

## Table of Contents

Alexandra Jarošová	
<b>Online dictionary content and the user needs: The Slovak case</b>	<b>2</b>
Juraj Dolník	
<b>Authentic cultivation of Standard language</b>	<b>20</b>
Martina Ivanová	
<b>Semantic-pragmatic analysis of Slovak imperative and its lexicographic description</b>	<b>32</b>
Jana Kesselová	
<b>Implicit and explicit reference to the addressee in dialogue communication in Slovak</b>	<b>56</b>
Ol'ga Orgoňová	
<b>Contemporary trends in stylistics and Slovak stylistics</b>	<b>80</b>
Jana Sokolová	
<b>Semantics, syntagmatics and pragmatics of comitative constructions in Slovak</b>	<b>90</b>
Daniela Slančová & Terézia Kovalik Slančová	
<b>Personal and social deixis in coach communication register</b>	<b>108</b>
Martin Ološtiak	
<b>Theory of lexical motivation in Slovak lexicology</b>	<b>136</b>
Gabriela Múcsková	
<b>Lexicalization after grammaticalization in the development of Slovak adjectives ending in -lý originating from l-participles</b>	<b>156</b>

# Online dictionary content and the user needs: The Slovak case

Alexandra Jarošová, Slovak Academy of Sciences

*While in classical dictionaries the emphasis was on data (in an academic dictionary, the user often struggles with the problem of information overload), an electronic dictionary focuses on the user's perspective. For the lexicographer this means not merely the need to search for a suitable ergonomic arrangement of dictionary data. Within such approach the very theoretical bases of lexicography are being redefined in the sense that the dictionary is primarily a utilitarian product whose function is to satisfy certain information and communicative needs of the users. At the federated search portal of the L. Štúr Institute of Linguistics, there are available several digitized versions of printed lexicographical works that have been published by this academic institution. The first and the second part of this paper deals with dictionaries in the context of language cultivation and its alternatives. As the prescriptive codification (i.e. dividing linguistic means into standard and non-standard ones) constitutes part of the culture of the users of the Slovak language, the page-views of online dictionaries are very high. However, none of the above referred to Slovak dictionaries available online (neither the descriptive nor the prescriptive ones) sufficiently reflect the most frequent requirements of the users, and the second part of the paper will try to explain why this is the case. The everyday linguistic problems of the users are being dealt with by the "non-dictionary reference genre", namely by the telephone and internet Advisory Services of the Institute of Linguistics. The most frequent types of information required by the users (e.g. questions concerning capitalization, hyphenation, spelling and semantics of neologisms, and declension and conjugation) are discussed in the third part of the paper. Another aim of the third part is to indicate in what way the data collected via the questions addressed to the Advisory Services and the answers provided, together with the three different types of expertise (theoretical morphology, corpus linguistics, and monolingual lexicography), determine the design of the Slovak digital-born Orthographic and Grammatical Dictionary that is at present being created.*

**Keywords:** *user needs, language advisory services, orthographic and grammatical dictionary, prescriptive codification*

## 1. Introduction

The *Language Advisory Services of L. Štúr Institute of Linguistics* is a popular institution that for four hours daily deals with the language-related questions of the citizens who by phone turn to it for advice. The advisors are also the authors of brief radio contributions addressed to the general public, and they provide answers to the questions that had been sent by e-mail (<https://slovensko.rtvs.sk/relacie/slovencina-na-slovicko>). The questions are often aimed at finding out whether the particular word forms part of Standard Slovak ("Is this word correct?"), or which of the two forms of the word is standard/correct. Quite often, the answers are formulated as: "We recommend/do not recommend that you use this word (in rather formal situations), because it is standard/it is not standard, and it is standard/it is not standard, because it

is present/it is not present in the codification dictionary.” However, this strategy cannot be used by linguists when they assess e.g. a new expression borrowed from English. In such case, they try to search for possible suggestions of Slovak equivalents, or for the ways of the grammatical adaptation of the Anglicism. It is evident that such type of answer that does not clarify the rule behind accepting or refusing the word does not seem to be appropriate to all users of the language. They want to understand the “logic” of the phenomenon. On the other hand, it should be noted that the short time available for responses in some cases does not allow for at least a brief explanation.

It stems from the above that a specific trait of the Slovak language-related and linguistic situation – the nurturing of an active relationship with regard to the so-called language cultivation, – based on authoritative prescriptive codification. The concept of cultivating the standard language appeared in the late 1920s in the context of the standardization activities in Czech. It became more famous under the name *Theory of Language Cultivation*, after the *Prague Linguistic Circle* published the seminal texts explaining the attitude of the *Circle* to language intervention into the standard language on the basis of functionalist principles (Havránek & Weingart eds. 1932).

## **2. Slovak dictionaries in the context of the *Theory of Language Cultivation* and the alternatives of this theory**

In Slovakia, the *Theory of Language Cultivation* is developing and modified in connection with the specific features of the particular stage of social development (see Nekvapil 2008 for a broader context).

The traditional understanding of language cultivation is carried out within two aspects. The first aspect of language cultivation deals with the quality of the linguistic usage in public communication and the second aspect focuses on directing the linguistic usage, based on advocating for the valid codification on the part of experts, i.e. the qualified users of the language, and, on the other side, on accepting the valid codification on the part of ordinary users (Ružička 1967; Kačala 1971; Král' & Rýzková 1990).

Such understanding also forms the basis of the currently applying and several times amended *Act on the State Language* of 1995 that relies on the existence of the so-called codification manuals, i.e. on academic grammar and on academic dictionaries of three types: on the orthographic-grammatical dictionary as part of *Pravidlá slovenského pravopisu* [Rules of Slovak Spelling] (Považaj ed. 2013, 4<sup>th</sup> edition), on the orthoepic dictionary as part of *Pravidlá slovenskej výslovnosti* [Slovak Pronunciation Rules] by Král' (2009, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition), and on the one-volume explanatory dictionary *Krátky slovník slovenského jazyka*, henceforth *KSSJ* [Concise Dictionary of the Slovak Language] (Kačala & Pisárčiková & Považaj eds. 2003, 4<sup>th</sup> edition). The given dictionaries, the material basis of which was being formed in the last part of the 1980s, function as codification manuals within their slightly updated issues. It is the *Ministry of Culture* that is authorised to award the status of codification manual to a particular linguistic publication (<http://www.culture.gov.sk/posobnost-ministerstva/statny-jazyk/kodifikacne->

[prirucky-c6.html](#)). This is connected with the model of linguistic diversity that differentiates linguistic means into the standard (correct and appropriate) and substandard (inappropriate) ones.

The headword list of the above-mentioned one-volume explanatory dictionary (*KSSJ*) is constituted by a selection in which the preference of the linguistic means created in compliance with the *linguistic system* was applied (Kačala 1994: 102), i.e. the description was made within the framework of the structuralist theoretical platform. In the *Act on the State Language of the Slovak Republic* (1995: paragraph 2, section 3) the Ministry of Culture refers to *regularities/dispositions of the codified form of the State language* [*zákonitosti kodifikovanej formy štátneho jazyka*] and considers these *dispositions* as being the only possible ones: “Any interference into the codified form of the State language in contradiction with its dispositions is inadmissible.”

The delimitation of words into standard and non-standard is system-based (Kráľ 2000: 77–81). Certain formal features of words are considered to be more appropriate from the point of view of the linguistic system of Slovak, hence “more Slovak”. Non-systemic words get disqualified by means of a set of qualifiers. Actually, a certain vicious circle can be identified here. Within the conception of language cultivation, a set of linguistic units presented in the prescriptive codification manual (dictionary) is considered to represent the norm. Such a norm with the features of an ideal has the character of an evaluative measuring device binding for the users of Slovak. In the conception of language cultivation, the implementation of the norm (understood in this way) into the linguistic usage, i.e. the regulatory activities of experts, have approximately the following sequentiality: linguistic system/model – linguistic norm/codification – linguistic culture – language user. Hence, in this traditional chain, the language user as the object of the impact occurs on the last place. When creating the *KSSJ*, in the centre of attention was not the user but the linguistic system. The application of the model of standardness/non-standardness causes a certain kind of communication problems and, at the same time, generates manuals that seemingly resolve these problems. Even in the case of a frequently occurring word that is used in formal situations, the users are not sure about its standard character.

In Slovak linguistics, however, there also exists a socio-linguistic and linguistic-pragmatic alternative to this conception based on the idea that language is to be interpreted from the position of its user in discourse, i.e. from the position of an ordinary user’s linguistic consciousness (Dolník 1996; Dolník 2010). In this conception, the norm forms part of the complex of standardizations, it represents the usage by the majority of speakers, and it is marked by natural variability. According to the protagonists of this approach, only this natural norm should be codified in linguistic manuals. Instead of language cultivation in the sense of authoritative regulation of practical linguistic usage, there should be applied linguistic management, i.e. linguistic advisory services based on the current needs of the language users.

The representatives of the traditional understanding of the concept of language cultivation in the 1990s declared that the state of linguistic culture in the sense of the quality of linguistic usage is catastrophic.

The representatives of the alternative sociolinguistic position expressed the conviction that linguistic usage is not in a catastrophic state, as many variants of the norm can be considered as being standard variants of the norm and not as linguistic mistakes. Within this linguistic approach, the declared transfer of interest to the language user has been carried out above all in

the form of thinking about an appropriate theoretical model of language which would replace the structuralist model of the “linguistic system” that ignores the mental reality of the speakers. The attitudes of the speakers were rhapsodically investigated with the help of questionnaires in which sociolinguists formulated questions concerning phenomena which they themselves considered to be problematic. The problems were being raised by linguists, not by users.

The *Rules of Slovak Spelling (PSP)* and the *KSSJ* (each containing 61 thousand entries) are the products of lexicography aimed at satisfying the communication needs of the wide public, i.e. the products of the so-called non-scholarly (though still academic) lexicography.

The new corpus-based *Slovník súčasného slovenského jazyka*, henceforth *SSSJ* [Dictionary of the Contemporary Slovak Language], is a representative of scholarly lexicography fulfilling both the cognitive as well as the communicative function. Up to now, the third volume of *SSSJ* (out of the eight planned ones) has been published (Jarošová ed. 2015). The *SSSJ* that is being published is aimed at describing the real linguistic norm, i.e. the regularly used, conventionalized language items. Thus what is described is not an idealized norm as a construction created by linguists, but the norm as a phenomenon based on language usage. This particular concept of the norm (“a complex of grammatical and lexical means (structural as well as non-structural), which are regularly used”) was developed within the functionalist theoretical framework of *Prague school* (Havránek 1932: 33). The real norm contains a large number of lexical and morphological variants, as well as foreign words the degree of adaptation of which varies. The above resulted in the fact that the function of the dictionary is to be a detailed description of the lexis based on the generalization of a large number of empirical data (we have at our disposal an in-house corpus *Omnia Slovaca* containing 4.9 milliard tokens) in compliance with the theoretical model of the language. For preventing the risk of an overload, lexicographers are assisted by the very useful theoretical model by Hanks (2013) built on the opposition of “norms (conventional uses of expressions) and dynamic/ad hoc exploitations of norms”. The object of lexicographical description should be constituted by the conventional usage of linguistic means.

It is also necessary to take into consideration the codificational continuity, and to a certain extent respect the results of the previous lexicographical agenda in the sphere of delimiting the means into standard and non-standard. The lexicographers involved in the preparation of the dictionary aim at improving the existing reduced model of the lexical meaning based on the functional-structuralist basis (Jarošová 2018a; Jarošová 2018b). We are expanding this model by including the concepts presented within other theoretical and methodological frameworks, such as sociolinguistics, linguistic pragmatics, cognitive linguistics and corpus linguistics (all of them departing in some respects from structuralism and, in other aspects, being complementary to it). The extended model of lexical meaning constitutes a certain synthesis of the given theoretical frameworks and, at the same time, represents a reflection of three language constituents:

1. The social constituent is present in the form of the consideration of the communicative functions of utterances, of the naming functions of lexical units, of functional styles and registers, of language norms, and of situational contexts.

2. The psychic component presents the consideration with regard to the prototype effect, the abolition of boundaries between linguistic meaning and other parts of cognitive content.

3. Thanks to the structural-systematic component, a description of the paradigmatic and syntagmatic behaviour of words can be carried out, and an inventory of formal-content units and categories (lexemes, lexias, word-formative and grammatical structures) can be provided.

Our ambition as lexicographers is nothing less than a word-centered description of the whole language, but we have not asked the question of how the user can extract the necessary information from this construct. Neither did lexicographers in preparing this dictionary primarily base their work on the real needs of the user, but they dealt with their own scholarly linguistic agenda.

### **3. A need of a new user-oriented manual in the context of new technologies**

Electronic media enable us to see the content-related as well as the presentation-related component of the dictionary in a new light. Corpus-based methods as tools with the help of which we look at raw textual data, have enabled us to observe the recurrent patterns of language, the scale-based and the continual character of linguistic meaning, but also of linguistic form. The corpus has relativized the langue-parole opposition. This langue-parole continuum has to be interpreted in some way, as well as discretized and selected, with the aim of creating units and categories. Linguistic data are not self-evident. They are a result of hard analytical work. Connected with the above is also the aforementioned building of a new model of lexical meaning and of its application variant, i.e. of the dictionary entry.

As soon as we have a sufficient amount of data, we face the problem of designing the dictionary data, which is pointed out by papers targeted at user-research projects (Müller-Spitzer et al. 2012; Tiberius & Müller-Spitzer 2015). While in classical dictionaries emphasis was placed on data (in academic dictionaries, the user often struggles with the problem of information overload), electronic dictionaries focus on the user's perspective. Authors of dictionaries were at first fascinated by the possibilities offered by a dictionary as an original electronic product. Where are the limits of academic dictionaries? From the point of view of the scholarly completeness and the volume of "storage databases", no limits can be established. Nevertheless, Lew (to be published) points out that from the aspect of appropriateness for the user and of the possibilities of handling the large volume of data, the restrictions are strong. Dictionaries that from the very beginning are created as electronic products, have extensive possibilities of dynamically representing their contents. At the disposal are numerous search fields enabling interactive selection, multimedia attachments to entries, hypertext links to other linguistic sources, e.g. to corpora of texts, to other relevant dictionaries, etc. Dictionaries can have the form of a database enabling searching via the particular parameters (e.g. via the data on the origin of the item), but can also enable full-text searching. We believe that namely the possibilities offered to contemporary information technologies have stimulated the situation within which the user is in the centre of attention. This is related not only to searching for an appropriate ergonomic organization of lexicographical data (Müller-Spitzer et al. 2012). The very theoretical basis of lexicography is being redefined in the sense that a dictionary is above all a utilitarian product the function of which is to satisfy certain information needs of its users. According to this conception entitled *Function Theory of Lexicography* (Bergenholtz & Tarp 2003), the efforts of

lexicographers have to concentrate above all on determining these needs on the basis of identifying the specific groups of users and specific situations within which the users turn to the dictionary. The representatives of functional lexicography, referred to also as *Aarhus School of Lexicography*, stress the fact that in the situation of using an electronic dictionary, the user can and should be an active user: “the essential problem of dynamic data does not reside in the storing of the data in the database, but in finding ways for presenting the data dynamically to the users [...] to fit in with the needs of the user in a given user situation (Andersen & Nielsen 2009: 360)”. Thanks to information technologies, the needs of the users are satisfied with the help of an interactive offer. The representatives of *Aarhus School*, pointing out namely the said utilitarian character and the strong technological component (Tarp 2012) consider lexicography to be a discipline including all reference manuals, and to be part of information science. Although lexicography borders on information technology (here we would like to point out the fluid borderline between general dictionaries, specialized dictionaries, encyclopaedic dictionaries and encyclopaedias themselves), it is still deeply rooted in linguistics.

However, in contrast to *Aarhus School*, we understand lexicography in a narrow sense of the word, hence as a technology of the presentation of language-related data for the purposes of satisfying the information needs connected with the communication of the user, hence not as a discipline including all the referential handbooks. Technology has to be indispensably based on scholarly findings, those being provided above all by linguistics, and at present, to a large extent, also by information science. In my opinion, it would be a better solution to use the term *lexicography* to refer to language-oriented dictionary manuals, while the wider area of reference works could be called a different way, e.g. *informgraphy*. Hence, we do not refuse the interdisciplinarity and the continual character of information/reference tools.

Slovak lexicography has so far been using the possibilities of electronic media and linguistic technologies only to a lesser extent. This applies above all to the area of the presentation component of the dictionary. At the federated search portal of the Ľ. Štúr Institute of Linguistics (<http://slovniky.juls.savba.sk/>), there are available several digitized versions of printed lexicographical works that have been published by this academic institution. The string searched for can be constituted by the whole lemma or its parts.

As prescriptive codification forms part of the culture of the users of the Slovak language, in the case of online dictionaries the page-views are very high. The Slovak Republic has 5.44 million inhabitants, out of which 3.75 are at productive age. In the year 2017, the dictionary portal had 460 thousand users and 2.2 million page-views.

However, numbers do not testify to the quality of the consultation sources. *KSSJ* and *Spelling dictionary* have a too reduced content and they are not regularly updated. Neither do they fulfil their principal function of refining the linguistic culture of the user, as this function stems from the problematic premise that idealized norm can be transferred into practical usage with the help of a dictionary.

The scholarly dictionary (*SSSJ*) contains many highly structured data and shortenings denoting linguistic categories. It is difficult to get oriented within this diversified space. It is not easy to find a particular item of information which would fulfil the “punctual information needs” (using the terminology of Tarp 2012: 101–112), although it is probable that the information is contained in the dictionary.

How is this offer viewed by the user? The statements made on the webpage of amateur linguistic advisors that is called *Milujeme slovenčinu* [We Love Slovak] (<http://www.milujemeslovincinu.sk/>) testify to the fact that there have appeared active users who often hold critical opinions with regard to our dictionaries: “The Institute of Linguistics should exert activities directed at the nation – they should get out of the shells of their offices where, with their noses dipped into academic papers and dictionaries, they do not see that, slow but sure, they are becoming an isolated isle of their own. People have many questions which have probably been answered somewhere, but, unfortunately, hardly anyone has enough abilities and patience to search for answers in complicated expert manuals. Some more integrated activities of the Institute of Linguistics would be very welcome. So far it is only me alone who is attempting to do that via this community web page *Milujeme slovenčinu*” (Zbínová 2012).

From our point of view it is important to state the reason which has led to the founding of the unofficial advisory portal: the manuals that offer the official dictionary portal of the Institute of Linguistics are too complicated and too “specialized” for ordinary and quick searching.

On the other hand, not only criticism is addressed to the dictionary, and its authors receive a considerable number of positive responses. Users appreciate the extended manner of definitions and the adequate presentation of exemplifying collocations and sentences.

The discussion forums focusing on language usage provide to linguists the possibility of gaining a number of immediate items of information on the attitudes and the needs of the users. Such information has to be inspected closely, as a reasonable innovation of the existing dictionaries and the designing of online dictionaries of the new type cannot do without such user-generated content (Lew 2014; Tarp 2015).

The everyday linguistic problems (“punctual information needs”) of the users are being managed by the non-dictionary “reference genre”, i.e. by the above-mentioned telephone-operated Advisory Services of Ľ. Štúr Linguistic Institute. Until the year 2013 there existed advisory services offered by telephone or by mail. The linguists working at the advisory services handled about 10 thousand questions yearly. Since 2013 the project of internet advisory services was started, based on the principle of the database containing 5532 frequently asked questions together with answers to them. In the year 2017, the internet advisory services numbered 130 thousand real users and 300 thousand page-views. Within the telephone advisory services about 6000 answers were given. Functioning in a limited regime are also advisory services by means of letters that tackle about 600 letters yearly.

This situation is not favourable for users in spite of the fact that the advisory activities are of such a multi-genre character. Codification manuals are under-dimensioned from the information point of view. Moreover, in the case of the *SSSJ*, the user struggles with the problem of information overload, and, above all, with the aged presentation technology which does not make use of the possibilities of electronic media. From our point of view, a model for electronic adjustment of a paper version dictionary to be followed is *Den Danske Ordbog* [The Danish Dictionary] ([https://ordnet.dk/ddo\\_en](https://ordnet.dk/ddo_en); for more information see Trap-Jensen 2010).

The internet advisory service can satisfy only a small number of those interested in linguistic consultations, and the telephone of the advisory services is often busy, hence difficult to reach. The time has come for creating a new alternative dictionary inspired by the real needs of real users.



How can we find out what the user is searching for? In trying to find the answer, we can be inspired by Slovenian linguists who decided to use the information from the linguistic advisory services on the internet and have created a very well designed bottom-up categorization (Arhar-Holdt et al. 2017: 3). At the first four places we can find the following questions: “Is this word correct or not?” (this question can actually also mean the verification of the fact whether linguists consider the particular word to be part of the Slovenian lexis at all); “Which of these options is better?”; “How is this word declined?”, “What does this word mean?” This is, in fact, the type of information searched for also by the users of the popular dictionary app *Svenska Akademiens Ordlist* [the Swedish Academy Glossary]: “about 57% of respondents mostly use the app to check spelling or meaning [...], [a]bout 54% use it to check ‘if the word is included in the glossary’ [...], 53% look for inflection” (Holmer et al. 2015: 364). It is evident that in addition to the question concerning the meaning, the consultation needs of the users are satisfied by the type of dictionary which can be called orthographic and grammatical.

Let us have a look at the information provided by the Slovak advisory sources. The typology of the issues made available to us by those working in *Language Advisory Services* represents a good source of empirical and expert information (Hrubaničová 2017).

1. From the aspect of the frequency of the user questions, the first places are taken by those ones related to punctuation (often a comma before a conjunction), and capitalization (candidates for gaining the status of proper names from the area of institutions, manmade structures, governmental matters, historical events and special occasions; common name candidates from the area of brand names), then hyphenation and shortening (from the area of compounds and other multi-word units). Evidently, the official *Rules of Slovak Spelling* dealing with the rules of using punctuation marks and of naming units having a specific function (e.g. for proper nouns or compounds) are not formulated clearly and unambiguously. Finally, there are the questions concerning the spelling and the normative status of neologism (e.g. Slovak derivatives so far not included in the dictionary, new foreign words, these often being terms).

2. Another frequent problem is represented by the pronunciation of Slovak words with regard to palatal consonants (palatalized consonants which have also their non-palatalized correlates are characteristic of the standard variety, but they are not present in Eastern Slovak and West Slovak dialects).

3. Next comes the meaning of neologisms.

4. Formal morphology

(a) Declension of nouns

(b) Variants of case endings

(c) Morphological case of nouns and shortenings

(d) Declension of foreign proper nouns.

It has to be born in mind that prescriptive codification (delimitation of linguistic means into standard and non-standard) constitutes part of the culture of the users of Slovak. That is why we hold the opinion that the users will also welcome the presentation of usage labels (colloquial, literary, poetic, journalese, administrative, official, specialized/technical, professional; regional, slang, substandard; expressive, pejorative, ironic, familial, facetious, rude, vulgar; rare; archaic, obsolete). It will be necessary to analyze again the concept of the standard and the notional

content of special normative labels with prohibitive function – incorrect, inappropriate (cf. also Šipka 2016).

The general conclusions that have been drawn here on the basis of the data collected by the *Language Advisory Services* thanks to the expertise of this institution can be formulated in the following way. The basis of the new *Ortograficko-gramatický slovník*, henceforth *OGS* [Orthographic and Grammatical Dictionary] will be constituted by the list of validated entries from the existing explanatory dictionaries extended by neologisms and the selected types of proper names which cause problems from the point of view of the usage of capital initial letters in them (multiword proper names), or from the point of view of their declension (foreign surnames).

With the help of the methods of corpus linguistics, we have extracted the above-mentioned neologisms from the balanced sub-corpus (313 441 150 tokens) of the *Slovak National Corpus prim-6.1-public*. The list consists of 17,000 lemmas that so far have not been lexicographically processed. One of the stages of creating the list of neologisms was manual lemmatization of the forms not recognized by the morphological analyzer. This operation also provided us with information on the unregistered morphological variants of entries that had already been part of the “old” list. The innovative works based on analyzing Slovak morphology have produced a tool for distinguishing whether the unregistered form means a mistake or a “systemic variant” (Sokolová 2007; Sokolová 2012). A variant is the result of the simultaneous functioning of two or more factors (e.g. the masculine suffix *-tel'* typically denoting a person is in collision with the meaning of the word *delitel'* (divisor) denoting an object; *aids* as to its spelling ranks into the non-palatalized declension pattern, and as to pronunciation into palatalized declension pattern). This phenomenon causes the coexistence of variant endings, e.g. *delitel'u/delitel'ovi* in DatSg, *delitele/delitelia* in NomPl; *aidse/aidsi* in LocSg. The character of the variantness of verbs is interesting, too. Some conjugation types are “strong” (they do not have alternations in the root, and they have unequivocally predictable endings within the extent of their whole paradigm). For example, conjugated according to the three strongest conjugation patterns (*chytat'* (to catch), *pracovat'* (to work) and *robiť* (to do) are 80 % of Slovak verbs. Their prototypical character causes that verbs from the “weaker” types start to be conjugated according to them. This is an area that generates forms with variant endings, e.g. *klzat'* ‘slide’: *klže* (Prs3Sg), *klžu* (Prs3Pl), *klž!/klžaj!* (Imp), *klžal* (3SgPtt), *klžuc/klžajúc* (Transgressive), *klžuci/klžajúci* (ActPrsPt). Within the process of analysis we deal with all the variant forms, but we accept and present only those that arise as a result of regular cross-conjugational interference. Some variant forms arise on the basis of the penetration of dialectal endings, e.g. the form *bere* (takes) that is widespread in the West-Slovak and the East-Slovak regions has its standard counterpart in *berie*. However, within the grammatical data concerning the verbs we do not present forms with dialectal endings. Some variants are distinctly more frequent and they constitute the norm. The variants with a very small occurrence constitute marginal realizations of the systemic potential. We have to resolve the question whether we should include such variants into the description, or whether their inclusion should be delimited by some percentage. Within morphological variantness we set the limit for presenting the minority variant at  $\geq 10$  % from the overall occurrence of the particular form. This is based on understanding the norm as usage by the majority, and 90 %, beyond any doubt, represents a majority. All “interferencing” variants the occurrence of which is below 10 %, are systemic, hence correct, but they do not constitute

part of the majority norm. In case of each variant, in addition to frequency we pay attention to the variedness of the sources of occurrence, as well as their value (an older text, e.g. from the period between the 1950s and 1980s, versus a contemporary text, i.e. from the period from the 1990s up to now; an original or a translated text; internet discussion, or a blog versus the official page of the institution). These factors increase or decrease the weight of occurrence.

In case of orthographic variantness a rather problematic group is constituted by Anglicisms. These words undergo a process of adaptation that generates numerous variants. For example, along with the frequently occurring original form *hacker* there also occurs a certain number of variants having a considerable lower frequency of occurrence: *haker* (hybrid form), *heker* (fully adapted form based on pronunciation), and *hecker* (a hybrid form). For inclusion into the *SSSJ*, in addition to the original form *hacker* we selected the variant *heker*. Although it does not rank as the second most frequent one, its selection is supported by a number of factors: its graphical form is the simplest, it is not a hybrid, and it has manifested extensive derivational potential (there have been formed verbs as *hekovat'* and *heknút'*, the adjective *hekerský*, the abstract noun *hekerstvo*, the adjectivized particles *hekovany'* and *heknuty'*, and the adjective *hekovatel'ný*). In addition, the occurrence of the form *heker* is increasing and it is used by prestigious periodicals. Hence, the basis of the decision-making is formed by frequency, but other factors are also considered. Not all Anglicisms undergo a process of adaptation within which the graphical form of the verb gets changed. Marked by a high degree of resistance are Anglicisms from the sphere of music, and, on the contrary, Anglicisms from the sphere of sport are often adapted.

At the first stage, the dictionary will present the graphematic form of the lemma and the lemma's grammatical and pronunciation data in the format that has been set for entries in the *SSSJ*. Hence, the entries will look like partial entries in the *SSSJ*. In this version the dictionary will present the identifying morphological forms including the nouns and verbs into the particular declension and conjugation class. Part of these forms constitute neuralgic points of the paradigm as they occur in variants and the users feel uncertain about them. In the previous dictionaries, to the detriment of the situation, many of these neuralgic points were not presented.

Homonyms will be accompanied by a brief explanation, and an explanation will also be produced for neologisms that so far have not been lexicographically processed.

Hence, the entry will contain the following data:

- (1) Lemma
- (2) Homonym number
- (3) Pronunciation (where needed)
- (4) Variant spelling (where needed)
- (5) Variant inflection (where needed)
- (6) Grammar and spelling remarks (where needed)
- (7) Declension forms displayed in a table
- (8) Usage labels ("qualifiers")
- (9) Meaning (in the case of homonyms and neologisms).

The typological range of the related usage labels is as follows:

- (1) Subject domain (102 symbols for the particular scientific and technological fields)

- (2) Character of the word from the point of formality/informality of communication (e.g. a colloquial word, an official denotation, etc.)
- (3) Appurtenance of the word to a particular sociolect (e.g. youth slang)
- (4) Appurtenance to levels of style (e.g. literary word, poeticisms, journalistic expression, biblical word)
- (5) Frequency of the word (rare word)
- (6) Attitude – Attitude to the communicated content (e.g. a derogatory word, an ironical word)
- (7) Aspect of the prescribed normativeness (a not recommended word, substandard word, incorrect word)

Only three of the above labels exclude the word from the standard language: substandard, slang and incorrect. The labelling of a particular linguistic means as incorrect had been worked out within the codification agenda of the previous dictionaries and, as a rule, it concerned the Bohemisms which had only undergone a phonological adaptation process (diphthongization, shortening of vowels and palatalization of the consonants *d*, *t*, *n*, *l* at the particular places), but their roots, affixes and manners of consonantal alternation have preserved their Czech character. Based on well-grounded reasons, we did not accept part of this agenda. On the other hand, with the aim of – also well-grounded – codification continuity, we took over part of the agenda also into the *SSSJ* and *OGS*.

In *KSSJ*, some words that were labelled as incorrect, or their Slovak equivalent was labelled by the qualifier *správne* ‘correct’, abbrev. as *správ.*, are labelled in *SSSJ* by a different qualifier, e.g. by the qualifier *hovorový výraz* ‘colloquial expression’, abbrev. as *hovor.* in the entries *hmoždinka* ‘coak’, *čípok* ‘hip (as medication)’; with a reference to *vhodnejší výraz* ‘a more appropriate expression’ in the case of the entries *jedálniček* ‘menu’, *behom* ‘(by) running’, *klúd* ‘relaxation’, ‘coolness’, ‘standstill’, ‘peace’, *čiastka* ‘(financial) sum’; with the label *regionalizmus* ‘regionalism’, abbrev. as *region.* in the entry *krecht* ‘potato bank (for storage)’; the entry *nezávadný* ‘without any flaws’, ‘unobjectionable’ is labelled as *odborný výraz* ‘technical expression’, and the entry *obora* ‘game preserve’ has no label, i.e. it is considered as being neutral along with its synonym *zvernica*. For these words we do not have any semantically and pragmatically completely equal and sufficiently used Slovak equivalent, and the equivalents suggested, in spite of the several decades since then, have not entered into usage (they differed in some semantic aspects or in collocability). These Bohemisms enrich the sets of synonyms and we consider them to be part of the Slovak lexis. Both in *SSSJ* and *OGS* we label as incorrect a small number (107 out of 155,000 entries) of frequent unadapted Bohemisms that are parallelly used with the semantically completely identical and current Slovak equivalents, e.g. in the entry *bojácný* reference is made to its correct Slovak counterpart *bojazlivý* ‘fearful’, and similarly processed are the pairs of words *čidlo* → *snímač* ‘sensor’, *dielčí* → *čiastkový* ‘partial’, *dosažitelný* → *dosiahnuteľný* ‘achievable’, *jaderný* → *jadrový* ‘nuclear’, *lehátko* → *ležadlo* ‘deckchair’, *krunier* → *pancier* ‘armouring’, *lomítka* → *lomka* ‘slash’, *nahorklý* → *horkastý* ‘bitterish’, *ožehavý* → *pálčivý* ‘poignant’, etc. Some words concerned are internationalisms the orthography of which has become stabilized in a certain manner, and by educated people the modification of this manner is not considered to be a variant, but a mistake. For example, the form *gramofón* (record player) is considered as being standard and the form *gramafón* as a

mistake. Similarly perceived is *antedatovať* ‘antedate’ as against the non-standard *antidatovať*, *kontroverzný* ‘controversial’ as against *kontraverzný*, *ekvipáž* ‘(horse-drawn) equipage’ as against *ekipáž*, *per cento* ‘percentage’ as against *pro cento*, etc. The areas where “incorrect” Bohemisms get used are neutral, formal or specialized communication. We explain to the users the reference to the “correct” Slovak equivalent as a recommendation not to use the particular Bohemism in public communication.

In contrast to such lexical Bohemisms that by linguists are considered to be uncommendable counterparts to standard lexical units, the substandard involves a set of borrowings that are widely used in general informal communication. These are mostly Germanisms (some borrowed through Czech) and Bohemisms. There also occur Anglicisms, but those are mostly used in youth slang and in professional slang, i.e. in informal group communication. Orthographically, the words borrowed from German and English are based on Slovak pronunciation, and not on their original graphical form. However, they usually comply with the Slovak grammatical paradigms (*cušpajz* ‘sauce’, *dunst* ‘idea’, ‘steam’, *fofr* ‘haste’, *hexenšus* ‘put-out back’, *kasírovať* ‘collect’; *líbling* ‘sweetheart’; *párty* ‘party’, *lúzer* ‘looser’, *ofis* ‘office’. Czech words have been borrowed in their original graphical form with characteristic Czech roots (*čumák* ‘muffle’, *ješitný* ‘vain’, *kecy* ‘yak’, *bulíkat* ‘cheat’) and affixes (*kutíl* ‘bricoleur’, *mladšas* ‘youngster’, *nastojáka* ‘while standing’). These lexical units tend to be used with the aim of their differentiation from the standard norm, and they often have an expressive-evaluative feature.

#### 4. Conclusion and future work

While in classical dictionaries emphasis was placed on data, the electronic dictionary focuses on the user’s perspective. This means not only searching for a suitable ergonomic arrangement of dictionary data. Actually, the very theoretical basics of lexicography are being redefined in the sense that the dictionary is primarily a utilitarian product whose function is to satisfy certain information and communicative needs of the users.

The *Orthographic and grammatical dictionary* (<http://lex.juls.savba.sk/>) is designed as a dictionary which, to a larger extent than it was until recently, takes into consideration the needs and the interests of the ordinary user, i.e. not only of the needs of a professional who uses language as a tool for his or her work. In making the *OGS*, we use the method of joining the know how from several areas: from language advisory services, from theoretical morphology, from corpus linguistics, and from monolingual lexicography. Tarp (2014) gave a very instructive description of this method and denoted it as a *functional method*. We completed the headword list with basic grammatical information in 2016 (this first version is on the web). Till the end of May 2019, we dealt with verifying and filling in the relevant orthographic and morphological data of the headwords in the dictionary. A lot of attention has been paid above all to verifying the variant forms in the corpus, with the aim of determining the boundaries of inflectional variability and differentiating variants from marginal deviation. The dictionary is an autonomous product and, at the same time, it forms the basis for the headwords of the following volumes of *SSSJ*. *OGS* contains 155,000 headwords and some of them are not listed in the so-far published

volumes of *SSSJ*, as they are either new, or they are too narrowly specialized. It also contains some additional morphological data (e.g. variants) motivated by the increased data in the corpora, hence it provides more reliable information about the grammatical behaviour of the words. From the user's point of view, continuous and frequent updating in such dictionaries constitutes a huge advantage. In future, we intend to add into the entry data about the whole paradigm in the case of nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and numerals, as well as data about the linguistic register, and incorporate brief explanations into the headwords representing specialized terms and neologisms. We hope that on the basis of its topicality and reliability the dictionary will become popular and authoritative among its users also without its having the status of a codification manual.

## Abbreviations

*KSSJ* *Krátky slovník slovenského jazyka* [Concise Dictionary of the Slovak Language]  
*OGS* *Ortograficko-gramatický slovník* [Orthographical and Grammatical Dictionary]  
*SSSJ* *Slovník súčasného slovenského jazyka* [Dictionary of the Contemporary Slovak Language]

## References

- Andersen, Birger Enevold & Nielsen, Sandro. 2009. Ten key issues in lexicography for the future. In Bergenholtz, Henning Nielsen & Sandro Tarp, Sven (eds.), *Lexicography at a crossroads: Dictionaries and encyclopedias today, lexicographical tools tomorrow*, 355–363. Bern: Peter Lang.
- Arhar Holdt, Špela & Čibej, Jaka & Zwitter Vitez, Ana. 2017. Value of language-related questions and comments in digital media for lexicographical user research. *International Journal of Lexicography* 30(3). 285–308.
- Bergenholtz, Henning & Tarp, Sven. 2003. Two opposing theories. On H.E. Wiegand's recent discovery of lexicographic functions. *HERMES - Journal of Language and Communication in Business*, 16(31). 171–196.  
(<https://tidsskrift.dk/her/article/view/25743>) (Accessed 2019-02-18)
- Dolník, Juraj. 1996. K analýze teórie jazykovej kultúry. [Toward an analysis of language cultivation theory.] *Slovenská reč* 61(5). 282–291.
- Dolník, Juraj. 2010. *Teória spisovného jazyka so zreteľom na spisovnú slovenčinu*. [A theory of standard language with regard to standard Slovak.] Bratislava: Veda.  
([http://www.juls.savba.sk/attachments/pub\\_teoria\\_spisovneho\\_jazyka/spijaz.pdf](http://www.juls.savba.sk/attachments/pub_teoria_spisovneho_jazyka/spijaz.pdf))  
(Accessed 2019-02-18)

Hanks, Patrick. 2013. *Lexical Analysis. Norms and Exploitations*. The MIT Press.

Havránek, Bohuslav. 1932. Úkoly spisovného jazyka a jeho kultura. [The tasks of the standard language and its culture.] In Havránek, Bohuslav & Weingart, Miloš (eds.), *Spisovná čeština a jazyková kultura*. [Standard Czech and Language Cultivation.], 32–84. Prague: Melantrich.

Havránek, Bohuslav & Weingart, Miloš (eds.). 1932. *Spisovná čeština a jazyková kultura*. [Standard Czech and Language Cultivation.] Prague: Melantrich.

Holmer, Luise & Hult, Ann-Kristin & Sköldbberg, Emma. 2015. Spell checking on the fly? On the use of a Swedish dictionary app. In Kosem, Izvor & Jakubiček, Miloš & Kallas, Jelena & Krek, Simon (eds.), *Electronic lexicography in the 21st century: Linking lexical data in the digital age*. Proceedings of the eLex 2015 conference, 11-13 August 2015, Herstmonceux Castle, United Kingdom, 356–371. Ljubljana: Trojina, Institute for Applied Slovene Studies. ([https://elex.link/elex2015/proceedings/eLex\\_2015\\_23\\_Holmer+Hult+Skoldberg.pdf](https://elex.link/elex2015/proceedings/eLex_2015_23_Holmer+Hult+Skoldberg.pdf)) (Accessed 2019-02-18)

Hrubaničová, Ingrid. 2017. Typy otázok a odpovedí v listovej jazykovej poradni v r. 2005 – 2015 a z nich vyplývajúce možné inovácie v poradenskej činnosti. [Types of questions and responses occurring in letters sent to and from the Language Advisory Services (from the years 2005 to 2015) and the possible innovations in the language advisory activities.] (Paper presented at the conference *Jazykové problémy, ktorých riešenie sa ťažko hľadá*. [Linguistic problems whose solution is difficult to find.] Bratislava, 28–29 November 2017.)

Jarošová, Alexandra. 2018a. Špirála poznania alebo funkcionalizmus a kognitivizmus (v lexikológii). [The knowledge spiral or functionalism and cognitivism (in lexicology) through the lens of two linguistic jubilees.] *Slovenská reč*. 83(2). 123–142. (<http://www.juls.savba.sk/ediela/sr/2018/2/sr18-2.pdf>) (Accessed 2019-02-18)

Jarošová, Alexandra. 2018b. Pohľad na pomenovanie cez prizmu teoretických rámcov a slovníkového hesla. [Looking at a naming unit through the prism of theoretical frameworks and dictionary entry.] *Jazykovedný časopis* 69(3). 277–301.

Kačala, Ján. 1971. Teória a prax v jazykovej kultúre. [Theory and practice in language cultivation.] *Kultúra slova* 5(3). 65–67.

Kačala, Ján. 1994. *Slovenčina – vec politická?* [Is the Slovak language a political matter?] Martin: Matica slovenská.

- Kráľ, Ábel. 2000. Odkiaľ vzali Slováci spisovnú slovenčinu? [Where did the Slovaks take their standard language from?] *Slovenská reč* 65(2). 71–85.
- Kráľ, Ábel & Rýzková, Anna. 1990. *Základy jazykovej kultúry*. [Basics of language cultivation.] Bratislava: Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo.
- Lew, Robert (in press). Space restrictions in paper and electronic dictionaries and their implications for the design of production dictionaries. In Bański, Piotr & Wójtowicz, Beata (eds.), *Issues in Modern Lexicography*. München: Lincom Europa. ([http://wa.amu.edu.pl/~rlew/pub/Lew\\_space\\_restrictions\\_in\\_paper\\_and\\_electronic\\_dictionaries.pdf](http://wa.amu.edu.pl/~rlew/pub/Lew_space_restrictions_in_paper_and_electronic_dictionaries.pdf)) (Accessed 2019-02-18)
- Lew, Robert. 2014. User-generated content (UGC) in online English dictionaries. In Abel, Andrea & Klosa, Annette (eds.), *Der Nutzerbeitrag im Wörterbuchprozess: 3. Arbeitsbericht des wissenschaftlichen Netzwerks 'Internetlexikografie'*. (OPAL – Online publizierte Arbeiten zur Linguistik 4), 8–26. Mannheim: Institut für Deutsche Sprache. (<https://pub.ids-mannheim.de/laufend/opal/pdf/opal2014-4.pdf>) (Accessed 2019-02-18)
- Müller-Spitzer, Carolin & Koplenig, Alexander & Töpel, Antje. 2012. Online dictionary use: Key findings from an empirical research project. In Granger, Sylviane & Paquot, Magali (eds.), *Electronic lexicography*, 425–457. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nekvapil, Jiří. 2008. Language Cultivation in Developed Contexts. In Spolsky, Bernard & Hult, Francis M. (eds.), *The handbook of educational linguistics*, 251–265. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Sokolová, Miloslava. 2007. *Nový deklinačný systém slovenských substantív* [New declension system of Slovak nouns]. Bratislava: Veda. ([http://www.juls.savba.sk/ediela/novy\\_deklinacny\\_system/](http://www.juls.savba.sk/ediela/novy_deklinacny_system/)) (Accessed 2019-02-18)
- Sokolová, Miloslava. 2012. Vymedzenie konjugačných tried, vzorov, podvzorov a ich variantov v slovenčine. [Delimitation of conjugation classes, patterns, sub-patterns and their variants in Slovak.] In Buzássyová, Klára & Chocholová, Bronislava & Janočková, Nicol (eds.), *Slovo v slovníku: aspekty lexikálnej sémantiky – gramatika – štylistika (pragmatika)*. [Word in dictionary: Aspects of lexical semantics – grammar – stylistics (pragmatics).] 149–158. Bratislava: Veda. ([https://www.juls.savba.sk/attachments/pub\\_slovo\\_v\\_slovníku/slovo\\_v\\_slovníku.pdf](https://www.juls.savba.sk/attachments/pub_slovo_v_slovníku/slovo_v_slovníku.pdf)) (Accessed 2019-02-18)
- Šipka, Danko. 2016. Exclusion labels in Slavic monolingual dictionaries: Lexicographic construal of non-standardness. In *Colloquium: New Philologies* 1(1). 1–17.



- Tarp, Sven. 2012. Theoretical challenges in the transition from lexicographical p-works to e-tools. In Granger, Sylviane & Paquot, Magali (eds.), *Electronic lexicography*, 107–118. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tarp, Sven. 2015. Detecting user needs for new online dictionary projects: Business as usual, user research or ...? In Tiberius, Carole & Müller-Spitzer, Carolin (eds.), *Research into dictionary use/ Wörterbuchbenutzungsforschung: 5. Arbeitsbericht des wissenschaftlichen Netzwerks „Internetlexikografie“*. (OPAL - Online publizierte Arbeiten zur Linguistik 2). 17–27. Mannheim: Institut für Deutsche Sprache. (<https://pub.ids-mannheim.de//laufend/opal/pdf/opal15-2.pdf>) (Accessed 2019-02-18)
- Tiberius, Carole & Müller-Spitzer, Carolin. 2015. Introduction. In Tiberius, Carole & Müller-Spitzer, Carolin (eds.), *Research into dictionary use/ Wörterbuchbenutzungsforschung: 5. Arbeitsbericht des wissenschaftlichen Netzwerks „Internetlexikografie“*. (OPAL - Online publizierte Arbeiten zur Linguistik 2), 3–5. Mannheim: Institut für Deutsche Sprache. (<https://pub.ids-mannheim.de//laufend/opal/pdf/opal15-2.pdf>) (Accessed 2019-02-18)
- Trap-Jensen, Lars. 2010. One, two, many: Customization and user profiles in Internet dictionaries. In Dykstra, Anne & Schoonheim, Tanneke (eds.), *Proceedings of the XIV EURALEX International Congress*, 1133–1143. Leeuwarden/Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy – Afûk.
- Zbínová, M. (2012). Prečo vlastne máme chcieť písať bez chýb? [Why should we actually aim at writing without mistakes?] (online) (<http://www.milujemeslovencinu.sk/nazory/preco-vlastne-mame-chciet-pisat-bez-chyb/>) (Accessed 2019-02-18)

#### **Internet sources** (Accessed on 2019-02-18)

- Act of Parliament Dated November 15, 1995 on the State Language of the Slovak Republic*: <http://www.culture.gov.sk/vdoc/462/an-act-of-parliament-on-the-state-language-of-the-slovak-republic--1ab.html>
- Slovenčina na slovíčko!* [Drop in for a chat with Slovak!] (the archive of language-related radio contributions): <https://slovensko.rtvs.sk/relacie/slovincina-na-slovicko>
- Den Danske Ordbog* (the online Danish dictionary): [https://ordnet.dk/ddo\\_en](https://ordnet.dk/ddo_en)
- Slovenské slovníky* [Slovak dictionaries] (the dictionary portal of the Ľ. Štúr Institute of Linguistics): <http://slovniky.juls.savba.sk/>
- Jazyková poradňa Jazykovedného ústavu Ľ. Štúra* [Advisory Services of the Ľ. Štúr Institute of Linguistics]: <http://jazykovaporadna.sme.sk/>

*Ministerstvo kultúry SR – Kodifikačné príručky* [Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic: Codification manuals]: <http://www.culture.gov.sk/posobnost-ministerstva/statny-jazyk/kodifikacne-prirucky-c6.html>

*Omnia Slovaca III Maior (18.01)* (the in-house corpus of the Ľ. Štúr Institute of Linguistics): [http://sketch.juls.savba.sk/bonito2/run.cgi/first\\_form](http://sketch.juls.savba.sk/bonito2/run.cgi/first_form)

*Ortograficko-gramatický slovník* [Orthographic and Grammatical Dictionary]: <http://lex.juls.savba.sk/>

*Slovenský národný korpus – prim-6.1-public-sane* [Slovak National Corpus – prim-6.1-public-sane]. Bratislava: Jazykovedný ústav Ľ. Štúra SAV 2013: <http://korpus.juls.savba.sk>

*Milujeme slovenčinu* [We love Slovak] (the website of amateur linguistic advisors): <http://www.milujemeslovincinu.sk/>

### **Dictionaries**

Jarošová, Alexandra (ed.). 2015. *Slovník súčasného slovenského jazyka*. [Dictionary of the Contemporary Slovak Language.] M – N. (3rd volume.) Bratislava: Veda.

Kačala, Ján & Pisárčiková, Mária & Považaj, Matej (eds.). 2003. *Krátky slovník slovenského jazyka*. [Concise Dictionary of the Slovak Language.] 4th edition. Bratislava: Veda.

Kráľ, Ābel. 2009. *Pravidlá slovenskej výslovnosti*. [Slovak Pronunciation Rules.] 2nd edition. Martin: Matica slovenská.

Považaj, Matej (ed.). 1991. *Pravidlá slovenského pravopisu*. [Rules of Slovak Spelling.] Bratislava: Veda.

Sokolová, Miloslava & Jarošová, Alexandra (eds.). 2016. *Ortograficko-gramatický slovník*. [Orthographical and Grammatical Dictionary.] (online). (<http://lex.juls.savba.sk/>)

### **Acknowledgement**

The research reported in this paper has been partially supported by the Slovak Science Foundation (VEGA), grant No. 2/0017/17 *The Dictionary of Contemporary Slovak Language – 6th Stage*.

*Alexandra Jarošová*  
*Jazykovedný ústav L. Štúra Slovenskej akadémie vied*  
*Panská 26*  
*811 01 Bratislava*  
*Slovenská republika*  
*alexandra.jarosova@juls.savba.sk*

In SKASE Journal of Theoretical Linguistics [online]. 2019, vol. 16, no. 3[cit. 2019-11-30]. Available on web page [http://www.skase.sk/Volumes/JTL41/pdf\\_doc/01.pdf](http://www.skase.sk/Volumes/JTL41/pdf_doc/01.pdf). ISSN 1336-782X

## Authentic cultivation of Standard language

Juraj Dolník, Comenius University

*A look at language planning and language management indicates how much strengthened in linguistics has become the position of discourse by which the culture of conscious regulation of linguistic life is being reproduced and which suppresses the attitude characterized by “leave your language alone”. The above also revives the opposition between the “natural” and the “artificial” cultivation of language, i.e. between the conviction that natural language corresponds to natural cultivation, and the attitude which from the point of view of a “naturalist” is “artificial” that also this language is in conformity with the external cultivating regulation. This paper enters into such opposition and provides argumentation in favour of the attitude that adequate cultivation of the standard language requires taking into consideration its character. It defends the thesis about authentic cultivation of the standard language, i.e. about the “genuine” linguistic and metalinguistic activities causing adaptation changes in the language, or acting against changes. It reacts to the fact that when viewing the life of a language from the position of linguistic planning and linguistic management, the concentration of attention upon the social aspects of the functioning of language shifts to the background the impact of the character of language upon the linguistic activities of the individuals. If, within explaining the activities of the language user, we sufficiently take this fact into consideration, we again come across the question of the naturalness and authenticity of language.*

**Key words:** *standard language, authentic language cultivation, character of language, ideal linguistic activity, behavioural linguistic competence, action-based linguistic competence.*

### 1. Introduction

Language cultivation is understood here as a sum of adaptation-related linguistic and metalinguistic activities initiating qualitative and quantitative changes in the structure of the language and changes in the structure and usage of linguistic means, but also as a complex of activities functioning against the changes. The term activity expresses a superordinate notion including behaviour and activity, hence the notion linguistic activity embraces linguistic behaviour and linguistic activity, i.e. both unconscious and conscious usage of linguistic means. The above also concerns metalinguistic activity: metalinguistic activity entails our own automatic corrections of the expressions uttered, our subconscious reactions to “slips of the tongue”, while metalinguistic actions mean conscious interferences into linguistic phenomena. The effect of these activities lies in the adaptation of linguistic means to the psychic and social needs of language users, as well as to their imagination and conviction about what in their language is good and acceptable. Conflicting attitudes and reactions are evoked by metalinguistic action. An extreme attitude is represented by refusing to interfere into the language under the well-known slogan “Leave Your Language Alone” (Hall, 1950), while the opposite attitude is manifested by the challenge “Do Not Leave Your Language Alone” (Fishman, 2006). However, in reality, language is being interfered into.

Support to goal-oriented interventions into the standard language has been provided by the theory of linguistic planning. Haugen, its prominent representative, understood this planning within the need of producing grammars, dictionaries and manuals of orthography “for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community”, but also as

“an attempt to guide the development of a language in a direction desired by the planners. This means not only predicting the future on the basis of available knowledge concerning the past, but a deliberate effort to influence it” (Haugen 1959: 8). The strengthening of the conviction about the usefulness and the need of external language regulation was supported by a broadened understanding of linguistic planning according to which planning concerns decisions on the linguistic problems of the society, hence its scope exceeds the framework of linguistics. In this context we can read the following: “We do not define planning as an idealistic and exclusively linguistic activity, but as a political and administrative activity for solving language problems in the society. Public planning, that is, orderly decision-making about language on a national level, is motivated by public effects of some language problems and by the social context” (Jernudd – Gupta 1971: 211). Gradually reinforced was the claim that linguistic problems form part of social problems that require rational solutions.

One of the questions activating the theory of linguistic planning was: Who is and who should be the linguistic planner? The conviction about the indispensability of the involvement of each of the relevant parties started to be promoted (e.g. Rubin 1986), which has led to the fact that the theory of language management puts to the foreground the role of the microsocial level, and stresses the importance of the perspective of the participants in linguistic communication. “U teorie jazykového managementu je zdůrazněno, že původ všech jazykových problémů je v mikrojevech na úrovni promluvy”<sup>1</sup> (Neustupný 2002: 435). The point is that it is necessary to “odpoutat se od situace, kdy lingvisté či jiný personál určovali na základě velmi omezené zkušenosti z jazykové praxe, co je, či není problém”<sup>2</sup> (ibid.). One of the goals of this theory is to clarify the relationships between “simple” and “organized” management, i.e. the relationships of micro- and macroplanning (Nekvapil 2010: 66). Viewing linguistic planning from the perspective of the democratization of society within the framework of postmodernist thought has led to the fact that there was designed a model of metalinguistic activities from the standpoint of the reactions of the participants in communication within the particular communicative events. Let us remind ourselves that this model represents a scheme of the sequentiality of activities: the participant will note some deviation from the standard (noting), evaluate it positively or negatively (evaluation), and select a plan of action (adjustment design), which is then carried out (implementation).

This cursory look at language planning and language management indicates how much strengthened in linguistics has become the position of discourse by which the culture of conscious regulation of linguistic life is being reproduced and which suppresses the attitude characterized by “leave your language alone”. The above also revives the opposition between the “natural” and the “artificial” cultivation of language, i.e. between the conviction that natural language corresponds to natural cultivation, and the attitude which from the point of view of a “naturalist” is “artificial” that also this language is in conformity with the external cultivating regulation. This paper enters into such opposition and provides argumentation in favour of the attitude that adequate cultivation of the standard language requires taking into consideration its character. It defends the thesis about authentic cultivation of the standard language, i.e. about the “genuine” linguistic and metalinguistic activities causing adaptation changes in the language, or acting against changes. It reacts to the fact that when viewing the life of a language

---

<sup>1</sup> “The theory of language management stresses that the source of all linguistic problems occurs within the micro-phenomena on the level of utterance.”

<sup>2</sup> “to free oneself from the situation when linguists or other subjects, on the basis of very limited experience from linguistic usage, were determining what is and what is not a problem.”

from the position of linguistic planning and linguistic management, the concentration of attention upon the social aspects of the functioning of language shifts to the background the impact of the character of language upon the linguistic activities of the individuals. If, within explaining the activities of the language user, we sufficiently take this fact into consideration, we again come across the question of the naturalness and authenticity of language.

## **2. Naturalness and interventions into language**

For highlighting the problem concerning the idea of naturalness with regard to the natural language, we can briefly return to the discussion on natural morphology that was created by Mayerthaler (1981) in his universal pragmatic theory. According to this theory, labelled as natural are the morphological structures corresponding to the criteria of optimal coding, i.e. constructional iconicism (the asymmetry of the content elements is represented as a construction-related symbolization asymmetry), uniform symbolization (one function is represented by one form) and paradigm transparency (degree of homomorphy and polymorphy). These criteria are perceived as principles of natural morphology by which its dynamics are governed (preferred are forms better corresponding to optimal coding). Werner, who explains morphological changes on the basis of linguistic economy (of decisive importance is frequency in the text), raised the question what is it that should be considered to be natural: “Should it be a principle given in advance: “natural” are, if possible, the most simple, unified, iconic assignments of content-related categories to inflected expressions – an ideal at which part of morphological changes is directed, but which, however, again and again meets with obstacles? Or should we accept as “natural” the complicated situations dominating in our languages which are again and again initiated and strengthened, and search for explanations with regard to them?” (Werner 1989: 34–35). Should we then deem as being “natural” those morphological changes that establish complicated, non-unified circumstances in natural languages (and as we find them in such languages, they are “natural”), or should we deem as being “natural” the changes which initiate a transparent, unified order, but meet with obstacles? It is clear that “naturalness” is placed here into a relationship with the opposite cognitive approach to morphology: into cognition with idealization vs. without idealization. At the background of this opposition (in addition to other factors) lies the fact that forwarded into the centre of attention are not the same data about morphology, and they are being perceived in a differentiated manner from the point of view of their relevance for the cognition of morphological changes.

Is conscious interference into the standard language for cultivating it natural or is it artificial? Is it not the case that its cultivation is natural when the members of the linguistic community use it for their purposes and modify it with regard to their needs, ideas and feelings, without its usage being consciously regulated by any subjects? If we say that external conscious interventions are natural, we rely on perceiving these instances of interference as substantial parts of linguistic usage. As being natural are deemed the complicated relationships (similarly to the situation in natural languages) which came about from the natural usage of language and conscious interference into its functioning (the complicatedness is caused by the conflicts and disparities in the command of the language, which are brought about by instances of intentional interference). This was the mental basis on which Cameron (Cameron 1995) based her theory of verbal hygiene. By this theory she reacts to the perception of the standard language that registers intentional interference separately from the ordinary linguistic usage (e.g. Kaplan –

Baldauf 1997). She places into the foreground the experiential cognizance that the individuals do not delimit themselves to language usage only, but they also react to it, which results from their inclination to improving the language, to “cleaning” it, hence to linguistic “hygiene”. With regard to the above, intentional interventions into language represent normality in the life of language, and not activities which would contravene the naturalness of language. On the contrary, it would be unnatural if the functioning of language were not intervened by “verbal hygienists”. Within this frame of thought, also the model of simple linguistic management represents normal metalinguistic activity, i.e. natural interference into language: If somebody notices any deviation from the norm, they can, but do not have to, create an “adjustment design”, and it is natural that it can, though does not have to, aim at carrying out this plan (whether the person succeeds depends on his or her power to exert influence).

Here naturalness is connected with normality in such a manner that it is derived from it. This is a well-known phenomenon that we denote as naturalization of normality (as normality forms the culture, we perceive our culture as our natural environment). The opposite standpoint is that normality is a derivative of naturalness: normal is that which corresponds to naturalness. However, in this case we have to do with another normality – a postulated “genuine”, authentic normality. Here the expression *natural* means “corresponding to the nature of the given entity”. With regard to the above, interventions are natural when they correspond to the nature of language. This statement implies interventions that are assessed on the basis of the degree of naturalness of the intervention: interventions can be natural, less natural or unnatural (similarly to the more or less natural morphological structures in the above mentioned universal-pragmatic theory of natural morphology). The ideal state comprises only natural interventions. This ideal constitutes the measure of assessing the interventions, hence ensuing from the above is the maxim of metalinguistic activity: Your metalinguistic activity should correspond to the character of language, so “Be natural!”. Hence, metalinguistic activities are perceived here with an idealization that is justified by the “pressure” of the character of language as its objective quality that is being exerted upon its users. A testimony about this “pressure” is provided by any ordinary empirical finding from linguistic usage that is usually not in the centre of attention when explaining the behaviour and activities of language users. We can currently observe – and from this point of view the Slovak linguistic environment constitutes a very good spot for observation – that in spite of repeated instructions about the correctness of some expressions that are intellectually accepted by the language users, they continue to use those forms of language which are in compliance with their linguistic feeling (linguistic critics and educators register them as notoriously made mistakes). Let us give one distinct example from standard Slovak: not even the decades-lasting permanent instructions concerning erroneousness of using the secondary preposition *kvôli* in causative meaning has prevented its still being used in this way, although the users mentally accept the recommended preposition *pre* (e.g. *neprísť pre chorobu* “fail to come due to illness” is accepted as a good structure). The explanation that this is a classic problem of getting rid of somebody’s habits does not come into consideration, as such linguistic expressions mean so to speak automated reactions that are inherent to the character of the mother tongue (cf. below). At this point we have to focus on the character of language.

### 3. On the character of language

What is concerned is the mother tongue. From the aspect of cultivating it, it is important how we gradually master it and have at our disposal its means, how it is changing in its constitutive environment – in communication, and how its users can use it both as a means of interaction and as a means of thinking. The following characteristic features of language become foregrounded: spontaneous acquirability, disponibility, and changeability, as well as intentional adaptability. Characteristic of language is the fact that we can make use of its means in such a manner that we can spontaneously adopt it within communicative activity, we can use its means in such a way that in the stream of communication the particular expressions automatically appear at the tip of our tongues, it can spontaneously undergo changes, and we can adapt it to our variable intentions. It has features that are necessary for its functioning as a tool adapted to its activities, based on the interaction of spontaneous, conscious reactions, and of conscious, intentional acts. Similarly to the case of using other means, both the rationality and the effectivity of language usage depend on this interaction. Within the abilities of language users, this interaction is developed as the coordination of behavioural and action-based linguistic competence. Natural command of language is based on the interaction of these competences, i.e. on the ability to coordinate unconscious linguistic reactions (linguistic behaviour) and intentional linguistic acts (linguistic activities). Why is this so?

We can find the answer in the nature of the human being as an active creature. As such a creature, it is set upon achieving goals. This is a naturally determined feature present also in other living beings. Inherent to creatures set upon achieving goals is rationality comprised in the fact that the reactions needed for carrying out the goals take place automatically (instinctively, reflexively), so the individual can fully concentrate upon his or her goal. On the basis of this rationality the human being exists as a behavioural-action-oriented creature that within his or her activities profits from the automatic activation of reactions as a precondition for achieving goals, which allows for concentrating the energy upon the goal itself. Humans strengthen this rationality by often automating their operations to allow for more concentrated realization of their intentions (the actions of a driver can serve as a befitting example). Any automation of operations in favour of rationalization is a manifestation of the “pressure” of the fundamental order of the nature of humans as active beings, i.e. of the “pressure” upon exerting the natural state of the participants in which they occur only when the behavioural aspect of their activity does not diminish their energy needed for carrying out their intention. This is a state when the consciousness of the participant is concentrated only upon his or her intention, as the presupposed dispositions for its realization are activated outside their consciousness.

The mechanism of linguistic activity constitutes a specific case of the mechanism of human activity consisting in the interaction of behavioural and action-related reactions. This is an intentional-emergent mechanism directing our linguistic activities in such a manner that it leads us towards the intention evoked within the given interactive situation, adjusting us to using adequate linguistic means (in compliance with paralinguistic and extra-linguistic means) within varying degrees of awareness, and it activates the process of the emergence of expressions, without any need of activating the linguistic consciousness. The fact that grammatically correct expressions emerge from the linguistic memory automatically, without any involvement of consciousness, is enabled thanks to the fact that we acquire our maternal language spontaneously, unconsciously, within the usage of its means. These means are stored in our memory without our being aware of them, and in the same way, they also emerge from it when we need them during the process of realizing our intentions. What is thus stored in our linguistic memory comprises our “not-knowledge-based” grammatical disposition. This does not mean explicit or implicit grammatical knowledge, but a representation of our disposition to



grammatical behaviour in compliance with the grammatical rules (this disposition is explained in Dolník 2017). On the basis of this disposition, our grammatical behaviour corresponds to grammatical rules, without us consciously or unconsciously observing them. This explanation is in line with Wittgenstein and his “practice-oriented” understanding of rules according to which grammatical rules are “written” into linguistic usage, while the following of these rules also means merely usage, while the bearer of the language only follows them “blindly” (Wittgenstein 1984). The above is also connected with J. R. Searle’s “background” and the interpretative proposal of his idea that “a human being is able to come up with and develop a complex of abilities which are sensitive to the specific structures of intentionality, while not being constituted by this intentionality. Humans develop skills that are so to speak functionally equivalent to the system of rules without their containing any representations or internalizations of these rules” (Searle 2013: 152). Hence, grammatical behaviour ranks in the number of the types of behaviour that correspond to rules, but not because we would be consciously or unconsciously following them, but because in our linguistic usage we have developed a complex of dispositions or abilities by which we react to rules. We have developed these dispositions within the process of socialization during which we were also under the influence of grammatical rules, namely as they “required” that we adopt abilities for a behaviour that is in conformity with the rules. It seems reasonable to us to assume that an individual acquires “not-knowledge-based” grammatical disposition by applying the disposition for analogical behaviour, by which the individual reacts to the grammatical behaviours carried out in linguistic usage, i.e. to grammatical examples into which grammatical rules are “written”, and thus the individual specifies his or her disposition to analogical behaviour.

Disposition to unconscious and analogical behaviour, i.e. behaviour “in line with and in the sense of” the one perceived, or else enlivened from the past, also constitutes the basis of spontaneous linguistic changes. Such behaviour leads to the extension of the collocation of a particular element that can become stabilized in the linguistic community without its getting into the attention of the language users as constituting a change. This process is described as diachronic and synchronic dynamism of language. However, we feel inclined to stressing that these are natural changes, because they stem from the natural usage of language based on the interaction of behavioural and action-related linguistic competence in which behavioural competence is not faced with “artificial” obstacles, i.e. with corrective reactions on the basis of knowledge about the language. These changes represent manifestations of the character of natural language.

#### **4. Character of Standard language**

Let us remind ourselves that the representatives of the Neogrammarian School stressed the importance of the “folk language” (dialect) for linguistic investigation while reasoning that it means language within its natural development that flows unconsciously, unintentionally, in contrast to literary language that develops consciously, and so it is an “artificial” language (well-known is also the analogy *literary language : folk language = natural plants : plants grown in a gymnasium*; in its research also botany prefers plants growing in a natural environment). The “artificiality” of the standard (literary) language is clearly manifested when it is introduced into life as a common public language, it is codified and it settles in the society within the education of its members. They learn it and are facing the pressure of the consciously controlled linguistic standard, and are led to getting oriented according to the codification

representing the highest level of awareness in relationship to language. By strengthening this language in the life of the society there was instigated the culture of its conscious regulation and the orientation of its users upon the most conscious bearers of the language. The protagonist of the theory of linguistic culture of the Prague School explains: “Norma spisovného jazyka se vytváří, vzniká i dále vyvíjí vždy za teoretických zásahů, a to teorie jazykové i mimojazykové; norma spisovného jazyka jest složitější soubor jazykových prostředků než norma jazyka lidového, poněvadž funkce spisovného jazyka jsou bohatěji rozvinuty a přesněji rozlišeny, a konečně norma spisovného jazyka je uvědomělejší a závažnější než norma lidového jazyka a požadavek její stability je důraznější”<sup>3</sup> (Havránek 1932: 35). Also after more than half a century it is stressed that by the modern linguistic communities the standard language cultivation has to be “vedome podporovať, lebo s komplikovanou organizáciou spoločnosti a s prevahou tzv. duševnej práce nad telesnou zväčšuje sa aj ich závislosť od stavu jazyka”<sup>4</sup> (Kráľ – Rýzková 1990: 15). These quotes present the conviction that awareness is a trait of the character of the standard language, this being determined by its functions and importance in the life of the society. Hence, conscious interventions into it are not unnatural.

However, what is it that is happening in the process that we call democratization of the standard language? The answers include the following. Its social basis becomes extended and on a certain stage of this process the circle of its users actually includes all members of the society. It penetrates into various communication spheres and situations, including those in which the individuals adopt it in the same way as people adopt the mother tongue. If the individual speakers acquire it in this way, i.e. if they do not learn it, but they acquire it spontaneously, unconsciously, unintentionally, the standard language functions as a natural language within its own conditions. The development of the linguistic community has achieved the stage in which its standard language can function as a “folk” language of a higher order. Its members acquire behavioural linguistic competence during the practical usage of the language, within which their “not-knowledge-based” grammatical disposition and ability to use the rationality of the interaction of behavioural and action-aimed linguistic competence in communication is maturing.

Within the democratization process, the standard language loses its “artificiality”, while this process is being influenced by the above mentioned culture of its conscious regulation that naturalizes this “artificiality” for the language users. Within the Slovak linguistic environment, this discrepancy is very distinct. On the one hand, the users of the standard language manifest their preparedness to carry out linguistic activities in the sense of the rationality of the interaction of behavioural and action-based linguistic competence, and they manifest that it is natural for them to rely on their own “not-knowledge-based” grammatical disposition. However, on the other hand, they are under the influence of the normative power of the above-mentioned culture, which is in line with the tradition of the approach to standard language from the times of introducing it into life and its stabilization in the linguistic community. The source of this force is also the fact that for users the linguistic phenomena, too, represent potential stimuli for reaction (similarly to any other phenomena), as well as the fact that we are creatures

---

<sup>3</sup> “The norm of the standard language is created, it arises and further develops always within theoretical interference, both of the linguistic and extra-linguistic phenomena; the norm of the literary language is a more complex system of linguistic means than that of the norm of the folk language, as the functions of the standard language are more awareness-based and more binding than the norm of the folk language, and the requirement of its stability is more assertive.”

<sup>4</sup> “consciously supported, because with the complicated organization of the society and with the prevalence of the so called intellectual work over physical work also their dependence on the state of the language is growing”

endowed with logics. Similarly to Cameron (cf. above) as a protagonist of “verbal hygiene”, also Starý, who is critical of the theory of linguistic culture of the Prague School, stresses: “Zasahovat do jazykové praxe ... je jedním z přirozených sklonů mluvčích. Průběh jazykové praxe je tak spoluurčován reflexí této praxe, přičemž tato reflexe je zároveň součástí jazykové praxe samé”<sup>5</sup> (Starý 1995: 145). Yes, the reactions of the users to what occurs in practical linguistic usage constitute part of this usage, but only those instances of interference into it are natural which correspond to the character of the standard language accepted as mother tongue. Any unnatural interference on the part of the users means manifestations of the fact that, just like in any other areas of life, also in the linguistic sphere they react to the particular stimuli with differing motivation, though at the same time they get into a more or less hidden conflict with what they experience as the command of their own language and its natural usage. As beings endowed with logics, they accept what corresponds to judgment, but contradicts to that which is being used and is in harmony with the character of language. Metalinguistic reactions based on logical reasoning (supported by abstract – out-of-context – inference) are usually accepted without the question how could “illogical” structures become consolidated. In addition, we can often see that metalinguistic reactions in the name of adhering to rules have to face elements that after their linguistic analysis turn out to be dynamic phenomena, i.e. there occurs artificial interference into the synchronic dynamism of language based on spontaneously instigated changes inherent in natural language. Let us provide at least one example from the Slovak environment: For a long time we have been confronted with the explanation that female first names of the type *Dáša*, *Máša*, *Soňa*, based on the particular declension pattern, have the ending *-e* in the genitive singular (*Dáše*, *Máše*, *Sone*), which reacts to the fact that in practical linguistic usage this case occurs in the form with the suffix *-i*, which is not even restricted only to the names of this type (*počujeme od Soni* “we hear from Soňa”, *z Európskej únie* “from the European Union”, *z Banskej Bystrici* “from Banská Bystrica”, etc.). This spontaneous change is being interfered into, although already several decades ago, within systemic depiction of the synchronic dynamism of Slovak morphology, this change was described by a Slovak linguistic expert (Dvonč 1984: 47). The above means interference into natural linguistic behaviour that is “intimately” familiar to the language users, so they behave in this way, although they acknowledge the logical character and correctness of the declension according to the particular pattern.

## 5. Authentic cultivation of the Standard language

We can state that language users are inclined to interfere into language, but are also inclined to prefer such linguistic activity within which their behavioural linguistic competence functions are undisturbed, without any interference. The first inclination stemmed from the metalinguistic reaction by which the language user reflexively corrects himself or herself when pronouncing some erroneous form, or also corrects other language users. By reinforcing the social importance of the correctness of linguistic structures and of the appropriateness of their usage, these reflexive reactions have developed into conscious metalinguistic instances of interference manifested by critical linguistic reactions, turning with questions to linguistic advisory services, or by publicly expressing their attitude to linguistic matters. Well, we can

---

<sup>5</sup> “To interfere into the practical linguistic usage... is one of the natural inclinations of speakers. Consequently, the course of practical linguistic usage is co-determined by the reflection of this practical usage, while this reflection is at the same time part of the practical linguistic usage itself”

label this inclination as being natural – as it was done by Starý, the above quoted author, because it is natural that people express their assessment of what they perceive or what they do. Nevertheless, it is natural for a human being in the position of observer of what exists and what is happening around him or her, as to what is being observed, to express also their evaluative attitude reflecting their needs, interests, etc.

The second inclination is inherent to the person who experiences his or her language as a means of communication that was created within the activities of humans as behavioural-action-oriented beings. It was from this mode of man's existence that his or her behavioural and action-oriented linguistic competence arose. The interaction of these competences means the natural command of language, i.e. its usage on the basis of its natural acquisition, understood as the linguistic state of the individual that pertains as a comfort ensuing from this rationality. This state of comfort is experienced by the language user within the events of communication in which he or she is dealing exclusively with linguistic activities, as for them the corresponding linguistic behaviour functions automatically, without the need of any conscious interference into its functioning. Ideal for him or her is the state when all the activities can be carried out within this linguistic comfort. Reflected in this ideal is the inclination of the language user to preserving the original character of linguistic activity, i.e. its authenticity, as such linguistic activity is optimally adapted to the behavioural-action-aimed structure of his or her coming to terms with life. Ideally, the linguistic activity of language user is maximally natural within each communication event, its linguistic authenticity is not violated, the interaction of its behavioural and action-related linguistic competence is perfect, and the intention-emergent mechanism functions continuously. Concisely formulated, in its ideal state, linguistic feeling is a perfect servant of linguistic activities, because it always functions without the attention and the will of language users.

In Slovak linguistics, already in 1933 there existed the following consideration: „Najdôležitejším činiteľom v bežnom spisovnom úze je *jazykový cit*. On temer sám udáva smernice, ktorými sa spravujú spisovatelia a ľudia, hovoriaci spisovnou slovenčinou. ... Keby bola spisovná slovenčina už vo všetkom ustálená, keby sme mali jednotný jazykový cit, tak by sme v ňom nachodili najspoľahlivejšieho poradcu. ... Jazykový cit ... u nás je jednotný len v základných veciach, v podrobnostiach je až priveľa odchýlok a nepresností. Preto jazykový cit nemôže nám byť nateraz jedinou spoľahlivou oporou pri riešení otázok správnosti jazykovej“<sup>6</sup> (Bartek 1933–1934: 6). By stating that “for the time being” linguistic feeling cannot be the only pillar, Bartek indicates that in future this could be the case. By the above he indicated that the development of standard Slovak is heading towards the strengthening of the role of linguistic feeling within the cultivation of this language. That is a direction to the ideal state when it is only linguistic feeling that decides about linguistic correctness. What picture is offered by the 80-year development since the statements by Bartek? Standard Slovak has arrived at such stage of democratization that Slovaks have a mother-tongue command of it, but at the same time they are under the permanent influence of metalinguistic discourse and intervention practices by which attention is directed at conscious control of linguistic correctness. On the one hand, language users manifest their inclination to being guided by their

---

<sup>6</sup> “The most important phenomenon in ordinary standard usage is *linguistic feeling*. Nearly only on its own it determines the guidelines governing the writers and the people speaking standard Slovak.... If Slovak were already in everything stabilized, if we had the same linguistic feeling, then we would find a most reliable advisor in it.... Linguistic feeling... is unified here only within the basic matters, while concerning the details there are too many deviations or imprecisions. As a result, for the time being, linguistic feeling cannot be the only reliable pillar in resolving the questions of linguistic correctness”

behavioural linguistic competence, because they perceive standard Slovak as their mother tongue, and, on the other hand, their inclination to intervening into the language, which is in conflict also with their linguistic feeling, gets supported and encouraged by metalinguistic discourse. The language user who experiences his or her language as a natural means of communication, as a product of its acquisition, and who is also under metalinguistic surveillance, is exposed to the feeling of insecurity. This insecurity can be faced by authentic cultivation of the standard language.

Authentic cultivation of this language is aiming at supporting the tendency towards the above mentioned ideal state. This cultivation supports the autonomous character of the behavioural linguistic competence, and in this way also the tendency at asserting endogenous linguistic standards. It means the supporting of the development of linguistic activities within the spirit of their rationality and in the name of the expansion of the linguistic comfort in [communicative life](#). Of course, an ideal state of linguistic activities occurs in an ideal situation of the cultivation of language which is created by the ideal linguistic community. Such community is marked by being governed by the standards formed by the natural coordination of the linguistic behaviour of its members, including the sense for variability in them, hence also the natural tolerance with regard to the differentiation of linguistic structures, and is marked by the fact that metalinguistic discourse is oriented upon the usage and development of language with regard to its being adapted to the changing communication needs and interests, i.e. upon the topical motivational worlds of the members of the society. However, there is the question whether ideal linguistic activity, ideal situation, ideal linguistic community are not only linguistic constructs.

Let us remind ourselves that the same question was raised also by Habermas in relationship to his concept of ideal speech situation. He answered it in the following way: “An ideal speech situation is neither an empirical phenomenon nor a mere construct, but it is a reciprocally carried out imputation indispensable in discourses” (Habermas 2011: 194). As imputation he denotes the fact “that within carrying out speech acts counterfactually, we act in such a manner as if ideal linguistic situation were not merely fictitious but real” (ibid.: 195), and thus also in the case that it is fictitious, it is effective in communication, and the partners in communication anticipate it. Hence, of importance is the fact that the ideal linguistic situation represents a constitutive power in linguistic communication, by being real in the sense that the communicative partners “anticipate” it, because “only this anticipation guarantees that the really gained consensus may be connected with the claim for a reasonable consensus” (ibid., p. 194). It is useful to remind ourselves also of the inspirational source given by Habermas – the ideas of Apel – who spoke about ideal communication society as a utopic principle functioning in each current communication (Apel 1976). This train of thought leads us to postulating the principle of idealness in relationship to the behaviour and acting of man, thus also to his or her linguistic activity taking place in the linguistic community. With regard to this activity, within which the individual experiences his or her language, this principle functions as a principle of naturalness, affecting the communicative partners in such a manner that they experience the attractiveness of the linguistic comfort. This is manifested by them in their inclination to be guided by a “free” behaviouristic linguistic competence and its expansion in the sense of the statement: “It would be ideal if we had this comfort always and everywhere” (that would be possible only in an ideal linguistic community). Ideal linguistic activity, ideal linguo-cultivation situation, ideal linguistic community, are not only linguistic constructs, but they are authentic states (activities, situations, communities) in the perception of language by its users. They exist as perceptions, as experience of the naturalness and genuine character of language, as means of

communication on the basis of the constant character of the rationality of the linguistic activity of humans as behaviourally-action-oriented beings. The users of language as its experiencers enter into linguistic communication with an anticipation of ideal states, and so they can experience the natural functioning of the behavioural linguistic competence and its being disturbed by interference.

As the language user is not only its experiencer, but also its episodic or systemic observer, added to experiencing language is perceiving it with activated consciousness, as a result of which the user is inclined to intervening also into the linguistic behaviour (hence not only into the linguistic activities). If starting with the presumption that also in this position the users are oriented upon the ideal state – i.e. a most regular, a most logical, a most exact, a most simple, a most clear language, which presupposes the most self-aware users – we realize that this is an ideal stemming from the discourse about language, by which the metalinguistic culture developed within the period of introducing the standard language into the life of the society, and also the corresponding intervention activities are maintained. Nevertheless, if there exist conditions for the functioning of the standard language as a natural language in the true sense of the word, this metalinguistic culture is not in conformity with them. These conditions are in conformity with the rationality of linguistic activity, hence with the authentic cultivation of the standard language. Such cultivation supports the optimization of the interaction of linguistic behaviour (behavioural linguistic competence) and linguistic activities (action-based linguistic competence), hence the optimal functioning of the intentional-emergent mechanism governing linguistic activities.

## References

- Apel, Karl-Otto. 1976. *Sprachpragmatik und Philosophie*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
- Bartek, Henrich. 1933. O správnosti jazykovej [On Linguistic Correctness]. In: *Slovenská reč*, 1933–1934, vol. 2, No. 1. 1–16.
- Cameron, Deborah. 1995. *Verbal Hygiene*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Dolník, Juraj. 2017. *Jazyk v sociálnej kultúre* [Language in Social Culture]. Bratislava: VEDA, vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied.
- Dvonč, Ladislav. 1984. *Dynamika slovenskej morfológie* [Dynamism of Slovak Morphology]. Bratislava: VEDA, vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied.
- Fishman, Joshua A. 2006. *Do Not Leave Your Language Alone: The Hidden Status Agendas Within Corpus Planning in Language Policy*. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Habermas, Jürgen. 2011. *Teória jazyka a východiská sociálnych vied* [Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns]. Bratislava: Kalligram.
- Hall, Robert A. 1950. *Leave Your Language Alone!* Ithaca – N. Y.: Linguistica.
- Haugen, Einar. 1959. Planning for a Standard Language in Modern Norway. In: *Anthropological Linguistics*, 1(3). 8–21.
- Havránek, Bohuslav. 1932. Úkoly spisovného jazyka a jeho kultura [The Tasks of the Standard Language and its Culture]. In: *Spisovná čeština a jazyková kultura*. Eds. B. Havránek and M. Weingart. Praha: Melantrich. 32– 84.

- Jernudd, Bjorn H. & Gupta, J. D. 1971. Towards a Theory of Language Planning. In: *Can Language Be Planned? Sociolinguistic Theory and Practice for Developing Nations*. Eds. J. Rubin – B. H. Jernudd. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii. 195–215.
- Kaplan, Robert B. & Baldauf, Richard B. 1997. *Language Planning from Practice to Theory*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Kráľ, Ābel & Rýzková, Anna. 1990. *Základy jazykovej kultúry* [Basics of Linguistic Culture]. Bratislava: Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo.
- Mayerthaler, Will. 1981. *Morphologische Natürlichkeit*. Wiesbaden: Athenaion.
- Nekvapil, Jiří. 2010. O historii, teorii a modelech jazykového plánování [On the History, Theory and Models of Language Planning]. In: *Slovo a slovesnost*, vol. 71, No. 1 53–73.
- Neustupný, Jiří V. 2002. Sociolingvistika a jazykový management [Sociolinguistics and Language Management]. In: *Sociologický časopis/Czech Sociological Review*, vol. 38, No. 4. 429–442.
- Rubin, Joan. 1986. City Planning and Language Planning. In: *Language Planning: Proceedings of an Institute*. Eds. E. Annamalai & B. H. Jernudd & J. Rubin. Mysore – Honolulu: Central Institute of Indian Languages – East-West Center. 105–122.
- Searle, John R. 2013. *Die Konstruktion der gesellschaftlichen Wirklichkeit. Zur Ontologie sozialer Tatsachen*. Berlin: Suhrkamp.
- Starý, Zdeněk. 1995. *Ve jménu funkce a intervence* [In the Name of Function and Intervention]. Praha: Univerzita Karlova.
- Werner, Otmar. 1989. Sprachökonomie und Natürlichkeit im Bereich der Morphologie. In: *Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung*, 1989, 42, Vol. 1. 34–47.
- Wittgenstein, Ludwig. 1984. *Werkausgabe in 8 Bänden. Band 4: Philosophische Grammatik*. Hrsg. Von R. Rhees. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

## Acknowledgements

The work on this paper was subsidized by the Agency for Supporting Research and Development, based on Contract No. APVV-18-0176.

*Juraj Dolník*  
*Department of Slovak*  
*Faculty of Arts, Comenius University*  
*Gondova 2*  
*814 99 Bratislava*  
*Slovak Republic*  
[juraj.dolnik@uniba.sk](mailto:juraj.dolnik@uniba.sk)

In SKASE Journal of Theoretical Linguistics [online]. 2019, vol. 16, no. 3[cit. 2019-11-30]. Available on web page [http://www.skase.sk/Volumes/JTL41/pdf\\_doc/02.pdf](http://www.skase.sk/Volumes/JTL41/pdf_doc/02.pdf). ISSN 1336-782X

# A semantic-pragmatic analysis of the Slovak imperative and its lexicographic description

Martina Ivanová, Prešov University

*Abstract: The present study focuses on semantic and pragmatic aspects conditioning the distribution of Slovak imperative forms. On the basis of corpus data it analyses verbs with a preference for the imperative form taking into consideration not only the absolute frequency of particular imperative forms but also the representation of the imperative in the grammatical paradigm of the analysed verbs. It concentrates upon lexicographic descriptions of imperatives in *Slovník súčasného slovenského jazyka* with special attention paid to two important issues: restrictions concerning the formation of imperatives within different semantic groups of verbs and distributional patterns of positive and negative imperatives with respect to verb semantics including also the question of aspectual characteristics. The results illustrate the importance of usage-based analysis which enables us to uncover the semantic and pragmatic aspects relevant for distribution of imperatives in Slovak.*

**Keywords:** imperative, Slovak, lexicographic description, positive imperatives, negative imperatives

## 1. Introduction

The Slovak imperative has seldom been studied from a usage-based perspective. This study fills the gap by examining verbs with a preference for the imperative in positive and negative forms within their grammatical paradigms and the possibilities of forming imperatives within different semantic groups of verbs. Within the Slovak linguistic context imperative forms of verbs have been investigated mostly from a formal point of view. For the Slovak imperative, for instance, arguably the most classic studies, Pauliny (1947), Dvonč (2003) and Sokolová and Bónová (2010), focus primarily on the formation of imperatives within different verb conjugation paradigms and describe the possible imperative variants existing for certain verbs. To our knowledge, though, no systematic study of the semantic and pragmatic aspects of the imperative's usage exists in a corpus of Slovak. However, beyond the Slovak linguistic context many monographs and articles can be found, cf. critical review of works on the imperative in Van Olmen & Heinold (2017) and Van Olmen (2019).

The investigation of imperatives from a semantic and pragmatic point of view is motivated by work on the 4<sup>th</sup> edition of *Slovník súčasného slovenského jazyka*. Semantic and pragmatic characteristics play an important role in the lexical processing of imperative forms in the dictionary. The question whether to introduce imperatives within grammatical apparatus in the dictionary and in which form (positive or negative) they should be introduced cannot be answered without a detailed and consistent analysis of verbal semantics and pragmatics.

The study is organized as follows. In Section 2 the chosen data sources are described. In Section 3 the role of the imperative in speech acts is analysed, strictly distinguishing the imperative as a morphological form, the imperative sentence as a sentence type and the directive function as an illocutionary function that can be expressed by the whole gamut of linguistic means in Slovak. Section 4 focuses on an investigation of the most frequent imperative forms identified in corpus data, comparing them with a score gained from Omnia



Slovaka III Maior. In Section 5 a lexicographic description of imperative forms is elaborated with special attention paid to factors limiting the formation of the imperative form and to distribution of positive and negative imperative forms. Finally, Section 6 summarises the most important conclusions of the investigation.

## **2. Corpus data**

The investigation was done in two corpora. Corpus version prim-8.0-vyv is a subcorpus balanced with regard to style (33.3 % journalistic, 33.3 % fiction, 33.3 % professional texts), it has 377 million tokens / 298 million words. Omnia Slovaka III Maior is a corpus comprising several subcorpora, namely SNK prim-6.1 + Europeana + OpenSubtitles + Wikipedia + Wanda + skTenTen + Araneum + Cassovia + web-3.0 (part). It has 4 950 392 333 tokens and 4 035 523 604 words. In his usage-based study on English and Dutch imperatives Van Olmen (2019) uses a comparable corpus of English and Dutch speech. A similar corpus investigation cannot be provided for Slovak simply because of the fact that Slovak spoken corpus is not morphologically annotated. That is why Omnia Slovaka III Maior is used as a corpus which merges the largest “traditional” corpus (prim-6.1-all) with the web corpus (Araneum Slovacum Maximum). The web corpus brings into investigation the advantages that overcome the shortcomings caused by the non-existence of an annotated spoken corpus in Slovak: web corpus is more suitable for analysis of infrequent phenomena (such as phraseology) and it comprises new text types, genres, domains and registers so that there is a larger proportion of more informal language in the data (cf. Benko 2017).

To extract the data from corpus prim-8.0-vyv the tags [tag="VM.\*\+"] (for positive imperative) and [tag="VM.\*-"] (for negative imperatives) were used. To identify the most frequent imperative forms of individual verbs the data were sorted on the basis of frequency distribution using the attribute lemma. The procedure yielded a frequency list of the most frequent verbal lemmas occurring in imperative forms. However, this procedure simply identifies the most frequently occurring verbs in the Slovak imperative, but this approach fails to tell us, however, whether the verbs are characteristic of the construction. That is why the lemmas from the frequency list were further investigated in Omnia Slovaka III Maior which provides the user with information on usage patterns of every investigating unit. For verb units, the usage patterns include raw frequency and proportional distribution of the grammatical forms of the investigated verb unit (such as infinitive, indicative, imperative, 1-participle, singular, plural, 1<sup>st</sup> person, 2<sup>nd</sup> person, 3<sup>rd</sup> person, negation, etc.).

## **3. Imperative and speech acts**

We regard the imperative as a form through which a morphological category of mood is realized on the verb. Apart from the imperative, indicative and conditional forms can be employed in the Slovak mood system. The Slovak language belongs to a large group of languages which have fewer imperative forms than for other mood forms (cf. Karlík 2017). Within the singular paradigm there is only one form that is usually interpreted as the form of

2<sup>nd</sup> person.<sup>1</sup> Within plural paradigms two forms are recorded, one for 1<sup>st</sup> person and one for second person. 1<sup>st</sup> person plural always has inclusive interpretation as it comprises both the speaker and the addressee. 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural has exclusive interpretation as it comprises only the addressee. 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural refers to either an individuated or collective addressee which is the way how the category of honorifics is realised in Slovak.

The morphological forms of indicative, imperative and conditional constitute the basis for different modal forms of sentences, namely declarative, imperative, interrogative and optative sentences. Each sentence in Slovak has its modal value and belongs to one of these four types. Modal forms can be described as abstract patterns formed by means of morphological, lexical and intonational elements. Thus, a declarative sentence is formed by a combination of indicative/declarative mood and conclusive cadence, an interrogative sentence is formed by means of indicative/conditional mood and anticadence (yes/no question) or by means of interrogative pronoun, indicative/conditional mood and conclusive cadence (complementary question), an imperative sentence is formed by means of imperative mood and an optative sentence is formed by means of optative particle and indicative/conditional mood.

Each modal form can express different communication functions. In a speech act approach, different communication functions of utterances are distinguished, namely assertive, directive, interrogative, commissive, etc. (cf. Grepl – Karlík 1989). Some authors speak of “imperative stance” (Grepl 1979), distinguishing it from the imperative as morphological imperative. From the terminological point of view, it is more convenient to differentiate imperatives as a kind of sentence type and directives as a kind of speech act based on a common illocutionary point which can be characterised as the intention of the speaker to make the addressee realize the action. However, these phenomena cannot be strictly separated. Jary and Kissine (2016), trying to define the imperative as a comparative concept, describe the imperative as a sentence-type whose only prototypical illocutionary function is the performance of directive speech acts, and which is suitable for the performance of the full range of directives. In his later work, Grepl (in Grepl & Karlík 1998) distinguished different types of directive speech acts taking into consideration different degrees of force with which the author acts upon the addressee (e.g. command – order – request) and the measure of the author’s participation in the realization of the action (e.g. proposal as a speech act in which the author participates versus request representing a speech act the realization of which is expected on the side of the addressee). As Aikhenvald (2010: 198–199) claims, there is a vast array of directive meanings among which orders (commands, demands), requests (pleas, entreaties), advice (recommendation, warnings), instructions (and expository directives), invitations, permission, acceptance, good wishes, imprecation, incredulous rejection and self-deliberation can be counted. However, in our opinion, permission, acceptance, good wishes, imprecation, incredulous rejection and self-deliberation do not meet the definition of directives and should be treated separately. Permission and acceptance include something the addressee would want to do, not the speaker; wishes express the intention of the speaker, but not an appeal towards the addressee; imprecations (such as curses) do not direct the addressee to do something, they are expressions of emotions; incredulous rejections and self-deliberations can be understood as discourse formulae with conventionalized meaning (Aikhenvald 2010: 200) which do not have directive force.

---

<sup>1</sup> According to Karlík (2017) it is also possible to interpret it as an example of formal syncretism, i.e. as a form for all three persons, or as a default. In that way, examples like *Čert to ber*. ‘To hell with it.’ (literally, the sentence comprises the imperative form of the verb *brať* ‘take’ with a formal subject *čert* ‘devil’) or *Pracuj každý s vŕli usilovnou*. ‘Everybody work with diligent will.’ can be naturally interpreted.

Table 1 presents relationships between morphological mood, modal type (often called syntactic mood) and communication function of utterance.

Table 1: Relationships between morphological mood, modal types and communication functions of utterance

Utterance	Communication function	Modal type	Morphological mood
Pracuje na záhrade. 'She is working in the garden.'	assertive	declarative	indicative
Cvičím a neulievam sa. 'I am exercising and I am not shirking.' Ideš preč! 'You go away.'	directive (command)	declarative exclamative variant of declarative	indicative
Na tvojom mieste by som tam nechodil. 'I would not go there if I were you.'	directive (advice)	declarative	conditional
Kto príde? 'Who is coming?'	interrogative	interrogative	indicative
Zavrela by si ústa? "Could you shut your mouth?"	directive (prohibitive)	interrogative	conditional
Ako si to mohla urobiť? 'How could you do this?'	expressive (reproof)	interrogative	indicative
Urob to! 'Do it!'	directive (command)	imperative	imperative
Len to skús urobiť! 'Just try to do it!'	admonitive (threat)	imperative	imperative
Nedávno poľnoc minula, človeka nevidno, a ty rob ako mula. 'It's already after midnight, no man can be seen and you work like a donkey.'	assertive (with descriptive obligation)	imperative	imperative
Keby ste radšej mlčali. 'You better shut up.'	directive	optative	conditional
Nech už odíde. 'Let him go.'	hortative	optative	indicative

Table 1 brings several examples of the possible relationships between morphological mood forms, types of syntactic constructions and communication functions. It shows that the relationship between morphological mood and directive illocutionary function is not always symmetrical. Their relation is twofold: the imperative can be conceived as a prototypical way of expressing the directive function; however, the language has the whole gamut of other linguistic means to express directive speech acts (e.g. ability questions, declarative sentences with exclamative intonation, etc.). On the other hand, although the imperative is used mainly to express directive speech acts of command, it can also be used to indicate different pragmatic values, e.g. threat, permission, acceptance, etc. As Jarry and Kissine (2016: 123) remind us permission or advice are also inherent parts of the imperative's multifunctionality so that they define the imperative as "a sentence-type whose only prototypical illocutionary function is the performance of directive speech acts, and which is suitable for the performance of the full range of directives". Because of the presented facts, the term *directive* must be differentiated from

the term *imperative*. The term imperative will be used for any member of the category of morphological mood (the linguistic form of the imperative is overtly signalled by specific imperative morphemes in Slovak) and the term directive for any illocutionary type of utterance with directive function.

The directive function of the imperative is also connected with the (non-)expression of overt subject in imperative constructions. The explicit reference to the addressee is possible in Slovak by using the personal pronouns *ty* ‘you-sg.’, *vy* ‘you-pl.’, *my* ‘we’. Exceptionally, even explicit reference expressed by indefinite or delimitative pronouns is possible, however, these pronouns can be interpreted as the correlates of the addressee in given contexts, which can be proved when addressing the same person with personal pronouns in second person in the wider context, e.g.

- (1) (Môžem vás poprosiť?) Povedzte už niekto tomu Honzovi, aby si konečne našiel novú tému.  
‘(May I ask you?) Someone tell John to find a new topic.’
- (2) Nechod’te nikto k nám (prosím vás veľmi pekne).  
‘Nobody go to us (if I can ask you).’

In the following table the most frequent collocations of explicitly expressed personal pronouns with imperatives of individual verbs are presented.

Table 2: Explicit reference to the addressee in imperative constructions

Verb	Frequency
<i>ty chod’</i> ‘you-sg. go’	221
<i>vy chod’te</i> ‘you-pl. go’	80
<i>ty bud’</i> ‘you-sg. be’	72
<i>vy bud’te</i> ‘you-pl. be’	50
<i>ty sa neboj</i> ‘you-sg. don’t be afraid’	46
<i>ty čuś</i> ‘you-sg. shut up’	43
<i>ty zostaň</i> ‘you-sg. stay’	42
<i>ty povedz</i> ‘you-sg. say’	35
<i>ty ostaň</i> ‘you-sg. stay’	32
<i>ty mlč</i> ‘you-sg. be quiet’	32
<i>ty drž</i> ‘you-sg. hold’	25
<i>ty daj</i> ‘you-sg. give’	21
<i>ty prepáč</i> ‘you-sg. be sorry’	20
<i>ty počúvaj</i> ‘you-sg. listen’	20
<i>ty sa nestaraj</i> ‘you-sg. don’t care’	20
<i>ty dávaj</i> ‘you-sg. give’	20
<i>my dodajme</i> ‘we add’	18
<i>ty príd’</i> ‘you-sg. come’	15
<i>vy zostaňte</i> ‘you-pl. stay’	14

As can be seen from the corpus data, explicit reference to the addressee is more typical for the individuated addressee (*ty*). On the other hand, explicit reference to the inclusive addressee (*my*) is quite rare when compared with second person imperatives. Explicit reference of the addressee is connected with various discourse functions and occurs in particular types of context:

(i) in situations when the actions of two participants are confronted (often after negation to negate the idea that the addressee is not the subject of the imperative situation or to present the idea that the addressee is also the subject of the imperative situation with so-called parallel or additive meaning):

- (3) My ti budeme pást' husi a ty chod' natrhat' mak.  
'We will be herding your geese and you go gather the poppy.'
- (4) „Chod' prvá, Magda,“ povie Nad'a. „Nie, ty chod' prvá,“ namietne Magda.  
““You go first, Magda,” says Nad'a. “No, you go first,” objects Magda.'
- (5) „Tak chod' do postele!“ „Aj ty chod' do postele!“  
““Now you go to bed!” “You go to bed too!”“

(ii) in situations in which soothing reassurance, encouragement, support is expressed (often with negative imperative):

- (6) Nič sa ty neboj, bude z teba ešte chlap.  
'You needn't be worried, you'll be a man yet.'
- (7) O mňa sa ty netráp!  
'Don't you worry about me.'

(iii) in situations in which the speaker (often in an ironic way) provides the addressee with advice or recommendation:

- (8) Len ty pekne rob svoju robotu.  
'You just do your work.'

(iv) in situations in which impatience, irritation, aggression on the part of the speaker is expressed:

- (9) Matka podráždene hodila rukou: – Ty mlč!  
'Mother irritably waved her hand: – You shut up!'

(iv) in situations in which the subject participant is focalised (often after the use of a focus particle):

- (10) Aspoň ty maj rozum!  
'At least you be reasonable!'

(v) in contexts when syntactic subjects are coordinated:

- (11) Hlavne Nathanko a ty bud'te silní.  
'Especially Nathan and you be strong'

The results of the analysis can be compared with findings presented in a study by Fortuin (2010). His survey shows that verbs that are frequently attested with the subject *ty* 'you' are *posmotret* 'look'; *gljadet*/*gljanut* 'look'; (*ne*) *govorit*/*skazat* 'say, tell'; (*po*)*dumat* 'think'; *izvinit* 'forgive'; *prostít* 'forgive', and *ne bojat* 'sja' 'not be afraid' (a similar search with the subject *vy* (polite form) resulted in more or less the same verb classes). A comparison with Slovak shows that the results partly overlap. The imperative form is also typical for the Slovak verbs *povedat* 'say, tell'; *prepáčit* 'forgive'; 'forgive', and *nebát* 'sa' 'not be afraid'. On the other hand, the explicit imperative form is not typical of perception verbs (in Russian, *posmotret*, *gljadet*/*gljanut*) or cognitive verbs (the Russian (*po*)*dumat*). When analysing the function of explicit imperative subjects, apart from cases where the accented subject fulfils a contrastive and parallel function, various pragmatic functions of explicit second-person subjects connected with the vocative-like function of the subjects. are discussed such as emotional involvement of the speaker to display such emotions as irritation and impatience (it can be compared with the situations described in (iv)) or the signal that the action is only in the benefit of the speaker (it can be compared with the situations described in (ii)).

#### 4. Imperative as a preferred form of verb

A first possible way of charting the imperative's usage focuses on verbs employed in a given construction. In the corpus data verbs frequently occurring in the imperative form can be simply identified. However, this approach fails to tell us whether the imperative is the characteristic form of these verbs. That is why we will also imply the proportional distribution of imperative constructions within the grammatical paradigm of the investigated verb. The score can be easily acquired from SketchEngine (Omnia Slovaca III Maior).<sup>2</sup> In the following table, the most frequent imperative constructions gained from the Slovak National Corpus (corpus version prim-8.0-vyv) are listed and the distribution of their imperative forms is compared with their score from Omnia Slovaca III Maior.

---

<sup>2</sup> While Takahashi (2012) simply identifies the most frequently occurring verbs in the English imperative and simple collexeme analysis (Stefanowitsch and Gries, 2003, as used in Van Olmen, 2019) reveals which lexemes occur more or less often in an imperative construction than expected in view of their overall frequencies in the entire language, this score shows proportional distribution of the imperative compared with infinitive, indicative, participle and l-participle forms, e.g. *pozrieť* 'look': infinitive 28.18 %, indicative 14.09 %, imperative 37.79 % (which shows that the imperative is the most frequent grammatical form of the given verb), participle 0.05 %, l-participle 19.89 % vs. *pozerať* 'watch': infinitive 26.25 %, indicative 40.21 % (which shows that the indicative is the most frequent grammatical form of the given verb), imperative 3.60 %, participle 0.75 %, l-participle 29.20 %.

Table 3: Frequency of imperative constructions and distribution of infinitive forms  
in verbal paradigms

Verb	Absolute frequency	Score
<b>pozrieť</b> 'look'	41 233	<b>37.79</b>
ísť 'go'	40 824	3.35
dať 'give'	21 823	6.44
povedať 'say'	19 900	3.08
<b>prepáčiť</b> 'forgive'	14 116	<b>93.09</b>
byť 'be'	12 468	0.07
<b>nechať</b> 'leave'	11 680	<b>19.51</b>
<b>nebáť sa</b> 'be not afraid'	9857	<b>19.78</b>
<b>počkať</b> 'wait'	9071	<b>25.53</b>
predstaviť (si) 'imagine'	8112	10.85
<b>skúsiť</b> 'try'	7437	<b>46.80</b>
počuť 'listen'	6505	12.12
vrátiť (sa) 'give/come back'	6145	4.81
vziať 'take'	5956	9.60
prísť 'come'	5702	2.30
<b>dovoliť</b> 'allow'	5534	<b>14.19</b>
veriť 'believe'	5487	9.50
prestať 'stop'	5343	8.60
urobiť 'do'	5193	4.21
pomôcť 'help'	4881	3.33
<b>nezabudnúť</b> 'not forget'	4771	<b>23.58</b>
spomenúť (si) 'remember'	4735	8.94
mať 'have'	4200	0.31
počuť 'hear'	4160	3.40
nerobiť 'not do'	3950	2.88
<b>nezabúdať</b> 'not forget'	3760	<b>27.98</b>
sadnúť (si) 'sit down'	3701	7.06
ukázať 'show'	3641	3.77
nehovoriť 'not speak'	3589	1.64
robiť 'do'	3564	2.88
<b>odpustiť</b> 'forget'	3430	<b>17.96</b>
držať 'hold'	3419	8.00
dávať 'give'	3389	5.00
poslať 'send'	3352	9.75
napísať 'write'	3292	10.30
nebyť 'not be'	3262	0.07
<b>vybrať</b> 'choose'	3187	<b>13.16</b>
všimnúť (si) 'notice'	3181	9.43
stáť 'stand'	3065	1.44
<b>zavolať</b> 'call'	2981	<b>13.86</b>
otvoriť 'open'	2902	5.51
začať 'begin'	2901	2.11
<b>prečítať</b> 'read'	2738	<b>19.13</b>
pustiť 'let go'	2697	7.76
pridať 'add'	2478	9.87
pamätať (si) 'remember'	2469	10.02
prosiť 'beg'	2459	10.85
brať 'take'	2448	8.74
venovať (sa) 'dedicate'	2414	2.92
<b>porovnať</b> 'compare'	2357	<b>20.23</b>

As the data show, among the 50 most frequentative imperatives, only 14 verbs show higher preference for the imperative construction (they score above 10). For most verbs, the imperative is not a typical construction (they score under 10) and the high frequency of the imperative is conditioned by the overall frequency of the verb. A higher preference for imperative construction can be traced among the following verbs:

(1) Verbs with remedial function evolving into particles in which the imperative form becomes fossilized, e.g. *prepáčiť* (*prepáč, prepácte*) ‘forgive me, I’m sorry’, *ospravedlniť* (*ospravedlňte ma*) ‘excuse me’, *odpustiť* (*odpustte*) ‘forgive’. One of the signals of fossilization of the imperative form is the dropping of the object participant and syntactic and semantic independence of the imperative sentence, e.g.

(12) Prepácte, to som netušil.  
‘Forgive (me), I was not conscious of it.’

(13) Odpustte, aké je vaše meno?  
‘Excuse (me), what is your name?’

(2) Verbs with contact function undergoing processes of conversion into interjections. They occur in those contexts where they relate directly to the ongoing interaction, e.g. *pozriet* ‘look’, *počkať* ‘wait’ (as an appeal to the interlocutors to pay attention to the speaker).<sup>3</sup> These imperative forms become conventional speech formulae, part of our linguistic repertoire. They are listed in dictionaries as interjections, e.g.

(14) Hľaď, aký je zrazu múdry.  
‘Look, how wise he suddenly is.’

(3) Verbs that participate as the components of so called analytic imperative forms (cf. Grepl 1979), e.g. *ber(te) sa* + INF ‘be off to INF’, similarly *ráč(te)* + INF ‘pray INF’, *staraj(te) sa* + INF ‘give a try to INF’, *chráň(te) sa* + INF ‘fear to INF’, etc.

(15) Ber sa, dočerta, drichmať.  
‘Go sleep!’

(4) Verbs with various illocutionary functions in the discourse: *dovoliť* (*dovol’/dovolte* ‘allow’ as the expression of polite request), *skúsiť* (*skús, skúste* ‘try’ as the expression of advice), *nezabudnúť, nezabúdať* (*nezabudni, nezabudnite* ‘do not forget’ as the expression of recommendation), *nebáť sa* (*neboj sa, nebojte sa* ‘don’t be afraid’ as the expression of encouragement), *nechať* (*nechaj to, nechajte to* ‘leave it’ as the expression of command):

(16) Dovoľte, vyzlečiem vás a uložím do postele.  
‘Let me undress you and put you to bed.’

(17) Skúste obmedziť príjem kalórií a začať cvičiť.  
‘Try to reduce the amount of calories and begin to exercise.’

---

<sup>3</sup> The study by Swearingen (2017) of Romance languages reveals that imperatives and interjections share the properties that facilitates transcategorization. For Slovak, such features as degrees of force exertion (Takahashi 2012), mobilization signal (Lamiroy & Swiggers 1993), or (perceived) lack of overt inflection are relevant.



- (18) Nezabudnite zapnúť svetlá.  
'Don't forget to turn the lights on.'
- (19) Nebojte sa priznať sami sebe.  
'Don't be afraid to confess to yourself.'
- (20) Nechaj to, je mi z teba do revu.  
'Leave it, I feel like crying because of you.'

(5) Verbs with instructive function in regulative contexts: *porovnať* 'compare' (in scientific texts), *prečítať* 'read' (in didactic and popular-scientific texts), *zavolať* 'call' (in administrative and journalistic texts), *vybrať* 'take out, choose' (in recipe instructions)<sup>4</sup>:

- (21) Porovnaj hodnotenie Tatarkovho dialógu vo Farskej republike v knihe A. Matušku.  
'Compare the evaluation of Tatarka's dialogue in Farská republika in the book by A. Matuška'.
- (22) Prečítajte si: Čo by ste mali vedieť o chrípke.  
'Read to yourself: What you should know about flu.'
- (23) HLADÁME seriózných a schopných ĽUDÍ. Zavolajte na tel. 0905 187 519.  
'WE'RE LOOKING for respectable and competent PEOPLE. Call: 0905 187 519.'
- (24) Korenie vyberte a nechajte mierne vychladnúť.  
'Take out the spice and leave it to cool down.'

Identification of verbs with preference for imperative forms is important for lexicographic description in three ways:

(i) It helps to identify different phrases which are processed as separate lexicalized formulae within the verbal entry, e.g. *dovoľ*, *dovoľte (mi)* 'let (me)' as an expression of polite request, *no dovoľ(te)* 'I beg your pardon' as an expression of indignation, disagreement, *ale chod'(te)* 'come on' as an expression of rejection or disagreement. Imperative forms are often used as tokens of politeness in greetings, farewells and blessings, e.g. *maj(te) sa* 'see you', *Boh ťa žehnaj* 'God bless you', at the same time they serve as forms expressing curses, imprecations or insults, e.g. *neposer(te) sa* 'keep your hair on', *pojeb(te) sa* 'go fuck yourself'.

(ii) It helps to identify fossilized imperatives which undergo word-class transposition (conversion) and start to function as particles or interjections, e.g. *hl'ad'(te)* 'look' (as volition interjection expressing a warning from the speaker, pointing to someone or something), similarly *pozri(te)* 'look', *počkaj(te)* 'wait', *prepáč(te)* 'sorry', etc.

(iii) It helps to identify idioms with fossilized imperatives (in either positive, or negative forms), e.g. *daj sa mi svete* 'what the hell', *maj(te) sa pozore* 'be careful', *chod'(te)/ber(te) do*

---

<sup>4</sup> Certain verbs with instructive function are preferentially used in written texts. Here, the identification of units with preference for the imperative form is determined by the type of corpus used.

*čerta/v čerty* ‘go to hell’, *chod’(te)/id’(te) mi oči/očú* ‘get out of my face’, *chod’(te)/id’(te) v mene Božom/s Pánom Bohom* ‘go with God’, etc.<sup>5</sup>

The Slovak data corroborate the findings presented in studies by Stefanowitsch & Gries (2003) or Van Olmen (2019) for English that the “preference” of imperative forms for verbs encoding actions that yield results desirable from the point of view of someone else, i.e. the speaker, may not be so outspoken. While action verbs do also occur among the most frequent imperative constructions, they are not nearly as dominant as might be expected. At the same time, the Slovak data show that imperative forms often undergo different semantic changes, including transcategorisation of imperatives into interjections, fossilization of imperatives becoming components of idioms or appearing in formulaic expressions with different discourse functions.

## 5. Imperative and lexicographic descriptions

### 5.1 Factors limiting the formation of the imperative form

In *Slovník súčasného slovenského jazyka* (2006, 2011, 2015) the imperative form is processed as part of the grammatical apparatus which comprises grammatical forms of the given verb. This grammatical apparatus is presented for the whole verbal lemma without specific attention paid to individual lexical units. Therefore, the imperative form is presented as part of the grammatical apparatus whenever at least one of the lexical units proves the existence of the imperative form. For example, the imperative form is attested in the grammatical apparatus of the verbal polysemous unit *hrmieť* consisting of three lexical units. However, imperative forms of the first two lexical units (the first one with meteorological meaning, e.g. *Vonku hrmí*. ‘There’s thunder outside.’, and the second one with process meaning of sound produced by a non-animate subject, e.g. *Delá hrmia*. ‘Cannons are roaring.’) are not attested in the corpus data. The presence of the imperative form in the grammatical apparatus of verb entry is conditioned by a third lexical unit having the meaning of communication verb, e.g. *Hrmel na hráčov*. ‘He was yelling at the players.’

The same procedure should be consistently applied to every verbal polysemant, e.g. the verbs *miňať sa/minúť sa* ‘be passing, miss each other’, *miznúť* ‘disappear’ should take the imperative form as part of their grammatical apparatus because at least one of their lexical units presupposes the existence of imperative forms which are also attested in corpus data, e.g. *Nemiň sa s ním!* ‘Do not pass him by!’ (“pass by and do not stop”), *Nemizni, prosím, nestrácaj sa*. ‘Do not disappear, please, do not fade away!’ (“become less seen and lose sight of something”).

For lexicographic description it is important to set the group of verbs with the imperative form apart from verbs for which the formation of imperative mood is limited by some factors. From a purely formal point of view the imperative can be formed from any personal verbs. Impersonality of verb represents the limiting factor for the imperative’s formation, e.g. *cnieť* ‘miss’, *záležať* ‘care’, *smädiť* ‘cause thirst’, etc.

Apart from formal factors, an important role is played by the semantics of certain verbs. It is generally accepted that imperative forms are dispreferred for verbs that encode states and

---

<sup>5</sup> In most expressions both second person singular and second person plural can be used depending on the degree of formality relating to the interlocutors’ relationship. However, in certain idiomatic expressions only one form (second person singular or second person plural) is possible), e.g. *daj sa mi svete* – *\*dajte sa mi svete*.

(potentially) uncontrollable actions (in our terminology we use the term “processes”, cf. Sokolová 1995), cf. Aikhenvald (2010: 6). Prototypical imperatives are used to express directive speech acts (commands). J. Searle (1969, 1979) argues that prototypical commands should comply with felicity conditions such as propositional content condition (i.e. future act A is an act of the addressee), preparatory condition (i.e. the addressee is able to do A and the speaker believes the addressee is able to do A), sincerity condition (i.e. the speaker wants the addressee to do A) and essential condition (i.e. the speech act counts as an attempt to get the addressee to do A).

In theoretical works it is often stated that the non-existence of the imperative form is a typical feature of so-called static verbs (cf. Ivanová 2006). However, in usage, examples of imperatives of static verbs are sometimes documented, e.g. *Nájdite si svoju skupinu zákazníkov a páčte sa im*. ‘Find your group of customers and be liked by them.’ These uses do not comply with the felicity conditions stated for the usage of directive imperatives (as the construction used here, i.e. the imperative, always coerces an agentive reading whereas the verbal unit used in this construction is static), as in this case the addressee is not able to do A (the person cannot force himself/herself to be attractive for somebody else). However, these types of examples are quite rare and can be viewed as manifestations of linguistic creativity rather than regular uses.

On the other hand, process verbs represent more of a complicated area. For example, the imperative form *Melt!* is pragmatically odd, but, as A. Aikhenvald (2010: 6) explains, “with special contexts, however, such imperatives are possible. For instance, one could imagine an impatient cook standing over a pot of hard chocolate saying *Melt!* Of course, this would be a case of indirect speech act. The cook is not really trying to alter the behaviour of the chocolate. He is expressing a desire, *I wish this chocolate would melt quickly.*”

These non-prototypical usages of imperatives comprise the following situations:

(1) Imperatives where the subject is animate, but he/she is not able to control the situation and perform A solely by his/her own will, these kinds of verbs usually describe non-volitional processes that are normally uncontrollable; such utterances can be interpreted as an example of wishful thinking on the part of the author and no force is exerted on the addressee in such cases, e.g. *Vylieč sa!* ‘Get well.’, *Uzdrav sa skoro!* ‘Get well/better soon.’

(2) Imperatives the subject of which is non-animate so that it is not able to perform A wilfully; the sentence subject is usually a kind of plant or natural element and these utterances can usually be interpreted as enchantments of anthropomorphized subjects (that are typical in poetry): *Rasti, rasti, sivá palina*. ‘Grow, grow, grey artemisia.’, *Plyň, sladká Temža, plyň, kým pieseň nedospievam*. ‘Flow, sweet Thames, flow, until I finish singing.’, *Požehnávam ťa, zem: rasť a rozmnož sa!* ‘I bless you, earth: grow and reproduce.’

(3) Imperatives whose subject is non-animate and encodes abstract action or temporal circumstance, the usage of the imperative expresses the wish of the speaker for A to be realized, e.g. *Plyňte, časy*. ‘Go by, times.’

That is why in Takahashi’s approach (2012: 71, 76) there is a distinction set between an abstraction that is fully compatible with all the instances of the category it defines and a prototype as a representation of the conceptual core of a category. The prototype is said to involve (i) a speaker as the causer-agent in an initial conceptual event, (ii) an individuated addressee as cause in the first event and as agent in the subsequent event, and (iii) the application of a high degree of force by the former to the latter. In the work by Van Olmen and Heinhold (2017: 10) “force exertion is not understood as an undifferentiated notion but as a combination of desire, capability, power, cost, benefit, and obligation”. Each of the parameters consists of a scale of numerical values which are taken to reflect a speaker’s intention and

his/her perception of the situation in which a given imperative is issued. For example, in the sentence *Uzdrav sa skoro!* ‘Get well soon!’ no effort from the addressee is required and such an imperative would receive the value 0 on a numerical scale. In sentences like *Ožeň sa a zabijem ťa.* ‘Get married and I’ll kill you.’ the addressee is obliged not to bring about the state of affairs and the imperative is given the numerical value –2. In that way all imperative uses vary between –7 to +10 on a scale forming the prototypical core of the imperative category (at the positive end of the scale) differentiated from non-prototypical uses (at the negative end of the scale). For lexicographic processing, cases like *Ožeň sa a zabijem ťa* are not important as they concern the usage of the individual verb in the respective type of constructions but they do not apply to verb semantics itself (the imperative use of the verb *oženit’ sa* can be viewed as “normal”, acceptable).

There are two possible ways to solve the problems of lexicographic description connected with the question whether to introduce the imperative form in the grammatical apparatus of the verb entry. One possible way is to rely on corpus data and explain any deviations from imperative semantics by using an implementation prototypical and parameterizing approach. The negative evidence of imperative forms in the corpus would signal the absence of this form in the grammatical paradigm which would be reflected in the lexicographic processing of this verb by omitting the imperative form from the grammatical apparatus. However, this procedure is not unproblematic. Firstly, the question of the representability of corpus data arises (even big corpora cannot comprise the whole usage). Secondly, it is not clear how to deal with very rare non-prototypical uses of the imperative form. For example, *Slovník slovenského jazyka* (2006) does not introduce the imperative form of *diať sa* ‘happen, be going on’ in the grammatical apparatus of the verb entry, however, corpus data show the existence of the imperative form of this verb, e.g. *V poslednom momente sa rozhodli, že oni traja sa budú držať pospolu, dej sa čo dej.*, ‘At the last moment they decided that they three will stick together, no matter what happens.’, *Ja kladiem svoje ruky a hovorím dejte sa, zázraky, dejte sa, charizmy, dejte sa, divy, dejte sa, uzdravenia.* ‘I place your hand on you and I tell you: happen, miracles, happen, charisma, happen, wonders, happen, healings.’. On the other hand, *Slovník slovenského jazyka* (2011) gives evidence of the imperative form for the verb *končiť sa* ‘end, terminate, finish’. When analysing the semantics of the both verbs there are no striking differences between them: both denote processes evolving independently of human will, both have impersonal subjects and their imperative uses are extremely rare in the corpus.

The second possible solution is to introduce the imperative form in the grammatical apparatus of every process verb taking into consideration that imperative construction can be possibly formed from every process verb in non-commanding, indirect speech uses.

It seems that *Slovník slovenského jazyka* (2006, 2011, 2015) adopts the first solution as the imperative form is not introduced in the grammatical apparatus of every process verb. However, this approach is not always applied consistently and corpus data are not followed strictly as the decisive criterion for processing imperative forms in the dictionary. In the following parts we will analyse selected groups of process verbs and their lexicographic processing in *Slovník súčasného slovenského jazyka* (2006, 2011, 2015):

(1) Verbs expressing meteorological processes barely form imperatives, e.g. *snežiť* ‘snow’, *hrmieť* ‘thunder’, *pršať* ‘rain’. Non-prototypical uses can be traced occasionally especially in contexts where the will of a powerful agent is demonstrated: *Premiér len vyjde na balkón a povie – snež! A sneží!* ‘The Prime minister will go out on to the balcony and say –

Snow! And it will snow.’ Non-prototypical uses are quite frequent when the subject of the imperative construction is represented by the name of some natural element (which often has human-like, agent characteristics): *Fúkaj, vetrik, z celej sily, a vynes nám šarkany*. ‘Blow, wind, blow with all your strength and send our kites upwards.’, *Teč, vodička, teč!* ‘Flow, water, flow.’.

(2) Verbs expressing the modification of quality:

(a) relating to the change or manifestation of colour quality: corpus data do not prove the existence of imperative forms for verbs like *lesknúť sa* ‘shine’, *blyšťať sa* ‘glitter’, *belieť sa* ‘be (all) white, show up white’, *černieť sa* ‘be (all) black, show up black’, *brniť sa* ‘be (all) dark, show up dark’, *červenieť sa* ‘be (all) red, show up red’, *hnednúť* ‘get brown’<sup>6</sup>, however, the imperative forms of these verbs are listed in the grammatical apparatus in dictionary entries. Occasionally, corpus data prove the existence of imperative form when a non-animate subject from natural world is addressed: *Zelenaj sa, zelenaj, javor dlaňolistý*. ‘Be all green, palmate maple.’ or in cases when the syntactic subject is human: *Neleskni sa, používaj primerane púder*. ‘Do not glitter, use face powder proportionately.’;

(b) relating to change in the physical or psychological qualities of animate subjects: corpus data do not prove the existence of imperative forms; however, imperative forms are presented in the grammatical apparatus of the verbs *chabnúť* ‘be losing strength’, *hluchnúť* ‘become deaf’, *chorľavieť* ‘be ill’, *chorieť* ‘be ill’, *krehnúť* ‘grow numb’, *drevenieť* ‘get stiff’, *kamenieť* ‘become stone’, *dúpnieť* ‘get stunned’, but not for verbs *malátnieť* ‘grow weary’, *meravieť* ‘get stiff’, *ml’andravieť* ‘get flabby’, *dengľavieť* ‘get weedy’, *malomysel’niť* ‘get little-minded’, *mladnúť* ‘get young’, *múdriť* ‘grow wiser’. Attested imperative forms for the verbs *chudnúť* ‘be losing weight’, *dospiť* ‘mature/grow up’, *hlúpnuť* ‘grow stupid’ can be interpreted as subtle semantic shifts in the given units towards the meaning of behaviour; the examples *Chudnite rozumne*. ‘Lose weight reasonably.’, *Dospejte už konečne*. ‘Grow up finally!’, *Nehlúpnite!* ‘Don’t be silly!’ do not encode the command directed to change the physiological or psychological qualities but they represent a command oriented towards the behaviour of human agents leading to that change (this can be viewed as another example of constructional coercion when a construction coerces agentive reading whereas the verb unit forming the construction has non-agentive reading).;

(c) relating to change of externally manifested qualities of non-animate subjects: the entries for the verbs *chladnúť* ‘get cold’, *hrdzavieť* ‘get rusty’, *kôrnatieť* ‘get hard, tough’, *mäknúť* ‘soften’ include imperative forms, however, they are not traced in the corpus data. On the other hand, imperatives are not included in the grammatical apparatus of the verbs *matniť* ‘tarnish’, *modravieť* ‘get blueish’, *mútnieť* ‘get muddy’.

(3) Existential verbs: generally speaking, existential verbs can form imperatives which signal their semi-volitional status (we can decide for living and for dying): *Prosím ťa a plačem: Existuj!* ‘I’m begging you and I’m crying: Exist!’, *Sed’ si tam a rozmyšľaj, existuj a mlčky trp!* ‘Sit there, and think, exist and suffer wordlessly.’, *Zomri s priateľmi*. ‘Die with your friends!’. Non-prototypical uses of imperatives occur even for verbs the semantics of which is non-volitional but their uses are connected with special pragmatic nuances, e.g. *Editori teraz poznajú riešenie: Inovujte. Integrujte. Alebo zaniknite*. ‘Editors know the solution now:

<sup>6</sup> In the corpus data many examples are wrongly tagged as imperative forms of *blyšťať sa*, *černieť sa*, *belieť sa*, *brniť sa*, etc.

Innovate. Integrate. Or perish.’, *Narod’ sa, vyštuduj, chod’ na vysokú, nájdi si prácu, ožeň sa, sprav si deti, a keď sa budeš modliť, dožiješ sa dôchodku a bolesti, reumy a rakoviny.* ‘Be born, finish your studies, go to university, find a job, get married, have children, and when you pray, you will live until retirement with pain, rheumatism and cancer.’ (meaning of obligation or condition connected with irony).

(4) Verbs expressing involuntary physiological reactions: when used as personal verbs, their semi-volitional character is highlighted and the imperative form is possible: *dáviť* ‘vomit’, *grgať* ‘burp’, *čkať* ‘hiccup’, *zívať* ‘yawn’, *driemať* ‘doze’, *vracať* ‘bring up’, *grcať* ‘puke’. Among other verbs with psychophysiological meaning, the imperative form is processed occasionally in the grammatical apparatus despite the fact that it is not attested in the corpus data, e.g. *bolieť* ‘ache’.

## 5.2 Distribution of positive and negative imperative form

For some verbs, the negative form of the imperative seems to be the primary choice when realizing the imperative function. For those verbs, *Slovník súčasného slovenského jazyka* (2006, 2011, 2015) uses special marking of the imperative form with the negative morpheme put in brackets, e.g. *(ne)bol’!* ‘do (not) ache’, *(ne)jeduj sa!* ‘(not) be enraged’, *(ne)l’akaj sa!* ‘(not) be frightened’, etc.

The data reveal that for some verbs, the negative imperative form is a more natural choice. Thus, we decided to investigate the most frequent negative imperative forms and compare their distribution with positive imperative forms of the same verb. The following table presents the most frequent imperatives in the negative form gained from the data of the Slovak National Corpus (corpus version prim-8.0-vyv) compared with the frequency of positive imperative forms of the same verbs.

Table 4: Frequency distribution of positive and negative imperative forms

Negative imperative	Absolute fr.	Fr. p.m.	Translation	Positive imperative	Absolute fr.	Fr. p.m.
<b>nebát’ sa</b>	9857	26.14	be afraid	bát’ sa	188	0.5
<b>nezabudnúť</b>	4771	12.65	forget	zabudnúť	2155	5.71
nerobiť	3950	10.47	do	robiť	3564	9.45
<b>nezabúdať</b>	3760	9.97	forget	zabúdať	14	0.04
<b>nehovoriť</b>	3589	9.52	say	hovoriť	2011	5.33
nebyť	3262	8.65	be	<b>byť</b>	12468	33.06
nemyslieť	2180	5.78	think	myslieť	1883	4.99
nedat’	1976	5.24	give	<b>dat’</b>	21823	57.86
<b>nehnevať (sa)</b>	1732	4.59	worry	hnevať (sa)	27	0.07
<b>netrápiť (sa)</b>	1696	4.50	suffer	trápiť (sa)	43	0.11
neveriť	1275	3.38	believe	<b>veriť</b>	5487	14.55
<b>neplakať</b>	1255	3.33	cry	plakať	111	0.29
nebrať	1180	3.13	take	<b>brať</b>	2448	6.49
nenechať	1096	2.91	leave	<b>nechať</b>	11681	30.97
nevrať	1017	2.70	tell	vrať	781	2.07
nečakať	976	2.59	wait	čakať	901	2.39
<b>neváhať</b>	965	2.56	hesitate	váhať	4	0.01
nedovoliť	855	2.27	let	<b>dovoliť</b>	5534	14.67
nepýtať sa	838	2.22	ask	pýtať sa	918	2.43
nemať	817	2.17	have	<b>mať</b>	4200	11.14
nejst’/neísť	1201	1.6	go	<b>ísť</b>	40824	108.25

<b>netárat'</b>	676	1.79	drivel	tárat'	1	0.00
<b>neopovážit' sa</b>	662	1.76	dare	opovážit' sa	141	0.37
nečudovať sa	639	1.69	wonder	čudovať sa	435	1.15
nepovedať	636	1.69	tell	<b>povedať</b>	19900	52.77
nedávať	615	1.63	give	<b>dávať</b>	3389	8.99
<b>nechciet'</b>	554	1.47	want	chciet'	125	0.33
nechodiť	539	1.43	go	<b>chodiť</b>	1875	4.97
<b>neprehliadnuť</b>	535	1.42	overlook	prehliadnuť	32	0.08
nevšímať si	534	1.42	pay attention	všímať si	473	1.25
<b>nestrácať</b>	527	1.40	lose	strácať	1	0.00
<b>nepokúšať (sa)</b>	525	1.39	try	pokúšať (sa)	35	0.09
nesnažiť sa	497	1.32	strive	<b>snažiť sa</b>	1834	4.86
<b>nedotýkať sa</b>	497	1.32	touch	dotýkať sa	74	0.20
nestarať sa	490	1.30	take care	starať sa	561	1.49
nepozerať	487	1.29	look	<b>pozeráť</b>	799	2.12
nerozprávať (sa)	461	1.22	talk	<b>rozprávať (sa)</b>	1128	5.42
nehľadať	460	1.22	search	<b>hľadať</b>	2045	4.87
<b>netváriť sa</b>	440	1.17	make faces	tváriť sa	94	0.25
<b>nenechávať</b>	423	1.12	let, allow	nechávať	20	0.05
<b>neodchádzat'</b>	402	1.07	leave	odchádzat'	14	0.04
nekričať	397	1.05	cry	kričať	227	0.60
nehýbať sa	362	0.96	move	hýbať sa	289	0.77
<b>nepodceňovať</b>	361	0.96	underestimate	podceňovať	0	0.00
nevolať	356	0.94	call	<b>volať</b>	1446	3.83
<b>nevzdávať sa</b>	353	0.94	give up	vzdávať sa	204	0.54
<b>neklamať</b>	351	0.93	lie	klamať	22	0.06
nepoužívať	346	0.92	use	<b>používať</b>	757	2.01
<b>nepreháňať</b>	341	0.90	exaggerate	preháňať	7	0.02
<b>neopúšťať</b>	340	0.90	leave, abandon	opúšťať	3	0.01

Bold type marks preferential imperative forms of the investigated verbs<sup>7</sup>. As can be seen in the table, from 50 investigated verbs, 23 verbs show preference for negative imperative forms when compared with the distribution of positive imperative forms, 17 verbs have preferential positive imperative forms and for 10 verbs the distribution of the positive and negative imperative form is comparable.

The negative imperative can be traced as the preferred form for the following groups of verbs:

(1) Verbs expressing negative emotional or physical states and their changes, e.g. *báť sa* 'be afraid', *hnevať (sa)* 'be angry, worry', *trápiť (sa)* 'suffer, bother'. Despite the fact that these verbs often encode uncontrollable actions or states, their negative imperative form is acceptable; according to D. Bolinger (1967: 348) "we have more occasions to command resistance than sufferance", thus it is more natural to record negative imperative forms within the grammatical paradigm of these verbs in the dictionary. This assumption does not hold for behavioural predicates expressing behavioural correlates of emotional states: simply because of the fact that giving vent to such kind of behaviour can bring about relief for the addressee, e.g. *plakať* 'cry', *lamentovať* 'lament', *bedákať* 'moan', *jojkať* 'pant', *horekovať* 'wail', etc. For those verbs, the positive imperative is a more natural choice.

<sup>7</sup> The preferentiality of the positive or negative imperative was calculated by comparing the score expressing the frequency of the given form per million words.

(2) Verbs with possible negative consequences for the addressee, e.g. *zabudnúť*, *zabúdať* ‘forget’, *váhať* ‘hesitate’, *prehliadnúť* ‘overlook’. The negative imperative should be treated as the preferred form within the group of destruction verbs (*deštruovať* ‘destroy’, *devastovať* ‘devastate’, *ničiť* ‘destroy, ruin’, *kaziť* ‘spoil’), verbs expressing physiological or psychological discomfort for the addressee (*deprimovať* ‘depress’, *moriť* ‘bother’, *mučiť* ‘torture’, *deptať* ‘get down’, *týrať* ‘torment’), communication verbs expressing incomprehensible communication acts (*bl’abotať* ‘to talk gibberish’, *brbtať* ‘babble’, *brbotať* ‘babble’, *l’apotať* ‘gabble’, *hatlať* ‘mispronounce words’), etc.

(3) Verbs expressing the possible breaking of ethical norms, e.g. *tárať* ‘talk twaddle’, *klamať* ‘lie’, *preháňať* ‘exaggerate’. The negative imperative should be treated as the preferred form within the group of communication verbs (*oklamať* ‘lie’, *luhať* ‘tell lies’, *cigániť* ‘fabricate’, *fixl’ovať* ‘deceive’), action verbs (*podviesť* ‘cheat’, *zraďiť* ‘betray’, *spreneveriť* ‘embezzle’, *zapredať* ‘betray, sell down the river’).

(4) Evaluation verbs with the sememe of invalid evaluation, e.g. *podceňiť/podceňovať* ‘underestimate’, similarly the negative imperative should be processed as the preferred form for verbs within the same semantic group, e.g. *zľahčiť/zľahčovať* ‘belittle’, *znevážiť/znevažovať* ‘discredit’, *zneuctiť/zneuct’ovať* ‘dishonour’, *bagatelizovať* ‘trivialize’, *diskreditovať* ‘discredit’.

(5) Verbs expressing resignation, e.g. *vzdať sa/vzdávať sa* ‘give up’, similarly the negative imperative should be processed as the preferred form for verbs within the same semantic group, e.g. *rezignovať* ‘resign’, *poddáť sa* ‘yield’, *kapitulovať* ‘capitulate’, *podľahnúť* ‘succumb’, *podriaďiť sa* ‘conform’, *podvoliť sa* ‘surrender’.

(6) Volition verbs, e.g. *opovážiť sa* ‘dare’, *chcieť* ‘want’, *pokúšať sa/pokúsiť sa* ‘give (something) a try’. The negative imperative should be processed only for those verbs which encode unacceptable manifestation of will, e.g. *opovážiť sa* ‘dare’.<sup>8</sup>

When investigating negative imperatives processed in the verb entries of *Slovník súčasného slovenského jazyka* (2006, 2011, 2015), certain inconsistencies can be traced there. Negative imperatives are not processed for all verbs with negative semantic components present in their semantic structure, e.g. *chor’avieť* ‘be ill’, *hlúpnuť* ‘grow stupid’ have only positive imperative forms in their grammatical apparatus. The same problem concerns verbs which are synonymous: imperative forms are not processed consistently for all verbs within the same semantic group, e.g. *dochnúť* ‘kick the bucket’, *kapat’* ‘drop dead’ take positive imperative forms processed in their entries whereas *hynúť* ‘perish’ takes the negative imperative form. Sometimes even aspectual pairs are treated differently, e.g. *durdiť sa* ‘be angry, cross’ (positive imperative form) – *nadurdiť sa* ‘become angry, cross’ (negative imperative form), *l’akat’ sa* ‘be frightened’ (negative imperative form) – *nal’akat’ sa* ‘get frightened’ (positive imperative form), etc. (for possible different preference of positive and negative imperative forms of aspectual pairs see Table 4, however, these cases cannot be interpreted in this way).

With some verbs, the preference for positive imperative forms is determined by the semantics of verbo-nominal expressions which motivates the preference for the realization of the action, e.g. *dať si pozor* ‘pay attention’, *brať ohľad* ‘take into consideration’, *brať na vedomie* ‘take into account’, *vzdávať chválu* ‘praise’, or existence of lexicalized phrases, e.g.

<sup>8</sup> In his study of English imperative Takahashi (2012) proved that the overt negative *don’t* systematically appears with a particular class of verbs and adjectives, i.e. adversative expressions such as *worry*, *bother*, *mind* (group 1 in our analysis), *rude* (comparable with group 3 in our analysis), *hard* (on oneself), and *stupid*, *silly*, *ridiculous*.



*mat' sa* 'see you' (*maj(te) sa* as a kind of farewell greeting), *hybat' sa* 'move' (*hyb(te) sa* as a kind of challenge for the realization of an action).

For many verbs, the usage of positive imperative forms has negative meaning, e.g. *Opovázte sa ma dotknúť!* 'Just dare to touch me!' (= *neopovázte sa ma dotknúť* 'do not dare to touch me'). It is typical of admonitive utterances with formally independent clauses in which the imperative construction can be interpreted as a conditional clause semantically subordinate to the clause that it is conjoined to: *Dotkni sa jej a zomrieš!* 'Touch her and you'll die!' (= do not touch her).

In certain contexts, the positive imperative form is used within elliptical sentences to express the irrelevance of an addressee's reaction to the speaker, e.g. *Nuž, Tomáš, hnevaj sa alebo nie, takéto správanie ti na vážnosti nepridá.* 'Well, Thomas, be angry or not, such behaviour won't bring you seriousness.' The same motivation lies behind sentences with measure clauses: *Hnevaj sa, koľko chceš, aj tak tam pôjdem.* 'Be angry as much as you want, I'm still going there.' In these sentences the positive imperative form does not code the adhibition of the actions but the irrelevance of the addressee's reaction to the speaker. It is typical for utterances with expressive and satisfactory function of rebuke or disagreement.

The distribution of positive and negative imperative forms is conditioned also by the aspect of the verb as was pointed out in studies by Dokulil (1948), Karlík – Nübler (1998). The basic claim is that perfective form is unmarked for the adhibitive aspect whereas the imperfective form is characteristic for the prohibitive aspect. The distribution of perfective and imperfective aspect in imperative forms can be conditioned by various factors: (i) the degree of authority, (ii) urgency, (iii) accent on the realization of an action or its result.

As M. Dokulil (1948) claims the usage of the imperfective aspect causes the source of command to be shifted from the author towards impersonal necessity so that the authority of the speaker is lower<sup>9</sup>:

(25) *Vykonaj svoju povinnosť!*  
'Fulfil<sub>perf</sub> your duty!'

(26) *Konaj svoju povinnosť!*  
'Fulfil<sub>imperf</sub> your duty!'

At the same time, the opposition of perfective and imperfective imperatives is connected with the degree of urgency. By using the imperfective aspect, the realization of an action is understood as an immediate act whereas by using the perfective imperative the realization of an action can be postponed in time:

(27) *Napiš mu list! (niekedy v budúcnosti)*  
'Write<sub>perf</sub> him a letter! (sometimes in the future)'

(28) *Píš mu ten list! (teraz)*  
'Write<sub>imperf</sub> him a letter (now)!'

---

<sup>9</sup> According to J. Zinken (2016), the invariant meaning of the imperfective imperative is to direct animation of an action, while disowning authorship.

According to R. Benacchio (2010) the perfective aspect is used when the action is introduced for the first time (e.g. *Napiš mu list. Poteší sa.* ‘Write<sub>perf</sub> him a letter! He will be glad.’) whereas the imperfective imperative is used when the action is already known (e.g. *Píš mu ten list. Už naň dlho čaká.* ‘Write<sub>imperf</sub> him a letter! He’s waiting for it.’). That is why imperfective imperatives are sometimes treated as more categorical (someone standing over the writer and forcing him to go on with writing *now* would say *píš* ‘write<sub>imperf</sub>’). The same conclusion can be traced in B. Wiemer’s study (2008): “The bottom line of the matter [is] that imperfective verbs are used in the non-negated imperative if the speaker supposes that the [appropriateness of the] action in question is self-evident, e.g. because it belongs to the relevant script or because it has already been introduced; perfective verbs are used if the speaker does not suppose this and the situation in question is therefore considered new or unexpected” (in von Waldenfels 2012).

According to V. Lehmann (1989) the basic function of the imperfective imperative is a junction function, simply speaking, by using the imperfective imperative, a speaker joins his or her imperative to the presumption that the other person wants or intends to carry out the relevant action. In these contexts, the imperfective imperative can be understood as a kind of “nudge” (Zinken 2016) or *go-ahead* for the addressee, e.g.

- (29) Hádž tu loptu! (vidiac váhanie adresáta)  
‘Throw<sub>perf</sub> the ball!’ (seeing the hesitation of the addressee)
- (30) Hod’ tú loptu! (v prípade, že nie je zrejmé, že by adresát zvažoval realizáciu  
deja)  
‘Throw<sub>imperf</sub> the ball!’ (if there is no evidence that the addressee is minding the  
relevant matter)

By using the perfective aspect, the author presupposes the realization of an action in its entirety. The imperfective aspect allows both interpretations: the addressee is supposed to realize the action in its entirety including its result or the addressee is supposed to realize the action regardless of achieving its result:

- (31) Umyte podlahu!  
‘Wash<sub>perf</sub> the floor!’
- (32) Umývajte podlahu!  
‘Wash<sub>imperf</sub> the floor!’

Perfective prohibition is used when the author wants to prevent the achievement of an action’s result:

- (33) Nerozbi to!  
‘Do not<sub>perf</sub> break it!’

Imperfective prohibition is used when the author wants to prevent directing the action to its final point or he/she wants to stop the realized action at one of its points.

- (34) Nerozbíjaj to!  
‘Do not<sub>imperf</sub> break it!’

The following table shows the distribution of positive and negative imperative forms of verbs existing in aspectual correlation.

Table 5: Distribution of positive and negative imperative forms of verbs in aspectual correlations

Negative perfective imperative	Fr. p.m.	Positive perfective imperative	Fr. p.m.	Translation	Negative imperfective imperative	Fr. p.m.	Positive imperfective imperative	Fr. p.m.
<b>nezabudnúť</b>	12.65	zabudnúť	5.71	forget	<b>nezabúdať</b>	9.97	zabúdať	0.04
Neurobiť	0.47	<b>urobiť</b>	13.77	do	<b>nerobiť</b>	10.47	robiť	9.45
nepovedať	1.69	<b>povedať</b>	52.77	say	<b>nehovoriť</b>	9.52	hovoriť	5.33
nedat'	5.24	<b>Dat'</b>	57.86	give	nedávať	1.63	<b>dávať</b>	8.99
nevziať	0.06	<b>vziať</b>	15.79	take	nebrať	3.13	<b>brať</b>	6.49
nenechať	2.91	<b>nechať</b>	30.97	leave	<b>nenechávať</b>	1.12	nechávať	0.05
nedovoliť	2.27	<b>dovoliť</b>	14.67	let	<b>nedovoľovať</b>	0.05	dovoľovať	0.00
neopýtať sa	0.01	<b>opýtať sa</b>	2.44	ask	nepýtať sa	2.22	pýtať sa	2.43
<b>neopovážiť sa</b>	1.76	opovážiť sa	0.37	dare	<b>neopovažovať sa</b>	0.07	opovažovať sa	0.00
<b>neprehliadnuť</b>	1.42	prehliadnuť	0.08	overlook	<b>neprehliadať</b>	0.05	prehliadať	0.01
nestratiť	0.3	stratiť	0.62	lose	<b>nestrácať</b>	1.40	strácať	0.00
nepokúsiť (sa)	0.01	<b>pokúsiť</b>	5.30	try	<b>nepokúšať (sa)</b>	1.39	pokúšať (sa)	0.09
nedotknúť sa	0.14	<b>dotknúť sa</b>	0.85	touch	<b>nedotýkať sa</b>	1.32	dotýkať sa	0.20
nepostarať sa	0.00	<b>postarať sa</b>	1.77	take care	nestarť sa	1.30	starť sa	1.49
nepozrieť	0.05	<b>pozrieť</b>	109.33	look	nepozerať	1.29	<b>pozeráť</b>	2.12
neodísť	0.16	<b>odísť</b>	4.07	leave	<b>neodchádzať</b>	1.07	odchádzať	0.04
nepohnúť sa	0.19	<b>pohnúť sa</b>	1.64	move	nehýbať sa	0.96	hýbať sa	0.77
<b>nepodceňiť</b>	0.07	podceňiť	0.01	under-value	<b>nepodceňovať</b>	0.96	podceňovať	0.00
nezavolať	0.01	<b>zavolať</b>	7.90	call	nevolať	0.94	<b>volať</b>	3.83
nevzdať (sa)	0.07	<b>vzdať (sa)</b>	1.14	give up	<b>nevzdávať (sa)</b>	0.94	vzdávať (sa)	0.54
nepoužiť	0.09	<b>použiť</b>	4.18	use	nepoužívať	0.92	<b>používať</b>	2.01
neprehnať	0.05	prehnať	0.02	exaggerate	<b>nepreháňať</b>	0.90	preháňať	0.02
neopustiť	0.25	opustiť	0.10	abandon	<b>neopúšťať</b>	0.90	opúšťať	0.01

As the data show, the basic presumption concerning the distribution of positive and negative imperative forms depending on verbal aspect has been confirmed. For most verbs, the positive imperative form of perfective verbs and the negative imperative form of imperfective verbs are the basic options. However, this claim doesn't hold true for every case. The semantics of the verb is a rather strong factor which undermines the distribution of positive and negative imperatives. For example, verbs which show a preference for negative imperative forms keep a higher frequency of negative imperatives even when realized in the perfective aspect, e.g. *nezabudnúť* 'not forget', *neopovážiť sa* 'not give a try', *neprehliadnuť* 'not overlook', *nepodceňiť* 'not undervalue'.

The same situation can be traced for verbs in the imperfective aspect. A high preference for positive imperative forms is typical of contact verbs undergoing conversion to interjections (*pozeráť* 'look', e.g. *Táto nádhera, pozeraj, úplný raj*. 'This beauty, look, complete paradise.') or verbs the semantics of which favours positive imperative forms for various reasons, mainly

because of the fact that the verbs are usually employed in contexts describing human interaction (e.g. *volat* ‘call’, *používať* ‘use’, *brať* ‘take’, etc.).

## 6. Conclusions

In the study, corpus data were used to show some important features of Slovak imperative forms. Scores showing usage patterns of imperatives within the grammatical paradigm of the investigated verbs is a useful tool to identify those verbs attracted to the imperative. The study revealed that a preference for the imperative form is typical of verbs which are often used in discourse organization as an attention-getting device and as semi-formulaic expressions used as supportive means for particular illocutionary types of utterances. Apart from them the list of the most frequent imperatives also comprises verbs which are not examples of action verbs frequently used in pragmatics literature to exemplify the imperative, e.g. *pamätať* (*si*) ‘remember’, *nechať* ‘leave’, *veriť* ‘believe’, etc. While result-yielding action verbs do also occur, they are not nearly as dominant as might be expected (*prečítať* ‘read’, *zavolať* ‘call’) which is in accordance with findings presented in theoretical works on imperative (Stefanowitsch & Gries 2003).

Usage-based analysis of the imperative is important for lexicographic description in *Slovník súčasného slovenského jazyka* (2006, 2011, 2015) in several ways. The first important issue is connected with restrictions on formation imperatives. It is generally accepted that imperatives may not be able to be formed from stative verbs or verbs which do not imply the speaker’s control. However, this presumption was to be tested on corpus data. It was shown that while stative verbs usually do not form imperatives (occasional uses can be attested to rather as examples of linguistic creativity) the situation concerning verbs expressing uncontrollable action (process verbs) is not so clear. That’s why we scrutinized different semantic groups of process verbs and their lexicographic description in the mentioned dictionary to show that similar units are not treated consistently. The identification of verbs with dispreference for the imperative form should be grounded in corpus data and similar verbs from the same semantic group should be treated uniformly. In the next chapter the distribution of positive and negative imperatives was compared to identify those verbs with preference for negative imperative forms. It was confirmed that negative imperatives have fewer restrictions on verb types than positive imperatives (among the most frequent imperative forms we can find verbs with preference for negative imperative which often belong to the semantic group of process verbs which are traditionally labelled as being unable to form imperatives, e.g. *nebáť sa* ‘not be afraid’, *nezabúdať* ‘not forget’, *nebyť* ‘not be’, etc.). The results were compared with lexicographic processing of negative imperative forms in the mentioned dictionary. It was shown that the preference for negative imperatives is conditioned by various semantic and pragmatic factors. The role of aspectual form conditioning the distribution of positive and negative imperative forms was examined too to verify Dokulil’s concept of modification of aspectual opposition within the imperative (Dokulil 1948). It was proved that there is a tendency for positive imperatives to take the perfective aspect and for negative imperatives to take the imperfective aspect, however, the semantics of verbs is a more important factor in certain cases (there are verbs attracted to negative imperatives in both aspectual forms, e.g. *nezabudnúť/nezabúdať* ‘not forget’, *neopovážiť sa/neopovažovať sa* ‘not dare’, *neprehliadnuť/neprehliadať* ‘not overlook’, *nepodceniť/nepodceňovať* ‘not overestimate’).

## References

- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2010. *Imperatives and Commands*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Benacchio, Rosanna. 2010. *Вид и категория вежливости в славянском императиве. Сравнительный анализ*. München, Berlin: Kubon und Sagner.
- Bolinger, Dwight. 1967. The imperative in English. In Halle, M., H. Lunt, H. McClean & C. van Schooneveld (eds.), *To Honor Roman Jakobson: Essays on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*, vol. 1. 335–363. The Hague: Mouton.
- Buzássyová, Klára & Jarošová, Alexandra (eds.). 2006. *Slovník súčasného slovenského jazyka. A – G*. [Dictionary of Contemporary Slovak Language. A – G.] Bratislava: Veda.
- Dokulil, Miloš. 1948. Modifikace vidového protikladu v rámci imperativu v spisovné češtině a ruštině. [Modification of aspectual opposition within imperative in standard Czech and Russian.] In Grund, A. & A. Kellner ad. (eds.): *Pocta Fr. Trávníčkovi a F. Wollmanovi*. 71–88. Brno.
- Dvonč, Ladislav. 2003. Tvorenie tvarov imperativu v spisovnej slovenčine. [Formation of imperative forms in standard Slovak.] *Slovenská reč* 68(2). 65–77.
- Fortuin, Egbert. 2010. Explicit second person subjects in Russian imperatives: semantics, word order, and a comparison with English. In: *Linguistics* 48(2). 431–486.
- Grepl, Miroslav. 1979. Imperativní postoje a imperativ. [Imperative attitudes and imperative.] *SPFFBU A* 27. 165–174.
- Grepl, Miroslav & Karlík, Petr. 1998. *Skladba češtiny*. [Syntax of Czech language.] Olomouc: Votobia.
- Ivanová, Martina. *Valencia statických slovies*. [Valency of static verbs.] Prešov: Filozofická fakulta Prešovskej univerzity.
- Jarošová, Alexandra (ed.). 2015. *Slovník súčasného slovenského jazyka. M – N*. [Dictionary of Contemporary Slovak. M – N.] Bratislava: Veda, vydavateľstvo SAV.
- Jarošová, Alexandra & Buzássyová, Klára (eds.). 2011. *Slovník súčasného slovenského jazyka. H – L*. [Dictionary of contemporary Slovak. H – L.] Bratislava: Veda.
- Jary, Mark & Kissine, Mikheal. 2014. *Imperatives*. CUP: Cambridge.
- Jary, Mark & Kissine, Mikhael. 2016. *When terminology matters: the imperative as a comparative concept*. *Linguistics* 54. 119–148.
- Karlík, Petr. 2017. IMPERATIV. [Imperative.] In Karlík, P. & M. Nekula & J. Pleskalová (eds.), *CzechEncy – Nový encyklopedický slovník češtiny*. (<https://www.czechency.org/slovník/IMPERATIV> (Accessed: 2019-04-04))
- Karlík, Petr & Nübler, Norbert. 1998. Negace a vid českého imperativu. [Negation and aspect of Czech imperative.] In Karlík, P. & M. Krčmová (eds.): *Jazyk a kultura vyjadřování. Milanu Jelínkovi k pětasedmdesátinám*. 159–166.

- Lamiroy, Béatrice & Swiggers, Pierre. 1991. Imperatives as discourse signals. In Fleischman, S. & L. R. Waugh (eds.), *Discourse-Pragmatics and the Verb: The Evidence from Romance*. 121–146. London/New York: Routledge.
- Lehmann, Volkmar. 1989. Pragmatic functions of aspects and their cognitive motivation. Russian aspects in the context of the imperative and the infinitive. In L. G. Larsson (ed.), *Proceedings of the second Scandinavian symposium on aspectology*. 77–88. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Pauliny, Eugen. 1947. *Tvorenie imperatívu v spisovnej slovenčine*. [Formation of imperative in standard Slovak.] *Slovo a tvar* 1. 103–105.
- Searle, John R. 1969. *Speech acts: An essay in the philosophy of language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Searle, John R., 1979. *Expression and Meaning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sokolová, Miloslava. 1995. *Kapitolky zo slovenskej morfológie*. [Chapters from Slovak morphology.] Prešov: Slovacontact.
- Sokolová, Miloslava & Bónová, Iveta. 2008. Tvorenie imperatívu v slovenčine a lexikografická prax. [Formation of imperative in Slovak and lexicographic practice.] *Slovenská reč* 73(5). 271–280.
- Stefanowitsch, Aanatol & Gries, Stefan Th. 2003. Collostructions: on the interaction between verbs and constructions. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 8. 209–243.
- Swearingen, Andrew. 2017. Crossing the categorial divide: Imperative and interjection conversions in Romance. In Van Olmen, D. & S. Heinhold (eds.), *Imperatives and Directive Strategies*, 291–318. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Takahashi, Hidemitsu. 2012. *A Cognitive Linguistic Analysis of the English Imperative. With Special Attention to Japanese Imperatives*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Van Olmen, Daniël. 2019. *A three-fold approach to the imperative's usage in English and Dutch*. *Journal of Pragmatics* 139. 146–162.
- Van Olmen, Daniël & Heinold, Simone. 2017. Imperatives and directive strategies from a functional-typological perspective: an introduction. In Van Olmen, D. & S. Heinold (eds.), *Imperatives and Directive Strategies*, 1–49. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- von Waldenfels, Ruprecht. 2012. Aspect in the imperative across Slavic – a corpus driven pilot study. In Grønn, A. & A. Pazelskaya (eds.), *The Russian Verb*. Oslo Studies in Language 4(1). 141–154.
- Wiemer, Björn. 2008. Zur innerslavischen Variation bei der Aspektwahl und der Gewichtung ihrer Faktoren. In K. Gutschmidt, U. Jekutsch, S. Kempgen & L. Udolph (eds.): *Deutsche Beiträge zum 14. Internationalen Slavisten kongreß, Ohrid 2008 (Die Welt der Slaven. Sammelbände / Sborniki 30)*. 383–409. München: Sagner.
- Zinken, Jörg. 2016. *Requesting responsibility: the morality of grammar in Polish and English family interaction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

## Sources

Slovenský národný korpus [Slovak National Corpus] – prim-8.0-public-vyv. Bratislava: Jazykovedný ústav Ľ. Štúra SAV 2018. (<http://korpus.juls.savba.sk>) (Accessed 2019-04-04)

Omnia Slovaca III Maior (18.01). Bratislava: Jazykovedný ústav Ľ. Štúra SAV 2019. (<http://ske.juls.savba.sk>) (Accessed 2019-04-04)

## Acknowledgements

This work was supported by the Scientific Grant Agency VEGA on the basis of contract no. 2/0017/17 “Dictionary of Contemporary Slovak Language – 6th Stage (Formulating and Editing Dictionary Entries and the Associated Lexical and Lexicographical Research)”.

*Martina Ivanová*  
*Institute of Slovak and Media Studies*  
*Faculty of Arts*  
*Prešov University*  
*Ul. 17. novembra 1*  
*080 78 Prešov*  
*Slovakia*  
*e-mail: martina.ivanová@unipo.sk*

In SKASE Journal of Theoretical Linguistics [online]. 2019, vol. 16, no. 3[cit. 2019-11-30]. Available on web page [http://www.skase.sk/Volumes/JTL41/pdf\\_doc/03.pdf](http://www.skase.sk/Volumes/JTL41/pdf_doc/03.pdf). ISSN 1336-782X

## Implicit and explicit reference to the addressee in dialogue communication in Slovak

Jana Kesselová, University of Presov, Slovakia

*Slovak is a pro-drop language in which the expression of the personal pronoun is unnecessary thanks to inflection that indicates the person. The question arises as to why Slovak speakers refer to the person not only implicitly (by inflection) but also explicitly (by a combination of inflection together with personal pronoun). Existing research explains the explicit referencing to the addressee with a reference to functional perspective of the sentence, rhythm, emotionality, contrastive function, expressivity and pragmatic function. The study examines the relationship between the semantics of the verb and explicit reference to the addressee in the 2nd person singular/plural, in which it is used preferentially. In the study, we address two questions: (a) To which degree are explicit references used with verb forms in 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person? (b) In which semantic classes of verbs is explicit reference used preferentially? In the study we examine oral dialogic communication in Slovak. The research methodology is based on a cognitive linguistic approach and salience theory that describe the pronouns as a means of emphasizing the semantic role and prominence of the person in communication context. Pro-drop languages allow the speaker to put a higher emphasis on the semantic role of the communication participant compared to languages that require the pronoun and therefore do not allow the speaker to use it according to their intention. The study on the data in the Corpus of Spoken Slovak shows that the pronoun is preferentially used with verbs from semantic classes that refer to the addressee's inner world invisible to their communication partner. The Slovak speaker emphasizes the semantic role of the addressee when referring to their inner world (cognition, emotions, evaluation, experiences, identification).*

**Keywords:** implicit reference, explicit reference, addressee, dialogue, Slovak

### 1. Introduction

The study is part of a wider survey into the person and social deixis in Slovak.<sup>1</sup> It is also a partial contribution to finding an answer to the question: What is the nature of the component of Slovak which is primarily orientated towards the person? Such orientation has two aspects: one is of the person as a participant and non-participant in a communicative act; the second is the person as a bearer of social roles, status and relationships with communication partners. These are both based on the traditional categories of person and social deixis. According to Levinson (1983: 62), “*person deixis concerns the encoding of the role of participants in the speech event in which the utterance in question is delivered [...]*”. On the other hand, “*social deixis concerns the encoding of social distinctions that are relative to participant-roles, particularly aspects of the social relationship holding between speaker and addressee(s) or*

---

<sup>1</sup> This research is part of the VEGA 1/0099/16 *Person and social deixis in Slovak (person in language, language in person)* grant project. Person and social deixis is researched both synchronously and diachronously as well as from the viewpoint of ontogenetic speech. The subject of research are written and spoken texts in Slovak from various spheres of communication, with texts taken from the *Slovak National Corpus* and research text samples compiled by individuals for specific research purposes.



speaker and some referent“ (ibid.: 63). The subject of this study is references to the addressee in Slovak dialogue communication and follows on from studies of separate corpus surveys focused on autoreference, i.e. to the reference of speakers to themselves (Kesselová 2018a: 94–108; Kesselová 2018b: 7–22).

The theme of the study is motivated by various factors. The polarity between the speaker and addressee is a key element of communication. J. Mukařovský (1948: 132) states that the mutual relationship between communication participants is felt like a tension unconnected with any of the communicators but existing between them; it can be objectified as a *psychological situation* within the dialogue.

Deictic expressions related to the polarity of speaker versus addressee are specific means of reference. At the moment of speech they refer to separate participants of the speech act but they do not identify the individual person but instead their communicative role.

In Slovak this relates to the first and second person of the verb, the first-person pronoun ‘I’ (*ja*) and second-person pronouns ‘you’ (*ty*, *vy*), which are differentiated as follows:

a) The *ty* pronoun in the singular refers to an individual addressee who the speaker knows and has a close social relationship with. To use the pronoun in communication with an unknown adult person is considered impolite in the Slovak environment.

b) The *vy* pronoun in the plural refers either to a group of addressees or to an individual with whom the speaker has a less close relationship (the speaker does not know the addressee or the addressee has a higher social status than the speaker). In Slovak there has to be agreement between personal pronouns and the form of the verb. The *vy* pronoun always requires a plural form of the verb regardless of whether it is used to refer to a group or individual addressee.

The choice of the *ty* (‘you’ singular) and *vy* (‘you’ plural) pronouns is determined by social roles and the social distance between communication partners but also by rules of social behaviour in the Slovak culturo-linguistic context. The *vy* (plural) is a sign of respect towards the communication partner based on their social status.<sup>2</sup> The *vy* pronoun (plural) is one common means of honorification.<sup>3</sup> The shift from using *vy* (plural) to *ty* (singular) is a result of agreement between communication partners and determined by the rules of etiquette.

Gender differences in Slovak are only expressed in third-person pronouns. In the singular there are three third-person pronouns: *on* ‘he’ (masculine), *ona* ‘she’ (feminine) and *ono* ‘he/she’ (neuter). In the plural, there are only two: *oni* ‘they’ (masculine plural) and *ony* ‘they’ (feminine and neuter plural).

---

<sup>2</sup> Social status is defined as the “social position of a person in a certain society or group bound by a degree of acknowledgement from other members“ (Petrušek 1996: p. 1226).

<sup>3</sup> As well as the *vy* pronoun, the substantives *pán* and *pani* (Sir/Mr and Madam/Mrs) are also used for purposes of honorification. In direct contact they are used as forms of address or for purposes of identification (*Vy ste pani X?* ‘Are you Madam X?’). The substantives *pán* (Sir/Mr) and *pani* (Madam/Mrs) may also refer to non-participants of the communication. They are used mostly (but not exclusively) in formal and non-familiar dialogue when referring to people of a higher social status or of the church. Typical collocations using *pán/pani* in the Slovak spoken corpus are made up of substantives from an ecclesiastic context (*God, Jesus, priest, bishop*) or the naming of people of higher status (*professor, dean, manager, president, minister; teacher, doctor, associate professor, engineer, deputy, commander*). The expressions *pán/pani* serve as means of honorification between communication partners of the same social status (e. g. in dialogue between friends: *Ako sa má pani manželka?* ‘How is your wife?’) but also between communication partners of unequal social status (e. g. a teacher communicating with a student referring to another colleague but also friend: *Nech mi pán profesor napíše.* ‘Ask the professor to write to me.’).

Use these deictic forms constantly switches from one person to the other and requires speakers and addressees to adopt a reciprocity of perspective.<sup>4</sup>

The polarity between speaker and addressee does not only relate to the linguistic aspect of communication but has a wider anthropological dimension. According to I. Vaňková (2005: 24–55), the opposition of *I* versus *you*, but also modifications such as *I* versus *others*, *my*, *own* versus *someone else* 's is not limited just to the semantics of language but represents one of the oppositions structuring our experience of the world in general. This is true both in sign systems as well as in life itself, the connotative element of language being enriched through this. The components *I*, *my*, *own* have more positive connotations whereas *you*, *your*, *other* are more negative.<sup>5</sup>

Reciprocity of perspectives does not just relate to the use of deictic structures in speech but affects the whole character of communication and social interaction. According to Schütz & Luckmann (1973: 59–60), reciprocity of perspectives is the first step from individual consciousness to the social world. It is thus essential that we overcome the barrier arising from the fact that my own consciousness and yours cannot be completely identical because each of us lives in different “reaches” of the world.

*First, because the world in my reach cannot be identical with the world in your reach, his reach, etc.; because my here is your there; and because my zone of operation is not the same as yours. And, second, because my biographical situation with its relevance systems, hierarchies of plans etc., is not yours and, consequently, the explications of the horizon of objects in my case and yours could take entirely different directions [...]*<sup>6</sup>

From the above, it emerges that studying instruments of autoreference and reference to an addressee means uncovering forms of expression which create the *I* versus *others* polarity and show how cooperativeness is achieved in human interaction. Coding of the person in a system of three verb forms, as we know in Slovak, appears completely natural and ‘logical’ to us because it reflects the everyday model of human communication (speaker – addressee – third person as subject of communication). However, comparison with other – mainly culturally distant – languages shows that coding of people according to their communicative roles is just one of the possible ‘visions’ of a social world. This is documented in the latter part of the study.

In the first part we focus on the status of person markers in theoretical approach and in various languages; in the second part we focus on our own empirical research in the Slovak language.

## 2. Previous research

---

<sup>4</sup> „A class of words whose meaning differs according to the situation“, starting with what Otto Jespersen calls (2007 [1922]: 123) *shifters*. While the speaker refers to himself or herself using *I* pronoun and the first person form of the verb, it is expected that one’s communication partner will change perspective and use the second-person. “Mirroring” of perspective is a very interesting theme in the early ontogenetic speech of children (Kesselová 2018c: 14–35).

<sup>5</sup> *Own*, *my/mine*, *our/ours* have close, familiar, trustworthy, accepted, positive associations; *strange*, *belonging to others* is associated with the unknown, the uncertain, potentially threatening, negative. In Slovak this opposition is represented by such expressions as *our* (=family, relatives), *it is my blood group*, *it is mine* ‘I like it’, *our person*, *to feel like at home* as opposed to *to feel strange*, *we are strangers*, *to become estranged*, *show someone a strange face*, *to not feel oneself*, *to not be in one’s element* etc.

<sup>6</sup> Schütz & Luckmann (1973: 59–60).

## 2.1 Category of person and personal marker

Given that not all lexico-grammatical indicators of person can be classed as personal pronouns and grammatical verb morphemes, A. Siewierska (2004) started to use the terms *person marker* and *person form* in her *Person* monograph. From the author's extensive comparative research, it emerges that the vast majority of languages differentiate between three persons and two numbers (sg and pl). There are some languages with more than 130 personal markers (e.g. Fijian, an Austronesian language) as well as languages with only two, e.g. "*Madurese, an Austronesian language, now mainly spoken in Java, has only two, sengkog „I/me“ and tang „my“*" (Siewierska 2004: 2). Various agents enter into systems of person markers, such as use in positive and negatives statement, the social status of the speaker, social distance between the communication partners, gender, generation, reciprocity. The results are idiosyncratic and, compared to Slovak, often surprisingly rich systems of language tools. K. Hale (1966: 319) gives the example of Lardil, an Australian language, in which there are two sets of person markers which function on the principle of *alternate generation levels* (the term *harmony* is used in the text). This principle of naming persons is described (ibid.: 319):

*A person is harmonic with respect to members of his own generation and with respect to members of all even-numbered generations counting away from his own (e. g., his grandparents' generation, his grandchildren's generation, etc.). He is disharmonic with respect to members of all odd-numbered generations (e. g., that of his parents, that of his children, that of his great-grand-parents, etc.).*

The generational criterion is combined with two sets of pronouns – with dual and plural paradigm. A result, for instance, is that there is a specific dual form "*you two*", when the speaker addresses two people, a brother and sister or grandparent and grandchild, for instance; but a different one when the speaker addresses a parent and child or great-grandparent and their great-grandchild. This difficult system of person markers in Lardil is complemented by a corresponding system of syntactic rules. The study reveals that the principles governing the use of person markers are applied in other spheres such as "*the kinship terminology itself, the semimoiety and subsection terminology, the marriage rule, totemic association, ritual obligations, etc.*" (ibid.: 319).

Referring to selected Australian languages, A. Siewierska (2004: 3–4) demonstrates that there exist languages with 12 different sets of person markers by which, through the speech act, the speaker demonstrates their relationship towards the addressee. *Dhimal* (a Tibeto-Burman language) has "*special person forms just for the first- and second-person singular which are reciprocally used only between two distinct groups, one being the parents of a husband and a wife and the other, a man and his wife's senior relatives*". Nor is the means of creating verb forms unified. *Tiddim* (another Tibeto-Burman language) has both prefixal and suffixal forms, the first being used in narratives and the second in everyday conversation.

These chosen examples from linguistically very different cultures demonstrate that although the system of three verb persons and their corresponding pronouns may seem self-evident and normal to users of Slovak, it is in fact just one of many ways of referring to a person. Different languages code the category of person in very different ways reflecting disparities in perception and structuring of social worlds, a reality which is one of the motivations for research into the field of social and personal deixis in Slovak.

## 2.2 The structurality of a pronominal system

In the 1970s E. Benveniste appraised differences in the subsystem of personal pronouns. In his famous study *La nature des pronoms* (1971: 256), he challenged tradition by saying only the first and second person can belong to the grammatical category of person; the 3<sup>rd</sup> person is effectively a non-person. The 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun serves to replace a segment of a statement or a whole statement with a more comfortable substitute (*Pierre est malade, il a la fièvre*). However the function of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun has nothing in common with indicators of communicative roles such as the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person (speaker and addressee). The key difference between first- and second-person pronouns on one side and 3<sup>rd</sup> person on the other is confirmed by Lyons (1977: 638).

*The term “third person” is negatively defined with respect to “first person” and “second person”: it does not correlate with any positive participant role. The so-called third-person pronouns are quite different in this respect from the first-person and second-person pronouns.*

The stated distinction between pronouns is manifested variously in languages: in differences in the formal structure of 1<sup>st</sup> / 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns in relation to the 3<sup>rd</sup> person, in disparate word order of pronouns, in the system of relational morphemes, in expression of gender, and in the various possibilities of semantic restriction of personal pronouns. Let us briefly consider this last aspect.<sup>7</sup>

T. Noguchi (1997: 777) states that in Japanese certain syntagmatic combinations of personal pronouns are acceptable which in translation equate to such collocations as *little he*, *sweet she*, *my he* (=boyfriend), *my she* (=girlfriend), *this he*, *this she*.

In Slovak the only one of these used is the very exception restriction of a personal pronoun using the demonstrative. A specific case of compatibility of demonstratives with a personal pronoun can occur if the context does not provide a vehicle for concretization of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun. This can be a result of unintended slackness in formulating a statement or the communicative purpose of disguising or hiding the content of a statement from a communication partner. This can be demonstrated by an example from dialog (1a,b).

- (1) a. Slovak Bol si s ním?  
be-2SG-PST with he-INS-SG  
‘Were you with him?’
- b. Slovak A to je kto **ten** **on**?  
and it be-3SG who this he-NOM  
‘And who is this he?’

In Slovak a 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun can also serve as a demonstrative. An example (2a, b) from dialog (a teacher \*TCH, student \*STU).

- (2) a. Slovak \*TCH: Kto rozlial tú vodu?

---

<sup>7</sup> The nature of personal pronouns creates typological differences between languages. Criteria for classification of languages according to a scale with nominality and pronominality is given in the model of N. Sugamoto (1989).

who spilled-3SG-PST that water-ACC-SG  
 ‘Who spilled that water?’

b. Slovak \*STU: ona.  
 she-NOM-SG  
 ‘She did.’ (the student points at a classmate)

Using the 3<sup>rd</sup> person to refer to a communication partner who is present in the communicative situation, however, is deemed to be a breach of good behaviour and politeness in Slovak. The demonstrative function of the personal pronoun may have a historical explanation. Third-person pronouns were originally demonstratives in Slovak (Krajčovič 1988: 120).

We should add that in Slovak personal pronouns are used in restrictive clauses with substantives. A substantive in the second position requires a personal pronoun in the first place in a restrictive group. We studied the semantic profile of substantives in collocative paradigms of personal pronouns taken from the *Slovak national corpus*. The potential of personal pronouns to function in restrictive constructions with the substantive depends on the person. The contrast between 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person and the 3<sup>rd</sup> person (§2.2) is clearly seen in restrictive groups. While they occur quite frequently in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person, they are exceptional in the third.<sup>8</sup>

The pronoun *ja* ‘I’ is predominantly associated with negative emotionality occurring in statements with the communication function of self-criticism or self-pity (*I + fool, ass, chump, idiot, wretch, rascal, twit, moron, loser, waste of time...*); less frequently it is used in conjunction with a profession or ethnicity (*I + actor, writer, musician, Slovak*). In the first case the statement’s subjectivity is highlighted (3a), in the second a chosen aspect of the speaker’s identity (3b).

(3a) Slovak Ja hlupák som jej na to skočil.  
 I fool-NOM be-1-SG she-DAT-SG on it jump-PST-SG  
 ‘What a fool I am for falling for it.’

(3b) Slovak Ako to vidím ja spisovateľ Daniel Hevier.  
 how it see-1-SG I writer-NOM-SG Daniel Hevier  
 ‘How I see it, the writer Daniel Hevier.’

Negative emotionality is also associated with substantives using the pronoun *ty* ‘you’ (*you + ass, swine, lunatic, idiot, dunce...*). These collocations are pragmatically classed as insults.

Restrictive collocations with the *my* ‘we’ pronoun are quite different. These can be classed as “unitary“ *my* (*we + two*), exclusive *my* (*we + alone, only*), inclusive *my* (*we + everyone*), ethnic *my* (*we + Slovaks, Hungarians*), oppositional *my* (*we others*), confessional *my* (*we + Christians, believers*), generational *my* (*we + older ones, youngsters, people, children, parents*) and professional *my* (*we + doctors, trainers, players, journalists*).

<sup>8</sup> Results of the corpus survey are drawn from subcorpus prim-8.0-public-sane (73.52% informative, 16.50% artistic, 8.92% specialized, 1.06% other texts), 1,076,309,519 words.

The *vy* ‘you PL’ pronoun moves between the *my* ‘we’ and *ty* ‘you SG’ pronoun and is used to join similar specifications (a group *vy dvaja* ‘two’, total *vy všetci* ‘all’, oppositional *vy ostatní* ‘others’, generational *vy mladí* ‘young’, *vy starí* ‘old’ and gender-based *vy muži* ‘men’, *vy ženy* ‘women’. It is much more common, however, for the *vy* ‘you V’ pronoun to be used, as with the *ty* ‘you T’ pronoun, together with negative substantives in terms of abuse (*vy + swine, morons, idiots, lunatics* etc.).

From this it emerges that the (im)possibility of semantic restriction of pronouns is determined in Slovak both by the type of pronoun and by the type of expression with a restrictive function. While the restriction of a personal pronoun by a demonstrative is exceptional and the restriction of a possessive excluded, restriction by a substantive is possible. This occurs more commonly with 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns but is rare with 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns.

### 2.3 Current trends in research

In the 1960s was a turning point in research into address systems thanks to the work of Brown and Gilman (1960: 253–276), who interpret reference to an addressee within the dichotomy of *power* vs. *solidarity*. Power is associated with formal V pronouns (such as French *vous* or German *Sie* or Slovak *vy*) and solidarity with informal T pronouns (such as French *tu* or German *du* or Slovak *ty*). Symmetry is generally seen as a synonym of solidarity and is exemplified by relationships between people who have the same families, the same profession, studied together etc.

*Power is a relationship between at least two persons, and it is nonreciprocal in the sense that both cannot have power in the same area of behavior [...]. The relations called older than, parent of, employer of, richer than, stronger than, and nobler than are all asymmetrical (ibid.: 255, 257).*

P. Mühlhäusler & R. Harré (1990: 140–141) are dismissive of this interpretation however. Although they acknowledge the originality of the theory, they claim that the second-person pronoun in statements fulfils no specific function except for participating in emotional changes (surprise, consternation, hatred, love, anger, sensitivity). The question arises of whether this emotional scale is then a basis for forming *vy/ty*-statements oscillating between shows of power and solidarity. Over fifty years ago Brown & Gilman (1960: 280) predicted that social and linguistic changes would lead to a spread of what they called “*the solidary ethic with everyone*“. Confirmation of this requires wider comparative and typologically orientated research into contemporary language. J. Hajek et al. (2012: 1–15) presents project MAP (*Melbourne Address Project*) focused on intracultural aspects of address in five European languages: English, French, German, Italian and Swedish as spoken in seven countries. New project MAPET (*Melbourne Address Pronoun European Typology*) is focused on identifying not only the forms used, but their pragmatic functions, historical sources, shared features across areo-genetic space, results of language contacts in Europe, regional and individual variation and their synchronic grammatical properties. An example of intralingual and interlingual research is study of forms of address in four languages – French, German, Italian and Swedish (Schüpbach et al. 2007: 1–12). At present, research into address forms focuses upon “*specific linguistic markers which are drawn upon in discourse to position the self and other(s)*“ (Beeching et al.: 2018) and deals with formation of a person’s identity.

A second category is made up of research into the address systems of individual languages, for instance Russian (Lagerberg et al. 2014: 179–209; Deringer et al. 2015: 311–334, Sirota 2017: 116–123), Polish (Sosnowski 2013: 225–235; Rudík 2014: 177–180.), Bulgarian (Girvin 2013: 157–188) and Serbian (Schlund 2014: 69–89, Ozer 2018: 79–102). Research into the address systems of European languages is asymmetrical; authors conducting extensive comparative research expect existing projects to stimulate new research into address systems, particularly in as yet less researched European languages, among them Slovak.

### 3. Aims of the study, research questions and methods of the study

This study focuses on one grammatical and semantic aspect of referring to an addressee: the relationship between the verbal person and the personal pronouns of *ty* ‘you T’, *vy* ‘you V’. Slovak is one of the pro-drop languages in which use of personal pronouns is not mandatory given the unambiguity of verbal inflection. Forms of the second person are marked by the -š morpheme for SG – *máš* ‘you have’ and -te for PL – *máte* ‘you have’. Despite that, users of Slovak refer to the addressee both implicitly (through the verb form), and explicitly – combining the verb with a personal pronoun – *ty máš* ‘you have’, *vy máte* ‘you have’. Slovak as a language of research and English as a language of translation are typologically different languages. The difference in the use of pronouns is marked as follows:

a) for implicit reference in Slovak, the translated pronoun is in brackets e. g. *máš* (you) have;

b) for explicit reference in Slovak, the translated pronoun is without brackets e. g. *ty máš* ‘you have’;

c) the difference in the number is indicated by abbreviations T and V, e. g. *máš* (you) have T; *máte* (you) have V.

The question arises about what the motivation is for the more explicit reference, especially in dialogue which is usually marked by economy of expression. In Slovak research conducted so far, the following reasons have been given to account for this explicitness: style and rhythm (Oravec 1961: 199–205), expressiveness (Findra 2004: 69), emotionality, emphasis and distinctiveness (Šikra & Furdík, 1982: 136), pragmatics (Kesselová 2005: 129–141; Bodnárová 2016: 107–124).

Although Slovak is a pro-drop language, there do exist situations in which the presence of personal pronouns is essential. These express contrast and reciprocity between people.<sup>9</sup> Contrast is most commonly achieved through negation of the verb (4a), antonymy (4b), converse verbs (i.e. verbs where the structure of logical and semantic roles can be inverted; 4c), demonstrative pronouns (4d), spatial and temporal relations (4e). Another position requiring use of pronouns is when expressing reciprocity between people (4f). In both cases, the personal pronouns clearly identify the two sides in a contrasting or reciprocal relationship.

(4a) Slovak	Ja	prídem	domov, ale	ty	neprídeš.
	I	will come-1-SG-FUT	home but	you	will not come-2-SG-FUT

<sup>9</sup> Contrast and reciprocity are some of the first relations for which children of an early age start to use personal pronouns in Slovak (Kesselová 2018: 14–35).

(4b) Slovak	Ja	dám	hore,	ty	dáš	dole.			
	I	will put-1-SG-FUT	up,	you	will put-2-SG-FUT	down			
	‘I’ll put it up, you take it down.’								
(4c) Slovak	Ja	ti	dám	a	ty	mi	vrátiš.		
	I	to you-SG	will give-1-SG-FUT	and	you	to me-SG	will return-2SG-FUT		
	‘I’ll give it to you and you’ll then return it to me.’								
(4d) Slovak	My	to	inak	vnímame,	oni	to	zas	inak	vnímajú
	we	it	otherwise	perceive-1-PL-PRS	they	it	also	otherwise	perceive-3-PL-PRS
	‘We see it one way but they see it another.’								
(4e) Slovak	My	prídeme	zo	slovenskej strany	a	vy	z	maďarskej	
	we	will come-1-PL-FUT	from	Slovak side-GEN-SG	and you	from	Hungarian		
	‘We will come from the Slovak and you from the Hungarian side.’								
(4f) Slovak	My	sme	dôverovali	im,	oni	zasa	nám.		
	we	trusted-1-PL-PST	them,	they	also	us			
	‘We trusted them and they also trusted us’.								

This study addresses a hitherto unexplored area: the relationship between implicit/explicit reference to the addressee on the one hand and the semantics of the verb in the second person on the other. A key research question of this study is whether explicit reference to the addressee is conditioned by the semantics of the verb in the second person.

In the second part we deal with whether there is some connection between the semantics of the verb and explicit reference to the addressee. What does explicit reference to one's communication partner tell us about the intentions of the communicators?

We try to guarantee reliability of results through working with an extensive and representative sample of texts. The study uses the corpus-driven approach. The *Slovak spoken corpus* is used with its 5,720,000 positions. The corpus operations we use are frequency sorting of verbs in the second person sg/pl, and a positive and negative filter for selection of the *ty/vy* pronouns with a verb and its collocative paradigms. This quantitative approach is combined with qualitative analysis of the semantic and functional profile of the verb with the highest level of explicit reference.

64



prominent position of a person given the background of the communicative context. In pro-drop languages, the play of the figure and background is possible to a greater extent than in languages where the presence of a personal pronoun is obligatory (non-pro-drop). Omitting the pronoun reduces the difference between subject and context while using it increases it.

## 4. Data analysis and results

### 4.1 Verbal person form and explicit reference in dialogue

In the first part we focus on the question: to what extent is explicit reference to the addressee made in comparison to reference to other verbal persons? In other words, if the speaker uses a verbal person form, to what extent do they shift it to the centre of attention by using a personal pronoun?

We examined this question in the *Corpus of Spoken Slovak* (CSS) using both a positive and negative filter. We filtered out the presence of personal pronouns with verbs in all persons on a scale from -3 to +1. This refers to the incidence of a personal pronoun ranging from three places before the verb (*ty si mi povedal* 'you have to me said' or 'you said to me') to one place after the verb (*ako si sa tam dostal ty?* 'how did yourself there get you?' or 'how did you get there?'). This reflects how in Slovak the word order is relatively free and the order of verb and pronoun can be inverted. We determined the percentage of explicit references (ER) in the overall verb incidence in the given person (Table 1).

Table 1: Explicit references (ER) in the overall number of verb forms in the *Corpus of Spoken Slovak* (CSS)

person	number of forms in CSS	number of verbs with ER	% ER
1. sg	228 101	47 304	21
1. pl	104 930	13 443	13
2. sg	40 722	4 715	12
2. pl	43 488	4 134	10
3. sg m	83 575	7 211	9
3. pl m	57 547	3 695	6
3. sg f	44 290	2 561	6
3. pl f	10 091	72	0,7
3. sg n	53 348	189	0,1
3. pl n	2 959	2	0,07

From this data, we can draw various conclusions. Most striking is the explicit reference of the speaker to himself or herself. In a fifth of verbs in the 1<sup>st</sup> person sg, the speaker refers to himself or herself using the *ja* 'I' pronoun.

The next most common is explicit reference in those verb persons which create a minimal speech act between speaker and addressee. The pronoun is used more frequently when drawing attention to the individual speaker and addressee (21 % sg, 12 % pl); less so when referring to a collective subject or group addressee (13 % sg, 10 % pl). With explicit

reference in the 2<sup>nd</sup> person pl, we have to remember that the 10 % verbs include cases where an individual addressee is being referred to using the formal *you* (V).

Less common are references to a non-participant(s) of communication using the 3<sup>rd</sup> person masculine (*on* ‘he’ in the singular, *oni* ‘they’ in the plural) and feminine pronouns (*ona* ‘she’ in the singular).

Least common of all are references using the *ony* ‘they’ (plural pronoun for the feminine and neuter gender). The gradual decline of the *ony* pronoun in Slovak has been observed for many years. The 3<sup>rd</sup> person neuter in the singular *ono* is also uncommon and in spoken Slovak functions more as an expletive than a personal pronoun.<sup>10</sup>

Table 1 shows that the functional difference between 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns and 1<sup>st</sup> / 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns (§2.2) is reflected in the scale of explicit reference. Non-participant(s) of communication are referred to by pronouns far less than participants. This applies equally to all gender forms, both singular and plural.

#### 4.2 Semantic classes of verb in the second person

Extensive texts enable us to examine the connection between the semantics of the verb and reference to the addressee while minimizing the influence of the theme and idiolect of the speaker. *Corpus of Spoken Slovak* (version s-hovor-5.0) contains about 40,000 second-person sg forms and 43,000 second-person pl (§Table 1). We have ordered these forms according to their frequency and semantically analysed those verbs which appear a minimum of twenty times in the corpus (more than 80 % of all forms in the corpus). When analyzing verb in the frequency dictionary, we focused on the prototypical meaning of the verbal lexeme given in lexicographical handbooks of Slovak. The only exception to this is with the verb *stíhať* ‘to try to catch someone, to chase’ because in dialogue the verb *stíhať* is colloquially used to mean ‘to have enough time to do something’.

Semantic analysis of verbs showed that more than 90 % of second-person forms are from nine semantic classes<sup>11</sup> which speakers use preferentially in dialogue. The percentage of individual semantic classes in the overall number of verbs in the second person is given in Table 2. The set of preferentially used semantic verb classes in the second person is the same in both numbers with differences only in the extent to which various semantic classes in dialogue are used. The biggest difference is with the dominant semantic class: in the singular, cognition verbs are dominant; in the plural, existence verbs.

Table 2: Percentage of semantic class (SC) in the overall number of second-person verbs in the *Corpus of Spoken Slovak* (CSS)

2 <sup>nd</sup> person SG		2 <sup>nd</sup> person PL	
SC	% SC of verbs in CSS	SC	% SC of verbs in CSS

<sup>10</sup> Included in 0.07% of forms with explicit reference are only manually selected statements in which the *ono* pronoun refers to a person and does not serve as an expletive e.g.:

(i) Slovak To **dievča**, predstavte si, **ono** dalo výpoveď.  
that girl-NOM-N imagine-IMP-PL she gave-PST-SG notice-ACC-SG  
‘Just imagine: that girl handed in her notice.’

<sup>11</sup> Semantic classes of verbs are taken from the *Valency dictionary of Slovak verbs in the corpus base* (Ivanová et al. 2014).

cognition	27	existence	33
existence	22	cognition	17
possession	10	possession	10
modality	10	modality	8
perception	6	communication	6
realization	5	realization	5
motion	5	motion	5
giving/receiving	5	perception	5
communication	4	giving/receiving	3

The 2<sup>nd</sup> person in dialogue preferentially refers to the existence of the addressee (*byť* ‘be’, *nebyť* ‘not be’, *žiť* ‘live’, *narodiť sa* ‘to be born’, *prežiť* ‘survive’, *prežívať* ‘undergo’, *zažiť* ‘experience’) and to processes going on in their mind and which emphasize the existence of the communication partner as a thinking being.

Cognition verbs preferentially used in the second person indicate various aspects of the addressee’s thought processes. They refer to the addressee, to information or an ability which they:

- a) own or do not own (*vedieť* ‘know’, *nevedieť* ‘not know’, *poznať* ‘know’, *nepoznať* ‘not know’, *chápať* ‘understand’, *ovládať* ‘have mastery of’);
- b) deliberately or accidentally gain or realize (*zistiť* ‘discover’, *učiť sa* ‘learn’, *naučiť sa* ‘master’, *študovať* ‘study’, *dozvedieť sa* ‘find out’, *uvedomiť si* ‘realize’);
- c) are processing (*myslieť* ‘think’, *nemyslieť* ‘not think’, *rozmyslieť si* ‘change (one’s) mind’, *rozmyšľať* ‘reflect’, *porozmyšľať* ‘meditate’, *predstaviť si* ‘imagine’, *riešiť* ‘deal with’, *neriešiť* ‘not deal with’);
- d) retain, select or forget about (*pamätať si* ‘remember’, *nepamätať si* ‘not remember’, *spomínať si* ‘recall’, *spomenúť si* ‘reminisce’, *nespomínať si* ‘not recall’).

The second person is not typical, however, for cognition verbs which reflect degrees of conviction about the validity of certain things (*dúfať* ‘hope’, *veriť* ‘believe’, *tušiť* ‘have an inkling of’, *predpokladať* ‘suppose’). These verbs are much more compatible with the 1<sup>st</sup> person and the role of the speaking subject. Only the speaker can authentically express in such statements their level of conviction. Cognition verbs with a result, close in meaning to create verbs (e.g. *vymyslieť* ‘think up’) are also untypical in the 2<sup>nd</sup> person. This suggests that the focusing of attention on the addressee leads to a minimalization of verbs with a meaning that focuses on the result of an action.

The term *mental action* is used to describe what goes on in the human mind (Kysel’ová 2017: 26) and is considered to be one of the decisive aspects in terms of human action. Other such aspects are will, possibility, necessity and permission to act, all of which are covered by modality verbs. These are a class of verbs which cover both modal grammatical functions as well as autosemantic verbs with modal meanings (Ivanová et al. 2014: 12). Verbs in the first person are preferentially used when referring to will, which is fully known only by the speaker (Kesselová 2018a: 101). When referring to the addressee, possibility is emphasized (*môcť* ‘can’, *nemôcť* ‘cannot’, *stíhať* ‘can manage’, *nestíhať* ‘cannot manage’ in the sense ‘have/don’t have enough time to do something’), necessity (*musieť* ‘must’, *nemusieť* ‘don’t have to’, *potrebovať* ‘need’, *nepotrebovať* ‘don’t need’) and prohibition to act (*nesmieť* ‘mustn’t’). The 2<sup>nd</sup> person is typically used by the speaker with verbs stating or restricting the addressee’s possible actions.

Cognition verbs are closely associated with perception verbs referring to sources of gaining information. Verbs referring to sight are preferentially used, probably in the sense that “to see is to know” (*vidieť* ‘see’, *pozrieť* ‘look at’, *uvidieť* ‘see’, *pozerať* ‘watch’, *nevidieť* ‘not see’, *kukať* ‘eye’, *všimnúť si* ‘notice’, *sledovať* ‘watch’); less so verbs referring to hearing (*počúvať* ‘listen’, *počuť* ‘hear’) and generally perceptual verbs (*cítiť* ‘feel’, *vnímať* ‘perceive’).

Existence verbs are dominant in the 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural (*byť* ‘be’, *nebyť* ‘not be’, *žiť* ‘live’, *narodiť sa* ‘be born’, *prežiť* ‘survive’, *prežívať* ‘undergo’, *zažiť* ‘experience’). Together with possessive verbs (*mať* ‘have’, *nemať* ‘not have’, *mávať* ‘have imperf.’) they relate to two archetypal human elements: existence and possession. These are explained by E. Fromm (1976: 27) who states that the 2<sup>nd</sup> person of existence and possession verbs is a reference to two kinds of a person’s existence:

*[...] the mode of being and the mode of owning as two kinds of orientation towards oneself and the world, two disparate kinds of character structure, whereby the one which is dominant determines the overall pattern of human thought, feelings and actions.*

Possessive verbs are associated with the semantic class of giving and receiving. Verbs in this class identify a change in possessive relationship on the basis of giving or accepting things. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> person, verbs of giving are preferentially used in both numbers (*dať* ‘give’, *dávať* ‘give imperf.’, *venovať* ‘devote’, *vrátiť* ‘give back’, *zaplatiť* ‘pay’, *poslať* ‘send’, *nedať* ‘not give’, *platiť* ‘pay’), verbs of receiving make up in both cases fewer than half the incidence (*zobrať* ‘take away’, *dostať* ‘get’, *kúpiť* ‘buy’, *vziať* ‘take’, *brať* ‘take’, *nedostať* ‘not get’, *priať* ‘accept’, *dostávať* ‘get imperf.’, *nebrať* ‘not get’). In the 1<sup>st</sup> person sg, the use of verbs from the giving and receiving semantic class has a mirror perspective. Verbs of receiving prevail in terms of frequency and lexical diversity.

Although verbs in the 2<sup>nd</sup> person refer to the addressee and activity is a typical feature of living beings, 2<sup>nd</sup> verbs referring to physically observable human activities occur far less frequently. These are verbs of communication (4 % sg, 6 % pl), motion (5 %) and realization (5 %). Let us look in more details at their semantics.

Communication verbs in the second person are predominantly in these semantic groups:  
a) verbs with oral information transfer (*hovoríť/povedať* ‘speak/say’, *vravieť* ‘utter’, *nehovoríť/nepovedať* ‘not speak/not say’, *spomenúť* ‘recall’, *spomínať* ‘relate’, *zavolať* ‘call’),

b) verbs of reciprocal (*rozprávať sa* ‘talk together’, *porozprávať sa* ‘converse’) and potential contact (*modliť sa* ‘pray’),

c) verbs of communicative ability (*čítať* ‘read’, *prečítať* ‘read perfect.’, *písať* ‘write’, *napísať* ‘write perfect.’),

d) verbs with the illocutionary purpose of gaining information (*pýtať sa* ‘ask’, *nepýtať sa* ‘not ask’, *spýtať sa* ‘enquire’, *opýtať sa* ‘question’),

e) a verb where speaking and the semantics of cognition verbs overlap (*vysvetliť* ‘explain’ in the sense of ‘speak so that information is understandable’).

Verbs where the semantics overlap with communication intention (*d’akovať* ‘thank’, *poprosiť* ‘request’, *vítať* ‘welcome’) are not typically in the 2<sup>nd</sup> person. Communication intention reflects the purpose of the speaker thus these are typically in the 1<sup>st</sup> person.

Motion verbs are those which express movement in a certain direction (*ísť/nejsť* ‘go/not go’), directionally non-specified and repeated movement (*chodiť* ‘go’, *chodievalť* ‘go’ repeated activity), verbs with meaning of reaching a destination (*prísť* ‘come’, *dôjsť* ‘arrive’), moving

away from a place (*odísť* 'leave'), getting in and out of a building (*vojsť* 'enter', *vyjsť* 'exit'), going back (*vrátiť sa* 'return') and ending movement (*zastaviť sa* 'stop').

Realization verbs include the verb with the general meaning of *robiť* 'do', verbs with the modal meaning *dovoliť* 'allow' and *nechať* 'let' in sense of 'not interfering and enabling something to be done', verbs referring to preparation, start and finish of activities (*pripravovať sa* 'prepare', *chystať sa* 'get ready', *skúsiť* 'try', *nastúpiť* 'embark', *plánovať* 'plan', *začať* 'begin', *začínať* 'start', *pustiť sa* 'commence', *prestať* 'stop', *skončiť* 'end'), verbs with analytic equivalents (*pracovať* = *robiť prácu* 'work' = 'do work'; *hrať sa* = *venovať sa hre* 'play' = 'play a game'), Verbs of social intervention are used only marginally (*pomôcť* 'help', *prepáčiť* 'excuse', *vybaviť* 'arrange').

The results of semantic analysis of verbs in the 2<sup>nd</sup> person within the *Corpus of Spoken Slovak* can be summarized accordingly. Reference to an addressee is preferentially made with verbs identifying fundamental human aspects (existence, possession), inner processes and sensory perceptions (cognitive and perceptual processes) or the possibilities and limits of the addressee's actions (modality verbs).

If verbs in the second person refer to a physically observable activity, those referring to communication, motion, realization, giving and receiving are used preferentially. Their common factor is that they name activities which do not lead to a concrete physical result nor to destruction or modification of the object. So-called 'non-intervention' verbs are typically used in the 2<sup>nd</sup> person.

If the verb in the 2<sup>nd</sup> person contains intervention in its semantic structure, this is either self-intervention (verbs of motion), partial intervention (verbs of giving/receiving),<sup>12</sup> or internal intervention (verbs of realization with analytic equivalents). Incidence of these verbs, however, is substantially lower (Table 2). Absence of object intervention enables attention to be shifted to the addressee. Thanks to the semantics of the verbs, the addressee as communication partner comes to the forefront in the case of the 2<sup>nd</sup> person.

This conclusion is even more evident, if we look at verbs of the semantic class taking in creation, destruction and modification. These are typical verbs of total intervention or modification of the right-intentional participant. Verbs of creation occur vary rarely in the second person (0.6% in the singular, 0.4% in the plural), verbs of modification even less so (0.06% in the singular, 0.1% in the plural) and verbs of destruction in the 2<sup>nd</sup> person occur marginally (*zabiť* 'kill' five times, *zrušiť* 'cancel', *zničiť* 'destroy', *vyliat'* 'pour away' and *vymazať* 'erase' each three times). The presence of total intervention of the right-intentional participant probably shifts attention to the affected participant. At the same time the incidence of forms shifting the left-intentional participant to the centre of attention is minimized. Our conclusion about shift of attention is thus verified with respect both to verbs without intervention and verbs with total intervention.

#### 4.3 Explicit reference to addressee

Knowing the semantic classes of verbs which occur preferentially in the 2<sup>nd</sup> person leads to another question: with which semantic class of verbs does explicit reference to the addressee occur most commonly?

We used the method of positive filtering of verb clauses in the 2<sup>nd</sup> person with the *ty/vy* 'you T/V' pronouns. The result enabled us to determine the percentual incidence of explicit

---

<sup>12</sup> Verbs of receiving and giving are verbs of partial intervention according to M. Sokolová (1995: 54).

reference for each verb in the 2<sup>nd</sup> person. For instance, the verb *myslíš* ‘(you) think/T’ occurs in the corpus 329 times; verb with pronoun *ty* in a non-initial position occurs 42 times and in the initial position 4 times. Explicit reference to the addressee thus occurs in 14 % of cases of verb *myslíš* ‘(you) think/T’. We examined explicit autoreference with each verb which occurs at least 25 times in the *Corpus of Spoken Slovak*. Verbs with the highest incidence of explicit reference (ER) are listed in Table 3. (The highest incidence means a minimum of 25 % ER.)

Table 3: Verbs with the highest incidence of ER to addressee in dialogue

2 <sup>nd</sup> person SG		2 <sup>nd</sup> person PL	
verb	% ER of verb frequency	verb	% ER of verb frequency
nepoznáš <i>you don't know</i>	34,6	vnímate <i>you perceive</i>	42,5
bola si <i>you were (f)</i>	33,2	vnímali ste <i>you perceived</i>	29,2
vnímaš <i>you perceive</i>	32,2	nepoznáte <i>you don't know</i>	27,2
videl si <i>you saw</i>	32,1	študovali ste <i>you studied</i>	26,7
berieš <i>you take</i>	31,9	spomínali ste <i>you recalled</i>	25,8
hovoríš <i>you speak</i>	30,7	hovoríte <i>you speak</i>	24,6
hovoriť si <i>you spoke</i>	28,1		
dávaš <i>you give</i>	27,2		
povedal si <i>you said</i>	26,2		
bol si <i>you were (m)</i>	25,1		

Several conclusions can be drawn from this data. Explicit reference depends not just on the semantics of the verb but also on the specific form. For instance, in the present tense of verb *vnímate* ‘you perceive V’ explicit reference occurs more frequently than with the preterite *vnímali ste* ‘you perceived/V’. There are no future forms in the preferential group. This indicates that explicit reference to the addressee is much more common with verbs describing factual events (present or past) than projected ones in the future.

Differences in incidence of explicit reference occur between affirmative and negative forms of verbs. This is especially visible (in favour of negative forms) with cognition verbs: *nepoznáš* ‘you don’t know T’ 35/20 %, *nepamätáš si* ‘you don’t remember T’ 24/11 %, *neviáš* ‘you don’t know T’ 13/2 %, *nepamätáte si* ‘you don’t remember V’ 45/5 %, *nepoznáte* ‘you don’t know V’ 27/11 %, *neviete* ‘you don’t know V’ 19/2 %. The number after the slash is the incidence of explicit reference in the positive form of the verb. There is clearer reference to the addressee when the speaker refers to the addressee’s information deficit. Highlighting the addressee’s information deficit means disrupting the maximum courtesy. The subject of further research may be the motivation of the speaker, but also the cultural conditionality of this linguistic-social phenomenon.

The incidence of explicit reference does not directly correlate with the frequency of the verb. While, for instance, the verb *viete* ‘you know V’ occurs 3 302 times and the number of cases with explicit reference to the addressee is 1.7 %, the verb *nepamätáte sa* ‘you don’t remember V’ occurs 20 times but explicit reference occurs in 45 % of cases. This indicates that the ratio of explicit reference to the overall incidence of the verb points more accurately to the relationship between the semantics of the verb and the addressee’s degree of prominence than to the absolute number of the verb.

Verbs with the highest level of explicit reference are concentrated in the following semantic classes:

a) in plural: perception (*vnímate* ‘you perceive’, *vnímali ste* ‘you perceived’), cognition (*nepoznáte* ‘you don’t know’, *študovali ste* ‘you studied’) and communication (*spomínali ste* ‘you recalled’, *hovoríte* ‘you speak’);

b) in singular: cognition (*nepoznáš* ‘you don’t know’, *berieš* ‘you take’), existence (*bola si* ‘you were f’, *bol si* ‘you were m’), perception (*vnímaš* ‘you perceive’, *videl si* ‘you saw m’), communication (*hovoríš* ‘you speak’, *hovoril si* ‘you spoke m’, *povedal si* ‘you said m’).

If we consider the verbs *dávaš* ‘you give T’ (ER = 27 %) and *berieš* ‘you take T’ (ER = 32 %), it may seem contradictory (§4.2). We stated that verbs of giving are used preferentially.

In sentences with explicit reference, however, the verb *brať* ‘take’ is used predominantly as a verb of cognition (5) in the sense of ‘explain to oneself, understand something in a certain way, judge someone or something in a certain way’ or in questions about the source of information in which it is synonymous with *vedieť* ‘know’ (6).

(5) Slovak	Ty	to	berieš	smrteľne	vážne.
	you-2-SG	it-ACC-SG	take-2-SG	deadly	seriously
	‘You are taking it deadly seriously.’				

(6) Slovak	Kde	ty	to	berieš?
	where	you-2-SG	it-ACC-SG	take-2-SG
	‘Where are you taking it?’			

The verb *dávať* ‘give’ occurs with explicit reference as a verb from the giving class, a fact which supports the statement that such verbs are used preferentially with the 2<sup>nd</sup> person (§4.2). This is done with explicit reference to the addressee in principally three ways:

a) meaning ‘to provide someone with something intangible and not in terms of a typical change in the possessive relationship towards a specific thing (*ty dávaš silu, túžbu, okrikovanie, stres, slobodu, záľudnú otázku* ‘you are giving strength, desire, noise, stress, freedom, a difficult question etc.);

b) in questions reproving the addressee in which the verb is synonymous with the verb ‘to put or place (7);

c) as a slang verb with a wide meaning synonymous with *robiť* ‘do’, *hovoríť* ‘speak’ (8).

(7) Slovak	Počuj,	to	ako	ty	dávaš?
	hear-2-SG-IMP	it	how	you-2-SG	give-2-SG
	‘Listen, why are you putting it there?’				

(8) Slovak	A	ty	čo	dávaš,	kámoš?
	and	you-2-SG	what	give-2-SG	pal?
	‘What are you up to, pal?’				

The meaning of verb *dávať* ‘given to hand in, to provide as property for use’ is used with explicit reference to the addressee in the *Corpus of Spoken Slovak* only very occasionally (9).

(9) Slovak	Ty	nám	dávaš	jedlo.
------------	----	-----	-------	--------

you-2-SG      we-DAT-PL      give-2-SG      food-ACC-SG  
 ‘You give us food.’

## 5. Case study: explicit reference to the addressee and the verb *vnímat* ‘perceive’

Table 3 shows that the verb with the highest usage rate of the personal pronoun referring to the addressee is the verb *vnímat* ‘perceive’. There are three different grammatical forms of this lexeme in the basic vocabulary: *vy vnímate* ‘you perceive V’ (43 % ER), *ty vnímaš* ‘you perceive T’ (32 % ER) and *vy ste vnímali* ‘you perceived V’ (29 % ER). The question arises as to why this verb is preferred over other verbs that refer explicitly to the addressee. In the dictionary (Kačala et al.: 2003) this verb is defined as a perceptual verb ‘to perceive something with senses’. However, when used with the personal pronoun, it can also have other meanings. This verb refers to a person’s inner world that encompasses their cognitive processes, attitudes, emotions and ability to identify himself/herself as the subject of their own representations. We can draw an analogy between the person’s verbal and non-verbal behaviour: on the one hand, sense perception triggers emotions and enables us to gain experience and knowledge and to create attitudes; on the other hand, in communication we also use the emotional, cognitive, evaluative and identifying semantics of the verb *vnímat* ‘perceive’. This is proved by contextual meanings of this verb in which it can be understood as to ‘experience, understand, comprehend, think, imagine, remember, judge, identify with’.

We draw this conclusion from the semantic analysis of the verb in context, based on not only a subjective interpretation of the meaning but also on the explicit context this verb. The meaning of the verb is determined by the speaker or by the addressee. The reactions of the communication participants demonstrate which meaning of the verb is applied in the sentence. In a sentence (10) the evaluative semantics of the verb *vnímat* is applied by the speaker, in the answer to a question (11b) it is applied by the addressee.

(10) Slovak      Keď      hodnotíte      toto      obdobie,      ako      to      vy      vnímate?  
                          when      evaluate-2-PL      this      period-ACC      how      it      you-2-PL      perceive-2-PL  
                          ‘When you evaluate this period, how do you perceive it?’

(11)      a.      Ako      vy      vnímate      našu      súčasnosť?  
                          how      you-2-PL      perceive-2-PL      our-ACC-FEM      present-ACC-SG  
                          ‘How do you perceive our present?’

                         b.      Súčasnosť      je      zaujímavá,      inšpiratívna [...]  
                          present-NOM-SG      be-3-SG      interesting-NOM      inspiring-NOM  
                          ‘The present is interesting and inspirational.’

In addition to the evaluative semantics of the verb we also observe its emotional semantics (12), cognitive semantics (13) and self-identifying semantics (14). The past form of the verb refers to the addressee’s experience and memories (15). However, as a perceptual verb ‘to perceive with senses’ (16) is in explicit reference rarely used in dialogue. The 2<sup>nd</sup> person of the verb *vnímat* ‘perceive’ is mostly followed by a name of some social phenomenon that requires a cognitive operation and triggers an emotional or evaluative reaction (your job, company, past, the political situation, faith schools, freedom of speech, the life of a person in a wheelchair,



standard Slovak, the Ten Commandments, transport, social changes, gender inequality, multiculturalism, the year 1968, the Velvet Revolution, the capital, etc.).

(12) Slovak Ako ste vnímali situáciu vy báli ste sa?  
 how perceive-2PL-PST situation-ACC-SG you-2-PL afraid-2PL-PST  
 ‘How did you perceive the situation? Were you afraid?’

(13) Slovak Ako vy vnímate náboženský separatizmus?  
 how you-2-PL perceive-2-PL religious-ACC-MASC separatism-ACC  
 ‘How do you perceive religious separatism?’

(14) Slovak A ako sa vnímate vy?  
 and how myself-ACC perceive-2-PL you-2-PL  
 ‘And how do you perceive yourself?’

(15) Slovak Ako ste vnímali mamu vy ako dcéra?  
 how perceive-2PL-PST mother-ACC you-2-PL as daughter-NOM  
 ‘How did you perceive your mother as her daughter?’

(16) Slovak A ty vnímaš správy?  
 And you-2-SG perceive-2-SG news-ACC-PL  
 ‘And how do you perceive the news?’

The verb *vnímať* used with the personal pronoun is typically compatible with the pragmatic function, i.e. requesting information. The explicit reference to the addressee’s inner world leads to the intensification of subjectivity, which is reflected in the accumulation of elements referring to the addressee (17).

(17) Slovak Vnímaš ty osobne v sebe posun?  
 perceive-2-SG you-2-SG in person in yourself-LOC shift-ACC  
 ‘Do you personally perceive a shift in yourself?’

Every individual’s inner world is specific, unique and dynamic and thus contrasting with those of other communication participants. This fact is reflected in sentences that signal contrastive emphasis of the addressee: *you* versus *I* (18), *you* versus other members of society the addressee belongs in (19), your opinion versus a widespread opinion (20), your opinion in the past versus today (21).

(18) Slovak Ja som počula, že [...]. Ale ako to ty vnímaš?  
 I hear-1SG-PST that [...] but how it-ACC you-2-SG perceive-2-SG  
 ‘I heard that [...]. But how do you perceive it?’

(19) Slovak Ako ste vnímali vy svoju profesiu žurnalistu?  
 how perceive-2PL-PST you-2-PL your-ACC profession-ACC journalist-GEN

‘How did you perceive your profession of journalist?’

(20) Slovak    Hovorí sa,    že    [...].    Ako    to    ty    vnímaš?  
                   It is said    that    [...]    how    it    you-2-SG    perceive-2-SG  
                   ‘It is said that... How do you perceive it?’

(21) Slovak    Ako    to    vy    vnímate    teraz?  
                   how    it    you-2-PL    perceive-2-PL    now  
                   ‘How do you perceive it now?’

Looking at the above examples we can see that the explicit reference to the addressee in dialogue increases when the speaker refers to some aspect of the addressee’s inherent inner world that is invisible to communication partners, i.e. emotions, experiences, memories, knowledge, attitudes, self-identification.

## 6. Conclusion

In Slovak, as in other pro-drop languages, it is not necessary to refer to persons explicitly. However, explicit references are still used. The difference between 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns is reflected in the scale of explicit reference. Most striking is the explicit reference of the speaker to himself followed by the 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun referring to the addressee and the least frequent is the 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun. The explicit reference to the addressee emphasizes their semantic role in dialogue. The personal pronoun is used more often when drawing attention to the individual addressee; much less so when referring to a group addressee or collective subject. At the same time, explicit references are used much more frequently when referring to communication participants (speaker and addressee) than when referring to non-participants (3<sup>rd</sup> person). We can say that the use of explicit references prove the different status of 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns which – as opposed to 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns – do not correlate with any positive participant role. The study of Slovak dialogue, too, confirms the hypothesis of the different status of 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns (§2.2), as suggested by E. Benveniste (1971) and J. Lyons (1977) in typologically different, non-pro-drop languages (French, English).

The first question focused our attention on verification of the connection between the semantics of the verb and the explicit reference to the addressee. The corpus-based analysis shows that explicit reference in Slovak is determined not only by the rhythm of the sentence, its expressivity, emotionality, contrastive function, functional perspective of sentence and pragmatic function but also by the semantics of the verb. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> person dominate verbs referring to the person’s existence, possession, thought processes, their materialization in communication, perception as a source of information and possibilities/limits of the addressee’s activity set by the speaker. In other words, explicit references in Slovak are used to refer to the addressee’s mental activities and limits of activities set by the speaker. Besides, verbs whose semantic structure refers to a created, modified or destructed object of the action minimize the addressee’s prominence. This result of the corpus study relates to the statement of E. Hajičová & J. Vrbová (1982: 107):

*During the discourse the stock of "knowledge" the speaker assumes to share with the hearer and changes according to what is "in the centre of attention" at the given time point. Each utterance has its influence on this hierarchy of salience,<sup>13</sup> however, not every mentioning of an object has the same effect.*

The study of Slovak dialogue has shown that the semantic class of the verb influences the degree of the addressee's prominence. Previous findings led us to another question: In which semantic classes of verbs does the explicit reference to the addressee in Slovak occur relatively most frequently? Relativity means that we examine the ratio of all 2<sup>nd</sup> person forms in the corpus to the number of forms with the pronoun. Research has revealed four semantic domains with the highest degree of the addressee's prominence: perception, cognition, communication, existence/identification. The verbs describe actions that do not affect the other participant in any way and do not lead to a visible result but refer the addressee's existence, identification and mental activities.

This conclusion is enhanced by results of the case study of the verb *vnímat* 'perceive'. The analysis of corpus texts has shown that the verb *vnímat* used with the pronoun refers to the mental activity of the addressee. As such, it has the cognitive, evaluative, emotional and identifying semantics (used with the reflexive pronoun *sa*), the past form of the verb stimulates the addressee's experience and memories. Its primary meaning 'perceive with senses' is marginal in ER.

In questions of thinking, feeling, evaluating, self-perceiving and experiencing things, each person is their own highest authority. Each individual alone has exclusive and unlimited access to their own inner world. It therefore seems natural that the speaker emphasizes the addressee when referring to their inner world, inaccessible to other communication partners, and that the dominant verb *vnímat* 'perceive' with the pronoun referring to the addressee is typically compatible with the pragmatic function requesting information.

## Sources

*Slovenský hovorený korpus* [Corpus of Spoken Slovak] *s-hovor-5.0*. Bratislava: Jazykovedný ústav Ľ. Štúra SAV. (<http://korpus.juls.savba.sk>) (Accessed 2019-01-15.)

*Slovenský národný korpus* [Slovak National Corpus] *prim-8.0-public-sane.*: Bratislava: Jazykovedný ústav Ľ. Štúra SAV. (<http://korpus.juls.savba.sk>) (Accessed 2019-01-15.)

## Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Heinz Leo Kretzenbacher (The University of Melbourne), who has been providing bibliographies of address systems studies in different languages since 2014, and Jonathan Gresty (The University of Presov) for translating the study into English. My thanks also go to the study reviewer for all comments and recommendations.

## Abbreviations

---

<sup>13</sup> According to Chiarcos, Claus & Grabski (2011: 5), "[s]alience defines the degree of relative prominence of a unit information, at a specific point in time, in comparison to the other units of information".

ACC	accusative
DAT	dative
GEN	genitive
CSS	Corpus of Spoken Slovak
ER	explicit reference
F	feminine
FUT	future
INS	instrumental
MAP	Melbourne Address Project
MAPET	The Melbourne Address Pronoun European Typology
M	masculine
N	neuter
NOM	nominative
PL	plural
PRS	present
PST	past
pro-drop	pronoun-dropping
SC	semantic class
SG	singular
*STU	student
*TCH	teacher

## References

- Beeching, Kate & Ghezzi, Chiara & Molinelli, Piera. 2018. *Positioning the Self and Others: Linguistic perspectives*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Benveniste, Émile. 1971. *Problèmes de linguistique générale*. [Problems in general linguistics]. Paris: Gallimard.
- Bodnárová, Martina. 2016. Záměna *ja* a *on* v komunikačných súvislostiach. [Personal pronouns *ja* [I] and *on* [he] in the communication context]. *Jazykovedný časopis* 67(2). 107–124.
- Brown, Roger & Gilman, Albert. 1960. The pronouns of power and solidarity. In Sebeok, Thomas (ed.), *Style in language*, 253–276. London: Wiley and Sons.
- Deringer, Lisa & Gast, Volker & Haas, Florian & Rudolf, Olga. 2015. Impersonal uses the second person singular and generalized empathy: an exploratory corpus study of English, German and Russian. In Gardelle, Laure & Sorlin, Sandrine (eds.), *The Pragmatics of personal pronouns*, 311–334. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Findra, Ján. 2004. *Štylistika slovenčiny*. [Slovak stylistics.] Martin: Osveta.
- Fromm, Erich. 1976. *Mít nebo být?* [To have or to be?] Praha: Aurora.
- Girvin, Cammeron. 2013. Addressing changes in the Bulgarian vocative. In Noel Aziz Hanna, Patrizia & Sonnenhauser, Barbara (eds.), *Vocative! Addressing between system and performance*, 157–189. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

- Hajek, John & Kretzenbacher, Heinz Leo & Lagerberg, Robert. 2013. Towards a linguistic typology of address pronouns in Europe – past and present. In Henderson, John & Ritz, Marie-Eve & Louro, Celeste Rodríguez (eds.), *Proceedings of the 2012 Conference of the Australian Linguistic Society*, 1–15. (Perth, 5–7 December 2012). (<https://sites.google.com/site/als2012uwa/proceedings>) (Accessed 2018-12-02.)
- Hajičová, Eva & Vrbová, Jarka. 1982. On the role of the hierarchy of activation in the process of natural language understanding. In Horecký, Ján (ed.), *Coling 82 – Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Computational Linguistics*, 107–113. Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company/Academia. (<http://www.aclweb.org/anthology/C82-1017>) (Accessed 2018-12-30.)
- Hale, Kenneth, L. 1966. Kinship reflections in syntax: some Australian languages. *Word* 22(1–3). 318–324.
- Chiarcos, Christian & Claus, Berry & Grabski, Michael. 2011. *Salience: Multidisciplinary perspectives on its function in discourse*. (Studies and monographs 227). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Ivanová, Martina & Sokolová, Miloslava & Kyseľová, Miroslava & Perovská, Veronika. 2014. *Valenčný slovník slovenských slovies na korpusovom základe*. [A valency dictionary of Slovak verbs on corpus basis]. Prešov: Filozofická fakulta Prešovskej univerzity v Prešove.
- Jespersen, Otto. 2007. *Language: its nature, development and origin*. Abingdon: Routledge. ([https://books.google.sk/books?id=57IugSwa5f4C&pg=PA16&hl=sk&source=gbp\\_toc\\_r&cad=2#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.sk/books?id=57IugSwa5f4C&pg=PA16&hl=sk&source=gbp_toc_r&cad=2#v=onepage&q&f=false)) (Accessed 2019-03-09.)
- Kačala, Ján & Pisárčiková, Mária & Považaj, Matej. (eds.) 2003. *Krátky slovník slovenského jazyka*. [A brief dictionary of Slovak language.] Bratislava: Veda. ([http://www.juls.savba.sk/kssj\\_4.html](http://www.juls.savba.sk/kssj_4.html)) (Accessed 2018-12-10.)
- Kesselová, Jana. 2005. Komunikačno-pragmatický status osobných zámen. [Communication-pragmatic status of personal pronouns in contemporary spoken communication]. *Slovenská reč* 70(3). 129–141.
- Kesselová, Jana. 2018a. Referencia na hovoriaceho v dialogickej komunikácii v slovenčine: verbálna osoba verzus osobné zámeno. [Speaker's reference in dialogic communication in Slovak language: verbal person versus personal pronoun.] *Slavica Slovaca* (Supplementum) 53(3–4). 94–108.
- Kesselová, Jana. 2018b. Implicitná a explicitná autoreferencia v dialógu. [Implicit and explicit self-reference in the dialogue.] *Slovenská reč* 83(1). 7–22.
- Kesselová, Jana. 2018c. Self-reference in early speech of children speaking Slovak. *Journal of Language and Cultural Education* 6(2). 14–35.
- Krajčovič, Rudolf. 1988. *Vývin slovenského jazyka a dialektológia*. [Development of Slovak language and dialectology.] Bratislava: Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo.

- Kyseľová, Miroslava. 2017. *Medzi konaním a dianím. Sémantické aspekty verba a valencia*. [Between action and occurrence: Semantic aspects of verbs and valency.] Prešov: Filozofická fakulta Prešovskej univerzity v Prešove.
- Lagerberg, Robert & Kretzenbacher, Heinz Leo & Hajek, John. 2014. Forms and patterns of address in Russia recent research and future directions. *Australian Slavonic and East European Studies* 28(1–2). 179–209.
- Langacker, Ronald Wayne. 2007. Constructing the meanings of personal pronouns. In Radden, Günter & Köpcke, Klaus-Michael & Berg, Thomas & Siemund, Peter (eds.), *Aspects of Meaning Construction*, 171–187. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing. ([https://books.google.sk/books?id=LzcNFJw814cC&dq=Constructing+the+meanings+of+personal+pronouns&hl=sk&source=gbs\\_navlinks\\_s](https://books.google.sk/books?id=LzcNFJw814cC&dq=Constructing+the+meanings+of+personal+pronouns&hl=sk&source=gbs_navlinks_s)) (Accessed 2018-12-10.)
- Levinson, Steven C. 1983. *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lyons, John. 1977. *Semantics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mukařovský, Jan. 1948. *Kapitoly z české poetiky*. [Chapters from Czech poetics]. Praha: Svoboda.
- Mühläusler, Peter & Harré, Rom. 1990. *Pronouns and people: the linguistic construction of social and personal identity*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Noguchi, Tohru. 1997. Two types of pronouns and variable binding. *Language* 73(4). 770–797.
- Oravec, Ján. 1961. Osobné zámená v podmete. [Personal pronouns in the grammatical subject]. *Slovenská reč* 26(4). 199–205.
- Ozer, Katalin. 2018. O razvoju pronominalnih formi oslovljavanja u nemačkom, srpskom i mađarskom jeziku [On the development of German, Serbian and Hungarian pronouns of address]. In Kašić, Zorka (ed.), *O jeziku sa raznih aspekata. Primenjena lingvistika u čast Vesni Berić-Đukić*, 79–102. Novi Sad: Društvo za primenjenu lingvistiku Srbije.
- Petrusek, Miloslav & Linhart, Jiří & Vodáková, Alena. 1996. *Velký sociologický slovník*. [Large sociological Dictionary]. Praha: Karolinum.
- Rudík, Anna. 2014. Обращения к близким людям в польском и русском языках. [Addressative phrases used to close people in Polish and Russian]. In Vágnerová, Marta & Koryčánková, Simona (eds.), *Sborník příspěvků z mezinárodní konference XXII. Olomoucké dny rusistů*, 177–180. Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci.
- Schlund, Katrin. 2014. Aspects of linguistic politeness in Serbian. A data-based comparison with German. *Linguistik Online* 69(7). 69–89. ([https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/24b0/a1d4798b679ae704e1043c0087b8cf72a727.pdf?\\_ga=2.8135862.504338652.1553880911-1481734417.155388091](https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/24b0/a1d4798b679ae704e1043c0087b8cf72a727.pdf?_ga=2.8135862.504338652.1553880911-1481734417.155388091)) (Accessed 2019-01-18.)
- Schüpbach, Doris & Hajek, John & Warren, Jane & Clyne, Michael & Kretzenbacher, Heinz Leo & Norrby, Catrin. 2007. A cross-linguistic comparison of address pronoun use in four European languages: Intralingual and interlingual dimensions. In Mushin, Ilana & Laughren, Mary (eds.), *Selected papers from the 2006 annual meeting of the Australian Linguistic Society*, 1–12. St Lucia: University of Queensland.

- Schütz, Alfred & Luckmann, Thomas. 1973. *The Structures of the life-world. Studies in Phenomenology and Existential Philosophy*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
- Siewierska, Anna. 2004. *Person*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (<http://www.cambridge.org/core/books/person/preface/0E8B7EE8F3CAAB33A13E3D9B138ED339>) (Accessed 2019-04-15.)
- Sirota, Elena Vladimirovna. 2017. Субъективно-оценочные обращения в современном русском языке [Subjective-evaluative forms of address in the modern Russian language]. *Мова* 27. 116–123. (<http://mova.onu.edu.ua/article/viewFile/107948/106165>) (Accessed 2019-04-15.)
- Sokolová, Miloslava. 1995. *Kapitoly zo slovenskej morfológie*. [Chapters from Slovak morphology]. Prešov: Slovacontact.
- Sosnowski, Wojciech. 2013. Forms of address and their meaning in contrast in Polish and Russian languages. *Cognitive studies / Études cognitives* 13. 225–235.
- Sugamoto, Nobuko. 1989. Pronominality: a noun-pronoun continuum. In Corrigan, Roberta & Eckman, Fred & Noonan, Michael (eds.), *Linguistic Categorization*, 267–291. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Šikra, Juraj & Furdík, Juraj. 1982. Príspevok k vymedzeniu a klasifikácii zámen z konfrontačného hľadiska (na materiáli angličtiny a slovenčiny). [Contribution to the Definition and Classification of Pronouns from a confrontational point of view: on English and Slovak material.] *Jazykovedný časopis* 33(2). 132–143.
- Vaňková, Irena. 2005. Antropocentrizmus jako perspektiva jazykového obrazu světa. In Vaňková, Irena & Nebeská, Iva & Saicová Římalová, Lucie & Šlédrová, Jasňa (eds.), *Co na srdci, to na jazyku: Kapitoly z kognitivní lingvistiky*, [Wearing heart on the sleeve: Chapters from cognitive linguistics], 24–55. Praha: Nakladatelství Karolinum.

*Jana Kesselová*  
*Institute of Slovak Studies and Media Studies*  
*The Faculty of Arts of Prešov University, Prešov, Slovakia*  
[jana.kesselova@unipo.sk](mailto:jana.kesselova@unipo.sk)

In SKASE Journal of Theoretical Linguistics [online]. 2019, vol. 16, no. 3[cit. 2019-11-30]. Available on web page [http://www.skase.sk/Volumes/JTL41/pdf\\_doc/04.pdf](http://www.skase.sk/Volumes/JTL41/pdf_doc/04.pdf). ISSN 1336-782X

# Aspects of contemporary trends in linguostylistics and in Slovak linguostylistics

Ol'ga Orgoňová, Comenius University

*The study presents the contemporary trends in linguostylistics within the global context and points out the impact of the communication-pragmatic turn upon this discipline. The pragmatization of stylistics is connected with the shift of stress from a goal-oriented modelling of the abstract potential of language to the usage of language in monologues and dialogues. From the methodological point of view, current linguistics is inclined towards investigations within an inductive method ("bottom-up"), or towards applying a combined methodology, i.e. both top-down and bottom-up. The outline of some specific stylistic sub-disciplines (e.g. spoken stylistics, discourse stylistics, rhetorical stylistics, or everyday stylistics) is followed by statements regarding multimodal stylistics. The general context of contemporary trends in stylistics is viewed within its relatedness to the situation in Slovak stylistics, and specific attention is paid to introducing Slovak interactional stylistics.*

**Keywords:** *Linguostylistics, pragmatization, interactional stylistics*

## 1. Introduction

Stylistics is traditionally understood as a discipline which is either more inclined to working with literary texts having aesthetic impact (i.e. stylistics of literary science, with an inclination towards poetics as a methodological set of instruments), but above all towards non-literary texts (linguistic stylistics).

Although literary stylistics does not constitute the subject of this study, it is necessary to point out at least one of its contemporary orientations that deals with the relationship of language and thinking. This is above all the case of Anglophone (literary) stylistics. It is inspired by cognitive-linguistic stimuli that participate in the process of the creation and interpretation of artistic texts. At the theoretical basis of such stylistics are cognitive-linguistic ideas with regard to which the existence of notional constructs of metaphorical character in human minds is presupposed (these concern, e.g. syncretic mixing of the abstract domain of time with space that is perceivable by senses – cf. e.g. Lakoff – Johnson 1980). Such cognitive (conceptual) metaphors play an important role in literary cognitive stylistics, e.g. in the team of Semino and Culpeper (2002). Within profiling his stylistic theory, Semino differentiates the ideological point of view and the mind style (2002: 95). These constitute two complementary views of the world (the first one being culturally conditioned, the second one depending on the individual mental disposition and experience of its author or interpreter). Both participate in the resulting style of the text. Aspects of metaphor as means of cognitive-stylistic analysis have also found their reflection in the Slovak context, e.g. in the publications by Bohunická *Variety metafor* (Varieties of Metaphor 2013) and *Metaforika činnostného aspektu jazyka* (Metaphorics of the active aspect of language 2014).



If viewed as a linguistic discipline (with an increasing intensity of overlaps with the humanities; cf. Orgoňová 2018: 91–100), the possibilities of investigating it cannot be isolated from the general trends in linguistics. The first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century can be perceived as a period of building structuralistic theories in linguistics, as well as in stylistics, continuing in the ideas on modelling Saussurean structuralistic systemic oppositions of the abstract system of language, with the help of which, by deduction (through “top-down”), there were constructed invariants valid as basic patterns for classifying and profiling styles, genres or texts. The texts deemed “fit” for this manner of linguistic treatment were monological. The advantage of the systemic structuralistic stylistic theories is comprised in their stability and non-contactness of the models that are reduced into unequivocal and final sets of distinctive parametres distinctly delimiting the “clear” place in the given typology for the concrete sample from the final number of styles or genres. The perspectives that are available to the contemporary linguistic stylistics of the 21<sup>st</sup> century within the international context, to a large extent reflect the pragmatic-communicative direction of linguistics. Such approach does not avoid investigations by means of the inductive method (“bottom-up”). It creates space for working with any “non-typical” intertexts (hybrid texts combining e.g. scientific characteristics with popularization, high style with low style, aesthetic features with their lack, etc., as well as with multimedia-produced visual-and-textual items of communication, and new genres born thanks to the current technological achievements, in particular to internet and the blogs and discussion forums circulating within it). These texts, without any limitations, can be monological or dialogical, with some degree of predictability, but can also be non-predictable, grounded in a concrete situation/context. Attention is devoted not only to written, but also to spoken texts, as well as to prepared or unprepared, i.e. spontaneous utterances. Contemporary linguistics, and within it, with differing degrees of courage, also stylistics itself, becomes open to inspirations from other related disciplines, in their number above all from sociology and psychology. Consequently, there appear borderline sciences as sociolinguistics and subsequently sociolinguostylistics, and, similarly, also psycholinguistics, or subsequently psycholinguostylistics (Slančová 2003: 207–223).

In addition to the selection of a principle-based strategy of the stylistic investigations characterized as “top down” (with the ambition of creating typological models applying exclusion in the sense of “either – or”), or else, on the contrary (with the ambition towards the gradual scaling of phenomena), worth considering is the usage of combined possibilities of research. This is well explained by Dolník when he considers the idea of the pragmatists (Peirce and others) concerning the joining of the theoretical and the practical spheres: “The theoretical and the practical spheres are merged, because human beings are practically acting creatures that need to resolve problems in order to “survive”, and they preserve this status also as cognizing subjects (theoreticians), hence also the construing of theories means a practical activity within the framework of the practical existence of human beings.” (Dolník 2018: 20). Such approach is also selected by Gajda (2016) or Culper (according to McIntyre 2014: 152), when they tend to use the combination of inductive as well as deductive, holistic as well as particular, non-generalizing as well as generalizing investigations.

## **2. Expansivity of the object and methodologies of linguistic stylistics**

If we return to the statement in the Introduction to this paper that contemporary stylistics does not digress from the wave of pragmatization (in the context of the linguistics of at least the recent five or more decades, any distinct avoidance of the current trends in linguistics would indicate a risk of anachronisms), it needs to be added that such profiling of this linguistic discipline is, at the same time, connected with the pragmatic, action-related, user's perception of its goal-orientedness in the sense of its "being useful", i.e. being socially useful for people.

How to achieve this? One possibility lies in the conception of a most varied character of the discipline and of its sub-disciplines, while copying the multifariousness of extra-linguistic existence. Stylistics is open to the spectrum of methodologies, too, which has also been noted e.g. by British linguists (Wales 2014: 35; Carter & Stockwell 2008: 209), regardless of their own preferences. In general, it is stated that while in the middle of the previous century, dominating in the centre of interest was the structuralistic methodology, in the following period it was influenced by the findings of philosophy of language dealing with speech acts by Austin (1962; Slovak translation 2004) and Searle (1969, Slovak translation 2007), and by the understanding of the "action-based" aspect of language as a pillar of linguistics that is undergoing pragmatization. Linguists have also been extending their interest to context-based utterances from real life (not from literary fiction) considered to be legitimate objects of investigation, with the aim of understanding the actual meaning of the utterance within the concrete circumstances, and understanding not only the verbal utterances, but also their producers, the historical period, the time when the utterance was made, and also all the circumstances forming the discourse (in the sense of a text in a context). This is the manner how discourse stylistics is created within its connectedness with discourse analysis (Simpson 2002: 16).

At the same time, the same author points out the fruitful continuity between sociolinguistics (above all interactive) and stylistics, while also specifying the profile of stylistics as "a performative interactive practice" rather than "a frequency-related and textual pattern" (Simpson, *ibid.*). However, such orientation of contemporary stylistics distances itself from written literary texts, and, as the object of its interest, it primarily perceives the vivid spoken language of real conversation. The authorship of such understanding of the object of stylistics is connected with the works of stylists from Birmingham University, namely Sinclair & Coulthard (2003; original from 1975). The approach to stylistics as a science investigating dialogical, actually being-born (emergent), ordinary co-productive utterances, at the same time also takes into consideration the inspiration from the philosophy of the 1970-ies, i.e. the maxims of cooperation (of quality, quantity, relevance and manner) by Grice (1975), as well as the theory of politeness by the cultural anthropologists Brown & Levinson (1978; 1987). The latter of the cases mentioned works with strategies for gradual regulation of politeness expressions within communication on the basis of a "negative face" (i.e. preserving in communication the formal verbal respect with regard to the co-locutor), or of a "positive face" (with the selection of formulations reflecting the author's own desire to gain recognition).

A special area of issues within the development of this discipline is represented by rhetoric and its relationship to the subject of stylistics. Already the antiquity-based Aristotelian rhetoric from the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. formed the basis of the art of persuading people, and its conception is also valid at present. (The neo-rhetoric by Toulmin from the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century only further develops and in more detail models the argumentative expansion of

the text, without negating the antiquity-based foundations of this “forerunner” of stylistics.) Nevertheless, neither in antiquity did rhetoric aim, nor does it at present aim, primarily at dealing with literary texts and their aesthetically effective figures of speech, but its aim has been the art of selecting correct arguments at a correct time (cf. antiquity-based “*Καίρός/kairos*”) for convincing the listeners of spoken or written utterances. This was regardless of the fact whether the utterances were aimed at future (in the case of the so-called deliberative – advisory – rhetoric concerning political matters), or whether the utterances were aimed at the past, in the case of forensic – court-of-justice-related – rhetoric, or whether the utterances were occasional and intended for a celebration of the anniversary of a prominent person.

Inspirations concerning the art of persuasion have their place also in contemporary “rhetoric stylistics” as a specifically profiled part of stylistics (Fahnenstock 2002: 4). The rhetoric art of persuasion is at present applied in any sphere of reality and in the related communication – in science, as well as in journalism, advertising, etc., hence not only in politics, as it had been indicated by Aristotle within the context of his times. The above is dealt with in the so-called applicational stylistics. Carter specifies it in the following way: “So stylistics as applied to non-literary texts such as media discourse or a study of scientific language or the registers of different curriculum subjects or as analysis that assists in the processes of language teaching and learning is closer to the core concerns of applied linguistics and to a definition of applied linguistics as the investigation of real-world problems.” (Carter 2014: 78).

However, it is necessary to realize that in contemporary stylistics the rhetoric basis lies not only in its potential “horizontal” cross-section reach to various spheres of communication. The point also is that rhetoric primarily navigates stylistics into creating (convincing, effective) texts, i.e., if we are to formulate it pragmatically, it smoothenes its goal also with regard to such aspect of “usefulness”. Hence, if with regard to language usage pragmatics deals with the action-related aspects (“we do something with language”), rhetoric concretizes that activity (“we use language for convincing the collocutor”). Stylistics only “wraps” it up by a fictitious answer to the question: “In what way, by what means is this happening?” (cf. Slančová, *ibid.*). At the same time, adequate interpretation of the collocutor’s argumentation, revealing conscious or unconscious beguilements, forms an inherent part of the stylistic competence of the participant in such interaction (e.g. in political discussion of the candidates for the position of president, Member of Parliament, Mayor, or else in civic discussions, in commercial talks, but also at scholarly events). In this connection British stylistics uses the term “spoken stylistics”, while stressing that what is concerned in this context is not the following of norms or deviations of the style, but the practical interactional activities. Empirical sources for the stylistic interpretations of spoken communication are constituted by dialogues in various contexts – those taking place at school classes, at the doctor’s, interviews for jobs, etc.

Special attention in orienting the stylistic investigations is to be paid to the stylistics of everyday communication. One of the reasons why some stylists are inclined to investigating spontaneous utterances in everyday communication is the fact that they constitute the natural and primary form of language usage. Literary texts only imitate this form, or creatively reshape it. However, the authenticity lies in ordinary, everyday communication. Useful methodological support for working with authentic utterances is provided by the works of the discourse analysts

Sinclair & Coulthard, and, within a wider context, also e.g. in the volume of papers *Advances in spoken discourse analysis* (2003) edited by Coulthard.

Not only in the western context, but also in “geographically” closer publications, e.g. in those by Czech linguists (Nekvapil and others), already for decades there have been well-established research works on sociolinguistics that thoroughly interpret the aspects of social interactions within spontaneous as well as institutional conditions (cf. [https://www.czechency.org/slovník/KVANTITATIVNÍ SOCIOLINGVISTIKA × KVALITATIVNÍ SOCIOLINGVISTIKA](https://www.czechency.org/slovník/KVANTITATIVNÍ%20SOCIOLINGVISTIKA%20x%20KVALITATIVNÍ%20SOCIOLINGVISTIKA)). From them there is only a “small step” to enriching these socio-linguistic probes by the stylistic aspect, i.e. by the aspect reflecting also the manner of the linguistic formation of texts when penetrating into micro-social relationships. In the number of research works of such orientation, we should point out the works by the team of authors of the publications headed by Čmejrková & Hoffmanová which include *Mluvená čeština: hledání funkčního rozpětí* [Spoken Czech: Searching for a Functional Expansion] (2011) or the collective publication of the authors Čmejrková, Havlík, Hoffmannová, Müllerová & Zeman *Styl mediálních dialogů* [Style of Media Dialogues] (2013). Here we follow such interactional strategies as cooperativeness, and attention is paid to initiating and reaching agreement, harmonizing interests, as well as to expressing (im)politeness and to various manifestations of growing non-cooperativeness leading to disagreement, or to making conflicts more acute. All the above can be expressed either directly or by indirect linguistic utterances (i.e. by means of irony, mockery, provocation, etc.). Investigations of interactional strategies are outbalanced by interpretations of the linguistic structure of the dialogues observed (with regard to their text-related, grammatical, lexical or phonetic signs).

One of the perspectives of orienting stylistics is the so-called multimodal stylistics. This forms part of a broader trend that brings along pragmatization of communication. The point is that linguistic utterance does not constitute the only content of communication, but it merely represents its minor part (cf. the investigations of American non-verbalists in Pease 2004), and so a lot of space remains for non-verbal communication (gesticulation, face movements, kinesics, posturics, haptics, olfactorics or colourics). Kořenský nearly twenty years ago pointed out that within the framework of pragmatic stylistics the research of non-verbal communication is lagging behind (Kořenský 2001: 32–36). Published in the same year was the work *Multimodal Discourse* (2001) by Kress & van Leeuwen that concentrates on investigating language and image within the discourse-analytical light, and a more complex view of the aspects of multimodal investigations is undertaken by a team of authors in the publication *The SAGE Handbook of Visual Research Methods* (2014). There are also being created multimodal corpora as the third level of the corpora of texts after the written and spoken corpora that, in addition to the range of the so-far existing materials, also contain audio-visual documents. Worth noting is also the Czech corpus DIALOG (<http://ujc.dialogy.cz/>) which linguistically is the closest one for the Slovaks. In addition to conversational-analytical transcriptions, it contains audio-visual recordings of discussion programmes that took place on Czech television. This corpus became the starting point of analytical and interpretational works on the style of the media dialogues mentioned above. Cf. also [https://www.czechency.org/slovník/MULTIMODÁLNÍ KOMUNIKACE](https://www.czechency.org/slovník/MULTIMODÁLNÍ%20KOMUNIKACE).

Hence, a many-sided operational space is being opened for multimodal stylistics. It offers a challenge for treating audio-visual documents, for example based on interdisciplinary

synergic cooperation of linguists with health-care specialists, e.g. in investigating the spontaneous communication of patients who have speech disorders. Another possibility is aimed at complex semiotic interpretation of goal-oriented commercial multimodal items of communication, such as advertisements, for adequately grasping such persuasive statements. The ability to work with multimodal artistic pictorial-textual materials such as e.g. comics, is actually also a matter of literary-scientific stylistics. In this case it is necessary to count also on poetical stylizations of creative authors above the framework of satisfying the natural communicative needs, i.e., in the wording of Miko, on iconization of natural communication (see further), while the non-verbal component of such statements – the pictograms – constitutes a topical challenge for research workers to be open to interdisciplinary semiotic investigations.

### 3. Slovak interactional stylistics

In the works of its 20<sup>th</sup> century representatives (Pauliny, Mistrík, Miko, Findra), Slovak stylistics was building on the reliable basis of the Prague School of Linguistics, and it joined the stream of structuralistically oriented works. The idea of everyday character in natural interaction in stylistic investigations found its place in Slovak linguistics in the work of the authors Orgoňová & Bohunická *Interakčná štylistika* (2018) that, several years earlier, was preceded by the authors' partial studies on the given theme. As the authors write: "Interactional stylistics stems from its own potential (in the sense of Hegelian complementary antinomy in which one element constitutes the basis for its own opposite). The centre of interactional stylistics is represented by the human being who in the processes of communication "actively" negotiates the contents of interactions with regard to his or her own interests, the needs and interests of the addressee, as well as with regard to the cultural, social and time-related conventions" (Orgoňová & Bohunická 2018: 156–185).

The above stylistics is also based on ethno-methodological observations on the legitimacy of investigations of ordinary speech in ordinary life within the sense of Garfinkel's ideas. The sociologist Garfinkel in his classical publication on ethnomethodology (*Studies in Ethnomethodology*) that was published in the 1960s, since when it has been re-issued more than ten times, points out the importance of such studies. The common activities of ordinary people, their thinking and ordinary cognition, are inseparable from socially "organized" events. What is concerned is neither an academic topic, nor a domain reserved for philosophers, and Garfinkel himself, after 12 years of preparation, understands the investigations of everyday situations as a step towards getting to know the actions of people that are of equal value as the investigations of public situations by objective methods. In his work, he places the documentary method of research in the foreground, as it is neither the question of assessment of correctness nor of non-correctness (of speech or deeds) that is concerned, but the interpretation of what is happening.

Regardless of those ethno-methodological inspirations, this preference can also be perceived as a trend that is complementary to what was investigated in the context of the representatives of the structuralistic stylistics of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Slovak stylistics of the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in compliance with the investigations of language by the structuralistic methodology, was primarily oriented upon investigating the linguistic system, its invariant dimensions used in literary works. There, language was understood as the object of

investigation and as a tool of communication (cf. *selectional stylistics* by Mistrík, who concentrated his attention upon the goal-oriented selection of linguistic means within creating the text with regard to some style-constituting means). Another Slovak variant of structuralistic investigations was represented by the theory of František Miko. Within modelling the stylistic aspect of communication in the form of a system of **expressions**, Miko situated these simultaneous and interconnected aspects into a relationship of opposition in the form of categories of expression, labelling them as *operativity* (communication function) and *iconicity* (expressive/representative function). In connection with Miko's so called *stylistics of expressions* it has to be stressed that that Miko focuses his attention not only on text creation, but also on its reception/interpretation, his approach being based on configuring the expressive categories of the text as invariant potential structures investigated within a literary text, or within its translation.

The Slovak stylistics of the 21<sup>st</sup> century starts, though modestly, to extend its sphere of interest also towards another, non-structuralistic paradigm of linguistic investigations. The starting point of pragmatically oriented stylistics with the attribute "interactional" is based on the understanding of the key notion of the subject – style – as a manner of realizing a particular "activity". There, it is not a matter of an objective "reflection" of static segments of reality, but it presents (inter)subjective pictures of sections of reality. Within it language is not only an object of description, but, above all, a process emergently created by the subjects of interaction, i.e. a unique process creating new meanings of the traditional senses. This process emerging from the actual context has to be interpreted, and in this way the person interpreting it may share with the others his or her own contributions to the action-based shaping of the world, as well as to its conscious reception and subsequent (both verbal and non-verbal) reproduction. Any interpretation is a manifestation of comprehending the depicted sections of the world and of good orientation in them (both in everyday communication and in public discourse, e.g. political, but also institutional – media-related, educational, or in commercial discourse, as well as in advertisements, etc.) The questions of optimal interpretation, without succumbing to the globalization pressures upon the consumer-aimed flattening of recipient-related or construction-related ambitions on the basis of the natural disposition of the humans, are explained by Dolník in a series of his works, and in a complex form above all in his publication *Language in Pragmatics* (2018: 72–93).

#### **4. In conclusion: Slovak stylistics in the context of the indicated trends**

Contemporary Slovak linguostylistics has the character of "inter-stylistics". It faces the task of drawing on the evoked *interdisciplinarity* and on the aim at *interactionality*, *interpretativeness*, but also at *intertextuality* (in *interlocutional* or *interdiscursive* dialogue). Only in such manner will it be both internationally (and interculturally) able to satisfy the needs of the partners in communication as a useful source of enlightenment with regard to the ways of interactional behaviour of the participants in communication within the globalizing times. Through the proposed methodology, it is harmoniously integrating into the trendy linguistic and broader social-scientific disciplines in Slovakia, as well as into the broader international context. To the users of its contents it offers the indispensable know how for full-fledged verbal behaviour

satisfying their needs and, at the same time, complying with the stylistic and communication norms of the times.

## References

- Austin, John L. 2004. *Ako niečo robiť slovami*. [How to do Things with Words.] Bratislava: Kalligram.
- Austin, John L. 1962. *How to do things with words*. Oxford: Oxford University Press [online]. [accessed 2018-01-15].)
- Bohunická, Alena. 2013. *Variety metafor*. [Varieties of metaphor.] Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského v Bratislave.
- Bohunická, Alena. 2014. *Metaforika činnostného aspektu jazyka*. [Metaphorics of the active aspect of language.] Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského v Bratislave.
- Brown, Penelope & Levinson, Stephen C. 1987. *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage*. Cambridge; Cambridge University Press.
- Carter, Ronald & Stockwell, Peter. 2008. *The Language and Literature Reader*. London: Routledge.
- Carter, Ronald. 2014. Stylistics as Applied Linguistics. In Stockwell, Peter & Whiteley, Sara (eds.) *Cambridge Handbook of Stylistics*. 77–86. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Coulthard, Malcolm. 2003. *Advances in Spoken Discourse Analysis*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Čmejrková, Světa & Havlík, Martin & Hoffmannová, Jana & Müllerová, Olga & Zeman, Jiří. 2013. *Styl mediálních dialogů*. [Style of Media Dialogues.] Praha: Academia.
- Čmejrková, Světa, Hoffmannová, Jana. 2011. *Mluvená čeština: hledání funkčního rozpětí*. [Spoken Czech Language. Searching for a Functional Expansion.] Praha: Academia.
- Dolník, Juraj. 2018. *Jazyk v pragmatike*. [Language in Pragmatics.] Bratislava: Veda.
- Fahnestock, Jeanne. 2005. Rhetorical Stylistics. In *Language and Literature*, 2005, vol. 14(3). 215–230.
- Findra, Ján. 2004. *Štylistika slovenčiny*. [Stylistics of Slovak.] Martin: Osveta.
- Gajda, Stanislaw. 2016. Stil' kak výzov. [Style as a Challenge.] In *Aktual'nyje problemy stilistiky*, vol. 2(2). 13–22.
- Garfinkel, Harold. 1967. *Studies in Ethnomethodology*. Los Angeles: University of California.
- Grice, Herbert P. 1975. Logic and Conversation. In *Syntax and Semantics. Speech Acts*, 1975, vol. 3(3). 41–58.
- Kaderka, Petr. 2017. Multimodální komunikace. [Multimodal Communication.] In Karlík, P. & Nekula, M. & Pleskalová, J. *CzechEncy - Nový encyklopedický slovník češtiny*. [New Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Czech]. [online]. [https://www.czechency.org/slovník/MULTIMODÁLNÍ\\_KOMUNIKACE](https://www.czechency.org/slovník/MULTIMODÁLNÍ_KOMUNIKACE) [cit. 2019-02-20].



- Kořenský, Jan. 2001. Stylistika a pragmatika. [Stylistics and Pragmatics.] In Witosz, Bożena (ed.), *Stylistyka a pragmatyka*. Katowice; Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego. 32–37.
- Kress, Gunther & van Leeuwen, Theo. 2001. *Multimodal discourse. The Modes and Media of Contemporary Communication*. London: Arnold.
- Lakoff, George & Johnson, Mark. 1980. *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, George & Johnson, Mark. 1980. *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Margolis, Eric & Pauwels, Luc. 2014. *The SAGE Handbook of Visual Research Methods*. Los Angeles / London / New Delhi / Washington DC; Sage.
- Mc Intyre, Dan. 2014. Literary Concepts in Stylistics. Characterisation. In Stockwell, P. & Whiteley, Sara. *The Cambridge Handbook of Stylistics*. 149–164. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Miko, František. 1970. *Text a štýl*. [Text and Style.] Bratislava: Smena.
- Mistrič, Jozef. 1997. *Štylistika*. [Stylistics.] 3rd edition. Bratislava: Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo.
- Orgoňová, Oľga & Bohunická, Alena. 2018. *Interakčná štylistika*. [Interactional stylistics.] Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského v Bratislave.
- Orgoňová, Oľga. 2018. Komunikačno-pragmatické východiská slovenskej interakčnej štylistiky. [Communication and Pragmatic Basis of Slovak Interactional Stylistics.] In *Jazykovedný časopis*, 2018, vol. 69(1). 91–100.
- Pauliny, Eugen. 1968. O slohu. [About Style.] In Pauliny, Eugen & Ružička, Jozef & Štolc, Jozef *Slovenská gramatika*. [Slovak Grammar.] 489–562. Bratislava: Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo.
- Pease, Allan. 2004. *Reč tela*. [Body Language.] Bratislava: Ikar.
- Semino, Elena & Culpeper, Jonathan (eds.). 2002. *Cognitive Stylistics: Language and Cognition in Text Analysis*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Semino, Elena. 2002. A cognitive stylistic approach to mind style in narrative fiction. In: Semino, Elena & Culpeper, Jonathan (eds.), *Cognitive Stylistics: Language and Cognition in Text Analysis*. 95–122. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Simpson, Paul & Hall, Geoff. 2002. Discourse Analysis and Stylistics. In *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics. Discourse and Dialogue*, 2002, vol. 22(22). 243–266.
- Sinclair, John & Coulthard, Malcolm. 1975. *Toward an Analysis of Discourse*. Oxford; Oxford University Press.
- Slančová, Daniela. 2003. Východiská interaktívnej štylistiky (Od eklekticismu k integrácii). [Theses to Interactive Stylistics (From Eclecticism to Integration).] In *Slovenská reč*, 2003, vol. 68(4). 207–223.



Wales, Katie. 2014. The Stylistic Tool-kit: Methods and sub-disciplines. In Stockwell, P. – Whiteley, S. *The Cambridge Handbook of Stylistics*. 32–45. Cambridge; Cambridge University Press.

### **Acknowledgement**

This paper was prepared within the grant project VEGA 1/0338/16 *Slovenský jazyk v komunikačných formáciách* (The Slovak Language in Communication Formations).

*Ol'ga Orgoňová*  
*Department of the Slovak Language*  
*Faculty of Arts, Comenius University*  
*Gondova 2*  
*814 99 Bratislava*  
*Slovakia*  
[olga.orgonova@uniba.sk](mailto:olga.orgonova@uniba.sk)

In SKASE Journal of Theoretical Linguistics [online]. 2019, vol. 16, no. 3[cit. 2019-11-30]. Available on web page [http://www.skase.sk/Volumes/JTL41/pdf\\_doc/05.pdf](http://www.skase.sk/Volumes/JTL41/pdf_doc/05.pdf). ISSN 1336-782X

## On Comitative Constructions in Slovak

Jana Sokolová, Constantine the Philosopher University, Nitra

*This study describes and explains the semantics, syntagmatics and pragmatics of the comitative case in Slovak. It focuses on defining the comitative and its formal expression, i.e., how comitative constructions syncretize the concepts of accompaniment and gender inequality of personal participants in grammemes of the noun and verb. The types of comitative constructions are interpreted on the background of these principles: (i) the principle of a shared and unified activity; (ii) the principle of an added, absorbed and assigned participant<sub>2</sub>, and (iii) the principle of the speaker's self-presentation.*

*It is useful to study the connection of the comitative and coordinative strategy as cognitive and linguistic relations between the hierarchically (un)equal participants of the given situation and the expressions of hypotaxis and parataxis. The study defines the specifics of expressing comitative, coordinate-comitative and coordinative relations. We focus on the central position of the verb in the predicate, which has the ability to bind a number of other lexical complements and which, by its semantics and its valency potential, determines the form of a comitative construction. It introduces the concept of shared activity and shared involvement of participant<sub>2</sub>, which influences the verb's grammemes and the participant's<sub>2</sub> compulsory role in the construction of the proposition.*

**Keywords:** *comitative, participant, sharing, hypotaxis, parataxis*

### 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

The topic of the comitative case, although found in many typologically oriented works, has not been systematically dealt with in the Slovak language. It came to attention via indirect and marginal references as a sociative case or sociative instrumental<sup>2</sup> with the change of the paradigm of scientific view towards the semantic syntax (cf. Tibenská 2004; Vaňko 2010). The comitative in Slavic languages is related to Russian (Dalrymple et al. 1998; Dyła & Feldman 2003; Vassilieva & Larson 2005; Arkhipov 2009), Czech (Skrabalova 2011) and Polish (Dyła 1988; Dyła & Feldman 2003, Trawinski 2005).

The aim of the study is to describe and explain the semantics, syntagmatics and pragmatics of the comitative as a typological phenomenon in Slovak. The topic is narrowed down to its characteristics in Slovak that belongs to Slavic fusional languages. We focus on defining the comitative and its formal representations. The types of comitative constructions are interpreted using the following principles<sup>3</sup>: (i) the principle of a shared and unified activity; (ii) the principle

---

<sup>1</sup> We thank anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments on earlier versions of the paper.

<sup>2</sup> The sociative instrumental expresses the participant who, together with the agent, implements the content of the prediction (Vaňko 2010: 314).

<sup>3</sup> In Slovak linguistics the principle is a significant methodological basis for descriptive-explanatory assessment of facts. "The principle is something that constitutes the basis of the studied fact, something in which the section of studied fact is based on that determines the structure of this section and controls its functioning and development

of an added, absorbed and assigned participant<sub>2</sub>, and (iii) the principle of the speaker's self-presentation. We examine the connection of the comitative and coordinative constructions as cognitive and linguistic relations between the hierarchically (un)equal participants of the given microsituation and the expressions of hypotaxis and parataxis. Further, we describe the comitative and coordinative strategy as a cognitive and linguistic relationship between the hierarchically (un)equal participants of the given microsituation (term by Grepl & Karlík 1998) and the expressions of hypotaxis and parataxis. The semantic-pragmatic characteristics of construction elements are presented in the form of an analytical interpretation (Apresjan 2003) taking into account the contextual (semantic, syntactic and pragmatic) conditions. We use the examples exclusively at the level of demonstration and not as a basis for quantitative analysis. It is the verification of syntactic constructions from the sphere of available resources to the sphere of currently formed expressions. The examples are partly taken from and modified from a linguistic corpus.

## 2. Comitative

The comitative is a secondary semantic case defined by Fillmore. In the study *Towards a Modern Theory of Case* (1966) he distinguished ergative (later referred to as objective), agentive, dative, comitative and instrumental. In 1968, he excluded the comitative from the set of deep cases, added locative and divided ergative into objective and factitive. Thus, he created the following set of elementary cases: agentive, dative, instrumental, factitive, objective and locative. Therefore, the comitative became a secondary case that is still defined inconsistently in terms of methodology and terminology. Depending on the status attributed to the participants, theory offers the both a narrow and wider definition of the comitative.

In the narrow sense, the comitative anticipates two animate (personal) protagonists – participant<sub>1</sub> and participant<sub>2</sub>. The speaker's intention is to highlight the role of the other agent. The comitative with the personal participant<sub>2</sub> is perceived as **sociative**, **associative** or **accompanitive** (for details see Haspelmath 2009). Tibenská describes sociative, which is in the interest of Slovak linguistics, as “the only semantically active object participant depicting the active participant of the activity that, however, within a sentence is depicted hierarchically lower than the subject” (2004: 135).

In the broader sense, the comitative, in the position of the other participant, covers both the personal and impersonal participant. Its formal expression approaches another semantic case – instrumental. When used with an impersonal participant<sub>2</sub>, it is marked as:

(i) **instrumental** (‘with, using’):

- (1) Sedelo tam dievčatko a hralo sa s bábikou.  
 ‘A little girl sat there and played with a doll.’<sup>4</sup>

(ii) **proprietary** (‘with, having’):

---

(Dolník, 1999, p. 9). For example, the theory of conversational implicatures of H. P. Grice is based on a cooperative principle, the theory of naturalness of J. Dolník is based on the principle of markedness, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Note: translation of Slovak examples into English: author (JS).

- (2) Gazda šiel do mesta s drevom.  
 ‘A farmer with wood went to the town.’  
 or (iii) **ornative** (‘endowed with’, ‘equipped with’):  
 (3) Predám starší dom so záhradou v Kamienke.  
 ‘I am going to sell a house with a garden in Kamienka.’

The fact that the comitative and instrumental are closely connected was defined by Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 135) as the principle: “the word or grammatical device that indicates Accompaniment also indicates Instrumentality”. Kiparsky (2012: 29) understands the relation of instrumental and comitative on the inclusive basis that leads from sociative to associative, cf.: sociative → comitative → instrumental → associative:

Sociative ‘in the company of’ (John saw Fred with Mary);  
 Comitative ‘in the company of’ + ‘together with’ (John ate cheese with Mary / with wine);  
 Instrumental ‘in the company of’ + ‘together with’ + ‘by means of’ (John ate cheese with Mary / with wine / with a fork);  
 Associative (John ate cheese with Mary / with wine / with a fork / with care).

Schlesinger sees the comitative and instrumental as two opposites of the cognitive continuum as he says: “the instrumental and comitative are really only two extreme points on what is a conceptual continuum” (1979: 308). On the contrary, Lehman et al. (2017) with the term **concomitative** understands the common acceptance of the instrumental and comitative. Identification of the comitative with instrumental is rejected by Nilsen (1973), Stolz et al. (2007) and others.

Similarly to other Slavic languages, Slovak does not formally distinguish between the comitative and instrumental. It belongs to languages that implement comitative-instrumental syncretism.

Referring to the comitative, another semantic case is mentioned, which is a contrasting counterpart of both the comitative and instrumental – **abessive**, also referred as **caritive**, **privative**, **anticomitative** or **deprivative**. The marker of abessive is the preposition ‘without’ (‘bez’ in Slovak):

- (4) Nechcem odísť bez teba. (abessive)  
 ‘I do not want to leave without you.’  
 (5) Chcem odísť s tebou. (comitative)  
 ‘I want to leave with you.’

The abessive is considered a flag member of the opposition comitative/instrumental vs. abessive. Its detailed description can be found in the large study by Stolz, Stroh & Urdze (2007) in which 239 world languages are analyzed. In the study, the comitative, instrumental and abessive are considered semantic cases that specify the functions of grammemes, and not only of bound

morphemes in the traditional sense of the term (Stolz et al. 2007), they are grammemes of the same function.

Kiparsky (2012: 29–30) defines the typological connection of the triplet abessive, instrumental and comitative as follows:

- (i) If a language has a ‘without’ case, it also has a ‘with’ case, but not necessarily conversely;
- (ii) An expression meaning ‘without’ can be morphologically derived from an expression meaning ‘with’ (but not conversely);
- (iii) For each meaning of the ‘without’ case, the corresponding ‘with’ meaning is expressed by means of case.

This part ends with a definition of **comitative** which, in our opinion, defines its essence best: “The comitative usually marks the animate (typically human) which is conceived of as accompanying the participation of some more centrally involved participant in a predication” (*The Encyclopedia of language and linguistics* 1994: 453).

Further, we will focus on the linguistic presentation of the comitative in Slovak, more precisely, how comitative constructions syncretize the concepts of accompaniment and role inequality of the participants in noun and verb grammemes<sup>5</sup>. In other words, the fundamental meaning of the comitative as a semantic case is the way of verbalizing accompaniment of the agent and another personal participant. The essence of the comitative as a grammatical phenomenon is the way of expressing the main syntactic grammemes of a noun: case (instrumental), animacy (man), number (singular/plural) and relevant syntactic grammemes of a verb: person (3<sup>rd</sup> person/1<sup>st</sup> person) and number (singular/plural). The essence of the comitative as a pragmatic phenomenon is the discursive focus of events and facts by the speaker.

### 3. Comitative constructions and their alternatives

The comitative has a linguistic expression in the form of a construction. The comitative is defined as a particular construction type used to ‘pluralize’ a participant – that is, to predicate the same state of affairs of two individual protagonists, such that the main predicate itself is not repeated and the two participants are not equal in their syntactic status (Arkhipov 2009: 223). The comitative construction as a type of an elemental sentence structure (term by Grepl & Karlík 1998) is an expression of the construction principle that is inevitably present in the formation of all types of constructions (Kačala 1998: 19). It reflects the manifestation of the fact simultaneously from the point of view of the semantics of the shared activity, from the point of view of the syntagmatics of participation of two as if hierarchically unequal partners and also from the point of view of pragmatics of the speaker's preferences.

In a semasiological approach, the comitative construction (in the narrow sense of understanding of the comitative) is a grammatical (morpho-syntactical) unit reflecting relations of the protagonists and the share of participants in the activity expressed with a predicate. The comitative requires two entities to be involved in the same spatio-temporal situation participating

---

<sup>5</sup> The ‘grammeme’ is a value of grammatical category of a particular lexeme and it denotes fundamental grammatical meaning.

in the same causal chain (Stolz et al. 2007: 68). The structure diagram of the relation (**r**) between two personal protagonists – participant<sub>1</sub> (**X**) and participant<sub>2</sub> (**Y**)<sup>6</sup> is **X r Y**. The relator **r** is a comitative marker that has a conceptual character and, depending on language typology, it can be expressed by means of a preposition or affix. Prepositions are applied in most European languages, for instance, in Slovak ‘s/so’, Czech ‘s/se’, Russian ‘s/so’, English ‘with’, German ‘mit’ and so on; suffixes are used in Hungarian, Finnish, Estonian, and many typologically diverse languages in the whole world (for details see Stassen 2000). A preposition is a means of hypotaxis, and exclusively the form **with** + **N<sub>Ins</sub>** is a hypotactic means of a comitative relation in Slovak. If the relator is a coordinator ‘**and**’ (‘a’ in Slovak), which is an expression of the expansion of the number of participants and fusion (unification) of their activities, we talk about parataxis, and the form **and** + **N<sub>Nom</sub>** is perceived as a means of coordinative relation<sup>7</sup>. In case of the hypotaxis (shared activity of the participants and semantic relation of comitative), a predicate usually expressed in the form of a full verb is in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person **singular**. In the case of parataxis, (the unified activity of participants in the semantic coordinative relation) it takes the form of 3<sup>rd</sup> person **plural**. The distinction between a shared and unified activity influences the syntactical function of the participants. In a comitative construction, the participants are in the non-contact syntactic position; the participant<sub>1</sub> is the subject and the participant<sub>2</sub> has the function of adverbial of accompanying circumstances<sup>8</sup>, as it expresses the agent that performs the activity together with the agent expressed in the subject position (Ivanová 2016: 97). In a coordinate-comitative and coordinative construction, the participants are in a syntactically contact position and they have the function of a multiple subject.

Let's go back to the concept of shared activity, which is a relevant factor of the comitative. A shared activity means that the activities of the participants in the situation/event are conceptualized as one common activity undertaken by participant<sub>1</sub>, and the participant<sub>2</sub> participates<sup>9</sup>. In the following examples, the second text explains the meaning of the first text:

- (8) a.      Deti odišli s učiteľkami na výstavu.  
               → Deti odišli na výstavu. Spolu s deťmi odišli na výstavu aj učiteľky.  
               ‘Children with the teachers went to the exposition.’  
               → ‘Children went to the exposition. Together with children also the teachers went.’

<sup>6</sup> Participants **X**, **Y** are presented in the form of appellatives, proper nouns or personal deictics.

<sup>7</sup> It is interesting to note that the form **with** + **N<sub>Ins</sub>** is also interpreted as a hypotactic means of expressing a coordinative relation (Grepš & Karlík 1998: 334).

<sup>8</sup> Comitative adverbial is also known as a free adjunct. The concept of accompanying activity/state caused a comitative adverbial is set apart in Czech linguistic tradition (cf. *Mluvnice češtiny* 3, 1987: 108–116).

<sup>9</sup> In the case of non-shared activity, which is characteristic for a small group of evaluation and emotional verbs (6) and verbs of confrontation with adversative semantics (7), participants<sub>2</sub> are in the syntactic position of the indirect object and do not express the comitative:

- (6)      Ľudia súcitia s onkologickými pacientami.  
               ‘People sympathize with oncology patients.’  
 (7)      Pápež bojuje s pedofilmi. ↔ Pápež bojuje proti pedofilom.  
               ‘The Pope fights against pedophiles.’  
               (Lit. “The Pope fights with pedophiles.”)

- (9) b. Róbert odišiel so svojou matkou do USA, kde žije dodnes.  
 → Róbert odišiel do USA. Spolu s ním do USA odišla aj jeho matka.  
 ‘Robert with his mother left for the US where he is still living.’  
 → ‘Robert went to the USA. Together with him went also his mother.’
- (10) a. Vojtech odcestoval so ženou do Budapešti.  
 → Vojtech odcestoval do Budapešti. Spolu s ním odcestovala do Budapešti aj jeho žena.  
 ‘Vojtech with his wife departed for Budapest.’  
 → ‘Vojtech departed for Budapest. Together with him also his wife went.’

The principle of sharing infers different perceptions of participant's<sub>2</sub> obligation and his/her involvement in a joint activity. Compare:

- (8) b. Deti odišli na výstavu.  
 ‘Children went to the exposition.’
- (9) b. Róbert odišiel do USA, kde žije dodnes.  
 ‘Robert left for the US, where he is still living.’
- (10) b. Vojtech odcestoval do Budapešti.  
 ‘Vojtech departed for Budapest.’

Conventional implicatures (approaching pragmatic presuppositions as part of shared knowledge) are involved in interpreting of statements (8b-10b), which, depending on the participant's<sub>1</sub> (age) status, require / do not require participant's<sub>2</sub> involvement. In case (8b), since children cannot go to an exhibition unaccompanied by an adult who has the status of a person supervising children, the implicit participant<sub>2</sub> of the sentence (8b) is in the so-called sphere of invited inferences.

Sharing is a part of semantics of most relational verbs<sup>10</sup>, which in their meanings have an integrated component ‘together’ or ‘with one another’. Their core consists of verbs with a reflexive pronoun (‘sa’ in Slovak), whose ability to participate is encoded in their inherent semantics.

<sup>10</sup> The following subcategories belong to relational verbs: (a) verbs of social interaction, distinguishing: (i) verbs of close personal interaction: *bozkávať sa s niekým*, *flirtovať s niekým*, *chodiť s niekým* (byť v partnerskom vzťahu), *objímať sa s niekým*, *schádzať sa s niekým*, *spávať s niekým*, *(s)poznať sa s niekým*, *stretáť sa s niekým*, *táhať sa s niekým* (byť v partnerskom vzťahu), *tykať si s niekým*, *viadať sa s niekým*, *vychádzať s niekým*, *vykať si s niekým*, *začať si s niekým*, *zoznámiť sa s niekým*, *žiť s niekým*; (ii) verbs of interactions between partners: *hrať sa s niekým*, *obchodovať s niekým*, *radiť sa s niekým*, *rokovat' s niekým*, *(spolu)pracovať s niekým*, *tancovať s niekým*; (iii) verbs of confrontation: *biť sa s niekým*, *bojovať s niekým*, *konfrontovať sa s niekým*, *súperiť s niekým*, *súťažiť s niekým*, *zápasit' s niekým*; (b) verbs of communication: *besedovať s niekým*, *debatovať s niekým*, *hovorit' s niekým*, *komunikovať s niekým*, *konzultovať s niekým*, *nadávať si s niekým*, *nerozprávať sa s niekým*, *(po)hádať sa s niekým*, *(po)chytiť sa s niekým* (*pohádať sa*), *písať si s niekým*, *(po)rozprávať sa s niekým*, *(po)zdravit' sa s niekým*, *zhovárať sa s niekým*, *žartovať s niekým*; (c) verbs of evaluation and emotion: *byť šťastný s niekým*, *držať s niekým* (*prejavovať sympatie*), *hnevať sa s niekým*, *ľubiť sa s niekým*, *nenávidieť sa s niekým*; (d) motional and positional verbs: *ísť s niekým*, *ležať s niekým*, *odísť s niekým*, *prísť s niekým*, *sediť s niekým*, *ujsť s niekým*, *vstúpiť s niekým*, etc.

A verb, as a central element of a sentence and also the comitative construction, is able to bind a number of other lexical complements and, in the position of a sentence predicate, its semantics, and thus its valence potential, determine the sentence structure. Even in the case of valence structure in Slovak comitative constructions, a verb has a crucial influence on the selection and the semantic content of the participants. Since comitative sentences denote at least two participants of an activity/situation, one of whom is comitatively related, they have two arguments, i.e., two noun phrases (NP). We distinguish a NP of **accompanied X** and an NP of **accompanying Y** or accompanee – companion (Stolz et al. 2006: 17, Lee 2011), orientir – sputnik (Arkhipov 2009), actor – undergoer (Stolz et al. 2006: 59). In the comitative construction, the noun phrase with a higher structural rank is referred to as *core NP*, and to the one with the lower structural rank as *comitative NP* (Arkhipov 2009: 225).

The accompanied (accompanee, orientir, actor) bears a marker [+control], while the accompanying (companion, sputnik, undergoer) has [-control]. Both substantives in the NPs have a specific reference status, i.e., they denote specific persons (individualized or non-individualized). Practically all personal nouns can form a comitative construction<sup>11</sup> if they are content compatible and close. In their background, the knowledge of relatedness is typical of everyday relationships and social roles in them<sup>12</sup>. In Slovak, there is a significant high number of ‘comitative’ substantives created by the prefix ‘co-’ (‘spolu-’ in Slovak).<sup>13</sup>

Let's now consider participation of two hierarchically unequal partners. The idea of inequality may be the result of pragmatic knowledge, for example, equal relationships are between parents, children, adults, etc.; socially unequal relationships are between pupils and teachers, children and parents, children and adults, subordinates and superiors, etc.; or it is the result of the speaker's decision. Identifying relationships is always associated with the speaker and the specific communication event. This means that the use of the comitative is associated with self-presentation and the possibility of reflecting the personal sphere of the speaker<sup>14</sup>. In the following example, we can analyze the method of encoding the meeting of two leading political representatives, in which the speaker, by employing the comitative, has given more prominence to the Czech president (11). In case of parataxis, the speaker would express his/her personal preferences of the Czech president (12):

(11) Klaus sa stretne s Gašparovičom v stredu.

<sup>11</sup> Typical relational substantives express: (a) blood relations: *dcéra, syn, otec, matka, súrodenec, rodič; neter, synovec*, etc.; (b) partnership and professional relationships: *priateľ, priateľka, milenec, milenka, manžel, manželka, kamarát, kamarátka, kolega, kolegyňa, sused, suseda/susedka*, (c) fellowship: *spoluobčan, krajan, krajanka, príslušník, príslušníčka*, etc.

<sup>12</sup> I would like to thank the reviewer of this paper for adding a reference to relatedness.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *spoluautor, spoluautorka, spoluinvestor, spoluinvestorka, spolumajiteľ, spolumajiteľka, spolupáchatel, spolupáchatelka, spolupodnikateľ, spolupodnikateľka, spolupracovník, spolupracovníčka, spoluriešiteľ, spoluriešiteľka, spoluväzeň, spoluväzeňkyňa, spoluvinník, spoluvinníčka, spoluvlastník, spoluvlastníčka, spoluzakladateľ, spoluzakladateľka, spolužiak, spolužiačka, spolubesedník, spolubesedníčka, spolubojovník, spolubojovníčka, spolubývajúci, spolubývajúca, spolucestujúci, spolucestujúca, spoluhráč, spoluhráčka, spoluidúci, spoluidúca, spoluúčinkujúci, spoluúčinkujúca, spolujazdec, spolujazdkyňa*, etc.

<sup>14</sup> The personal sphere of the speaker was defined by Yu. D. Apresjan (2003) and became the expressive category of the Moscow Semantic School.



‘On Wednesday, Klaus is going to meet Gasparovic.’

- (12) Klaus a Gašparovič sa stretnú v stredu.  
‘On Wednesday, Klaus and Gasparovic are going to meet.’

Therefore, the division of roles is the speaker’s competence to decide upon the **participation strategy**. As indicated, on one hand, he/she expresses the preference and, on the other hand, he/she gives to participant<sub>1</sub> some degree of control over participant<sub>2</sub> and participant<sub>2</sub> receives some degree of autonomy<sup>15</sup> over participant<sub>1</sub>. Regarding the hierarchy of the proposition, he/she applies the principle of backgrounding, which means that one of the agents hierarchically moves into a less prominent syntactic position, and thus he/she is in background, as the given microsituation is performed from the aspect of the agent remaining in the position of the subject (Grepl & Karlík 1998: 149). The syntactic means of backgrounding the agent is a comitative construction in which the shifted aside agent is placed after the predicate. This is evident in the case of reflexive verbs, in which there is synchronic agent reciprocity of the agent in the nominative and the agent in the instrumental, where the speaker decides upon the position of the shifted aside participant:

- (13) a. Otec sa zhovára so synom.  
‘Father is talking to his son.’  
b. Syn sa zhovára s otcom.  
‘Son is talking to his father.’  
(14) a. Jerguš Lapin sa pobil s Maťom Kliešťom.  
‘Jergus Lapin exchanged blows with Mato Kliest.’  
b. Maťo Kliešť sa pobil s Jergušom Lapinom.  
‘Mato Kliest exchanged blows with Jergus Lapin.’

In addition to the verbs with the reflexive pronoun ‘sa’ (stretnúť sa, zhovárať sa, pobit’ sa in Slovak), the concept of accompaniment is also expressed by some verbs with the pronoun ‘si’ (písať si, vykať si, nadávať si in Slovak) that indicate the agent-recipient reciprocity (Vaňko 2010: 306). Sentence structures present reciprocity in terms of the actual agent-reciprocal participation of both protagonists who are jointly involved in an activity initiated by the participant acting as an agent:

- (15) Galileo (*agens*) si písal so svojím rovesníkom Keplerom (*recipient*).  
‘Galileo (*agent*) corresponded with his peer Kepler (*recipient*).’

---

<sup>15</sup> Autonomy and relatedness are two basic human needs and cultural constructs at the same time.

Let us move from the accompaniment strategy to defining the specifics of the comitative, coordinate-comitative and coordinative relation<sup>16</sup>. We have a situation where the participants – father and mother (father is the speaker’s preferred participant<sub>1</sub> and mom is participant<sub>2</sub>) – watched television. The situation can be expressed as follows:

- (16) Otec pozeral s mamou televíziu. **comitative**  
 ‘Father watched TV with mother.’
- (17) Otec s mamou pozerali televíziu. **coordinate-comitative**  
 ‘Father with mother watched TV.’
- (18) Otec a mama pozerali televíziu. **coordinative**  
 ‘Father and mother watched TV.’

In sentence (16) the **comitative** is employed. From the point of structure of the construction it has the form **N<sub>Nom</sub> – VF<sub>sg</sub> – with N<sub>I</sub>**. The position **N<sub>Nom</sub>** is represented by father, while mother has an accompanying position **with N<sub>I</sub>**. Both participants in the sentence are in a distant position. The singular predicate refers to the concept of a shared activity. The sentence assumes the possibility of enforcing a relator using a prepositional expression ‘together with’ (‘spolu s’ in Slovak; *Morfológia slovenského jazyka* 1966: 672). The comitative also allows a transformation into the abessive (16c) and into comitative PP adjunct (16d). The singular form of the predicate is in agreement with the grammatical gender of participant<sub>1</sub>. The comitative infers a higher level of control of participant<sub>1</sub> over participant<sub>2</sub>, a lower level of autonomy of participant<sub>2</sub> and the identical spatial location of both protagonists:

- (16) a. Otec pozeral [spolu s mamou] televíziu.  
 ‘Father [together with mother] watched TV.’
- b. Otec pozeral televíziu [spolu s mamou].  
 ‘Father watched TV [together with mother].’
- c. Otec pozeral televíziu bez mamy.  
 ‘Father watched TV without mother.’
- d. Otec pozeral televíziu s mamou.  
 ‘Father watched TV with mother.’

The comitative pragmatism in sentence (16) reflects the focus of the speaker on the participant<sub>1</sub> (father) who performed an identical activity with participant<sub>2</sub> (watching television).

In sentence (17) a **coordinate comitative** construction is employed<sup>17</sup>. Its structure formula is **N<sub>Nom</sub> – with N<sub>Ins</sub> – VF<sub>pl</sub>**. From the comitative it differs in two aspects (i) the central NP (father/otec) and the peripheral NP (with mother/s mamou) are syntactically in the contact

<sup>16</sup> Among the papers devoted to syntactic and semantic characteristics of comitative constructions as opposed to NP coordination, see Schwartz 1988, Dalrymple et al. 1998, Maisak 2000, Arkhipov 2009.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. pseudosochinenije (Daniel 2000), kvazisochinenije (Arkhipov 2009), quasi-comitative coordination (Dyła 1988), sochintel’nyj komitativ (Arkhipov 2009), comitative coordination (Gruet-Škrabalová, 2017).

position, which is typical for the coordinative; (ii) the verb is in a plural form. The sentence does not presuppose transformation into the abessive. The coordinate comitative admits but does not pretend the meaning of accompaniment. A comitative idea of accompaniment admits an antepositional addition of the adverbial ‘together’ (‘spolu’ in Slovak) to the verb (17a). The coordinate comitative infers a lower level of control of participant<sub>1</sub> over participant<sub>2</sub>, a lower level of autonomy of participant<sub>2</sub> and the identical spatial location of both protagonists:

- (17) Otec s mamou [spolu] pozerali televíziu.  
 ‘Father with mother [together] watched TV.’

The pragmatics of coordinate comitative (17) reflects the focus of the speaker on the participants who simultaneously performed two identical activities (watching television). The plural form of the verb implies a collective interpretation.

In sentence (18) a **coordinative strategy** is employed following the formula **N<sub>Nom</sub> – and N<sub>Nom</sub> – V<sub>Fpl</sub>**. The coordinative strategy assumes the co-participation of two protagonists who are in an equal relationship. It employs the principle of an added participant and the principle of conjunction of activities, thus allowing a distributive interpretation: father and mother watched the television at the same time, but not necessarily together because everyone could be in another room. The coordinative strategy infers a lower degree of control of participant<sub>1</sub> over participant<sub>2</sub>, a higher degree of participant<sub>2</sub> and the possibility of identical and also non-identical spatial location of both participants. It is based on symmetric relations between  $X \leftrightarrow Y$ . Participants are on the same level of empathic hierarchy (Lehmann & Shin 2005: 99); they both have the same control over the communication situation, so they can be presented as X and Y or Y and X. The initial position of X is determined by the speaker:

- (18) a. Otec a mama [spolu] pozerali televíziu.  
 ‘Father and mother [together] watched TV.’  
 b. Otec a mama pozerali televíziu [spolu].  
 ‘Father and mother watched TV [together].’  
 c. Otec a mama pozerali televíziu [každý sám].  
 ‘Father and mother watched TV [each alone].’

The pragmatics of coordination in the sentence (18) reflects the focus of the speaker on the participants who performed two identical activities (watching television). The plural form of the verb allows for both the collective and distributive interpretation. The speaker addresses this ambivalence by using appropriate adverbial means that, in addition to elimination of ambiguity, acquire a communication function of emphasis.<sup>18</sup>

It is worth mentioning that all three types of constructions allow the modification of a verb by adverbials with a fixed position before the verb. In addition to the adverbial of manner ‘together’ (‘spolu’ in Slovak), resulting from the inherent semantic relation of participation, the adherent adverbials of time and place are employed. They are involved in the discursive

---

<sup>18</sup> This topic requires a deeper analysis in another paper.

interpretation of facts. They develop the sentence through additional information. Demonstratives, spatial and temporal adverbs are interpreted from the perspective of the speaker.

The comitative prefers the adverbial complements of time (19–21):

- (19) Francúzky *teraz* budú bojovať so Slovenkami na antuke v hale v Limoges.  
'French are *now* going to play against Slovaks on a clay indoor court in Limoges.'
- (20) Karči *už tri dni* býval s Etelou, čo neušlo pozornosti dedinčanov.  
'It did not escape the villagers' notice that Karci and Etel have been living together *for the last three days*.'
- (21) Nemecký kancelár Gerhard Schröder *koncom minulého týždňa* telefonoval so svojim britským kolegom Tonym Blairom.  
'German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder *at the end of the last week* called his British peer Tony Blair.'

Even when the word order is changed, the adverbial complement of time is antepositioned, i.e., it is placed before the verb:

- (22) *Vo štvrtok večer* slávil Ježiš poslednú večeru so svojimi učeníkmi.  
'*On Thursday evening* Jesus celebrated the Last Supper with his apostles.'

The coordinate comitative allows the adverbial complement of time (23–24) and place (25) to be added to the construction:

- (23) Ivan s Petrom sa *znova* stretli zoči-voči 17. augusta. Polícia tomu hovorí konfrontácia.  
'On 17th August Ivan and Peter *once again* met face to face. The police called it confrontation.'
- (24) Mama s otcom *často* chodili na zábavy, veľmi rada tancovala.  
'Mom and dad would *often* go to dances; she loved to dance.'
- (25) My sa *tam* s vami radi znova stretneme.  
'We would like to meet you again *over there*.'

The coordinative prefers the adverbial complement of time (26–27):

- (26) Otec a matka sa *medzitým* venovali čítaniu novín.  
'*Meanwhile*, mother and father dedicated themselves to reading the newspaper.'
- (27) Hewlett a Albarn sa *vtedy* pohádali a budúcu spoluprácu vylúčili.  
'Hewlett and Albarn argued *back then* and ruled out any cooperation.'

In our analyses of comitative strategy employed in the Slavic languages, there appears a construction that in linguistics is known as the inclusory construction (Moravcsik 2003), plural pronoun construction/PPC (Schwartz 1988; Vassilieva & Larson 2005; Gruet-Škrabalová 2017), inclusive plural pronoun constructions (Feldman 2002), inclusory pronominal (Lichtenberk 2000), etc. It is a pronominal construction in which the pronoun ‘we’ appeared to mean just ‘I’, for example:

- (28) Rodičia počúvali rádio a **my s bratom** sme sa hrali Človeče.  
 ‘Parents listened to the radio and my brother and I played Ludo.’  
 (Lit. “Parents listened to the radio and we with my brother played Ludo.”)
- (29) Vieš predsa, že **my s otcom** máme najradšej jednoduché jedlá.  
 ‘You know that father and I prefer simpler meals.’  
 (Lit. “You know that we with father prefer simpler meals.”)

An inclusive interpretation means that in sentence (28) ‘my/we’ stands for ‘ja a brat/brother and I’, in sentence (29) ‘my/we’ represents ‘ja a otec/father and I’. The construction belongs to the sphere of self-presentation of the speaker who acts as an incorporated participant<sub>1</sub>. It employs a pragmatic stereotype of the relevance of the speaker’s self-presentation. Since the construction ‘**we with Y**’ (‘my s Y’ in Slovak) actually means ‘**I and Y**’ (‘ja a Y’ in Slovak), it has characteristics of the **coordinate comitative**. Formally, the construction first signals that the number of participants is more than one, i.e., the speaker and participant<sub>2</sub> and then only participant<sub>2</sub> is lexically specified who seems to be counted twice – once in ‘my/we’ and the second time in the NP ‘s Y/with Y’. M. A. Daniel (2000) calls this phenomenon ‘the absorption of a referent’ (in Russian ‘pogloshchenije referenta’) when the referent of participant<sub>2</sub> is ‘absorbed’ by the plural referent of pronoun ‘my/we’. The construction ‘my s Y/we with Y’ shows that the dual in Slovak has no expression in the form of a grammeme, but it has a mental anchor and a specific lexical-grammatical representation.

It has been stated above that the construction with an absorbed participant is of the coordinate comitative type (30a) with the syntactical function of a subject. Its alternate is a comitative interpretation (30b), in which the adverbial of accompanying circumstances (‘ako Eva/as Eva’) is comitatively linked to the negated/unspoken subject ‘ja / I’. In Slovak the use of parataxis in (30c) is ungrammatical. A plural form of the implicit ‘my/we’ in sentence (30d) implies a higher number of participants, including the speaker and Eva:

- (30) a. My s Evou chodíme do rovnakej školy.  
 ‘Eva and I go to the same school.’  
 (Lit. “We with Eva go to the same school.”)
- b. Chodím do rovnakej školy ako Eva.  
 ‘I go to the same school as Eva.’
- c. \*Ja a Eva chodíme do rovnakej školy.  
 ‘Eva and I go to the same school.’  
 (Lit. “I and Eva go to the same school.”)

- d. Chodíme do rovnakej školy ako Eva.  
'We go to the same school as Eva.'

A proprial-subjective comitative can be modified by adverbial complements of time (31) and manner (32):

- (31) S Františkom sa *dlhšie* poznáme, hrávali sme spolu futbal.  
'I have known Frantisek *long*; we used to play football together.'  
(32) S Luckou sa *dobre* poznáme.  
'I know Lucka *very well*.'

Another possibility of interpreting the difference in the meaning of utterances with the coordinate comitative and coordinative strategy was offered by Dalrymple et al. (1998: 600). In the following sentences (33–34) she demonstrated the interpretation of meaning of propositions on the collective or distributive basis. While the coordinate comitative in sentence (33) assumes that the entire win was \$100, the coordinative in sentence (34) infers also the possibility that everyone won \$100. We assume that the interpretation with the coordinate comitative (33) is related to the idea of all winning together, while the interpretation with the coordinative construction (34) is linked with the idea of one joint win or the idea of distribution of the win (i.e. each participant won \$100):

- (33) Petja s Vasej vyigrali \$100.  
'Petja with Vasja won \$100.'  
(34) Petja i Vasja vyigrali \$100.  
'Petja and Vasja won \$100.'

The self-presentation principle, in addition to the participant preference that is reflected in their linear sequence, also marks the actual arrangement of elements in the utterance. Since the comitative allows us to make a border between NPs of actual structuring, it creates either theme-rheme order of the components, i.e., companion-orientation (35) or rheme-theme order, i.e., accompanee-orientation (36)<sup>19</sup>:

- (35) Odvolaný arcibiskup Róbert Bezák sa zhováral *s pápežom Františkom*. O čom konkrétne hovorili ale známe nie je.  
'The recalled archbishop Robert Bezak spoke *with the Pope Francis*. What they talked about is not known.'  
(36) *Larry King* sa rozprával so všetkými americkými prezidentmi počnúc Richardom Nixonom.  
'*Larry King* interviewed all American presidents beginning with Richard Nixon.'

---

<sup>19</sup> See Stolz, Stroh and Urdze (2006) for discussion of languages which explicitly distinguish between 'companion-orientation' and 'accompanee-orientation'.

We would like to add that the use of comitative and coordinative strategy results from the typological characteristics of the language. As noted by L. Stassen (2000), many of the world's languages use the same marker for expressing comitative ('X with Y') and conjunctive ('X and Y') relations. In his typological study of noun phrase conjunction in 260 languages L. Stassen distinguishes two types of languages: AND-languages and WITH-languages. The former are the languages which use both comitative and coordinative strategies for noun phrase conjunction, whereas the latter adopt only comitative strategy. Contrasts between the two strategies L. Stassen (2000: 21) sees in the following:

**Coordinative strategy:**

NPs have same structural rank.  
Unique coordinate marker.  
NPs form a constituent.  
Plural/dual agreement on verbs.

**Comitative strategy:**

NPs differ in structural rank.  
Unique comitative particle.  
NPs do not form a constituent.  
Singular agreement on verbs.

According to this classification, Slovak, similarly to Russian (cf. Arkhipov 2009: 234), meets the AND-language criteria.

#### 4. Conclusions

In the article we describe and explain comitative constructions in the Slovak language that are analyzed in terms of linguistic formation of the comitative as a semantic case. Their function is the presentation of the second, hierarchically lower-rated participant of the activity/situation. Therefore, comitative constructions are linguistic means of coding the semantic, syntactic and pragmatic position of the other participant. The types of comitative constructions are interpreted following these principles: (i) principle of a shared and unified activity, (ii) principle of the added, absorbed and assigned participant<sup>2</sup>, (iii) principle of the speaker's self-presentation. We draw from the knowledge that comitative constructions in semiotics are a linguistic expression of coding the relation 'who with who' as an expression of participation primarily in a shared activity and secondarily in a unified activity.

From the coherence of cognitive and linguistic (hypotactic and paratactic) relations between non-equivalent and equivalent participants of the microsituation, the following links between comitative and coordinative constructions emerged.

The comitative construction is a means of expressing an activity mutually performed by two protagonists (one event, as if one activity, two 'unequal' participants, while the second participant takes part in the activity performed by the main participant). However, there are only a few cases of unshared activity resulting from the semantics of antagonism encoded in a verb. The proposed content of the sentence does not change by changing the positions of the participants.

The coordinate-comitative construction expresses one event, with two identical mutually coordinated activities of two 'unequal' participants.

The coordinative construction is a means of expressing identical activities that are independently performed by two participants (one event, one unified activity that is a linguistic expression of two identical mutually coordinated activities carried out by two 'equal' participants).

Depending on the linguistic means that belong to a given language, the comitative constructions have features that are common to other languages and features that for the particular language are specific and unique. Slovak is a fusional language and its comitative constructions have the following characteristics:

- (a) Participant<sub>2</sub> expressed by an appellative or propium has grammemes of case (prepositional instrumental), animacy (man) and number (singular/plural);
- (b) Participant<sub>2</sub> expressed by a personal deictic has grammemes of case (prepositional instrumental), person (2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> person) and number (singular/plural);
- (c) Participant<sub>1</sub> expressed by an appellative or propium has grammemes of case (nominative), animacy (man) and number (singular/plural);
- (d) Participant<sub>1</sub> expressed by a personal deictic has grammemes of case (nominative), person (1<sup>st</sup> person) and number (plural);
- (e) Participant<sub>1</sub> expressed by a personal deictic, syntactically it can be omitted (dropped) and its presence is signaled by the grammatical form of the verb;
- (f) The verb in the function of predicate has grammemes of person (3<sup>rd</sup> person), number (singular) and anteposition (syntactically it is placed before participant<sub>2</sub>);
- (g) In case of (d), the verb has grammemes of person (1<sup>st</sup> person), number (plural) and postposition (syntactically it is placed after participant<sub>2</sub>).

In Slovak, the idea of participation has a lot of representations at the lexical level: in the form of adverb 'together' ('spolu' in Slovak), expression with the prefix 'co-' ('spolu-' in Slovak) denoting the participant<sub>2</sub>, preposition 'with' ('s/so' in Slovak) and prepositional phrase 'together with' ('spolu s' in Slovak).

Numerous examples demonstrated that in Slovak a comitative construction with the preposition 'with' ('s' in Slovak) is primarily oriented on a personal participant. Even though the orientation on the object (instrument, tool) can be expressed by both the non-prepositional and prepositional instrument, the former is preferred.

The addition of a pragmatic aspect to our interpretation and explanation of comitative structures in Slovak has shown that the discursive behavior of the speaker is strongly motivated by personal preferences. Therefore, the comitative can also be seen as a means of hidden manipulation.

## References

- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2010. *Imperatives and Commands*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Benacchio, Rosanna. 2010. *Вид и категория вежливости в славянском императиве. Сравнительный анализ*. München, Berlin: Kubon und Sagner.



- Bolinger, Dwight. 1967. The imperative in English. In Halle, M., H. Lunt, H. McClean & C. van Schooneveld (eds.), *To Honor Roman Jakobson: Essays on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*. vol. 1. 335–363. The Hague: Mouton.
- Buzássyová, K. & Jarošová, A. (eds.). 2006. *Slovník súčasného slovenského jazyka. A – G*. [Dictionary of Contemporary Slovak Language. A – G.] Bratislava: Veda.
- Dokulil, Miloš. 1948. Modifikace vidového protikladu v rámci imperativu v spisovné češtině a ruštině. [Modification of aspectual opposition within imperative in standard Czech and Russian.] In Grund, A. & A. Kellner ad. (eds.), *Pocita Fr. Trávnickovi a F. Wollmanovi*. 71–88. Brno.
- Dvonč, Ladislav. 2003. Tvorenie tvarov imperatívu v spisovnej slovenčine. [Formation of imperative forms in standard Slovak.] *Slovenská reč* 68(2). 65–77.
- Fortuin, Egbert. 2010. Explicit second person subjects in Russian imperatives: semantics, word order, and a comparison with English. In: *Linguistics* 48(2). 431–486.
- Grepl, Miroslav. 1979. Imperativní postoje a imperativ. [Imperative attitudes and imperative.] *SPFFBU A* 27. 165–174.
- Grepl, Miroslav & Karlík, Petr. 1998. *Skladba češtiny*. [Syntax of the Czech language.] Olomouc: Votobia.
- Ivanová, Martina. *Valencia statických slovies*. [Valency of static verbs.] Prešov: Filozofická fakulta Prešovskej univerzity.
- Jarošová, Alexandra (ed.). 2015. *Slovník súčasného slovenského jazyka. M – N*. [Dictionary of Contemporary Slovak. M – N.] Bratislava: Veda, vydavateľstvo SAV.
- Jarošová, Alexandra & Buzássyová, Klára (eds.). 2011. *Slovník súčasného slovenského jazyka. H – L*. [Dictionary of contemporary Slovak. H – L.] Bratislava: Veda.
- Jary, Mark & Kissine, Mikheal. 2014. *Imperatives*. CUP: Cambridge.
- Jary, Mark & Kissine, Mikhael. 2016. *When terminology matters: the imperative as a comparative concept*. *Linguistics* 54. 119–148.
- Karlík, Petr. 2017. IMPERATIV. [Imperative.] In Karlík, Petr. & Nekula, Marek & Pleskalová, Jana (eds.), *CzechEncy – Nový encyklopedický slovník češtiny*. (<https://www.czechency.org/slovník/IMPERATIV> (Accessed: 2019-04-04))
- Karlík, Petr & Nübler, Norbert. 1998. Negace a vid českého imperativu. [Negation and aspect of Czech imperative.] In Karlík, Petr & Krčmová, Marie (eds.), *Jazyk a kultura vyjadřování. Milanu Jelínkovi k pětasedmdesátinám*. 159–166. Brno: Masarykova univerzita.
- Lamiroy, Béatrice & Swiggers, Pierre. 1991. Imperatives as discourse signals. In Fleischman, Susanne & Waugh, Linda R. (eds.), *Discourse-Pragmatics and the Verb: The Evidence from Romance*. 121–146. London/New York: Routledge.

- Lehmann, Volkmar. 1989. Pragmatic functions of aspects and their cognitive motivation. Russian aspects in the context of the imperative and the infinitive. In Larsson, L. G. (ed.), *Proceedings of the second Scandinavian symposium on aspectology*, 77–88. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Pauliny, Eugen. 1947. Tvorenje imperativu v spisovnej slovenčine. [Formation of imperative in standard Slovak.] *Slovo a tvar* 1. 103–105.
- Searle, John R. 1969. *Speech acts: An essay in the philosophy of language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Searle, John R., 1979. *Expression and Meaning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sokolová, Miloslava. 1995. *Kapitolky zo slovenskej morfológie*. [Chapters from Slovak morphology.] Prešov: Slovacontact.
- Sokolová, Miloslava & Bónová, Iveta. 2008. Tvorenje imperativu v slovenčine a lexikografická prax. [Formation of imperative in Slovak and lexicographic practice.] *Slovenská reč* 73(5). 271–280.
- Stefanowitsch, Aanatol & Gries, Stefan Th. 2003. Collostructions: on the interaction between verbs and constructions. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 8. 209–243.
- Swearingen, Andrew. 2017. Crossing the categorial divide: Imperative and interjection conversions in Romance. In Van Olmen, D. & S. Heinold (eds.), *Imperatives and Directive Strategies*, 291–318. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Takahashi, Hidemitsu. 2012. *A Cognitive Linguistic Analysis of the English Imperative. With Special Attention to Japanese Imperatives*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Van Olmen, Daniël. 2019. *A three-fold approach to the imperative's usage in English and Dutch*. *Journal of Pragmatics* 139. 146–162.
- Van Olmen, Daniël & Heinold, Simone. 2017. Imperatives and directive strategies from a functional-typological perspective: an introduction. In Van Olmen, D. & S. Heinold (eds.), *Imperatives and Directive Strategies*. 1–49. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- von Waldenfels, Ruprecht. 2012. Aspect in the imperative across Slavic – a corpus driven pilot study. In Grønn, A. & A. Pazelskaya (eds.), *The Russian Verb, Oslo Studies in Language* 4(1). 141–154.
- Wiemer, Björn. 2008. Zur innerslavischen Variation bei der Aspektwahl und der Gewichtung ihrer Faktoren. In K. Gutschmidt, U. Jekutsch, S. Kempgen & L. Udolph (eds.), *Deutsche Beiträge zum 14. Internationalen Slavisten kongreß, Ohrid 2008 (Die Welt der Slaven. Sammelbände / Sborniki 30)*. München: Sagner. 383–409.
- Zinken, Jörg. 2016. *Requesting responsibility: the morality of grammar in Polish and English family interaction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

## Acknowledgements

This work was supported (100 %) by the Slovak Research Agency VEGA 1/0067/19 *Linguistic Reflections on Social Ego-presentation and Addressing*

## Abbreviations

r	relator
X	participant <sub>1</sub>
Y	participant <sub>2</sub>
N	noun
Ins	Instrumental
Nom	Nominative
NP	noun phrase
PP	with N <sub>Ins</sub>
PPC	Plural Pronoun Construction
VF	verbum finitum
sg	singular
pl	plural

*Jana Sokolová*  
*Department of Russian Studies, Faculty of Arts*  
*Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra*  
*Štefánikova 67*  
*949 01 Nitra*  
*Slovakia*  
[jsokolova@ukf.sk](mailto:jsokolova@ukf.sk)

In SKASE Journal of Theoretical Linguistics [online]. 2019, vol. 16, no. 3[cit. 2019-11-30]. Available on web page [http://www.skase.sk/Volumes/JTL41/pdf\\_doc/06.pdf](http://www.skase.sk/Volumes/JTL41/pdf_doc/06.pdf). ISSN 1336-782X

## Personal and social deixis in coach communication register

Daniela Slančová & Terézia Kovalik Slančová, Prešov University

*The main aim of the study is to analyse the means of personal and social deixis specific for the coach communication register and interpret them as an expression of social relations between coach and players and the coach social role. Theoretically, the study is based on the concept of sport macro-social communication register, coach micro-social communication register, and the theory of personal deixis and its social meaning. The research sample consists of tri-modal corpus of video and audio records of communication between coaches and players (boys' and girls' teams) during training units and games, and their transcripts. The analysis comes out of the central role of the coach as a part of sports team and is focused on a) the way of addressing the players; b) nominal and verbal personal reference; c) personal shifts, changes, combinations and strategies. The means of personal deixis show how the coaches emphasise or release team social solidarity, whereby the tendency towards solidarity emphasising is stronger than the tendency to its releasing. The study also showed the large variety of diversified communication strategies based on the dynamic alteration of personal deixis means and referents, iconising dynamic alterations of the activities and their agents in time and space, which is typical for team sports.*

**Keywords:** *sports communication, communication register, personal deixis, social deixis, social cohesion, coach, players, volleyball*

### 1. Introduction

Minimal attention has been paid, so far, to spoken language and verbal communication in sport both from the side of sport sciences and linguistics. It is quite surprising, taking into account the social and political role sport has in contemporary society. If there was any interest expressed at all, at least in Slovakia, it was predominately for the language of sport in media communication (cf. e. g. Mlacek 1981; Masár 1981; 1982; Felix 1992; 1993; Mislovičová 1993; 1994; Mergeš 2016). Intra-sport verbal communication was the research subject of works by Odaloš (1993; 1997) and Čulenová (2004). The situation is very similar in other languages and cultures. Lausic et al. (2009: 281) claims: “Verbal and nonverbal communication is a critical mediator of performance in team sports and yet there is little extant research in sports that involves direct measures of communication.”. However, in last decades, increased interest in the “language of sport” can be observed (e. g. Tworek 2000; Caldwell et al. 2018), although it is mainly the language of football, “the most interesting sport discipline in most European countries” (Taborek 2012) which has attracted most attention (Schilling 2001; Lavric et al. 2008; Lewandowski 2008; 2013; Taborek 2012). In Slovakia, the situation has slowly been changing, mostly due to research projects provided at the Prešov University<sup>1</sup> (Slančová & Slančová 2014, special issue of the journal *Language and Culture*<sup>2</sup> *Communication in sport and about sport* 2018). The language of sport has been proposed as the main subject of a new inter-discipline: sport linguistics (Slančová & Slančová 2014; Slančová & Kovalik Slančová

---

<sup>1</sup> *Communication among coach and ball games players of senior school age* (2008–2010); *Interdisciplinary analysis of sport communication register* (2015–2018).

<sup>2</sup> Available online (<http://www.ff.unipo.sk/jak/cislo35.html>).

2018), considered to be a branch of applied linguistics, and/or as a part of sport humanistics (on sport humanistics cf. Macák 1998) within the scope of sport sciences. This study is the result of the above mentioned research projects and is a part of broader research into intra-sport communication between coaches and players of team ball games<sup>3</sup> (football/soccer, handball, volleyball) of senior school age. It involves one of the sports mentioned – volleyball, and relates to two coaches and one boys’ and one girls’ team. The main approach to the research issue is interdisciplinary. It means linguistic phenomena are interpreted as ones determined by their sports counterparts and sports phenomena are determined by linguistic ones.

## 2. Objectives

The main aim of the study is to analyse the means of personal and social deixis specific for the coach communication register and interpret them as an expression of social relations between coach and players and the coach social role. The analysis is focused on the manifestation of personal participants in the coach’s speech, which means the speaker (coach) and his communication partners who are a direct part of a given communication situation and also the personal objects who are not directly present in a given communication situation. Special attention will be paid to communication strategies realized by means of personal and social deixis. A comparison between the communication of the boys’ team coach and the girls’ team coach will be carried out.

## 3. Methodological background

Methodologically, our research is based on the concept of communication register and personal and social deixis. The term *communication register* (Slančová & Slančová 2012; 2014), and its two main types: macro-social and micro-social communication registers, represent our own adaptation<sup>4</sup> of *register* as one of the leading sociolinguistic concepts (cf. Hymes 1974; Ferguson 1977; Halliday 1978; Andersen 1992, Biber & Finegan 1994; Biber, 1995; Dittmar 1995; Hoffmannová 1997; Coupland 2007; Biber & Conrad 2009) and can be illustrated in Figure 1:

- social institution –
- communication sphere –  
    macrosocial
- communication register –  
    microsocial
- communication situation –  
    [– text –]  
    (genre, style)

Figure 1: The concept of communication register

The fundamental concept is the sociological concept of *institution*. Our definition of institution is based on the definitions found in Keller & Vlášil (1996), and works by Keller (1991),

<sup>3</sup> Its first impulse and inspiration was made by a study by Brice Heath & Langman (1994).

<sup>4</sup> Our understanding of the concept of communication register has been changed from its first mention in the Slovak linguistic field (Slančová 1999 a; b) through a concept introduced in Slančová & Zajacová (2007) to Slančová & Slančová (2012; 2014; 2015) – cf. also for relations between communication register and related concepts (sociolect, functional style).

Giddens (1999), Balegová (2005), and Kráľová (2007). It is understood as a relatively stable, in the given society or social group, accepted complex of rules and norms, including social norms (Kráľová 2007: 19). Social institutions represent dynamic reality and express supra-individual kinds of social activity. They are considered as the basis of culture and can be classified in various ways, mostly according to the domain of the institutionalized lives of people living in an advanced society (daily life, family, education, art, religion, science, administration, media, healthcare, sport, the army, etc.). Human interaction cannot exist without communication, thus social institution also can exist only by means of communication. In this sense, within social institutions, communication spheres are originated. *Communication sphere* is the communication space belonging to the social institution. *Macro-social communication register* is understood as the conventional linguistic and paralinguistic behaviour of people related to communication spheres; the *micro-social communication register* is interpreted as the conventionalized linguistic and non-linguistic behaviour of people linked to social status, social role, social relation and social distance. Macro- and microsocial communication registers have their sub-registers. Communication is realized in a specific *communication situation* via its basic units – *text*<sup>5</sup> and *genres*<sup>6</sup> – by implementing the features of the *individual personal style* of a speaker. The linguistic and non-linguistic means used preferentially in the given communication spheres or as expressions of social status, role, relation and distance are considered as macro- or microsocial register markers.

Figure 2 shows the application of the concept of communication register to sport and communication between coaches and their players:

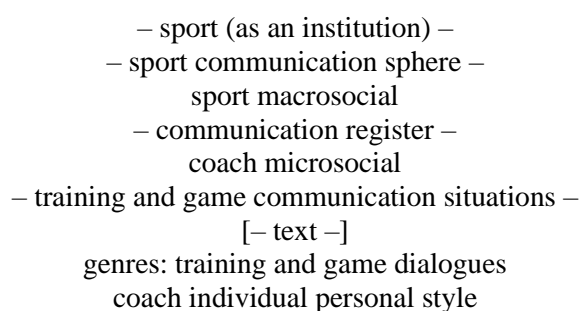


Figure 2: The concept of sport and coach communication register

<sup>5</sup> In the sense of Dolník's definition: 'Text je relatívne uzavretý komunikačný celok, ktorý na základe obsahovej a ilokučnej štruktúry plní propozičnú a pragmatickú funkciu.' = 'Text is a relatively closed communication unit, which on the basis of content and illocution structure fulfils propositional and pragmatic function.' (Dolník & Bajzík 1998: 10).

<sup>6</sup> In the sense of Slančová's definition (Slančová 1996: 113–115):

*Za žáner pokladáme [...] zovšeobecnenú jednotku, ktorá vzniká generalizáciou vlastností tematicky, funkčne, kompozične, jazykovo a formálne príbuzných textov...; žáner chápeme ako istú normu, ako istý zovšeobecnený súbor pravidiel, ktorými sa riadi tvorba konkrétnych textov [...] ktorý je súčasťou komunikačnej kompetencie príslušníkov jazykového spoločenstva [...]*

*'Genre is a generalised unit, originated by generalisation in the features of the texts related by topic, function, composition, language and form... is a kind of norm, generalised complex of rules for forming concrete texts... which is a part of communicative competence of the members of a language community.'*

*Sport* is understood as belonging to the group of vital social institutions (cf. Balegová 2005: 26). Communication in sport is realized within the *sport communication sphere*. Conventional linguistic and paralinguistic behaviour of people related to the sport communication sphere is understood as the *sport macrosocial communication register*. The sport macrosocial communication register has sub-registers divided according to particular sport disciplines. The preferred form of a coach's linguistic and paralinguistic behaviour is understood as the *coach microsocial communication register*. It is realized in two basic *genres*: *training dialogue* and *game dialogue*. Their content, function and form are influenced by the characteristics of training and game as the basic organizational units of team ball game sport activities and by the communication situations present within those activities. The form of the coach communication register in communication between coaches and players is influenced by the *coach's individual personal style*.

Personal deixis concerns the encoding of the role of participants in the speech event in which the utterance in question is delivered (Levinson 1983: 62); social deixis concerns the encoding of social distinctions that are relative to participant-roles, particularly aspects of the social relationship between speaker and addressee(s) or speaker and a given referent (Levinson 1983: 63; Hirschová 2006: 68). The social structure of the team, seen from the position of the coach, can be outlined as in Figure 3:

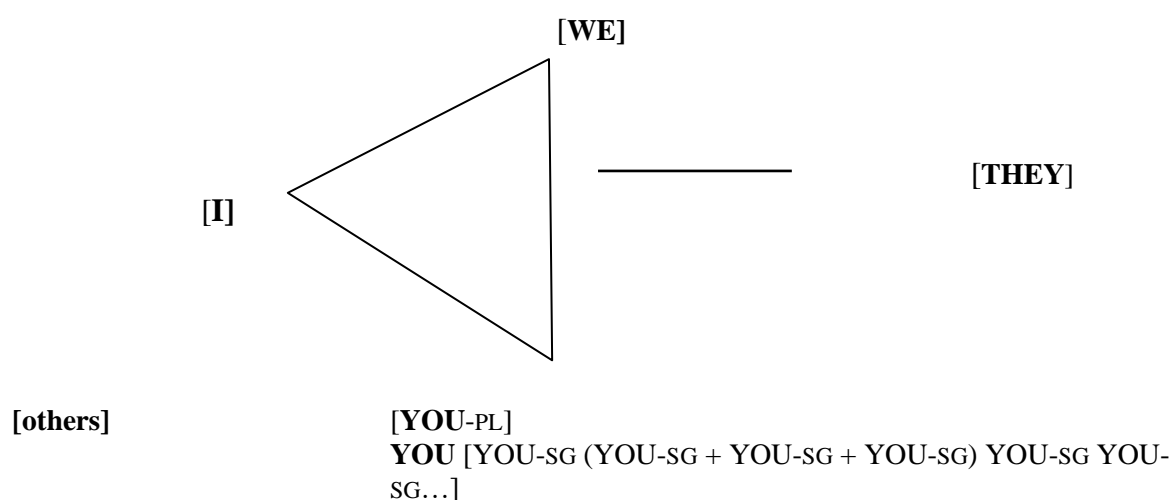


Figure 3: The social structure of the sports team

Within the hierarchical relations in the team, the coach [I] has the central position. His social role is clearly profiled. To coach means to lead and to conduct (Martens 2006). According to Leška (2006), there are three main fields of team sport coaching activities: organizing, conducting the training process, and coaching games in competitions. The main aim of the coach is to prepare the team for games in order to achieve the best results. However, taking into account the age of the players in our study, the motivational nature of the competition should be respected, while the results (final place in the competition) is not paramount; the education of prospective players should be a priority (Zapletalová et al. 2001). Summing-up, the coach is the person who stands at the head of the team, leads it in its activities, motivates the players, is involved in creating social relations, regulates and modifies tasks and takes responsibility for the results; he/she is the formal and pedagogical leader (Sekot 2008).

The coach communicates with a team of players [YOU-PL], with individual players [YOU-SG], and with a group of players (YOU-SG + YOU-SG + YOU-SG). The coach and the players form the social group [WE]. From the point of view of social deixis, the potential team's rival [THEY] is also important. The same can be said about other communication participants (assistant coaches, referee, physios, organizers, fans, parents, spectators) – [others].

Our analysis respected the central role of the coach and was focused on a) the way of addressing the players; b) nominal and verbal personal reference; c) personal shifts.

#### 4. Procedure

Our research subjects were two coaches and two volleyball teams. Our research sample was created from a tri-modal corpus consisting of video and audio recordings of six complete training units and six league games, respectively, for each coach it was three training units and three league games, and their transcripts. Video-recordings were obtained using a static camera focusing mostly on the coach; audio-recordings were obtained using a Dictaphone placed around the neck of the coach. All the recordings were made by the co-author of the paper while personally participating in training units and games. The verbal and non-verbal communication of coaches, and partially, players (if in the proximity of the recording device) was transcribed using the CHAT (of the CHILDES system) transcription and coding system (cf: <http://childes.talkbank.org/>).<sup>7</sup>

The coaches – men aged 38 (CB) and 42 (CG) years – were university graduates, born in urban areas of Eastern Slovakia, with a specialized higher educational qualification in coaching and with training experience of between 9 years (CB) and 6 years (CG). The teams consisted of boys and girls aged 13 to 15 years. The research was conducted over the course of two seasons. The total sample consists of 50 914 tokens (Table 1).

Table 1: Research sample  
(T = trainings; M = games; V = volleyball; G = girls' team; B = boys' team)

Code of the sub-sample	Date of recording	Number of tokens
Training units		
TVG1	9.10.2015	6551
TVG2	11.03.2016	5209
TVG3	15.01.2016	5235
TVB1	5.03.2009	4937
TVB2	13.03.2009	3536
TVB3	15.12.2009	4644
Games		
MVG1	3.10.2015	3142
MVG2	15.12.2015	2512
MVG3	27.02.2016	4141
MVB1	14.03.2009	2216

<sup>7</sup> The so-called microphone effect was minimal. It was observed only at the very beginning of recording and only during training units.





*COA:	Sústred' sa	na	rozcvičku	a
	concentrate-2SG-IMP	on	warming-up	and
	vystri		kolená.	
	stretch-2SG-IMP		knee-ACC-PL	
	'Concentrate on warming-up and stretch the knees.'			
*COA:	Vystri		kolená.	
	stretch-2SG-IMP		knee-ACC-PL	
*COA:	Daša!			
	Daša			
*COA:	Chceš	ísť	domov?	
	want-2SG-PRS-IND	go-INF	home	
	'Do you want to go home?'			

The illocution force of the utterance is influenced by the position of the accompanying address. If the addressing is at the beginning of the utterance, it underlies the force of the contact between speaker and the addressee (*Erika pôjdeš na smeč*. 'Erika you go on spike'); if it is at the end of the utterance, the emphasis is on the content and illocution of the utterance preceding the addressing (*davaj davaj Gabo* 'go, go, Gabo'; *ruky ruky Viktória* 'hands hands, Viktória'). In positively assessing utterances with a short acceptance of the players' activity, the address is always in the final position (*pekne Hažo* 'nice Hažo'; *dobré Deco* 'good Deco'; *to je ono Ema* 'that's it Ema'). Addressing can be realized by one or more words in various positions. Repeated addressing (*Liči Liči blokuj* 'Liči Liči block') or "framed" addressing (*Laura na teba ide Laura* 'Laura it goes on you Laura') means intensification of the illocution.

Individual addressing is realised mostly by using the first names of the players<sup>11</sup> (CB: *Jakub, Marek, Ondrej, Tomáš*; CG: *Klára, Laura, Lea, Zoja*; hypocoristics (CB: *Daro, Jaro, Rišo, Robo, Samo, Sašo*; CG: *Dáša, Maťa, Miša, Viki*), and nicknames (*Delo, Hažo, Pako; Liči*). It is only the coach of girls' team who rarely uses diminutives or addressing with vocative exponents<sup>12</sup>: *Ad'a!* (hypocoristic); *Ad'ka / viacej nohy spoj!* 'Ad'ka put your legs together more!' (diminutive); *Hraj / Adi / čo nehráš?* 'Play, Ad'a, why do you not play?' (hypocoristic with vocative exponent). There is only one nickname used by CG compared to more of them used by CB. Hypocoristics often accompany the utterances with negative assessment of the players' activity. While the negative assessments extend the social distance between the coach and players, the standard use of hypocoristics or rare usage of diminutives and vocative exponents reduce the social distance.

One of the coach register markers is addressing using appellatives denoting the player function, determined by the rules of the given sport: *libero* 'libero', *účko* 'universal': *šak tam zbehni libero / načo si tam?* 'Go there, libero / for what are you there?' Addressing *ty môj inžinier* 'you, my engineer' indicating the player's intention to organize the training activity has a humorous and slightly ironic intention (only CB).

<sup>11</sup> There was only one example of addressing by connecting the first and last names:

(i) Matúš Š...k čo je s tebou?  
'Matúš-first-name Š...k-last name what is with you?'

<sup>12</sup> Vocative exponents are relation morphemes with single addressing function (cf. Slančová & Sokolová 1998). In standard codified Slovak, vocative as a case does not exist. There are only historical residuals in individual forms. However, there are several relation morphemes expressing addressing function based on interferences with Slovak dialects or other languages (Czech, Hungarian).

Addressing using 2SG personal pronoun (*ty* ‘you’) underlies the negative intention of the coach’s utterance: *ty čo tu robíš tak neskoro?* ‘you, what are you doing here so late?’; addressing using 2SG personal pronoun + first name intensifies the intention: *ty Jakub čo je s tebou?* ‘you Jakub what is with you?’<sup>13</sup>. In the utterance *no ty môj smečiar* ‘well, you, my spiker’, the possessive personal pronoun *môj* ‘my’ is the signal of a close relationship between the coach and the players. These kinds of address were observed only in the speech of CB.

Group addressing is realized by connecting more individual proper names (*Zoja, Liči, Nely, môžete dať lopty dnu* ‘Zoja, Liči, Nely you can give the balls inside’; *Gabo s Tomášom zoberiete lopty* ‘Gabo with Tomáš, you take the balls’), and by: naming the player functions (*blokári* ‘blockers’; *stredáci* ‘middle players’; *nahrávači* ‘setters’); naming the organization form during training or game (*dvojice* ‘twos’); numerals (*tahaj dvaja* ‘go on two’); personal pronoun + numeral (*vy šiesti* ‘you six’), pronoun (*všetci* ‘everyone’), personal pronoun + periphrasis (*vy traja chrobáci*<sup>14</sup> ‘you three beetles’).

The basic team addressing is realized by the use of NOM-PL *chlapci* ‘boys’ (CB) and *dievčatá* ‘girls’ (CG) – here alternated with the colloquial synonym *baby* ‘women’.

Participants from the [others] group can also be addressed. Predominantly, it is the referee who is addressed by the coaches, either directly, or indirectly. The form *pán rozhodca* ‘mister referee’, often with ironic intention, is mostly used:

- (2) \*COA: Dobrá lopta!  
           ‘Good ball!’  
       \*COA: Aut?  
           ‘Out?’  
       \*COA: Aut     bol?  
               out     be-3SG-PST-IND  
               ‘Was it out?’  
       \*COA: Pán rozhodca!  
               ‘Mister judge!’  
       \*COA: Pardon.  
               ‘Pardon me.’

In the given situation the coach interprets the situation from his point of view and consequently addresses his reproach to the referee (*pán rozhodca* ‘mister referee’). When he was informed about the ball being out, he apologizes.

## 5.2 Personal reference in coach communication register

Personal reference is understood as denoting persons participating in communication and also other persons who are not the part of communication situation. Similarly to the way of addressing, personal reference is divided into individual, group and team. On the basis of the means by which personal reference is expressed, nominal and verbal personal reference is distinguished.

<sup>13</sup> On the intensification of intentions by lexical expressing of 2SG in addressing cf. Kesselová 2005.

<sup>14</sup> The naming *traja chrobáci* is an allusion to a famous movie fairy tale.

### 5.2.1 Personal reference expressed by nominal means

Individual reference is realized using first name, hypocoristic, naming of player functions (*blok* ‘block’; *nahrávač* ‘setter-M’; *nahrávačka* ‘setter-F’; *prihrávajúci smečiar* ‘receiving spiker’; *smeč* ‘spiker’; *stredák* ‘middle player’; *univerzál*, *účko* ‘universal player’), periphrasis, personal pronouns of second and third person and other pronouns (*ty* ‘you-SG’, *ona* ‘she’; *dakto iný* ‘somebody else’; *každý*<sup>15</sup> ‘everybody’; *niekto* ‘somebody’). Very rare is reference by connection of first name + last name or by just last name.

Group reference is realized by naming the player function or organization form (*dvojica* ‘two’; *prípravka* ‘preparatory group’; *skupina* ‘group’, *táto partia* ‘this bunch’), periphrasis (*biele tričky* ‘white shirts’), personal and other pronouns, and numerals.

Team reference is expressed mostly through the personal pronoun 1PL *my* ‘we’ (*my sme hrali prvého mája?* ‘did we play on 1<sup>st</sup> May?’; *my prídeme tam pred deviatou* ‘we will come there before nine’). The personal pronoun 2PL *vy* ‘you-PL’) is used only in communication speech acts with negative assessment and as a contrast to the *oni* (‘they’) strategy.

- (3) \*COA: **Chlapci** ale ste doma a ja  
 boy-NOM-PL but be-2PL-PRS-IND home and I  
 sa cítim jak vo Vranove<sup>16</sup>.  
 feel-1SG-PRS-IND as in Vranov  
 ‘Boys but you are at home and I feel like being in Vranov.’
- \*COA: **Oni** sa povzbudzujú a vy  
 They themselves encourage-3PL-PRS-IND and you-PL  
 ste ticho.  
 be-2PL-PRS-IND silent  
 ‘They encourage themselves and you are silent.’
- \*COA: **Vy** nerobíte nič na tom  
 you do-2PL-NEG-PRS-IND nothing on this  
 ihrisku aby som bol spokojný.  
 Court in order be-1SG-COND satisfied  
 ‘You don’t do anything on this court to make me happy.’

The team is also referred to using general nouns denoting the team itself: *tím* (*tím ťa potrebuje* ‘the team needs you’), *družstvo* ‘team’ (*ale keby niekto videl zápas pred týždňa tak povie že to*

<sup>15</sup> If referring to girls by the pronoun *každý* ‘everybody’, the CG uses only its masculine forms:

- (ii) Ja pôjdem ku každému pozrieť sa na to.  
 I go-1SG-FUT to everybody-DAT-M look-INF at it  
 ‘I will go to everybody to look at it.’

Similarly, the masculine forms are used with 3PL personal (*oni* ‘they’) and demonstrative pronoun (*tí* ‘these’). While using pronoun *všetci* ‘all-M’; *všetky* ‘all-F’, he alters feminine and masculine forms, though the masculine form is used more often:

- (iii) Všetci vieme čo robíme?  
 all-NOM-M know-1PL-PRS-IND what do-1PL-PRS-IND  
 ‘Do all of us know what are we doing?’
- (iv) Sme všetky?  
 be-1PL-PRS-IND all-NOM-F?  
 ‘Are we all?’

<sup>16</sup> Vranov is the name of the city of the rival team.

*je iné družstvo* ‘but if somebody saw the match a week ago he would say it is another team’) or by register-specific nouns *áčko* ‘a-team’; *béčko* ‘b-team’; *mladší žiaci* ‘younger pupils’, *deväťdesiatpäťky* ‘ninety-fives’<sup>17</sup>.

Special reference is realised in relation to the team in the CB speech. He denotes the players as *chlapci* ‘boys’, the reference *moji chlapci* ‘my boys’ has a very strong positive social meaning. The same concerns the use of the verb *mať* ‘to have’: *mám dvoch chlapcov zranených* ‘I have two injured boys’<sup>18</sup>.

In reference to actual or potential rivals, the antagonistic character of ball games is manifested. It is symbolized by the noun *súper* ‘rival’ (*proti takému súperovi musíme hrať na stodesať percent hej?* ‘against such a rival we have to play to a hundred percent’; *my nemôžeme hrať doma so súperom takí ustráchaní* ‘we cannot play so scared at home to a rival’<sup>19</sup>) and the 3PL personal pronoun *oni* ‘they’ (*oni majú servis* ‘they serve’; *oni sa povzbudzujú* ‘they encourage themselves’). The distance between we – they is emphasised in CB utterances with graduating contrast between the activities of the “our” team and “their” team: *my sme doma a oni vyhrali* ‘we are at home and they won’; *oni prihrávajú vy neprihráte* ‘they receive you do not receive’. Comparing the previous examples, the social distance between CB and players is more evident in the second one. The communication strategy WE – THEY in the first example is expressed through 1PL *my* ‘we’, where the coach formally identifies himself with the boys; in the second example it is expressed using 2PL *vy* ‘you’, where the coach excludes himself from the team.

### 5.2.2 Personal reference expressed by verbal means

Verbal personal deixis means indicating persons by means of the category of verbal person. A speaker is expressed using 1SG (schematically I); speaker + individual or group/team communication situation participant through 1PL (WE); individual addressee by the use of 2SG (YOU-SG); group/team addressee through 2PL (YOU-PL); individual non-participant in a given communication situation, or communication participant in referential communication speech acts by the use of 3SG (HE/SHE); collective non-participant in a communication situation or collective communication participant in referential communication speech acts by the use of 3PL (THEY). In personal reference, 3SG-PL is less frequent than 1SG-PL or 2SG-PL. Verbal reference is expressed without explicit subject, or with it, either in indicative, or imperative:

1SG (I): *som povedal že máš smečovať* ‘I said you have to spike’; *nepočujem nikoho* ‘I do not hear anybody’; *nevidel som* ‘I did not see’;

1PL (WE): *sme prvého išli?* ‘did we go first?’; *kedy hráme?* ‘when do we play?’;

2SG (YOU-SG): *včera si pekne smečoval* ‘yesterday you spiked nice’; *áno si účko budeš prihrávať* ‘yes you are universal, you will pass’; *dotkni sa čiar a ideš rovno* ‘touch the line and you go straight’;

2PL (YOU-PL): *ale môžete prísť aj skorej aby ste sa rozcvičili* ‘but you can come even earlier to warm up’; *počkajte na druhej strane* ‘wait on the other side’; *tak sa vymeňte* ‘so change yourselves’; *jak ste sa pripravili na zápas keď nemáte vodu?* ‘how could you prepare for the match when you do not have water?’

<sup>17</sup> The nomination is derived from the birth year of the players.

<sup>18</sup> The references mentioned were recorded during a conversation between the coach and the person providing the recording.

<sup>19</sup> In this example, the antagonism we – they is multiplied: *my* ‘we’ + *doma* ‘at home’ on one hand, and *súper* ‘rival’ on the other.

3SG (HE/SHE): *Džony útočí tam má blok* ‘Džony attacks he has block there’, *on vidí že prejde cez bloky* ‘he sees he can go through blocks’;

### 5.2.3 Shifts, changes, combinations and strategies in nominal and verbal personal reference

- (4) \*COA:           Ked' je                         náprah                         vtedy **musím**  
when be-3SG-PRS-IND stretch                         then must-1SG-PRS-IND  
íst'                         dole už                         hej?  
GO-INF down already ok  
'When the stretch is then I must go down already ok?'
- \*COA:           Na špičky                         a dole.  
on tiptoes and down  
'On the tiptoes and down.'
- %gpx:           the coach displays the movement.

- (5) \*COA: Rišo **ne**bavím sa a rozcvičujem sa.  
 Rišo chat-1SG-PRS-IND-NEG and warm up-1SG-PRS-IND  
 ‘Rišo do not chat and warm up.’

<sup>20</sup> Brice Heath and Langman (1994: 99) emphasise: “Even when the talk focuses on the specific action of a particular player, the use of the first person plural clearly places the talk within the frame of the group and implies that all members can benefit from the comment and should pay attention to everything that is said during practice.”

combination, a signal of the speaker's sharing the demanded activity with the players, although he is not a direct provider of it. Mainly in instructions, this kind of communication perspective is also a means of experience transfer. Personal shifts, here, are markers of social coherence and solidarity.

First person plural has specific pragmatic functions. It is realized either in indicative or imperative moods. Besides inclusive plural (WE = I + YOU-PL) which has no distinct social meaning, 1PL indicates:

(a) speaker + addressee's participation in the activity WE→I(YOU-SG/YOU-PL):

- (6)    V            trojke                            **urobíme**                            zmenu.  
          in          three                            make-1PL-FUT                            change  
          'In the three-zone we will make the change.'

The coach is the person who makes the change, the result of the change concerns the players;

(b) speaker + addressee's exclusion from the activity, although the content of the utterance concerns the addressee WE→I:

- (7)    **Vymyslíme**                            nejakú                            alternatívu.  
          think over-1PL-FUT                            some                            alternative  
          'We will think over some alternative.'

(c) collective addressee + speaker's mental participation on the activity WE→YOU-PL (+I):

- (8)    Najprv                            **musíme**                            postúpiť.  
          first                            must-1PL-PRS-IND                            proceed-INF  
          'We have to proceed first.'
- (9)    Už                            **ideme**                            už                            konečne                            **hráme**  
          already                            go-1PL-PRS-IND                            already                            finally                            play-1PL  
          volejbal                            **náš**.<sup>21</sup>  
          volleyball                            our  
          'We already go we finally play our volleyball.'

This perspective indicates the whole team; it underlines the collective feeling between the team and the coach as one unit inside of the team and also outside of it.

(d) collective addressee + speaker's real participation in the activity WE→YOU-PL (I):

- (10)    **Urobíme**                            si                            ešte    ďalšie                            cvičenie.  
          make-1PL-FUT                            ourselves                            more    another                            exercise  
          'We will do one more exercise ourselves.'

Here, it is the referential communication speech act with indirect regulative function, where the demanded activity is implied in the reference. It indicates the players who will be doing the exercise, and the coach participates in it, as it is he who determines it. The solidarity is

<sup>21</sup> Here, the solidarity is emphasised by the personal possessive pronoun *náš* 'our'.

emphasised by the reflexive pronoun *si* ‘ourselves’. This strategy is also used in instruction communication speech acts (similarly to 1SG):

- (11) Ešte **pôjdeme** výskoky hej?  
 next go-1PL-FUT jumps ok  
 ‘We will go and do some more jumps ok?’

Here, the solidarity is emphasised by the tag question.

(e) collective addressee WE→YOUPL. It is so called exclusive plural, “exclusive we” (according to Hirschová 2006: 62), which denotes various degrees of a speaker’s non-participation in the activity. In the next examples, the demanded activity concerns only the players:

- (12) **Prihráme** to a **zložíme**.  
 pass-1PL-FUT it and score-1PL-FUT  
 ‘We’ll pass it and score.’

- (13) No tak prečo to **nerobíme** keď to **vieme**?  
 Well why it do-1PL-PRS-IND-NEG if it know-1PL-PRS-IND  
 ‘Well why don’t we do it when we know it.’

(f) individual addressee WE→YOU-SG

- (14) **Pod’me** **pod’me** **Zoja** teraz príjem.  
 go-1PL-IMP go-1PL-IMP Zoja-NOM-SG now reception  
 ‘Let’s go let’s go Zoja (do) the reception.’

Asymmetry of intention and form of 1PL expressed nominally and verbally is one of the most marked signs of coach communication register. It is a kind of symbiotic plural known also from other registers of disproportional relationship between communicants (Wodak & Schulz 1986; Slančová 1999; Zajacová 2009). The concept WE prevails over the concept YOUPL; 1PL is the index of sport social cohesion.<sup>22</sup>

There were also other asymmetries observed in our sample:  
 YOU<sub>SG</sub>→YOU<sub>PL</sub>:

- (15) Pod’ pod’ nohami nechod’ až  
 go-2SG-IMP go-2SG-IMP legs-INS-PL go-2SG-NEG-IMP as much  
 tak nízko nechod’te až tak nízko hej?  
 so low go-2PL-IMP-NEG as much low ok  
 ‘Go go do not go so much low with your legs do not go so much low ok?’

The verbs *pod’* ‘go’; *nechod’* ‘do not go’ are in 2SG-IMP, followed immediately by the same verb in 2PL-IMP *nechod’te* ‘do not go’. The whole utterance is directed towards the playing team; HE/SHE→YOU<sub>SG</sub>:

<sup>22</sup> Zajacová (2014) shows that “the coach’s belonging to the social group of players or the tendency to identify with his communication partner is also evident when the coach is critical of the performance of the players”.



- (16) Nikol ostane v päťke zóne.  
 Nikol stay-3SG-FUT in five-LOC zone-LOC  
 ‘Nikol will stay in the zone five.’

HE→I:

- (17) Ked’ tréner povie že ideme  
 when coach-NOM SAY-3SG-FUT THAT GO-1PL-PRS-IND  
 na bazén tak prídu všetci.  
 to swimming-pool then come-3PL-FUT all-NOM  
 ‘When the coach says that we go to the swimming pool then all will come.’

This strategy means the emphasising of the coach social role and extends the social distance between the coach and the players.

A special kind of denoting the coach as a speaker is by pragmatically motivated free attitudinal dative case of involving (cf. Dvořák 2017) expressed by the personal pronoun of the 1SG:

- (18) Nepozerať mi hore!  
 look-2SG-IMP- NEG I-DAT up  
 ‘Don’t look up here!’

In coach communication register various double or triple combinations of expressing personal deixis can be observed. In deixes realised by verbal means, there are also combinations of indicative and imperative forms. Those combinations are within one utterance, in two utterances or in connections of quickly pronounced three or more utterances.

a) I + WE [personal pronoun + 1SG-IND + 1PL-IND]:

- (19) Ale ja som povedal že netrénujeme teraz  
 but I say-1SG-PST-IND that train-1PL-PRS-IND-NEG now  
 servis.  
 serve  
 ‘But I said we don’t train the serve now.’

b) I + YOU-PL [1SG-IND + 2PL-IND ]

- (20) Potom sa postavím a urobíte imitáciu  
 then stand up-1SG-FUT and do-2PL-FUT-IND imitation  
 odbitia.  
 hit  
 ‘Then I will stand up and you will make the imitation of the hit.’

c) (I→YOU-PL) + (YOU-SG→YOUPL) [1SG-IND + 2SG-IND ]:

- (21) Teraz som hore a vtedy stíhaš všetko.  
 now be-1SG-PRS-IND up and then manage-2SG-PRS-IND everything  
 ‘Now I am up and then you manage everything.’

- d) YOU-SG + I [individual address + 2SG-IND + 2SG-IMP + personal pronoun]
- (22) **Tomáš** na čo **si čaka** teraz **povedz** **mi**.  
 Tomáš for what wait-2SG-PST-IND now tell-2SG-IMP I-DAT  
 ‘Tomáš what did you wait for now tell me.’
- e) YOU-SG + YOU-SG [2SG-IND + 2SG-IMP]:
- (23) **Dávaš?** Do dvojky to **daj**.  
 give-2SG-PRS-IND to two it give-2SG-IMP  
 ‘Are you giving? Give it to the two-zone.’
- f) YOU-SG + YOU-PL [2SG-IMP + 2SG-IND + 2PL-IND]:
- (24) \*COA: A teraz to **vytiahni**.  
 and now it show off-2SG-IMP  
 ‘And now show it off.’
- \*COA: **Máš** troch hráčov štvrtý Samo vzadu.  
 have-2SG-IND three players forth Samo back  
 ‘You have three players the fourth Samo is in the back.’
- \*COA: **Musíte** dačo s tým stavom  
 must-2PL-IND something with this score  
 spraviť.  
 do-INF  
 ‘You must do something with this score.’
- g) YOU-SG + YOU-PL + YOU-SG [individual address + 2PL-IMP + 2SG-IMP]:
- (25) **Zoja pod’te** pod’te **hraj**.  
 Zoja go-2PL-IMP go-2PL-IMP play-2SG-IMP  
 ‘Zoja go go play’
- h) YOU-SG + (WE→YOU-PL) [2SG-IND + 1PL-IND]; [individual address + 1PL-IND]:
- (26) Ked’ to **neprihráš** **nemôžme** **my** hrať  
 if it pass-2SG-FUT- NEG can-1PL-PRS-IND-NEG we play-INF  
 nič.  
 nothing  
 ‘If you don’t pass it we cannot play anything.’
- (27) **Zoja už** **nediskutujeme**.  
 Zoja any more discuss-1PL-PRS-IND-NEG  
 ‘Zoja we do not discuss any more.’
- i) (YOU-PL→YOU-SG) + YOU-SG [2PL-IMP + 2PL-IMP + numeral]
- (28) **Chod’te** po loptu **chod’te** **jeden**  
 go-2PL-IMP for ball go-2PL-IMP one

po loptu.  
for ball  
'Go for the ball go one (of you) for the ball.'

j) WE + YOU-PL [1PL-IND + 2PL-IMP]; [1PL-IND + 2PL-IND]:

- (29) **Ideme** vyhrať **pod'te** pozdraviť.<sup>23</sup>  
go-1PL-PRS-IND win-INF come-2PL-IMP greet-INF  
'Let's go and win come to greet'

- (30) **Sme** doma v domácej telocvični kde  
be-1PL-PRS-IND home in home gym where  
**trénujete** servis **búchate** to cez  
train-2PL-PRS-IND serve smash-2PL-PRS-IND it during  
tréning.  
training  
'We are at home in home gym where you train serve smash it during the training.'

Solidarity is expressed by using the 1PL-IND and is emphasised by the adverb *doma* 'at home' and adjective *domáca* 'home'. According to Dolník (1999: 49–51), they are the words with virtual emotional meaning. We consider them to be sport communication register markers.

k) (WE→YOU-PL) + (I→YOU-PL) [1PL-IND + 1SG-IND]:

- (31) A **pokračujeme** ďalej **pokračujem** ďalej.  
and continue-1PL-PRS-IND further continue-1SG-PRS further  
'And we go on go on.'

l) (WE→YOU-PL) + (WE→YOU-PL) [1PL-IMP + 1PL-IND]:

- (32) **Pod'me** a už **ideme.**  
go-1PL-IMP and immediately go-1PL-PRS-IND  
'Let's go and immediately we go.'

m) (WE→YOU-PL) + YOU-PL [1PL-IND + 2SG-IMP]:

- (33) Potom to **rozhádzeme** a teraz **pod'.**  
later it split-1PL-FUT and now come-2SG-IMP  
'We split it later and now come.'

n) (WE→YOU-PL) + YOU-PL [1PL-IND + 2PL-IMP]:

- (34) Ale **rozprávame** **pod'te** hore.  
But talk-1PL-PRS-IND come-2PL-IMP up  
'But talk come up.'

<sup>23</sup> At the beginning of the match.

o) YOU-PL + (WE→YOU-PL) [personal pronoun + 2PL-IND + 1PL-IND]; [team address + 2PL-IMP + 1PL-IND]:

- (35) \*COA: **Vy** len **vy** môžete **vy**  
 you-PL only you-PL can-2PL-PRS-IND you-PL  
 môžete stáť na krajoch teraz len.  
 CAN-2PL-PRS-IND stand-INF on sides now only  
 ‘You only you can you can stand on the sides now only.’  
 \*COA: Po desiatich útokoch **otočíme.**  
 After ten attacks rotate-1PL-FUT  
 ‘We will rotate after ten attacks.’

- (36) \*COA: **Chlapci** **pozrite** sa na stav.  
 boy-NOM-PL look-2PL-IMP at score  
 ‘Boys look at the score.’  
 \*COA: **Sme** doma a **prehrávame.**  
 be-1PL-PRS-IND home and loose-1PL-PRS-IND  
 ‘We are at home and we are losing.’

p) YOU-PL + (YOU-SG→YOU-PL) [2PL-IND + 1-SG-IND]:

- (37) Nízky streh šak **ste** vo vysokom maximálne  
 low position so be-2PL-PRS-IND in high maximally  
 šak kedy **mám** ísť do nízkeho strehu?  
 so when have-1SG-PRS-IND go-INF to low position  
 ‘Low position you do are in the high position maximally so when shall I take the low position?’

q) YOU-PL + YOUPL [2PL-IND + 2PL-IMP]:

- (38) \*COA: **Ste** traja na prihrávke.  
 be-2PL-PRS-IND three on reception.  
 ‘You are three on the reception.’  
 \*COA: Tak to **prihrajte.**  
 so it pass-2PL-IMP  
 ‘You do pass it.’  
 \*COA: **Komunikujte** **kecajte.**  
 communicate-2PL-IMP talk-2PL-IMP  
 ‘Communicate talk.’

r) YOU-PL + (I→YOU-PL) [2PL-IMP + 1SG-IND]:

- (39) **Vymeňte** si miesta a **pokračujem.**  
 Change-2PL-IMP yourself places and go on-1SG-PRS-IND  
 ‘Change your places and go on.’

Besides first and second persons, communication participants are also denoted by the use of third person singular and plural in the situations when the coach, while practising the game combinations, differentiates between the players within the group:

- (40) **Ty** stojíš na sieti **on** to nahrá  
 you-SG stand-2SG-PRS-IND by net he it set-3SG-FUT  
 do kolíka.  
 to antenna  
 ‘You stand by the net he sets it to the antenna.’
- (41) Teraz **vy** netrénujete servis **oni** trénujú  
 now you-PL train-2PL-PRS-IND- NEG serve they train-3PL-PRS-IND  
 útok.  
 attack  
 ‘Now you do not train serve they train attack.’
- (42) Keď to **prihráš** tu ta **oni** môžu  
 when it pass-2SG-PRS-IND here so they can-3PL-PRS-IND  
 útočiť raz dva tri.  
 attack-INF one two three  
 ‘If you pass it here they can attack one two three.’

Within the training and game dialogue, if the main intention is regulative, such communication strategies are used where the demanded activity is cumulatively expressed through either verbal or pronominal persons on the broader area of coach utterances. According to the preferred verbal or pronominal person, they are:

a) communication strategy WE→YOU-SG/YOU-PL based on the 1SG:

- (43) \*COA: **Hýbeme** sa.  
 move-1PL-PRS-IND  
 ‘Let’s move.’
- \*COA: Nohami **pracujeme**.  
 legs-INS work-1PL-PRS-IND  
 ‘We work with legs.’
- \*COA: Dobre?  
 ‘Ok?’
- \*COA: Hore hlava a s úsmevom na tvári a  
 up head and with smile on face and  
**zopakujeme** výkon z druhého setu.  
 repeat-1PL-FUT performance from second set  
 ‘Head up and with smile on the face and we will repeat our  
 performance from the second set’
- \*COA: **Podme** do nich!  
 go-1PL-IMP to they-GEN  
 ‘Let’s go.’

b) communication strategy YOU-SG based on the 2SG:

- (44) \*COA: Hovoril som **ti** že nikdy **nedávaj**  
 tell-1SG-PST-IND you-DAT-SG that never give-2SG-IMP-NEG  
 ruky.  
 hands  
 ‘I told you never give the hands.’
- \*COA: Tak normálne ich **nastav** jak na  
 so normally they-ACC PUT-2SG-IMP as on  
 bloky.  
 blocks  
 ‘Put them so normally as on the blocks.’
- \*COA: **Neboj sa.**  
 be afraid-2SG-IMP- NEG  
 ‘Don’t be afraid.’
- \*COA: Ked’ **ti** ide na hlavu  
 if you-DAT go-3SG-PRS-IND on head-ACC  
**nastav** jak na bloky.  
 put-2SG-IMP as on blocks  
 ‘If it goes on your head put (them) as on the blocks.’

There are also more complex strategies, where the persons are quickly changed:

- (45) [team address + YOUpl + I]  
 \*COA: **Chlapci** ale **ste** doma a **ja** sa  
 boy-NOM-PL but be-2PL-PRS-IND home and I  
 cítim jak vo Vranove<sup>24</sup>.  
 feel-1SG-IND as in Vranov-LOC-SG  
 ‘Boys but you are at home and I feel like being in Vranov.’
- [THEY + YOUpl];  
 \*COA: **Oni** sa povzbudzujú a **vy**  
 They themselves encourage-3PL-PRS-IND and you-PL  
 ste ticho.  
 be-2PL-PRS-IND silent  
 ‘They encourage themselves and you are silent.’
- [YOUpl + I]  
 \*COA: **Vy** nerobíte nič na tom  
 you do-2PL-PRS-IND-NEG nothing on this  
 ihrisku aby **som bol** **spokojný**.  
 field in order be-1SG-PST-COND satisfied  
 ‘You don’t do anything on this court to make me happy.’
- \*COA: Ide o veľa.  
 go-3SG-PRS-IND about much  
 ‘It goes about much.’
- [3SG]  
 \*COA: Ide o to **kto** pôjde prvý

<sup>24</sup> Vranov is the name of the city of the rival team.

go-3SG-PRS-IND      about it      who      go-3SG-FUT      first  
 z      východu      na      Slovensko.  
 from East      on      Slovakia  
 'It goes about who will be going from East to Slovak championship.'

[YOUsg→YOUpl + YOUsg→YOUpl + THEY]  
 \*COA:      **Máš**      obrovskú      výhodu      potom v  
                  have-2SG-PRS-IND      big      advantage      then in  
                  rozlosování      ale      hlavne psychickú      a      morálnu  
                  draw      but      mainly psychic      and      moral  
                  že      **si**      **ich urobil**      že      **si**  
                  that      do-2SG-PST-IND      they-DAT      that      be-2SG-PRS-IND  
                  víťaz.  
                  winner  
                  'You have big advantage then in draw but mainly psychic and moral  
                  that you are winner that you did them.'

[YOUpl + WE→YOUpl]  
 \*COA:      Tak      **pod'te**      **pod'te**      **makáme**.  
                  so      come-2PL-IMP      come-2PL-IMP      do-1PL-PRS-IND  
                  'So come come let's do it.'

Dynamic change of means and referents of personal deixis is one of the coach communication register markers. One of the reasons can be seen in the dynamic changing of activities and persons doing them, which is specific for sport teams and ball games.

The complex strategy of personal deixis can be seen in the following coach speech realised during practising of game activities:

- (46) \*COA:      **Robo!**
- \*COA:      Tu      **máš**      **hráča**      **ktorý ti**  
                  here      have-2SG-PRS-IND      player      who      you-DAT  
                  to      robí.  
                  it      make-3SG-PRS-IND  
                  'You have a player here who makes it for you.'
- \*COA:      V jednoduchosti je krása.  
                  'Beauty is simplicity.'
- \*COA:      Ta      keď      **mi**      **ten**      **bude skladat'**      ta  
                  well      if      I-DAT      this-NOM      score-3SG-FUT      so  
                  **mu**      **dám**      dvadsať      lôpt      za sebou.  
                  he-DAT      give-1SG-FUT      twenty      balls      in a row  
                  'Well if this one scores me so I will give him twenty balls in a row.'
- \*COA:      keď      **mi**      **ukáže**      že      už  
                  if      I-DAT      show-3SG-FUT      that      any more  
                  **nevládze**      **tréner** už  
                  can-3SG-PRS-IND- NEG      coach      any more  
                  **nebirujem**      **povie**      **hod'**  
                  can-1SG-PRS-IND-NEG      say-3SG-PRS-IND      give-2SG-IMP  
                  to      dozadu      na      áčko.  
                  it      back      on      a.

‘When he shows me he cannot do it anymore coach I cannot do it anymore he says give it to the back on A.’

The leading communication strategy is based on the relationship YOU-SG + HE (*Robo! / tu máš hráča ktorý ti to urobí*) and (I→YOU-SG) + HE (*ta keď mi ten bude skladať ta mu dám dvadsať lôpt za sebou*). There is also fictional reproduced speech (cf. Hoffmannová et al. 1999: 121)<sup>25</sup> with postponed introduction sentence in the strategy (I→HE) (*tréner už nebirujem povie*). It means the coach imitates the would-be speech of a player in a fictional anticipated situation, and he denotes himself as *tréner* ‘coach’. The coach projects himself in the player’s position, speaking instead of him in fictional, but predictable situations, based on the coach’s own experience. This strategy is also socially sensitive, based on the combination of coach authority and solidarity with players.

Fictional *speech for someone else* is also used in positively assessing communication speech acts, where the strategy HE/THEY→YOU-PL is used:

- (47) \*COA: Ale ak **niekto** **by videl** zápas **spred**  
but if somebody see-3SG-PRS-COND match before  
týždňa tak povie že to je  
week then say-3SG-FUT that this be-3SG-PRS-IND  
**iné družstvo.**  
another team  
‘But if somebody sees the last week match he says that it is another team.’
- \*COA: **Povie** že to nie je normálne.  
say-3SG-FUT that this be-3SG-PRS-IND- NEG normal  
‘He says it is not normal.’
- \*COA: Že to je niečo akože pokropené  
that this be-3SG-PRS-IND something as splash-PTCP  
živou vodou.  
living-INS water-INS
- \*PLA: **Kto?**  
‘Who?’
- \*COA: No **vy.**  
well you-PL  
‘You indeed.’
- \*COA: Proti **Prešovu** **ste hrali** jak  
against Prešov play-2PL-PST-IND as  
nejakí ustráchaní.  
somebody-3PL scared  
‘You played as little bit scared against Prešov<sup>26</sup>.’

<sup>25</sup> On *speaking for someone else* cf. Hoffmannová et al., 1999: 127. The authors, having examined the sources and their own research, indicate that in classic *speaking for someone else* a speaker says something which according to one’s view he/she could or should said himself/herself, but he/she did not. He who *speaks for someone else* identifies himself with the “else”, he takes over his task or perspective in the moment, he takes his position. *Speaking for else* is always a kind of confirmation of the relationship between the two persons, who are bound by it. It displays their closeness, loyalty, mutual dependence.

<sup>26</sup> Prešov = the name of the city.



\*COA:        teraz    **hráte**                                v pohode.  
                  now     play-2PL-PRS-IND        ok  
                  ‘Now you play ok.’

It indicates a fictional viewer who evaluates the team's previous performance, which is implicitly and explicitly assessed critically by the coach (*proti Prešovu ste hrali jak nejakí ustráchaní*), contrary to the actual team performance, which is explicitly assessed in a positive way (*teraz hráte v pohode*). It is not a very common way of reference, which is evidenced by the player's reaction, who is not sure who the coach is talking about.

The so far described communication strategies are identical both in training and game dialogue. However, contrary to training dialogue, in game dialogue, mainly in communication situations during the break between sets or during the time-outs, the opposition between WE, or YOU-PL/YOU-SG and THEY is emphasised, where THEY represents the rival and is expressed either by using the third person personal pronoun, or by direct nomination:

- (48) Trošku to **spresni** tú nahrávku a  
 a little bit it improve-2SG-IMP this set and  
**pozri** sa **oni** keď **budú** **rozhádzaní** vtedy  
 look-2SG-IMP they if be-3PL-FUT disorganize-PTCP then  
**môžeš** stred'aka **oni** stale na  
 can-2SG-PRS-IND middle player-ACC they always on  
 stred'aka **čakajú**.  
 middle player wait-3PL-PRS-IND  
 'Improve the set a little bit and look if they are disorganized then you can go through  
 the middle player they always wait for the middle player.'

(49) \*COA: **My** **nemáme** útočný servis.  
 we have-1PL-PRS-IND-NEG offensive serve  
 'We do not have offensive serve.'

\*COA: To sú lopty odovzdané **súperovi**.  
 it be-3PL-PRS-IND balls give-PRTC rival  
 'These are the balls given to the rival.'

The rival team as a whole is also expressed through its members; the understanding of the rival team as THEY is expressed by HE/SHE (*jedenástka* ‘eleven’; *libero* ‘libero’; *hráč* ‘player-M’, *hráčka* ‘player-F’).

## 6. Conclusion

The main aim of the study was to analyse the means of personal and social deixis specific for the coach communication register and interpret them as an expression of social relations between coach and players and representation of the coach social role. The study showed that the realization of personal deixis in the speech of both coaches and in both training and game dialogue are basically analogous. Naturally, there are some specific features, based mainly on the individual personal style of both observed coaches and on the gender differences of the players; however, they operate on the same pragmatic basis.

The forms of addressing and personal reference were analysed. The way of addressing and personal reference in coaches' speech is a vehicle of ambivalent social meaning: on the one hand it is a reflex of the coach's dominant status, on the other hand it reflects the social relation of team solidarity between the coach and the players, both of whom in the frame of sport institutional communication are considered as one social group. Team solidarity is oriented inside the team and at the same time outside of it. Social solidarity is reinforced by the coach's emotional participation in the training and game activities of the players, even if the coach uses means of negative assessment or negative emotionality. Personal deixis shows how the coach emphasises or releases group (team) social solidarity, whereby the tendency towards solidarity emphasis (WE strategy) is stronger than the tendency for its release (YOU-PL strategy). The first person deixis can also be interpreted as a mean of solidarity: reality formally expressed by using the first person singular or plural indicates not only the coach as a speaker, but is directed to an individual player, group of players or to the whole team of players. It is also the signal to the fact that the coach belongs to the team as a social group.

Personal and social deixis at the same time reflects the formal structure of the sports team, e.g. by addressing the players by name of their player function and by the way the coach addresses the players (by a whole variety of addressing forms and using verbal and pronominal persons in second person singular) and the players address the coach (only as *pán tréner* 'Mister coach' or *tréner* 'coach') and address him only by using verbal and pronominal second person plural as a mean of respect.

The study showed the large variety of diversified communication strategies used in training and game dialogue, which are based on the dynamic alteration of personal deixis means and referents, iconising dynamic alterations of the activities and their agents in time and space, which is typical for team sports.

## Abbreviations

CB – boys' team coach  
 CG – girls' team coach  
 CHAT – Codes for the Human Analysis of Transcript  
 CHILDES – Child Language Data Exchange System  
 \*COA – coach (CHAT)  
 \*PLA – players (CHAT)  
 %gpx – gestures (CHAT)

## References

- Andersen, Elaine. 1992. *Speaking with style: the sociolinguistic skills of children*. London: Routledge.
- Balegová, Oľga. 2005. Kultúra a spoločnosť v systémovom a komunikačnom prostredí. [Culture and society in systematic and communication milieu.] In Bolfiková, Eva (ed.), *Medzi občanom a štátom: kontexty slobody, demokracie a spravodlivosti*, 15–39. Košice: Univerzita P. J. Šafárika.

- Biber, Douglas. 1995. *Dimensions of register variation: a cross-linguistic comparison*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Biber, Douglas & Conrad, Susan. 2009. *Register, genre, and style*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Biber, Douglas & Finegan, Edward (eds.). 1994. *Sociolinguistic perspectives on register*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Brice Heath, Shirley & Langman, Juliet. 1994. Shared thinking and the register of coaching. In Biber, Douglas & Finegan, Edward (eds.), *Sociolinguistic perspectives on register*, 82–105. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Caldwell, David & Walsh, John & Vine, Elaine V. & Jureidini, John (eds.). 2018. *The discourse of sport: analyses from social linguistics*. New York: Routledge.
- Communication in sport and about sport. 2018. *Jazyk a kultúra* 35. *Special issue*. ([http://www.ff.unipo.sk/jak/eng/cislo35\\_e.html](http://www.ff.unipo.sk/jak/eng/cislo35_e.html)) (Accessed 2019-03-22).
- Coupland, Nikolas. 2007. *Style: language variation and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- CHILDES. *Child Language Language Data Exchange System*. (<https://childes.talkbank.org/>). (Accessed 2019-03-22).
- Čulenová, Eva. 2004. Komunikačné špecifiká prostredia športového karate. [Communication specifics of karate.] In Patráš, Vladimír (ed.), *Súčasná jazyková komunikácia v interdisciplinárnych súvislostiach*, 187–198. Banská Bystrica: Univerzita Mateja Bela.
- Dittmar, Norbert. 1995. Register. In Östman, Jan-Ola & Verschueren, Jef (eds.), *Handbook of pragmatics Online*. International Pragmatics Association Research Center. (<https://benjamins.com/online/hop/>) (Accessed 2019-03-22).
- Dolník, Juraj & Bajžíková, Eugénia. 1998. *Textová lingvistika*. [Text linguistics.] Bratislava: Stimul.
- Dolník, Juraj. 1999. *Jazyk a hodnotenie*. [Language and assessment.] Banská Bystrica: Univerzita Mateja Bela, Filologická fakulta.
- Dvořák, Věra. 2017. Dativ. In Karlík, Petr & Nekula, Marek & Pleskalová, Jana (eds.): *CzechEncy – Nový encyklopedický slovník češtiny*. (<https://www.czechency.org/slovník/DATIV>) (Accessed 2019-03-22).
- Felix, Karol. 1992. Princípy komunikácie v športe [Principles of communication in sport]. *Telesná výchova a šport* 3. 4–7.
- Felix, Karol. 1993. Princípy metakomunikácie v športe [Principles of meta-communication in sport]. *Telesná výchova a šport* 2. 10 – 13.
- Ferguson, Charles. 1974. Baby talk as simplified register. In Snow, Catherine & Ferguson, Charles (eds.), *Talking to children: language input and acquisition 1*, 237–253. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Giddens, Anthony. 1999. *Sociologie*. [Sociology.] Praha: Argo.
- Halliday, Michael A. 1978. *Language as social semiotic*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Hirschová, Milada. 2006. *Pragmatika češtiny*. [Pragmatics in Czech.] Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého.
- Hoffmannová, Jana. 1997: *Stylistika a... současná situace stylistiky*. [Stylistics and... contemporary situation in stylistics.] Praha: Trizonia.
- Hoffmannová, Jana & Müllerová, Olga & Zeman, Jiří. 1999. *Konverzace v češtině při rodinných a přátelských návštěvách*. [Conversation in Czech: visits with family and friends.] Praha: Trizonia.
- Hymes, Dell. 1974. *Foundation in sociolinguistics: an ethnographic approach*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Keller, Jan & Vlácil, Jan. 1996. Instituce. In Maříková, Hana & Petrusek, Miloslav & Vodáková, Alena (eds.), *Velký sociologický slovník*. [Large sociology dictionary.], 435–436. Praha: Karolinum.
- Keller, Jan. 1992. *Úvod do sociologie*. [Introduction to sociology]. Praha: Sociologické nakladatelství.
- Kesselová, Jana. 2005. Komunikačno-pragmatický štatút osobných zámen v súčasnej hovorenej komunikácii. [Communication-pragmatic status of personal pronouns in contemporary spoken communication.] *Slovenská reč* 3. 129–141.
- Kráľová, Ľuba. 2007. *Sociálne inštitúcie. Politika, Náboženstvo, Rodina*. [Social institutions: politics, religion, family.] Prešov: KM – Systém, s. r. o.
- Kraviarová, Marianna. 2016. Akustické vlastnosti oslovenia ako sprievodnej komunikačnej funkcie v trénerskom komunikačnom registri. [Acoustic characteristics of addressing as accompanying communication function in coach communication register.] *Jazyk a kultúra* 27-28. 44–52. (<http://www.ff.unipo.sk/jak/cislo27-28.html>) (Accessed 2019-03-22).
- Kraviarová, Marianna. 2018. Akustické vlastnosti oslovenia v trénerskom komunikačnom registri [Acoustic characteristics of addressing in coach communication register]. *Jazyk a kultúra* 35. 124–136. ([http://www.ff.unipo.sk/jak/eng/cislo35\\_e.html](http://www.ff.unipo.sk/jak/eng/cislo35_e.html)) (Accessed 2019-03-22).
- Kraviarová, Marianna. 2017. Oslovovacie komunikačné akty a ich zvuková charakteristika v trénerskom komunikačnom registri. [Addressing communication acts and their sound characteristics in the coach communication register.] In Orgoňová, Oľga & Bohunická, Alena & Múcsková, Gabriela & Muziková, Katarína & Popovičová Sedláčková, Zuzana (eds.), *Jazyk a jazykoveda v súvislostiach = Language and linguistics in connexions: zborník príspevkov z medzinárodnej vedeckej konferencie = conference proceedings from international scientific conference*, 187–200. Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského v Bratislave. (<http://stella.uniba.sk/texty/JaJvS.pdf>) (Accessed 2019-03-22).
- Lausic, Domagoj & Tennebaum, Gershon & Eccles, David & Jeong, Allan & Johnson, Tristan. 2009. Intrateam communication and performance in doubles tennis. *Research quarterly for exercise and sport* 2. 281–290.

- Lavric, Eva & Pisek, Gerhard & Skinner, Andrew & Stadler, Wolfgang (eds.). 2008. *The linguistics of football*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.
- Leška, Dušan. 2005. *Sociológia športu*. [Sociology of sport.] Bratislava: ICM Agency.
- Lewandowski, Marcin. 2008. The language of soccer – a sociolect or a register? In Nowak, Piotr & Nowakowski, Paweł (eds.), *Język, Komunikacja, Informacja* 3, 21–32. Poznań: Sorus.
- Lewandowski, Marcin: 2013. *The language of football: an English-Polish contrastive study*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM.
- Levinson, Stephen C. 1983. *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Macák, Ivan. 1998. Športová humanistika. In Oborný, Josef (ed.), *Športová humanistika '98*. [Sports humanistics '98.], 6–16. Bratislava: Fakulta telesnej výchovy a športu Univerzity Komenského.
- Martens, Rainer. 2006. *Úspěšný tréner* [Successful coaching]. Praha: Grada.
- Masár, Ivan. 1981. Niektoré črty jazyka a štýlu športovej publicistiky. [Some characteristics of language and style in sports journalism.] *Kultúra slova* 3. 69–79.
- Masár, Ivan. 1982. Termín a jeho neterminologické náprotivky v športovej publicistike. [Terminology and its non-terminological counterparts in sports journalism.] *Kultúra slova* 8. 268–271.
- Mergeš, Jozef. 2016. *Textové stereotypy komentátorského prejavu v priamych televíznych prenosoch z futbalu*. [Text stereotypes of commentator's speech in live television broadcasts of football.] Prešov: Filozofická fakulta Prešovskej univerzity v Prešove.
- Mlacek, Jozef. 1981. Z terminologických a štylistických otázok športových textov. [From terminological and stylistical questions of sports texts.] *Kultúra slova* 10. 333–334.
- Mislovičová, Sibyla. 1993. Osobitosti jazyka športových redaktorov. [Specific features of the language of sports journalists.] In Nábělková, Mira & Odaloš, Pavol (eds.), *Varia* 2, 96–103. Bratislava, Banská Bystrica: Slovenská jazykovedná spoločnosť pri SAV, Pedagogická fakulta Univerzity Mateja Bela.
- Mislovičová, Sibyla. 1994. Špecifiká športových komentárov v televízii. [Specific features of television sports commentaries.] In Nábělková, Mira & Odaloš, Pavol (eds.) *Varia* 3, 89–95. Bratislava, Banská Bystrica: Slovenská jazykovedná spoločnosť pri SAV, Pedagogická fakulta Univerzity Mateja Bela.
- Odaloš, Pavol. 1993. Sociolingvistický pohľad na spätosť sociálnej roly a komunikačného zapojenia v rámci basketbalového zápasu. [Sociolinguistic view on the relation between social role and communication in basketball game.] In Nábělková, Mira & Odaloš, Pavol (eds.), *Varia* 2, 90–96. Bratislava, Banská Bystrica: Slovenská jazykovedná spoločnosť pri SAV, Pedagogická fakulta Univerzity Mateja Bela.
- Odaloš, Pavol. 1997. *Sociolekty v basketbalovom a penitenciárnom prostredí*. [Sociolects in basketball and penitentiary settings.] Banská Bystrica: Pedagogická fakulta.

- Schilling, Marcel. 2001. *Reden und Spielen. Die Kommunikation zwischen Trainern und Spielern im gehobenen Amateurfußball*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.
- Sekot, Aleš. 2008. *Sociologické problémy sportu*. [Sociological problems of sport.] Praha: Grada.
- Slančová, Daniela. 1996. *Praktická štylistika: štylistická príručka*. [Practical stylistics: a stylistics manual.] Prešov: Slovacontact.
- Slančová, Daniela. 1999a. Potrebuje reflexia súčasnej jazykovej situácie pojem register? [Does the reflexion of contemporary linguistic situation need the concept of register?] In Odaloš, Pavol (ed.), *Retrospektívne a perspektívne pohľady na jazykovú komunikáciu. vol. I*, 93–100. Banská Bystrica: Pedagogická fakulta a Fakulta humanitných vied Univerzity Mateja Bela.
- Slančová, Daniela. 1999b. *Reč autority a lásky: reč učiteľky materskej školy orientovaná na dieťa – opis registra*. [The speech of authority and love: the nursery school/kindergarten teacher's child directed speech – a register description.] Prešov: Filozofická fakulta Prešovskej univerzity.
- Slančová, Daniela & Kraviarová, Marianna. 2017. Zvuková charakteristika oslovenia v trénerskom komunikačnom registri. [Sound characteristics of addressing in coach communication register.] In Chocholová, Bronislava & Molnár Satinská, Lucia & Múcsková, Gabriela (eds.), *Jazyk a jazykoveda v pohybe. II*, 224–237. Bratislava: VEDA, vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied.
- Slančová, Daniela & Kovalik Slančová, Terézia. 2018. Športová lingvistika – vymedzenie interdisciplinárneho výskumu. [Sports linguistics – an outline of interdisciplinary research.] *Slavica Slovaca* 3–4. 109–116.
- Slančová, Daniela & Slančová, Terézia. 2012. Komunikačný register ako alternatíva funkčného štýlu (na pozadí komunikácie v športe). [Communication register as an alternative of functional style (on the background of sports communication).] *Styl* 11. 177–187.
- Slančová, Daniela & Slančová, Terézia. 2014. *Reč pohybu, autority a súdržnosti: pragmatická analýza trénerského komunikačného registra v komunikácii s hráčmi kolektívnych loptových hier staršieho školského veku*. [The speech of movement, authority and solidarity: pragmatic analysis of coach communication register in communication with players of senior school age practicing team ball games.] Prešov: Prešovská univerzita v Prešove, Fakulta športu.
- Slančová, Daniela & Slančová, Terézia. 2015. Sociálna inštitúcia – komunikačný register – šport [Social institution – communication register – sport]. In Šimková, Mária (ed.), *Človek a jeho jazyk. 3. Inšpirácie profesora Horeckého*, 254–263. Bratislava: VEDA, vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied.
- Slančová, Daniela & Sokolová, Miloslava. 1998. Prostriedky s vokatívnym exponentom v slovenčine [Vocative exponents means in Slovak]. *Slovenská reč* 4. 210–220.
- Slančová, Daniela & Zajacová, Stanislava. 2007. Komunikačný register ako prostriedok verbálnej socializácie dieťaťa. [Communication register as a means of child's verbal socialization.] In Orgoňová, Oľga (ed.), *Jazyk a komunikácia v súvislostiach II*, 153–163. Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského.

- Taborek, Janusz. 2012. The language of sport: some remarks on the language of football. In Lankiewicz, Hadrian & Wąsiliewicz-Firlej, Emilia (eds.), *Informed teaching – premises of modern foreign language pedagogy*, 237–253. Piła: Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Zawodowa im. Stanisława Staszica w Piłę.
- Tworek, Artur. 2000. Język sportu – próba definicji (analiza języka polskiego i niemieckiego). [Language of sport – an attempt of definition (anylysis of Polish and German).] In Szpila, Grzegorz (ed.), *Język trzeciego tysiąclecia: zbiór referatów z konferencji, Kraków, 2–4 marca 2000*. Kraków: Krakowskie Towarzystwo Popularyzowania Wiedzy o Komunikacji Językowej “Tertium”.
- Wodak, Ruth & Schulz, Muriel. 1986. *The language of love and guilt: mother – daughter relationships from a cross-cultural perspective*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Zapletalová, Ludmila & Přidal, Vladimír & Tokár, Ján. 2001. *Volejbal. Učebné texty pre školenie trénerov I. stupňa*. [Volleyball: textbook for the first-level coaches.] Bratislava: Slovenská federácia volejbalu.
- Zajacová, Stanislava. 2009. Symbiotický plurál a posuny v slovesnej a zámennej osobe ako prejav asymetrie medzi komunikačnými partnermi. [Symbiotic plural and verbal and pronominal personal shifts as a form of asymmetry between communicants.] *Bohemica Olomucensia* 2. 90–96.
- Zajacová, Stanislava. 2014. K niektorým znakom disproporčnej komunikácie v trénerskom komunikačnom registri. [On some features of disproportional communication in coach communication register.] In Kesselová, Jana & Imrichová, Mária & Ološtiak, Martin (eds.): *Registre jazyka a jazykovedy I*, 146–151. Prešov: Filozofická fakulta Prešovskej university v Prešove.

Daniela Slančová  
 Department of Slovak and Media Studies  
 Faculty of Arts  
 Prešov University  
 daniela.slancova@unipo.sk

Terézia Kovalik Slančová  
 Department of Sports Educology and Humanistics  
 Faculty of Sports  
 Prešov University  
 terezia.slancova@unipo.sk

In SKASE Journal of Theoretical Linguistics [online]. 2019, vol. 16, no. 3[cit. 2019-11-30]. Available on web page [http://www.skase.sk/Volumes/JTL41/pdf\\_doc/07.pdf](http://www.skase.sk/Volumes/JTL41/pdf_doc/07.pdf). ISSN 1336-782X

# Theory of lexical motivation in Slovak lexicology

Martin Ološtiak, Prešov University

*The aim of the paper is to present the fundamental principles of the theory of lexical motivation, as it was introduced by Furdík (2008), and further developed by some of his students (e.g. Ološtiak 2011, Gavurová 2013). The first part introduces the cornerstones of the theory – anthropomorphization, parameterization, relation between arbitrariness and motivation, lexeme as a linguistic sign, onomasiological principle, motivational typology. The second part clarifies and discusses methodology (semiotics and lexical motivation) and possibilities for further research into the field (motivational typology and relationships between types of motivation – cooperation, determination, incompatibility).*

**Keywords:** *lexicology, lexical motivation, arbitrariness, relationships, cooperation, determination, incompatibility.*

## 1. Introduction

The author of this unique theory, Juraj Furdík (1935-2002), was a Slovak linguist who focused mainly on word-formation (Furdík 1971, 1993, 2004). His theory of word-formation was based on the principle of **word-formation motivation**. In his view, word-formation motivation is a process, relation and a feature at the same time. It is a process of coining a new word (i.e. one-word lexical unit), it is a synchronically conceived formal and semantic relation between an underlying (motivating) word and a coined (motivated) word, e.g. Slk. *stôl* 'table' > *stolík* 'small table'. It is also a feature of a motivated word.

In the last decade of his life Furdík began to develop a theory based on the principle of word-formation motivation, which he significantly elaborated. From the understanding of word-formation motivation as the most important factor that structures and dynamizes the lexicon, Furdík moved to the notion of **lexical motivation**.

The theory of lexical motivation (TLM) is one of the possible approaches to exploring the lexicon. During his life Furdík published only two short, very similar papers on this subject (Furdík 1997/1998; 2000). His TLM was presented most comprehensively at lectures on Slovak lexicology (Faculty of Arts, University of Prešov) between 1997 and 2002. Due to his premature death he did not manage to complete his considerations. Furdík's approach is described in detail in the posthumous *Teória motivácie v lexikálnej zásobe* [*Theory of motivation in the lexicon*] (Furdík 2008; edited by Ološtiak). This publication also contains an overview of the development of Furdík's views on the issue (Ološtiak 2008: 11-23).

The aim of this paper is to introduce TLM as proposed by Furdík (part 1) and to summarize efforts in developing the theory (part 2).



## 2. Juraj Furdík and his theory of lexical motivation

### 2.1 *Introductory remarks*

According to Furdík (2008: 28 ff.), the existence of each lexical unit and the lexicon as such is based on three basic principles: anthropomorphization, parameterization and motivation. The first two principles have a supporting function, therefore, most attention is paid to the third principle, to motivation.

#### 2.1.1 *Anthropomorphization*

The anthropomorphic principle can be referred to as an analogy between a lexical unit and a human being, between the lexicon and human society. The similarities can be viewed through the following properties (Furdík 2008: 28-29):<sup>1</sup>

(a) Impossibility of accurate quantification. It is impossible to state the exact number of lexemes,<sup>2</sup> or the exact population of mankind.

(b) Individuality. Both human beings and lexemes are unique individuals. There exist no two identical individuals in human society or in the lexicon.

(c) Bilaterality. Both human beings and lexemes are bilateral in nature (a lexeme having a form and meaning, a human being having physical and mental facets).

(d) Involvement in relationships. Both human beings and lexemes are integrated into various relationships. People enter diverse biological and social micro- and macrostructures. Similarly, a lexeme is part of a number of paradigmatic and syntagmatic structures as a potential (in abstracto) and real (in a particular communication situation) bearer of significant roles in communication.

e) Existence in time. Human beings exist in time, are subject to biological, physical and mental development. Similarly (although in different temporal dimensions), lexical units are subject to changes, too.

#### 2.1.2 *Parameterization*

The term parameterization has its origins in phraseology, where the parameters of phraseology (i.e. all relationships that can be investigated in phraseological system) are discussed (cf. Ďurčo 1991). The notion of parameterization can also be found in derivatology, namely in the project of word-formation dictionary in Slovak, e.g. parameters such as word class, stylistic characteristics, motivating unit, motivated unit, specification of a base, specification of an affix, etc. (Furdík 2004: 126-137).<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> An attempt to develop Furdík's reflections on this topic can be found in Ološtiak (2009a).

<sup>2</sup> The terms *lexeme*, *lexical unit*, *lexical item* are used synonymically and interchangeably in the sense 'an abstract unit, a set of word forms with identical lexical meaning'.

<sup>3</sup> The method of parameterization was also used at lectures in lexicology delivered by Furdík. A set of parameters that can be observed in the lexicon was summarized on a poster serving as a learning aid for students. The following paradigmatic, syntagmatic and pragmatic parameters of a given lexeme were included: pronunciation, morphemic structure, grammatical characteristics, word-formation properties, semantic structure, interlexematic relations (synonyms, antonyms, hyperonyms and hyponyms), frequency, collocability, occurrence in multi-word expressions.

### 2.1.3 Motivation

Obviously, Furdík's theory is not an out of the blue approach in all details. Traditionally defined are three types of motivation: phonetic motivation, semantic motivation and word-formation motivation (e.g. Dokulil 1962: 103). Furthermore, the concept of syntactic motivation appeared in the Czech linguistics in the 1960s (Kuchař 1963) and in Slovakia the concept of paradigmatic motivation was introduced (Dolník 1985, 1990, 2003).

A wider understanding of motivation is also mentioned in the paper *Princíp motivácie vo frazeológii a v derivatológii* [Principle of motivation in idiomatics and derivatology] (Furdík 1994: 8–9). This work is the first published document where the germs of Furdík's effort to broaden the concept of motivation can be found. Furdík published his motivational theory in only two almost identical short articles (cf. above), merged into one text in Furdík (2005: 391–396).

Furdík's originality lies in the fact that he was the first to cover the previously defined motivational types and the first to formulate an ambition to describe and explain the principles on which the lexicon of natural language operates in a comprehensive way, using a unified methodology.

The starting point of TLM is to question Saussure's principle of semiotic arbitrariness. Furdík explicitly states: "It is not arbitrariness, but motivation of the linguistic sign that is absolute. Arbitrariness can be applied only to an isolated unit, and only from a form-to-content perspective." (Furdík 2008: 31–32). However, Furdík's attitude to a Saussurean semiotic model is not negative as his wording might seem.<sup>4</sup> Furdík is fully aware that Saussure's view has a relativizing character: "Some signs are absolutely arbitrary; in others we note not its complete absence, but the presence of degrees of arbitrariness: the sign may be relatively motivated." (de Saussure 1959: 131). "Why is it so?" Furdík asks and once again answers by pointing to Saussure's statement:

Everything that relates to language as a system must, I am convinced, be approached from this viewpoint, which has scarcely received the attention of linguists: the limiting of arbitrariness. This is the best possible basis for approaching the study of language as a system. In fact, the whole system of language is based on the irrational principle of the arbitrariness of the sign, which would lead to the worst sort of complication if applied without restriction. But the mind contrives to introduce a principle of order and regularity into certain parts of the mass of signs, and this is the role of relative motivation. (de Saussure 1959: 133).

The difference between Saussure and Furdík is that while the former postulates the notion of relative motivation, the latter emphasizes absolute validity of motivation. Hence, Furdík's approach is based on two main, closely interrelated principles:

a) **Lexeme as a linguistic sign does not exist in isolation.** Furdík refers to ideas of Dolník (1990: 148) who maintains:

The arbitrary character of the relation between the signifier and the signified can be referred to only if the isolated linguistic sign is taken into consideration (i.e. when one

---

<sup>4</sup> J. Furdík (2008: 32) asks a rhetorical question whether it would be more appropriate to consider Saussure's concept of arbitrariness to be a dogma.

abstracts from correlative signs) ... Linguistic sign not torn from its elementary, natural relation to other signs cannot be absolutely arbitrary.

In his argumentation, Dolník (1990: 149) extends the notion of motivation by defining the notion of paradigmatic motivation:

By motivation of a word is meant a direct or an indirect causal relationship between its form and meaning. This relationship is conditioned by the relation of a given lexeme to other, paradigmatically correlated lexemes.

Paradigmatically correlated lexemes constitute several types of lexical paradigms (e.g. synonymy, antonymy, homonymy, paronymy, etc.) and this interpretation also refers to Trier's *Zeichenfeldtheorie*. Subsequently, Furdík (2008: 20) claims:

Motivation is a multidimensional relationship, it is the determination by multidimensional relationships. This is the difference from the previous and slightly narrow understanding of motivation.

The notion of relationship can also be considered in other contexts (not only as a lexeme-to-lexeme relation), cf. 2.2.

b) **Onomasiological principle.** As Furdík points out, de Saussure's approach is semasiological and not onomasiological. Furdík puts in direct connection the onomasiological approach and the fact that a lexeme does not exist in isolation (Furdík 2008: 30):

From a semasiological point of view (form-to-content direction), the Slovak sound sequence K-R-A-V-A 'cow' is not in any causal connection with its referent. To the question "What is KRAVA?" the sound sequence itself gives no answer. From this point of view, any linguistic sign is undoubtedly arbitrary. It is also true even if a derived or a compound word is taken into account. We do not get a clear answer to the question "What is MUDRC 'sage'?" The word-formation structure of the word MUDRC can only provide us with a hint (semantic orientation) about the information concerning the referent 'someone who is wise', even in the case when the partner in communication already knows the meaning of the underlying word (in Slovak, adj. *múdry* 'wise' > noun *mudrc* 'sage'). Hence, this fact proves the claim that a word is not isolated.

A lexeme is not an isolated unit, therefore, in its analysis, an onomasiological approach (reflecting the natural direction of semiosis) is preferred. In this way, Furdík refers to Horecký's concept of linear onomasiological string (Slk. *onomaziologický reťazec*) (Horecký, Buzássyová, Bosák et al. 1989: 20-21). What is highlighted in Furdík's view is the fact that lexical motivation provides the opportunity of answering the question "Why does lexeme X have the particular form?" However, Furdík does not satisfactorily reflect the problem that arises with the postulation of individual types of motivation, i.e. the different nature of basic types and pragmatic type of motivation (cf. 1.2) with respect to the above-mentioned question ("Why is lexeme X called so?").

Moreover, an important observation made by Dolník (2003) has to be mentioned here. Dolník draws attention to the fact that the notion of arbitrariness is usually put into direct

opposition to the notion of motivation and, at the same time, into opposition to the notion of necessity (arbitrary = not necessary). Arbitrariness means that there is no casual relation between form and content of a linguistic sign. The relation between form and meaning is conventional (it is a matter of convention that the form *house* means ‘a building that serves as living quarters’ and not e.g. ‘an implement for writing or drawing’). As Dolník claims, motivation represents the central element between arbitrariness (randomness, convention) and necessity (cf. Figure 1). For instance, it is not random what the Slovak words *nevýhoda* ‘disadvantage’ and *slovníkárstvo* ‘lexicography’ mean (*výhoda* ‘advantage’ > *nevýhoda* ‘opposite of advantage’, *slovník* ‘dictionary’ > *slovníkárstvo* ‘a branch of linguistics dealing with dictionaries’). At the same time, the relationship between the form and the meaning of these lexemes is not indispensable. In Slovak, the meaning “opposite to advantage” can be expressed by the lexeme *hendikep* ‘disadvantage, handicap’ and the meaning ‘a branch of linguistics dealing with dictionaries’ can be expressed by the lexeme *lexikografia* ‘lexicography’.<sup>5</sup>

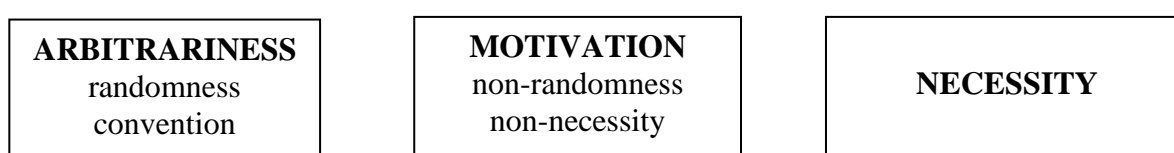


Figure 1 Relation between arbitrariness, motivation and necessity

## 2.2 Types of lexical motivation

In Furdík’s approach, the heterogeneity of the relationships into which lexemes enter is reflected by the delimitation of several types of motivation. In addition to the above-mentioned types (phonetic, semantic, word-formation, syntactic, paradigmatic), he eventually developed the following typology:

### 1. Basic types:

1.1 elementary – paradigmatic motivation

1.2 specified types:

1.2.1 phonetic motivation

1.2.2 semantic motivation

1.2.3 morphological motivation

1.2.4 word-formation motivation

1.2.5 syntactic motivation

1.2.6 phraseological motivation

<sup>5</sup> Similarly, the notion of motivation is perceived also by Holeš: “Motivation is not the opposite of arbitrariness or conventionalism, as is often observed. Motivation is the sum of all factors that make the structure of the word not random” (Černý, Holeš 2004: 51). This fact has been taken into account by Furdík as well: “If the relation between form and meaning is taken into consideration, most lexical units can indeed be said to be arbitrary, e.g. Slk. *voda* ‘water’, *zem* ‘earth, soil’, *otec* ‘father’, *hlava* ‘head’” (Furdík 2008: 42).

This implies the difference in defining the essence of arbitrariness and motivation. Investigating the relation between form and meaning leads to arbitrariness, while the analysis of relations of the linguistic sign to other signs results in the concept of motivation.

1.2.7 onymic motivation

**2. Pragmatic types:**

2.1 expressive motivation

2.2 stratification motivation

2.3 terminological motivation

2.4 sociolectal motivation

2.5 territorial motivation

2.6 temporal motivation

2.7 individualizing motivation

**3. Contact types:**

3.1 acceptance motivation

3.2 abbreviation motivation

In the following section the particular motivational types, as defined by Furdík (2008), are briefly characterized. For further comments on typology and hierarchy cf. Ološtiak (2011).

First of all, let's briefly go back to Furdík who divides 17 types of motivation into three groups: (1) basic, (2) pragmatic, (3) contact (Furdík 2008: 33). Basic types constitute systemic relations of the lexicon (paradigmatics and syntagmatics, form and meaning, formation of new items). Basic types are further divided into elementary (paradigmatic) motivation and specified types. Pragmatic types can be viewed as a superstructure, they bring extralinguistic features to the lexicon (cf. extralinguistic relations in 2.1.1). Finally, as Furdík puts it, contact types enter the system of language, but at the same time they are: a) in contact with another language system (interlingual motivation), b) with another subcode – graphic subcode (abbreviation motivation) (Furdík 2008: 68-70).<sup>6</sup>

**Paradigmatic motivation (PM).** As mentioned above, the term paradigmatic motivation had been used by Dolník (1985; 1990: 145–161; 2003: 121–125). PM is a reflection of interlexematic relationships that each lexeme enters. It means that no lexeme is isolated, i.e. each lexeme is paradigmatically motivated. On this basis it can be argued that the principle of motivation is of general validity and, therefore, PM can be referred to as an elementary type of motivation.

The power of PM affects the position of a lexical unit in the lexical system (in the centre, in the transitional sphere, or on the periphery), and vice versa, the power of PM is influenced by the position of a lexical unit in the lexicon. Moreover, a lexical unit can be a member of several types of lexical paradigms that manifest its relationships to other lexical units: lexical field, synonyms (synonymic paradigm), antonyms (antonymic paradigm), homonyms (homonymy paradigm), hyponyms and hyperonyms (hyponymic and hyperonymic paradigm), paronyms (paronymic paradigm), word-formation paradigm (cf. Figure 5). As Furdík observes, relations between lexical units can be compared to those in a neural network.

---

<sup>6</sup> Furdík's assumptions raise several questions, but here I do not discuss them in detail. I only draw attention to abbreviation motivation whose definition as a contact type is unclear. In his comments, Furdík probably explains contact at the level of subcodes (spoken vs. written type of communication). Spoken language is primary, that is why abbreviations seem to be imported from 'outside', from the sphere of written language (some abbreviations are used only in written form). The problem, however, is that: (a) from the synchronic point of view, written and spoken forms of language are considered to be equivalent, albeit functionally unequal and to some extent specialized; (b) according to Hrbáček (1979), there are two main groups of abbreviations: written abbreviations (abbreviated only in written form, e.g. Slk. *kpt.* 'captain'), written and spoken abbreviations (abbreviated both in written and spoken forms, e.g. Slk. *kilo* 'kilogram').

**Phonetic motivation.** This type is traditionally associated with onomatopoeia (imitative words) characterized by an ‘immediate’ relationship to a referent (a sound of extralinguistic reality, e.g. sounds of animals). Given the discrete nature of a linguistic sign and the fact that every speech sound is articulated, no onomatopoeia is a mirror reflection (or, a ‘record’), but only an imitation of its referent. This means that some degree of arbitrariness can also be found in onomatopoeia, the arbitrariness in the sense of independence between the form of a word and its referent. This fact can be illustrated by:

a) the existence of variants in a given language, e.g. Slk. *hav-hav – haf-haf – d’af-d’af – vuf-vuf*, English *woof-woof – arf-arf – ruff-ruff – bow-wow*;

b) the existence of different (though similar to some extent) imitative forms in different languages, e.g. Slovak. *kikirikí*, English *cock-a-doodle-doo*, Hungarian *kukurikú*, French *cocorico*, German *kikeriki*, Dutch *kukeleku*. Russian *кйкапекы* (Krupa 1992, Hagege 1998: 119-120, Fidlerová 2004).

Furdík extended the scope of phonetic motivation. In his view, phonetic motivation is an indicator of markedness at the form (sound) level of a word. This approach enables him to include other types of lexical units into the sphere of phonetic motivation: a) expressive words with unusual sound structure suggesting expressivity, e.g. Slk. *galgan* ‘a mischievous person, rascal’, *fafrnok* ‘a child; a very small person, shrimp’; b) loan words with a sound structure not typical for the recipient language, e.g. Slk. *teória* ‘theory’, *matematika* ‘mathematics’.

**Semantic motivation.** Semantic motivation relates to polysemy. Semantically motivated are secondary meanings of polysemous lexemes in which a derivative relation (derivative polysemy) can be found: e.g. Slk. *hlava* ‘a part of the human or animal body - head’ > *hlava* ‘a thing resembling a head - head’. Thus, semantic motivation is an indicator of the emergence of, or increase in polysemy.

**Word-formation motivation.** Word-formation motivation refers to the creation of new one-word lexemes on the basis of morphemic change of the existing lexemes, e.g. Slk. *kopat’* ‘to dig’ > *kopáč* ‘digger’, *bledý* ‘light’ + *modrý* ‘blue’ > *bledomodrý* ‘light blue’.

**Morphological motivation.** Morphological motivation is what in English linguistics is called conversion, i.e. morphologically motivated are lexemes coined by pure change of word class without any change in form, e.g. the Slk. verb form *cestujúci* (active participle of *cestovať* ‘to travel’) > noun *cestujúci* ‘traveller’.

**Syntactic motivation.** Syntactic motivation is attributed to multi-word expressions having at least two autosyntagmatic components, i.e. having the form (structure) of a syntagm, or a sentence: e.g. Slk. *sprchovací kút* ‘shower cabin’, *Leje ako z krhly* ‘It rains cats and dogs’.

**Phraseological motivation.** Phraseologically motivated are phrasemes, or idioms, expressive multi-word expressions with fixed and figurative meaning, e.g. Slk. *vraziť niekomu nôž do chrbta* ‘to stab (someone) in the back’, Slk. *len tak tak* ‘by the skin of (one’s) teeth’.

**Onymic motivation.** Onymically motivated are proper names, i.e. lexical units denoting unique and specific referent (person, place, institution, etc.), e.g. *Peter Gabriel*, *Helsinki*, *Tesco* (for brief description of onymic motivation cf. Ološtiak 2009b).

**Acceptance motivation** (M. Ološtiak (2011) prefers the term **interlingual motivation**). This type of motivation is a reflection of a contact principle. In the lexicon, the contact principle is reflected in the form of borrowing, i.e. lexemes pass from one language to

another. Interlingually motivated are loan words (e.g. Slk. *bluetooth*) and calques (e.g. Slk. *všemocný* ‘almighty’; from Latin *omnipotens*).

**Abbreviation motivation** is a consequence of a specifically implemented economization principle in language. This type of motivation is involved in creating abbreviations: e.g. *USA, ml. ‘Jr.’, atd. ‘etc.’*.

**Expressive motivation** is viewed as the demonstration of emotional and subjective principle in language. Expressives (lexemes with expressive meaning) comprise subjective attitude of humans to extralinguistic reality. In this respect, markedness is considered to be the essential feature of expressivity (Zima 1961). As stated by Dolník (1987/1988: 289), unlike non-marked lexical units, expressives fulfill pragmatic functions. They activate the attention and perception of the recipients by means of markedness, especially at the form level. Markedness is indicated by other types of motivation, phonetic motivation (unusual sound structure, e.g. Slk. *frflat* ‘verbally (not quite strongly, vigorously, comprehensibly) to complain about something, grouch, grumble’, *chmuľo* ‘blockhead’), word-formation motivation (Slk. *Čech* ‘Czech’ > *Čech-úň* ‘Czech + expressive suffix -úň’), and semantic motivation (Slk. *analfabet* ‘poorly educated or uncultured, alphabet’).

**Stratification motivation.** This motivation refers to the relationship between lexicology and stylistics. In this way, Furdík builds on the knowledge of the stylistic stratification of the lexicon (the term stratification motivation relates to Latin *stratum* ‘layer’<sup>7</sup>). Stratification motivation is attributed to lexical units from various functional styles,<sup>8</sup> and to lexemes typical for a particular variety or register (e.g. colloquialisms, journalistic expressions, words used in poetry, Bible words etc.).

Ološtiak (2010, 2011: 267-279) introduced the term **register motivation** referring to the notion (*communication*) *register* which is defined as situationally conditioned language behaviour of people connected by their common activity (Hudson 1980, Wardhaugh 1992, Slančová 1999). Register lexical units are thus situationally conditioned (such as child lexis, sport lexis etc.).

**Terminological motivation** is a result of the principle of accuracy in language. Terminologically motivated are terms that saturate the need for deeper knowledge of extralinguistic reality, e.g. Slk. *trias* ‘Triassic period’, *jura* ‘Jurassic period’, *krieda* ‘Cretaceous period’. The term is a specific type of lexeme, ‘a part of the lexicon denoting a particular notion specified by definition and by its place in the system of terms of a particular field of science, technology, economics and other activities’ (Masár 1991: 29).

**Sociolectal motivation.** Sociolectal motivation is a result of the social principle in language. The concept of sociolectal motivation is based on the term *sociolect* which signals the link to the social structure of a language community (Odaloš 1997: 14). Sociolectal motivation relates to lexemes from social dialects (slang words, professionalisms, jargonisms).

**Territorial motivation.** Territorial motivation is a result of the geographical principle in language. Territorial motivation relates to groups of lexemes typical for a given territory, e.g. regional, or dialectal words such as Slk. *švábka, krumple, grule* ‘potatoes’.

---

<sup>7</sup> A different definition of the term *stratification* was introduced by Lamb who outlined the structural framework of stratificational grammar.

<sup>8</sup> The term style (or, functional style) is based on the concept of functional stylistics developed by the Prague School and adopted into Slovak linguistics by Mistřík (1997) and others.

**Temporal motivation.** Temporal motivation is a result of the temporal principle in language. Time, metaphorically speaking, also intrinsically touches language units – their birth, adolescence, productive age, retirement age and extinction. Temporal motivation refers to two lexical groups: a) obsolete, old-fashioned words (archaisms, historicisms); b) new words (neologisms).

**Individualizing motivation.** Nonce-formations (occasionalisms) are motivated by means of individualizing motivation. This motivation is a result of the creative principle in language. The adjective ‘individualizing’ points out the fact that nonce-formations are coined individually (by a single member of a speech community) and their usage is usually restricted to a one and only communication situation, e.g. the Slovak blend *gernisáž* ‘vernissage in a gallery’ < *vernisáž* ‘vernissage’ + *galéria* ‘gallery’.

### 3. Theory of lexical motivation and possibilities of its development

Furdík’s theory inspired some of his direct and indirect disciples. For instance, Imrichová (2002) was one of the first linguists to adopt some of Furdík’s assumptions (namely in the field of onomastic analysis of logonyms, i.e. the names of companies, shops, markets, institutions, etc.). Gavurová (2013) published a monograph focusing on abbreviation motivation, the first publication of its kind to comprehensively investigate abbreviation processes in Slovak lexicology. Additionally, Palková (2018), for the first time in Slovak linguistics, provides an in-depth examination of univerbization. However, Furdík’s approach has been expanded in the most complex and comprehensive way by Ološtiak (e.g. 2011 and a series of articles).

In the following section some other aspects of TLM are introduced, including the methodology (2.1) and the relational aspects (2.2). The intention of this section is to clarify, discuss and develop some of Furdík’s considerations.

#### 3.1 Remarks on the methodology of LM

##### 3.1.1 Lexeme as a linguistic sign

Based on the traditional Ogden and Richards’ model of the linguistic sign (semiotic triangle), in a textbook on Slovak lexicology (Ondrus – Horecký – Furdík 1980: 33) the following model is proposed (the author of the respective chapter is J. Furdík):

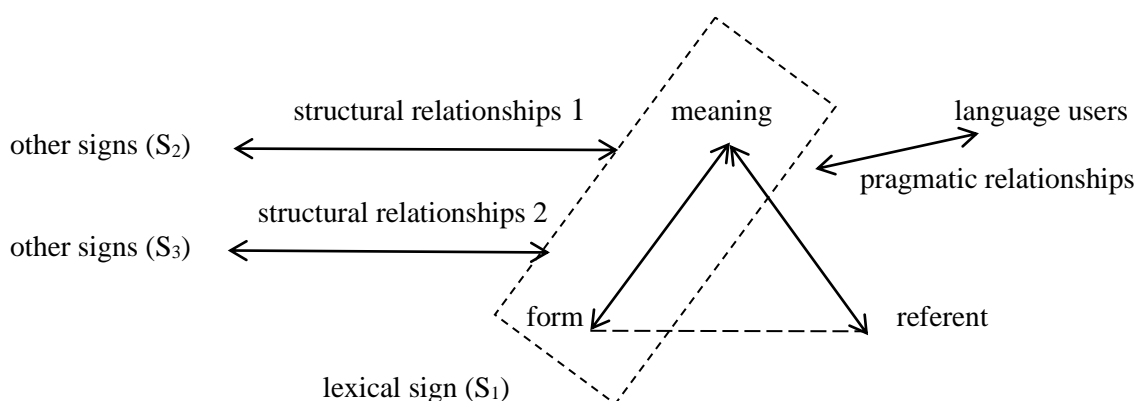


Figure 2 Semiotic model in Ondrus – Horecký – Furdík (1980: 33)



Compared to Ogden and Richards', this model (Figure 2) presents important additional elements. First of all, it clearly indicates (by a rectangle) which elements constitute the linguistic sign (form and meaning). Secondly, relationships into which the lexical sign ( $S_1$ ) enters are illustrated. In particular, there are: a) relationships to other signs ( $S_2$ ) at paradigmatic level (structural relationships 1) and to other signs ( $S_3$ ) at syntagmatic level (structural relationships 2); b) relationships between the lexical sign and language users (pragmatic relationships). This model is a basis for the model introduced by Ološtiak (2011: 22-23), Figures 3 and 4:

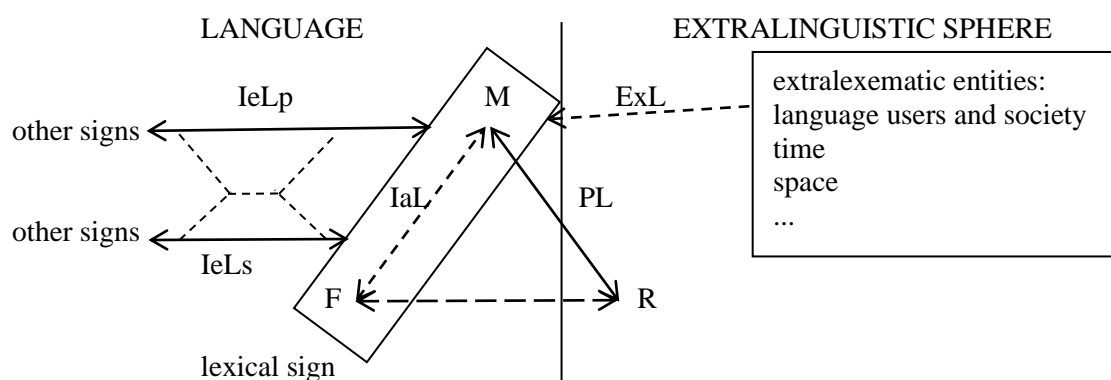


Figure 3 Semiotic model in Ološtiak (2011: 22)<sup>9</sup>

In this approach, the linguistic sign (lexical unit) is bilateral. The relationship between the form and meaning of the sign is intralexematic because it operates inside the lexical unit. The lexical sign enters into relationships with other lexical signs at the paradigmatic level (Eng. synonyms *big – enormous – gigantic...*, antonyms *big – small*) as well as at the syntagmatic level (*a big boy, a big storm*). Paradigmatic and syntagmatic levels are mutually interconnected (e.g. *a big boy – a fat boy, a big storm – \*a fat storm*). In the model, the interconnection is indicated by a dashed line. Intralexematic and interlexematic relationships are of a linguistic nature because they operate within the language system.

There are two more types of lexematic relationships having their nature outside the language: a) extralinguistic relationships, b) paralexematic relationships. The difference between the two is that each lexical unit has its referent (paralexematic relationship is obligatory), while extralinguistic entities do not necessarily have to be manifested in every lexical unit (extralexematic relationships are facultative<sup>10</sup>). The active presence of extralinguistic relationship in a lexical unit is a prerequisite for markedness, peculiarity, cf. specific groups of lexemes restricted to a particular variety, communication situation, region, etc. (slang words, colloquial words, nonce-formations, terms, expressive words, neologisms, regional words).

<sup>9</sup> F – form, M – meaning, R – referent, IaL – intralexematic relationships, IeLp – interlexematic relationships at paradigmatic level, IeLs – interlexematic relationships at syntagmatic level, ExL – extralexematic/extralinguistic relationships, PL – paralexematic relationship.

<sup>10</sup> This fact is indicated by a dashed line, cf. Figures 2, 3, 4.

In sum, there are four kinds of relationships into which lexical units enter (or, may enter); cf. Figure 4. Each kind of relationship individually determines the status of a lexical unit.

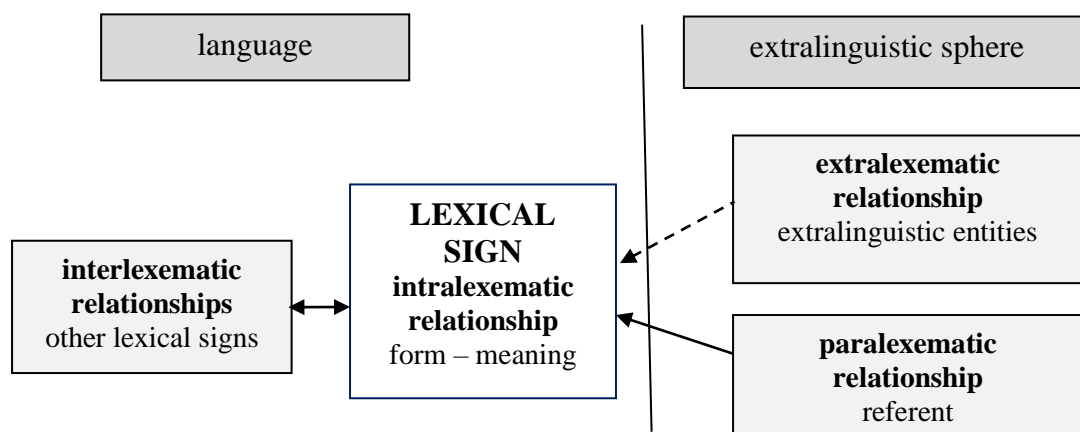


Figure 4 Relationships of lexical sign

Let us briefly illustrate the above-mentioned considerations. For instance, the Slk. lexeme *ruka* ‘the body part at the end of the arm, hand’ enters the following relationships (see also Figure 5):

1) Intralexematic relation between the form *ruka* and the meaning ‘the body part at the end of the arm’ is part of a complex of relations between one form and several meanings assigned to this form (the lexical unit *ruka* in Slovak as well as its English equivalent are polysemic).

2) Interlexematic relations:

a) paradigmatic relations:

aa) conceptual relations (lexical field: *human body*): *ruka* ‘hand’ :: *telo* ‘body’, *hlava* ‘head’, *dlaň* ‘palm’, *laket* ‘elbow’, etc.;

ab) synonymic relations: *ruka* ‘hand’ :: expressive *laba* ‘big and strong hand’, expressive *packa* ‘small hand (usually in child language and in child directed speech)’, etc.;

ac) paronymic relations: *ruka* ‘hand’ :: *muka* ‘anguish’ :: *suka* ‘bitch’;

ad) word-formation relations: *ruka* ‘hand’ > *ručka* ‘small hand (diminutive)’, *ruka* ‘hand’ > *ručisko* ‘big hand (augmentative)’, *ruka* ‘hand’ > *ručný* ‘manual’, *ruka* ‘hand’ + *písať* ‘write’ > *rukopis* ‘manuscript’, etc.;

b) syntagmatic relations – lexeme *ruka* as a part of collocations and sentences: *čisté ruky* ‘clean hands’, *držať sa za ruky* ‘to hold one's hands’, *Pobožkal jej ruku*. ‘He kissed her hand’.

3) Paralexematic relation to a particular referent (in Figure 5 represented by the picture).

4) Extralexematic relations. There are no extralexematic relations because *ruka* is a neutral lexeme. It could not be referred to as a slang word, expressive word, neologism, nonce-formation, etc.

It was the diversity of relationships into which lexical units enter (or, may enter) that gave Furdík an impetus to delimitating 17 types of lexical motivation.

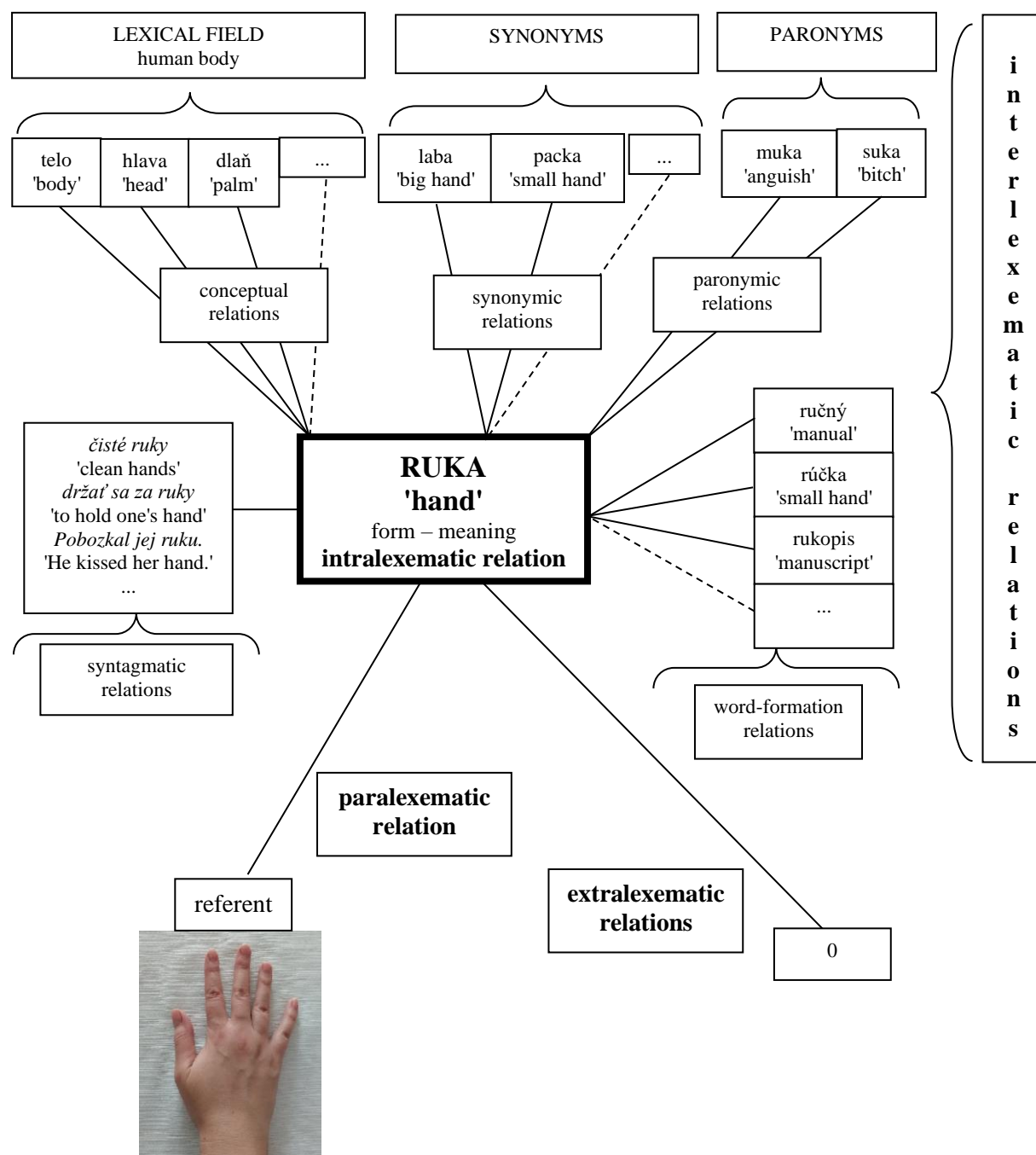


Figure 5 Relations of lexeme ruka 'hand'

### 3.2 Remarks on relational aspects of lexical motivation

It is important to stress that the individual types of lexical motivation do not work ‘on their own’ but enter various relations with each other. J. Furdík reflected this aspect only implicitly (cf. 2.2.1). In Ološtiak (2011), this fact is reflected in the term **motivational relationship** (MR). The description and explanation of the principles of how motivational relationship works are a very important, and in some sense fundamental aspect of TLM. In general, the most significant advantage of this facet of TLM is the fact that in this way various lexical phenomena can be analysed from a homogeneous theoretical and methodological platform. This is the way how both static (types of lexical motivation in relation to features of lexical units) and dynamic aspects (various types of change in the lexicon) can be examined.

MR is manifested as: (1) cooperation; (2) determination; (3) incompatibility. In addition, MR can be depicted from static and dynamic points of view. Cooperation and incompatibility can be characterized both as static and dynamic phenomena, whereas determination has a dynamic nature (cf. Figure 6).

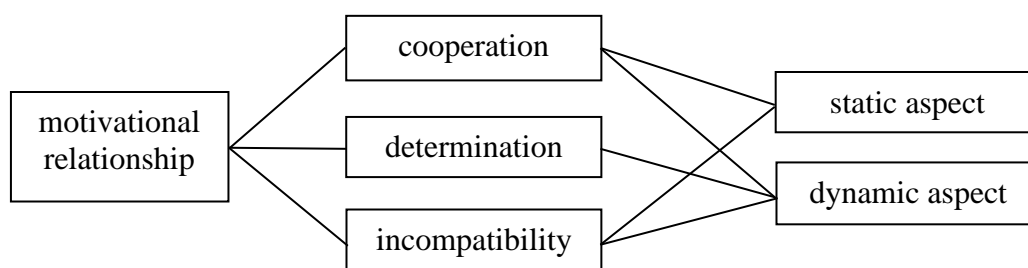


Figure 6 Dimensions of motivational relationship

#### 3.2.1 Motivational cooperation

Motivational cooperation is manifested as the presence of two or more types of motivation in one lexical unit (static perspective), or in the formation of a lexeme (dynamic perspective). Furdík demonstrates this aspect implicitly in the paper *Slovotvorná motivácia medzi ostatnými typmi lexikálnej motivácie* [Word-formation motivation and other types of lexical motivation] (2000, 2005: 391-396). The interaction of motivation types is illustrated by several examples (without any further commentary); e.g. *trolejbus* ‘trolleybus’ (paradigmatic + word-formation + interlingual motivation), *antiglobalizačný* ‘relating to anti-globalisation’ (paradigmatic + word-formation + temporal + interlingual motivation) (Furdík 2005: 396).<sup>11</sup> Static and dynamic aspect of motivational cooperation is defined by Ološtiak (2011).

##### 3.2.1.1 Static aspect

The static aspect can be exemplified by the following lexical units (Ološtiak 2011: 35-36):

<sup>11</sup> Moreover, the author observes that (a) the smallest number of types is found in lexemes from the centre of the lexicon (lexical units such as *matka* ‘mother’, *otec* ‘father’, *byť* ‘to be’, *vidieť* ‘to see’, *dobrý* ‘good’, *mladý* ‘young’, *jeden* ‘on’, *on* ‘he’ are neutral, non-expressive, only paradigmatically motivated); b) the central role is played by word-formation motivation (lexical phenomena documenting the cooperation of word-formation motivation with other types are briefly mentioned).

*doštekát* ‘to stop barking’: paradigmatic motivation (e.g. relations with verbs *štekát* ‘to bark’, *miaukat* ‘to mew’, *erdžat* ‘to neigh’, etc.), word-formation motivation (deverbal prefixal verb: *štekát* ‘to bark’ > *do-štekát* ‘to stop barking’);

*doštekát* ‘to stop screaming, or swearing’: paradigmatic motivation (e.g. relations with verbs *kričat* ‘to scream’, *revat* ‘to scream’, etc.), semantic motivation (cf. semantic derivation: to stop barking > to stop screaming, or swearing), expressive motivation (pejorative word);

*green* ‘(in a golf game) the area with a hole specially prepared for putting’: paradigmatic motivation (e.g. relations with nouns *jamkovisko* ‘Slovak synonym of Anglicism *green*, *birdie*, *putt*, etc.), interlingual motivation (lexeme borrowed from English), register motivation (golf register);

*ditrochej* ‘double trochee’: paradigmatic motivation (e.g. relations with nouns denoting various types of metrical feet: *trochej* ‘trochee’, *daktyl* ‘dactyl’, *jamb* ‘iamb’, etc.), terminological motivation (literary theory terminology), word-formation motivation (*trochej* > *di-trochej*: prefixal derivation), interlingual motivation (borrowed from French < Latin < Greek), phonetic motivation (for Slovak language unusual phoneme combination [d] + [i]);

*Ján* ‘John’: paradigmatic motivation (e.g. relations with other first names: *Jozef* ‘Joseph’, *Peter*, *Adam*, etc.), onymic motivation (proper name – anthroponym – first name);

*Janči* ‘Johnny’: paradigmatic motivation (e.g. relations with other hypocoristic names: e.g. *Jožo* ‘Joe’, *Peťo* ‘Pete’ etc.), onymic motivation (proper name – anthroponym), word-formation motivation (*Ján* > *Jan-či*, suffixal derivation) register motivation (colloquial register);

*Národná banka Slovenska* ‘National Bank of Slovakia’: paradigmatic motivation (e.g. relations with other names of banks: *Československá obchodná banka* ‘Czechoslovak commercial bank’, *OTP Banka Slovensko* ‘OTP Bank Slovakia’, etc.), onymic motivation (proper name – chrematonym), syntactic motivation (multi-word expression), word-formation motivation (component *národ* ‘nation’ > *národný* (*národná* adj. fem.) ‘national’);

*USA*: paradigmatic motivation (e.g. relations with other names of countries: e.g. *Canada*, *Mexico*), onymic motivation (proper name – toponym – name of country), abbreviation motivation (*The United States of America* > *USA*), interlingual motivation (lexeme borrowed from English).

### 3.2.1.2 Dynamic aspect

The dynamic aspect relates to the formation of lexical units. It is manifested in the form of the simultaneous acquisition of two or more motivation types, e.g.:

*profák* ‘slang word for professor’: word-formation motivation + abbreviation motivation: *profesor* > *prof-ák* (suffixal derivation + shortening);

*ryžojed* ‘inhabitant of Asia, a person of the Mongoloid race’: word-formation motivation: *jest’ ryžu* ‘eat rice’ > *ryžojed* ‘one who eats rice’ (compounding + derivation), expressive motivation (a pejorative word).

### 3.2.1.3 Further research into cooperation

Finally, further possibilities of research into cooperation can be indicated by the following questions and brief comments:

a) **Cooperation rules.** Are there any rules that regulate cooperation? Yes, there are. These rules are based on general lexical facts. For instance, extralinguistic (pragmatic) types

of motivation cannot exist on their own because they do not have a nomination function. There must be at least one basic type of motivation present in a lexeme.

b) **Cooperation hierarchy.** Is it possible to consider the existence of hierarchical arrangement (in terms of dominance – subdominance) of cooperating motivation types? Yes, it is. For instance, in a cluster of paradigmatic and phraseological motivation, paradigmatic relations of idioms/phrasemes, are specific, phraseologically determined (Ološtiak 2011: 162-169). It means the dominance of phraseological motivation and the subdominance of paradigmatic motivation. The relationship between onymic and paradigmatic motivation can be characterized in a similar way (dominance is a property of onymic motivation).

c) **Cooperation configurations.** Are there any motivation configurations? Are there any groups of lexical units characterized by the same arrangements and relationships within a motivation cluster (hierarchically arranged motivation types that cooperate)? Standardized configuration of motivation clusters to some extent reflects the character of some groups of lexical units. For example, inherently expressive words are characterized either by the cluster expressive motivation + phonetic motivation (cf. examples above: Slk. *frflat* ‘verbally complain about something, grouch, grumble’, *chmuľo* ‘blockhead’), or expressive motivation + word-formation motivation (Slk. *Čech* ‘Czech’ > *Čech-úň* ‘Czech + expressive derogatory suffix -úň’). Adherent expressive words are characterized by cluster expressive motivation + semantic motivation (Slk. *somár* with secondary meaning ‘asshole’, primary meaning is non-expressive: ‘donkey’).<sup>12</sup> Nonce-formations (occasionalisms) are characterized by cluster individualizing motivation + temporal motivation + expressive motivation + (usually) word-formation motivation.

d) **Potential of cooperation.** What role is played by the cooperation of ‘attractivity’ and the potential of cooperation between types of motivation? Some motivation types are closer to each other when compared to other ones (the opposite pole – the maximum ‘intolerance’ – is represented by motivational incompatibility; cf. 2.3.3). For instance, word-formation motivation is important for individualizing motivation (most of nonce-formations are coined by means of word-formation), expressive motivation closely cooperates with phonetic, word-formation and semantic motivation; terminological motivation intensively cooperates with word-formation motivation, syntactic motivation and interlingual motivation (in Slovak, most terms are multi-word expressions and loans). There are close affinities between phraseological motivation and syntactic motivation (most of idioms are formally syntagms and sentences).

These aspects (rules, hierarchy, configurations, potential) are important indicators of the place and function of individual types of motivation in the structure of the lexicon. This is a complex of issues to focus on in future.

### 3.2.2 Motivational determination

Motivational determination is connected with motivational dynamics. Determination in this sense means that the acquisition of a motivation type X is accompanied by the change, weakening, or loss of a motivation type Y.

For instance, the process of univerbization as such can be characterized within the framework of motivational determination. Univerbization is the process of change of a multi-word expression into a synonymous one-word expression. In terms of TLM, this change can

---

<sup>12</sup> Inherent and adherent expressivity is analysed by Zima (1961).

be referred to as the loss of syntactic motivation (syntactic demotivation). Subsequently, based on the acquisition of a particular type of motivation, four types of univerbization are distinguished:

1) elliptical univerbization (one-word expression is the result of mere omitting of a word in a multi-word expression): e.g. *krstný otec* ‘god-father’ > *krstný* ‘god-father’; the loss of syntactic motivation is accompanied by the acquisition of morphological motivation – adjective *krstný* from a multi-word expression is converted into a noun: *krstný otec* (adjective + noun) > *krstný* (noun);

2) word-formation univerbization (one-word expression is a result of omitting a word accompanied with a word-formation process, often suffixation): e.g. *slepé črevo* ‘vermiform appendix’ > *slep-ák* ‘vermiform appendix’; the loss of syntactic motivation is accompanied by the acquisition of word-formation motivation: *slepé črevo* (adjective + noun) > *slep-ák* (base+suffix);

3) abbreviation univerbization (one-word expression is a result of shortening): e.g. *very important person* > *VIP*; the loss of syntactic motivation is accompanied by the acquisition of abbreviation motivation;

4) semantic univerbization (secondary meaning of one-word lexeme is synonymous with the meaning of multi-word expression): e.g. *skok o žrdi* ‘pole vault – a track and field event’ > *žrd* ‘pole vault’; the loss of syntactic motivation is accompanied by the acquisition of semantic motivation (primary meaning of Slk. *žrd* is ‘bar; flagpole’, the secondary meaning is ‘pole vault’).

It should be added that the process of univerbization is often accompanied by the acquisition of pragmatic (extralinguistic) types of motivation because in most cases one-word expressions (univerbized units) are not stylistically neutral: *krstný* ‘god-father’ is colloquial (register motivation), *slepák* ‘vermiform appendix’ is a slang word (sociolectal motivation).

### 3.2.3 Motivational incompatibility

Motivational incompatibility is understood as the impossibility of the simultaneous presence of two or more types of motivation in a given lexical unit. For example, incompatible are the following pairs: expressive motivation – terminological motivation, phraseological motivation – terminological motivation, individualizing motivation – sociolectal motivation. For instance, incompatibility of phraseological motivation and terminological motivation lies in the fact that phraseological motivation is based on expressivity, subjectivity, whereas terminological motivation relies on objectivity.<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup> Following this idea, terms with figurative meaning such as Eng. *pill rolling tremor* (a medical term defined as “the tremor of the fingers, usually the thumb plus the other fingers, that makes it look as if the person is rolling a pill in the fingers”; cf. <https://www.apdaparkinson.org/what-is-parkinsons/symptoms/tremor/>) are not considered to be phrasemes. Figurativeness and expressivity are neutralized by features typical for terminology: a term is exactly defined having special reference and place in a specialized field. In this sense, from the synchronic point of view, lexical units with two meanings (one belonging to terminology and other having idiomatic nature) are treated as two independent (homonymous), though historically related items, e.g. Slk. *reťazová reakcia* ‘chain reaction’ (a term in chemistry “nd physics: ‘a type of nuclear reaction’) – *reťazová reakcia* ‘chain reaction’ (idiom: ‘a series of related events in which each one influences the next’).

## 4. Conclusion

Furdík's theory of lexical motivation represents an original and inspiring contribution to linguistics and lexicology. TLM can definitely be characterized as essentially a structuralist one. It rests upon the ideas of the lexicon as a system consisting of mutually interconnected elements. There can be identified three sources that gave an impetus for the TLM: 1) disagreement with Saussure's semiotic concept based on arbitrariness of the linguistic sign; 2) viewing lexical signs from an onomasiological perspective; 3) adopting the concept of paradigmatic motivation introduced by Dolník.

However, it can be seen as a paradox that TLM is structuralist even in those aspects where the structuralist approach is transcended, i.e. when delimiting extralinguistic (pragmatic) types of motivation (TLM aims at finding a system in pragmatic dimensions of the linguistic sign).

Another important feature of TLM is holism. Its ambition is to explore the lexicon from all points of view (paradigmatic, syntagmatic, pragmatic; linguistic, extralinguistic), all types of lexical units in all types and fields of verbal communication, all types of relationships between lexemes. The theory takes into consideration both synchronic and diachronic perspectives. Moreover, it provides significant stimuli not only to general linguistics, but also to interdisciplinary (e.g. semiotic) research, and it represents an important contribution to the discussion on the character of the linguistic sign.

## References

- Černý, Jiří & Holeš, Jan. 2004. *Sémiotika*. [Semiotics.] Praha: Portál.
- Dokulil, Miloš. 1962. *Tvoření slov v češtině. 1. Teorie odvozování slov*. [Word-formation in Czech. 1. Theory of derivation.] Praha: Nakladatelství ČSAV.
- Dolník, Juraj. 1985. Otázka motivovanosti a systémovosti slova. [Motivation and systemic nature of words.] In *Jazykovedný časopis*, 1985, vol. 36(1). 13–22.
- Dolník, Juraj. 1987/1988. Expresívnosť lexikálnych jednotiek. [Expressivity of lexical units.] In *Slovenský jazyk a literatúra v škole*, 1987/1988, vol. 34(10). 289–294.
- Dolník, Juraj. 1990. *Lexikálna sémantika*. [Lexical semantics.] Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského.
- Dolník, Juraj. 2003. *Lexikológia*. [Lexicology.] Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského.
- Ďurčo, Peter. 1991. Modelovanie vo frazeológii (poznámky k moskovskej frazeologickej škole). [Modelling in phraseology (Remarks on Moscow school of phraseology).] In *Slovo a slovesnosť*, vol. 52(2). 138–144.
- Fidlerová, Masako U. 2004. Zvukový symbolizmus v češtině (na pozadí japonštiny a jiných jazyků). [Sound symbolism in Czech: an approach based on Japanese and other languages.] In Hladká, Zdeňka & Karlík, Petr, *Čeština – univerzália a specifika*, 86–93. Praha: Lidové noviny.



- Furdík, Juraj. 1971. *Zo slovotvorného vývoja slovenčiny*. [On the development of word-formation in Slovak.] Bratislava: Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo.
- Furdík, Juraj. 1993. *Slovotvorná motivácia a jej jazykové funkcie*. [Word-formation motivation and its linguistic functions.] Levoča: Modrý Peter.
- Furdík, Juraj. 1997/1998. Typy lexikálnej motivácie. [Types of lexical motivation.] In *Jazykovedný zápisník*, 1998/1999, vol. 17/18. 24–27.
- Furdík, Juraj. 1994. Princíp motivácie vo frazeológii a v derivatológii. [Principle of motivation in idiomatics and derivatology.] In Basaj, Mieczysław & Rytel, Danuta: *Z problemów frazeologii polskiej i słowiańskiej. VI*. 7–14. Warszawa: Slawistyczny ośrodek Wydawniczy.
- Furdík, Juraj: Motywacja słowotwórcza między innymi typami motywacji leksykalnej. [Word-formation motivation and other types of lexical motivation.] In Kleszczowa, Krystyna & Selimski, Ludwig: *Słowotwórstwo a inne sposoby nominacji*. 59–62. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Gnome.
- Furdík, Juraj. 2004. *Slovenská slovotvorba (teória, opis, cvičenia)*. [Slovak word-formation. Theory, description, exercises.] Ološtiak, Martin (ed.). Prešov: Náuka.
- Furdík, Juraj. 2005. *Život so slovotvorbou a lexikológiou. Výber štúdií pri príležitosti nedožitých sedemdesiatin*. [Life with word-formation and lexicology.] Ološtiak, Martin & Gianitsová-Ološtiaková, Lucia (eds.). Košice: LG.
- Furdík, Juraj. 2008. *Teória motivácie v lexikálnej zásobe*. [Theory of motivation in the lexicon.] Ološtiak, Martin (ed.). Košice: LG.
- Gavurová, Miroslava. 2013. *Skratka ako lexéma (Abreviačná motivácia v lexike)*. [Abbreviation as a lexeme (Abbreviation motivation in a lexicon).] Prešov: Filozofická fakulta PU v Prešove.
- Hagège, Claude. 1998. *Člověk a řeč. Lingvistický příspěvek k humanitním vědám*. [The dialogical species: A linguistic contribution to the social sciences.] Czech translation: Hanáková, Milada. Praha: Karolinum, 1998.
- Horecký, Ján & Buzássyová, Klára & Bosák, Ján et al. 1989. *Dynamika slovnej zásoby súčasnej slovenčiny*. [The dynamism of the wordstock of contemporary Slovak.] Bratislava: Veda.
- Hrbáček, Josef. 1979. *Jazykové zkratky v češtině*. [Abbreviation in Czech.] Praha: Univerzita Karlova.
- Hudson, Richard A. 1980. *Sociolinguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Imrichová, Mária. 2002. *Logonymá v systéme slovenčiny*. [Logonyms in the system of Slovak language.] Prešov: Fakulta humanitných a prírodných vied PU v Prešove.
- Krupa, Viktor. 1992. Ikonické akustické prvky v slovnej zásobe. [Acoustic iconicity in lexicon.] In *Jazykovedný časopis*, 1992, vol. 43(1). 26–33.
- Kuchař, Jaroslav. 1963. Základní rysy struktur pojmenování. [Fundamental features of structures in naming units.] In *Slovo a slovesnost*, 1963, vol. 24(2). 105–114.

- Masár, Ivan. 1991. *Príručka slovenskej terminológie*. [A handbook of Slovak terminology.] Bratislava: Veda.
- Mistrík, Jozef. 1997. *Štylistika*. [Stylistics.] 3rd ed. Bratislava: Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo.
- Odaloš, Pavol. 1997. *Sociolekty v basketbalovom a penitenciárnom prostredí*. [Sociolects in basketball and penitentiary environments.] Banská Bystrica: Univerzita Mateja Bela v Banskej Bystrici, Pedagogická fakulta.
- Ološtiak, Martin. 2008. Motivatólóg Juraj Furdík. [Motivatologist Juraj Furdík.] In Furdík, Juraj: *Teória motivácie v lexikálnej zásobe*. Ološtiak, Martin (ed.). 11–23. Košice: LG.
- Ološtiak, Martin. 2009a. Antropomorfizácia v lexike. [Anthropomorphization in lexicon.] In *Rozprawy Komisji Językowej*. Vol. LIV. Łódź: Łódzkie Towarzystwo Naukowe. 97–107.
- Ološtiak, Martin. 2009b. Some remarks on the so-called onymic motivation. In Harvalík, Milan & Minářová, Eva & Tušková, Jana Marie: *Teoretické a komunikační aspekty proprii. Prof. Rudolfo Šrámkovi k životnímu jubileu*, 79–87. Brno: Masarykova univerzita.
- Ološtiak, Martin. 2010. Registrová motivácia lexikálnych jednotiek (o vzťahu medzi pojmi lexikálna zásoba, register, sociolekt). [Register motivation of lexical units (remarks on the relation among lexis, register and sociolect).] In *Jazykovedný časopis*, vol. 61(1). 31–42.
- Ološtiak, Martin. 2011. *Aspekty teórie lexikálnej motivácie*. [Aspects of the theory of lexical motivation.] Prešov: Filozofická fakulta PU v Prešove.
- Ondrus, Pavel & Horecký, Ján & Furdík, Juraj. 1980. *Súčasný slovenský spisovný jazyk. Lexikológia*. [Contemporary Standard Slovak Language. Lexicology.] Bratislava: Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo.
- Palková, Lenka. 2018. *Univerbizácia v slovenčine*. [Univerbization in the Slovak Language.] Prešov: Filozofická fakulta PU v Prešove.
- de Saussure, Ferdinand. 1959/1989. *Course in General Linguistics*. English translation: Wade Baskin. New York: Philosophical Library, 1959. // *Kurs obecné lingvistiky*. Czech translation: Čermák, František. Praha: Odeon, 1989.
- Slančová, Daniela. 1999. *Reč authority a lásky. Reč učiteľky materskej školy orientovaná na dieťa – opis registra*. [The speech of authority and love. The kindergarten teacher's child-directed speech – a register description.] Prešov: Filozofická fakulta Prešovskej univerzity.
- Wardhaugh, Ronald. 1992. *Introduction to sociolinguistics*. 2nd ed. Oxford, Cambridge: Blackwell.
- Zima, Jaroslav. 1961. *Expresivita slova v současné češtině. Studie lexikologická a stylistická*. [Expressivity of a word in contemporary Czech. Lexicologic and stylistic study.] Praha: ČSAV.

#### Acknowledgements:

This paper has been supported by the VEGA grant agency, grant no. 1/0083/19.

I am grateful to anonymous reviewers for providing constructive suggestions for improving the manuscript.

*Martin Ološtiak*  
*Institute of Slovak and Media Studies*  
*Faculty of Arts*  
*Prešov University*  
*Ul. 17. novembra 1*  
*080 78 Prešov*  
*Slovakia*  
*e-mail: [martin.olostiak@unipo.sk](mailto:martin.olostiak@unipo.sk)*

In SKASE Journal of Theoretical Linguistics [online]. 2019, vol. 16, no. 3[cit. 2019-11-30]. Available on web page [http://www.skase.sk/Volumes/JTL41/pdf\\_doc/08.pdf](http://www.skase.sk/Volumes/JTL41/pdf_doc/08.pdf). ISSN 1336-782X

# Lexicalization after grammaticalization in the development of Slovak adjectives ending in *-lý* originating from *l*-participles

Gabriela Múcsková, Comenius University and Slovak Academy of Sciences

*The paper deals with the development and current state of the Slovak participial forms, especially the participles with the formant -l- (the so-called l-participles) in the context of grammaticalization and lexicalization as complex and gradual changes. The analysis focuses on the group of “adjectives ending in -lý” as a result of “verb-to-adjective” lexicalization of former l-participles, which was conditioned by preceding grammaticalization of other members of the same participial paradigm. The group of lexemes identified in current Slovak descriptive grammatical and lexicographical works as “adjectives ending in -lý” is highly variable and includes a set of units of hybrid nature reflecting the overlapping of verbal and adjectival grammatical meanings and dynamic and static semantic components. Moreover, the group is rather limited, has irregular structural and derivational properties and is semantically rich, with extensive semantic derivation and polysemy. The characteristics of these units suggest a higher degree of their adjectivization, but the variability of the units reflects the different phases and degrees of this change, which was also influenced by language-planning factors in the Slovak historical context. Reconstruction of the phases of the adjectivization process, gradual decategorization and desemanticization, and reanalysis to a new structural and semantic class can serve as a contribution to more general questions about the nature of language change and its explanation.*

**Keywords:** *participle, lexicalization, adjectivization, grammaticalization, lexicography*

## 1. Introduction

Linguistic descriptions of grammatical, word-formation and lexical structures are abstract reflexive constructs establishing boundaries between structural levels, parts of speech, categories and paradigms inside the language. The relativity of such descriptions is indicated in the dynamics and variation of the synchronous use of language, as well as in the existence of transitional units that, due to their hybrid structural nature, transcend the boundaries of language levels or parts of speech and their categories (cf. e.g. Komárek 2006: 21). This is even more evident in the diachronic descriptions of language, where dynamics and variation constitute an essential part of language changes as gradual and complex processes. The transitional units are, from a diachronic point of view, subject to a gradual transformation among levels and categories of the language structure.

Such transformation is basis of language changes known as grammaticalization and lexicalization. The grammaticalization as “the process by which grammar is created” (Croft 2001: 366) is usually defined as “the development from lexical to grammatical forms and from grammatical to even more grammatical forms” (Heine & Kuteva 2004: 2). On the other hand, lexicalization is broadly defined as “adaption into the lexicon” (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 89) or more precisely: “the change whereby in certain linguistic contexts speakers use a syntactic construction or word formation as a new contentful form with formal and semantic properties that

are not completely derivable or predictable from the constituents of the construction or the word formation pattern. Over time there may be further loss of internal constituency and the item may become more lexical” (ibid.: 96).

Both processes were often perceived as opposite and differentiated (cf. Hopper & Traugott 1993; see also Ružička 1966: 29). However, being long and gradual, they involve mutually related and subsequent processes that motivate or influence other grammatical and lexical changes, so they can also motivate one another or be interconnected. In addition to the complexity and gradualness that may be manifested by the gradual achievement of phases and parameters in their course, grammaticalization and lexicalization have in common also (prevailing) unidirectionality of the process and the fact that both are accompanied by reanalysis, as a change “(...) in the structure of an expression or class of expressions that does not involve any immediate or intrinsic modification of its surface manifestation” (Langacker 1977: 58).

As an interesting instance of the interrelation and overlapping of the grammaticalization and lexicalization processes (as well as of the interrelation and overlapping of the structural grammatical and lexical categories), we consider the class of participles, which are originally members of the verb paradigm with some adjectival properties. These adjectival grammatical properties can – in the case of individual units – motivate the transformation (or transposition; see Karlík 2003: 133, 136 with respect to units with the formant *-n/-t-*) of participial verb-forms into lexical adjectives, which also includes the change or reanalysis of the grammatical desinence into a word-formation suffix. In this paper, we present a diachronic view of the historical emergence, further development and current state of participial forms in the Slovak language, focusing on the participles formed with the formant *-l-* (the so-called *l*-participles) in the context of grammaticalization and lexicalization (more specifically, adjectivization). We deal in more detail with the lexicalization – more precisely adjectivization – of the so-called composite forms (see 2.2) of original participles, which in contemporary grammatical descriptions are known as adjectives ending in *-lý*, i.e. as a word-formation group with the reanalysed suffix *-lý* of the word-formation status. Attention will also be paid to their reflexive grammatical and lexicographical processing concerning their categorization in the language structure. We follow this group of items in the “verb-to-adjective” process, and identify the semantic and categorial changes.

## 2. Slovak participles – introductory overview

Participles as a distinct morphological subgroup have a special status in the grammatical system and they “figure in several discussions of lexicalization and grammaticalization because the forms often have a variety of functions” (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 111). Traditional grammatical structural descriptions perceive them as units that are (or have become historically) members of the verb paradigm, but characterize them as “indeterminate verb-forms”<sup>1</sup> (Ružička 1966: 491), which “stand at the very edge of the verb paradigm”<sup>2</sup> (ibid.: 30). At the same time, participles semantically and formally overlap with adjectives because they denote a quality of the entity and express grammatical meanings characteristic of adjectives. In Slovak, they have adjectival

---

<sup>1</sup> “neurčité slovesné tvary”

<sup>2</sup> “stoja na samom okraji slovesnej paradigmy”

(nominal) declension, (to a varying extent also) gradability and typical adjectival word-formation (see § 2.1).

Slovak grammars usually distinguish three (or four) types of participles in the contemporary Slovak language, which are classified according to verbal grammatical categories of tense and voice:

**1) Present active participles** – emerged from the Proto-Slavic (hereinafter PSL) *-nt-* participles (Krajčovič 1988: 145; Stanislav 436–439); today they are made up only of imperfective personal verbs with the ending *-úci* (*-úca*, *-úce*) or *-iaci* (*-iaca*, *-iace*) / *-aci* (*-aca*, *-ace*), except for verbs functioning as copulas (e.g. *byť* ‘to be’, *stávať sa* ‘to become’, modal verbs, etc.). From the semantic point of view, they express the present dynamic attribute of the entity (Ružička 1966: 491).

**2) Past active participles** – originate in PSL *-s-* participles; today they are formed with the ending *-vší* (*-všia*, *-všie*) only from perfective verbs, whose infinitive stem ends with vowel or diphthong. They express the past dynamic attribute of the entity, which reflects an action realized before the time of the utterance. In contemporary Slovak, they gradually disappear and they are perceived as literary. However, in the historical varieties of Slovak, as well as in the old written documents, these forms were more frequent and they were formed from verbs of all verb classes (Krajčovič 1988: 146; Ružička 1966: 493ff).

**3) Passive participles** – formed with the endings *-tý* (*-tá*, *-té*), *-ný* (*-ná*, *-né*) or *-ený* (*-ená*, *-ené*) – historically classified as past passive participles (Krajčovič 1988: 146).<sup>3</sup> They denote a passively acquired state (or quality) of the entity often including a resultative semantic component.<sup>4</sup> They are very productive in contemporary Slovak because – in connection with the forms of *byť* ‘be’ – they became parts of the grammaticalized analytical passive constructions (*je chválený* ‘he is praised’) that appeared first in the literary style under the influence of Latin (in historical Slovak also due to contacts with the Czech language) and later became a regular part of the verbal paradigm. Currently, the productivity of these analytical passive constructions is supported by the influence of English.

**4)** In the Slovak grammatical works, another term “participle” can be encountered – in the construction “***l*-participle**” (*l*-ové príčastie). This term is used to denote the verb-form with the formant *-l-*, which is part of analytical preterite constructions (*robil som* ‘I did’). In fact, this form does not have participial character in the contemporary language; therefore, in academic works it is named “*l*-form” (see § 3.1). The name “participle” is motivated by a grammatical tradition that results from the participial origin of this form. The original *l*-participles, in historical grammars also called “perfect active participles II” (Stanislav 1967: 441), have a special position among the set of Slovak participles and are going to be a subject of this paper.

## 2.1 Participles as a transitional grammatical and lexical subgroup

---

<sup>3</sup> PSL had also a special form for present passive participles formed with the suffixes *-mъ*, *-ma*, *-mo*, which have not been preserved; they are documented only in a few relics in the contemporary language (*vedomý* ‘conscious’, *známy* ‘known’) (Krajčovič 1988: 146).

<sup>4</sup> In fact, the semantic characteristics of the Slovak passive participles is more complex and differentiated (cf. Ružička 1966: 495ff; Horecký, Buzássyová & Bosák et al. 1989: 200ff), but for our analysis, it is not necessary to specify it in detail.

The transient nature of participles lies in the accumulation of verbal (dynamic) and adjectival (static) grammatical characteristics and functions that are maintained or to differing degree reduced within each participial subgroup, or even in individual units. Thanks to this diversity, they are the subject of language changes, of dynamic tendencies and internal variation that document the mutual interrelation of grammaticalization and lexicalization processes (see Brinton & Traugott 2005: 89ff). This is also the reason why these units have been given particular attention in historical linguistic works in terms of the verb-to-adjective transformation in the process of adjectivization, and in the synchronic linguistics in terms of their grammatical affiliation to verbal or adjectival (resp. nominal) paradigm, not only at the level of grammatical descriptions of language, but also in lexicography.

On the one hand, they originate in verb base and semantically – to varying degrees – preserve the meaning of the action, on the other hand, they acquire the meaning of quality and integrate into the category of adjectives, cf.:

*cestujúci* ‘traveller’ is apparently related to *cestovať* ‘to travel’, but *budúci* ‘future’ (e.g. *budúci čas* ‘future tense’, *budúca generácia* ‘future generation’) has an obscured relation with the verb *budú* (PSL \**bŏdŏtŭ* ‘they will be’) grammaticalized later as an auxiliary in the analytical future tense constructions (cf. Králik 2015)

or

*písaný* ‘written’ is clearly related to *písať* ‘to write’, but *vzdelaný* ‘educated’ has an obscured origin in the PSL \**dělati* ‘to do’ and the Czech *vz-dělati* ‘to cultivate’ (e.g. soil), metaphorically transferred to ‘to ennoble, to educate’ (cf. Králik 2015)

Their grammatical characteristics, manifested in form, ranks them into the category of adjectives, which is even more apparent in Slovak (as well as in most other Slavic languages) as an inflected language, because they acquire adjectival declension expressing nominal categories such as grammatical gender, number and case. To a varying extent, they also preserve the verbal grammemes of voice (active and passive), aspect, and partially also tense (mainly those that have preserved the resultative meaning), and also some syntactic properties of verbs (valency).

The question of ambiguous categorization with respect to a particular part of speech, as well as the adjectivization (resp. the succession of the verb-to-adjective transformation), is in Slovak linguistics more perceived and studied in detail in the case of passive participles (original past passive participles) with the formant *-n-* or *-t-*.<sup>5</sup> In the academic *Morphology of the Slovak language* (Ružička 1966: 556), the transformation of the passive participles to adjectives is assessed as a “common phenomenon”, and it is argued that: “the perception of the participle as the adjective is just a matter of stabilizing a certain usage (when it starts to be used as an adjective).

---

<sup>5</sup> A detailed analysis the adjectivization of *-n-* and *-t-* participles has been done by Sejáková (1995); cf. also her chapter in Horecký, Buzássyová & Bosák et al. 1989: 200–211. In addition to the formal structural criteria, Králik suggests differentiating adjectival constructions from verbal passive constructions based on their semantic properties, with regard to the meaning of the adjective and the meaning of the participle (for more see Králik 2003: 141–142).

The passive participle is either an adjective or a virtual adjective (it can be used as an adjective)”.<sup>6</sup> In the statement about the stabilization of a certain usage and about the virtuality of the participle as an adjective we can see a connection with the graduality of this linguistic change and with its possible historical and contemporary variability. This can be identified not only in the case of passive participles, but also in the historical as well as the present forms of the original active past participles with the formant *-l-*, which is the subject of this paper (§ 3).

In the process of adjectivization – depending also on the meaning and further semantic derivation – the participles besides nominal adjective declension often (but not always) acquire adjectival gradability (e.g. *vzdelanejší* ‘more educated’; but not *\*písanejší* ‘more written’), form negative antonyms (*nevzdelaný* ‘uneducated’, *nepísaný* ‘unwritten’), and/or they adopt derivational properties typical of adjectives, i.e. they create adverbs with the suffixes *-e*, *-o* (*vzdelane*, e.g. *rozprávať*, *vyzerat’ vzdelane* ‘to speak, look educated’) or abstract nouns with the suffix *-osť* (*vzdelanosť* ‘(status of) education’). These characteristics have been defined as criteria for classifying the original verbal participles as adjectives (Ružička 1966: 231). However, more detailed and complex grammatical and lexicological works (Horecký, Buzássyová & Bosák et al. 1989: 200ff; Sejáková 1995 and others), as well as lexicographical practices, show that these criteria are not unequivocal and cannot be generally applied and fully accepted. For example, when compiling dictionaries, lexicographers still consider many questionable issues due to the overlapping of grammatical characteristics of verbs and adjectives, but the reason of the ambiguity lies predominantly in the fact that the verb-to-adjective transformation process is accompanied by various semantic changes, such as 1) desemanticization of the verb grammatical meanings, 2) metonymic transposition, and 3) semantic derivation and the rise of polysemy. The aim of this paper is not to find another, more reliable criterion, but (on the example of participles with the formant *-l-*) to show the importance of the semantic background of the gradualness of the adjectivization process as a type of language change.

## 2.2 Diachronic note

For the following interpretation, it is necessary to add a brief diachronic note. As mentioned above, due to the transitional position between verbs and adjectives, the participles as members of verbal paradigm express also the grammatical categories of adjectival inflexion.

Analogically with the declension system of PSL adjectives, they had two types of adjectival declension – 1) **substantival** (or short) declension with endings of noun paradigms and 2) **composite** (or long) declension adopted from the declension of former pronouns (cf. Lamprecht, Šlosar & Bauer 1986: 138). Both forms could occur in the attributive or predicative position, the substantival predominantly in the predicative position and the composite in the attributive. The composite forms emerged from the former syntactic construction of the substantival form of adjective and the form of PSL demonstrative *jb*, *ja*, *je*, which had the function to denote a known, concrete or unique referent. After reanalysis, the syntactic construction changed to an analytical

---

<sup>6</sup> “chápanie prídavia ako adjektíva je len otázka ustálenia istého úzu (aby sa ako adjektívum začalo používať). Trpné prídavie je alebo už adjektívum alebo virtuálne adjektívum (možno ho použiť ako adjektívum).“ English transl. by G. M.



and later, after phonological changes, to a synthezized form of the adjective with a grammatical function (category) of definiteness (Krajčovič 1988: 113; for more detail see Múcsková 2012).

In later development the systems of substantival and composite adjectival forms diverged. While the substantival forms gradually lost their structural character and disappeared (in the current Slovak language only a few lexicalized relics have been preserved; they have been more widely preserved in Czech in a predicative position – cf. Krajčovič 1988: 114), the composite pronominal forms lost their grammatical category of definiteness and became the only regular structural members of adjectival declension. Along with other adjectives, also the participial declension has undergone analogous development, and only the composite forms have been preserved as productive (there are only a few lexicalized short forms of the original passive participles, e.g. *hoden* ‘worthy’, *vinen* ‘guilty’, *dlžen* ‘owed’, etc.); in dictionaries they are classified as “adjectival nominal forms” (*prídavný menný tvar*).<sup>7</sup>

But the *l*-participles have undergone markedly different divergent development of substantival and composite forms. The substantival forms have been preserved and structurally generalised in their nominative forms because they have been grammaticalized in the analytical preterite verb-forms (see § 3.1; for more detail see Múcsková 2016) and the composite forms are, in contemporary Slovak grammars, categorized as the word-formation group “adjectives ending in *-lý*” (or *-l*-deverbal adjectives; cf. Karlík & Migdalski 2017), which gives the impression that they – as a whole group – have been fully lexicalized in the process of adjectivization. Our analysis (see § 3.2) shows that this group of “adjectives ending in *-lý*” is still very diverse and variable – it is not uniformly adjectivized but reflects different stages of the adjectivization process.

### 3. *L*-participles – a “disappeared” participial subgroup

Participles with the formant *-l-* historically developed from Indo-European deverbal adjectives formed from intransitive verbs with the suffix *-l-*, which originally had the meaning ‘tendency or propensity to do the activity expressed by the verb’<sup>8</sup> or later also the meaning ‘quality as a result of the previous action’ (cf. Lamprecht, Slosar & Bauer 1986: 307–312; Damborský 1967: 127; recently Múcsková 2016: 45ff). After these adjectives acquired the resultative participial character in the Proto-Slavic period, they started to rank in the number of other participles (also former deverbal adjectives) with the formants *-nt-*, *-s-*, *-m-*, *-n-* and *-t-* and became a part of verb paradigm (cf. Dostál 1953: 268; Zubatý 1980: 52ff). In terms of grammatical categories, they functioned as past (or perfect) and active participles, in opposition to past passive, present active and present passive participles, but their specificity – in comparison with the other participles – lies in the divergent development of substantival (short) and composite (long) declension forms and in their further syntactic and morphological development.

In this paper, we focus on the group of composite forms and the process of their adjectivization, but this process is closely related to the development in the group of substantival declension forms, so we briefly describe it in the following section.

---

<sup>7</sup> See e.g. grammatical definition of given examples in Slovak dictionaries available at <https://slovník.juls.savba.sk/>

<sup>8</sup> Preserved e.g. in today’s adjectives *ospalý* ‘sleepy’ (i.e. ‘tending to sleep’), *dbalý* ‘conscientious’ (or who tends to be concerned) etc.

### 3.1 Substantival (short) forms in the context of grammaticalization

The substantival forms of the PSL deverbal adjectives with the formant *-l-* were used mainly in the predicative position. Together with present forms of the verb *byť* ‘to be’ in the function of copula, they formed syntactic verbo-nominal constructions with the meaning ‘to be the one who tends to do the action expressed by the verb’ (e.g. the construction *\*padělb jesmb* had the meaning ‘I am the one who tends to fall’). After the adjectives had acquired the resultative participial character (changed into so-called *l*-participles or past active participles), the construction with the copula *byť* ‘to be’ had changed its meaning to ‘the present state of the subject as a result of some previous action’ (i.e. ‘I am the one who has fallen’). Further development followed the stages of the grammaticalization process (stated by Lehmann 2015: 137ff), in which the syntactic construction was transformed into an analytical grammatical form accompanied by a reanalysis based on metonymy, i.e. transformation of the hierarchy of categorial and sub-categorial semantic components (from state to action). The result of this process is the analytical construction denoting a past event with a consequence to the presence (‘I have fallen down’) that has ranked into the system of the PSL past tenses as a grammatical form of the “perfect”. After the loss of PSL synthetic forms (imperfect and aorist) and the emergence of the category of aspect, the analytical construction of the perfect with the resultative meaning was generalized, gained productivity and was transformed into the general preterite.<sup>9</sup> Similarly, the original substantival forms of the *l*-participle became part of other analytical verb-forms – plusquamperfect and conditional constructions.

Unlike the extinct or declining substantival forms of the other participial types, the substantival variants of *l*-participles were preserved and underwent the process of paradigmaticization and generalization to the whole category of verbs. On the other hand, in the scope of the emergence of analytical grammatical constructions and rise of abstract grammatical meanings (grammemes), they have lost their functional and semantic autonomy and discreteness. In the process of semantic reanalysis and therefrom resulting decategorization, *l*-participles (as components of the analytical grammatical constructions) lost the semantic component of quality and denoted only the meaning of action. They have lost their adjectival declension and have been fossilized in the nominative forms (Damborský 1967; Stanislav 1987: 114). From among the nominal grammatical characteristics they have partially (in the singular forms) preserved the formants – congruent grammatical morphemes – reflecting nominal gender.

After the loss of flexion, they ceased to be perceived as substantival grammatical forms, or participles in the true sense of the word, and began to be perceived as verb units, which functioned as the *l*-basis of the analytical verb-forms (cf. Kopečný et al. 1980: 110; Damborský 1967: 12); the former derivational formant *-l* has been transferred to an abstract grammatical morpheme – the preterite marker (cf. Andresen 1987: 26; Ivanov 1983: 351).

---

<sup>9</sup> The gradual emergence and further development of the analytical grammatical form of the Proto-Slavic perfect and its later development into general preterite, as it is known in contemporary Slovak, was the subject of the work by Múcsková (2016). Her interpretation is based on the grammaticalization theory of Bernd Heine and Tania Kuteva (Heine 2003; Heine and Kuteva 2004, 2005), Paul J. Hopper and Elizabeth C. Traugott (2003), Christian Lehmann (2015) and others.

In conclusion, it can be summarized that the semantic and functional changes of the original *l*-participles in their substantival variants carried out in the process of grammaticalization of the analytical verb-forms caused the separation of these forms from the other types of participles, therefore recently they should not be referred to as participles but as *l*-forms (Pauliny 1947: 61; Ružička 1966: 474; Komárek 2006: 124; Andresen 1987: 26). Moreover, the grammaticalization process of the development of analytical constructions containing the original substantival *l*-participial forms could act as a motivating factor for the more pronounced lexicalization process of composite variants of *l*-participles (§ 3.2).<sup>10</sup>

### 3.2 Composite (long) forms in the context of lexicalization

As mentioned before, in contemporary Slovak grammars the original *l*-participles with long (or composite) declension are not (unlike the other participial groups) named “participles”.<sup>11</sup> They are categorized as a word-formation group of “adjectives ending in *-lý*”, which gives the impression that they – as a whole group – have been completely lexicalized in the process of adjectivization.<sup>12</sup> The analysis of currently recorded “adjectives ending in *-lý*”, which come from the Proto-Slavic active past participles with resultative meaning, shows that most of the individual units have indeed gone through the process of adjectivization, but to varying degrees. The whole group is highly variable, formally (by the degree of adopting the grammatical categories and derivative properties typical of adjectives), but especially semantically (with regard to their apparent relation to the verb, preservation of the active voice, resultativeness, semantic derivation and polysemy). In the paper, we will pay attention mainly to the semantic aspects of the adjectivization process with respect to the analysed participial units.

Our analysis is based on 380 lexical units excerpted from the dictionaries of contemporary standard Slovak.<sup>13</sup> These units were also confronted with data in the *Concise etymological*

---

<sup>10</sup> Similar divergent development in English in case of present participles ending in *-ing* was presented by Brinton & Traugott (2005: 111–122).

<sup>11</sup> Paradoxically, the short forms in the analytical preterite constructions are still often referred to as *l*-participles, despite having undergone the grammaticalization process accompanied by desemanticization and loss of grammatical and semantic traits of participles (§ 3.1).

<sup>12</sup> As stated in the *Morphology of the Slovak language* (Ružička 1966: 232), these units have “full adjectival validity” (“plnú adjektívnu platnosť”), or they are referred to as “verbal adjectives ending in *-lý*” (“slovesné prídavné meno na *-lý*”) (ibid.: 495). Ján Horecký also excludes them from the system of verbal forms (Horecký 1995: 339). In Czech and Polish, as the Slavic languages closely related to Slovak, the original *l*-participles have been preserved to a greater extent; therefore those that have retained the participial character are still classified as participles and are distinguished from units that have been adjectivized (cf. Damborský 1967: 17; Klemensiewicz, Lehr-Splawiński & Urbańczyk 1955: 383–384; Kowalska 1976; Nagórko 2012: 220 and others).

<sup>13</sup> *Krátky slovník slovenského jazyka* [Concise dictionary of the Slovak language] (2003) – hereinafter KSSJ, *Slovník súčasného slovenského jazyka* [Dictionary of the Contemporary Slovak Language] (2006–2015) – hereinafter SSSJ and *Slovník slovenského jazyka* [Dictionary of the Slovak Language] (1959–1968) – hereinafter SSJ. The dictionaries are available at the web-portal <https://slovník.juls.savba.sk/>.

The results presented in this paper do not include examples from historical and dialectal lexicographical works; we just briefly state that *l*-participles were more productive and frequent in written historical documents from the Slovak territory, but their language was highly influenced by Latin and the historical Czech language, what distorts the picture of the real functioning of these units in the historical Slovak language. As far as Slovak dialects are

*dictionary of Slovak* (Králík 2015) in order to verify their etymological participial origin, thereby excluding formally similar units that are not deverbals but come from original autonomous adjectives (e.g. *malý* ‘little, small’, *celý* ‘whole’, *milý* ‘kind’, *zlý* ‘bad’, etc.)<sup>14</sup>, in which the consonant *l* is a part of the word base. The whole corpus includes also units that cannot be clearly perceived as original PSL perfect active participles. Some of them are continuants of older Indo-European deverbal adjectives (e.g. *jedlý* ‘eatable’ related to Latin *edulis* – cf. Králík 2015) or there is also a subgroup of more recent adjectives ending in *-lý* analogously formed from preterite verb-forms (*l*-forms), which are usually secondary verbs derived from the nominal base (e.g. *nažltlý* ‘yellowish’ from *žltnúť* ‘to turn yellow’ derived from the adjective *žltý* ‘yellow’). Some of these units have also been verified in the *Slovak National Corpus*<sup>15</sup> to determine their real use and productivity; in addition, we have found some new units that are not recorded in the dictionaries.<sup>16</sup>

Despite the above-mentioned fact that all analysed units are categorized as adjectives in the dictionaries examined, our analysis shows that they differ in the degree of adjectivization and form a relatively non-homogeneous group of units (alike Kyseľová 2012: 260). The entire material analysed was divided into semantic subgroups according to the degree of preservation or bleaching of the semantic components and categorial characteristics typical of the participles as units of the verb paradigm, i.e.:

- a clear semantic correlation with the meaning of the basic verb or a decline of awareness of the semantic relationship with the verb;
- the presence of semantic derivation and the rise of polysemy, suggesting a higher degree of autonomy and independence of the transformed adjective (cf. Damborský 1967: 17ff);
- the presence/absence of the semantic component of resultativeness (related to the grammatical meaning of the perfect tense and perfective aspect) and the active voice, which are in the basis of the original meaning ‘quality or status as a result of some previous action that has been performed by the subject’.

These mutually conditioned and interrelated semantic changes are present in different ways and to varying degrees in almost every individual adjective, resp. participle that has been investigated. Therefore, the whole group appears to be very diverse and dynamic, and the delimited (and at the

---

concerned, *l*-participles are more productive in West-Slovak dialects (adjacent to the Moravian area), but the situation has not yet been reliably researched and requires special attention (cf. Štolc 1978: 173–174).

<sup>14</sup> Also J. Damborský (1967: 13) declares the need to distinguish true participles with the formant *-l-* from autonomous adjectives ending in *-lý*.

<sup>15</sup> <http://korpus.juls.savba.sk>

<sup>16</sup> A large set of units with the suffix *-lý* (and with some verbal prefix) in the Czech language has been introduced by Čermák (2008, 2016) who examined the circumfix constructions of the word-formation adjectival macro-type *prefix + (stem) – suffix -lý*. He considers all units in this group to be adjectives and does not take into account the diachronic aspect and their participial origin. However, his finding that these deverbative adjectives ending in *-lý* usually occur with some verbal prefix and they are not peripheral but create a word-formation macro-type, can be explained by the historical development of these units. The macro-type character stems from the fact that they were initially parts of grammatical paradigm. The prefixation is related to their original resultative meaning, as well as to the emergence of the category of aspect and later productivity of the prefixation in forming the perfective members of the opposition.

same time overlapping) subgroups represent just the most significant stages of the adjectivization process, of course, with some degree of simplification and generalization. In our description, we will proceed retrospectively – starting with fully adjectivized units and ending with those that still retain all the characteristics of participles as members of the verb paradigm.

### 3.2.1 *Adjectives of an obscured l-participial origin*

The highest degree of adjectivization can be attributed to adjectives whose participial origin is not apparent and in the common language awareness of the language users also the connection with the basic verb has been lost, mainly due to:

**a)** the loss of the original verb base in the contemporary language and the subsequent reanalysis, due to which the original formant *l* is perceived as part of the adjectival base; the historical participial origin of these adjectives can only be revealed by etymological reconstruction, e.g.:

**teplý** ‘warm’ – from the unpreserved Indo-European base *\*tep-* with the meaning ‘to be warm’ (Králík 2015);

**ojedinělý** ‘isolated, sporadic, unique’ – from the old and today lost verb *ojediniet’* ‘to be left alone’ (ibid.);

**mdlý** ‘insipid, bland, or dull’ – from PSL verb *\*mǣdēti* ‘to rot, decay, decompose’ (ibid.) which has not been preserved, as well as the original meaning of the participle *mdlý* ‘what has rotted, smouldered, decomposed’ has changed (today lexeme *mdlý* is not used in connection with e.g. tree or forest). The current meanings of the adjective *mdlý* (in the dictionaries analysed: 1. ‘slack, tired’; 2. ‘weak, lacklustre’ etc.) are the results of a later metaphorical transformation.

or **b)** the original verb still exists, but after gradual semantic derivation the semantic affinity between the action (expressed by the verb) and the quality or state (as the result of the action expressed by the adjective) has bleached out and users usually do not realize the historical relationship between the verb and the adjective, e.g.:

**smělý** ‘bold, daring’ – originally it was an *l*-participle of the verb *\*sǣmēti* – later *smiet’* ‘may, to be allowed’, which is a modal verb today; both related units – *smělý* and *smiet’* – originate from the same verbal paradigm of the Indo-European etymon *\*mē-*, *mō-*, *mā-* with the meaning ‘to strive intensively for something’ and have undergone divergent semantic development. The meaning of the verb developed into ‘to dare to do something’ and further to the modal ‘to be allowed to, may’; the original resultative meaning of *l*-participle has been transformed from ‘the one who was allowed to do something’ to ‘the one who has dared to do something’ and finally to the contemporary qualitative meaning ‘daring, bold’ (Králík 2015);

**čulý** ‘spry, lively’ – which is the original *l*-participle of the verb *čut’* ‘to hear; to recognize, to feel (with senses)’<sup>17</sup>; the participial resultative meaning ‘the one who has heard, recognized, felt’ has changed into the meaning of present quality ‘who perceives, reacts’ (Králík 2015). The contemporary meaning is broad, and it has developed not only into ‘lively, spry’ but also into

---

<sup>17</sup> Which is a little bit archaic today, but well preserved in prefixed forms *počut’*, *začut’* ‘to hear’, *načúvat’* ‘to listen to’, etc.). The meaning ‘to feel’ is also present in the today’s archaic negative counterpart *nečulý* – ‘insensitive’.

‘quick, agile, active, eventful’ etc., and it is metaphorically transferred to collocations with names of inanimate objects (traffic, village) or abstract phenomena (life, relationships, friendship, etc.); this semantic transformation has motivated the loss of awareness of the correlation with the basic meaning ‘to hear’;

**nevrľý** ‘grumpy, surly’ – an antonym of the no more existing word \**vrľý*, which was formed from *vriet’* ‘to boil’. Today’s variant form is *vrelý* and its original meaning ‘what has boiled’ and ‘hot’ was later metaphorically transformed into ‘warm, amiable, pleasant’ (Králík 2015; see § 3.2.2).

### 3.2.2 Adjectives with an obscured l-participial meaning

The more representative group consists of units that are apparently related to the verb base and this relationship is evident, but semantically they refer to sustained quality or property of someone or something not specified as to time, e.g.:

**svetľý** ‘light, bright’ – formed from *svietit’* ‘to shine, to light’;

**trvalý** ‘lasting, permanent’ – originating in *trvat’* ‘to last, to continue’;

**bdelý** ‘watchful, wakeful’ – related to *bdieť* ‘to be awake’;

**kysľý** ‘sour’ – formed from *kysnúť* ‘to sour, to turn sour’;

etc.

They have lost the semantic component of resultativeness, as well as the closely related verbal grammatical meaning of the perfect tense denoting a past event with its consequence up to the present<sup>18</sup> and the meaning of the perfective aspect that both – the perfect tense and perfective aspect – were characteristic of their original participial nature. These participial semantic components have gradually bleached and lost during the historical development. Therefore, these units started to function as adjectives and they have become integrated into this category also by their structural properties: they can be gradable (*svetlejší, najsvetlejší*), derived into adverbs (*trvale, bdelo*) or into nouns (*bdelosť, trvalosť*), and can occur in attributive and predicative positions. The fact that they express the sustained quality of the entity is also reflected in their dictionary definitions, where they are often explained by the present active participles (ending in *-úci*) as equivalents, cf. e.g.:

**svetľý** ‘light, bright’

1. majúci slabšiu (farebnú) intenzitu, bledý, jasný, (...) – ‘having a weaker (colour) intensity, pale, clear’
2. majúci dost’ svetla, ožiarený svetlom, jasný, (...) – ‘having enough light, illuminated by light, clear’
3. vydávajúci svetlo, žiariaci, jasný: (...) – ‘emitting light, shining, clear’.<sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup> In case of adjective *kysľý*, it is possible to distinguish the non-resultative quality of being sour (e.g. lemon) or the quality which is a result of some chemical process of souring (acidification; e.g. milk, cream, gherkin etc.); in this case the meaning is resultative. When the quality of being sour is not desired and we speak about e.g. spoiled food which has turned sour (e.g. milk, wine, soup etc.), the prefixed passive participle *skysnutý* is used.

<sup>19</sup> According to KSSJ.

As adjectives, they often undergo the process of semantic derivation and acquire polysemic character with secondary metaphorical meanings, usually expressive or literary, like the other two meanings of the word *svetlý*:

5. *expr.* radostný, šťastný, priaznivý (...) – ‘*expr.* joyful, happy, favourable’ (e. g. future)

6. *kniž.* vznešený, ušľachtilý – ‘*liter.* noble, illustrious’ (e.g. memory);<sup>20</sup>

or the metaphorical meaning of *kyslý* – ‘reflecting dissatisfaction, disgust, unfriendly, bitter’ (e.g. smile) or *bdely* – ‘watchful, vigilant’ (e.g. guardian, mind).

Sometimes the basic meaning closely associated with the meaning of the source verb has been lost and in the contemporary language such adjectives function only in their metaphorical meanings, e.g.

*skvelý* – formed from the verb *skviet’ sa* ‘to glitter, sparkle’ has only metaphorical meanings:

1. nádherný, prepychový [beautiful, luxurious], e.g. hotel

2. znamenitý, vynikajúci [excellent], e.g. speech;<sup>21</sup>

*vrelý* – formed from *vriet’* ‘to boil’ has only literary meaning ‘warm, honest’ (e.g. feelings) and the use of this adjective with the original resultative meaning directly related to the verb, i.e. ‘something that has got to a boiling point’ or ‘boiling, hot’ is labelled as colloquial (KSSJ) or dialectal (SSJ). However, this is also related to the language policy and the regulatory function of standard language dictionaries (cf. § 3.2.3).

*zbehlý* ‘proficient, expert’ – is formed from *zbehnúť* ‘to run away’ and its original meaning ‘sb. who has run away, escaped’ is documented only in historical texts or dictionaries.

The overlapping of dynamic (and resultative) and static (qualitative) components is documented on examples that are related to perfective (usually prefixed) verbs with the resultative semantic component, which is perceived to a certain degree, but in the meaning of the adjectives, the component of current or sustained quality prevails, e.g.:

*zaostalý* ‘backward, retarded’ – from the perfective *zaostat’* ‘to fall behind’;

*osamelý* ‘lonely, alone’ – from *osamieť* ‘to become lonely, to be left alone’.

Such units of hybrid character, with regard to the proportion of their dynamic (perfectiveness and resultativeness) and static (current or sustained quality) components – are closed to units described in the following section.

### 3.2.3 *L-participial adjectives with preserved resultative meaning*

Following the sequence and the gradualness of the adjectivization process of the former *l*-participles, the presence or absence of the semantic component of resultativeness appears to be a

---

<sup>20</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> *ibid.*

key point. As mentioned above, old PSL deverbal adjectives with the suffix *-l-* acquired the component of resultativeness after the semantic change based on metonymy: from the ‘tendency or propensity to do something’ to ‘quality as a result of the previous action’. This semantic change motivated the formation of the specific and in the past productive participial subgroup, which was on the one hand closely related to semantic changes accompanying the grammaticalization of the Proto-Slavic perfect (see § 3.1) and, on the other hand, a base for a new participial group of past active participles, with adjectivization tendencies.

The largest subgroup (more than 220 units) of the forms analysed in our research consists of units that in their meaning have retained the semantic component ‘quality or state as a result of some previous action’ and their direct relation to the base verb is evident, so they (at least in their basic meanings) can be classified as resultative participles. This subgroup has been delimited on the base of the presence of the above-mentioned properties, but regarding further semantic changes, the whole subgroup appears to be very heterogeneous with different amounts of dynamic and static properties; therefore, these units are referred to as *l*-participial adjectives:

***zrelý*** ‘ripe, mature’ – formed from *zriet’* ‘to ripen, to mature’;

***hnilý*** ‘rotten, decayed’ – from *hniť* ‘to rot, to decay’;

***minulý*** ‘past’ – related to *minút’ sa* ‘to pass, to be gone’.

Except for a few examples (like the three mentioned above), the *l*-participial adjectives are mostly formed from the prefixed intransitive perfective verbs where the category of the perfective aspect also presupposes the semantic component of resultativeness, e.g.:

***dospelý*** ‘adult’ – from *dospieť* ‘to have grown up’;

***zachovalý*** ‘well-preserved’ – from *zachovať (sa)* ‘to have preserve (oneself)’;

***zosnulý*** or ***zomrelý*** ‘deceased, dead’ – from *zosnúť*, *zomrieť* ‘to have died’ (*zosnulý* is a euphemistic expression for ‘dead’ related to (now archaic) *zosnúť*, literally ‘to fall asleep’, but it is used only in the meaning ‘to have died’);

***zastaralý*** ‘outdated, obsolete’ – from *zastarať* ‘to become outdated, obsolete’, which is a secondary verb derived from the adjective *starý* ‘old’ (its deverbal origin can be found as far back as in the Indo-European stem *stā-* ‘to stand’; cf. Králik 2015);

***pozostalý*** ‘who remained alive, survivor (usually about relatives)’ – from *pozostať* ‘to have remained’;

***uplynulý*** ‘past’ – from *uplynúť* ‘to have passed’;

etc.

The participial character, the resultative meaning and the clear relationship to the verb base of these units are maintained in their basic meanings, but in case of other – semantically derived and metaphorical – meanings they occur in new collocations and express a sustained quality not specified as to time. In these lexias (members of the polysemic lexeme), they diverge from the verbal paradigm and merge into the category of qualitative adjectives – cf. metaphorical meanings of *hnilý* – ‘lazy’, *zrelý* – ‘mature’ (e.g. man or artist), *minulý* ‘last’ (e.g. year or issue of a journal, etc.), *pokročilý* ‘advanced’ (related to *pokročiť* with the basic meaning ‘to take a step forward’ and secondary ‘to progress’), *skleslý* ‘sad and depressed, dejected’ (e.g. man or mood) formed from



*sklesnúť* ‘to have fallen, decreased’ etc. The semantic (metaphorical) derivation, accompanied by the emergence of polysemy and the bleaching or loss of the basic meanings (both lexical and grammatical), is also perceived as one of the signs of adjectivization process.<sup>22</sup>

The subgroup of the *l*-participial adjectives with preserved resultative meaning documents another semantic change in their evolution, and that is the loss of grammatical meaning of the active voice (the original *l*-participles were active, i.e. the meaning ‘quality as a result of the previous action’ means that the previous action has been carried out by the subject). This change concerns a large number of this subgroup and is interrelated to synonymization with the passive (*-n-*, *-t-*) participles; both participial subgroups have in common that they refer to the past action, have the resultative meaning, and in the PSL period they were predominantly derived from intransitive verbs.<sup>23</sup> The loss or the neutralization of the active voice is also evident in the lexicographical processing of these units, when<sup>24</sup>:

1) the passive participles (usually prefixed) are used as equivalents in the meaning descriptions:  
SSSJ: **hnilý** *-lá -lé* príd. **1.** ktorý podľahol hnitiu (...) syn. zhnitý – ‘which has decayed (...), synonymous decayed’;  
KSSJ: **zrelý** *príd. 1.* kt. dozrel, dozretý – ‘which has ripened, ripe’;  
KSSJ: **zachovalý** *príd. kniž.* zachovaný – ‘preserved’;  
KSSJ: **skleslý** *príd. kniž.* sklúčený, sklesnutý – ‘gloomy, dejected’;  
etc.

2) *l*-participial adjective and past participle are given as synonyms in the headwords of the entry:  
KSSJ: zomretý, *kniž.* **zomrelý** – ‘deceased, dead’;  
KSSJ: utkvený, **utkvelý** – ‘fixed’;  
SSJ: zastaraný, *star. i* **zastaralý** *príd.* – ‘outdated, obsolete’.

3) passive participle is given as a cross-reference:  
SSJ: **zvädľý** *p.* zvädnutý;  
SSJ: **opilý** *p.* opitý.

These lexicographical practices document the semantic and functional convergence of units coming from two participial subgroups and their synonymization (which is, of course, associated also with bleaching of the passive voice component on the part of original passive participles<sup>25</sup>).

---

<sup>22</sup> In the case of passive participles, in dictionary conceptions the emergence of polysemy is a criterion for processing the unit as a separate entry.

<sup>23</sup> Also Komárek (2006: 125) says that “Míšení přičestí na *-ný/-tý* s přičestím na *-lý* (...) vyplývá z toho, že u nepředmětových sloves se rozlišování těchto přičestí neuplatňuje.” [The mixing of the participles ending in *-ný/-tý* with the participles ending in *-lý* (...) results from the fact that in the case of intransitive verbs the distinction between these participles does not exist. English transl. by G. M.]

<sup>24</sup> Passive participles underlined by G. M.

<sup>25</sup> That is why the *Morphology of the Slovak language* (Ružička 1966: 495) states: “Tento neurčitý slovesný tvar sa nazýva trpným prídastím, hoci často ani nemá trpný význam a nepoužíva sa v pasívnych konštrukciách. Bolo by teda lepšie pomenovať ho podľa formálneho príznaku *n-/t-ovým* prídastím, (...)” – This indeterminate verb-form is called

There are a few examples where the related *l*-participial adjectives and passive participles semantically preserve the categorial difference of voice, e.g.:

**zaslúžilý** ‘having merits’ (e.g. artist, worker; i.e. it is used in collocations with persons) and **zaslúžený** ‘well-deserved, obtained on the basis of merit’ (e.g. deserved success, rest) – both from *zaslúžiť si* ‘to deserve’;

**padlý** ‘fallen’ in metaphorical collocation *padlý vojak* ‘fallen soldier’ (i.e. a soldier who died in battle) and *padlá žena* ‘fallen woman’ (i.e. immoral) and **padnutý** – ‘who or what has dropped to the ground, fallen’ (e.g. tree) (cf. Horecký 1995: 342).

The gradual semantic convergence of both participial subgroups has led to the emergence of numerous competitive variants and synonyms. During later development, the passive participles became more productive and many of the *l*-participial adjectives gradually ceased to be used and became archaic. This fact is also reflected in the lexicographical works, in which these lexemes are characterized as stylistically marked and referred to as literary (*kniž.*) or archaic (*zastar.*). Archaization of the *l*-participial adjectives with resultative meaning is evident from the comparison of the older dictionary SSJ (1959–1968) and the newer KSSJ (2003): the SSJ contains 190 lexemes of this type more than the KSSJ. Almost all these lexemes have in their semantic definitions one (sometimes both) of the stylistic field labels (*kniž.* and/or *zastar.*) and the corresponding passive participles as semantic equivalents. Only 33 adjectives with preserved participial meaning are included in the recent KSSJ<sup>26</sup>; the other *l*-participial adjectives have been replaced by equivalent passive participles.

Ján Horecký in his article *Adjectives ending in -lý* (1995) presented very similar results from the comparison of two editions of *The Rules of Slovak Orthography* (*Pravidlá slovenského pravopisu* – hereinafter PSP) – 1940 and 1991; in PSP 1940 there were registered more than 100 lexemes, while in 1991 they were reduced to only a half of this number.<sup>27</sup> According to Horecký, among the units ending in *-lý* those disappeared that have equivalent forms ending in *-ný/-tý*, because these express the resultative meaning more clearly; units that do not have the *-n/-t*-equivalent are retained, as well as the units with an obscured relation to the basic verb and its meaning (Horecký 1995: 341).

A comparison of the number of individual units of *l*-participial adjectives in two dictionaries (and in two editions of PSP) indicates to a certain extent the natural tendency of archaization of the *l*-forms in the development of the Slovak language. It should be added that the Slovak language policy of the 20<sup>th</sup> century significantly influenced the difference in the number of units listed in the dictionaries and played an important role in the decline of the *l*-participial adjectives from the vocabulary. In the early 1960s (when the SSJ was being prepared) language policy promoted the convergence of Slovak and Czech, and codification of the Slovak language

---

passive participle, although it often has no passive meaning and is not used in passive constructions. It would be better to call it according to its formal sign an *n/-t-* participle, (...). English transl. by G. M.

<sup>26</sup> Of course, in KSSJ, there are more adjectives ending in *-lý*, but they belong to the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 2<sup>nd</sup> subgroups.

<sup>27</sup> However, into his analysis Horecký included all adjectives ending in *-lý* of the participial origin and did not divide them into semantic subgroups. Our statistics also include instances mentioned in section 3.2.4.

supported the use of lexical units that were common to Czech. Therefore, the number of *l*-participial adjectives in the SSJ may also include contact Czech lexemes that have not been fully established in language practice of that time.<sup>28</sup> However, in the second half of the 1960s, the Slovak language policy reverted to protective purist attitudes (known also from the 1930s) and endeavoured to eliminate units considered to be Czech; among them the *l*-participial adjectives (cf. Lifanov 2006: 240–241; Kyseľová 2012; Nábělková 2014: 80–81).

In codification and other linguistic works focused on language regulation, authors recommended to avoid the forms ending in *-lý* and replace them with forms of passive participles (cf. Jánošík 1936–37: 133; Peciar 1946, 1980). Therefore, in the normative dictionary KSSJ some *l*-forms are marked as incorrect and there are recommended forms introduced with the label *správ.* ‘correct’, e.g.: **nahorklý**, *správ.* **horkastý** ‘bitterish’; **prepadlý**, *správ.* **prepadnutý** ‘sunken’ (e.g. face, cheeks). The consequence of this language policy means, on the one hand, significant elimination of the *l*-participial adjectives (or proper *l*-participles – see § 3.2.4), on the other hand, the existence of units which are common in language practice but are not accepted by codification, e.g. *zastaralý* ‘outdated’, has more than 1700 occurrences in the Slovak national corpus (cf. Kyseľová 2012: 259).

### 3.2.4 True past active *l*-participles

In the contemporary Slovak language, there is only a limited but stable group of units ending in *-lý*, which are apparently related to the verb base in its basic meaning, preserved the resultativeness and the active voice, so they retain the original participial character and can be considered part of the verb paradigm. These units often have low collocability and are used in the particular registers (administration, economics, poetics or historical texts). Typical representatives of this group are verba movendi – specifically, the prefixed derivatives of the verb *ísť* ‘go’:

**došlý** – ‘who/what has come’ used usually in administration in collocation with mail, invoice, payment, consignment, news etc.;

**zašlý** – ‘what has gone’ – a rather poetic expression in collocations with glory, times, etc.;

**prišlý** – ‘who/what has come’ – today quite archaic, used in religious or historical texts;

**novoprišlý** – ‘who has recently come’ – occurred in historical or administrative contexts (e.g. ethnic, emigrant, teacher, etc.);

**vyšlý** – ‘who/what has gone out’ – occurred in older historical literary texts; recently it is used in administration with payment, invoice, etc.

**ušlý** – ‘what has been lost’ – e.g. salary, profit, income, receipts, etc.; used more widely in the past, e.g. in the meaning ‘who escaped’ (prisoner, wife, horse) or ‘what has passed’ (year).

As Kyseľová shows (2012: 264), in the Slovak National Corpus it is possible to identify several new lexical units ending in *-lý*, which so far function as language innovations, having the character of occasionalisms (derived from the secondary verbs or verbal occasionalisms) or they are new contact borrowings from the Czech language (e.g. *zbastardelý* – from *bastard* – ‘who has lost good qualities or acquired features of a bad man, bastard’, *pojaponštely* – from *Japan* – ‘what has taken

<sup>28</sup> As already mentioned, in the Czech language, the *l*-participial adjectives have been largely preserved and many of them are still productive.

on Japanese character' (e.g. music), *spovrchneľý* – from the secondary verb derived from the adjective *povrchný* 'superficial' – with the meaning 'who became less serious' (e.g. media), and others.

#### 4. Conclusions

The group of lexemes identified in Slovak descriptive grammatical and lexicographical works as "adjectives ending in *-ľý*" includes a variable set of units of hybrid nature. Their structural and semantic characteristics reflects the overlapping of the verbal and adjectival grammatical meanings and dynamic and static semantic components. Historically probably a larger and more homogeneous class of original perfect active participles used in resultative constructions lost its homogeneity and today it can generally be characterized as:

1) **limited** – units originating in verb base and now oscillating between participles and adjectives are neither formed from all (or from most of) verbs, nor from all perfective intransitive verbs, so they do not have structural character (unlike *-n/-t-* participles). In the process of the verb-to-adjective reanalysis and desemanticization (loss of resultative and active components), they diverged: they were transformed into adjectives, or they competed and later were substituted by *-n/-t-* participles. It can be said that their productivity has been gradually decreasing, even though occasionally new lexemes of the true *l*-participial character appeared and still appear;

2) **irregular** as to structural and derivational properties – except for the above-mentioned fact that they acquire the adjectival gradability and function as the base for the derivation into adverbs and abstract and personal nouns to a varying extent, they do not regularly form negative opposites (e.g. *\*vrľý* – *nevrľý* 'grumpy, surly', *bdelý* 'watchful, wakeful' – *\*nebdelý*);

3) **semantically rich** – with a high degree of metaphorical semantic derivation, and often with the loss of the original basic meaning and with rise of polysemy. However, the verb-to-adjective reanalysis is a transformation based on metonymy.

The above properties are characteristic of individualism, which is more typical for lexical units (adjectives and substantivized adjectives) than for members of grammatical paradigm (like verbal participles). Compared to other groups of participles, they are characterized by a higher degree of adjectivization (lexicalization), but this change is not completed and generalized in the whole class of units and the differences in losing and acquiring grammatical categorial meanings reflect the different phases and degrees of this change – as it is claimed in the definition of lexicalization given in the introduction: "Over time there may be further loss of internal constituency and the item may become more lexical." (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 96 – see § 1). Reconstruction of these phases, gradual decategorization and desemanticization, and reanalysis into a new structural and semantic class can serve as a contribution to more general questions about the nature of language change and its explanation.

The development of PSL perfect active participles with the formant *-l-* shows an interrelation between lexicalization and grammaticalization, as the original members of the same grammatical paradigm connected with oppositional relations have diverged after overcoming these two seemingly opposite changes. The analysis of grammaticalization of the substantival (short) forms of the original *l*-participles to analytical verb constructions has manifested that this process could be one of the motivating factors of the later paradigmatic, functional and semantic changes

of the *l*-participle forms with a long (composite) declension, as well as of their decline in productivity (cf. Múcsková 2016: 149; see also Damborský 1967: 10). This decline – also influenced by the historical language-planning factors – is still a source of language dynamics and variation.

## References

- Andersen, Henning. 1987. From auxiliary to desinence. In Haris, Martin & Ramat, Paolo (eds.), *Historical development of auxiliaries*, 21–51. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Brinton, Laurel J. & Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 2005. *Lexicalization and language change*. (Research Surveys in Linguistics). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Croft, William. 2000. *Explaining language change. An evolutionary approach*. Harlow: Longman.
- Croft, William. 2001. Typology. In Aronoff, Mark & Rees-Miller, Janie (eds.), *The Handbook of Linguistics*, 337–368. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Čermák, František. 2016. Diskrétní jednotky v jazyce: případ jednoho českého cirkumfixu. [Discrete Language Units: The Case of a Czech Circumfix.] *Jazykovedný časopis* 67(3). 273–282.
- Čermák, František. 2008. Diskrétní jednotky v jazyce: případ cirkumfixů. [Discrete Language Units: The case of circumfixes.] *Slovo a slovesnost* 69(1–2). 78–98.
- Damborský, Jan. 1967. *Participium l-ové ve slovanštině*. [L-participle in Slavic.] (Rozprawy Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 15). Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.
- Dostál, Antonín. 1953. Některé otázky vývoje slovanské konjugace a jejich řešení s hlediska vývojové gramatické stavby slovanských jazyků. [Some questions of the development of Slavic conjugation and their solutions with respect to the development of the grammatical structure of Slavic languages.] *Slavia. Časopis pro slovanskou filologii* 22(2–3). 267–275.
- Heine, Bernd. 2003. Grammaticalization. In Joseph, Brian D. & Janda, Richard D. (eds.), *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics*, 575–601. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Heine, Bernd & Kuteva, Tania. 2004. *World lexicon of grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hopper, Paul J. & Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 1993. *Grammaticalization*. (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hopper, Paul J. & Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 2003. *Grammaticalization*. (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics.) 2<sup>nd</sup> revised edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Horecký, Ján. 1995. Prídavné mená na -lý. [Adjectives ending in -lý.] *Kultúra slova* 29(6). 338–342.
- Horecký, Ján & Buzássyová, Klára & Bosák, Ján et al. 1989. *Dynamika slovnej zásoby súčasnej slovenčiny*. [The Dynamism of the Wordstock of Contemporary Slovak]. Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied.

- Ivanov, Valerij V. 1983. *Istoričeskaja grammatika russkogo jazyka*. [The historical grammar of the Russian language]. Moskva: Posveščenie.
- Jánošík, Anton. 1936/37. Zo školskej slovenčiny. [From the school Slovak.] *Slovenská reč* 5(5–6). 133–
- Karlík, Petr. 2003. K vnitřní struktuře českých ?participií. [On the internal structure of Czech ?participles.] *Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity - Linguistica Brunensia*. A51(1), 133-145. Brno: Masarykova univerzita.
- Karlík, Petr & Migdalski, Krzysztof. 2017. -L-PARTICIPIUM. [-L-PARTICIPLE.] In Karlík, Petr & Nekula, Marek & Pleskalová, Jana (eds.), *CzechEncy – Nový encyklopedický slovník češtiny*. (<https://www.czechency.org/slovník/-L-PARTICIPIUM>) (Accessed 2019-11-23.)
- Klemensiewicz, Zenon & Lehr-Splawiński, Tadeusz & Urbańczyk, Stanisław. 1955. *Gramatyka historyczna języka polskiego*. [The historical grammar of the Polish language.] Warszawa: Państwowe wydawnictwo naukowe.
- Kopečný, František et al. 1980. *Etymologický slovník slovanských jazyků. Slova gramatická a zájmena. Svazek 2. Spojky, částice, zájmena a zájmenná adverbia*. [Etymological dictionary of Slavic languages. Grammatical words and pronouns. Volume 2. Conjunctions, particles, pronouns and pronominal adverbs.] Praha: Academia.
- Kowalska, Alina. 1976. *Ewolucja analitycznych form czasownikowych z imiesłowem na -l w języku polskim*. [The evolution of analytical verb forms with the l-participle in the Polish language.] Katowice: Uniwersytet Śląski.
- Komárek, Miroslav. 2006. *Příspěvky k české morfologii*. [Contributions to the Czech morphology.] Olomouc: Periplum, družstvo nakladatelů.
- Krajčovič, Rudolf. 1988. *Vývin slovenského jazyka a dialektológia*. [Development of the Slovak language and dialectology.] Bratislava: Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo.
- Králik, Ľubor. 2015. *Stručný etymologický slovník slovenčiny*. [Concise etymological dictionary of Slovak.] Bratislava: Veda, vydavateľstvo SAV.
- Kysel'ová, Miroslava. 2012. Verbálne participiá a adjektíva tvorené koncovkou -lý v slovenčine, češtine a poľštine (vývoj a súčasné tendencie). In Příhoda, Marek & Kedron, Kateřina & Černý, Marcel (eds.). *Prolínání slovanských prostředí*, 259–267. Praha: Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy v Praze – Červený Kostelec: Pavel Mervart.
- Langacker, Ronald W. 1977. Syntactic reanalysis. In Li, Charles N. (ed.). *Mechanisms of Syntactic Change*, 57–139. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Lamprecht, Arnošt & Šlosar, Dušan & Bauer, Jaroslav. 1986. *Historická mluvnice češtiny*. [Historical grammar of the Czech language.] Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství.
- Lehmann, Christian. 2002. *Thoughts on grammaticalization*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Arbeitspapiere des Seminars für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Erfurt 9). Erfurt: Seminar für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität.

- Lifanov, Konstantin. 2006. Debogemizacia slovacckogo literaturnogo jazyka v XX. veke kak prodolzhenie processov dokodifikacionnogo perioda. [Debohémization of the Slovak literary language in the 20<sup>th</sup> century as a continuation of processes of the pre-codification period.] In Jesenšek, Marko & Zorko, Zinka (eds.). *Jezikovna predanost. Jubilejni zbornik akad. prof. dr. Jožetu Toporišiču ob 80-letnici.* (Zora 44). 234–245. Maribor: Slavistično društvo – Ljubljana: SAZU.
- Múcsková, Gabriela. 2012. The category of definiteness in relation to the lexical and grammatical development of the Slovak language. In Janyšková, Ilona & Karlíková, Helena (eds.) *Theory and Empiricism in Slavonic Diachronic Linguistics*, 423–433. Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny.
- Múcsková, Gabriela. 2016. *Jazykové zmeny v historickom vývine gramatických tvarov z aspektu gramatikalizácie (na príklade vývinu slovenského präterita)*. [Language changes in the historical development of grammatical forms from a grammaticalization perspective (on the example of the development of the Slovak preterite).] Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského.
- Múcsková, Gabriela. 2017. O slovenskom purizme a anti-purizme v kontexte jazykových ideológií. [About Slovak purism and anti-purism in the context of language ideologies.] In Lanstyák, István & Múcsková, Gabriela & Tancer, Jozef (eds.). *Jazyky a jazykové ideológie v kontexte viacjazyčnosti na Slovensku*, 39–79. Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského.
- Nábělková, Mira. 2014. The case of Czech-Slovak language contact and contact-induced phenomena. In Besters-Dilger, Juliane & Dermakar, Cynthia & Pfänder, Stefan & Rabus, Achim (eds.), *Congruence in contact-induced language change. Language families, typological resemblance, and perceived similarity*, 61–92. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Nagórko, Alicja. 2012. *Podręczna gramatyka języka polskiego*. [The practical grammar of the Polish language.] Warszawa: Wydawnictwo naukowe PWN.
- Pauliny, Eugen. 1947. *Nárečie zátopových osád na hornej Orave*. [The dialect of the flood settlements in the upper Orava.] Martin: Matica slovenská.
- Peciar, Štefan. 1946. Prídavné mená na -lý. [Adjectives ending in -lý.] *Slovenská reč* 12(1–2). 64–65.
- Peciar, Štefan. 1980. Aký postoj zaujať k prídavnému menu *okázalý*? [What attitude to take to the adjective *okázalý*?] *Kultúra slova* 14(3). 74–77.
- Ružička, Jozef et al. 1966. *Morfológia slovenského jazyka*. [Morphology of the Slovak language.] Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo SAV 1966.
- Sejáková, Jana. 1995. *Adjektivizácia n-/t-ových prídavných men v súčasnej slovenčine*. [Adjektivization of the n-/t-participles in contemporary Slovak.] Bratislava: Jazykovedný ústav Ľ. Štúra SAV 1995. (Doctoral dissertation.)
- Sokolová, Miloslava & Žigo, Pavol. 2014. *Verbálne kategórie aspekt a tempus v slovenčine*. [The verb categories of aspect and tense in Slovak.] Bratislava: Veda, vydavateľstvo SAV.
- Stanislav, Ján. 1967. *Dejiny slovenského jazyka 2. Tvaroslovie*. [History of the Slovak language 2. Morphology.] Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied.

- Stanislav, Ján. 1987. *Starosloviensky jazyk 2. Morfológia*. [Old Church Slavonic 2. Morphology.] Bratislava: Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo.
- Štolc, Jozef. 1978. *Atlas slovenského jazyka II. Flexia. Časť druhá – úvod, komentáre*. [Atlas of the Slovak language II. Inflexion. The second part – introduction, commentaries.] Bratislava: Veda, vydavateľstvo SAV.
- Zubatý, Josef. 1980. *České sloveso*. [The Czech verb.] Praha: Academia, nakladatelství Československé akademie věd. (reprint of edition published in 1921).

## Sources

### SSJ

- Peciar, Štefan (ed.) 1959. *Slovník slovenského jazyka. I. A–K*. [Dictionary of Slovak Language. A–K.] Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo SAV.
- Peciar, Štefan (ed.) 1960. *Slovník slovenského jazyka. II. L–O*. [Dictionary of Slovak Language. L–O.] Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo SAV.
- Peciar, Štefan (ed.) 1963. *Slovník slovenského jazyka. III. P–R*. [Dictionary of Slovak Language. P–R.] Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo SAV.
- Peciar, Štefan (ed.) 1964. *Slovník slovenského jazyka. IV. S–U*. [Dictionary of Slovak Language. S–U.] Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo SAV.
- Peciar, Štefan (ed.) 1965. *Slovník slovenského jazyka. V. V–Ž*. [Dictionary of Slovak Language. V–Ž.] Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo SAV.

### KSSJ

- Kačala, Ján & Pisárčiková, Mária & Považaj, Matej. (eds.) 2003. *Krátky slovník slovenského jazyka*. [A concise dictionary of Slovak language.] Bratislava: Veda, vydavateľstvo SAV.

### SSSJ

- Buzássyová, Klára & Jarošová, Alexandra (eds.). 2006. *Slovník súčasného slovenského jazyka. A–G*. [Dictionary of contemporary Slovak language. A–G.] Bratislava: Veda, vydavateľstvo SAV.
- Jarošová, Alexandra & Buzássyová, Klára (eds.). 2011. *Slovník súčasného slovenského jazyka. H–L*. [Dictionary of contemporary Slovak language. H–L.] Bratislava: Veda, vydavateľstvo SAV.
- Jarošová, Alexandra (ed.). 2015. *Slovník súčasného slovenského jazyka. M–N*. [Dictionary of contemporary Slovak language. M–N.] Bratislava: Veda, vydavateľstvo SAV.

### SNK

- Slovenský národný korpus*. [Slovak National Corpus] – prim-8.0-public-vyv. Bratislava: Jazykovedný ústav Ľ. Štúra SAV 2018. (<http://korpus.juls.savba.sk>)

## Acknowledgements



The present paper is based on research carried out within two research projects: “Jazyková zmena v historickom vývine jazyka a v procese formovania jeho spisovnej variety 2” [Language change in the historical development of language and in the process of formation of its standard variety 2] (VEGA 1/0681/17) and “Slovník slovenských nářečí” [Dictionary of the Slovak dialects] (VEGA 2/0126/18).

At the same time, I would like to thank the anonymous reviewer for his/her suggestions and comments, and the guest editor of the volume Ada Böhmerová for her proofreading and help.

*Gabriela Múcsková*

*Department of the Slovak Language, Faculty of Arts of Comenius University &*

*Eudovít Štúr Institute of Linguistics of the Slovak Academy of Sciences*

*Bratislava*

*Slovakia*

[gabriela.mucskova@uniba.sk](mailto:gabriela.mucskova@uniba.sk)

In SKASE Journal of Theoretical Linguistics [online]. 2019, vol. 16, no. 3[cit. 2019-11-30]. Available on web page [http://www.skase.sk/Volumes/JTL41/pdf\\_doc/09.pdf](http://www.skase.sk/Volumes/JTL41/pdf_doc/09.pdf). ISSN 1336-782X