj naraven, saj je treba vanj vložiti manj napora. Opisno stopnjevanje, tj. stopnjevanje z mernimi prislovi, je bolj naravno s stališča ogovorjenega, saj imata tako tvorjena primernik in presežnik notranjo skladenjsko zgradbo in sta zato zgradbeno bolj razvidna.

Posebni primer od 1.2:

1.2.1 > sem (sintetično & analitično, samo analitično) / stopnjevanje

Tj., glede na kognitivno zapletenost so razmere, v katerih je mogoče tako sintetično kot analitično stopnjevanje, bolj naravne kot razmere, v katerih je mogoče samo analitično stopnjevanje. – Lestvica je primerek predloge > sem (A + B, B).

2 Domnevi slovenske teorije jezikovne naravnosti:

2.1 > sem teži po povezavi z drugim > sem

2.2 < sem teži po povezavi z drugim < sem

3 Posledice:

Iz 1.1, 1.2.1 in 2.1 se da sklepati:

- 3.1 Če je v okviru stopnjevanja lastnostnih pridevnikov kaka razlika med stopnjevanjem navzgor in stopnjevanjem navzdol, tako da v enem primeru stopnjujemo na sintetični in analitični način, v drugem pa samo na analitični način, potem je stopnjevanje navzgor tisto, pri katerem uporabimo sintetični in analitični način.

Iz 1.1, 1.2.1 in 2.2 se da sklepati:

- 3.2 Če je v okviru stopnjevanja lastnostnih pridevnikov kaka razlika med stopnjevanjem navzgor in stopnjevanjem navzdol, tako da v enem primeru stopnjujemo na sintetični in analitični način, v drugem pa samo na analitični način, potem je stopnjevanje navzdol tisto, pri katerem uporabimo samo analitični način.

Prikaz 1: Izpeljava leta 2003 (Dobrovoljc 2005a, 81–82)

V naslednjem desetletju je Orešnik (2003) ukinil delitev na lestvice sem in sym in se odločil za lestvice > nat (A, B), kar je utemeljil z dejstvom, da je v središču sporazumevalnega procesa interes govorca. V metodološkem preobratu teorije sta Orešnik in Siebenreich (2015) iz nabora načel za utemeljevanje lestvic naravnosti izločila še eno načelo, in sicer načelo prototipičnosti, ki je razlikovalo med osrednjimi in obrobni predstavniki skupine (npr. med prototipične predstavnike pridevniških besed je mogoče šteti pridevnike, med obrobne pa pridevniške zaimke). Slovenska teorija jezikovne naravnosti je tako leta 2015 imela še osem meril (načel) za utemeljevanje lestvic, in sicer se je prvotno krovno načelo (o najmanjšem naporu govorca in večjem ogovorjenega) razdelilo na dve merili: (1) govoreči deluje pri

sporazumevanju drugače od ogovorjenega > nat (ugodno za govorečega, ugodno za ogovorjenega), (2) načelo najmanjšega napora > nat (manj, bolj) / naporno. Novo je bilo načelo (3) o sprejemljivi nasproti nesprejemljivi rabi, vsa druga načela pa so bila ohranjena: (4) načelo včlenjenosti v zgradbo, (5) načelo pogostnosti (kar je za govorečega kognitivno preprostejše, se namreč pogostejše uporablja), (6) načelo o majhnem nasproti velikemu razredu (med sporočanjem govoreči lažje izbira iz majhnih razredov kot iz velikih), (7) načelo o potekih (primik, ujemanje), (8) tipološko načelo (kar je bolj razširjeno po jezikih sveta, je za govorečega bolj naravno).

Namesto prijema obratne zaznamovanosti, ki je bil uveljavljen, ko so bile razmere podsistemske, je bilo že v Siebenreich (2015) uvedeno križno povezovanje lestvic (Prikaz 2).

Opis gradiva: Pri samostalnikih druge moške sklanjatve je prevladujoča sklanjatev z rodilnikom na -e. Z izpeljavo bomo napovedali, da sklanjatev z rodilnikom na -e tvori velik razred, sklanjatev z rodilnikom na -a pa majhen razred.

Dvojnici: Sklanjatev z rodilnikom na -e, sklanjatev z rodilnikom na -a. – Izpeljava poteka v nenaravnem okolju »pregibanje« in »druga moška sklanjatev«.

[1] Domneve naravnega oblikoslovja

[1.1] >nat (-e, -a) / rodilnik sklanjatve moškega spola

Tj., sklanjatev z rodilnikom na -e je bolj naravna kot sklanjatev z rodilnikom na -a. Za ogovorjenega je namreč ugodnejše, če ima samostalni sklanjatev z rodilnikom na -a, saj gre za samostalni moškega spola, kjer je rodilnik na -a bolj pričakovan. Po načelu o ugodnem za govorečega in ogovorjenega -a stoji na mestu B lestvice.

[1.2] >nat (majhen, velik) / razred

Tj., majhen razred je bolj naraven od velikega razreda. To je kar načelo o majhnem nasproti velikemu razredu.

[2] Deluje križno povezovanje.

[3] Posledice:

Če jezik loči med sklanjativjo z rodilnikom na -e in sklanjativjo z rodilnikom na -a, tako da ena tvori majhen razred, druga pa velik razred, tedaj teži sklanjatev z rodilnikom na -e, da bi tvorila velik razred, sklanjatev z rodilnikom na -a pa k temu, da bi tvorila majhen razred.

[4] Naravno oblikoslovje je ovrženo, če so v slovenščini naslednje razmere: Če jezik loči med sklanjativjo z rodilnikom na -e in sklanjativjo z rodilnikom na -a, tako da ena tvori majhen razred, druga pa velik razred, tedaj teži sklanjatev z rodilnikom na -a, da bi tvorila velik razred, sklanjatev z rodilnikom na -e pa k temu, da bi tvorila majhen razred.

Prikaz 2: Izpeljava leta 2015 (Siebenreich 2015, 81)

»Križno povezovanje je nujno, kadar je izpeljava omejena na jezikovno gradivo znotraj "nenaravnega okolja"« zapišeta Cvetko Orešnik in Orešnik (2021)⁶ v razpravi o angleških slogovnih razločkih, v kateri so opisi gradivsko povzeti po opisni slovnici Huddleston/Pullum, v tej pa so pogosto opisana razmerja med standardom in pogovornim slogom. Dejstvo, da sta avtorja za slogovno raziskavo izbrala angleško jezikovno gradivo, ni presenetljivo, saj bi bila tovrstna analiza v jeziku, kakršen je slovenščina, otežena zaradi pomanjkanja razlikovalnih opisov različnih slogovnih variant.

6 Ob tem se upravičeno zastavlja tudi vprašanje o tem, katero od jezikovnih okolij je v sistemu teorije naravnosti sploh nenaravno.

3 Sonaravnost in nesonaravnost kot odprto vprašanje teorije naravnosti

Naravno jezikoslovje deli razmere v jeziku na sonaravne (angl. *co-natural*) in nesonaravne (angl. *abnatural*): sonaravni razvoj jezika sledi našim nevrobiološkim procesom ne glede na družbeno funkcijo, nesonaravni razvoj pa je povzročen družbeno (Bailey 1996, 369). Ko preučujemo navade v standardnem jeziku (na Slovenskem imenovan *knjižni*), se je treba zavedati, da so nekatere zgradbe v tem jeziku posledica jezikovne regulacije, zato bi bilo treba dobro poznati tiste posege v jezik, ki so posledica jezikovnega usmerjanja zaradi purizma ali skrbi za jezikovno kulturo, in jih obravnavati kot nesonaravne in vsaj deloma umetne, družbeno pogojene.⁷ Po Baileyju (1996) naj bi bil nesonaravni razvoj sicer pogosto nasproten s sonaravnim, vendar pa to ni nujno – obe vrsti jezikovnih sprememb sta lahko razmeroma pogostni in obe sta »normalni«. Razlikovanje med sonaravnostjo in nesonaravnostjo je pomembno, ker – izhajajoč iz Mayerthalerjeve omejitvene delovne hipoteze – slovenska teorija jezikovne naravnosti tako kot naravno jezikoslovje nasploh obravnava samo sonaravne primere in razmere. Ugotovimo lahko dvojje: (1) razločevanju med sonaravnimi in nesonaravnimi jezikovnimi pojavi v slovenski jezikoslovni tradiciji in tudi v aktualnih jezikovnih (slovničnih) opisih ni bilo namenjeno dovolj pozornosti, da bi jih lahko primerjali; (2) opisovanje sonaravnih pojavov v opoziciji do nesonaravnih je najbolj problematično ob uveljavljanju načela pogostnosti.

3.1 Razločevanje med sonaravnimi in nesonaravnimi pojavi

Z vidika sinhronih raziskav pogosto ni razvidno, pod katerimi pogoji se je jezikovna prvina, kategorija ali pojavnost pojavila v jeziku, mogoče je namreč, da jo govorec občuti kot nezaznamovano ali naravno, četudi izvira iz drugega jezika ali se je pojavila pod vplivom družbenih dejavnikov. Sonaravnost je očitno tesno povezana s pojmovanjem stopnje formalnosti ubesedovanja ali jezikovnimi zvrstmi: pri ubesedovanju v nepredpisani, neformalni jezikovni zvrsti govorec ni zainteresiran uporabljati tistih jezikovnih prvin, ki jih čuti kot manj naravne, pri formalnem sporazumevanju pa je v skladu z veljavnimi normami prisiljen uporabljati tudi jezikovne zgradbe, nastale morda z nesonaravnim razvojem. Vendar ločnice med njima ni. Skozi celotno drugo polovico 20. stoletja je bilo v slovenistiki več pozornosti namenjeno vzgoji

7 Na vprašanje, v kakšnem razmerju je nesonaravni razvoj z naravnim oz. sonaravnim razvojem, bi raziskovalno težko odgovorili, saj študij, ki bi spremljale jezikovne navade posameznikov z enakimi ali vsaj podobnimi jezikovnimi izhodišči in opazno različnimi načini usvajanja slovenščine, ne poznamo.

dobrega sloga⁸ kot pa opisovanju razmer, v katerih lahko uporabljamo izbrane jezikovne zgradbe kot nevtralne. Tudi sodobnega jezikovnega uporabnika priročniki seznanjajo zgolj s slogovno zaželenimi jezikovnimi zgradbami, ne pa tudi s tem, v katerih okoliščinah uporabljamo tiste jezikovne zgradbe, ki jih s perspektive jezikovnega standarda negativno normativno vrednotijo, so pa – upoštevajoč vedenje o pogovornih navadah – najverjetneje bolj sonaravne.

Primer: Primerjava polvikanja in vikanja. V jezikih sveta se je vikanje uveljavilo kot odraz družbenega spoštovanja: raba množine osebnega zaimka za ogovor ene osebe je postala pričakovana, če želimo izraziti spoštovanje. Izpričana je po mnogih, izvirno nesorodnih jezikih, v Evropi pa je prvi tak primer zabeležen že v tretjem stoletju (prim. Kordić 2002, 37). Vikanje kot pojav je danes že mogoče pojmovati kot nekaj sonaravnega. Še bolj bi to moralo obveljati za polvikanje, ki se v jeziku ohranja, čeprav je v pisnem jeziku obveljalo za znamenje jezikovne neomikanosti in so ga normativno preganjali že več stoletij (Jelovšek 2011, 2015). Toporišič (1992, 122) navaja, da je polvikanje značilno »zlasti za pogovorni jezik na nekaterih področjih Slovenije [in] [r]azodeva na pol intimen ali neprizadet poslovni odnos do nižjih«, Snoj pa, da je »sprejemljivo le v govorjenem jeziku. V pisanem učinkuje robato, kaže znake nižje jezikovne kulture in je zato za marsikoga celo žaljivo« (Snoj 2016). S prepovedovalnim poseganjem v jezikovne navade je jezikoslovje doseglo, da se dojema polvikanje kot slaba jezikovna izbira.

Z vidika teorije naravnosti bi morali upoštevati predvsem dejstvo, da je polvikanje natančneje, saj »v oblikah deležnikov in pridevnikov izhaja iz naravnega spola ogovorjenega in tako omogoča njegovo spolsko razvidnost« (Černivec 2019, 142). Po Mayerthalerju (Mayerthaler idr. 1998, 182) je slovnično (oblikoskladenjsko) ujemanje naravnejše od ujemanja »ad sensum«, torej vikanje ali nevikanje je naravnejše od polvikanja, polvikanje pa bi v skladu z lestvico > nat (nepredpisani, predpisani) / slog moralo veljati za naravnejše. S stališča govorca je sicer res lažje ubesedovati gramatikalizirane skladenjske strukture, saj so mu deloma avtomatizirane in jih uresničuje s pomočjo svoje slovnice, medtem ko je ogovorjenemu bližje pomensko ujemanje, ker se trudi iz govorčevih besed razbrati pomen, ki more biti tudi spremenljiv in metaforičen, a če je pojav nesonaraven, v teoriji naravnosti ne moremo napovedovati njegovega jezikovnega vedenja, razen če dokažemo nesporno »živost« v jezikovnih navadah govorcev tega jezika.

8 Npr. v Slovenskem pravopisu 1962: Če pa je beseda ali zveza nepotrebna ali nelepa ali v nasprotju z duhom slovenskega jezika, ji je dodana puščica (→) [rezultirati: iz tega rezultira → iz tega sledi, op. HD]; ta pomeni, da rajši uporabljamo boljši ali bolj domač izraz, ki sledi v kurzivi. Še večje besedne in slogovne spake in najhujše nebodijhtreba so zaznamovane z ničlo (°). (SP 1962, Uvod, str. 6.)

Nesonaravnost je torej mogoče pojmovati kot eno od odprtih vprašanj slovenske teorije jezikovne naravnosti. Če je ena od dvojnic, ki jim s pomočjo t. i. izpeljav skušamo napovedati jezikovno vedênje, nastala po nesonaravni poti, je treba najprej sprejeti stališče o tem, ali je dvojnična zgradba ali sredstvo kljub temu živa prvina jezika, v katerem se pojavlja.

3.2 Ugotavljanje pogostnosti sonaravnih pojavov

Jezikoslovci pogostnost povezujejo z nezaznamovanostjo (Greenberg 1966) in naravnostjo – Mayerthaler (1988) celo v obeh smereh: naravno je tisto, kar je pogostno, in pogostno tisto, kar je naravno. V slovenski teoriji jezikovne naravnosti je merilo pogostnosti upoštevano le v duhu trditve, da je vse, kar je v jeziku pogostno, tudi naravno.⁹

Ugotavljanje, ali je jezikovni pojav živ oz. pogost in v rabi, naj bi bilo oprto na jezikovno gradivo, kar za teorijo predstavlja tudi problem, če v jeziku ni dovolj zanesljivih možnosti za ugotavljanje pogostnosti pojavov. Za slovenščino je že tako. V obdobju pred digitalno dobo so o pogostnosti sklepali s pomočjo izpisov iz »zanesljivega« gradiva (npr. SSKJ-jevska listkovna kartoteka z izpisi iz kanoniziranih in javno objavljenih lektoriranih del), v digitalni dobi pa so zbirke besedil, zbranih v elektronskih besedilnih korpusih, prav tako prinašale predvsem normativno regulirane jezikovne prakse. Z napredkom na področju jezikovnih tehnologij se je možnost preverjanja pogostnosti sonaravnih jezikovnih izbir povečala. Ustvarjajo se specializirani korpusi, pri katerih je pogostnost sonaravnih zgradb očitno večja, pri preverjanju rabe pa moramo upoštevati njihovo različnost in temu prilagoditi interpretacijo rezultatov. Med slovenskimi digitalnimi viri, ki omogočajo preverjanje pogostnosti, so:

- *Gigafida 2.0* je referenčni korpus večinoma lektoriranih besedil – publicistike, leposlovja in stvarnih besedil (leksikoni, učbeniki ...);
- *Janes* je korpus manj formalnih in neformalnih spletnih besedil (blogi, družbena omrežja ...);
- *siParl* je korpus govornih besedil iz slovenskega parlamenta;
- *slWac* je korpus slovenskih besedil na spletu;
- *KAS* in *OSS* sta korpusa znanstvenih del in akademskih zaključnih besedil.

9 Večji pomen načelu pogostnosti v naravnem jezikoslovju pripisuje Fenk-Oczlon (2001), ki trdi, da bi namesto izraza »nezaznamovan« lahko uporabljali kar izraz »pogosten«.

Primer: V pogovorni slovenščini je razširjena elipsa prve jedrne sestavine v priredno povezanih predložnih zvezah tipa *pred uporabo in po uporabi*, četudi sta samostalnika v predložnih zvezah v različnih sklonih (*pred uporabo* – tožilnik, *po uporabi* – mestnik). Priročniki knjižnega jezika večinoma opozarjajo, da je prva nepredložna sestavina v takih zvezah neizpustljiva, saj predloga zahtevata različna sklona, zato je v standardu raba zgradbe *pred in po uporabi* nezaželen (prepovedana), da bi se izognili kopičenju samostalnikov pa je dopustna zgradba z navezovalnim zaimkom namesto ponovljenega samostalnika, torej *pred uporabo in po njej*.

Preverba pogostnosti po različnih besedilnih korpusih pokaže, da je večja pogostnost zvez brez elipse (*pred* + SAMOSTALNIK *in po* + SAMOSTALNIK/ZA-IMEK) opazna le v korpusu, ki je referenčen za standardni jezik (Gigafida 2.0), vsi drugi korpusi pa izkazujejo večjo pogostnost zvez z elipso prvega jedra (Prikaz 3). Raziskavo smo preverili tudi s predložnim parom (*med* + SAMOSTALNIK *in po* + SAMOSTALNIK/ZAIMEK), ki ga v slovarskih priročnikih ni mogoče zaslediti med primeri prepovedanih ali odsvetovanih slogovnih zgradb, se pa uvršča v isto skupino. Rezultati tudi pri tem predložnem paru niso spremenjeni, odstopanje smo zasledili le v korpusu siParl, v katerem so besedila pogosto naknadno (uredniško, lektorsko) popravljena (ob prepisu iz govora v zapis).

Opis	Z elipso prvega jedra		Brez elipse prvega enobesednega samostalniškega jedra	
Zveza	<i>pred in po</i> samostalnik	<i>med in po</i> samostalnik	<i>pred</i> samostalnik <i>in po</i> samostalnik ali zaimek	<i>med</i> samostalnik <i>in po</i> samostalnik ali zaimek
Zgradba zveze	(<i>pred</i> + <i>in</i> + <i>po</i> + SAMOSTALNIK)	(<i>med</i> + <i>in</i> + <i>po</i> + SAMOSTALNIK)	(<i>pred</i> + SAMOSTALNIK + <i>in</i> + <i>po</i> + SAMOSTALNIK /ZAIMEK)	(<i>med</i> + SAMOSTALNIK + <i>in</i> + <i>po</i> + SAMOSTALNIK /ZAIMEK)
Pogostnost po korpusih				
OSS	35.869	7.865	8.423	3.399
Gigafida 2.0	1.452	902	1.600	1.273
slWac	2.539	1.602	847	940
Janes Twitter	239	158	33	40
siParl	141	58	85	80

Prikaz 3: Pogostnost priporočene slogovne dvojnice v različnih slovenskih besedilnih korpusih

Pogostnost sonaravnih pojavov je torej najboljše dokazljiva in ugotovljiva primerjalno, če imamo na voljo gradivske zbirke, ki izkazuje značilne jezikovne prakse na različnih področjih sporazumevanja.

Sklep

Razvojno dinamična slovenska teorija jezikovne naravnosti je v četrtem desetletju svojega obstoja med utemeljevalnimi načeli ohranila načelo pogostnosti, med raziskovalnimi pogoji pa sonaravnost izbranih jezikovnih dvojnic. Na primeru slovenskega gradiva je bilo pokazano, da obe zahtevata dobro poznavanje gradivskih virov in družbene regulacije jezikovnih pojavov, saj so tudi povsem sonaravni pojavi lahko označeni za slabe jezikovne izbire ali odraz nekultiviranosti govorečega. Kljub temu da slovenska teorija naravnosti omogoča razlikovanje med jezikovnimi zgradbami, ki jih umeščamo v t. i. predpisani sporazumevalni slog, in jih že *a priori* opredeljuje kot manj naravne oz. zaznamovane za govorca, je ugotavljanje njihove pogostnosti lahko zavajajoče, če se raziskovalno opiramo na t. i. referenčne korpuse, ki so v slovenščini primarno namenjeni raziskavam jezikovnega standarda. Že Arhar Holdt (2006, 53) ugotavlja, da je »referenčni korpus [...] sam po sebi nezadosten«, če nas zanimajo jezikovne dvojnice in njihova razširjenost tako v skrbno reguliranem kot tudi govorjenem jeziku.

S sodobnejšimi orodji in gradivskimi zbirkami pa je omogočeno, da se načelo pogostnosti preverja eksaktnije in bolj empirično. Na ta način bi bilo mogoče razrešiti eno od odprtih vprašanj slovenske teorije jezikovne naravnosti ob slovenskem gradivu, in sicer, ali so predpisane (v priročnikih favorizirane jezikovne prvine) večinoma sonaravne ali pa se predpisuje (oz. se je predpisovalo) tudi povsem nesonaravne jezikovne prvine. Pri tem je treba upoštevati tudi, da je v teoriji naravnosti sonaravnost najvišje merilo za obravnavo dvojnic, torej jih preučujemo tudi, če so v neskladju s predpisanim knjižnojezikovnim slogom, a so v jeziku žive.

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Jezik med sistemskostjo in nesistemskostjo

*Metka Furlan**

Povzetek

Čeprav je sistemskost bistvena značilnost, ki določa jezik, v njem ni vse dosledno sistemsko. Nesistemskost jezika je lahko posledica delovanja vzorcev, ki so v jezikoslovju prepoznani kot analogija, disimilacija, asimilacija, premet itd., lahko pa je posredni znak o starejših prekinjenih tendencah z različnih razvojnih stopenj jezika.

Ključne besede: razvoj jezika, sistemski razvoj jezika, nesistemski razvoj jezika, fonem, fonetični razvoj, primerjalno jezikoslovje, tipologija

Language between systemicity and non-systemicity

Although systemicity is an essential characteristic that defines language, not everything in it is consistently systemic. The non-systematic nature of language can be the result of patterns in linguistics recognized as analogy, dissimilation, assimilation, metathesis, and so on, but it can also be an indirect sign of older interrupted tendencies from different developmental stages of language.

Keywords: language development, systemic language development, non-systemic language development, phoneme, phonetic development, comparative linguistics, typology

1 Uvod

Vsebino prispevka je spodbudil spomin na komentar prof. Janeza Orešnika, ko sem pred leti v Lingvističnem krožku predstavila nastanek nekaterega slovenskega narečnega besedja in me je, sicer dobro vedoč, da je slovenščina v razvojnem smislu prepoznana kot izredno zapleten jezikovni sistem, začudeno vprašal, ali se vse to najde v slovenščini. Moj tedanji odgovor je bil pritrdilen, tu pa želim predvsem na podlagi

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slovenskega jezikovnega gradiva izpostaviti, da je sinhrono jezikovno stanje vedno preplet sistemskih in nesistemskih razvojnih silnic.

1.1 Jezikovni razvoj

Materni jezik ali kateri drugi kasneje naučeni se pri govornikih dojema kot sistem številnih pravil, ki jih je treba upoštevati, da sogovornik sporočilo razume. Sistemskost jezika ni le laični vtis govorcev, ampak je pomembno vodilo jezikoslovja, ko na različnih ravneh jezika sistemskost prepozna, z ubesedovanjem to stanje uzavešča in prispeva k boljšemu razumevanju zapletene zgradbe jezika. Čeprav je sistemskost bistvena značilnost, ki določa jezik, saj omogoča in ohranja njegovo uporabnost za sporazumevanje, v jeziku nikakor ni vse sistemsko, ker premočrtnost jezikovnega razvoja stalno preoblikujejo številne sekundarne spremembe, ki pričakovano idealno sistemskost jezika uspešno rušijo. Mednje uvrščamo pojave, kot so analogija, disimilacija, asimilacija, premet, variante sandhi, napačne dekompozicije itd. Ti diametralno nasprotni silnici pomembno sooblikujeta jezikovni sistem, a vse kaže, da prva, sistemska, vedno nadvlada nad drugo, nesistemsko oziroma desistemizirajočo, saj v nasprotnem primeru ne bi imeli sredstva za sporazumevanje, ampak kaos. To dogajanje v jeziku je najopaznejše, očitno in tudi dokazljivo, če se na jezik pogleda z diahrono perspektive oziroma bolje s perspektive primerjalnega jezikoslovja, ki omogoča sledenje posameznih razvojnih stopenj jezikovnih enot v zgodovinskem in predzgodovinskem = nezapisanem obdobju jezika in zato vpogled, kako se je konkretna jezikovna enota glasila pred drugo, že spremenjeno. Na tako dogajanje v jeziku želim pokazati na fonetično-fonemskem stanju besed.

2 Sistemski fonetični razvoj

Ko se zasleduje razvoj starejšega fonemskega sestava v mlajšega, se ve, da se fonetični razvoj fonemov večinsko udejanja sistemsko, kar pomeni, da se bo konkretni fonem s starejše razvojne stopnje jezika na naslednjo mlajšo v vseh položajih razvil v enak mlajši fonem. Prav taka sistemskost primerjalnemu jezikoslovju omogoča nadzorovano in zanesljivo prodirati v zgodovino in predzgodovino jezikovnega razvoja, hkrati pa sistemskost omogoča metodo predvidljivosti, ker bo vsaka leksikalna enota s tem konkretnim fonemom na mlajši razvojni stopnji imela enak mlajši fonem. Tako se je npr. pide. leksem **uľkʷo-s* 'volk' s svojo fonemsko sestavo v psl. sistemsko pričakovano razvil v **uľlkʷ* 'volk', nadalje v psln. **uľk*, kar je dalo tudi v slovenskem

knjižnem jeziku sprejeti odraz *vôlk* [vôʎk] (SSKJ),¹ ki se je v nadaljnjem razvoju še vedno sistemsko razvil npr. v primorsko obsoško *ù:k* (Bovec – Ivančič Kutin 2007). Ta pide. leksem se je prek različnih razvojnih stopenj do slovenskih narečnih odrazov stalno razvijal sistemsko in predvidljivo tudi v naglasnem in znotraj tega tudi v tonemskem oziru. Sistemski fonetični razvoj tega pide. zoonima ni bil moten niti v razvoju npr. do lit. *vil̃kas* 'volk' ali sti. *vŕkas* 'volk', nasprotno pa je bil moten pri odrazih v drugih skupinah ide. jezikov, kot ob lat. *lupus*² in gr. λύκος ponazarja tudi pgerm. **wulfaz* 'volk' = got. *wulfs*, stvn. *wolf*, nvn. *Wolf* namesto pričakovanega sistemskega razvoja v pgerm. ***wulhwaz*.³

2.1 Položajno spodbujeni sistemski fonetični razvoj

Med sistemske fonetične razvoje spadajo tudi položajno spodbujeni, ko fonetično okolje povzroči, da se fonem fonetično ne razvija po ustaljeni nevtralni sistematiki, ampak posebno fonetično okolje povzroči sistemski razvoj v drugačen rezultat. V pide. se je zvalnik leksema za volka glasil **u̯lk^ue*, prednji samoglasnik desno od velara iz pide. labiovelara pa je ta praslovanski zapornik palataliziral v **č* in odraz se je glasil **u̯lč^ee*, kar je po nadaljnjem sistemskem razvoju dalo npr. stesl. *vl̃če* in hrv., srb. *vûče*.

3 Nesistemsko spreminjanje fonemske strukture besed

3.1 Nesistemska sprememba enega fonema v besedi

Palatalizacija velara v odrazu pide. zvalnika **u̯lk^ue* je pričakovana tudi v stari indijsčini. Toda namesto sti. ***vŕca* se zvalnik glasi *vŕka*, ki s *-k-* ne kaže na nobeno od sistematik pri fonetično-fonemskem razvoju do staroindijskega sistema, ampak je odraz nepričakovane, nepredvidljive in nesistemske spremembe, in sicer analogije. Pričakovani položajno sistemsko spodbujeni odraz v sti. ***vŕca* je bil zamenjan z obliko *vŕka*, ker so vse razen zvalniške oblike v deklinacijskem vzorcu tega samostalnika ohranjale velar nepalataliziran, npr. *vŕkas* Nsg m, *vŕkam* Asg, *vŕkasya* Gsg

1 Kasneje normirano kot *vôlk* [vôʎk] (SP 2001) z odpravljenim ozko izgovarjavo samoglasnika.

2 Če lat. *lupus* ni iz povsem drugega pide. izhodišča in pratorodno z av. **rupi-* 'kuna' < iiran. **lupi-* (L. Repanšek, ustno) < pide. (H)*u̯lp-i-* in tudi z lat. *volpēs* f 'lisica', kar kot alternativno možnost predstavlja de Vaan 2008, 353, 688.

3 Odstopanje od razvojne sistematike se enako kot v pgerm. **fimfe* '5' ← pide. **pénk^ee* '5' > sti. *pánca* '5' razlaga z zamenjavo **k^us* **p* za zvočnikom in labialnim vzglasjem (Kroonen 2013, 598).

itd. Analogija, ki sicer upravičeno velja za rušilko razvojne sistemskosti v jeziku, tj. rušilko jezikovne kontinuitete, je v tem primeru povzročila vzpostavitev jezikovne diskontinuitete, a hkrati nove sistemskosti, saj po njenem delovanju ves deklinacijski vzorec vsebuje osnovo *vŕk-* in je zato enostavnejši, ekonomičnejši.⁴ Enak konvergentni analoški vzorec je iz sistema izločil tudi sti. fonetično sistemsko pričakovani feminativ ***vŕcŕ-* f 'volkulja' in ga nadomestil z *vŕkŕ-*, ker je bil jezikovni občutek o povezanosti z besedotvorno podstavo *vŕka-* m 'volk' močno živ.

Nasprotno pa se enaka analogija ni udejanila pri slovanskem feminativu **ublčŕca* f 'volkulja' (= hrv., srb. *vučica*, r. *volčica*, p. *wilczyca* itd.) k **ublkv*, ki se od staroindijskega razlikuje le po podaljšanju s feminativno varianto velarne pripone **-ko-* iz pida. **ul^uk^u-iH₂* > sti. ***vŕcŕ-* >> *vŕkŕ-*. Z analogijo spodbujena sti. varianta *vŕkŕ-* je tipološko primerljiva s sln. *knjigica* ob prvotnejši in še vedno obstoječi sistemsko pričakovani palatalizirani varianti *knjižica* iz besedotvorne podstave *knjiga*.

Spremembe, kot so analogija, disimilacija, asimilacija, premet ipd., se udejanjajo brez kakršne koli predvidljivosti in se zato uvrščajo med nesistemske spremembe jezika, ki v razvojnem smislu nesistemske spreminjajo fonemsko strukturo besed.

Če nesistemske spreminjanje fonemske strukture besed povzroči le spremembo enega fonema namesto razvojno pričakovanega, kot se je udejanjilo v sti. zvalniku *vŕka* in feminativu *vŕkŕ-*, sta jezikoslovni nadzor in razlaga nad porušenim pričakovanim sistemskim razvojem bolj ali manj obvladljiva in razložljiva.

3.2 Nesistemska sprememba več kot enega fonema v besedi

Možnost za dokazljivost nesistemske spremembe fonemskega sestava besede se premo sorazmerno manjša z večanjem števila nesistemske spremenjenih fonemov v besedi, čeprav do takih sprememb v besedi prihaja postopno in ne sočasno. V živih jezikih z razvejenim narečnim sistemom, kot je npr. slovenščina, je možnost za dokazljivost teh sprememb večja kot v jezikih z manjšim korpusom leksikalnega gradiva. V takih sistemih primerjalna metoda in metoda rekonstrukcije omogočata prepoznavati relativno kronologijo sistemskih in nesistemskih sprememb fonemskega sestava besed, ta pa je pomembno vodilo pri ugotavljanju, kdaj in v katerem fonemu je do nesistemske spremembe prišlo.

4 De Saussure 1916, 258 je pri analogijah, ki sprožajo vzpostavitev nove sistemskosti, uporabil oznako *régularité* 'regularnost, pravilnost': *l'analogie a de nouveau unifié les formes et rétabli la régularité*, v prevodu B. Turka je analogija /.../ znova poenotila oblike in spet vzpostavila pravilnost (de Saussure 1997: 181). Taka oznaka se s sodobnega zornega kota ne kaže primerna, saj implicira, da bi prvotnejše, predanaloško stanje ne bilo regularno oziroma pravilno.

Praslovanska beseda **netopýr'b* m 'vespertilio' se je v posamezne slovanske jezike deloma razvijala sistemsko, kar se odraža tudi v sln. *netopír* m, g -*rja*. Toda slovensko narečno gradivo (in tudi drugi slovanski jeziki) kaže na vrsto odrazov z enakim pomenom, a spremenjeno fonemsko sestavo, ki je ni mogoče razložiti s sistemskimi fonetičnimi razvoji. Vzglasni *m-* namesto pričakovanega *n-* se potrjuje npr. v gor. *metopí:R*, g -*ja* (Kropa – Škofic 1996), *metopír* (Polica pri Kranju – SLA), dol. *metopîr* (Mirna – SLA), štaj. srsav. *metopîr* ob *matapîr* (Vransko – SLA). Enako vzglasje v treh narečnih skupinah je znak, da je zamenjava *n-* z *m-* starejša od nastanka narečnih govorov, v katerih je potrjena. Enako stanje v hrv. čak. zvezi *pôl mîša pôl metopîrâ* 'netopir' (Dračevica na Braču – ČDL) pa nakazuje, da je zamenjava verjetno še starejša in se ni udeležila šele v slovenskem sistemu, spodbudila pa jo je verjetno disimilacija zaporedja $n : t \rightarrow m : t$.⁵ Toda primor. obsoš. *metufîr* m, g -*ja* (Bovec – Ivančič Kutin 2007), *metufîr* (Log pod Mangartom – SLA), *metofîr* ob *netofîr* (Trenta – SLA) kažejo tudi na nesistemsko spremembo *-p-* v *-f-*, ki je praviloma posledica formalne ekspresivizacije besede, kot npr. v sln. *škrofîti* 'spargere' ob prvotnejšem *škopîti*. V obsoškem KREDU pa se oznaka za netopirja glasi *matôxîr* (SLA) s sistemsko pričakovano redukcijo nenaglašene *e*, prim. *sæstrâ* 'sestra' (SLA), in s χ namesto *f*. Ker je v govoru Kreda fonem χ iz prvotnega *f* potrjen le v izglasju, prim. *škòx* 'škoč', *brítax* 'britof, pokopališče', *žlájx* 'žlajf, zavora', toda *fəžòu* 'fižol', *fəcòu* 'robec' (vsi primeri iz SLA), je zamenjava *f* s χ ,⁶ ki se odraža v *matôxîr*, nesistemska.

V prikazanih sodobnih narečnih odrazih kaže beseda *netopir* na tri nesistemske razlike: najprej je bil zamenjan vzglasni *n-* z *m-*, nato *-p-* s *-f-*, namesto *-f-* pa se pojavlja *-x-*. Vse druge spremembe fonemskega sestava prvotnega **netopýr'b* prek jslov. dial. **metopír* v sln. dial. **metofîr* in nadalje v sln. dial. **metohîr* so odraz sistemskih fonetičnih razvojev fonemov.

Če je zamenjavo n z m možno označiti z disimilacijo po dentalnosti, zamenjavo p s f pa s formalno ekspresivizacijo, ostaja zamenjava f s h v okviru znanih vzorcev nesistemskih sprememb osamljena.

5 Tipološko enako spremembo odraža kor. rož. predlog *màd* 'nad' ← **nadъ*, ki jo Ramovš (1924, 314, 98) sicer označuje kot diferenciacijo. Toda sekundarni *M-* v atpn *Miklavž* ← nvn. *Nikolaus* je posledica asimilacije po labialnosti $m : l \leftarrow n : l$ (Ramovš 1924, 97).

6 Toda v terskem Breginju z *matôxîr* 'netopir' iz **metohîr* se χ namesto pričakovanega *f* pojavlja tudi v vzglasju, npr. *čáruž* 'farovž, župnišče', *črîr'stək* 'fruštek, zajtrk', *čacôu* 'ruta; robec' (vse po SLA), cgn *Hurlan* iz Furlan (M. Šekli, ustno), toda *žlájf* 'zavora' (SLA). Zamenjava *f* z narečnim χ oziroma *h* je v različnih pozicijah, tj. v vzglasju, medglasju (pred samoglasnikom ali soglasnikom) in izglasju, znana v številnih slovenskih narečnih govorih, a v nobenem ni bila prepoznana kot sistemska.

3.3. Jezikovna enota kot rezultat razvoja

V vsakem živem ali mrtvem jeziku so njegove sinhrone jezikovne enote, najsi gre za foneme, morfeme, osnove, oblike ali skladenjske zveze, rezultat jezikovnega razvoja. Upoštevajoč to nesporno dejstvo, pomeni, da so vse sinhrone jezikovne enote primerne za primerjalnojezikoslovno obravnavo, ki naj jih pojasni v njihovem razvojnem oziru. Če je razvoj potekal sistemsko, je njihova postopna razvojna pot praviloma jezikoslovno obvladljiva, dokazljiva in razložljiva, če je izpolnjen pogoj, da so vsaj nekatere razvojne stopnje neposredno (dejansko izpričano gradivo) ali posredno (genetično sorodno in/ali rekonstruirano gradivo) potrjene. Če pa je razvoj jezikovne enote potekal tudi nesistemsko in nepredvidljivo, kot ponazarja razvoj iz psl. **netopýr* 'b do sln. obsoš. *matq̄xír*, je možnost razlage njihovega nastanka in razvoja seveda manjša. Še posebej pa je pičila, če t. i. razmeroma ugodnih delovnih okoliščin za razlago, kot obstajajo v primeru razlage *matq̄xír*, ni.

3.3.1 Obsoški hapaks legomenon *fēdēɣ̀uòrēŋk* 'mestna lastovka' in izvajanje iz hudournik

V slovenščini je obsoški ornitonim *fēdēɣ̀uòrēŋk* m 'mestna lastovka' (Bovec – Ivančič Kutin 2007) hapaks legomenon = enkratnica. Njegovo fonemsko zaporedje kaže, da sta polglasnika *ɣ* v prvih dveh zlogih posledica redukcije, redukciji pa je bilo podvrženo tudi izglasje *-rēŋk* iz prvotnega **-rnik*. Soglasniško zaporedje ornitonima se je zato prvotno glasilo *f-d-g-rn-k*. Ob fonemskem zaporedju *f-d-g-rnik* in pomenu se nakazuje možnost fonetičnega izvajanja iz ornitonima *hudoûrnik* 'lastovkam podobna ptica selivka z dolgimi, ozkimi krili' (SSKJ). Povezovanje teh dveh ornitonimov upravičuje skupni sém 'lastovka' in le po Scopoliju sporočeni pomen 'Hirundo urbica' zapisa *Huda urnik* (Scopoli 1769, 166). Glede fonemskega sestava sta ornitonima prekrivna le v zaporedju *-d-rnik*, v preostalem pa ne.

V obsoškem govoru Bovca se vzglasni *f-* iz *h-* ne potrjuje niti kot sistemska niti kot nesistemska fonetična sprememba, polglasnik *ɣ* pa je lahko nastal po redukciji iz *u*, npr. *stēdē.nc* 'studenec' (Ivančič Kutin 2007, 15), in tudi iz *o*, npr. *pē'tok*, *g pētuóka* 'potok', čeprav so redukcije nenaglaščenega *o* v govoru večinsko potrjene z odrazom *u*, npr. *kuliéno* 'koleno', *puliéno* 'poleno' (Ivančič Kutin 2007, 15). V razmerju *fēdēɣ̀uòrēŋk* : *hudoûrnik* to dopušča določitev prvotnega zaporedja **fudo??rnik*.

V zaporedju *-ɣ̀uòr-* odraža fonem *-uo-* razvoj naglaščenega *o* pred *r*, ki se v slovenskih narečnih govorih sporadično in nesistemsko pojavlja namesto prvotnega *u* kot posledica znižanja artikulacije (Furlan 2005, 120). V bovškem govoru se pojav potrjuje le v primeru *kùorba* 'vlačuga, kurba' (Ivančič Kutin 2007), drugod pa npr. v črnovr. *kûarba*

‘kurba’, *kûæɾɛŋa* ‘kuretna’, *kûæɾŋk* ‘kurnik’ in tudi *χûdɔûæɾŋk*, a v pomenu ‘potok, ki priteče ob hudi uri’ (Tominec 1964), dol. *kôra* ‘kura’ (Hotedršica – SLA), obsoš. *mexuôr* ‘mehur’ (Trenta – SLA). To dopušča določitev prvotnega zaporedja **fudoʔornik*.

Pri izvajanju *fɛdɛɣuœɾɛŋk* iz *hudoûrnik* povzroča težave γ, ki ga beseda *hudoûrnik* nima. Ornitonim *hudoûrnik* temelji na besedni zvezi *huda ura* ‘slabo vreme’, ker so ptiči z njim označeni kot znanilci slabega vremena, saj se v obdobju poletnih globokih ciklonov v ogromnih jatah odpravijo iz ciklonskega območja (Geister 1995, 149). Prek skladenjske zveze **hudourni ptič* je bil posamostaljen v *hudoûrnik* < **hudoûrɲnikɔ*, njegov homonim *hudoûrnik* ‘potok ...’ pa iz **hudourni potok*. Ta se v koroškem obirskem *χudawu:ræŋ* ‘divji potok’ (Karničar 1990) kaže s protetičnim -w-, torej **hudovûrnik*. Obsoški -γ- je zato lahko prek fonetične stopnje **-gɥ-* nastal iz protetičnega -ɥ-, kot je razvojno pot nastanka takih g iz prvotnega **ɥ* sicer z drugimi primeri pokazal že Ramovš 1924, 159–160. Končni rezultat tega pojava je viden npr. v sln. narečnih odrazih za oso iz psl. **osǎ*, kot so npr. primor. nad. *gosá* poleg *osá* ‘vespa’ (Špehonja 2012b), rovt. črnovr. *γôsa* (Tominec 1964), kor. rož. *hôsa* (Žitara vas/Sittersdorf – SLA), vmesni pa npr. v primor. kraš. *γûôsa* ‘osa’ (Sovodnje – SLA), istr. *γûôsa* ‘isto’ (Plavje – SLA), notr. *γûâsa* (Kolonkovec (Trst)/Coloncovez (Trieste), Hrpelje, Sežana – SLA), gor. *γûâsa* (Dolsko – SLA). To dopušča določitev prvotnega zaporedja **fudoʔornik*.

V obsoškem govoru Bovca razvoj *f* v *h* ni sistemski, narečno gradivo, v katerem je bil sporočen ornitonim *fɛdɛɣuœɾɛŋk*, ga ne potrjuje niti kot nesistemsko spremembo, čeprav je bil pojav kot sporadičen in nesistemski prepoznan v številnih primerih drugih narečij ali govorov, prim. kraš. *kôžaf* poleg *kôžax* ‘kožuh’, rez. *kožuf* ‘isto’, kraš. *frûška* ‘hruška’, gor. *fɾmôŋka* ‘harmonika’ (Bohinj), dol. *nûft* ‘noht’ (Borovnica), pkm. *riřtar* ‘rihtar’ (Ramovš 1924, 239), jnotr. *frûška* ‘hruška’, *žîɛfnîk* ‘žehtnik’ (Rigler 1963, 172), gor. *kwîft* ‘utež (kot izposojenka iz n. *Gewicht*)’, *ôfct* ‘ohcet’ (Čop 1983, 83). Pojav nesistemske zamenjave *h* s *f* je obraten nesistemski zamenjavi *f* s *h*, ki je bila omenjena pri zgornji razlagi nastanka **metohîr* iz **metofîr*, kot obojesmerni pojav⁷ ga za območje zgornjesavskih dolin izpostavlja Čop 1983 l. c., ki navaja tudi primer *xantak* ‘fanteč’. To dopušča določitev prvotnega zaporedja **hudoʔornik*.

Poskus razlage nastanka obsoš. *fɛdɛɣuœɾɛŋk* je pokazal, da je izvajanje iz *hudoûrnik* možno le ob aplikaciji kar treh fonemskih sprememb, ki so v slovenskih narečnih sistemih sicer razmeroma pogosto potrjene, nobena pa nikjer ni sistemska in tudi ne dopušča uvrstitve med klasično prepoznane vzorce nesistemskih sprememb tipa analogija, disimilacija, asimilacija itd.:

7 Obojesmerni pojav se ugotavlja tudi pri *b* in *v* [ɥ] (Furlan 2012).

- a) $u + r \rightarrow o + r$;
 b) $u \rightarrow *gu \rightarrow g$ (= obsoš. γ);
 c) $h \rightarrow f$.

Sistemske razvoj je v ornitonimu moč prepoznati v redukciji treh samoglasnikov u, o, i in ohranitvi soglasnikov d, r, n in k . Večinska ohranitev soglasniškega ogrodja in postopno spreminjanje ostalih soglasnikov sta verjetno vplivali, da se je temeljni sém 'lastovka' ohranil do sodobnosti.⁸

Po strogih pravilih primerjalnega jezikoslovja je razlaga obsoškega *fēdēyūoreṅk* iz *hudoŭrnik* neprimerno slabše argumentirana kot npr. razlaga obsoškega $\dot{u}:k$ 'volk' iz pide. $*u\dot{u}k^{u}o-s$ 'isto', pa tudi obsoškega *mətoχír* iz psl $*netopýr'b$, ker temelji le na tipologiji in aplikaciji treh jezikovnih pojavov, ki so bili v slovenskih narečjih sicer prepoznani, a nikjer kot sistemski. Ob njih in tudi drugih se ponuja razlaga, da lahko tudi kažejo na ostanke starejših razvojnih silnic oziroma tendenc, ki so bile v slovenščini prekinjene, in bi zato sistematično in arealno preučevane lahko pomembno prispevale k boljšemu razumevanju postopne diferenciacije slovenščine. Nedvomno prekinjeno tendenco odražajo slovenski narečni primeri z ohranjeno soglasniško skupino $dl < psl. *dl$ namesto pričakovanega sistemskega odraza v sln. l , ki se kot arhaizmi ohranjajo na skrajnem slovenskem zahodnem območju, s primeri *jé:dla* 'jela/jelka', *sá:dlo* 'salo', *ší:dlo* 'šilo' (Ivančič Kutin 2007) pa se potrjuje tudi v bovškem govoru z ornitonimom *fēdēyūoreṅk*.

Nesistemske sinhronega jezikovnega stanja torej ni nujno le posledica nesisitemskih pojavov, kot so analogija, disimilacija itd., ampak lahko tudi posledica prekinjenih razvojnih tendenc na starejših razvojnih stopnjah jezika. Ohranjajo torej lahko sistemskost preteklih stanj v razvoju jezika.

8 Ob *fēdēyūoreṅk* uganko predstavlja sinonim *podgorida* 'mestna lastovka', ki ga je v bovškem govoru slišal že Erjavac 1882/1883, 282, ponovno, a reduciranega kot *pudýuri:da* 'mestna lastovka' pa zbirateljica bovškega narečnega gradiva Barbara Ivančič Kutin (Ivančič Kutin 2007). Izglasje *-ida* je gotovo sekundarno in romanskega izvora, prim. izglasje sln. *robída* 'Rubus fruticosus' (Štrekelj 1892, 5) ← rom. $*ro'bē:da$ ← lat. *rubētum* 'robidovje', čeprav je ornitonim prvotno avtohtono slovenski, je upravičeno ugotavljal Erjavac 1882/1883, 283. V terskem Breginju ornitonim *parýxorída* z drugačno predpono označuje majhno lastovico (SLA), na italijanski strani pa je Baudouin de Courtenay zabeležil v primerjavi z breginjskim primerom verjetno še nereducirano tersko varianto *preýorída* 'rondone di montagna' = 'planinski hudournik, Apus melba' z obrazložitvijo *je skwázj tej lástovica, má ma yniédo tí pot skálami* 'je skoraj kot lastovka, a ima gnezdo pod skalami' (Plestišča/Platischis – Spinozzi Monai 2009, 259). S predručenim, disimiliranim soglasniškim sestavom $r : l \leftarrow r : r$ in popolno redukcijo nenaglasenega o je bilo v Drežnici evidentirano obsoš. *preylídà* 'ptič, podoben lastovki' (SLA). Na skrajnem zahodnem območju z močnim romanskim vplivom so le v govorih stičnega obsoškega in terskega narečja potrjeni ornitonimi s skupnim sémom 'lastovka' in samo delno fonemsko prekrivnostjo, a z izglasjem *-ida* kažejo na njegovo sekundarno preoblikovanje, zato ne gre popolnoma izključiti možnosti, da so bili iz razvojne predstopnje *fēdēyūoreṅk*, ki je že vsebovala zaporedje *-gornik*, ljudskoetimološko preoblikovani, morda pod vplivom izposojenke *gorna* 'strešni žleb' iz furl. *gorne* 'isto', prim. nad. *ghòrna/gòrna* 'grondaia' (Rigoni, Salvino 1999) = 'žleb', ker lastovke gnezdiijo pod žlebom/pri žlebu.

4 Sklepna misel

Čeprav jezikovni razvoj večinsko usmerjajo sistemske silnice, bi bilo za boljše prepoznavanje zgodovine spreminjanja jezikovnih sistemov treba pristopiti k bolj sistematičnemu prepoznavanju jezikovnih pojavov, ki odražajo njegovo nesistemskost, saj tudi ti enako kot sistemski jezik sooblikujejo na vseh njegovih ravninah.

Krajšave

Asg = akuzativ singularja, av. = avestiški, cgn = kognomen, priimek, čak. = čakavski, črnovr. = črnovrški, dial. = dialektičen, dol. = dolenski, f = femininum, furl. = furlanski, g = genitiv, gor. = gorenjski, got. = gotski, gr. = grški, Gsg = genitiv singularja, hrv. = hrvaški, ide. = indoevropski, iiran. = indoiranski, istr. = istrski, it. = italijanski, jnotr. = južnonotranjski, jslov. = južnoslovanski, kor. = koroški, kraš. = kraški, lat. = latinski, lit. = litovski, m = maskulinum, n. = nemški, nad. = nadiški, notr. = notranjski, Nsg = nominativ singularja, nvn. = novovisokonemški, obsoš. = obsoški, p. = poljski, pgerm. = pragermanski, pide. = praindоеvropski, pkm. = prekmurski, primor. = primorski, psl. = praslovanski, psln. = praslovenski, r. = ruski, rez. = rezijanski, rom. = romanski, rovt. = rovtarski, rož. = rožanski, sln. = slovenski, srb. = srbski, srsav. = srednjesavinjski, stcsl. = starocerkvenoslovanski, sti. = staroindijski, stvn. = starovisokonemški, štaj. = štajerski

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Razvoj moraičnosti kot osnovne prozodične lastnosti v japonščini

*Nina Golob**

Povzetek

Upošteva, da zlogovna struktura predstavlja temeljno enoto v človeški govorno-zaznavni komunikaciji, članek izpostavlja moraično enoto kot osrednjo prozodično značilnost standardne japonščine. Zaradi pomanjkanja fonetičnih dokazov, ki bi potrjevali samostojno naglasno ali ritmično funkcijo moraične enote, se avtor naslanja na analizo metričnih značilnosti haikuja, klasične japonske pesniške oblike, in na različne jezikovne igre, ki poudarjajo njeno psihološko zaznavnost. Glede na razmeroma preprosto glasovno strukturo stare japonščine – zaznamovano z izmenjavo soglasnikov in samoglasnikov, kar ustreza tako zlogu kot moraični enoti – članek sledi diahronemu razvoju prepletenega razmerja med pisavo, glasovnimi spremembami in pripadajočimi prozodičnimi značilnostmi. Na ta način utemeljuje oblikovanje moraične enote kot fonološko relevantne enote v japonščini.

Ključne besede: japonščina, moraična enota, prozodija, pisava, diahrone glasovne spremembe

The development of moraicity as a basic prosodic feature in Japanese

Given that syllabic structure constitutes the fundamental unit in human speech-perception communication, the article foregrounds the mora as a core prosodic feature of Standard Japanese. In light of the limited phonetic evidence supporting the mora's independent accentual or rhythmic function, the author turns to an analysis of the metrical properties of haiku, the classical Japanese poetic form, as well as various language games that underscore the psychological salience of the moraic unit. Taking into account the relatively simple phonological structure of Old Japanese—characterized by alternating consonants and vowels, thereby aligning with both syllables and moras—the article traces the diachronic development of the interwoven relationship between orthography, phonological change, and associated prosodic features. In doing so, it offers a theoretical grounding for the emergence of the mora as a phonologically salient unit in Japanese.

Keywords: Japanese, moraic unit, prosody, writing, diachronic sound changes

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(1)¹

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夏木立

*Kitsutsuki mo**io wa yaburazu**natsu kodachi*Matsuo Bashō²

Niti detel

ne more poškodovati kolibe –

poletni gozd.

(avtorjev prevod, posvečeno akademiku Janezu Orešniku)

1 Uvod

Del možganov, ki se prekriva z Brocajevim predelom, je ključen za tvorbo in procesiranje jezika, obenem pa nadzoruje tudi osnovne motorične funkcije, kot je žvečenje. Raziskave na področju jezikoslovja, psiholingvistike, nevroznanosti in evolucije kažejo na primerljivo hitrost gibanja čeljusti pri žvečenju in tvorbi zlogov. MacNeilage (2008) poudarja, da so vokalizacije primatov omejene v raznolikosti, medtem ko zlog omogoča večjo informacijsko diferenciacijo prek tvorbe ločenih enot – brez zlogov govorjeni jezik ne bi bil mogoč.

Zlog tako ni le rezultat intuitivne težnje po kompleksni govorni komunikaciji, temveč tudi posledica aerodinamičnih učinkov na zračni tok v govoru (Catford 1977; Ladefoged 2006[1975]; Ohala 1994). Predstavlja osnovno enoto v govorno-zaznavni komunikaciji (Abercrombie 1967; Lieberman 1977), deluje kot empatični mehanizem interpretacije slišane (Cagliari 2012) in ima ključno vlogo pri usvajanju jezika (Levelt in Vijver 2004). Ideja zloga je osnova za oblikovanje rime v poeziji (Hayes 1995).

Dinamika govorjenega jezika torej temelji na zlogovni strukturi, ki bistveno prispeva k ritmični organizaciji govora. Jeziki pogosto težijo k ohranjanju izohronije – enakih časovnih razmikov – bodisi med zlogi bodisi med naglašanimi enotami, kar kaže na univerzalno ritmično usmerjenost govora.

1 Primeri so navedeni v izvirnem zapisu, ki ga spremlja Hepburnov sistem latiničnega zapisa in slovenski prevod.

2 Matsuo (1990[1685]). Matsuo Bashō 松尾芭蕉 (1644–1694) je eden najbolj poznanih japonskih avtorjev haikuja in velja za ustanovitelja klasične haiku tradicije. Haiku (1) je Matsuo napisal v čast velikemu pesniku Saigyōju (1118–1190), ko je obiskal njegov nekdanji dom. Simbolizira vztrajanje Saigyōjevega duha ter njegove veličine skozi čas in le-to primerja s Saigyōjevo skromno kolibo v gozdu, ki je ob Matsuojevem poletnem obisku petsto let kasneje še vedno stala.

V zgodnjem 20. stoletju se je oblikovala dihotomija (Pike 1945, Abercrombie 1967), ki jezike razvršča na tiste s poudarkovim ritmom (*stress-timed*) ter na tiste z zlogovnim ritmom (*syllable-timed*)—okvir, ki je temeljil na tradicionalnem grško-rimskem pesništvu in je bil zajet v kvantitativno mero oziroma trajanje zlogov (Snoj 2021).

Strukturna opredelitev zloga temelji na treh komplementarnih pristopih, kot jih podrobneje obravnava Goldsmith (2011). Prvi pristop razume govor kot organizacijo glasovnih enot v skupine, ki sledijo postopnemu naraščanju in upadanju sonornosti. Drugi pristop obravnava govor kot linearno verigo glasovnih segmentov, ki so medsebojno povezani tako sintagmatsko kot paradigmatsko. Tretji pristop pa izpostavlja lokalne fonotaktične pogoje zaporedja segmentov in obravnava zlog kot enoto, ki povzame ponavljajoče se vzorce možnih segmentnih kombinacij znotraj besede ali izreke.

Osrednji element zloga je praviloma samoglasniško jedro, ki mu lahko predhaja eden ali več soglasnikov, s katerim tvorita t. i. odprti ali lahki zlog. V nekaterih primerih samoglasniškemu jedru sledi še eden ali več soglasnikov, kar ustvari zaprti oziroma težki zlog. Kadar je jedro sestavljeno iz dvoglasnika ali dolgega samoglasnika, govorimo o težkem zlogu, medtem ko prisotnost zaključnega soglasniškega elementa poleg strukturiranega jedra tvori supratežki zlog.

Zlog v veliki večini govornih jezikov igra ključno vlogo pri analizi fonoloških pravilnosti, ki so postavljene v središče tako segmentne kot tudi nadsegmentne fonološke teorije. Vendar v nekaterih jezikih obstajajo jezikovno specifični dejavniki, ki preprečujejo, da bi zlogi postali psihološko izpostavljene enote pri naravnih govorcih; njihovo vlogo prevzamejo moraične enote. Posledično je kategorija jezikov z zlogovnim ritmom dobila svojo različico z moraičnim ritmom (*mora-timed*, Ladefoged 2006[1975]), katere znanstvena utemeljitev je še vedno nezadostna. Pierrehumbert in Beckman (1988) zagovarjata stališče, da so prozodične informacije prisotne in razpoznavne v fonetični strukturi, pri čemer se fonetična realizacija govora oblikuje z upoštevanjem prozodičnega okvira. Cohn (2003) s fonetično in fonološko analizo potrjuje, da pri doseganju opažene fizične realizacije sodelujeta tako bolj abstraktna fonološka kategorija, tj. moraična enota, kot tudi fonetična realizacija, tj. trajanje.

Med jeziki z moraičnim ritmom je tudi japonščina.

Članek v nadaljevanju obravnava jezikovno specifične dejavnike v okviru standardne japonščine; s pomočjo tradicionalnih pesniških oblik, jezikovnih iger in napak naravnih govorcev je moraična enota prikazana kot psihološko izpostavljena enota v govorni zaznavi (glej 2. poglavje). V osrednjem delu se osredotoča na japonski pisni sistem ter kritično obravnava vpliv ortografije na fonološko segmentacijo, pri čemer analizira zgodovinski razvoj jezika, vključno z glasovnimi in tonskimi spremembami

(glej 3. poglavje). Zaključno poglavje povzema ugotovitve in opredeljuje moraično enoto kot strukturno in funkcijsko izoblikovano enoto, ki na tej točki razvoja jezika predstavlja osnovo prozodične organizacije standardnega japonskega jezika.

2 Moraičnost v japonščini

Prozodična struktura jezika je organizirana hierarhično (Selkirk 1980, Nespor in Vogel 1986, Inkelas in Zec 1990, McCarthy in Prince 1993 idr.). Nad besedno ravni, ki jo določa fonološka beseda, se nahajajo fonološka fraza, intonacijska fraza in izreka, pod njo pa stopica, zlog in moraična enota. Vsaka od teh enot lahko v jeziku opravlja fonološko funkcijo.

Vloga najmanjše prozodične enote, tj. moraične enote (kot tudi stopice in prozodične besede) v japonski fonologiji je jasna; moraične enote se pojavljajo v enakomernih časovnih intervalih (Port, Dalby in O'Dell 1987). Enakočasovnosti akustičnega trajanja moraičnih enot sicer ni bilo moč potrditi (Beckman 1982) in pomanjkanje akustičnih dokazov za izohronijo je raziskovalce pripeljalo k sprejetju strukturne razlage za zaznavanje moraičnega ritma v japonščini. Po tej razlagi je v japonščini izohronija zaznana zaradi odsotnosti sistematičnih razlik v trajanju, izgube samoglasniške zvenečnosti, kompenzacijskega daljšanja samoglasnikov, alofonskih variacij med naglašeni in nenaglašeni zlogi, močne prevlade fonotaktičnega zaporedja tipa soglasnik-samoglasnik ter – z izjemo trajanja – zaradi odsotnosti zaznavnih znakov pri fonemski dolžinski opoziciji (Warner in Arai 2001).

Moraična enota je edina prozodična enota, ki jo priznava tradicionalno japonsko jezikoslovje. V tem okviru se najpogosteje uporabljata izraza *haku* (拍) 'ritmični udarec' (npr. Kindaichi 1972; Kindaichi in Akinaga 2001) in *mōra* (モーラ) 'moraična enota' (npr. Hattori 1960). Med starejšimi jezikoslovci (Arisaka 1940) je bil v rabi tudi izraz *onsetu* (音節), ki pa se danes večinoma nanaša na zlog (npr. Kubozono 1998, Kubozono in Honma 2002).

Japonska moraična enota ima lahko naslednjo glasovno strukturo:

- CV (soglasnik + samoglasnik) kot v /ki/ 気 *ki* 'duh, energija';
- CjV (s palataliziranim soglasnikom) kot v /tja/ 茶 *cha* 'čaj';
- V (samo samoglasnik) kot v /e/ 絵 *e* 'slika';
- N (moraični nosnik) kot v /hoN/ 本 *hon* 'knjiga';
- Q (moraični nezvočnik) kot v /kiQpu/ 切符 *kippu* 'vozovnica' ali v /beQsa-tu/ 別冊 *bessatsu* 'posebna izdaja';
- R (moraični samoglasnik) kot v /oRsama/ 王様 *ōsama* 'kralj'.

Zgornje glasovne strukture lahko razdelimo v dva tipa moraičnih enot. Prvi tip zajema glasovne strukture a. do c., ki so strukturno skladne s t. i. kratkim, lahkim oziroma odprtim zlogom in predstavljajo prozodične enote, primerljive z glasovno enoto v besedi 蚊 *ka* 'komar' (CV: ena moraična enota, en zlog). Drugi tip vključuje glasovne strukture d. do f., ki se v nasprotju s prvim tipom ne pojavljajo samostojno, temveč izključno v postpoziciji do prvih. Takšno razporeditev lahko razumemo kot glasovno strukturo, ki ustreza t. i. dolgemu, težkemu oziroma zaprtemu zlogu, kot denimo v besedah 塔 *tō* 'stolp' (CV-R: dve moraični enoti, en zlog), パン *pan* 'kruh' (CV-N: dve moraični enoti, en zlog) in 甥 *oi* 'nečak' (V-V: dve moraični enoti, en dvoglasniški zlog).

Kot bo podrobneje prikazano v naslednjih dveh podpoglavjih, naravni govorci običajno prepoznavajo moraične enote (Akamatsu 1997, Vance 2008, Labrune 2012), koncept zloga je bil v japonsko jezikoslovje uveden relativno pozno, z vnosom zahodne jezikoslovne teorije sredi prejšnjega stoletja.³ Beseda 学校 *gakkō* 'šola' (CV-Q-CV-R), na primer, ima tako za naravnega govorca japonščine enako fonološko dolžino kot beseda 雷 *kaminari* 'grom' (CV-CV-CV-CV), torej štiri moraične enote in zlog v standardni japonščini pravzaprav nima pomembne vloge (Haraguchi 1991, Akamatsu 1997, Kubozono 2008, Labrune 2012, Kubozono 2017 idr.).⁴ Vseeno je vloga zloga v japonski fonologiji predmet razprav; nekateri jezikoslovci namreč zagovarjajo stališče, da je zlog priročen pri razlagi naglasne višine, krajšanja izposojenk in omejitev v supratežkih zlogih⁵ (McCawley 1968, Kawahara 2016, Kubozono 2017).

2.1 Pesniški ritem

Lehiste (1990) je fonetično analizirala metrično strukturo recitirane poezije štirih različnih jezikov in izpostavila, da ima japonščina izohroni vzorec na ravni moraične enote, kar posledično vpliva na ritem jezika. Njena študija je temeljila na predpostavki, da je prozodični sistem jezika oblikovan v metrični strukturi njegove tradicionalne poezije (Lehiste 1990: 123).

3 Osrednjo vlogo pri tem je imel James McCawley (1968: 134), ki je zapisal, da je »prozodična enota japonščine zlog in ne moraična enota« ter da je japonščino treba uvrstiti med »jezike, ki štejejo moraične enote, a temeljijo na zlogu«.

4 Nekatera japonska narečja, kot so narečja na področju prefektur Aomori in Akita (na severu otoka Honshū) ter narečje v prefekturi Kagoshima (jug otoka Kyūshū), so nedvomno zložna. Po drugi strani pa so številna druga narečja, na primer kjotsko-osaško narečje ali narečje polotoka Izu (južno od Tokia), očitno moraična (povzeto po Labrune 2012).

5 Supertežki zlogi so redki in značilni predvsem v novejši prevzetih besedah. Imajo tromoraično strukturo; zaprti zlogi z dvomoraičnim jedrom kot na primer v besedi スプーン *supūn* 'žlica' (CV-V-R-N).

Oblikovni vzorec japonske tradicionalne poezije,⁶ ki se splošno označuje kot *waka* ali 'japonska poezija', je v svojem temelju osnovan na moraični enoti.⁷ Strogo gledano izraz *waka* obsega oblike *tanka*, *sedōka* in *chōka*, med katerimi se je ohranila še vedno široko uveljavljena pesniška oblika *tanka*. V svojem oblikovnem vzorcu *tanka* sestoji iz 31 moraičnih enot z vzorcem 5-7-5-7-7, razdeljenih v pet stihov. Kasneje sta se razvila poezija *haiku*, ki je krajša od oblike *tanka* in se z njo deloma povezuje v svoji formalni strukturi: obsega 17 moraičnih enot, z vzorcem 5-7-5 v treh stihih. *Haiku* kljub svoji kratkosti vsebuje izrazit pesniški ritem, ki temelji na razporeditvi moraičnih enot, premišljenih premorih in naravnem govornem toku.

Podrobneje si pogledjmo uvodni primer (1) zgoraj ter spodnja dva.⁸

(2)

一軒の *Ikken no*
V-Q-CV-N CV (5)
茶店の柳 *chamise no yanagi*
CjV-CV-CV CV CV-CV-CV (7)
古いこけり *oinikeri*
V-V-CV-CV-CV (5)
Yosa Buson⁹

Čajnica
ter ob njej vrba —
ostarela je.
(avtorjev prevod)

(3)

禁煙の *Kin'en no*
CV-N-V-N CV (5)
一本が嫌 *ippon ga iya*
CV-Q-CV-N CV V-CV (7)
竹の秋 *take no aki*
CV-CV CV V-CV (5)
Wakabayashi Ōyodo¹⁰

Opustil sem kajenje,
a ta ena cigareta me mika —
bambusova jesen.
(avtorjev prevod)

Haiku (1) ima klasično metrično strukturo 5-7-5 moraičnih enot. Velika večina teh je sestavljena iz soglasnika in samoglasnika (CV), beseda 庵 *io* 'koliba' vsebuje

6 Z izjemo *jyūshi* ali 'proste poezije'.

7 Enako velja za pete pesmi. Vsaka moraična enota, vključno z moraičnim nosnikom, moraičnim pripornikom ali zapornikom ter moraičnim samoglasnikom, na splošno ustreza ritmični enoti, ki se zapoje v enem glasbenem udarcu, čeprav so včasih mogoče tudi izjeme (Tanaka 2008).

8 Vsak primer je predstavljen v izvornem zapisu, desno ima pripisano latinizirano transkripcijo po Hepburnu s tipi moraičnih enot in v oklepaju njihovo število ter spodaj še slovenski prevod.

9 Yosa Buson 与謝蕪村 (1716–1784) je eden najbolj priznanih japonskih pesnikov, posebej znan po svojih haikujih in slikarstvu ter po svoji sposobnosti združevanja živahnih, naravnih podob z globokimi filozofskimi in čustvenimi vpogledi. Haiku (2) ponuja razmislek o tem, kako leta hitro minevajo, a vendarle minevanje deluje brezšivno, poudarjajoč nespremenljivost življenja.

10 Wakabayashi Ōyodo 若林大淀 je amaterski pisec haikujev. To delo je bilo predvajano v tedenski oddaji »Haiku Corner« Radia Japan, tuja služba NHK, januarja 1994 (po Akamatsu 1997). Haiku (3) izraža notranji boj med voljo in željo, trenutek ranljivosti, ki ga *kigo* (sezonska beseda, tj. bambusova jesen) subtilno poglobi: govorec se sooča z zatonom življenjske energije.

dve samoglasniški moraični enoti v hiatskem razmerju (V-V). Metrična struktura 5-7-5 se ohrani, ko moraično enoto CV nadomesti moraični zapornik (Q) ali moraični nosnik (N), kot prikazujeta primera (2) in (3).¹¹

Tradicionalna oblika japonskega haikuja dopušča tudi nekoliko odstopanja v njegovi metrični zgradbi. Prelomljen oziroma popačen ritem ali *hachō* je značilnost haikuja, ki ima bodisi več (*jiamari* 'odvečni znaki') bodisi manj (*jitarazu* 'pomankanje znakov') kot 17 moraičnih enot. Prvi, predstavljen s primerom (4), v katerem je v prvi vrstici 6 namesto 5 moraičnih enot, je pogostejši, medtem ko se zmanjšano število moraičnih enot kot v haikuju (5) pojavlja redkeje. Popačen ritem ni nujno napaka, gre za namerno uporabljeno tehniko, ki ustvarja poseben učinek, vsebinski ali ritmični poudarek (Gilbert in Yoneoka 2000).

(4)

目には青葉

Me ni wa aoba

CV CV CV V-V-CV (6)

山ほととぎす

yama hototogisu

CV-CV CV-CV-CV-CV (7)

初鰹

hatsugatsuo

CV-CV CV-CV-V (5)

Yamaguchi Sodō¹²

(5)

鷹の巣や

Taka no su ya

CV-CV CV CV CV (5)

太虚に澄める

taikyo ni sumeru

CV-V-CV CV CV-CV-CV (7)

日一つ

hi hitotsu

CV CV-CV-CV (4)

Hashimoto Keiji¹³

Oči uživajo v zelenju —

glas gorske kukavice,

ulov prvega tuna.

(avtorjev prevod)

Jastrebovo gnezdo

v jasnini praznine —

en dan.

(avtorjev prevod)

Pojavnost moraičnih enot N, Q in R, ki strukturno ustrezajo kodi (pojedrnemu delu) v težkem zlogu, ter prisotnost popačenega ritma, zlasti v primeru *jiamari* (»odvečnega znaka«), vzbujata pomisleke glede nujnosti tradicionalne interpretacije japonske metrike z moraično enoto. Medtem ko Zhan (2023), ki je analiziral tradicionalno japonsko poezijo do sredine 20. stoletja, ugotavlja, da skoraj 80 % teh odvečnih znakov *jiamari* kaže glasovno strukturo soglasnik-samoglasnik, tega stališča ne deli Takayama (2018). Slednji namreč trdi, da lahko tako moraična enota kot zlog služita kot osnovni metrični enoti v sodobni različici japonske pesniške oblike *tanka*.

11 Enako velja za moraični pripornik (Q) ali moraični samoglasnik (R).

12 Yamaguchi Sodō 山口素堂 (1642–1716). Njegova poezija je pogosto zaznamovana z umirjenim opazovanjem narave, preprostostjo in subtilnim humorjem. Pogosto je upodabljal sezonske užitke, kot so hrana, vonji in barve.

13 Hashimoto (1948). Hashimoto Keiji 橋本鶏二 (1907–1990) je v svojih haikujih uresničeval načelo 'pisanja iz zaznave' (*shasei*), pri čemer je ustvaril globoke, a minimalistične slike.

Zaenkrat ni na voljo empiričnih dokazov, ki bi potrdili Takayamovo trditev. Kljub temu je upravičeno to hipotezo z vidika metrike obravnavati kot izhodišče za nadaljnje spremljanje in analizo novonastalih haikujev, ki ju predstavljata spodnja dva primera. V prvih vrsticah obeh haikujev bi bilo namreč mogoče zaporedji CV-N oziroma CV-R interpretirati kot eno enoto, in sicer strukturno težek zlog, kar bi pomenilo petzložni prvi stih. Vendar primer (7) obenem razkriva nekonsistentnost v drugi vrstici, kjer je število metričnih enot navkljub prisotnosti CV-N utemeljeno z moraično analizo.

(6)		(7)	
去年今年	<i>Kyonen kotoshi</i>	三月十日	<i>Sangatsu tōka</i>
	CyV-CV-N CV-CV-CV (6)		CV-N-CV-CV CV-R-CV (7)
貫く棒の	<i>tsuranuku bō no</i>	デジタル画面	<i>dejitaru gamen</i>
	CV-CV-CV-CV CV-R CV (7)		CV-CV-CV-CV CV-CV-N (7)
如きもの	<i>gotoki mono</i>	冴返る	<i>saekaeru</i>
	CV-CV-CV CV-CV (5)		CV-V-CV-V-CV (5)
Takahama Kyoshi ¹⁴		Itoyama Kenji ¹⁵	

Lani, letos —
nekaj, podobno palici,
ki ju prebada.
(avtorjev prevod)

Deseti marec —
digitalni zaslon
močno zažari v hladnem sijaju.
(avtorjev prevod)

2.2 Slogani, jezikovne igre in govorne napake

Verzifikacija poezije *waka* je še vedno prisotna v vsakdanjem življenju Japoncev, pogosto v prenovljeni ali subtilni obliki. Najdemo jo v reklamah in sloganih, novoletnih in sezonskih voščilnicah, uradnih nagovorih, leposlovju in drugje. Vpliva na način izražanja, estetiko jezika, sezonsko zavest in čustveno zadržanost. Čeprav niso vsi verzi dobesedno *waka*, nosijo njen duh – prefinjenost, krhkost trenutka (*mono no aware*) in estetski minimalizem.

Slogani (jap. *hyōgo*, 標語) so razširjeni v japonskem izobraževalnem sistemu, kjer opravljajo različne tematske in komunikacijske funkcije, zlasti na področjih varnosti, zdravja ter medosebnih odnosov (primer 8). Pogosto nastajajo v okviru javnih natečajev, rezultati pa so javno objavljeni, tudi na spletu (primera 9 in 10).

14 Takahama (1974). Takahama Kyoshi 高浜 虚子 (1874–1959) je bil pomemben japonski pesnik haikujev in literarni kritik, znan po svojem tradicionalnem pristopu k haiku poeziji ter spodbujanju uporabe *kigo* (sezonskih besed) v haikujih. Haiku 6 izraža občutek neprekinjenega časa.

15 Itoyama Kenji 糸山謙治 je sodobni pisec haikujev. Njegov omenjeni haiku je vključen v digitalno zbirko sodobnih haikujev Združenja sodobnega haikuja (spletna stran: <https://haiku-data.jp/index.php>). Beseda 冴返る *saekaeru* je sezonski izraz (*kigo*), ki pomeni, da se po že nekoliko milejšem vremenu zopet vrne hladen, oster zimski zrak. V kontekstu z digitalnim zaslonom dobi moderen, rahlo metaforičen pridih; kot da tudi tehnologija odseva ta nenadni, čisti, hladni trenutek.

(8)

手を上げて横断歩道を渡りましょう

Te o agete ōdan hodō o watarimashō.

CV V V-CV-CV (5) V-R-CV-N CV-CV-R V (8) CV-CV-CV-CV-CV-R (6)

Dvignimo roko in prečkajmo (cesto) na prehodu za pešce!

(9)

止めましょう スマホとハンドル 二刀流¹⁶*Yamemashō sumaho to handoru – nitōryū.*

CV-CV-CV-CV-R (5) CV-CV-CV CV CV-N-CV-CV (8) CV-CV-R-CV-R (5)

Opustimo telefon in volan – dvoročno mojstrstvo!

(10)

歯みがきで 丈夫な体の 基礎づくり¹⁷*Hamigaki de jōbu na karada no kisozukuri.*

CV-CV-CV-CV CV (5) CV-R-CV CV CV-CV-CV CV (8) CV-CV-CV-CV-CV (5)

Z umivanjem zob gradimo temelje za močno telo!

V osnovnošolskem obdobju se japonski otroci seznanijo z antologijo *Hyakunin isshu* ('Sto pesmi, sto pesnikov'), ki vsebuje sto klasičnih pesmi *waka*. Ta zbirka ima pomembno mesto v literarnem izročilu in je hkrati osnova za tradicionalno igro s kartami *karuta* (カルタ),¹⁸ ki se pogosto igra ob novoletnih praznikih tako v domačem kot šolskem okolju.

(11)

秋の田の

Aki no ta no

CV-CV-CV-CV-CV (5)

かりほの庵の

kariho no iho no

CV-CV-CV-CV-CV-CV (7)

苔をあらみ

toma wo arami

CV-CV-CV-CV-CV-CV (6)

わが衣手は

waga koromode wa

CV-CV-CV-CV-CV-CV (7)

露にぬれつつ

tsuyu ni nuretsutsu

CV-CV-CV-CV-CV-CV (7)

cesar Tenji¹⁹

16 Japonsko združenje za varnostno signalizacijo (日本サイン教会 *Nippon sain kyōkai*): 3. mesto v letu 2024 (<https://sign-jp.org/anzen-hyogo2024/>).

17 Japonsko združenje šolskih zobozdravnikov (日本学校歯科医会 *Nihongakkō shikaikai*): 1. mesto v letu 2024 (<https://www.nichigakushi.or.jp/contest/slogan/result.html>).

18 Poznamo tudi različice te igre, na primer *utagaruta* (pesniška igra s kartami), *irohagaruta* (besedna igra s kartami na osnovi pisav *hiragana* in *katakana*; več o pisavah v poglavju 3) idr.

19 Fujiwara (1235[2017]). Prva pesem iz zbirke *Hyakunin isshu*. Avtor je cesar Tenji (天智天皇 *Tenji Tennō*), ki je vladal od leta 661 do 671 n. št., uradno pa je postal cesar leta 668. Pred tem je bil znan kot princ Naka no Ōe (中大兄皇子).

Na jesenskih riževih poljanah
 ob začasni kolibi
 s streho, ki pušča,
 so moji rokavi
 premočeni od rose.
 (avtorjev prevod)

Moraična enota je ključna prozodična enota v številnih jezikovnih igrah, ki se pogosto uporabljajo kot pedagoška orodja za spodbujanje razvoja besedišča, fonološke zavesti in jezikovnih spretnosti pri otrocih. Ena od teh iger je »*babibu* jezik«, ki vključuje vstavitev zaporedja *b* + samoglasnik za vsako moraično enoto. Spodnja primera (12a) in (12b) ponazarjata besedi iz treh oziroma štirih ločenih enot, ki imajo enako fonološko težo (Haraguchi 1991).

(12)

- a. 桜 *sakura* 'češnja'
 sakura → sabakuburaba
 CV-CV-CV → CV-ba-CV-bu-CV-ba
- b. 日本 *nippon* 'Japonska'
 nippon → nibitsubupobonbu
 CV-Q-CV-N → CV-bi-CV-bu-CV-bo-N-bu

Moraična enota obenem predstavlja temelj priljubljene besedne igre *shiritori* (尻取り 'prevzeti konec'), v kateri igralci izmenično izgovarjajo besede tako, da se vsaka naslednja začne z zadnjo moraično enoto prejšnje besede. Ključno pravilo igre je, da se beseda ne sme končati z moraičnim nosnikom, saj v japonščini ni besed, ki bi se začele s tem glasom (Katada 1990). V primeru 13 se moraična samoglasnika, tj. drugi del samoglasniškega zaporedja v besedi *riyū* (CV-CV-R) in samoglasnik *i* v besedi *meirei* (CV-V-CV-V), obravnavata kot ločeni, avtonomni enoti.

(13)

onigiri おにぎり 'riževa kroglica, onigiri' → *riyū* 理由 'razlog' → *ume* 梅 'sliva' →
meirei 命令 'ukaz' → *iruka* いるか 'delfin' → ...

Vloga moraične strukture pri tvorbi besed poudarjata tudi besedni igri *sakasa kotoba* (逆さ言葉 'obrnjeni govor'; Kitaoka in MacKenzie 2021), kjer se izbrana beseda bere v obratni smeri (glej primera 14a in 14b), ter *zūjago* (ズージャ語 'zuja jezik'; Itō idr. 1996), kjer gre za žargonski način ustvarjanja džezovsko zvanečih

besed z obratnim branjem in prilagajanjem besed, da zvenijo bolj tekoče in prijetno (primera 15a in 15b).

(14)

- a. 腕白 *wanpaku* 'nagajiv'
 wanpaku → kupanwa
 CV1-N-CV2-CV3 → CV3-CV2-N-CV1
- b. 香り *kaori* 'dišava'
 ka+o+ri → ri+o+ka
 CV1-V-CV2 → CV2-V-CV1

(15)

- a. ピアノ *piano* 'klavir'
 pi+a+no → ya+no+pi
 CV1-V-CV2 → CV-CV-CV
- b. 素人 *shirōto* 'amater'
 shiro+o+to → to+o+shiro
 CV1-CV2-R-CV3 → CV3-R-CV1-CV2

2.3 Govorne napake

Spontane govorne napake naravnih govorcev Kubozono (2017: 38) povzema v tri tipe: metatezo ali glasovno preureditev, substitucijo ali glasovno zamenjavo in besedotvorno sklapljanje.

(16)

- a. 鉄筋コンクリート *tekkin konkuriito* 'armirani beton'
 te-k.ki-n. ko-n.ku.ri-i.to → ko-k.ki-n te-n.ku.ri-i.to
 CV1-Q-CV2-N CV3-N-CV4-CV5-R-CV6 → CV3-Q-CV2-N CV1-N-CV4-CV5-R-CV6
- b. 原爆ドーム *genbaku dōmu* Kupola atomske bombe²⁰
 ge-n.ba.ku do-o.mu → ge-n.do.ku do-o.mu
 CV1-N-CV2-CV3 CV4-R-CV5 → CV1-N-CV4-CV3 CV4-R-CV5
- c. 止まれ *tomare* 'Ustavi se!' + ストップ *sutoppu* 'stop'
 to.ma.(re) / (su.to)-p.pu → to.ma-p.pu
 CV-CV-CV / CV-CV-Q-CV → CV-CV-Q-CV

Ob napakah v govoru se besede razčlenijo na meji med moraičnimi enotami, pogosto celo znotraj zloga, pri čemer osnovna moraična struktura ostaja ohranjena. Pri metatezi v primeru 16a se začetno glasovno zaporedje CV₁-Q razdeli na *te* in moraični zapornik, glasovno zaporedje CV3-N pa na *ko* in moraični nosnik, pri čemer

se *te* in *ko* zamenjata; kljub preureditvi se posamezni moraični segmenti – moraični samoglasnik (R), moraični pripornik ali zapornik (Q) in moraični nosnik (N) – nikoli ne pripenjajo retrogradno k predhodnim moraičnim enotam, temveč ohranjajo svojo fonološko samostojnost (Vance 2008, Kubozono 2017). Enako načelo segmentacije je razvidno pri napakah z zamenjavo (primer 16b), kjer glasovno zaporedje *do* iz besede トーム *dōmu* 'kupola' napačno nadomesti začetni del nove sestavljene besede, kar pomeni, da gre za govorno popačenje z nadomestitvijo, ne da bi pri tem bila kršena moraična struktura. V primeru sklapljanja (primer 16c) pa sta izvorni besedi fonološko razdeljeni, krnjeni in združeni v novotvorjenko, pri čemer se med drugo in tretjo moraično enoto ohranja jasna meja med moraičnimi enotami (Ito in Mester 1996; Labrune 2012).

3 Jezik in pisava: medsebojni vpliv in jezikovno védenje

Današnji japonski sistem pisave, t. i. mešani slog zapisovanja (漢字仮名交じり文 *kanji kana majiri bun*)²¹ sestavljajo trije glavni nabori pisav: kitajske pismenke (漢字 *kanji*; morfemska pisava oziroma ideogrami) ter fonogramski *hiragana* (平仮名 lit. 'poenostavljena pisava') in *katakana* (片仮名 lit. 'strukturirana pisava').

Hiragana in *katakana* sta nastali v obdobju Heian (794–1185) kot poenostavitvi kitajskih pismenk z namenom fonetičnega zapisovanja japonščine. *Hiragana* izhaja iz kurzivnega sloga pismenk in je bila sprva znana kot »ženska pisava«, saj so jo pogosto uporabljale ženske v leposlovju. *Katakana* pa so razvili budistični menihi iz izsekov pismenk kot pomoč pri branju in razlagi kitajskih besedil. Do 10. stoletja sta se pisavi uveljavili kot standardni del pisnega sistema (Seeley 1991).

Tako *hiragana* kot *katakana* sta sistematično strukturirani na osnovi moraičnih enot, kar pomeni, da vsak grafem ustreza eni moraični enoti. Njuna struktura in raba zato pomembno prispevata k utrjevanju moraične percepcije jezika. Po mnenju Vancea (2017) imata ti pisavi ključno vlogo pri oblikovanju moraične enote kot psihološko izpostavljene enote v japonščini.

Empirične raziskave kažejo, da japonski otroci pred opismenjevanjem jezikovno strukturo zaznavajo predvsem na zlogovni ravni, pri čemer moraične enote niso nujno psihološko dostopne. Z učenjem pisav *hiragana* in *katakana* pa se jezikovna percepcija postopoma preusmerja k moraični segmentaciji, kar nakazuje, da pismenost pomembno vpliva na fonološko ozaveščenost (Inagaki, Giyō in Ōtake 2000).

21 Več o japonskem sistemu pisave v Shigemori Bučar (2021).

To potrjuje tudi Kubozono (2017), ki ugotavlja, da odrasli govorniki japonščine izkazujejo izrazito moraično intuicijo, katere razvoj je tesno povezan z zgodnjim opismenjevanjem.

Čeprav govorjeni jezik evolucijsko in razvojno predhaja zapis, lahko učenje pisave močno preoblikuje govorno zaznavanje jezikovnih enot. V psiholingvistiki ta pojav označujemo kot ortografski vpliv oziroma učinek pismenosti, kjer pisava deluje kot kognitivni filter in preoblikuje načine, kako govorniki segmentirajo in mentalno predstavljajo svoj jezik (Morais idr. 1979, Olson 1994, Perfetti in Dunlap 2008).

Na tej osnovi se poraja vprašanje, ali je prav izpostavljenost pisavama *hiragana* in *katakana* glavni dejavnik, ki omogoča vpliv moraične strukture v govorni zavesti japonskih govorcev. Obenem se odpira še hipoteza, da bi v odsotnosti pismenosti v teh dveh sistemih naravni govorniki japonščine morda primarno zaznavali jezikovno strukturo na zlogovni ravni.

V nadaljevanju bomo na podlagi pregleda zgodovinskega razvoja japonskih pisnih sistemov ter fonoloških sprememb v jeziku poskušali osvetliti ključne dejavnike, ki so prispevali k uveljavitvi moraične – in ne zlogovne – enote kot osnovnega elementa fonološke reprezentacije v japonščini.

4 Zgodovinski razvoj jezika: vzpon moraične enote kot osnovne prozodične enote

Za lažjo predstavo najprej navedimo periodizacijo razvoja japonskega jezika (Frellesvig 2010), ki jo opredeljujemo glede na večja politično-zgodovinska obdobja na Japonskem.

- *protojaponščina (PJ)²²: pred 7. stoletjem
- stara japonščina (SJ): 7.–8. stoletje – obdobje Nara (712–794);
- zgodnja srednjeveška japonščina (ZSJ): 8.–12. stoletje — obdobje Heian (794–1185);
- pozna srednjeveška japonščina (PSJ): 12.–16. stoletje – obdobje Kamakura (1185–1333), obdobje Muromachi (1333–1573);
- sodobna japonščina (SJ): od 16. stoletja dalje – obdobje Edo (1603–1868), obdobje Meiji (1868–1912), obdobje Taishô (1912–1926), obdobje Shôwa (1926–1989), obdobje Heisei (1989–2019), obdobje Reiwa (2019–).

22 Rekonstruirana predhodnica vseh oblik japonskega jezika (glej Frellesvig in Whitman 2008).

Fonotaktika stare japonščine je temeljila na dosledni strukturi tipa soglasnik-samoglasnik (CV) ter samostojnih samoglasnikih (V), ki so se pojavljali le na začetku besed (Frellesvig 2010). Razprava o tem, ali je bila glasovna struktura zlogovna ali moraična, v tej fazi razvoja jezika niti ni potrebna; ustreza strukturi soglasnik-samoglasnik, ki je absolutna univerzalija v jezikih sveta (Cairns in Feinstein 1982, Venne-mann 1988, Battistella 1990, Blevins 1995, Hulst in Ritter 1999 idr.).

4.1 Prvi zapisi v japonščini in razvoj pisav

Najzgodnejše pričevanje o pisanju v japonščini sega v 5. stoletje, vendar se pisanje v japonščini ni razširilo vse do sredine 7. stoletja (Miller 1967). Philippi (1968: 91, povzeto po Frellesvig 2010: 39) je na primeru prve pesmi²³ v zbirki *Kojiki* (古事記 lit. 'Zapisi o davnih dogodkih'), najstarejšega ohranjenega japonskega zgodovinskega in mitološkega besedila iz leta 712, ponazoril, kako je predvidoma zvenela stara japonščina z razmeroma podrobnim fonetičnim zapisom skrbne izreke kratkega besedila (primer 17).

(17)

夜久毛	多都	伊豆毛	夜幣賀岐	都麻基微	爾
/yakumwo	tatsu	idumwo	yapyegaki	tsumagomwi	ni
[jag ^w ũmuq	tad ^w u	i ^d wũmuqjabjẽ ^g gag _i	t ^w ũmã ^g gõmu _i	n _i	
		夜幣賀岐	都久流	曾能	夜幣賀岐
		yapyegaki	tsukuru	so no	yapyegaki
		jabjẽ ^g gag _i	t ^w ug ^w uru	sõ no	jabjẽ ^g gag _i
					袁
					wo /
					wo]

Dvigajoče se meglice, med njimi močno ograjena palača Izumo. Za svojo ženo – zgradil sem jo, to močno ograjeno palačo!

(avtorjev prevod)

Zbirka *Kojiki* velja za najstarejše ohranjeno obsežno delo japonske književnosti in ima ključen pomen za preučevanje zgodnje japonske zgodovine, mitologije ter razvoja jezika in pisave. Besedilo je večinoma zapisano v klasični kitajščini (漢文 *kanbun*), vendar prilagojeno japonskemu branju z uporabo interpretativnega sistema *kundoku*.²⁴ Glavno besedilo je zapisano v hibridnem slogu, ki sicer sledi logografskemu modelu, a pogosto vključuje fonogramske zapise (Seeley 1991).

23 Avtor prve pesmi, zapisane v zbirki *Kojiki*, naj bi bil cesar Jōmei (舒明天皇, vladal 629–641), čeprav se njegovo ime v samem besedilu neposredno ne pojavi. Pesem velja za eno najzgodnejših ohranjenih pesniških besedil v japonščini in je zapisana v *man'yōgani*. V nekaterih poznejših antologijah, kot je *Manyōshū*, je podobna pesem pripisana cesarju Tenjiju (天智天皇), kar nakazuje na možno zamenjavo ali reinterpretacijo avtorstva skozi čas (Heldt 2014: 45).

24 訓読 ('interpretativno branje') je tradicionalna metoda interpretativnega branja kitajskih besedil, ki je bila v japonski pisavi uporabljena za prilagoditev kitajskega besedila japonskemu slovničnemu in fonološkemu sistemu.

Posebno mesto v zbirki *Kojiki* zavzema vstavljen pesniški material, ki je zapisan izključno s fonogramskim sistemom *man'yōgana* – s kitajskimi pismenkami, uporabljenimi glede na njihovo izgovarjavo, ne pomen. Ta slogovna in ortografska ločnica med prozo in poezijo ni naključna, temveč funkcionalno utemeljena: fonogramski zapis pesmi zrcali japonsko ustno izročilo (Seeley 1991: 46). Uporaba *man'yōgane* v zbirki predstavlja enega najzgodnejših virov za rekonstruiranje tonskega sistema srednjeveške japonščine ter pomembno podlago za kasnejši razvoj *hiragane* in *katakane*²⁵ (Heldt 2014).

4.2 Glasovne spremembe

Sodobna japonščina v veliki meri ohranja glasovne značilnosti stare japonščine (Frellesvig 2010). Podrobnejša jezikoslovna analiza razkriva dva glavna sklopa notranjih sprememb, ki so pomembno prispevale k razvoju jezika. Prvi sklop obsega fonološke spremembe, ki časovno sovpadajo s prehodom v zgodnjo srednjeveško japonščino, drugi sklop pa zajema slovnične spremembe, značilne za pozno srednjeveško obdobje in kasneje. Oba sklopa sta bila spodbujena s kulturno-jezikovnimi stiki; najprej prek sprejemanja zgodnje pismenosti in s tem povezanega sinološkega vpliva, kasneje pa z močnim vplivom zahodnih kultur in njihovih jezikovnih vzorcev.

V zgodnji srednjeveški japonščini je fonotaktični vzorec izmenjujočih se soglasnikov in samoglasnikov pod vplivom obsežnega prevzemanja besedja iz kitajščine doživel pomembne spremembe.

Kitajske izposojenke, ki so se končale na soglasnike *p*, *t*, *k*, so bile opremljene z visokim samoglasnikom *i* ali *u* (t. i. samoglasniška epenteza kot na primer v **niet* > *ni-chi* 日 'sonce') ali pa so se *p*, *t*, *k* s sledečim nezvenečim zapornikom razvili v moraični zapornik *Q*, kot se je pogosto dogajalo v številnih sestavljenkah iz pismenk (*gakuki* > *gakki* 楽器 'glasbilo') (Labrune 2012). Tudi ob končnih nosnih soglasnikih *m* in *n* se je pojavila samoglasniška epenteza, ki se je kasneje preoblikovala v moraični nosnik *N* (**sam* > *san* 三 'tri').²⁶ Kitajski dvoglasniki so bili prevzeti kot samoglasniška zaporedja (Frellesvig 2010), med katerimi so se nekatera ohranila, druga pa nadalje asimilirala.²⁷

Tuj jezikovni vpliv je obenem sprožil še niz fonoloških prestrukturiranj v primarno japonskih besedah. Glasovne spremembe obravnavamo pod skupnim pojmom *onbin* (音便 'poenostavitev izgovora') in vključujejo dva ključna procesa (Labrune 2012):

25 Več o pisavah *hiragana* in *katakana* v poglavju 3.

26 Le redke kitajske izposojenke z vrinjenim samoglasnikom so se ohranile (de Boer 2010: 24); na primer *sami* v *samisen* (三味線 *samisen* 'samisen, japonsko tristrunsko glasbilo').

27 Nadalje so se asimilirala samoglasniška zaporedja, ki se končajo na *u*: *iu* > *yu*, *ou* > *oo*, *au* > *oo* in *eu* > *yoo* (*kefu* > *keu* > *kyou* 今日 *kyō* 'danes').

- i. soglasniški izpust,²⁸ kar je vodilo do nastanka samoglasniških zaporedij oziroma pojava moraičnega samoglasnika (R) kot na primer v deležniških oblikah glagolov *kakite* > *kaite* (glagol 書く *kaku* 'pisati'), *kikite* > *kiite* (glagol 聞く *kiku* 'poslušati') in pridevnikov *kanashiki* > *kanashii* (pridevnik 悲しい *kanashii* 'žalosten'), ter
- ii. samoglasniški izpust²⁹ – najpogostejše visokih *i* ali *u* –, ki je povzročil oblikovanje soglasniških zaporedij oziroma moraičnih soglasnikov Q in N v deležniških oblikah glagolov *machite* > *matte* (glagol 待つ *matsu* 'čakati') in *yomite* > *yonde* (glagol 読む *yomu* 'brati').

Onbin spremembe se začnejo pojavljati v pisnih virih okoli začetka 9. stoletja, domneva pa se, da so do konca obdobja zgodnje srednjeveške japonščine enaka zaporedja samoglasnikov, različni samoglasniški pari in moraični soglasniki postali del pogovornega jezika (de Boer 2010). Značilnost teh novooblikovanih glasovnih zaporedij je bila njihova končna moraična struktura; zaključujejo se namreč z enim izmed dveh moraičnih soglasnikov. Ti segmenti igrajo pomembno vlogo v prozodični in moraični strukturi japonskega jezika, saj vplivajo na metriko, naglas in ritmičnost govora.

4.3 Tonemskost skozi čas

Prvi japonski pisni viri izkazujejo vsaj štiri različne načine za označevanje tonskosti (povzeto po de Boer 2010). Najstarejši način tonskih oznak najdemo v zbirki zapisov *Kojiki*, kjer sta uporabljeni dve izmed štirih pismenk (上 **shang* 'naraščajoč' in 去 **qu* 'padajoč'), ki so bile v rabi za popis srednjeveške kitajščine. Druga vrsta tonskih oznak je bila prepoznana v izbiri različnih znakov *man'yōgane*, zgodnjega fonogramskega sistema, ki so bili sicer glasovno enaki. Tretja vrsta tonskih oznak so pike (声点 *shōten* ali 'tonske pike'), ki predstavljajo tone iz obdobja pozne srednjeveške kitajščine in so bile dodane posameznim kitajskim pismenkam ali znakom kane. To je bil sistem, ki se je prvič pojavil v japonskih zapisih v 9. stoletju, kasneje pa postal najbolj razširjen in dosledno uporabljen način za označevanje tona. Četrta vrsta tonskega označevanja je bila uporabljena v kanonskih budističnih besedilih, kjer so bila vpisana intonacijska pravila za ritualno recitiranje.

28 Gre za postopno oslabitev soglasniške zveze (lenicija) med oblikotvornim delom in končnico – najpogostejše zaradi težnje k lažji izgovarjavi.

29 Pri samoglasniškem izpustu gre najprej za oslabitev (lenicijo), ki ji lahko sledi asimilacija, še posebej kadar izpust vodi v pojav moraičnih soglasnikov.

Tonska sistema srednjeveške kitajščine in srednjeveške japonščine sta bila v svojih temeljih izrazito različna. Srednjeveška kitajščina je uporabljala konturirane tone, ki temeljijo na spreminjajoči se višini tona znotraj posameznega zloga (Shen 2020), medtem ko je srednjeveška japonščina kljub prisotnosti določenega – a omejenega – števila konturiranih tonov v osnovi uporabljala registrski tonski sistem, torej sistem z različnimi ravnmi višine tona ali tonemi (de Boer 2010).

Tonemsko strukturo srednjeveške japonščine lahko opišemo kot zaporedje izmenjujočih se visokih (H) in nizkih (L) tonov (Kindaichi 1951, McCawley 1978, Martin 1987, Hayata 1999, de Boer 2010 idr.). Zaradi pomanjkanja neposrednih podatkov v zgodovinskih virih ni mogoče zanesljivo rekonstruirati naglasnega mesta, zato tega sistema ne moremo neposredno primerjati s sodobnim tonemskim naglasom tokijskega narečja ali drugimi sodobnimi narečji (de Boer 2010).

V zgodovinski fonološki ureditvi japonščine sta imela tako visoki kot nizki ton enakovredno status nosilca tona, in sicer na ravni neodvisnih ritmičnih enot, ki so hkrati delovale kot časovne enote v prozodični strukturi jezika (Frellesvig 2010). Čeprav ta ureditev danes ne velja za vsa japonska narečja, saj obstajajo pomembne razlike v tem, katere enote lahko prevzemajo funkcijo tonskih in časovnih nosilcev, ima zgodovinski razvoj moraičnih enot ključno vlogo pri razumevanju sodobne narečne raznolikosti (Vovin 2005).

Fonotaktično nesamostojne moraične enote R, Q, N, ki dandanes v standardni japonščini prozodično šibijo (glej poglavje 2), so se diahrono razvile iz neodvisnih soglasniško-samoglasniških struktur. V nekaterih narečjih so ohranile več svojih izvornih prozodičnih značilnosti, v drugih pa so se te lastnosti izgubile. To zgodovinsko razslojevanje ima neposreden vpliv na današnjo organizacijo tonemskosti in ritma.

5 Povzetek in zaključek

Zlog tipa soglasnik-samoglasnik predstavlja temeljno in univerzalno strukturo človeškega govora, ki jo priznava večina teoretičnih in opisnih jezikoslovnih modelov. Kljub temu je sodobna glasovna struktura jezikov precej bolj kompleksna, njena sporočilnost pa ni nujno vezana na fiziološko optimalno oblikovan zlog.

Stara japonščina je ustrezala omenjeni univerzalni strukturi. Vendar je preplet zgodovinskih dejavnikov, kot sta stik s srednjeveško kitajščino in razvoj pisave, sprožil fonološke ter prozodične spremembe, pri katerih so fonološko funkcijo začela prevzemati glasovna zaporedja, manjša od zloga. Kot rezultat zgodovinskega, strukturnega, prozodičnega, ortografskega in sociolingvističnega razvoja je moraična enota v standardni

japonščini postala osnovna prozodična enota in ključen temelj za razumevanje njene govorne strukture. Pisava pri tem pogosto deluje kot konservativna sila, saj ohranja arhaične jezikovne elemente in vpliva na jezikovno rabo ter standardizacijo.

V tem dinamičnem prepletu notranjih jezikovnih sprememb in zunanjih kulturno-jezikovnih stikov – v sodobnem času pod vplivom zahodnih jezikov – se zdi, da se fonološki sistem japonščine morda ponovno usmerja k zlogotvornosti.

Spremljanje velikih jezikovnih sprememb zato zahteva obravnavo širokega spektra jezikovnih in nejezikovnih dejavnikov tako v zgodovinski kot v geografski perspektivi.

V tej razpravi smo osvetlili strukturne in funkcijske vidike moraičnosti v japonščini ter izpostavili ključne dejavnike, ki so vplivali na njeno zgodovinsko oblikovanje in sodobni status.

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Dvojina skozi prostor in čas: ob 100-letnici prve študije o slovenski dvojini (Tesnière 1925)*

*Tjaša Jakop***

Povzetek

Profesor Janez Orešnik je dvojino označil kot enega od »unikatov« v slovenščini, unikati pa so posebnosti v jeziku, za katere se misli, da so omejene le na ta jezik. Avtorica prispevka se z raziskovanjem slovenske dvojine ukvarja že dobrih 20 let. V tem času je na to temo izdala dve monografiji in številne članke. Profesorju Orešniku je hvaležna, da je na njegovo prigo-varjanje spoznanja o tej tipično slovenski kategoriji prenesla v angleščino in so značilnosti slovenske dvojine (tako v knjižnem jeziku kot v narečjih) postale dostopne tudi neslovenskim oz. neslovanskim jezikoslovcem.

Ključne besede: dvojina, oblikoslovje, slovenski knjižni jezik, slovenski pogovorni jezik, slovenska narečja

The dual in diatopic and diachronic perspective: a century after Tesnière's 1925 study on the dual in Slovene

Professor Janez Orešnik said the dual number is one of the "uniques" – or unique features – in Slovene. Uniques are peculiarities in a language that are assumed to be limited to that language only. The author of this article has been researching dual number in Slovene for over 20 years. During this time, she has published two monographs and numerous articles on this topic. She is grateful to Professor Orešnik that, at his insistence, she transferred the knowledge of this typically Slovenian category into English, so the knowledge of the Slovenian dual number (both in the literary language and in dialects) became accessible to non-Slovene and non-Slavic linguists as well.

Keywords: dual number, morphology, Standard Slovene, Colloquial Slovene, Slovene dialects

* Prispevek je nastal v okviru programa Dediščina na obrobjih: novi pogledi na dediščino in identiteto znotraj in onkraj nacionalnega (P5-0408).

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1 Slovnična kategorija dvojine

Število je slovnična kategorija za izražanje količine vrednosti (v primeru slovenščine ena, dve ali več), ki se spreminja glede na število udeležencev. Dvojina (< psl. **dvъvojь*) oz. dual (< lat. *duālis*) je slovnična kategorija števila (t. i. *gramem*). V protoindoevropskem jeziku je dvojina obstajala ob ednini in množini in so jo nekatere skupine indoevropskih jezikov prevzele oz. podedovale – tako tudi praslovanščina.

1.1 Slovnična kategorija dvojine v slovenščini

V slovenskem jeziku je dvojina slovnično število, ki se nanaša na dva predmeta ali osebkā in je slovnična lastnost samostalnikov in osebnih zaimkov, prek ujemanja pa tudi pridevniških besed in glagolov; je torej vsem pregibnim besedam lastna kategorija, ki se rabi v vseh sklonih, spolih in osebāh. Čeprav se v pogovornem jeziku in v narečjih nekatere dvojinke oblike izenačujejo z množinskimi, pa dvojina kot samostojna kategorija ne izginja (ugotovitve s terena, Jakob 2001>).

Francoz Lucien Tesnière (1893–1954) je prvi sistematično proučeval kategorijo dvojine v slovenščini. Lingvistični atlas dvojine (*Atlas linguistique pour servir à l'étude du duel en slovène* 'Lingvistični atlas za študij dvojine v slovenščini', 1925b) je prvo in hkrati najobsežnejše delo, posvečeno dvojnini v slovenščini, in tudi prva zemljepisna predstavitev tega jezikovnega pojava in celo prvi slovanski lingvistični atlas. Predstavlja dopolnitev monografije *Dvojinke oblike v slovenščini* (*Les formes du duel en slovène*, 1925a) in sinhrono obravnava dvojino v slovenskih narečjih. Narečno gradivo je rezultat avtorjevih intenzivnih terenskih raziskav v letih 1921–1922 in analize zgodovinskih besedil (od srede 16. do začetka 20. stoletja, tj. od Trubarja pa vse do Župančiča); delo torej združuje metodo lingvistične geografije in študijo zgodovinskih virov.

Jezikoslovec Roman Jakobson je na svojih predavanjih omenil anekdoto o usodi Tesnièreve monografije *Les formes du duel en slovène*, ki je izšla 1925 v Parizu. Postala je namreč uspešnica potencialnih bralcev, ki so domnevali, da knjiga govori o dvobojevanju v Sloveniji (v francoščini ima namreč beseda *duel* dva pomena: 1) 'dual oz. dvojina' in 2) 'dvoboj'; po Jakob 2020). Francoz je bil torej prvi, ki je napisal knjigo o slovenski dvojnini, in še danes se s to jezikovno posebnostjo (tj. kategorijo dvojine) ukvarjajo predvsem Neslovenci, npr. Tatyana G. Slobodchikoff z Univerze v Troyu v Alabami v monografiji *The Evolution of the Slavic Dual: A Biolinguistic Perspective* (*Studies in Slavic, Baltic, and Eastern European Languages and Cultures*) (2019) ali Greville G. Corbett z Univerze v Surreyju v Angliji v monografiji *Number* (2000).

1.1.2 Parni samostalniki

Profesor Janez Orešnik, ki je avtorico spodbudil, da je svojo disertacijo o dvojini v slovenskih narečjih objavila tudi v tujini (v angleščini; Jakop 2008b), je o dvojini povedal naslednje (Val 202, Jezikanje, 1. 9. 2017): »Čprav imajo številni jeziki dvojino, pa jo za zdaj edini uporabljamo pretežno za opisovanje neparnega: »Roke so umazane, oči me bolijo, noge tudi.« Dvojino je označil kot enega od »unikatov« v slovenščini; unikat pa so »posebnosti v jeziku, za katere se misli, da so omejene le na določen jezik«.

Parni samostalniki torej predstavljajo izjemo pri rabi dvojine. »V slovenščini se lahko [bolje: se praviloma] namesto dvojske oblike samostalnika rabijo množinske, in sicer pri tipičnih parih, npr. za levi in desni istofunkcijski del telesa (*roke, noge, obrvi, oči* [...]), za dela oblačila ali naprave (*rokavi, hlačnice, nogavice* [...] *uhani*); enako je pri bioloških ali funkcijskih parih: *starši, dvojčki, lastovke – voli, konji, krave* [...]« (Toporišič 2000, 271). Pri parnih delih telesa se dvojina uporablja samo v primeru poudarjanja – ob kvantifikatorjih 'dva/dve' ali 'oba/obe' (npr. *obe roki ima zlomljeni*), sicer je pri parnih samostalnikih dvojino nadomestila množina: npr. *imam močne roke* (mn.) in ne *imam močni roki* (dv.).

Parni samostalniki so v slovenščini prešli v množino že v 16. stoletju in so neke vrste kolektivni samostalniki – t. i. *pluralia tantum* (gl. Derganc 2003, 173). V Dalmatinovi Bibliji (1584) najdemo dvojsko obliko za *roke* in *noge* le ob števniku *dve*: *Tebi je bulšhe, de hrom ali krleu grešh v'leben, kakòr de bi dvej roki ali dvej nogi imèl, inu bi vèrshen bil v'ta vezhni ogin*. Sicer uporablja Dalmatin le množinske oblike, npr.: *Njegove roke, šò kakòr slati pàrštani, polni Tirkifou. Iacob je pak fvoje noge vsdignil, inu je šhàl v'to Deshelo*. Zanimivo je, da ima Pleteršnikov slovar (2006 [1894–1895]) namesto množinskega samostalnika *hlače* za iztočnico kar edninsko obliko *hláča*, ob njej pa primer: »Sveti Šent-Juri Potrka na duri, Ima eno hlačo zeleno, Eno rumeno.« Nekoč so bile namreč hlače sestavljene iz dveh hlačnic, ki si ju moral zvezati skupaj; od tod tudi izraz *par hlač*.

Tudi Aleksandar Belić v knjigi *O dvojini u slovenskim jezicima* piše (Belić 1932, 58), da je razen stare slovanščine in lužiške srbsčine slovenski jezik ohranil največ ostankov stare dvojine – razen najbolj tipične praslovanske kategorije: dvojine pri naravnih parih. Dvojina je tako nujna le za naključne pare, medtem ko je stalni pari ne zahtevajo. Dvojska oblika (*dve*) nogi je proti množinski *noge* zaznamovana, zato se stalni pari nagibajo k nezaznamovanosti, tj. k množini. Naključni par je bližje nedoločnosti kot stalni par. Toda tudi *pet, šest, ... nog* je zaznamovana oblika. To pomeni, da v primerjavi z množino ni zaznamovana samo dvojina, ampak celo *sámo* štetje: npr. *tri, štiri lipe* (I mn.), toda *pet lip* (R mn. = R dv.).

2 Narečne oz. pogovorne značilnosti dvojine

2.1 Dvojina pri samostalnikih in pridevniki

V narečjih je dvojina najbolj ohranjena pri samostalnikih moškega spola, manj pri samostalnikih srednjega spola, medtem ko so samostalniki ženskega spola najbolj nagnjeni k pluralizaciji. Zaradi potrebnega ujemanja med samostalniki in pridevniki imajo pridevniške oblike enake pripone kot samostalniki in se končujejo na *-a* v moških dvojinjskih oblikah v I/T (npr. (*dva*) *rdeč-a balon-a*) in na *-i* v ženskih dvojinjskih oblikah (npr. (*dve*) *nov-i knjig-i*). Pluralizacija dvojinjskih pridevnikov je bila izvedena v enakem obsegu in v istih narečjih, ki so doživela pluralizacijo dvojinjskih samostalnikov.

2.1.1 Dvojina pri samostalnikih moškega spola

V praslovanščini so se moške oblike v imenovalniku, tožilniku in zvalniku dvojine *o*-jevske in *u*-jevske sklanjatve razlikovale, npr. **bratr-a* : **syn-y*. Današnja raba dvojine v slovenskem knjižnem jeziku se je oblikovala predvsem na podlagi oživljanja oz. rekonstrukcije knjižnega jezika iz 16. stoletja. V besedilih iz 16. stoletja (npr. v Dalmatinovi *Bibliji*, 1584) kot tudi v slovenskem knjižnem jeziku in vseh slovenskih narečjih moški samostalniki v I/T dosledno ohranjajo dvojino s končnico *-a* iz *o*-jevske sklanjatve, npr. *dva brata* (izjema so skrajne jugozahodne točke kraškega in istrskega narečja ter skrajni jugovzhod dolenske narečne skupine). Manj je dvojina ohranjena v stranskih sklonih samostalnikov.

Trda in mehka moška *o*-jevska sklanjatev sta se v praslovanski dvojinu razlikovali tudi v dajalniku in orodniku: **brat-o-ma* : **mož-e-ma*; ti različni priponi sta še vedno ohranjeni v slovenskem knjižnem jeziku, v večini današnjih narečij pa je pripona *-om(a)* ali *-am(a)* posplošena tako za trdo kot za mehko osnovo; dvojinjska pripona moških samostalnikov v D/O je ohranjena le v večjem delu koroške narečne skupine, v vzhodnem delu štajerske narečne skupine ter v celotni panonski narečni skupini (npr. *dvema bratoma*), v drugih zahodnih in osrednjih slovenskih narečjih se je dvojina v D/O pluralizirala: I/T *dva brata*, toda D/O *dvem bratom* (Jakop 2008a, 42–52).

2.1.2 Dvojina pri samostalnikih ženskega spola

V praslovanščini sta se trda in mehka ženska sklanjatev (Logar 1969, 104) v dvojinu razlikovali le v imenovalniku, tožilniku in zvalniku (npr. psl. **rybě*, **ženě* : **duši*); dajalnik in orodnik sta imela dvojinjsko pripono *-ama* (npr. **ženama*, **dušama*). V knjižni slovenščini je v dvojinu samostalnikov ženskega spola ohranjena pripona *-i* iz mehke sklanjatve; tudi v množini najdemo pripono *-ę* iz mehke sklanjatve (**rybę* ← **dušę* R ed.).

Dvojinske oblike samostalnikov ženskega spola so se že od 16. stoletja dalje mešale z množinskimi oblikami oz. se pluralizirale: *dvej Hzher-i* (Dalmatin 1584, 1 Mz 29,16) ali *dvej Hzher-e* (Dalmatin 1584, 1 Mz 19,8). Marko Pohlin je v slovnici (1768) pri sklanjatvenem vzorcu *kraljica* (*Krayliza*) zapisal, da se dvojina ne razlikuje od množine. Jurij Japelj (1784) je popravljal množinske oblike ženskega spola v dvojinske v Dalmatinovi *Bibliji* (1584), Andrej Smole pa v Linhartovi komediji *Ta veseli dan ali Matiček se ženi* (1790), npr. *dve poroke* > *dve poroki* (Jakop 2020).

Tudi v sodobnih slovenskih narečjih so samostalniki ženskega spola pluralizirani že v imenovalniku/tožilniku, npr. *dve sestre* namesto *dve sestri* (dv.), in sicer v osrednjih govorih gorenjske, dolenske in večjega dela štajerske narečne skupine. Dvojinsko obliko I/T *kravi* in D/O *kravama* so ohranila le obrobna slovenska narečja koroške, dolenske in štajerske narečne skupine ter celotna panonska narečna skupina. V zahodnih in osrednjih slovenskih narečjih ter v večini narečij štajerske narečne skupine so se samostalniki ženskega spola pluralizirali, npr. *dve krav-e*, *dvem krav-am* (Jakop 2008a, 52–57).

2.1.3 Dvojina pri samostalnikih srednjega spola

V praslovanščini sta imeli trda in mehka sklanjatev srednjega spola v dvojini že v I/T/Z različni končnici (npr. **lētē* : **polji*). V sodobnih slovenskih narečjih (Jakop 2008a, 57–64) lahko samostalniki srednjega spola že v ednini – pa tudi v dvojini ali množini – prehajajo v moški (t. i. maskulinizacija) ali v ženski spol (t. i. feminizacija). Posledično samostalniki srednjega spola, ki so postali feminizirani, kažejo večjo težnjo k pluralizaciji kot samostalniki, ki so postali maskulinizirani, npr. *dva piva* (mask. s. sp., dv.) za knjižno slovensko *dve pivi* (s. sp., dv.) proti *dve pive* (fem. s. sp., mn.). Dvojinska končnica *-i* (npr. *dve okn-i*) kot v knjižni slovenščini je ohranjena v nekaterih narečjih primorske narečne skupine in v narečjih panonske narečne skupine. V osrednjih narečjih (rovtarsko, gorenjsko, dolensko in del štajerskih) so se samostalniki srednjega spola maskulinizirali (npr. *dva okn-a*), v vzhodnem delu štajerske narečne skupine pa feminizirali (npr. *dve drev-e* ‘dve drevesi’).

2.2 Osebni zaimki in glagoli v dvojini

V slovenskem jeziku sta se po začetni oslabitvi dvojine (okrog 16. stoletja) pojavila dva nova, oblikoslovno zelo stabilna osebna zaimka *midva* in *vidva*, ki sta nastala kot kombinacija etimološko množinskih zaimkov *mi/me* oz. *vi/ve* in števnik *dva/dve*. Zaimki za 1., 2. in 3. osebo *midva*, *vidva*, *onadva* se še vedno uporabljajo v sodobnem slovenskem knjižnem jeziku in tudi v večini slovenskih narečij; množinske zaimke

mi (m. sp.) in *me* (ž. sp.), *vi* (m. sp.) in *ve* (ž. sp.) ter *oni* (m. sp.) in *one* (ž. sp.) namesto dvojskih zaimkov uporablja le peščica slovenskih narečij na skrajnem zahodu in skrajnem jugovzhodu slovenskega jezikovnega ozemlja.

Pri stranskih sklonih je situacija drugačna: množinsko obliko *nas* namesto dvojske *naju* ima večji del primorskih narečij, na jugovzhodu pa kostelsko narečje ter južno- in severnobelokranjsko narečje. Dvojsko obliko *nama* je nadomestila množinska *nam* na skrajnem zahodu in jugovzhodu. Sicer je v zaimski sklanjatvi dvojina po narečjih večinoma ohranjena. Tako kot pri samostalniki je tudi pri zaimskih trdnejša pri moškem kot pri ženskem spolu.

Dvojski zaimki se ujemajo z glagolskimi oblikami, ki se končujejo na *-va* in *-ta*:

(1)

Mi-dva dela-va v tovarni.

Vi-dva dela-ta v pekarni.

Dvojsko pripono *-va* (za vse spole) je v nekaterih narečjih nadomestila pripona *-ma* (*delama*), ki je kombinacija dvojske pripone *-va* in množinske *-mo* in/ali edninske *-m* (Jakop 2012, 356–357) in je značilna zlasti za narečja štajerske narečne skupine. Pluralizacija glagolskih oblik je zajela jugozahodni del slovenskega jezikovnega prostora (Jakop 2008a, 2008b).

Knjižni jezik pri glagolih v 1. osebi dvojine ne predpisuje razlikovanja med moškim in ženskim spolom, slovenska knjižna oblika *-va* tako za moški kot za ženski spol se uporablja tudi v severozahodnih in osrednjih slovenskih narečjih. (Razlika med spoloma glagolskih oblik obstaja v sodobnem slovenskem knjižnem jeziku samo v deležniku, npr. *šel, šla, šli, šle*.) Nasprotno pa nekatera narečja uporabljajo dvojske končnice, ki izkazujejo spol udeleženca oz. dveh udeležencev:

(2)

midva dela-va (m. sp. dv.)

midve dela-ve/-vi (ž. sp. dv.)

Avtorica prispevka je na vprašanja o kategoriji števila in dvojskih oblikah odgovarjala tudi v medijih in v Jezikovni svetovalnici Inštituta za slovenski jezik Frana Ramovša ZRC SAZU, ki deluje od leta 2012 in upošteva načela jezikovnega svetovanja prof. Orešnika, npr. da so težavna vprašanja uporabnikov »dragoceno opozorilo na občutljiva mesta naše materinščine« (Orešnik 1995, 91). Na vprašanje o ženski dvojini »midve sve šle« avtorica odgovarja (Jakop 2022):

Že v 16. stoletju so obstajale ženske dvojinke glagolske oblike – kot v današnji ljubljanski in nekaterih slovenskih narečjih (npr. *bove, greve* oz. *bovi, grevi*). Sodobni slovenski knjižni jezik namreč ne pozna posebnih moških in ženskih končnic glagolskih oblik, čeprav se te v narečjih pojavljajo, bile pa so celo normirane v nekaterih slovenskih slovnicih od 16. stoletja dalje. Že Adam Bohorič je v prvi slovenski slovnici *Zimske urice* (1584) uporabil oblike *Mi fva fve* 'midva/midve sva'; *Vi fta fte* 'vidva/vidve sva' in *mi pišheva pišheve* 'midva/midve piševa'; *vi pišheta pišhete* -a 'vidva/vidve piševa', za njim tudi Valentin Vodnik v slovnici iz leta 1811 (*fva* : *fvi* 'sva', *fta* : *fti* 'sta'), Fran Levstik v slovnici iz leta 1866 (*jévi, jésti; délavi, délati*), ženske oblike pa so navedene še v slovnici Antona Breznika iz 1916 (*delava* : *delave, delata* : *delate*).

V 17. in 18. stoletju je moška oblika na -a popolnoma prevladala, v 19. in na začetku 20. stoletja pa so nekateri pisci spet začeli uporabljati posebne ženske dvojinke glagolske oblike: npr. Franc Miklošič (1876): *gresti, vzdigneti, prideti*. [...] Celo v Pleteršnikovem *Slovensko-nemškem slovarju* (1894/1895) pod geslom **prijâteljica** najdemo *prijateljici sve si*, pod geslom **sestrâna** 'sestrična' pa *medve sve si sestrani*.

Razlikovanje med moškimi in ženskimi glagolskimi končnicami še vedno ohranja jo nekatera osrednja narečja (govori notranjskega, horjulskega in dolenskega narečja), ločeno od tega areala pa še narečja na vzhodu (govori prleškega in prekmurskega narečja panonske narečne skupine). V zadnjem času (po letu 2000) pa se je to razlikovanje pojavilo tudi v pogovorni ljubljanski, npr. *bove, greve, sve ...* (Jakop 2007):

(3)

Gre-ve (ž. sp. dv.) na kavo?

3 Zaključek

Danes je v okviru indoevropistike dvojina nekoliko arhaična slovnična kategorija, ohranjena le še v nekaterih slovanskih jezikih: poleg slovenščine še v gornji in dolnji lužiški srbsčini ter kašubščini (Jakop 2008a, 16); v drugih indoevropskih jezikih je dvojino nadomestila množina. Dvojina je predpisana oz. obvezna slovnična kategorija v sodobnem knjižnem slovenskem jeziku, obvezna za vse pregibne besedne vrste, v narečjih pa v različni meri teži k pluralizaciji: ponekod se uporablja samo za moški spol, drugje le v imenovalniku in tožilniku, spet nekatera narečja dvojino rabijo pri samostalnikih, medtem ko je glagolska dvojina nadomeščena z množino.

Pred približno stotimi leti je francoski profesor Antoine Meillet poslal svojega študenta Luciena Tesnière v Slovenijo, da zbere dvojinke oblike, saj je sklepal, da dvojine tudi v slovenščini kmalu ne bo več. V delu *Les formes du duel en slovène*

‘Dvojinske oblike v slovenščini’ (1925a) beremo, da dvojina izginja v naslednjem vrstnem redu:

- 1) po sklonih: najprej v mestniku, nato v rodilniku, dajalniku in orodniku ter nazadnje v imenovalniku/tožilniku;
- 2) po spolu: najprej v ženskem, nato v srednjem in nazadnje v moškem. Z nekaterimi izjemami te težnje potrjuje tudi novejša narečno gradivo (Jakop 2012 in 2019).

Na splošno so moške dvojinske oblike samostalnikov bolje ohranjene od ženskih dvojinskih oblik in boljše od dvojinskih glagolskih oblik. Dvojinske oblike so nadomestile množinske le na jugozahodu in skrajnem jugovzhodu slovenskega jezikovnega prostora. Vzrok za pluralizacijo je lahko: 1) stik s sosednjimi jeziki, ki dvojine ne poznajo (stik z italijanščino in hrvaščino: nadiško, briško, kraško in istrsko narečje na jugozahodu ter obe belokranjski narečji na jugovzhodu) ali 2) kolonizacija (npr. baški govor).

Kljub некоč slabim napovedim pa dvojina v slovenščini vztraja. Primerjava sodobnega slovenskega narečnega gradiva s Tesnièrevimi podatki iz dvajsetih let prejšnjega stoletja kaže, da je dvojina do danes v večini slovenskih narečij še produktivna in živa kategorija (in ne le zgodovinski ostanek), ki sčasoma doživlja spremembe in inovacije tako v oblikah kot v rabi (Jakop 2010, 85).

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Fonološka neprozornost v slovenščini*

*Peter Jurgec***

Povzetek

Ena izmed ključnih ugotovitev klasične generativne fonologije je, da lahko veljajo posplošitve o glasovnih vzorcih v jezikih sveta ne le na površini, temveč tudi na več abstraktnih ravneh. Generativne analize, ki uporabljajo fonološka pravila, so razkrile, da med pravili obstajajo vsaj štirje odnosi, od katerih sta dva prozorna (torej resnična na površini), dva pa neprozorna. V prispevku se osredinjam na neprozornost, tj. ko neko pravilo bodisi velja v okoljih, kjer ga ne pričakujemo, bodisi ne velja, ko ga. Prispevek dokumentira osem primerov neprozornosti v slovenščini.

Ključne besede: generativna fonologija, fonološka pravila, prozornost, slovenska narečja, fonološka terminologija

Phonological opacity in Slovenian

One of the key insights of classical generative phonology is that generalizations about sound patterns in the world's languages are not always surface-based. Rule-based approaches distinguish at least four types of rule interactions, two of which are transparent (and thus exceptionless on the surface) while the other two are opaque. This paper focuses on the opaque interactions, where a particular rule seems to apply in unexpected environments or fails to apply in expected environments. I document eight cases of opacity in Slovenian.

Keywords: generative phonology, rule interaction, transparency, Slovenian dialects, phonological terminology

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1 Uvod

Generativna fonologija lahko opiše in pojasni skrite glasovne vzorce (Chomsky in Halle 1968), saj generativni model vsebuje več fonoloških podob: poleg površinske oblike, ki je govorcem neposredno dosegljiva, obstaja tudi globinska podstava vsakega morfema. Med obema podobama obstajajo fonološke preslikave, ki so v klasični generativni fonologiji fonološka pravila. Pravila so zaporedna, tako da lahko pravilo zabriše učinek predhodnega pravila.

Pravila so med seboj lahko v različnih odnosih. V slovenščini vstavljanje polglasnika med nezvočnika (npr. /niz-k/ → [nizək] 'nizek', prim. [niska] 'ž.') lahko onemogoči prilikovanje po zvonečnosti, saj nezvočnika nista več sosednja (*[nisək]). Odnos med praviloma (in glasovni vzorec) je prozoren, ker prilikovanje po zvonečnosti ne vpliva na vstavljanje polglasnika in ker prilikovanje po zvonečnosti ne preskakuje samoglasnikov, četudi so vstavljeni s pravilom. Drugače bi bilo, če bi bilo zaporedje pravil ravno nasprotno in bi se nezvočnika najprej priličila po zvonečnosti, potem pa bi bil vstavljen polglasnik (hipotetično /niz-k/ → nisk → [nisək]). Vstavljeni polglasnik loči nezvočnika, s tem pa odstrani okolje za prilikovanje nezvočnika, ki pa se je vseeno razzvonečil, zato je tak odnos pravil neprozoren. Medtem ko neprozorne oblike /niz-k/ → [nisək] ni najti v slovenščini, pa imata podobne oblike singapurska angleščina in novodžulfska armenščina (Jurgec in Wang v tisku). V slednji najdemo obliko /k-bəz:am/ → gbəz:am → [gəbəz:am] 'zvonil bom' (Vaux 1998), kjer se prvi nezvočnik najprej ozvoneči, potem pa je med sosednjima nezvočnikoma vstavljen polglasnik – in ne obratno: *[kəbəz:am].

Tu predstavljam štiri glavne odnose med fonološkimi pravili v generativni fonologiji (Kiparsky 1971, 1973, 1976). Prvo pravilo *napaja* drugo, če s svojim delovanjem ustvarja dodatne vnose za drugo pravilo. Če je zaporedje omenjenih pravil obrnjeno, govorimo o *protinapajanju*. Prvo pravilo *odvzema* drugo, če s svojim delovanjem odstrani vnose za drugo pravilo. Če je zaporedje teh pravil obrnjeno, govorimo o *protiodvzemanju*. Odnos med prilikovanjem po zvonečnosti in vstavljanjem polglasnika v slovenščini je odvzemanje, v novodžulfski armenščini pa protiodvzemanje.

V nadaljevanju § 2 predstavi osnovne značilnosti generativne fonologije in opredeli fonološka pravila; § 3 ponazori prozorne glasovne vzorce s slovenskim gradivom. Glavna tema članka je fonološka neprozornost v slovenščini: § 4 analizira protinapajanje, § 5 pa protiodvzemanje. Končno § 6 umesti neprozornost v širši kontekst in ponazori dodatne primere neprozornosti.

2 Ozadje

Generativna fonologija razlikuje med govornimi podobami, na katere pa vpliva slovnica (Chomsky in Halle 1968). Ključna ideja generativne fonologije je, da so glasovne zakonitosti pogosto skrite. Šele ko raziščemo globinsko strukturo jezika, postane jasno, da vsi človeški jeziki delujejo podobno.

Cilj fonološke analize je pojasniti glasovne vzorce v jeziku, četudi imamo dostop samo do izgovarjav oz. sodb o njih. Glasovna podoba besed je odvisna tudi od drugih delov slovnice, posebej še skladnje in morfologije. Skladenjski del slovnice jezika ustvari *globinsko podstavo* (angl. Underlying Representation), ki vsebuje fonološko in morfološko zgradbo besed. Morfem ima ponavadi isto globinsko podstavo v vseh besedah. Koren 'sosed' ima npr. samo eno globinsko podstavo, čeprav je lahko izgovorjen kot [sòset] (v obliki *sosed*), [so'sét-] (*sosedski*), [so'sèd-] (*sosedu*) [so'séd-] (*sosednji*) ali [sosed-] (*sosedovati*). Razlike v izgovarjavi ustvari slovnica jezika, ki iz globinske podstave izpelje *površinsko obliko* (angl. Surface Form), torej slušno podobo določene besede, ki lahko vsebuje enega ali več morfemov. Globinsko podstavo zapisujemo med poševnimi oklepaji '/', površinske oblike pa med oglatimi '[]'.

Slovnica jezika sestoji iz zaporedja pravil, vsako pravilo (1) pa ima preslikavo ($A \rightarrow B$) v določenem fonološkem okolju (za C in obenem pred Č).

(1) Fonološko pravilo

$A \rightarrow B / C \text{ — } \check{C}$

'A postane B med C in Č.'

Črke stojijo v (1) namesto fonoloških enot (npr. glasov, razlikovalnih lastnosti, mej), kar lahko ponazorim s primerom. V slovenščini se nezvočniki razlikujejo po zvenečnosti v položaju pred zvočnimi glasovi, na koncu besede (pred premorom) pa so nezvočniki vedno nezveneči (2). Korena v (a) se končata na zvočnika, tako da v morfološko sorodnih besedah ne vidimo nobenih premen. Drugače je v (b), kjer se oba korena končata na [t] v imenovalniku, v vseh drugih sklonih pa razlikujeta zvenečnost. Enako velja za druge nezvočnike (c).

(2) Zvenečnostna premena na koncu besede

	'IMEN. ED.'	'ROD. ED.'	'MEST. MN.'	'PRID. DOL.'	
a.	dvom	duoma	duomix	duomni	'dvom'
	tjar	tjara	tjarix	tjarni	'čar'

b.	akut	akuta	akutix	akutni	‘akut’
	vit	vida	vidix	vidni	‘vid’
c.	stolp	stolpa	stolpix	stolpni	‘stolp’
	zop	zoba	zobix	zobni	‘zob’

Premeno bi načeloma lahko analizirali na dva načina: bodisi z globinsko podtavo, ki se konča na nezveneči nezvočnik, torej /vit/ in /akut/ (2b), in pravilom, ki nekatere nezvočnike preslika v zveneče. Vendar pa ni jasno, kakšno naj bi bilo tako pravilo, saj bi moralo veljati samo za /vit/, ne pa za /akut/; čeprav se korena razlikujeta v nekončnih glasovih, to ni pomembno, saj obstajajo številni minimalni pari, ki se ne (npr. [sat ~ sata] ‘sat’ proti [sat ~ sada] ‘sad’).

Zato je pravilna druga možnost: koreni imajo globinske podstave, kot jih vidimo v oblikah s sufiksi, čemur sledi pravilo, ki končne nezvočnike razzveneči. Pravilo v (3) se nanaša na *razlikovalne lastnosti* (angl. distinctive features): vsi nezvočniki so [–zvočni], razliko med zvenečimi in nezvenečimi glasovi pa zajame razlikovalna lastnost [zveneči]. Okolje pravila je konec besede, torej pred besedno mejo (‘#’). Končna nezvočnika v globinski podstavi korenov v (2b) se razlikujeta po zvenečnosti (/vid/ proti /akut/), in četudi pravilo deluje na obe podstavi enako, razzveneči samo zveneči nezvočnik: /akut/ → [akut] proti /vid/ → [vit]. Drugod pravilo nima učinka, saj nezvočnik ni na koncu besede: /vid-a/ → [vida] ‘vid-rod.’.

(3) Končna nezvenečnost

[–zvočni] → [–zveneči] / — #

‘Nezvočniki postanejo nezveneči na koncu besede.’

V tem članku bom imena pravil zapisoval z veliko začetnico (npr. Končna nezvenečnost), da jih lahko razlikujem od glasovnih pojavov (končna nezvenečnost).

3 Prozorni glasovni vzorci

Glasovni vzorci lahko med seboj součinkujejo, kar lahko v fonološki analizi zajamemo s pravili in njihovim zaporedjem. Končna nezvenečnost tako lahko součinkuje z izpadom. Drsnik [j] je visoko zvočen, kar pomeni, da mora biti ob samoglasniku (Zec 1994; Srebot Rejec 1992), drugod pa se vokalizira ali izpade. Slednja možnost je v roditeljski množini 1. ženske sklanjatve (4). Osnove, ki se končajo na samoglasnik (a), kažejo končnice: v imenovalniku ednine je to globinsko /-a/, dvojine /-i/, v

rodilniku množine pa /-j/. V opisni literaturi (Toporišič 2000) je rodilnik množine ničti, [j] pa vstavljen za samoglasniki na koncu besede ($\emptyset \rightarrow j / V \text{ — } \#$), kar bi moralo veljati posebej za ta sklon, saj se slovenske besede lahko brez težav končajo na samoglasnik. Preprostejša je nasprotna analiza: globinski /-j/ izpade na koncu besede, če se osnova konča na soglasnik (4bc).

(4) Samostalniki 1. ženske sklanjatve

	‘IMEN. ED.’	‘IMEN. DV.’	‘ROD. MN.’	
a.	oboa	oboi	oboj	‘oboa’
	papua	papui	papuj	‘Papua’
b.	fola	foli	fol	‘šola’
	foja	foji	foj	‘šoja’
c.	reka	reki	rek	‘reka’
	osa	osi	os	‘osa’
č.	oseba	osebi	osep	‘oseba’
	vaza	vazi	vas	‘vaza’

Izpadi *j* lahko zapišemo s pravilom v (5), ki pa je splošno in ne velja le v rodilniku množine.

(5) Izpadi *j*

$j \rightarrow \emptyset / C \text{ — } \#$

‘*j* izpade za soglasnikom na koncu besede.’

Ko izpade *j* na koncu besede, postane predhodni soglasnik kar naenkrat končen, zato nanj lahko deluje Končna nezvonečnost (3). To lahko potrdimo v (4č), kjer se končni nezvočniki zares razzvonečijo.

Odnos med praviloma ponazorim v (6), kjer primerjam štiri oblike. Rodilniška oblika ‘šol’ ima v globinski podstavi koren /fol/ in rodilniško končnico /-j/. Imenvalniška oblika ‘zob’ (2c) je sestavljena samo iz korena /zob/. Besedo ‘oseb’ spet sestavljata koren /oseb/ in rodilniška končnica /-j/, saj ima ta končnica isto globinsko podstavo pri vseh samostalnikih te sklanjatve. Enaka morfološka analiza velja za rodilniško množinsko obliko ‘oboj’, ki je vključena za primerjavo, saj nanjo ne deluje nobeno pravilo. Prvi dve obliki pokažeta delovanje po enega pravila. Izpadi *j* vodi do oblike /fol/, zapisani v isti vrsti. Končna nezvonečnost te oblike ne spremeni, kar je označeno z dolgim pomišljajem. Površinska oblika je enaka rezultatu zadnje

spremembe, torej [fol]. Pri obliki 'zob' pa *j* ne more izpasti, saj ga ta beseda nima, ker gre za drugo sklanjatev, končna nezvenečnost pa povzroči, da končni nezvočnik postane nezveneč, kar je tudi površinska oblika [zop]. Ključna za razumevanje odnosa med praviloma je oblika 'oseb', ki ima tako končni *j* kot tudi nezvočnik pred njim: najprej izpade *j*, kar privede do vmesne oblike *oseb*, ki se konča na nezvočnik, ki ga Končna nezvenečnost razzveneči: [osep].

(6) Izpad *j* napaja Končno nezvenečnost

	'šol'	'zob'	'oseb'	'oboj'
Globinska podstava	/fol-j/	/zob/	/oseb-j/	/obo-j/
Izpad <i>j</i> (5)	fol	—	oseb	—
Končna nezvenečnost (3)	—	zop	osep	—
Površinska oblika	[fol]	[zop]	[osep]	[oboj]

Izpad *j* ustvari dodatni vnos /oseb-j/ za Končno nezvenečnost. Tako razmerje je v literaturi (Kiparsky 1971, 1973, 1976) znano kot *napajanje* (angl. feeding). V slovenščini torej Izpad *j* *napaja* Končno nezvenečnost.

Zaporedje med praviloma je pomemben del analize, kar lahko preverimo z zamenjavo v (7). To sicer nič ne vpliva na prvi dve obliki, saj zanju velja po eno pravilo, medtem ko je površinska oblika tretje oblike napačna, ker Končna nezvenečnost velja za obliko /oseb-j/, torej ko nezvočnik *b* še ni na koncu besede. Ko Izpad *j* ustvari obliko *oseb*, je za Končno nezvenečnost že prepozno, tako da je površinska oblika kar *[oseb], kar ni v skladu s podatki.

(7) Izpad *j* protinapaja Končno nezvenečnost (hipotetično)

	'šol'	'zob'	'oseb'
Globinska podstava	/fol-j/	/zob/	/oseb-j/
Končna nezvenečnost (3)	—	zop	—
Izpad <i>j</i> (5)	fol	—	oseb
Površinska oblika	[fol]	[zop]	*[oseb]

Obe pravili nista enakovredni v razmerju do drug drugega: Izpad *j* lahko vpliva na Končno nezvenečnost, tako da ustvari dodatne vnose zanj, nasprotno pa ne velja: Končna nezvenečnost ne more ustvariti dodatnih vnosov za Izpad *j* ali kako drugače vplivati nanj.

Napajanje je v slovenščini bržkone eno izmed najbolj dokumentiranih odnosov med pravili, četudi obstajajo še drugi. Pri *odvzemanju* (angl. bleeding) prvo pravilo odstrani vnose za drugo pravilo. Osnovam v (4), ki se končajo na največ en soglasnik, lahko dodamo osnove v (8), ki se končajo na sklop *Cj* (dalje gl. Toporišič 2000, 57–59). Soglasnik pred *j* se načeloma ohranja v večini sklonov, kar predstavljata obe imenovalniški obliki. V rodilniku množine pa pride do vokalizacije končnega *j* v [i], in sicer ne glede na to, ali je predhodni soglasnik nezvočnik (a) ali zvočnik (b).

(8) Samostalniki 1. ženske in srednje sklanjatve, katerih osnova se konča na *Cj*

	‘IMEN. ED.’	‘IMEN. DV.’	‘ROD. MN.’	
a.	ladja	ladji	ladij	‘ladja’
	uŕja	uŕji	uŕij	‘Učja’
	obdobje	obdobji	obdobij	‘obdobje’
b.	zarja	zarji	zarij	‘zarja’
	osramje	osramji	osramij	‘osramje’
	nizawje	nizawji	nizavij	‘nižavje’

Ti podatki imajo dodatno premeno, ki jo lahko zajamemo s pravilom v (9). Pravilo vsebuje zapleteno glasovno okolje, in sicer za soglasnikom in hkrati pred soglasnikom ali na koncu besede. Izraz *ali* (disjunkcijo) zajamemo z zavitim oklepajem. Vokalizacija ima jasn vzrok: drsniki ne morejo biti zložni, kar je podobno kot pri Izpadu *j* (5).

(9) Vokalizacija (preliminarna različica)

$$j \rightarrow i / C - \left\{ \begin{array}{c} C \\ \# \end{array} \right\}$$

‘*j* se vokalizira v *i* za soglasnikom in hkrati pred drugim soglasnikom ali na koncu besede.’

Vokalizacija odvzema Izpad *j* (10). Vokalizacija na obliko ‘šoj’ nima vpliva, kar kaže, da je prvi soglasnik nujni del okolja; sicer bi dobili *[foij]. Sledi Izpad *j*, ki pa velja samo za drugi *j* (*j*₂). Ključna za ponazoritev odvzemanja je oblika ‘ladij’: Vokalizacija spremeni njen *j*₁ v samoglasnik *i*, kar prepreči izpad *j*₂, saj se pojavlja za samoglasnikom.

(10) Vokalizacija odvzema Izpad *j*

	‘šoj’	‘ladij’	‘oboj’
Globinska podstava	/ʃoj ₁ -j ₂ /	/ladj ₁ -j ₂ /	/obo-j/
Vokalizacija (9)	—	ladi ₁ j ₂	—
Izpad <i>j</i> (5)	ʃoj ₁	—	—
Površinska oblika	[ʃoj]	[ladij]	[oboj]

Če bi zaporedje pravil obrnili, bi iz /ladj₁-j₂/ z Izpadom *j* najprej dobili *ladj*₁, potem pa bi Vokalizacija ustvarila [ladi], kar ni v skladu z opisi (Petek in Šuštaršič 1997; Toporišič 2000).

Doslej sem predstavil dva odnosa med pravili: napajanje in odvzemanje. Oba zajameta posplošitve, ki so resnične na površini: v slovenščini so končni nezvočniki v položaju pred premorom nezveneči in [j] ni zložen. Tovrstne posplošitve in odnose literatura imenuje *prozorni* (angl. transparent) ali *površinsko resnični* in *očitni* (angl. surface-true, surface-apparent). Vendar pa glasovni vzorci v jezikih sveta niso vedno prozorni, o čemer več v naslednjem razdelku.

4 Protinapajanje

Neprozornost (angl. opacity) je ključna napoved generativne fonologije, ki jo je prvi definiral Kiparsky (1971, 1973, 1976). Na površini deluje, kot da bi imelo *nepro-zorno* (angl. opaque) pravilo izjeme (11). Izjeme so dveh vrst. Prva možnost je, da se pravilo ni izpeljalo v celoti, torej obstajajo tudi zaporedja CAČ, ki bi jih pravilo $\mathbb{P}$ moralo preslikati v CBČ. Druga možnost je, da se je $\mathbb{P}$ izpeljal v nepričakovanem okolju, torej zunaj okolja C — Č.

(11) Neprozornost

Pravilo $\mathbb{P}$: $A \rightarrow B / C \text{ — } \check{C}$ je neprozorno, če ...

- a. obstajajo površinske oblike CAČ
- b. obstajajo B-ji, nastali zaradi $\mathbb{P}$ v okolju, ki ni C — Č

Naj ponazorim s Končno nezvenečnostjo (3). Prvo vrsto neprozornosti (11a) najdemo v govoru Šmartnega v Brdih (Jurgec 2019), v katerem se končni nezvočniki razzvenečijo (/pomlad/ → [pomlat] ‘pomlad’), vendar ne, ko izpade končni samoglasnik (/pomlad-i/ → [pomlad], *[pomlat] ‘pomladi’). Oblika /pomlad-i/ je podlegla Končni

nezvenečnosti, ko je še imela končni samoglasnik, šele nato sledi Izpad (ki odstrani nenaglašene visoke samoglasnike). Zato se razzvenečijo samo globinsko končni nezvočniki. Drugo vrsto neprozornosti (11b) bi našli, če bi se končna nezvenečnost pojavljala tudi v nekončnih položajih, denimo pred samoglasnikom. Tak glasovni vzorec v slovenščini ni znan, ima pa ga alzaška francoščina (Montreuil 2010), v kateri se razzvenečijo nezvočniki v izglasni kodi, četudi sledi vstavljeni polglasnik. To pomeni, da Končna nezvenečnost $[-zvočni] \rightarrow [-zveneči] / \text{---} (C) \#$ naprej razzveneči nezvočnik v izglasni kodi (npr. /*tabl*/ $\rightarrow$ *tapl* 'miza'), nato pa sledi Vstavljanje (*tapl* $\rightarrow$ [tapəl]).

Pri neprozornosti v (11a) gre za *protinapajanje* (angl. counterfeeding), ki je podoben odnos kot pri napajanju: pravilo A ustvari dodatne vnose za pravilo B. Ključna razlika je v zaporedju pravil: pri protinapajanju pravilo B velja pred pravilom A. Protinapajanje bom zdaj ponazoril s primerom.

Doslej sem analiziral standardno slovenščino, ki je najbolj opisana v referenčnih delih slovenščine (Skubic 2015). Primeri neprozornosti v standardni slovenščini so pogosto precej zapleteni, zato se bom raje uporabil druge varietete.

Osrednja splošno pogovorna slovenščina (Pogorelec 1965; Toporišič 2000, 16–21) deli s standardno premenjavanje nekaterih [l] v kodah z [w]. Ta premena velja samo za nekatere morfeme (Pirnat 1979), vključno z deležniško pripono *-l*, ki se realizira kot [l] v položaju pred samoglasniško končnico, kakor v ednini ženskega spola, vendar pa kot [w] v ednini moškega spola, ki nima glasovne končnice (12).

(12) Deležniške paradigme

	'M. ED.'	'Ž. ED.'	'M. MN.'	
a.	'biw	'bla	'bli	'biti'
	'fəw	'fla	'fli	'iti'
b.	'piw	'pila	'pil	'piti'
	'delaw	'delala	'delal	'delati'
c.	'jedəw	'jedla	'jedli	'jesti'
	'grizəw	'grizla	'grizli	'gristi'

V množini moškega spola pa na realizacijo končnice vplivata tudi naglas in fonotaktika. Nekateri glagoli imajo naglas na končnici [-i] (12a), saj nimajo drugega samoglasnika. Osnove z naglasom na osnovi kažejo drugačen vzorec (b): množina moškega spola je realizirana brez samoglasniške končnice, torej ['pil], ne *['pili] 'pili'. Razliko med glagoli v (12a) in (b) bi morda lahko opisali na dva načina: kot vstavljanje *i* ali njegov izpad. Vendar pa primerjava ['biw] 'bil' in ['bli] 'bili' kaže, da vstavljanje ni

možna analiza, saj bi v tem primeru pričakovali [i] v istem položaju, torej bodisi med obema soglasnikoma bodisi na koncu besede. V ednini je drugod vstavljen polglasnik, npr. [ʃəw] ‘šel’. Zato je verjetnejša analiza, da je množinska končnica globinsko zares /-i/, ki pa izpade, ko je nenaglašen. Primeri glagolskih osnov, ki se končajo na soglasnik v (12c), temu še pritrujejo: [-i] je v teh primerih sicer nenaglašen, vendar pa je ohranjen zaradi fonotaktičnih razlogov: kode nezvočnik + [l] namreč niso mogoče.

Nenaglašeni samoglasnik /i/ izpade tudi drugod v glagolskih paradigmah, ko je to fonotaktično mogoče. V (13) primerjam ‘potiti’, ki ima naglas na glagolski priporni, z ‘motiti’, ki ga ima na korenu. Naglas je v slovenščini lahko določen globinsko (Marvin 2003; Jurgec 2007; Simonović 2020). Glagol ‘potiti’ pripono /-i-/ zaradi naglašenosti vedno ohranja, pri ‘motiti’ pa se bodisi reducira v polglasnik bodisi izpade. Dokaz, da ima ‘motiti’ res pripono /-i-/ in ne morda ničte, so edninske oblike z variantnim izgovorom, kjer se [i] lahko ohrani (Toporišič 2000, 19), in deležnik moškega spola ednine, kjer je oblika s polglasnikom nenavadna, torej /'mot-i-l/ → 'motiw → ['motu], ne ^{???}['motəw]. Analiza redukcije v polglasnik, vpliv samoglasniške kvalitete na deležnik moškega spola ednine in status variantnosti presegajo ta članek. Končniški /-i/ v množinski deležniški obliki je ohranjen, ker koda [tl] ni mogoča: *['motl].

(13) Glagolski paradigmi glede na naglas

Brez izpada	Z izpadom /i/	
po'tit	'motət / 'motit	‘NEDOLOČNIK’
po'tim	'motəm / 'motim	‘1. OS. ED.’
po'ti	'mot	‘3. OS. ED.’
po'tiw	'motu	‘DELEŽNIK M. ED.’
po'tila	'motla	‘DELEŽNIK Ž. ED.’
po'til	'motli	‘DELEŽNIK M. MN.’
‘potiti’	‘motiti’	

Izpad *i* analiziram s pravilom v (14). Nenaglašeni *i* izpade v zelo omejenem okolju, natančna opredelitev katerega je zapletena. Del okolja je tudi nenaglašeni položaj sam, kar je v pravilu izraženo s položajem ‘—’, ki je sočasen z naglasom.

(14) Izpad *i*

$$i \rightarrow \emptyset / \left\{ \begin{array}{c} [+naglas] \\ \# \end{array} \right\} C \begin{array}{c} \text{—} \\ [-naglas] \end{array} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} V \\ \# \end{array} \right\}$$

‘*i* izpade v nenaglašenem položaju za soglasnikom, pred katerim je naglašeni samoglasnik ali začetek besede, in hkrati pred samoglasnikom ali koncem besede.’

Izpad *i* vpliva na premeno [l ~ w]. V deležniku moškega spola ednine se deležniška pripona [-l] realizira kot [w], ker se pojavi v kodi (12). Drugače se množinska oblika [l] ohranja ne glede na to, ali je v nastopu (12ac) ali v kodi (b). Pojavitev v kodi je izjemna: pričakovali bi [w] (torej *[^ldelaw] ‘delali’).

Premeno [l ~ w] bi lahko morebiti analizirali bodisi kot $l \rightarrow w$ ali obratno $w \rightarrow l$, vendar pa je pravilna samo prva možnost, saj je distribucija [l] širša od distribucije [w]: [l] se pojavlja v nastopu in nekaterih kodah, [w] pa samo v kodi. Poimenovanje pravila v (15) odraža dejstvo, da ima [w] razlikovalno lastnost [-soglasniško].

(15) Vokalizacija *l*

$$l \rightarrow w / V \text{ — } \left\{ \begin{array}{c} C \\ \# \end{array} \right\}$$

‘*l* postane *w* v kodi zloga.’

Pravilo Vokalizacija *l* je pred Izpadom *i* (16). Ključna razlika je oblika ‘pili’, kjer Vokalizacija *l* nima učinka, saj je *l* v nastopu. Zaradi Izpada *i* nato *l* pristane v kodi, takrat pa je za Vokalizacijo že prepozno. Druge oblike podpirajo delovanje posameznih pravil, zlasti natančno opredeljeno okolje Izpada *i*. V slovenščini je naglas lahko bodisi globinski ali določen s pravilom, ki sledi Izpadu *j*, kar tu izpuščam, ključno za analizo pa je, da ima koren /^lpi/ globinski naglas, /bi/ pa ne. Odnos med praviloma v (16) je protinapajanje.

(16) Izpad *i* protinapaja Vokalizacijo *j*

	‘pila’	‘pil’	‘pili’	‘jedli’	‘bil’	‘bili’
Globinska podstava	/‘pi-l-a/	/‘pi-l/	/‘pi-l-i/	/‘jed-l-i/	/bi-l/	/bi-l-i/
Vokalizacija <i>l</i> (15)	—	‘piw	—	—	biw	—
Izpad <i>i</i> (14)	—	—	‘pil	—	—	bli
Površinska oblika	[‘pila]	[‘piw]	[‘pil]	[‘jedli]	[‘biw]	[‘bli]

Če zaporedje pravil obrnemo, dobimo napajanje: zdaj se tudi tisti *l*, ki pristanejo v kodi zaradi Izpada *j*, vokalizirajo, kar ni v skladu s podatki.

(17) Izpad *i* napaja Vokalizacijo *j* (hipotetično)

	‘pil’	‘pili’
Globinska podstava	/ˈpi-l/	/ˈpi-l-i/
Izpad <i>i</i> (14)	—	ˈpil
Vokalizacija <i>l</i> (15)	ˈpiw	ˈpiw
Površinska oblika	[ˈpiw]	*[ˈpiw]

Protinapajanje je neprozorno razmerje med praviloma, ki je ravno nasprotno od napajanja. Pravilo, ki napaja drugo, velja prepozno, tako da na površini obstajajo izjeme. Če bi bilo razmerje med Izpadom *i* in Vokalizacijo *l* prozorno, bi pričakovali, da se vsi kodni [l] vedejo enako, kar pa ni res. Medtem ko v je v ednini moškega spola realiziran kot [w], pa v množini ostaja [l], saj samo v slednjem primeru izpade /-i/. Tovrstno neprozornost zato lahko poimenujemo tudi *nepovršinsko resnična* (angl. non-surface true) ali *premalo uporabljena* (angl. underapplication).

V slovenščini je dokumentiranih še več drugih primerov protinapajanja. Govor Šmartnega v Brdih pozna tako Končno nezvenečnost kot Izpad *i* (Jurgec 2019). Končni nezvočniki se razzvenečijo (npr. /jəd/ → [ˈjət] ‘jed’ proti /jəd-i/ → [jəd-i] ‘ROD.’). Globinski končni /i/ izpade, ko je nenaglašen (/sməˈt-i/ → [sməˈti] ‘smet-ROD.’ proti /ˈsmərˈt-i/ → [ˈsmərˈt] ‘smrt-ROD.’ ali /ˈoxtseˈt-i/ → [ˈoxtset] ‘poroka-ROD.’). Ko izpade končnica, se zvenečnost nanovo končnega nezvočnika ohrani (/poˈmlaˈd-i/ → [poˈmlaːd] ‘pomlad-ROD.’ proti /poˈmlad/ → [poˈmlat] ‘IMEN.’). Izpad *i* tako protinapaja Končno nezvenečnost: /poˈmlaˈd-i/ → [poˈmlaːd], ne *[poˈmlat] ‘pomlad-ROD.’.

V govoru Valburge pri Smledniku (Benedik 1981; gl. tudi Rigler 1955) se prednaglasni samoglasniki reducirajo v polglasnik (npr. /diˈf-i/ → [dəˈfi] ‘diši’). Globinsko naglašeni visoki samoglasniki, ki postanejo nenaglašeni, pa se ne reducirajo (/ˈziˈd-ar/ → [ziˈdar], ne *[zəˈdar] ‘zidar’). Izpad naglasa torej protinapaja Redukcijo (Jurgec in Wang v tisku).

V rezijanščini (Steenwijk 1992) se prednaglasni samoglasniki po višini harmonizirajo z naglašnim glede po višini (/wogn-uw/ → [wugˈɲuw] ‘ogenj-ROD. MN.’), vstavljeni samoglasniki pa tega učinka nimajo (/wogn/ → wogɪn → [woˈgɪn], ne *[wuˈgɪn] ‘IMEN. ED.’). V rezijanščini potemtakem Vstavljanje protinapaja Samoglasniško harmonijo.

5 Protiodvzemanje

Druga glavna vrsta neprozornosti je *protiodvzemanje* (angl. counterbleeding), ki nastane, če je odnos med dvema praviloma odvzemanje, vendar pa je njuno zaporedje obrnjeno. Opisno gre za premeno, ki se pojavlja v nepričakovanem okolju (11b).

Primer najdemo v standardni slovenščini, kjer je distribucija polglasnika v celoti predvidljiva na podlagi fonoloških in morfoloških dejavnikov (Jurgec 2007; Jurgec in Bjorkman 2018). Polglasnika zato ni v globinski podstavi, temveč je vedno vstavljen s pravilom. Tu se omejujem na polglasnik v položaju pred /r/, ki ima v slovenistični literaturi posebno mesto, saj se je razvil iz izhodiščnega [ɾ], ki je še vedno ohranjen v nekaterih narečjih. V opisih slovenščine se zato uporablja izraz *obstojna zveza* [əɾ] (Toporišič 2000: 60, 72; Horjak 2018), ki velja tudi širše za vse zveze [əɾ].

Ko /r/ ni ob samoglasniku, se pred njim pojavi polglasnik, kar najjasneje pokažejo premene na začetku (18a) in koncu besede (b). Polglasnik najdemo na začetku izolirane besede [əɾ'javi] 'rjavi', ponavadi pa ga ni, če se predhodna beseda konča na samoglasnik [tʌ_ɾ'javi] 'ta rjavi'. Lok ' _ ' označuje istozložnost.

(18) Premene polglasnika pred [r]

a. Na začetku besede

Polglasnik		Brez polglasnika	
əɾ'javi	'rjavi'	tʌ_ɾ'javi	'ta rjavi'
sə.m_əɾ'dɛʃ	'sem rdeč'	ʒi.vo_ɾ'dɛʃ	'živordeč'
'ta.k_əɾ'man	'tak rman'	ʃe_ɾ'man	'še rman'

b. Na koncu besede

'metəɾ	'meter'	'metra	'metra'
'sɛstəɾ	'sester'	'sɛstra	'sestra'
'tsiməɾ	'cimer'	'tsimra	'cimra'

Polglasnik se pojavlja, ker [ɾ] ne more biti zložen, kar opisuje (19).

(19) Vstavljanje polglasnika

$$\emptyset \rightarrow \text{ə} / \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{C} \\ \# \end{array} \right\} \text{ — } \text{r} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{C} \\ \# \end{array} \right\}$$

'Vstavi ə pred r, ko ta ni ob samoglasniku.'

Vstavljanje polglasnika potisne [r] v kodo zloga, polglasnik pa pristane v zaprtem zlogu. Podobno kot za govor Novega mesta ugotavlja že Božič (2015, 68–75), obstaja tudi nekaj primerov, kjer je polglasnik v odprtem zlogu, [r] pa v nastopu naslednjega zloga (20). V naslednjem zlogu je bodisi še en polglasnik (a) ali [u] (b). Vse oblike imajo ponavadi še več drugih izgovarjav (poleg ['və.ru] 'vrv' sta tako mogoči še ['vərɥ] in ['və.rəɥ]), ki pa jih tu ne bom analiziral. Podobno variantnost poznajo tudi oblike v deležniku moškega spola v (12) in (13).

(20) Polglasnik v odprtih zlogih pred [r]

a.	'gə.rəl	'grl (ROD. MN.)'	b.	o.'bə.ru	'obrv'
	'stə.rəm	'strm'		'və.ru	'vrv/vrl'
	'i.kə.rən	'ikrn'		u.'mə.ru	'umrl'

Polglasnik je v odprtih zlogih presenetljiv, saj za njegovo vstavljanje velikokrat ni več pravega razloga: oblike kot ['strəm] ali [o'bru] sicer niso obstoječe slovenske besede, vendar pa so fonotaktično sprejemljive. To zares kaže le, da je Vstavljanju polglasnika sledilo pravilo, ki je ustvarilo dodatni samoglasnik. Tu bom analiziral primere s končnim [u], ki je nastal iz globinskega /u/ (20b). Vokalizacijo sem uvedel že v (9) v zvezi z drsnikom /j/. V slovenščini pa zares velja samo eno pravilo, ki preslika oba drsnika v homorganski samoglasnik: $v \rightarrow u$ in $j \rightarrow i$ (21).

(21) Vokalizacija drsnikov (končna različica)

$$[-\text{soglasniški}] \rightarrow [+zložni] / \left\{ \begin{array}{c} C \\ \# \end{array} \right\} - \left\{ \begin{array}{c} C \\ \# \end{array} \right\}$$

'Drsnik se vokalizira, ko ni ob samoglasniku.'

Vokalizacija drsnikov odstrani vnose za Vstavljanje polglasnika. To vidimo v (22), kjer prvi dve obliki ponazorita učinke po enega pravila, ključna pa je oblika 'obrv', ki pokaže, da je Vstavljanje polglasnika pred Vokalizacijo.

(22) Vokalizacija drsnikov protiodvzema Vstavljanje polglasnika

	‘obrt’	‘odvzet’	‘obrv’
Globinska podstava	/obrt/	/od-vzet/	/obrv/
Vstavljanje polglasnika (19)	obərt	—	obərv
Vokalizacija drsnikov (21)	—	oduzet	obəru
Površinska oblika	[obərt]	[oduzet]	[obəru]

Če zaporedje pravil obrnemo, polglasnik ni vstavljen, kar privede do negramatične, a prozorne oblike *[obru].

(23) Vokalizacija drsnikov odvzema Vstavljanje polglasnika (hipotetično)

	‘obrt’	‘odvzet’	‘obrv’
Globinska podstava	/obrt/	/od-vzet/	/obrv/
Vokalizacija drsnikov (21)	—	oduzet	obru
Vstavljanje polglasnika (19)	obərt	—	—
Površinska oblika	[obərt]	[oduzet]	*[obru]

Resnični odnos med praviloma je protiodvzemanje, pri čemer drugo pravilo (tu Vokalizacija drsnikov) izbriše okolje, ki je nujno za prvo pravilo (Vstavljanje polglasnika). Tovrstno neprozornost imenujemo tudi *neočitna* (angl. non-surface-apparent) ali *preveč uporabljena* (angl. overapplication). Polglasnik je v neprozorni obliki [obəru] vstavljen v neočitnem okolju, saj [r] sledi samoglasnik; z drugimi besedami, Vstavljanje polglasnika je uporabljeno preveč.

Zgornji primer v slovenščini ni osamljen. Premični naglasni tip je v slovenščini tipičen samo za samostalnike, ki imajo široke /ɛ, ɔ/ v prvem zlogu (npr. [ˈjɛzik ~ jɛˈzika] ‘jezik ~ ROD.’; [ˈsɔsɛt ~ sɔˈsɛda] ‘sosed’), medtem ko imata ozka /e, o/ nepremični naglas ([ˈsever ~ ˈsevera] ‘sever’). Slovenščina razlikuje široke in ozke samoglasnike samo v naglašenem položaju, v nenaglašenem pa so nevtralizirani in jih tu zapisujem kot [e, o]. Ključna je oblika /ˈjɛzik-a/, ki ima globinski naglas na prvem samoglasniku /ɛ/. Pravilo nato pomakne naglas in izvrže *jɛˈzika*, ki pa se potem reducira v [jɛˈzika]. Ta oblika je neprozorna, ker s površine ni jasno, zakaj je prišlo do premika, ki ga zahteva naglašeni ɛ. Oblika [jɛˈzika] ima tako enak naglasni vzorec kot samostalniki z naglasom na drugem zlogu osnove, npr. /zeˈnit-a/ → [zeˈnita] ‘zenita’. Podrobnejša analiza je v Becker in Jurgec (2020).

6 Razprava in sklep

Neprozornost ostaja ključni empirični in teoretični problem v sodobni fonologiji. Optimalnostna teorija, ki je dominantni fonološki pristop zadnjih desetletij, nima vmesnih oblik med globinsko podstavo in površinsko obliko, kar pomeni, da nima celovite rešitve za neprozornost. V zvezi s tem nekateri raziskovalci trdijo, da neprozornost ni nikoli sinhroni fonološki pojav (Sanders 2003). Parker (2009) pokaže, da je neprozornost v jezikih sveta veliko redkejša kot prozornost. Drugi raziskovalci kot odziv na neprozornost predlagajo teoretične spremembe (npr. McCarthy 1999, 2007). Težave optimalnostne teorije z neprozornostjo so vodile tudi do razkritja dodatnih odnosov med pravili. Njihov najnovejši pregled najdemo v Baković in Blumenfeld (2024), od koder prevzemam termine v nadaljevanju.

Dva izmed prej slabo opisanih odnosov med pravili sta *prelitje* (angl. transfusion) in *setev* (angl. seeding). Za večino odnosov doslej je bilo ključno, ali prvo pravilo o(ne)mogoči drugo, pri prelitju pa prvo pravilo povzroči, da drugo pravilo deluje nepričakovano. Primer prihaja iz standardne slovenščine. Kot smo že videli, imajo slovenski morfemi lahko globinski naglas. Na površini imajo sklanjatve naglas načeloma na korenu, lahko pa tudi končniškega. Končniški naglas je omejen na korene s polglasnikom (npr. [mæg'la] 'megla', [stə'bra] 'stebra', [dɛʒ'ja] 'dežja'). To pomeni, da je pravilo, ki onaglasí besedo, pred pravilom, ki vstavi polglasnik, torej /stbr-a/ → 'stbra → [stə'bra]. Obe pravili sta delovali, vendar pa je naglasno pravilo spremenilo obliko na nepričakovan način, tako da je naglas na končnici, medtem ko je običajno mesto naglasa v slovenščini zadnji zlog korena. Vzorec je zato neprozoren.

Setev je podobna napajanju, vendar pa je rezultat neprozoren. V pogovorni ljubljanski velja, da /d/ v nekaterih medsamoglasniških položajih izpade (npr. /prid-e/ → ['prie] 'pride', /u-sed-e-/ → [u'seəʃ] 'usedeš', /tri-dəset/ → ['triəsət] 'trideset'), polglasnik pa je vstavljen zaradi fonotaktičnih razlogov podobno kot drugod v slovenščini. Vstavljanje ustvari dodatne vnose za Izpad *d*, tako /vid-f/ → vidəf → ['viəʃ] 'vidiš', kar je navidez napajanje, torej prozorni odnos med pravili. Težava je v tem, da je oblika 'vidiš' neprozorna, saj s površine ni jasno, zakaj je bil vstavljen polglasnik, ker ['viəʃ] nima soglasniškega sklopa. Obrnjeno zaporedje izpelje *['vidəʃ], vendar pa bi bila tudi ta oblika neprozorna, saj ni jasno, zakaj [d] ni izpadel.

Profesor Orešnik je s svojim delom o fonologiji islandščine igral pomembno vlogo v generativni fonologiji (Orešnik 1985). V tem prispevku sem predstavil neprozornost, ki je ena glavnih napovedi generativne fonologije. Upam, da bodo tukaj predstavljeni primeri neprozornosti pripomogli k prepoznavanju pomena generativnih pristopov pri opisu glasovnih vzorcev v slovenščini.

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Vpliv dela Janeza Orešnika na razvoj jezikovnega svetovanja za slovenščino

Tina Lengar Verovnik, Urška Vranjek Ošlak***

Povzetek

V članku¹ je predstavljen prispevek Janeza Orešnika k razvoju jezikovnega svetovanja v slovenskem prostoru. Njegovo delo temelji na izkušnjah skandinavskih uradov za jezik, kar je podrobno predstavil v knjigi *Uradi za jezik v Skandinaviji* (1995). Predavanja o delovanju teh uradov so sredi 90. let navdihnili študente za ustanovitev prve slovenske spletne jezikovne svetovalnice ŠUSS. Orešnik je zagovarjal idejo demokratičnega jezikovnega svetovanja, ki ne ponuja enoznačnih odgovorov, temveč uporabniku predstavi razlago in argumente za različne jezikovne možnosti. Poudarjal je pomembnost znanstveno utemeljenih, a preprostih razlag, upoštevanje jezikovnih zvrsti ter vključevanje zgodovinskih in primerjalnih jeziko(slov)nih podatkov. Njegova načela se danes uresničujejo pri delu Jezikovne svetovalnice Inštituta za slovenski jezik Frana Ramovša, ki nadaljuje tradicijo jezikovnega svetovanja in povezovanja z uporabniki.

Ključne besede: uporabno jezikoslovje, jezikovna svetovalnica, jezikovna politika, slovenski jezik, demokratično jezikovno svetovanje

The contribution of Janez Orešnik to the evolution of Slovene language consulting

The article highlights the influence of Janez Orešnik on the development of language consulting in Slovenia. His work draws on the experiences of Scandinavian language agencies, which he thoroughly presented in his book *Uradi za jezik v Skandinaviji* (*Language Agencies in Scandinavia*, 1995). His lectures on the functioning of these agencies inspired the establishment of the first Slovenian online language consulting platform, ŠUSS, in the mid-1990s. Orešnik advocated for the concept of democratic language consulting, which avoids providing single, definitive answers. Instead, it offers users explanations and arguments for various language options, allowing them to make informed decisions. He emphasised the importance

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of scientifically grounded yet simple explanations, the consideration of language varieties, and the inclusion of historical and comparative linguistic data. His principles are reflected in the Language Consulting Service (Fran Ramovš Institute of the Slovenian Language), which continues the tradition of language consulting and engaging with language users.

Keywords: applied linguistics, language consultancy, language policy, Slovenian language, democratic language consulting

1 Zamisel Janeza Orešnika o slovenskem uradu za jezik

Vrhunskih jezikoslovnih prispevkov in dosežkov Janeza Orešnika s področij primerjalnega germanskega jezikoslovja, skandinavistike, naravnega jezikoslovja (zlasti naravne skladnje) in splošnega jezikoslovja že povprečno obveščeni jezikoslovni javnosti ni treba posebej predstavljati. Manj znan in v nekaterih zapisih povsem prezrt pa je njegov prispevek na področju uporabnega jezikoslovja, ki je kulminiral v izidu knjige *Uradi za jezik v Skandinaviji* (SAZU, 1995). Zanimivo je, da ga niti z besedo ne omenja niti Orešnik sam v seriji spominskih zapisov »Moj stik z jeziki in jezikoslovjem« (*Jezikoslovni zapiski*, 2017–2019). Morda se v svoji skromnosti ni zavedal, kako pomembno vlogo je opravil in kaj vse je sprožil – ne le z omenjeno knjigo, temveč tudi (ali morda še bolj) s predavanji o skandinavskih uradih in njihovih načelih demokratičnega jezikovnega svetovanja. Predavanja so sredi 90. let navdihnili skupino študentov splošnega jezikoslovja in drugih, zlasti jezikoslovnih smeri, da so organizirali prvo slovensko spletno jezikovno svetovalnico, poimenovano Študentska skrb za slovenščino oziroma ŠUSS (več v Marušič idr. 2001). Svetovalnica, ki je imela spletno stran z arhivom vprašanj in odgovorov, je sicer delovala prek e-pošte ter tako predstavljala most med periodičnimi jezikovnimi kotički in kasnejšimi spletnimi jezikovnosvetovalnimi forumi ter v končni fazi spletno Jezikovno svetovalnico Inštituta za slovenski jezik Frana Ramovša ZRC SAZU. Obenem pa je ponujala možnost mentoriranega in kolegialnega nabiranja izkušenj, na katerih so nekateri sodelujoči kasneje gradili tudi znanstveno raziskovanje jezikovnega svetovanja (npr. Žaucer in Marušič 2009; Lengar Verovnik 2016) in svoje nadaljnje jezikovnosvetovalno delo.

Orešnikova izčrpna obravnava nalog in vloge uradov za jezik v Skandinaviji ter poskus projekcije v naš prostor sta zagotovo vsaj posredno pripomogla tudi h kasnejši ustanovitvi vladnega organa v sestavi ministrstva za kulturo in k vsem nadaljnjim jezikovnopolitičnim prizadevanjem (med drugim v resolucijah o nacionalnem

programu za jezikovno politiko) za ustanovitev in vzdrževanje ene najpomembnejših dejavnosti, ki si jih je v okviru takega urada Orešnik zamislil: jezikovnega svetovanja. Vsaj toliko kot njegova eksplicitna prizadevanja pa so dragoceni njegovi premisleki o tem, kakšno naj bi bilo po vsebini, odnosu do uporabnikov in kakovosti takó organizirano jezikovno svetovanje. Te je v knjigi sproti in kakor da mimogrede zapisoval ob predstavljanju konkretnih primerov iz publikacij skandinavskih uradov, v katerih so ti takrat objavljali svoje presoje sočasnih jezikovnih pojavov in odgovore na izbrana jezikovna vprašanja. V nadaljevanju bomo predstavili oboje: najprej Orešnikovo videnje vloge urada za jezik in jezikovnega svetovanja v njegovem okviru, kar bomo umestili tudi v širši zgodovinski kontekst; nato še načela dobrega jezikovnega svetovanja, kakor jih je mogoče izluščiti iz njegovih zapisov. V drugem delu prispevka pa bomo na primerih iz vprašanj in odgovorov pokazali, kako se načela dobrega jezikovnega svetovanja uresničujejo v Jezikovni svetovalnici in katere vloge poleg svetovalne ta še prevzema.

2 Jezikovnosvetovalna vloga urada za jezik

Že pred knjigo je Orešnik v prispevku na temo materinščine pri pouku zapisal: »V tej zvezi ponavljam za drugimi, da bi potrebovali nekak državni jezikovni urad (obogateno nadaljevanje nekdanjega jezikovnega razsodišča), ki bi javnost opozarjal na prekoračenja normalnega v jezikovnem vedenju, predlagal ustrezne sistemske izboljšave, dajal jezikovna pojasnila zainteresiranim posameznikom in ustanovam, skrbel za domače strokovno izrazje, izdajal primerne priročnike in časopise itd.« (Orešnik 1993, 251). Ko pravi, da ponavlja za drugimi, ima najbrž v mislih (predvsem) predlog predsedstva SAZU o ustanovitvi sveta za kulturo slovenskega knjižnega jezika (objavljen v Delu 10. 7. 1993), ki ga v knjigi navaja tudi kot neposredni povod za predstavitev skandinavskih uradov za jezik.² V sklepnem poglavju knjige je – izhajajoč iz večdesetletnih izkušenj v skandinavskih državah in ob upoštevanju specifičnosti slovenskega okolja – podrobneje predstavil svojo zamisel o slovenskem uradu za jezik. Na prvo mesto med nalogami, ki naj bi jih urad pri nas opravljal, je zapisal jezikovno svetovanje posameznikom in ustanovam: »V vsakdanjiku našega urada za jezik bi bilo najbrž na

2 Leta 1993 je J. Orešnik postal redni član SAZU, že prej je bil izredni član (od 1987) in od leta 1992 dalje tudi tajnik II. razreda SAZU. Po funkciji je torej bil član predsedstva in s tem soavtor SAZU-jevega predloga, kar je mogoče posredno razbrati vsaj iz izrecne omembe skandinavskih ustanov kot možnih vzorov v besedilu (»Podobne ustanove imajo že desetletja v nekaterih zahodnih državah, med drugim v vseh skandinavskih, in njihova koristnost se je izkazala za nesporno«).

prvem mestu jezikovno svetovanje. Nasveti urada bi morali biti brezplačni in na voljo prav vsem, na primer tudi spraševalcem iz tujine» (Orešnik 1995, 91).³ Domneval je, da bi urad po vzoru skandinavskih izdajal tudi redno publikacijo, v kateri bi med drugim objavljala različna jezikovna vprašanja in odgovore nanje, članke o posameznih jezikovnih pojavih, prostor pa bi našla tudi »graja nelepega jezika« (n. d., 92).

Pri tem zadnjem je najbrž imel v mislih že v zgornjem navedku omenjeno nadaljevanje tradicije Jezikovnega razsodišča, edine trajnejše od vseh jezikovnopolitičnih in jezikovnokulturnih dejavnosti, ki so bile načrtovane v okviru Sveta za slovenščino v javnosti, leta 1980 ustanovljenega pri SZDL.⁴ Razsodišče je bilo znano po svojih presojah in odzivih na sporne sočasne jezikovne prakse, ki so (za prvo obdobje delovanja skupine) objavljeni tudi v knjigi (Moder 1984). Med drugim naj bi »pomagalo ohranjati zdrave jezikovne tokove med časniki, odpravljati zablude, svariti pred izpraznjenjem jezika, pred nepotrebnim hlapčevanjem tujščini, vzgajati k večji razgledanosti, strokovni podkovanosti, izbirčnosti« (n. d., 281). Izjave razsodišča so objavljali slovenski časniki (občasno tudi drugi mediji), najpogosteje pa je šlo za jezikovno kritiko, ki je sprožala tudi burne odzive in debate, kot je mogoče brati ob posameznih izjavah v knjigi.

Poleg Jezikovnega razsodišča bi lahko urad za jezik svojo svetovalno dejavnost oprl na še eno pomembno slovensko tradicijo, na jezikovne koticke. Omenja jih tudi Orešnik, saj ugotavlja, da je »kot 'servis' za javnost pri nas zamišljena marsikatera dejavnost, ki pospešuje negovanje jezika. Sem sodi že kar vsak jezikovni kotiček, še tako skromen« (Orešnik 1995, 10). Ta »pri nas najbolj priljubljena vrsta poljudnega jezikoslovnega objavljanja« (Korošec 1996, 7) je izčrpno opisana v Kalin Golob (1996). Avtorica ugotavlja, da jezikovni koticčki večinoma izpostavljajo napake v jezikovni rabi in jih nato popravijo. To je značilno predvsem za splošne jezikovne koticke, ki »obravnavajo vprašanja sočasne jezikovne prakse, opozarjajo na nepravilnosti in pomagajo uporabnikom pri različnih jezikovnih zadregah« (n. d., 148). Avtorica sicer nikjer ne piše, kako pisci določajo teme, ki jih obravnavajo, a vsaj delno jih povezuje s konkretnimi zadregami uporabnikov, tj. predvidoma z vprašanji, ki jih ti zastavljajo

3 Poleg tega bi urad tudi spremljal jezikovni položaj v državi, pretresal zakonodajne rešitve z vidika jezika, predlagal jezikovno zakonodajo in druge jezikovne predpise, ponujal jezikovne storitve državnim organom, opravljal raziskovalno delo in se vpenjal v mednarodno sodelovanje. Ne bi pa se ukvarjal z oblikovanjem pravopisnih pravil, izdelovanjem pravopisnega slovarja in s tvorbo strokovnega izrazja, »kajti vse to je pri nas že urejeno drugače, v okviru Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti in Inštituta za slovenski jezik Frana Ramovša ZRC SAZU« (Orešnik 1995, 90).

4 Širše družbene razprave o slovenščini v javnosti so vrhunec sicer dosegle s portoroškim posvetovanjem leta 1979 in izidom zbornika *Slovenščina v javnosti* štiri leta kasneje. Začele so se že sredi 60. let, ko so se pokazale razsežnosti vpliva nekaterih povojnih družbeno-političnih okoliščin na status in razvoj pisne in govorne slovenščine, izzvenele pa leta 1990 s prenehanjem delovanja Jezikovnega razsodišča. Za več o tem gl. Lengar Verovnik in Kalin Golob (2020).

piscem. Niso pa vsi kottički namenjeni obravnavi konkretnih jezikovnih pojavov in težav; ravno v desetletju pred nastankom Orešnikove knjige o uradih za jezik so denimo nastajale serije jezikovnih kottičkov, v katerih so avtorji⁵ popularizirali spoznanja jezikoslovne znanosti in hkrati obravnavali aktualna jezikovnopolitična vprašanja, s tem pa pomembno sooblikovali slovenščino v javni rabi in odnos do nje.

3 Načela dobrega jezikovnega svetovanja

V kasnejših obravnavah načel jezikovnega svetovanja se kot najpomembnejša ideja Orešnikove knjige omenja t. i. **demokratično svetovanje**, ki je po Žaucer in Marušič (2009, 450) nasprotje »običajnemu enoznačnemu odgovarjanju«. Avtorja demokratično jezikovno svetovanje natančneje opredelita:

Glavna značilnost tega je, da ne poda le osamljenega odgovora, temveč spraševalcu predvsem poda razlago za obstoj nekega jezikovnega elementa in argumente za in proti njegovi uporabi, oziroma da če sta na voljo dve možnosti, razloži, kateremu vzorcu sledi ena in kateremu druga, kakšne sociolingvistične postavke spremljajo rabo ene in kakšne rabo druge, kaj dosega npr. s kršenjem ali sledenjem uveljavljeni oziroma najbolj razširjeni normi itn. Odločitev za eno ali drugo dvojnico pa je vedno prepuščena spraševalcu, ki naj se na podlagi razlage in predstavljenih argumentov odloči, katero bo uporabil. (Žaucer in Marušič 2009: 450)

Odmev koncepta demokratičnega svetovanja je mogoče razbrati tudi v zasnovi sicer nerealiziranega *Slogovnega priročnika*, ki naj bi skušal »jezik predstaviti kot demokratičen sistem, v katerem je vedno na voljo več izbir. O teh izbirah je treba razmišljati s stališča ustreznosti za dano komunikacijsko situacijo, ne pa jih videti zgolj v paru pravilno/napačno ali celo dovoljeno/prepovedano« (Bizjak Končar idr. 2011, 4).

Vendar pa je Orešnik v knjigi posredno ali povsem eksplicitno nanizal še več usmeritev za dobro jezikovno svetovanje; najbolj strnjeno jih je povzel v sklepnem poglavju: »Nasveti bi morali biti znanstveno utemeljeni, kar se da izčrpni in razlagalni, drugače pa čim preprostejši« (Orešnik 1995, 91). V nadaljevanju bomo povzeli nekaj konkretnih napotkov, kot jih je mogoče razbrati iz kritičnih zapisov, ki jih je avtor občasno dodajal v knjigi predstavljenim obravnavam konkretnih jezikovnih problemov iz publikacij skandinavskih uradov za jezik.

5 T. Korošec na televiziji, J. Toporišič in V. Gjurič v tedniku 7D, J. Moder že od 70. let v Nedeljskem dnevniku ipd. (gl. Kalin Golob 1996).

3.1 Prvi tak napotek je **zavedanje naslovnikovega znanja oz. pričakovanj**. Orešnik ugotavlja, da pisci odgovorov na jeziko(slo)vna vprašanja pogosto podcenjujejo razdovednost svojih uporabnikov in ne upoštevajo, da spraševalce zanimajo tudi vzroki jezikovnih pojavov (n. d., 50). Še bolj nerazumljivo se mu to zdi, kadar tisti, ki daje napotek, naslovnikovo znanje pozna. To se mu je namreč zgodilo, ko se je kolega slovenist v pogovoru o tem, ali je za knjižni jezik primernejša dvojnica *prek* ali *preko*, izrekel za prvo. »Zakaj je tako izbral, mi pa ni povedal, čeprav sem tudi sam jezikoslovec in čeprav je torej smel domnevati, da bi jaz njegovo utemeljitev že zato utegnil razumeti« (n. d., 8). Prigodo omenja kot primer nedemokratske obravnave jezikoslovne zadeve.

3.2 Demokratično bi bilo odločitev podpreti z razlogi, pri čemer kot zgled navaja skandinavske urade za jezik. Vendar pa tudi pri njihovih argumentacijah kdaj pogrša več **vkjučevanja splošno- in primerjalnojezikoslovnih dejstev**. Slednja bi po njegovem mnenju – kot tudi nazorno pokaže z lastnimi dopolnitvami – lahko s pridom uporabili pri več odgovorih, v katerih so se pisci sklicevali le na dostopne jezikovne (predvsem slovanske) in gradivske (takrat še listkovne) vire. Orešnik s primerjavo z drugimi, zlasti sorodnimi jeziki nakaže pomembnost prevpraševanja, ali do nekega pojava pride pod tujejezičnimi vplivi ali pa gre nemara za spodbudo znotrajjezikovnih silnic (n. d., 19). Tudi zgodovinskorazvojni podatki so po Orešnikovem mnenju pogosto po krivici zapostavljeni, saj lahko pomagajo razumeti sočasne razlike denimo v besedotvorni zgradbi sorodnih ali podobnih besed, ki so na prvi pogled nerazumljive (n. d., 57). Zapostavljanje splošnojezikoslovnih vidikov pa po avtorjevem mnenju naredi odgovore vsebinsko revnejše in manj mikavne, kar dokazuje ob odgovoru o spremembi prehodnosti švedskih glagolov, kjer v razlago pritegne koncept drugotne prehodnosti (n. d., 58), in pri novejšem pomenskem razvoju enega od švedskih zaimkov, ki je nastal – kot dokazuje Orešnik – po naliki oz. analogiji (n. d., 56–57).

3.3 Naslednja past, na katero pri jezikovnem svetovanju opozarja avtor, je neupoštevanje **raznolikosti govornih položajev in jezikovnih zvrsti**. Že v zgodnejšem prispevku (Orešnik 1993) piše, da je zgrešeno misliti, da je prav samo to, kar dopušča knjižni jezik, ostalo pa kaže na propad. Kot primer daje med drugim zgražanje nad rabo veznika *brez da* v nižjepogovornem jeziku. »Prava jezikovna sposobnost je tista, ki zna uporabiti pravo besedo na pravem mestu; v vsaki novi jezikovni prvini, domači ali prevzeti, vidi obogatitev te ali one jezikovne zvrsti« (n. d., 251). Zato se mu zdi

ful de best popolnoma naravno v govoru takratnih najstnikov; problematična pa se mu zdi raba deležniških oblik *našel*, *našla* namesto *najdu*, *najdla* v neprisiljenem pogovoru ob kosilu med Ljubljancani. To zavedanje bi moralo delovati tudi v obratni smeri: knjižni jezik ima prav tako številne zakonitosti, ki jih je treba pri rabi spoštovati. V knjigi o skandinavskih uradih za jezik Orešnik na to problematiko opozori na dveh mestih. Najprej pri odgovoru, v katerem se je odgovarjalec pri odločanju med dvojnicama zadovoljil zgolj s sklicevanjem na slovarje. Po avtorjevem mnenju bi se moral opreti na teorijo knjižnega jezika in odgovor dopolniti s podatkom o tem, katera od dvojnic je bolj razširjena v govorih, ki so podlaga knjižnega jezika, s tem pa utemeljevati odločitev, »da urad ne želi brez posebnega razloga spreminjati tistega, kar je vedno enako predpisano že več kakor sto let« (Orešnik 1995, 20). Drugi primer pa po avtorjevem mnenju kaže na nepotrebno poseganje v neknjižni govorjeni jezik, saj odgovarjalec priporoča odpravo glasovnega razvoja, tipičnega za govor območja prestolnice (ne pa tudi drugih območij), čeprav v govorjenem (in pisanem) knjižnem jeziku te spremembe ni zaznati (n. d., 59).

3.4 V sklepnem poglavju Orešnik piše še o enem pomembnem načelu, ki ga sicer ne povezuje neposredno s svetovanjem, a ker ga pripisuje delovanju urada za jezik kot ustanove, ki (tudi) jezikovno svetuje, ga navajamo na tem mestu. Po njegovem prepričanju bi moral urad za jezik bdeti nad jezikovnimi razmerami, s čimer meri na sledenje razvoju jezika (nove besede in besedne zveze), kritično opazovanje vsega natisnjenege (v strokah, za šolo, prevedenega ipd.), pa tudi na **spremljanje jezikovnih razmer s sociolingvističnega vidika** (tuji vplivi, ogroženost jezika, vloga medijev, mesto slovenščine v šolskem sistemu). Skladno z duhom časa, v katerem je knjiga nastajala – v obdobju pridruževanja Slovenije Evropski uniji in vedno opaznejšega vstopanja tujih podjetij na slovenski trg – se je posebej posvetil vplivu angleščine: »Urad bi moral tekoče spremljati ta vpliv zlasti v gospodarstvu, v industriji zabave in v sredstvih javnega obveščanja. Dalje bi moral ozavestiti slovensko javnost in jo prepričati, da je zaradi prihodnje usode vsega slovenskega tuje prvine v naši materinščini nujno omejiti« (n. d., 91–92). Zapisano je na prvi pogled v nasprotju z njegovim prepričanjem, da slovenščina ni ogrožena (n. d., 75), ki ga tudi prepričljivo podkrepi s podatki in argumenti (Orešnik 1993, 250; Orešnik 1995, 87). Vendar pa je tudi tukaj treba razlikovati med jezikom kot celovito in mnogotero pojavnostjo ter (zgolj) knjižnim jezikom. Za polno razvit knjižni jezik materinščine avtor pravi, da je »velika blagodat«, kar je »sam občutil v zadnjih letih, ko [je] po dveh desetletjih sestavljanja znanstvenih besedil pretežno v tujih jezikih zaradi 'spremenjenih potreb službe' začel

pisati pretežno slovensko» (Orešnik 1993, 251). Skrb za omejevanje vpliva angleščine je torej treba razumeti kot del skrbi za negovanje in razvijanje izraznih možnosti v lastnem jeziku, ki pa se ne sme ustaviti pri posameznostih, kakršne so denimo tuje besede v imenih podjetij, oglasih ipd., temveč mora poskrbeti za dobre zglede nasproti »splošni razpuščenosti« (n. d., 250–251).

4 Uresničevanje načel dobrega jezikovnega svetovanja v Jezikovni svetovalnici

Jezikovna svetovalnica Inštituta za slovenski jezik Frana Ramovša ZRC SAZU, ki deluje od leta 2012, je osrednje jezikovnosvetovalno telo za slovenski (zlasti knjižni) jezik.⁶ V skladu z bogato jezikovnosvetovalno tradicijo na Slovenskem nadaljuje delo svojih predhodnikov – jezikovnih kotičkov in zgodnejših svetovalnic (ŠUSS, forumske svetovalnice). Svetuje tako splošnim kot tudi strokovnim uporabnikom jezika in ustanovam. Deluje na spletu,⁷ njena vsebina (zbirka vprašanj s pripadajočimi odgovori) pa je prosto dostopna. Uporabniki se nanjo obračajo z jezikovnimi vprašanji z različnih področij jezika.⁸ Jezikoslovci uporabljajo Jezikovno svetovalnico tudi v raziskovalne namene. Zlasti je zanje koristno dejstvo, da vprašanja v svetovalnici v realnem času opozarjajo na težave jezikovnih uporabnikov, v ozadju pa se gradi baza jezikovnih zadreg.

Jezikovna svetovalnica je od leta 2013 osnova za problemsko naravnani pristop k prenovi pravopisnega priročnika, ki jo izvaja Pravopisna komisija SAZU in ZRC SAZU (prim. Lengar Verovnik in Dobrovoljc 2022) – kot je zapisal Orešnik (1995, 91), so težavna vprašanja uporabnikov »dragoceno opozorilo na občutljiva mesta naše materinščine«. Svetovalnica uporabnike v odgovorih informira o napredku prenovne pravopisa in napoveduje prihajajoče spremembe v kodifikaciji (prim. Vranjek Ošlak 2024), poleg tega pa je tudi most med jezikovnimi priročniki in uporabniki jezika – uporabnikom pomaga interpretirati vsebino jezikovnih priročnikov, v svojih odgovorih pa tudi zapolnjuje vrzeli v jezikovnem opisu (prim. Vranjek Ošlak 2023).

6 Razen za vprašanja terminologije, s katerimi se ukvarja Terminološka svetovalnica Inštituta za slovenski jezik Frana Ramovša ZRC SAZU.

7 <https://svetovalnica.zrc-sazu.si/>

8 Največ vprašanj zastavljajo zelo izobraženi uporabniki, ki so stari od 30 do 49 let, mnogi od njih se tudi profesionalno ukvarjajo z jezikom. Najpogostejši razlog za zastavitev jezikovnega vprašanja je nezmožnost najti odgovor s pomočjo jezikovnih priročnikov. Svetovalnica uživa zaradi izčrpnosti svojih odgovorov, pa tudi zaradi raziskovalcev, ki v njej sodelujejo, določen ugled, saj jo uporabniki prepoznavajo kot zanesljiv vir informacij o jeziku (Dobrovoljc idr. 2020).

V nadaljevanju bomo s pomočjo primerov iz svetovalnice nakazali, kako se v njenih odgovorih kažejo načela dobrega jezikovnega svetovanja, kot jih je opisal Orešnik (1995). S tem se svetovalni vlogi Jezikovne svetovalnice, ki je prevladujoča, pridružuje še ena: izobraževalna.

4.1 Demokratičnost

Jezikovna svetovalnica od začetka svojega obstoja stremi k demokratičnemu pristopu k jezikovnemu svetovanju (Dobrovoljc idr. 2020, 14). Demokratičnost se kaže z izčrpnimi odgovori na vprašanja, navajanjem zgodovinskega ali kakega drugega ozadja posameznega jezikovnega pojava in nizanjem argumentov za predlagane rešitve. Odgovori temeljijo tako na jezikovnih priročnikih kot tudi na sodobnem korpusnem gradivu. V primerih, ko je mogočih več rešitev, so navedene in argumentirane vse možnosti, spraševalcu pa je (največkrat glede na njegovo specifično jezikovno situacijo, tj. okoliščine in besedilno zvrst) prepuščena izbira jezikovnega sredstva, ki mu bo pomagalo do najučinkovitejšega sporočanja.

Pri *covidu-19* se v **knjižnem jeziku torej pojavljata obe izgovarjavi**: [kôvid-] in [kóvid-]. Zaradi zgoraj opisanih sprememb in sedanjih priporočil v normativnih slovarjih smo na prvo mesto zapisali tisto s širokim *o*; glede na dolgoletno drugačno prakso v enakih položajih (*o* pred *v*) pa opozorimo še, da izgovor z ozkim *o* ni odsvetovan ali nepravilen; oba načina nam omogočata nedvoumno sporazumevanje (Weiss idr. 2020).

Navedeni primer je odlomek iz odgovora na vprašanje o tem, kako izgovarjati poimenovanje bolezni covid-19. Odgovor najprej razloži ozadje jezikovne zadrege (kakovost *o* v prevzetih besedah) in razloge za obstoj dveh izgovornih možnosti, v zadnjem odstavku pa je poudarjena legitimnost obeh. Iz odgovora je razvidno, da je odločitev za eno od njiju prepuščena jezikovnemu uporabniku.⁹

4.2 Zavedanje naslovnikovega znanja oz. pričakovanj

Jezikovni svetovalci se trudijo, da so odgovori v Jezikovni svetovalnici oblikovani tako, da jih lahko razumejo tudi tisti, ki jim jezikoslovje ni povsem domače. Odgovori so pogosto dvodelni: z zahtevnejšo razlago in preprostejšim povzetkom, ki vsebuje manj terminologije ali pa vsaj več razlag strokovnega izrazja. Tak je npr. naslednji

⁹ Odgovori v svetovalnici so demokratični vedno, ko je enakovrednih jezikovnih možnosti več. Če je ena od izbir (stilno, zvrstno, časovno ali kako drugače) zaznamovana, je uporabnik na to opozorjen, kar pa ne pomeni, da se ne more sam odločiti in zaznamovano jezikovno sredstvo kljub vsemu uporabiti.

primer, ki je iz odgovora na vprašanje o tem, ali je glas *dz* sičnik. Po preprostejšem uvodu, v katerem je izrecno zapisano, da je /dz/ res sičnik, sledi zahtevnejša razlaga, v kateri je uporabljeno jezikoslovno strokovno izrazje (tako slovensko kot prevzeto – vloga svetovalnice je res tudi izobraževalna), ki mu sledijo razlage posameznih terminov.

Po mestu izgovora so /s/ in /z/ ter ustrezna zlitnika /c/ in [dz] **dlesničniki** (alveolari), kar pomeni, da jih tvorimo s pomočjo dlesni; /š/ in /ž/ ter zlitniška ustreznika /č/ in /dž/ (bolje: njuni priporniški sestavini) so **zadlesničniki** (postalveolari), kar pomeni, da jih tvorimo nekoliko bolj proč od dlesni v smeri proti zadnjemu delu ustne votline (Ježovnik 2022).

Neredko imajo spraševalci že določeno jezikoslovno znanje ali so že raziskali ozadje svoje jezikovne zadrege, vendar jim rešitve ni uspelo najti (predvsem gre v takih primerih za t. i. strokovne uporabnike jezika, tj. lektorje, prevajalce, učitelje slovenščine ipd.). Takim spraševalcem so namenjene daljše razlage, medtem ko so manj poučenim ali tistim, ki želijo le kratek odgovor, namenjeni (krajši) povzetki oz. (lahko enoznačni) odgovori na kratko, kot je ta iz sklepnega dela odgovora na vprašanje o (ne)ustreznosti rabe členka *zgolj*.

Na kratko: S členkom *zgolj* ni prav nič narobe (Vranjek Ošlak in Dobrovoljc 2021).

4.3 Vključevanje splošno- in primerjalnojezikoslovnih dejstev

Eden od bistvenih znakov demokratičnosti je izčrpnost odgovorov in navajanje zgodovinskega, narečnega, medjezikovnega ali kakega drugega ozadja določenega jezikovnega pojava. Spraševalci so, kot je ugotovil tudi Orešnik (1995, 50), radovedni ljudje, ki pogosto z veseljem sprejmejo dodatne informacije o ozadju svoje jezikovne zadrege. To v praksi pomeni, da je lahko odgovor na preprosto in enoznačno jezikovno vprašanje zelo informativen. Dober zgled takega preprostega vprašanja je vprašanje o zapisu izrazov pri taroku. Odgovor nanj prinaša poleg izrecne informacije o tem, kako zapisovati izraze *plateljč*, *radeljč* in *mondfang*, tudi izčrpen opis (v tem primeru prevzemalnega oz. medjezikovnega) ozadja, pa tudi nabor drugih izrazov s tega področja.

Večina izrazov pri taroku je bila v slovenščino sprejeta iz nemščine, saj je tudi igra prišla na Slovensko iz avstrijskih dežel, kjer naj bi se razvila v začetku 19. stoletja. /.../ Izrazi *pagat*, *mond*, *škis* in *trula* so namreč nemške popačenke različnih besed iz romanskih jezikov (it. *bagatto*, fr. *monde*, fr. *l'excuse*, fr. *tous les trois*). Nasprotno sta *plateljč* in *radeljč* prevzeta iz nemških besed *Blattlein* 'listič, igralna karta' (v nemščini se sicer za te

karte uporablja podobno zveneči izraz *Glatzen*, na katerega se je lahko navezal v slovenščini že uveljavljeni izraz *plateljc* 'karta manjše vrednosti', ki je v pomenu 'list v knjigi' izpričan že pri Janezu Svetokriškem) in *Radel*, verjetno izpeljanke iz nem. *Rad* 'kolo'. Izraz *mondfang* pa je samostalniško-samostalniška zloženka iz *Mond* in glagolnika *Fang* 'ujetje'. /.../ (Jelovšek 2022).

Namen takih odgovorov je, da potešijo uporabnikovo radovednost in prinašajo informacije, ki izboljšujejo razumevanje delovanja jezika v najširšem smislu.

4.4 Upoštevanje raznolikosti govornih položajev in jezikovnih zvrsti

Odgovori v Jezikovni svetovalnici so oblikovani tako, da predvidevajo drugačne načine sporazumevanja v različnih jezikovnih situacijah in besedilnih zvrsteh. Upoštevanje različnih govornih položajev je izpostavljeno zlasti takrat, kadar neko jezikovno sredstvo ni povsem nevtrarno oziroma je vezano na posamezno besedilno zvrst. V odgovoru je spraševalec na to opozorjen, saj obstoj različnih govornih in pisnih situacij pogosto ni dovolj uzaveščen. Naslednji primer je iz odgovora na vprašanje o tem, ali sta izrazni možnosti *oziroma* in *oz.* enakovredni (vprašanje je bilo zastavljeno na primeru povedi).

V večini besedil je mogoče okrajšave, kot je *oz.* za veznik *oziroma*, izpisati v celoti ali jih uporabljati v okrajšani obliki, svetujemo pa, da se v istem besedilu držite enega od načinov. Izpisani veznik *oziroma* je prijaznejši in primernejši za osnovno šolo, okrajšava *oz.* pa za zahtevnejše bralce. Izpis celotne besede je na mestu zlasti takrat, ko pišemo besedila za nekatere posebne bralce, npr. za otroke. Beseda *oziroma* lahko pomeni 'ali', zato jo je mogoče zamenjati s poševnico (Vranjek Ošlak in Weiss, 2025).

Iz primera so razvidne različne izrazne možnosti, uporabniki pa se (glede na konkretni jezikovni položaj) sami odločajo za eno izmed njih.

4.5 Spremljanje s sociolingvističnega vidika

Čeprav je osrednja vloga Jezikovne svetovalnice svetovalna, pa ta s svojim delom gotovo na neki način tudi bdi nad jezikovnimi razmerami oz. jih spremlja s sociolingvističnega vidika, na problematična mesta pa jo opozarjajo kar uporabniki sami (urad za jezik bi tako spremljanje jezikovnih razmer moral opravljati po svoji službeni dolžnosti). S pomočjo njihovih vprašanj je mogoče v svetovalnici slediti aktualnim trendom v razvoju jezika, zlasti prihajanju novih besed in besednih zvez, pa tudi drugim odstopanjem od ustaljene rabe in/ali jezikovnega predpisa. Tak je primer vprašanja,

v katerem spraševalec navaja, da je v medijih zaznal odstopanje v naglasnem mestu pri besedi *gorniški*.

Že dostikrat sem na radiu slišal, da vabijo na festival gorniškega filma, s tem da so pridevnik *gorniški* naglasili na *i*-ju in ne na *o*-ju, kot bi pričakoval, saj je taka raba tudi slovenskemu ušesu veliko bolj prijazna. Zanima me, katera raba je pravilna in zakaj, saj je pridevnik izpeljan iz samostalnika *gornik*, ki se naglasi na *o*-ju, in vsi meni poznani ljudje ne bi nikoli te besede naglasili na *i*-ju (Ježovnik in Dobrovoljc 2019).¹⁰

V odgovoru na vprašanje so pojasnjeni razlogi za opaženi pojav, napovedano je tudi, da se bo kodifikacija v prihodnje prilagodila aktualni rabi.

Beseda *gornik* se je prvotno naglaševala na *i*-ju, kar je tudi etimološko pričakovano. Iz tako naglašene besede je tvorjen pridevnik *gorniški* (tako v Pleteršniku, v SSKJ in SP 2001). Naglas na *o*-ju (tako kot pri samostalniku *górník* kot pri pridevniku *górníški*) je mlajši, zato morda še ni bil zabeležen v naših normativnih slovarjih, je pa v rabi razširjen, zato morda vaše ocena o »ušesu prijazni rabi«. Pri kodifikaciji bo treba v nadaljnje upoštevati tudi splošno razširjeno govorno prakso (Ježovnik in Dobrovoljc 2019).

4.6 Prevzemanje drugih nalog urada za jezik

Vendar pa Jezikovna svetovalnica ne opravlja le svetovalne vloge – v letih, odkar deluje na spletu, je prevzela tudi nekatere druge naloge, ki bi jih sicer opravljal slovenski urad za jezik (prim. Orešnik 1995, 89–93).

Z odgovori, ki si prizadevajo biti demokratični in izčrpni, svetovalnica opravlja nalogo širjenja znanja o primerni jezikovni rabi, jezikovni svetovalci pa se trudijo, da spraševalcem ne bi zgolj odgovarjali na vprašanja, temveč bi jih tudi izobraževali. V odgovorih so pogosto (poleg odgovora na posamezno vprašanje) navedena dodatna dejstva o jeziku, katerih osrednji namen je ponuditi spraševalcem in tistim, ki v svetovalnici iščejo odgovore na svoje jezikovne dileme (ali so zgolj radovedni), nekaj dodatnega védenja o jeziku.

Kot zanimivost naj dodam, da ednina, dvojina in množina niso edina slovnična števila, ki jih poznamo. Nekateri jeziki poznajo tudi trial (trojino) in pavkal, ki se uporablja za izražanje manjših števil (tipično od dve do šest) entitet, ki ne tvorijo homogene celote. Izraz pavkal bi lahko prevedli kot maloštevilnik, v slovenščini pa bi ga najbolje izrazili s pogovornim »enih par« (Klemenčič 2017).

10 V vprašanju so bile za namen tega članka popravljene pravopisne napake.

Jezikovna svetovalnica je zaradi svojega spletnega delovanja lahko dostopna za vse, ki jih zanima jezik. Zato neizogibno opravlja vlogo povezovanja vseh, »ki si prizadevajo za lepši jezik« (Orešnik 1995, 89). Med uporabniki svetovalnice so številni ljubitelji jezika, ki se z njim ne ukvarjajo profesionalno, ga pa izredno dobro poznajo. Odgovori v Jezikovni svetovalnici jim dajejo zagotovilo, da »strokovnjaki zdaj na primeren način bedijo nad materinščino« (n. d., 89).

Čeprav je osrednja naloga Jezikovne svetovalnice izvajati svetovanje uporabnikom o jezikovnih zadevah, pa jezikovni svetovalci pri pripravi vprašanj nemalokrat opravijo tudi veliko raziskovalnega dela. V svetovalnico namreč prihaja zelo malo preprostih vprašanj (z njimi se uporabniki morda raje obrnejo na lektorje ali odgovor sami poiščejo v priročnikih), zapletenejša pa zahtevajo več pozornosti, poglobljenega razmisleka in raziskav jezikovnega gradiva.

Vprašanja, ki prihajajo v svetovalnico, so tudi neprecenljiv vir subjektivnih ocen uporabnikov o tem, kako gre našemu jeziku: kako govorci slovenščine dojemajo vpliv tujih jezikov na slovenščino, njeno rabo v izobraževanju in v medijih ipd. Jezikoslovci lahko sledijo njenemu razvoju in spreminjanju ter obenem pridobivajo delni vpogled v to, kako slovenščino vidijo njeni uporabniki.

Jezikovna svetovalnica se mednarodno povezuje s podobnimi ustanovami v drugih evropskih državah, npr. na Češkem, v Estoniji, Latviji in na Madžarskem. Sodelavci svetovalnice se udeležujejo mednarodnih srečanj jezikovnih svetovalcev, jezikovno svetovanje pa je vključeno tudi v številne slovenske in evropske projekte.¹¹

Sodelavci Jezikovne svetovalnice izdajajo publikacije, v katerih poročajo o delu svetovalnice, leta 2020 so npr. izdali strokovno monografijo *Kje pa vas jezik žuli?* (Dobrovoljc idr. 2020), v kateri so po tematskih sklopih pregledno predstavljena najbolj pereča jezikovna vprašanja. Poseben način poročanja o delu je tudi spletna oblika Jezikovne svetovalnice, kjer so javno dostopni vsi objavljeni odgovori. Po njih je mogoče iskati s pomočjo področnih oznak in ključnih besed, baza Jezikovne svetovalnice pa je povezana tudi z iskalnikom portala Fran, prek katerega je omogočeno razširjeno iskanje. Uporabniki lahko tako na enem mestu iščejo po vseh jezikovnih virih Inštituta za slovenski jezik Frana Ramovša ZRC SAZU, kar je koristno zlasti v primerih, ko je neka jezikovna tematika (npr. novejša besedje, ki ga slovarji še ne zajemajo) obravnavana samo v svetovalnici.

11 Npr. v evropski projekt GRACE (Obzorje 2020), ki je potekal od 1. januarja 2020 do 31. decembra 2021.

5 Sklep

Pomen dela Janeza Orešnika za uveljavljanje kakovostnega jezikovnosvetovalnega dela v slovenskem prostoru je bil prepoznan že v drugih delih (npr. Marušič idr. 2001; Žaucer in Marušič 2009). Pregled načel dobrega svetovanja, kot jih je bilo mogoče izluščiti iz knjige *Uradi za jezik v Skandinaviji*, kaže, da je ob opiranju na svoje široko jezikoslovno znanje poleg krovnega načela demokratičnosti pri proučevanih uradih cenil (in kdaj pogrešal) tudi druge vrline. Te je na svoje študentke in študente, sodelavke in sodelavce, kolegice in kolege nevsiljivo prenašal vsa svoja leta delovanja na Filozofski fakulteti, SAZU in kasneje tudi v Pravopisni komisiji pri SAZU in ZRC SAZU. Ves čas pa je tudi spremljal Jezikovno svetovalnico, občasno opozoril na kakšno ne dovolj domišljeno stvar ali pomagal s svojim znanjem (denimo v odgovoru o govorjenju »na fanta«, Dobrovoljc 2015). Čeprav po izidu knjige na to temo ni več znanstveno objavljal, je torej s svetovanjem ostajal profesionalno povezan.

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Syntax and semantics of subordination: the case of če-clauses

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Abstract

This study examines the Slovenian subordinator *če* ('if') using a qualitative corpus analysis of a sample extracted from the Slovenian Web (slWaC 2.1) corpus. It identifies the types of subordination introduced by *če* and their meanings. The findings reveal that *če* predominantly introduces adverbial clauses with a primary conditional meaning, while also triggering secondary meanings such as time, concession, cause/reason, manner, and comparison. *Če* also introduces nominal clauses functioning as subjects, objects, complements and appositions. A minor group of *če*-clauses can be interpreted as both adverbial and nominal.

Keywords: if, subordination, adverbial clause, nominal clause, conditionality, implicature

Skladnja in pomen podredij: primer odvisnikov s če

Študija z uporabo kvalitativne korpusne analize preučuje slovenski podredni veznik *če*. S pomočjo vzorca, pridobljenega iz slovenskega spletnega korpusa (slWaC 2.1), identificira vrste podredij, ki jih uvaja *če*, in njihove pomene. Ugotovitve kažejo, da *če* pretežno uvaja prislovne odvisnike s primarnim pogojnim pomenom, hkrati pa sproža drugotne pomene, kot so časovni, dopustni, vzročni, načinovni in primerjalni. *Če* uvaja tudi nominalne odvisnike, ki delujejo kot osebki, predmeti, povedkova določila in apozicije. Manjšo skupino odvisnikov s *če* je možno uvrstiti tako med prislovne kot tudi med nominalne odvisnike.

Ključne besede: če, podredje, prislovni odvisnik, nominalni odvisnik, pogojnost, implikatura

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1 Introduction

In general terms, subordinate clauses are traditionally classified into three major categories based on their potential functions: (i) nominal, (ii) attributive and (iii) adverbial clauses (cf.: Quirk et al. 1999, 1047ff.; Toporišič 2004, 637ff.; Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1014ff.).¹ Nominal clauses perform functions typically associated with nominal phrases, be it at the sentence level (i.e., as independent sentence elements such as subjects and objects) or the phrase level (e.g., as modifiers like appositives). Attributive clauses function solely at the phrase level, modifying nominal heads. As such, they syntactically resemble adjectives in the adnominal function. Adverbial clauses fill the syntactic position of adjuncts or disjuncts. As adjuncts they are fully integrated into the clausal structure, providing circumstantial information, for example, time, place, and manner. As disjuncts, their syntactic role is more peripheral, providing comment on the propositional content or on the circumstances of the speech act.

By far the commonest means of introducing subordinate clauses is subordinators (Quirk et al. 1999, 997ff.; Biber et al. 1999, 85ff.; Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 949ff.; Toporišič 2004, 636ff.; Pogorelec 2021 [1964], 25ff.). The usage of some subordinators is highly predictable, as they introduce only one type of subordinate clause and establish only one semantic relation. For instance, the English subordinator *unless* (1a) is monofunctional as it exclusively introduces subordinate adverbial clauses of condition, meaning *except if*, or more precisely, *in all circumstances except if* (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 755; Orešnik 2007, 229). On the other hand, the subordinator *if* is polyfunctional as it can introduce both nominal (1b) and adverbial clauses indicating different circumstantial meanings, predominantly condition (1c), but also, among others, time, concession, and cause/reason (see Kortmann 1997; Declerck and Reed 2001). Furthermore, the subordinator *if* together with *as* forms the complex subordinator *as if*, marking adverbial subordinate clauses of similarity/comparison (1d). Of special interest are those polyfunctional subordinators which can either serve as pure subordinators, i.e., introducing subordinate clauses without being

1 In his classification of Slovenian subordinate clauses, Toporišič (2004, 637) by and large follows this tripartite division, but uses different terminology: content (Slo. *vsebinski*), relative (Slo. *oziralni*) and adverbial (Slo. *prislovni*) subordinate clauses for the three categories listed above, respectively. This fundamental division of subordinate clauses serves as the basis for the contemporary and more detailed classification of Slovenian subordinated clauses as developed by Žele (2016) and Gabrovšek and Žele (2019). It should also be noted that our classification follows the tradition of English linguistics, which names subordinate clauses according to the part of speech they represent within a sentence structure. In contrast, the Slovenian tradition focuses mainly on their syntactic function (for details, see Gregorčič and Gabrovšek 2024; Smolej 2018).

syntactically part of the subordinate clause, or combine their subordinating function with a syntactic role within the subordinate clause. For example, *that* serves solely as a subordinator when introducing nominal object clauses (1e), whereas when introducing subordinate relative clauses (1f), it simultaneously functions as a subordinator and as the direct object in the subordinate clause.

(1)²

- a) *All output signals remain unchanged unless a change is specifically indicated.*
- b) *I wondered if it did him more harm than good.*
- c) *If she had blinked, she would have missed the road.*
- d) *He frowned as if she had done it on purpose.*
- e) *They said that people's civil rights would be decimated.*
- f) *He is grown into the finest young man that I know.*

Similar to English *if*, the Slovenian subordinator *če*, which is the focus of the present investigation, exhibits a polyfunctional nature. Pogorelec (2021 [1964], 68–79) identifies four types of subordinate clauses introduced by *če*: (i) adverbial conditional clauses (2a), (ii) adverbial concessive clauses (2b), (iii) nominal subject/object clauses (2c–d), and (iv) attributive clauses (2e). In addition to these functions, *The Dictionary of the Slovenian Standard Language (Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika – SSKJ)* identifies three additional types of adverbial *če*-subordinate clauses: (i) adverbial temporal clauses (2f), (ii) adverbial causative clauses (2g) and (iii) adverbial comparative clauses (2h). To this array of functions, Ilc and Stopar (2023) also add the adverbial exceptive clauses, in which *če* combined with *razen* forms the complex subordinator *razen če* (2i).³

2 Unless marked otherwise, all examples in the paper are taken from two referential corpora: Slovenian Web (slWaC 2.1) for Slovenian, and English Web 2021 (enTenTen21) for English as provided by Sketch Engine.

3 Complex subordinators (e.g., *razen če* ('except'), *kot če* ('as if')) should be kept apart from free combinations such as *da če* ('that if'), *kajti če* ('for if'), etc., as the latter do not function as single units but represent sequences of items with separate functions. In (i) below, *da* ('that') introduces a nominal constituent within which a multiclausal structure is embedded, and *če* ('if') introduces the initial clause in that structure – an adverbial clause expressing condition. In (ii), *kajti* ('for') links the conjoints of a coordinate structure, and *če* ('if') introduces the initial clause in the second, multiclausal conjoint. It follows that the interpretation of the *če*-clause is independent of the preceding subordinator/coordinator, so instances of the kind do not represent a separate category in our analysis.

(i) *Prepričan je, [da [[če bi bilo več vlakov], bi jih ljudje uporabljali]].* 'He believes that if there were more trains, people would use them.'

(ii) *[Svetloba je nevidna], kajti [[če bi jo videli], bi sama zaslepila oči ...].* 'Light is invisible, for if we could see it, it itself would dazzle us ...'

(2)⁴

- a) *Dežnik ne pomaga nič, če zanaša burja od strani.*
'An umbrella is of no help if the wind is blowing from the side.'
- b) *Veste, baje vsi umetniki umrjejo prezgodaj, tudi če so stari že sto let.*
'You know, I hear that all artists die prematurely, even if they are a hundred years old.'
- c) *Še dobro, če te orožniki ne dobijo v roke.*
'It's a good thing if the police don't get their hands on you.'
- d) *Ne vem, če bosta prišla v eni uri.*
'I don't know if they'll arrive in an hour.'
- e) *Mučila ga je misel, če je ravnal prav.*
'He was tortured by the thought of whether he had done the right thing.'
- f) *... sam veš[,] kakšne rezultate znajo mladci doseči[,] če imajo ob sebi oporo veteranov ...*
'... you know yourself what results young men can achieve if they have the support of veterans ...'
- g) *Razumel sem, da moram delati drugače, če hočem rešiti zakon.*
'I understood that I had to do things differently if I wanted to save my marriage.'
- h) *Kmet če je bolj jezen, bolj pije.*
'If a farmer is angrier, he drinks more.'
- i) *Ne verjamem v diete, razen če gre za zdravje.*
'I don't believe in diets unless it's for health.'

A more detailed analysis of the examples in (2) shows that the exact meanings of the adverbial subordinate *če*-clauses oftentimes seem to depend on context, allowing multiple circumstantial interpretations. For instance, (2f) combines both the conditional (i.e., under which condition?) and the temporal reading (i.e., when?). Similarly, (2g) combines the meaning of condition (i.e., under which condition?) and cause/reason (i.e., why?). Furthermore, the examples in (3) illustrate that even more than two adverbial meanings can be observed in the same subordinate *če*-clause, i.e., the conditional, temporal and causative circumstances.

4 Examples (2a-d) are taken from Pogorelec (2021[1964], 68–79). As the author does not provide an example for the final category of attributive *če*-clauses, we found a relevant example (2e) in Toporišič (2004, 645); see also Žele (2016, 90).

(3)

- a) *Ste kdaj čutili, da se vaše ustnice poškodujejo, če preživljate čas na snegu?*
‘Have you ever felt that your lips get damaged when you spend time in the snow?’
- b) *Nihče mu ne more ničesar očitati, če se kot državna institucija zavzema za slovenske pisatelje, pesnike in umetnike ...*
‘No one can accuse him of anything if he as [a representative of] a state institution stands up for Slovenian writers, poets and artists ...’
- c) *... dejte mi mir[,] če vam dam mir.*
‘... leave me be, if/since/when I leave you be.’

Some studies of Slovenian subordination (Toporišič 2004; Žele 2016; Gabrovšek and Žele 2019) primarily focus on the classification of subordinate clauses, while paying less attention to subordinators, their usage and semantic implications. Since the illustrative examples in some of these sources (Pogorelec 2021 [1964]; Toporišič 2004; also SSKJ) often seem old-fashioned, the present analysis relies on the data from the corpus Slovenian Web (slWaC 2.1), which encompasses more contemporary sources, reflecting the spontaneous use of language that has not been proofread or edited.

Thus, in what follows, we present a corpus analysis of a sample of *če*-subordinate clauses. Firstly, we aim to determine which types of subordination are typically introduced by the polyfunctional subordinator *če*, and, secondly, in the case of adverbial clauses, which primary and secondary semantic interpretations such clauses trigger and whether it is possible to treat secondary meanings as implicatures (cf. Kortmann 1997, 90, also Žele 2016, 92). We expect that despite the different levels of indeterminacy, *če*-clauses are primarily adverbial with the conditional meaning. In addition, we try to draw some parallels between Slovenian *če*-subordinate clauses and English *if*-clauses, which seem *prima facie* near syntactic and semantic equivalents.

2 Methodology

The research method employed in this study is qualitative corpus analysis. The corpus used is Slovenian Web (slWaC 2.1), which comprises almost 896 million tokens from Slovenian texts collected from the Internet. The choice of this method enables targeted retrieval and analysis of naturally occurring linguistic phenomena – for instance, we anticipate that a web-based corpus is more likely to contain instances where the subordinator *če* substitutes for *ali* (‘whether’). Moreover, slWaC 2.1 adheres to

standards applied to similar corpora across various languages (Kilgarriff et al. 2010), ensuring greater comparability of extracted data.

The Slovenian Web corpus is tagged for parts of speech and lemmatised. It was accessed using the online Sketch Engine tool: the relevant patterns were retrieved with the CQL string `[tag="V.*"] [] {0,3} [word="če"]` – this query targets structures that include a verb form followed by zero to three words before the word *če* ('if'). Such a pattern was assumed to be conducive to finding both adverbial as well as nominal subordinate *če*-clauses of the type presented in (2a) and (2c-d), respectively. However, the limitation of this query is that the sample comprises only subordinate *če*-clauses in non-initial position.⁵

The query yielded 902,987 hits (1,007.91 per million; 0.008% of whole corpus), from which a representative random sample of 500 hits (0.56 per million; 0.00005581% of whole corpus) was extracted; the sample is generated by Sketch Engine and is reproducible.

The 500 corpus hits were then analysed manually. The size of the sample and the expert linguistic knowledge required for manual analysis made it impractical to obtain judgements from a larger group of speakers. To address this limitation, the analysis was conducted in two phases. In the first phase, each of the three authors, all three native speakers of Slovenian, independently analysed the sample, and in the second phase, a moderation session was held to compare, discuss and align the judgements. Based on the classifications of *če*-clauses presented in the sections above, each instance in the corpus sample was assigned a class and a sub-class, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Classification of corpus hits.

Class	Sub-classes
Adverbial	condition; time; exceptive; manner; comparison; reason; concession; disjunct
Nominal	subject; subject complement; object; apposition; ⁶ adjective complementation ⁷

5 Despite this limitation, the minimal-limitation analysis of a random sample of 500 *če*-clauses in the initial position (CQL string `[word="če"]`) confirms that the conclusions presented herein remain robust, as the majority of these clauses also belong to the adverbial type.

6 We treat appositive clauses as nominal clauses. Apposition is primarily a relation between nominal phrases that are identical in reference (Quirk et al. 1999, 1300ff.). An appositive nominal phrase may be substituted by a nominal clause. In general linguistics, the label 'attributive' usually designates non-appositive modifiers of nominal heads; therefore, *če*-clauses in this framework cannot be analysed as attributive to a nominal head. For details, see Section 3.2.

7 Clauses complementing adjectival heads are also treated as nominal clauses (Quirk et al. 1999, 1048ff.). Although modifiers syntactically, they do not represent attributive clauses since the head is not nominal (see fn. 6). Moreover, the types of clauses appearing in this function can also function as appositive modifiers. Compare, for

3 Results and discussion

3.1 Adverbial *če*-clauses

The sample of 500 corpus hits comprises 373 (75%) adverbial clauses introduced by the subordinator *če*. These clauses predominantly function as adjuncts, with a small percentage represented by disjuncts. An analysis of semantic relations introduced by *če* confirms the polyfunctional nature of the subordinator – the identified meanings indicate that *če* (alone or as part of a complex subordinator) introduces clauses of condition, time, concession, exception, cause/reason, comparison, and manner.

3.1.1 *Adjuncts*

Most adverbial clauses in the sample (308 out of 373, or 83%) introduced by the subordinator *če* express conditional meaning. However, alternative interpretations are often possible alongside the conditional one. The sample analysed yielded 133 adverbial clauses in which condition was identified as the sole meaning expressed, see for example (4).

- (4) ... *bi bila srečnejša, če bi imela tudi ona izpit in avto.*
 ‘... [she] would be happier, if she also had a driver’s license and a car.’

In 175 instances within the sample, the adverbial meaning of condition is one of two (or even three) possible interpretations. The most frequently occurring combination (145 instances) allows for both conditional and temporal interpretations (5a). This typically occurs with predicators in the indicative mood and in contexts that permit an iterative/habitual reading. Such an interpretation is expected because the temporal meaning can be understood as an implicature arising from the dominant conditional meaning, i.e. in cases in which a habitual interpretation of the condition is possible, ‘*if* implies *when*’ (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 743; see also Quirk et al. 1999, 1092, footnote [b], Declerck and Reed 2001, 31-35, for Slovenian Žele 2016, 92). However, the meaning of condition may also co-occur with those of reason, concession, and comparison (5b-d, respectively). Additionally, in our corpus 19

example: (i) *zaskrbljen, da mi morda ne bo uspelo* (‘worried that I might not make it’) and *strah, da mi morda ne bo uspelo* (‘fear that I might not make it’); (ii) *radoveden, če/ali mi bo uspelo* (‘curious as to whether I will make it’) and *vprašanje, če/ali mi bo uspelo* (‘the question as to whether I will make it’).

adverbial *če*-clauses have been identified that can be interpreted as expressing three meanings: condition, cause/reason, and time (5e).

(5)

- a) ... če stanja ne zdravimo hitro, napreduje...
'... if/when the condition is not treated quickly, it progresses ...'
- b) ... tokrat tudi ne bo uspelo, če zadnjih 8 mesecev ni ...
'... it won't work this time either, if/since it hasn't for the last 8 months ...'
- c) ... prijave [...] oddate tudi, če ne boste tekmovali ...
'... you should hand in your application even if you are not competing ...'
- d) *Delo v programu pri gostovanju ostane enako, kot če bi stranka program kupila...*
'Using the software in the hosting mode remains the same as if the customer had bought the software ...'
- e) ... *dejte mi mir[,]* če vam dam mir ...
'... leave me be, if/since/when I leave you be ...'

Thus, similarly to English (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 743), Slovenian adverbial *če*-clauses are primarily associated with condition as an inalienable part of their meaning, while other secondary meanings can be seen as implicatures. However, some rare instances of *če*-clauses have also been identified in which the prototypically conditional subordinator expresses adverbial meanings other than condition. In the examples below, the subordinator *če* introduces adverbial clauses with the meanings of comparison, cause/reason and manner/comparison, see (6a-c), respectively. It is noteworthy that in these cases the subordinator *če* co-occurs with other subordinators.

(6)

- a) *Boš več naredila [na tak način], kot če mu najedaš za malenkosti.*
'You'll do more [in this way] than if you nag him about little things.'
- b) *Kako naj sploh pridobim izkušnje, če vendar vsi zaposlujejo le izkušene?*
'How am I supposed to gain experience if everyone only hires experienced people?'
- c) *Tili je odletel približno, kot če skočite v morje.*
'Tili flew away almost as if you were jumping into the sea.'

3.1.2 Disjuncts

Adverbial *če*-clauses as disjuncts provide commentary on the propositional content or on the circumstances of the speech act.⁸ Within our corpus sample, 24 sentences can be identified as containing clear-cut examples of this metalinguistic use, for example (7).

- (7) ... *ta parlament tudi na nek način vršil pritisk, če hočete, moralni pritisk na vodstvo* ...
 ‘... this parliament would also in some way exert pressure, if you will, moral pressure on the management ...’

Despite the semantic and syntactic differences between adjuncts and disjuncts, there are three instances in the sample that we classify as borderline cases, (8a-c).

- (8)
 a) ... *če zanje ne veste, se boste bali, pa če hočete ali ne.*
 ‘... if you don’t know about them, you’ll be afraid, whether you want to be or not.’
 b) *Pa tudi ena zadeva je kočljiva, če gledam z drugega vidika.*
 ‘But one thing is also tricky, if viewed from a different perspective.’
 c) ... *specifične verzije [...] se ne razlikujejo dosti, če pogledamo osnovne sestavine.*
 ‘... the specific versions do not differ much if looking at the basic ingredients.’

If the example in (8a) is not analysed as a comment on the situation, but rather as an adjunct, it expresses the adverbial meaning of concession (‘although you don’t want to be afraid’). Similarly, example (8b) can be interpreted as having a conditional meaning (‘if you view it from a different perspective, then ...’), while example (8c) may be interpreted as expressing conditional and temporal meanings (‘if/whenever you look at the basic ingredients’).

3.2 Nominal *če*-clauses

The sample of 500 corpus hits comprises 121 (24%) nominal clauses introduced by the subordinator *če*. These clauses predominantly function as sentence subjects and

8 For a detailed analysis of Slovenian clauses as disjuncts see Gregorčič and Gabrovšek 2024; Smolej 2018 a.o.

objects (together 109 out of 121, or 90%). Other syntactic functions are rare: a small number of *če*-clauses in the sample have been identified as subject complements, appositions, or complements to adjectival heads.

3.2.1 Subject function

Subject *če*-clauses represent 41% of the sample (i.e., 50 out of 121). One third of them are indirect questions (i.e., interrogative), with the subordinator *če* corresponding to *ali* ('whether'). In most instances, the indirect question is the subject of the verb *zanimati* (*koga*) 'wonder/want to know', as in (9).

- (9) *Zanima me[,] če imajo tudi ostali podobne težave ...*
 'I wonder if similar problems are encountered by other people as well ...'

The majority of subject clauses in the sample (i.e., two thirds of them) are not interrogative. They cannot be introduced by *ali*; moreover, in several of them, *če* can be replaced with *da* (cf. English *that*), pointing to their statement-like status.

- (10) ... *bolje bo, če jih sami preverite ...*
 '... it will be better if you check them out for yourself ...'

What is interesting about these clauses is that despite clearly being syntactically nominal, they frequently also carry adverbial meaning, with *če* triggering a conditional interpretation. To illustrate, example (10) reads as 'if you check them out for yourself, that will be better'. This phenomenon is discussed in more detail in section 3.2.4.

3.2.2 Object function

Če-clauses in the object function represent 49% of the sample (i.e., 59 out of 121). They are mainly indirect questions, with the subordinator *če* corresponding to *ali*. They appear with 20 different verbs, among which the most frequent one is *vprašati* 'ask' (ten instances; with an additional six if *povprašati* and *spraševati* (*se*) are included), followed by *ne vedeti* 'not know' (eight instances) and *preveriti* 'check' (five instances). For example:

- (11)
 a) ... *in sem ga vprašala, če rabi pomoč ...*
 '... and I asked him if he needed help ...'

- b) ... *ne vem, če je še kaj, ker pač nisem strokovnjak na tem področju ...*
 ‘... I don’t know if there’s anything else – I’m not an expert in the field ...’
- c) *Še enkrat preverite, če imate napisane vse osnovne informacije ...*
 ‘Check one more time if you have all basic information written down ...’

A small number of object clauses in the sample are not interrogative. For example:

(12)

- a) ... *zato še toliko težje razumemo, če mu ravnatelj, Ministrstvo za šolstvo in njegova komisija mame ne podprejo.*
 ‘... so it is even more difficult for us to understand if the principal, the Ministry of Education and the committee don’t back his mother up.’
- b) *Bom lažje prenesel, če se bo odzvala hladno ali burno?*
 ‘Will I be able to bear it better if her reaction is cold or strong?’

3.2.3 Other functions

The other syntactic functions identified in the sample are that of subject complement (13a), apposition (13b), and complement to an adjectival head (13c). They are represented in the sample to a very small extent.

(13)

- a) *Vprašanje je, če bodo dovolj pametne, da bodo priložnost tudi izkoristile.*
 ‘The question is if they’ll be smart enough to take advantage of the opportunity.’
- b) *Po SMS lahko vsak dobi informacijo, če je njegovo zdravstveno zavarovanje urejeno!*
 ‘Anyone can get information by text message as to whether their health insurance is active.’
- c) *Nisem bil povsem prepričan, če bom zmogel ...*
 ‘I wasn’t quite sure if I would make it ...’

The *če*-clauses above are indirect questions, with *če* corresponding to *ali*. In (13b) and (13c), a *da*-clause is, in principle, also possible (cf. *information that ..., be sure that ...*); nevertheless, replacing the question with a statement would affect the semantic implications of the sentence.

Conversely, the *če*-clauses in (14) cannot be interrogative:

(14)

- a) *Enako kot me zmoti to, če nekdo napiše takšno traparijo ...*
'Just like it annoys me if someone writes such nonsense ...'
- b) *Kdo je pa kriv, če je Zupan edini aktivni občinski svetnik.*
'It's not our fault if Zupan is the only active municipal councillor.'

3.2.4 Nominal clauses with adverbial meaning

Nominal *če*-clauses are often associated with an adverbial circumstance (condition in particular, but also time, cause and concession). The phenomenon is most prominent in *če*-clauses in the subject function (see section 3.2.1). To illustrate:

- (15) ... *je izredno praktično, če sveže začimbe gojimo kot lončnice.*
'... it is extremely practical if one grows fresh herbs in pots.'

The *če*-clause appears as the syntactic subject of a sentence whose predicate contains the copula *be* and a subject complement in the form of an adjectival phrase. The quality expressed by the adjective is predicated of the propositional content of the subject clause. The subordinator *če* triggers a conditional-temporal interpretation: 'if/when one grows fresh herbs in pots, that (i.e., their growing fresh herbs in pots) is extremely practical'.

This pattern is mostly used with adjectives which semantically present the action or state in the *če*-clause as suitable and desirable (*good, fair, right, appropriate, nice, useful, beneficial, practical, convenient, fun, favourite*), or the opposite (*bad, harmful*), (16a). Word classes other than adjectives are rare (16b-d):

(16)

- a) *Bo pa pošteno, če bodo vsaj takrat pesimisti rekli BRAVO!*
'It will only be fair if at least then the pessimists say Bravo!'
- b) *Zakaj bi bil greh, če [mestne parcele] postanejo javne?*
'Why would it be a sin if urban plots were made public?'
- c) *Bo prezgodaj, če jih sejem že jutri?*
'Will it be too early if I sow them tomorrow?'
- d) ... *kako mora biti, če spiš na londonskih ulicah noč za nočjo ...*
'... what it must be like if you sleep on the streets of London night after night ...'

In several instances the conditional mood is used. The *če*-clauses in these cases resemble conditional clauses expressing a hypothetical (17a-b) or rejected condition (17c). Such sentences tend to express recommendations or wishes.

(17)

- a) *Koristno bi bilo tudi, če bi dodatno omejili plačevanje z gotovino ...*
 ‘It would also be useful if additional cash payment restrictions were introduced ...’
- b) *... bi bilo prav, če bi vsaj povrnili stroške potovanja ...*
 ‘... it would be appropriate if at least the travel expenses were reimbursed ...’
- c) *... popolnoma drugače bi bilo, če bi ga [policisti] ustavili na cesti ...*
 ‘... it would have been totally different if the police had stopped him while driving ...’

A few instances exhibit a non-copular pattern with a full lexical verb in the predicator. The two instances from the sample in (18) involve a concessive relationship.

(18)

- a) *... nič vam ne pomaga, če niste privrženec pitja alkohola, saj tega preprosto ne bodo razumeli ...*
 ‘it’s hardly of any help if you’re against alcohol, as they simply won’t understand it’
 (Implicature: Although you’re against alcohol, that’s hardly of any help: they simply won’t understand it and will expect you to drink and get drunk like everybody else.)
- b) *... jih ni vznemirjalo, če smo si zaradi [...] gneče kar preko njih utirali pot naprej ...*
 ‘... it didn’t seem to disturb them if we were pushing our way through the crowd right over them ...’
 (Implicature: Although we were pushing our way through the crowd right over them, that didn’t seem to disturb them.)

Adverbial meaning is also expressed by *če*-clauses that function as objects and appositives. The object clause in (19a) expresses concession, the appositive clause in (19b) condition.

(19)

- a) *Ne zameri torej, če se bom oglasil šele takrat, ko mi bo “čas ostajal” ...*
 ‘So I hope you’ll understand if I post a comment only when I have “time to spare” ...’
- b) *Enako kot me zmoti to, če nekdo napiše takšno traparijo ...*
 ‘Just like it annoys me if someone writes such nonsense ...’

The fact that these *če*-clauses carry adverbial meaning makes them difficult to distinguish from adverbial adjuncts. Nevertheless, they are still nominal constituents. If they appear as answers to questions, they correspond to *kaj* (English *what*) rather than to *v katerem primeru/kdaj*, etc. (English *in which case/when*, etc.), compare (20 a-b) and (20c-d):

(20)

- a) *Kaj je praktično? – Če sveže začimbe gojimo kot lončnice.*
 ‘What is practical? – If one grows fresh herbs in pots.’
- b) *Kaj vam nič ne pomaga? – Če niste privrženec alkohola.*
 ‘What isn’t of any help? – If you’re against alcohol.’
- c) **V katerem primeru/kdaj je praktično? – Če sveže začimbe gojimo kot lončnice.*
 ‘In which case/when is it practical? – If one grows fresh herbs in pots.’
- d) **V katerem primeru/kdaj vam nič ne pomaga? – Če niste privrženec alkohola.*
 ‘In which case/when isn’t it of any help? – If you’re against alcohol.’

3.2.5 Nominal or adverbial?

The analysis has also shown that there are a few instances in the sample that can be analysed either as nominal or as adverbial clauses, as can be observed in examples like (21a-b). This double nature becomes evident if we use such clauses as answers to questions, in the object versus the adjunct position, respectively, (21c-f). As such, these examples differ markedly from cases reported and discussed in section 3.2.4 (see examples (20)).

(21)

- a) *... so naveličani, če jim drugi govorijo[,] kaj naj naredijo.*
 ‘...become annoyed if others tell them what to do.’

- b) *Sem vesela, če pride kateri na vrt na obisk.*
'I'm happy if any of them come to visit in the garden.'
- c) *Česa so naveličani? – Če/Da jim drugi govorijo, kaj naj naredijo.*
'What annoys them? – If/that others tell them what to do.'
- d) *V katerem primeru/kdaj so naveličani? – Če/ko jim drugi govorijo, kaj naj naredijo.*
'In which case/when are they annoyed? – If/when others tell them what to do.'
- e) *Česa sem vesela? – Če/Da pride kateri na vrt na obisk.*
'What makes me happy? – If/That any/some of them come to visit in the garden.'
- f) *V katerem primeru/kdaj sem vesela? – Če/Ko pride kateri na vrt na obisk.*
'In which case/when am I happy? – If/When any/some of them come to visit in the garden.'

Our corpus also yielded an example that seems to allow three interpretations: statement-like (*da* 'that'), indirect question (*ali* 'whether'), and adverbial (*če* 'if'), (22).

- (22) *Slušalke so tako pametne, da zaznajo tudi, če si jih delite s prijateljem ...*
'These earbuds are so smart that they also detect that/whether/if you share them with a friend ...'

In contrast to (21), however, the *če*-clause in (22) cannot appear as the answer to *in which case/when* (23c), so it cannot be analysed syntactically as an adverbial adjunct. It remains a nominal constituent (23a-b), its adverbial meaning emerging as an implicature (23d).

- (23)
- a) *Kaj zaznajo? – Če/Da si jih delite s prijateljem.*
'What do they detect? – If/That you share them with a friend ...'
 - b) *Kaj zaznajo? – Če/Ali si jih delite s prijateljem ali ne.*
'What do they detect? – If/Whether you share them with a friend or not ...'
 - *c) *V katerem primeru/Kdaj zaznajo? – Če/Ko si jih delite s prijateljem.*
'In which case do they detect? – If/When you share them with a friend ...'
 - d) *Če si jih delite s prijateljem, slušalke to zaznajo.*
'If you share them with a friend, the earbuds detect that (i.e., that you share them with a friend).'

Nevertheless, the example is noteworthy as it brings together interrogative and adverbial interpretations. As pointed out by Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 975), the formal overlap between conditional and interrogative markers (in our case *če* ‘if’) reflects an obvious semantic connection between conditions and questions. As shown in (24) below, the fulfilment of a condition in fact relies on the affirmative answer to a polar question (2002, 970).

- (24) *Ali si slušalke delite s prijateljem? Če da, potem slušalke to zaznajo.*
‘Do you share the earbuds with a friend? If so, the earbuds detect that.’

4 Conclusion

The present study investigates the usage and semantic implications of the Slovenian subordinator *če* (‘if’). To examine a sample of contemporary uses, relevant instances were extracted from the corpus Slovenian Web (slWaC 2.1).

A manual analysis of the instances in the sample reveals that the subordinator *če* exhibits both structural and semantic polyfunctionality. It is predominantly employed to introduce adverbial clauses with the primary meaning of condition. However, several other meanings have been identified among the corpus examples, including time, concession, cause/reason, exception, manner, and comparison. These additional meanings are considered to be implicatures of the primary, conditional one. The most prevalent implicature is the temporal one, wherein the verb in the conditional clause typically expresses an iterative action in the indicative mood. Furthermore, the corpus also contains instances of *če*-clauses that convey only one of the secondary meanings, a phenomenon observed when *če* is combined with other subordinators.

Nominal *če*-clauses, on the other hand, occur in the sample as indirect questions and statements. They primarily function as subjects and objects, to a lesser extent also as complements and appositions. A distinct subset in the sample is represented by *če*-clauses that are clearly nominal but at the same time highly reminiscent of adverbial clauses by virtue of their meaning. Another minor group consists of *če*-clauses that can be interpreted both as adverbial and as nominal clauses.

The sample contains only a few attributive clauses, all of which postmodify adjectival heads. We show that these clauses are structurally attributive but nominal in nature (i.e., they are indirect questions). It should be noted that our analysis of such cases diverges from the traditional Slovenian analysis of subordinate attributive clauses

(Toporišič 2004, Žele 2016, Gabrovšek and Žele 2019, Pogorelec 2021 [1964]), which treats cases like apposition as attributive clauses.

The research has identified cases of subordinate *če*-clauses that clearly demonstrate that the traditional syntactic and semantic classifications of subordinate clauses should be viewed as a cline rather than a set of independent, unconnected categories. Semantically, there are evident overlaps between circumstantial meanings such as condition, time, and concession. Syntactically, some subordinate clauses are indeterminate regarding their status, allowing both adverbial and nominal analysis. What is more, there is a clear overlap between semantics and syntax, as some subordinate *če*-clauses with an uncontested nominal status give rise to adverbial interpretation.

Due to space limitations, the paper has only briefly addressed the parallel usage of English *if*. Nevertheless, by comparing the descriptions from general (Quirk et al. 1999, Huddleston and Pullum 2002) and specialised sources (Declerck and Reed 2001) with those from our own research, we can conclude that the two subordinators are indeed highly comparable in both syntax and semantics. Both introduce adverbial clauses with a predominantly conditional meaning; however, they can also convey some secondary adverbial meanings such as time, concession, exception, cause/reason, comparison, and manner as a result of implicature. Additionally, *če* and *if* introduce nominal clauses functioning as subjects, objects, subject complements and appositive clauses. While in English these nominal clauses are typically indirect questions, our analysis has shown that Slovenian *če*-nominal clauses – though by and large indirect questions – can also occur as indirect statements in contemporary and spontaneous language use, i.e., being semantically and syntactically equivalent to subordinate *da*-clauses rather than subordinate *ali*-clauses.

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Language disorder or language variation?

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Abstract

This paper explores the challenges of diagnosing and treating language disorders in the context of languages with strong dialectal diversity. After defining language disorder and language variety, I use the case of Slovenian to show how the linguistic features of dialect speakers can often resemble those of individuals with language impairments, across all domains from phonology to semantics. These similarities can complicate diagnosis, as dialectal features may be misidentified as pathological speech. Intervention, therefore, must be sensitive to the speaker's linguistic background and respect the speaker's variety. The solution lies in increasing awareness among speech therapists and ensuring they receive appropriate training to distinguish between dialectal variation and disorder. The paper uses as a model the approach US speech therapy has developed for speakers of African American English, illustrating how culturally and linguistically responsive practices can lead to more accurate diagnoses and more effective, respectful interventions.

Key words: language disorders, dialect, Slovenian, Alzheimer's disease, speech therapy

Jezikovna motnja ali narečna raznolikost?

Članek obravnava izzive diagnosticiranja in odpravljanja jezikovnih motenj pri govornih jezikov z močno narečno razslojenostjo. Po opredelitvi jezikovne motnje in jezikovne različice je na slovenskih primerih pokazano, kako so jezikovne značilnosti govorcev narečij lahko z vidika standarda videti podobno značilnostim pri posameznikih z jezikovnimi motnjami, in sicer na vseh področjih, od fonologije do semantike. Te podobnosti lahko otežijo diagnosticiranje, saj so narečne značilnosti lahko napačno prepoznane kot govorna motnja. Pri intervenciji je treba upoštevati govorčev jezikovno ozadje in se izogibati odpravljanju narečja. Namesto tega mora terapija upoštevati in spoštovati govorčev različico. Rešitev je v čim večji ozaveščenosti logopedov in zagotavljanju ustreznega usposabljanja za razlikovanje med narečjem in motnjo. Članek se opira na severnoameriško izkušnjo pri obravnavi motenj pri govornih afroameriške angleščine kot na uspešen model, kako lahko kulturno in jezikovno odzivne prakse vodijo k natančnejšim diagnozam in k učinkovitejši in spoštljivejši obravnavi.

Ključne besede: jezikovne motnje, narečje, slovenščina, Alzheimerjeva bolezen, logopedija

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1 Introduction

Wednesday afternoons were of particular interest in our Department of Comparative and General Linguistics, as Prof. Janez Orešnik held his office hours. Every time I had a chance, and he was not busy with someone else, I would knock on the door and say ‘hi’, often stepping in for some chatting. I always learned something new from these discussions but one day, I was the one who taught him some things he did not know...and it was about the Slovenian language.

A recurrent topic of our discussions was how difficult it was for me to hold a normal conversation in Slovenian and him acknowledging that yes, Slovenian is a difficult language, but I should not give up. It was during these discussions that I mentioned that living in Nova Gorica and working in Ljubljana does not help either, as there are many dialectal differences. I said that the good news was that people in Gorica do not use dual, so I could forget about it, but then differences in vocabulary could be significant, so for each concept, I need to learn two or three words. And I burst out with ‘local’ words, the majority of which come from Italian due to language contact, such as *lampe* ‘zipper’, *parkedžo* ‘parking’, *però* ‘but’, *kalcete* ‘socks’, *nona* ‘grandmother’, *panin* ‘sandwich’ and so on. Prof. Orešnik was, of course, aware of this phenomenon. He was nonetheless excited about each word I said. He took a pencil and started taking notes about their use in Gorica. From time to time, there were things he did not know, and I was the one to tell him about them. A unique moment. After this, the dialectal varieties of Slovenian started entering our discussions more frequently, and it was during these that I started connecting this with my own research areas and realized how ignorant I had been of the problem of linguistic diversity in the diagnosis of pathological speech and its treatment. Therefore, in this paper, I will address this phenomenon, present the specifics of the diagnosis and treatment of dialect-speaking populations, and propose possible solutions.

2 What is considered a language disorder

The term *language disorder* refers to a significant deviation of language abilities from the standard variety, considering the age and stage of development of the individual. It typically results from brain damage, such as stroke-related aphasia or neurodegenerative diseases like Alzheimer’s. Depending on the cause, it can affect all language areas. For instance, Broca’s aphasia mainly impacts morphosyntax,

causing telegraphic speech with missing or substituted function words and inflections (Goodglass 1993) as in (1).

- (1) a. Son...university...good-good
b. Boy...girl...play ball

Similarly, language impairment in Alzheimer's disease (AD) appears early and affects all linguistic domains from phonetics/phonology to morphology, syntax, vocabulary, semantics, and discourse (Manouilidou 2025a). In what follows, I provide examples from Slovenian illustrating the above.

Morphosyntax is an affected domain in people with Alzheimer's disease (pwAD), with manifestations already in spontaneous speech and picture descriptions (Varlokosta et al. 2024). In the Cookie Theft picture, Slovenian-speaking pwAD produced errors such as in (2), in which they used wrong agreement, and in (3), which exhibits incorrect use of preposition (use of preposition before an object standardly used bare).

- | | | | |
|-----|---|---------------|--|
| (2) | <i><u>tale</u> kosilnico</i>
thisNOM lawnmowerACC
'this lawnmower' | instead of SS | <i><u>tole</u> kosilnico</i>
thisACC lawnmowerACC
'this lawnmower' |
| (3) | <i>*da odpre lahko <u>v</u> tole</i>
that opens can in this
'that he may open this' | instead of SS | <i>da odpre lahko tole</i>
that opens can this |
- (Onič 2025)

Morphosyntax and specifically verb-related grammatical information was also affected in the study of Roumpea et al. (2019), which tested Slovenian-speaking pwAD in a sentence completion task, designed to test regular and irregular forms in terms of *present tense* and *aspect* (perfective vs. imperfective). The most frequent mistake produced by pwAD in the category of *tense* was the substitution of the target form of an irregular verb with a form of a regular verb that was semantically close to the target one, as in (4a). Regarding *aspect*, in regular verbs, pwAD tended to produce the imperfective form instead of the perfective target, as in (4b). In irregular verbs, participants tended to produce the opposite aspect (4c).

- (4) a. *hodim*_{regular} ‘I am walking’ instead of *grem*_{irregular} ‘I am going’
 b. *pisala*_{imperfective} instead of *napisala*_{perfective} ‘she wrote’
 c. *vzeli*_{perfective} instead of *jemali*_{imperfective} ‘they took’

Of particular interest is the area of morphology and word formation, a domain that is significantly affected in a variety of language disorders (Manouilidou 2025b). Manouilidou and colleagues conducted a series of studies on derivational morphology in Slovenian-speaking individuals with Mild Cognitive Impairment (pwMCI) and pwAD. They found that in chronometrized tasks and under time pressure, pwAD often accept as grammatical, formations which violate the combinatorial rules of stem+suffix in Slovenian, either in terms of category of the base, such as in (5) or in terms of argument structure properties of the base verb, such as in (6) or in terms of aspectual specifications, such as in (8). These formations were accepted as grammatical by the pwMCI tested in Manouilidou et al. (2016). The same performance was also observed by Roumpea et al. (2024) and Roumpea (2025) with pwAD in non-chronometrized tasks.

- (5) **črkilec* ‘letter_N-er’ < *črka*_N ‘letter’
 **čokoladec* ‘chocolat_N-er’ < *čokolada*_N ‘chocolate’
- (6) **trpelec* ‘sufferer’ < *trpeti* ‘I suffer’ (SubExp verb)
 **umiralec* ‘dier’ < *umirati* ‘I die’ (SubExp verb)
- (7) **prebralec* ‘reader-through’ < *prebrati*_{perfective} ‘read-through’
 **preplavalec* ‘swimmer-through’ < *preplavati*_{perfective} ‘swim-through’
 (Manouilidou et al. 2016)

Finally, difficulties with word formation and particularly prefixation were also observed by Semenza et al. (2002), who studied the performance of two Slovenian-speaking patients, one diagnosed with agrammatic aphasia and the other with transcortical motor aphasia. The study showed that while prefixes are well-preserved in the grammar of both patients, with no phonological distortions on them, at the same time they were often omitted, as shown in (8) or substituted, as shown in (9). This suggests certain difficulties with prefixation for both individuals.

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|------------|-------------------------------------|
| (8) <i>svetnik</i> ‘counsellor’ | instead of | <i>nadsvetnik</i> ‘head counsellor’ |
| (9) <i>prihod</i> ‘arrival’ | instead of | <i>podhod</i> ‘underpass’ |

Additionally, lexical-semantic errors are very common in pwAD (see Manouilidou 2025a). When it comes to Slovenian-speaking populations, Roumpea (2025) showed that pwAD produce semantic paraphasias in a naming task when asked to produce deverbal nominals (10), nouns (11), verbs (12), or they produce circumlocutions (13). The spontaneous speech of pwAD also includes semantic paraphasias and vocabulary distortions, such as in (14) (Onič 2025).

- | | | |
|---|------------|------------------------------|
| (10) <i>čolnar</i> ‘boatman’ | instead of | <i>jadralec</i> ‘sailor’ |
| (11) <i>sladoled</i> ‘ice-cream’ | instead of | <i>torta</i> ‘cake’ |
| (12) <i>plavati</i> ‘to swim’ | instead of | <i>potapljati</i> ‘to dive’ |
| (13) <i>vozi kolo</i> ‘he rides a bike’ | instead of | <i>kolesar</i> ‘cyclist’ |
| (14) <i>sesalnik</i> ‘vacuum cleaner’ | instead of | <i>kosilnica</i> ‘lawnmower’ |

Finally, phonological distortions complete the picture of the language profile of pwAD, as shown in (15), an example of spontaneous speech (Onič 2025).

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|------------|--|
| (15) <i>se je *popel na stol</i> | instead of | <i>povzpel</i> ‘he climbed up the chair’ |
|----------------------------------|------------|--|

This is a brief overview of language disorders based exclusively on Slovenian data. Such disorders can significantly hinder communication, leading to social isolation, depression, and reduced quality of life. In this context, speech therapy is vital for improving communication and daily functioning. Accurate diagnosis is the first step, and current tools used by speech therapists, neurologists, and neuropsychologists often fail to assess all affected language areas, with morphology being notably underrepresented (Manouilidou 2025b). Moreover, many tools are poorly adapted translations of English tests, often done by non-specialists. To improve this, neuro-linguists are working to integrate research findings into clinical practice, and health professionals are beginning to acknowledge the need for better diagnostic methods. The issue is further complicated by the fact that many individuals speak non-standard language varieties, which can affect both diagnosis and treatment.

The next section discusses the term linguistic diversity and its characteristics. On a theoretical level, one would hardly think that the two concepts, i.e., disorder and variety, can be related. However, a careful investigation of data from language disorders and language varieties may bring to light revealing similarities.

3 What is considered a language *variety*

The term *language variety* refers to a system that is governed by rules and deviates in some way from the standard use of language in the dominant culture. Linguistic diversity is a property of living languages and the result of either geographical or social differentiation. It can result either from contact with other languages or from endogenous changes in a given language (Crystal 2008). Linguistic variation is observed at all levels of language analysis, just as in language disorders. In what follows, I will provide some examples from Slovenian dialects to show that patterns found in the dialectal speech of non-impaired populations can often be very comparable to patterns typical of pathological speech.

The domain of inflectional morphology is particularly affected by different geographical varieties. For instance, in certain varieties of the Notranjska dialect group, the suffix *-i* is used instead of the use of the suffix *-u* in Standard Slovenian (SS) in order to form the locative case in masculine nouns (Jakop 2013), as shown in (16) below.

- (16) *na hodniki, na sonci* vs. SS *na hodniku, na soncu*
 ‘in the corridor, in the sun’

One encounters similar issues in the verbal system as well. For instance, in varieties of the Štajerska dialect group, the dual is formed with the suffix *-ma* instead of the SS *-va*, as in example (17a) (Jakop 2008). Similarly, in varieties of the Nostranjska dialect group the second person plural in present tense is formed with the suffix *-ste* where SS has *-te*, as in (17b) (Jakop 2013).

- (17)
- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------------------|--|--------------------------|
| a. | <i>delama</i> _{1,2.dual} | vs. SS <i>delava</i> _{1,2.dual} | ‘the two of us/you work’ |
| b. | <i>vidiste</i> _{2.pl.} | vs. SS <i>vidite</i> _{2.pl.} | ‘you see-plural’ |

Derivational morphology is similarly affected by dialectal variation. For instance, the suffix *-ar* is used in the Tersko variety of the Primorska dialect group, where SS uses the suffix *-njak*, as in (18).

(18)

- | | | | |
|----|----------------|-------------------------|--|
| a. | <i>kokošar</i> | vs. SS <i>kokošnjak</i> | ‘chicken coup’ |
| b. | <i>čelar</i> | vs. SS <i>čebelnjak</i> | ‘beehive’ |
| c. | <i>praščar</i> | vs. SS <i>svinjak</i> | ‘pig sty’ ¹ (Ježovnik 2020) |

A particular characteristic of dialectal varieties are systematic phonological differences with respect to SS, most of which involve phoneme change and/or replacement, as shown in the following examples from the dialect groups of Gorenjsko (19a), Dolenjsko (19b), and the dialects of Podjunsko (19c), and Srednjesavinjsko (19d).

(19)

- | | | | |
|----|--------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| a. | <i>wās</i> | vs. SS <i>las</i> | ‘hair’ |
| b. | <i>uóče</i> | vs. SS <i>oče</i> | ‘father’ |
| c. | <i>rěka</i> | vs. SS <i>roka</i> | ‘hand’ |
| d. | <i>atrāk</i> | vs. SS <i>otrok</i> | ‘child’ (Škofic 2012) |

Finally, from the point of view of SS, deviations also occur in the domain of syntax. Some of these include the placement of sentential negation which is split from the finite verb as in example (20a) from the Nova Gorica dialect (Marušič and Žaucer 2016), the lexical verb placement into the final position of the sentence as in (20b) from the Prekmursko dialect (Valh Lopert and Zorko 2013), and the omission of the auxiliary verb in the past tense, as in (20c) (Zuljan Kumar 2022), to mention a few².

(20)

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|--|
| a. | <i>če ti ne že malo manjka</i> | vs. SS <i>če ti malo že ne manjka</i> |
| | if youDAT not already little misses | if youDAT little already not misses |
| | ‘if you haven’t gone a bit nuts.’ | |
| b. | <i>gde sem edendvajsti lejt delo</i> | vs. SS <i>kjer sem delal enaindvajset let</i> |
| | where AUX twenty one years worked | where AUX worked twenty one years |
| | ‘where I worked for 21 years’ | |
| c. | <i>Panč se oglašli pri gospe</i> | vs. SS <i>Pa nič se nismo oglasili pri gospe</i> |
| | and REFL dropped by lady | and nothing REFL NEGAUX dropped by lady |
| | ‘And we did not drop by the lady’s.’ | |

1 The two words also differ in the choice of stem.

2 Phonological changes in the examples are not marked in order not to divert from their focus.

Looking at the data, pathological speech and linguistic varieties show many parallels, such as differences in grammar, inflection, word formation, phonology, and syntax compared to SS. However, one is clearly a disorder, the other a variety. This raises the question: What happens when a speaker of a language variety develops a language impairment due to brain injury or neurodegeneration? How are such cases diagnosed and treated? Similarly, how easily can language disorders like Developmental Language Disorder be identified in school settings? The following paragraphs explore these questions.

4 Language variety – not language disorder.

Individuals from culturally or linguistically diverse communities face the risk of both misdiagnosis of language disorders and underreporting of speech and language disorders (Roseberry-McKibbin 2002). In other words, either their language diversity could be treated as a disorder, or their disorder could be attributed to language diversity and not treated as it should be. Several factors contribute to these issues: (a) a lack of valid assessment tools for dialect speakers, (b) limited or no data on linguistically diverse populations, and (c) a shortage of speech therapists trained to work with these groups (Goldstein and Horton-Ikard 2010). These challenges increase the risk of misdiagnosis, potentially resulting in unnecessary or inappropriate interventions. Misdiagnosing these language differences can have lasting effects on both a child and an adult experiencing a speech problem. For this reason, the use of language diagnostic tools that allow for the distinction of language variation from language impairment is considered essential (Craig and Washington 2004).

Unfortunately, the Slovenian reality may not be ready to deal with the issue of the dialect-speaking population, either in terms of diagnosis or treatment. This is rather surprising given that work on Slovenian dialects goes back to the beginning of the 20th century, and given that each speech therapist has their own speech variety that is markedly different from SS. In the next paragraph, I give the example of African American English³, a widely spoken dialect in the United States, and show how awareness-raising has contributed to the proper treatment of its speakers regarding the issue of diagnosis and treatment, especially of school-age children.

3 The case of Slovenian dialects is of course very different from AAE which has been stigmatized among standard US English speakers. However, we can only benefit by looking at how AAE was incorporated in standard diagnosis and treatment protocols.

4.1 Language variety and developmental disorders: the African American example and how awareness contributed to proper treatment

African American English (AAE) is a well-studied English dialect, widely documented by researchers (Baugh 1999). It is one of the few varieties with clearly described language patterns in children's development (Stockman 1996; Washington and Craig 1994). Research on AAE has significantly influenced how psychologists, educators, and speech therapists view children's language and literacy development (Green 2002). As such, let us explore how this happened and what lessons it offers.

The use of non-standard language varieties by children and adolescents is well documented (e.g., Horton-Ikard and Miller 2004; Stockman 1996). Children naturally adopt the dialect of their community, shaped by parents and their environment, making dialect use a normal part of development. Remarkably, although children adopt the language system of adult language patterns, the way in which they do so, by acquiring the specific variety, produces dialectal patterns that may not appear in the adult version of the dialect. This is a common phenomenon in language acquisition, but it is still a critical finding, as it has in the past been a cause of misdiagnosis of language problems in child speakers of AAE (Goldstein and Horton-Ikard 2010).

For example, child speakers of AAE can produce up to 30 distinct patterns linked to the variety (Craig et al. 2003; Washington and Craig 1994, 2002). They also use forms not found in adult AAE, such as the double auxiliary (e.g., *He might can come*), while some adult AAE structures are absent in young children (Washington and Craig 1994). Therefore, the first step in the proper treatment of child speakers of a language variety is to study not only the variety but also the process of language acquisition of the speakers of this variety, by identifying and describing the stages and milestones they need to master.

Another key observation concerns children who speak a non-standard variety when they begin school and encounter literacy. This stage often marks a decline in the use of the variety – the use of AAE, for instance, drops by first grade (Craig and Washington 2004), with a further decline around third grade (Craig et al. 2003). These points coincide with developmental milestones that educators and speech therapists should monitor, as they influence language development. Research also shows that the use of AAE among preschoolers correlates with greater linguistic maturity (Craig and Washington 1995).

The data on AAE has been effectively used to raise awareness among teachers and speech therapists working with AAE-speaking children. Therapists now have the resources needed to help identify language variety based on linguistic features

(Green 2002). It is crucial not only to recognize these features but also to understand how language variety influences development, especially in relation to schooling. A speech and language therapist who is unaware of such differences in language acquisition may mistakenly believe that a child's language is problematic, even if he or she is aware of the characteristics of the child's language variety.

Such approaches have provided excellent support for speech and language therapists working with speakers of a language variety at any age (McGregor et al. 1997; Seymour, Bland-Stewart and Green 1998). The result is that even those speech and language therapists who are unfamiliar with specific varieties are able to examine grammatical and phonological production in spontaneous speech. Speech and language therapists use a list of dialects to distinguish features that are consistent with the targeted dialect from those that are indicative of a language disorder, e.g., absence of a linking verb or inappropriate use of conjunctions.

The AAE example shows that simply knowing a child speaks a non-standard variety is not enough. Educators and therapists must also understand how that variety is acquired and how schooling affects its use. By recognizing the differences and similarities in language development between standard and non-standard variety speakers, speech therapists can better distinguish between typical variation (in syntax, morphology, phonology, semantics) and true language disorders that affect a child's ability to learn language.

4.2 Language variation and acquired language disorders: implications for clinical practice, diagnosis and intervention

As with child speakers, assessing adult speakers of a language variety requires reducing barriers and applying specific strategies to distinguish between a dialect and a disorder. A major barrier is the definition of communication disorder itself. According to Taylor (1986), communication is labelled defective if it significantly deviates from the norms of the dominant community. Dialects often differ greatly from the standard (see examples 16–20), which can lead to misdiagnosis and inappropriate treatment.

However, the biggest obstacle to the accurate diagnosis of language disorders in adults from diverse linguistic backgrounds is a lack of training. A US survey (Roseberry-McKibbin, Brice and O'Hanlon 2005) showed that only 13% of speech therapists had formal training in working with culturally and linguistically diverse clients, while 38.3% had none. Moreover, 77% expressed a need for unbiased assessment tools and updated methods to better distinguish between *language variety* and *language disorder*.

This research shows that speech therapists recognize that many standardized tests are unsuitable for assessing speakers of non-standard varieties. While similar data is lacking for Slovenia, based on my personal experience in the field of diagnosis and treatment in this country, I can say that linguistic variety is often overlooked, leading to inadequate attention and care for dialect-speaking patients.

The evaluation part is followed by the intervention. After identifying language difficulties, the speech therapist works to improve the patient's communication skills. For speakers of a language variety, the goal should be to support their original language patterns, not eliminate them. For instance, if a dialect lacks the dual form, therapy should not enforce it. Similarly, if a patient says *uóče* instead of *oče*, this should be respected. However, current treatment protocols rarely account for linguistic diversity and often overlook these important distinctions.

Identifying and treating language disorders in children and adults is complex and demands that speech therapists be skilled in awareness, knowledge, and practice. Improving understanding of the difference between language diversity and disorder, and providing the appropriate tools, will enhance care for dialect speakers. As societies grow more diverse, therapists face new challenges working with unfamiliar populations. However, with greater cultural awareness and the right resources, therapists can deliver better services and achieve more satisfying outcomes.

5 Conclusions

In this paper, I have attempted to contrast the concepts of *language disorder* and *language variety* and to address the issue of diagnosis and treatment of speakers of non-standard language varieties. Although both *language variety* and *language disorder* are different forms of the standard variety, the disorder needs treatment as it makes it difficult for individuals to communicate. Linguistic diversity, on the other hand, is the natural language of individuals who grow up in communities where linguistic varieties other than the 'standard' are spoken.

The assessment of the language abilities of either adults or children with speech problems is usually carried out by therapists who are trained in the 'standard' variety of the language in question. Very often, however, the population under consideration happens to be speakers of a different variety of the same language, which increases the likelihood of misdiagnosis. In this case, the distinction between language diversity and language disorder is particularly difficult and requires a specialized approach.

Assessment and intervention should be done with respect for linguistic variety and should aim to restore the patient's previous form of language, not eliminate it. Information and awareness-raising on the part of speech and language therapists is required, as well as the use of appropriate diagnostic tools that respect the linguistic varieties in question. *Na sonci* then, is not erroneous use of inflection, but rather a variety of it. Likewise, *atrāk* is not a phonological paraphasia. It is a dialectal variety. What is not the standard variety is not necessarily a disorder.

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On sluicing and island repair: sluicing is neither a ferry nor a bridge

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Abstract

Sluicing, which is typically understood as a process that involves wh-movement followed by TP ellipsis, is widely assumed to fix island violations. Languages that allow multiple wh-fronting typically also allow multiple sluicing, but multiple sluicing – even though readily available – fails to preserve all properties otherwise associated with sluicing. Specifically, repair of island violations turns out to be very restricted in multiple sluicing constructions. In this paper we present a series of cases where multiple sluicing fails to fix island violations and argue that this is best explained if we simply discard the idea that island violations can be fixed in sluicing. We claim that the deleted TP does not need to be an exact copy of the antecedent clause and discuss some of the ideas that have been proposed to explain various atypical sluicing phenomena.

Keywords: Sluicing, multiple sluicing, islands, island-repair, Slovenian

Odprava kršitev skladijskih otokov je pri odplakanju morda zgolj navidezna

Za odplakanje, ki ga običajno razumemo kot proces, ki vključuje k-premike z naknadnim brisanjem časovne zveze, se na splošno domneva, da odpravlja kršitve skladijskih otokov. Jeziki, ki omogočajo večkratno prednjenje k-zvez, običajno omogočajo tudi večkratno odplakanje, vendar večkratno odplakanje – čeprav je široko dostopno – ne ohrani vseh lastnosti, ki se jih sicer pripisuje odplakanju. Konkretno, popravilo kršitev otokov se izkaže za zelo omejeno pri zgradbah z večkratnim odplakanjem. V članku predstavlja vrsto primerov, kjer večkratno odplakanje ne odpravi kršitev otokov, in trdi, da je to najlažje razložiti, če preprosto zavrnemo idejo, da odplakanje odpravi kršitve skladijskih otokov. Trdi, da izbrisana časovna zveza ni nujno natančna kopija predhodnega stavka, in pregledava nekaj idej, ki so bile predlagane za razlago različnih netipičnih pojavov odplakanja.

Ključne besede: odplakanje, večkratno odplakanje, skladijski otoki, popravljanje kršitev skladijskih otokov, slovenščina

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1 Introduction

Sluicing is standardly understood to be an instance of TP ellipsis preceded by wh-movement (Ross 1969; Merchant 2001 among others).¹ As the phenomenon is linked to a number of interesting properties, sluicing turns up in many theoretical discussions. We will be looking more closely at its widely assumed property that it can fix various island violations (Ross 1969; Lasnik 2001; Merchant 2001; Fox & Lasnik 2003 etc.). It is not completely clear whether this is a consequence of ellipsis more generally (Fox & Lasnik 2003 argue that there is some island repair also in VP ellipsis, and Bošković 2011 tries to derive this property from some more basic property linked to ellipsis) or whether it is restricted only to a subtype of ellipsis constructions, but it is generally accepted that many unavailable movements become available if they are followed by TP ellipsis, as in sluicing constructions and its variants (with which we mean swiping, spading, etc.). An example of this is shown in (1). Whereas a wh-word cannot move out from a relative clause to the beginning of the entire sentence in regular questions, as in (1a), such movement is apparently possible in sluicing in (1b) if we assume structural identity between the deleted TP in the ellipsis site and the antecedent clause.²

(1)

- a. *Who did John ride the horse that kicked ____?
- b. John rode the horse that kicked someone, but I don't know who [~~John rode the horse~~ [that kicked ____]]

This approach has many supporters, but it is not universally accepted. Chung, Ladusaw and McCloskey (1995, 2011) argued that sluicing does not really involve deletion as the construction actually does not involve any syntactic structure. This approach easily explains the apparent island-violations data, because on such a view

1 Janez Orešnik had a great gift and passion for finding new theoretically relevant data in everyday conversations, he was a true 24/7 linguist. Even though the topic of this paper is not something he worked on, we take inspiration for this research from his work that tried to approach linguistic theory through Slovenian data using examples from our daily lives; this research also started as a discussion in the corridor where a seemingly irrelevant remark suddenly became linguistically very interesting.

This article is an elaboration of a previous short proceedings paper of ours. As a result some parts of the arguments presented here are very similar, but we omit systematically mentioning this in the relevant parts to avoid repetitive self-referencing.

2 We are using the following terms for the various parts of the sentence that involves sluicing:

[John kissed [some girl]], but I don't know [[which girl] John kissed ____]			
	[correlate]	[remnant]	ellipsis site
[antecedent	]	[sluice	]

this data simply does not involve any island violations. No syntactic structure means that there are no movements, and thus no movement could have been illicit. This approach, however, faces problems with things like case matching, which is observed to hold cross-linguistically in sluicing (see Merchant 2001 for many similar arguments in favour of this view). As shown in the Slovenian examples in (2), the *wh*-word that survives sluicing carries the case of the underlying argument it replaces.³ If sluicing involves *wh*-movement followed by TP deletion, this falls out naturally; but as we pointed out, apparent island violations then remain mysterious.

(2)

- a. Nekdo je Petru pokazal Micko, ampak ne vem kdo.
 someone.NOM AUX Peter.DAT showed Micka.ACC but not know who.NOM
 'Someone showed Micka to Peter, but I don't know who.'
- b. Janez je nekomu pokazal Micko, ampak ne vem komu.
 Janez.NOM AUX someone.DAT showed Micka.ACC but not know who.DAT
 'Janez showed Micka to someone, but I don't know who.'
- c. Janez je Petru pokazal nekoga, ampak ne vem koga.
 Janez.NOM AUX Peter.DAT showed someone.ACC but not know who.ACC
 'Janez showed someone to Peter, but I don't know who.'

Alternatively, it can also be hypothesized that sluicing does not involve the deletion of an entire sentence that is structurally identical to the antecedent, but that the ellipsis site rather contains either some smaller portion of the structure, possibly one where no islands are violated, or else a syntactically somewhat differently construed semantically identical structure. The latter option is suggested by Merchant (2001, p. 209), who proposes that propositional islands, i.e. relative clauses, adjuncts, and basically anything clausal, are not fixed by sluicing since in these cases the deleted material does not involve the entire antecedent clause but only a subpart of it, namely, just the clause that created the propositional island, (3). Following this logic, propositional islands are not fixed by sluicing as they have never been violated in the first place (cf. Baker & Brame 1972, among others, for a similar proposal).

(3) Merchant (2001) suggests that the structure for examples like

(1b) *John rode the horse that kicked someone, but I don't know who.*

is not: ... who [~~John rode the horse~~ [that kicked ____]]

but rather: ... who [the horse kicked ____]

3 Unless stated otherwise, non-English examples in this paper are Slovenian.

In what follows, we will go through a series of Slovenian examples and show how the predominant view that sluicing repairs (all) islands cannot be fully correct. The data suggest that sluicing does not rescue island violations, but rather that sluicing does not involve the deletion of the entire antecedent clause and that the deleted TP inside the sluice is not necessarily structurally identical to the antecedent clause. We will ultimately claim that sluicing never repairs island violations. We thus support the recent claims by Abels (2011), Barros (2012), Barros, Elliott and Thoms (2014), who argue that island insensitivity is just apparent as the identity condition between the sluice and the antecedent is semantic rather than syntactic (cf. also Szczegielniak 2006; Szczegielniak et al. 2008; Abels & Dayal 2017).

Non-English examples in this paper are Slovenian; as far as we were able to determine when presenting this work, however, the same arguments could be made with Bosnian/Croatian/Montenegrin/Serbian [BCMS] (Boban Arsenijević p.c., Martina Gračanin Yuksek p.c.), Russian (Jacopo Garzonio p.c.), Czech (Mojmir Dočekal p.c.), and also Lithuanian (Adline 2014).

In section 2, we present the basic question concerning multiple sluicing constructions. In section 3, we go through a series of different types of islands and show how in multiple sluicing constructions the expected sluicing-facilitated amelioration vanishes for all of them. In section 4 we look at how pied-piping and other island-ameliorating strategies interact with island violations in sluicing, section 5 suggests a solution, and section 6 discusses some of the consequences.

2 Multiple sluicing

Slovenian is a multiple wh-movement language, (4). In this respect it patterns with BCMS (see Golden 1997; Mišmaš 2015 and references therein for further information and for the specifics of Slovenian wh-movement). It is therefore not surprising that it also readily allows multiple sluicing constructions, as in (5).

- (4) Koga je komu Janez predstavil?
 who.ACC AUX who.DAT Janez introduced
 ‘Who did Janez introduce to who?’

- (5) Nekoga je predstavil nekomu, pa ne vem koga komu.
 Someone.ACC AUX introduce someone.DAT but not know who.ACC who.DAT
 ‘He introduced someone to someone, but I don’t know who to who.’

Slovenian, like BCMS and unlike Bulgarian and Macedonian, does not allow multiple long-distance wh-movement. So as shown in (6), while a single wh-word can front from an embedded declarative clause, two wh-words cannot.

(6)

- a. Koga₁ je Vid rekel, da je Črt predstavil Micki t₁?
Who.ACC AUX Vid said that AUX Črt introduced Micka.DAT
'Who did Vid say that Črt introduced to Micka?'
- b. *Komu₁ je koga₂ Vid rekel, da je Črt predstavil t₁ t₂?
Who.DAT AUX who.ACC Vid said that AUX Črt introduced
- c. *Koga₂ je komu₁ Vid rekel, da je Črt predstavil t₁ t₂?
Who.ACC AUX who.DAT Vid said that AUX Črt introduced

Example (6) contrasts multiple-sluicing examples with comparable sentential structure, given that sluicing constructions with multiple remnants from an embedded clause are possible, as shown in (7).⁴

(7)

- a. Vid je rekel, da je Črt predstavil enmu enga, pa ne vem
Vid AUX said that AUX Črt introduce one.DAT one.ACC, but not know
komu koga.
who.DAT who.ACC
'Vid said that Črt introduced someone to someone, but I don't know who to who.'
- b. ... who.DAT who.ACC [Vid said [that Črt introduced ____]]

Assuming the standard view that sluicing (or ellipsis in general) fixes improper movement violations, this difference is easily explained. Movement of the second wh-word violates some grammatical constraint, which, in Lasnik's (2001) terms, results in syntactic structure (or some specific node) being marked with * or # (cf. Chomsky 1972). This marking is erased when the TP is sluiced, which means that it disappears from the derivation; so given that the structure no longer contains any such ungrammatical marking, the sentence becomes fine.

4 Some of the examples are written in partially nonstandard Slovenian in order to make sure they are judged in their most natural version.

The same mechanism is often invoked for explaining how sluicing fixes island violations (Ross 1969; Lasnik 2001; Merchant 2001; Fox & Lasnik 2003; Boeckx & Lasnik 2006 etc.). As shown in (8), for example, *wh*-extraction from a relative clause is not possible in regular *wh*-questions, as in (8a) (Ross 1969), but it immediately becomes possible if it is followed by sluicing, as in (8b).⁵

(8)

- a. *Koga je Črt razlagal o konju, ki je brnil?
 who.ACC AUX Črt explained about horse which AUX kicked
 ‘Whom was Črt explaining about a horse that kicked?’
- b. Črt je razlagal o konju, ki je brnil nekoga, pa ne vem koga.
 Črt AUX talked about horse which AUX kicked someone but not know who.ACC
 ‘Črt was explaining about a horse that kicked someone, but I don’t know whom.’
- c. ... who.ACC [Črt was explaining about a horse [that kicked ____]]

There is, nevertheless, another way of looking at this. If sluicing is able to repair illicit steps in the syntactic derivation, it should be able to fix everything, not just island violations. Any violation that is not “marked” on the moving element itself should in principle be voidable by sluicing. This is, naturally, not that easy to test as the only element surviving sluicing is the remnant, which means that we have no way of knowing what is being deleted and what kind of violations may have occurred during the derivation that got deleted. But assuming that the sluice is parallel to the antecedent, we can construct sentences that test this prediction. For example, as shown in (9), a regular sentence like (9a) is ungrammatical because the dative/prepositional argument is not selected. Assuming that this ungrammaticality is marked on the attachment site rather than on the argument itself, it is predicted (given the logic just explained) that this ungrammaticality should be voided in sluicing; but as shown in (9b), the constructed sluicing structure is clearly out. Of course, there might be other reasons why (9b) is ungrammatical, as the ungrammaticality might also result from one of the two interfaces (e.g. the introduced argument cannot be interpreted as LF, etc.). So we do not take this as an argument against the view that sluicing deletes ungrammaticality, but it is nevertheless suggestive that not everything can be fixed by simple deletion of the syntactic structure.

5 English translations may ignore grammaticality to mirror the original examples as closely as possible. To maximize clarity, we also provide English translations for ungrammatical Slovenian examples (without explicitly marking them as intended translations).

(9)

- a. *Peter kissed John to Mary.
- b. *Peter kissed John, but I don't know to who.

Similarly, one can ask whether an argument should even be made from examples in (2) at all. How do we know these cases were really grammatical in their base position? Could this not result from an ungrammatical structure that ultimately got deleted? Why can we not use some default case on these *wh*-words, something that would be ungrammatical in a sentence where the sluice was not deleted?

An alternative approach could be to claim that sluicing does not save island violations. This is not a new proposal, as the claim that the ellipsis site does not contain the deleted antecedent clause is very old (cf. Baker & Brame 1972; Chung et al. 1995, etc.). A middle way was suggested in Merchant (2001). He notes that propositional islands could have an alternative source for sluicing so that the ellipsis would not target the entire antecedent clause but only the embedded clause where the *wh*-words originate. This is sketched in (10), where (10a) gives the alternative source of (7) and (10b) the alternative source of (8b).

(10)

- a. ... *who*.DAT *who*.ACC [~~Janez introduced~~ _____]
- b. ... *who*.ACC [~~a horse kicked~~ _____]

Following this idea, examples like (7) and (8b) are available because they have a possible source that does not violate any constraints on movement. If we take this view to the extreme and claim that sluicing never saves island violations, then sluicing will only be available if there exists an acceptable overt version of the entire construction. As a result, only those apparent violations will be possible that have a possible overt source. But if there is no possible overt source, then sluicing should be equally impossible.

This view seems to be supported by the paradigm presented in Lasnik (2014), who cites the BCMS example in (11), where the sluice consists of two *wh*-words that originate in two different clauses.

(11)

- a. Neko misli da je Ivan nešto pojeo.
 Someone.NOM thinks that AUX Ivan something.ACC ate
 'Someone thinks that Ivan ate something.' (BCMS)

- b. Pitam se ko šta.
 ask SELF who.NOM what.ACC
 'I wonder who what.'
 (BCMS)
- c. ... who what [___ thinks [that Ivan ate ___]]

According to Lasnik (2014) judgments for (11b) correlate with the judgments for comparable wh-extraction. One out of seven speakers rejected (11b). The same speaker was also the only speaker that rejected (12).

- (12) Ko šta misli da je Petar pojeo?
 Who.NOM what.ACC thinks that AUX Petar ate
 'Who thinks that Petar ate what?'
 (BCMS)

We made a quick online questionnaire with four pairs of sentences where each pair consisted of a sluicing sentence and a regular wh-question that corresponded to the non-elided sluice, the same as (11) and (12). All 13 speakers of BCMS judged the wh-question sentence as better than the sluicing sentence of the same pair. Even though this does not fully confirm Lasnik's (2014) report on BCMS data (note also that Georgieva, Marušič, Mišmaš & Žaucer 2025 most recently argue that the Lasnik data in (11) and (12) feature a confound), it does confirm our prediction given above, i.e., that sluicing will only be available if the overt version of the entire construction is acceptable. It thus also disproves the standard approach to sluicing, which should predict sluicing to be more permissible and therefore judged as better than the overt versions of the same clause.

The Lasnik (2014) type of examples are ungrammatical in Slovenian, both sluicing and regular wh-questions:⁶

- (13)
- a. *Nekdo misli, da je Črt nekaj pojedel, ampak ne vem kdo kaj.
 Someone thinks that AUX Črt something ate but not know who what
 'Someone thinks that Črt ate something, but I don't know who what.'
- b. ... who what [___ thinks [that Črt ate ___]]

⁶ In ungrammatical sluicing examples such as (13) the reported ungrammaticality originates in the sluice part of the sentence; the antecedent part of such examples is always unproblematic. This also applies to all subsequent examples where the sluice part is expressed as an independent sentence, so that the ungrammatical judgement reported by the asterisk preceding such two-sentence examples really only applies to the sluice part of the example.

- (14) *Kdo kaj misli, da je Črt pojedel?
 Who.NOM what.ACC thinks that AUX Črt ate
 ‘Who thinks that Črt ate what?’

In fact, any version of simultaneous extraction of one *wh*-word from an embedded clause and the other one from the matrix clause is ungrammatical in Slovenian. Example (15) shows that this is the case for simultaneous extraction of the matrix subject and an embedded adjunct.

- (15)
 a. *Nekdo je rekel, da je Črt nekam šel, pa ne vem kdo kam.
 someone AUX said that AUX Črt somewhere gone but not know who where
 ‘Somebody mentioned that Črt went somewhere, but I don’t know who where.’
 b. ... who where [____ mentioned [that Črt went ____]]

- (16) *Kdo je kam omenil, da je Črt šel?
 Who AUX where mentioned that AUX Črt went
 ‘Who mentioned that Črt went where?’

The unavailability of examples like (15) and (13) could be attributed to the more general ban on multiple extractions from two different clauses if it was not the case that for many speakers, the BCMS example in (11) is acceptable. If multiple extraction from different clauses is bad, then why is it allowed in BCMS precisely for those speakers who allow multiple *wh*-fronting from different clauses?

The importance of these examples is that they show that the condition for accepting a sluicing construction is the acceptability of regular overt *wh*-movement in comparable *wh*-questions. Sluicing is fine only if such extraction is acceptable in simple questions. In short, sluicing is available only in cases where the non-elided sluice is also grammatical.

This means that in these cases, sluicing cannot fix movement violations. Taking this to the extreme, we could say this is because sluicing never fixes improper-movement violations, and that perhaps even island repair is just an illusion. The illusion is achieved because there is no violation of any syntactic constraints in the sluice in the first place (cf. Szczegielniak 2006; Abels 2011; Barros et al. 2014 etc.). We will now go through a series of examples that all seem to suggest the same thing, namely, that

sluicing does not rescue any island violations and that, consequently, all instances of island repair are just apparent.

3 Extraction from an island + another extraction

Merchant (2001) differentiates between two types of islands, propositional and non-propositional islands. We follow Merchant and group the data in the following sections according to these two groups: section 3.1 presents data with propositional islands, while sections 3.2, 3.3, and 3.4 discuss data with non-propositional islands, even though, as we will see at the end, this distinction might not really be needed. We will systematically look at island violations that seem to be repaired by sluicing, and try to combine them with another extraction. We will see that extractions from islands are truly acceptable only in single sluicing constructions. As soon as they are combined with another extraction that does not originate in the same island, the availability of sluicing disappears.

3.1 Propositional islands

3.1.1 *Relative clauses*

As shown above in (8), we can easily extract a *wh*-word from a relative clause in sluicing. But notice that we cannot combine such a violation with another *wh*-extraction that does not originate in the same clause. For example, we cannot extract two *wh*-words from two different relative clauses, as shown in (17a).⁷

7 An anonymous reviewer points out that in example (17a) single extraction from the first relative clause (the one further away from the right edge of the sentence) is also impossible, as shown in example (i). This makes the argument based on (17a) appear weaker, but we think that this is related to the information structure of the antecedent clause rather than with the syntactic structure of the antecedent clause. Similar examples become possible (or easier to process) if we use *d*-linked *wh*-words, as in (ii).

(i)

- a. *Črt je dal konju, ki je nekoga brnil, podkev, ki jo je kupil v Celju, ampak ne vem, koga.
 Črt AUX gave horse which AUX someone kicked horseshoe which it AUX bought in Celje but not know whom
 'Črt gave the horse that kicked someone a horseshoe that he bought in Celje, but I don't know whom.'

- b. ... whom [Črt gave the horse [that kicked ____] a horseshoe [that he bought in Celje]]

(ii)

- a. *Črt je dal konju, ki je brnil nekega otroka, podkev, ki jo je kupil v Celju,
 Črt AUX gave horse which AUX kicked some child horseshoe which it AUX bought in Celje
 ampak ne vem, katerega otroka.
 but not know which child
 'Črt gave the horse that kicked some child a horseshoe that he bought in Celje, but I don't know which child.'

- b. ... whom [Črt gave the horse [that kicked ____] a horseshoe [that he bought in Celje]]

(17)

- a. *Črt je dal konju, ki je nekoga brnil, podkev, ki jo je
 Črt AUX gave horse which AUX someone kicked horseshoe which it AUX
 nekje kupil, ampak ne vem, koga kje.
 somewhere bought but not know whom where
 'Črt gave the horse that kicked someone a horseshoe that he bought some-
 where, but I don't know whom where.'
- b. ... whom where [~~Črt gave the horse [that kicked ____] a horseshoe [that he
 bought ____]~~]

Combinations of a single island violation and another extraction from the matrix clause are similarly ungrammatical. So even when the other extraction does not violate anything, the combination of the two is ungrammatical. Again, there is a clause boundary between the two extraction sites, which we will comment on in section 3.1.5.

(18)

- a. *Nekdo je govoril o konju, ki je brnil nekoga, ampak ne vem
 someone AUX talked about horse that AUX kicked someone, but not know
 kdo koga.
 who whom
 'Someone talked about a horse that kicked someone, but I don't know who
 whom.'
- b. ... who whom [~~____ talked about a horse [that kicked ____]~~]

3.1.2 Complex NP – complement clauses

Another type of propositional island is constituted by complement clauses to nouns (Ross 1967). Whereas wh-extraction from embedded clausal complements to nouns is bad, as shown in (19), this extraction is fine in sluicing constructions, as shown in (20).

- (19) *Koga je Črt povedal novico, da je Vid zaprosil?
 who AUX Črt told news that AUX Vid proposed
 'Who did Črt tell the news that Vid proposed to?'

(20)

- a. Črt je povedal novico, da je Vid zaprosil nekoga, ampak ne vem koga.
 Črt AUX told news that AUX Vid proposed someone but not know who
 'Črt told the news that Vid proposed to someone, but I don't know to who.'
- b. ... who [~~Črt told news~~ [~~that Vid proposed to~~ ____]]

Again, as observed above, island repair is only possible in case the extraction that violates the island does not combine with an extraction from the matrix clause, as in (21), or with another extraction from another island, as in (22).

(21)

- a. *Nekdo je povedal novico, da je Vid zaprosil nekoga, ampak
 Someone AUX told news that AUX Vid proposed someone but
 ne vem kdo koga.
 not know who who
 'Someone told the news that Vid proposed to someone, but I don't know
 who to who.'
2. ... who whom [~~____ told news~~ [~~that Vid proposed to~~ ____]]

(22)

- a. *Črt je novico, da je Vid opisal nekoga, povedal puncu, ki
 Črt AUX news that AUX Vid described someone told girl which
 jo je nekje srečal, ampak ne vem koga kje.
 her AUX somewhere met but not know who where
 'Črt told the news that Vid described someone to a girl that he met some-
 where but I don't know who where.'
- b. ... who where [~~Črt news~~ [~~that Vid proposed to~~ ____] told the girl [~~that he met~~ ____]]

Just like in the case of relative clause islands above, there is a finite clause boundary separating the two extraction sites.

3.1.3 Sentential subject island

Wh-extraction from sentential subjects is impossible (Ross 1967), as shown in (23). But such extraction appears to become possible if it is followed by sluicing, as in (24).

- (23) *Koga je, da je Peter udaril, presenetilo Micko?
 who AUX that AUX Peter hit surprised Micka
 ‘Who did it surprise Micka that Peter hit?’

(24)

- a. Da je Peter odšel nekam v Afriko, je presenetilo vse. Ugani kam.
 that AUX Peter went somewhere to Africa AUX surprised all guess where
 ‘That Peter went somewhere to Africa surprised everyone. Guess where.’
 b. ... where ~~[[that Peter went ____] surprised all]~~

Island amelioration vanishes, however, once we add another extraction from outside this island.

(25)

- a. *Da je nekdo udaril Petra, je nekoga presenetilo. Ugani kdo koga.
 that AUX someone hit Peter AUX one surprised guess who who
 ‘That someone hit Peter surprised someone. Guess who who.’
 b. ... who whom ~~[[that ____ hit Peter] surprised ____]~~

As in the two preceding sections, the pattern is the same – island violation is voided only when there is a single extraction, and it applies again as soon as this single extraction is coupled with another extraction from outside the island. Additionally, here too there is a finite clause boundary between the two extraction sites.

3.1.4 Adjuncts

Wh-extraction is impossible from adjuncts (Ross 1967). If adjunct clauses are just free relative clauses, as argued by Geis (1970), adjunct islands may be just a subtype of the relative clause islands.

- (26) *Koga je Črt kihnil, ravno ko je Marta poljubila?
 who AUX Črt sneezed just when AUX Marta kissed
 ‘Whom did Črt sneeze just when Marta kissed?’

In sluicing, such extraction is fine:

(27)

- a. Črt je padel, ravno ko je Kim brnila nekoga, a ne vem koga.
 Črt AUX fell just as AUX Kim kicked someone but not know whom
 'Črt fell just when Kim kicked someone, but I don't know whom.'
 b. ... whom [Črt fell [just when Kim kicked ____]]

However, combining a wh-extraction from a clausal adjunct with a matrix-clause extraction is impossible even in sluicing, as in (28), just as it is impossible to combine two such extractions from two different adjuncts, as in (29).

(28)

- a. *Nekdo je padel, ravno ko je Kim brnila nekoga, a ne vem
 someone AUX fell just as AUX Kim kissed someone but not know
 kdo koga.
 who who
 'Someone fell just when Kim kicked someone, but I don't know who whom.'
 b. ... who whom [____ fell [just when Kim kicked ____]]

(29)

- a. *Črt je padel pod neko mizo, ravno ko je nekdo dal gol.
 Črt AUX fell under some table just as AUX someone gave goal
 Ugani pod katero kdo.
 guess under which who
 'Črt fell under some table just as someone scored a goal. Guess which table who.'
 b. ... under which who [Črt fell under ____ [just as ____ scored a goal]]

3.1.5 Propositional island recap

We have established that island violating extraction cannot be combined with another extraction that does not come from inside the same island. Notice that it is *not* the case that sluicing can only fix one island violation at a time (which – if it were the case – would be an extremely difficult constraint to motivate and make sense of anyway). We can extract two wh-words from the same island in sluicing, as shown in (30):

(30)

- a. Razlagal je o konju, ki je nekje nekoga brnil,
 explained AUX about horse which AUX somewhere someone kicked
 pa ne vem kje koga.
 but not know where who
 ‘He was explaining about a horse that kicked someone somewhere, but
 I don’t know whom where.’
- b. ... who where [~~he was explaining about a horse~~ [~~that kicked~~ ____]]

We can also extract a wh-phrase from a double island, for instance when we have one island inside another island, as in (31), where the extracted wh-word gets out of an adjunct clause that is inside a relative clause.

(31)

- a. Razlagal je o konju, ki je brnil Črta, ko se je ta
 explained AUX about horse which AUX kicked Črt when REFL AUX this
 z nekom pogovarjal, ampak ne vem s kom.
 with someone talk but not know with whom
 ‘He was explaining about a horse that kicked Črt when he was talking to
 someone, but I don’t know to who.’
- b. ... to who [~~he was explaining about a horse~~ [~~that kicked Črt~~ [~~when he talked~~ ____]]]

Moreover, such cases even allow multiple sluicing, as long as both wh-words originate in the same island, as in (32), where the two wh-words come from inside a relative clause that is inside a clausal complement to a noun.

(32)

- a. Razpredal je o govoric, da je Črt kupil konja, ki je
 talked AUX about rumour that AUX Črt bought horse which AUX
 enkrat nekoga brnil, ne vem pa kdaj koga.
 once someone kicked not know but when who
 ‘He talked about the rumour that Črt bought a horse that once kicked some-
 one, but I don’t know whom when.’
- b. ... who when [~~he talked of a rumour~~ [~~that Črt bought a horse~~ [~~that kicked~~ ____]]]

The problem that the examples in the preceding sections all share seems to be that whenever extraction crosses a finite clause boundary it cannot combine with another extraction that comes from another clause. This could perhaps be explained with a generalization stated in Takahashi (1994, p. 287: (54b)) “The remnants in multiple Sluicing must be interpreted as clause mates”. Note that, as we have shown above in section 2 with the BCMS examples discussed in Lasnik (2014), this does not seem to be an absolute restriction (though see Georgieva et al. 2025 for a different view, claiming that Lasnik’s data in (11) and (12) contain a confound, and that the Clause-Mate Condition does hold as a constraint on multiple sluicing in BCMS as well). Merchant (2001, p. 113, fn. 4) also notes that this is not an absolute ban, as examples such as (33b) are reported to be fine (cf. Nishigauchi 1998; Bhattacharya & Simpson 2012; Abels & Dayal 2017 for more examples, but see also Cortés Rodríguez 2022; Cortés Rodríguez & Griffiths 2024 for a different view).

(33)

- a. *Someone thinks Jon brought something. I don’t know who what.
- b. Everybody said they’ll bring something. I don’t know who what.

Furthermore, this ban is really only relevant for finite-clause boundaries. Remnants originating from different sides of a non-finite clause boundary are easily interpretable, as shown in (34). But then again, multiple questions with a similar configuration are also fine in Slovenian, as shown in (35).

(34)

- a. Nekdo je pozabil poklicati nekoga, ampak ne vem kdo koga.
 someone AUX forgot call someone but not know who who
 ‘Someone forgot to call someone, but I forgot who who.’
- b. ... who who [____ forgot [to call ____]]

(35) Kdo je koga pozabil poklicat?

- who AUX who forgot call
- ‘Who forgot to call who?’

This suggests that it does not seem possible to blame the impossibility of multiple wh-remnants originating from different islands exclusively on the Clause-Mate

Condition on multiple sluicing. See Abels and Dayal (2017) for a much longer discussion and an explanation of the clause-mate restriction on multiple sluicing.

In the next section we will show that the ban on multiple sluicing observed with propositional islands is really much more general, which further suggests that this ban cannot be reduced simply to the Clause-Mate Condition on multiple sluicing.

3.2 Coordinate Structure Constraint

Another constraint discussed by Ross (1967) is the Coordinate Structure Constraint [CSC], which bans movement from inside coordination. Grosu (1972) identifies two different movement restrictions: (i) Coordinate Constraint [CC], which bans movement of entire conjuncts; and (ii) Element Constraint [EC], which bans movement of elements from inside conjuncts. There is some debate whether CSC is really an island constraint, e.g. Kehler (1996). Our purpose here is not to discuss the potential workings of CSC, we really only want to draw a parallel between multiple sluicing and regular non-elliptical sentences (but see Zhang 2009 for a thorough discussion of CSC). In Slovenian simple wh-fronting cannot violate CSC; neither CC, (36a), nor EC, (36b):

(36)

- a. *Koga je Peter videl ____ in Janeza?
 who AUX Peter saw and Janez
 ‘Who and Janez did Peter see?’
- b. *Koga je Vid mislil, da bo srečal ____ in da bo kupil pivo?
 Who AUX Vid think that AUX met and that AUX bought beer

Now, sluicing has often been cited as an operation that fixes CSC violations (cf. Ross 1969; Merchant 2001; Fox & Lasnik 2003 a.o.), and this claim can be extended to Slovenian, too. Sluicing fixes island violations regardless of what kind of subpart of CSC we are looking at and regardless of the conjunct that the wh-phrase originates from: whether it is from the second conjunct, (37) and (38), or from the first conjunct, (39) and (40).

(37)

- a. Vid je povabil Črta in še nekoga, ampak ne vem koga.
 Vid AUX invited Črt and also someone but not know who
 ‘Vid invited Črt and someone else, but I don’t know whom.’
- b. ... whom [Vid invited Črt and ____]

(38)

- a. Vid je mislil, da bo srečal Črta in da bo nekaj kupil,
 Vid AUX think that AUX met Črt and that AUX something bought
 ampak se zdaj ne spomnim kaj.
 but REFL now neg remember what
 'Vid thought he would meet Črt and buy something, but I cannot remember what.'
- b. ... what [Peter thought [[he would meet Črt] and [buy ____]]]

(39)

- a. Vid je povabil nekoga in še Črta, ampak ne vem koga.
 Vid AUX invited some and also Črt but not know who
 'Vid invited someone and also Črt, but I don't know whom.'
- b. ... whom [Vid invited ____ and Črt]

(40)

- a. Črt je mislil, da bo srečal nekoga in da bo kupil neke knjige,
 Črt AUX think that AUX met someone and that AUX bought some books
 pozabil pa sem koga.
 forgot PRT AUX who
 'Črt thought he would meet someone and buy books, but I forgot who.'
- b. ... who [Črt thought [[he would meet ____] and [buy books]]]

In (38) and (40), sluicing apparently fixed an EC violation, and in (37) and (39) a CC violation. But combining a CSC violation with another extraction of the same type is again impossible, as shown in (41), where both conjuncts of the coordination are extracted, and in (42) and (43), where two wh-words are extracted from inside the two conjuncts.

(41)

- a. *Vid je povabil enega fanta in eno punco, pa ne vem katerega katero.
 Vid AUX invited one boy and one girl but not know which which
 'Vid invited some boy and some girl, but I don't know which one which one.'
- b. ... which one which one [Vid invited ____ and ____]

(42)

- a. *Črt je mislil, da bo nekoga srečal in nekaj kupil, ampak
 Črt AUX think that AUX someone met and something bought but
 ne vem koga kaj.
 not know who what
 'Črt thought he would meet someone and buy something, but I don't know
 who what.'
- b. ... who what [Črt thought [[he would meet ____] and [buy ____]]]

(43)

- a. *Črt je želel nekoga srečati in nekaj kupiti, ampak ne vem
 Črt AUX wished someone meet and something buy but not know
 koga kaj.
 who what
 'Črt wanted to meet someone and to buy something, but I don't know who
 what.'
- b. ... who what [Črt wanted [[to meet ____] and [to buy ____]]]

Extraction of both conjuncts is possible only when the two *wh*-words are conjoined, as in (44) and (45). But when this is the case we have not violated the CSC, as we have either fronted the entire coordination, or perhaps conjoined two single sluicings (we will come back to this in the last section of this paper).

(44) Vid je povabil enega fanta in eno punco, pa ne vem katerega

Vid AUX invited one boy and one girl but not know which

fanta *(in) katero punco.

guy and which girl

'Vid invited some boy and some girl, but I don't know which boy and which girl.'

(45) Vid je mislil, da bo nekoga srečal in nekaj kupil, ampak ne

Vid AUX thought that AUX someone met and something bought but not

vem ne koga ne kaj.

know not who not what

'Vid thought he would meet someone and buy some books, but I don't know
 either who or how many.'

Note that the unacceptability of (41) is not due to a distinctness condition violation of the kind Richards (2010) mentions. As shown by Mišmaš (2011), different gender features are enough to make *wh*-words count as distinct in Slovenian. This is also shown in (46), a regular multiple sluicing example with two dative *wh*-words (one is the dative subject of the matrix clause and the other the dative internal object of the embedded non-final clause) and the two *wh*-words share everything but gender features, and the example is acceptable.

- (46) Nekemu fantu se ni pomagalo neki punči, ampak ne vem
 some boy.DAT REFL NEG-AUX helped some girl.DAT but not know
 kateremu kateri.
 which.DAT.M which.DAT.F
 ‘Some boy didn’t feel like helping some girl, but I don’t know which which.’

Sentences become unacceptable even when we combine a CSC violation with another CSC violation.

- (47)
 a. *Vid in še nekdo sta kupila vsak po štruco kruha in še
 Vid and also someone AUX bought each at loaf bread and also
 nekaj, ampak ne vem kdo kaj.
 something but not know who what
 b. ... who what [Vid and ____ each bought a loaf of bread and ____]

The only option for multiple sluicing is to have two extractions from the same conjunct, that is, to have two EC violations from the same conjunct, as in (48).

- (48)
 a. Vid je včeraj v trafiki kupil novo Mladino in nekje
 Vid AUX yesterday in tobacconist bought new Mladina and somewhere
 drugje nekaj drugega prodal, ampak ne vem kje kaj.
 else something else sold but not know where what
 ‘Vid bought the new issue of Mladina yesterday at the tobacco-shop and sold somewhere else something else, but I don’t know where what.’
 b. ... where what [Vid [...] and [____ sold ____]]

3.3 DP internal islands

3.3.1 *Subject islands*

As shown in (49), extraction from a DP in subject position is impossible.

(49)

- a. Teorija o skladienjskih otokih je zapletena.
 theory about syntactic islands AUX complicated
 ‘The theory about syntactic islands is complicated.’
- b. *O čem je [teorija ____] zapletena?
 about what AUX theory complicated
 ‘What is the theory about complicated?’

And as shown in (50), this extraction becomes available in sluicing:

(50)

- a. Teorija o nečem je bila slavnostno predstavljena. Ampak
 theory about something AUX been ceremonially presented but
 o čem?
 about what
 ‘The theory about something was presented. But about what?’
- b. ... about-what PRT [[the theory ____] was presented]

However, when such extraction from a subject island is combined with another extraction that is not from the same island, the result of such multiple sluicing is bad. This is shown in (51) and (52), of which (51) shows extraction from a subject island combined with an extraction of a dative argument from the main clause, and (52) shows subject-island extraction combined with an extraction of an adjunct from the main clause.

(51)

- a. *Teorija o nečem je bila nekому predstavljena. Mogoče veš
 theory about something AUX been someone presented maybe know
 o čem komu?
 about what who
 ‘The theory about something was presented to someone. Maybe you know about what to whom?’
- b. ... about-what to-whom [[the theory ____] was presented ____]

(52)

- a. *Teorija o nečem je bila enkrat predstavljena. Ampak ne
 theory about something AUX been someone presented but not
 vem o čem kdaj?
 know about what when
 ‘The theory about something was presented to someone. But I don’t know
 about what when?’
- b. ... about-what when PRT [~~the theory~~ ____] was presented ____]

In fact, even multiple sluicing where both remnants come from the same subject is bad, (53):

(53)

- a. *Knjiga o nekih dinosavrih s precej trdimi platnicam je
 book about some dinosaurs with somewhat hard covers AUX
 ležala na mizi, ampak ne vem, o katerih dinosavrih s kako
 lay on table but not know about which dinosaurs with how
 trdimi platnicami.
 hard covers
 ‘A book about dinosaurs with somewhat hard covers was lying on the
 table, but I don’t know about which dinosaurs with how hard covers.’
- b. ... about-which-dinosaurs with-how-hard-covers PRT [~~a book~~ ____] was
 lying on the table]

3.3.2 DP complements of nouns

Slovenian does not allow wh-extraction of a DP embedded inside a DP regardless of whether these DPs are adjuncts or arguments. (54) shows a case of unacceptable wh-extraction of a DP from inside a DP that is not a subject.

(54)

- a. Črt je razložil teorijo relativnosti.
 Črt AUX explained theory relativity.GEN
 ‘Črt explained the theory of relativity.’
- b. *Česa je Črt razložil teorijo
 what.GEN AUX Črt explained theory
 ‘What did Črt explain the theory of?’

As shown in (55), such extractions are possible in sluicing.

(55)

- a. Črt je razložil teorijo nečesa, samo ne vem, česa.
 Črt AUX explained theory something.GEN just not know what.GEN
 'Črt explained the theory of something, I just don't know of what.'
- b. ... what [~~Črt explained~~ [~~the theory~~ ____]]

But again, as soon as we try to combine it with some other extraction, such extraction becomes impossible. (56) shows the ungrammaticality of combining an extraction of a DP embedded inside a DP with an extraction from the rest of the clause, and (57) shows the ungrammaticality of two extractions of a DP from within two different DPs.

(56)

- a. *Nekdo je razložil teorijo nečesa, samo ne vem, kdo česa
 someone AUX explained theory something.GEN just not know who what.GEN
 'Somebody explained the theory of something, I just don't know who of what.'
- b. ... who what [~~____ explained~~ [~~the theory~~ ____]]

(57)

- a. *Črt je prijatelju neke sošolke razložil teorijo nečesa,
 Črt AUX friend some classmate.GEN explained theory something.GEN
 samo ne vem katere (sošolke) česa.
 just not know which.GEN classmate.GEN what.GEN
 'Črt explained the theory of something to a friend of one of his classmates, I just don't know of what of which classmate.'
- b. ... what of-which-classmate [~~Črt explained~~ [~~the theory~~ ____] [~~to a friend~~ ____]]

As soon as we combine an extraction from a DP with an extraction from outside that DP, sluicing becomes impossible.

3.3.3 Left-branch extraction – LBE

Generally speaking Slovenian does not allow LBE, at least the type of LBE discussed by Merchant (2001). (58) demonstrates ungrammaticality of LBE in *wh*-extraction.⁸

- (58) *Kako visoko je Vid preplezal steno?
 how tall AUX Vid climbed cliff
 ‘How tall did Vid climb a cliff?’

As shown in (59), sluicing again makes such extractions possible, so that ‘how tall’ – the same kind of *wh*-AP that cannot get *wh*-extracted in regular questions – can be the remnants in sluicing without problems.

- (59)
 a. Vid je preplezal eno visoko steno, ampak ne vem kako visoko.
 Vid AUX climbed a tall cliff but not know how tall
 ‘Vid climbed a tall cliff, but I don’t know, how tall.’
 b. ... how tall [~~Vid climbed~~ [____ cliff]]

But when we try to combine such an LBE-exhibiting extraction with some other extraction from the rest of the clause, as in (60), sluicing can no longer rescue LBE.

- (60)
 a. *Vid je enkrat preplezal eno visoko steno, ampak ne vem kdaj
 Vid AUX once climbed a tall cliff but not know when
 kako visoko.
 how tall
 ‘Vid climbed a tall cliff once, but I don’t know, how tall when.’
 b. ... how tall when [~~Vid climbed~~ [____ cliff] ____]

8 There may be some subtypes of LBE that are also available in Slovenian (cf. Bošković 2008; Mišmaš 2017), but overall, LBE is clearly not as freely available as, say, in BCMS. So unlike (58), cases like (1) are possible or at least much better than (58). As we have no intention of explaining the difference between various types of LBE, we simply make a contrast between sluicing and regular *wh*-questions using the same type of extracted elements.

(i) Koliko misliš, da je Črt visok?
 how think that AUX Črt tall
 ‘How tall do you think Črt is?’

Similarly, LBE is incompatible with other types of extractions from inside the same DP, as shown in (61) for DP-inside-DP extraction and in (62) for another LBE from inside a PP inside the same DP.

(61)

- a. *Črt je zahteval podroben seznam nečesa, ampak ne vem,
 Črt AUX requested detailed list something.GEN but not know
 kako podroben česa.
 how detailed what.GEN
 'Črt requested a detailed list of something, but I don't know how detailed of what.'
- b. ... how detailed of what [Črt requested [____ list [____]]]

(62)

- a. *Vid je preplezal eno visoko steno nad neko grapo, ampak ne vem
 Vid AUX climbed a tall cliff over some gully but not know
 kako visoko katero.
 how tall which
 'Vid climbed a tall cliff over some gully, but I don't know, how tall which.'
- b. ... how tall which [Vid climbed [____ cliff over ____ gully]]

Moreover, sluicing can also not save multiple LBEs (cf. Grebenyova 2005), regardless of whether both LBEs are from the same noun phrase, as in (63), or if they are from different noun phrases, as in (64).

(63)

- a. *Kupil si je nov avto. Ugani katere barve katere znamke.
 bought REFL AUX new car guess which colour which brand
 'He bought a new car. Guess what colour what brand.'
- b. ... what colour what brand [he bought [____ ____ car]]

(64)

- a. *Črt je precej otrokom podaril precej čudne balone, ampak ne vem
 Črt AUX many children gave fairly strange balloons but not know
 kolikim kako čudne.
 how-many how strange
 'Črt gave many children fairly weird balloons, but I don't know to how many how strange.'
- b. ... how many how strange [Črt gave [____ kids] [____ balloons]]

3.3.4 *Comitatives*

Much like LBE and extraction from DPs, comitatives like *vidva s Črtom* (you-dual with Črt) “you and Črt” or *mi trije z Ano in Ido* “me, Ana and Ida”, where the pronoun+with-PP act and agree as a dual/plural subject, (65a), do not allow anything to be extracted out of them. As shown in (65b), regular wh-extraction is impossible, while sluicing is fine, as in (65c).

(65)

- a. Vidva z Micko sta zelo pametna.
you.DU with Micka AUX very smart
‘You and Micka are very smart.’
- b. *S kom sta vidva ___ zelo pametna?
with who AUX you.DU very smart
‘You and who are very smart?’
- c. Slišal sem, da sta vidva z enim tvojim prijateljem super ekipa,
heard AUX that AUX you.DU with one your friend great team
ampak ne vem s kom.
but not know with who
‘I heard that you and a friend of yours make a good team, but I don’t know who?’

And just like we have been systematically seeing up to now, combining an extraction from a comitative construction with any other extraction is impossible. This is shown in (66), where an extraction from a comitative is combined with an extraction from another noun phrase, and in (67), where an extraction from a comitative is combined with an extraction of a noun phrase from the rest of the clause that does not violate any island.

(66)

- a. *Vidva z enim z Iga sta skupaj spila nekaj piv, ne vem
you.DU with one from Ig AUX together drank some beers not know
pa s kom koliko.
PRT with who how many
‘You and someone from Ig drank some beers together, but I don’t know who how many.’
- b. ... with who how many {[you ___] drank ___ beers together}

(67)

- a. *Onadva z enim iz Grgarja sta skupaj nekam odšla, ne vem
 they.DU with one from Grgar AUX together someplace went not know
 pa s kom kam.
 PRT with who where
 ‘He and someone from Grgar went someplace together, but I don’t know
 who where.’
- b. ... with who where [[They ____] went ____]

3.4 Other (strong) islands

Not every island can be tested in the way employed above. We have avoided weak-islands since these typically allow extraction of arguments, which represent typical participants in sluicing; consequently we are not considering, for instance, negative islands and *wh*-islands (see Szabolcsi & Den Dikken 1999 and Szabolcsi 2006 for a discussion and distinctions between various types of islands). Similarly, it is impossible to test derived positions, as the deletion obscures the actual source of extraction.

Preposition stranding is typically not called an island constraint (also because it is not universal), but Merchant (2001) proposed a generalization stating that only languages that allow preposition stranding under *wh*-movement allow preposition stranding under sluicing.⁹ In other words sluicing apparently does not rescue preposition stranding violations, which is again unexpected if sluicing simply deletes the asterisk on the syntactic structure where the ungrammatical move was made. But as we will see, preposition stranding is actually a somewhat more complicated case.

Certain languages were claimed to go – at least apparently – against the Merchant (2001) P-stranding generalization (cf. Potsdam 2003; Sato 2007; Rodrigues, Nevins & Vicente 2007), so that this generalization is probably not very strong. On the other hand, some apparent counterarguments seem to suggest that these data should be looked at more carefully. As shown in Stjepanović (2008), the apparent preposition stranding under sluicing in BCMS is clearly not a result of sluicing alone. To some degree, Slovenian, like BCMS, also allows preposition stranding under sluicing, as in (68), and could actually be used to replicate Stjepanović’s (2008) argument showing that in cases where sluicing allows preposition stranding (and thus apparently “saves” ungrammatical preposition stranding) it is actually not the sluicing that is exclusively

9 Note that LBE and CSC, which are considered islands in discussions of languages like English, are supposedly violable in some other languages, such as in BCMS (cf. Franks & Progovac 1994; Stjepanović 1998; Bošković 2005 etc.).

responsible for the acceptability of preposition stranding since preposition stranding is also possible with sluiced coordinated PPs which do not involve pseudosluicing or base-generated fragments, (69) (cf. Rodrigues et al. 2007, who also claim that sluicing does not save preposition-stranding violations in Brazilian Portuguese and Spanish).

(68)

- a. ?Črt je na zabavo prišel z nekom, ampak ne vem kom.
 Črt AUX to party came with someone but not know who
 'Črt came to the party with someone, but I don't know who.'
 b. ... who [Črt came [to party] [with ____]]

(69)

Vid je skril igračko za eno omaro in pod eno blazino, ampak ne
 Vid AUX hid toy behind one cupboard and under one pillow but not
 vem prav dobro ?(za) katero omaro in ?(pod) katero blazino.
 know quite well behind which cupboard and under which pillow
 'Vid hid the toy behind a cupboard and under a pillow, but I don't know which
 cupboard and which pillow.'

But regardless of the actual nature of preposition stranding in sluicing constructions, as soon as we combine preposition stranding with some other extraction, either another preposition stranding, as in (70), or simply with an extraction that does not violate anything, as in (71), the sentence is completely out.¹⁰

(70)

- a. *Črt je prišel na neko zabavo z nekom ampak ne vem katero
 Črt AUX came to some party with someone but not know which
 zabavo kom.
 party who
 'Črt came to some party with someone, but I don't know which party who.'
 b. ... which party who [Črt came [to ____] [with ____]]

10 Note that (69) above, which had two instances of preposition stranding inside the same sentence, had the two wh-words coordinated. This actually suggests that (69) may be an instance of two independent sluicing constructions, which Stjepanović (2008) argues against. Given that it is irrelevant for our purposes here what exactly it is that allows (69), we leave this question aside.

(71)

- a. *Nekdo je prišel na zabavo z nekom, ampak ne vem kdo kom.
 Someone AUX came to party with someone but not know who who
 ‘Someone came to the party with someone, but I’m not sure who who.’
- b. ... who who [came [to the party] [with]]

3.5 Recap

As we have seen in this section, sluicing cannot save every type of violation of a certain sentence. It can save single island violations and it can save multiple violations if they originate from a single island. Combining an island violation with a violation of a different island, though, results in ungrammaticality. Similarly, combining an extraction from an island with an extraction from the main clause that does not violate anything is also impossible. At this point, this leads us to the following generalization:

(72) **Generalization on multiple sluicing** – take 1:

Multiple sluicing can only rescue improper movement violations if all wh-remnants originate inside the same island.

This generalization is stated in a way that assumes that sluicing can save island violations. As we mentioned above, though, this is not so obviously true. Anticipating what we will discuss next, we also present here a slightly stronger generalization that also covers examples (11)–(15), though this one, crucially, assumes that sluicing does *not* rescue island violations.

(73) **Generalization on multiple sluicing** – stronger version:

Multiple sluicing is possible only when multiple wh-movement of the remnants is possible without subsequent TP-ellipsis.

4 Island repair

For certain islands it has also been claimed that they can be – at least apparently – saved by other means as well. Ross (1967) identifies three such environments in addition to sluicing: resumption, wh-in-situ and pied-piping (see also Cable 2010; Boeckx 2012 among others). Truswell (2007) notes that adjunct islands can be

violated in certain cases and Bošković (2011) proposes that elements can extract from island-phrases that are headed by a trace (see also Stepanov 2012).¹¹

We will now look at some of these environments. The idea is that if there is something about multiple sluicing that blocks island amelioration, then island amelioration should be impossible regardless of what kind of multiple-sluicing construction we test. That is, if it is multiple sluicing that blocks island amelioration, trying to save island violations through another mechanism should be just as unsuccessful as the failed rescue attempts that we have seen in the examples so far. But on the other hand, if the problem is really in sluicing (not in the fact that it is applied multiply), then trying to save island violations with another mechanism should be successful and the constructions that were ungrammatical above should become grammatical.

Of course, not everything can be modulated in sluicing. Two island-voiding processes fall out as irrelevant right away: resumption and *wh*-in-situ strategies are incompatible with sluicing, which requires *wh*-movement and deletes the rest of the clause where a resumptive pronoun would be placed, so we can put these aside and have a look at pied-piping instead.¹²

4.1 Pied-piping

4.1.1 LBE

Not all islands seem to be sensitive to pied-piping, but one that typically *is* claimed to be is LBE. In Slovenian, fronting the entire DP is most certainly also possible in regular *wh*-questions, as in (74).

(74)

- a. Kako podroben spisec je Črt zahteval?
 how detailed list AUX Črt requested
 ‘How detailed a list did Črt request?’
- b. Kako visoko steno je Vid preplezal?
 how tall cliff AUX Vid climbed
 ‘How tall a cliff did Vid climbed?’

11 Related to this are also the proposals by Den Dikken (2007) and Gallego (2010) – Phase-Extension and Phase-Sliding respectively – but as these are limited or focused on phases rather than islands, we will not discuss them at length.

12 Note that as argued by Heestand, Xiang and Polinsky (2011), resumption does not save islands anyway.

And given that pied-piping also avoids LBE violations in embedded questions, as in (75), we can assume that this indeed involves proper wh-movement. And obviously, as this is an available strategy in wh-questions, pied-piping of the entire DP is also available in sluicing, (76).

- (75) Črt je vprašal, kako visoko steno je preplezal Vid?
 Črt AUX asked how tall cliff AUX climbed Vid
 'Črt asked how tall a cliff did Vid climbed?'

- (76) Črt je preplezal eno kar visoko steno, ne vem pa, kako visoko steno.
 Črt AUX climbed a fairly tall cliff not know PRT how tall cliff
 'Črt climber a fairly tall cliff, but I don't know how tall a cliff.'

Quite expectedly, when an LBE violation is voided with pied-piping and pied-piping fronts/pied-pipes another remnant from the same DP, the result is clearly grammatical, as in (77) and (78). Even though this is an instance of multiple sluicing it cannot be used as an argument to show that it is not a multiplicity of wh-remnants that blocked multiple island ameliorations, since it is a single pied-piping moving two wh-words.

- (77)
 a. Črt je zahteval podroben seznam nečesa, ampak ne vem, kako
 Črt AUX requested detailed list something.GEN but not know how
 podroben seznam česa.
 detailed list what.GEN
 'Črt requested a detailed list of something, but I don't know how detailed of what.'
 b. ... how detailed list of what [~~Črt requested~~_____]

- (78)
 a. ?Vid je preplezal eno kar visoko steno nad neko grapo, ampak ne
 Vid AUX climbed a fairly tall cliff over some gully but not
 vem kako visoko steno nad katero grapo.
 know how tall cliff over which gully
 'Vid climbed a fairly tall cliff over some gully, but I don't know, how tall a cliff over which gully.'
 b. ... how tall a cliff over which gully [~~Vid climbed~~_____]

But if the two *wh*-words originate in two different noun phrases, pied-piping needs to front two separate noun phrases. If such an example is grammatical, it would suggest that multiple island violations can be saved with multiple applications of the same ameliorating process. As shown in (79), such examples are indeed grammatical. Similarly, it is also possible to combine a pied-piped DP with another remnant if it comes from the same clause, as in (80), which is also something that was not available with sluicing alone.

(79)

- a. Vid je nekaterim otrokom dal nekakšna darila, ampak ne vem katerim
 Vid AUX some kids gave some gifts but not know which
 otrokom kakšna darila.
 kids which gifts
 ‘Vid gave some gifts to some kids, but I don’t know which gifts to which kids.’
- b. ... which gifts to which kids [~~Vid gave~~ ____]

(80)

- a. Nek plezalec iz Tolmina je nekaj preplezal, ne vem pa, kateri
 some climber from Tolmin AUX something climbed not know PRT which
 plezalec iz Tolmina kaj.
 climber from Tolmin what
 ‘Some climber from Tolmin climbed something, but I don’t know who
 which climber from Tolmin what.’
- b. ... which climber from Tolmin what [____ climbed ____]

Note that in both of these situations, the non-elided version of the construction is also available, as proven by the simple *wh*-questions with the same internal structure in (81) and (82).

- (81) Katerim otrokom je kakšna darila dal Vid včeraj?
 which children AUX which gifts gave Vid yesterday
 ‘Which children did Vid give which gifts yesterday?’

- (82) Kateri plezalec iz Tolmina je kaj preplezal?
 which climber from Tolmin AUX what climbed
 ‘Which climber from Tolmin climbed what?’

Pied-piping of the entire DP cannot save ungrammatical combinations of LBE with a remnant from a different clause or from different types of islands, as shown, for example, in (83) with a combination of a fronted DP and a remnant from an embedded clause. As shown in (84), this combination of movements is also impossible outside sluicing.

(83)

- a. *Nek plezalec iz Tolmina je povedal, da je Vid nekaj
 some climber from Tolmin AUX told that AUX Vid something
 preplezal, ne vem pa, kateri plezalec iz Tolmina kaj.
 climbed not know PRT which climber from Tolmin what
 ‘Some climber from Tolmin climbed something, but I don’t know which climber from Tolmin what.’
- b. ... which climber from Tolmin what [~~___ told [that Vid climbed ___]~~]

- (84) *Kateri plezalec iz Tolmina je kaj povedal, da je Vid preplezal?
 which climber from Tolmin AUX what told that AUX Vid climbed
 ‘Which climber from Tolmin said that Vid climbed what?’

Therefore we can conclude that pied-piping can void LBE island violations, but only to the degree that it can also do so outside sluicing constructions. And as the ungrammatical multiple sluicing examples above, in which sluicing alone could not save multiple island violations, are fine with pied-piping, as in (79) and (80), we have another argument to suggest that it is something about sluicing that blocks amelioration of multiple island violations.

4.1.2 CSC

Just as is the case with LBE, it seems possible to avoid a violation of CSC by fronting the entire coordination as in (85), regardless of the position of the wh-word.

(85)

- a. Koga in Janeza je povabil Peter?
 who and Janez AUX invited Peter
 ‘Who and Janez did Peter invite?’
- b. Janeza in koga še je povabil Peter?
 Janez and who else AUX invited Peter
 ‘Janez and who else did Peter invite?’

But fronting of the entire coordination is not possible in sluicing constructions, as in (86).

- (86) Peter je povabil Janeza in še nekoga, pa ne vem ...
 Peter AUX invited Janez and also someone but not know
 ‘Peter invited Janez and someone else, but I don’t know ...’
- A. *Janeza in še koga.
 Janez and also who
- B. *Janeza in koga še.
 Janez and who also
- C. *Janeza in koga.
 Janez and who
 ‘Janez and who (else).’

At first sight this is surprising. So far we have only seen cases where a sluicing construction was more permissive than regular questions, so how is it possible that sluicing does not allow something that regular questions seem to allow? As it turns out, this strategy is not available in embedded contexts, as in (87), which suggests that what we have in (85) is not an instance of regular *wh*-movement, and since sluicing does involve *wh*-movement, the two things simply do not go together. The coordination containing the *wh*-phrase in (85) has perhaps just been scrambled to the front of the sentence, or it has moved to a lower *wh*-position that is not part of the left periphery (as in Mišmaš 2015).

- (87)
- a. *Žodor se sprašuje, kdo in Peter sta povabila Janeza na zabavo?
 Žodor REFL ask who and Peter AUX invited Janez to party
 ‘Žodor is wondering who and Peter invited Janez to the party?’
- b. *Ilija bi rad vedel, koga in Janeza je povabil Peter?
 Ilija COND like know who and Janez AUX invite Peter
 ‘Ilija wants to know whom and Janez Peter invited.’
- c. *Meliso zanima, Janeza in koga je povabil Peter?
 Melisa interests Janez and who AUX invite Peter
 ‘Melisa is curious Janez and whom Peter invited.’

So we have determined that pied-piping does not really help CSC violations as pied-piping of the entire coordination is apparently not an instance of regular wh-movement to the left periphery.

A reviewer points out that our claim predicts that pied-piping of the entire coordination should be okay in matrix sluicing. This prediction is borne out, as shown in (88).

(88)

- a. Peter je povabil Janeza in še nekoga.
Peter AUX invited Janez and also someone
'Peter invited Janez and someone else.'
- b. Janeza in koga pa?
Janez and who PRT
'Janez and who?'

4.1.3 Other islands

All other islands seem to behave similarly: even though they seem to allow pied-piping to avoid island violations, the process most likely does not involve proper wh-movement and is thus incompatible with sluicing. See (89) for comitatives, (90) for adjunct islands, and (91) for complex DP islands.

(89)

- a. *Janez hoče zvedeti, midva s kom iz Bat sva dobra ekipa?
Janez wants know we.DU with who from Bate AUX good team
'Janez wants to know me and who from Bate make a good team?'
- b. *Onadva z nekom iz Bat sta dobra ekipa, ampak ne vem
they.DU with someone from Bate AUX good team but not know
več onadva s kom iz Bat.
anymore they.DU with whom from Bate
'He and someone from Bate make up a good team, but I no longer know he and who.'

(90)

- a. *Janeza zanima, ko je Peter videl koga, se je Micka usedla?
Janez interests when AUX Peter see who REFL AUX Micka sit-down
'Janez wonders when Peter saw whom that Micka sat down?'

- b. *Micka se je usedla, ker je Peter videl nekoga, ampak ne Micka REFL AUX sit-down because AUX Peter see someone but not vem več ker je videl koga?
know anymore because AUX see who
'Micka sat down because Peter saw someone, but I don't know anymore because Peter saw who.'

(91)

- a. *Janez se sprašuje, konja, ki je brnil koga, je Peter včeraj videl?
Janez REFL asks horse which AUX kick who AUX Peter yesterday saw
'Janez wonders the horse that kicked whom did Peter see yesterday?'
- b. *Peter je včeraj videl konja, ki je brnil nekoga, ne vem Peter AUX yesterday saw horse which AUX kick someone not know pa konja, ki je brnil koga.
PRT horse which AUX kicked who
'Yesterday Peter saw a horse that kicked someone, but I don't know a horse that kicked who.'

4.2 Island/Phase Expansion

Bošković (2011) argues that traces do not head islands, in other words, that phrases which typically act as islands stop acting like islands once their head moves out and they consequently get to be headed by traces. This seems like another untestable situation for sluicing, since everything gets deleted, including the head of the potentially violated island. But if we construct the sentence in such a way that the antecedent clause also contains the island whose head got moved out of the island, we would also expect the overt version of the sluicing construction to be okay, so here too we are not testing anything specific to sluicing. In effect the sluicing construction of this particular setup in (92a) is just as ungrammatical as the regular wh-question in (93).

(92)

- a. *En nekoliko pomemben neumen bogataš je včeraj kupil one somewhat important stupid rich-man AUX yesterday bought TikTok. Ampak ne vem kateri bogataš koliko pomemben. TikTok but not know which rich-man how-much important
'Some stupid somewhat important rich man bought TikTok yesterday, but I don't know which rich man how important.'
- b. ... which rich man how important [{ ____ stupid ____ } bought TikTok]

- (93) *Kateri bogataš je koliko pomemben včeraj neumen kupil
 which rich-man AUX how-much important yesterday stupid bought
 TikTok?
 TikTok
 ‘Which rich man how important did yesterday stupid buy TikTok?’

Notice that both (92a) and (93) become grammatical if the two *wh*-words move as one constituent, where the second *wh*-word pied-pipe the first one, as in (94) and (95).

(94)

- a. En nekoliko pomemben neumen bogataš je včeraj kupil
 one somewhat important stupid rich-man AUX yesterday bought
 TikTok. Ampak ne vem kateri koliko pomemben neumen bogataš.
 TikTok but not know which how-much important stupid rich-man
 ‘Some stupid somewhat important rich man bought TikTok yesterday, but I
 don’t know which how important rich man.’
- b. ... which how important stupid rich man [_S _{NP}] bought TikTok}

- (95) Kateri koliko pomemben neumen bogataš je včeraj kupil
 which how-much important stupid rich-man AUX yesterday bought
 TikTok?
 TikTok
 ‘Which how important stupid rich man did yesterday buy TikTok?’

4.3 Transparent islands

Truswell (2007) notes that certain islands sometimes cease to act like islands. Specifically, he notes that, “if the event denoted by the adjunct occupies an event position in the argument structure encoded in the matrix verb, then extraction of the complement from within that adjunct is possible.” (Truswell 2007, p. 3). So for example, the English example in (96) and the Slovenian examples in (97–98) are acceptable even though the *wh*-word comes from inside the adjunct, as indicated by the trace inside the square brackets.

- (96) What did John drive Mary crazy [trying to fix *t*]?

- (97) Katero pesem je Črt prišel domov [pojoč *t*]?
 which song AUX Črt came home singing
 ‘Which song did Črt come home singing?’

- (98) Koga je Zdravko prišel domov [opevajoč *t*]?
 who AUX Zdravko came home singing-about
 ‘Who did Zdravko come home singing about?’

According to Truswell (2007), in these examples it is the relation between the embedded and the matrix predicate that makes the adjunct transparent for movement. Irrespective of the reason behind this transparency, it is a fact that with the correct choice of embedded and matrix predicate, adjuncts will not act as islands. So according to our reasoning above, this is not really a process that makes an island transparent but simply a type of construction that does not behave on a par with constructions that appear to be syntactically similar. Whereas this tells us something about the nature of islands, about what the true causes of islandhood are, this is not our focus here.

If adjuncts of this type are not really islands, we would not expect them to behave like proper islands and would also not expect multiple sluicing to exhibit any unusual behaviour. This is indeed what we find. Multiple sluicing examples where one of the *wh*-remnants comes from such an adjunct and the other one from the matrix clause are acceptable, just like multiple *wh*-questions with the same predicates.

- (99)
- a. Nekdo je prišel domov opevajoč nekoga, ampak ne vem
 someone AUX came home singing-about someone but not know
 kdo koga.
 who.NOM who.ACC
 ‘Someone came home singing about someone, but I don’t know who about whom.’
 - b. ... who whom [____ singing-about ____]

- (100) Kdo je koga prišel domov opevajoč?
 who.NOM AUX who.ACC came home singing-about
 ‘Who came home singing about who?’

So here too we come to the same conclusion confirming the generalization stated above, whereby multiple sluicing is allowed only when multiple wh-movement is possible, which means that sluicing does not rescue any island violations as it is only allowed when the overt version of the sluicing construction is also possible.

5 Towards an account

5.1 An old proposal

Merchant (2001, p.209) proposes that it is not the case that propositional islands (relative clauses, adjuncts, anything clausal) are fixed by sluicing, since they are never even violated. The idea is that the ellipsis site in these cases does not include the entire antecedent but rather just the embedded propositional phrase, i.e. the relative clause, the adjunct, etc. Something along these lines was already proposed by Baker and Brame (1972), and seems to be confirmed by the data above.

(101) Merchant (2001):

not: ... who [~~John rode the horse~~ [~~that kicked _____~~]]
but rather: ... who [~~horse kicked _____~~]

This proposal makes some testable predictions. If the sluiced part of the sentence only consists of the embedded clause, then any element that is present in the matrix clause inside the antecedent should not have any effect. We can try testing this prediction with the binding theory, specifically, with Principle C.

As shown by (102), regular sluicing examples exhibit Principle C violations, which further suggests that Principle C violations are not subject to island repair.

(102)

- a. Vid_i je brcnil enega svojega_i prijatelja.
Vid AUX kicked one his friend
'Vid kicked a friend of his.'
- b. Sprašujem se katerega *Vidovega_i/ svojega_i prijatelja.
ask REFL which Vid's his friend
'I wonder which friend of his.'
- c. ... which friend of Vid's/his [~~Vid kicked _____~~]

But if we place the referring expression inside the matrix clause of the antecedent and the correlate inside an island, there is no principle C effect in the sluicing construction. The prediction made by this proposal is thus confirmed.¹³

(103)

- a. Vid_i je kupil konja, ki je brnil enega njegovega_i prijatelja.
Vid AUX bought horse, that AUX kicked one his friend
'Vid bought a horse that kicked a friend of his.'
- b. Sprašujem se katerega Vidovega_i prijatelja.
ask REFL which Vid's friend
'I wonder which friend of Vid's.'
- c. ... which friend of Vid's [~~Vid bought~~ [a horse kicked ____]]

(104)

- a. Vid_i je odšel, ravno ko je Črt_k brnil enega njegovega_i prijatelja.
Vid AUX left, just when AUX Črt kicked one his friend
'Vid left just when Črt kicked a friend of his.'
- b. Sprašujem se katerega Vidovega_i prijatelja.
ask REFL which Vid's friend
'I wonder which friend of Vid's.'
- c. ... which friend of Vid's [~~Vid left just as~~ [Črt kicked ____]]

5.2 Another prediction

If sluicing always uses a short construal to avoid island violations, then if the matrix predicate is something that affects a "presupposition projection" like *deny*, the overt short construal (without *deny*) should become impossible. That is, the English example in (105) is bad as the overt short construal makes the wrong presupposition that Vid actually bought the car even though, given the antecedent, he did not buy a car. Without the matrix predicate the short construal alone presupposes the truth of the proposition, but in the antecedent, this proposition is actually false as the clause that it expresses is inside the scope of the presupposition altering predicate (Boban Arsenijević p.c.).

13 We mark the portion of the elided TP that is assumed to be present on the standard analysis but not according to our proposal in the last line of each sluicing example with ~~text~~.

- (105) #John denied that Vid bought a car, but I forgot which car Vid bought.

If we place an island in the scope of such a presupposition-altering predicate, the standard approach to sluicing makes different predictions from the one we are suggesting here. If the ellipsis site contains the entire antecedent, (106) and (107a) should be permissible, but if the ellipsis site only contains the short construal without the island, (106) and (107a) should be on par with (105). This is because in order to avoid island violations inside the ellipsis site, a short construal is invoked and as the short construal does not include the presupposition-altering predicate, the sluice presupposes something the antecedent does not.

(106)

- a. #Črt je včeraj povedal laž, da je enkrat lani preplezal Jugov
 Črt AUX yesterday told lie that AUX once last-year climbed Jug's
 steber, ampak ne vem kdaj.
 pillar, but not know when
 'Yesterday Črt told a lie that he climbed Jug's pillar sometime last year,
 but I don't know when.'
- b. ... when [~~Črt told a lie that~~ [he climbed Jug's pillar ____]]

(107)

- a. #Da sta Žodor in Ilija nekoga povabila na žur, je laž, ampak ne
 that AUX Žodor and Ilija someone invited on party AUX lie but not
 vem koga.
 know who
 'That Žodor and Ilija invited someone to the party is a lie, but I don't
 know whom.'
- b. ... who [~~that Žodor and Ilija invited ____ to the party~~] ~~is a lie~~

As shown in (106) and (107a) this prediction is borne out. So indeed, in these cases the sluice does not contain the entire antecedent.

6 Extension of the old proposal

So far we have seen that regardless of the type of island, multiple sluicing constructions, as schematized in (108), were permissible only when the corresponding wh-question, as schematized in (109), was also permissible.

$$(108) \quad \dots wh_1 wh_2 [t_{\pm} V [t_{wp} \text{X} Y t_{\pm}]].$$

$$(109) \quad wh_1 wh_2 [t_{\pm} V [t_{wp} X Y t_{\pm}]]?$$

This suggests that sluicing does not rescue island violations. One take on this would be that the elided part of the sluice need not include the entire antecedent (e.g. Merchant 2001). Specifically, if island violations cannot be rescued, then the only way to have the remnant from inside an island as part of the sluice is not to have the island in the sluice, i.e., in the ellipsis site. So multiple sluicing that combines a wh-remnant from inside an island with a wh-remnant from outside this island cannot exist as the ellipsis site does not contain the entire antecedent, and this is sketched in (111). But when both remnants originate inside the same island, as in (112), both can front and the example is grammatical.

$$(110) \quad * \dots wh_1 wh_2 [t_{\pm} V [t_{island} \text{X} Y t_{\pm}]].$$

$$(111) \quad \dots \text{wh}_{\neq} wh_2 [t_{\neq} V [t_{island} \text{X} Y t_{\neq}]].$$

$$(112) \quad \dots wh_1 wh_2 [\text{X} V [t_{island} t_{\pm} Y t_{\pm}]].$$

Merchant (2001) advances his suggestion that the sluiced part is not the entire antecedent only for cases where a propositional island is violated; but given that all islands seem to behave alike when it comes to combinations of two extractions not originating from the same island, we suggest that whenever we have an apparent extraction out of an island, the ellipsis site does not contain the entire antecedent clause but that what is deleted is instead a short source that avoids island violation. In case a clear short source is unavailable, the requirement for identity between the antecedent and the sluice needs to be relaxed or understood differently, e.g., semantically, as argued by Abels (2017) and Abels and Dayal (2017). See also Cortés Rodríguez

(2022); Cortés Rodríguez & Griffiths (2024) for experimental evidence showing that short sources are preferred in sluicing.

Something similar has already been proposed for certain islands in various languages. In Dutch and German, for example, the adjective that apparently violates LBE in sluicing constructions carries the morphology of predicative adjectives (Merchant 2001). Thus, the ellipsis site cannot contain the proper antecedent clause, but it instead contains only a simple predicative structure. This also seems to be true in Slovenian. The adjectives that participate in sluicing receive predicative semantics (p.c. Erik Schoorlemmer, Klaus Abels), as shown in (113), which is also the only reading available with null nouns.¹⁴

- (113) Srečal je enega starega prijatelja, ampak ne vem kako starega.
 met AUX one old friend but not know how old
 ‘He met an old friend, but I don’t know how old.’ = how old he is / ≠
 how long they have been friends

At this point we do not have a ready analysis for each individual type of island. Nevertheless, we want to suggest the following. PP-inside-DP islands may involve a cleft, as in (114).

- (114) Vid je razlagal teorijo o nečem, pa ne vem, o čem
 Vid AUX explained theory about something but not know about what
 (je bila teorija).
 AUX was theory
 ‘Vid was explaining a theory about something, but I don’t know about
 what (the theory was).’

The same cannot hold for DP-inside-DP islands, for which a cleft source is impossible (54), but in these cases the remnant most likely involves a null N, as exemplified in (116).

14 Interestingly, case is also preserved when the remnant adjective is in a case that does not typically participate in simple predication, e.g., the dative or the instrumental. We do not have an answer for this at this point, but note that Slovenian secondary predicates agree in case, number and gender with the noun they are associated with, and that they are possible with all types of arguments (cf. Marušič, Marvin & Žaucer 2003).

- (115) Vid je razlagal teorijo nečesa, pa ne vem, česa
Vid AUX explained theory something.GEN but not know what.GEN
(*je bila teorija).
AUX was theory
‘Vid was explaining the theory of something, but I don’t know what (it was about).’

- (116) ..., pa ne vem, (teorijo) česa (je razlagal Vid).
but not know theory what.GEN AUX explain Vid
‘..., but I don’t know (the theory of) what (Vid was explaining).’

And violations of the Coordinate Structure Constraint could be avoided simply with the use of a single conjunct:

- (117) not: ... who [Vid invited Peter and ____]
but rather: ... who [Vid invited ____]

This seems to be confirmed also by the fact that if we control for the collective reading, CSC violations turn out to be much more restricted (p.c. Klaus Abels).

- (118)
*Asterix in nek Rimljan sta se pogledala izpod čela, si
Asterix and some Roman AUX REFL looked from-under forehead, REFL.DAT
popravila brke in se spoprijela, ampak ne vem kateri Rimljan.
fixed moustache and REFL grabbed but non know which Roman
‘Asterix and some Roman looked at each other angrily, fixed their moustache and started a fight, but I don’t know which Roman.’

- (119)
*Osem in nekaj je petindvajset, ampak ne vem kaj / koliko.
eight and something AUX 25 but not know what / how-much
‘Eight and something make 25, but I don’t know what / how much.’

That is, if we compare two comparable antecedent clauses that differ only in one getting the collective reading and the other one not, then the one in which the collective reading is forced is considerably worse.¹⁵

(120)

- a. Peter in en visok rdečelasec sta prišla na obisk. Kdo to?
Peter and one tall red-haired AUX came on visit Who that
'Peter and some redhead came for a visit. Really, who?'
- b. *Peter in en visok rdečelasec sta se srečala. Kdo to?
Peter and one tall red-haired AUX REFL met who that
'Peter and some redhead met. Really, who?'

7 Conclusion

We hope to have contributed to the debate regarding the question of island repair, identified by Sailor and Schütze (2014) as one of the major problems in current theoretical syntax. We argued against the very existence of island repair, presenting a novel argument in this direction (cf. Abels 2011; Barros 2012; Barros et al. 2014). If sluicing does not repair improper movement, then it clear why the availability of sluicing depends on the availability of wh-movement. More work needs to be done to better understand what truly happens in sluicing, but as island repair has been such a prominent topic in the literature, we believe that by avoiding discussion of it we can make good progress in this area.

There does seem to be a syntactic structure in the ellipsis site, but the identity requirement between the sluice and antecedent cannot be strictly syntactic. Our discussion, as presented above, suggests that the sluice sometimes only contains a subset of the antecedent. We see this paper as supporting the claim that the identity condition is a semantic condition, as also suggested by Abels (2017) and Abels and Dayal (2017), among others.

There are many questions and observations that we have left untouched in this paper, including observations that support the idea that the identity requirement is really syntactic and island repair consequently real, as well as observations that suggest the opposite. We leave a discussion of all of these issues for future research.

15 The particle appearing after the remnant in the sluiced part is presumably a left-periphery particle that survives sluicing in Slovenian, as argued by Marušič, Mišmaš, Plesničar, Razboršek and Šuligoj (2015) and Marušič, Mišmaš, Plesničar and Šuligoj (2018). While the example sounds most natural with it, the particle is not obligatory, and its presence/absence does not have any direct effect on the availability of this extraction.

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Krovna udeleženska vloga *prejemnik* in dve njeni različici*

*Tatjana Marvin Derganc***

Povzetek

Prispevek obravnava nekatere značilnosti povedi s predmetoma v dajalniku in tožilniku, ki se tičejo krovne udeleženske vloge *prejemnik*, pripisane predmetu v dajalniku. Prispevek se osredotoča na primere, ko je ta lahko razumljen kot nameravani prejemnik predmeta v tožilniku (različica *dobitnik*) ali kot prejemnik dejanja, ki ga izraža glagol skupaj s predmetom v tožilniku (različica *koristnik*). Nadalje sta v prispevku obravnavani dve lastnosti povedi z dobitnikom oz. koristnikom. Prva se povezuje z inherentnim pomenom glagola in opisuje dejstvo, da nekateri večvezavni glagoli pri predmetu v dajalniku dopuščajo le pomen dobitnika, ne pa koristnika. Druga ima opraviti z besednim redom, in sicer se obravnavana dvoumnost med dobitnikom in koristnikom pri predmetu v dajalniku ob nevtralni intonaciji pojavlja le pri besednem redu *daj>>tož*, ne pa v besednem redu *tož>>daj*, kjer je možna le udeleženska vloga dobitnik.

Ključne besede: prejemnik, udeleženske vloge, slovenščina, koristnik, dobitnik

The umbrella semantic role *recipient* and its two variants

The article discusses certain characteristics of sentences with dative and accusative objects, which concern the semantic role assigned to the dative object. This role can be understood either as the intended recipient of the accusative object (*recipient*) or as the recipient of the action expressed by the verb together with the accusative object (*beneficiary*). Furthermore, the article examines two properties of sentences with recipients or beneficiaries. The first relates to the inherent meaning of the verb and describes the fact that some ditransitive verbs allow only the recipient meaning and not the beneficiary meaning of the dative object. The second concerns word order: the ambiguity between recipient and beneficiary of the dative object arises under neutral intonation only in the word order *dative>>accusative*, but not in the word order *accusative>>dative*, where only the recipient participant role appears.

Keywords: dative object, recipient, beneficiary, semantic roles, Slovenian

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1 Uvod

Prispevek obravnava povedi s predmetoma v dajalniku in tožilniku z vidika udeleženske vloge predmeta v dajalniku. V povedi (1) je predmet v dajalniku lahko razumljen kot nameravani prejemnik predmeta v tožilniku, (1a), ali pa kot prejemnik koristi, ki izhaja iz dejanja, izraženega z glagolom in predmetom v tožilniku, (1b).

(1) Janezu sem poslal pismo.

- a. Janez je nameravani prejemnik pisma.
- b. Janez je prejemnik mojega dejanja pošiljanja pisma v njegovo korist, ne pa nameravani prejemnik pisma. (interpretacija: Namesto/Za Janeza pošljem pismo.)

V uvodu članka so predstavljeni izhodiščni podatki, čemur sledi kratek povzetek teorije udeleženskih vlog s poudarkom na monografiji Udeleženske vloge v slovenščini, Orešnik (1992) (razdelek 2.1). V tem razdelku je tudi kratek povzetek teorije udeleženskih vlog v pristopu tvorbenne slovnice (2.2). Nadalje so v razdelkih 3 in 4 podrobneje opisane nekatere značilnosti, značilne za povedi tipa (1), ki kažejo, da za razlago jezikovnih dejstev poleg krovne udeleženske vloge prejemnik potrebujemo podpomenske različice (razdelek 3) in da pri omenjenih različicah igrata pomembno vlogo inherentni pomen posameznega glagola (razdelek 4.1) ter besedni red (4.2).

2 Udeleženske vloge

2.1 Udeleženske vloge: Orešnik (1992)

V tem razdelku je na kratko predstavljena teorija udeleženskih vlog, pri čemer nam za osnovo služi Orešnik (1992).¹ Udeleženske vloge so različne vloge, ki jih samostalniške zveze v povedi prevzamejo glede na dogajanje, dejanje ali stanje, izraženo s predikatом. Orešnik (1992) ugotavlja, s kolikimi udeleženskimi vlogami se veže posamezen glagol, pri čemer se osredinja na samostalniške zveze, ki so del samega stavčnega vzorca, tj. osebek, predmeti (tudi predložni) in nekatera prislovna določila (npr. prislovno

1 Orešnik (1992) podaja tudi kratek razvoj pojma udeleženske vloge. Pojma vršilec (agens) in prizadeto (patiens) se v jezikoslovju uporabljata že od vedno. Skladenjsko vezljivost uvede Tesnière (1959). V teoretičnem jezikoslovju tvorbenne smeri veljata za utemeljitelja koncepta udeleženskih vlog Jeffrey Gruber (1965) in Charles Fillmore (1968). V članku se osredotočamo na utemeljitelje tega koncepta med slovenskimi raziskovalci.

določilo vršilca v primeru Micka je bila opazovana *od Janeza*). Njegov sistem obsega tri osrednje delovalnike, ki jih poimenuje vršilec, prejemnik in prizadeto. Vršilec je definiran kot samostalniška zveza, ki je izhodišče povedkovega dogodka in njegov pobudnik z lastno voljo (2a). Med prejemnike spadajo: a) samostalniška zveza, ki je sicer izhodišče povedkovega dogodka, vendar ne njegov pobudnik iz lastne volje (2b); b) samostalniške zveze, ki naznanjajo, na katerem območju ali v čigavem interesu se dogaja povedkov dogodek (2c); c) samostalniške zveze, ki jim vlogo podelijo predlogi ustreznega pomena (2d). Udeleženska vloga prizadeto je prisojena samostalniški zvezi v ostalih primerih, tj. ko ji ni prisojena udeleženska vloga vršilec ali prejemnik (2e).²

(2)

- a. *Micka* poje lepo pesem.
- b. *Micka* se jezi.
- c. Janez pošlje *Micki* pismo.
- d. V *Sloveniji* je veliko naravnih bogastev.
- e. *Voda* teče.

Orešnik (1992)

Orešnik (1992) ugotavlja, da krovne udeleženske vloge obsegajo različne podpomene, dodatne različice vlog, kot npr. koristnik (različica prejemnika), doživljavec (različica vršilca), nosilec lastnosti (različica vršilca).

2.2 Udeleženske vloge v tvorbeni slovnici

Tradicionalno je glagolska vezljivost lastnost glagola, da predvideva določeno število udeležencev s pripadajočimi udeleženskimi vlogami.³ Toporišič (2000) tako za slovenščino prepozna nevezljive glagole (*Dežuje*), prisojevalne-neprehodne (*Tone teče*), prisojevalne-prehodne: (*Janez brčne žogo*) in večvezavne (*Janez pošlje Micki*

2 Različne teorije predlagajo različno število udeleženskih vlog (Fillmore 1968 jih npr. pozna šest, Polenz (1988) pa kar devetnajst). V slovenski tvorbeni teoriji Golden (2000) predvideva naslednje udeleženske vloge: vršilec – udeleženec, ki namerno sproži dejanje, kot ga izraža povedje; doživljavec – udeleženec, ki doživlja psihološko stanje, kot ga izraža predikat; prejemnik – udeleženec, ki prejme kaj; prizadeto – udeleženec, ki je v stanju, kot ga opisuje predikat, ali čigar stanje oz. položaj se spreminja; cilj – udeleženec, h kateremu je usmerjeno dejanje; izvor – udeleženec, od katerega je kaj premeščeno kot posledica dejanja. Glede vrste udeležencev v dogodku prepozna Toporišič (2000) prvi delovalnik (vršilec dejanja ali nosilec poteka/stanja: *Tone teče*), drugi delovalnik (prizadeto: *Janez brčne žogo*) ter tretji delovalnik (prejemnik: *Petra pošlje Janezu pismo*). Zanimivo je, da Orešnik (1992: 30) meni, da bi bilo še najbolj pravilno uporabljati Toporišičeve izraze, ki so nepristranski, čeprav sam uporablja poimenovanja udeleženskih vlog po najbolj prototipičnem predstavniku (tj. vršilec, prejemnik, prizadeto).

3 V tem prispevku se ukvarjamo samo z glagolsko vezljivostjo.

pismo).⁴ Tvorbena slovnica gradi na tradicionalnem konceptu glagolske vezljivosti in še dodatno formalizira intuicijo, da predikati (običajno glagoli) označujejo dejanje, dogajanje ali stanje, samostalniške zveze, ki dopolnjujejo propozicijo, pa udeležence tega dejanja, dogajanja ali stanja, pri čemer postavi načelo, da morajo biti vse udeleženske vloge nekega predikata podeljene, tj. morajo imeti ustrezne prejemnike v skladnji, t. i. argumente. Če glagol po svojem inherentnem pomenu zahteva dva udeleženca, enega z udeležensko vlogo vršilec, drugega pa z vlogo prizadeto, potem se morata v povedi pojaviti oba argumenta, da jima lahko ti dve vlogi pripiše, (3).

(3) *sestaviti* <vršilec, prizadeto>

- a. Janez (vršilec) je sestavil računalnik (prizadeto).
- b. *Janez je sestavil.

V udeleženski teoriji tvorbene slovnice je poudarek na tem, v kakšnih skladenjskih razmerjih so udeleženske vloge pripisane skladenjskim položajem. Pripis lahko poteka tako, da jedro besedne zveze odda udeležensko vlogo svojemu dopolnilu, npr. glagol odda udeležensko vlogo prememu predmetu. Zgodnejše tvorbenne teorije predpostavljajo, da osebek, ki v glagolski zvezi zaseda mesto določila, prejme glagolsko udeležensko vlogo, a mu je ta pripisana posredno; tj. ni mu pripisana neposredno od glagola v jedru, temveč od glagolske zveze, ki obsega tako glagol kot njegovo predmetno dopolnilo. V novejših teorijah osebek v tvorniku dobi udeležensko vlogo vršilec v določilu zveze VoiceP, (4).⁵

(4) Skladenjski položaji in pripis udeleženskih vlog.

Slovnica načel in parametrov ⁶	Novejša verzija tvorbene slovnice
(a) <pre> graph TD VP[VP] --- Janez[Janez] VP --- Vp[V'] Vp --- reze[reže] Vp --- klobaso[klobaso] </pre>	(b) <pre> graph TD VoiceP[VoiceP] --- Janez[Janez] VoiceP --- Voicep[Voice'] Voicep --- Voice[Voice] Voicep --- VP[VP] VP --- reze_klobaso[reže klobaso] </pre>

4 Podrobneje se z glagolsko vezljivostjo v slovenščini ukvarja Žele (2001).

5 Jedro Voice (v nekaterih pristopih tudi maloglagolsko jedro *v*) je odgovorno za podeljevanje udeleženske vloge vršilca določilu in sklona tožilnik glagolskemu dopolnilu. V primeru odsotnosti VoiceP je poved trpna ali netožilniška.

6 Slovnica načel in parametrov je slovnica, ki je bila izdelana v teoriji jezika Noama Chomskega, Chomsky (1993), Chomsky in Lasnik (1993). V slovenski tvorbeni literaturi je izčrpno predstavljena v Golden (2000).

Poseben izziv predstavljajo večvezavni glagoli. Ob privzeti binarni naravi skladenjskih dreves je namreč v strukturi možno le eno glagolsko dopolnilo, večvezavni glagoli pa imajo dva predmeta. Tu je v tvorbeni slovnici prevladala analiza v duhu Larson (1988), ki predvideva, da večvezavni glagoli predvidevajo dve glagolski zvezi, pri čemer se glagol premakne iz spodnjega v višji položaj in tako odda udeležensko vlogo na vsakem mestu, kjer se pojavi, (5a). V novejši verziji pa je struktura kot v (5b).

(5) Pripis udeleženskih vlog pri večvezavnih glagolih

Larson (1988)	Novejša verzija tvorbene slovnice
(a) <pre> graph TD VP1[VP] --- Janez VP1 --- Vp1[V'] Vp1 --- daje_i[daje_i] Vp1 --- VP2[VP] VP2 --- psu VP2 --- Vp2[V'] Vp2 --- ti[t_i] Vp2 --- klobaso </pre>	(b) <pre> graph TD VoiceP[VoiceP] --- Janez VoiceP --- Voicep[Voice'] Voicep --- daje_i[daje_i] Voicep --- VP[VP] VP --- psu VP --- Vp[V'] Vp --- ti[t_i] Vp --- klobaso </pre>

3 Prejemnik, dobitnik, koristnik⁷

V tem delu podrobneje obravnavamo dvoumnost, ki se pojavi v (1). V (6) je navedenih še nekaj dodatnih zgledov; v vseh primerih lahko predmet v dajalniku razumemo kot prejemnika predmeta v tožilniku ali pa kot prejemnika koristi, izražene z glagolom in predmetom v tožilniku.⁸

⁷ V slovenski jezikoslovni tradiciji se s t. i. nepredložnim dajalnikom z različnih vidikov ukvarjajo Pogorelec (1968), Korošec (1977), Dular (1982), Orešnik (1992), Toporišič (2000).

⁸ Podoben zgled najdemo v Lipovšek (2007), kjer dajalnik v povedi (i) lahko izraža eksogeno svojilnost (*njegovi knjigi*) ali koristnika (*zanj je prevedla*).
(i) Prevedla mu je obe knjigi. Lipovšek (2007)

(6)

- a. Vrgel ti bom žogo na streho.⁹
- b. Telefonirala sem mu na Kitajsko.¹⁰
- c. Vrnila sem ji knjigo.
- d. Spekel mi je torto.

Da gre res za dva različna podpomena udeleženske vloge, ki je pripisana predmetu v dajalniku, dokazujejo poleg dvoumnosti zgledov v (1) in (6) tudi spodnji primeri, kjer oba možna prejemnika lahko izrazimo v isti povedi.

(7)

- a. Poslal *ji* bo pismo *Janezu*. (Namesto nje/V njeno korist bo poslal pismo Janezu)
- b. Vrgla *ti* bom žogo *Janezu*. (Namesto tebe/V tvojo korist bom vrgla žogo Janezu)¹¹

Ti podatki kažejo na dvojje. Prvo je dejstvo, ki ga ugotavlja že Orešnik (1992), in sicer, da se pod krovno udeležensko vlogo skriva več različnih podpomenov. Za podpomen prejemnika predmeta v tožilniku v nadaljevanju uporabljamo izraz *dobitnik*, za prejemnika koristi dejanja pa *koristnik*; slednji termin predlaga Orešnik (1992). Drugi sklep se tiče skladišne analize in pripisa udeleženskih vlog. Podatkov v (6) namreč ne moremo zajeti samo s predlogom v Larson (1988), saj so si predmeti v dajalniku med seboj različni po pomenu (dobitnik in koristnik), pri čemer lahko v isti povedi nastopata celo oba, kar kaže tudi na dva različna skladišna položaja. Potrebujemo torej podrobnejšo analizo, ki je podana v Marvin (2012) in jo v tem članku povzemam le v obrisih. Dvoumnost dvopredmetnih povedi kot (6) izvira iz njihove strukture, kjer je pomen dobitnik udejanjenje t. i. nizke prejemniške strukture, pomen koristnik pa udejanjenje visoke prejemniške strukture, kjer sledim analizi

9 V omenjenih primerih se osredotočamo na obstoj interpretacij, v katerih lahko predmet v dajalniku razumemo kot prejemnika predmeta v tožilniku ali pa kot prejemnika koristi. V primeru (6a) obstaja še dodatna interpretacija, ki je na tem mestu ne obravnavamo, in sicer interpretacija z eksogeno svojilnostjo in t. i. »prostim dajalnikom«, s čimer posedovalec postane »psihološko prizadet udeleženec« v negativnem ali pozitivnem smislu, kar je odvisno od konteksta. (Prim. nevtrarno: *Tvojo žogo bom vrgel na streho*.)

10 Glagol *telefonirati* je sicer brez izraženega predmeta v tožilniku, a ga razumemo kot »opraviti telefonski klic«.

11 Rojeni govorci slovenščine, pri katerih sem preverjala sprejemljivost teh primerov, navajajo, da so primeri sprejemljivi, če se koristnik izrazi z naslonko, manj sprejemljivi pa, če se izrazi s samostalniško zvezo, ki ni naslonka, (i).

(i) ? Micki bo poslal pismo Janezu. (V Mickino korist bo poslal pismo Janezu.)

v Pylkkänen (2008).¹² Nizka prejemniška zveza (LApplP) je v zgradbi nižje od glagola in pomensko označuje razmerje med dvema samostalniškima zvezama (Micka dobi pismo). Visoka prejemniška zveza HApplP je v skladijskem drevesu dodana nad glagolom in označuje razmerje med dejanjem in posameznikom (Micka dobi korist dejanja pošiljanja pisma).

(8) Nizka prejemniška zveza LApplP in visoka prejemniška zveza HApplP.

Janez pošlje Micki pismo. (Micka = dobitnik)	Janez pošlje Micki pismo. (v pomenu Micka = <i>koristnik</i>)
(a) VoiceP <pre> graph TD VP1[VoiceP] --- Janez VP1 --- Voice VP1 --- VP2[VP] VP2 --- pošlje VP2 --- LAplP LAplP --- Micki LAplP --- LApl[LApl] LApl --- pismo </pre>	(b) VoiceP <pre> graph TD VP3[VoiceP] --- Janez VP3 --- Voice VP3 --- HApplP HApplP --- Micki HApplP --- HAppl HAppl --- VP4[VP] VP4 --- pošlje VP4 --- pismo </pre>

4 Dve značilnosti povedi z dobitnikom in koristnikom

4.1 Odvisnost od pomena glagola

Zanimivo je, da se dvoumnost kot v (1) ne pojavlja z vsemi večvezavnimi glagoli; nekaj glagolov namreč dopušča samo pomen dobitnika in ne dovoljuje pomena koristnika. To ponazarja primer (9a), ki ne more izražati pomena, da sem namesto Janeza dala denar nekomu drugemu. Povedi ne moremo narediti slovnične, tudi če ji dodamo izraženega potencialnega dobitnika (glej 9b, c), kar kaže na to, da je glagol *dati* inherentno nezdružljiv z udeležensko vlogo koristnik.¹³

12 Pylkkänen (2008) predvideva, da se jeziki razvrščajo v dve skupini – tako z jedrom LAppl (npr. angleščina) in tako z jedrom HAppl (npr. albanščina). V Marvin (2012) je pokazano, da slovenščina dopušča obe jedri in s tem dopolnjuje tipologijo tovrstnih povedi z večvezavnimi glagoli.

13 Podobne povedi so možne z etičnim dajalnikom (i). Za slednjega podobno kot Orešnik (1992) privzamem, da ne dobi udeleženske vloge od glagola, temveč je posebno povedje.

(i) On pa ti da ves denar v društvo za zaščito soške postrvi!

(9)

- a. Janezu sem dala denar. (pomen: Janez je nameravani prejemnik denarja, tj. dobitnik)
- b. *Janezu sem dala denar Micki. (pomen koristnik: Namesto Janeza sem dala denar Micki)
- c. *Dala sem mu denar Micki. (pomen koristnik: Namesto njega sem dala denar Micki)

Podobno kot glagol *dati* se obnašajo naslednje skupine glagolov:

(10)

- a. krovni pomen DATI: *dati, dovoliti, podariti, posvetiti, ponuditi, pomoliti, vzeti, posoditi, podati, obljubiti, nameniti, zapustiti, vrniti*;
- b. krovni pomen POKAZATI: *pokazati, razkazati, prikazati, kazati*;
- c. krovni pomen POVEDATI: *povedati, sporočiti, govoriti, praviti, reči, pripovedovati, prepovedati, zapovedati*;
- d. drugo: *videti (nekomu popek), zavidati (nekomu uspeh), zameriti (nekomu obrekovanje), verjeti (nekomu karkoli), privoščiti (nekomu uspeh), dolgovati (nekomu denar), primerjati (nekaj nečemu)*.

V analizi v Marvin (2012) je prikazana lastnost navezana na glavne razrede t. i. dajalniških glagolov, ki jih predlagata Rappaport Hovav in Levin (2008) za angleščino in so povzeti v (11).

(11) Glavni razredi dajalniških glagolov, Rappaport Hovav in Levin (2008):

1. Dajalniški glagoli, ki imajo samo pomen povzročenega posedovanja (glagoli tipa *dati*):
 - a) glagoli, ki inherentno označujejo dejanja dajanja: *give dati, hand podati, lend posoditi, loan posoditi, pass podati, rent najeti ali oddati, sell prodati ...*
 - b) glagoli prihodnjega posedovanja: *allocate dodeliti, bequeath zapustiti, grant dopustiti, offer ponuditi, owe dolgovati, promise obljubiti ...*
 - c) glagoli sporočanja: *tell povedati, show pokazati, ask vprašati, teach učiti, read brati, write pisati, quote navesti, cite navesti ...*

2. Dajalniški glagoli, ki imajo pomen povzročenega gibanja in posedovanja:
 - a) glagoli pošiljanja (glagoli tipa *poslati*): forward *preposlati*, mail *poslati*, send *poslati*, ship *poslati* ...
 - b) glagoli nenadnega povzročenega premika: (glagoli tipa *vreči*): fling *zalučati*, flip *metati*, kick *brcniti*, lob *visoko vreči žogo*, slap *zagnati*, shoot *izstreliti*, throw *vreči*, toss *zagnati* ...
 - c) glagoli, ki izražajo povzročeno gibanje v specifično smer: bring *prinesiti*, take *vzeti*, nesti ...
 - d) glagoli z izraženim orodjem komuniciranja: e-mail *poslati po elektronski pošti*, fax *faksirati*, radio *sporočiti po radiu*, wire *brzjaviti*, telegraph *brzjaviti*, telephone *telefonirati* ...

Glagoli v slovenščini, ki so dvoumni med strukturo z visokim in nizkim prejemniškim pomenom, spadajo v skupino dajalniški glagoli, ki imajo po Rappaport Hovav in Levin (2008) pomen povzročenega gibanja in posedovanja. Glagoli v slovenščini, ki dovolijo samo strukture z nizkim prejemniškim pomenom, imajo po Rappaport Hovav in Levin (2008) le pomen povzročenega posedovanja. Če za slovenščino prevzamemo in priredimo analizo pomenov dobitnika in koristnika na način kot v Pykkänen (2008), moramo nezdružljivost visokega prejemniškega jedra in pomena glagolov tipa *dati* pripisati lastnosti visokega prejemniškega jedra, da si lahko izbere glagol v dopolnilu.

4.2 Vpliv besednega reda

Kot zadnjo opišemo značilnost, da se obravnavana dvoumnost med dobitnikom in koristnikom ob nevtralni intonaciji pojavlja le pri specifičnem besednem redu, in sicer, ko se predmet v dajalniku nahaja pred predmetom v tožilniku (daj>>tož). Pri besednem redu, kjer predmet v dajalniku sledi predmetu v tožilniku (tož>>daj), pa je možna samo udeleženska vloga *dobitnik* (12).

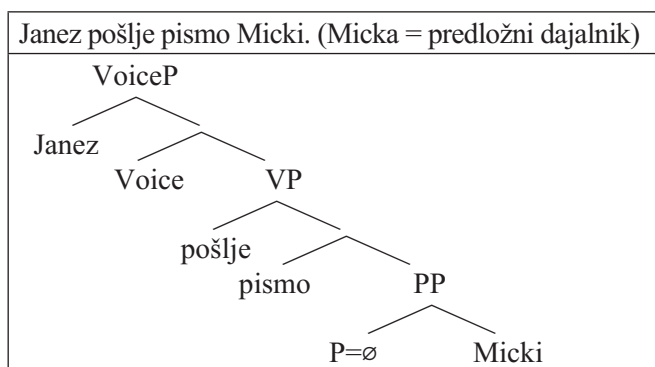
(12)

- a. Janez pošlje Micki pismo. (Micka je dobitnik ali koristnik)
- b. Janez pošlje pismo Micki. (Micka je dobitnik)

To značilnost obravnavata članka Marvin in Stegovec (2012, 2013). V svoji analizi se opreta na idejo iz Gračanin-Yuksek (2007), ki za hrvaščino predlaga, da imata

različna besedna reda tudi različni skladenjski strukturi. V podobnem duhu predlaga ta Marvin in Stegovec (2013), da sta v slovenščini v besednem redu *daj>>tož* možni dve skladenjski strukturi, ena z visokim, druga z nizkim prejemniškim jedrom (kot v razdelku 3, s pomenskimi omejitvami kot v razdelku 4.1). V besednem redu *tož>>daj* pa imamo opraviti s strukturo, v kateri nastopa predložni dajalnik z neizraženim predlogom in pomenom, ki je po pomenu podoben strukturam z nizkim prejemniškim jedrom in kot tak nezdružljiv z visokim prejemniškim jedrom, ki uvaja pomen koristnika.¹⁴ Predlagana struktura za (12b) je kot v tabeli (13).

(13) Skladenjska zgradba za besedni red *tož>>daj*



5 Zaključek

V prispevku so bile obravnavane nekatere značilnosti povedi s predmetoma v dajalniku in tožilniku s poudarkom na dvoumnosti, ki se tiče udeleženske vloge predmeta v dajalniku. Ta je namreč lahko nameravani prejemnik predmeta v tožilniku ali prejemnik dejanja, ki ga izraža glagol skupaj s predmetom v tožilniku. Podatki kažejo, da za razlago jezikovnih dejstev poleg krovne udeleženske vloge prejemnik potrebujemo podpomenske različice (v tem prispevku konkretno dobitnik in koristnik) ter da pri slednjih igrata pomembno vlogo inherentni pomen posameznega glagola in besedni red.

¹⁴ Krovna udeleženska vloga je prejemnik, podpomensko različico bi lahko opisali kot *prejemnik-cilj*.

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Past and contemporary issues of Slovenian language policy*

*Albina Nečak Lük***

Abstract

The article briefly presents the key periods and levels of the Slovene language planning, along with related language policy measures. It looks back at the beginnings of codification of the Slovene language and outlines planning of the Slovene language status in various state formations. More detailed information is provided on the current language policy concepts in the independent Slovene state. New language relationships are pointed out, especially the Slovenian-English language contact, which figures as one of the evermore prominent issues in the national language policy programmes of the country.

Keywords: language policy, language planning, language contact, Slovenia

Slovenska jezikovna politika v preteklosti in v sočasju

Prispevek strnjeno predstavi ključna obdobja ter ravni načrtovanja slovenskega jezika skupaj z odnosnimi jezikovno političnimi ukrepi. Ozre se na začetke načrtovanja jezika in oriše status slovenščine v različnih državnih sotvarjih. Podrobneje razčleni oblikovanje aktualnih jezikovno političnih konceptov v samostojni Sloveniji. V zaključku opozori na nova jezikovna razmerja, predvsem na slovensko angleški jezikovni stik, kar postaja ena čedalje bolj izpostavljenih vsebin v nacionalnih programih za jezikovno politiko Slovenije.

Ključne besede: jezikovna politika, jezikovno načrtovanje, jezikovni stik, Slovenija

* This upgraded study (Nečak Lük 2004, Nečak Lük 2017) on Slovenian language policy is dedicated to my dear colleague, Academician Prof. Dr. Janez Orešnik, as promoting the Slovene language was an inseparable part of his scientific and pedagogical agenda.

The adjective "slovenski" has two English equivalents, Slovene and Slovenian. In this text, I use the variant Slovene to denote identification and identity aspects, i.e., ethnicity, language, etc., and Slovenian to denote concepts related to Slovenia as a state, i.e. Slovenian language policy, etc.

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1

Language policy and language planning in Slovenia are closely related to the perception of the Slovene people's evolution into a modern nation, language and culture being considered the foundations of the Slovene ethnic identity and a permanent feature in the struggle for Slovene statehood through history. This sensitivity concerning ethnic identity markers – with language in the first place – is due to the historical status relationships among languages in this region under the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, as well as to the language policy and interethnic relationships in the post WWI and WWII Yugoslav states (Table 1). Namely, throughout the history of the Slovene people, in the course of its development into a modern nation, endeavours to achieve Slovene language autonomy have been present. In absence of other power resources – namely administrative state mechanisms – language and culture functioned as a frame of reference for national unification.

Table 1: Language policy and language planning in the Slovene ethnic territory until 1940: successive corpus + status planning

Until the 19th century	19th–20th century	1919–1940
SELECTION + CODIFICATION	CODIFICATION + IMPLEMENTATION + ELABORATION	IMPLEMENTATION + ELABORATION
Folk (local culture) language	Regional (Land) language	Regional (State) language
- Religious texts - First linguistic text in 16th century (Trubar 1550) - Transition from folk (cultural) language to literary norm - Slovene language in school	- Prekmurje literary language - Pan-Slavic, Ilirian movements - 1848: Slovene texts in AH Official Gazette - 1848: Slovene profesional newspaper - development of disciplinary terminology - Slovene in regional (Land) administration and army	- Slovene language in school - Slovene language in regional administration, cultural institutions, enterprises and media - Slovene + Serbo-Croatian in state institutions - 1919: University of Ljubljana - 1938: Slovene Academy of Science and Arts

2

Between the two world wars, the centralistic Yugoslav policy was built upon a theory that the Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs were not autonomous nations but only three tribes of one emerging nation. Their languages were considered to be three dialects of one (emerging) language. Although the most brutal centralistic pressure lasted but a short time, being strongly opposed to by Slovenian and Croatian elites and political agents, the stigma obviously left deep roots in the collective memory of the Slovene people. Interethnic relations in post-WWII Yugoslavia were marked by continuous vigilance on the part of the most prominent Slovene language (and cultural) policy-makers towards any sign of centralization.

Table 2: Slovene language planning in the post-WWII Yugoslav federation – status planning

Administrative levels		
Federal	Republic	Regional/Local
Official use of Serbo-Croatian, Slovene, Macedonian in: - federal organs and institutions - communication among republics and autonomous regions (Kosovo and Voivodina) - federal affairs: - legislation - the economy - foreign policy - army	Slovene was the official language in the territory of the Republic of Slovenia: gradually Slovene enters all channels of communication (modern media included), except for when giving commands the army	Slovene + Italian = official languages in Istria (coastal communes) Slovene + Hungarian = official languages in the mixed area of Prekmurje

Table 3: Slovene language planning in the post-WWII Yugoslav federation – corpus planning

Levels		
Federal	Republic	Regional/Local
Impulses from the common self-management system are also reflected in the Slovene language: Lexical + discourse style innovation introducing self-management terminology and discourse convention	Terminological modernization Stylistic development Modern grammar	Specific socio-cultural features incorporated into Italian and Hungarian languages (language manuals, textbooks, newspapers)

In Slovene public opinion it is widely accepted that Slovene language status planning and – along with it, its corpus planning – together with the gradual spreading of its functions into the channels of public communication, remained a non-concluded process until the creation of an independent Slovene state in 1991.¹ In spite of the fact that at the end of the 1980s the Slovene language was one of the three equal state languages at the federal level (Tables 2 and 3), it was still deprived of some functions, which, in the eyes of Slovenes, were considered a sign of a full (complete) nationhood. Two facts excited the opposition in Slovenia in this regard: On the political and constitutional level, it was the issue was the role of the language of commanding in the army, while in context of communication praxis it was the issue of the language of wider communication, i.e. Serbo-Croatian.

Commanding in the army units was reserved for the Serbocroatian language only, also in Slovenia; the demand to assign this function to Slovene has its roots in the fact that Slovene was the language of commands in the territory of Slovenia during the WWII, and even in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Over time, however, the status of Slovene in the army units located in Slovenia rose, and by the 1980s the written text of the solemn oath was in the language of the soldier – i.e., in Slovene for Slovenians – although the oral oath remained in Serbo-Croatian. Moreover, the army's educational activities and inscriptions on the army property in Slovenia were also in Slovene, as was communication with civilians.

1 The appeal for the new Slovene Constitution, the Slovene Writers' Association and the Slovene Sociological Association, can all be considered as attempts to foster other dimensions of Slovene statehood, i.e. the political and cultural, as well as military dimensions (D. Rupel, J. Menart 1988).

Attempts to assign to Serbo-Croatian the role of the language of wider communication, so that it would function as a kind of a *lingua franca* in public discourse all over Yugoslavia, were met with strong opposition in Slovenia. Such discrepancies along with the abovementioned historical load have largely contributed to the instrumentalization of language issues for the unification of the Slovene public opinion regarding the necessity of Slovenian independence.

Regardless of the abovementioned conflict issues, many prominent Slovene linguists admit that after the WWII, in spite of some limitations, the Slovene language status has steadily increased and its functions have spread significantly (Pogorelec 1996).

3

After the declaration of an independent Slovenia in 1991, the continuity of language planning and the promotion of cultural pluralism were also expressed by new Constitution. The status of the Slovene language changed significantly; today it is the only official language on the level of the Republic of Slovenia, i.e. the national/state language. The official function of Slovene as the national language encompasses all spheres of life, in both internal and external channels of communication. It goes without saying that, immediately, Slovene acquired all functions in the activities of the army.

All professional institutions, associations and individuals engaged in language planning continued their work without interruption. However, on the language policymaking level continuity was broken with the country's independence. Namely, in the 1970s, following an initiative by the Slavic Association of Slovenia, a body of experts, named Slovene Language in Public (Use) (*Slovenščina v javnosti*), was organized in the framework of the then Socialist Alliance of Working People of Slovenia (*Socialistična zveza delovnega ljudstva*). Later it was transformed into the Language Council (*Svet za jezik*), which had several sections and working groups pursuing two basic aims: to stimulate public attention and sensitivity for language topics, and to dwell upon the respect of the legal norms regarding the Slovene language in the Yugoslav federation, on the federal and national level. For realization of the first task a working group, named the Language Tribunal (*Jezikovno razsodišče*) was

formed. Although its main goal was to promote the language culture among Slovene language speakers by discussing and assessing the use of Slovene in the mass media and other public institutions that could have an influence on the language of public and private communication, its existence excited a lot of controversy in other Yugoslav republics.

4

The changed socio-political situation after 1991 soon revealed some problematic issues. With independence of Slovenia, a more relaxed attitude towards the Slovene language seems to have developed. On the one hand, this is manifested by a rather shallow respect for language norm in public, written and oral discourse. Along with this, the influence of American culture and modes of expression increased. Before this, the endeavour for the autonomy of the Slovene language was expressed, among other things, in purist efforts that were mostly oriented against the influence of Serbo-Croatian. Such vigilance seemed to become obsolete after the common destiny of the two languages parted. The growing impact of political and economic integration, i.e. of globalization, was reflected in Slovenia both culturally and economically, with impacts on the language. The growth of communication technology also brought many English language patterns which was especially reflected in the speech of young generations.

One could argue that a paradoxical thing has happened over the last three decades: while by becoming a full national/ state language the status of Slovene was promoted, there has been no obvious increase in its prestige. On the contrary, there are several indications that in certain layers of the population its prestige has been diminishing. Many warnings have been launched against a kind of Slovene English diglossia which seemingly is about to spread in Slovenia. Alarm has been triggered on account of the fact that public signs, the language of expert and scientific meetings, scientific publications, university lectures and seminars, diplomas and post-graduate works are increasingly in English. It is even the case that in many foreign enterprises operating in Slovenia the Slovene language is no longer used, not even in the personal documentation of the employees.

A burning question which has only recently been thoroughly elaborated as a part of the Slovene language strategy is the situation of Slovene in the European language policy. With the political decision of Slovenia to join the EU, Slovene exhibits the typical features of a small language. It appears to be even smaller in this European association of nations, ethnic communities and languages than it was in Yugoslav times.² This regards language acquisition planning, not only from the point of view of the foreign language acquisition planning in Slovenia, but also with regard to Slovene as a foreign (and L2) language.

2 Toporišič (1991:143) defines as small language a language of a relatively small community (in terms of power) within the framework of a larger one.

5

With an aim to limit and eliminate the above described detrimental phenomena, i.e. the invasion of English and other foreign language influences in public discourse in Slovenia, in 1992 the Slovene Language in Public (Use) (*Slovenščina v javnosti*) group was restored within the framework of the Slavic Association of Slovenia (*Slavistično društvo Slovenije*). In 1993 there was a call to establish a group of linguists and other experts within Parliament who would handle fundamental language planning, including consideration of any legislation in this field. Consequently, in March 1994 a group of experts was nominated as a permanent working body of the Parliamentary Committee for Culture, Education and Sport,³ with the task of producing suggestions regarding language policy and language planning to both Parliament and the wider public.

At the same time, several individuals concerned about the Slovene language, mostly linguists, writers and scientists, suggested that issues regarding the status of the Slovene language should be regulated by a special law. A member of the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts (*Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti* – SAZU) offered a study on language committees in Scandinavia as a possible model to follow in Slovenia (Orešnik 1995). However, the first concrete proposal did not come from the parliamentary working group, as the draft text of the law on the use of Slovene as the official language was prepared at the beginning of 1997 (January 14), by the then Minister of Culture.⁴ In the draft two separate topics are covered. The first is the domains of official language use, which should be regulated by law, and the second is the setting up of a State Language Committee.

The proposal was not unanimously or enthusiastically supported by the working group, and on November 5 1999, after almost three years of debate, its views were published: two members were against the law, and while the others supported the idea they suggested certain modifications and supplements.

3 In the working group, headed by full prof. Dr Breda Pogorelec, there were six language specialist, two lawyers, and two psychologists.

4 Associate prof. Dr Janez Dular.

6

Two opposing views of language policy that emerged from two different language ideologies are obvious in the debate on the law, and these can be described based on the differing theoretical, disciplinary and generational perspectives.

On the one side, there was a rather traditionalistic, defensive approach to or view of the Slovene language as an ideal of national unity. In this view the language is presented as the sacred symbol of the Slovene nation, the preeminent marker of the Slovene identity, and thus an external token of the nation's vitality is the public use of impeccable Slovene. According to this approach, at the moment – or better to say, through history – the language has been endangered because of foreign dominance, by insufficiently developed language competence and disrespect of its norms by its speakers. Beyond this, one could say an “introverted” approach to the Slovene language, the concept of a “nation state” based on the sovereignty of only one ethnic community, i.e. the Slovene nation, can be discerned. The modern tendency to see the state as a community of citizens of different ethnic, cultural and linguistic backgrounds can hardly be traced in this approach, and terms like open society, ethnic and language pluralism are excluded from this discourse.

In opposition to this – one could call it a kind of “renovated” language activism – stands a more moderate, modern approach oriented towards the wider context of language acquisition and language use. In view of this, liberal argumentation on the status of the Slovene language has been efficiently regulated by the Constitution and the laws regulating individual spheres of activity. In the independent Slovene state, the Slovene language has gained the status of the national/state language, and its prestige depends on the development and promotion of the whole of Slovene society. The quality of written and oral public discourse thus depends on factors that are closely related to the general social climate and welfare, and the role of education and mass media has been underlined in this connection. The necessity for an unhindered, continuous process of preparation of fundamental works on the prescribed language norm in central scientific institutions (the Slovene Academy of Science and Arts, the Universities of Ljubljana and Maribor) has been confirmed, with the production of linguistic materials such as orthographies, dictionaries, grammars, lexicographical works and so on being essential for future development. Electronic corpus selection, the development of organized translation services as well as ample linguistic research should also be fostered to support this work.

The features of two legislative approaches towards language are integrated in the Slovene Language Law.⁵ As mentioned above, the Scandinavian language model is followed here, and thus the language office should play a decisive advisory and stimulatory role in language matters. On the other hand, there are elements of the French model integrated in the law, as it also has a repressive function, with penalties being foreseen for disrespect of the “proper” language use by institutions and responsible individuals.

The draft of the bill was brought to the legislative procedure, by the insistence of a civil initiative. On June 5, 2000 a public debate was organized and the bill was sent to the Parliamentary Committee for Social Activities. It was expected that after the debate in this body Parliament would start the procedure to pass the bill. Meanwhile, however, a governmental decree was issued establishing an Office for Slovene Language of the Government of Slovenia.⁶ On the other hand, the working group of the Parliamentary Committee for Culture, Education and Sport⁷ resumed its role as the advisory body to Parliament in the language policy and language planning matters.

7

The law triggered a series of activities – in fact, demands were put forward in the Act itself for the formulating of documents on a national programme for language policy and on ensuring the conditions for its implementation.

In 2007, the National Programme for Language Policy (NPLP) for the period 2008- 2011 was adopted as the main instrument envisaged by the Act on Public Usage of Slovene Language. The NPLP for the period 2012-2016 brought about a substantial change of focus. From protection the emphasis shifted to language matters in education and to language equipment demands (resources, technology, digitalization, standardization, language description, terminology and multilingualism, etc.). Compared to previous periods, greater attention was also dedicated to speakers with special needs. The Resolution on the National Programme for Language Policy

5 In this aspect a certain similarity can be traced with the recently adopted Polish Law, the main difference being that professional linguistic matters remain in the competence of professional (nongovernmental) institutions, i.e. the Academy of Science and Arts and universities.

6 Decree on establishing, structure and working sphere of the Office for the Slovene Language of the Government of Republic of Slovenia, Official Gazette of Republic of Slovenia, no. 97, October 20, 2000, p. 10585; associate prof. Dr Janez Dular was appointed the first director of the Office.

7 On February 2, 2001, the working group was enlarged; it had 13 members, most of them being the Slovene language specialists.

2014-2018 identified a series of goals and measures to be implemented at the inter-ministerial level. Support for the excellence of artistic and cultural production in Slovene, systematic care for the development of the communicative competence of all groups of speakers, including their reading skills, as well as the promotion of public use of the language were at the forefront of the planned activities.

The preamble to the current resolution (2021-2025) indicates a growing awareness that in Slovenia English is no longer just a *foreign* language, although this observation is implicitly expressed in a rather vague wording.⁸ Although it is not expressly named, English is still referred to in the document, since, in Slovenia as elsewhere, this language is gradually taking on the role of an *additional* language alongside Slovene – not only in university lectures, but also in some other public, formal domains. The term *additional* language is used for sociolinguistic situations when two languages simultaneously perform the same functions or occupy the same domains in the same social space. Such concurrent use of two languages sooner or later leads to the abandonment of one of them in the relevant domain, usually the weaker language.

8

Towards a conclusion. In its development, Slovene has reached the status of a fully functional language.

However, official recognition is but one in a series of powerful mechanisms that influence language status and language corpus planning. In this respect, the experience of the development of Slovene seems to be quite instructive. Namely, it is estimated that in the history of the language there have been two critical moments when Slovene, regardless of its small number of speakers, joined the ranks of privileged languages: “In the 16th century, it (i.e. the Slovene language, op ANL) was the 12th language that the Bible was translated into, and today it is one of the smallest languages that the ‘Bible of the modern age’ has been translated into: the Windows operating system and programs written for it” (Hladnik). The latter achievement, together with other language policy measures, also raises hopes for the vitality of Slovene and its increasing prestige in the future.

8 “...the Slovenian language policy must, through a variety of measures, ensure that Slovenian remains the dominant voluntary (and obvious) choice for native speakers in the widest possible range of private and public use, [...] with realistically and reasonably designed language requirements in individual areas of work.” Resolution on June 1 2021 on the National Programme for Language Policy 2021–2025 (ReNPJP21–25, p.10. <https://jezikovna-politika.si/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/ReNPJP2021-2025-ENG.pdf>

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ba Slovenije.

Ekonomski pomen jezika: poudarek na obmejnih regijah*

*Sonja Novak Lukanović***

Povzetek

V pričujočem prispevku izpostavljamo pomen jezika in njegovo povezavo ekonomskimi aktivnostmi v obmejnih področjih, kajti ta predstavljajo posebne vrste »naraven laboratorij«, kjer je večkulturnost oz. večjezičnost objektivna realnost, ki jo je potrebno razumeti in sprejemati kot rezultat številnih različnih zgodovinskih in političnih dogodkov.

Jezik v obmejnih območjih ima komunikacijsko in simbolično dimenzijo, jezik je pokazatelj raznolikosti, prav tako pa jezik ni vedno najpomembnejši simbol, ki zaznamuje mejo med skupinami, toda je pomemben pokazatelj statusa posamezne skupine in odnosov med skupinami. Empirični rezultati raziskovanj so pokazali, da vprašani, ki so sodelovali v različnih raziskava v zadnjih 20 letih ne pripisujejo velikega pomena znanju jezika sosednje države (ki je v nekaterih mejnih področjih tudi manjšinski jezika) za družbeni ugled posameznika ali pa za komunikacijo v EU ali pa za usposabljanje in študij. Znanje jezika sosednje države je pomembno za zaposlitev v sosednji državi, istočasno pa se posameznik prav zaradi znanja jezika lažje prilagaja drugemu okolju in je zato tudi bolj uspešen. Rezultati omenjenih raziskovanj so potrdili, da ekonomske spremenljivke vplivajo tako na izbiro kot na rabo jezika v specifičnih, z ekonomsko kategorijo zaznamovanih situacijah.

Ključne besede: mejna območja, ekonomski vidik jezika, večjezičnost, empirični podatki

The economic importance of language: focus on border regions

In the paper, we highlight the importance of language and its link to economic activities in border areas, because they represent a special kind of “natural laboratory”, where multiculturalism or multilingualism is an objective reality that needs to be understood and accepted as a result of many different historical and political events.

Language in border areas has a communicative and symbolic dimension, language is an indicator of diversity, and language is not always the most important symbol marking the boundary between groups, but it is an important indicator of the status of a group and of relations

* Ta tekst posvečam akademiku, prof. dr. Janezu Orešniku, ki je razumel širino in interdisciplinarnost uporabnega jezikoslovja ter njegov pomen za znanost in za družbo.

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between groups. The empirical results of the surveys have shown that respondents who have participated in various surveys over the last 20 years do not attach much importance to knowledge of the language of a neighbouring country (which is also a minority language in some border areas) for one's social standing, or for communication within the EU, or for training and study. Knowledge of the language of the neighbouring country is important for employment in the neighbouring country, but at the same time it is also language skills that make it easier for an individual to adapt to a different environment and therefore be more successful. The results of the above-mentioned studies have confirmed that economic variables influence both the choice and the use of language in specific situations marked by economic categories.

Keywords: border regions, economic aspect of language, multilingualism, empirical results

Uvod

Vloga jezika oz. jezikov se v današnjem globalnem svetu spreminja. Obravnavanje jezika je kompleksna interdisciplinarna naloga, kajti jezik ni samo sistem znakov in ni namenjen samo sporazumevanju. Znanje jezika ni samo akademska vrednost, temveč jezik v najširšem pomenu integrira/združuje tudi druge pomene in vrednosti. Jeziki so si z jezikoslovnega stališča enakovredni, toda ko obravnavanje jezika postavimo v širši, družbeni kontekst, se pokaže, da imajo jeziki različne pomene in vrednosti ter da raba nekaterih jezikov presega njihove državne in politične meje, pri tem pa se večja njihov pomen in tudi moč (Skubic 2004: 316). Družbenoekonomski dejavniki vplivajo na spremembe v pomenu in vrednosti znanja enega, dveh ali več jezikov.

V prispevku izpostavljamo pomen jezika in njegovo povezavo z ekonomskimi aktivnostmi na obmejnih območjih, kajti ta predstavljajo posebne vrste »naraven laboratorij«, kjer je večkulturnost oz. večjezičnost objektivna realnost, ki jo je treba razumeti in sprejemati kot rezultat številnih različnih zgodovinskih in političnih dogodkov. »Razlika« ni nikoli absolutna in univerzalna, je rezultat zgodovine, kulture, moči in ideologije. Raziskovanje v takem laboratoriju pa pomeni opazovanje, zaznavanje, analiziranje pojavov in odnosov med jeziki, med kulturami in posledično tudi med različnimi etničnimi skupinami. Zgodovina nas uči, da meje niso statične in da se spreminjajo. Mejo oz. obmejno regijo zaznamujejo državna, politična, socialno-ekonomska in kulturno-jezikovna komponenta, ki dajejo obmejnemu območju posebno dimenzijo, s katero se razlikuje od drugih območij. Koncept meje je vedno dvojen: mejo in obmejno področje istočasno opredeljujeta faktor delitve in faktor stika dveh sistemov, dveh kultur.

Jezik na obmejnih območjih ima komunikacijsko in simbolično dimenzijo, jezik je pokazatelj raznolikosti. Čeprav ni vedno najpomembnejši simbol, ki zaznamuje mejo med skupinami, pa je pomemben pokazatelj statusa posamezne skupine in odnosov med skupinami (Barth 1969). Pri tem je treba izhajati iz podmene, da imajo posamezni jeziki v takih okoljih različne (največkrat neenake) komunikacijske domete, ki jih zaznamuje tudi ekonomski vidik, in da posamezni govorniki poleg lastnega jezika usvajajo najprej tiste jezike, ki jim omogočajo vključevanje v širši komunikacijski prostor. Na vsakem opazovanem obmejnem območju je mogoče vzpostaviti hierarhijo jezikov oz. hierarhično piramido (Calvet 1999), ki ima zaradi različnih družbenoekonomskih dejavnikov različno funkcionalno konfiguracijo.

Jezik v povezavi z ekonomijo

Obravnavanje jezika v kontekstu ekonomskih oz. gospodarskih aktivnosti zahteva interdisciplinarni pristop z vključevanjem jezikoslovcev, ekonomistov, sociologov in politologov. Na žalost pa literatura potrjuje, da je danes le malo ekonomistov, vsaj po naši oceni, ki bi se sistematično ukvarjali s povezavo jezika in ekonomije oz. povezavo in vlogo jezika v gospodarski uspešnosti podjetja ali družbe. In če smo samokritični, tudi malo jezikoslovcev je, ki bi se posvečali temu vidiku.

Pri obravnavanju povezave jezika in ekonomije se pojavi vprašanje, kaj obsega ekonomija in s katerimi vidiki ekonomije povezujemo jezik. Postavlja se vprašanje, ali jezik obravnavamo v povezavi z ekonomijo v pomenu gospodarstva ali v povezavi z ekonomijo v najširšem pogledu ter v čem je bistvena razlika med njima.

V definiranju ekonomije - v pomenu gospodarstvo ta obsega niz človekovih dejavnosti, ki ustvarjajo produkcijo, distribucijo in porabo, izmenjavo izdelkov in storitev, ki imajo vrednost na trgu in ustvarjajo GDP (BDP), ter predstavljajo uspeh/rezultat neke države ali pokrajine ali nekega obdobja. Na drugi strani pa je ekonomija kot družbena veda, ki jo zaznamuje niz različnih faktorjev in različnih pristopov. Kot disciplina je bila opredeljena v 30. letih prejšnjega stoletja, ko so se avtorji začeli ukvarjati z njeno povezavo z družbo in s posameznikom predvsem z vidika primerjave koristi (Robbins 1935). Raziskovalci so si edini, da je ekonomija mnogo širša kot gospodarstvo, kajti obravnava različne vidike človekovega izkustva. Razliko med ekonomijo in gospodarstvom se lahko primerja z razliko med »družbo in sociologijo« (Grin 2003).

Pri obravnavanju in razumevanju vloge jezika, predvsem manjšinskega jezika v obmejnih regijah in njegovo povezavo z ekonomijo oz. gospodarstvom, moramo izhajati iz teorije Bourdieuja (1991). Jezik je zanj proizvod, enači ga z denarjem,

ker oba predstavljata sredstvo izmenjave in ustvarjata kapital. Njegovo izhodišče o vrednosti jezika vključuje ekonomski vidik, pri čemer je jezik vedno del širšega družbenega konteksta, v katerem ekonomske razmere močno zaznamujejo rabo in izbiro uporabljanega jezika. Spremenljivka vrednost je večplastna (simbolična, prepoznavna vrednost, vrednost rabe, vrednost izmenjave),¹ in jo močno zaznamuje prepletenost družbenoekonomskih faktorjev. Z menjavo jezika oz. z uporabo drugega jezika se prav prek simbolične moči jezika kaže tudi moč in avtoriteta govorca v ekonomskem in kulturnem pogledu, zlasti je to mogoče zaznati na obmejnih večkulturnih območjih. Ekonomska vrednost jezika je tako podkategorija družbene vrednosti in se pod določenimi pogoji in v specifičnih okoliščinah lahko tudi spreminja.

Bourdieu izpostavlja znanje jezika oz. jezikovno kompetenco, ki posamezniku predstavlja jezikovni kapital, ta pa je vedno v povezavi s trgov. Na ta način se ustvarja jezikovni trg, na katerem znanje jezika oz. jezikovna kompetenca nastopa kot kapital, kar pomeni, da poznavanje enega ali več jezikov (dvo- ali večjezičnost) posamezniku omogoča, da »trguje« na jezikovnem trgu. Če pa se znanje nekega jezika »ne prodaja« dobro na trgu, kar je v mnogih primerih značilno za obmejna večkulturna območja, pa se lahko pričakuje, da bo jezik tam izgubil vrednost, to pa predstavlja osnovo in začetek procesa jezikovnega preklopa. Procesi jezikovnega preklopa se lahko nanašajo tudi na prekop iz dialekta v standardni jezik, prekop iz jezika manjšine v jezik večine, in to predvsem v okoljih, kjer je jezik manjšine v odnosu diglosije z jezikom večine. Dolgoročno gledano pa obstaja tudi možnost preklopa iz nacionalnega v neki mednarodni jezik. Vse to pa se odraža v različnih gospodarskih aktivnostih.

Ob vsem tem lahko trdimo, da predvsem na obmejnih, večkulturnih območjih ne gre samo za jezikovni kapital, ampak za mnogo več, distribucija jezikovnega kapitala je namreč povezana z distribucijo drugih oblik kapitala, ki skupaj definirajo položaj posameznika v družbeni hierarhiji.

Jezik kot kapital v globalnem gospodarstvu

V današnjem času se močno poudarja vpliv globalizacije na povečano ekonomsko oz. gospodarsko aktivnost, ki posredno zaznamuje tudi izbiro in rabo jezika, kajti globalno gospodarstvo se ne ustavi znotraj meje ene skupnosti/države in tako

1 Prepoznavna vrednost jezika je znak prestiža ali družbenega statusa. Vrednost rabe pomeni, da se jezik uporablja v nekem okolju in ta uporaba jezika posamezniku prinaša vrednost, kot je delovno mesto, šolanje. Nanaša se tudi na produkcijo (v kvantitativnem pomenu) knjig, medijev v nekem jeziku. Vrednost izmenjave lahko opišemo glede na razlike statusa jezika v družbi (uradni – neuradni, večinski – manjšinski (Novak Lukanovič 2011: 330).

ustvarja novo usmeritev – ustvarja se generacija študij, ki povezujejo jezik in ekonomijo. V procesih globalne organiziranosti gospodarstva in kapitala se pojavljajo ljudje in organizacije, ki morajo med seboj komunicirati zelo hitro in dobro, da dosežejo uspeh in cilj, ki ga postavlja kapital. V tej komunikaciji pa niso pomembne samo nove informacijske tehnologije, pomemben je tudi jezik, ki se razlikuje od blaga, storitev in sredstev, kajti upravljanje blaga in storitev brez jezika ne obstaja. Upravljanje jezika pomeni upravljanje uporabnikov (Cameron 2005). V tej perspektivi postajata vloga in odnos do jezika specifična. Jezik postaja pomembno komunikacijsko sredstvo, ki posamezniku pomaga v tekmovalnem okolju. Tako je jezik brez dvoma lahko eden izmed indikatorjev ekonomske globalizacije, s katerim je mogoče meriti tudi intenzivnost različnih družbenih/gospodarskih procesov in trendov ter tako prispevati k razvijanju netipičnih statističnih kazalnikov, ki pomembno osvetljujejo razumevanje globalizacije.

Na začetku tisočletja je Monica Heller (2003) v članku »Globalization, the new economy, and the commodification of language and identity« raziskovala, kako so globalizacija in premiki v svetovnem gospodarstvu pripeljali do poblagovljenja (»commodification«) jezika in tudi do sprememb v pojmovanju identitete. Jezik, ki je nekoč veljal za označevalca kulturne identitete, je postal blago na svetovnem trgu, z ekonomsko vrednostjo, povezano z jezikovnimi spretnostmi in jezikovno raznolikostjo. To vodi v možnost obravnavanja različnih načinov poblagovljenja jezika in identitete, vključno z jezikovnim izobraževanjem, jezikovnimi tehnologijami in globalno medijsko industrijo. Tako poblagovljenje pa vpliva na ohranjanje, spreminjanje in izgubljanje jezikovne raznolikosti območja ne glede na geografsko področje, pa tudi identiteto posameznika in skupnosti ter na družbeno neenakost.

Različni pristopi pri obravnavanju jezika v povezavi z ekonomijo

Ko obravnavamo vlogo jezika v obmejnih regijah in njegovo povezavo z ekonomijo, moramo najprej pogledati, kakšne pristope so raziskovalci izbirali in kako so umeščali jezik (ne glede na to, ali gre za večinski ali manjšinski ali tuji jezik) v ekonomijo oz. v gospodarsko dejavnost. Literatura ne navaja enotnega teoretičnega koncepta, ki bi utemeljeval povezavo jezika in ekonomije kompleksno in sistematično. Marschak²

2 Pri tem omenjenega avtorja citiramo iz Grina (1996), ki piše, da je Marshak v članku *Economics of language*, objavljenem leta 1965 v reviji *Behavioral Science* (10, 135–140), postavil izhodišča za obravnavo jezika in ekonomije..

je bil eden izmed prvih, ki je v svojih delih v središče postavil vprašanja, zakaj se raba jezikov spreminja, zakaj se nekateri jeziki bolj ohranjajo kot drugi in kaj pomeni učinkovitost jezika. Jezik je bil zanj objekt izbire, ki je usmerjen v dosego določenega cilja. Izbiro jezika v komunikaciji ali pa izbiro za učenje nekega jezika je apliciral na standarde mikroekonomije in jih povezal na isti način, kot so povezane vse ekonomske odločitve posameznika, od nakupa izdelka do investicije, ki vedno predstavljajo za posameznika rezultat – najboljšo izbiro v danem trenutku.

Raziskave, ki so obravnavale vloge posameznih jezikov v različnih družbah oz. okoljih, so potrdile moč ekonomskih dejavnikov pri izbiri in rabi posameznega jezika (Edwards 1985).

Lazear (1999a, 1999b) je v svojem raziskovanju izpostavil vprašanje jezika predvsem z organizacijske perspektive in ugotavljal, da globalna podjetja najemajo delavce, ki obvladajo dva jezika. Pri tem podjetja izhajajo iz premise, da je dvojezični delavec veliko privlačnejši na trgu delovne sile.

Tudi druge raziskave potrjujejo, da znanje jezikov oz. dvo- ali večjezičnost daje posamezniku prednost na trgu delovne sile (Erreygers 2005) in mu prinaša boljši finančni zaslužek (Carliner 1981). Empirično je potrjeno, da jezikovna spretnost oz. višja stopnja sporazumevalne zmožnosti vpliva na trg delovne sile. Zlasti je to mogoče zaznati med migrantsko populacijo (Dustmann 1994), medtem ko na večkulturnih območjih – v etnično mešanih okoljih – stopnja jezikovne zmožnosti, pri čemer imamo v mislih stopnjo znanja manjšinskega jezika, ni statistično pomembna kategorija pri ustvarjanju zaslužka, npr. v Walesu (Henley in Jones 2001), in tudi ne pri zaposlovanju na različna delovna mesta. O tem poročajo tudi rezultati empiričnega raziskovanja v Sloveniji (Novak Lukanovič 2002).

Pri oblikovanju jezikovno-izobraževalne politike države je potrebno, da načrtovalci upoštevajo ekonomski vidik jezika, ki prav z jezikovnim in izobraževalnim načrtovanjem vpliva na vlogo, položaj in status manjšinskega jezika ter s tem tudi na strukturo jezikovnega trga (Wodak in Menz 1990; Grin 2003; Gazzola 2014). Strukturo jezikovnega trga in odgovor na vprašanje, zakaj nekatere jezike v posameznih okoljih poučujejo bolj in druge manj, pa dajejo poleg družbenoekonomskih dejavnikov in jezikovno-izobraževalne politike tudi različne oblike neformalnega izobraževanja. Zlasti o vplivih različnih oblik neformalnega jezikovnega izobraževanja pa raziskave ne poročajo.

Mnogi raziskovalci (Grenier in Vaillancourt 1983; Grin 1996) tudi potrjujejo, da ekonomske spremenljivke prispevajo k zaščiti in promociji manjšinskih jezikov ter vplivajo na strukturne spremenljivke etnolingvistične vitalnosti skupnosti, kot jih je

opredelil Giles s sodelavci (1977: 309). Grin (1996), eden redkih ekonomistov, ki se ukvarja z raziskovanjem povezave jezika in ekonomije, je izpostavil, da je vrednost jezika dominantne skupine, manjšinske skupine ali tujega jezika ter položaj jezika na jezikovnem trgu na večkulturnih območjih, predvsem obmejnih, mogoče obravnavati kot:

- vrednost jezikovne različnosti,
- vrednost medskupinske komunikacije,
- vrednost jezikovne vitalnosti, ki vključuje tudi učinkovitost jezika na trgovinske tokove.

Čeprav so pristopi pri obravnavanju vloge manjšinskih jezikov glede na posamezno okolje različni, je obravnavanje vloge manjšinskih jezikov, predvsem v preteklosti, največkrat osredotočeno predvsem na dimenzijo ohranjanja kulturne dediščine, na obravnavanje jezika kot pomembnega simbola identitete posameznika in skupine ter prenašalca kulture, torej na obravnavanje jezika manjšine v netržnem pomenu. V kontekstu ekonomskega vidika se jezik največkrat obravnava le v povezavi s kulturno/jezikovno produkcijo, ki je predstavljena v kvantitativnem pogledu in obravnavana kot strošek. Investicija v jezik oz. jezikovno produkcijo, obravnavana v ozkem ekonomskem pomenu, je lahko že v izhodišču obsojena na izgubo in je nespremenljiva. To pomeni, da je npr. število izdanih knjig v jeziku manjšine, število bralcev revij oz. časopisov, ki izhajajo v jeziku manjšine, v numeričnem obsegu vedno majhno in prav zato v ekonomskem pogledu največkrat ne pokrije niti stroškov produkcije, kaj šele, da bi ustvarilo dobiček.

Vloga slovenskih avtorjev pri obravnavi povezave jezika in ekonomije v preteklosti

Čeprav analiza znanstvene in strokovne literature, ki smo jo delno prikazali v predhodnem poglavju, kaže, da so se znanstveniki v svetu začeli intenzivno ukvarjati s povezavo jezika in ekonomije zlasti v 80. in 90. letih 20. stoletja, pa nas literatura prav tako opozarja, da smo na slovenskih tleh že zelo zgodaj zasledili zanimanje med slovenskimi intelektualci za povezavo jezika z gospodarstvom, predvsem za ekonomsko vrednost jezika. To je posledica družbenopolitičnega položaja in vloge slovenskega jezika, zgodovinskih dogodkov ter razmer na začetku 20. stoletja (Novak Lukanović 2016). Za osvetlitev te naše trditve je treba izpostaviti, da je že leta 1921 slovenski politik in gospodarstvenik Andrej Gosar (1985) ugotovil, da sta jezik in ekonomija povezana, in zapisal, da *»jezikovno vprašanje sega globoko na gospodarsko polje ...*

Vprašanje, ali se moramo mi učiti tujega jezika ali se morajo narobe drugi učiti našega, ni samo idealne, temveč tudi velike praktične vrednosti ter je pristno gospodarsko vprašanje [...]

Družbenopolitični položaj in položaj slovenskega jezika ter razmere po koncu prve svetovne vojne so v novonastali državi vplivali na to, da so bila razmišljanja o ekonomski vrednosti jezika v povezavi s simbolično vrednostjo prisotna ne le med jezikoslovci, temveč predvsem med gospodarstveniki. V tistem času je Gosar v svojem delu o narodnostnem vprašanju s poglavjem *Jezik v gospodarskem življenju* dal osnovo današnjemu obravnavanju povezave jezika in ekonomije. Žal pa je tudi njegovo pisanje prav zaradi jezika (slovenskega) ostalo znano samo ozkemu krogu bralcev. V zaključku omenjenega poglavja je Gosar (prav tam, 117) zapisal: »*Notranja zveza med jezikovnim oziroma narodnim in gospodarskim vprašanjem je jasna, in nobene-ga dvoma ni, da vodi jezikovna neenakopravnost k splošni narodni neenakopravnosti, iz katere izvira popolna gospodarska odvisnost in socialna zapostavljenost [...]*« Vsi navedki Gosarja imajo tudi velik simbolični pomen.

Drugi, prav tako pomembni avtor, ki v svojih delih kar nekaj let kasneje in tudi iz drugačnega družbenoekonomskega izhodišča povezuje pomen jezika z ekonomskim razvojem, je Toussant Hočevar, slovensko-ameriški ekonomist in zgodovinar, ki ga še danes citirajo številni sodobni avtorji (npr. Grin). V svojih razpravah obravnava razmerje med etničnostjo in gospodarskim razvojem, pri čemer posebej izpostavlja jezik kot element etničnosti, in pravi, naj bodo institucije, ki vplivajo na gospodarski razvoj, jezikovno usklajene s prebivalstvom nekega ozemlja, če naj bo družbeni produkt kar največji. Prav tako izpostavlja jezik in navaja, da ravno jezik ustvarja in omogoča mobilnost, ter se vprašuje, ali družbena ločnica vedno sovпада z jezikovno. Primeri iz vsakdanjega življenja v preteklosti in danes to zavračajo. Hočevar (Hočev-ar 1976) trdi, da jezikovni monopol omogoča privilegiran položaj, kar lahko tudi danes potrdimo. Prav tako izhaja iz trditve, da znanje nekega jezika pomeni kapitalno investicijo, ki je ireverzibilna – zaprta je v človekovih možganih in je ni moč odtujiti kot kako fizično dobrino, čeprav jo lahko prenašamo drugim. Kot druge kapitalne dobrine pa je tudi znanje nekega jezika podvrženo depreciaciji.³

Pri razglabljanju o ekonomski obravnavi jezika Hočevar navaja, da so stroški, ki so povezani z učenjem jezika, investicijski stroški v fizične in človeške vire. Ti stroški so potrebni za prenos in kopičenje informacij ter ustvarjajo npr. dokumentacijo. Hočevar prav tako razglablja o dinamiki jezikovnih sistemov in navaja, da funkcijska

3 Ekonomska kategorija, ki jo prenaša na jezik – depreciacija valute je zmanjšanje njene vrednosti glede na drugo valuto.

meja med posameznimi jezikovnimi sistemi ni stanovitna in teži k premikanju. Kot primer navaja območje, ki je v našem primeru lahko tudi obmejna regija, kjer nastopa dominantni jezik A in nedominantni jezik B. Na takem območjem je nujno, da posameznik pridobi znanje jezika A, ker gre za investicijo, ki mora vsebovati eksplícitne in implícitne stroške učenja, torej tudi čas. Stroški skupine B pa pomenijo pregrado/mejo, ki jo morajo premagati tisti, ki težijo k poklicem oz. delu, ki poteka v jeziku A, torej gre za različne stroške.

Zakaj danes raziskujemo vlogo jezika pri različnih ekonomskih aktivnostih?

Danes se Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja (INV) raziskovalno z ekonomskim oz. gospodarskim vidikom etnične problematike direktno ne ukvarja, čeprav je pred mnogimi leti (skoraj 30 let nazaj) v svojem raziskovalnem programu imel zapisano tudi to tematiko. Kaj je razlog, da se raziskovanje v tej disciplini ni nadaljevalo vse do danes, bi težko odgovorili. Brez dvoma je odgovor večplasten in odvisen tudi od družbenopolitičnih usmeritev, ki so izpostavljale drugačne prioritete. Ugotavljamo, da je malo ekonomistov, vsaj po naši oceni, ki bi se sistematično ukvarjali z gospodarskim vidikom manjšinske problematike, še manj pa je raziskav, ki bi se usmerjale v iskanje povezave med identiteto in gospodarstvom ter učinkovitostjo vloge jezika pri gospodarskem razvoju.

Zavedamo se, da je raziskovanje take tematike multi- in interdisciplinarno in da je za nas raziskovalce velik raziskovalni izziv, predvsem z vidika metodologije.

Empirični podatki raziskovanj na INV o medetničnih odnosih na narodno mešanih območjih v Sloveniji in raziskovanja o percepciji kulturne in jezikovne raznolikosti v obmejnih mestih ob slovensko-italijanski, slovensko-avstrijski in slovensko-madžarski meji ter raziskovanja povezave jezika in ekonomije v podjetjih (tudi podjetjih, ki so v obmejnih regijah) so nakazali posredno in tudi neposredno predvsem soodvisnost povezave jezika kot najpomembnejšega elementa identitete ter izpostavili ekonomsko motivacijo za učenje in rabo manjšinskega jezika (Nečak Lük 1998, Novak Lukanović 2016).

Empirični rezultati raziskovanj so pokazali, da vprašani, ki so sodelovali v različnih raziskavah v zadnjih 20 letih, ne pripisujejo velikega pomena znanju jezika sosednje države (ki je v nekaterih mejnih področjih tudi manjšinski jezik) za družbeni ugled posameznika, za komunikacijo v EU ali pa za usposabljanje in študij. Znanje jezika sosednje države je pomembno za zaposlitev v sosednji državi, istočasno pa se posameznik prav zaradi znanja jezika lažje prilagaja drugemu okolju in je zato

tudi uspešnejši. Rezultati omenjenih raziskovanj so potrdili so, da ekonomske spremenljivke vplivajo tako na izbiro kot tudi na rabo jezika v specifičnih, z ekonomsko kategorijo zaznamovanih situacijah (delovno mesto, zaposlitev, napredovanje). Tako je izbira in raba jezika povezana z različnimi ekonomskimi dejavnostmi ter z ekonomskim uspehom posameznika ali organizacije, kar pomeni, da so anketiranci v svojih ocenah zelo pragmatični in vidijo pomen znanja jezika le v direktni koristi: finančni in statusni.

Rezultati so nam pokazali, da je mogoče jezik na obmejnih območjih obravnavati z različnih vidikov:

- znanje jezika je za posameznika prednost, ki mu omogoča zaposlitev, ustrezno delovno mesto in boljši zaslužek;
- izbira jezika vpliva na podjetje, ko to vstopa na nov trg, in izbira ustreznega jezika prispeva k poslovnemu uspehu;
- jezikovna vitalnost se odraža tudi v učinkovitosti jezika na trgovinske tokove.

Zanimiv je pogled estonskega raziskovalca, ki ugotavlja, da lahko v okoljih, kjer sta prisotna dva jezika – večinski in manjšinski –, ekonomski argument promovira manjšinski jezik, toda samo v primeru, ko ima ta tudi neko »instrumentalno« vrednost. V primerih, ko manjšinski jezik nima te vrednosti, pa tudi ekonomski argument ostaja osamljen in brez vrednosti. Istočasno povečana instrumentalna vrednost nekega jezika in njegov ekskluzivizem pa lahko preuredi/prerangira družbo prav na jezikovni osnovi in jo poveže z ekonomsko in družbeno blaginjo govorcev. V tem primeru jezik igra regulatorja neenakega dostopa do moči (Rannut 1999: 100).

Rezultati naših raziskovanj potrjujejo, da posamezniki znanje nematerne jezika sprejemajo kot človeški kapital, ki jim omogoča, da si pridobivajo finančna sredstva in s tem zagotavljajo življenjski standard. Kot investicija posamezniku znanje jezika predstavlja direktni dobiček, istočasno pa mu prinaša tudi dolgoročni dobiček – lažji dostop do drugega trga, spoznavanje drugega trga, samozavestnejši nastop in celo hitrejši uspeh pri sklepanju pogodb (Novak Lukanović 2020). Naši podatki so potrdili, da motivacijo za usvajanje manjšinskega oz. sosedskega jezika močno zaznamuje ekonomski faktor, o čemer pišejo tudi drugi avtorji (Vaillancourt, 1996). V teoriji je ekonomski vidik jezika največkrat omenjen samo kot ena izmed spremenljivk, ki nastopa v povezavi z motivacijami, in sicer v primerih, ko je posameznik ekonomsko motiviran, da se uči jezik in da ga tudi uporablja v specifičnih situacijah. V številnih primerih ekonomska spremenljivka tudi vpliva na oblikovanje odnosa posameznika do specifičnega jezika. Če povzamemo, to pomeni, da je ekonomski

faktor na najrazličnejše načine (posredno in neposredno) povezan z vsemi vidiki, ki vplivajo na jezikovne procese v okolju.

Na drugi strani pa lahko ekonomski parametri vplivajo tudi na jezikovno diskriminacijo v medskupinskih odnosih. V različnih družbenih/jezikovnih procesih v večkulturnem okolju, kot je obmejno območje, pa ima pomembno vlogo državni jezik. Vsak drug jezik, tudi če je uradni, je v okolju povezan z državnim. Državni jezik pa je tisti, ki predstavlja neke vrste izhodiščno normo, ki omogoča, da se lahko vse druge jezikovne prakse, ki se v okolju uporabljajo, tudi objektivno merijo. Na ta način so posebej v obmejnih področjih izpolnjeni pogoji, da se ustvarja jezikovni trg, ki vsakemu jeziku določa ponudbo in povpraševanje ter ustvarja konkurenčne razmere, usmerja distribucijo, določa vrednost ter tudi ustvarja posreden ali neposreden dobiček.

Zaključek

Sprejemanje in prepletanje različnih kultur in različnih jezikovnih skupin v obmejnih regijah se odraža tudi v okviru različnih ekonomskih aktivnosti. Ekonomija v najširšem pomenu posredno in neposredno vpliva na različne jezikovne procese: od ohranjanja do opuščanja jezika ter do različnih strategij jezikovnega prilagajanja. Jezik je povezan s posameznikom in z družbo, ekonomija pa je del družbe. Jezik in kultura pa sta dve pomembni sestavini, ki vplivata na ekonomsko rast posameznika in družbe ter predstavljata pomemben kazalec zadovoljstva posameznika in vplivata na kvaliteto življenja posameznika.

Tako v večkulturni družbi jezikovno planiranje in jezikovna politika služita kot orodje, ki družbo usmerja v družbenem in ekonomskem pomenu. Izkušnja »živeti skupaj« v večkulturnem/večjezičnem svetu je prinesla nov, drugačen scenarij. Ne pomeni samo pravice posameznika, da govori svoj jezik, ampak tudi dolžnost družbe (tudi dolžnost podjetja), da v svoj program (tudi poslovni načrt) vnese možnost komunikacije v drugem jeziku, na obmejnih območjih pa tudi možnost znanja jezika manjšinskega oz. jezika sosednje države.

Na koncu naj navedemo še misel prof. dr. Ericha Prunča, ki jo je izrekel na manjšinskem kongresu leta 1999 v Železni Kapli:

»Jezik je namreč kameleon. Od okolja, v katero ga umestimo, je odvisna njegova oblika, od perspektive, iz katere ga gledamo je odvisna njegova konkretna vrednost. Jezik lahko oblikuje duha in vendar ga duh tudi oblikuje, jezik lahko udari svoj pečat jezikovni

skupnosti in vendar ga skupnost tudi kuje, lahko oblikuje, evocira, da, celo ustvarja resničnost, in vendar ga v enaki meri resničnost tudi določa /.../ Jezik je za človeka nič in vendar vse. Je pozitivna dediščina in breme preteklosti, medij komunikacije in ovira obenem. /.../ Njegovo ekonomsko vrednost je navznoter mogoče meriti po tem, koliko je ta skupnost pripravljena vanj investirati v obliki jezikovnega izobraževanja, usmerjanja in načrtovanja. Navzven pa lahko njegovo vrednost merimo po tem, kakšno funkcijo in kakšen delež ima v ustvarjanju ekonomske vrednosti.«

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Vprašanja v slovenskem znakovnem jeziku: kombinacija dvigovanja in spuščanja glave in obrvi

*Matic Pavlič**

Povzetek

V prispevku opišem tipološke razlike med odločevalnimi in dopolnjevalnimi vprašanji v govornih in znakovnih jezikih, nato pa na osnovi učnih primerov, dostopnih na spletni strani slovarja szj.si, izpeljem analizo vprašalnih stavkov v slovenskem znakovnem jeziku (SZJ). Odločevalna vprašanja so v tem jeziku prozodično označena z dvema mimičnima oznakama, dvigom obrvi in spustom glave, medtem ko so dopolnjevalna vprašanja označena s spustom obrvi in dvigom glave. Na besedni red v vprašanjih lahko vpliva informacijska struktura, zdi pa se, da je nezaznamovano mesto vprašalnice na začetku stavka, čeprav bo v prihodnjih raziskavah treba izključiti možni vpliv slovenščine.

Ključne besede: odločevalna vprašanja, dopolnjevalna vprašanja, mimika, besedni red, slovenski znakovni jezik

Interrogatives in Slovenian sign language: the interaction of head and eyebrow movements

I describe the typological differences between polar and content questions in spoken and signed languages. I present a linguistic analysis of interrogative sentences in Slovenian Sign Language using examples available on szj.si. Polar questions in this language are prosodically marked by two non-manual markers: a raising of the eyebrows and a lowering of the head, while content questions are marked by a lowering of the eyebrows and a raising of the head. Word order in questions can be influenced by the information structure, but the unmarked position of the *wh*-word appears to be at the beginning of the sentence, although future research will need to rule out a possible influence from Slovenian.

Keywords: polar questions, content questions, non-manual markers, word order, Slovenian sign language

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1 Uvod

Z vprašalnimi stavki sporočevalec običajno želi od naslovnika pridobiti informacijo, na primer o njegovem poznavanju določene jezikoslovne teorije, kot je prikazano v (1a–b). Prepoznavne značilnosti vprašanj (besedni red, prozodija, vezani in prosti vprašalni morfemi, njihova distribucija in skladenjsko mesto) se razlikujejo od jezika do jezika, vendar so tudi znotraj jezika odvisne od vrste vprašanja. *Odločevalna* vprašanja (1a) vsebujejo dve povezani propoziciji, trdilno in nikalno, ter z njima preverjajo, ali neko stanje velja ali ne. Nanje je predviden odgovor *ja* oziroma *ne*. Z *dopolnjevalnimi* vprašanji (1b) pa sporočevalec naslovnika spodbudi k dopolnitvi informacij(e); v številnih jezikih vsebujejo vprašalnico iz omejenega nabora vprašalnic, ki imajo pogosto skupno morfološko značilnost (v slovenščini se začnejo s k: *kaj*, *kdo* itd.).

(1)

- a. Ali poznaš naravno skladnjo (ali ne)?
- b. Kaj je naravna skladnja?

V znakovnih jezikih (ZJ) je raziskovanje vprašalnih stavkov zanimivo zaradi različnih naborov *ročnih* (izraženih z rokami, ki jim lahko določimo mesto kretanja, gibanje, usmerjenost in obliko dlani) in *mimičnih* (izraženih z drugimi telesnimi deli: usti, lici, očmi, obrvmi, glavo in trupom) vprašalnih morfemov ter njihove distribucije, dosega in besednega reda (Zeshan 2004). Kljub temu vprašanja v slovenskem znakovnem jeziku (SZJ), ki je prvi jezik približno 1000 gluhih oseb ter nekaterih naglušnih in slišočih na območju Slovenije, še niso doživela celostne jezikoslovne obravnave, bila pa so neformalno opisana.

2 Predhodni opisi

2.1 Slovenski znakovni jezik

Podboršek in Krajnc (2006, 66) v učbeniku *Naučimo se slovenskega znakovnega jezika* poudarjata vlogo mimike, pri čemer dvignjene obrvi povezujeta z vprašalnico ALI in z vprašanji »brez vprašalnice« (kot so: IMAŠ? DELA? in PRIDE?). »Namrščen izraz« (tj. spuščene obrvi) pa povezujeta z vsemi drugimi vprašalnicami, med

katerimi naštejeta KAJ, KJE in KDO.¹ Dvig ali spust glave ni omenjen. Nazadnje naj bi vsaka vprašalnica »imela svojo kretnjo«, »uporabimo pa lahko tudi univerzalno kretnjo za vsa vprašanja, ki jo izvajamo tako, da poleg zgoraj opisane mimike dvignemo obe navzgor obrnjeni dlani pred seboj in skomignemo z rameni«. V Podboršek in Krajnc (2013, 10–11) so pri mimiki, ki spremljajo to vrsto vprašanj, dodatno našteje priprte oči, opredeljen pa je tudi besedni red vprašalnic: stale naj bi na koncu stavka, v primeru podvojitve pa na začetku in na koncu stavka.

Priročna slovnica (Pavlič 2019, 2023) opažanja predstavi bolj sistematično in usklajeno z jezikoslovno terminologijo. Informanti so poleg *naloge opisovanja slike*, ki so ga razvili Volterra idr. (1984) posebej za ZJ, opravili tudi *nalogo ponavljanja*, pri kateri so ponavljali slovnične in neslovnične izraze/stavke, ter podali *jezikovne sodbe*, s katerimi so presojali njihovo sprejemljivost.² Na tej osnovi je bilo za izdajo poljudne slovnice SZJ pripravljenih in posnetih 25 primerov vprašanj, ki so bila vključena v 4 poglavja/posnetke³ in v njih razložena tako v slovenščini kot v SZJ. Iz njih izhajajo trditve, povzete po Pavlič (2019):

- a) poleg dvignjenih obrvi je kot značilnost odločevalnih vprašanj opredeljen spust glave;
- b) poleg spušenih obrvi je kot značilnost dopolnjevalnih vprašanj opredeljen dvig glave;
- c) opisana je univerzalna dopolnjevalna vprašalnica;
- d) opisano je podvajanje dopolnjevalnih vprašalnic;
- e) kot možen besedni red je navedena vprašalnica na začetku stavka ali *in situ*;
- f) mimika priprtih oči in nagiba glave naprej nista omenjeni.

V predhodnih virih se torej opisa vprašalnih stavkov v nekaterih podrobnostih razlikujeta. Neskladnost in metodološka pomanjkljivost predstavljata glavno motivacijo za izvedbo nove raziskave, ki je upoštevala tipološki pregled vprašanj v znakovnih jezikih.

1 Avtorici torej ločujeta dopolnjevalna in odločevalna vprašanja, vendar jih ne definirata.

2 Kot vodja zbiranja podatkov dodajam, da je bil za vprašanja uporabljen tudi postopek igre vlog, kot je opisan v Cecchetto, Geraci & Zucchi (2009): en kretalec v paru ima vlogo policista, ki izpolnjuje vnaprej pripravljen slikovni zapisnik o prometni nesreči, drugi pa je očividec, ki ga policist izprašuje o vpletenih vozilih in osebah, kraju in času nesreče, škodi in ponesrečencih. Očividec na ta vprašanja odgovarja na podlagi ilustracije nesreče.

3 8.0 (<https://youtu.be/kVAO68VnX9U0>; 3:90 s), 8.1 (<https://youtu.be/d0Mn3XjyyYY0>; 6:17 s), 8.2 (<https://youtu.be/L7x4cL-8xbU>; 5:56 s), 8.3 (<https://youtu.be/jdpzMf0MYcs>; 07:37 s) in 8.4 (<https://youtu.be/nLOO-Qm5woWw> 8:58 s).

2.2 Tipološki pregled

Raziskave vprašalnih stavkov v znakovnih jezikih so bile izvedene na različnih jezikih, pri čemer so za zbiranje podatkov raziskovalci uporabili različne metode in njihove kombinacije: med drugimi opisovanje slik (npr. Zeshan 2004, Pfau & Quer 2002 in Wilbur 1994), prevajanje stavkov iz govornega v znakovni jezik (npr. Cecchetto idr. 2009, Pfau & Quer 2002, Kimmelman 2014), slovnične sodbe (npr. Cecchetto idr. 2009), ponavljanje stavkov (npr. Wilbur 1994) in korpusno analizo naravne ali polstrukturirane interakcije (npr. Costello idr. 2012).

Raziskovalci poročajo, da ZJ uporabljajo različne mimične oznake za različne vrste vprašalnih stavkov, pri čemer je za eno vrsto običajno značilnih več različnih mimičnih oznak. Po Zeshan (2004)⁴ odločevalna vprašanja v ZJ običajno spremlja kombinacija naslednjih oznak: dvig obrvi, razširjene oči, očesni stik z naslovnikom, nagib glave in/ali telesa naprej. Medjezikovno gledano je najpogostejši mimični označevalec teh vprašanj dvig obrvi, vendar pa v številnih ZJ dvig obrvi lahko spremlja tudi druge skladenjske strukture. MacFarlane (1998) za ameriški ZJ npr. trdi, da dvig obrvi označuje sestavnike, premaknjene v *levo periferijo stavka*:⁵ teme in žarišča, oziralne in pogojne odvisnike.

Iz tipoloških pregledov vemo, da obstajajo tri glavne skupine jezikov glede na število oziroma specializiranost dopolnjevalnih vprašalnic. V prvi skupini so jeziki z eno samo vprašalnico. Indopakistanski ZJ ima na primer vprašalnico s splošnim pomenom *kaj*. Kretalci tega jezika po času vprašajo tako, da to splošno vprašalnico združijo z leksikalno kretnjo za čas (Aboh & Pfau 2011). V drugi skupini ZJ obstaja nekaj specializiranih vprašalnic, medtem ko preostale vprašalne pomene pokriva splošna vprašalnica. Tak primer je brazilski ZJ, ki ima kretnjo za *kako*, *zakaj* in *koliko*, medtem ko za vpraševanje po času zopet združi splošno vprašalnico z leksikalnimi kretnjami za dan, uro ali dolžino (Quadros 1999). Nazadnje pa v tretji skupini obstajajo tudi ZJ, kot so ameriški (Neidle idr. 1997) in italijanski (Cecchetto, Geraci & Zucchi 2009), ki poznajo širok nabor vprašalnih kretenj.

Pri raziskovanju vprašanj v ZJ pa moramo imeti pred očmi, da se njihova sestava pogosto razlikuje tudi glede na besedni red in prozodične značilnosti zaradi vpliva *informacijske strukture* (tj. členitve po aktualnosti) ter interakcije z govornimi jeziki (GJ) v okolju.

4 Pregled vprašalnih stavkov iz 13 ZJ: adamorobskega, avstralskega, indopakistanskega, jordanskega, nemškega, turškega, ugandskega, nepalskega, alžirskega, jemenskega, tunizijskega, libanonskega in ZJ kata kolok.

5 Sestavniki levo od osebka, običajno povezani z informacijsko strukturo stavka (Rizzi 1997).

3 Zasnova raziskave

3.1 Namen in cilj

V analizi vprašanj v SZJ bom posebej pozoren na mimiko, ki jo bom opisal ločeno za odločevalna (3.1) in dopolnjevalna (3.2) vprašanja. Druga pomembna značilnost vprašalnih stavkov je njihov besedni red (3.3), ki obsega več različnih vidikov: nezaznamovan skladenjski položaj ročne vprašalnice, podvajanje ročne vprašalnice in potencialno širjenje vprašalnih mimičnih oznak iz ročne vprašalnice na sledeče kretnje – kar označuje doseg vprašalnega operatorja.

3.2 Informanti

Uporabil sem zbirko 129 učnih primerov vprašanj, ki jih je Skupina za razvoj SZJ neodvisno od moje raziskave pripravila za učbenike *Naučimo se slovenskega znakovnega jezika* (Podboršek & Krajnc 2006, 2010, 2013) in so dostopni na spletni strani slovarja SZJ (szj.si), ki ga izdaja Zveza društev gluhih in naglušnih Slovenije.⁶

3.3 Metoda

Skupina za razvoj SZJ je za učne primere uporabila metodo prevajanja, ki je tudi sicer pogosta metoda za pridobivanje jezikovnih podatkov: raziskovalci prosijo informante, da prevedejo jezikovne izraze iz izhodiščnega jezika v ciljni jezik. Ta metoda je pogosta v jezikoslovnem terenskem delu, še posebej pri sistematičnem ciljnem dokumentiranju malo raziskanih jezikov in redkih jezikovnih pojavov (Chelliah & de Reuse 2011). Ker prevod vodi v neposredno primerjavo s strukturo dobro dokumentiranega jezika, je metoda še posebej uporabna pri tipoloških raziskavah in v primerjalnih analizah (Haspelmath & Dryer 2005). Poleg tega omogoča hitro pridobivanje velike količine podatkov, saj ni treba čakati na spontani pojav ciljne strukture v prostem izražanju. Pri dvojezičnih govornicah lahko prevod pomaga pri razumevanju medjezikovnih vplivov in stikov (Grosjean 2008).

Omejitev metode je prevajalska pristranskost, ki je lahko posledica skladenjskega priminga:⁷ ker je določena skladenjska struktura že aktivirana v izhodiščnem jeziku, to povzroči večjo verjetnost, da bo ista struktura uporabljena tudi za prevod v ciljni jezik

6 Skupino sestavlja okoli 10 gluhih ter nekaj slišočih (tolmačev), vendar praviloma nimajo jezikoslovne izobrazbe. Sestava skupine se iz leta v leto menjuje, v zadnjih letih jo vodi gluha novinarka Valerija Škof. Ko so pripravljali učne primere, sem se nekajkrat udeležil sestanka, zato lahko poročam o njihovem delu.

7 Angl. *syntactic priming*.

(Pickering & Ferreira 2008). Posledično prevodi ne odražajo nujno naravne rabe ciljnega jezika ali pa so v ciljnem jeziku celo neslovnični (Mithun 2001). Dodatna težava je, da metoda predpostavlja visoko stopnjo metajezikovnega zavedanja in jezikovne zmožnosti informantov v obeh jezikih, kar v našem primeru ni samo po sebi umevno glede na to, da večina kretalcev SZJ ne usvaja od rojstva (saj njihovi starši ne kretajo oziroma SZJ ni njihov prvi jezik), njihov stik s slovenščino pa je omejen zaradi gluhotе. Če informant ne razume popolnoma pomena v izhodiščnem jeziku, lahko poda neustrezne ali nepopolne prevode, kar lahko vodi do napačnih analiz ciljnega jezika (Mithun 2001). Učinek nekritičnega prenašanja struktur iz izhodiščnega v ciljni jezik je lahko še toliko večji, če gre za raziskovanje manjšinskega jezika, ki ima praviloma nižji prestiž v primerjavi z izhodiščnim večinskim jezikom – zaradi česar lahko informanti smatrajo izhodiščne strukture kot model, kakšen bi moral biti tudi ciljni jezik. Zaradi teh pomanjkljivosti je pri metodi prevajanja dobro preveriti podatke z uporabo drugih metod (Chelliah & de Reuse 2011). Podatki v pričujoči raziskavi so bili deloma dopolnjeni z dvema metodama, saj so se člani skupine za razvoj SZJ pred snemanjem delovne različice posvetovali in opredelili do prevoda, pri čemer je šlo za približek metode jezikovnih sodb, šele nato pa je bila posneta končna verzija, pri čemer je šlo za približek metode ponavljanja.

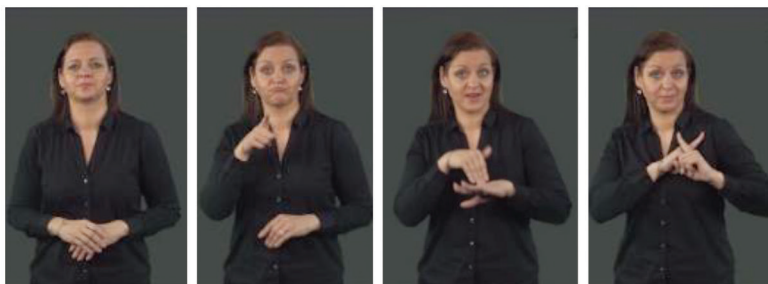
4 Rezultati in interpretacija

Izmed učnih primerov, ki so dostopni na szj.si ($N = 570$), sem izbral vse, ki so bili v slovenščino prevedeni z vprašalnim stavkom ($N = 129$), od teh jih je bilo približno $\frac{3}{4}$ dopolnjevalnih in $\frac{1}{4}$ odločevalnih. Primere, ki so predstavljeni v analizi, sem opremil z zamrznjenimi posnetki in podnaslovil. Pri podnaslavljanju sem uporabil uveljavljen pristop v raziskovanju ZJ, pri katerem so glose v izbranem GJ izpisane z velikimi tiskanimi črkami, mimika pa je nadpisana tako, da je njen doseg označen s črto. Pri simultano izvedenih kretnjah sta glosi za glavno in pomožno roko izpisani ena nad drugo. Statistike v prispevku ne predstavljam, saj izhodiščni primeri v slovenščini niso bili na noben način uravnoteženi glede na vrsto vprašanja, vprašalnice oziroma informacijske strukture.

4.1 Odločevalna vprašanja

V primeru (2) je predstavljeno odločevalno vprašanje v SZJ. Glede na nevtralni položaj obraza v referenčnem zamrznjenem posnetku, je zelo očitna mimika dvig obrvi in spust glave, dodatno pa so razprte tudi oči. Mimika se širi čez celotno vprašanje,

medtem ko besedni red ostaja enak, kot bi bil v trdilnem stavku: osebek, glagol, predmet (Pavlič 2016).



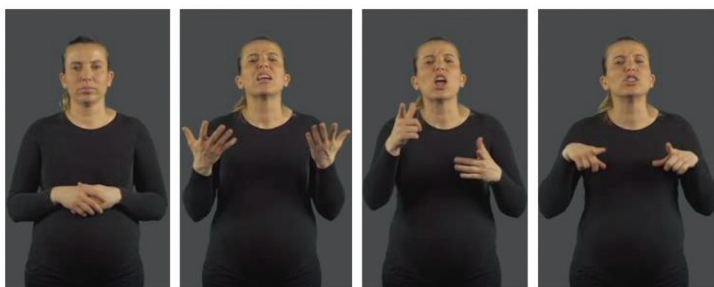
dvig-obrvi+spust-glave+razprte-oči

(2) TI PRIJAVITI IZPIT

»Si se prijavil/-a na izpit?«

4.2 Dopolnjevalna vprašanja

Primer dopolnjevalnega vprašanja je predstavljen v (3). Dopolnjevalna vprašalnica KJE je odkretana na začetku stavka, spremlja pa jo značilna mimika: dvig glave in spust obrvi. Odprtost oči (priprte/razprte/nevtralne) je zaradi dviga glave nejasna. Mimika se razširi do konca stavka.⁸



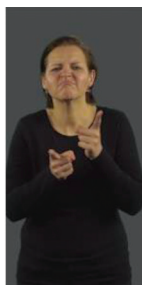
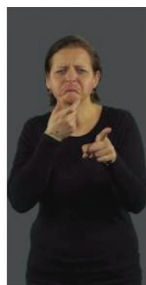
spust-obrvi+dvig-glave

(3) KJE TI ŽIVETI

»Kje živiš?«

Med učnimi primeri najdemo vprašanje po starosti (4a) in imenu (4b), ki sta zastavljeni brez ročne vprašalnice: leksikalna kretnja STAROST oziroma IME se združi zgolj z dopolnjevalno mimiko.

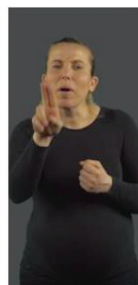
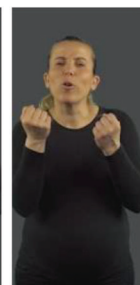
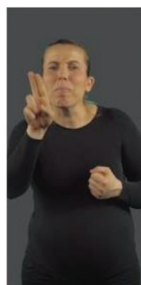
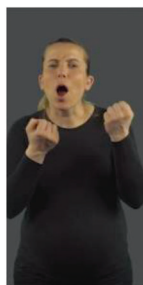
⁸ Odprtosti oči zato ne bom obravnaval do primera (9a–b), kjer je v dopolnjevalno vprašanje vključen sestavnik, ki zahteva priprte oči.



(4) a. spust-obrvi+dvig-glave
 TI STAROST
 »(Kakšna je) tvoja starost?«

b. spust-obrvi+dvig-glave
 IME TI
 »(Kakšno je) tvoje ime?«

Na prvi pogled SZJ sodi med jezike z bogato paradigmo dopolnjevalnih vprašalnic, in sicer: KJE, KAM, KAKO, KATERI, KOLIKO, KAKŠEN, KAJ, KDAJ, KDO. Vendar pa smo v (4a) in (4b) videli, da nekatere med njimi kretalci raje nadomeščajo z leksikalnimi kretnjami, ki jih spremlja dopolnjevalna mimika, lahko pa jih nadomestijo tudi s tistimi dopolnjevalnimi vprašalnimi stavki, ki imajo v tem jeziku splošnejši pomen, kot je razvidno iz primerjave vprašalnih stavkov (5a) in (5b), ki sta v učnih primerih navedena kot dvojnici. V (5a) je uporabljena vprašalnica KAKŠEN, v (5b) pa KAJ, ki ima v SZJ očitno širši pomen in distribucijo kot v slovenščini.



(5) a. spust-obrvi+dvig-glave
 KAKŠEN AVTO IMETI
 »Kakšen avto imaš?«

b. spust-obrvi+dvig-glave
 KAJ AVTO IMETI
 »Kakšen avto imaš?«

Nazadnje pa obravnavajmo še kretnjo, ki jo Podboršek in Krajnc (2006: 66) opredeljujeta kot splošno ročno vprašalnico in je odkretana z obratom dlani navzgor.⁹ V primeru (6) je obrat dlani odkretan enoročno (z glavno roko), v (7) pa dvoročno (z glavno in pomožno roko), vendar gre za isto kretnjo, saj so simetrične kretnje v SZJ lahko odkretane na oba načina. Iz drugih ZJ vemo, da se splošna dopolnjevalna vprašalnica pogosto uporablja v paru s specializirano dopolnjevalno vprašalnico. Na tak način bi lahko analizirali tudi primer (6), če se ne bi ista kretnja v primeru (7) ponovila na začetku in na koncu stavka ter dodatno kot *pomožni ostanek*¹⁰ med kretanjem enoročne dopolnjevalne vprašalnice ZAKAJ in enoročne kretnje SLOVENŠČINA.¹¹ Zdi se torej, da gre za ročno oznako, ki je po skladnji podobna mimičnim oznakam dopolnjevalnih stavkov, za prihodnje raziskave pa ostaja, da ugotovijo, ali vprašanju dodaja tudi pragmatično obogatitev pomena (očitek), ki je nakazana s prevodom »Kako to, da smrdi?« namesto »Kaj smrdi?« oziroma »Kako to, da nimaš učbenika za slovenščino?« namesto »Zakaj ni(maš) učbenika za slovenščino?«.



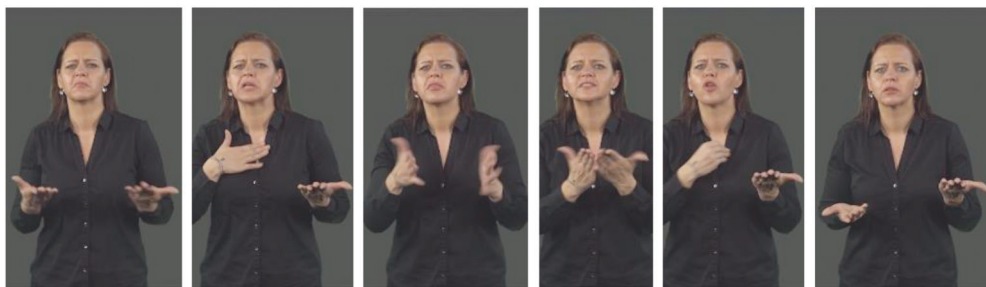
spust-obrvi+dvig-glave

- (6) KAJ SMRDETI UNI-D1
»Kaj smrdi?« / »Kako to, da smrdi?«

9 Pavlič (2019) obrata dlani ne obravnava, obenem pa splošno ročno dopolnjevalno vprašalnico verjetno napačno enači s krajevno dopolnjevalno vprašalnico (KJE).

10 Pomožna roka je roka, ki ne sodeluje pri izvajanju enoročne kretnje oziroma ki se med izvajanjem nesimetrične dvoročne kretnje ne premika in lahko tudi po koncu kretnje ostane v nespremenjeni obliki in položaju, če sledi enoročna kretnja – kar imenujemo pomožni ostanek.

11 Pomožni ostanek pri kretanju dvoročnih kretenj, kot sta IMETI-NE in KNJIGA, ne more biti odkretan.



spust-obrvi+dvig-glave

(7) UNI-D2	ZAKAJ UNI-D1	IMETI-NE	KNJIGA	SLO. UNI-D1	UNI-D2
»Zakaj ni(maš) učbenika za slovenščino?« / »Kako to, da ni(maš) učbenika za slovenščino?«					

Ob podvojitvi kretnje UNI-D2 v primeru (7) moramo izpostaviti, da je podvajanje dopolnjevalne vprašalnice v istem vprašalnem stavku opisano v številnih ZJ (kot so ameriški, brazilski, italijanski, hrvaški, avstrijski, nizozemski in turški), pri čemer je ena kopija *in situ*, druga pa v levi periferiji (Nunes & Quadros 2008). Čeprav tako Podboršek in Kranjc (2006, 2013) kot Pavlič (2019) omenjajo primere podvajanja v SZJ, beležimo podvojitev v učnih primerih le v (7).

4.3 Besedni red

V večini GJ se vprašalnice izražajo bodisi v levi periferiji stavka bodisi ostanejo *in situ* (npr. Baker 1970). Primera GJ, v katerem bi se vprašalnice pojavljale (tudi) v desni periferiji stavka, ne da bi bila to posledica spremenjene informacijske strukture stavka, morda sploh ni. V nasprotju z GJ pa so v številnih od opisanih ZJ vprašalnice *in situ* realizirane veliko redkeje in zanje v tem primeru pogosto veljajo posebne omejitve. Še več: v ameriškem (Fischer 1974), italijanskem (Cecchetto, Geraci & Zucchi 2009), brazilskem (Quadros 1999), nizozemskem (Aboh & Pfau 2011) in indopakistanskem ZJ (Zeshan 2004) se dopolnjevalne vprašalnice lahko izrazijo v desni periferiji, in sicer ne da bi preostali deli stavka vsebovali prozodični premor ali bili kako drugače prozodično označeni zaradi spremembe informacijske strukture. Kako in zakaj vprašalnice pridejo v ta položaj, zaenkrat še ni razčiščeno.

Čeprav v predhodnih opažanjih Podboršek in Krajnc (2006: 66, 2013: 10–11) za dopolnjevalne vprašalnice trdita, da naj bi stale na koncu stavka, je v vseh učnih primerih, kjer vprašalnica ni izražena na začetku stavka, jasno razvidno, da gre za zaznamovan besedni red: v stavku je na začetek umeščen bodisi sestavnik, označen z dvigom obrvi (8),

bodisi sestavnik, označen s priprtimi očmi (9a–b).¹² V vseh teh primerih se zaradi premika sestavnika pred vprašalnico le-ta znajde na neprvem mestu, lahko celo na koncu stavka. Ob tem še enkrat opozarjam na metodo prevajanja, s katero so bili učni primeri pridobljeni in zaradi katere bi lahko informanti položaj vprašalnice prilagajali slovenščini.



- (8) dvig-obrvi spust-obrvi+dvig-glave
 TV KAJ TI RAD GLEDATI
 »Na televiziji, kaj rad gledaš?«



- (9) a. priprte-oči spust-obrvi+ dvig-glave
 STEKLENICA ŠAMPANJEC KJE
 »Steklenica šampanjca, kje je?«
- b. priprte-oči spust-obrvi+ dvig-glave
 MAMA DEŽNIK KJE
 »Mamin dežnik, kje je?«

5 Zaključek

Predstavljal sem seznam dopolnjevalnih vprašalnic v SZJ in sklepal, da je obseg njihove rabe deloma odvisen od vpliva slovenščine. Primerov pravega podvajanja nisem našel, splošno vprašalnico (obrat dlani) pa sem predstavil zgolj kot sprožilec pragmatične

¹² Priprte oči torej niso tipična mimika dopolnjevalnih vprašanj, ampak sestavnikov, ki predstavljajo informacijo, poznano tako sporočevalcu kot naslovniku.

obogatitve. Dopolnjevalna vprašanja sta spremljala spust obrvi in dvig glave, medtem ko so priprte oči verjetno zgolj občasna posledica prvih dveh. Odločevalna vprašanja so spremljali razprte oči, dvig obrvi in spust glave. Mimika se je širila čez celotni vprašalni stavek po vprašalnici, in s tem na prozodični ravni označevala skladenjski doseg vprašalnega operatorja (lepo razviden iz primerov, v katerih je del vprašanja umeščen v levo periferijo pred vprašalnico in se vprašalna mimika nanj ne razširi). V učnih primerih se je vprašalnica vedno pojavila po koncu leve periferije. V nadaljnjih raziskavah bo analiza treba preveriti in dopolniti s korpusnimi podatki spontanega in polstrukturiranega kretanja predvsem glede skladenjskega mesta vprašalnic v stavku.

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Function and Support verb constructions in Slovenian naturalness theory

*Teodor Petrič**

Abstract

This study investigates Nominalization verb constructions (NVCs) in German, focusing on Functional verb constructions (FVCs) and Light/Support verb constructions (LVCs/SVCs). We evaluate their syntactic flexibility, semantic specificity, and processing complexity compared to base verbs (BVs) and free phrases (FPs) using Slovenian naturalness theory. Corpus analyses confirm that NVCs predominantly occur in less natural text types and grammatical environments. Experimental studies with Slovenian L2 German learners tested NVC processing. The results show that familiar FVCs facilitate processing, whereas LVCs cause processing delays due to deverbal noun complexity. These findings contradict the Underspecification Approach observed in German native speakers, and suggest that L2 learners primarily responded to the presence or absence of a resource-intensive nominalization rather than deeply processing these constructions in the same structured and dynamic way as native speakers. Our results contribute to understanding NVC representation in the mental lexicon and the cognitive mechanisms underlying L2 processing.

Keywords: Light verb construction, complexity, processing cost, naturalness, underspecification approach

Funkcijske in podporne glagolske zveze v slovenski teoriji naravnosti

V raziskavi se ukvarjamo s samostalniško-glagolskimi zgradbami (NVC) v nemščini, ki jih delimo na funkcijske glagolske zgradbe (FVC) in lahke/podporne glagolske zgradbe (LVC/SVC). Na osnovi slovenske teorije naravnosti ocenjujemo njihovo procesno zahtevnost v primerjavi z osnovnimi glagoli (BV) in prostimi besednimi zvezami (FP). Korpusne analize potrjujejo, da se NVC pogosteje pojavljajo v manj naravnih slovničnih okoljih in besedilnih vrstah kot BV. Eksperimenti s slovenskimi študenti nemščine kot drugega jezika (L2) kažejo, da dobro znana FVC pospešuje kognitivno obdelavo, kar podpira domnevo o reprezentaciji zgradbe v mentalnem slovarju, medtem ko LVC niso bile dosledno počasneje procesirane kot FP. Ti izsledki nasprotujejo hipotezi nedoločenosti, ki je bila podprta v eksperimentu z naravnimi govorci nemščine, in nakazujejo, da so se študenti nemščine kot drugega jezika primarno

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odzivali na prisotnost procesno zahtevne izglagolske izpeljanke. Naši rezultati prispevajo k razumevanju reprezentacije NVC v mentalnem slovarju in kognitivnih mehanizmov, ki so podlaga za procesiranje v drugem jeziku.

Ključne besede: Podporna/lahka glagolska zgradba, zapletenost, stroški kognitivne obdelave, naravnost, pristop nedoločenosti

1 Introduction

Nominalization verb constructions (NVCs) exist in many languages and typically consist of a semantically bleached verb (NV), a noun (NN) derived from a verb or adjective, and sometimes a preposition (e.g., German *in Erwägung ziehen*, *Bericht geben*; Slovenian *stopiti v veljavo*, *dati poljub*; English *do the cleaning*, *make a claim*). Compared to **free phrases** (FPs) (e.g., *einen Bericht lesen* / *read a report*), NVCs exhibit reduced referentiality, lower morphosyntactic flexibility, and more restricted combinatorial possibilities.

From a **diachronic** perspective, NVs evolved from full verbs through semantic bleaching, where they lost much of their original meaning and now primarily serve a grammatical function – providing verbal inflection for subject-verb agreement, tense, etc. – while the NN carries the core meaning and inherits the argument structure of its base verb.

German NVCs can be divided into **Function verb constructions** (FVCs) and **Support/Light verb constructions** (SVCs/LVCs) (Polenz 1988, 113–115). Certain NVs, such as *kommen* (*come*), *bringen* (*bring*), *stehen* (*stand*), and *finden* (*find*), have become highly grammaticalized, forming aspectually specific FVCs (e.g., *in Bewegung kommen* / *come into motion* vs. *sich bewegen* / *move*). Storrer's (2007) corpus study further highlighted how construction type and noun referentiality affect flexibility and modification – with FVCs showing reduced referentiality and stricter morphosyntactic constraints than SVCs, which take a direct object NN. Idiomatic NVCs are the most restricted. While NVCs are often semantically more specific than their base verbs, their use is governed by systematic factors rather than arbitrary choice.

Since NV and NN together form the predicate, this study compares NVCs to their base verbs (BVs) and examines their structural and functional similarities with free phrases (FPs). Accordingly, the article has the following **objectives**:

- To examine whether German NVCs are less natural than both their base verbs (BVs) and structurally equivalent free phrases (FPs) using Slovenian naturalness theory and to develop hypotheses for experimental and corpus-based studies.
- To analyse corpus data in German (L1) and experimental findings in German (L1 and L2), contextualizing them within our theoretical framework.

2 Theoretical background and hypotheses

Naturalness theory (see Dressler et al. 1987), utilized here in its Slovenian variant for hypothesis formulation, is a preference theory. The naturalness of a linguistic category is evaluated based on several universal, typological, and language-specific principles, such as uniformity, transparency, iconicity, structural constancy, and paradigmatic strength. **Slovenian Naturalness Theory (SNT)** evaluates the naturalness of (typically two) comparable syntactic variants based on principles like speaker/hearer parameters, cognitive effort, structural integration, frequency parameters, paradigmatic strength, processing effort, appropriateness, and typological distribution. The SNT predicts the contextual distribution of these variants (see Orešnik et al. 1990, Orešnik 2008, Cvetko Orešnik and Orešnik 2021).

Naturalness evaluations are represented using naturalness scales. The basic form of a naturalness scale is: $>\text{nat} (A, B) / \text{domain or principle}$, where the linguistic element or category A is considered more natural than B based on the specified principle or under the given circumstances (domain). Naturalness scales are essential for derivations in which SNT expresses its context-related predictions.

Compared to BVs, NVCs are strong syntactic variants, as they are syntactically more elaborate, less speaker-efficient, semantically more specific, and more listener-friendly than the corresponding BVs (Petrič 1993, 128–136, Petrič 1994, 190–194). The following naturalness scales support this evaluation:

- (a) A **less complex syntactic structure** (e.g., BVs) is easier for the speaker to compose and produce and is therefore, in line with the principle of **linguistic economy** (the “**drive for ease**”), more natural than a syntactically richer structure with a comparable function (e.g., NVCs). On the other hand, a **more elaborate syntactic structure** (e.g., NVCs) is **semantically more transparent**, making it advantageous for the listener, as it allows for **clearer decoding of the speaker’s**

intended meaning (the “drive for clarity”). This is reflected in the following naturalness scale: $>nat(BV, NVC)/principle\ of\ least\ effort$, where NVCs are estimated to be less natural than BVCs.

- (b) According to the frequency principle, more frequently occurring linguistic categories (e.g., BVs) are more natural than less frequently occurring categories (e.g., NVCs), as more frequent categories can be retrieved from memory and produced more quickly by the speaker: $>nat(+, -)/token\ frequency$.

The naturalness scales (a) and (b) can be aligned in parallel: if a syntactic construction V1 (e.g., an NVC) is cognitively more demanding than a functionally comparable construction V2 (e.g., a BV), we can expect that construction V1 (the NVC) will occur less frequently than V2 (the BV).

- (c) Strong syntactic variants are more likely to appear in **less natural grammatical environments**. Thus, NVCs are expected to occur more frequently in less natural contexts than in more natural ones (Petrič 1993, Petrič 1994) – for example, passive voice sentences are less natural than active voice sentences ($>nat(active, passive)/voice$). As such, NVCs are expected to occur more frequently than the BVs in passive voice sentences.
- (d) Strong syntactic variants are more likely to occur in **less natural text types**. Accordingly, NVCs – like other patterns characteristic of non-everyday communication – are expected to be more frequent in genres associated with distance communication conditions than in those associated with proximity communication conditions (Petrič 1998, 205–207, 219–221; cf. Koch and Oesterreicher 1990 for the proximity-distance model). For example, monologues are less natural than dialogues: $>nat(dialogue, monologue/situative\ parameters\ of\ communication)$. Thus, NVCs are expected to occur more frequently than V2 (the BVs) in monologic text types.
- (e) Strong syntactic variants require greater cognitive effort during retrieval, sentence encoding, and decoding. Since cognitive **processing is less automatic**, additional semantic processing during sentence assembly leads to increased processing costs, slowing down encoding and decoding ($>nat(automatic, non-automatic)/cognitive\ processing$). Thus, NVCs as strong variants are expected to slow down processing compared to BVs.

In contrast to **formally equivalent free phrases (FPs)**, the components of NVCs (FVCs, LVCs/SVCs) together form the predicate. This implies that NVCs are not fully compositional, as their meaning cannot be entirely inferred from the meanings of their components.

- (f) The semantically most defining component of NVCs is the NN, which largely inherits its argument structure from the base verb (BV). In contrast, prototypical nouns do not carry an argument structure. This distinction can be summarized by a naturalness scale, where a noun complement is more natural when it lacks an **argument structure**: *>nat(-,+)/argument structure of noun complement*. From this perspective, NVCs are considered less natural than FPs that contain nouns without argument structures inherited from verbs.
- (g) The **verbs in NVCs** are considered a variant of full verbs. NVs are typically morphologically simple, frequently occurring verbs with broad meanings. One of their semantic shades is the NV meaning, which results from semantic bleaching – typically less specific than in FP variants, making it open to interpretation and carrying only core semantic features (e.g., aspectual properties like terminativeness): e.g., *to give a summary* vs. *to give a gift*; *to come to the conclusion* vs. *to come to the conference*. From the speaker's perspective, it is convenient to use a single verb in different shades of meaning – functioning as both a full verb and a light verb depending on the noun complement. This evaluation can be summarized by the following naturalness scale: *>nat(light, full)/verb*.

Since the complex NN and its argument structure define the entire NVC, we generally expect NVCs to increase processing costs, leading to delayed encoding and decoding compared to FPs.

In psycholinguistics, two contrasting approaches explain LVC processing costs: the Separate Entry Approach and the Underspecification Approach. The Separate Entry Approach posits that LVCs are stored as distinct lexical units, allowing for faster processing due to direct retrieval and frequency effects. In contrast, the Underspecification Approach suggests that light verbs are stored without a fixed meaning, which is determined during sentence formation based on the noun complement. If the noun lacks an argument structure (e.g., *take an orange*), the verb remains non-light; if the noun has an argument structure (*take a walk*), the verb adopts a light meaning, integrating with the noun. Initially, the underspecified verb is retrieved without cost, but semantic integration in a second phase slows LVC processing.

- (h) **Idiomatic and highly familiar constructions** are assumed to be stored in the mental lexicon. According to the principle of least effort, constructions that can be readily retrieved from the mental lexicon involve more automatic processing, reducing cognitive load and making them more natural than those requiring additional resources during sentence assembly. Thus, idiomatic and familiar NVCs (especially FVCs) are expected to speed up processing compared to corresponding free phrases due to their greater automaticity.

3 Evidence from corpus studies

The assumptions formulated above were tested in two corpus studies, Petrič (1993) and Petrič (1998). Below some of the statistically significant results of Petrič (1993, 136–144) are summarized that support the above hypothesis that NVCs (FVCs and SVCs) behave like strong syntactic variants, i.e. as syntactic constructions with less natural properties occurring in **less natural grammatical environments**:

- NN-base verbs (e.g., *entscheid-*) and NNs (e.g., *Entscheidung*) were more morphologically complex, less frequent, semantically more specific than other verbs and nouns, respectively, in both FVCs and SVCs.
- Both FVCs and SVCs frequently appeared in dependent clauses, FVCs were particularly common in past tense clauses.
- In both FVCs and SVCs, NNs served more often as part of the informational focus (rheme) than other noun phrases.

Petrič (1998, 206–207) supports the assumption that NVCs typically occur in less natural text types, particularly in distance communication, which relies on formal linguistic strategies. The study showed that FVCs and SVCs are rare in proximity communication (i.e., spoken dialogues) but more frequent in distance communication (i.e., written monologic texts), aligning with this hypothesis. Corpus data from So (1991) further supports this claim. In 12 spoken dialogues from the Freiburg corpus (Institut für Deutsche Sprache 1974), FVCs and SVCs appeared in 1.7% and 6.3% of predicate expressions, respectively. In contrast, in five written monologues from So (1991, 160–199), these proportions increased to 2.7% and 7.4%. The difference between spoken and written contexts was statistically significant at $p < 0.05$ (Index of difference $DI = 4.8$ and $DI = 3.3$, respectively; cf. Pavlić 1971 for calculation of the non-parametric test).

4 Evidence from experimental studies

Two experiments were conducted to study the complexity of NVCs in German when learned as a foreign language (L2). Since the first experiment has already been published, only the second experiment will be described in more detail.

The **first experiment** by Basarić and Petrič (2015) demonstrated that familiar FVCs are retrieved holistically and may be represented as superlemmas (Sprenger et al. 2006) in the mental lexicon. Since FVCs occur more frequently than free phrases, they can be accessed more readily, resulting in lower processing costs during comprehension. Consequently, familiar FVCs were predicted to be processed faster than structurally similar free phrases, aligning with the least effort principle (see argumentation in (a) and (h)). This prediction was tested with 52 advanced Slovenian learners of L2 German using an adapted experimental design from Sprenger et al. (2006, 165–168). The participants were tasked to evaluate the meaning of sentences containing familiar FVCs, similarly familiar free phrases, and fillers. By using identical and unrelated primes, the experiment assessed whether the response times for FVCs were shorter when preceded by identical primes rather than corresponding free phrases. The findings supported our hypothesis: selected FVCs were activated more quickly after identical primes than structurally comparable free phrases. Consistent with Sprenger et al. (2006), we conclude that FVCs can be represented as superlemmas in the mental lexicon of German learners, provided they occur frequently enough in texts.

The **second experiment** by Basarić and Petrič aimed to demonstrate that the semantic complexity of LVCs slows down recipients' response times, in line with the principle of least effort (see argumentation in (e), (f) and (g)). Our experiment involved 46 Slovenian L1 speakers studying German as a foreign language at the Faculty of Arts in Maribor, all of whom also participated in the study by Basarić and Petrič (2015). We adapted the design and language materials of Wittenberg and Piñango (2011), using a cross-modal lexical decision task. Participants' CEFR proficiency ranged from B1 to B2, with a few at C1. Participants were divided into two lists: List A (21 participants) and List B (25 participants). In List A, reaction times were measured at verb offset (LC17), while in List B, they were measured 300 ms later (LC317). At both licensing points, a word probe appeared for ~400 ms, after which the participants decided whether it was a German word while listening to test sentences via headphones. Response time – the measure of processing load – was recorded based on their decision speed. Some example sentences from Wittenberg and Piñango (2011, 6) are shown below:

- (1) Light Verb Construction: Weil der Student seiner Kommilitonin vor dem Seminar eine *Zusammenfassung gab*, spendierte sie ihm letzte Woche einen Kaffee. (“give a summary”)
- (2) Same Noun Construction: Weil der Student seiner Kommilitonin vor dem Seminar eine *Zusammenfassung koptierte*, spendierte sie ihm letzte Woche einen Kaffee. (“copy a summary”)
- (3) Same Verb Construction: Weil der Student seiner Kommilitonin vor dem Seminar einen *Kugelschreiber gab*, spendierte sie ihm letzte Woche einen Kaffee. (“give a pen”)

We conducted a linear mixed-effects regression (Crawley 2013, 681–714) to examine the effect of construction type (LVC, Same Noun, Same Verb) on log-transformed response times (RTs), while controlling for probe word frequency and length. The model included random intercepts for Subject. At verb offset (LC17), linear mixed-effects models revealed a significant difference in RTs between LVCs and Same Verb constructions ($b=0.0863$, $SE = 0.0192$, $t=4.498$, $p<.0001$), indicating longer processing times for LVCs. A significant difference was also found between Same Noun and Same Verb constructions ($b=0.0733$, $SE = 0.0195$, $t=3.755$, $p=0.0005$). However, no significant difference was observed between LVCs and Same



Picture 1: Response Time at verb offset

Noun constructions. The results indicate that LVCs took approximately 9% longer to process than Same Verb constructions, while Same Noun constructions were processed ~7.6% more slowly than Same Verb constructions. At licensing point 300 ms after verb offset (LC317), linear mixed-effects models revealed a significant difference in RTs between LVCs and Same Verb constructions ($b=0.0547$, $SE=0.0178$, $t=3.076$, $p=0.0064$), indicating ~5.6% longer processing times for LVCs. However, no significant difference was observed between LVCs and Same Noun constructions and between Same Noun and Same Verb constructions.

5 Conclusion

This article examined Noun-Verb Constructions (NVCs), which can be subdivided into Function Verb Constructions (FVCs) and Light or Support Verb Constructions (LVCs, SVCs). Our goal was to provide evidence for categorizing NVCs as strong syntactic variants with less natural properties than their base verbs (BVs), and to demonstrate that NVCs are less natural than corresponding free phrases (FPs). Two corpus studies (Petrič 1993, Petrič 1998) showed that NVCs (both FVCs and LVCs) frequently occur in less natural grammatical environments and text types. The experimental study by Basarić and Petrič (2015) found that a subgroup of NVCs – familiar FVCs – were processed faster than free phrases by L2 German learners, supporting the view that FVCs could be stored in the mental lexicon as superlemmas, as demonstrated by Sprenger et al. (2006) for idioms. Additionally, Barking, Mos, and Backus (2025) demonstrated that not all light verbs freely combine with noun phrases (e.g., *make a walk, *do a decision), indicating that LVCs must be mentally stored as lexically specific units to ensure conventional combinations. The second experiment presented in this article provided evidence that constructions containing a nominalization with an inherited verbal argument structure slow down processing compared to free phrases that lack such a noun. We hypothesized that LVCs would show longer response times than constructions in the Same Noun and Same Verb conditions, aligning with our naturalness evaluation, which considers LVCs less natural than FPs. However, our results did not support either our hypothesis or either of the two contrasting psycholinguistic approaches – the Separate Entry Approach or the Underspecification Approach. At both verb offset and 300 ms later, LVCs were significantly slower than Same Verb constructions but not different from Same Noun constructions. This suggests that processing difficulty stems from the deverbal noun rather than the light verb, aligning with lexical semantics research on abstract nouns

and supporting our hypothesis that nominalizations are less natural than their base verbs. If LVCs were stored as whole units, they should have been processed faster, and if difficulty arose from late integration, RT differences should have appeared only 300 ms after verb offset – but neither pattern was observed. Instead, LVC difficulty emerges early, indicating that deverbal nouns drive the increased cognitive load. Our findings, based on Slovenian learners of German, contrast with those of Wittenberg and Piñango (2011), who found evidence for Underspecification in native German speakers. Their results showed no significant difference at verb onset, but 300 ms later, LVC response times increased significantly compared to non-LVCs, suggesting that LVCs require more cognitive resources, supporting the Underspecification Approach. The contrast between Wittenberg and Piñango's (2011) results and our findings suggests that our L2 learners primarily responded to the presence or absence of a resource-intensive nominalization rather than systematically distinguishing between the two similar construction types, LVCs and FPs, as the German native speakers did.

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Komunikacijski šum v slovensko-kitajskem pogojnem diskurzu

*Mateja Petrovčič**

Povzetek

Prispevek prouči načine izražanja pogojnosti v slovenščini in kitajščini. Čeprav imata oba jezika dobro izdelan sistem formulacije pogojno-posledičnih vezi, prihaja v medjezikovni komunikaciji pogosto do razhajanj v razumevanju. V slovenščini uporabljamo kombinacije pogojnih odvisnikov z veznikom *če* v povednem in pogojnem naklonu, vrsto pogoja pa natančneje določimo tudi s pomočjo členkov. Zanimivo je, da kitajščina razume kot »pogojne stavke« le tiste, kjer si v slovenščini pomagamo s členki, slovenski pogojni odvisniki s čistim *če* v povednem ali pogojnem naklonu pa v kitajščini sodijo med »domnevalne stavke«. Izsledki te kratke primerjalne študije kažejo, da se medsebojno nerazumevanje pojavi predvsem pri presojah, ali sogovorec predpostavlja realne možnosti ali pa govori o sedanjih in bodočih hipotetično možnih situacijah. V teh primerih moramo najprej zagotoviti obsežnejši kontekst, ki postavi skupna izhodišča diskurza, pa še to ni zagotovilo za odpravo komunikacijskega šuma.

Ključne besede: pogojni stavki, komunikacijski šum, slovenščina, kitajščina

Communication noise in Slovenian-Chinese conditional discourse

This paper examines how to express conditionality in Slovene and Chinese. Although there is a well-formed system for formulating conditional-causal relationships in both languages, cross-linguistic communication often results in divergences in understanding. In Slovene, combinations of conditional subordinate clauses with the conjunction *če* (*if*) are used in the indicative and conditional mood, whereby the type of condition is further specified by particles. Interestingly, Chinese grammar considers as "conditional" only those sentences where Slovene employs particles, while Slovene conditional clauses with a simple *če* in the indicative or conditional mood are classified in Chinese as "suppositional sentences". The findings of this brief comparative study indicate that mutual misunderstanding primarily arises when the listener evaluates whether the speaker assumes real possibilities or speaks about present or future hypothetically possible situations. In such cases, a broader context that establishes shared starting points for discourse is needed, though it is still not sufficient for a flawless information flow and elimination of communication noise.

Keywords: conditional sentences, communication noise, Slovenian, Chinese

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1 Uvod

Pogojni diskurz je način razprave, kjer govorce svoja razmišljanja podajajo kot preplet dejstev, pogojev, predpostavk ali možnih in hipotetičnih situacij, ki vodijo do različnih izidov. Pri tem preigravamo scenarije *kaj bi bilo, če bi bilo; kaj se zgodi v tem in onem primeru; kako bo, če nekaj naredimo tako in ne drugače* ipd. Tak diskurz običajno vključuje rabo pogojnih stavkov, pogojnega naklona, uporabo različnih časov ter drugih sredstev, ki jih ima neki jezik na razpolago. V slovensko-kitajski komunikaciji večkrat prihaja do šuma, ki privede do neenotnih interpretacij, nejasnosti ali zmotnega razumevanja sporočila. Oglejmo si naslednji primer, ki je sicer potekal v kitajščini:

(1)

Slovensko: »Upam, da bo povračilo stroškov potekalo gladko. Če bi zavarovalnica zavrnila vlogo za povračilo stroškov za zdravniško pomoč, češ da se je to zgodilo zaradi adrenalinskega športa in ne padca na avtobusu, si prepisite številko mesečne vozovnice, s katero ste plačali vožnjo, ko se je nesreča zgodila. Če bi bilo potrebno, bi ti podatki lahko služili kot dokaz, da ste bili v tistem trenutku na avtobusu in ne kje drugje.«

Kitajsko: »Jaz se ne ukvarjam z adrenalinskimi športi. Zakaj zavarovalnica tako misli?«

Slovensko: »Zavarovalnica tega ne misli. Vendar pa, če bi zavarovalnica slučajno iskala potencialne razloge, na podlagi katerih ji ne bi bilo treba povrniti stroškov, si pripravite podatke o številki vozovnice in točnem času nesreče.«

Kitajsko: »Prosim, da takoj rešite ta problem. Jaz se ne ukvarjam z adrenalinskimi športi. Nezaslišano je, da zavarovalnica ne bo povrnila stroškov.«¹

Podoben pojav je opazil že Bloom (1981, 13), ko je kitajsko govorečim anketirancem zastavil vprašanje: »Če bi hongkonška vlada sprejela zakon, ki bi zahteval, da vsi državljani, rojeni zunaj Hongkonga, tedensko poročajo o svojih dejavnostih policiji, kako bi se odzvali?«, na kratko: »Če bi hongkonška vlada sprejela tak zakon, kako bi se odzvali?« Anketiranci naj bi nekoliko nepričakovano, a dosledno odgovarjali z: »Ampak vlada tega ni storila«; »Ne more« ali »Ne bo.« Tudi dodatni opisi

1 Ta jezikovni primer temelji na seriji dejanskih situacij, vendar je zaradi občutljive narave specifičnih informacij nekoliko spremenjen, pri čemer ohranja bistvo komunikacijskega šuma.

okolščin, npr. »Vem, da vlada tega ni storila in ne bo, ampak si zamislimo, da bi to storila ...«, niso bistveno pripomogli k drugačnim odgovorom. Dodatni odzivi so bili še: »Mi tako ne govorimo«; »To je nenaravno«; »To je nekitajsko.« Bloom je v nadaljevanju dodal, da ameriški in francoski anketiranci, ki so odgovarjali na podobna vprašanja v svojem jeziku, niso izrazili ničesar nenaravnega v zvezi z vprašanji in so se z lahkoto vživali v razmišljanje o umišljenih situacijah, ki so ga vprašanja želela spodbuditi. Bloomovi zaključki o razlikah med kulturami glede zmožnosti hipotetičnega razmišljanja so bili deležni številnih kritik (Chen idr. 2006), vendar pa je njegov primer vsekakor zanimiv in presenetljivo podoben našemu.

Članek torej prouči razloge, zakaj pride pri izražanju pogojno-posledičnih vezi do takega razkoraka med slovenskimi in kitajskimi govorci. V iskanju odgovorov si bomo najprej ogledali oris pogojnih stavkov v slovenščini, rabo veznikov in pogojnega naklona. Pri tem se bomo večkrat navezali na prispevek Lipovšek, Ilc in Stopar (2025) v tej monografiji, saj sta prispevka tematsko tesno povezana in se lepo dopolnjujeta. A ker sta slovenščina in kitajščina zelo različna jezika, ki nimata dosti skupnih sintaktičnih značilnosti, bomo na razmerja med odvisnimi in glavnimi stavki pogledali predvsem z vidika možnosti realizacije pogoja in posledično rezultata. Nato bomo predstavili dožemanje pogojnih stavkov v kitajščini, stavčne povezovalce in nekatere druge značilnosti v povezavi s predpostavljanjem, pogojevanjem ter sklepanjem. Boljše razumevanje obeh jezikov naj bi nekoliko pripomoglo k zmanjševanju novih komunikacijskih šumov.

2 Pogojnost v slovenščini

Pogojne vezi izražajo odvisnost enega dogodka od drugega. Gre za logično in pomensko razmerje med dvema deloma povedi, kjer realizacija pogojnega dejanja vpliva na realizacijo posledičnega dejanja. Če se torej odvisni stavek uresniči, potem sledi tisto, kar je napovedano v glavnem/nadrejenem stavku. Tipični vezniki v pogojnih odvisnikih so *če*, *ko*, *ako*, *da*, pri čemer sta slednja že starinska in redko rabljena (Toporišič 2000, 644–645), kar potrjujejo tudi zadetki v Gigafidi (Schlamberger Brezar 2023, 235). V nadaljevanju si tako oglejmo le oris veznikov *če* in *ko*.

Lipovšek, Ilc in Stopar (2025) v svojem prispevku o skladnji in pomenu odvisnikov s *če* sistematično orišejo klasifikacijo podrednih stavkov, ki se v splošnem delijo na nominalne, prilastkove in prislovne, pri čemer veznik *če* pretežno uvaja prislovne odvisnike s primarnim pogojnim pomenom, hkrati pa sproža še drugotne pomene.

Te ugotovitve potrjujejo definicijo v Franu,² kjer je *če* opisan kot podredni veznik, ki se uporablja v pogojnih, osebkovih, časovnih, dopustnih, oziralnih ali sorazmernostnih odvisnikih.³ V kombinaciji s povednim naklonom izraža uresničljivo dejanje nadrednega stavka, v kombinaciji s pogojnim naklonom pa bodisi uresničljivo bodisi neuresničljivo dejanje nadrednega stavka. V časovnih odvisnikih s povednim naklonom izraža, da se dejanje realizira, kadarkoli se izpolni pogoj. Druge rabe za zdaj niso relevantne za trenutno razpravo, zato jih ne bomo posebej izpostavljali.

(2a)

pogojni odvisnik, povedni naklon, uresničljivo dejanje:

če je hotel živeti, je moral delati; če si lačen, ti dam kruha; nič se ti ne bo zgodilo, če boš pameten

(2b)

pogojni odvisnik, pogojni naklon, uresničljivo dejanje:

če bi to korenino presekali, bi se drevo posušilo; če bi globoko kopali, bi prišli do vode

(2c)

pogojni odvisnik, pogojni naklon, neuresničljivo dejanje:

nikoli se ne bi bila omožila, če bi ji bili starši branili; če bi ne imela gub, bi bila videti mlada

(2d)

časovni odvisnik, povedni naklon, zagotovljena realizacija dejanja:

dobro mu je delo, če ga je kdo hvalil; jezna sem, če kdo joka

Ko je v Franu opisan kot podredni veznik, ki se uporablja v časovnih, oziralnih, pogojnih, primerjalnih in sorazmernostnih odvisnikih. V časovnih odvisnikih izraža sočasnost izvajanja dejanja v odvisnem in nadrednem stavku, lahko tudi sosledje dejanj. V pogojnih odvisnikih v kombinaciji s pogojnim naklonom izraža pogoj za uresničitev dejanja nadrednega stavka. Toporišič še omenja, da so pogojni odvisniki

2 Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika, druga, dopolnjena in deloma prenovljena izdaja, www.fran.si, dostop 3. 1. 2025.

3 Ti izrazi sodijo v verjetno najbolj znano, vendar vsekakor ne edino klasifikacijo odvisnikov v slovenskem jeziku. Za pregled različnih pristopov gl. Žele (2016).

včasih zelo blizu časovnim, prim. njegov zgled (3d) spodaj (Toporišič 2000, 645). Ostale rabe trenutno niso relevantne.

(3a)

časovni odvisnik, sočasnost:

ko sem se bližal domu, me je oče čakal pred vrati; medtem ko stopa po gozdu, poči strel; kmet zaloti zajca, ravno ko obira zelnato glavo

(3b)

časovni odvisnik, dejanje odvisnega stavka pred dejanjem nadrednega stavka:

ko prideš domov, napiši pismo; potem ko so otroci odrasli, so se razkropili po svetu

(3c)

pogojni odvisnik, pogojni naklon, protidejstvenost ali hipotetičnost:

ko bi se bil fant vsaj malo učil, bi bil izdelal; prav rad bi ti posodil, ko bi imel toliko⁴

(3d)

časovni/pogojni odvisnik, povedni naklon:

ko/če mačke ni doma, miši plešejo

Pogojni odvisniki v slovenščini lahko izražajo uresničljive ali neuresničljive situacije; v prvem primeru so izraženi s sedanjikom ali prihodnjikom, v drugem s pogojnikom. Najobičajnejše kombinacije časov so sedanjiške s sedanjiškimi ali prihodnjiškimi za možne, potencialne stavke, in pogojniške za pogojno uresničljive (Schlamberger Brezar 2023, 235). Naklon namreč izraža razmerje govorečega do glagolskega dejanja. Povedni naklon pove, da govorec razume dejanje kot realno, pogojni naklon pa podaja umišljeno dejanje glede na možnost in pogoje njegove uresničitve (Toporišič 2000, 359).

Vidimo, da se tako *če* kot tudi *ko* uporabljata v različnih odvisnikih, ponekod s povednim naklonom, drugod s pogojnim naklonom.

Večpomenskost in prekrivnost rabe obeh veznikov nakazuje že naslednja kratka šala.

4 Z vidika uporabljenih časov pogojniška oblika *bi bil zaplesal*, *bi se bil učil* sodi k pretekliku, pogojniška oblika *bi plesal*, *bi posodil* pa sodi k sedanjiku (Skaza 2010, 89).

(4)

Anica: »**Ko** pijem kavo, ne morem spati.« (pogojne vezi, sekundarna raba *ko*; gl. (3d))

Bojana: »Pri meni je ravno obratno. **Ko** spim, ne morem piti kave.« (časovne vezi, primarna raba *ko*; gl. (3a))

Šala bi delovala tudi z veznikom *če*, vendar nekoliko slabše.

(4')

Anica: »**Če** pijem kavo, ne morem spati.« (pogojne vezi, primarna raba *če*; gl. (2a))

Bojana: »Pri meni je ravno obratno. **Če** spim, ne morem piti kave.« (časovne vezi, sekundarna raba *če*; gl. (2d))

Kitajščina nima jezikovnih sredstev, s katerimi bi ustvarili tak dovtip, vendar je večpomenskost še kako prisotna v drugih kontekstih. To uvodoma tudi napeljuje na komunikacijski šum pri izražanju pogojnih vezi, ki je tema tega prispevka.

3 Uresničljivost v okviru pogojnosti

Preden se navežemo na kitajščino, si oglejmo koncept uresničljivosti v okviru pogojnosti. Pogojni stavki se nanašajo na situacije, ki jih govorec predstavi kot možne ali hipotetične in vodijo do različnih možnih ali hipotetičnih izidov. Glede na različne stopnje uresničljivosti Webb (2022)⁵ predlaga naslednjo kategorizacijo pogojno-posledičnih stavkov, ki jo ponazorimo s slovenskimi primeri.

Dejstveni pogojniki:⁶ govorec predstavi pogoj kot *dejstvo*. Situacija v pogojnem stavku vedno vodi do realizacije dogodka v glavnem stavku. Sem sodijo »splošne resnice« in »navade«. Veznik *če* je izmenljiv s *ko*, pogojne vezi pa se prevesijo v časovne vezi oz. jih razumemo na oba načina.

5 Webb ne sodi med referenčne avtorje za angleško slovnico, vendar je po opisu na portalu UsingEnglish.com poučeval angleščino v različnih državah, med drugim tudi na Kitajskem. Verjetno je zaradi profesionalne usmerjenosti njegov pristop pedagoško obarvan, prirejen govorcem različnih jezikov in se razlikuje od klasičnih referenčnih del, npr. Quirk idr. (1985). Ta pristop je kitajsko govorečim učencem angleščine blizu, o čemer pričajo tudi sklici kitajskih spletnih strani na portal UsingEnglish.com (npr. <https://www.zhoublog.cn/gowai/usingenglish.html> ali <https://yingyu.xdf.cn/201909/10981446.html>). S tega vidika predstavlja njegov pristop tudi most med kitajščino in slovenščino.

6 Ang. *Factual Conditionals*. Največkrat jih ubesedimo s pogojnimi stavki tipa *Zero Conditionals*, vendar to ni edini skladenjski vzorec iz te kategorije. Enako velja za ostale tri kategorije.

(5)

Če/ko led segrejemo, se stali. (splošna resnica)

Če/ko me boli grlo, pijem čaj z limono. (navada)

Stopnja uresničljivosti: vedno ko se zgodi A, se zgodi tudi B.

Napovedni pogojniki:⁷ govorec predstavi pogoj kot *uresničljivo napoved*. Situacija v pogojnem stavku se lahko uresniči ali pa tudi ne. Če se uresniči, potem se realizira tudi dogodek glavnega stavka, drugače ne.

(6)

Če bo jutri deževalo, bo izlet odpovedan.

Stopnja uresničljivosti: A se morda zgodi, morda ne. Od tega je odvisen B.

Hipotetični pogojniki:⁸ govorec predstavi pogoj kot nekaj, kar je *sicer možno* realizirati, *a je zelo malo verjetno*. Posledično je tudi uresničitev pogoja sicer možna, a ni prav verjetna.

(7)

Če bi (v tokratnem kolu) zadel na loteriji, bi pustil službo.

Stopnja uresničljivosti: A bi se sicer lahko zgodil, a se najbrž ne bo, zato se tudi B najverjetneje ne bo.

Protidejstveni pogojniki:⁹ govorec predstavi pogoj kot nekaj povsem *neuresničljivega*, tako da tudi uresničitev glavnega dogodka ni možna. Načeloma se nanašajo na pretekle, že zaključene situacije, kjer preigravamo alternativne možne izide. Sem sodijo še umišljene situacije, o katerih lahko vseeno premišljujemo, čeprav vemo, da niso možne. Vse protidejstvene situacije so torej imaginarne, vse imaginarne situacije pa niso nujno tudi protidejstvene. Skupen jim je ničelni izid glavnega dogodka.

(8)

Če bi takrat dobil službo, bi se (takrat) preselil v Ameriko.

Stopnja uresničljivosti: A se (takrat) ni realiziral, zato se tudi B ni.

7 Ang. *Predictive Conditionals*. Tipični predstavnik te kategorije so *First Conditionals*, ki so – tako kot v prejšnji kategoriji – zgolj ena od skladenjskih možnosti.

8 Ang. *Hypothetical Conditionals*. Prevladujoči odvisniki v tej kategoriji so *Second Conditionals*.

9 Ang. *Counterfactual Conditionals*. Prepoznamo jih po pogojnikih tipa *Third Conditionals*.

Če bi ujel zlato ribico, bi jo prosil za eno samo stvar.

Stopnja uresničljivosti: A se ne more realizirati, zato se tudi B ne more.

V imaginarnih scenarijih se lahko dogodki nanašajo na različne čase:

(9)

Če bi takrat to vedel, bi ravnal drugače. (preteklost – preteklost)

Če bi takrat to storil, bi bilo danes vse drugače. (preteklost – sedanjost)

Če bi takrat to storil, bi o meni pisali še stoletja. (preteklost – prihodnost)

Če bi imel denar, bi si kupil vilo na obali. (sedanjost – sedanjost)

Če bi imel denar, bi šel naslednje leto na potovanje okoli sveta. (sedanjost – prihodnost)

Za kasnejšo diskusijo o pogojno-posledičnih vezeh v kitajščini je vredno omeniti še Webbovo opažanje, da lahko situacijo v pogojnem stavku izrazimo kot znano informacijo, lahko pa jo podamo kot novo informacijo:

(10a)

Če je ura že deset, zamujam.

neznana situacija – neznana situacija; napovedni pogojnik

(10b)

A: Ura je že deset.

B: Če je ura že deset, zamujam. (beri: glede na to, da je ura že deset, zamujam.)
(znan izid pogoja, uresničen pogoj – zagotovljena realizacija glavnega stavka)

4 Pogojnost v kitajščini

Tudi v kitajščini obstaja mnogo različnih pristopov do večstavčnih povedi. Najbolj znani je dvodelni sistem priredij in podredij (npr. Liu, Pan in Gu 2004), ki je poimenovan kar »tradicionalni pristop« (Zhang 2015), med novejše sodi Xing Fuyijeva trodelna delitev, ki temelji na logičnih odnosih med stavki (Xing 2021), poznamo funkcionalni pristop (Li in Thompson 1981), primarno semantični pristop z 11 glavnimi kategorijami (Yip in Rimmington 2003) itd.

Glavna razlika med klasifikacijo podrednih stavkov, na katero smo se navezali že v razdelku o pogojnosti v slovenščini Lipovšek, Ilc in Stopar (2025), in kitajskimi

podrednimi stavki je v tem, da kitajščina ne pozna prvih dveh kategorij. Obstajajo namreč le prislovni odvisniki, ne pa tudi nominalni in prilastkovi. To je eden od razlogov, zakaj znana referenčna dela za angleško ali slovensko slovnico niso najprimernejše izhodišče za razlago kitajščine. Po drugi strani pa lahko s kontrastivnega vidika zelo hitro definiramo, kdaj ne moremo uporabiti podrednega veznika *ruguo*, ki je najbližja ustreznica slovenskemu *če*. Primeren je le za t. i. pogojne (Lipovšek, Ilc in Stopar 2025, zgled (2a)), časovne (Lipovšek, Ilc in Stopar 2025, zgled (2f)) in vzročne (Lipovšek, Ilc in Stopar 2025, zgled (2g)) prislovne odvisnike.

Čeprav poznamo slovenski izraz »pogojni (prislovni) odvisnik«, ki mu načeloma pripada kitajski izraz *tiaojian fuju*, ne gre za enako klasifikacijo. Da zajamemo koncept pogojnih stavkov, moramo dodati še kitajske *jiashe fuju*, ki so povsem ločena kategorija in bi jih lahko poimenovali »domnevalni stavki«. Poglejmo si podobnosti in razlike.

4.1 Pogojni stavki

Pogojni stavki (*tiaojian fuju*) izražajo pogojno-posledične vezi in se običajno delijo na pogojne stavke s specifičnimi pogoji (*teding tiaojianju*) ter pogojne stavke brez pogoja (*wu tiaojianju*) (Liu, Pan in Gu 2004, 873–874).

V **pogojnih stavkih s specifičnimi pogoji** glavni stavek izraža osrednje dejanje, odvisni stavek pa predvideni pogoj za realizacijo tega dejanja. Prepoznamo jih po naslednjih povezovalcih, pri čemer vsak od njih izraža poseben tip pogoja.

Povezovalca *zhiyao ... jiu ...* (*že če ...*) izražata zadostni pogoj za realizacijo glavnega dogodka. Če je pogoj izpolnjen, se glavni dogodek realizira (Loar 2011, 220).

(11)

只要你给他写一封信，他就会帮助你。

Zhiyao ni gei ta xie yi feng xin, ta **jiu** hui bangzhu ni.

Že če mu napišeš pismo, (**potem**) ti bo pomagal.

Le pismo mu moraš napisati, **pa** ti bo pomagal.¹⁰

Ta izjava obenem implicira dodatni pomen: Če mu pisma ne napišeš, ti ne bo pomagal

Povezovalca *zhiyou ... cai* (*le če ...*) izražata nujni, obvezni pogoj za doseg rezultata. Če pogoj ni izpolnjen, se glavni dogodek zagotovo ne zgodi.

10 V kitajščini stoji pogoj pred posledico (pisanje pisma → pomoč). Pri zadostnih pogojih sicer lahko obrnemo zaporedje informacij (pomoč; pisanje pisma →), vendar se fokus prestavi z vezi pogoj-posledica zgolj na pogoje.

(12)

只有你开车来接我，我才跟你去。

Zhiyou ni kaiche lai jie wo, wo **cai** gen ni qu.

Samo če me prideš iskat z avtom, (**šele v tem primeru**) grem s tabo.¹¹

Povezovalca *chufei* ... *cai* ... (*razen če* ...) ali pogovorno *ruguo.bu/yaoshi.bu* ... *cai* ... (*če ne* ...) izražata, da se dogodek zgodi, če pogoj ni izpolnjen.

(13)

除非他是个聋子，才会听不见这么大的声音。

Chufei ta shi ge longzi, **cai** hui ting bu jian zheme da de shengyin.

Samo če je gluhi, (**šele v tem primeru**) ne bi slišal tako glasnega zvoka.

Moral bi biti gluhi, da ne bi slišal tako glasnega zvoka.

(Pogoj za to, da nekdo ne sliši glasnega zvoka, je, da je gluhi. Če ni gluhi (in s tem pogoj ni izpolnjen), potem bo zvok zagotovo slišal.)

(14)

除非你也去，不然我（才/就）不去呢！¹²

Chufei ni ye qu, buran wo cai bu qu ne!

Razen če greš tudi ti, drugače (**pa**) jaz ne grem!

Ne grem, razen če greš tudi ti.

Specifični pogoji so torej *zadostni pogoj*, *nujni pogoj* in *omejevalni/izključevalni pogoj*. Tu lahko vidimo vzporednice s *če* in tipom »izključevalni prislovni odvisnik« *adverbial exceptive clauses* (Ilc and Stopar 2023 v Lipovšek, Ilc in Stopar 2025), ki ne spada med pojne stavke.

Pogojni stavki brez pogoja ali ničelni pogojni stavki izražajo, da se dogodek v glavnem stavku zgodi v vseh okoliščinah, neodvisno od pogoja. Prepoznamo jih po povezovalnih veznikih *buguan/bulun/wulun* (*ne glede na*), v glavnih stavih pa logične vezi nadalje okrepijo prislovi *dou* (*vse*), *ye* (*tudi*), *zong* (*vedno*) in *hai* (*še*). Npr.

11 V kitajščini stoji pogoj pred posledico (*pisanje pisma* → *pomoč*). Pri zadostnih pogojih sicer lahko obrnemo zaporedje informacij (*pomoč*; *pisanje pisma* →), vendar se fokus prestavi z vezi *pogoj-posledica* zgolj na pogoj.

12 Pri nujnih pogojih kitajskega vrstnega reda ne moremo obrniti (**s tabo grem, a le, če prideš pome z avtom*) (Loar 2011, 217).

(15)

不管有多大困难，我也要干下去。

Buguan you duo da kunnan, wo **ye** yao gan xiaqu.

Ne glede na to, kako velike težave bodo, bom (**vseeno**) nadaljeval.

(16)

我们不论有什么事，都愿意找他谈。

Women **bulun** you shenme shi, **dou** yuanyi zhao ta tan.

Ne glede na to, za kaj gre, smo (**vedno**) pripravljeni na pogovor z njim.

(17)

无论谁参加我们组，我都欢迎。

Wulun shei canjia women zu, wo **dou** huanying.

Ne glede na to, kdo se pridruži naši skupini, (**vsak**) je dobrodošel.

Okoliščine so sicer podane kot pogoj, vendar zares ne vplivajo na realizacijo glavnega stavka. To je torej drugi tip kitajskih »pogojnih odvisnikov«, ki pa v okviru našega razumevanja ne sodi med pogojne odvisnike. Obenem vidimo, da »običajnih« pogojnih odvisnikov še nismo omenili. Ti namreč ne sodijo med kitajske »pogojne odvisnike«, temveč »domnevalne odvisnike«.

4.2 Domnevalni stavki

Običajni pogojni stavki, ki jih uvaja veznik *če*, sodijo v kategorijo predpostavljalnih oz. domnevalnih stavkov (*jiashe fujū*), ki povedo, kaj se v neki situaciji zgodi, če je pogoj izpolnjen. V pogovornem jeziku pogosto uporabljamo veznike *yaoshi*, *jiaru*, *ruguo*, *tangruo* (vsi pomenijo *če*) ali *yidan* (*čim*), v glavnem stavku pa lahko logična razmerja dodatno nakazujejo *jiu/bian/name* (*potem/torej*).

(18)

如果我父母还活着，他们一定不会拒绝一个儿子的钱。

Ruguo wo fumu hai huozhe, tamen yiding bu hui jujue yi ge erzi de qian.

Če bi moji starši še živeli, zagotovo ne bi zavrnili denarja svojega sina.

(19)

你要不关心群众的痛痒，群众一辈子也不会亲近你。

Ni **yao** bu guanxin qunzhong de tongyang, qunzhong yi beizi ye bu hui qinjin ni.

Če ti ni mar za težave množic, te množice nikoli ne bodo imele za svojega.

(20)

如果一个整数能被2整除，就是偶数。

Ruguo yige zhengshu neng bei 2 zhengchu, jiushi oushu.

Če število lahko delimo z 2, je sodo.

V glavnem stavku se pogosto nahaja še modalni glagol *hui* (*zna se zgoditi, da*) ali *neng* (*moči*), lahko tudi v povezavi z drugimi izrazi za epistemično modalnost, tj. govorcevo oceno o resničnosti celotne izjave (*morda, verjetno, najbrž*).

Domnevalni pogoji se lahko nanašajo na že realizirane dogodke, lahko pa predpostavljajo bodoče situacije, pri čemer v jezikovni rabi prevladuje slednje.

(21)

如果你早来两天，就看见老李了。

Ruguo ni zao lai liang tian, **jiu** kanjian Lao Li le.

Če **bi** prišel dva dni prej, **bi** srečal starega Lija.

(22)

你要是早点来，还能看见老李。

Ni **yaoshi** zaodian lai, hai neng kanjian Lao Li.

Če prideš malo prej, **boš** še lahko videl starega Lija.

Nekateri avtorji, ki ne sledijo tradicionalni slovnici, tudi take odvisnike štejejo med pogojne, kar je z našega zornega kota bolj pričakovano. Loar to skupino poimenuje **neposredni pogojni odvisniki** (2011, 217–218). Uporabljajo se za izražanje neposrednega pogoja, torej nakazujejo, da je situacija, opisana v glavnem stavku, neposredno odvisna od situacije v pogojnem odvisniku. Obenem implicirajo, kaj se zgodi, če pogoj ni izpolnjen.

(23)

要是你邀请他来，他会来的。

Yaoshi ni yaoqing ta, ta hui lai de.

Če ga povabiš, bo prišel. (Če ga ne povabiš, ne bo prišel.)

Pogojni stavki z *ruguo* in *yaoshi* lahko izražajo uresničljive ali neuresničljive pogoje. V čas jih postavimo šele s časovnimi prislovi.

(24)

如果明天天气好，我们就去海边。

Ruguo mingtian tianqi hao, women **jiu** qu haibian.**Če bo** jutri vreme lepo, gremo na morje.

(25)

要是/倘若/假使我 (a. 去年/b. 现在/c. 明年) 有钱，我就会把那栋房子买下来。

Yaoshi/tangruo/jiashi wo (a.qunian/b.xianzai/c.mingnian) you qian, wo **jiu** hui ba na dong fangzi mai xialai.**Če bi** (a.lani/a.zdaj/c.naslednje leto) imel denar, bi si kupil hišo.

Loar vse tri različice primera (25) razlaga kot »protidejstvene«. Pretekli pogoj je v nasprotju z dejstvom, sedanji v nasprotju s predpostavko, bodoči pa v nasprotju s pričakovanji (Loar 2011, 217–218). V slovenščini razumemo (25.a) kot protidejstveno, (25.b) in (25.c) pa hipotetično, kar v končni fazi ni tako pomembno, saj je razlika le v tem, ali je glavni dogodek »neizvedljiv« ali »potencialno sicer izvedljiv, a najverjetneje ni«.

Kitajščina torej jasno razlikuje pet tipov pogojnih vezi in s tem povezanih izidov, pri čemer nekateri pogojni stavki implicirajo dodatne pomene. Tudi v kitajščini lahko govorimo o uresničljivih in neuresničljivih pogojih ter dejstvenih ali protidejstvenih situacijah, zato je še toliko bolj čudno, da prihaja pri preigravanju hipotetičnih situacij do takega komunikacijskega šuma.

5 Primerjava

Če kot govorci slovenščine pristopimo k primerjavi med slovenščino in kitajščino v okviru klasifikacije, predstavljene v Lipovšek, Ilc in Stopar (2025), potem lahko za začetek rečemo, da se slovenski *če* izraža s kitajskim *ruguo* 如果 (»če«) samo v tistih primerih, ki jih v slovenščini razumemo kot **pogojne in časovne odvisnike**. Nominalni, atributivni in vsi ostali prislovni odvisniki s *če* se v kitajščini ubesedijo drugače. Dodati moramo še razlikovanje med povedmi s *če* v povednem in pogojnem naklonu ter dodati splošno vedenje o uresničljivosti situacije, izražene v pogojnem odvisniku.¹³

13 Seveda lahko pogojno-posledična razmerja izražamo tudi drugače (še enkrat zamudiš in dobiš neopravičeno), vendar obrobne situacije za namen osnovne primerjave zanemarimo.

Z vidika kitajščine **pogojnih odvisnikov** (*tiaojianju* 条件句) ne razumemo enako kot v slovenščini, saj kitajski pogojni odvisniki izražajo le *zadostni* pogoj, *nujni* pogoj in *omejevalni/izključevalni* pogoj. Da ta razmerja ubesedimo v slovenščini, moramo *če* kombinirati s členki, npr. *že če, samo če, le če, razen če*. Med kitajske pogojne odvisnike štejemo tudi situacije z *ničelnim* pogojem, kar v slovenščini izražamo z zvezo *ne glede na to, ali ...*, čemur sledi zagotovljena uresničitev glavnega dogodka.

Običajni »pogojni odvisniki« v slovenskem pomenu besede so v okviru večine kitajskih klasifikacij poimenovani kot »**domnevalni odvisniki**« in so ločena kategorija. Vezniki, ki se za to uporabljajo, so *ruguo* 如果, *yaoshi/yao* 要是/要, *jiaru* 假如, *tangguo* 倘若 ipd., kar prevajamo kar s *če*. Izražajo domneve, kaj »bi se«, »se«, ali »se bo« lahko zgodilo, če »bi bil«, »je«, ali »bo« izpolnjen pogoj, pri čemer so lahko pogoji bodisi uresničljivi bodisi neuresničljivi.¹⁴

Jezika se razlikujeta tudi glede zaporedja glavnega in odvisnega stavka. V slovenščini lahko stoji pogojni odvisnik pred glavnim stavkom (s/S) ali za njim (S/s), v kitajščini pa stojijo pogojni in domnevalni odvisniki praviloma pred glavnimi stavki (s/S), saj je – linearno in časovno gledano – od uresničitve pogoja odvisna uresničitev dejanja glavnega stavka.¹⁵ Tako razumemo tudi brezvezja, pri čemer so pogojne vezi izražene zgolj implicitno (kit. *ti greš, jaz grem* razumemo kot *če greš ti, grem tudi jaz*).

Poleg tega kitajščina ne pozna slovničnih časov in pogojnega naklona, kar še otežuje primerjavo v okviru ustaljenih slovničnih pristopov. Zato bomo na razmerja med odvisnimi in glavnimi stavki pogledali predvsem z vidika uresničljivosti pogoja in posledično rezultata, kjer Webbov (2022) pristop ponudi dodatni pogled na razlike znotraj pogojnosti.

Naslednji primeri najprej podajo tip pogojnih vezi, za boljšo razumljivost ponovno sledijo nekateri že predstavljeni primeri s prevodi v kitajščino, jezikovna sredstva v slovenščini (S) in kitajščini (K), čemur sledijo sklici na dodatne zgleds.¹⁶

(26)

Splošne resnice, navade, izreki: Ko se zgodi A, se zgodi tudi B.

Če/ko led segrejemo, se stali. (splošna resnica)

Če/ko me boli grlo, spijem čaj z limono. (navada) [ponovitev prim. (5)]

14 Kadar ima glavni stavek nikalno obliko, lahko za okrepitev logičnih vezi med odvisnim in glavnim stavkom uporabimo *cai* (šele potem) ali *jiu* (že potem).

15 Poleg tega izraža kitajščina pogojno-posledična razmerja z različnimi povezovalniki. To so lahko enodelni vezniki v pogojnih stavkih, dvodelni vezniki v pogojnih in glavnih stavkih, navezovalni prislovi v glavnih stavkih ali pa kombinacije veznikov in navezovalnih prislovov.

16 V slovenščini velja to le za nujne pogoje.

如果加热冰，它会融化。**Ruguo** jiare bing, ta **hui** ronghua.

如果我嗓子疼，我就会喝柠檬茶。**Ruguo** wo sangzi teng, wo **jiu hui** he ningmeng cha.

S: *če/ko*

K: *dang ... (shi), ...; meidang ... ; ... de shihou, ...; ruguo ... jiu ...*

gl. tudi (4, Anica), (19), (20)

(27)

A je zadostni pogoj, da se B uresniči.

Že če mu napišeš pismo, ti bo pomagal. **Le** pismo mu moraš napisati, pa ti bo pomagal.

只要你给他写一封信，他就会帮助你。**Zhiyao** ni gei ta xie yi feng xin, ta **jiu hui** bangzhu ni. [ponovitev prim. (11)]

S: *že če; le ... pa ...*

K: *zhiyao ... jiu ...*

(28)

A je nujni pogoj, da se B lahko uresniči.

Samo če me prideš iskat z avtom, (**šele v tem primeru**) grem s tabo.

只有你开车来接我，我才跟你去。**Zhiyou** ni kaiche lai jie wo, wo **cai** gen ni qu. ponovitev prim. (12)]

S: *le če, samo če*

K: *zhiyou ... cai ...*

(29)

A ne sme držati, da se B lahko zgodi, oz. B se zgodi le v primeru, da A ne drži.

Ne grem, **razen če** greš tudi ti.

除非你也去，不然我（才/就）不去呢！**Chufei** ni ye qu, buran wo (**cai/jiu**) bu qu ne! [ponovitev prim. (14)]

S: *razen če*

K: *chufei ... cai/(jiu) ...; chufei ... fouze ...*

gl. tudi (13)

(30)

Neodvisno od pogoja A se dogodek B vedno zgodi.

Ne glede na to, kako velike težave bodo, bom (**vseeno**) nadaljeval.

不管有多大困难，我也要干下去。 **Buguan** you duo da kunnan, wo **ye** yao gan xiaqu.

[ponovitev prim. (15)]

S: *ne glede*

K: *buguan/bulun/wulun ... dou/ye/hai ...*

gl. tudi (16), (17)

(31)

Pogoj A se lahko zgodi ali pa tudi ne. Če se zgodi, potem se zgodi tudi B.

Če bo jutri deževalo, **bo** izlet odpovedan. [ponovitev prim. (6)]

如果明天下雨，旅行就会被取消。 **Ruguo** mingtian xiayu, luxing **jiu hui** bei quxiao.

S: *če ... potem ...*

K: *ruguo/yaoshi/jiashe/jiashi/jiaru/jiaruo/tangruo/ruoshi/... ... name/jiu ...*

gl. tudi (2a, drugi in tretji zgled), (10a), (23), (24)

(32)

Hipotetična možnost: možno je, da se A uresniči, a ni prav verjetno, zato se tudi B verjetno ne bo zgodil.

Če bi to korenino presekali, **bi** se drevo posušilo. [ponovitev prim. (2b)]

如果把这条根砍断，树就会枯死。 **Ruguo** ba zhe tiao gen kanduan, shu **jiu hui** kusi

S: *če bi ... bi ...*

K: *ruguo (keneng) ... name (keneng) ...*

gl. tudi (7), (22)

(33)

Imaginarna situacija: A v realnem svetu ni možen, zato tudi B ni možen. Kljub temu lahko razmišljamo o tej situaciji v imaginarnem svetu:

Če bi ujel zlato ribico, **bi** jo prosil za eno samo stvar. [ponovitev prim. (8)]

如果我抓到金鱼，我只会请求它实现一个愿望。 **Ruguo** wo zhuadao jinyu, wo zhi **hui** qingqiu ta shixian yi ge yuanwang.

S: *če bi ... bi*

K: *ruguo ... name ...*

gl. tudi (9)

(34)

Protidejstvena situacija: Govorimo o preteklih situacijah, tako da ni več možno, da bi se A uresničil, torej se tudi B ne more uresničiti.

Če bi moji starši še živeli, zagotovo **ne bi** zavrnil denarja svojega sina.

如果我父母还活着，他们一定不会拒绝一个儿子的钱。**Ruguo** wo fumu hai huozhe, tamen yiding **bu hui** jujue yi ge erzi de qian. [ponovitev prim. (18)]

S: *če bi ... bi ...*

K: *ruguo ... name/jiu ...*

gl. tudi (2c), (3c), (8, prvi primer), (21), (25 lani)

(35)

Privzamemo, da je A resničen, torej je posledično tudi B resničen. (semantično dejstveni pogojnik)

Ura je že deset. – **Če je** ura že deset, zamujam. [ponovitev prim. (10b)]

已经十点了。——既然已经十点了，我就迟到了。**Jiran** yijing shidian le, wo **jiu** chidao le.

S: *če; glede na to, da ...*

K: 如果说.....那么.....

gl. tudi (2a)

Dosedanja dognanja lahko strnemo v naslednji prikaz. Kjer sta sivo označena samo veznika *če* in *ruguo*, nimamo težav z razumevanjem. Kjer so sivo označene cele vrstice, prihaja do komunikacijskega šuma. Pri vrsticah brez posebnih oznak imata slovenščina in kitajščina različna jezikovna sredstva za izražanje pogojnih vezi.

slovenščina		slovn. čas/ naklon	logične vezi	kitajščina
(26)	KO razmišljaš pozitivno, se težave rešijo same.	sedanjik/ povedni	<i>časovne vezi</i>	每当保持积极的心态，问题就会自己解决。 Meidang baochi jijì de xintai, wenti jiu hui ziji jiejie.
(26)	ČE razmišljaš pozitivno, se težave rešijo same.	sedanjik/ povedni	$P \rightarrow Q$ (splošne resnice, navade) = dejstveni pogojnik	如果保持积极的心态，问题就会自己解决。 Ruguo baochi jijì de xintai, wenti jiu hui ziji jiejie.

slovenščina	slovn. čas/ naklon	logične vezi	kitajščina
(30) NE GLEDE NA TO , ali razmišljaš pozitivno ali ne, se težave rešijo same.	sedanjik/ povedni	Q	无论你是否保持积极的心态, 问题都会自己解决。 Wulun ni shifou baochi jiji de xintai, went dou hui ziji jieue.
(29) Težave se rešijo same, RAZEN ČE razmišljaš negativno.	sedanjik/ povedni	$\neg P \rightarrow Q$	除非你持负面想法, 否则问题会自己解决。 Chufei ni chi fumian xiangfa, fouze wenti hui ziji jieue.
(27) ŽE ČE/ČE LE razmišljaš pozitivno, se težave rešijo same.	sedanjik/ povedni	$P_{min} \rightarrow Q$ <i>zadostni pogoj</i>	只要你保持积极的心态, 问题就会自己解决。 Zhiyao ni baochi jiji de xintai, went jiu hui ziji jieue.
(28) SAMO ČE/LE ČE razmišljaš pozitivno, se težave rešijo same.	sedanjik/ povedni	$P_{obv} \rightarrow Q$ <i>nujni pogoj</i>	只有你保持积极的心态, 问题才会自己解决。 Zhiyou ni baochi jiji de xintai, went cai hui ziji jieue.
(31) ČE BOŠ razmišljal pozitivno, se bodo težave rešile same.	prihodnjik/ povedni	$P \rightarrow Q$ <i>(prihodnost)</i> = napovedni pogojnik	如果你保持积极的心态, 问题就会自己解决。 Ruguo ni baochi jiji de xintai, went jiu hui ziji jieue.
(32) ČE BI razmišljal pozitivno, BI se težave rešile same. (sedanjost)	pogojni	$P \square \rightarrow Q$ <i>hipotetično</i> = hipotetični pogojnik	如果你(现在)保持积极的心态, 问题就会自己解决。 Ruguo ni (xianzai) baochi jiji de xintai, went jiu hui ziji jieue.
(34) ČE BI (bil) razmišljal pozitivno, BI se težave rešile same. (preteklost)	pogojni	$P_{pret} \square \rightarrow Q_{pret}$ <i>protidejstveno</i> = protidejstveni pogojnik	如果你(去年)保持了积极的心态, 问题可以自己解决。 Ruguo ni (qunian) baochi le jiji de xintai, went keyi ziji jieue.

slovenščina	slovn. čas/ naklon	logične vezi	kitajščina
(33) ČE BI Sneguljčica razmišljala pozitivno, BI se težave rešile same. (imaginarno)	pogojni	$P' \square \rightarrow Q'$ <i>imaginarno</i> = protidejstveni pogojnik	如果白雪公主保持了积极的心态，问题可以自己解决。 Ruguo Baixue gongzhu baochi le jiji de xintai, wenti keyi ziji jiejie.

Iz zgornjega prikaza vidimo, da številni tipi pogojnih vezi v slovensko-kitajskem diskurzu ne povzročajo težav, saj jih izražamo z različnimi jezikovnimi sredstvi. Obenem zaradi splošnega znanja in védenja o svetu uspešno presojamo, kaj so splošne resnice in navade oz. dejstveni pogojniki. Prav tako prepoznamo protidejstvene pogojnike in imaginarne scenarije.

Težave nastanejo zgolj pri napovednih in hipotetičnih pogojnikih, saj kitajščina tega na leksikalni ravni ne razločuje. V obeh primerih uporablja strukturo *ruguo ... jiu hui ...* (dob. »če« ... »potem se zna zgoditi da« ...), kar za situacije v prihodnosti lahko pomeni napovedni pogojnik *če bo ... bo ...* ali hipotetični pogojnik z nizko stopnjo uresničitve *če bi ... bi ...*

Spomnimo se primera (1), kjer prihaja do komunikacijskega šuma. V okviru razmišljanja o prihodnosti je imel slovenski govorec v mislih hipotetični pogojnik z nizko stopnjo realizacije (*če bi zavarovalnica zavrnila vlogo, bi potrebovali dokaze o nasprotnem*), kitajski sogovorec pa je izjave z *ruguo ... jiu hui ...* razumel ne le kot napovedni pogojnik z višjo stopnjo realizacije (*če bo zavarovalnica zavrnila vlogo, boste potrebovali dokaze o nasprotnem*), temveč celo kot dejstveni pogojnik, kjer je realizacija zagotovljena (*zavarovalnica bo zavrnila vlogo, posledično boste potrebovali dokaze o nasprotnem*). Še enkrat si oglejmo samo vrstice z veznikom *ruguo ... jiu hui ...*

slovenščina	slovn. čas/ naklon	logične vezi	kitajščina
(26) ČE razmišljaš pozitivno, se težave rešijo same.	sedanjik/ povedni	$P \rightarrow Q$ (<i>splošne resnice, navade</i>) = dejstveni pogojnik	如果保持积极的心态，问题就会自己解决。 Ruguo baochi jiji de xintai, wenti jiu hui ziji jiejie.

	slovenščina	slovn. čas/ naklon	logične vezi	kitajščina
(31)	ČE BOŠ razmišljal pozitivno, se bodo težave rešile same.	prihodnjik/ povedni	$P \rightarrow Q$ (<i>prihodnost</i>) = napovedni pogojnik	如果你保持积极的心态, 问题就会自己解决。 Ruguo ni baochi jiji de xintai, wentí jiu hui ziji jiejie.
(32)	ČE BI razmišljal pozitivno, BI se težave rešile same. (sedanjost)	pogojni	$P \square \rightarrow Q$ <i>hipotetično</i> = hipotetični pogojnik	如果你（现在）保持积极的心态, 问题就会自己解决。 Ruguo ni (xianzai) baochi jiji de xintai, wentí jiu hui ziji jiejie.

Kljub temu ostaja odprto vprašanje, zakaj v tovrstnih kontekstih sogovorniki interpretirajo pogojne vezi kot dejstveni pogojnik in ne zgolj napovedni pogojnik, saj situacija v primeru (1) ne spada med splošne resnice. Morda se odgovor skriva v pogojno-posledičnih vezeh, ki so predstavljene v zgledu (35) ali okvirno (2a) *če je hotel živeti, je moral delati*. Gre predvsem za sklepalne vezi, kjer prvi stavek izraža pogoj, okoliščine ali dejstvo, drugi pa posledico ali sklep, ki od tod logično sledi. Namreč, realizacija pogoja *ali je hotel živeti*, ni vprašljiva. Razume se, da *JE hotel živeti* in je posledično *moral delati*. Podoben primer je izjava *če je 100 deljivo s 4, potem je tudi z 2*. Pogojni stavek izraža zgolj izhodišče za logično sklepanje.

Tudi pri teh razmerjih se v kitajščini uporablja veznik *ruguo*, kot prikazuje zgled (36) iz referenčne kitajske slovnice Liu idr. (2004), kjer sta oba pogoja, iz katerega sledi naslednji dogodek, nedvomno uresničena. Zaradi dolžine primera bomo kitajskemu primeru dodali samo slovenski prevod brez izgovora ter oznake za pogoje in posledični/logični sklep:

(36)

正如周恩来同志所说, [pogoj 1: 如果说党的第七次代表大会同它以前一个时期全党的思想、政治上的整风, 奠定了我们党统一思想的基础], [pogoj 2: **XX** 在这个基础上取得了反对帝国主义、封建主义和官僚资本主义这种民主革命的胜利], [posledica/sklep: 那么, 这一次会议就会使我们取得社会主义的胜利]。

Tako kot je rekel tovariš Zhou Enlai: »[pogoj 1: **Če** je 7. kongres stranke na podlagi preteklih obdobij oblikovanja enotne ideološke in politične usmeritve stranke dosegel osnovo za enotnost misli], [pogoj 2: **in če** smo na tej osnovi dosegli zmago v revolucionarnem boju proti imperializmu, fevdalizmu in birokratskemu kapitalizmu], [posledica/sklep: **potem** je ta kongres omogočil našo zmago v socialističnem boju.]« (Liu, Pan, in Gu 2004, 875)

Vredno bi bilo raziskati, kaj v kitajščini aktivira sklepalna razmerja med stavki, in se še bolj poglobiti v to problematiko, vendar to presega obseg trenutnega prispevka.

6 Sklepne misli

Slovenski *če* in kitajski *ruguo* sta osnovna veznika, ki izražata pogojno-posledične vezi. V kombinaciji z drugimi sredstvi lahko popolnoma jasno razločujemo odtenke pogojnosti. V slovenščini uporabljamo členke, pogojni naklon in slovnični čas, v kitajščini pa različne povezovalnike, epistemične modalne glagole in prislove. Z razumevanjem izjav načeloma nimamo težav, komunikacijski šum pa nastane pri specifičnih situacijah, ki se nanašajo na prihodnost in izražajo različne stopnje uresničitve izjave.

Težava se torej pojavi pri presoji, ali predpostavljamo realne možnosti (napovedni pogojnik) ali govorimo o hipotetičnih situacijah. V slovenščini te pomenske odtenke ločimo s povednim in pogojnim naklonom, v kitajščini pa struktura *ruguo ... jiu hui ...* dopušča več možnih interpretacij. To bi bil lahko razlog, zakaj prihaja do komunikacijskih šumov v situacijah, kot je bila opisana na začetku prispevka v zgledu (1).

Poleg tega lahko slovenski *če* uvaja tudi časovna razmerja, pri čemer je v nekaterih situacijah izmenljiv s *ko*, kar smo videli v šali o kavi v zgledu (4). Kitajščina nima veznika ali drugih jezikovnih sredstev, kjer bi se pogojne in časovne vezi prepletale na enak način, zato je ta šala v kitajščino neprevedljiva.

Komunikacijski šum torej ne nastaja zaradi (ne)zmožnosti hipotetičnega razmišljanja, kot je pred desetletji menil Bloom, temveč zaradi razlik med kitajščino na eni strani in angleščino ali slovenščino na drugi strani. Kako uskladiti razumevanje sogovorcev, o kateri stopnji uresničljivosti govorimo v nekem pogojno-posledičnem diskurzu, še ni jasno, a smo z razumevanjem problematike korak bliže rešitvi.

Zahvala

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The colour sequence and naturalness: a case study of Slovenian toponyms

*Donald F. Reindl**

Abstract

Slovenian toponyms contain various semantic elements, among which are colour terms. Berlin and Kay's sequence of colour terms is used to explore the presence of these in Slovenian toponyms in combination with the concept of linguistic naturalness. Drawing on data from *Veliki atlas Slovenije (The Great Atlas of Slovenia)*, it is found that standard colour terms imperfectly match the sequence. However, when additional colour terms and the metaphorical term *krvav* 'blood(y)' for 'red' are taken into consideration, the data closely approximate Berlin and Kay's sequence. Following some comments on linguistic motivations for colour terms, the study offers suggestions for further research.

Keywords: colour terms, Slovenian, toponyms, naturalness, etymology

Zaporedje izrazov za barve in jezikovna naravnost: študija primera slovenskih toponimov

Slovenski toponimi vsebujejo različne semantične prvine, med katerimi so tudi izrazi za barve. Avtor v članku na podlagi zaporedja barvnega izrazja, ki sta ga uvedla Berlin in Kay (1969), in pojma jezikovne naravnosti proučuje prisotnost teh izrazov v slovenskih toponimih. Na podlagi podatkov iz *Velikega atlasa Slovenije* ugotavlja, da se pogostost osnovnih izrazov za barve v slovenskih toponimih z zaporedjem Berlina in Kaya ne ujema v celoti. Ob upoštevanju dodatnih poimenovanj barv in metaforičnih izrazov, kot je *krvav*, pa se podatki temu zaporedju precej približajo. Avtor obravnava tudi jezikovno motivacijo tovrstnega izrazja in na koncu predstavi možnosti za nadaljnje raziskave.

Ključne besede: izrazi za barve, slovenščina, toponimi, jezikovna naravnost, etimologija

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1 Introduction

Toponyms offer a fascinating insight into the culture and history of Slovenia, and into the perspective of those that named various settlements and natural features. The distinctive namescape of Slovenian includes references to age (*Novo mesto*, literally ‘New Town’), aesthetics (*Grda jama* ‘Ugly Cave’), animals (*Volčji vrh* ‘Wolf Peak’), ethnicity (*Nemški Rovt*, literally ‘German Meadow’), plants (*Hrastov grič* ‘Oak Hill’), position (*Srednja vas*, literally ‘Middle Village’), saints (*Šentviška planota* ‘Saint Vitus Plateau’), shape (*Debeli hrib* ‘Fat Hill’), size *Mali potok* ‘Little Creek’), and temperature (*Mrzli studenec* ‘Cold Spring’). Any of these would offer a rich arena for analysis. Beyond etymology, understanding of the semantic bases of toponyms can also be of help when glossing or translating them for purposes from ethnology to tourism (Diaci 2023). Many Slovenian toponyms also contain colour terms (*Črna vas*, literally ‘Black Village’).

Previous studies have examined colour terms in various languages, such as Australian English (Tent & Blair 2011), Bashkir (Khisamitdinova et al. 2019), Estonian (Rätsep 2012), Kyrgyz (Koichubaev 1965), Mongolian (Purev et al. 2023), Old English (Hough 2006), and Turkic (Pangereyev et al. 2023). Nonetheless, onomastics has neglected a broader perspective on colour terms in toponymy, as such studies tend to focus on etymology and typological patterns, and many are limited to one colour, leaving open the question of similarity in colour terms in toponyms across languages (Purev et al. 2023, 141–42).

This article examines colour terms in Slovenian toponyms. It proceeds from Berlin and Kay’s (1969) sequence of colour terms coupled with Janez Orešnik’s theory of Natural Syntax, hypothesizing that more basic colour terms are more frequent in toponyms.

2 Berlin and Kay’s basic colour terms

In 1969, Berlin and Kay published *Basic Colour Terms: Their Universality and Evolution*, proposing that languages have various stages of complexity in their inventory of colour terms, from a rudimentary black/white (dark/light) distinction to more complex stages with eight or more terms. The theory suggested a sequence of basic colour terms, essentially: black/white > red > green/yellow > blue > brown > purple/pink/orange/grey.

Although Berlin and Kay's work had precursors (Kay 2015), their study was a catalyst for further colour research. This body of literature not only investigates colour inventories in a range of languages, but also supports, rebuts, and revises the conclusions of the initial study (Kay 2015). Although some languages deviate from this sequence through megacategories that combine colour terms, or by subdividing some of these, the sequence is widely enshrined in linguistics (Hardin 2023). Among the linguistic domains that the sequence has been applied to is toponymy, the focus of this study.

3 Naturalness

This study assumes that Berlin and Kay's sequence of basic colour terms is a natural sequence in the sense of naturalness as defined by Wolfgang Dressler: "a synonym of intuitively plausible or of cross-linguistically frequent" (2000, 288). Thus, one expects words such as *white* and *black* to be more frequent in a large corpus regardless of context, and words such as *pink*, *purple*, and *orange* less frequent. In fact, a Google Books Ngram for colours (Figure 1) mirrors Berlin and Kay's sequence well.

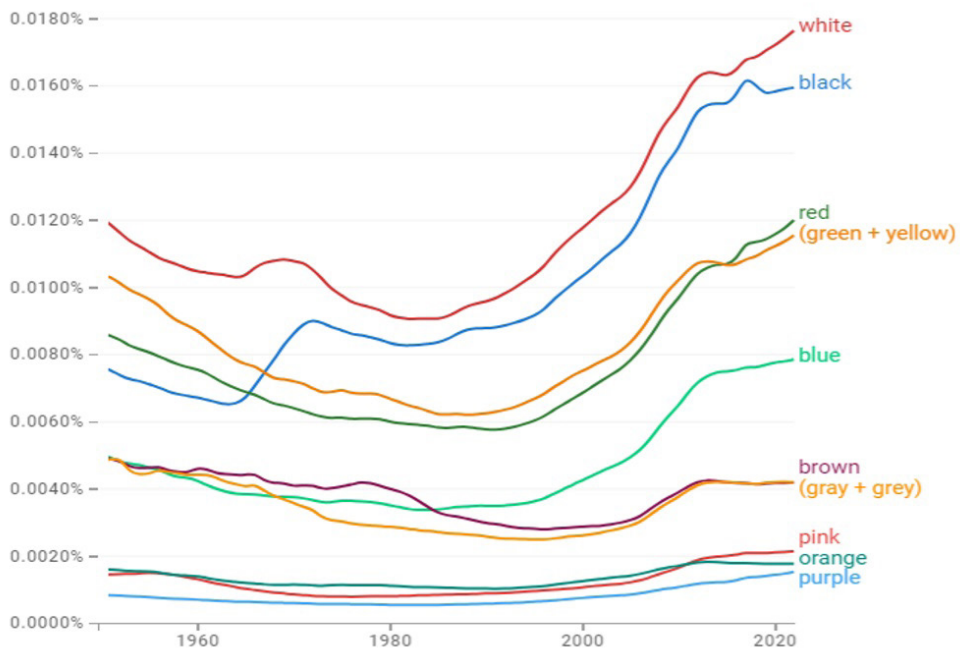


Figure 1. Google Books Ngram results (truncated) for “black, white, red, green + yellow, blue, brown, purple, pink, orange, gray + grey” (corpus: English).

Applying this natural sequence to Slovenian toponyms, it is hypothesized that toponyms containing more fundamental colour terms (e.g., ‘white’ and ‘black’) are more common than those containing colour terms in more advanced stages of the inventory.

In Slovenian linguistics, naturalness was explored by the late Janez Orešnik (1935–2024) in his theory of Natural Syntax based on the work of Dressler and Mayrhofer. Orešnik couched his observations in naturalness scales and rules of alignment that always contrasted two variants (Cvetko Orešnik & Orešnik 2011, 19). Orešnik might have formulated the premise of this study – that more basic colour terms are better represented in toponyms than less basic colour terms – as follows:

1. The assumptions of Natural Syntax:
 - 1.1. >nat (more basic, less basic) / colour terms in toponyms
 I.e., within toponyms, more basic colour terms are more natural than less basic colour terms, according to the frequency criterion ...
2. The rules of parallel alignment:
 - 2.1. value A tends to associate with value C,
 - 2.2. value B tends to associate with value D.

4 Data

The data for this study are drawn from *Veliki atlas Slovenije* (*The Great Atlas of Slovenia*; Bogataj et al. 2012). Excluding names of streets and squares, this includes over 41,000 toponyms covering Slovenia and parts of adjacent countries. The sample considered here is mostly limited to the names of settlements (and parts thereof), hydronyms, and oronyms (about 26,000 names). The 1:50,000 atlas is far from an exhaustive inventory of Slovenian toponyms. Nonetheless, the sample is large enough to be representative. In the sample, 1.4% of names contain standard and additional colour terms. This is roughly equivalent to the percentage of Russian toponyms with colour terms, reported as 1.0% (Molchanova 1989, 27).

Dialect names for colours can differ from those in standard Slovenian. For example, Resian Slovenian has *čarnjél* ‘red’, *blúj* ‘blue’, *rújs* ‘yellow’, and *grížast* ‘grey’ (Steenwijk 1992) rather than (cognates with) the standard Slovenian *rdeč*, *moder*, *rumen*, and *siv*. See also comments below on the Slovenian dialect *rjav* as ‘red’ and *rid’avi* ‘brown’.

Cross-border Slovenian toponyms included in the atlas are considered because they are part of the Slovenian onomastic world. In addition to those examined here,

works with additional information include Merkù's *Slovenska krajevna imena v Italiji* (1999) and the 1:25,000 map series *Carta topografica per escursionisti* (e.g., Canin 2019) for Italy, and Kattinig and Zerzer's *Dvojezična Koroška* (1982) for Austria.

5 Standard colour terms

The relevant colour terms in standard Slovenian are *črn* 'black', *bel* 'white', *rdeč* 'red', *zelen* 'green', *rumen* 'yellow', *moder* 'blue', *rjav* 'brown', *vijoličen* 'purple', *roza* 'pink', *oranžen* 'orange', and *siv* 'grey'. Among these, three of the last four betray more recent origins: *vijoličen* 'purple' derives from the noun *vijolica* 'violet', attested in the seventeenth century; *oranžen* 'orange' is a twentieth-century derivation from French *orange*; and *roza*, a twentieth-century borrowing from German or Italian, is indeclinable and lacks adjectival morphology (ESSJ 2, 214; Snoj 2003, 476, 631, 820). The remaining adjectives have much older Slavic pedigrees.

Among the toponyms containing colour terms, 42% have *črn* 'black' or a derivation from it, and 41% have *bel* 'white' or a derivation from it. Toponyms based on *bel* 'white' also include the spelling variant *bev* (e.g., *Bevke*; Snoj 2009, 58). Examples include settlements such as *Črnica* (Cernizza, Italy) and *Belica*, oronyms such as *Črni vrh* 'Black Peak' and *Beli vrh* 'White Peak', and hydronyms such as *Črni potok* 'Black Creek' and *Beli potok* 'White Creek'.

In contrast to 'black' and 'white', only a few toponyms contain *rdeč* 'red'. Among these are the village of *Rdeči Breg* (literally, 'Red Bank'), *Rdeči rob* 'Red Rim', and *Rdeči potok* 'Red Creek'.

The only toponym that initially suggests a possible connection with *rumen* 'yellow' is the village of *Rumanja Vas* (Slovenian *Rumanja vas*, earlier *Romanja vas*; Krajevni 1937, 540). However, the oldest attestation, from 1424, records this name as *Rūdmansdarff* (Historična 2021, 1241), largely preserved in the twentieth-century German name *Rumannsdorf* (Leksikon 1906, 160). The name is therefore not connected with yellow (nor related to the Romans, as sometimes suggested; cf. Kos 1939, 228).

The settlement of *Modrej* is believed to ultimately derive from *moder* 'blue', probably through an anthroponym (perhaps as a nickname for an individual with cyanosis), as are two settlements named *Modrič* as well as *Modruša*, a hamlet of Zalog pri Škocjanu (Snoj 2009, 266). Beyond Slovenia's borders, *Modrinja vas* (Mödersdorf, Austria) is also based on 'blue'. To these can be added the village of *Modrejce* (a derivative from *Modrej*) and probably the village of *Modraže*.

No oronyms are based on *moder* ‘blue’. The root *modras-* (also found in the common noun *modras* ‘horned viper’, *Vipers ammodytes*) is seen in the toponyms *Veliki Modrasovec* ‘Big Mount Modrasovec’ and *Mali Modrasovec* ‘Little Mount Modrasovec’, among others, but it is not derived from *moder* ‘blue’, as once posited (cf. Miklosich 1862–1865, 378), but instead from Istro-Romanian *madraso* ‘grass snake’ (*Natrix natrix*; ESSJ 2, 191). The hydronym *Modriški potok* ‘Modrič Creek’ is ultimately based on blue because it is derived from the village of Modrič, cited above.

Slovenian has several names based on *rjav* ‘brown’. These include the village of *Rjavec* (Reauz, Austria), *Rjavi hrib* ‘Brown Hill’ and *Rjavi vrh* ‘Brown Peak’, and *Rjavo jezero* ‘Brown Lake’ (or *Rjava mlaka* ‘Brown Pond’, one of the Triglav Lakes). Toponyms based on *rjav* ‘brown’ also include the spelling variant *erjav* (e.g., *Erjavec* Creek).

Slovenian has no toponyms with ‘purple’, ‘pink’, or ‘orange’, but there are several that use *siv* ‘grey’. These include *Pri Sivcih* (a hamlet of Krn), Mount *Sivka* and two nearby elevations (*Loncmanova Sivka* ‘Loncman Sivka Hill’ and *Trepalova Sivka* ‘Trepal Sivka Hill’, both named after farms), *Sivo rebro* ‘Grey Ridge’ in Moste, and *Sivo brdo* ‘Grey Hill’, a slope in Magozd.

Figure 2 shows the initial results. Toponyms containing standard colour terms show a rough correspondence to Berlin and Kay’s sequence, with red underrepresented and brown overrepresented.

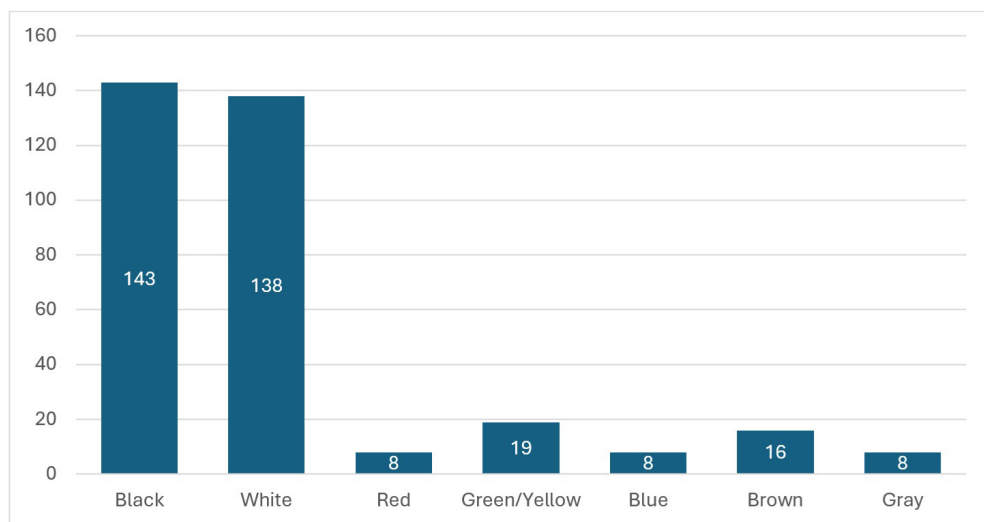


Figure 2. Slovenian toponyms containing standard colour terms.

6 Additional colour terms

In addition to the standard colour terms in Slovenian, there are various other regional, dialect, dated, and archaic words for colours. The basic light–dark (white–black) contrast can also be represented by the corresponding adjectives *svetel* ‘light’ and *temen* ‘dark’. Examples include the villages of *Svetli Dol* (cf. German *Lichtenthal*; Franciscan 1825) and *Svetli Potok* (cf. German *Lichtenbach*), and *Svetje* (a neighbourhood of Medvode), as well as the village of *Temnica*, *Temni vrh* ‘Dark Peak’ (in Kamnik pod Krimom), *Temno brdo* ‘Dark Hill’ (in Sela nad Podmelcem), *Temni žleb* ‘Dark Creek’ (in Plužna), and *Temnek* (in Sela nad Podmelcem; cf. ESSJ 4, 165) – but not *Temenica* (a village and various streams), derived from *teme* ‘top of the head; summit, apex’ (ESSJ 4, 166).

The adjective *šar* ‘coloured, colourful’, representing black, is attested in anthroponyms, but not obviously in any of the toponyms considered (ESSJ 4, 9). The root *mavr-* ‘dark, black’ is found in *Mavrevov vrh* ‘Mavrev Peak’, named after the nearby Mavrev farm. The related adjective *mur* ‘black’ (Pleteršnik 1894–1895) is found in the *Mura* River and possibly *Murica* Creek (see Snoj 2009, 274–275), as well as various toponyms derived from the river name: the Austrian town of *Mureck* (Slovenian *Cmurek*) and *Murski Črnci* (both elements of which refer to black). However, some similar toponyms are also based on the common noun *murava* ‘soft grass’ and are unrelated to colour.

Complicating matters, Snoj (2009, 101) points out that *črn* is sometimes derived from Proto-Slavic **čьrъnъ* ‘red’. For example, the oronym *Črna prst* (presumably ‘black soil’, referring to shale, and tallied as such) may originally mean ‘red soil’ (see also *Černova/Črnava* Creek below).

The Slovenian adjective *črmljen* (also *črljen*, *črmnel*, *črnel*, *črnjel*, as well as Reisian *čarnjél*; see Steenwijk 1992, 246) ‘red’ derives from Proto-Slavic **čьrvenъ* ‘red’ (ESSJ 1, 88). Related toponyms include the villages of *Malo Črnelo* and *Veliko Črnelo* (cf. medieval German *Rottenpach*; Snoj 2009, 98), *Črnelo* Castle (cf. medieval German *Rottenpvhel*; Snoj 2009, 98), the village of *Črnelavci* (via an anthroponym; Snoj 2009, 98), the village of *Črmljenšak*, *Črmlja* Creek, *Črmla* Creek, and *Černova* Creek, and of course *Črnelo* Creek (Slovenian *Črnelški potok*). Names of creeks connected with ‘red’ are probably motivated by reddish loam in their banks or waters (Snoj 2009, 101). *Černova* Creek is also known as *Črnava*, underlining the overlap between *črn-* as etymologically ‘black’ or ‘red’.

Slovenian also has the dated term *žolt* (also *želt*, and dialect *žut*) for ‘yellow’. However, with the possible exception of the *Žutač* farm in Mali Okič, no toponyms seem connected with this term.

In addition to *moder* ‘blue’, Slovenian also has *plav*, from Bavarian German *plau* ‘blue’ (ESSJ 3, 50–51), and *sinji* ‘(light) blue’ or sometimes ‘grey’ (cf. Pleteršnik 1894–1895). The settlement name *Plave* and the hydronyms *Plava* and *Plavja* derive from *plavati* ‘swim’ and are unrelated to blue. The name *Plavž* (a neighbourhood of Jesenice) derives from Bavarian Middle High German *plahus* ‘blast furnace’ (ESSJ 3, 51), as are probably similar names, such as the hill *Plav(š)čak* and the stream *Plavžnica*. Several toponyms contain *sinji*: the villages of *Sinja Gorica* and *Sinji Vrh*, as well as *Breg pri Sinjem Vrh* and *Draga pri Sinjem Vrh* (with differential epithets added in the 1950s; Zakon 1955, 504). However, none of these in fact originally contain *sinji*, and they are likely modifications of names with *svinji* ‘pig’, referring to grazing pigs (Snoj 2009, 376). The names were probably modified to avoid associations with animals considered unclean. Similarly, the neighbourhood of *Sinja Gorica* (literally, ‘Blue Hill’) in Cerknica appears in the Franciscan Cadaster as *Svinia Goritza* (i.e., ‘Pig Hill’; Franciscan 1823). Similarly, *Sinji vrh* – ostensibly ‘Blue Peak’ – in Kovk appears as *Svinji vrh* (i.e., ‘Pig Peak’) in older sources (Deschmann 1866, 41).

The term *prun* ‘blue’ is borrowed from Old High German *prun* ‘purplish’ and is attested in the Gail Valley and Carinthia (ESSJ 3, 132). It does not seem to appear in any toponyms.

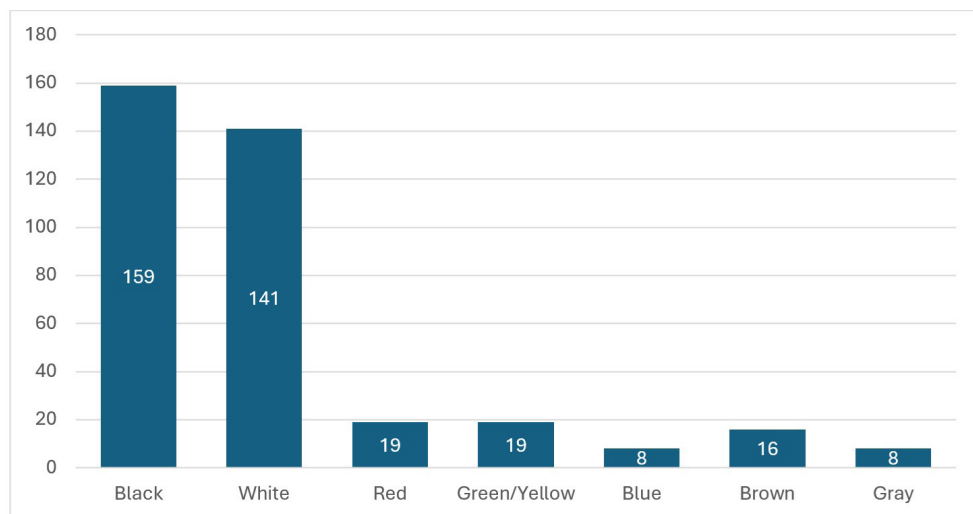


Figure 3. Slovenian toponyms containing standard and additional colour terms.

There is thus no convincing evidence that any Slovenian toponyms authentically contain *plav* ‘blue’, *sinji* ‘(light) blue’, or *prun* ‘blue’. Nor were any additional toponyms identified with terms for ‘brown’, ‘purple’, ‘pink’,¹ ‘orange’, or ‘grey’.

With the additional colour terms, the distribution in Slovenian toponyms conforms better to Berlin and Kay’s sequence (Figure 3). Red is still relatively weakly represented, and brown remains overrepresented.

7 Metaphorical colour terms and further considerations

In addition to basic colour terms (whether standard or additional), some Slovenian toponyms contain elements that may metaphorically serve as colour terms. Examples include:

- *sajav* ‘sooty’ for black, such as the village of *Sajevec*, literally ‘Sooty (Creek)’ (cf. Middle High German *Rûzpach*; Bizjak et al. 2021, 1246);
- *krvav* ‘blood(y)’ for red, such as the village of *Krvava Peč*, literally ‘Bloody Cliff’;
- *zlat* ‘gold’ for yellow, such as the village of *Zlato Polje*, literally ‘Golden Field’;
- *višnjev* ‘sour cherry’ for (violet-)blue (cf. Pleteršnik 1894–1895), such as the town of *Višnja Gora*, literally ‘Sour Cherry Mountain’;
- *sliv* ‘plum’ for blue (cf. Pleteršnik 1894–1895), such as the village of *Slivno*, literally ‘Plum (Village)’;
- *srebrn* ‘silver’ for grey, such as *Srebrni grič* ‘Silver Hill’, in Gorenje.

Despite their colour associations, these are not among the toponyms tallied above because they primarily name objects, not colours. As Berlin and Kay point out, “Colour terms that are also the name of an object characteristically having that colour are suspect, for example, *gold*, *silver*, and *ash*” (1969, 6).

Nonetheless, red demands several considerations. First, blood is so synonymous with red that it has provided this colour term in several languages (cf. Hungarian *vörös* ‘red’ < *vér* ‘blood’ and related Finno-Ugric words; Uusküla 2011). In the Semitic languages too, red and blood are related; compare Hebrew אָדָם (*adóm*) ‘red’ and דָּם (*dam*) ‘blood’ (Murtonen 1989, 83). Kouwer (1949, 15) cites the Sanskrit noun रुधिरि (*rudhira*) ‘blood’ – secondary to the adjective रुधिरि (*rudhira*) ‘red; bloody’ (Mayrhofer 1996, 453–454) – to underline the close association between ‘red’ and

1 An alternative Slovenian adjective for pink, *rožnat*, does not appear in any toponyms. However, note *Rožnati Britof* ‘Pink Britof’, as the village of Britof was informally dubbed when the Britof resident and cyclist Jan Polanc wore the leader’s pink jersey in the 2019 Giro d’Italia (Jan 2019).

‘blood’. All Slovenian toponyms with *krvav* ‘blood(y)’ probably refer to red stone, red soil, and so on (cf. Čop 2007, 123; Snoj 2009, 219). The number of names with *krvav* ‘blood(y)’ (12) even exceeds those with *rdeč* (8) or *črmljen* (11).

Second, Metka Furlan points out (2022, 290) that in dialect *rjav* often means ‘red’ rather than ‘brown’. The number of names with ‘brown’ is thus overrepresented because some probably actually denote ‘red’. In addition, many names containing ‘brown’ are of a secondary nature, derived from anthroponyms and referring to features named after a person (nick)named *Rjavec* (or similar; cf. Snoj 2009, 423) and not characterized as ‘brown’ themselves.

Third, ‘red’ is also etymologically slippery. Pleteršnik (1894–1895) glosses several adjectives as overlapping between red and other colours: *rud* ‘red, brown’, *rumen* ‘yellow; red’, and *rus* ‘red; yellow’. All of these derive (like the Sanskrit above) from Proto-Indo-European **h₁rewd^h*- ‘red’: via Proto-Slavic **r^oděti* ‘reddden’ > Slovenian *rdeč* ‘red’, Proto-Slavic **r^od’a* ‘rust’ > Slovenian *rjav* ‘brown’, Proto-Slavic **rudb* ‘red(dish)’ > Slovenian *rud* ‘(brownish) red’, Proto-Slavic **ruměnb* ‘ruddy’ > Slovenian *rumen* ‘yellow’, and Proto-Slavic **rusb* ‘yellow, red’ > Slovenian *rus* ‘(brownish) red’ (Snoj 2003, 608, 625, 632–634). It is thus unsurprising that they have overlapped both synchronically across dialects and diachronically.

Based on this, Figure 3 could be adjusted by moving some examples of ‘brown’ to ‘red’ because some may in fact mean ‘red’. This results in a much closer match with Berlin and Kay’s sequence (Figure 4).

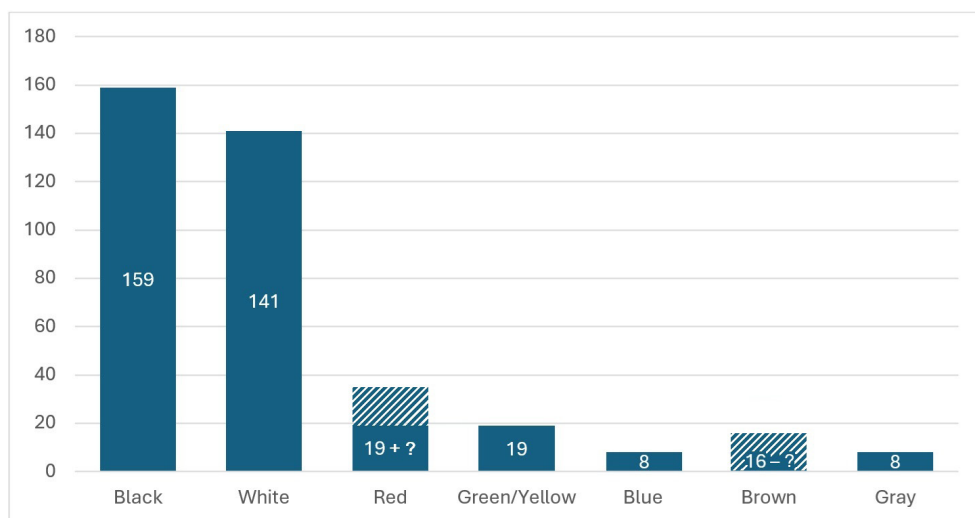


Figure 4. Slovenian toponyms containing standard and additional colour terms, adjusted for red and brown.

Finally, Purev et al. (2023, 148) draw attention to a more recent revised sequence of basic colour terms by McCarthy et al. (2019): white > black > red > green > yellow > blue > grey > gold > brown > pink. This matches the Slovenian data both better and worse. In the Slovenian data black dominates over white, and yellow is in the last group, with no examples. However, green clearly outranks yellow in the Slovenian data, and grey is as frequent as blue (and should not be grouped with purple, pink, and orange; see also Figure 1, in which grey ranks more prominently). Moreover, gold is attested in Slovenian toponyms (unlike purple, pink, and orange).

8 Motivation

This analysis primarily focuses on frequency and does not address the motivation behind colour associations. Beyond simple motivations (e.g., a feature is called black because it looks black), some toponyms contain colour terms because of association with compass points (black designating ‘north’, white ‘west’, red ‘south’, and yellow/green/blue ‘east’; see Hill 2014). This is often characterized as an Iranian system, but it has parallels farther east (Kouwer 1949, 51). A black/white contrast is also associated with that between dark needleleaf forests and light broadleaf forests (Štěpán 2004, 37ff., cited in Snoj 2009, 55). Both explanations (among others) have been invoked for the Slovenian choronym *Bela krajina* ‘White Carniola’. Snoj (2009, 55) mentions yet another contrastive colour designation for hydronyms: if two streams are designated ‘black creek’ and ‘white creek’ for no obvious reason, the former is a tributary of the latter.

Colour terms in toponyms may also have political associations. For example, the Ukrainian city of Kryndachivka (Ukr. *Криндачівка*) was renamed Krasnyi Luch (Ukr. *Красний Луч*, literally ‘Red Ray of Light’) during the Soviet period after the Shterivska power station (Ponomarenko 1968, 392); it was later named Khrustalnyi (Ukr. *Хрустальний*) in 2016 (Postanova 2016). Similarly, the Mongolian city of Urga (officially Nīslēl Khūree after 1911) was renamed Ulaanbaatar (literally, ‘Red Hero’) in 1924 when the Mongolian People’s Republic was founded (Gilberg & Svantesson 1996, 21). Although Slovenia also experienced politically motivated renaming during the communist era (e.g., Mount Kotlič becoming *Partizanski vrh* ‘Partisan Peak’), no changes involved colour symbolism.²

2 Note, however, the informal expression *rdeča Primorska* ‘red Littoral’, referring to the purportedly greater enthusiasm for communism in far western Slovenia (Jenštrle 1994).

9 Limitations and further research

The most significant limitation of this survey is that it only considers toponyms in *Veliki atlas Slovenije*. Although the sample is large enough to be representative, additional microtoponyms are also informative and could increase the robustness of the data. For example, Snoj (2009, 423) mentions the *Rjavcen* farm (in Počakovo) as a derivation from the surname (*E*)*rjavec* (literally, ‘Brown’).

Additional information could also be gleaned from Slovenian toponyms in cross-border areas outside the atlas. For example, the Austrian village of Schwarzen-dorf has the Slovenian equivalent *Črnčiče* (Kattinig & Janko Zerzer 1982, 15), both based on ‘black’. Similarly, the aforementioned Italian map series (Canin 2019) contains not only additional settlement names of interest (*Bila*, literally ‘White’, for Italian San Giorgio), but also oronyms (*Cyrna Pěnc* ‘Black Cliff’, *Bila Pěnc* ‘White Cliff’) and hydronyms (*Cerni Patok* ‘Black Creek’ for Italian *Rio Nero* ‘Black River’). This especially applies to the microtoponym level. Some microtoponyms in the ethnically Slovenian area of western Hungary are motivated by colour (Geršič et al. 2023), such as *Béjli máust* (literally, ‘White Bridge’), *Črna bûkonja* (literally, ‘Black Beech’), and *Ridjajca* (literally, ‘Clay’, from the dialect adjective *rid’avi* ‘brown’). In addition to those using basic colour terms, there are metaphorical references to colour in some of these names, such as *Srebrni bréjg* (literally, ‘Silver Hill’; Geršič et al. 2023).

Further data could also be obtained from historical material (paleonyms and re-named features, and former villages absorbed by larger settlements). Generally, most colour information in paleonyms is still well preserved today – for example, the Karawanks pasture attested as *Gruen albenn* ‘green mountain pasture’ in 1498 is known as *Zelenica* today (cf. Slovenian *zelen* ‘green’; Bizjak et al. 2021, 1756) – although they may also preserve some lost colour designations. The former settlement of Štrlek (now part of Šmarješke Toplice) was attested in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century with names possibly associated with brown (*Prunsdorf*, *Praunsdorf*, *Pravnstorf*, *Prauwensdorf*; Bizjak et al. 2021, 1543). However, a superficial glance at paleonyms in isolation can also be misleading: *Rōwtenberch* (a 1361 attestation for today’s Čretež in Srednje Lanknice) is derived from Middle High German *riute* ‘clearing’ and is unconnected with German *rot* ‘red’ (Bizjak et al. 2021, 179; Snoj 2009, 100); *Gelbenstayn* (a 1300 attestation for Gallenstein Castle in Podpeč pod Skalo; Bizjak et al. 2021, 309) is derived from the Gall family and unconnected with German *gelb* ‘yellow’; and *Grauen akker* (a 1423 attestation for Knežja Njiva; Bizjak et al. 2021, 562) is derived from Middle High German *grave* ‘count’ (cf. modern German *Graf*) and unconnected with German *grau* ‘grey’.

Postwar changes in Slovenian settlement names primarily affected ones with religious content, or with German and Italian associations (Premk 2004; Urbanc & Gabrovec 2005), and they did not impact toponyms containing colour terms. Likewise, only a few villages with colour terms were absorbed into neighbouring settlements in the second half of the twentieth century, such as *Črna* ('black', annexed by Dole; Odredba 1964), *Črnc* ('black', annexed by Brežice; Odlok 1981), or *Črmljenšak* ('red', annexed by Bišečki Vrh; Odredba 1974). However, *Veliki atlas Slovenije* still indexes all of these, and they are therefore included in this survey.

An additional limitation is that this survey does not distinguish between colour terms used as simple attributives (*Črna vas*, literally 'Black Village') and those in which derivational morphology is applied to the term (*Črnc*, literally 'Black One', a village). Nor does it take into account that colour terms are fully transparent in some toponyms but in other cases are completely opaque to native speakers (e.g., only an etymologist would associate *Cmurek*, discussed above, with 'black') or only conjectures, such as Klemše's suggestion that *Arupacupa* Hill in Italy is derived from *Rusa kopa* 'Red Dome' (2007, 221). However, given the limited number of names containing colours (except for 'black' and 'white'), fragmenting the data further would make meaningful comparison impossible.

Several questions for further research also arise. The first is whether the same sequence is generally reflected in colour-based names in other languages. Purev et al. (2023, 147–148) suggest that the order varies, reporting the order red–black–white in Mongolian, but white–black–red in Scotland (citing Drummond 2007) and black–red–white in Estonian (citing Rätsep 2012).

As a genetically unrelated language but one that is part of the European milieu, examining Estonian (expanding on research by Rätsep, who focuses on 'black') would be fruitful. Drawing from Kallasmaa's dictionary (2016), colour-based Estonian toponyms include the villages of *Mustumetsa* (literally 'Black Woods', from *must* 'black'), *Valgu* (from *valge* 'white'), *Läädinka* (possibly from dialect *leet* 'pale or brownish red'; cf. Oja 2003), *Punakülä* (ostensibly 'Brown Village', from Võro *punanõ* 'brown'), and *Kullamaa* (from **Kultanmäki* 'Golden Hill'), the settlement of *Rohelisetänav* (literally 'Green Street', from *roheline* 'green'; Rus. Зелёная Улица), and the hydronym *Sinejärv* (literally 'Blue Lake', from *sinine* 'blue'). Like Slovenian, Estonian also has toponyms derived from multiple words for 'red' – both native and borrowed – such as *Punikvere* (literally 'Red Cow Place', from *punik* 'red cow' < *punane* 'red'), *Verevi* (from *verve* 'red'), and *Ruutsi* (possibly from Slavic **rudъ* 'red').

Moreover, Uusküla (2011, 153) discusses a possible areal phenomenon of languages with two terms for ‘red’ (she focuses on Hungarian *piros* versus *vörös*, and Czech *červený* versus *rudý*, concluding that the first terms in each case are the basic colour terms). Uusküla suggests that this broader area should include Slovenian, which raises the intriguing possibility that, like Hungarian and Czech, Slovenian also had competing terms for ‘red’ that have now been blurred by language standardization but may still exist in remnant contrasts in dialect material.

The statistics presented above indicate that toponyms associated with ‘black’ outnumber those connected with ‘white’. Rätsep (2012) also found that ‘black’ was the most common colour in Estonian toponyms. Is this generally consistent across geographical categories and across languages? And how broadly do other languages share the same semantic motivations for naming geographical features after colours? Moreover, are certain types of geographical features or terrain more likely to be designated with colours than others (cf. Purev et al. 2023, 142, 145, 150)?

Finally, moving beyond toponyms, what kinds of collocations and metaphors have been lost with diachronic shifts in the denotations of colour terms? Based on a Google Books Ngram query, before the eighteenth century blood was characterized as purple equally often as red in English, as students of Shakespeare know: for example, “purple blood” (*Henry VI, Part III*) “purple fountain(s)” (*Romeo and Juliet*; *Rape of Lucrece*), “purple sap” (*Richard III*), “purple tears” (*Henry VI, Part III*; *Venus and Adonis*), “purple (flower)” (*A Midsummer Night’s Dream*; *Venus and Adonis*), and “purple testament of bleeding war” (*Richard III*). In Slovenian, too, blood was characterized differently in the past – as *rumena* (‘yellow’ in the modern language, but also glossed in older dictionaries as ‘fallow’, ‘rose-coloured’, and ‘red’ – cf. Bulgarian *румен*, Czech *ruměný*, Ukrainian *рум’яний*, etc., all of which have retained the meaning ‘red’ or ‘ruddy’), so much so that *rumena kri* “‘yellow’ blood” was a collocation in dictionaries (Murko 1833; Pleteršnik 1894–1895) and in a list of colour phrases found in folk songs (Kočevar 1868). Like the shifting denotations for what are now ‘red’ and ‘brown’, this emphasizes that colour terms cannot always be interpreted at face value from the perspective of today’s language.

10 Conclusion

This study has examined a variety of colour terms – standard, additional, and metaphorical – in Slovenian toponyms, comparing their frequency to the sequence of colour terms in Berlin and Kay’s 1969 study. In doing so, it has also addressed dialect

terms, diachronic semantic differences, and etymological details, as well as suggesting avenues for further research. It has also confirmed the hypothesis that more basic colour terms are in fact more frequent in Slovenian toponyms. Or, as Janez Orešnik might have concluded:

3. The consequences:

If the language distinguishes between more basic colour terms and less basic colour terms in toponyms such that one set of terms is more frequent and the other set of terms is less frequent, then it is more basic colour terms that tend to be more frequent and it is less basic colour terms that tend to be less frequent. Q.E.D. (The reverse situation is not expected.)

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Miscellaneous notes on Gothic historical morphology

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Abstract

The contribution addresses three problem areas of the comparative grammar of Germanic languages: a) the historical phonology behind the accusative and the vocative singular of Gothic non-neuter *u*-stems (*-au* ~ *-u*), b) the historical development of the 1st person singular active optative preterit ending in Gothic (*-jau*), and c) the evolutionary history of the two Gothic accusative plural nasal stem endings *-ans* and *-nuns*. The explanation of the Gothic accusative ending *-au* is matched to the problem of the 1st sg. optative in *-jau*, for which an original diphthong as the result of contraction of Proto-Germanic **-jēu* (and subsequent shortening in the prehistory of Gothic) is considered. In the same vein, the accusative singular ending *-au* is traced back to **-ē/ōu*. The explanation offered for the problematic Gothic accusative singular nasal-stem ending *-ans* leans on the possibility of regular apocope in the inherited sequence **-anunz* < PIE **-on-ns* in trisyllables. As far as Proto-Germanic is concerned, the variant ending *-nuns* (attested in *aúhsmuns* to *aúhsa* 'ox') < PIE **-n-ns* is argued to be archaic: although *-ans* appears to represent the regular reflex of amphidynamic inflection inherited from Proto-Indo-European, its vowel is most probably secondary.

Keywords: comparative grammar of Germanic languages, Gothic, morphology, *u*-stems, nasal stems, optative preterit

Iz zgodovinskega oblikoslovja gotščine

Prispevek obravnava tri probleme primerjalne slovnice germanskih jezikov, in sicer rekonstrukcijo izhodiščne oblike a) tožilnika in zvalnika ednine ujevskih osnov, b) 1. osebe aktivnega optativa preterita in c) tožilnika množine nosniških osnov z vidika prežitkov teh kategorij v gotščini (tj. *-au* ~ *-u* oz. *-jau* oz. *-ans* ~ *-nuns*). Pri historičnofonetični utemeljitvi gotskega sklonila *-au* za tožilnik ednine se pri tem prepoznava ista problematika kot v primeru preteritalnega optativnega osebila *-jau* in zagovarja izhodiščni diftong (po internogotski skrajšavi dvo- ali trimornih vokalov v (pokritem) izglasju) kot rezultat kontrakcije v pragermanskih sekvencah **-jēu* oz. **-ē/ōu*, medtem ko se gotsko sklonilo *-ans* utemeljuje s sinkopo v pričakovanem izhodiščnem **-anunz*

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< pide. *-on-*ms* v trizložnicah. Enkrat izpričano variantno sklonilo -*nuns* (*aihsnuns* k *aihsa* 'vol') < pide. *-n-*ms* je ocenjeno kot arhaično, toda -*ans*, ki teoretično sicer lahko predstavlja pričakovano, iz indoevropskega prajezika podedovano obliko sklonila holokinetičnih nosniških osnov, je v pragermanščini verjetno šele sekundaren.

Ključne besede: primerjalna slovnica germanskih jezikov, gotščina, morfologija, *u*-osnove, nosniške osnove, optativ preterita

1

As is well known, Gothic non-neuter *u*-stem nouns display a great deal of variation, with each of the case endings in the singular attested in two competing forms (see, e.g., Loewe 1921, Ebbinghaus 1971[2003], 6, Boutkan 1995, 253–57, Braune/Heidermanns 2004, 100–102, Miller 2019, 61):

N -*us* ~ -*aus*

A -*u* ~ -*au*

V -*au* ~ -*u*

G -*aus* (-*auz*^o) ~ -*us*

D -*au* ~ -*u*

This level of oscillation has no parallel in Gothic synchronic grammar, but although the endings seem at least superficially synchronically interchangeable, they do not actually occur with the same frequency. The nominative in -*aus*, the accusative in -*au*, the dative in -*u*, and the genitive singular in -*us* are limited to a) St Luke's Gospel (13 forms in ch. 1–10, only one in ch. 14–20); b) Codex Ambrosianus A, incl. the Gothic Calendar (18 forms), Codex Ambrosianus B (14 forms); c) St Mark's Gospel (only 2 forms); and d) Codex Bononiensis (1 form), where they are attested significantly more rarely than the alternative forms. Only the vocative forms display a ratio of eight (-*au*) to ten (-*u*) and also occur in St John's (2x -*u*) and St Matthew's (2x -*au*) Gospels, but seven out of the ten forms in -*u* turn out to be Greek names, none of which is ever attested with a vocative in -*au*, so the surprisingly balanced proportion in the vocative might (at least partly) be owed to the imitation of the Greek vocative singular of masculine *u*-stems.

The idea that the double set of endings goes back to two different Proto-Germanic and, by extension, Proto-Indo-European inflectional classes is not novel, and

has been suggested by Ebbinghaus 1971[2003], Schaffner 2001, 493, and Neri 2003, 117–42, *op. cit.* 177–78.¹ Under this view of things the Nsg. *-us*, Asg. *-u*, Voc. sg. *-au*, Gsg. *-aus*, and the Dsg. *-au* would represent regular outcomes (with minor re-modelling of the dative under the influence of the genitival form) of the Proto-Indo-European proterodynamic inflection:

- N *-us* < PGmc. **-uz* < PIE **-u-s*
 A *-u* < PGmc. **-u* < PIE **-u-m*
 V *-au* < PGmc. **-au* < EPGmc. **-ou²* < PIE **-éu*
 G *-aus* < PGmc. **-auz* < EPGmc. **-ouz* < PIE **-éu-s*
 D *-au* < Pre-Gothic **-aui* ← PGmc. **-iui³* < **-eui* < PIE **-éu-i*

To this set one could potentially add the variant dative singular ending *-u*, if it is correct to assume that it represents a later attraction of the old instrumental singular in **-ū* < PIE **-uH₁* into the dative function. As far as the old endingless locative singular is concerned, PIE **-ēu* would regularly yield Gothic *-au* and coalesce with the dative (which represents the PIE *i*-locative form). In a maximal sense one could therefore assume:

PGmc.		Goth.
N <i>*-uz</i> < PIE <i>*-u-s</i>	>	N <i>-us</i>
A <i>*-u</i> < PIE <i>*-u-m</i>	>	A <i>-u</i>
V <i>*-au</i> < PIE <i>*-eu</i>	>	V <i>-au</i>
G <i>*-auz</i> < PIE <i>*-eu-s</i>	>	G <i>-aus</i>
D <i>*-iui</i> < PIE Loc. <i>*-eu-i</i> + <i>*-ēu</i> < PIE Loc. <i>*-ēu</i>	>	D <i>-au</i> (< <i>*-aui</i> ← <i>*-iui</i> + < <i>*-ēu</i>)
I <i>*-ū</i> < PIE <i>*-uH₁</i>	>	~ <i>-u</i> (< <i>*-ū</i>)

Since, however, there is no other nominal category in Gothic in which the old Proto-Germanic instrumental can be shown to have survived long enough to coalesce with the dative, it is unlikely that the variant ending *-u* is old. Likewise unlikely is the survival of PIE **-eu-i* beside **-ēu* in East (and by extension Proto-)Germanic,

1 But see Ringe 2014, 57 ft. 7, id. 2017, 303 ft. 25 for an opposing view.

2 By regular Proto-Germanic rounding of unaccented short **e* to **o* before a tautosyllabic **w* (**e* > **o* / __w\$,#), which is to be dated after the stress shift to the initial syllable and before the merger of **o* and **a* into PGmc. **a*. For the failure of the rounding effect on PGmc. **e* in heterosyllabic position cf. the *u*-stem Npl. **-éu-es* > PGmc. **-iuz* (> Goth. Npl. *-jus*).

3 Via regular Proto-Germanic *i*-umlaut of short *e*-vowels (**e* > **i* / __\$i,j).

given that apart from Gothic (where **-au* is ultimately ambiguous as to its pre-form) there are no traces of the endingless locative **-ēu*, the North and West Germanic forms unambiguously going back to the *i*-locative (> PGmc. **-iui*) of the Sanskrit *sūnāvi* type. As far as the endings *-u* and *-us* (< **-uz*) are concerned, these must have originally displayed apocoped by-forms ending in zero in heavy-stem disyllables and polysyllables (regular apocope of **u* in the context of [V(μ), -accent]C__(z)# and [V̥μ]C__(z)# is proved by nasal stems such as *guman* ‘man’ < **gumanu* < PGmc. **guman-u* and root nouns such as *baúrg* ‘city’ < **bǫrgu* < PGmc. **burg-u*), but these were systematically restored on the basis of light-stem disyllables where **-u(z)* was regularly exempt from apocope.

The only problematic point in the above analysis is the assumed phonetic development of the vocative, namely PIE **-eu* > EPGmc. **-ou* > PGmc. **-au* > Goth. *-au*, since this would require postulating a difference in the behaviour of the Late Proto-Germanic auslauting diphthongs **-au* and **-ai*, the latter of which was clearly inherited into Gothic from LPGmc. as a monophthong **ē* > Goth. *-a*. Since in the prehistory of Gothic long (+/- nasalized) vowels in the absolute auslaut of polysyllables were shortened and merged with the short vowels (**/æ/ ~ */ε/*, i.e. the product of auslaut-induced shortening of **ē¹* and **ē* < **ai* merged with **a* rather than **e*,⁴ as did **/o/* < **ō*), one would in fact expect Late PGmc. **-au* > **-ō* to yield **a* as well. If, on the other hand, *-au* is assumed to be the regular reflex of PGmc. **-au*, Gothic uniquely displays the reflex of a non-monophthongized Late PGmc. **-au*. Since there is no morphological category in which the phonetically regular outcome of **-au* can be checked, the Voc. sg. of *u*-stems being the only potential form to have inherited an ending in **-au*, it is impossible to refute the possibility that *-au* < PGmc. **-au* < EPGmc. **-ou* < PIE **-eu*. The lack of parallelism in the behaviour of **-au* vs. **-ai*, however, makes the above assumption unlikely to be correct. An attempt to salvage the situation by assuming that Late PGmc. **-ō* (< **-au*) yielded **/ɔ/*, graphically represented by <au>, is impossible, because the development of **ē* (< **ai*) clearly shows that the shortening and merger processes predated the creation of mid-low vowels */ɔ/ ~ /ō/* and */ε/ ~ /ē/* in Gothic (if the opposite were true, **ē* (< **ai*) would have surely yielded **/ε/* <ai> rather than coalesce with **a*). Alternatively, then, Proto-Germanic replaced the inherited vocative in **-eu* with **-u* (as it did in *i*-stems, where

4 Goth. *-ai* in the 3rd person (for expected ***a* < **-ai* < **-ait* < **-oid* < PIE **-o-īH₁-t*) present optative is analogical to 2 sg., as is the nom. pl. ending of masculine strong (i.e. indefinite) adjectives, where *-ai* for expected ***a* copies the form of the demonstrative **paj* < PIE **tōj*.

the Gothic zero ending makes it clear that PGmc. form was **-i* rather than **-ī* < **-ei*). If this is correct, it is in fact Goth. *-u* which is old, while *-au* must represent an innovation.

As far as the rest of the alternative forms are concerned, the gen. sg. ending *-us* can be unproblematically derived from PGmc. **-uiz* (> Goth. *-us* by general apocope of **i*) under the assumption that it preserves the PIE amphidynamic and/or hysterodynamic **-u-és* (cf. Neri 2003, 134–37). The nominative singular by-form *-aus* can continue the amphidynamic nom. sg. sequence **-auz* < **-ouz* < PIE **-ous*, the hysterodynamic nom. sg. **-auz* < **-ouz* < PIE **-eus*, or, alternatively, **-ōus* via shortening by Osthoff's Law. The ending would coalesce phonetically with the reflex of the proterodynamic genitive (PIE **-eu-s* > EPGmc. **-ouz* > PGmc. **-auz* > Goth. *-aus*). If shortening by Osthoff's Law is older than the rounding of PGmc. **e* to **o* before tautosyllabic **u* (which is very likely given the fact that both the latter change and Osthoff's Law must be ordered *before* PGmc. **o* > **a*), PIE hysterodynamic nom. sg. **-ēus* would yield the same result: **-ēus* > PGmc. **-eus* > **-ouz* > **-auz* > Goth. *-aus*. Since PIE *u*-stems nominatives did not originally possess nominative lengthening, the putative PGmc. nominatives **-ōus* for **-ous* in the amphidynamic type and PGmc. **-ēus* for **-eus* in the hysterodynamic variant would have to be seen as copying the length of the respective original accusative singulars **-ōm* / **-ēm* (where the length resulted from the operation of Stang's Law) – a phenomenon that is not without parallels in other ancient Indo-European languages (cf. Vedic *-aus*, Avestan and Old Persian *-aus*).

The remaining problem is thus the alternative accusative form *-au*. Since it is clear that the ending does not go back to the expected PIE acc. sg. sequences **-ōm* and **-ēm* (> PGmc. **-ō* > Goth. **-a*), the easiest solution is to assume a remodelling to **-ōu-m* / **-ēu-m* (cf. Old Persian *-āvam*, Young Avestan *-aom* < **-āu-am*). These would yield PGmc. **-ōuu* / **-ēuu* and by regular *u*-absorption (cf. PIE **néuŋ* '9' → **neuund* > **neun* > **ne-un*) the hiatus sequences **-ōu* / **-ēu*, which would resolve via contraction into Late Proto-Germanic **-ōu* and **-ēu*. By shortening of long vowels before resonants in absolute auslaut in the prehistory of Gothic, both sequences would unproblematically result in *-au*.

One could of course also argue the case that more simply remorphologized endings **-ōum* and **-ēum* (cf. Old/Young Avestan *-āum*, Old Persian *-āum*, Hittite *-āun*) might provide an equally viable starting point, since they would probably result in nasalized long diphthongs **-ō̃u* / **-ē̃u*, the Gothic reflex of which would have regularly been *-au* by shortening of long +/- nasalized vowels before resonants in absolute

auslaut, i.e. PGmc. $*-\tilde{\sigma}u \sim *-\tilde{e}u > \text{Goth. } -au$ just as plainly as PGmc. $*-\bar{e}r \sim *-\bar{o}r$ yield Gothic $-ar$. But while the latter proposal is impossible to corroborate, the former does receive a convincing parallel in the Gothic 1st person singular optative preterit ending $-jau$.

1.1

Starting from PIE $*-i\bar{e}H_1-m > *-i\bar{e}m$ (again by Stang's Law), a Proto-Germanic outcome $*-i\bar{e}$ would have yielded Gothic $*-ja$ (under an alternative account, the expected Gothic ending $*-ja$ would actually result from $*-i\bar{q} < *-i\bar{e}$, if one assumes with Ringe (2017, 173) on the basis of the synchronic 1st sg. weak preterite ending $*-\bar{q}$ that auslauting long nasalized $*\bar{e}$ was rounded to $*\bar{q}$). The actually attested ending $-jau$ most likely represents the result of a pre-Gothic structural remodelling of $*-i\bar{e}$ (possibly $*-i\bar{q}$) to $*-i\bar{e}u$ due to the pressure of the 1st person sg. non-preterital ending $*-ai-u (> \text{Goth. } -au) \leftarrow^5 *-\bar{a}i\bar{u} < *-\bar{a}i\bar{u}n < *-\bar{o}i\bar{i}H_1-m < \text{PIE } *-o-iH_1-m)^6$:

1 sg. $*-i\bar{e}m > *-i\bar{e} > *-i\bar{q} \rightarrow *-i\bar{e}u > *-i\bar{e}u > \text{Goth. } -jau$

2 sg. $*-i\bar{e}s > *-i\bar{e}z \rightarrow *-i\bar{z} > \text{Goth. } -is < \text{eis}>$

3 sg. $*-i\bar{e}d > *-i\bar{e}t \rightarrow *-i\bar{t} > *-i\bar{t} > \text{Goth. } -it < \text{ei}>$

As such, Goth. $-jau < *-i\bar{e}u < *-i\bar{e}u$ offers a firm parallel for the development of the proposed acc. sg. ending $*-\bar{o}u / *-\bar{e}u (< *-\bar{o}u / *-\bar{e}u)$ to $*-\bar{o}u / *-\bar{e}u > \text{Goth. } -au$.⁷

In a situation where alternative endings were inherited – at least in the case of the nominative and the accusative singular, possibly also the genitive – synchronic neutralization between endings containing au and those containing u would eventually prompt every case form in the singular to develop an alternative by-form, though the reflexes of amphidynamic and hysterodynamic endings as well as those that were created secondarily on the model of the case forms with inherited pairs would logically remain peripheral:

5 Analogically remodelled under the pressure of pre-consonantal forms, which all exhibited $*-aiC < *-oiHC$. The same development is to be posited for the 3rd person plural $-aina \leftarrow *-\bar{a}in < *-\bar{a}in \leftarrow *-\bar{a}i\bar{u}n < *-\bar{a}i\bar{u}nt < *-\bar{o}i\bar{i}H_1-m < \text{PIE } *-o-iH_1-m$. Loss of $*i$ between vowels is regular.

6 Note that Stang's Law only operated on sequences of non-high vowels followed by a laryngeal and $*m$, while $*-iHm$ and $*-uHm$ were regularly resolved phonetically as $*-iHm$ and $*-uHm$.

7 Note that the peripherally attested West Germanic 1st sg. opt. ending $*-ju < *-i\bar{u}u$ (Northumbrian $-o$, Old High German $-u$, Old Saxon $-io \sim -iu \sim -eo$, all from WGmc. $*-ju$), limited to the athematic verb $*u\bar{i}l\bar{jan}$ 'want' ($> \text{WGmc. } *u\bar{i}l\bar{lan}$), instead reflects PGmc. $*-ju < *-i\bar{u} < *-i\bar{u} < *-iH_1-m$. The internally Gothic replacement of the latter with $-jau$ for the expected $*-ju$ is modelled on the preterital optative.

N -us ~ -aus	>	N -us ~ -aus
A -u ~ -au		A -u ~ -au
V -u		V -u → -au
G -aus ~ ?-us		G -aus ~ -us
D -au		D -au → -u

2

As is well established, the plural paradigm of Gothic masculine nasal stems displays seemingly archaic forms in the accusative, genitive, and dative, which beside the synchronically regular *-ans*, *-anē*, *-am* are also attested as *-nuns* (*aiúhsnuns* ‘ox’ < **H₂ug-s-n-ŋs*), *-nē* (*abnē* ‘man’ < **H₃ép-n-oHom*, *mannē* ‘man’⁸ < **mon-n-oHom*, *aiúhsnē* < **H₂ug-s-n-oHom*) and *-nam* (*abnam* < **H₃ép-ŋ-mos*, *mannam* < **mon-ŋ-mos*),⁹ respectively (see Braune/Heidermanns 2004, 103–105).¹⁰ Of these the peripheral genitive in *-nē* clearly represents the oldest available form, given that it unproblematically continues the expected ablaut grade of the underlying amphidynamic / hysterodynamic inflection: PIE **-n-oHom* > PGmc. **-n-ô* → Goth. *-n-ē*, while the ubiquitous variant *-anē* is based on the full-grade suffix **-an-*. As far as the dative is concerned, the twice attested *-nam* is transparently older, going back to PIE **-ŋ-mos* > PGmc. **-un-maz*, which via morphologically motivated metathesis based on the accusative **-n-unz* (synchronically reanalysed as being effectively **-nu-ns* on analogy with the vocalic stems) yielded **-nu-maz*.¹¹ The expected Gothic reflex ***num* < **-numm*¹² < **-numz* was then levelled to *-nam* on analogy with the more standard dat. pl. *-am*,

8 Synchronically, *manna* partly behaves as a root noun. Diachronically speaking, however, none of the attested forms require this to be true, since the genitive singular *mans* is plainly derivable from **manns* < **mannz* < **man-n-iz* < **mon-n-es*. The nom. pl. form *mans* (as if from PGmc. **man-iz*) beside *mannans* < **man-an-iz* is most probably modelled on the gen. sg. *mans*, which was reinterpretable as a root-noun genitive singular form, whence also the introduction of *mans* into the acc. pl. (levelling between the inherited nom. pl. and acc. pl. forms at the cost of the old accusative is a Common Germanic phenomenon).

9 In the latter two cases with analogical replacement of inherited **num* < **-numm* < **-numz* < **-nu-maz* (via metathesis triggered by the shape of the acc. pl. ending *-uns* < **-unz* < **-ŋs*) ← **-unmaz* < **-ŋ-mos* with *-nam* on the model of the thematic dat. pl. *-am* < **-amm* < **-amz* < **-a-maz* < **-o-mos*.

10 The same phenomenon is attested with the neuters *namō* ‘name’ and *watō* ‘water’ (see Braune/Heidermanns 2003, 105).

11 Cf. the parallel situation in *r*-stems: acc. pl. **-r-unz* = **-ru-nz*, dat. pl. **-ur-maz* → **-ru-maz*.

12 On the evidence of Goth. *mimz* ‘meat’ < **mēm-s*, it needs to be assumed that the Gothic sound change **mz* > **mm* (i.e. a reverse of Proto-Germanic **zm* > **mm*, cf. the masc./ntr. singular oblique stem of the demonstrative pronoun **tōsm* > **þazm* > **þamm*-) only operated in unaccented syllables.

with additional pressure from the side of the dative plural of other nominal stem classes, which collectively end in *-(C)am*. Like the synchronically normal genitive pl. in *-anē*, the variant dative ending *-am* likewise continues a remodelled form, based on the full-grade suffix **-an-*, i.e. **-an-maz* > **-ammaz* > **-amz* > **-amm* > *-am*.

More difficult to assess, however, is the situation in the accusative. As far as the Proto-Indo-European form is concerned, one expects **-on-ŋs* rather than **-n-ŋs*, although the latter variant must reach back as far as early Proto-Germanic as is proven by the metathesis of **-un-maz* to **-nu-maz* in the dative form. A weak rather than strong stem form is also attested in the structurally comparable paradigm of parallel *r*-stems (**-r-unz* < **-r-ŋs*), which makes it likely that it is in fact *-nuns* < PGmc. **-nunz* < **-n-ŋs* that represents the oldest Proto-Germanic accusative plural form, while **-an-unz* is the result of levelling with the nom. pl. **-an-iz*. The alternative of course is that both **-r-unz* and **-n-unz* are retrograde forms based on the zero-grade genitive **-r-ǵ* ~ **-n-ǵ*, just as the younger versions of the genitive and dative plural were, in turn, based on the inherited accusative **-an-unz* < **-on-ŋs*.¹³

Be that as it may, given the distribution of the peripheral forms *-nuns*, *-nē*, *-nam*, it seems likely that Proto-Germanic levelled out the inherited amphidynamic nasal stem class by eventually introducing the strong stem allomorph into all plural forms: nom. pl. **-aniz* (> Goth. *-ans*), acc. pl. [?](**-n-unz* → **-anunz*), gen. pl. **-n-ǵ* → **-an-ǵ* (≥ Goth. *-anē*), dat. pl. **-unmaz* → **-anmaz* > **-ammaz* (> Goth. *-am*). Hysterodynamic stems as well as neuters **naman-* and **watan-* that did not possess nominative / accusative plural forms in **-an-*, however, appear to have preserved the older forms of the gen. / dat. pl. and developed a weak accusative terminating in **-n-unz* > Goth. *-nuns* (in case it is not old).

The remaining problem is the form of the strong-stemmed accusative in Gothic, which is normally claimed to go back to **-anz* and understood as a haplogitized (probably under the pressure of the nominative plural *-ans* < **-aniz*) form of PGmc. **-anunz* (see, e.g., Fulk 2018, 170). What is worth considering, though, is the logical possibility that Goth. *-ans* continues the Proto-Germanic sequence via regular sound change. If we assume that apocope of **u*, which would be expected in final unaccented syllables of trisyllabic words, as well as after heavy-stemmed disyllables (see above), also affected **u* / nz in trisyllables ending in **-Vnunz*, a PGmc. sequence

13 Note here that Goth. acc. pl. *mannans* (to *manna* ‘man’), which otherwise uniquely preserves reflexes of the Proto-Indo-European amphidynamic inflection (gen. sg. **man-n-iz* < **-n-és*, dat. sg. **man-n-i* < **-n-í* rather than the usual **-in-iz* < **-én-es*, based on the Germanic outcome of the erstwhile endless locative **-in-i* < **-én*), continues **man-an-unz* (with an analogically extended geminate) < **-on-ŋs*, while there is no trace of a zero-grade suffix form **mannuns* < **mon-n-ŋs*.

*-*anunz* would expectedly yield *-*annz* > *-*anz* > -*ans*. This is neatly supported by acc. pl. -*ōns* / -*īns* <*eins*> of feminine nasal stems, if they go back to, as they would indeed seem to do, *-*ōn-unz* and *-*īn-unz*, respectively.

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The role of duration as a cue for voicing of sibilants in Slovenian

Sašo Živanovič, Amanda Saksida***

Abstract

We investigate the relative contributions of periodicity and duration as acoustic cues for voicing on sibilants in Slovenian. We find that (i) Slovenian exhibits the cross-linguistic tendency for voiced fricatives to be shorter than voiceless ones, and that (ii) periodicity and duration serve as complementary acoustic cues for identifying a sibilant as voiced or voiceless, with the relative contribution of the two cues varying across speakers.

Keywords: phonetics, fricatives, voicing, periodicity, duration

Vloga trajanja kot akustičnega namiga za zvenečnost sičnikov in šumnikov v slovenščini

V prispevku proučujemo relativni doprinos periodičnosti in trajanja kot akustičnih namigov za zvenečnost sičnikov in šumnikov v slovenščini. Ugotavlja, da (i) slovenščina sledi med-jezikovni težnji, da so zveneči priporniki krajši od nezvenečih, ter da (ii) sta periodičnost in trajanje komplementarna akustična namiga za zvenečnost, katerih relativni doprinos razlikuje od govorca do govorca.

Ključne besede: fonetika, priporniki, zvenečnost, periodičnost, trajanje

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1 Introduction

Voicing is a phonological feature which distinguishes classes of obstruents in many languages. On fricatives, it is acoustically realized primarily as a low frequency periodic component of the otherwise aperiodic high frequency signal. However, voiced and voiceless fricatives are also reported to differ in duration, with voiced segments tending to be shorter (see e.g. Cole and Cooper 1975; Baum and Blumstein 1987; Stevens et al. 1992; Nirgianaki et al. 2011; Jongman 2024).

In Slovenian, the durational difference between voiced and voiceless fricatives was only investigated by Jurgec (2019) and Kočevár (2024), who found that Slovenian follows the general tendency of voiced fricatives being shorter. However, investigating this difference was the primary goal of neither of these papers, leading to a less than optimal scope of the studies: Jurgec restricted his attention to stem-final segments, and furthermore investigated a specific, peripheral dialect of Šmartno, which exhibits several phonological properties absent in other dialects; Kočevár's subject were pre-school children, and she focused on the [s]/[z] pair and performed only a rudimentary statistical analysis. Furthermore, Jurgec's analysis did not include periodicity as an independent variable, while Kočevár's analysis calculated it using the arguably inferior centre of gravity method (see section 3.2).

The first aim of the study is to investigate whether the tendency of the voiced fricatives being shorter than voiceless ones is exhibited in Slovenian as well, using adult informants from non-peripheral dialects, inspecting the full set of phonological environments exhibiting the contrast between voiced and voiceless obstruents, and performing a thorough statistical analysis. We focus exclusively on sibilants as only these form lexical voiceless–voiced pairs ([s]–[z] and [ʃ]–[ʒ]) in Standard Slovenian (whereas [f] and [x] lack a lexical voiced counterpart), and also as they are easier to study due to a stronger overall amplitude.

While we expected that Slovenian would follow the general tendency described above, our preliminary observations also indicated that speakers differ with respect to which property of the signal, periodicity or duration, serves as the primary acoustic cue for voicing in their speech. The second, central goal of the study was therefore to see whether there is any inter-speaker variation with respect to the use of periodicity and duration as cues for phonological voicing, and whether this variation, if it exists, is categorical (in the sense that each speaker clearly favours either periodicity or duration) or gradual (in the sense that both cues contribute towards identifying a segment as voiced or voiceless, but that the relative contribution of the cues varies across speakers).

2 Methods

We are using the materials prepared, recorded and annotated by Teran (2020), who also performed a rudimentary statistical analysis of the data, under the mentorship of the first author. His materials are publicly available at osf.io/fz95h under the licence CC0 1.0 Universal. Our refined dataset is available (complete with processing scripts) at osf.io/s6zfd under the licence CC-BY Attribution 4.0 International.

Participants: The study included eight adult participants (four male, four female) aged 20 to 65 from three dialect groups (one Lower Carniolan, two Upper Carniolan and five Styrian).¹ The participants were aware of the general scope of the study and gave their informed consent to participate. They were subsequently informed about the specific question of the study.

Materials: The participants read a short story specifically prepared to contain many occurrences of both voiced and voiceless sibilants in various phonological environments. In an attempt to make the informants' speech natural despite reading, they were encouraged to not use the standard language.

Recording equipment: The informants were recorded with a mobile phone, producing digital audio files in .wav format (mono, 44100 Hz). The low-end equipment is due to the fact that the stories were recorded for a BA thesis (Teran 2020) without a funding source. We are aware that it is customary in acoustic research to use professional-grade recording equipment in sound-proof booths. However, given the robustness of the speech signal (witness the human ability to understand speech under non-ideal conditions such as noisy environment, low bandwidth communication channel and overlapping sources), it is unlikely that this invalidates the analysis (cf. Benesty et al. 2008a; Droppo and Acero 2008).

Segmenting and annotation: The recordings were segmented and annotated using Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2025), see Figure 1 for an example. The beginning and end of each sibilant was marked on an interval tier. The sibilant boundaries were determined by the presence of the high-frequency noise characteristic for fricatives. Other portions of the recording were not further segmented, but they were fully transcribed on the same tier, marking segmental content, stress and morphosyntactic boundaries, thereby providing the information necessary to establish the phonological environment of each sibilant. We have also marked problematic spots such as

1 We include information on gender, age and the dialect for completeness. However, as expected, these variables turned out to not be statistically significant, so we will not discuss them in the analysis.

performance errors or intervals where external noise made the periodicity analysis impossible. Erroneous and error-adjacent sounds were ignored in the analysis.

The sibilant boundaries were determined by the presence of the high-frequency noise characteristic for fricatives. However, these boundaries are not exact. Segmentation depends on the gradual nature of the acoustic signal, phonological environment, speaker and random effects of the occurrence of the sound. Where clear delineation was impossible, the guideline was to segment counter to the expectation of voiceless sibilants being longer than voiced sibilants, i.e. to mark voiceless sibilants as shorter and voiced sibilants as longer, in order to prevent the influence of possible human bias in segmentation.

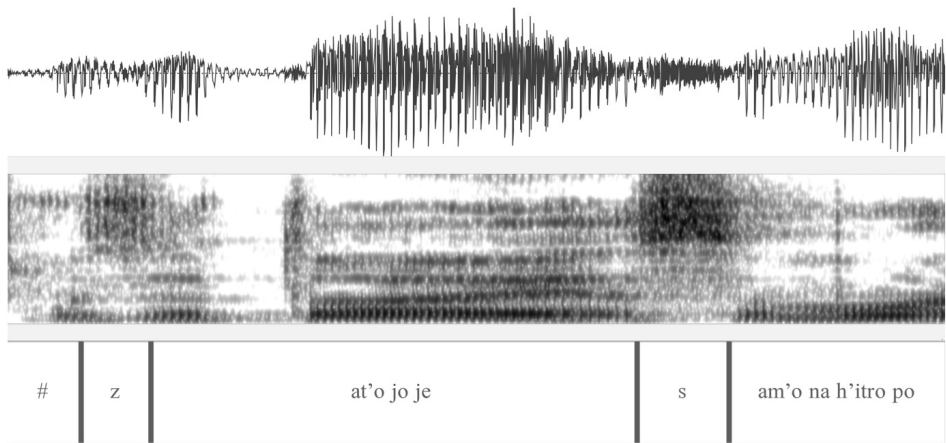


Figure 1: Annotation view showing (from top to bottom) the waveform, spectrogram and transcription. The spectrogram was drawn using Praat’s default settings except that the frequency view range and dynamic range were set to 0–8000 Hz and 55 dB, respectively, for better visibility. The transcription shows that sibilants, but not other sounds, were segmented out. It includes a phrasal boundary (#) and stress marks (') immediately preceding vowels.

Preprocessing: We preprocessed the data using a Python script depending on packages Parselmouth (Jadoul 2024) and TextGridTools (Buschmeier and Włodarczak 2023), which offer a Python interface to Praat. The script converted the annotated recordings (i.e. the .wav and .TextGrid files) into a table (a .csv file) with columns informant *ID*, segment (s [s], š [ʃ], z [z], ž [ʒ]), phonological *environment*, segment *duration*, *periodicity*, *start time* and *end time*.

3 Measures

We deploy two gradual measures which we expect to correlate with the binary phonological category of voicing, one temporal and one spectral. The temporal measure is simply the duration of the segment. Voiceless sibilants (and fricatives in general) are expected to be generally longer than voiced sibilants. Periodicity is based on the spectral features of the acoustic signal. Voiced sibilants (and fricatives in general) are expected to have higher periodicity than voiceless sibilants.

3.1 Duration

The duration of each sibilant segment was computed as *end time* – *start time*, where *start time* and *end time* are the manually marked segment boundaries.

The computed durations are absolute, in (milli)seconds. We have tried several normalization methods, but as the results were comparable to those obtained with absolute duration, we ultimately decided against using normalization, both to keep the results easily interpretable and because the models using absolute values are better suited for a potential integration in sequential processing. The attempted normalization methods were the following:

- Speech-rate normalization, which is frequently deployed in analyses of connected speech (cf. e.g. Bjorndahl 2022; Jongman et al. 2000). The real duration of each recording was computed as the duration of the recording minus the manually marked pauses (an interval was interpreted as a pause if it contained only a boundary symbol and no real segment). Speech rate was then expressed as the mean syllable duration, computed as the real duration divided by the number of syllables (i.e. the number of vowels and syllabic consonants). Finally, the relative duration of a sibilant was computed as the ratio between the absolute duration and the mean syllable duration.
- Per-speaker normalization was supposed to account for individual differences in articulation of sibilants which go over and beyond differences in speech rate. The median duration of word-initial prevocalic occurrences of [s] in a stressed syllable was computed, per informant. The relative duration of a sibilant was then computed as the ratio between the absolute duration and this median.
- Normalization per phonological environment. For each environment (preceding a stressed vowel, unstressed vowel, sonorant or obstruent), we computed the median duration of all sibilants in the environment. The relative duration of a sibilant in an environment was then computed as the absolute duration divided by the median of

that environment. Note that using duration normalized in this way did not yield notably better models even though the duration variance between the environments was statistically significant.

3.2 Periodicity

There are several measures based on the spectral features of the acoustic signal which can be reasonably expected to correlate with the phonological category of voicing, both in general and specifically for fricatives. For example, the measure called harmonicity or Harmonics-to-Noise Ratio (HNR) directly exploits a basic articulatory fact that voiced fricatives have two sound sources: a turbulent noise source due to the rapid flow of air through a constriction of the airway, characteristic of fricatives, and a periodic glottal source due to vocal fold vibration, characteristic of voiced sounds (Stevens 2000). Acoustically, these two sound sources are reflected as the aperiodic high-frequency and the periodic low-frequency part of the spectrum, and HNR compares the amount of energy contained in these parts. Specifically, it is defined as the logarithm of the ratio between the periodic and the aperiodic part of the signal (for details, see e.g. Boersma 1993).

Other measures include centre of gravity (see e.g. Maniwa et al. 2009), a weighted average of all frequencies in the spectrum (voiced segments, containing the low-frequency energy produced by vocal fold vibration, are expected to have a lower centre of gravity than voiceless sounds, where this energy is absent), intensity-based measures (used by e.g. Chang 2008) such as the ratio of the intensities of the consonant and the adjacent vowels (again, this measure is expected to be higher for voiced consonants due to the energy produced by the vocal fold vibration, cf. e.g. Ladefoged 2003), and pitch-based measures.

The latter class of measures is widely used in phonetic research. In particular, this holds for Praat's Voice Report, and this was used to investigate voicing in fricatives by Smith (2013), Davidson (2016), and Bjorndahl (2022), among others. The wide-spread deployment of the Voice Report and other pitch-based methods is not accidental: Gradoville (2011) compares the validity of ten measures (including measure variants) for fricative voicing based on pitch/pulse, harmonicity, intensity and centre of gravity, concluding that "Praat's internal pulse-based voice report and the low-frequency-to-total intensities ratio provide the best match for what can be observed in the spectrogram and auditorily" (Gradoville 2011, p. 71).

Pitch-based measures are defined on the fundamental frequency (F0) of the signal at each frame. Computing F0 is not trivial, and several F0 determination algorithms

exist. Jesus and Jackson (2008, p. 15) compared eight of these implemented by open source software, and found that Praat's algorithms (Boersma 1993) provided the most accurate fundamental frequency, while being a close second best for voicing decisions.

Given the widespread usage, ready availability and positive reviews, we also decided to deploy Praat's pitch detection algorithm. Specifically, we used the autocorrelation variation, recommended for cases involving vocal fold vibration in the Praat manual. We have, however, decided against using the often deployed Voice Report. For one, Voice Report is based on the pitch contour found by Praat's path finder algorithm, which works non-locally, by attempting to find the best path through the pitch candidates. Two, Voice Report outputs the fraction of unvoiced frames, and is therefore binary at the level of an individual frame, interpreting it as either voiced or unvoiced. We believe this is why Voice Report exhibited both the floor and the ceiling effect with our data. The periodicity measure we developed uses the raw results provided by Praat's pitch detection algorithm (i.e. it does not rely on the pitch contour), and avoids across-the-board attenuation effects by being gradual at the level of each frame, computing the periodicity of a segment as a mean of the periodicity of the frames rather than the percentage of voiced frames.

In more detail, the periodicity of a segment was computed to be a unitless quantity between 0 and 1, where 0 indicates a fully voiceless segment, and 1 indicates a fully voiced segment. It was estimated using an algorithm based on Praat's pitch analysis. Each recording was first processed using Praat's raw autocorrelation method to produce a pitch object (.Pitch). We have used the default arguments for raw autocorrelation, except the following:

- The *pitch floor* was lowered to 50 Hz (default: 75 Hz) to make sure that the pitch could be computed with the same settings for all informants.
- The *voicing threshold* was lowered to 0.25 (default: 0.45). This setting was found to better suit the analysis of fricatives (the default is geared towards measuring intonation and vocal fold vibration in the production of vowels).

The periodicity of a segment was defined as the mean periodicity of all frames of the segment (the frame duration of the pitch object was the default 10ms). Each pitch frame consists of an ordered list of candidates, each determined by frequency and strength (a number between 0 and 1, indicating the ratio between the value of the autocorrelation at the time lag corresponding to the frequency, and the global maximum of autocorrelation at time lag 0). A pitch frame may also contain a candidate of frequency 0 Hz and strength 0, which is interpreted as a "voiceless candidate", i.e. it represents the possibility that the frame is voiceless.

The periodicity of a frame was defined as the strength of the first voiced candidate with a frequency below a certain threshold; if there was no such frame, the periodicity was set to 0. We have limited the candidate frequency because the periodic part of the spectrum corresponding to the vocal fold vibration is of low frequency, comparable to that of the pitch. The threshold was set to 1.5 times the median pitch of the entire recording. The median pitch was calculated using Praat's "Get quantile" function with the quantile parameter set to 0.5 to yield the median. (We computed the median rather than mean because Praat easily marks some stretches as having a pitch much higher than the actual fundamental frequency. Using the median is a quick method of disregarding these wrongly assigned pitches.)

Table 1: The Likert scale used to grade the perception of periodicity of segments in isolation (columns 1 and 2), cross-tabulated with their normal perception in the context of other segments (columns 3 and 4).

Perceived in isolation as		Perceived normally as		
value	interpretation	voiceless	voiced	total
1	clearly voiceless	194	1	195
2	most likely voiceless, but not a perfect example	411	20	431
3	unclear	169	87	256
4	most likely voiced, but not a perfect example	11	155	166
5	clearly voiced	1	188	189
total		786	451	1,237

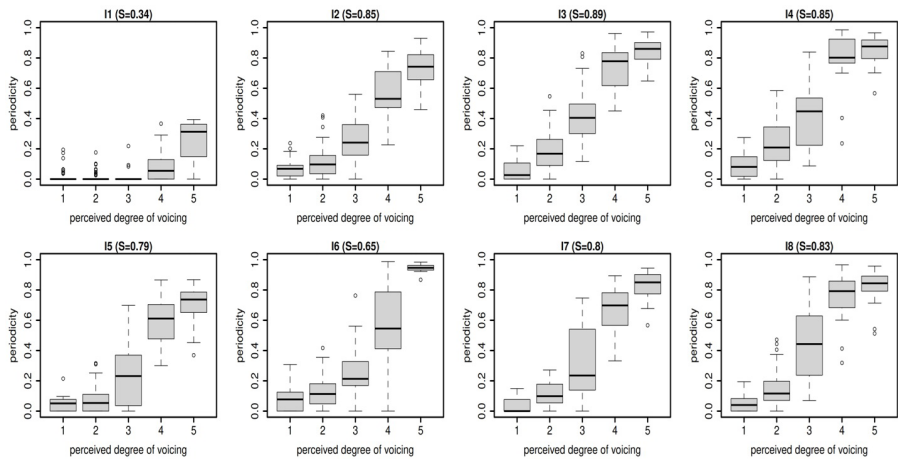


Figure 2: Correlation between the auditory perception of voicing in isolation (see Table 1) and the estimated periodicity, per informant. The plot titles include Spearman's rank correlation coefficient (S); the coefficient for the entire dataset is 0.75.

Several variations of the algorithm were tried out to find the parameter values, including the candidate frequency threshold factor of 1.5, and candidate selection method (only the first candidate counts) under which the estimates were found to largely agree with the authors' auditory perception of the amount of voicing of the segment played *in isolation* (to minimize the effect of phonological environment). To check the strength of this correlation, we annotated each target segment ([s], [ʃ], [z], [ʒ]) in the recordings with our auditory perception of the amount of voicing of the segment played in isolation.² The annotation results are shown in Table 1, and the resulting correlations with the computed periodicity are plotted in Figure 2 for each informant. The plot titles include Spearman's rank correlation coefficient of the correlation for each participant. We see that the correlation is (positive) strong for both for the entire dataset and for all informants, except informants I1 and I6, where it is weak and moderate, respectively.

4 Results

Preprocessing yielded 1,237 target segments (578 [s], 208 [ʃ], 301 [z], 150 [ʒ]), distributed across phonological environments as follows: preceding a stressed vowel 324, an unstressed vowel 429, a sonorant 157, an obstruent 327 (we disregarded phrase-final segments, as they are all voiceless due to final devoicing). The number of target segments produced per informant: 158, 150, 158, 156, 152, 155, 155, 153.

The box plots in Figure 3 show the values of segment duration and periodicity for the entire dataset. The voiced segments tend to be shorter ($t(1208.79) = -21.55$, $p < 0.001$) and more periodic ($t(617.12) = 29.76$, $p < 0.001$) than the voiceless segments, and the differences in duration and periodicity between places of articulation ([s]:[ʃ] and [z]:[ʒ]) are not statistically significant. Inspecting the scatter plot in Figure 4a (ignore the lines for now), one can see that duration and periodicity are moderately negatively correlated, the Pearson correlation coefficient is -0.45.

2 The annotations were performed individually by both authors. The inter-annotator agreement was almost perfect, with Cohen's kappa coefficient $\kappa = 0.86 \pm 0.01$, mean absolute score difference of 0.55 ($\sigma = 0.59$) and maximum absolute score difference of 2. Table 1 and Figure 2 show merged scores. Instead of averaging the scores, we took the score that was closer to the unclear score (3), e.g. we merged 1 and 2 into 2, and 3 and 4 into 3; in the rare cases where we scored on the opposite sides of unclear, we merged into the unclear score, i.e. we merged 2 and 4 into 3.

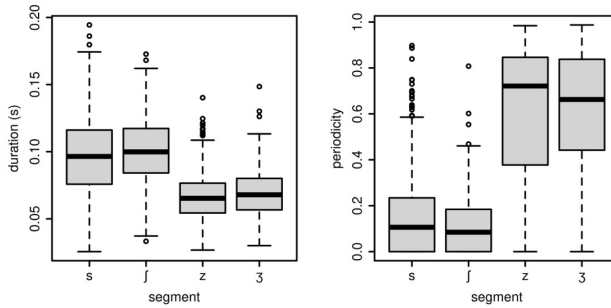


Figure 3: Box plots of duration (left) and periodicity (right) per segment.

The data was explored in detail by fitting Generalized Linear (Mixed Effects) Models (GLM(ER)),³ which we evaluated using the following metrics: sensitivity (the rate of detecting voiced segments), specificity (the rate of detecting voiceless segments), F1 score, and area under curve (AUC). The latter metric is based on the receiver operating characteristic curve (ROC). The proportion of training data was 50%, and each test was iterated 1,000 times.

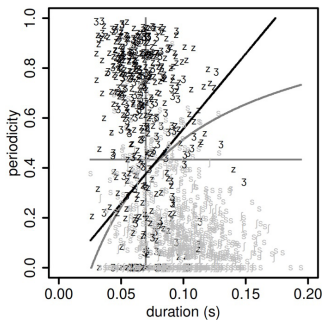
Table 2: Test scores for GLM models

formula	sensitivity	specificity	F1	AUC
$v \sim p$	0.74 ± 0.08	0.92 ± 0.05	0.79 ± 0.05	0.87 ± 0.04
$v \sim d$	0.59 ± 0.14	0.82 ± 0.07	0.62 ± 0.07	0.80 ± 0.04
$v \sim p + d$	0.75 ± 0.07	0.91 ± 0.04	0.79 ± 0.05	0.91 ± 0.03
$v \sim p * d$	0.76 ± 0.08	0.90 ± 0.06	0.79 ± 0.05	0.92 ± 0.03
$v \sim p + e$	0.74 ± 0.08	0.93 ± 0.04	0.80 ± 0.05	0.89 ± 0.04
$v \sim d + e$	0.74 ± 0.08	0.90 ± 0.05	0.77 ± 0.06	0.89 ± 0.03
$v \sim p + d + e$	0.80 ± 0.08	0.93 ± 0.04	0.83 ± 0.04	0.94 ± 0.02
$v \sim p * d + e$	0.82 ± 0.07	0.93 ± 0.04	0.84 ± 0.05	0.95 ± 0.02

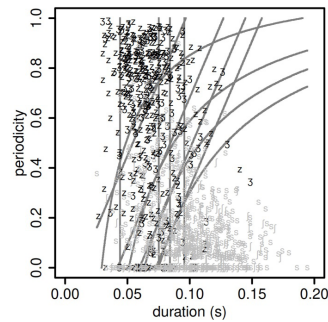
Table 2 shows the model scores for models whose classifications are depicted in the scatter plots in Figure 4. Periodicity alone ($v \sim p$) is already quite predictive of voicing, while duration ($v \sim d$) is less so. Combining the measures, either with ($v \sim p$

3 We also performed the basic analysis using Support Vector Machines (SVM) and K-Nearest Neighbours (KNN) models. The differences were negligible. We only present the results obtained with the GML(ER) models, as they are the easiest to interpret and visualize.

* d) or without ($v \sim p + d$) the interaction term, yields somewhat better performance, but as shown in the bottom part of the table, duration only truly develops its predictive power in tandem with phonological environment (e). (The environment term is also only effective in the presence of duration, cf. model $v \sim p + e$.)



(a) Horizontal line: $v \sim p$. Vertical line: $v \sim d$. Sloped line: $v \sim p + d$. Curve: $v \sim p * d$.



(b) Vertical lines: $v \sim d + e$. Sloped lines: $v \sim p + d + e$. Curves: $v \sim p * d + e$. Each line and curve of a parallel group belongs to the same model and corresponds to a phonological environment; from left to right: preceding an obstruent, an unstressed vowel, a sonorant, and a stressed vowel.

Figure 4: Scatter plot of duration vs. periodicity (the two plots are the same), with predictions of the GLM models. Voiced and voiceless segments are printed in black and grey, respectively. The dividing curves and lines show the classifications predicted by the GLM models at the cutoff probability of 50%. Voiced and voiceless segments are predicted to lie above and below the lines, respectively.

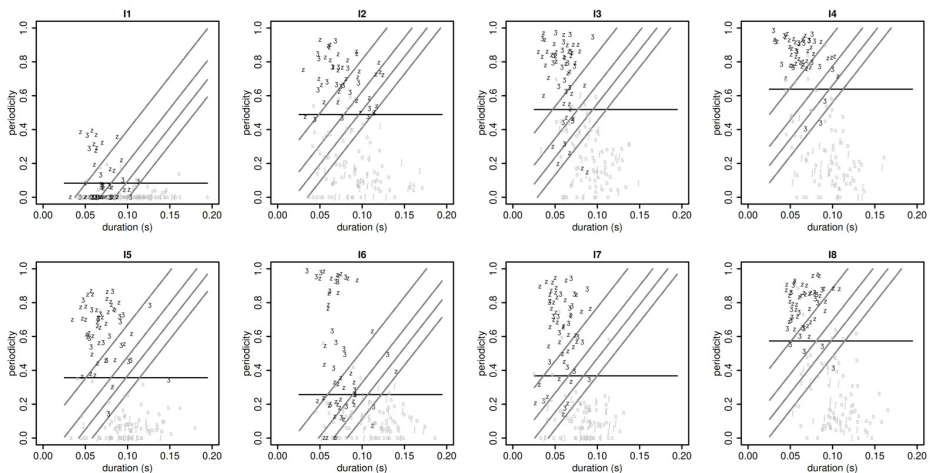
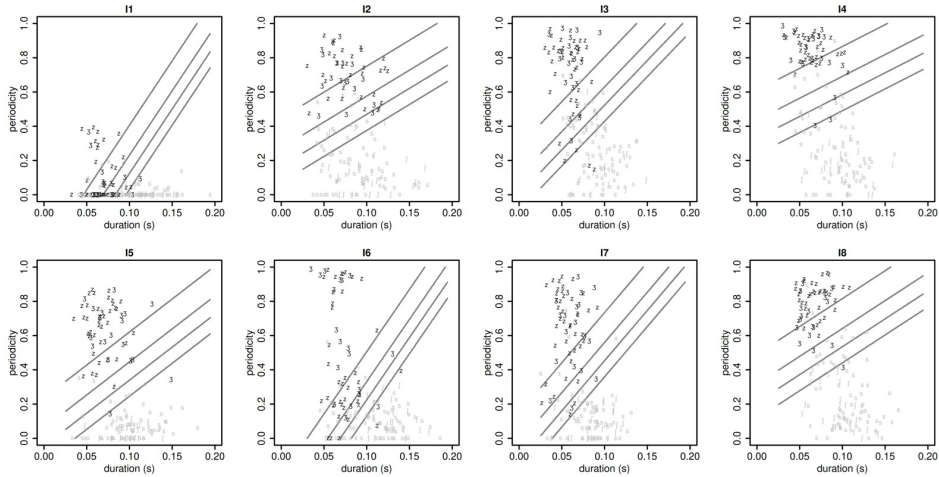


Figure 5: Scatter plot of duration and periodicity, with the predictions of the GLMER models $v \sim p + (1 | ID)$ (black line) and $v \sim p + d + e + (1 | ID)$ (grey lines).

Table 3: Test scores for GLMER models

formula	sensitivity	specificity	F1	AUC	success
$v \sim p + (1 \mid \text{ID})$	0.78 ± 0.09	0.94 ± 0.04	0.83 ± 0.05	0.95 ± 0.02	1000/1000
$v \sim p + d + e + (1 \mid \text{ID})$	0.88 ± 0.07	0.95 ± 0.04	0.89 ± 0.04	0.97 ± 0.02	1000/1000
$v \sim p + e + (d \mid \text{ID})$	0.88 ± 0.07	0.94 ± 0.04	0.89 ± 0.04	0.97 ± 0.01	775/1000

Figure 6: Scatter plot of duration and periodicity, with the predictions of the GLMER model $v \sim p + e + (d \mid \text{ID})$.

The above test results agree with those of the Type II ANOVA test performed on the full GLM model $v \sim p * d + e + g$: $\chi^2_p(1) = 306.66$ ($p < 0.001$), $\chi^2_d(1) = 206.11$ ($p < 0.001$), $\chi^2_e(3) = 195.18$ ($p < 0.001$), $\chi^2_g(1) = 3.68$ ($p = 0.06$), $\chi^2_{p:d}(1) = 17.38$ ($p < 0.001$). Note that although the interaction term $p : d$ is significant, its p-value (3.07×10^{-5}) is much larger than the p-values of other significant terms ($\leq 4.65 \times 10^{-42}$), which correlates with the fact that models with the interaction term ($p * d$) in Table 2 perform no better than the models without it ($p + d$). We therefore take the simpler and computationally less intensive $p + d$ variant as the basis for further models.

Our central research question is whether speakers exhibit individual differences in realization of voicing via duration, and whether such differences, if they exist, are categorical or gradual. Intra-speaker differences can be investigated using mixed-effect models with random effects for the informant.⁴ Most often, we find researchers

4 In fact, not using mixed-effect models with random effects for the informant for our data would amount to violating the independence assumption.

use only random intercepts. In our case, this leads to model $v \sim p + d + e + (1 | \text{ID})$ ($\chi^2_p(1) = 176.93$ ($p < 0.001$), $\chi^2_d(1) = 100.53$ ($p < 0.001$), $\chi^2_e(3) = 97.06$ ($p < 0.001$)) depicted in Figure 5 and evaluated in the upper half of Table 3. And while this is our best performing model – and incidentally, note that even the mixed-effects model $v \sim p + (1 | \text{ID})$ featuring only the periodicity term performs excellently – it cannot answer our question, as it includes duration as a fixed term, which by definition cannot vary between individuals.

The model allowing the investigation of the intra-speaker differences in deploying duration must thus include duration as a random effect term. The random slope model $v \sim p + e + (d | \text{ID})$ ($\chi^2_p(1) = 175.81$ ($p < 0.001$), $\chi^2_e(3) = 91.8$ ($p < 0.001$)) is shown in Figure 6 and evaluated in the lower part of Table 3.⁵ The model arguably performs just as well as our best model $v \sim p + d + e + (1 | \text{ID})$, even if the training does not always converge (see column “success”), presumably due to insufficient data.⁶ The slopes of the classifier lines differ across informants, indicating intra-speaker differences in the use of duration for realization of voicing. If all classifier lines were (nearly) horizontal and vertical, corresponding to a small and large duration coefficient, respectively, the intra-speaker variation would be categorical. However, the observed minor variability of the slopes indicates gradual differences.

5 Discussion

The statistical analysis answered the questions posed in the introduction: Slovenian voiced sibilants are statistically significantly shorter than their voiceless counterparts, and speakers exhibit gradual differences in realization of voicing on sibilants. However, the most challenging part of the analysis was not the statistics, but implementing the measure of periodicity. The evaluation of the developed periodicity measure (see Figure 2) indicates that the measure is good but not perfect, with informant I1 standing out as the most critical. The question is whether one can define periodicity in a way which correlates even better with the perception data, and whether a better measure would improve the models even further (perhaps so that they could be used as a component of an automatic speech recognition system).

5 A lme4 GLMER model in R automatically includes the random intercept, i.e. $d | \text{ID}$ is equivalent to $1 + d | \text{ID}$.

6 Failure to converge is not necessarily indicative of a useless model, see <https://www.rdocumentation.org/packages/lme4/versions/1.1-37/topics/convergence>.

Figure 7 (ignore the model predictions for now) and Table 1 in section 2 offer a glimpse into how much a periodicity measure can possibly improve, and also hint at the general form the improvement should take. First, the cross-tabulation in the table makes it clear that there are limits to identifying segments in isolation: out of a 1,237 target segments, $1 + 20 + 11 + 1 = 33$ segments (3%) were misheard and $169 + 87 = 256$ (21%) segments remained unidentified. Second, mishearings were systematic: for a given speaker, the mishearings were either nearly all voiceless or nearly all voiced. Third, our periodicity measure is the least successful with the informants who were most often misheard (I1 and I6). The special status of these informants, and I1 in particular, is clearly visible when one compares the scatter plots in Figures 6 and 7. We interpret the situation as a signal that our periodicity measure works well for the majority of speakers, but that some speakers require a different approach – presumably because the spectral properties of voicing in their speech are different in some way. Summing up, we started the research with the hypothesis that there might be a categorical difference between speakers in terms of use of duration in the realization of voicing. The data showed that the intra-speaker difference is gradual rather than categorical. However, the above discussion makes one wonder whether the categorical difference exists after all, and if it is related to periodicity rather than duration.

To see whether an improved measure of periodicity would improve model predictions, we defined a fake measure of periodicity (p') partially based on the perception data (h). The idea is that this human-assisted measure should be near perfect in the sense of using all the available segment-internal spectral information, so that models fitted to the data using this measure could serve as the upper limit to what can be achieved by statistical analysis of the spectral and temporal information present in the acoustic signal of the segment. (Presumably, other linguistic modules and lexicon could fill in the remaining gaps in recognition.)

We did not use the perception data as the fake measure directly. This (categorical) data is valued on a Likert scale from 1 to 5, and while we could linearly translate the Likert values to the interval $[0, 1]$ by $p' = (h - 1) / 4$, this would produce a discrete measure. We therefore decided to define a measure based on both the perception data h and our computed periodicity p . One option would be to simply multiply them ($p' = ph'$, where $h' = (h - 1) / 4$), but this would give too much weight to p ; for example, a segment judged clearly voiced ($h' = 1$) but computed to be completely aperiodic ($p = 0$) would have $p' = 0$. We defined the measure in a step-wise fashion, as $p' = (h + 1 + p) / 5$: term $(h + 1) / 5$ zooms into one of the five equal-length intervals partitioning $[0, 1]$, and term $p / 5$ adds some variability inside this smaller interval.

6 Conclusion

Slovenian voiced sibilants are statistically significantly shorter than their voiceless counterparts. The duration of sibilants is moderately negatively correlated to their periodicity, a spectral measure of voicing. Periodicity is an excellent predictor of voicing, especially in mixed-effect models with a random speaker intercept. However, the periodicity–duration correlation is weak enough that duration can act as a redundancy measure. Adding a duration term improves model performance, especially when accompanied by the phonological environment term, which has no effect in the absence of duration. Inspecting and evaluating the models we found that periodicity and duration serve as complementary acoustic cues for identifying a sibilant as voiced or voiceless, with the relative contribution of the two cues varying across speakers.

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Grammaticalization and lexicalization: the verb *suru* in Japanese

*Chikako Shigemori Bučar**

Abstract

This paper discusses the meaning and function of one of the most general, and widely employed verbs in Japanese, *suru*. After a short overview of definitions of grammaticalization and lexicalization in general linguistics, some Japanese grammarians and their treatment of the verb *suru*, particularly in the first half of the twentieth century, are described. The main part of the paper introduces the usages of the verb *suru* in the first years of learning Japanese as a second language. This verb *suru*, of which the first and the most representative meaning is “to do”, appears in various ways, grammaticalized or lexicalized. Finally, the uses of the verb are compared with similar verbs in some European languages and their related expressions.

Keywords: Japanese verb, *suru*, beginners' Japanese

Gramatikalizacija in leksikalizacija: glagol *suru* v japonščini

Članek obravnava pomen in funkcijo enega najsplošnejših in najpogosteje uporabljenih glagolov v japonščini, *suru*. Po kratkem pregledu definicij gramatikalizacije in leksikalizacije v splošnem jezikoslovju so opisani nekateri japonski slovničarji in njihova obravnava glagola *suru*, zlasti v prvi polovici 20. stoletja. V osrednjem delu prispevka so predstavljene rabe glagola *suru* v prvih letih učenja japonščine kot L2: glagol *suru*, katerega prvi in najbolj reprezentativni pomen je „delati“, se pojavlja na različne načine, gramatikalizirano ali leksikalizirano. Na koncu primerjamo rabo japonskega glagola *suru* z nekaterimi evropskimi jeziki in njihovimi izrazi.

Ključne besede: japonski glagol, *suru*, japonščina na začetniški ravni

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1 Introduction

It is usually accepted that words in a language may be divided into “content words” (or “lexical words”) and “function words” (or “grammatical words”). In English, for example, the former are nouns, verbs, and adjectives, the latter are prepositions, connectives, pronouns, particles, and demonstratives (Hopper & Traugott 1993, 4). Linguistic change not only affects the lexicon and the phonology of words, but also operates on the grammar of a language. Grammaticalization is concerned with the development of lexical items into markers of grammatical categories. A well-known example is the English verb *go* in its function of a future marker, as in *She is going to visit her friend* (Bisang, 2017).

Lexicalization, on the other hand, is a process of language change in a variety of ways, broadly defined as the adoption of words into the lexicon (Brinton & Traugott, 2005, ix). At the basis of lexicalization are word-formation processes such as affixation, compounding, or borrowing. It also involves multi-word expressions and set phrases, and a range of processes that follow the coinage of a new element (Hilpert, 2019).

This paper discusses the meaning and function of one of the most general, and widely employed verbs in Japanese, *suru*. The discussion is in the context of the first years of learning Japanese as a second language: the verb *suru* – of which the first and the most representative meaning is “to do” – appears in various ways in the most basic and important expressions in today’s Japanese. While the meanings and functions of the verb *suru* are examined below, the following points should be noted:

- various cases of lexicalization are observed in which the verb *suru* is combined with native Japanese words and originally Chinese words (and even neologisms formed using Chinese morphemes), with the latter being especially numerous (see 3.1);
- the grammaticalization of the verb *suru* is related to transitivity and aspect;
- the verb *suru* is widely grammaticalized and also expresses non-verb parts of speech.

In the conclusion, the characteristics of the Japanese verb *suru* are discussed in comparison with similar verbs in some European languages.

2 *Suru* in the history of Japanese linguistics – formal predicate, auxiliary, and functional verb

In the history of Japanese linguistics, the verb *suru* has been identified as *keishiki yōgen*¹ (formal predicate), sometimes *hojo yōgen* (auxiliary predicate), and further *kinō dōshi* (functional verb). All these terms were proposed based on observations and analyses by Japanese linguists from the end of the nineteenth century onward, when they eagerly studied grammars of European languages and started to describe the contemporary Japanese language, placing it side by side with the Indo-European languages.

The term *keishiki yōgen* (formal predicate) was coined by Yamada Yoshio² (1873–1958), who recognized that some predicates³ “have little substantive meaning and are used solely to express the force of the statement”, and thus are a phenomena of grammaticalization. In the case of the verb *suru* (still in the classical form *su* in the first decades of the twentieth century), he recognized its ability to coin new words and to transform nouns into verbs (Ōtsuka 2012, 5), and thus engage in lexicalization. For example:

(1)

kokoro suru

heart do

‘to keep in mind; to pay attention’

(2)

oto ga suru

sound NOM do

‘there is some sound; some noise is heard’

Examples (1) and (2) were mentioned by Yamada side by side in terms of the same structure in the 1920s in Classical Japanese (*kokoro su*; *oto su*). In today’s Japanese, the first example (1) is lexicalized and found as an entry in dictionaries, but the second example (2) did not go under full lexicalization, so the expression requires the nominative particle *ga*, and shows a syntactically transparent construction. The verb *suru* here indicates that the sound (*oto*) “exists / is present”.

1 All Japanese words are transcribed using the Hepburn system.

2 All Japanese personal names are mentioned in the order of “surname – personal name”.

3 Besides the verb *suru*, Yamada mentions *ari* (the classical form for *aru*, verb of existence) and *gotoshi* (“as if”).

Another Japanese linguist, Hashimoto Shinkichi (1882–1945), was the major grammarian who laid the basis for the school grammar of modern Japanese. In his discussion about parts of speech, he came up with a new concept, *hojo yōgen* (auxiliary predicate). Among five kinds of auxiliaries,⁴ Hashimoto mentions the verb *suru* which is used after an adverbial particle such as *sae* (even) and *nado* (and the like) (Ōtsuka 2012, 3).

(3)

<i>Iki sae</i>	<i>sureba,</i>	<i>sorede</i>	<i>ii.</i>
go even	do-COND	that INST	good
'It is fine if we/just go.'			

(4)

<i>Dare ga</i>	<i>nemuri</i>	<i>nado</i>	<i>suru</i>	<i>mono ka.</i>
who NOM	sleep	and-the-like	do	thing Q
'Who would ever go to sleep?'				

In both of the above cases, there is the main lexical verb to express the action (to go, to sleep), and the verb *suru* is used only grammatically, in the former case to note that the action is conditional, and in the latter case to connect the phrase to the noun *mono* in the set phrase “who would do such a thing (like sleeping)?”

Further, the concept of a “functional verb” is used in the context of Japanese linguistics much later. Muraki Shinjirō writes that the first Japanese linguist who used the term *kinō dōshi* (functional verb) was Iwasaki Ejirō (1922-2017), a scholar of the German language, who in explaining the functional verbs that support the nominal writing style in German also mentions the functional character of the Japanese verb *suru* (Muraki 1980: 71). In 1974 Iwasaki discussed *Funktionsverben* (functional verbs) in German, among them the verb *machen* in comparison with the Japanese verb *suru*. According to Muraki, a functional verb (*kinō dōshi*) leaves its substantive meaning to the noun and exclusively performs its grammatical function (Muraki 1991: 203).

4 Besides the verb *suru*, Hashimoto mentions verbs of (non-)existence and identification, several verbs used in honorific expressions, verb forms to express state, giving and receiving verbs and other verbs with auxiliary functions (Ōtsuka 2012, 2–3).

(5)

Nani ka nioi ga suru.

what Q smell NOM do

‘Something smells.’

(6)

Nani ka niou.

what Q smell

‘Something smells.’

The term “functional word” is used in contrast with the concept of “content word”. In example sentence (5), the function verb *suru* accompanies the noun “smell” and merely gives the grammatical function of non-past, while in example (6), the content word, the verb *niou*, gives the same meaning as the expression in example (5), ‘to smell’. We see that the sentence structure of example (5) is the same as example (3) (*oto ga suru* = there is some sound), a syntactically transparent structure, yet the verb *suru* has partially lost its most basic meaning “to do”. This sentence structure is primarily used for sensory expressions.

3 The Japanese verb *suru* in the learning process of Japanese as a second language

Already at the beginners’ level of Japanese language learning, the verb *suru* (to do) appears not only in its main full meaning, but also in a wide variety of syntactic and auxiliary roles in expressions of simple, but communicatively meaningful expressions for basic learners.

The various usages of the verb *suru* in today’s Japanese are presented below from the viewpoint of learning Japanese as a second language. They are presented in the order of their appearance in widely used Japanese language textbooks.⁵

5 Among them are textbooks used at the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana (see references).

3.1 Expressions of basic activities

When the verb *suru* is used as a transitive verb, its most basic sentence structure is

(7)
N wo suru

in which the noun phrase with the accusative case marker *wo* precedes the verb:

(8)
shukudai wo suru
homework ACC do
‘to do homework’

(9)
sentaku wo suru
laundry ACC do
‘to do laundry’

Besides this apparently transitive use of the verb, there is the very frequent sentence structure

(10)
N suru

In this structure, no accusative particle is used and the verb *suru* is directly attached to the (verbal) noun, most frequently of Chinese origin, but also to native Japanese nouns, as well as borrowings from European languages.

(11)
sentaku suru
laundry do
‘to wash (clothes) / to do laundry’

(12) = (1)
kokoro suru
heart do
‘to keep in mind; to pay attention’

(13)

supīchi *suru*
 speech do
 ‘to have a speech’

Example (11) has the same meaning as example (9), but the verb *suru* is grammaticalized and functions as a part of the verb “to do laundry / to wash”. Example (12) was mentioned earlier, (1): the noun’s original meaning is “heart” or “mind”, but in this lexicalized collocation for the meaning “to keep in mind”, it is ungrammatical to use the accusative case particle *wo* (**kokoro wo suru*). Example (13) is a case in which a borrowed word from English “speech” is used as a noun together with the verb *suru*.

The Chinese language influenced the Japanese language throughout the long history of exchanges between these neighbouring nations in East Asia. The introduction of Chinese words in the history of the Japanese language has compensated for the lack of Japanese vocabulary in terms of both quality and quantity (Morita 1994, 253). There was an explosive increase in the number of Chinese words used in Japan in the modern era, especially during the Meiji period (1868–1912), after the country ended its long isolation of the Edo period (1603–1867). In response to the introduction of new things and concepts related to industrialization, the (re-)introduction of Chinese words and newly coined words composed of Chinese morphemes contributed greatly to the development of the Japanese language in terms of vocabulary (ibid.). The relatively free method of coining words based on the meanings of Chinese characters led to a rapid increase in the number of new “Chinese” words.⁶ Among the newly coined words using Chinese characters (*kango*) in the Meiji period are *shakai* “society”, *kojin* “individual person”, *kindai* “modern era”, *ren’ai* “love (romantic, and usually between man and woman)”, and others (Yanabu 1982, ii).

Already in the beginners’ lessons, learners encounter, even before learning the abstract nouns mentioned above, many verbal nouns⁷ which originate in the Chinese language, such as *benkyō* 勉強 “study”, *sentaku* 洗濯 “laundry”, *ryōri* 料理 “cooking”, *kenkyū* 研究 “research”, *dokusho* 読書 “reading”, etc. As illustrated here, these nouns are typically composed of two Chinese characters and their phonetic

6 In modern Japanese, there are three classes of words according to their etymology and orthography: native Japanese words *wago*, words borrowed from Chinese *kango* (typically written with Chinese characters and most of them in two or more Chinese characters), and borrowed words of western origin *gairaigo*.

7 The term “verbal noun” is used for *dōmeishi*, nouns that designate actions. The term is broader than “gerund” in English.

representation (pronunciation) is the *on'yomi*, the Sino-Japanese reading.⁸ In Modern Japanese, these verbal nouns are used with the addition of the verb *suru*, which is a process of lexicalization, and thus they can be used as individual verbs. Below, the same verbal noun is used as a noun in (14), and as a verb in (15) and (16).

(14)

Shumi wa ryōri da.
 hobby TOPIC cooking copula
 ‘(My) hobby is cooking.’

(15)

Mainichi uchi de ryōri suru.
 every day home LOC cooking do
 ‘I cook every day at home.’

(16)

Kinō wa uchi de ryōri shita.
 yesterday TOPIC home LOC cooking do-PAST
 ‘Yesterday, I cooked at home.’

The first encounter of second-language learners with the verb *suru* in such vocabulary is already a case of grammaticalization: the verb *suru* is used as an auxiliary, in the sense that it does not carry the full meaning, but helps in its conjugated form to show the grammatical part of the predicate, e.g. *ryōri suru* in the non-past tense, *ryōri shita* in the past tense, and so on. It is interesting to observe when the verb *suru* demands an accusative object, and when it becomes functional, i.e. a part of the whole verb.

(17)

[sentence structures (7) → (10)]
N wo suru → *N suru*

(18)

Nihongo no kenkyū wo suru. → *Nihongo wo kenkyū suru.*
 Japanese GEN research ACC do Japanese ACC research do
 ‘to do research on the Japanese language’

8 In Japanese, many Chinese characters have more than one phonetic representation. They are either Sino-Japanese readings (*on'yomi*), or native Japanese readings (*kun'yomi*).

(19)

Shitagi no sentaku wo suru. → *Shitagi wo sentaku suru.*
 underwear GEN washing ACC do underwear ACC washing do
 ‘to wash some underwear’

When the verbal noun is a kind of sports activity, e.g. tennis, skiing, or skating, and they are all typical borrowings from English, it is more natural to use the sentence structure with the accusative particle:

(20)

Fuyu wa sukī wo suru.
 winter TOP ski ACC do
 ‘I/We ski in winter.’

Particularly in the written form or also in formal speech, the accusative particle is generally kept, but in colloquial speech the particle may be dropped before the verb *suru*. There are also recent colloquial expressions such as:

(21)

ocha suru
 tea do
 ‘to have tea together’

This expression has been included as an entry in monolingual dictionaries as a verb since 1990s (an example of lexicalization) and used in informal casual situations (Digital Daijisen, Contemporary Words). We can also find a variant (22) for the same meaning (Weblio):

(22)

ocha wo suru
 tea ACC do
 ‘to have tea together’

3.2 Basic question sentences

As soon as the first activity verbs are introduced (e.g. to eat, to drink, to read), learners also want to ask questions. The full lexical meaning of the verb *suru*, “to do”, is manifested in a variety of basic question sentences for beginners (Shigemori 2002, 84-85).

(23)

Nani wo shimasu ka?
what ACC do-FORMAL Q
‘What do you do?/What will you do?’

(24)

Dō shimashita ka?
how do-PAST-FORMAL Q
‘What happened?/Is anything wrong?’

(25)

Ame no toki, dō shimasu ka?
rain GEN time how do-FORMAL Q
‘What do you do when it rains?’

(26)

Densha ga konai toki dō shitara iidesu ka?
train NOM come-NEG time how do-COND good-FORMAL Q
‘What should we do when the train doesn’t come?’

(27)

Dō shita no desu ka?
how do-PAST nom. copula-FORMAL Q
‘What is wrong? / What happened?’

If we observe closely, when asking for the content of some activity the verb *suru* may be used in both possible tenses, non-past and past form, but if the state is to be asked for, the verb form is the past, or more precisely the perfect, *shita*. The questions (24) and (27) are actually asking for a state – the result state of an event – and therefore some of the answers may be as adjectives that describe the state.

Answers to the above questions would be formulated with various individual verbs of full lexical meaning, and in case of question (27), also with a verb in the passive form or an adjective, cf. examples (32) and (33):

Q (23): What do you do?/What will you do?

(28)

Machi e dekakemasu.
town ALL go out-FORMAL
'I go out into town.'

Q (24): What happened?/Is anything wrong?

(29)

Jiko ni aimashita.
accident DAT encounter-FORMAL-PAST
'I was involved in an accident.'

Q (25): What do you do when it rains?

(30)

Kasa wo sashimasu.
umbrella ACC open-FORMAL
'I use the umbrella.'

Q (26): What should we do when the train doesn't come?

(31)

Ekin ni kikeba ii desu.
station worker DAT ask-COND good copula-FORMAL
'It is advised to ask the station worker.'

Q (27): What is wrong? / What happened? (*Dō shita no desu ka?*)

(32)

Ame ni furareta no desu.
 rain DAT fall-PASS-PAST nom. copula-FORMAL
 ‘I was caught in rain.’

Q (27): What is wrong? / What happened? (*Dō shita no desu ka?*)

(33)

Guai ga warui no desu.
 condition NOM bad nom. copula-FORMAL
 ‘I don’t feel well.’

3.3 Transitivity

A major characteristic of Japanese verbs is the opposition of transitive and intransitive variants. The verb *suru* is in pair with another verb *naru*, of which the basic lexical meaning is “to become”. While the verb *suru* is the transitive, i.e. the active counterpart, the other verb *naru* is the intransitive. Therefore:

(34)

Heya wo hiroku suru.
 room ACC widely do
 ‘(We) make the room broad.’

(35)

Heya ga hiroku naru.
 room NOM widely become
 ‘The room becomes broad.’

The usage of the verb *suru* in the above case (34) is still quite close to the full lexical meaning, the transitive active exertion of influence upon something. This dichotomy of transitive and intransitive expressions in combination with the adverbial form of adjectives is also introduced at the beginners’ level. Together with the typically transitive syntax presented in 3.1 (*N wo suru*), it may emphasize the transitivity of the verb *suru*. However, there is also the intransitive use of the verb *suru* with the structure *N ga suru*, e.g. example (2) and (5) for perceptual expressions (cf. pp. 405, 407).

3.4 Honorific humble expressions

With further roles of the Japanese verb *suru* the grammaticalization phenomena are even more obvious. It plays a very formal grammaticalized role in honorific humble expressions, and is added to the verb base of the actual action (in the case of (36), "to hold").

(36)

O-kaban wo o-mochi shimasu.

pref. bag ACC pref. hold do-FORMAL

'I will hold the bag (for you).'

3.5 Adverbial descriptions

There are various adverbial expressions that also require the verb *suru* in the sentence structure *N (wo) suru*, which we have seen in section 3.1. As can be seen in the English translations below, though they are morphologically verb constructions and can be put in past as well as non-past forms, they do not express actions, but instead a state or change of state. Here, the verb *suru* does not have any transitive actional meaning. The subject's will to be in that state is felt in some cases (as in examples 38 and 39).

(37)

muri (wo) suru

unreasonableness (ACC) do

'to overwork, strain oneself'

(38)

doryoku (wo) suru

effort (ACC) do

'to make effort'

(39)

yukkuri suru

slowly/leisurely do

'to be leisurely, without haste'

(40)

hotto *suru*

(drawing) a breath do

‘to feel relieved’

(41)

bikkuri *suru*

surprise/wonder do

‘to be surprised/startled’

3.6 Collocation

The verb *suru* also appears in certain collocations, and here we can speak about the lexicalization of multi-word expressions.

(42)

Nihon e iku koto ni suru.

Japan ALL go matter ILL do

‘(We) decide to go to Japan.’

(43)

Nani ni shimasu ka?

what ILL do-FORMAL Q

‘For what do you decide? / What would you like?’

(44)

Kōhī ni shimasu.

coffee ILL do-FORMAL

‘I would take coffee.’

The sentence structure *N ni suru* expresses the decision made by the subject. It does not express any transitive action, but an active decision willingly made by the subject.

3.7 Description of outer appearance

The description of outer appearance is one of the typical expressions learners must acquire at the beginners' level. The following examples show some short, simple sentences describing a person's appearance, and also the taste of some food in the same sentence pattern with the verb *suru* in the continuous aspect with the auxiliary *iru*, *-te iru*:⁹

(45)

Tanaka-san ga masuku wo shite iru.
 Tanaka Mx NOM mask ACC do-CONT
 Mx Tanaka is wearing a mask.

(46)

Josei ga hossori shite iru.
 lady NOM slender do-CONT
 The lady is slender.

(47)

Aji ga sappari shite iru.
 taste NOM plain/simple do-CONT
 The taste is plain.

Example (45) is the resultant state of Tanaka's action, *masuku wo suru* (to wear a mask), in the syntactically transparent sentence construction *N wo suru*, as we have seen in 3.1. On the other hand, no case particle is present in examples (46) and (47), and the verb *suru* in its *-te iru* form is combined with an adverb. Various adverbial words may be used together with the verb *suru* in this form to describe the outer appearance, as well as other observations of sensations such as taste (47).

9 The verb *iru* when it is used lexically means "to be, to exist", but it functions as an auxiliary when attached to the continuative form (*-te*) of the main lexical verb. In this sentence pattern, it conveys a variety of aspectual meanings. In our context, it is the resultative (resultant state) and simple state (Kiryu 2018, 589-591).

4 Comparison with some European languages

We have seen that the Japanese verb *suru* with the basic lexical meaning of “to do” (3.1) functions further in various question sentences (3.2), and adverbial and adjectival descriptions of (temporal) states (3.5 and 3.7). The verb also appears in certain collocations (one example in 3.6). The most grammaticalized use of the verb is in the honorific dimension of the Japanese language, in the humble sentence structure (3.4).

According to contrastive research with regard to the German verb *machen* by Sakata (2006, 152), the Japanese and German verbs overlap well in the function of “to do” with an accompanying accusative noun (e.g. *einen Spaziergang machen* and *sanpo (wo) suru* ‘to take a walk’). However, while the German *machen* is often used in the meaning of “to create”, there is another basic verb in Japanese *tsukuru* which is used for the meaning of creation. On the other hand, the Japanese *suru* is used to describe the change of state (e.g. to put on a mask) and sometimes even a permanent state (3.7 (46) and (47)).

As we have already seen in the English translations of the example sentences, the Japanese verb *suru* may be compared with *to do*, *to be*, *to have* and *to make* according to each case.

Since Slavic languages have the opposition of perfective/imperfective, the verb *suru* may seem comparable with the Slovene *delati* and *narediti*, but both of these verbs have a strong connotation of creation, particularly the perfective *narediti*. The entry for *delati* in the SSKJ² dictionary lists seven semantic categories of the verb, and they are all related to actions of the subject (to work, to work with some goal or for some achievement, to produce, to create, etc.). A comparable meaning in a similar structure with our case is found under the fourth meaning, with the explanation that the verb is used with a weakened meaning (an approximate English meaning and a corresponding Japanese expression are added to each example):

<i>delati kompromise</i>	(to compromise)	妥協する	<i>dakyō suru</i>
<i>delati napake</i>	(to make mistakes)	間違いをする	<i>machigai wo suru</i>
<i>delati kupčije</i>	(to make deals)	取引をする	<i>torihiki wo suru</i>

In Slovene, the verbal noun is in the accusative case, and therefore the syntax is transparent, but the verb *delati* has a weaker connotation of “to work” or “to produce”. The parallel examples in Japanese are in the structure *N (wo) suru*, and the noun is in the accusative.

In case of the grammaticalized use of *suru* with numerous Chinese verbal nouns, the Slovene verb ending *-irati* is similar and comparable, since this is used with many borrowed words and is aspectually neutral (Žele 2011, 227). For example:

<i>telefonirati</i>	(to phone, to call)	電話する	<i>denwa suru</i>
<i>nominirati</i>	(to nominate)	指名する	<i>shimei suru</i>
<i>skicirati</i>	(to sketch)	スケッチする	<i>suketchi suru</i>
<i>kontrolirati</i>	(to control)	コントロールする	<i>kontorōru suru</i>

The corresponding Japanese expressions for the latter two examples are with a noun borrowed from English (see also example (13) in 3.1). Both means of lexicalization in Slovene and Japanese are highly productive.

We looked at how the various meanings and usages of a single verb *suru* appear at the elementary level of Japanese language education. When it is used as a transitive verb in opposition to an intransitive one, it has the meaning of action or change, but on the other hand, it is also used to express qualities or states that are normally left to adjectives. Further, in expressions using adverbs, we saw that the verb *suru* is a mere functional word. For latter cases, it is difficult to find parallels in European languages.

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Abbreviations

ACC	accusative	N	noun
ALL	allative	NEG	negative
COND	conditional	NOM	nominative
CONT	continuative	nom.	nominalization
DAT	dative	pref.	prefix
GEN	genitive	TOP	topic
ILL	illative	Q	question particle
INST	instrumental		

Slovenski besedni red kot naravna posledica členitve po aktualnosti

*Andreja Žele**

Povzetek

Profesorja Janeza Orešnika je seveda še kako zanimala tudi slovenščina kot njegov materni jezik, v svoje jezikoslovne raziskave pa jo je bolj suvereno vključil šele v zrejših letih. Verjetno tudi zaradi nekega spoštljivega odnosa do tedanjih slovenistov in slavistov, svojih sodobnikov, za katere je menil, da so za nekatere analize in presoje o slovenščini bolj poklicani kot on. Vse do zadnjega nas je opozarjal predvsem na raziskovalno podhranjeno slovensko skladnjo, kamor sodi tudi obravnavna besednega reda. Prispevek obravnava ubeseditve aktualnostnočlenitvenega besednega reda v slovenščini v povezavi z glagolsko vezljivostjo in naslonskim nizom kot skladenjsko-prozodijsko enoto. Izbrana sporočanja perspektiva odloča o besednem redu in v povezavi z vsakokratno funkcijsko perspektivo je treba opredeliti sporočajske prvine in v upovedovalnem procesu določiti njihove možne položaje v povedi. Pri tem ima glagol upovedovalno stabilno in zato ključno vlogo. Zlasti medpropozicijskost in z njo tudi kontekstnost pa vzpostavlja in vzdržuje naslonski niz. Z ohranjanjem tipične stavčne sestave osebek – povedek – predmet je naslonski niz neke vrste mikrokontekstna poved v aktualni povedi.

Ključne besede: slovenščina, skladnja, besedni red, členitev po aktualnosti, glagolska vezljivost

Word order in Slovene as a natural reflection of thematic structure

Professor Janez Orešnik was, of course, very interested in Slovene as his mother tongue, but he more confidently incorporated it into his linguistic research only in his later years. This was probably also due to a certain respectful attitude towards the Slovene and Slavic scholars of the time, his contemporaries, whom he considered to be more qualified than he to make certain analyses and judgements about the language. Until the end, however, he drew our attention above all to the research deficit in Slovenian syntax, which included the treatment of word order. This paper deals with the formulation of the topical-articulatory word order in Slovene in relation to verb conjugation and the verbal string as a syntactic-prose unit. The chosen communicative perspective determines the word order and in connection with each functional perspective it is

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necessary to identify the communicative elements and determine their possible positions in the sentence in the narrative process. In this, the verb has a narratively stable and therefore crucial role. In particular, interpropositionality and, with it, contextuality are established and maintained by the clitic cluster. By maintaining the typical sentence structure of subject-verb-object, the clitic cluster serves as a kind of micro-contextual sentence within the actual sentence.

Keywords: Slovene, syntax, word order, functional sentence perspective, verb valency

0 Uvod

Slovenski besedni red temelji na členitvi po aktualnosti,¹ ki je njegov »globinski besedni red«, medtem ko je »površinski besedni red« vezan tudi na oblikoskladenjske posebnosti v slovenski stavčni povedi.² In če je členitev po aktualnosti nadsistemska in zato splošnojezikovna, so njene osnovne sporočanje prvine izražene z besednim redom, ki ga omogočajo in dopuščajo specifične sistemske zmožnosti posameznega jezika, v našem primeru sistemske ubesedovalne zmožnosti slovenske oblikoskladenje.³ V tem prispevku se bomo zamejili na aktualnostnočlenitveni besedni red v razmerju do glagolske vezljivosti in pri tem opozorili še na pojav naslonskega niza kot skladenjsko-prozodijske enote, ki je kontekstno aktualizirana in zato bistveno oz. odločilno vpliva na sporočanje perspektivo ubesedenega.

1 Členitev po aktualnosti kot funkcijska perspektiva upovedenega

Členitev po aktualnosti se hierarhično uresničuje na več hierarhičnih stopnjah (od nadpovednega besedila do zloženega stavčnega člena), ki so izražene s skladenjsko-pomensko hierarhijo: osnovno in vodilno vlogo ima sporočanje polje matičnega stavka oz. stavčne povedi. Od misli do povedi je potek ubesedenja približno takšen: aktualnostna členitev → funkcionalna perspektiva (s)poročanja → upovedovalna dinamika → ubeseditev in razporeditev z rastočo upovedovalno dinamiko od leve proti desni → aktualnostnočlenitveni besedni red.

1 Členitev po aktualnosti lahko razlagamo kot aktualnostnočlenitveno razvrstitev stavčnih členov, kar vključuje funkcijsko perspektivo povedi (»funkcni perspektiva vėtná« ali »functional sentence perspective«, prvi je ta termin uporabljal Vilem Mathesius (1947) in za njim ga je povzel Jan Firbas (1982)).

2 Termina sta vzeta iz češkega jezikoslovja (Sgall idr., 1980, 62–63).

3 Ubeseitev sporočanje prvin po aktualnostni členitvi ni vezana na posamezne besede, ampak na dele stavka oz. na stavčne člene (Toporišić 1967, 255; 1982, 165).

Stavčne povedi so z vidika aktualnostne členitve lahko večpomenske in vse je odvisno od kontekstnega izhodišča (Sgall idr. 1980, 14–15).

Večplastnost aktualnostne členitve se predstavlja kot 1) osnovna plast t. i. upovedovalne dinamičnosti, ki vključuje pomenskost sestavin in njihovo linearno razvrstitev od teme proti remi (linearna modifikacija vsebine/pomena, ki nastaja s stopnjevanjem informativnosti v časovnem poteku), 2) kontekstna plast vključuje kontekst in situacijskost, 3) poudarna plast položajsko izpostavlja intonacijsko poudarjeno sestavino, ki se na novo aktualizira in zato kontrastivno izstopa iz danega konteksta. Znotraj stavčne povedi je stopnja upovedovalne dinamičnosti navadno premo sorazmerna s stopnjo sporočanjeve pomembnosti: to navadno velja za poved brez upoštevanja kontekstnih vplivov in je zato tudi besednoredno izhodiščna, npr. *Janez*_{M:NOM:SG} *ponuja fantu*_{M:DAT:SG} *knjigo*_{F:ACC:SG}, nasproti povedim s slovnično spremljenim besednim redom, npr. *Janez*_{M:NOM:SG} *ponuja knjigo*_{F:ACC:SG} *fantu*_{M:DAT:SG}, kjer se *knjiga* predpostavlja za kontekstno že vključeno sestavino, ali npr. *Knjigo*_{F:ACC:SG} *ponuja fantu*_{M:DAT:SG} *Janez*_{M:NOM:SG}, kjer je *knjiga* s pomikom v izhodišče tematizirana, vendar ohranja visoko sporočanjevo vrednost, osebek *Janez* kot kontekstna sestavina pa je s končnim intonacijskim poudarkom na novo aktualiziran in s tem rematiziran.⁴ Torej skladnost rasti upovedovalne dinamičnosti s sporočanjevo pomembnostjo od leve proti desni znotraj povedi lahko poruši drugotna tematizacija ali rematizacija stavčnih členov. In ravno nevezanost poteka upovedovalne dinamičnosti na ustaljeni stavčnočlenski besedni red kaže na nujnost upoštevanja aktualnostne členitve pri usmerjanju ustrezne sporočanjeve perspektive posamezne povedi oz. sporočila. V ospredje torej stopi položaj v stavku, in ne več stavčnočlenski besedni red.

1.1 Aktualnostna členitev in besedni red

Stavčna poved je pomensko-skladenjsko in izrazno zaključena jezikovnosistemska enota kot rezultat upovedovanja iz propozicije oz. propozicij z upoštevanjem aktualnostne členitve in glagolske vezljivosti (kot logično-pomenske, skladenjske in izrazne kategorije); možne besednoredne tipe torej postavlja vezljivost kot osnovna glagolska kategorija. Slovenščina pri ubeseditvi lahko uporablja več splošnojezikovnosistemskih besednorednih tipov: osnovni in zato navaden za slovenščino

4 V nadaljevanju so pri oštevilčenih zgledih uporabljane glose: ACC = accusative, ADV = adverbial, AUX = auxiliary, DAT = dative, F = feminine, GEN = genitive, IMP = imperativ, IND = indicativ, INF = infinitiv, INS = instrumental, LOC = locative, M = masculine, N = neuter, NEG = negation, NOM = nominative, PART = particle, PL = plural, PRON = pronomen, PRS = present, PTCP = participle, QUAN = quantity, REFL = reflexive, SG = singular.

je stavčnočlenski SVO (subjekt – verb – objekt), sicer pa slovenščina dopušča tudi besednoredne tipske različice kot SOV, VSO, VOS, OVS in OSV (slednja je zelo redka). Znotraj objektivne členitve po aktualnosti se lahko vzpostavita **a)** pričakovani navadni (SVO) in **b)** priložnostni posebni besedni red (SOV, VSO, VOS, OVS in OSV), ki se v besedilu stilno nezaznamovano dopolnjujeta: *Sklenili so, da ravnatelju napišejo pismo* (SVO). *Pismo je pisal **Janez*** (OVS), *S težavo se je prebil do uvodnih besed*, ali *Ne razburjajte se zaradi pozne odzivnosti* (SVO). *Janez pismo **piše*** (SOV). *Še danes ga bo odposlal* (OSV). Priložnostni besedni red je možen tudi brez sobesedila, ko je npr. dinamična perspektiva povedi usmerjena v jedro povedi kot pomensko središče, npr. *Nas že nekaj časa upravljajo tujci*. V tem primeru je priložnostni besedni red napovedovalec pomensko aktualizirane perspektive povedi brez ubesedenega konteksta, in tudi s tem se potrjuje skladenjska nadvlada členitve po aktualnosti, ki je navadno vodena in usmerjana z aktualnim kontekstom.

Povezanost stavčnočlenske in aktualnostnočlenitvene sestave se izraža tako, da spremenjena stavčnočlenska sestava v izhodišču in središču spremeni tudi pomen in sporočilno perspektivo povedi, in to brez stilne zaznamovanosti in poudarjanja: *Janez* (Izhodišče) **je odšel** (Središče) → *Odšel je* (Izhodišče) **Janez** (Središče), kar je pri objektivni členitvi po aktualnosti lahko dokazati tudi z naborom možnih vprašanj, kjer je rem-ska vprašalnica vedno na začetku, npr. **Kaj je storil** *Janez?* in **Kdo je odšel?**⁵ Znotraj objektivne aktualnostne členitve se ohranja naravna položajna poudarjenost na koncu stavka. Gramatikalizirani besedni red je izjema, npr. *Maribor je premagal Koper*.

Nasprotno pa subjektivna členitev oz. subjektivni zaznamovani besedni red z zamenjavo izhodišča in središča sporočila poudarjeno (stilno) aktualizira trenutno pomensko pomembnost določene ubesedene enote (stavčnega člena) v središču povedi s tem, da jo s konca postavi na začetek sporočila: to ni naravna položajna poudarjenost, temveč posebna poudarjenost, npr. *Tisti čas sem za te in podobne neumnosti* (I) *porabil **ogromno denarja*** (S) = objektivna členitev nasproti **Ogromno denarja** (S) *sem tisti čas porabil za te in podobne neumnosti* (I) = subjektivna členitev.

1.2 Sporočanje prvine in njihovi položaji znotraj povedi

Sporočanje prvine znotraj povedi morajo združevati kontekstne, pomenske, besednoredne in prozodijske lastnosti. Te prvine so lastna tema (izhodišče), lastna tranzicija (prehod), lastna rema (središče). Lastna tema je izhodišče z najmanjšo stopnjo

5 Osnovno načelo pri uporabi vprašanj za določanje, kateri stavčni členi sodijo v temo in kateri v remo, je, da so v vprašanja vključeni stavčni členi, ki sodijo v temo, nikoli pa ne stavčni členi, ki sodijo v remo.

sporočanje dinamičnosti, med tematskimi prvinami ima najvišjo stopnjo sporočanje dinamičnosti diatema/medtema, ki je neke vrste 'vmesna, prehodna tema'. Lastna tranzicija izraža zlasti časovno-naklonski prehod. Lastna rema ali jedro središče pa je prvina z najvišjo stopnjo sporočanje dinamičnosti.

Za zadostitev osnovnih sporočajskih potreb povedi sta nujni prvini lastna rema in lastna tranzicija, medtem ko tematske prvine kot lastna tema in diatema niso obvezne. So pa tematske sestavine bistvene zgradbene prvine, obvezno vezane na besedilo in kontekst celotnega sporočila. Tako lastna tema kot že kontekstno znana in obravnavana »zgolj« povezuje aktualno poved s kontekstom (najbolj aktualizirana tematska sestavina je tematski center), medtem ko diatema s prenosom najaktualnejše zadnje informacije (ali zgolj sestavine te informacije) v predhodnem besedilu v izhodišče naslednje potencialne povedi prevzame vlogo najdinamičnejše tematske prvine v izhodišču.⁶

1.2.1

Upovedovanje sporočajskih prvin z leve proti desni tvori **dinamično vsebinsko/pomensko gradnjo povedi** v smislu: lastna tema – tema (s težnjo v lastno temo ali v diatemo) – diatema – lastna tranzicija – tranzicija – rema – lastna rema; v tem zaporedju raste in se stopnjuje tudi dinamičnost upovedovanja. Posledica dinamičnega upovedovanja je **statična vsebinska/pomenska zgradba stavčne povedi**: (izhodišče (vezano na temo) – središče (vezano na remo)).

Stavčna poved daje možnost, da propozicija kot izhodiščna miselno-pomenska enota (z glagolskim intenčnim poljem) s propozicijskosti vodi oz. kar prehaja tudi v medpropozicijskost, npr. *Mati dovoli sinu vse* ← *Mati dovoli, da sin dela vse, kar hoče* ← *Mati dovoli, da sin dela, kar hoče*.

V povedi in zloženi povedi se členitev po aktualnosti hierarhično uresničuje na več hierarhičnih stopnjah (vse do zloženega stavčnega člena),⁷ ki so izražene s skla-

6 Postavlja se vprašanje opredelitve nove (in s tem tudi stare) informacije. Za staro znano informacijo velja, da tematizira besedilo in s tem omogoča nastajanje besedila, zato sodi v lastno temo. Nova informacija pa je v trenutku, ko postane znana, še vedno nova; s trajanjem sicer postaja znana, vendar je kot informacija še vedno najnovejša, zato sodi v diatemo. Diatema kot dinamični vrh v tematskem izhodišču hkrati vzpostavi tudi večjo dinamično upovedovalno povezavo in intenzivnost z rematskim središčem. Primer ločevanja med (kontekstno) znanim in novim je: *Ta pisatelj je znan kot mojster detektivk; ne piše pa samo detektivke* (znano), *ampak tudi zgodovinske romane* (novo).

7 Na ravni besedne zveze, npr. samostalniške zveze z levim pridevnikom, je ničta aktualizacija in s tem nevtralizirana stopnja upovedovalne dinamike pri stalnih zvezah kot *informacijski center, kulturni center, azilni center, trgovski center*, nasproti manj ustaljenim in zato aktualnejšim zvezama kot *podeželski center, poletni center* ipd. (prim. Grepl idr. 1987, 578).

denjskopomensko hierarhijo. Krovno in vodilno sporočanjso vlogo ima in obdrži sporočanjso polje matičnega stavka oz. stavčne povedi (prim. Grepl idr. 1987, 577). Z vidika upovedovanja in povedi ločujemo štiri stalne in besednoredno povezane položaje: začetni p (zP), pozačetni p. (pozP), vmesni p. (vP) in končni p. (kP):

(1)

začetni položaj (zP):	Resnico _{F:ACC:SG}	Resnico	Resnico	Resnico
pozačetni položaj (pozP):	vam _{PRON:DAT:PL}		vam	
vmesni položaj (vP):	povem _{IND:PRS:1SG}	povem		
končni položaj (kP):	kmalu _{ADV}	kmalu.	povem.	povem.

Možen je še predzačetni položaj (przP), poimenovan tudi scena ali kulisa,⁸ npr. s členkom:

(2)

Tudi_{PART} resnico_{F:ACC:SG} vam_{PRON:DAT:PL} povem_{IND:PRS:1SG} kmalu_{ADV}.

V kontekstu zgornjih povedi so še povedi kot *Povem vam jo / Vam jo povem in Obljubim*. Oba glagola kot polnopomenski sporočanjski prvini lahko hkrati zasedata začetni in končni položaj povedi, torej lahko zasedeta poudarjeni začetno-končni položaj, ki omogoča sporočilno samozadostnost. S pomenskega vidika in vidika stavčne intonacije sta poudarjena in zato tudi obvezno zasedena začetni in končni položaj.

Slovenščina, tako kot skladenjskopomensko primerljiva češčina, lahko na tipskih povedih⁹ izrazi upovedovalno uresničitev najrelevantnejših sporočanjskih prvin glede na obvezne in neobvezne položaje v slovenskem besednem redu:¹⁰

(3)

Zajtrkovala_{LPTCP:F:SG} je_{AUX:IND:PRS:3SG} (lastna rema = središče = pojmovni obseg 'zajtrkovati', lastna tema = izražena s končnico za tretjo osebo ednine, lastna tranzicija = izražena s preteklim časom, načinom in naklonom).

(4)

8 Tako npr. v češki akademski slovnici (Grepl idr. 1987).

9 Sestava tipskih povedi seveda sloni na povedkovni oz. glagolski vezljivosti in potem na stavčnih vzorcih. Oba našeta pojava sta skladenjska oz. slovnična in tako rekoč izhodiščno nujna pri nadaljnjem presojanju besednorednih zmožnosti v posameznem jeziku.

10 Vsi vključeni zgledi so vzeti iz splošnosporazumevalne rabe in uporabno preverjeni v besedilnem korpusu Gigafida 2.0 <https://viri.cjvt.si/gigafida/> (dostop 10. 12. 2024) in tudi v dostopnih spletnih besedilih.

Zajtrkovala_{LPTCP:F:SG} je_{AUX:IND:PRS:3SG} slovenski med_{M:ACC:SG} (lastna tema = izražena s končnico za tretjo osebo ednine, lastna tranzicija = izražena s preteklim časom, načinom in naklonom, tranzicija = pojmovni obseg 'zajtrkovati', lastna rema = *slovenski med*).

(5)

Zajtrkovala_{LPTCP:F:SG} je_{AUX:IND:PRS:3SG} slovenski med_{M:ACC:SG} zaradi_{PREP} vseslovenske akcije_{F:GEN:SG} (lastna tema = izražena s končnico za tretjo osebo ednine, lastna tranzicija = izražena s preteklim časom, načinom in naklonom, tranzicija = pojmovni obseg 'zajtrkovati', rema = *slovenski med*, lastna rema = *zaradi vseslovenske akcije*).

(6)

Zajtrkovala_{LPTCP:F:SG} je_{AUX:IND:PRS:3SG} zaradi_{PREP} vseslovenske akcije_{F:GEN:SG} (lastna tema = glagolska končnica -a za tretjo osebo ednine, tema (ki teži v lastno temo) = 'zajtrkovati zaradi akcije').

(7)

Eva_{NOM} je_{AUX:IND:PRS:3SG} zajtrkovala_{LPTCP:F:SG} slovenski med_{M:ACC:SG} (diatema = *Eva*, lastna tranzicija + tranzicija = *zajtrkovala*, lastna rema = *slovenski med*).

(8)

Danes_{ADV} sem_{AUX:IND:PRS:1SG} mu_{PRON:M:3SG} to_{N:ACC:3SG} tam_{ADV} predstavil_{LPTCP:M:SG} v nekaj_{ADV:QUAN} minutah_{F:LOC:PL} (diatema = *danes*, lastna tema = *sem mu to tam*, lastna tranzicija = izražena s preteklim časom, načinom in naklonom, rema = 'predstaviti', lastna rema = *v nekaj minutah*).

Zgornje povedi se uporabljajo v zapisanem jeziku. Nezapisani govornjeni jezik pa omogoča, da se temeljne in zato bistvene sporočanje prvine lahko uporabijo tudi v položajih, ki so osnovni sporočilni enoti oz. povedi zgolj pridruženi; v teh nepovezanih položajih še zlasti izstopata, in s tem zbujata pozornost, nujni prvini kot lastna rema in lastna tranzicija:

(9)

Zajtrkovala_{LPTCP:F:SG} je_{AUX:IND:PRS:3SG} slovenski med_{M:ACC:SG}, zaradi_{PREP} vseslovenske
akcije_{F:GEN:SG} (pridružena lastna rema)

(10)

Zajtrkovala_{LPTCP:F:SG} ja_{PART}? (pridružena lastna tranzicija)

(11)

Eva_{NOM} ta_{PRON:F:NOM:SG} je_{AUX:IND:PRS:3SG} zajtrkovala_{LPTCP:F:SG} slovenski med_{M:ACC:SG}!
(pridružena diatema)

2 Upovedovalno stabilna in zato ključna vloga glagola: vloga glagolskih kategorij

Pri glagolski vezljivosti velja izhodiščni besedni red delovalnikov: vršilec/agens pred naslovnikom/adresatom in ta pred prizadetim z dejanjem/paciensom; iz tega izhaja, da če je paciens (v spodnjem zgledu *predlog*) vstavljen med glagol in adresata, je to izraz njegove kontekstne vloge (12):

(12)

Nov poslanec_{M:NOM:SG} razlaga_{IND:PRS:3SG} svoj predlog_{M:ACC:SG} drugim_{M:DAT:PL}.

Znotraj povedkove vezljivosti, in zlasti znotraj njenega temeljnega prisojevalnega razmerja, imajo odločilen vpliv na aktualnostno členitev tudi druge skladenjske glagolske kategorije kot čas, način, naklon. Vid pa naj bi bil posredno vključen (tudi) v t. i. vidski pomen stavka,¹¹ ki naj bi se ga dalo docela razbrati šele iz stavčnega položaja in stavčne organizacije glagola in njegovih udeležencev.

Dve različni sporočilni perspektivi lahko izraža objektivna členitev po aktualnosti v primerih s preteklikom in neubesedenim izhodiščem, ki vključuje neizrečeno kontekstno temo, npr. *tu* ali *zunaj* (13):

11 Gl. J. Orešnik (1994, 19, 67–77, 79) govori o »vidskem pomenu stavka«, in poleg navadnega glagolskega vida posameznih glagolov po C. S. Smithovi opredeli tipe univerzalnih vzorčnih stavčnih položajev s časovno-vidskimi značilnostmi stanje+/-, telično+/-, trajno+/-: a) stanje, b₁) netelično/b₂) telično dogajanje, c₁) netelični/c₂) telični dogodek (a) *Kmetija stoji na hribu*, *Zna grško*, *Je priden*, b₁) *Sprehaja se po parku*, *Smeji se*, b₂) *Zidal je most*, c₁) *Potrkal/Zakašljaj je*, c₂) *Razbil se je*, *Zadel je tarčo*). Našteti vzorčni položaji glagolov v stavkih poudarjajo vsakokratno možno specifičnost organiziranja določenih udeležencev v določenih udeleženskih vlogah, kar spreminja sporočilnost. Šele povezava lastne vidске vrednosti glagola in časovnega ustroja določenega stavčnega položaja dá vidski pomen stavka.

(13)

Bilo_{AUX:LPTCP:N:SG} je_{AUX:IND:PRS:3SG} mrzlo_{ADV} /mraz_{M:NOM:SG} / Bil_{AUX:LPTCP:M:SG}
 je_{AUX:IND:PRS:3SG} mraz_{M:NOM:SG} (zaključeno sporočilo),
 nasproti tematizaciji (14), ki odpira nadaljevanje v smislu *Mrzlo je bilo, vendar to jih ni ustavilo pri delu, Mraz je bil, vendar tudi dobra družba in smuka*):

(14)

Mrzlo_{ADV} je_{AUX:IND:PRS:3SG} bilo_{AUX:LPTCP:N:SG} [...], Mraz_{M:NOM:SG} je_{AUX:IND:PRS:3SG}
 bil_{AUX:LPTCP:M:SG} [...] (nezaključeno sporočilo).
 Naravne in navadne stave v sedanjiku so zaradi aktualne sedanjosti sporočilno samozadostne in zaključene, prim. npr. (15):

(15)

Mraz_{M:NOM:SG} je_{AUX:IND:PRS:3SG} / Mrzlo_{LPTCP:N:SG} je_{AUX:IND:PRS:3SG}

Tvornik in trpnik ostajata znotraj objektivne členitve (16), in s tem ko trpnik tematizira predmet (*vse zgradbe*), ne niža njegove sporočilne vrednosti.

(16)

Z_{PREP} veliko_{ADV:QUAN} truda_{M:GEN:SG} so_{AUX:IND:PRS:3PL} naredili_{LPTCP:M:PL} vse_{PRON:QUAN}
 zgradbe_{F:ACC:PL} (tvornik/aktiv)
 Vse_{PRON:QUAN} zgradbe_{F:ACC:PL} so_{AUX:IND:PRS:3PL} bile_{AUX:LPTCP:F:PL} narejene_{NPTCP:F:PL} Z_{PREP}
 veliko_{ADV:QUAN} truda_{M:GEN:SG} (trpnik/pasiv)

(17)

Za_{PREP} vse zgradbe_{F:ACC:PL} je_{AUX:IND:PRS:3SG} (bilo_{AUX:LPTCP:N:SG}) potrebnega_{NPTCP:M:}
 GEN:SG veliko_{ADV:QUAN} truda_{M:GEN:SG} (stanje)

Če iz trpnika izpeljemo opis stanja (17), ta ubesedena možnost dopušča še poučarjalno subjektivno aktualnostno členitev (18):

(18)

Veliko_{ADV:QUAN} truda_{M:GEN:SG} je_{AUX:IND:PRS:3SG} bilo_{AUX:LPTCP:N:SG} potrebnega_{NPTCP:M:GEN:SG}
 da_{PART} so_{AUX:IND:PRS:3PL} bile_{AUX:LPTCP:F:PL} narejene_{NPTCP:F:PL} vse_{PRON:QUAN} zgradbe_{F:ACC:PL}

Različne možnosti zapolnitve aktualnostnočlenitvenih položajev so povezane tudi z izbiro skladenjskega naklona: pripovednega, želelnega, velelnega in vprašalnega (prim. Svoboda 1984). *Takoj si moram za sredo sposoditi kolo / Takoj **si ga** moram izposoditi za sredo / Za sredo si moram kolo takoj izposoditi / Za sredo si moram takoj izposoditi kolo*, in še s preusmerjeno naklonskostjo *Takoj **naj si ga** 'kolo' izposodi za sredo*.

2.1 Glagolska vezljivost in kontekst

Ne glede na kontekst glagol v povedkovi vlogi navadno stoji na drugem mestu, tj. za prvo zapolnjeno udeležensko vlogo oz. za prvim stavčnim členom (Sgall idr. 1980, 69).

Sicer pa z vidika konteksta lahko govorimo o nekontekstnem in kontekstnem glagolu. Kontekstnost pri glagolih je **a)** povezana z ingresivnim pomenom (INGR), za katerega je značilno začetno in obdobjsko zamejeno trajanje, ki navadno sledi tudi neki dogajalni zaporednosti, npr. *počakati*, *pogovoriti se*, *pomikati se*, *pomiriti (se)*, *postati*, *približati*, *sestati se z/s*, *zadržati (se)*, *zastati*, *zaustaviti*¹² ipd. v zgledih kot *Družba je bila torej dobra, zdaj je treba **počakati**_{INGR} na tisto, kar je ustvarila, Po nekaterih ocenah naj bi takšnih bila slaba tretjina vseh vpisanih v register. Po objavi registra **so se** strasti sicer **pomirile**_{INGR}, Iz zgradbe nismo pustili nikogar. Evo, zato **smo se tam zadržali**_{INGR} dlje, kot bi se morali, Petkrat se dvignite do prsnega koša, pri šesti ponovitvi pa **se** za tri sekunde **zaustavite**_{INGR} na treh različnih mestih. Tovrstna dogajanja so lahko hkrati spremstvena dogajanja, npr. *razveseliti (se)* v *Možu včasih še ponudim kakšno majhno pozornost, a s tem bolj **razveselim**_{INGR} sebe kot njega* ipd.*

Medpropozicijski vidik sproža tudi pomensko družljivost glagolov oz. t. i. povedkovo sopojavnost/kookurenčnost. Pomenski združljivosti določenih vrst glagolov se posledično pridružuje še pogoj koreferenčnosti/nekoreferenčnosti udeležencev; tako npr. ni ravno smiselno trditi **Janez se je odločil, da bo zbolel* ali **Janez je oprostil ženi, da je inteligentna*, povsem navadno pa je *Janez se je sprijaznil z boleznijo* ali *Janez je oprostil ženi, da ga ni poslušala*.

Poleg glagolskega pomena je lahko pokazatelj kontekstnosti glagola še **b)** položajskost, ko glagol v povedku zavzema izhodiščno vlogo, npr. *Videl sem jo, kako sedi v svoji zbledeli obleki v dnevni sobi, **Počakala**_{INGR} **bo**, da bom pojedel, **Pomirili**_{INGR} **smo se** šele, ko smo videli, da je skala pristala brez hujših posledic*; in **c)** naklonskost z uporabo zanikane oblike glagola in drugih naklonskih glagolskih oblik kot

12 Za češčino, ki je skladenjskopomensko podobna slovenščini, velja, da kontekstni ingresivni glagoli pogosto izražajo premostitev, npr. *oditi*, *odhiteti*, *pohiteti*, *zaviti* ipd. (Křížková 1977)

pogojnika in velelnika, npr. *Hoditi_{INF} je treba_{MOD} vsaj v dvoje in ne_{NEG} zahajati_{INF} s poti,¹³ Ozrem se po avtobusu. Od tridesetih potnikov te skoraj nihče ne_{NEG} posluša_{IND}, Počakaj_{IMP}, pa boš vse izvedela.*

3 Naslonski niz kot kontekstna in aktualnostnočlenitvena prvina

Nizanje naslonk ustvarja razmerja in ravno ta razmerja oz. njihovi razmerijski pomeni opozorijo na bistveno vlogo, ki jo imajo pri (so)oblikovanju sporočilnega pomena; naslonski niz namreč uvaja in vzdržuje konkretna pomensko-skladenjska razmerja, s tem pa uvaja tudi medpropozicijskost in vzpostavlja kontekstnost. Tudi ni naključje, da so ravno prve temeljitejše študije naklonskega niza hkrati poudarile pomen govorne slovenščine in pri tem še posebej opozarjale na stavčno intonacijo in ritem (Murko 1891, 1892).

Na splošno velja, da naslonskega niza ni brez glagola *biti* in zaimkov; to je niz semantičnih primitivov, ki zapolni in s tem izoblikuje razmerje ob polnopomenski oz. predmetnopomenski besedi. Na videz marginalne ravno naslonke oz. besedne oblike v vlogi naslonk kljub izgubljanju naglasa ohranjajo svojo (vsaj osnovno) samostalniško, glagolsko ali prislovno vrednost, vključno z naklonskostjo.

Dejansko se vrstni red sestavin naslonskega niza ravna po stilno nevtralnem stavčnem besednem redu osebek – povedek – predmet (Orešnik 1985, 214), s tem, da je osebek morfološko izražen, in to lahko potrdimo s stavkom (19):

(19)

Bil_{AUX:LPTCP:M:SG} sem_{AUX:IND:PRS:1SG} jim_{PRON:DAT:PL} za_{PREP} hlapca_{M:ACC:SG}.

V bistvu je naslonski niz mikrokontekstna poved v aktualni povedi, ki ga ravno zaradi vzpostavljanja medpropozicijskega ali širše kontekstnega razmerja najpogosteje uvaja veznik oz. vezniška beseda (20).¹⁴

13 V primeru kontekstnega povedka naj bi po Sgallu in soavtorjih (1980, 53) bil zanikan samo določen stavčni člen oz. stavčnočlenški odvisnik v središču, npr. v *Janez ni prišel, da bi se učil* je zanikan samo cilj, to je učenje, ki je hkrati središče povedi. Nasprotno pa zanikani nekontekstni povedek zajame celotno stavčno poved, npr. *Janez ni prišel na predavanje*. Podobno še: *Janez ni prišel, ker je zbolel* vs. *Janez ni prišel zaradi zabave*, druga poved ima kontekstni povedek, ker naslovnik predpostavlja, da je Janez sicer prišel, vendar ni bila vzrok zabava.

14 Koristno bi bilo raziskati, katera razmerja, ki jih navadno izražajo vezniki, odpirajo možnost naslonskega niza, npr. *da, pa, vendar, če* v navezovalnem, protivnem ali vzročniškem razmerju, ali pa zapirajo možnosti vzpostavitve naslonskih nizov, npr. *z in, ter* z razmerjem dodajanja. V obravnavi besednega reda v hrvaščini je na to že opozorjeno (Barić idr. 2003, 595).

(20)

Niso_{NEG:AUX:IND:PRS:3PL} se_{REFL} me_{PRON:ACC:1SG} bali_{LPTCP:M:PL}, saj_{CONJ} sem_{AUX:IND:PRS:1SG}
 jim_{PRON:DAT:PL} bil_{LPTCP:M:SG} za_{PREP} hlapca_{M:ACC:SG}.

Veznik povsem samostojno ubeseduje določeno razmerje, zato ni del oz. sestavina naslonskega niza (Orešnik 1985, 213).¹⁵

Naslonski niz v slovenščini se je dorekal od M. Murka, S. Škrabca prek Breznika do J. Toporišiča. Predstavljen in opisan v Slovenski slovnici (Toporišič 2000, 671) je izhodišče za ugotavljanje vseh različic možne rabe naslonk oz. naslonskega niza v slovenščini, vključno z dopolnitvami, preureditvami in izpusti, ki jih prinaša zlasti združevanje naslonskih nizov v večstavčni povedi, pobudnik nadaljnjih obravnav je bil J. Orešnik (1985, 1986).

V Slovenski slovnici (Toporišič 2000, 671) je naslonski niz predstavljen kot zaporedje naslonk, ki ga sestavljajo vezniška beseda (V), naklonski členek (N), glagolska oblika pomožnika na *s-* in *bi* (G1), povratne oblike *si/se* (P1/P2), zaimenske oblike dajalniške (Z1) → tožilniške (Z2) → roditeljske (Z3), glagolske oblike *je* in *bom, boš* (G2) itd., Č = nikalni členek in je ubeseden v *da naj bi se mu ne smejali* ipd.

Veznik kot prvenstveno beseda s samostojnim razmerijskim pomenom ostaja izven niza, vendar kot se iz zgledov 19 in 20 dá razbrati, na razpored naslonk in vrsto izbranih naslonk v naslonskem nizu vpliva izbor vezniške besede in na drugi strani izbor polnopomenskega glagola; obe besedni vrsti sta namreč odločilni za vrsto nastale propozicije in tudi za vrsto medpropozicijskih razmerij, ki nastanejo kot posledica izbora veznikov in glagolov; tu se ponuja vprašanje, ali je sestava naslonskega niza v zloženi povedi odvisna tudi od različnega soobstoja/kookurence glagolskih povedkov.

3.1 Nikalnica v naslonskem nizu

Nikalnico opredeljujemo kot nikalni členek, ki v naslonskem nizu nastopa zgolj kot zanikana različica glagola *biti*.¹⁶ Nikalnica je torej oblikotvorni del glagolske sestavine naslonskega niza, zato je nesamostojni neobvezni/variabilni del niza: členek **ne**

15 Že M. Murku (1892, 74–84) se zapiše, da v zloženi povedi stojijo klitike takoj za vezniškimi besedami. V zvezi s tem in v maniri govorice svojega časa je tudi opozoril, da je vprašalna poved *Ali si jo sama izmislila?* lahko tudi pripovedna poved z istim besednim redom, s tem da prvotno vprašalni *ali* s poudarkom dobi vlogo protivnega veznika.

16 Da sta tako nikalnica kot pritrđitev (naklonskopomenski) del glagola *biti* v zložnem povedku, eksplicitno opozarja npr. A. Breznik (1943, 196), npr. *Je navada* vs. *Ni navada*, *Je potreba* vs. *Ni potreba*, *Je konec* vs. *Ni konec* (pravde), tudi npr. *Težav resda še ni konec*, *Tu na žalost ni navada*, da bi k nekomu kar planil v hišo ipd.

se družijo z glagolsko sestavino in z njo tvorijo oblike kot *nisem*,¹⁷ pri zanikanju pa tudi spreminja oblike (21).¹⁸

(21)

Bi_{AUX:COND:SG} se_{REFL} je/jo_{PRON:F:GEN/ACC:SG} znebil_{LPTCP:M:SG}? → Ne_{NEG} bi_{AUX:COND:SG} se-
REFL je_{PRON:F:GEN:SG} znebil_{LPTCP:M:SG}*

Da pa nikalni členek sodi h glagolu, vsaj posredno potrjuje dejstvo, da znotraj zanikane osebne glagolske oblike ne moremo vrivati zaimenskih naslonk, kar je razvidno tudi iz naslednjih primerov v povednem in velelnem naklonu: Ne opravičuje se mi več / *Ne se mi več opravičuje; Ne opravičuj se mi več! / *Ne se mi več opravičuj! Nikalnica je torej sestavina glagola (pomožnika ali polnopomenskega) ne glede na obseg svojega vpliva, kar izražajo rabe kot *Zdaj še ni taka sila* nasproti *Zdaj še ni take sile* (Breznik 1943, 197). Naklonska vloga nikalnice pa je eksplicitno izražena npr. v odločevalnih vprašalnih stavkih: *Si kaj lačen* = *Nisi nič lačen?* (prim. Toporišič 1982, 235–242).

Nikalnica je torej prvenstveno morfem glagola in s tem lahko še neobvezni nesamostojni del naslonskega niza, kar potrjujejo primeri kot (22):

(22)

Prišel_{LPTCP:M:SG} je_{AUX:IND:PRS:3SG} da_{CONJ} se_{REFL} ne_{NEG} bi_{AUX:COND:SG} začelo_{LPTCP:M:SG}
brez_{PREP} njega_{PRON:M:GEN:SG}*

Ko je nikalnica pred veznikom in je s tem del vezniške zveze *ne da*, in ne del naslonskega niza, npr. *Prišel je, ne da bi se opravičil* 'Prišel je in se ni opravičil', lahko govorimo o stavčnem zanikanju, ki zanika cel stavek.

Da *ne* pred veznikom res zanika vsebino stavka, izražajo podobni zgledi (23):

(23)

Prišli_{LPTCP:M:PL} so_{AUX:IND:PRS:3PL} ne_{NEG} da_{CONJ} bi_{AUX:COND:SG} nastopili_{LPTCP:M:PL} 'Prišli
so in niso nastopili'
nasproti

17 Govorimo lahko o zanikanih glagolskih oblikah.

18 V Enciklopediji slovenskega jezika (Toporišič 1992, 146) je nikalni členek predstavljen kot oblikotvorni morfem, predvsem oblikotvorni morfem glagola, ki združen ali razdružen sootvori glagolsko obliko, tj. nikalno obliko glagola.

Prišli_{LPTCP:M:PL} so_{AUX:IND:PRS:3PL}, da_{CONJ} ne_{NEG} bi_{AUX:COND:SG} nastopili_{LPTCP:M:PL} 'Prišli
so preprečit (komu/sebi) nastop'

nasproti

Prišli_{LPTCP:M:PL} so_{AUX:IND:PRS:3PL}, da_{CONJ} bi_{AUX:COND:SG} nastopili_{LPTCP:M:PL} 'Prišli so na-
stopit' ipd.

Dialoška ubeseditvev zgornje rabe bi bila: *Je prišel? – Ne da bi vedel. – Ne (da) bi vedel.*

Lahko sklenemo, da nikalnica pred veznikom in členkom ni sestavina naklonskega niza, ampak sestavina vezniške in členkovne zveze. Člensko zanikanje pa je zamejeno na zveze *ne samo*, *ne le*, ki so v vlogi sosporočil, lahko pa so zanikani členki tudi v drugotni vezniški vlogi kot *ne samo – ampak tudi*.

Sicer pa tako veznik kot članek uvajata tako medpropozicijska kot kontekstna razmerja, s tem pa tudi aktualizacijsko členitev besedila.

4 Sklep

Aktualnostna členitev je primer, kako se sistemi naravnih jezikov prilagajajo sporočanskim funkcijam, ki so bistvo človeške komunikacije. T. i. naravni besedni red temelji na stilsko nevtralni/nezaznamovani rabi, ki ga upovedovalno usmerja členitev po aktualnosti. Ta objektivnost besednega reda se navezuje na vsakokratni konkretni kontekst.

Večplastnost aktualnostne členitve se dá ubesediti v povedi, in sicer z upoštevanjem stavčnočlenskega besednega reda in možne stavčnočlenske položajskosti, glagolske vezljivosti in tudi skladijsko-prozodijskega naslonskega niza. Vse troje sestavlja upovedovalno dinamiko konkretnega sporočila in hkrati vključuje posamezna vrednotenjska merila, s katerimi lahko presojamo ubesedeno ustreznost vsakokratnega sporočila.

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