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Sous les auspices de
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SUR LE CHANGEMENT MACROLINGUISTIQUE SURVENU ENTRE 1300 ET 1900 DANS LE DOMAINE D'OÏL. UNE ÉTUDE DIACHRONIQUE D'INSPIRATION DIALECTOMÉTRIQUE

1. Remarques préliminaires

La finalité de la présente étude est essentiellement d'ordre diachronique. Il s'agit d'évaluer l'ampleur des modifications survenues entre 1300 et 1900, et partant dans un laps de temps de six siècles, sur le plan de l'aménagement linguistique¹ de l'espace du domaine d'Oïl à proprement parler (c'est-à-dire à l'exclusion du domaine francoprovençal). Evidemment, la précision de nos constatations en la matière dépend avant tout de la qualité des sources empiriques à notre disposition, à savoir de l'atlas scripturaire d'Anthonij DEES d'un côté (valable, toute somme faite, pour le dernier tiers du 13^e siècle), et de l'ALF de Jules GILLIÉRON et d'Edmond EDMONT de l'autre, dont les données ont été collectées entre 1897 et 1901. Bien que les deux sources utilisées par nous, disposent de la même structuration formelle en N points d'atlas et p planches (ou cartes) d'atlas – qui est d'ailleurs celle de tous les atlas linguistiques – il se creuse néanmoins, entre elles, une différence tout autre qu'insignifiante, à savoir celle qui existe entre l'écrit (DEES) et l'oral (ALF).

Il faut y ajouter la question de la fiabilité documentaire des matériaux (éditions de textes non littéraires) dépouillés par A. DEES et son équipe. Comme, dans cette étude, il s'agit aussi d'une comparaison basée sur des données de masse et, par conséquent, sujette à la loi des grands nombres, il est également indiqué de se demander dans quelle mesure, dans la masse des données analysées par A. DEES, le nombre des transcriptions correctes (surtout quand il s'agit de graphies micro-régionales ou carrément locales) dépasse celui des erreurs de lecture ou de transcription. Cependant, les résultats de l'analyse globale des données de l'atlas de DEES sont plutôt rassurants et suggèrent que leur fiabilité est suffisamment grande pour une analyse *quantitative* globalisante. Ceci dit, il va de soi que, pour une analyse *qualitative* et philologique au sens strict du terme, les données de l'atlas de Dees pourraient se présenter sous un autre jour: cf. à ce sujet VÖLKER 2003, 57-66.

Mis à part son caractère éminemment diachronique, cette étude représente aussi une contribution à la linguistique quantitative et, plus particulièrement, à la dialectométrie. Ce sont là deux domaines fortement imprégnés de rigueur méthodique et de précision

¹ Il s'agit d'un terme technique que nous utilisons depuis un certain temps. Celui-ci sert à désigner l'action sémiotique qu'exercent les humains sur l'espace par l'utilisation conjointe de leur faculté langagière pour la *communication* d'un côté et la *démarcation* de l'autre. Ce faisant, nous reprenons une idée chère à Jean SÉGUY (cf. SÉGUY 1973, *passim*).

terminologique. C'est pourquoi la lecture des pages qui suivent ne sera pas facile et leur compréhension immédiate ne sera pas garantie d'entrée de jeu. Nous espérons pourtant que la qualité iconique des 5 figures et des 24 cartes à couleur (toutes en annexe) rendra la tâche de lecture et de compréhension moins ardue à nos lecteurs.

1.1. L'«Atlas des formes et des constructions des chartes françaises du 13^e siècle» d'Anthonij DEES (1980)

L'atlas de DEES repose sur le dépouillement de quelque 3300 chartes oïliques du 13^e siècle, toutes publiées et dont la localisation a pu se faire avec suffisamment de précision. Elles appartiennent, du point de vue textologique, à la catégorie des documents non littéraires (cf. DEES 1980, X)². Quant à leur provenance régionale (ou «localisation»), DEES les a répertoriées dans 85 unités spatiales dont 28 figurent aussi sur les 282 planches de l'atlas publié. Ces 28 unités spatiales peuvent être considérées comme des centres scripturaires «majeurs» (voir la colonne *Macro (Ma)* sur la figure 1) alors que les autres en constituent des subdivisions diatopiques et ne représentent, de ce fait, que des centres scripturaires «mineurs» (voir la colonne *Micro (Mi)* sur la figure 1): cf. DEES 1980, 307-312 et la liste respective présentée ici en appendice (figure 1).

Les 3300 chartes prises en considération ont été analysées à l'aide d'un questionnaire phonético-graphique et morphologique dont les items correspondent exactement aux en-têtes des 282 cartes de l'ouvrage publié (DEES 1980). On en trouve une liste détaillée aussi à la fin de l'atlas de DEES («Inventaire des formes trouvées», 322-369). Une autre liste («Formes et constructions étudiées», ibidem 313-321) renseigne sur la structuration interne de l'atlas dédié, aux termes de son titre, à l'étude «des formes et des constructions» de la scripta non littéraire du 13^e siècle.

Pour l'analyse de la variabilité graphique bien connue des documents médiévaux, DEES a décidé de saisir, pour chaque item, les «alternances» entre deux groupes de graphies (ou de constructions morphologiques) concurrents. Evidemment, la définition de ces «alternances» ne saurait jamais être absolue et dépend de certaines présuppositions individuelles. Ceci implique qu'un autre chercheur, dans une situation analytique similaire, aurait pu adopter une solution différente³. En voici un exemple relatif à la carte 7 de l'atlas de DEES. Il s'agit du pronom personnel «moi» et de l'alternance entre la forme *mi* d'un côté et les formes *mei*, *mey*, *moi* et *moy* de l'autre. Les formes en *mi* constituent, dans l'atlas de DEES, le groupe 1 alors que les autres formes sont rangées dans le groupe 2. Seuls les scores du groupe 1, moyennant six paliers à hachures en noir-et-blanc, sont

² Signalons encore l'existence d'un autre atlas scripturaire de DEES, publié en 1987 et relatif aux textes littéraires des 12^e et 13^e siècles, dont, malheureusement, les fichiers électroniques originaux utilisés au cours de la publication, ne subsistent plus. Sa valeur documentaire a été mise en doute par beaucoup de spécialistes de la tradition textologique de la littérature médiévale française: cf. à ce sujet le rapport détaillé de VÖLKER 2003, 57-66. Néanmoins, je persiste à croire qu'une analyse dialectométrique de cet atlas, comparable à celle que nous présentons dans cet article, sera également fort intéressante: cf. aussi GOEBL 1993.

³ DEES est d'ailleurs conscient de ce fait lui-même. Quant aux variantes «dichotomisées» de l'article contracté «du», il s'exprime de la manière suivante: «D'autres dichotomisations de la même série des variantes de «du» auraient pu être envisagées; en général la dichotomie qui a été finalement retenue (parfois après de longs tâtonnements) est celle qui donne le meilleur résultat cartographique en termes de cohérence des aires et qui permettra souvent de se faire une idée de l'histoire des formes étudiées.» (DEES 1980, XI).

mis en carte alors qu'une mise en carte similaire n'a pas été faite pour les scores du groupe 2: voir aussi la figure 3 (en annexe).

Quant au bilan numérique des deux groupes en question, l'on en trouve, en bas des 282 cartes de l'atlas de DEES, les listes avec les scores respectifs (toujours en chiffres absolus et relatifs), si bien que des lecteurs assoiffés de statistiques peuvent contrôler la correction de tous les calculs effectués et aussi de la mise en carte des graphies appartenant au groupe 1.

En ce qui concerne la mensuration de la variation scripturaire inhérente à son corpus, DEES a choisi de retenir, pour les chartes de chacun des 85 centres scripturaires considérés, le pourcentage de celles qui disposent de graphies appartenant ou bien au groupe 1 ou bien au groupe 2⁴. En voici un exemple de calcul relatif à la carte 1, dédiée au pronom personnel »je«, et au centre scripturaire (majeur) 01 (Charente, Charente-Maritime). La liste sur la «provenance des chartes» (DEES 1980, 307-312) nous dit que cette macro-unité territoriale dispose d'un effectif total de 118 chartes. La moitié de gauche de la légende numérique au pied de la carte 1, nous renseigne que, de ces 118 chartes, 111 peuvent être utilisées selon la logique de l'«alternance» sur laquelle repose la carte 1:

groupe 1 (visualisé): *g, ge, gie*, etc.

groupe 2 (non visualisé): *i, ie, iou, je, jo*, etc.

Or, l'introspection de ces 111 chartes a montré que l'écrasante majorité – à savoir 105,24⁵ – fournissent des graphies en *g, ge, gie*, etc. (groupe 1) alors que le reste – c'est-à-dire 5,76 chartes – contiennent des graphies retenues comme «alternatives» (ou complémentaires) en *i, ie, iou, je, jo*, etc.

La mise en pourcentage successive fournit les résultats suivants: $105,24 : 111 = 94,81\%$ et $5,76 : 111 = 5,19\%$. On trouve ces valeurs dans la moitié de droite de la légende numérique de la carte 1. Or, ce sont elles que nous avons utilisées pour l'établissement de notre matrice de données dialectométrique (voir la figure 3).

Du point de vue quantitatif, l'atlas de DEES constitue donc, tel qu'il se présente sous sa forme publiée, une matrice bidimensionnelle avec 28 entités territoriales et 282 attributs scripturaires dont les scores occupent le niveau de l'échelle métrique. Cet agencement formel le prédestine, en quelque sorte, à être dépouillé par voie dialectométrique⁶. Précisons que la matrice de données utilisée dans l'atelier informatique d'A. DEES à Amsterdam (et dont la direction était assurée, jadis, par Pieter VAN REENEN), disposait,

⁴ «Ce problème a été résolu dans ce sens que nous avons systématiquement ramené les variations à étudier à deux dichotomies. Cette dichotomisation, qui consiste à répartir l'ensemble des formes rencontrées sur deux classes, dont la première est caractérisée par une ou plusieurs marques que la deuxième ne comporte pas, peut être illustrée par l'exemple relativement simple des variantes de «tous», comprenant entre autres les graphies *tous, touz, tos, toz*. Ces quatre graphies se ramènent à deux alternances, à savoir -ou-: -o- et -s-: -z-» (DEES 1980, XI).

⁵ Précisons que les effectifs non entiers (105,24 et non pas 105 ou 106) s'expliquent par la présence conjointe, dans une charte donnée, de graphies appartenant aux deux groupes mis en contraste: «Si la charte comporte des variantes appartenant à l'une et à l'autre de deux classes opposées, le témoignage est divisé proportionnellement aux fréquences absolues des deux variantes dans ce document.» (DEES 1980, XII).

⁶ Dans notre compte rendu de l'atlas de DEES, nous avons déjà évoqué l'utilité d'une dialectométrisation de ce dernier (GOEBL 1982, 283).

du côté des entités territoriales, non seulement de 28, mais bien plutôt de 85 unités spatiales qui, évidemment, couvraient l'espace du domaine d'Oïl d'une façon beaucoup plus détaillée; voir à ce sujet, une fois de plus, la figure 1 (en annexe)

Ce n'est qu'en 1996 que la coïncidence de deux événements propices a fini par dégager la voie pour une véritable «dialectométrisation» des données de l'atlas de DEES:

- 1) la remise des fichiers électroniques de l'atlas de DEES par Pieter VAN REENEN à l'auteur de cet article,
- 2) l'arrivée d'un nouveau collaborateur dialectométrique à Salzbourg, Guillaume SCHILTZ⁷.

Evidemment, nos activités dialectométriques ne se sont pas arrêtées là et ont continué à se développer dans deux directions:

- a) à partir de 1998, par la création d'un nouveau logiciel dialectométrique ultra-puissant appelé VDM («Visual DialectoMetry») de la part d'Edgar HAIMERL,
- b) à partir de 1997, par la dialectométrisation de presque la moitié des 1421 planches originales de l'ALF.

Les analyses qui suivent, reposent donc, du point de vue informatique (VDM) et documentaire (disponibilité électronique conjointe des données de l'atlas de DEES et de l'ALF), sur des antécédents plutôt complexes et échelonnés sur un laps de temps relativement long (1996-2005).

Précisons en outre qu'une des tâches de Guillaume SCHILTZ consistait à éliminer du corpus original de DEES les cartes jugées trop lacunaires. C'est qu'en matière de taxométrie, la présence exagérée de lacunes (ou de «données manquantes») dans les données prises en considération, crée inévitablement, dans les résultats finaux, des distorsions numériques fort désagréables. Il fallait donc se défaire des cartes les plus lacunaires. C'est ainsi que Guillaume SCHILTZ a fini par retenir 203 des 283 cartes en question qui, quant à leur appartenance aux différentes catégories linguistiques, se répartissent comme suit:

Catégorie linguistique	sigle	Nombre des cartes (attributs scripturaux) de l'atlas de Dees
vocalisme	VOC	119
consonantisme	CONS	66
morphologie	MORPH	18
corpus intégral	TOT	203

1.2. L'«Atlas linguistique de la France» (ALF)

Cette étude, d'inspiration comparative par excellence, se compose de deux volets: le premier se réfère à l'atlas de DEES et le second à l'ALF. Evidemment, nous entendons par «ALF» aussi la version dialectométrisée de l'ouvrage original telle qu'elle figure dans la matrice de données issues des travaux de «taxation» qui se sont déroulés à Salzbourg entre 1997 et 2000. La dialectométrisation de l'ALF – dont le premier bilan a

⁷ Cf. les deux contributions (GOEBL/SCHILTZ 2001 et de SCHILTZ 1997), issues de cette coopération.

été publié dans cette revue même (cf. GOEBL 2000) – avait comme but d’analyser (ou de «taxer») un nombre aussi grand que possible de cartes originales de l’ALF appartenant à différentes catégories linguistiques (lexique, vocalisme, consonantisme etc., avec leurs sous-catégories respectives).

Le travail de taxation avait été réalisé par une équipe de plusieurs jeunes romanistes salzbourgeoises qui se sont dédiées à cette tâche méticuleuse (et aussi harassante) pendant trois ans (1997-2000)⁸. C’est parallèlement à la saisie taxatoire des données de l’ALF que M. HAIMERL a développé le logiciel VDM d’où la possibilité d’appliquer aux données taxées – aussitôt qu’elles ont été fournies dans l’ordinateur – la gamme entière des calculs dialectométriques désormais facilement accessibles⁹.

Pour une comparaison directe des données de DEES et de l’ALF, il fallait encore procéder à la réduction de la densité du maillage de l’ALF. Ce travail, ainsi que la confection de tous les graphiques de cet article, a été réalisé par Slawomir SOBOTA, un autre collaborateur fidèle et compétent du laboratoire dialectométrique de Salzbourg.

La structuration interne¹⁰ des matériaux dialectométrisés de l’ALF tels qu’ils ont été utilisés dans cette étude, se présente donc de la façon suivante:

catégorie linguistique	sigle	Nombre des cartes "de travail" ¹¹ tirées de l'ALF
lexique	LEX	471
vocalisme	VOC	612
consonantisme	CONS	505
corpus total	TOT	1687

La masse considérable de 1687 cartes de travail disponibles – issues de l’analyse taxatoire de 626 planches originales tirées par voie aléatoire de l’effectif total des 1421 cartes de l’ALF – confère à nos analyses dialectométriques de l’ALF une très grande fiabilité statistique. Ceci vaut également pour les sous-catégories du vocalisme et du consonantisme. En ce qui concerne la fiabilité statistique des données de l’atlas de Dees par contre, la situation n’est pas aussi rassurante, certes, mais encore suffisamment solide pour permettre l’analyse comparative envisagée.

1.3. Conventions (carto)graphiques.

Pour une bonne intelligence du message iconique (et aussi quantitatif) des 24 cartes de cet article, les lecteurs sont invités à se familiariser, d’entrée de jeu, avec les conventions (carto)graphiques utilisées par nous.

⁸ Il s’agit de Barbara AIGNER, Irmgard DAUTERMANN, Hildegund EDER, Susanne OLEINEK et Annette Ida SCHATZMANN. Qu’elles reçoivent ici l’expression de notre profonde reconnaissance!

⁹ Pour d’autres détails (techniques et logistiques) relatifs à la dialectométrisation de l’ALF, cf. aussi GOEBL 2002, 67, 2003, 61-62 et 2005, 334.

¹⁰ Nous ne parlons ici que des catégories linguistiques prises en considération dans cette étude.

¹¹ Nous entendons par «carte de travail» le résultat d’une analyse taxatoire appliquée à une planche originale de l’ALF. Du point de vue formel, chaque carte de travail correspond à un vecteur d’attribut (horizontal) de la matrice de données (voir aussi la figure 5).

1.3.1. Préparation cartographique des réseaux de DEES et de l'ALF

Pour les deux projets dialectométriques (DEES et ALF) en question, il y a un réseau unique. Celui-ci dispose de 85 unités spatiales (appelées aussi «points»). Quant aux points de l'atlas de DEES, on en trouve une liste dans la figure 1 (voir la colonne *Micro (Mi)*). Pour ce qui est du réseau de l'ALF par contre, nous avons dû l'amputer de ses parties non françaises et non oïliques d'abord et l'élaguer convenablement par la suite. L'étape suivante consistait dans l'application de la géométrie de DELAUNAY-VORONOI (triangulation, construction des médiatrices des côtés de triangles respectifs, fusion de ces dernières et construction des polygones de VORONOI (appelés aussi polygones de «THIESSEN» ou de «HAAG»)¹². L'utilité du réseau polygonal ainsi constitué est double: il permet la confection tant de cartes choroplèthes (c'est-à-dire à plages colorées) que de cartes isarithmiques (c'est-à-dire munies de côtés de polygone à épaisseur et coloriage variables).

1.3.2. Mise en carte du bilan numérique des calculs dialectométriques

Evidemment, la dialectométrie n'a pas pour but de se gargariser de chiffres, mais vise en premier lieu à les visualiser en bonne et due forme pour les faire parler ensuite aux yeux des linguistes. Pour ce faire, elle se sert, depuis longtemps, de tous les gadgets de la cartographie statistique internationale parmi lesquels figurent, entre autres:

- a) l'utilisation de la gamme (et de l'agencement naturel) des couleurs de l'arc-en-ciel (ou du spectre solaire) pour la visualisation claire et distincte de la variabilité numérique discutée,
- b) l'usage de 2 à 8 paliers chromatiques pour le rendement iconique de la variabilité numérique considérée,
- c) le recours à différents algorithmes d'intervallisation (ici: MINMWMAX¹³ et MEDMW¹⁴) pour la constitution «objective» de classes (ou paliers) iconiques différentes,
- d) la construction d'histogrammes (ici: toujours à droite, en bas de page) pour la visualisation adéquate des propriétés statistiques des différentes distributions de fréquence considérées¹⁵.

¹² Pour une présentation détaillée de ces procédures, cf. GOEBL 1981, 363-365 et 1984 I, 90-92.

¹³ Les scores à visualiser sont d'abord répartis des deux côtés de la moyenne arithmétique. Ensuite les écarts entre le minimum et la moyenne arithmétique et le maximum et la moyenne sont divisés – pour une visualisation en six classes – par trois. C'est à l'aide des valeurs ainsi déterminées qu'il est possible de définir, toujours des deux côtés de la moyenne arithmétique en question, les seuils numériques (inférieurs et supérieurs) des six classes respectives.

¹⁴ Les scores à visualiser sont répartis des deux côtés de la moyenne arithmétique d'abord et répartis par la suite, séparément des deux côtés de la moyenne arithmétique, dans des classes égales en nombre d'objets (éléments, points d'atlas etc.).

¹⁵ Pour plus de détails cf. GOEBL 1981, 363 et 1984 I, 97-98. Les courbes gaussiennes (dites aussi «normales») qui recouvrent les histogrammes, ont été calculées à partir de la moyenne arithmétique et de l'écart-type de la distribution de fréquence respective, et permettent d'en contrôler rapidement certaines propriétés statistiques (telle la symétrie, entre autres).

Le choix du nombre des paliers iconiques et de l'algorithme de visualisation (facilement réalisable à l'aide du logiciel VDM) se fait toujours en fonction de la finalité exploratoire de l'analyse en question. Les modalités de la visualisation doivent donc toujours rester au service de la démarche scientifique du linguiste et l'aider dans le développement et la vérification de ses vues théoriques sur le sujet de recherche en question.

1.4. De la matrice de données à la matrice de similarité (ou de distance)

Toute recherche dialectométrique est organisée sous la forme d'une chaîne dont les différents maillons constituent autant de »rond-points« méthodiques. Evidemment, la chaîne dialectométrique à proprement parler commence par l'établissement de la matrice de données. Les données de cette dernière se situent, quant à l'atlas de DEES, au niveau de l'échelle métrique alors que les données de la matrice de données de l'ALF occupent le niveau de l'échelle nominale (ou qualitative): voir la moitié de gauche de la figure 5. Cette différence d'ordre métrologique influe directement sur le choix des indices de similarité (de corrélation ou de distance) dont on a besoin pour calculer la similarité (linguistique) réciproque entre les 85 »points« scripturaires (DEES) ou dialectaux (ALF). Or, les manuels de taxométrie modernes¹⁶ en offrent une panoplie très nourrie dont nous nous sommes servis dès le début de nos travaux dialectométriques dans les années 70 du siècle dernier.

Pour l'analyse dialectométrique des données de l'atlas de DEES, nous avons utilisé les trois indices suivants:

- a) le coefficient de corrélation (de BRAVAIS et PEARSON) $[r(BP)_{jk}]^{17}$,
- b) la »Similarité Euclidienne Moyenne« (SEM_{jk}): voir la figure 4,
- c) la »Distance Euclidienne Moyenne« (DEM_{jk})¹⁸: voir la figure 4.

La relation entre SEM_{jk} et DEM_{jk} se définit comme suit: $SEM_{jk} + DEM_{jk} = 100$.

Pour ce qui est des données de l'ALF par contre, dont le niveau métrologique est nominal (ou qualitatif), nous nous sommes servis de trois indices couramment utilisés en matière de dialectométrie, à savoir:

- a) de l'«Indice Relatif d'Identité» (IRI_{jk})¹⁹ qui, à cause de son usage fréquent, constitue, en quelque sorte, l'indice de similarité standard de la dialectométrie, puis
- b) de l'«Indice Relatif de Distance» (IRD_{jk}) dont la relation face à l' IRI_{jk} est régie par la formule suivante: $IRD_{jk} + IRI_{jk} = 100$, et, finalement,
- c) de l'«Indice Pondéré d'Identité (avec le poids 1)» ($IPI(1)_{jk}$)²⁰ qui permet de capter mieux que ne le pourrait faire l' IRI_{jk} , des structures diatopiques »plates« enfouies dans la profondeur des données à analyser.

¹⁶ Cf. BOCK 1974 (en allemand), CHANDON/PINSON 1981 (en français) et SNEATH/SOKAL 1973 (en anglais).

¹⁷ Cf. CHANDON/PINSON 1981, 65 ou SNEATH/SOKAL 1973, 137-140.

¹⁸ Pour une description détaillée de la DEM_{jk} cf. BOCK 1974, 36-39, CHANDON/PINSON 1981, 58-59 et SNEATH/SOKAL 1973, 121-125.

¹⁹ Cf. GOEBL 1981, 357-361 et 1984 I, 75-78.

²⁰ Cf. GOEBL 1987, 70-79.

Pour la sélection d'un de ces indices, il n'y a pas de critères fixes ou préétablis. Leur finalité est comparable à celle d'un outil dont on se sert pour achever tel ou tel ouvrage. Comme, en matière de taxométrie (et, partant, aussi de dialectométrie), il s'agit de découvrir (et non pas d'inventer ou d'y projeter!), par voie quantitative, des structures cachées au fond des données analysées, l'utilité et le rendement taxométriques de tel indice s'avèrent avant tout à travers sa capacité de détecter, avec suffisamment de clarté, de telles structures de profondeur. Ceci signifie que, pour ce faire, le dialectométricien doit se livrer à un certain nombre d'expériences qui, elles, sont d'ailleurs facilement réalisables à l'aide du logiciel VDM. C'est que celui-ci dispose, dans sa panoplie méthodique, d'un grand nombre d'indices de similarité et de distance. Ceci n'empêche que, pour des raisons purement formelles (ou mathématiques), la nature métrologique des données à analyser (susceptibles d'occuper, alternativement, les échelles nominale, ordinale ou métrique) impose le choix de certains indices et en déconseille l'emploi d'autres.

2. Six coups d'œil comparatifs sur les structures de profondeur²¹ de l'atlas de DEES et de l'ALF

Nous procéderons par la suite, à titre d'exemple, à six comparaisons (ou «plate-formes») typodiagnostiques dont l'orientation méthodique et la finalité gnoséologique seront très variées. Du point de vue formel, il s'agit d'un côté de comparaisons purement visuelles (basées, bien sûr, sur des prérequis formels et statistiques strictement identiques), et de corrélations spatiales au sens strict du terme de l'autre (transposées, elles aussi, en visualisations adéquates). Le but de ces rapprochements comparatifs est de permettre aux lecteurs de juger eux-mêmes des étonnantes ressemblances (mais aussi de certaines dissemblances non négligeables) qui existent entre l'aménagement géolinguistique du domaine d'Oïl à la fin des 13^e et 19^e siècles²². Chacune des 12 pages de l'annexe où figurent les 24 cartes illustratives, sera arrangée de façon identique: le réseau de l'atlas de Dees y figure toujours à gauche, celui de l'ALF à droite.

2.1. Plateforme comparative 1: la mensuration de la similarité

Voir les cartes 1-8.

L'outil dialectométrique de la mensuration de similarité permet de saisir les rapports de similarité (ressemblance, identité etc.) linguistiques qui existent entre les N éléments (dialectes, scriptae etc.) d'un réseau géolinguistique donné. Pour un réseau d'atlas de N points et p attributs, il est possible de dresser, au cours de la mensuration de similarité appliquée aux N vecteurs d'objets (verticaux)²³ du réseau, une matrice de similarité (car-

²¹ La considération quantitative de données de masse présuppose qu'il y ait, à l'intérieur des données analysées, un grand nombre de structurations non aléatoires et hiérarchisées entre elles. L'analyse quantitative permet de les découvrir, quitte d'ailleurs à opérer, suivant le cas, dans différents secteurs des données à analyser. Il en résulte la nécessité de différencier les structures détectées suivant le degré de leur insertion dans la totalité des matériaux analysés: d'où la distinction entre structures de «profondeur» et de «surface».

²² La précision des analyses dialectométriques et la perfection des graphiques présentées dans cet article dépassent celles de nos contributions antérieures (GOEBL 1998 et 2001 ainsi que GOEBL/SCHILTZ 2001). Ceci est dû avant tout au logiciel VDM et à ses capacités numériques et visualisatrices.

²³ Se référer, pour une bonne intelligence de ce processus, à la figure 5.

rée) aux dimensions N fois N, dont les vecteurs contiennent l'ensemble de l'information (quantitative) susceptible d'être réunie par le procédé de la mensuration de la similarité en tant que telle.

Or, chacun des N vecteurs de la matrice de similarité dispose de N-1 scores situés au-dessous de la valeur maximale (de 1 ou 100%) et d'un seul score (s_{ij}) toujours équivalent à 1 (ou 100%), issu d'une mensuration réflexive appliquée au point de référence j lui-même. Par la visualisation d'un tel vecteur, l'on obtient une carte de similarité laquelle, par définition, se compose de N-1 plages (ou polygones) réparties dans l'espace et coloriées en fonction de leur rendement numérique, ainsi que d'un point de repère (ou de référence) j laissé toujours en blanc.

La lecture d'une carte de similarité est facile. Elle nous renseigne, par la distribution, dans l'espace étudié, d'un nombre pair de couleurs «chaudes» (p. ex. rouge, orange, jaune) et de couleurs «froides» (p. ex. vert, bleu clair, bleu foncé), sur la «position» du dialecte (parlé ou scripturaire) en question parmi les dialectes restants du réseau examiné. Soit dit entre parenthèses, la carte de similarité constitue le pilier central de la charpente heuristique (et aussi théorique) de la dialectométrie entière.

Pour l'établissement des cartes 1, 3, 5 et 7 (relatives aux données de l'atlas de DEES), nous avons utilisé le coefficient de corrélation de BRAVAIS et PEARSON ($r(\text{BP})_{jk}$)²⁴ alors que les scores des cartes 2, 4, 6 et 8 (relatives à l'ALF) ont été calculés à l'aide de l'Indice Pondéré d'Identité (avec le poids 1) ($\text{IPI}(1)_{jk}$)²⁵. C'est par l'application de ces deux indices particuliers que la comparaison dialectométrique des deux niveaux atlantographiques acquiert le plus de précision et de netteté.

Les points de référence, situés aux quatre coins du domaine d'Oïl (dans le Poitou, en Picardie, en Ile-de-France et dans la Franche-Comté), ont été choisis en fonction de leur diversité géographique. Leur «profil choroplèthe» (appelé aussi «profil de similarité») nous renseigne sur la localisation de – métaphoriquement parlant – leurs «meilleurs amis» (voir les polygones en rouge) et aussi de leurs «antipodes (ou pires ennemis)» (voir les polygones en bleu foncé). A remarquer en outre le décalage bien agencé des polygones en position intermédiaire, c'est-à-dire pourvus des couleurs orange, jaune, vert et bleu clair.

D'une comparaison visuelle des quatre paires de cartes, il ressort avec netteté que les aménagements linguistiques de l'espace du domaine d'Oïl tels qu'ils se présentent sur les quatre cartes de similarité scripturaires et leur pendants relatifs aux dialectes modernes, ont dû être sensiblement très proches les uns des autres en 1300 et en 1900. Evidemment, il s'agit d'un bilan global qui repose sur la synthèse quantitative d'un nombre très grand de distributions spatiales particulières (de nature qualitative et quantitative). Néanmoins, cette constatation (ou plutôt découverte) est quelque peu surprenante – pour ne pas dire

²⁴ Les valeurs du $r(\text{BP})_{jk}$ oscillent entre -1 (pour une corrélation [linéaire] absolument négative) et +1 (pour une corrélation [linéaire] absolument positive). Précisons que, dans ce contexte, la notion de «corrélation» remplace celle de «similarité (dialectale, scripturaire etc.)» et aussi qu'à la fin de son atlas (1980, 370-371), DEES lui-même s'est servi deux fois du $r(\text{BP})_{jk}$ pour le calcul de la similarité scripturaire entre plusieurs documents médiévaux. La même remarque vaut pour DEES 1984 et pour la contribution de HUBER/VAN REENEN-STEIN (1988) où l'on trouve une autre application du $r(\text{BP})_{jk}$ aux données de l'atlas de Dees.

²⁵ Pour une explication détaillée de cet indice cf. GOEBL 1987, 70-79.

troublante – surtout à cause du fait qu'elle nous suggère que la structuration de base du domaine d'Oïl, telle que nous la connaissons à partir des données de l'ALF, a déjà dû exister – mutatis mutandis – 600 ans plus tôt²⁶.

Ajoutons encore – avant de passer au paragraphe suivant – une petite remarque sur la relation qui existe entre la diminution de la similarité linguistique et de la proximité géographique (ou euclidienne) par rapport à un point de référence préalablement déterminé. La relation entre l'aménagement linguistique et euclidien de l'espace est extrêmement complexe. Bien loin d'être uniquement un phénomène linéaire, cette relation connaît des réalisations spatiales très bigarrées. Sur chacune de nos huit cartes de similarité, elle est d'une autre nature et revêt des configurations géographiques très diversifiées. Evidemment, il serait intéressant de l'étudier de plus près comme ceci a été fait par Jean Séguy dans son premier article d'inspiration dialectométrique intitulé «La relation entre la distance spatiale et la distance lexicale», publié en 1971, tout en remplaçant d'ailleurs la recherche de «courbes» pratiquée jadis par SÉGUY, par la considération synoptique spatiale des corrélations quantitatives respectives: voir surtout notre article de synthèse de 2005 (passim).

2.2. Plateforme comparative 2: la corrélation spatiale entre les aménagements linguistique et euclidien de l'espace du domaine d'Oïl

Voir les cartes 9-10 et la figure 5.

A l'aide de la fameuse formule de Pythagore, il est facile de calculer, entre les 85 points de notre réseau combiné (DEES et ALF) et à l'aide des coordonnées cartésiennes (en x et y) y ayant trait, leurs distances (d) ou proximités (prox)²⁷ réciproques. C'est ainsi que l'on obtient une matrice (carrée) de proximité aux dimensions 85 fois 85 où se trouvent stockés les scores de proximité entre tous les 85 points de notre réseau. Or, cette matrice de proximité peut être corrélée, vecteur par vecteur, avec la matrice de similarité (ou de corrélation) linguistique comme le montre la figure 5. Le résultat de ces calculs de corrélation – exécutés, une fois de plus, à l'aide du coefficient de corrélation $r(BP)_{jk}$ – est un ensemble de 85 scores de corrélation qui, eux, doivent être mis en carte par la suite: voir les cartes 9 et 10.

Le profil diatopique qui se dégage de cette mise en synopse est très éloquent. L'on y discerne une nette bipartition du domaine d'Oïl. Alors que l'Est est caractérisé par une très mauvaise coïncidence entre les aménagements linguistique et euclidien de l'espace, l'inverse est vrai pour l'Ouest et le Centre.

Précisons qu'une «mauvaise» coïncidence entre les aménagements linguistique et euclidien de l'espace signifie que, dans la réalité empirique, la similarité linguistique décroît plus vite (ou plus lentement) que ne le suggère le modèle (théorique voire «idéale») de l'évolution diatopique parallèle des deux variables. Or, il est vrai que de

²⁶ De telles convergences spatio-temporelles ont été constatées, pour des faits linguistiques isolés, déjà à plusieurs reprises: cf. REMACLE 1992, 157-169, GOEBL 1989, 97-98 et BESCH 1985, 1793-1798.

²⁷ La relation entre distance (d) et proximité (prox) est la suivante: $d + \text{prox} = 100$.

telles divergences se manifestent toujours là où de fortes tensions politiques, culturelles ou sociales accélèrent (ou ralentissent) le déploiement diatopique «naturel» de l'activité langagière de l'HOMO LOQUENS. L'inverse est également vrai: ceci signifie que les zones marquées en rouge et orange renvoient à une synchronisation spatiale très marquée entre la configuration euclidienne de l'espace et l'étalage diatopique des similarités interdialectales.

L'agencement iconique convergent des profils choroplèthes des cartes 9 et 10 nous suggère donc que, dans l'optique de notre analyse dialectométrique, les prérequis spatio-linguistiques de base du domaine d'Oïl n'ont pratiquement pas bougé entre 1300 et 1900 et que, par conséquent, ils doivent remonter à une époque antérieure à 1300.

2.3. Plateforme comparative 3: les cartes à cloisons (ou: cartes à interpoints en fonction discriminatoire)

Voir les cartes 11 et 12.

Les cartes à cloisons (appelées aussi «cartes à interpoints en fonction discriminatoire») constituent un des outils les plus simples (et fort éloquentes à la fois) de la dialectométrie. Du point de vue heuristique, elles correspondent à la méthode bien connue du tracé combiné d'isoglosses. En voici les différentes étapes²⁸:

- a) triangulation du réseau (DEES-ALF): sur 85 points, il en résulte 225 côtés de triangle.
- b) construction, pour chacun des 225 côtés de triangle, de la médiatrice respective. Les 225 médiatrices, dûment fusionnées entre elles, finissent par fournir le parquet polygonal du réseau-DEES-ALF.
- c) Chacun des 225 côtés de polygone servira de support iconique pour la visualisation non plus de similarités, mais de distances interponctuelles, c'est-à-dire situées entre deux points d'atlas contigus.
- d) La visualisation des scores de distance se sert de deux variables iconiques: de l'épaisseur (elle augmente avec la valeur numérique de la distance linguistique interponctuelle) et de la couleur (la couleur bleu foncé est associée au maximum de la distance linguistique interponctuelle, et la couleur rouge au minimum de cette dernière).

C'est ainsi que la syntaxe iconique des deux cartes repose sur le jeu optique différentiel de 225 côtés de polygone d'épaisseur et de couleur variables. Il en résulte un compartimentage alvéolaire spécifique du réseau polygonal qui est très éloquent. L'on y distingue en effet la présence alternative de zones fortement cloisonnées (et sillonnées, de ce fait, de beaucoup de côtés de polygone épais et coloriés en bleu foncé) et d'autres où prédominent les polygones minces et coloriés en rouge, orange et jaune.

²⁸ Cf. aussi GOEBL 1983 (passim) et 1984 I, 183-196.

Alors que la carte 11 laisse entrevoir, par le biais de l'effet-cloison, quelques-unes des provinces historiques du Nord de la France (Poitou, Maine, Normandie, Artois, Picardie etc.), il n'en est rien pour la carte 12 (relative à l'ALF et, partant, à la date de 1900) qui est caractérisée par une bipartition diatopique très claire: concentration de l'effet-cloison à la périphérie (Sud-Ouest, Nord, Nord-Est, Est) d'un côté, et réduction de l'effet-cloison dans les régions centrales du domaine d'Oil de l'autre²⁹. D'une comparaison visuelle des deux cartes il apparaît que le changement macrolinguistique survenu entre 1300 et 1900 a fortement enrayé l'autonomie réciproque des provinces historiques, surtout au centre du domaine d'Oil, tout en repoussant la plupart des différences interponctuelles majeures encore subsistantes aux marges périphériques (Picardie, Wallonie, Lorraine, Franche-Comté). Cette constatation cadre fort bien avec ce que nous savons de l'action pluriséculaire de l'irradiation (circulaire) du type linguistique francien aux dépens des autres types linguistiques d'Oil.

2.4. Plateforme comparative 4: la synopse des «coefficients d'asymétrie de FISHER (CAF)»

Voir les cartes 13-18.

La synopse des coefficients d'asymétrie de FISHER (CAF)³⁰ constitue – à cause de son excellente utilité en matière de diachronie – une des pièces fortes de la panoplie dialectométrique entière. C'est qu'elle permet de saisir, par voie quantitative, une des propriétés centrales de n'importe quel réseau interactif, à savoir le degré d'interaction avec lequel chaque élément (ou membre) du réseau respectif, participe aux flux d'interactions (ou d'échanges) qui, inévitablement, sillonnent le maillage du réseau en question.

Evidemment, il y aura, dans un réseau donné, toujours des éléments dont la participation aux dynamismes internes sera grande alors que d'autres éléments resteront à l'écart et feront figure – métaphoriquement parlant – d'«abstentionnistes» ou de «trouble-fête». Du point de vue linguistique, les phénomènes d'interaction saisis par le CAF correspondent à ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler, en matière de linguistique, «brassage» (ou aussi: compromis) linguistique» (ou «Sprachausgleich» en allemand). L'intensité du brassage linguistique sera considérable là où la plupart des attributs linguistiques locaux appartiennent à des aires dialectales très grandes ou en voie d'élargissement, alors que l'inverse sera vrai pour les éléments du réseau dont les attributs linguistiques locaux font partie d'aires dialectales plutôt restreintes ou en voie de rétrécissement. Dans cette situation, le défi central que le dialectométricien doit relever, consiste à mesurer le taux quantitatif de l'enchevêtrement (ou de l'imbrication) d'aires dialectales majeures et mineures.

²⁹ Pour des cartes à cloisons relatives au réseau intégral de l'ALF (et visualisées suivant des modalités différentes) voir GOEBL 2002, 36; 2002, 40; 2003, 98-99 et 2004, 280.

³⁰ Pour la formule du CAF et d'autres détails statistiques y ayant trait, cf. GOEBL 1981, 394-401; 1984 I, 150-153 et 2003, 81-84.

Les scores du CAF se calculent à l'aide de deux paramètres classiques (moyenne arithmétique et écart-type) de la distribution de fréquence (ou de similarité) respective et se situent des deux côtés de la valeur zéro. Alors que les valeurs négatives (symbolisées, sur les cartes 13-18, en bleu foncé) correspondent à des zones à forte interaction (ou connectivité) linguistique, les valeurs positives (coloriées en rouge sur les cartes 13-18) renvoient à des régions où l'interaction et le contact linguistique avec le reste du réseau sont relativement faibles.

2.4.1. Interprétation des cartes 13-14

Il s'agit de deux analyses reposant chacune sur le corpus intégral respectif (Dees ou ALF). Sur la carte 13, située à gauche et relative à la fin du 13^e siècle, les zones rouges³¹ (et, partant, «isolationnistes», c'est-à-dire disposant encore d'une certaine individualité régionale) se situent toutes à la périphérie du domaine d'Oïl: l'on y discerne, en effet, le Poitou, le Maine, la Normandie, le Hainaut et la Wallonie, la Lorraine et la Franche-Comté. Les plages bleues par contre, caractérisées par une connectivité linguistique beaucoup plus intense, occupent les parties centrales du domaine d'Oïl tout en formant des zones-tampon émergeant entre les provinces historiques mentionnées ci-dessus.

Sur la carte 14, relative aux dialectes parlés vers 1900, la zone bleue (ouverte à l'interaction et riche en contacts linguistiques de toute sorte) a fait tache d'huile tout en repoussant à l'extrême périphérie ses contre-parties à faible interaction linguistique. A remarquer, dans le Poitou, le polygone rouge isolé qui, des paysages scripturaires occidentaux du Moyen Age, constitue la dernière survivance.

2.4.2. Interprétation des cartes 15-16 et 17-18

Evidemment, il serait intéressant d'étudier le phénomène d'expansion rendu visible sur les cartes 13 et 14, aussi à l'aide de corpus partiels relatifs, par exemple, au vocalisme ou au consonantisme respectivement. Ce faisant, l'on pourrait déterminer la différence qui, éventuellement, existerait entre la rapidité avec laquelle l'espace du domaine d'Oïl aurait été homogénéisé, au cours de six siècles, sur le plan du vocalisme d'un côté et sur celui du consonantisme de l'autre. Or, la leçon des cartes 15-16 et 17-18 est très claire à ce propos. Alors que, pour le seul vocalisme (voir les cartes 15 et 16), l'effet égalisateur, jailli au centre du domaine d'Oïl et localisé aux points de jonction entre plusieurs provinces historiques, correspond de très près à ce qui vaut pour le corpus intégral (voir les cartes 13 et 14), tout autre est la situation pour le consonantisme dont la fortune diachronique semble avoir été quelque peu différente.

C'est que les cartes 17 et 18 nous suggèrent que l'aménagement consonantique de l'espace du domaine d'Oïl n'a pratiquement pas changé entre 1300 et 1900 et que, de ce

³¹ Pour mieux faire ressortir le message central des profils choroplèthes des cartes 13-18, nous avons choisi une visualisation avec seulement deux paliers chromatiques.

fait, la vitesse de l'évolution diachronique du consonantisme est restée de loin inférieure à celle du vocalisme (voir les cartes 15 et 16).

2.5. Plateforme comparative 5: la corrélation spatiale entre les aménagements phonétique et consonantique du domaine d'Oïl

Voir les cartes 19 et 20.

La question de l'évolution diachronique inégale du vocalisme et du consonantisme peut être encore approfondie par l'application de la dialectométrie corrélatrice. C'est qu'il est possible de calculer, pour les corpus de DEES et de l'ALF et à partir de sous-corpus préalablement définis, deux matrices de similarité, l'une relative au vocalisme et l'autre au consonantisme, de les corréler par la suite et d'en visualiser les résultats: voir à ce sujet, une fois de plus, la figure 5 et les remarques méthodiques dans GOEBL 2005 (321-338 et 349-350). La mise en carte de ces calculs³² est très pertinente; elle confirme pleinement l'interprétation que nous avons donnée, dans le paragraphe précédent, des deux vitesses avec lesquelles le changement linguistique s'est déroulé en matière de vocalisme et de consonantisme.

La structuration choroplèthe de la carte 19 (relative aux données de l'atlas de Dees) est très claire: les polygones en bleu foncé – équivalents aux zones où le vocalisme et le consonantisme divergent le plus – occupent les endroits où, au 13^e siècle – au moins dans l'optique de l'atlas scripturaire de DEES –, les sous-catégories linguistiques du vocalisme et du consonantisme n'allaient pas encore «de pair». L'agencement iconique de la carte 20 par contre, dont la structuration est complètement opposée à celle de la carte 19, nous signale que la «mise au pas» du vocalisme et du consonantisme est chose faite dans les centres propulseurs situés au cœur du domaine d'Oïl, et que les ultimes divergences majeures ne subsistent qu'à l'extrême périphérie (Normandie, Hainaut, Wallonie, Franche-Comté). Cette réorientation spatiale (ou «synchronisation») des deux catégories linguistiques de base, opérée entre 1300 et 1900, ne contredit aucunement les grandes lignes de nos connaissances traditionnelles sur l'histoire de la langue française.

2.6. Plateforme comparative 6: l'analyse dendrographique

Voir les cartes 21-24.

Du point de vue historique, l'analyse dendrographique (dite aussi analyse «génétique» ou «généalogique») a, en matière de linguistique historique, une très longue tradition. Celle-ci débute avec l'indo-européaniste allemand August SCHLEICHER, qui, en 1863, a proposé un schéma dendrographique pour la classification généalogique des langues indo-européennes tout en se servant expressément de visées et

³² Le choix de quatre paliers chromatiques pour la visualisation des cartes 19 et 20 s'explique à nouveau par la recherche d'une expressivité iconique aussi grande que possible.

méthodes empruntées à la biologie du temps. Depuis lors, de telles expériences ont été réitérées d'innombrables fois, le plus souvent de la part de comparatistes, lexicostatisticiens et de spécialistes de glottochronologie qui, en l'occurrence, se sont servis très souvent aussi de méthodes quantitatives³³. L'utilité heuristique d'un schéma dendrographique est double: c'est qu'il concerne tant la diachronie que la synchronie. Il peut donc servir d'un côté à la reconstruction (théorique) d'étapes diachroniques antérieures à celle du relèvement des données analysées, et fournir de l'autre une classification hiérarchique en synchronie, qu'elle soit spatiale (comme c'est le cas ici) ou non.

Les arborescences générées par la taxométrie (le plus souvent d'inspiration biologique) ont les propriétés formelles suivantes:

- a) Il s'agit d'une hiérarchie exclusivement binaire de classes (clusters, groupes etc.) disjointes et non recouvrantes.
- b) Les clusters du graphe disposent d'une hétérogénéité quantitative interne différente suivant leur position à l'intérieur de l'arbre: plus tel cluster se rapproche de la racine (ou du tronc) de l'arbre, plus son hétérogénéité quantitative interne augmente.

La taxométrie moderne dispose, depuis quelque 50 à 60 ans, d'une riche panoplie d'algorithmes classificatoires parmi lesquels nous avons choisi l'algorithme proposé par le statisticien américain Joe WARD jr. (voir les cartes 21 et 22) et l'algorithme dit «Complete Linkage» (voir les cartes 23 et 24) tout en les appliquant aux données de l'atlas de DEES et de l'ALF³⁴.

Les deux algorithmes servent à l'établissement d'une «classification ascendante hiérarchique» (CAH). En recourant aux données numériques stockées dans la matrice de similarité, les algorithmes-CAH commencent par fusionner, parmi les N éléments sujets à classification, ceux dont la similarité quantitative (i. e. dialectométrique) est la plus grande tout en engendrant – au cours de l'avancement, dans la direction des feuilles vers la racine de l'arbre, de ces fusions effectuées toujours par paires – un graphe hiérarchique binaire disposant de N «feuilles», de N-1 bifurcations (ou ramifications, embranchements) et d'une racine (ou d'un tronc) unique.

Pour l'interprétation dialectométrique des arbres calculés (et dûment visualisés par la suite), il faut en transposer le rendement classificatoire dans l'espace respectif. Ce processus est appelé «spatialisation». En regardant les cartes 21 et 22, l'on constate qu'à la première ramification des deux arbres fait écho, dans l'espace, une bipartition du domaine d'Oïl dans la direction est-ouest, et aussi que les embranchements successifs créent des classes (ou «dendrèmes»)³⁵ dans le «feuillage» de l'arbre dont les équivalents spatialisés («chorèmes») constituent toujours des aires disposant d'une cohérence diatopique surprenante.

³³ Voir à ce sujet l'excellent volume-recueil de HOENIGSWALD/WIENER (1987).

³⁴ Pour l'algorithme de WARD cf. SNEATH/SOKAL 1973, 204 s., BOCK 1974, 407 s. et CHANDON/PINSON 1981, 123-124; pour l'algorithme dit «Complete Linkage» cf. BOCK 1974, 392 s., SNEATH/SOKAL 1973, 222 s. et CHANDON/PINSON 1981, 106s.

³⁵ Les termes «dendrèmes» et «chorèmes» désignent des groupements jugés importants (ou «significatifs») situés, respectivement, à l'intérieur de l'arbre ou de sa projection dans l'espace (spatialisation). Pour l'histoire de cette terminologie combinée cf. GOEBL 2003, 85 (note 13).

Il va de soi que ni pour les deux algorithmes utilisés ni pour les deux stocks de données examinés, l'on n'est en droit de s'attendre à des résultats classificatoires parfaitement identiques. L'on constate pourtant que les classifications obtenues obéissent, en ligne générale, toujours aux mêmes tendances (hiérarchiques et spatiales), ce qui prouve, une fois de plus, que les différentes structures de profondeur identifiables dans l'atlas de DEES et dans l'ALF – outre d'être solidement ancrées dans les données respectives – se ressemblent de très près. Il est également intéressant de voir que l'individualité diatopique de certains paysages linguistiques traditionnels, telles la Picardie, la Wallonie, la Lorraine et les provinces du Sud-Ouest, ressort fort bien aussi par le biais d'une CAH.

3. Conclusion.

Des analyses dialectométriques que nous venons de présenter, il appert avec netteté que les deux stocks de données examinés (l'atlas de DEES et l'ALF) sont riches en structurations diatopiques de toute sorte et que celles-ci se manifestent soit «en surface» soit «en profondeur». Jetons, pour illustrer encore une fois la différence entre les termes métaphoriques de «surface» et de «profondeur», un dernier coup d'oeil sur les dimensions des matrices de similarité utilisées et sur l'importance variable de leur apport aux diverses analyses dialectométriques présentées. Selon la formule combinatoire $N/2 (N-1)$ ³⁶, nos matrices de similarité disposent – pour $N = 85$ – de 3570 scores de similarité différents. Ceci signifie que, pour une seule carte de similarité basée sur 85 scores numériques, le taux d'exhaustion est de 2,85% ($= 85 : 3570$) alors que le même taux d'exhaustion s'élève à 6,30% ($= 225 : 3570$) pour une carte à cloisons qui repose sur 225 valeurs particulières. La même analyse nous dit cependant que le calcul du coefficient d'asymétrie de Fisher (CAF), des cartes à corrélations ou des arbres généalogiques ne peut se faire qu'à l'aide du total des 3570 scores disponibles. Il en résulte qu'il existe, parmi les différentes espèces de l'analyse dialectométrique, une certaine hiérarchie taxométrique à laquelle nous avons appliqué les concepts métaphoriques de «surface» et de «profondeur».

Cet état de choses est d'ailleurs bien loin d'être l'apanage exclusif de la dialectométrie. Il est courant également dans toutes les disciplines quantifiantes où, pour l'analyse exploratoire des données empiriques et pour l'acceptation ou le rejet de certaines hypothèses ou de théories de recherche, l'on fait recours à des procédés mathématiques ou statistiques. Toujours est-il qu'à la lumière de telles analyses, notre conjecture de départ selon laquelle l'aménagement linguistique du domaine d'Oïl des 13^e et 19^e siècles repose sur des prérequis très similaires, a pu être confirmée à plusieurs reprises. Il serait hautement souhaitable de réitérer cette expérience, soit pour le domaine d'Oïl et à l'aide de données nouvelles, soit pour un autre domaine de la Romania et à l'aide de données déjà disponibles.

³⁶ Pour une matrice de données avec N éléments (et p attributs), une comparaison de ses éléments par paires aboutit à une matrice de similarité carrée avec les dimensions N^2 . Comme la diagonale de cette matrice carrée se compose toujours de scores avec la valeur 1 (ou 100%) et que les deux moitiés de la matrice carrée figurant des deux côtés de la diagonale ne contiennent que des scores parfaitement identiques, le nombre de scores utilisables à des fins classificatoires se calcule comme suit: $(N^2 - N) : 2 = N/2 (N - 1)$.

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5. Références bibliographiques et abréviations techniques souvent utilisées.

5.1. Abréviations techniques souvent utilisées.

CAF: coefficient d'asymétrie de FISHER (cf. le paragraphe 2.4.)

CAH: classification ascendante hiérarchique (cf. le paragraphe 2.6.)

DEM_{jk}: Distance Euclidienne Moyenne (voir le paragraphe 1.4. et la figure 4)

IPI(1)_{jk}: Indice d'Identité Pondéré (avec le poids 1) (cf. le paragraphe 1.4.)

IRI_{jk}: Indice Relatif d'Identité (cf. le paragraphe 1.4.)

r(BP)_{jk}: coefficient de corrélation de BRAVAIS et PEARSON (cf. les paragraphes 2.1. et 2.2.)

SEM_{jk}: Similarité Euclidienne Moyenne (voir le paragraphe 1.4. et la figure 4)

VDM: Visual DialectoMetry, logiciel dialectométrique créé par Edgar HAIMERL (cf. le paragraphe 1).

³⁷ Consulter aussi notre site internet bilingue (allemand-anglais) relatif à la dialectométrie et au logiciel VDM: <http://ald.sbg.ac.at/dm/>.

5.2. Références bibliographiques

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Povzetek

JEZIKOVNE INOVACIJE MED 14. IN 20. STOLETJEM NA OZEMLJU FRANCOŠČINE DIAHRONIČNA ŠTUDIJA Z VIDIKA DIALEKTOMETRIJE

Študija skuša biti primerjava dveh korpusov iz jezikovne sfere severne Francije, torej območja, ki ga navadno označujemo z izrazom *langue d'oïl*. Temelji na dialektometričnih vidikih, je diahronična, saj primerja stanje v 14. in 20. stoletju.

Korpus iz srednjega veka je objavil leta 1980 Anthoni DEES, in sicer na podlagi kakih 3000 neliterarnih dokumentov iz zadnje tretjine 13. stoletja. Zaobjema 85 središč za rokopise in zajema 285 jezikoslovnih vprašanj, ponajveč fonetičnih.

Narečni korpus kolikor toliko naše dobe pa je vzet iz znamenitega francoskega jezikovnega atlasa, *Atlas linguistique de la France* (ALF). Avtorja sta Jules GILLIÉRON in Edmond EDMONT. Objava tega jezikovnega atlasa je prav iz prvih let preteklega stoletja. Naša študija sledi Deesovi s 285 eksploriranimi kraji v ALF in 1687 narečnimi jezikovnimi problemi (fonetičnimi in leksikalnimi).

Vzporedna primerjava zajema tudi dialektometrične poglede. Dobljene rezultate primerjave podajamo z dialektometričnimi predstavitvami v barvah, ki pokažejo, da so se strukture obdržale skozi šest stoletij v glavnem nespremenjene, vendar pa se kažejo jezikovne inovacije v tem, da so se posamezne dialektalne regije območja stare francoščine (jezika d'oïl) močno približale jeziku province Ile de France (torej normi Pariza). Ugotavlja se hitrejši razvoj jezikovnih sprememb v samoglasniškem sistemu, počasnejši v soglasniškem.

Légendes des 5 figures:

Figure 1: Liste des unités spatiales (centres scripturaires, points) majeures (Macro) et mineures (Micro) de l'atlas de Dees (1980).

Figure 2: Liste des cartes de l'atlas de Dees (1980) retenues pour notre analyse dialectométrique.

Figure 3: Tableau explicatif de l'établissement de la matrice de données de l'atlas de Dees (1980). Voir aussi la figure 4.

Figure 4: Calcul de la similarité quantitative entre deux centres scripturaires j et k à l'aide de l'indice SEM_{jk} (Similarité Euclidienne Moyenne). Voir aussi la figure 3.

Figure 5: Tableau explicatif de l'établissement de deux matrices de similarité, de leur corrélation successive (à l'aide du coefficient de corrélation de Bravais et Pearson [$r(BP)_{jk}$]) et de l'établissement de la carte à corrélations.

Légendes des 24 cartes:

Carte 1: Carte choroplèthe de la distribution de similarité ($r(BP)_{3,k}$) relative au point de référence 3 (DEES 3: Vendée, Deux-Sèvres).

Corpus: Dees 1980, 203 cartes (données intégrales).

Voir aussi le paragraphe 2.1.

Carte 2: Carte choroplèthe de la distribution de similarité ($IPI(1)_{3,k}$) relative au point de référence 3 (ALF 429: Saint-Germain-le-Prinçay, Vendée).

Corpus: ALF, 1687 cartes de travail (données intégrales).

Voir aussi le paragraphe 2.1.

Carte 3: Carte choroplèthe de la distribution de similarité ($r(BP)_{30,k}$) relative au point de référence 30 (DEES 30: Pas-de-Calais, sud-ouest).

Corpus: Dees 1980, 203 cartes (données intégrales).

Voir aussi le paragraphe 2.1.

Carte 4: Carte choroplèthe de la distribution de similarité ($IPI(1)_{30,k}$) relative au point de référence 30 (ALF 298: Nort-Leulinghem, Pas-de-Calais).

Corpus: ALF, 1687 cartes de travail (données intégrales).

Voir aussi le paragraphe 2.1.

Carte 5: Carte choroplèthe de la distribution de similarité ($r(BP)_{56,k}$) relative au point de référence 56 (DEES 56: Paris).

Corpus: Dees 1980, 203 cartes (données intégrales).
Voir aussi le paragraphe 2.1.

Carte 6: Carte choroplèthe de la distribution de similarité ($IPI(1)_{56,k}$) relative au point de référence 56 (ALF 226: Le Plessis-Piquet; Hauts-de-Seine).
Corpus: ALF, 1687 cartes de travail (données intégrales).
Voir aussi le paragraphe 2.1.

Carte 7: Carte choroplèthe de la distribution de similarité ($r(BP)_{79,k}$) relative au point de référence 79 (DEES 79: Haute-Saône).
Corpus: Dees 1980, 203 cartes (données intégrales).
Voir aussi le paragraphe 2.1.

Carte 8: Carte choroplèthe de la distribution de similarité ($IPI(1)_{79,k}$) relative au point de référence 79 (ALF 46: Conflans-sur-Lanterne, Haute-Saône).
Corpus: ALF, 1687 cartes de travail (données intégrales).
Voir aussi le paragraphe 2.1.

Carte 9: Carte choroplèthe de la corrélation spatiale ($r(BP)_{GeoProx,SEM}$) entre les aménagements euclidien et scripturaire du domaine d'Oil vers 1300.
Voir aussi le paragraphe 2.2.

Carte 10: Carte choroplèthe de la corrélation spatiale ($r(BP)_{GeoProx,IPI(1)}$) entre les aménagements euclidien et dialectal du domaine d'Oil vers 1900.
Voir aussi le paragraphe 2.2.

Carte 11: Carte à cloisons (ou carte à interpoints en fonction discriminatoire: isoglosses quantitatives).
Corpus: Dees 1980, 203 cartes (données intégrales).
Indice de distance: DEM_{jk} .
Voir aussi le paragraphe 2.3.

Carte 12: Carte à cloisons (ou carte à interpoints en fonction discriminatoire: isoglosses quantitatives).
Corpus: ALF, 1687 cartes (données intégrales).
Indice de distance: IRD_{jk} .
Voir aussi le paragraphe 2.3.

Carte 13: Carte choroplèthe de la synopse de 85 coefficients d'asymétrie de Fisher (CAF).
Corpus: Dees 1980, 203 cartes (données intégrales).
Indice de similarité: SEM_{jk} .
Voir aussi le paragraphe 2.4.

Carte 14: Carte choroplèthe de la synopse de 85 coefficients d'asymétrie de Fisher (CAF).

Corpus: ALF, 1687 cartes de travail (données intégrales).

Indice de similarité: $IPI(1)_{jk}$.

Voir aussi le paragraphe 2.4.

Carte 15: Carte choroplèthe de la synopse de 85 coefficients d'asymétrie de Fisher (CAF).

Corpus: Dees 1980, 119 cartes (vocalisme).

Indice de similarité: SEM_{jk} .

Voir aussi le paragraphe 2.4.

Carte 16: Carte choroplèthe de la synopse de 85 coefficients d'asymétrie de Fisher (CAF).

Corpus: ALF, 612 cartes de travail (vocalisme).

Indice de similarité: $IPI(1)_{jk}$.

Voir aussi le paragraphe 2.4.

Carte 17: Carte choroplèthe de la synopse de 85 coefficients d'asymétrie de Fisher (CAF).

Corpus: Dees 1980, 66 cartes (consonantisme).

Indice de similarité: SEM_{jk} .

Voir aussi le paragraphe 2.4.

Carte 18: Carte choroplèthe de la synopse de 85 coefficients d'asymétrie de Fisher (CAF).

Corpus: ALF, 505 cartes de travail (consonantisme).

Indice de similarité: $IPI(1)_{jk}$.

Voir aussi le paragraphe 2.4.

Carte 19: Carte choroplèthe de la corrélation spatiale ($r(BP)_{SEM-VOC, SEM-CONS}$) entre les aménagements vocalique et consonantique du domaine d'Oïl vers 1300.

Coefficient de corrélation: $r(BP)_{jk}$.

Voir aussi le paragraphe 2.5.

Carte 20: Carte choroplèthe de la corrélation spatiale ($r(BP)_{IRI(1)-VOC, IRI(1)-CONS}$) entre les aménagements vocalique et consonantique du domaine d'Oïl vers 1900.

Coefficient de corrélation: $r(BP)_{jk}$.

Voir aussi le paragraphe 2.5.

Carte 21: Classification dendrographique de 85 points-DEES.

Algorithme agglomératif: méthode de WARD.

Corpus: Dees 1980, 203 cartes (données intégrales).

Indice de similarité: SEM_{jk} .

Nombre des chorèmes et dendrèmes coloriés: 6. Voir aussi le paragraphe 2.6.

Carte 22: Classification dendrographique de 85 points-ALF.

Algorithme agglomératif: méthode de WARD.

Corpus: ALF, 1687 cartes de travail (données intégrales).

Indice de similarité: $IPI(1)_{jk}$.

Nombre des chorèmes et dendrèmes coloriés: 6. Voir aussi le paragraphe 2.6.

Carte 23: Classification dendrographique de 85 points-DEES.

Algorithme agglomératif: Complete Linkage.

Corpus: Dees 1980, 203 cartes (données intégrales).

Indice de similarité: SEM_{jk} .

Nombre des chorèmes et dendrèmes coloriés: 5. Voir aussi le paragraphe 2.6.

Carte 24: Classification dendrographique de 85 points-ALF.

Algorithme agglomératif: Complete Linkage.

Corpus: ALF, 1687 cartes de travail (données intégrales).

Indice de similarité: $IPI(1)_{jk}$.

Nombre des chorèmes et dendrèmes coloriés: 5. Voir aussi le paragraphe 2.6.

LISTE DES POINTS DE L'ATLAS DE DEES (1980)

<i>MACRO</i> (Ma)	NOM	<i>MICRO</i> (Mi)
1	Charente, Charente-Maritime	1
	La Rochelle et environs	2
2	Vendée, Deux-Sèvres	3
	Vendée	4
	Deux-Sèvres	5
3	Vienne	6
	Mirebeau et environs (= Poitiers)	7
	Loudun et environs	8
	Châtelleraut et environs	9
4	Indre, Cher	10
5	Orléanais	11
	Eure-et-Loir	12
	Loir-et-Cher	13
6	Indre-et-Loire	14
	Tours et environs	15
	Loches et environs	16
7	Maine-et-Loire	17
	Maine-et-Loire sud + Angers	18
8	Mayenne, Sarthe	19
	Le Mans et environs	20
9	Bretagne	21
10	Normandie	22
	Manche	23
	Eure	24
	Seine-Maritime	25
11	Somme, Pas-de-Calais	26
	Somme centre + sud	27
	Somme nord-ouest	28
	Pas-de-Calais sud-est	29
	Pas-de-Calais sud-ouest	30
12	Pas-de-Calais centre + sud	31
	Oise	32
	Oise sud-ouest	33
	Oise nord-ouest	34
	Oise nord-est	35
13	Oise sud-est	36
	Aisne	37
14	Saint-Quentin et environs	38
	Nord	39
15	Lille et environs	40
	Douai et environs	41

<i>MACRO</i> (Ma)	NOM	<i>MICRO</i> (Mi)
15	Hainaut	42
	Tournai et environs	44
16	Wallonie	45
	Liège (province)	46
	Luxembourg	47
17	Ardennes	48
	Ardennes nord	49
	Ardennes sud	50
18	Marne	51
	Marne ouest	52
	Marne est	53
19	Région parisienne	54
	Val d'Oise	55
	Paris	56
	Seine-et-Marne	57
20	Yonne	58
21	Aube	59
22	Haute-Marne	60
	Langres et environs	61
	Châteauvillain et environs	62
	Chaumont et environs	63
	Haute-Marne nord	64
23	Haute-Marne nord-est	65
	Meuse	66
	Verdun et environs	67
	Meuse sud-ouest	68
	Meuse sud-est	69
24	Moselle, Meurthe-et-Moselle nord	70
	Nancy et environs	71
	Moselle sans Metz	72
	Meurthe-et-Moselle nord	73
	Metz et environs	74
25	Vosges	75
	Neufchâteau	76
26	Franche-Comté	77
	Doubs	78
	Haute-Saône	79
	Jura	80
27	Bourgogne	81
	Dijon et environs	82
	Côte-d'Or nord	83
	Côte-d'Or sud + Saône-et-Loire	84
28	Nièvre, Allier	85

Figure 1: Liste des unités spatiales (centres scripturaires, points) majeures (Macro) et mineures (Micro) de l'atlas de Dees (1980).

CORPUS DEES 1980 (203 cartes)

1) Vocalisme: 119 cartes

cartes no.					
2	48	96	97	98	100
5	50	101a/b	102	103	104
6	51	105	111	114	115
7	53	120	124	125	136
9	61	138	140	142	143
11	62	144	146	148	149
12	65	153	155	156	158
13a/b	68	162a/b	163	164	165
16	69	167	168	170	171
18	70	173	174	177	178
20	74	181	182	185	187
21	77	188	189	190	195
24	78	196	200	202	203
29	79	204	205	210	212
35	83	213	215	222	224
38	87a/b	225	227	228	232
41	89a/b	235	238	243	246
42	92	247	248	250	253
45	93	254	255	257	259
46	94	262	264	267	

2) Consonantisme: 66 cartes

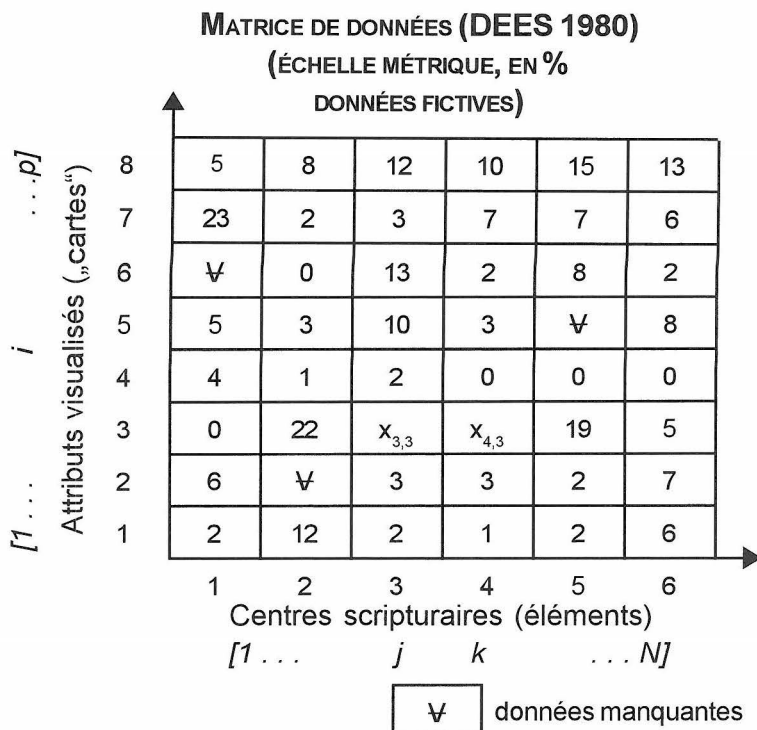
cartes no.					
1	8	15	23	25	27
28	33	49	52	56	58
59	60	63	67	72	73
80	85	86	88	90	95
99	113	117	118	119	126
127	133	134	135	137	151
154	157	161	166	191	197
198	199	201	209	214	217
218	219	220	223	231	233
239	241	244	245	251	252
258	261	263	265	266a/b	268

3) Morphologie (nominale et verbale): 18 cartes

cartes no.					
14	19	34a/b	37a/b	39	40
64	75	76	81	84	91
122	123	186	206	207	208

La numérotation des cartes correspond à celle utilisée par DEES 1980.

Figure 2 : Liste des cartes de l'atlas de Dees (1980) retenues pour notre analyse dialectométrique.



Commentaire: Pour chacun des 298 attributs de son atlas de 1980, Anthonij DEES a défini deux ensembles de graphies complémentaires dont un seul a été mis en carte. En voici un exemple relatif à la carte (attribut graphique) 1 de son atlas: il s'agit des différentes réalisations de l'étymon latin *ĒGO*:

graphies visualisées: *g, ge, gie*, etc.

graphies complémentaires non visualisées: *i, ie, iou, je, jo*, etc.

Pour le calcul de la fréquence (relative) des graphies visualisées à tel endroit du réseau examiné, A. DEES a établi le quotient entre le nombre des chartes disposant l'attribut visualisé (1) et la somme des chartes disposant l'attribut visualisé (1) d'un côté et l'attribut complémentaire non visualisé (2) de l'autre.

Quant à l'exemple cité ci-dessus, les scores respectifs retenus dans la matrice de données se calculent comme suit:

$$\% = 100 * \frac{\sum \text{chartes (du centre scripturaire } j) \text{ avec des occurrences de l'attribut visualisé (1)}}{\sum \text{chartes (du centre scripturaire } j) \text{ avec des occurrences de l'attribut visualisé (1) et de l'attribut non visualisé (2)}}$$

Les chartes du centre scripturaire *j* qui ne disposent d'aucun succédané de l'étymon latin *ĒGO*, restent exclues du calcul.

Figure 3: Tableau explicatif de l'établissement de la matrice de données de l'atlas de Dees (1980). Voir aussi la figure 4.

CALCUL DE LA SEM_{jk} (SIMILARITÉ EUCLIDIENNE MOYENNE)¹⁾

$$SEM_{jk} = 100 - 100 * \sqrt{\frac{1}{\tilde{p}} \sum_{i=1}^{\tilde{p}} (x_{ji} - x_{ki})^2}$$

Explication des symboles:

SEM _{jk}	Similarité Euclidienne Moyenne entre les centres scripturaires <i>j</i> et <i>k</i>
<i>i</i>	index pour un attribut graphique
<i>j, k</i>	index pour deux centres scripturaires comparés entre eux
x _{ji}	pourcentage répertorié dans la matrice de données à l'endroit du centre scripturaire <i>j</i> et de l'attribut <i>i</i>
$\tilde{p}$	nombre des attributs graphiques disponibles (co-présents) dans les vecteurs <i>j</i> et <i>k</i> de la matrice de données (à l'exclusion de données manquantes)

¹⁾ Par rapport à la SEM_{jk}, la "Distance Euclidienne Moyenne" (DEM_{jk}) se calcule comme suit: SEM_{jk} + DEM_{jk} = 100.

Vérification, à l'aide de la matrice de données de la figure 3 du calcul de la SEM_{1,2} (entre les centres scripturaires 1 et 2)

-
- Calcul du terme $\sum_{i=1}^6 (x_{1,i} - x_{2,i})^2$:
 $(2 - 12)^2 + (0 - 22)^2 + (4 - 1)^2 + (5 - 3)^2 + (23 - 2)^2 + (5 - 8)^2 = 1047$
 - A remarquer les données manquantes dans *i* = 2 et 6, d'où $p = \tilde{6}$.
 - SEM_{1,2} = 100 - 100 $\sqrt{\frac{1047}{6}}$
 - SEM_{1,2} = 100 - 1320,98 = -1220,98

Figure 4: Calcul de la similarité quantitative entre deux centres scripturaires *j* et *k* à l'aide de l'indice SEM_{jk} (Similarité Euclidienne Moyenne). Voir aussi la figure 3.

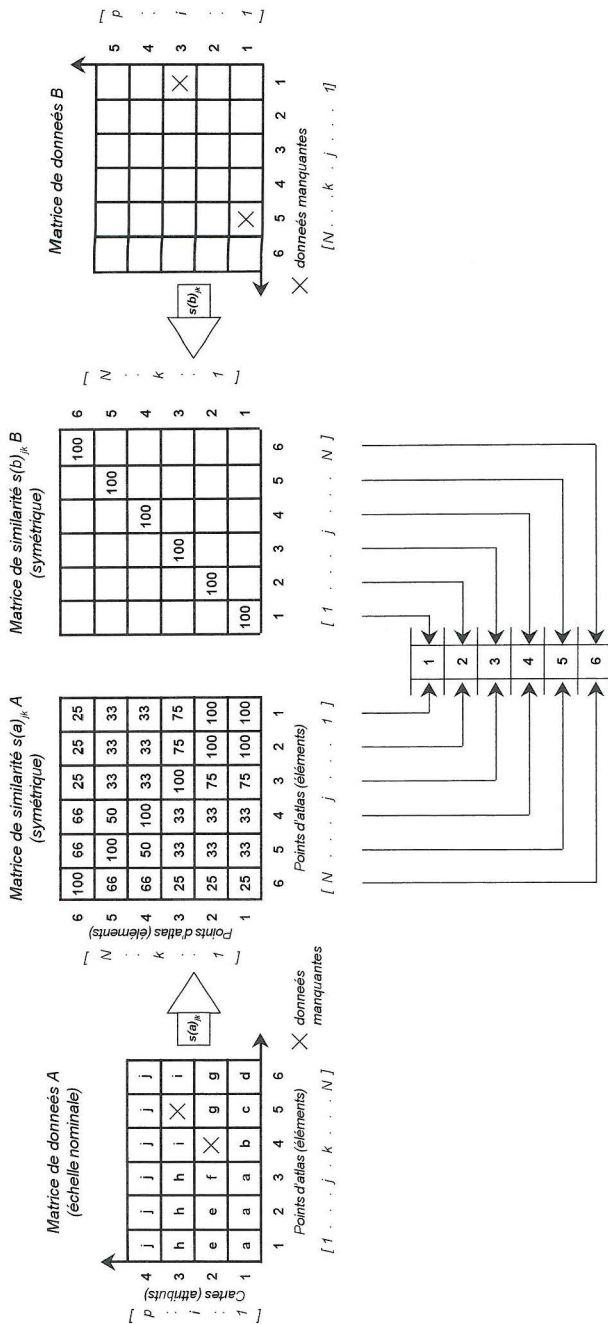
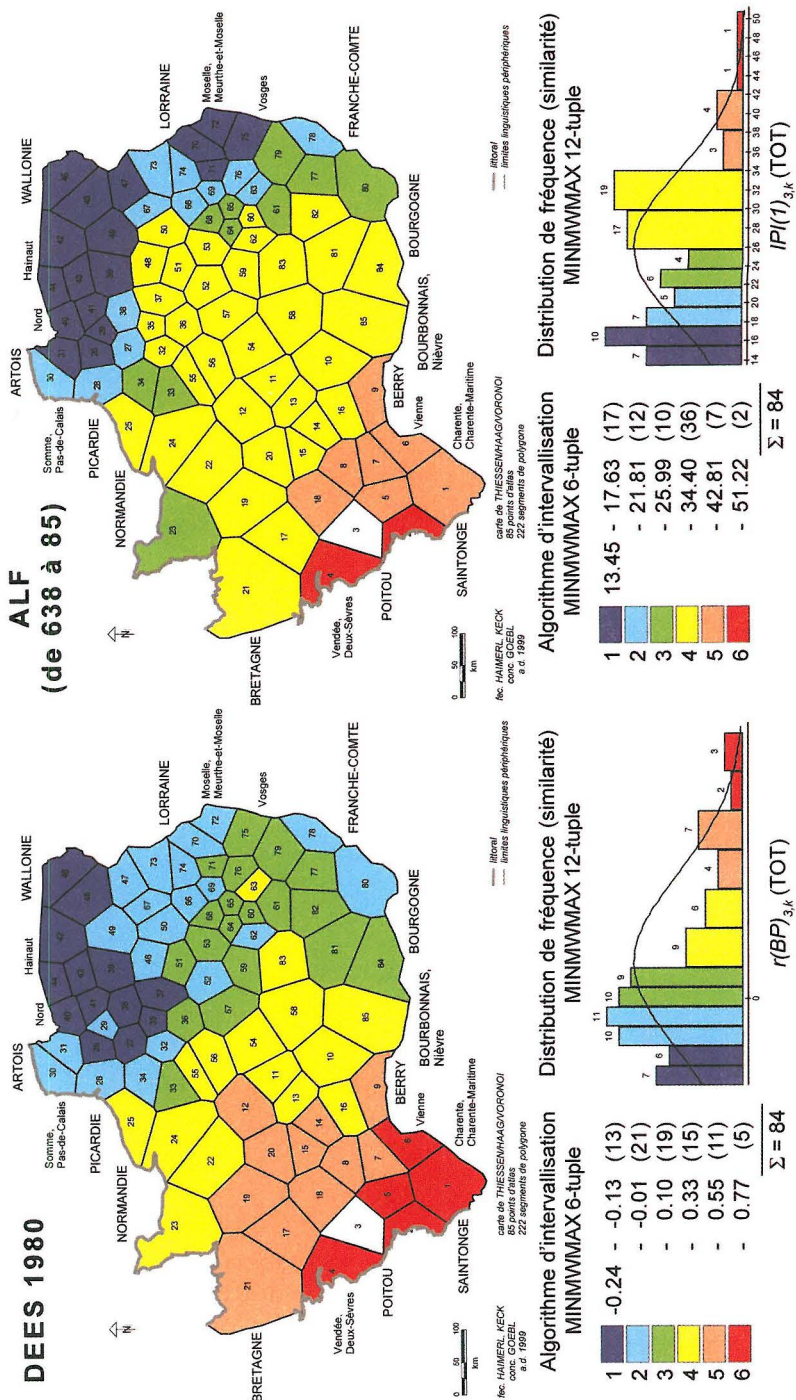
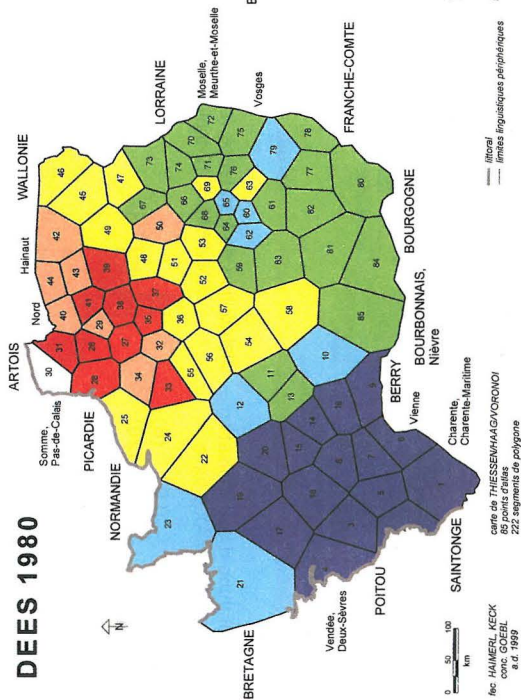


Figure 5: Tableau explicatif de l'établissement de deux matrices de similarité, de leur corrélation successive (à l'aide du coefficient de corrélation de Bravais et Pearson $[r(BP)_{jk}]$) et de l'établissement de la carte à corrélations.

Cartes dialectométriques



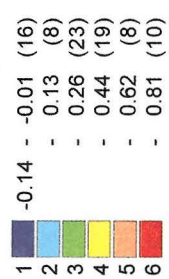
DEES 1980



Rep. HAMMEL, KECCK
cont. GODELL
a.d. 1999

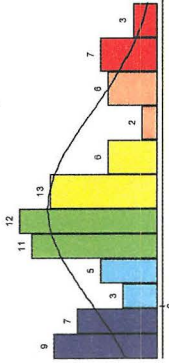
carte de THIESSEN-MAGY-VORONOI
85 points d'analyse
222 segments de polygone

Algorithme d'intervallisation
MIN/MW/MAX 6-tuple



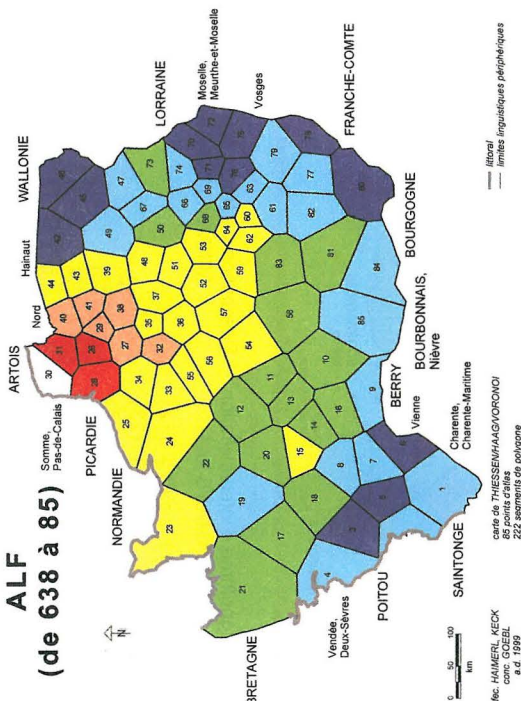
$\Sigma = 84$

Distribution de fréquence (similarité)
MIN/MW/MAX 12-tuple



$r(BP)_{30,k} (TOT)$

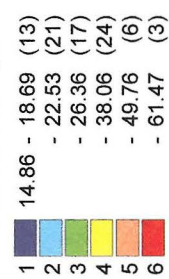
ALF (de 638 à 85)



Rep. HAMMEL, KECCK
cont. GODELL
a.d. 1999

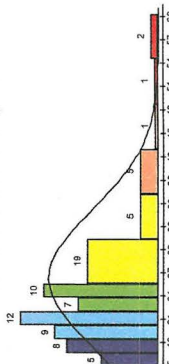
carte de THIESSEN-MAGY-VORONOI
85 points d'analyse
222 segments de polygone

Algorithme d'intervallisation
MIN/MW/MAX 6-tuple



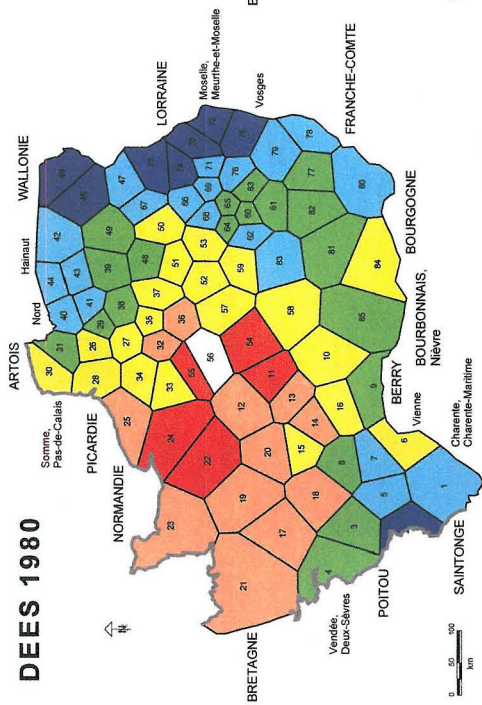
$\Sigma = 84$

Distribution de fréquence (similarité)
MIN/MW/MAX 12-tuple



$PI(I)_{30,k} (TOT)$

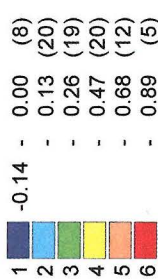
DEES 1980



fic. HAIMERL, KECK
conc. GODEL
a.d. 1989

carte de THIESSENHAAG-VORONOI
85 points d'élites
222 segments de polygone

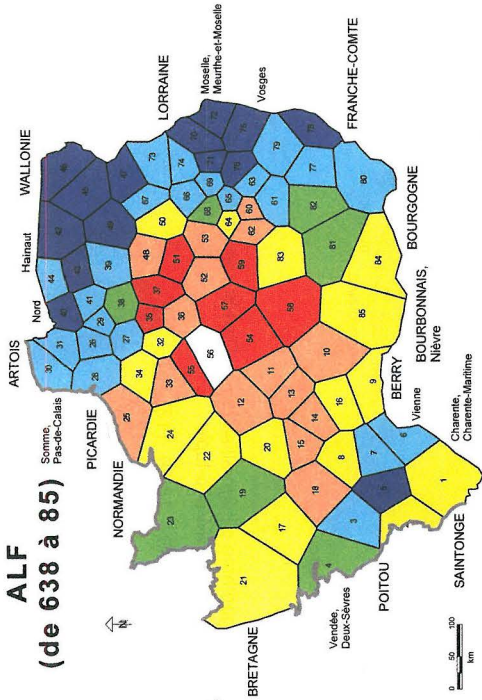
Algorithme d'intervallisation
MINMWMAX 6-tuple



$r(BP)_{56,k}$ (TOT)

$\Sigma = 84$

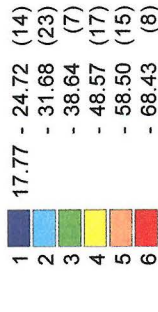
ALF (de 638 à 85)



fic. HAIMERL, KECK
conc. GODEL
a.d. 1989

carte de THIESSENHAAG-VORONOI
85 points d'élites
222 segments de polygone

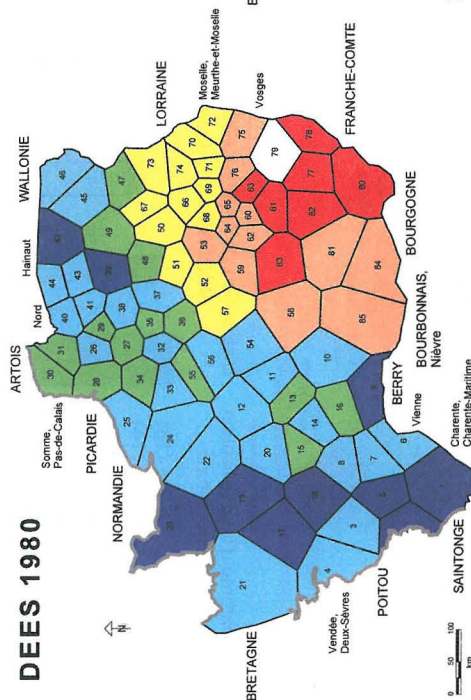
Algorithme d'intervallisation
MINMWMAX 6-tuple



$IP(I)_{56,k}$ (TOT)

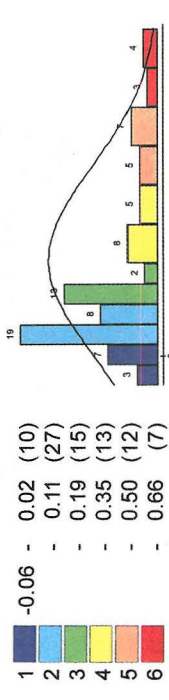
$\Sigma = 84$

DEES 1980



Rec. JAMMER, KECK
carte de THIESSEN-HAGYORNOVI
avec COEGLER
a.d. 1999
222 segments de polygone

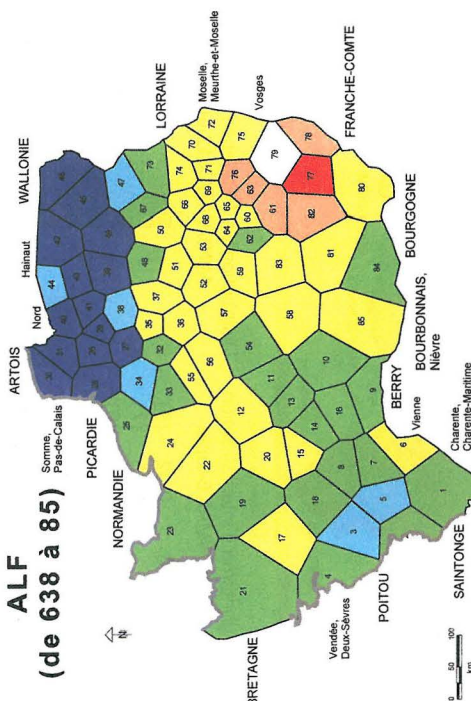
Algorithme d'intervallisation
MINMWMAX 6-tuple



Distribution de fréquence (similarité)
MINMWMAX 12-tuple

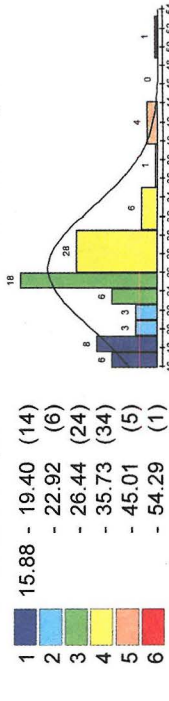
$\Sigma = 84$

ALF (de 638 à 85)



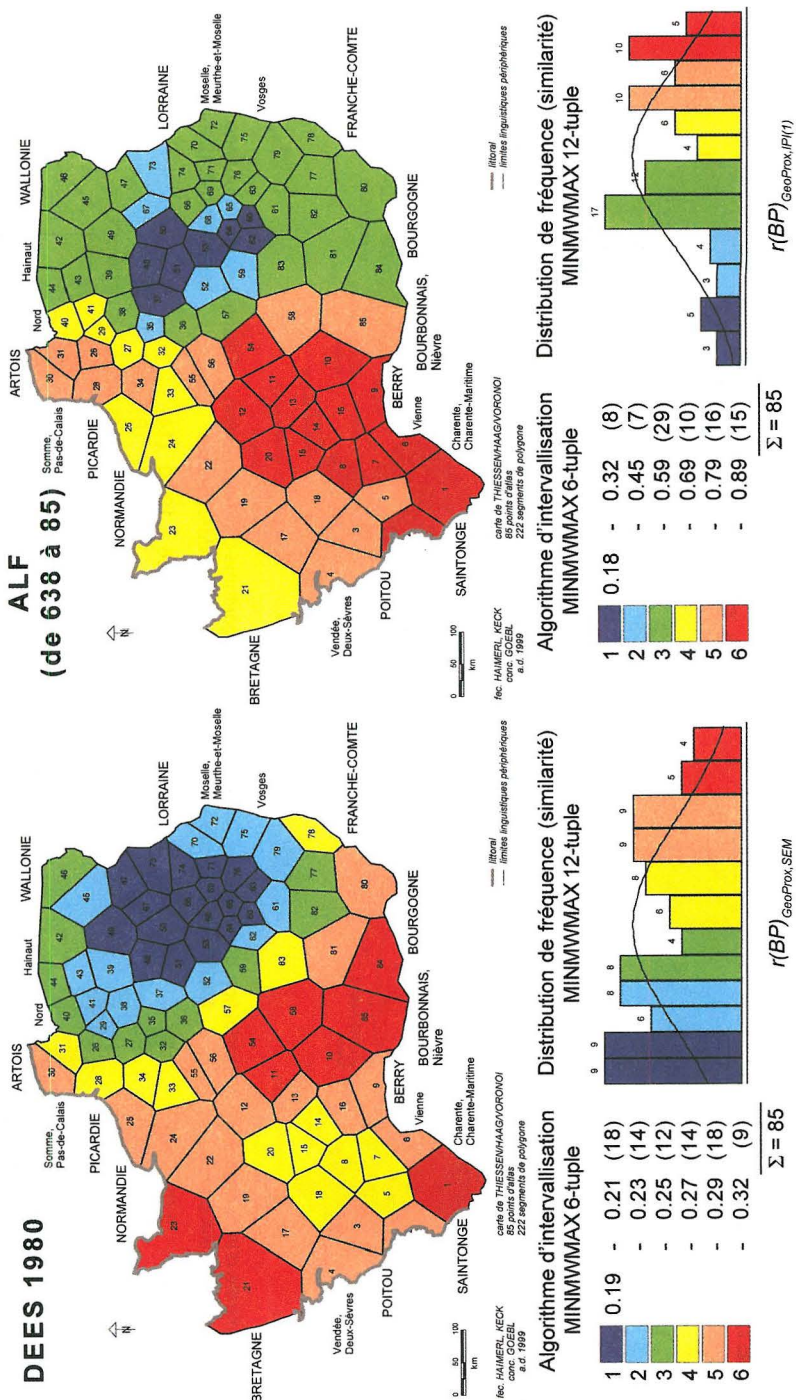
Rec. JAMMER, KECK
carte de THIESSEN-HAGYORNOVI
avec COEGLER
a.d. 1999
222 segments de polygone

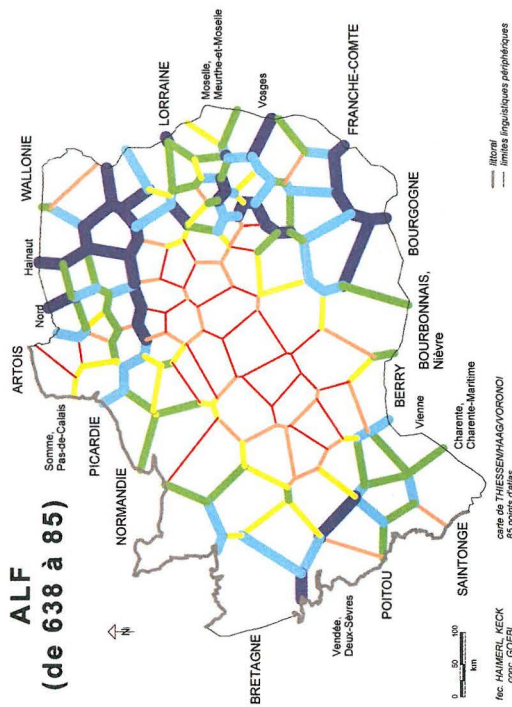
Algorithme d'intervallisation
MINMWMAX 6-tuple



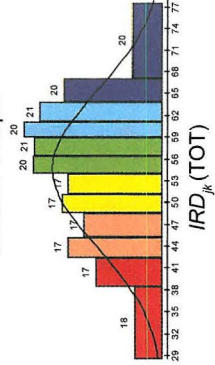
Distribution de fréquence (similarité)
MINMWMAX 12-tuple

$\Sigma = 84$

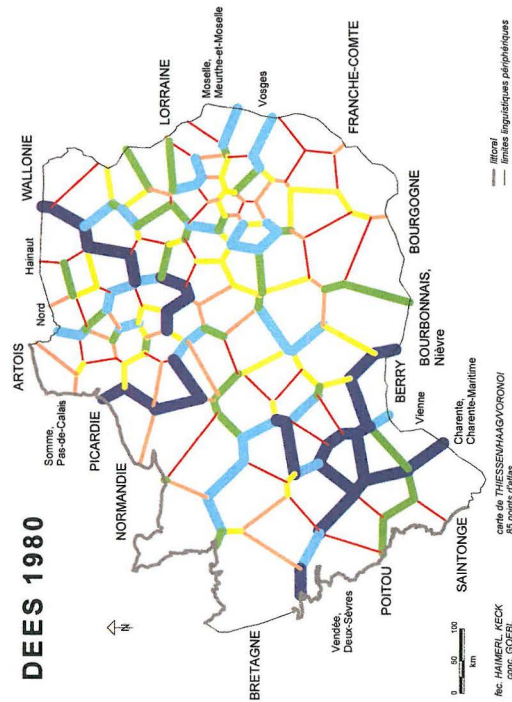
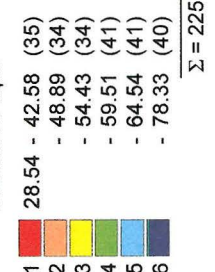




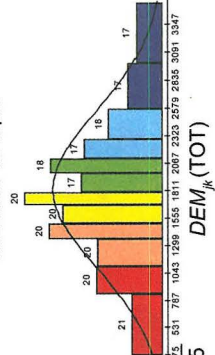
Distribution de fréquence (distance)
MEDMW 12-tuple



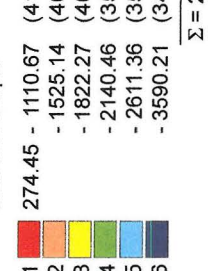
Algorithme d'intervalisation
MEDMW 6-tuple



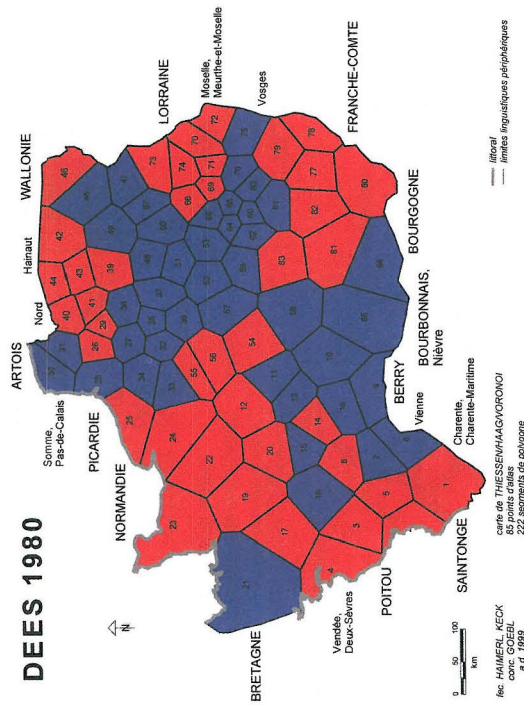
Distribution de fréquence (distance)
MEDMW 12-tuple



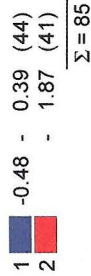
Algorithme d'intervalisation
MEDMW 6-tuple



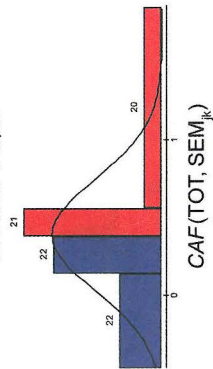
DEES 1980



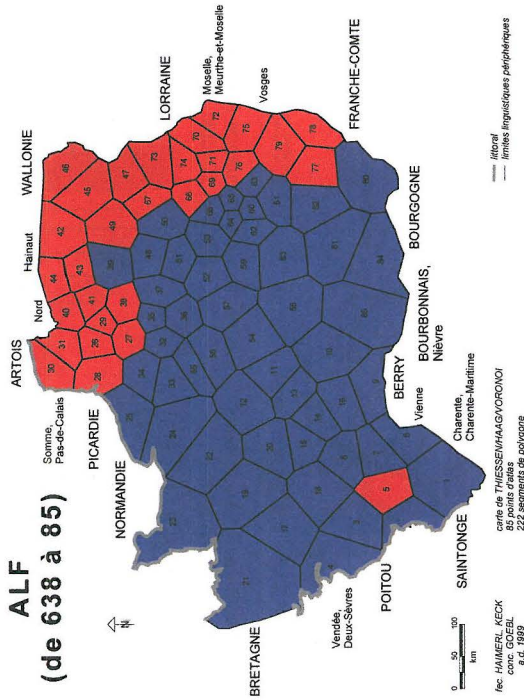
Algorithme d'intervallisation
MEDMW 2-tuple



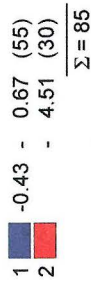
Distribution de fréquence (similarité)
MEDMW 4-tuple



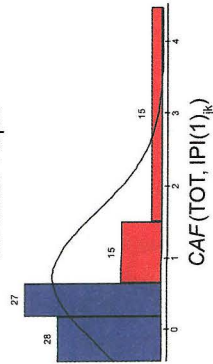
ALF (de 638 à 85)



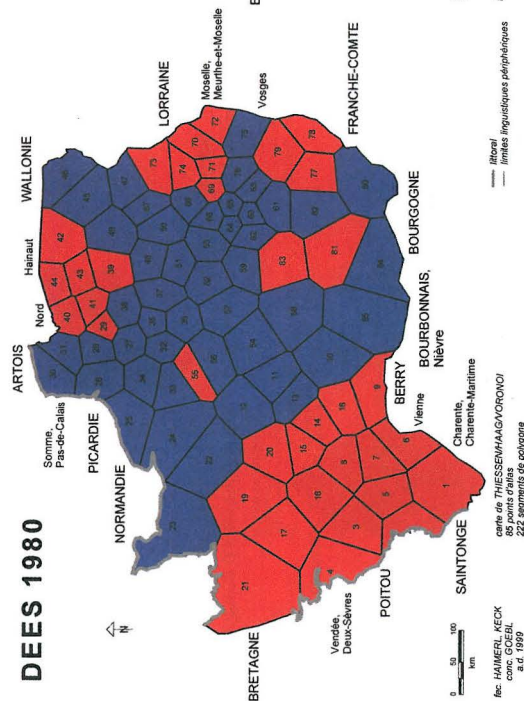
Algorithme d'intervallisation
MEDMW 2-tuple



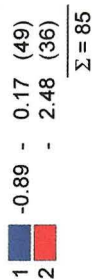
Distribution de fréquence (similarité)
MEDMW 4-tuple



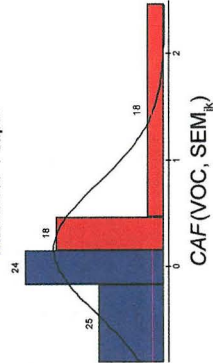
DEES 1980



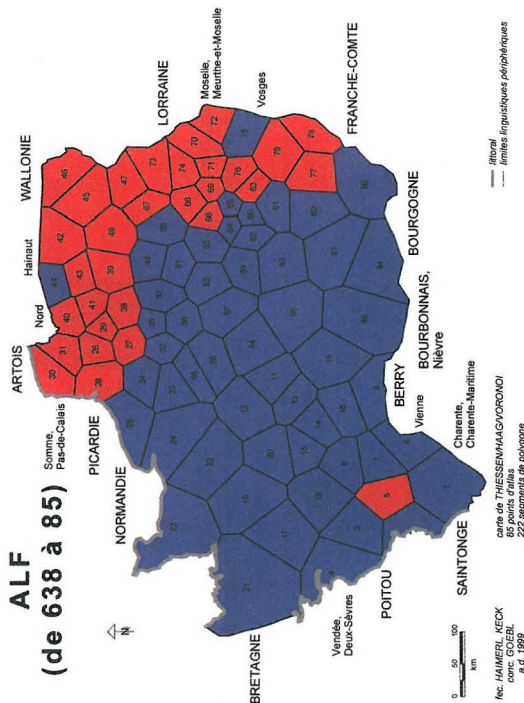
Algorithme d'intervallisation
MEDMW 2-tuple



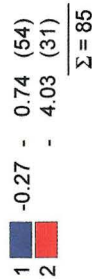
Distribution de fréquence (similarité)
MEDMW 4-tuple



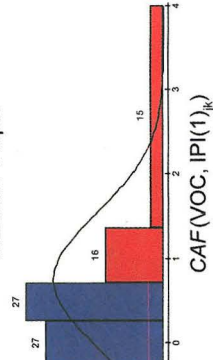
ALF (de 638 à 85)

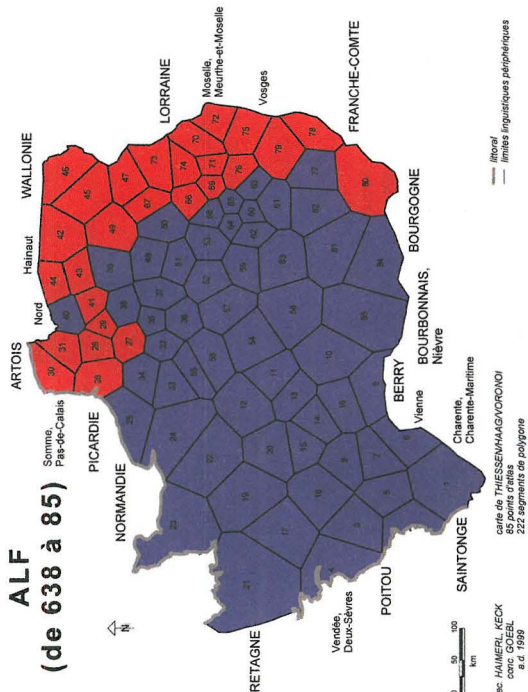


Algorithme d'intervallisation
MEDMW 2-tuple

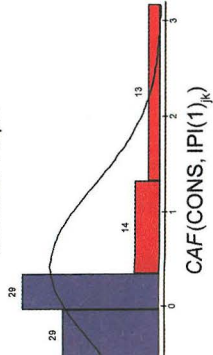


Distribution de fréquence (similarité)
MEDMW 4-tuple



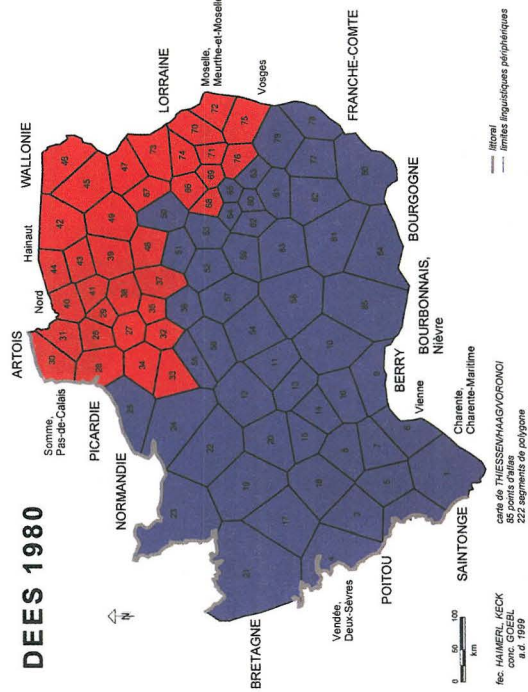


Distribution de fréquence (similarité)
MEDMW 4-tuple

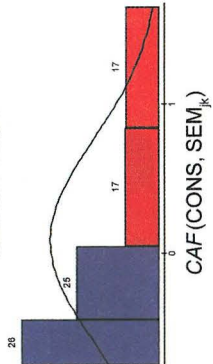


Algorithme d'intervallisation
MEDMW 2-tuple

1	-0.56	-	0.36	(58)
2		-	3.20	(27)
				$\Sigma = 85$



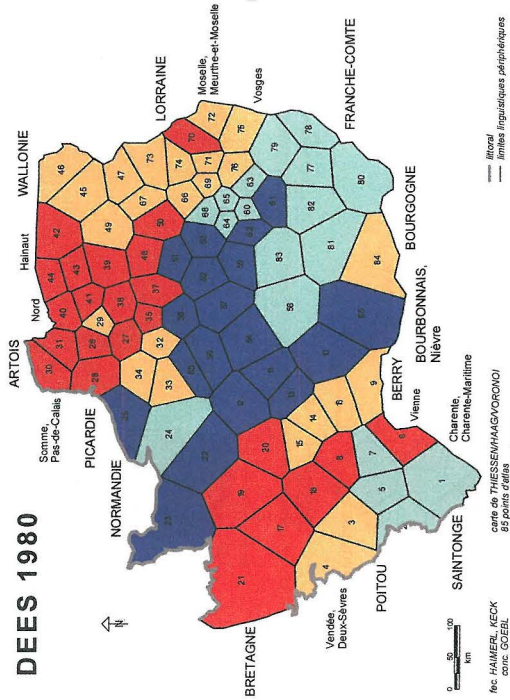
Distribution de fréquence (similarité)
MEDMW 4-tuple



Algorithme d'intervallisation
MEDMW 2-tuple

1	-0.75	-	0.06	(51)
2		-	1.68	(34)
				$\Sigma = 85$

DEES 1980



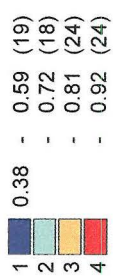
Rec. HAMBER, KECK
conc. GOEEL
a d. 1999

carte de THERSEN/MAGVORONKO/
85 points d'atlas
222 segments de polygone

Rec. HAMBER, KECK
conc. GOEEL
a d. 1999

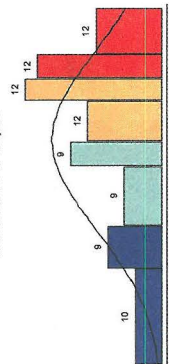
carte de THERSEN/MAGVORONKO/
85 points d'atlas
222 segments de polygone

Algorithme d'intervallisation
MEDMW 4-tuple



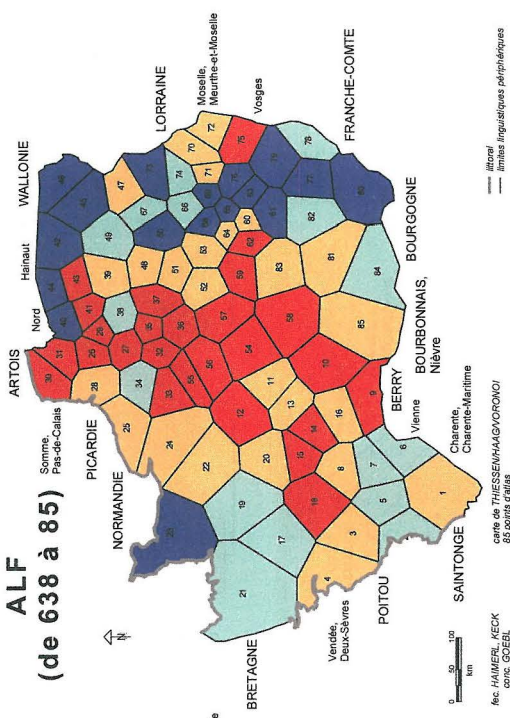
$\Sigma = 85$

Distribution de fréquence (similarité)
MEDMW 8-tuple



$r(BP)$ SEM-DEM-CONS

ALF (de 638 à 85)



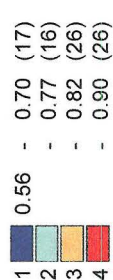
Rec. HAMBER, KECK
conc. GOEEL
a d. 1999

carte de THERSEN/MAGVORONKO/
85 points d'atlas
222 segments de polygone

Rec. HAMBER, KECK
conc. GOEEL
a d. 1999

carte de THERSEN/MAGVORONKO/
85 points d'atlas
222 segments de polygone

Algorithme d'intervallisation
MEDMW 4-tuple



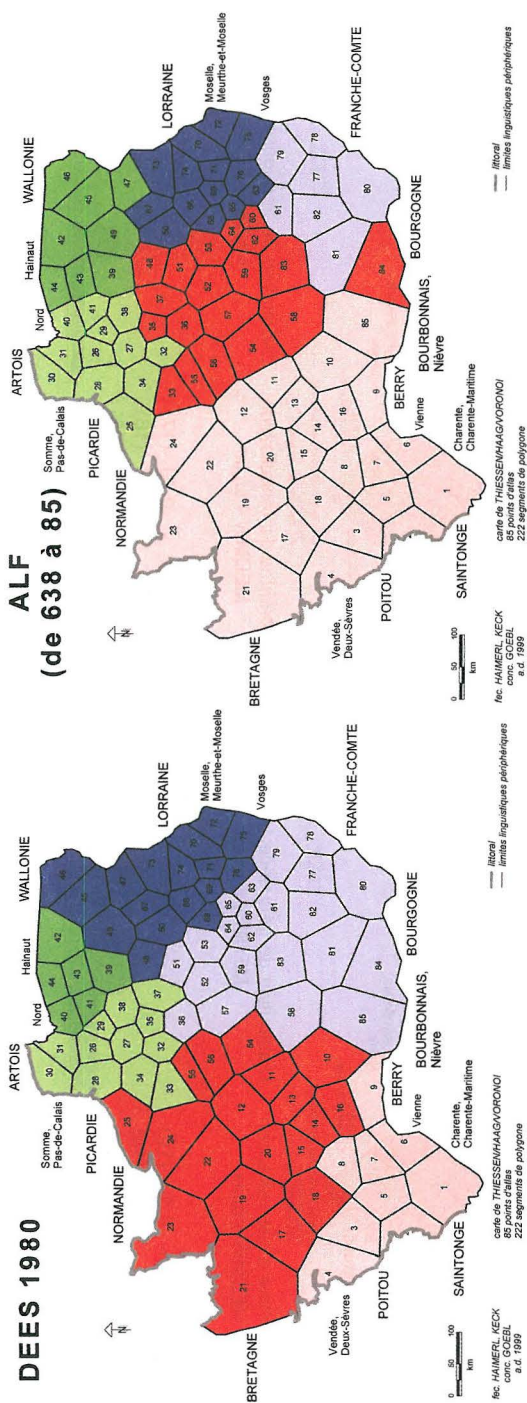
$\Sigma = 85$

Distribution de fréquence (similarité)
MEDMW 8-tuple



$r(BP)$ IRL-VOC/IRL-CONS

DEES 1980



Rec. HAMMILL, KECK
carte de THIESSENHAGYORONOI
55 points d'atlas
a.d. 1989

Rec. HAMMILL, KECK
carte de THIESSENHAGYORONOI
55 points d'atlas
a.d. 1989

Rec. HAMMILL, KECK
carte de THIESSENHAGYORONOI
55 points d'atlas
a.d. 1989

Rec. HAMMILL, KECK
carte de THIESSENHAGYORONOI
55 points d'atlas
a.d. 1989

Rec. HAMMILL, KECK
carte de THIESSENHAGYORONOI
55 points d'atlas
a.d. 1989

Rec. HAMMILL, KECK
carte de THIESSENHAGYORONOI
55 points d'atlas
a.d. 1989

Rec. HAMMILL, KECK
carte de THIESSENHAGYORONOI
55 points d'atlas
a.d. 1989

Rec. HAMMILL, KECK
carte de THIESSENHAGYORONOI
55 points d'atlas
a.d. 1989

Rec. HAMMILL, KECK
carte de THIESSENHAGYORONOI
55 points d'atlas
a.d. 1989

reconstruction
diachronique

reconstruction
diachronique

reconstruction
diachronique

reconstruction
diachronique

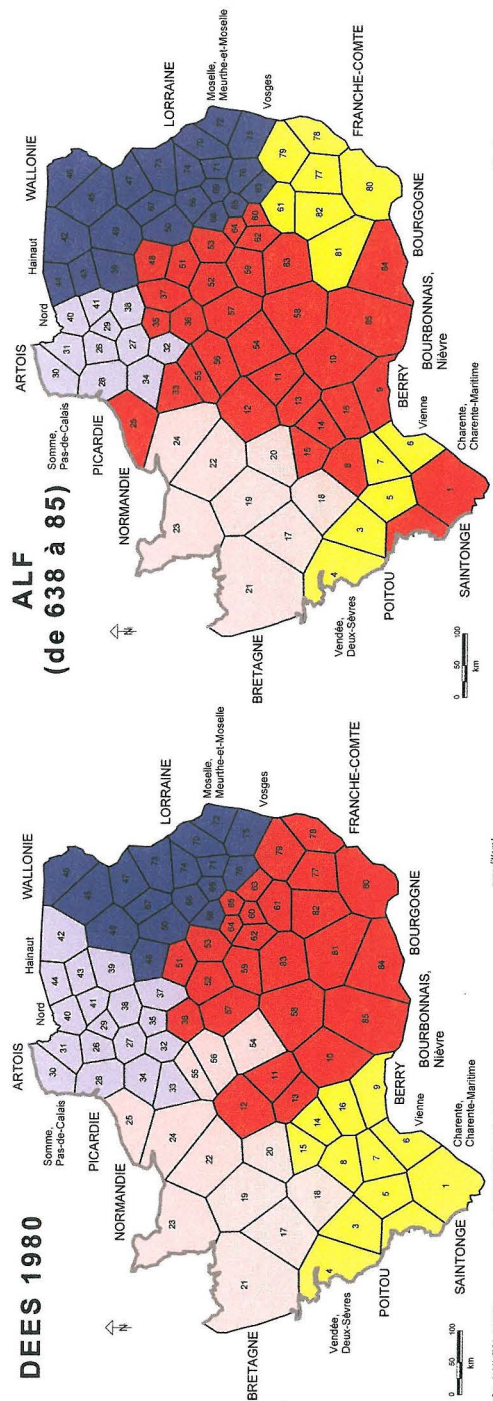
agglomération
taxométrique

agglomération
taxométrique

agglomération
taxométrique

agglomération
taxométrique

DEES 1980



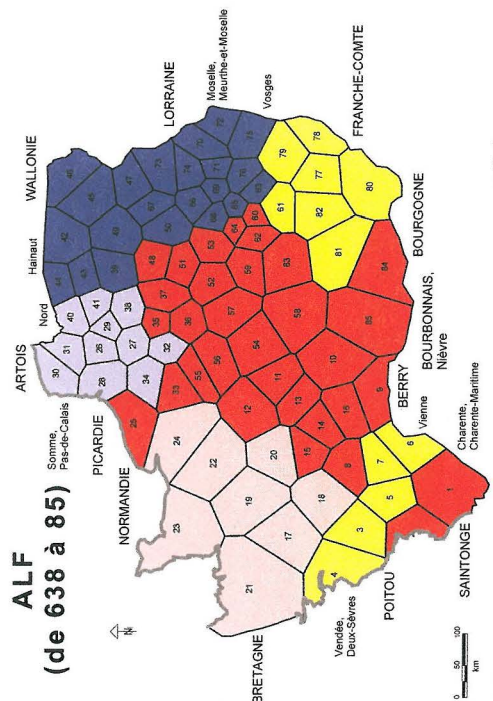
fic. HAMERL, KECK
cont. GOEBL
a.d. 1990

carte de THIESSEN/HAG/VORONCI
85 points d'élites
222 segments de polygone

reconstruction

taxométrique

ALF (de 638 à 85)

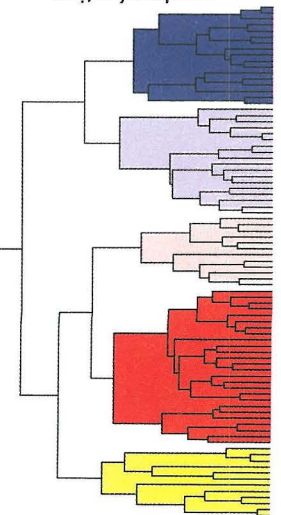
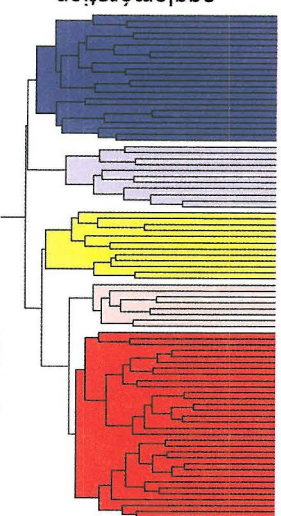


fic. HAMERL, KECK
cont. GOEBL
a.d. 1990

carte de THIESSEN/HAG/VORONCI
85 points d'élites
222 segments de polygone

reconstruction

taxométrique



SUR UN ASPECT DES ÉTUDES HISTORIQUES

En se fondant sur le principe qui dit que la science doit tendre vers le général, on est conduit à établir non seulement des changements concrets mais aussi des tendances évolutives. Nous partageons l'opinion selon laquelle il est possible d'établir des principes généraux de changements linguistiques, définis de différentes façons: principes, tendances, universaux, etc. Les arguments en faveur de cette thèse sont nombreux, ne serait-ce que ceux rappelés par Haspelmath (1999: 87). Ci-dessous nous nous occupons d'une méthode d'investigation de tels principes ou tendances.

On a intérêt à suivre le développement des formes et fonctions dans un long espace de temps, de préférence à partir de l'indo-européen commun jusqu'aux langues les plus évoluées, telles que l'anglais ou le français (cf. Gawelko 2001a:40). Le terme »évolué« veut dire ici »éloignée de la proto-langue«.

Dans cette optique, on pourrait opérer au moins trois coupes horizontales: la première serait représentée par une langue ancienne, le sanskrit par exemple, la deuxième par une langue slave, la troisième par l'anglais ou le français. On sait que les langues slaves se sont éloignées moins de l'indo-européen commun que les langues germaniques ou romanes, en particulier l'anglais. Un inconvénient saute aux yeux: les langues modernes peuvent être comparées sur la base d'un corpus satisfaisant quantitativement et qualitativement, les langues anciennes non. Le corpus défectueux est souvent une source d'erreurs, cf. l'objection faite par Disterheft à tous ses prédécesseurs: »The confusion which is prevalent among previous descriptions of the Rigveda infinitive is consistent: small data collections have led to erroneous descriptions.« (1980: 34) Plus encore que l'ampleur du corpus, c'est sa représentativité insuffisante qui constitue le danger pour le chercheur. Par exemple, Disterheft (1980: 13) parle du passif en avestan en se fondant sur des textes poétiques. La fréquence de cette forme dans la langue parlée pouvait être sensiblement différente.

Les difficultés ne s'arrêtent pas au niveau du corpus, il faut ajouter différents problèmes résolus normalement par les locuteurs natifs, différents problèmes de phonétique, etc.

Étant donné l'insuffisance du champ d'investigation offert par les vieilles langues, il y a tout intérêt à suivre les tendances évolutives des langues accessibles à une analyse multilatérale complexe et se trouvant à des étapes évolutives différentes.

En ce qui concerne les langues modernes, on dispose non seulement de textes nombreux et variés, y compris des textes parallèles, mais aussi de descriptions typologiques de langues particulières (par ex. Albrecht 1970, Criado de Val 1972, Gak 1977, Hawkins 1986, Malblanc 1966, Mańczak 1991, Vinay/Darbelnet 1958, etc.). L'étude des langues modernes peu évoluées et de langues modernes hautement évoluées, fondée sur un corpus représentatif, est à même de compléter l'analyse historique excessivement sommaire des vieilles langues indo-européennes.

En principe, la réorganisation de la grammaire des langues indo-européennes va dans la même direction dès le début jusqu'à nos jours. Ainsi l'étude des formes et fonctions apparaissant dans les langues modernes se trouvant à différentes étapes évolutives permet de mieux déterminer la spécificité des tendances particulières.

La réorganisation de la grammaire peut être réduite à quelques éléments fondamentaux: 1^o la disparition ou la diminution, 2^o l'apparition ou l'augmentation de l'importance de certaines formes ou fonctions.

Pour le premier cas on peut signaler le duel, l'impersonnel ou l'ordre de base OV, pour le second - l'infinitif, le passif ou l'ordre de base VO. Pour l'instant un seul exemple suffit: l'infinitif ne paraît pas avoir existé en indo-européen commun (mais le problème n'est pas définitivement résolu, cf. Jolly 1873:229, García-Ramón 1997:167). Il est attesté dans les vieilles langues. Il augmente sa fréquence jusqu'à l'étape des langues les plus évoluées. Ainsi il présente un emploi modéré dans les langues slaves, il est plus fréquent dans les langues romanes et germaniques.

Cependant la tâche du linguiste consiste non seulement à constater les faits mais aussi à les expliquer. Aujourd'hui l'opinion prédomine que l'explication des changements survenus laissait à désirer tant qu'on négligeait l'importance du passage du type de langue OV > VO (cf. Lehmann 1974: 14).

Prenons l'exemple du passif. En ce qui concerne l'indo-européen commun, nous pouvons accepter 1^o avec Bauer (2000: 25) que l'opposition actif/passif n'était pas dénotée grammaticalement et 2^o avec Lehmann (1974: 151) que le terme de *passivum* n'est pas bien fondé vu que les exemples cités n'ont jamais d'agent exprimé. Dans les langues modernes il est dénoté au moyen d'une périphrase qui admet un complément agentif. En ce qui concerne son évolution, il convient de rappeler la constatation de F. Parker: »the change to VO word order acted as a causal agent in the development of the passive« (1976: 449). Cependant, un doute surgit: s'agit-il certainement, chez Parker, d'un lien causal entre les deux phénomènes ou peut-être seulement d'un lien chronologique? Lehmann (1974: 183) constate seulement que ce n'est qu'après le passage de OV à VO que »the central meaning of the middle become that of passive voice«.

Une autre remarque. La constatation de Parker, qui parle du lien entre le développement du passif et le passage de OV à VO, se rapporte à des langues plus ou moins anciennes. Elle peut éventuellement expliquer la faiblesse du passif des vieilles langues (de type OV) par rapport au passif des langues slaves (de type VO), mais ne dit rien sur la faiblesse relative du passif slave par rapport au passif des langues romanes et plus encore par rapport au passif anglais.

Nous pensons que c'est la tendance analytique qui caractérise les langues indo-européennes dès le moment de la proto-langue jusqu'à l'étape des langues les plus évoluées, surtout anglaise et française.

Le premier problème à établir est celui de savoir si en effet les langues indo-européennes s'acheminent vers l'analytisme. Différentes opinions ont été avancées à ce sujet (cf. Lehmann 1974:248, Harris 1978: 119-120, Wright 1983:15, Schwegler 1990:190, etc.). Pour notre part, nous avons essayé à plusieurs reprises de montrer

que les exemples fournis par différents chercheurs en vue de contester le progrès de l'analytisme dans l'histoire des langues indo-européennes s'expliquent par l'action d'autres tendances, le plus souvent la tendance à l'économie (par ex. Gawętko 2001a: 27-29, 2001b: 12-14). L'existence de différentes tendances n'élimine pas l'importance particulière de la tendance analytique. On peut admettre que dans la langue différentes tendances se manifestent, souvent contradictoires, définies en anglais par des termes tels que *conflicting goals*. La question reste de savoir quelle est l'importance qu'on devrait assigner à chacune d'elles dans le développement des langues indo-européennes.

La tendance analytique permet d'envisager les trois coupes horizontales envisagées ci-dessus (les vieilles langues - les langues slaves - l'anglais et le français). Différents critères motivent cette répartition: critère de Greenberg (la quantité des morphèmes divisée par la quantité des mots), contingent des mots dans un texte parallèle, contingent des mots à fonction grammaticale, contingent des sujets pronominaux, contingent des prépositions, contingent des mots auxiliaires, proportion des mots génériques par rapport aux mots spécifiques, etc.

Ainsi, la tendance analytique est un facteur dont le pouvoir explicatif semble être plus grand que celui du passage de OV à VO: il explique, au contraire du passage de OV à VO, la raison de la faiblesse relative du passif slave (de type VO) par rapport au passif anglais (aussi de type VO). Cependant, le même doute persiste pour les deux facteurs: s'agit-il d'un lien causal entre ces facteurs et le développement du passif? On connaît bien la motivation de la fréquence considérable du passif dans les langues dépourvues de déclinaison: dans les langues slaves on dit correctement, comme en pol. *Matka kupiła sukienkę* »la mère a acheté une robe« et *Sukienkę kupiła matka*, le sujet et l'objet y étant définis par les désinences. Dans les langues sans déclinaison, on commence la phrase par l'objet en employant un passif ou une dislocation: *La robe a été achetée par la mère* ou *La robe, la mère l'a achetée*.

Un argument en faveur du lien causal entre la tendance analytique et le développement de certaines formes et fonctions est apporté peut-être par le fait qu'un certain nombre de ces éléments évolue au fur et à mesure qu'évolue la tendance analytique.

Nous présentons quelques exemples, fondés tantôt sur des travaux déjà publiés tantôt sur un corpus dont les détails sont indiqués ci-dessous.

Le corpus I (presque 400 000 mots graphiques pour chaque langue prise en compte: allemande, anglaise, espagnole, française, italienne, polonaise, portugaise et roumaine) se compose de 6 ouvrages entiers (4 ouvrages français: CH, E, P, V, 1 ouvrage anglais: A et 1 ouvrage latin: IC), des 3 premiers chapitres d'un ouvrage portugais (ML) et de fragments de deux ouvrages polonais (CD et Q). Pour chaque ouvrage, nous disposons de l'original et de traductions en sept langues (pour IC - en huit langues). Une exception: le texte CD n'a pas de version portugaise, ce qui nous a forcé de prendre en compte un fragment de la version portugaise d'un autre ouvrage (BA) aux dimensions équivalentes à celles du texte manquant. Trois de ces ouvrages sont rédigés dans une langue proche de la langue parlée: A, ML et CD. La langue de IC est quelque peu archaïsante.

Le corpus II se compose, pour chaque langue, de fragments des neuf ouvrages indiqués plus haut. De chaque ouvrage, nous avons retenu le fragment initial et le fragment final, chacun comportant, dans la version française, 2500 mots graphiques, à ceci près que nous ne coupons pas les phrases. Le corpus français comporte ainsi 45057 mots graphiques, au lieu de 45000 si les phrases avaient été coupées. Le corpus français une fois établi, nous avons établi aussi le corpus des autres langues qui est à chaque fois composé des fragments équivalents.

En principe, nous opposons le polonais, hautement synthétique, à l'anglais et au français, analytiques. Cependant profitant de notre corpus, nous déterminons également si les différences typologiques secondaires qui caractérisent les cinq langues romanes présentent un rapport avec les tendances évolutives de certaines formes et fonctions.

Les trois exemples qui suivent sont destinés à montrer le rapport entre quelques tendances évolutives et le degré de synthétisme/analytisme de la langue où elles se manifestent.

L'infinif. Il provient d'une forme nominale figée (cf. p.ex. Jeffers 1975:135). Cependant, au cours de son évolution, il s'approprie graduellement certaines particularités verbales telles que l'expression de l'aspect (fr. *faire* - *avoir fait*, pol. *robić* - *zrobić*), de la voix (fr. *faire* - *être fait*), la présence d'un objet (fr. *lire un livre*, cf. *il lit un livre*). Sporadiquement il peut aussi être accompagné d'un sujet syntaxique au nominatif (ex. prt. *Chegou, por fim, o tempo de ela partir para Lisboa.* - ML 86). Sa verbalité augmente avec la possibilité de se combiner avec un auxiliaire en formant des temps composés, etc. (cf. aussi Sala, éd., 2001: 277). Un infinitif évolué est un infinitif qui comporte des catégories grammaticales bien développées propres au verbe fini.

Le critère de base c'est le nombre global des infinitifs actifs et passifs établi dans notre corpus II: 1 prt. 1512 occurrences, 2 esp. 1441, it. 1431, fr. 1404, 3 ang. 1105, 4 all. 1018, 5 pol. 903, 6 roum. 185. Conformément à la pratique courante, ces données ne contiennent pas l'infinitif formant le futur et le conditionnel.

Les infinitifs passifs sont beaucoup plus rares que les actifs. Leurs occurrences ont été établies sur la base du corpus I, presque 10 fois plus grand que le corpus II: 758 exemples anglais, 280 allemands, 276 français, 269 portugais, 263 italiens, 176 espagnols, 101 polonais et 91 roumains. Ces chiffres présentent un certain rapport avec la vitalité du passif dans ces langues (cf. Gawelko 1999: 14).

Un exemple tiré de IC:

lat. *De ardenti amore et vehementi affectu vssciendi Christvm.* - fr. *Du désir ardent de recevoir Jésus-Christ.* - prt. *Do grande e ardente desejo de receber a Jesus Cristo.* - esp. *Abrasado amor y vivas ansias de recibir a Cristo.* - it. *L'ardente amore e l'intenso desiderio di ricevere Cristo.* - roum. *Iubirea fierbinte și dorul mare de a primi pe Hristos.* - ang. *On Ardent Love and Eager Desire to Receive Christ.* - all. *Die brennende Liebe und starke Sehnsucht, Christus zu empfangen.* - pol. *Żarliwa miłość i gwałtowne pożądanie przyjęcia Chrystusa.* Seuls le latin et le polonais n'emploient pas l'infinitif.

Il y a deux conclusions à tirer.

En premier lieu, les grandes différences typologiques qui se manifestent entre le

polonais et l'anglais ou le français présentent un rapport étroit avec la vitalité de l'infinitif: celui-ci est beaucoup plus faible en polonais que dans ces deux langues. On peut dire plus: il est beaucoup plus faible en polonais que dans n'importe quelle langue romane et, paraît-il, aussi dans n'importe quelle langue germanique.

En deuxième lieu, les différences limitées qui se manifestent dans le degré de synthétisme/analytisme caractérisant les langues romanes présentent un rapport lâche avec la vitalité de l'infinitif. Ce n'est pas le français, le plus analytique, mais le portugais qui jouit de la plus grande vitalité de son infinitif. Ce fait confirme l'importance de facteurs secondaires.

On peut tenter d'expliquer la position de l'infinitif français en rappelant que la marche du français vers l'analytisme, comme celle de n'importe quelle langue romane, n'est pas homogène: il se sépare des langues sœurs dans certaines des catégories, tandis que dans d'autres il reste une langue typiquement romane.

L'infinitif portugais non seulement s'avère le plus fréquent mais aussi il subit le plus la tendance à la grammaticalisation propre à l'infinitif indo-européen: il prend relativement souvent un sujet au nominatif (cf. Gawelko 2005), qui est plus rare dans les autres langues romanes, et très rare ou inexistant dans les autres langues. L'infinitif portugais prend aussi des désinences, ce qui est un phénomène très rare. Par contre, la dernière étape du développement de l'infinitif indo-européen: la substantivation au moyen d'un article n'y est pas aussi bien représentée qu'en italien (cf. Gawelko 2004).

Bref, les données ci-dessus confirment notre thèse de cette façon que l'infinitif polonais s'avère beaucoup plus pauvre que l'infinitif de n'importe quelle langue romane (le roumain excepté; son appartenance à l'union des langues balkaniques explique suffisamment bien la grande faiblesse de son infinitif) ou germanique. L'infinitif polonais ne prend pas un sujet au nominatif, il n'est substantivé qu'en exerçant une fonction, celle de sujet par exemple. Par contre les différences typologiques limitées entre les langues romanes ont un rapport plutôt lâche avec le degré de développement de l'infinitif. Bien entendu, dans les vieilles langues l'infinitif était beaucoup plus faible que l'infinitif slave: provenant d'une forme nominale figée il était en train de devenir infinitif.

Le passif du type: être + participe. Nous rappelons des données d'après notre travail sur le passif roman (Gawelko 1999: 14): ang. 1301 occurrences, all. 928, fr. 785, roum. 776, it. 671, prt. 626, esp. 514, pol. 426. Ces chiffres ainsi que les constatations faites par Bauer, Lehmann et Parker, rappelées plus haut, conduisent à quelques conclusions générales. Le passif n'a pas été exprimé grammaticalement en indo-européen commun. Son développement a été accéléré avec le passage du type de langue OV au type VO. Il est donc plus développé dans les langues slaves, de type VO, que dans les vieilles langues.

Dans les langues romanes et germaniques il augmente sensiblement sa fréquence par rapport au passif slave. La position privilégiée du passif anglais ainsi que la position du passif français s'expliquent par l'analytisme de ces langues. C'est surtout la position de l'allemand qui devrait être expliquée. Une constatation analogue à celle

faite au paragraphe précédent: les différences typologiques relativement secondaires ont un rapport plutôt lâche avec la fréquence du passif.

Un exemple:

fr. *On lui avait fait un lit dans la pièce commune.* (P, p. 167) - prt. *Tinham-lhe feito uma cama no compartimento comum.* - esp. *Le hicieron una cama en la habitación común.* - it. *Gli avevano fatto un letto nella stanza in comune.* - roum. *Îi făcuseră un pat în odaia comună.* - ang. *He was given a bed in the living-room.* - all. *Im gemeinsamen Aufenthaltsraum war ihm ein Bett aufgeschlagen worden.* - pol. *We wspólnym pokoju zrobiono mu postanie.* Seules les langues germaniques emploient un passif.

L'impersonnel. Il a existé dans la proto-langue. Il apporte un argument en faveur de la thèse que celle-ci était, à une époque ancienne, une langue de type actif (cf. Bauer 2000: 335). Cependant, au cours de l'évolution des langues indo-européennes, il diminue son importance. L'argument connu en faveur de cette opinion est que, dans les langues analytiques, le modèle phrastique de base SVO connaît de moins en moins d'exceptions. Un autre argument est qu'on a relevé pour certaines langues une ou des époques où une grande quantité d'impersonnels ont été remplacés par des formes personnelles (pour l'anglais, on se fonde en général sur van der Gaaf, par ex. Moessner 1984). Un autre argument est apporté par des indo-européistes. Ainsi, B. Bauer constate: »Impersonal verbs are found in all Indo-European languages; the more one goes back in time, the more one will find.« (Bauer 2000: 97).

Un exemple type:

fr. *J'avais chaud sous mes vêtements sombres.* (E, p. 26) - ang. *I was hot under my dark clothes.* - all. *Ich schwitzte in meinem dunklen Zeug.* - esp. *Tenía calor con mi traje oscuro.* - it. *Avevo caldo sotto i miei vestiti scuri.* - prt. *Tinha calor, com o meu fato escuro.* - roum. *Îmi era cald în hainele mele de culoare închisă* - pol. *W ciemnym ubraniu było mi gorąco.* Seuls le roumain et le polonais emploient un impersonnel.

À la rigueur, nous pourrions déjà tirer une conclusion à partir de ces remarques, qui serait de nature à appuyer notre thèse. Cependant notre corpus I est susceptible d'apporter une certaine contribution à la détermination de la vitalité de l'impersonnel. Nous présentons les constructions du type *être* + prédicat adjectival/adverbial qui ne se rapportent pas aux phénomènes atmosphériques, comme dans ang. *It is so good to be with Him!* (ML). Le corpus offre 184 exemples français et 206 exemples polonais. L'analyse de caractères spécifiques des constructions en cause augmente quelque peu la différence entre les deux langues. Une autre enquête fondée sur la moitié de notre corpus II (il embrasse les fragments des ouvrages CD, CH, E et ML) a permis de relever la totalité des occurrences de l'impersonnel en ang. *it, there* (non pas en ang. *one*, roum. *se*, pol. *się*) comme suit: en polonais 106 occurrences, en roumain 85 et en anglais 51. Il y a donc une différence modérée entre le polonais et le roumain et une différence nette entre les deux et l'anglais. Néanmoins une remarque s'impose: la différence entre la langue slave et les autres prises en compte, sensiblement plus analytiques, n'est pas aussi nette que c'est le cas de l'infinitif et celui du passif. La raison

en réside, paraît-il, dans l'économie de l'impersonnel et dans la simplicité des situations météorologiques pour lesquelles l'impersonnel est particulièrement caractéristique: *il pleut*, plus économique que *la pluie tombe*, n'apporte pas moins d'informations; la nature de la pluie est de tomber.

CONCLUSION. Pour des raisons évidentes, il est beaucoup plus facile d'étudier les langues modernes que les vieilles langues indo-européennes. Comme les langues modernes se trouvent à différentes étapes de leur évolution, qui va en principe dans le même sens, il est possible de prendre en compte, dans une analyse des formes et fonctions indo-européennes, des langues modernes se trouvant à différentes étapes de leur évolution. Ainsi, pour examiner les tendances évolutives des formes telles que l'infinitif, le passif ou l'impersonnel, on a intérêt à faire quelques coupes horizontales, par exemple: les vieilles langues - les langues slaves - les langues anglaise et française, la première étant le moins, la dernière le plus éloignée de la proto-langue.

S'il s'agit de l'évolution des trois formes, l'étape des langues slaves est toujours intermédiaire: l'impersonnel est le plus fort dans les vieilles langues et le plus faible en anglais et en français, tandis que l'infinitif et le passif sont les plus faibles dans les vieilles langues et les plus forts en anglais et en français.

Les différences typologiques secondaires qui caractérisent les langues romanes, telles que le degré de synthétisme/analytisme, présentent un rapport plutôt lâche avec le degré de développement de ces formes.

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Povzetek
RAZVOJNI VIDIK V INDOEVROPSKIH JEZIKIH

Prispevek želi z razvojnega vidika osvetliti nekaj slovničnih enot v sicer tipološko različnih indoevropskih jezikih. Gledé na skladenjsko rabo enot kot so nedoločnik, trpnik ali brezosebni glagol je mogoče razločiti vsaj tri razvojne stopnje: najstarejšo, kot jo predstavlja sanskrt; srednjo, vmesno, kot jo kažejo moderni indoevropski jeziki, ki se od osnove, torej od prvotnega jezika niso preveč oddaljili, tako kot na primer slovanski; moderno razvojno stopnjo, kar kažejo jeziki, ki so v prvotni jezik vnesli močne inovacije, kot na primer francoščina ali angleščina. Primerjavo med drugo in tretjo razvojno stopnjo je z diahronim pogledom mogoče zasnovati na obsežnem korpusu raznolikih besedil in seveda tudi na velikem številu tehtnih razprav o navedenih skladenjskih vprašanjih, kar dovoljuje izostriti o teh celostno študijo od najstarejše dobe do današnje razvojne stopnje.

TOWARD A DEFINITION OF THE GENERIC NOUN PHRASE

In order to complete my description of the so-called category of definiteness in Macedonian I needed an operational definition of what is called "a generic noun phrase". I did not find such a definition in works on definiteness and on reference. Thus, I decided to try and formulate a definition based on my knowledge of the Macedonian and Polish usage. My second problem is the conditions of appearance of the definite article in generic noun phrases, hence my examples come from Macedonian, where the category of definiteness is strictly grammaticalized.

The concept of the generic noun phrase (NPgen) is based on the scope of reference of the phrase in question when used in the text. Thus, we should speak rather of the generic usage or generic interpretation of a noun phrase, than of the NPgen as such. However, with the above reservation in mind, we shall preserve here the accepted term. A NPgen differs from other NPs in that it refers to the *genus*, the *species* as such, and not to a specified selection of elements of the named *species*. Consequently, in the foreground is the intension, the connotation of the concept in question. It should be emphasized that *genus* is understood as a concept whose real and/or virtual denotates have in common some relevant inherent features, and not only accidental relational characteristics. The concepts of this type more often than not have clear cut borders and are often founded on the scientific classification of corresponding phenomena. Thus, the so-called occasional expressions (shifters, indices, proper names used in their primary function) are *a priori* excluded from an NPgen.

There exist two different theories concerning the referential characteristics of an NPgen. One of them says that an NPgen refers always and only to the connotation of the concept, to its intension. Consequently, sentences including NPgen are of metalinguistic character. The second, "naive" theory accepts the possibility of speaking about the denotation of an NPgen and, *ipso facto*, accepts the existential presupposition that it implies when used in a factive sentence. According to that second theory, insofar as the extension, the denotation of the concept is concerned, we have to distinguish three different situations:

- (a) a NP refers to the set as a whole, to all the extension of the concept; NPs used this way are *ex definitione* in plural forms;
- (b) a NP refers, seemingly, to one typical element as representing the whole set; the NP is then in the singular form;
- (c) a NP refers to a non specified selection of the elements of the set, its number form is not *a priori* defined.

(a) Here belong the prototypical, non-controversial NPgen which appear in sentences informing on definitional characteristics of the set, cf.

(1) *Мас. Мувите имаат две крила.* 'The flies have two wings'

(2) *Мас. Петлите се птици.* 'The roosters are birds'

(3) *Мас. На слоновите кожата им е дебела.* 'The skin of the elephants is thick'

(4) *Мас. Именките се конститутивни членови на именските синтагми.* 'Nouns are constitutive members of noun phrases' etc.

The above examples could be rewritten with the determiner *сите* 'all' included into the NPgen (*сите муви, сите петли...* etc.). It would change nothing on the communicative plane, it would only increase the expression, and this would be unusual in sentences of the definitional type. It seems that the addition of *сите* cannot be used as a test for the generic character of the NPs under discussion.

The presence of the definite article in Macedonian NPs of the above type is due not to their generic usage, but to their function and position in the sentence. In the examples (1), (2) and (4) it is the nominative case relationship and the position at the beginning of the sentence, in the example (3) – the dative case relationship and the position at the beginning of the sentence. Changing the function and/or the position we get NPgen with optional presence of the article, cf.

(5) *Мас. Забрането е да се убиваат тигри(те).* 'It is forbidden to kill tigers'

or

(6) *Мас. Кожата на тигри(те) е дебела.* 'Tigers' skin is thick'

or

(7) *Мас. Децата во зоолошката градина радо (ги) гледаат тигри(те).* 'The children in zoo gladly watch tigers'

or

(8) *Мас. Секој ловец знае дека со тигри(те) нема шега.* 'Every hunter knows that you don't joke with tigers'

or

(9) *Мас. Оваа забрана не се однесува на тигри(те).* 'This ban doesn't concern tigers'

and so on, and so on.

The doubt about the generic character of a phrase begins with sentences including occasional expressions. Cf., e.g., such sentences as:

(10) *Мас. Јас сакам деца.* 'I like children'

or

(11) *Мас. Ана мрази седници.* 'Ann hates meetings'

or

(12) *Мас. Историските романи се омилена лектура на Јане.* 'Historical novels is what John likes the best'

etc.

It is clear that the scope of reference of the NPs in the above sentences is not *genus* as such, but an unspecified selection of its denotates defined by the personal experience of the protagonist. Are these NPs generic? Every solution would be arbitrary. I should say that such NPs are quasi-generic, which means not generic. They are derivatives of the assertions of the type:

(10') *Мас. Сите деца со кои имав контакт ми беа мили.* 'All the children that I have met up to now were to my liking'

or

(11') *Мас. Сите седници во кои Ана учествуваше и беа одвратни.* 'All the meetings where Ann has participated up to now were repellent to her'

or

(12') *Мас. Сите историски романи што Јане ги има прочитано му се допаднаа повеќе од другите книги.* 'The historical novels that John has read up to now were more to his liking than other books'
etc.

(b) To the second type of NPgen belong, as mentioned above, NPs that seem to refer to one typical denotate of the concept, but *de facto* refer to the *genus* as a whole. Thus, the difference between type (a) and type (b) is only of formal character. Our first, prototypical examples (1 to 4) can all be rewritten that way, cf.

(1') *Мас. Мувата има две крила.* 'The fly has two wings'

(2') *Мас. Петелот е птица,* 'The rooster is a bird'

(3') *Мас. На слонот кожата му е дебела.* 'The skin of an elephant is thick'

(4') *Мас. Именката е конститутивен член на именската синтагма.* 'A/The noun is a constitutive member of the noun phrase'.

Mutatis mutandis examples from (5) to (9) can be rewritten in the same way, but this does not refer to the examples from (10) to (12), which seems to confirm their quasi-generic character.

We could also rewrite examples (1' – 4') replacing the definite article with the determiner *секој* 'every' – the message would be changed on the expressive plane only; the status of *секој* is identical with that of *сите*.

The main formal difference between our type (a) and the type (b) is in the fact that in the NPgen of the type (b) the definite article is obligatory regardless of the case relationship and of the linear order of the sentence.

The NPgen of the type (b) whose constitutive members can be interpreted both as names of a unique representative element of the set and also of the set itself, i.e. as collective nouns, present an interesting problem. Classical examples are names of some fruits and vegetables, cf.

(13) *Мас. Пиперката е (/ Пиперките се) најпопуларен зеленчук во Македонија.* 'The pepper is the most popular vegetable in Macedonia'

or

(14) *Мас. Пиперката е евтина (/ Пиперките се евтини) годинава.* 'Peppers are cheap this year'

etc.

NPgen of the type (a) and of the type (b) can appear both in factive and in non-factive sentences.

(c) NPgen of the type (c) appear exclusively in non-factive sentences. They refer to any arbitrarily selected denotate of the generic concept and/or any arbitrary selection (group) of denotates. On the formal plane they are in singular form and are usually accompanied with the indefinite article *еден* or with determiners of the series *кој било*, *кој и да е* whose nearest if not ideal equivalent is English *any*. Cf.

(15) Mac. *Која било мува може да ја пренесе болеста* ‘any fly can...’
as against:

(15’) Mac. **Која било мува ја пренесува болеста* ‘any fly...’
or

(16) Mac. *Кој било лекар мора да знае да ја изврши интервенцијата* ‘any doctor...’
as against

(16’) Mac. **Кој било лекар знае да ја изврши интервенцијата* ‘any doctor...’
Cf. also:

(17) Mac. *Еден лекар не би смеел да постапува така*. ‘Somebody/Anybody who is a doctor...’

Finally, cf. some examples with latent determiner of the *any*-series:

(18) Mac. *Интервенцијата мора да ја изврши лекар* ‘The intervention should be made by a doctor’, i.e. ‘somebody / anybody who is a doctor...’

(19) Mac. *Таквите задачи треба да им се доделуваат на студенти* ‘Such tasks should be assigned to students’...

The semantic structure of the above sentences (15-19) includes the presupposition about the existence of the *genus* in question, but there is no presupposition about the existence of any specified denotates able to fulfill the function of arguments of the virtual relations constituting these sentences.

Intensional factive predicates of the type *(си) замислува* ‘imagine’, *сонува за...* ‘dream about...’, *мечтае* ‘daydream’, also *бара* ‘look for...’ pose a special problem: in some contexts they imply argument NPs that are referentially ambiguous, cf.

(20) *Сонувам за една убава куќичка до морскиот брег* ‘I dream about a beautiful little house on the shore’

where, depending on the intention of the speaker, the existence of the house is or is not implied, cf. also:

(21) *Барам еден добар прирачник по шпански за Македонци* ‘I am looking for a good manual of Spanish for Macedonians’

etc.

If we accept the non-referential interpretation, the above examples could be qualified as /+ generic/. (Givon 1984: 389-390), or – if we accept that virtual concepts have no denotation – as /+ predicative/.

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Povzetek **K DEFINICIJI T.I. GENERIČNE IMENSKE SINTAGME**

Prispevek je poskus definicije pojma t.i. generične imenske sintagme. Avtorica ugotavlja, da bi bilo ustrežnejše kot o generični sintagmi govoriti o generični uporabi imenske sintagme.

Analiza temelji na primerih iz makedonskega knjižnega jezika v potrjevanju kategorialne karakteristike sintagem, ki so v literaturi ocenjene za generične. Misli se na kategoriji določnosti in števila, tj. na referenčno in količinsko karakteristiko.

REFERRING AND THE CONTEXT OF SITUATION IN VIEW OF THE HUMAN LINGUISTICS APPROACH

Introduction

Based on false philosophical assumptions, language has so far been considered as an entity, a thing which exists on its own and has characteristics of a living being. Language has been said to evolve and languages have been classified as alive or dead. Language has been considered as something you can acquire.

The turn of the century witnessed the rise of the first scientifically justified theory of linguistics, the Human Linguistics (Yngve 1996), which does not treat language as an entity of its own, independently of people, but rather basis its research on real-world evidence and shifts the focus of its enquiry to the individual processing the sounds or ink on paper in the relevant context of situation.

Survey of traditional investigation of language

The treatment of language as an independent entity, separate from the individual, can be traced back to the ancient Greek philosophers such as Plato and prominent linguists such as Saussure and his structural approach to linguistics where he proposes that language be treated in terms of a relation of word to thing or the world.

The second half of the 20th century fathered the rise of the functionalist approach to studying language (Halliday 1985, Halliday & Hasan 1976, Yule 1996, de Beaugrande & Dressler 1981) which, as opposed to the structuralist approach, brought forward the importance of context over sentence structure for the meaning of the utterance. The focus of linguistic enquiry was shifted from word and sentence to larger stretches of text. The term discourse analysis was introduced to denote linguistic research at the level of text and context.

Discourse linguistics together with the structuralist approach paved the way for the *late 20th century communicative approach to linguistics* (Schiffrin 1994, Cook 2003,) which based its theoretical background on both leading approaches to language study: the structuralist and the functionalist approach. It was the understanding of the communicative approach that both the functionalist and structuralist approaches contribute equally to the understanding of language and are mutually dependent on each other (Cook 2003). Utterance rather than sentence became the key word in discussions of language and its communicative functions.

Individual instances of using language in single acts of uttering called *énonces* (T. Todorov 1970) became the focus of linguistic studies underlying the need for language analysis from the individual not systemic perspective.

This view was put forward already in the 50s and the 60s of the previous century. Austin discusses language in terms of similarities in certain social communicative acts, where the subject of human communicative activities is approached from the viewpoint of the Speech Act Theory. According to his 1962 book *'How to Do Things with Words'* (1st ed. 1955), Austin's philosophy was that every utterance one makes is really an act. We either describe an event (locutionary, such as *'it's raining'*), use verbs to make performing an act explicit (illocutionary, such as *'I apologize'*), or to produce an effect on those around us (perlocutionary; performatives, such as *'we, the jury, find the defendant guilty...'*).

Human Linguistics - a theory of scientific linguistics

A scientific approach to studying language as proposed by Victor H. Yngve's Human Linguistics (HL; 1996) represents a means of focusing linguistic research on the communicative structure of people rather than language structures or utterances, as has been the case in the past. It is the communicative ability of people which grows and develops and can be acquired by observing and by taking an active part in communicative situations. The composing elements of language such as, in traditional terms, syllables, words or sentences, do not evolve or undergo any change independently of people. It is people who change and interpret the sound waves or ink on paper in the relevant environment.

In the theory of HL, acts of communicating are first analyzed in terms of the physical reality – the real-world objects involved - which is the assemblage¹. The analysis of the communicative situation involves discussion in terms of HL defined linkages². This requires that we use the HL formalization to represent linkages and their composing parts in the theory. Square brackets are used to denote systems, which are linkages, linkage participants³, role parts⁴ and props⁵, while angle brackets denote properties of systems, various tasks and procedures.

Formalizing acts of communicating as linkages, featuring linkage participants, role parts, props, and carrying out relevant task procedures offers an insight into the complexity and multiplicity of human communicating activities and represents a

¹ The term assemblage is used to denote a "group of people together with their linguistically relevant surroundings involved in a particular communicative behavior." (Yngve 1996:86)

² In HL theory, a linkage is defined as "a representation in linguistic theory of an assemblage that includes just those properties that are required to account for the communicative behavior associated with the assemblage." (Yngve 1996:126)

³ A linkage participant is in HL theory defined as 'a representation of a person that includes just those properties that are required to account for that person's communicative behavior in a particular assemblage.' (Yngve 1996:125)

⁴ A role part is defined in HL as 'a representation of the functional part or role that a person plays in a particular assemblage.' (Yngve 1996:193)

⁵ 'A prop is a representation in linguistic theory of a real-world object, instrument, or device in an assemblage that includes just those properties that are required for its communicative relevance in the assemblage.' (Yngve 1996:129)

means of an integrated analysis of the multiple factors active in an instance of human communicating.

Problems of the traditional notion of reference

In general, human communicating can in traditional terms be viewed as the use of words to refer to things in the external reality or imagined external reality, words being items that name the things in the external or imagined external reality. In the past, the subject of names and referring has been addressed by linguists, as well as prominent authors of philosophical, fictional and scientific texts, such as Socrates, Shakespeare or Galileo. They have all doubted the traditional notion of treating a word as an independent and powerful entity which has or carries meaning, refers to things in the real world, and causes responses in humans.

Socrates on names

In Plato's Collected Dialogues (Hamilton, E. and Cairns, H., eds. 1961), we find an interesting discussion between Socrates and one of his students, Cratylus, debating the meaning of words, primitive or first nouns which are viewed as representations of things. A doubt introduced in this dialogue is the one of the lack of real-world scientific evidence that words as such possess the power they are being assigned by philosophers. Socrates points out that the nature of words is such that it demands a social convention and previous knowledge related to the intended meaning of the word in order to be used successfully and effectively (verse 433 (p. 467)). Words as such bear no likeness to the objects they are a representation of. Letters as composing parts of the word are not real-world objects and as such their clusters cannot form real-world entities (verse 434, p. 468). It is not words that have power, it is the individual that endows words with power. On their own, words are just sound waves or ink on paper. On the other hand, by means of convention, one can choose to call black white and white black, as long as the parties involved are agreed on it.

Shakespeare on names

"What's in a name? That which we call a rose by any other name would smell as sweet." (W. Shakespeare)

This famous quote by Shakespeare is the author's expression of doubt concerning the powerful use of names. The two names, Montague and Capulet, do not bear any negative meaning in themselves. It is the people as real-world objects who assign negative characteristics to them in the play.

Galileo on names

Galileo, as the father of modern science, was an observer of the world around him. His contribution to scientific research is represented by the idea that there is a clear distinction between the humanities and science, between the sensations and the external phenomena. He was concerned with divorcing the hard science from the idea that words have the kind of power with which they are endowed by philosophers

(separation of primary from secondary qualities; Drake, 1980:71). He expressed his basic concern in the form of the witty remarks made in reference to using words as names which function as representations of real-world objects:

'If their opinions and their voices have the power to call into existence the things they name, then I beg them to do me a favour of naming a lot of old hardware I have about my house 'gold'. (D&O 253)' (in Drake, 1980:71,)

Handling referring in HL - example of the game of 'tag'

The subject of reference in traditional terms, or referring behavior in human linguistic terms, has been discussed in Yngve (1996, chapter 21) and the distinction between the traditional and the HL notions has been made (cf. also Burazer 2004). In tradition, it is the words and propositions that refer to real-world objects, it is the words that point to things in the environment. In HL, it is people who refer, not words (Burazer, 2004, chapter 8) and we speak of referring behavior.

The context of situation – the Domain of control

When speaking of referring, tradition inevitably brings into the discussion the relevant context on which the use of words depends. In HL, this dependence on the context is addressed from the point of view of the human being and the relevant procedures in them that become active, stand ready or nearly ready to be triggered, which together constitute the participant's domain of control.

The game of tag is an example of a simple communicative activity involving a number of players where one of the players is 'it' and the others are 'not it'. In the theory of HL we first define the game in terms of the physical reality – the real-world objects involved in it, which is the assemblage consisting of the playground and the children on the playground who are involved in the game of tag.

We set up a linkage [playground] with a role part [tag player] for each of the children in the assemblage on the playground (note the use of square brackets for systems). The playground activities are represented in the theory as linkage tasks and subtasks, formalized by the use of angle brackets as in (1).

(1) Linkage [playground] = participants [Al] + [Butch] + [Carl] + [Dan] + [Eric]

Referring behavior and the game of tag

The game of tag is a relatively simple communicative activity, particularly in the linguistic sense, with no or very little verbal communication involved. The only verbal activity in the game, which is optional, are the sounds of 'tag' and/or 'you're it' uttered by the player who is 'it' after having touched/tagged one of the players who is not 'it'. Yet the activities triggered in the participants by a simple touch (and sometimes an utterance) are manifold and complex.

Being a participant in the tag linkage, a number of parallel participant tasks are selected and triggered in the players in order for the linkage task of <play the game of tag> to execute successfully. The main task of the players who are not 'it' is to <avoid

the player who is 'it'>. The players who are not 'it' also have other tasks active in parallel, such as monitoring. This involves constantly paying attention to who is 'it' at any given moment.

The conditional role-part property of being 'it' is a dynamically changing one, frequently alternating its value throughout the game. The parallel task of monitoring who is 'it' needs to be active at all times. The participant who performs the activity of tagging is referring to the other participant's expectation procedures which are subsequently triggered. That is why we speak of referring behavior rather than just reference. First, a certain set of tasks is executed in one participant; their execution then results in triggering a set of tasks in another participant. The two sets of tasks in the two participants have to be compatible in the sense that they relate to the same domain of control (the tradition calls this the context of situation). The act of tagging triggers the relevant set of expectation procedures in the tagged participant on condition that the relevant set of expectation procedures is ready to be triggered and the related tasks ready to be activated, in which case the participant's behavior would change accordingly.

By referring to a participant's domain of control and relevant expectation procedures, the communicating individual is assuming and at the same time validating his assumption that the other communicating individual has a corresponding domain of control with similar concepts. In the process of communicating, individuals are constantly monitoring for validation of each other's behavior (the other participant's nods, responses and other expressions of agreement and understanding) which gives them reassurance that similar concepts are being accessed in the plexes⁶ of their partners in communicating, forming a similar domain of control. Therefore human communicating is based on expectation procedures in participants involved in a relevant communicative situation which are that the other participants have the concepts forming the relevant domain of control.

How do we account for successful referring?

Although people share some common ground, they come from different backgrounds, which brings us to the question of how it is at all possible for any human communication to be successful, since our personal histories differ and thus contribute different input into the context of situation. Other linguists have expressed this fear for the process of making linguistics scientific. Bloomfield, for instance, feared that *'the occurrence of a speech [...] depend[s] upon the entire life-history of the speaker and of the hearer'* (Bloomfield, in Yngve 1996: p.170). But the HL theory eliminates these fears because it finds that communicative behavior is lawful, which means that *it is possible to discover the laws related to any given piece of communicative behavior, and thus achieve a scientific understanding of it* (Yngve, 1996:p.171). People expect

⁶ In HL, plex is a representation of the structure of a communicating individual as a long list of procedures all interrelated by categorial and conditional properties in a complex dynamic causal network (Yngve 1996:171).

conformity to norms and easily overlook deviations or actually hear them according to their expectations (cf. Burazer 2004, SLE, Norway), otherwise human communication would in most cases result in failure.

Success of referring behavior is conditioned by the domain of control in the participants in a particular linkage. This does not imply that participants have the same life history, which is of course impossible, but we are rather counting here on the principle of equivalent componential histories relating to the particular domain of control (Yngve 1996:169).

People learn by observing and discovering patterns in human behavior. On the basis of the observed behavior in the tag linkage, for instance, the basic principle of the game of tag can in HL be formalized as (2):

$$(2) \\ [X]<it> \times [Y]<-it> \times [X]<tag>(Y) :: \\ [X]<-it> \times [Y]<it>$$

The above is a formalization of the basic procedural property of the tag linkage. It represents the participants' activities in the process of tagging, which is a repetitive pattern of communicative behavior in the tag linkage. The participants X and Y have the property of being it/-it at a certain value at a certain point in the game. The participant who is 'it' touches the other participant, who is '-it', which sets the participant X's property of being 'it' to change to '-it', and the participant Y's property of '-it' to 'it'.

The discovery of patterns of communicative activities can also be sensed behind Austin's and later Searle's approach to analyzing human communication in terms of speech acts. Speech acts are a theoretical representation of patterns of human behavior underlying interpersonal communicative activities.

The Speech Act Theory approach

In line with the Speech Act Theory, the activity of tagging can be interpreted as the player performing a perlocutionary (performative) speech act: 'you're it' really means 'I tagged you'. This behavior is rule governed, since there are certain rules of the game that the players observe. Searle's hypothesis was that speaking a language is a matter of performing speech acts according to systems of constitutive rules (1969:38).

Prior to stating this hypothesis he compares human behavior in games such as football, baseball and chess (1969:36; this analogy has been used prior to Searle by Saussure and Wittgenstein) to human behavior in certain social situations. Violating the rules of a game results in negative attitude towards the particular player or team. Generally, in social behavior such violations or adherence to the rules (of etiquette) would represent the basis for appraisal of behavior, such as 'he was rude', 'he was immoral', 'he was polite', which Searle tentatively poses as evidence for existence of rule governed human behavior.

We can claim with some certainty that there exists evidence from everyday examples that human behavior is 'rule governed'⁷. These 'rules' are forms of socially

⁷ Note the use of inverted commas to mark that this expression in itself represents a domain confusion and as such is not a part of terminology used in Human linguistics.

accepted behavior. Apart from the criminal behavior defined by the law, people are not legally bound to behave in a certain way, but society as such dictates certain ways of accepted behavior, and consequently condemns deviations from these ways as unacceptable. It is human nature to have the need to belong and be accepted by the society, therefore we can note in human behavior conformity to norms.

The rules of socially accepted behavior undergo considerable changes through time. Numerous examples from everyday situations support this statement.

In the past, before the existence of modern telecommunication systems, such as telegraphs, telephones and the electronic media, people used to communicate indirectly through messengers or through the postal service. So, for instance, arranging to meet someone took quite a while if one wanted to come announced, in addition to observing certain norms of social behavior. Then, with the invention of the telegraph, getting a message through to someone became considerably easier and quicker, and even more so with the invention of the telephone. Showing up at someone's doorstep all of a sudden became incredibly rude - at least in my experience. The social norm became '*You should call first.*' If one did happen to show up at someone's doorstep, one would have noticed a change in communication from '*I'm so glad you're home*' to suddenly apologizing '*Sorry, I know I should have called first.*'

Nowadays, in the time of mobile telephones and electronic mail communication, it might be unimaginable to just show up at someone's doorstep, even if you did just happen to pass their house. The rules of social behavior dictate that it is polite and expected of you to call first, even if you're standing right in front of the person's doorstep. The availability of modern means of communication has changed people's perception of what can be expected of the other person in terms of making interpersonal communication easier, so a certain level of predictability of human behavior is expected.

Similarly, expectations have changed in terms of decoding the meaning of sounds such as music heard in the middle of the street or in a classroom situation, or a person 'talking to themselves' in a coffee shop. Some time ago, these instances would have probably been understood as some sort of deviations from the social norms of behavior. Nowadays, the first expectation when music is heard seems to be that it must be someone's mobile telephone. And if one hears someone walking behind them and talking loud, one expects they are talking to someone on the phone rather than addressing them or talking to themselves.

Validation and appraisal of our past behavior results in forming expectation procedures in an individual's plex which are then triggered in a particular situation, accessing appropriate related concepts and further triggering appropriate task procedures, in accordance with the individual's social and cultural experience.

Conclusion

The words reference and referring constitute a part of terminology in many different fields of research and we, the readers/listeners, manage to adjust their specific meanings in accordance with the field of research in question. Definitions from

philosophy imply that it is words that refer to or point out objects and other worldly phenomena. But in human linguistics it is not words but people who refer or point to something.

In human linguistics, participants do not refer to elements or words in the text. It is concepts in the hearer's or reader's domain of control that are accessed. They are concepts of items in the external reality or in the imagined external reality or abstract concepts. A certain given communicative behavior may trigger access to different concepts at different times depending on the domain of control.

But in human linguistics, referring behavior is concerned with the *triggering of procedures in dependence on the context* rather than with *people using words* (Yngve 1996:277), as in traditional linguistics. In human linguistics, communicating individuals are the participants in the process of communicating, and their linguistic, social, and emotional properties are involved in their understanding of referring behavior. Traditional analysis of grammatical structures and lexis reveals the surface layer of the message. It does not, however, explain the phenomena behind successful communication in cases such as two friends using unfinished sentences and cue words, or in cases where the message carries double meaning, yet the receiver extracts the correct one, suitable to the particular context of situation.

In order to be able to account for how people communicate, a much wider framework is needed—one that reaches beyond surface grammatical structures, or even the context of situation—one that takes into account all factual elements playing a role in successfully communicating. This requires that we move from the logical to the physical domain of investigation, and Human Linguistics is the theory equipped with the proper means to do so.

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Povzetek
POJMOVANJE REFERENCE (NANAŠANJA) IN SITUACIJSKEGA KONTEKSTA
S STALIŠČA JEZIKOSLOVJA ČLOVEKA

Referenca oz. nanašanje je pojem, ki se pogosto pojavlja tako v filozofskem kot v jezikoslovnem diskurzu. V preteklosti je bila referenca definirana kot odnos med besedo ali izrazom in predmetom v resničnosti oz. med besedo in pojmom v abstraktni resničnosti. Kljub nekaterim porajajočim se dvomom v to filozofsko osnovo jezikoslovne znanosti, je pojmovanje, da je jezik predmet obravnave v jezikoslovju, ostalo zakoreninjeno. Victor H. Yngve s svojo teorijo jezikoslovja človeka (Human Linguistics, tudi HL) predstavlja korak izven okvirov jezikoslovja jezika, kjer je predmet znanstvene obravnave s stališča trdih znanosti neotipljiv. Za predmet znanstvene obravnave postavlja človeka in njegove odzive v različnih komunikacijskih situacijah.

Obravnava reference s stališča jezikoslovja človeka na primeru preproste otroške igre lovljenja omogoča vpogled v zapleteno mrežo človeškega razumevanja v situacijskem kontekstu. Rezultati obravnave kažejo, da je človeško medsebojno komuniciranje, v vsej svoji zapletenosti in sočasnemu vplivu številnih dejavnikov, moč znanstveno formalizirati v okviru orodij, ki jih ponuja HL. Kljub nesporni raznolikosti izkušenj, si ljudje delimo številne družbeno sprejete vedenjske vzorce, ki predstavljajo skupni imenovalac človeškega delovanja in zagotavljajo uspešnost komunikacije.

ON THE POSSIBILITIES AND IMPOSSIBILITIES OF CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION

1. Introductory remarks

As is well known, the second half of the last century has witnessed an unprecedented increase in cross-cultural communication at a practical level as well as a remarkable development of research on various aspects of translation as cross-cultural communication *par excellence*. Such an interest in the study of translation appears to be directly linked with the expansion of translational activities and reflects the importance attributed to them in the society at large. At the same time, the burgeoning growth of translation studies is to be explained within the context of the expansion of the discipline of linguistics over the past half-century, an important part of which is the development of various text-oriented branches in which attention has been given to previously largely unstudied phenomena of the functioning of language in real communicative situations.

The aim of this contribution is to present an overview of the development of translation studies and also to show that it was originally made possible by function-centred approaches to research on language. An attempt will be made to sketch out the principal differences between traditional thinking about translation – which was concerned almost exclusively with the dichotomy between literal and free translation on the one hand and with the problem of translatability between natural languages on the other – and some contemporary theories which have to a large extent overcome the traditional conceptual oppositions. This is true in particular of the functional approaches to translation, in which categories such as translatability, literalness and freeness have acquired only a very relative value and are considered in terms of the concrete purpose which a given translation is expected to serve in the target culture. The new perspective has also implied a redefinition of some fundamental translational issues such as the relation between translation and text production, the question of the translator's skills, and the concepts of translational "equivalence" and of translation error.

2. Translation: a growing area of research and an expanding practical activity

For centuries, translation has attracted the attention of numerous thinkers who have been interested in various aspects of it.¹ But it has happened only relatively recently that systematic studies with solid theoretical underpinning have been dedicated to translation as an object of empirical study and not merely as an object of reflection

¹ A variety of monographs and readers dealing with translation theories are available in English. See, for instance, Lefevere (ed.) (1992) for an overview of traditional ideas and Gentzler (1993) and Venuti (ed.) (2000) for presentations of modern approaches.

based on intuition and experience. Apart from the growing interest in translation as a research field, the activity of translation itself is becoming more and more prominent in today's world. Everywhere, and especially perhaps in small cultures and in the non-English speaking world, translated texts can be found, directly or indirectly, in the greatest majority of communicative situations. The increasing dependence on translations in our every-day lives may at first sight appear paradoxical, since parallel to the growth of translational activities there is also an increase in foreign language learning, a consequence of which is that the number of people who have a working knowledge of at least one foreign language is becoming higher and higher. However, the two phenomena, i.e. the growing amount of translational activities and the expansion of foreign-language learning, are to be considered complementary rather than oppositional, since both are related to the ever-greater intensity of international (and therefore intercultural and interlingual) communication. The importance attributed to (high-quality) translation in today's world is also reflected in the growing number of translator- and interpreter-training university departments and institutes.

However, the increase in translation research and in translational activities does not necessarily imply that any substantial change in the quality of translated texts has taken place. In actual fact, a lot of inappropriate translations are still being produced, and the reasons for their poor quality have remained largely the same for centuries: they concern, among other things, the translators' insufficient source-language and/or target-language competence, their insufficient knowledge of the textual world, their not taking into sufficient consideration the addressee and their lack of methodological preparation for their task. Likewise, the theoretical reflection on translation may also appear not to have taken any big steps forward over time.

3. Translation theory through history

The opinion that during the two millennia of its existence translation theory has largely been in a state of stagnation is not an isolated one and has been expressed by many scholars. One of them, George Steiner, in his well-known work *After Babel* observes that thinking about "the art and theory of translation" has been moving in a vicious circle, since a lot of attention has been dedicated to **the dichotomy "literal translation vs free translation"** on the one hand and to the similarly useless and unproductive question of **whether interlingual translation is at all possible** (Steiner 1975: 238 ff.). Let us at this point have a closer look at the two issues.

3.1. *Literal translation vs free translation*

The basic opposition between literal translation and free translation² goes back to the ancient dichotomy *verbum vs sensus*, which can be encountered in authors such as

² The opposition "literal translation vs free translation" can be seen as vaguely related to the distinction between formalism and functionalism in linguistics. In actual fact, however, it has been re-elaborated in such a variety of ways, in which issues other than those of form and function have played a central role, that the analogy does not appear crucial either for our understanding of the development of the translational dichotomy through history or for the applications which are made of it today. As is the case with the majority of the dichotomies used in the study of language, this one too has a merely provisional value and does not reflect the reality of language in its actual functioning (cfr. Barbe 2001).

Horace and St Jerome and which is analogous to the older distinction between *interpretes* and *orator* introduced by Cicero. Over the centuries, the dichotomy “literal vs free translation” was recycled a number of times and still appears to have preserved some of its explanatory potential.

Through history, different periods and different authors displayed different preferences for either of the two oppositional terms and put forward different interpretations of the dichotomy. For instance, in ancient Rome, literary translators tended to favour free rather than literal translation, which can be explained by their emulation of Greek authors. The free-translation principle was carried to extremes in the 18th-century French culture where elegance and compatibility with target-culture taste were the most important criteria of a good translation. This gave rise to radical shifts from the source text and to the production of the so-called *belles infidèles*. New versions of the free-translation principle have also been proposed by contemporary scholars like, for instance, Eugene A. Nida, who has mainly investigated the translation of the *Bible*³ (see Nida 1964).

Different views were dominant, for instance, in the German culture at the end of 18th and the beginning of 19th centuries. According to Johann W. Goethe, Wilhelm von Humboldt and Friedrich D. E. Schleiermacher, to name only the most representative thinkers, translations should make the target readers aware of the difference between the source language and culture on the one hand and the target language and culture on the other, and to achieve this objective structural adaptations should be made by virtue of which the target language will be a reflection of some characteristics of the source language. In the process of translation, the target language and culture are thus enriched by the input from the source language and culture, by means of which new linguistic and cultural models are imported. This line of thought was continued by a variety of theoreticians such as Walter Benjamin – most notably in his essay “The task of the translator”, (“Die Aufgabe des Übersetzers”, 1923) – and more recently by Jacques Derrida, the author of the now classic treatise “Des Tours de Babel” (1985). Today, a major representative of the foreignizing principle in translation is Lawrence Venuti (see Venuti 1998), the author of a source-oriented approach, who suggests that translation be non-fluent and non-ethnocentric in order to convey a sense of foreignness of the source text and of the source culture.

Related to the dichotomy “literal translation vs free translation” – which allows endless possibilities of interpretation – is also the concept of the *translator's fidelity*, which is extremely flexible and slippery, since a translator who is faithful may translate either literally or freely, depending on what exactly one takes the concept of fidelity to mean; in principle, it is equally applicable to those who translate according to the principle of “literal translation” (in any of its possible forms) and to those who follow the principle of “free translation” (again, in any of its possible forms). What is more, in spite of substantial differences between the single versions of the original dichotomy, all the oppositions are ultimately based upon the idea that, unavoidably, in translation either the

³ A thorough and systematic presentation of issues involved in *Bible* translation is offered in Krašovec (ed.) (1998).

source or the target side is favoured. In other words, it is either the reader that makes an effort to come close to the target text, in which case the latter remains more firmly rooted in the source culture, or it is the translation that “gets close” to the reader, in which case the link of the target text with the source side is weaker.

Although in the past decades translation theory has often centred upon other issues, the opposition between literal translation and free translation seems to have preserved some explanatory and heuristic value. It has been used over and over again – often also by theoreticians who do not favour either of the given terms – under old labels (*faithful translation vs unfaithful translation; translation according to the letter vs translation according to the spirit*) as well as under new ones such as *innovative translation vs conservative translation, philological translation vs free translation, source-orientated translation vs target-oriented translation, domesticating translation vs foreignizing translation, naturalization vs exotization* (van Leuven-Zwart 1990: 75), *static equivalence vs dynamic/functional equivalence* (Nida 1964), *overt translation vs covert translation* (House 1977: 188-204), *non-illusory translation vs illusory translation* (Levý, quoted in Pym 1992: 178), *documentary translation vs instrumental translation* (Nord 1991a: 105-106; 1991b: 11, 72-73; 1997: 47-52), *direct translation vs indirect translation* (Gutt 1990: 149 ff.), *semantic translation vs communicative translation* (Newmark 1982: 22-23), *adequate translation vs acceptable translation* (Toury 1995: 56-57), *opaque style vs transparent style* (Snell-Hornby, quoted in Vannerem/Snell-Hornby 1986: 191), *observational reception vs participative reception* (Pym 1992: 178), etc.

If, however, one takes a look at the reality of concrete translations and at their actual functioning in communicative situations, one can soon realize how unproductive it is to insist either on the principle of free translation or on the principle of literal translation. It is obvious that neither relatively literal nor relatively free translations are able to give a realistic idea of the source culture, language and text. Any target text can never be more than an approximation of source text, which implies that “equivalence”, at any level from that of the lexeme to that of the text, is no more than an illusion.⁴

3.2. The (im)possibilities of translation

The second issue which frequently preoccupied those who dealt with questions of translation in the past – and is to an extent also present in contemporary research on translation – concerns the problem of the very possibilities of interlingual translation. The main argument against the possibility of translation are the differences between natural languages in the ways in which they conceptualize the extralinguistic reality, which, according to some, implies that a message in language A can never be reproduced in language B. Behind such beliefs is the concept of “linguistic relativity”⁵ put forward by American anthropological linguists, most notably by Benjamin Lee Whorf in the

⁴ The concept of “equivalence” has been dealt with extensively. See Snell-Hornby 1986: 13-16, 1988: 13-22, 1992: 21, Kußmaul 1986: 225 and Nord 1991b: 22 ff.; a different view is offered in Koller 1995.

⁵ The problem of linguistic relativity and translation is examined in Pedersen 1988: 30-46. See also Kay 1996: 110-111.

1940s, although similar ideas are much older, as is generally known; they were debated by exponents of the German classical tradition such as Johann Gottfried Herder and Wilhelm von Humboldt as well as by numerous earlier philosophers like Francis Bacon, John Locke, Giambattista Vico, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, the authors of the Port Royal grammar and others, and can be traced down to Plato's dialogue *Cratylus*. In more recent times, the question of translatability has been posed again; for example, Willard van Orman Quine in his well-known essay "Meaning and Translation" (1959) speaks about the "indeterminacy of translation", which is due to the lack of immediate conceptual correlations shared by individuals intra- and interlinguistically. Indirectly, a tiny shadow of the untranslatability concept may perhaps also be present in modern translation theories inasmuch as they consider the idea of equivalence totally inadequate in terms of the actual reality of translation.

Certainly, the principle of linguistic relativity – which may hold equally for intra- and for interlingual communication – cannot easily be discarded: if it has not yet been fully proved, it has not been disproved either, nor is it likely to be in the future. But in spite of all the impossibilities of our understanding each other, interpersonal communication does seem to function, however imperfect it may be, and our messages do get across day by day, intra- and interlingually. Therefore, linguistic relativity may be considered a phenomenon which has to be taken into serious account in the study of human communication in general, it is, however, by no means an obstacle which would invalidate the feasibility of translation as such.

4. Beyond possibilities and impossibilities

The two issues discussed in the previous section may be regarded as major impediments which, over the centuries, have slowed down the development of translation studies to a considerable degree. On the other hand, it is necessary to realize that important progress in the study of translation could not be made before a theory of language became available which was broad enough to encompass the reality of the functioning of language in general, including all kinds of interlingual and intercultural communication. Once such a theory was formulated with the advent of text- and function-centred approaches to the study of language, it was possible for translation research to start to develop rapidly. As a consequence, one can now notice considerable differences between traditional reflection on translation and modern theoretical approaches to it, which can be summarized as follows:

1. Although modern approaches to translation are based in some measure on older ideas about translation, they are characterized by coherence and systematicity by virtue of which they have the nature of **proper theories**, i.e. frameworks with explanatory and predictive value.

2. Traditional reflection on translation was concerned almost exclusively with literary texts, besides, of course, Biblical texts. Modern translation theory, on the other hand, takes into consideration **texts in general**, literary as well as non-literary. This makes it possible for translation theory to be of use in translator-training curricula and, consequently, to have an impact upon the practice of translation itself.

3. Instead of dealing with the two above-mentioned issues (i.e. the question of translatability and the opposition between literal and free translation") modern translation theory, and in particular its functional branches, concentrate upon questions of **the communicative appropriateness of translations** in concrete target-culture situations, in which they are expected to function, as well as upon the role of the translator as a cross-cultural text producer. As a result, it appears that we are now in a position to understand better what translation is actually about and what exactly are the principles upon which the work of good translators is based.

As has been pointed out, the growth of translation studies over the past decades can only be explained in the light of the development of the study of language as communication. It is understandable that in pretextual linguistics – just as in traditional literary studies – the phenomenon of translation as a genuinely textual activity could not be of primary concern to the researcher,⁶ whereas at a practical level "translation" was for centuries used (and still is) as a method of foreign-language teaching and learning. As such, however, it cannot really be compared to the activity of cross-cultural communication, since in the language classroom the method of "translation" is typically applied at levels below that of the text and usually no consideration is given to contextual factors and to the pragmatics of the actual communicative situations, which play such a central role in real-life translation (cfr. Kvam 1992: 196, Snell-Hornby 1986: 25-26). Since the functions of the two activities differ starkly, it is no exaggeration to say that they hardly have in common anything more than the name (cfr. Jakobsen 1994: 144, Snell-Hornby 1992: 18).

With the advent of suprasentential linguistics in the 1950s and 1960s the situation changed radically, since more and more attention began to be dedicated to the actual **language use** ("parole") as opposed to **language as a system** ("langue"; cfr. de Beaugrande 1978: 8, 95, 98; de Beaugrande 1991: 21-22 passim; Kußmaul 1986: 224; Ivir 1996: 151-156). Not surprisingly, the "pragmatic turn" ("die pragmatische Wende", Kvam 1992: 193; cfr. Hönig/Kußmaul 1982: 34) opened up new possibilities for translation research. Within this framework, translated texts, literary and non-literary alike, were immediately considered an interesting object of investigation.

It was in such an atmosphere that the functional approach to translation started to develop in the early 1970s, mostly at some German centres for the training of translators and interpreters. The approach is best represented by the so-called *skopos theory* ("Skopostheorie")⁷ which was formulated by Hans J. Vermeer and Katharina

⁶ An exception were, for instance, early efforts in machine translation made in the 1950s by a group of American scholars, among whom were also Noam Chomsky and Victor Yngve (cfr. Yngve 1996: 38-39, 44-45).

⁷ Apart from *skopos theory*, functionalism is also represented in some other approaches to translation which are independent of it. Among their authors are, for instance, Roger T. Bell, Basil Hatim and Ian Mason (see Bell 1991, Hatim/Mason 1990, Hatim/Mason 1997). However, these scholars do not offer their own general theories of translation which would be as broad and axiomatic as the *skopos theory*. Mention must also be made of Gideon Toury, who has developed a genuinely function-centred translation theory, which is devised almost exclusively for the study of the translation of literary texts and does not have any practical aims in the field of translator training. For a presentation of the differences between Vermeer's theory and his own see Toury 1995: 25-27. A complex function-centred framework, which has various points in common with the *skopos theory* and which, unlike Toury's approach, aims to be applicable to the training of translators, is Justa Holz-Mänttari's "theory of translational action" (see Holz-Mänttari 1984).

Reiß and from which a number of theoretical models were derived. The basic premise of the *skopos* theory – which can be seen as part of a broadly conceived action theory of human behaviour according to which human beings always act in a purposeful way – is that in an act of translation the translator's decisions are, prototypically, determined by the function the target text is expected to have in the target culture,⁸ which implies that her/his work is guided by all kinds of contextual and pragmatic considerations (see Ožbot 2001: 139-140). If a translator is about to translate a text such as, for instance, Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* or *Hamlet*, he/she will proceed differently when the translation is intended for the stage and when it is meant to be used, as a radical adaptation, for school children in their textbooks, to mention just two out of a virtually infinite number of options⁹.

The *skopos* theory has been modified by various researchers, most notably perhaps by Christiane Nord (Nord 1991b: 28-30; 1997: 124-125), who, besides *functionality*, also postulates the category of *loyalty*. Nord agrees that it is important to produce target texts on the basis of functional considerations (target function, target culture, target readership), but, she adds, translators must always be loyal to "their partners in translational interaction", at "the source and the target sides" (Nord 1997: 125), otherwise any target function could be attributed to any text-to-be-translated. At an applied level, the *skopos* theory has also been developed further by other scholars, like, for instance, Hans Hönig and Paul Kußmaul, who, as teachers of translation, have dedicated themselves primarily to research on the translator's skills, and have emphasized in particular the importance of his/her self-confidence and self-awareness, as well as of ethical issues in translation (see Hönig/Kußmaul 1982, Hönig 1995, Kußmaul 1995).

As an eminently functional approach to translation, the *skopos* theory is target-oriented, i.e. it is centred upon the text-to-be made. This can to some extent account for its great potential for being applied at a practical level. Since an act of translation always involves an attempt to produce a target text which can fit into a given target situation, it is the target rather than the source side that is necessarily of primary importance in translational practice. Translation, like text production in general, is essentially determined by contextual and pragmatic factors relevant in the concrete situation in which it is supposed to function. As a consequence, the relationship obtaining between the source text and the target text can display various degrees of closeness, but, in principle, the former is no more than a blueprint for the construction of the latter; it is always the target linguistic and extralinguistic situation rather than the source text itself which determines what the final product of the translation process

⁸ The essence of *skopos* theory is expressed in the sentence "Die Dominante aller Translation ist deren Zweck" (Reiß/Vermeer, 1991: 96).

⁹ Such an example shows that in order to perform well as cross-cultural communicators translators must possess a variety of different skills, among which source-language competence and target-language competence should not be overestimated. Equally important are also source-culture competence and target-culture competence, knowledge of the source textual tradition and of the target textual tradition, knowledge of the textual world and, last but not least, translation competence in a narrow sense, i.e. professional knowledge about *what* it actually means to translate and *how* to do it (Ožbot 1997).

will be like. It is not surprising that within such a concept of translation, translation error is not identical to language error: the translator commits an error when he/she produces a target text which is functionally inappropriate either as a whole or in one or more of its parts.

In view of all this, the two issues presented above, which occupied a central position in traditional translation theory, lose virtually all their significance when considered in the light of a functional approach to translation. The opposition between literal translation and free translation appears trivial unless it is considered in terms of the function a given translation is supposed to perform in the target culture and even then the two options are no more than the translator's "working techniques", with a merely relative value. Likewise, the translatability question is not regarded as theoretically pertinent at all. If the process of translation, which essentially consists in message mediation, is taken as a primarily cultural and not linguistic phenomenon, what is being translated are texts or textual contents, not words as such; or, to say it with Coseriu, it is what is extralinguistic or, better, "non language-specific" ("übereinzelsprachlich"; Coseriu 1978: 20) that is conveyed in translation.

5. Translation studies and linguistics

By way of conclusion, let us examine briefly the nature of the relationship between the study of translation and linguistics, which is a complex one. This is due to a number of interconnected reasons, among which the following two seem to be particularly important: first, if it is true that the development of translation studies was made possible, as this paper has tried to show, only after new research perspectives on language had begun to establish themselves, it is equally true that at the time when such new perspectives were being developed *langue*-centred traditional linguistics was still dominant. This is why early endeavours of translation scholars to have their subject accepted as an academic (sub)discipline often met with opposition, which created an impression of an irreconcilable discrepancy between the study of language on the one hand and the study of translation on the other. This antagonism lasted for decades and the 1980s and 1990s saw a heated debate on the epistemological status of translation studies (see Snell-Hornby 1988: 7 ff., 1996: 18 passim, Hönig 1995: 16; cfr. also Ožbot 1998) which has only recently begun to calm down (Baker 2001). Second, given that in any translational activity language is fundamental as a means to which translations as texts owe their existence and that, at the same time, translation involves much more than "just" language, translation studies may indeed appear to be a discipline which transcends linguistics.

However, the presence of other elements besides language does not determine only translational activities, but is a fundamental characteristic of the production of texts in general. Therefore it seems reasonable to conclude that the study of translations as texts necessarily falls within the scope of a broadly conceived discipline concerned with the study of texts (cfr. Reiß/Vermeer 1991: 1-2, Coseriu 1978), both at a theoretical and at an applied level.

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Povzetek

O MOŽNOSTIH IN NEMOŽNOSTIH MEDKULTURNE KOMUNIKACIJE

V članku je predstavljen nastanek prevodoslovja kot raziskovalnega področja, ki ga je omogočil razvoj nadstavnega jezikoslovja v zadnjega pol stoletja. Nakazane so pogloblitve razlike med tradicionalno prevodno refleksijo – v kateri sta zavzemala osrednje mesto dihotomija med dobesednim in svobodnim prevajanjem in vprašanje o tem, ali je prevedljivost med naravnimi jeziki sploh mogoča – in sodobno teorijo prevajanja funkcijske usmeritve, ki so pogojene prav s spremembami v jezikoslovni raziskovalni paradigmi. Ko je jezikoslovje začelo proučevati poleg jezikovnega sistema tudi jezikovno rabo in s tem besedilno delovanje jezika v realnih komunikacijskih situacijah, so postala raziskovalno relevantna tudi vprašanja o prevodih kot besedilih oz., natančneje, o značilnostih in zakonitostih njihovega tvorjenja in funkcioniranja, medtem ko so se z nove perspektive problemi tradicionalne prevodne refleksije, kakršna sta omenjena dva, izkazali za povsem obrobne in so zadobili le relativno, predvsem hevristično in razlagalno vrednost. Članek se zaključuje z razmišljanjem o razmerju med jezikoslovjem in prevodnim raziskovanjem, pri čemer je slednje umeščeno v okvir široko zasnovane vede o besedilih.

TRANSLATE ALS KOGNITIVE ENTITÄTEN ODER DIE NATÜRLICHKEITSTHEORIE IM KONTEXT DER SPRACHLICHEN UND PSYCHOSOZIALEN PARADIGMATA DER MEHRSPRACHLICHEN KOMMUNIKATION

1.0 Einleitung

Jahrtausende alt ist das Gefühl bzw. - gepaart mit Überlegungen und Reflexionen - die spätere Überzeugung von Philosophen, Literaten und Denkern, dass der ins Wort gefasste Gedanke den Gedanken selbst beeinflusst, verändert, ihm zu einer neuen, wenn auch vergleichbaren Existenz verhilft, aber dennoch den intendierten Sinn in entsprechender Kombination mit allen möglichen - auch nichtsprachlichen - Faktoren zu vermitteln und an Menschen zu transportieren vermag, die uns schon dadurch mehr oder weniger nahe stehen, dass sie die natürliche, soziale und kulturelle Umwelt mit uns teilen, aber unter gewissen Voraussetzungen auch an jene, die anderen Kulturkreisen, Religionen, ja Welten (und sei es nur im Sinne von Generationen) angehören.

Transferiert und mutiert durch Gedanken, Gefühle und Erfahrungen einzelner Menschen, sozialer Gruppen und Gemeinschaften oder ganzer Generationen verbreitet sich der Gedanke im ständigen Wandel von Konventionen, Sprachen und Kulturen. Vergleichbar mit einem realen oder fiktiven Universum ist er in Sprache gefasst in seinem Wesen allen zugänglich (universell), jedoch gleichzeitig von Fall zu Fall unterschiedlich als Eigentum der jeweiligen Kultur, Glaubens- oder Sozialgemeinschaft, ja sogar des einzelnen Menschen, gefärbt von dessen eigener, persönlicher Lebensgeschichte, die jedoch von der genetischen Geschichte des Menschen aufgenommen wurde als das kollektive, in die genetische Struktur gefasste Gedächtnis der Menschheit, das sich durch die Evolution von Beginn an bis heute entfaltet hat. Kein Erlebnis, kein jemals gedachter Gedanke geht je endgültig unter; vielmehr bildet er die Basis für weitere Veränderungen, für Wandel, Ausbreitung, Bereicherung, aber auch Schwund und Untergang, wenn er sich im Sinne Darwins als nicht lebensfähig erwies bzw. für den ewigen Kreislauf des Lebens – des Wortes – unter Umständen sogar störend hätte sein können.

Mit dieser etwas poetisch anmutenden Einleitung in die nüchterne Materie der Linguistik wollte ich eigentlich nur darauf verweisen, in welcher vielfältiger Weise das komplexe System Sprache an alle Modalitäten des menschlichen Lebens – sei es seiner Geschichte oder seiner Gegenwart – verpflichtend gebunden ist. Diese komplexen Verbindungen ergeben sich schon unter Angehörigen *einer* Sprach- und Kultur-gemeinschaft, geschweige denn, wenn es darum geht, die in einer Sprache festgehaltenen Intentionen in andere Sprach- bzw. Kultursysteme umzusetzen bzw. – in den Worten Andrew Chestermans (Chesterman, 2000) – in den Kulturkreis des Zielpublikums *auszubreiten*.

- 1.0 Damit habe ich nun die mittelnde oder vermittelnde komplexe Tätigkeit des translatorischen Handelns (Übersetzen/Dolmetschen) zur Sprache gebracht und gleichzeitig Platz eingeräumt für jene Sprachtheorien, die über das sprachliche System hinaus denken, es in die natürliche, kulturelle und soziale Umwelt einbinden sowie mit den psychosozialen Gegebenheiten seiner Benutzer in Relation bringen. *Funktionalismus, kognitive Theorien* und die *Natürlichkeitstheorie* (konkret: *die slowenische Theorie der sprachlichen Natürlichkeit: STSN*) bilden in der Tat jenen theoretischen Rahmen des gegenwärtigen Aufsatzes, der die Grundlage darstellen wird für die Suche nach Berührungspunkten und gemeinsamen Erklärungsansätzen, aber auch Divergenzen zum Thema mehrsprachige Kommunikation.
- 2.0 Über den gemeinsamen Nenner der Informationsmittlung wird auf die Kernfrage der sprachlichen Verarbeitung und Speicherung von für kommunikative Zwecke verwendbaren Propositionen eingegangen. Um das Thema weiter zu führen und die Arbeitshypothesen aufstellen zu können, werden vordergründig die Erklärungsmodelle der Systemtheorie, wie sie in der kognitiven Linguistik Anwendung findet, und des STSN bemüht. Gibt es Überlappungen, wenn ja, worauf sind sie zurückzuführen und inwiefern verschärft sich durch das oben angedeutete spezielle Wissen die Optik für den Beobachter des sprachlichen / kommunikativen Handelns? Kann auf diese Weise auch in translatorische Probleme mehr Klarheit gebracht werden?
- 3.0 Auf die o.a. Fragenkomplexe wird in der weiteren Folge unter Berücksichtigung konkreter translatorischer Handlungen innerhalb des slowenisch-deutschen und deutsch-slowenischen Sprachenpaares eingegangen.
- 4.0 Den ersten Berührungspunkt zwischen den obgenannten Theorien finden wir in der ihnen gemeinsamen Behauptung, dass es sich bei allen die Kommunikation mitgestaltenden Ebenen um natürliche und interagierende Systeme handelt (*Kognition, Sprache, Kultur*).
- 5.0 Die kognitive Linguistik (Langacker 1991, 1999; Rickheit-Strohner 1993; Karpf 1990) sieht ihren Ausgangspunkt in der Informationsverarbeitung. Im Mittelpunkt steht der *Mensch* mit seinem (auch sprachlichen) Eingreifen in die Umwelt zum Zweck seines (besseren) Überlebens, vor allem im Sinne seiner sozialen und kulturellen, aber auch biologischen Bedürfnisse. Indem der Mensch seine Umgebung mit seinen Sinnen wahrnimmt, verändert (modifiziert) er sie zugleich auch mit seinem bereits vorhandenen Weltwissen und seiner sprachlichen Kompetenz (Wahrnehmung als Erfindung = KONSTRUKTIVISMUS). Somit greift er auch mit der Sprache gestaltend in seine Umwelt ein, indem er die kommunikativen Ziele verwirklicht. Die Welt, auf die sich die beiden natürlichen Systeme Sprache und Kognition beziehen, ist demnach prinzipiell für alle Benutzer natürlicher Sprachen in ihren wesentlichen Zügen vergleichbar – in dieser inhärent gegebenen universellen Komponente liegt die Übersetzbarkeit von Sprachen überhaupt begründet -, gleichzeitig ist sie aber *typologisch*

Sprachgruppen, Sprachfamilien) und *individuell* (Einzelsprachen) unterschiedlich.

- 5.1 Auch die *Natürlichkeitstheorie* (NT) geht vom *Universellen*, *Prototypischen* und *Einzelsprachspezifischen* aus, wobei alle Ebenen sowohl mit der Umwelt als auch untereinander interagieren, um neue, effiziente Kommunikationsmöglichkeiten zu schaffen, sich anzupassen und/oder zu verändern. Dabei zeichnen sich vor dem Hintergrund der Umwelt universelle Eigenschaften beider Systeme ab.
- 5.2 Die NT (Orešnik 1994, 1999, 2000, 2003, 2004; Mayerthaler 1983, 1987; Wurzl 1987, Dressler 1987, 1990; Teržan Kopecky 1997, 1998, 2001) arbeitet mit folgenden Postulaten:

* *Hoher kognitiver Aufwand* resultiert in *hohen Markiertheitsstufen* seiner Verbalisierung ((morpho)syntaktischer Konstruktion). Die *natürliche* und *erwartbare* Folge einer solchen Konstellation ist eine *niedrige Token- und Typen-Frequenz* und im Vergleich zu weniger markierten Konstruktionen, die auch weniger komplexe funktionale (kognitive) Komponenten transportieren, ein *niedrigerer Grad der Natürlichkeit*.

* Evolutionsmäßig, im Sinne der kategorialen Genese und den dabei durchlebten Grammatikalisierungsphasen, kann *die Steigerung der Token- und Typen-Frequenz* einer M+Konstruktion ein Hinweis sein auf die *Verringerung ihrer Markiertheitswerte* bei gleichzeitiger *Steigerung ihres Natürlichkeitsgrades* (die Konstruktion wird üblich und ist bereits eine typische Konstituente des jeweiligen grammatischen Systems).

* *Der Natürlichkeitsgrad* von Konstruktionen steht in einer Abhängigkeitsbeziehung zum jeweiligen *Alter der Konstruktion*. In diesem Sinn spricht man von Grammatikalisierungsphasen, wobei die *späte oder Postgrammatikalisierungsphase* durch *Frequenzsteigerung* und *Markiertheitsreduzierung* signalisiert wird. Die Letztere bezieht sich im STSN auf die *Markiertheitsgrade des mikrogrammatischen Umfeldes von Konstruktionen*.

Eine spezielle Ausprägung der STSN ist als Resultat statistischer, im Sinne der Korpuslinguistik angelegter Auswertungen umfangreicher deutscher und slowenischer Korpora (darunter auch zahlreiche Übersetzungstexte) als Repräsentanten unterschiedlicher Entwicklungsperioden von untersuchten grammatischen Kategorien (Grammatikalisierungsphasen) aber auch Textsorten erarbeitet worden. Diese Auswertung hat die Generierung des folgenden Postulats herbeigeführt:

STSN: M+ = MGK+ (= **relativ hohe Markiertheitsgrade von Konstruktionen** werden in der Regel /im natürlichsten Fall **von relativ hohen Markiertheitsstufen des mikrogrammatischen Kontextes** begleitet (*Reaktion des mikrogrammatischen Kontextes auf die Komplexität/Natürlichkeit der Konstruktion*))

* *Frequenzsteigerung* und *Markiertheitsreduzierung* können auch vom Auftreten der komplexen syntaktischen Konstruktion in für sie *natürlicheren Textsorten* ausgelöst werden. Auch hier ist, vor allem in frühen Grammatikalisierungsphasen,

ein Ausgleich der Markiertheit des Kontextes und der Konstruktion der Normalfall. Erst die Steigerung der Token-Frequenz und das zunehmende Alter der Konstruktion ebnen den Weg zu weniger komplexen textuellen Welten.

Das oben Vorgeführte zeigt, dass auch die angesprochene STSN die Sprache als ein natürliches, mit der sozialen und kulturellen Umgebung interagierendes und stark an die kognitiven Prozesse gebundenes System betrachtet.

- 6.0 **Die kognitive Theorie** geht davon aus, dass für die Erkennung/Verarbeitung von Informationen ein integrales System zur Verfügung steht, dessen Effizienz sich aus dem Zusammenwirken seiner Komponenten ergibt, wodurch die zwei Welten in ein unteilbares Ganzes verschmelzen: *die philogenetische* (Erbmasse; durch neuronale Vernetzungen vollzogene Filterung von eingelangten Informationen, ihre Analyse und Gruppierung zu Modulen; genetisch bedingte Arbeitsverfahren des Neocortex als des zentralen Prozessors) und *die ontogenetische* (Interaktion mit der Umwelt, Einknüpfung von psychosozialen Paradigmen in die Erkennungsprozesse). Bei den angesprochenen Komponenten (vgl. Petri 1994; Kess 1992; Karpf 1990, Karpf, Dringel-Techt 1995) des kognitiven Systems handelt es sich um

a/ **die Information** und den **zentralen Prozessor** (Hirnrinde mit ihren integrierenden Funktionen, die bereits von den internalisierten, aus der sozialen Umwelt aufgenommenen Informationen mitbestimmt sind und das s.g. *Weltwissen* konstituieren: unter anderem *Kommunikationskonventionen*, *Eigenarten des Textproduzenten* und des *Textrezipienten*, ihre *Erwartungshaltungen*, *Verhaltensverpflichtungen*, usw.)

b/ **Umwelt** der beiden Zentralkomponenten (Objekte, die mit ihnen funktional verbunden sind)

c/ **Struktur** (Relationen zwischen den Komponenten)

d/ **Funktion** (Beziehung des Systems zur Umwelt)

Die oben angeführten Komponenten des natürlichen Systems Kognition erzeugen das *Verhalten des Systems*, in welchem sich *Zustände*, vor allem aber auch konstante *Veränderungen* abzeichnen.

- 6.1 Die Veränderungen zeigen sich als **Dynamik** des kognitiven Systems, was gleichzusetzen ist mit Veränderung von Zuständen in der Zeit unter gleichzeitiger Auswirkung auf das Verhalten des **Systems** (Rückwirkung) (Langacker 1991, 1999; Rickheit-Strohner 1993 u.a.). Die die Dynamik erzeugenden Systemkomponenten zerfallen im Wesentlichen in zwei Gruppen: Die **autonomen Teilsysteme** erzeugen ihre Dynamik bzw. die Veränderung des (K)Systems **ohne Abstimmung mit der Umwelt**; die **interaktiven Teilsysteme** stimmen sich hingegen mit der Umwelt ab. Beide kann man als Funktionen des ARBEITSGEDÄCHTNISSES (Aktivierung

nach Wichtigkeit und Häufigkeit der bereits erfolgten positiven Aktivierung)

sehen. Somit kann man auch sprachliche Veränderungen zumindest teilweise als Folgen der spezifischen Arbeitsweise des Gedächtnisses auffassen, welches selbst als eine phylogenetische Gegebenheit entscheidend an der Gestaltung der natürlichen Systeme (wie Sprache und Kognition) mitwirkt, indem es an der so genannten **Selbstorganisation** (vgl. Karpf 1990), in deren Rahmen es als *zentraler Prozessor in ständiger Wechselwirkung mit der Umwelt steht*, maßgeblich mitbeteiligt ist.

6.2. Entscheidend für die Erzeugung der Systemdynamik sind folgende Prozesstypen:

A/ Die **Steuerung** als Basisprozess der Informationsverarbeitung bedeutet umgesetzt in die Kommunikationssituation, dass der **Textproduzent** die **Zustände** und das **Verhalten** des **Textrezipienten** steuert.

B/ Die **Regelung** sorgt für die **Wiederherstellung eines Zustandes** bzw. seine Beibehaltung trotz Einwirkungen der Umwelt. Es handelt sich dabei um ein besonders ausgeklügeltes Gestaltungsprinzip, das eigentlich für die GEGENWEHR DES SYSTEMS und seine **STABILITÄT** zuständig ist. Es verhindert die „Überdosierung“ der Einwirkungen der Umwelt auf das K-System und funktioniert als eine Art **Kontrollsystem** zur Erhaltung des **minimalen Gleichgewichts** der **Zustände** des sprachlichen und des kognitiven Systems.

6.2.1 Hier ist zum Beispiel jene „Notbremse“ angesiedelt, die verhindert, dass z.B. die Abschwächung der Endsilben die Wurzelsilben „angreift“, was Wörter zu Silben zurückführen würde, und die meines Erachtens unter anderem auch dafür sorgt, dass der sprachliche Innovationsprozess *nicht ausschließlich* die Richtung **Markiertheitsabbau** einschlägt, sondern des öfteren auch die **Markiertheitsumkehr** beobachtbar ist, was für das systeminterne Gleichgewicht sorgt. Aus diesem Grund wird diesem Prozesstyp im gegenwärtigen Aufsatz die meiste Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet, da zum einen gerade hier ein relevanter Verknüpfungspunkt mit der STSN angesiedelt ist, und zum anderen üblicherweise dieser Verarbeitungsebene weniger Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt wird, weil sie ausgesprochen diskret wirkt.

6.2.1.1 Die folgenden Beispiele aus empirischen Untersuchungen zur o.a. **natürlichen/universellen Gesetzmäßigkeit**, die man bei L-, bei K-, aber auch bei T(ranslations)-Prozessen beobachten kann, veranschaulichen auch die unter Punkt 5.2. vorgestellten Postulate. Sie beziehen sich speziell auf die **Markiertheitsverhältnisse** zwischen **Ausgangs-** und **Zieltexten** im

Rahmen der aufgenommenen und ausgewerteten sprachlichen Handlungen des **konsekutiven Dolmetschens** (mehrerer von der Autorin aufgezeichneter und statistisch bearbeiteter Ereignisse zu unterschiedlichen Zeiten und Themenschwerpunkten). Gleichzeitig geben die unten angeführten statistischen Daten Aufschluss über die übereinzelsprachlichen (universellen), aber auch prototypischen grammatischen Parameter, die sich auch von den sonstigen kulturell und sozial bedingten L-spezifischen Erscheinungen, die gerade bei Translationsprozessen besonders gravierend in den Vordergrund treten, dadurch abheben, dass die Unterschiede durch die **regelnde Tätigkeit** des Sprachsystems größtenteils getilgt werden – explizit an jenen Stellen des grammatischen Systems, wo sich **universelle Prinzipien** der NT geltend machen.

6.2.1.2 Von den aufgenommenen und transkribierten Texten, entstanden bei unterschiedlichen Handlungen des Konsekutivdolmetschens mit folgenden Variablen (Thema, ZT-Dt.; ZT-Sl; AT-Produzenten), wurden folgende, übereinzelsprachlich als konstant angenommene (= Konstituenten der universellen sprachlichen Ebene) Parameter untersucht. Die Vergleiche des Verhaltens der mikrogrammatischen Konstellation zeigten bei untersuchten grammatischen Parametern mit Ausnahme der typologisch bedingten Distributionseigenheiten keine relevanten Abweichungen in folgenden Fällen (AT(sl/dt) – ZT(sl/dt):

• **Zahl der gebrauchten Nebensätze**

(ist offensichtlich eine nicht typologische oder L-spezifische Eigenschaft)

• **analytische
Konstruktionen
(40 % sl : 60 % dt)**

(Die geringere Abweichung zu Gunsten des Deutschen ist offensichtlich L-spezifisch bedingt (= das Dt. als bevorzugt analytische, das Sl. eine vorwiegend synthetische Sprache = *hypothesenfreundliches Resultat.*)

• **Auftretenshäufigkeit des
Präsens
70 % (übrige T 30 %)
M+ Kollok. = 35 %**

(Es handelt sich um eine hypothesenfreundliche Gegebenheit im Sinne der STSN, weil das im Tempus-Paradigma weniger markierte Präsens generell (übereinzelsprachlich) höhere Token-Frequenzen aufweist, jedoch *relativ niedrigere Markiertheitsstufen* der kollozierenden grammatischen Parameter bevorzugt.)

**Vergangenheitstempora
15 %
(davon 40 % in NS)**

(Auch hier zeigt sich eine *hypothesenfreundliche Gegebenheit* im Sinne der STSN, weil die im Tempusparadigma relativ markierteren Vergangenheits-tempora erwartungsgemäß eine niedrigere token-Frequenz haben als die präsentischen Tempora, dafür aber in stärkerem Maße die Umgebung von komplexeren grammatischen Parametern präferieren, wie etwa die Nebensätze (NS).)

W+I-Futur

7%

60% in NS

(Auch beim analytischen Futur zeigten sich *hypothesenfreundliche Resultate* im Sinne der STSN (sowohl in den Ziel- als auch in den Ausgangstexten). Sie weisen nämlich als markiertere Konstruktionen noch niedrigere token-Frequenzwerte auf als die Vergangenheits-tempora, dafür steigt ihre Kollokationstendenz mit den komplexeren Nebensätzen um einen beträchtlichen Prozentsatz an.)

PF

2%

45% in NS

(Noch niedriger ist die token-Frequenz bei stark markierten Belegen des Präsens pro Futuro, das als nicht-präsupponierte Struktur (vor allem im Slowenischen) im Schnitt beider Sprachen die niedrigste Frequenz aufweist, dazu eine relativ hohe Kollokation mit markierteren Nebensätzen. Man würde in diesem Fall zwar noch höhere Präferenzen des Nebensatzes erwarten, was aber m.E. durch den diesbezüglichen typologischen Unterschied zwischen dem Deutschen (im Deutschen sind die PF-Belege weitaus üblicher als im Slowenischen) und dem Slowenischen verursacht wird.)

6.2.1.2.1 Untersucht wurden auch die Auftretenshäufigkeiten des PASSIVS als einer komplexen syntaktischen Konstruktion, die **relevante Abweichungen** zwischen **AT (Ausgangstext)** und **ZT(Zieltext)** ausweisen:

ZTsl = 1,5%

ZTdt = 3,0%

(Die Ursache dieses Ergebnisses ist sprachtypologischer Art, da das Deutsche die Passivkonstruktionen typologisch bedingt bevorzugt.)

Die token-Frequenz des Passivs bzw. seine Distribution auf Nebensätze (NS) in den Ausgangs- und Zieltexten zeigt das folgende Bild:

AT + ZT = 50% in NS

(Den Grund für eine solche Ausgeglichenheit zwischen AT und ZT sehen wir im oben explizierten Prinzip der NTS, wonach eine universelle *Affinität von komplexen (M+) Kategorien zur komplexeren grammatischen*

Umwelt besteht (vgl. Orešnik 2004). Nebensätze sind demnach in beiden Sprachen, der slowenischen und der deutschen, gleichermaßen beliebt (grammatische) Mikro-Umwelten für das **kognitiv komplexe Passiv**). Man kann davon ausgehen, dass der Mechanismus *der Regelung* tilgend eingreifen würde, wenn dieser Grundsatz aus irgendeinem Grund gestört wäre.

6.2.1.2.2 Untersucht wurde auch die Anzahl der gebrauchten Sätze im Allgemeinen und die Zahl der gebrauchten Nebensätze in den AT und den ZT. Folgendes Resultat konnte eruiert werden:

ZT=M+ = mehr Sätze (27%) + mehr komplexere NS als in AT

(Durch die allgemein relativ höhere kognitive Markiertheit der ZT (Anspannung, Konzentration, mehr Verarbeitungsoperationen) werden dort mehr markiertere Nebensätze gebraucht. Der Grundsatz „**M+ präferiert M+**“ hat sich auch in diesem Fall bestätigt. Dass sich die Waage zu Gunsten der ZT geneigt hat, hat eine pragmatische Begründung (Umstände der Kommunikation, Lampenfieber, Überbrückungszeit, usw.)

Eine pragmatische Gegebenheit, die sich beim Dolmetschen besonders deutlich zeigt, ist die Frequenz der **PAUSENGESTALTUNG**. Erwartungsgemäß sollte die Dichte der Pausen zu Gunsten der ZIelttexte (längere Prozesszeiten, Anspannung usw.) umschlagen, vor allem, wenn diese nicht die für den Translator natürlichere Muttersprache sind. Die statistischen Ergebnisse zeigen folgendes Bild:

ZT = generell um 74% mehr als AT (Dieses Ergebnis bestätigt die Vorhersage im Sinne der Gebundenheit an die kognitiven Verarbeitungsprozesse))

die wichtigsten I-Träger:

1/ vor NP = 45%

2/ vor **Satzanfang** = 30%

3/ vor VP = 15%

4/ vor sonstigem = 7%

(Zwischen AT und ZT waren **keine relevanten Abweichungen** feststellbar, was auf den universellen Charakter der Pausensetzung hindeutet, die sich nach der Relevanz der Wörter im Aktivierungsprozess richtet. Dabei scheinen die NPs als die stärksten Informationsträger zu fungieren, dicht gefolgt vom **Satzanfang**, wo die Proposition, nachdem sie innerhalb des AT erkannt wurde, in die neue textuelle Umwelt richtig eingebettet werden muss. Fast um die Hälfte weniger wird vor den VPs gezögert (das entsprechende Verbum wird durch die Wahl des Nomens mitaktiviert), und noch einmal halbiert wird die Pausensetzung vor allen anderen Satzkonstituenten.)

Im Bereich der systeminternen Regelung haben sich die oben explizierten Prinzipien der STSN durchweg auch *übereinzelsprachlich als geltend* ausgewiesen.

Weitere Komponententypen sind noch:

C/ Die *Handlung* ist die **Anpassung** an die **Umwelt** zur Erreichung oder Aufrechterhaltung von **Sollzuständen** der **Umwelt** (d.h. aus internen Modellen der

Umwelt werden erstrebenswerte **Zustände** der **Umwelt** gebildet). Diese enge, interaktive Verknüpfung der internalisierten Sollwerte und der tatsächlich erfolgten Reize aus der Umwelt ist auch als die oben bereits erwähnte **Selbstorganisation** bekannt und teilt darüber hinaus viele Erklärungsansätze mit dem **Konstruktivismus**, *der Wahrnehmung als Erfindung versteht*, wodurch die Kreativität des menschlichen kommunikativen Handelns noch besonders stark hervorgehoben wird). Dadurch wird der **Handlungscharakter** der sprachlichen **und** kognitiven Verarbeitung verdeutlicht als die weitere gemeinsame Eigenschaft beider Entitäten. Das erstrebenswerte Resultat ist die **KOMMUNIKATIVE TÄTIGKEIT**, die eine regulierende, objektivierende und abstrahierende Funktion unter gleichzeitigem Zusammenwirken der Teilprozesse von Handlungen (also von **Motiven, Zielen, Folgen von Handlungen und Operationen**) zu leisten hat. Auf diese Weise entsteht die **MIKROSTRUKTUR** der mit Hilfe der Sprache vollzogenen kommunikativen Tätigkeit. (Langacker 1999; Givon 1995; Chesterman 2000.)

D/ Die Aushandlung setzt die Integration mehrerer **KOMMUNIKATOREN** mit Hilfe von Handlungen voraus. (Dies kommt bei den **T(translatorischen)** Prozessen noch in besonderer Weise zum Tragen.) Die Erreichung eines **gemeinsamen Zieles** durch die **Partnerinteraktion** ist auf dieser Verarbeitungsebene der ultimative Sollzustand.

Ziele, Situationen und Informationen aus der inneren und äußeren Welt regen zu kooperativen Handlungen an. Somit führen **Verständigung** und **erfolgsorientierte Einstellung** zur **AUSHANDLUNG** bzw. Festlegung des intendierten **Themas** (Einigung zwischen dem **Textproduzenten** und dem **Textrezipienten** bezüglich Thema und Interpretation der Information unter Einbeziehung des kommunikativ relevanten Wissens). (Reickheit-Strohner 1993; Langacker 1991, 1999.) Im Sonderfall der **T-Prozesse** muss dieses Aushandeln zwischen dem **Ausgangstextproduzenten** und dem **Ausgangstextpublikum** stattfinden, des Weiteren zwischen dem **Translator** und dem **Zieltext** sowie dem **Zieltextpublikum** (= **maximale Komplexität** der Verarbeitungsprozesse). **Das Ziel ist die Herstellung relevanter Ähnlichkeiten zwischen dem AT und dem ZT, bzw. die Mimesis** des gleichen Textes in eine andere textuelle Umwelt (vgl. Wilss 1988; Chesterman 2000).

Einige interessante Fälle von missglückten Aushandlungen zwischen Translator, Ausgangstext und Zieltext bzw. seinen Adressaten (bei denen sprachliche, zumeist semantische Asymmetrien nicht entsprechend getilgt wurden) möchte ich hier als Beispiele anführen (Als Übersetzer fungierten in den angeführten Beispielen Studenten.):

- (1) *Wie beurteilen Sie den Preisverfall ... – Kako ocenjujete propad cen ...* (Die missglückte Aushandlung beruht auf mangelnder **ausgangs- und zielsprachlicher Kompetenz**, auf fehlendem Wissen über ausgangssprachliche und zielsprachliche **Konventionen**)

- (2) *Sie ist bekennende Muslimin ... - Ona je znana muslimanka* (Die missglückte Aushandlung beruht auf mangelnder **ausgangs- und zielsprachlicher Kompetenz**; es fehlt entsprechendes Wissen über die **Kommunikationskonventionen** in der Ausgangssprache und auch die **Diskurskompetenz** in der Zielsprache/Zielkultur weist Mängel auf)
- (3) *Markenforscher über den schleichenden Tod der Marke – Raziskovalec znamke ... o plazeči se smrti blagovne znamke* (Die missglückte Aushandlung beruht auf mangelnder **ausgangs- und zielsprachlicher Kompetenz**; es fehlt entsprechendes Wissen über die **Kommunikationskonventionen** in der Ausgangssprache; die **Diskurskompetenz** in der Zielsprache/Zielkultur weist gravierende Mängel auf)

Die angeführten Beispiele zeigen, dass die entsprechende Aushandlung vor allem bei translatorischen Prozessen die meisten Hindernisse auf den Weg stellt. Diese konzentrieren sich vor allem auf außersprachliche Gegebenheiten wie **Diskurskompetenz, Kommunikationskonventionen, Kulturkonventionen**, mangelhaftes **Weltwissen** und Ähnliches.

- 7.0 Versuchen wir nun noch näher auf die *Berührungspunkte* zwischen **Translation** und **Kognition** einzugehen, indem wir die o.a. Systemkomponenten als Vergleichselemente hinzuziehen. Es wird davon ausgegangen, dass ein derartiger Erklärungsversuch gleichzeitig die Frage zu beantworten vermag, warum eine solche Fragestellung für Untersuchungen von inter- und intralingualen Kommunikationssituationen und Überwindungen von Kommunikationsproblemen überhaupt produktiv sein könnte.
- 7.1 Die **neurolinguistische Realität der Sprache** gründet sich auf spezifische neuronale Verknüpfungen (Muster von Synapsen und neuronalen Verknüpfungen und ihre Aktivierungsmodalitäten), die im Langzeitgedächtnis der Sprachbenutzer angesiedelt sind und somit, wie bereits oben dargelegt, sowohl die **universelle Komponente** als auch die **individuelle Komponente** des sprachlichen Systems ausmachen. Jedoch sind diese biologischen Gegebenheiten nicht als fertiges Produkt vorgegeben (mit Ausnahme ihrer Beschaffenheit und Funktionsweise), sondern werden in der Interaktion mit der sozialen und kulturellen Umwelt in ihrer konkreten Ausführung fertiggestellt, jedoch nur um durch das ständige Interagieren der phylo- und ontogenetischen Komponenten ständigem Wandel/Anpassung an neue Umstände und Bedürfnisse unterworfen zu sein. Die Folge davon ist:
- 7.2 Zwischen einer Sprache **L1(x)** und einer anderen Sprache **L2(x)** entstehen mehr oder weniger große Abweichungen (biologisch, sozial, kulturell, geschichtlich bedingt). Auf diese Weise verbinden sich in jeder **L**

universelle, prototypische und L-spezifische Komponenten/Merkmale. Dadurch sind Sprachen überhaupt übersetzbar, denn sie teilen sich die universellen Merkmale, die aus vergleichbaren Realitäten generiert werden. Die prototypischen Merkmale verbinden Sprachfamilien und basieren auf ähnlichen bzw. verwandten Realitäten. Letztlich gibt es aber Eigentümlichkeiten, die nur einer einzigen L angehören und sie von allen anderen in der ihr typischen Weise abheben, weil sie von der ihr eigenen Kultur, von sozialen Konventionen, Normverstößen, Diskurskonventionen usw. hervorgebracht wurde.

7.2.1 Zwischen einer beliebigen Sprache **L1(x)** und einer anderen beliebigen Sprache **L2(x)** liegen unter Umständen auch sozialgruppenbedingte Abweichungen (**soziolektale Komponenten**), des Weiteren **interpersonelle Unterschiede** (persönliche Erfahrungen, Erlebnisse, Gedanken, Vorstellungen, Gefühle) oder **idiosynkratische Komponenten**. (Hier finden wir oft die Ursachen für die geringe Kommunikationseffizienz, was im Extremfall sogar zum innersprachlichen Übersetzungsbedarf führen kann.)

7.2.2 Für die T(ranslatorischen) **Prozesse** sind **Konvergenz** und **transnationale Kommunikation** die charakteristischen Züge, basierend auf ähnlichen Überzeugungen aller involvierten Kommunikationssubjekte über die jeweils **intendierten Informationen/Propositionen** (Chesterman 2000; Wilss 1988; Malmkjær 1993).

7.2.3 Das **T(System)** und das **L(System)** werden in allen Diskursen von zu **erreichenden Zielen** und zu **realisierenden Zwecken** gesteuert, wobei **T** u.a. dann erfolgreich ist, wenn den **kognitiven Gegebenheiten (KS)** des **AT-Publikums** und des **ZT-Publikums** entsprochen werden kann. Dies gelingt durch Überbrückung kognitiver Barrieren, kulturspezifischer Präsuppositionen usw. Aus dem Angeführten kann das folgende Axiom abgeleitet werden

TRANSLATIONSPROZESSE
L(System) + K(System) + T(System) + Kult(System) = Interdependenz
Nur das Zusammenwirken aller Teilsysteme führt zur erfolgreichen intersprachlichen/interkulturellen Informationsmittlung

7.3 Ein komplexes dynamisches Netzwerk kann man aber nicht nur auf dem Makroniveau der T-Prozesse beobachten, sondern auch auf allen Mikroniveaus der mitwirkenden Teilsysteme: **L** selbst ist ein Netzwerk von Subsystemen (kognitiven, kulturellen, sozialen ...); **K**(ultur) ist ein Netzwerk von (Sub)systemen (semiotischen, linguistischen, kulturellen, sozialen). So werden die Komponenten der Systeme unter den Systemen geteilt; sie bilden ihre dynamische Basis, von der aus alle typologischen und spezifischen Merkmale der besprochenen lebendigen Systeme generiert werden. (**Systeme**

sind nicht statisch sondern **dynamisch**, d.h. dem ständigem Wandel unterworfen.) So sind Eigenschaften, wie beispielsweise der mehrfache Gebrauch von gleichen Parametern (Kultur, soziale Konventionen, kommunikative Kompetenz, usw.), sowohl in sprachlichen wie auch in den mit ihnen interagierenden nichtsprachlichen Systemen präsent. Dieser Umstand sorgt dafür, dass die Systeme entsprechend offen und dynamisch sind und dass sie gleichzeitig miteinander kommunizieren können (vgl. *Steuerung, Handlung, Aushandlung*), um neue kommunikative Werte zu erzeugen:

T, L, K, Ku = lebendige Systeme, die vergleichbaren Gesetzmäßigkeiten unterliegen; sie breiten sich aus und verändern sich dadurch gleichzeitig (erzeugen Mutationen) = **Translation Meme**: „ideas spread, develop and replicate like genes“ (Chesterman 2000)

- 7.4** Relevante Ähnlichkeiten gibt es demzufolge zwischen den natürlichen Systemen *Sprache, Kognition, Kultur* und *Translation*, erzeugt durch ihre gemeinsamen (Sub-) Komponenten:
- 7.4.1** **L** ist ein integraler Sub-Bestandteil der mentalen Welt des Benutzers. Durch Interaktion und Koordination wird **KOMMUNIKATION** als **Transfer konzeptueller Inhalte (Informationen)** erzeugt. Das wiederum setzt eine **enge Korrelation** zwischen **L-Prozessen** und **K-Prozessen** und -SYSTEMEN voraus.
- 7.4.2** Die **K(ognitive)-Infrastruktur** dient zur Verarbeitung und Verwendung des **Welt - und Situationswissens** (Wissen von **Objekten** und **Ereignissen** in der physischen Welt, von **Strukturen** und **Konventionen** in der sozialen Welt, von eigenen und allgemeinen **mental**en **Strukturen** und **Operationen** und auch Emotionen, Absichten, Standpunkten und Beziehungen). Auf diese Weise werden einerseits – basierend auf Perception und Interpretation der Realität – Urteile generiert, andererseits – basierend auf kreativer Imagination – Fiktion. **RELEVANTE ÄHNLICHKEITEN** mit **T-Prozessen** sind offensichtlich.
- 7.4.3** Die Ähnlichkeitsbeziehungen zwischen **L/K** und **G(Grammatik)** basieren **auch** auf Kompatibilität und Konvergenz, was im Einzelnen etwa folgendermaßen funktioniert: Das **KS** setzt das **GS** (grammatisches System) darüber in Kenntnis, welche konzeptuellen Elemente (Weltwissen) für bestimmte **Kommunikationszwecke** lexikalisiert werden müssen.
- 7.4.3.1** Das **GS** hat **Rückwirkung** auf die Identifikation und Interpretation von **konzeptuellen Elementen**. Somit wird deutlich, dass die **G-Kategorien** als **SEMANTISCHE OPERATOREN** fungieren, wodurch der **KREISLAUF**

dieser natürlichen Systeme ermöglicht wird. Durch Veränderung und Anpassung entsteht ein wechselwirkendes, lebendiges, **der Kreativität** fähiges Gebilde: **die menschliche Kommunikation** (= Koordination des gesamten Wissenserwerbs und Versorgung aller Typen der vom Wissen aktivierten Handlungen). **Sprachliches Wissen** und **nichtsprachliches Wissen** werden dynamisch gekoppelt, was eigentlich die Kohärenz des gesamten menschlichen Verhaltens ausmacht.

Einige Beispiele aus den von Studenten produzierten Übersetzungsversuchen sollen die enge Verbundenheit zwischen Grammatik und Konzeption veranschaulichen und gleichzeitig die negativen Folgen von Unzulänglichkeiten auf dem einen oder anderen Gebiet unterstreichen:

- (4) *Manfred Schmidt ... warnt Markenunternehmen ... - Manfred Schmidt je posvaril podjetnike* (mangelnde AS-Kompetenz, unzulänglicher Grammatik-Transfer, fehlendes fachsprachliches Spezialwissen > fraglicher Kommunikationserfolg)
- (5) *Dann wird draußen noch immer beworben, was drinnen schon wegrationalisiert wurde. – Na trgu tako podjetja navzven konkurirajo s stvarmi, katere pa so že naredili odvečne pri racionalizaciji.* (mangelnde AS/ZS-Kompetenz, mangelnde K-Kompetenz; unzulänglicher Grammatik Transfer, einschließlich Stilebenen)
- (6) *Cerkev je bila v siloviti krizi – die Kirche ist in heftige Krise geraten* (Perfekt statt Prät. = temporale Inkompetenz.; perfektiv statt imperf. = mangelhaftes Wissen im Bereich des Aspektes > fraglicher Kommunikationserfolg, vor allem textsortenspezifisch)
- (7) *Ki naj bi bila popravila – die wieder in Ordnung gebracht haben konnte* (mangelhaftes grammatisches Wissen im A-T-M-Bereich > fraglicher Kommunikationserfolg)
- (8) *je očka mirno odracal – watschelte Vater ruhig (imperf. statt perf. = mangelhaftes grammatisches Wissen im A-T-Bereich > fraglicher Kommunikationserfolg, vor allem textsortenspezifisch)*
- (9) *v nekaterih pokrajinah še danes pravijo – in einigen Landschaften wird noch heute gesagt* (perf. statt imperf. = mangelhaftes grammatisches Wissen im A-T-Bereich > fraglicher Kommunikationserfolg, vor allem textsortenspezifisch)
- (10) *...vom Genfer Institut... - iz Instituta v Genovi* (mangelnde ZS-Grammatik, unzulängliches Wissen über Übersetzungsnormen)

7.4.4 Kognitive Strukturen sind ihrerseits, genau wie die Sprache, unzertrennlich mit der Umwelt verbunden, denn sie werden durch die strukturellen Eigenschaften des Verhaltenssystems, in welchem sie kodiert sind, **kanalisiert** (= Einfluss der **soziokulturellen Umwelt (Ku)** auf L, K und folglich auch auf die **T-Prozesse**, die eigentlich als **dynamische Summe** der vorerwähnten Entitäten und noch einiges mehr aufzufassen sind. In diesem Umstand liegt nämlich die Begründung für das Entstehen der **kulturell** und **sozial** bedingten **Asymmetrien** zwischen unterschiedlichen **L/K-Systemen**.

Einige Beispiele aus der Übersetzungspraxis von Studenten sollen die Ku/K-induzierten, nur mit guten translatorischen Erfahrungen überbrückbaren konzeptuellen Hindernisse veranschaulichen. (Neben dem sprachlichen Wissen ist für erfolgreiche T-Prozesse auch jenes über die kulturellen Eigenheiten und Konventionen und die jeweils ritualisierten Kommunikationsmuster und Diskurskonventionen erforderlich):

- (11) »Nur abspecken, wo Fett da ist« - *Shujšati samo, kjer je **maščoba***. (mangelnde kommunikative Kompetenz/Konventionen in der ZS; fehlende Diskurskompetenz in der AS und ZS; nicht erfolgter Sprach-Kulturtransfer)
- (12) *Wie beurteilen Sie den Preisverfall ... – Kako ocenjujete **propad** cen ...* (mangelnde ZS -Kompetenz/Konventionen; unzulängliche Diskurskompetenz in der Zielkultur)
- (13) *... dass sie oftmals persönlich wegen ihres Engagements bedroht worden ist. ... - ... da je bila pogosto osebno ogrožena zaradi svoje **vpletenosti*** (mangelnde ZS -Kompetenz/Konventionen; unzulängliche Diskurskompetenz in der Zielkultur)
- (14) *...um gleich hohe Ergebnisse zu erzielen ... - če želimo **dobiti** enako **velike rezultate*** (mangelnde kommunikative Kompetenz/Konventionen in der ZS; nicht erfolgter Sprach-Kulturtransfer)

8.0 Schlusswort und Zusammenfassung

Die Parallelitäten und unabdingbaren **Wechselwirkungen** zwischen den natürlichen Systemen Sprache, **Kognition**, **Kultur** und Translation kann man wie folgt zusammenfassen:

- 8.1** Alle verbindet der Umstand, dass sie offene, dynamische und natürliche Systeme sind, ausgewiesen durch **Eigenschaften von natürlichen Systemen** (=Vererbung von genetischem Material; Ausdehnung und Wechselwirkung mit anderen Systemen; Metamorphosen, Mutationen).

8.2 Eine weitere gemeinsame Eigenschaft ist die **Kommunikabilität** (= Neigung zur Kommunikationsoptimierung (Mitberücksichtigung von sozialen Normen; Aushandlung als Überwindung von kognitiven Hindernissen usw.).

8.3 Die natürlichen Systeme **L, K, Ku und T** wirken ineinander, ergänzen sich. Nur als Gesamtheit sind sie kommunikationsrelevant. Unter Punkt 7.4.4 wurde jedoch erwähnt, dass die **T- Prozesse** nicht nur die dynamische **Summe von K/L und Ku Systemen** sind, sondern noch um einiges mehr. Das Letztere soll nun noch kurz expliziert werden.

8.3.1 Integraler Bestandteil des **T-Systems** sind nämlich neben den o.a. auch weitere außersprachlich verankerte Entitäten wie **Loyalität, Integrität** und andere **ethische, kommunikative, stilistische u.a. Normen** (dynamischer Aspekt) oder der systematische Bruch dieser Normen, bekannt als **Stilem**. Weitere Merkmale sind zudem noch die **Relationalität** zwischen **AT** und **ZT** (in Abhängigkeit von **Texttyp, Anforderungen des Kunden, Intentionen des AT/Produzenten, Erwartungen des ZT/Rezipienten**), die Art der **Adaptiertheit** an die **ZT/Kultur** (= Berücksichtigung der **Kultureme** als Elemente/Bausteine des natürlichen Systems **Kultur**), **AT** und **ZT/ Relation** im Sinne von Hinzufügen oder Auslassen von Informationen (**Textausdehnung** in neue kommunikative Welten).

8.3.2 Alle erwähnten natürlichen Systeme, besonders aber das **T-System** zeichnen sich durch den Einsatz von nichtsprachlichen (auch prosodischen) Mitteln aus, was bei T-Prozessen noch besonders stark zum Tragen kommt, womit ihre ausgesprochen hohe Komplexität ausgewiesen wird. Wenn eine der zum Erfolg führenden Komponenten der **T-Prozesse** aussetzt oder Mängel aufweist, können in Extremfällen fatale Folgen entstehen. Nicht gerade fatal, dennoch überlegenswert ist das folgende Beispiel:

(15) „*Mejne prehod je dovoljen: z izkaznici za „mali mejni prehod“. Z potnim listom ali z osebni izkaznici za avstrijske drzavljane in tudi za slowenskedrzavljane in tudi za taksne osebe, katere nimajo vise, peske ljudi, kateri se vozijo z bicikelnom in z malim motornim vozil do 125 ccm.*“

(So lautet die Aufschrift auf einer offiziellen Tafel, angebracht an einem Grenzübergang für den kleinen Grenzverkehr zwischen Österreich und Slowenien. Eine qualitätsbewusste translatorische Lösung könnte in diesem Fall positive diplomatische Konsequenzen haben ...)

8.4 Ähnliche Beschreibungs- und Erklärungsmodelle des natürlichen Systems Sprache werden auch von der NT angeboten. Die NT wie auch die STSN gehen davon aus, dass sprachliche und nichtsprachliche Elemente

wechselwirkend offene, dynamische sprachliche/kommunikative Systeme ohne rigide Abgrenzungen zwischen ihren Bestandteilen (Paradigmen, Modulen) bilden. Dadurch sind sie von Fall zu Fall einzigartig und somit finalistisch (= abhängig von situativen, kulturbedingten und anderen eine konkrete Kommunikationssituation prägenden Merkmalen). Gleichzeitig berührt die Tatsache, dass sie (**L**, **K**, **Ku** und **T**) *gleichen generellen Gesetzmäßigkeiten* unterliegen, ihren *universellen Charakter*, wodurch sowohl Kommunikation als auch Übersetzbarkeit möglich gemacht werden.

- 8.5 Auch das als **Regelung** bekannte Korrektiv, wodurch Markiertheit, Frequenz, Systemangemessenheit etc. als universelle Prinzipien übereinzelsprachlich wirken, konnte in allen im Aufsatz behandelten natürlichen Systemen als wirksamer Mechanismus konstatiert werden.
- 8.6 Konkrete *Berührungspunkte* zwischen **Kognition**, **Sprache**, **Kultur** und letztlich **Translation** mit den Erkenntnissen der STSN wurden im Rahmen der hier diskutierten Pilotstudie lediglich für die Systemkomponente der **Regelung** näher erläutert. Die Ergebnisse bestätigten die Arbeitshypothese, wonach in allen Systemen *die Mikroverhältnisse* durch *die Regelung* im Gleichgewicht gehalten werden. Im Konkretefall wurden die *Markiertheits- und Frequenzverhältnisse* zwischen *AT* und *ZT* als stabile sprach- und kulturübergreifende Universalien ausgewiesen. Weitere Untersuchungen sollen auch auf andere Komponenten des kognitiven Systems und auf fehlende oder bestehende Parallelitäten zur *L* im Sinne der Erklärungspotenziale der STSN näher eingehen.
- 8.7 Abschließend bleibt festzuhalten, dass **Sprache**, **Kognition**, **Kultur** und **Translation** komplexe systembezogene Tätigkeiten sind, rekurrent und ineinandergreifend, **vom Menschen** interaktiv, multidisziplinär (**selbst**)**konstruiert**. Sinngemäß fasst der vom Konstruktivismus hervorgebrachte Satz "*Sprache ist nicht, sie geschieht*" das beobachtete sprachliche, kulturelle, kognitive und translatorische Geschehen/Handeln des Menschen zusammen.

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TRANSLATI KOT SPOZNAVNE ENTITETE ALI TEORIJA NARAVNOSTI V KONTEKSTU JEZIKOVNIH IN PSIHOSOCIALNIH PARADIGEM VEČJEZIKOVNEGA SPORAZUMEVANJA

Osrednja tema prispevka so *naravni sistemi oz. teorija o kognitivnem sistemu* (njegove komponente, dinamika), kot jo predlagajo sodobne spoznavne teorije (Langacker, 1999, Rickheit-Strohner 1993 in drugi). Teorija o ustroju in aktivnosti *spoznavnega sistema* pri človeku je uporabljena kot temelj za preverjanje skupnih (naravnih) lastnosti, ki si jih slednji deli še z drugimi naravnimi sistemi, zlasti z *jezikom*, ki je v prispevku obravnavan v posebnih okoliščinah *medkulturnega sporazumevanja* (prevajanje/tolmačenje slo ↔ ne).

Prikazan je tudi proces konfrontacije dveh teoretskih pristopov, ki najdeta skupno podmeno v opisovanju mehanizmov spoznavne (in/ali jezikovne) predelave informacij in kasnejšega ravnanja z njimi (*sporočanje/sporazumevanje*). Pri prvem gre za že omenjeno *spoznavno teorijo*, pri drugem pa za *teorijo naravnosti*, natančneje *slovensko teorijo jezikovne naravnosti (STJN)*.

Na *mikrojezikovnem nivoju medjezikovne stičnosti* (slo-nem prevodna besedila) je prikazano delovanje sistemske komponente *uravnavanje*, ki med drugim skrbi za to, da jezikovno univerzalni pojavi, kot so *zaznamovanost* (spoznavna in jezikovna) in *pogostnost rabe* delujejo sorazmerno neodvisno od značilnosti konkretnih sporočevalnih okoliščin (doživljajskega okvirja).

V kontekstu medjezikovnega/medkulturnega pretoka jezikovnih informacij so seveda v ospredju še druge sistemske komponente, ki pa so se izkazale kot izjemno odvisne od širšega in ožjega doživljajskega okvirja (*kulturemov, sporočevalnih modelov in konvencij*, idr.).

VORSCHLÄGE ZUR ERWEITERUNG DER SLOWENISCHEN VARIANTE DER NATÜRLICHKEITSTHEORIE

1. Einleitung

Im Aufsatz werden Vorschläge zur Erweiterung des in Slowenien entstandenen Modells der Natürlichkeitstheorie gemacht. Im weiteren Verlauf des Aufsatzes verwende ich die Akronyme NT für die Natürlichkeitstheorie in der Ausprägung ihrer bekanntesten Vertreter (Dressler, Mayerthaler, Wurzel) und SNT für das slowenische Modell zur Erweiterung der Natürlichkeitstheorie, dessen Grundidee wohl mit Orešnik (1986) erstmals international veröffentlicht wurde und seitdem in einer Reihe von Arbeiten überprüft und weiterentwickelt wird (mit Orešnik & Teržan & Trobevšek & Snedec 1990 als wichtigem Meilenstein).

2. NT 1981 und NT 1987

Die NT gemäß Dressler & Mayerthaler & Panagl & Wurzel 1987 geht von folgender Bewertung der Natürlichkeit einer sprachlichen Kategorie aus:

(1) Eine sprachliche Kategorie ist **weniger natürlich** (markierter), falls sie (Schmid 1997: 340):

- (a) **nicht uniform** enkodiert (universales Prinzip),
- (b) **nicht morphotaktisch und/oder morphosemantisch transparent** (universales Prinzip),
- (c) **nicht ikonisch** / diagrammatisch sind (universales Prinzip),
- (d) **nicht typangemessen** ist (typologisches Prinzip),
- (e) **nicht mit den charakteristischen Struktureigenschaften** des betreffenden Sprachsystems übereinstimmen (einzelsprachliches Prinzip)
- (f) oder zu einer **weniger stabilen oder weniger umfangreichen Flexionsklasse** gehören (einzelsprachliches Prinzip).

Die NT in dieser Ausprägung wurde vor allem auf phonologische und morphologische Kategorien angewandt. In späteren Arbeiten (z.B. Dressler 1989, Dotter 1990, Schmid 1997, Mayerthaler & Fliedl & Winkler 1998 u.a.) wurde die Natürlichkeitstheorie auch auf andere Ebenen der Sprachbeschreibung (z.B. Textlinguistik, Syntax, Zweitspracherwerb) ausgeweitet.

In der NT 1981 und NT 1987 werden die **systemunabhängigen Prinzipien** der Transparenz, Uniformität und des konstruktionalen Ikonismus (Diagrammatismus) als auch der Begriff der Natürlichkeit (bzw. das Gegenstück: Markiertheit) verwendet. Diese Prinzipien spielen auch in der SNT 1990 und SNT 1999 eine grundlegende Rolle zur Bewertung der Natürlichkeit:

(2) Ein sprachliches Element ist gemäß Mayerthaler (1987: 49) maximal **transparent**, wenn es sich nach dem Fregeschen Prinzip der Kompositionalität richtet (**morphosemantische Transparenz**) und wenn Silben- und Morphemgrenzen übereinstimmen (**morphotaktische Transparenz**).

(3) Die Symbolisierung bzw. Enkodierung einer sprachlichen Form ist gemäß Mayerthaler (1981: 34) maximal **uniform**, wenn sie **eineindeutig** ist (d.h. wenn einer Funktion genau eine Form entspricht und umgekehrt) und wenn sie **allomorphiefrei** ist. Ist eine sprachliche Form nur allomorphiefrei, jedoch polyfunktional, liegt **schwache** Uniformität vor.

(4) Wenn eine semantisch markiertere Kategorie merkmalshaft kodiert wird, ist sie gemäß Mayerthaler (1987: 48-49) **konstruktionell ikonisch**, sonst nicht-ikonisch oder sogar kontraikonisch.

(5) Mit Hinblick auf die universalgrammatischen Präferenzen ist eine sprachliche Form gemäß Mayerthaler (1987: 49) **maximal natürlich (maximal unmarkiert)**, wenn sie den Prinzipien der Transparenz, Uniformität und Ikonizität entspricht. Mayerthaler (1981: 46) legt folgende **Prinzipienhierarchie** fest: konstruktioneller Ikonismus > (»vor« bzw. »über«) uniformer Symbolisierung > Transparenz. Prinzipien, die hierarchisch untergeordneten Bereichen angehören, sind im Falle eines **Natürlichkeitskonflikts** die Verlierer (Mayerthaler 1981: 46).

3. SNT 1990

Orešnik & Teržan & Trobevšek & Snedec (1990: 5) postulieren die Existenz von **verstärkten und nicht-verstärkten Konstruktionen** einerseits (bei synchronischem Bezug auch **starke und schwache Varianten** genannt) sowie geschwächten und nicht-geschwächten andererseits:

(6) Verstärkte Konstruktionen sind ausdrucksseitig **aufwendiger**, semantisch **eindeutiger**, nicht so sprechereffizient, jedoch **hörerfreundlicher** als die entsprechenden nicht-verstärkten Konstruktionen. Eine verstärkte Konstruktion erleichtert somit die Dekodierung der vom Textproduzenten intendierten Bedeutung. Für die geschwächten bzw. nicht-geschwächten Konstruktionen gilt das Umgekehrte.

Die Grundannahme von Orešnik & Teržan & Trobevšek & Snedec (1990: 6) besagt folgendes:

(7) **Verstärkte** Konstruktionen behaupten sich im Zeitraum, in dem sie als Variante einer entsprechenden nicht-verstärkten Konstruktion auftreten, vorzugsweise in **relativ komplexen grammatischen Umgebungen**, können sich jedoch in einem späteren Stadium auch in anderen Umgebungen verbreiten. Für die sogenannten geschwächten Konstruktionen soll die umgekehrte Aussage gelten.

Im Rahmen der SNT 1990 sind wohl bislang die meisten Monographien entstanden, z.B. Teržan 1988, Teržan 1991, Trobevšek 1987, Trobevšek 1991, Snedec 1988, Petrič 1990, Petrič 1995a, Marinčič 1990. Die Grundannahmen der SNT 1990 wurden auch im Rahmen zahlreicher Konferenzbeiträge und wissenschaftlicher Zeitschriftenartikel geprüft und die Ergebnisse international bekannt gemacht. Nicht

zuletzt haben wohl auch die beiden internationalen Natürlichkeitssymposien in Maribor 1993 und 1996 (Boretzky & Dressler & Orešnik & Teržan & Wurzel 1995; Teržan 1998) zur Profilierung des in Slowenien entstandenen linguistischen Ansatzes beigetragen.

4. SNT 1999

Die SNT 1990 und die SNT 1999 stellen eine auf die Syntax angewandte Erweiterung der systemunabhängigen NT dar (vgl. Mayerthaler 1981 und Dressler, Mayerthaler, Panagl, Wurzel 1987).

Gemäß Orešnik (1999: 192) wird die Aussage in (7) präzisiert, denn es wird behauptet, dass für die **Variante** eines Variantenpaars **und ihre Umgebung** die folgenden **alternativen Eigenschaften** gelten:

(8) **Alternativen für eine Variante und ihre Umgebung** (nach Orešnik 1999: 172 – 175)

Variante:		verbindet sich mit	Merkmal: sym	Verknüpfung	Merkmal: sem
sym	+	→	+	und / oder	-
sym	-	→	-	und / oder	+
sem	+	→	-	und / oder	+
sem	-	→	+	und / oder	-
Symbole: [+sym]: natürlicher hinsichtlich Enkodierung (Transparenz, Uniformität, Ikonizität); [-sym]: weniger natürlich hinsichtlich Enkodierung (Transparenz, Uniformität, Ikonizität); [+sem]: natürlicher hinsichtlich semantischer Komplexität; [-sem]: weniger natürlich hinsichtlich semantischer Komplexität <i>Anmerkung: statt der sonst üblichen Größer- und Kleiner-Symbole (< >) verwende ich m.E. visuell leichter interpretierbare Plus- und Minuszeichen</i>					

- (9) Zumindest ein [+sym]-Wert zeigt die Tendenz, sich zumindest mit einem zusätzlichen [+sym]-Wert **und/oder** mit zumindest einem [-sem]-Wert zu verbinden;
- (10) Zumindest ein [-sym]-Wert zeigt die Tendenz, sich zumindest mit einem zusätzlichen [-sym]-Wert **und/oder** mit zumindest einem [+sem]-Wert zu verbinden;
- (11) Zumindest ein [+sem]-Wert zeigt die Tendenz, sich zumindest mit einem zusätzlichen [+sem]-Wert **und/oder** mit zumindest einem [-sym]-Wert zu verbinden;
- (12) Zumindest ein [-sem]-Wert zeigt die Tendenz, sich zumindest mit einem zusätzlichen [-sem]-Wert **und/oder** mit zumindest einem [+sym]-Wert zu verbinden.

Der metasprachliche Ausdruck »*sich mit ... verbinden*« bezieht sich sowohl auf die beobachtete sprachliche Einheit als auch auf ihre unmittelbare Umgebung.

Im Rahmen der SNT 1999 sind mittlerweile mehrere wissenschaftliche Bücher (Orešnik 1999, Orešnik 2001, Dobrovoljc 2005) und eine Reihe von Zeitschriften- und Konferenzbeiträgen veröffentlicht worden.

5. Fragestellungen zur Erweiterung der SNT

Als Ansatz, eine Erweiterung der SNT vorzuschlagen, soll die Beschreibung der Grundannahmen in (8) bis (12) aus Orešnik (1999: 172 – 175) sowie die Beschreibung der Sem- und Sym-Skalen in Dobrovoljc (2005: 28) dienen.

Dobrovoljc (2005: 26 – 30) beschreibt, wie die Sem- und Sym-Skalen aus Orešnik (1999) und Orešnik (2001) aufeinander bezogen werden. Ein Fall ist die folgende Sem-Skala (Dobrovoljc 2005):

(13) >sem (weniger transparent, transparenter) / syntaktische Einheit

Im Hinblick auf die kognitive Komplexität sind weniger transparente syntaktische Einheiten natürlicher als transparentere. – Im Interesse des Sprechers ist es, weniger umfangreiche syntaktische Einheiten zu äußern, weil ihm dies weniger Mühe bereitet.

Setzt man voraus, dass diese Annahme stimmt, erhebt sich die Frage, welche Faktoren bewirken, dass der Sprecher in wirklichen Textzusammenhängen statt der ausdrucksökonomischeren syntaktischen Einheit eine aufwendigere (also etwa eine transparentere) präferiert?

Eine weitere Fragestellung betrifft einzelsprachliche Unterschiede. In Orešnik (1999), Orešnik (2001) und Dobrovoljc (2005) werden verschiedene grammatische Paradigmen behandelt und hinsichtlich ihrer Natürlichkeit bewertet. Die Natürlichkeitsbewertung ist in vielen Fällen nur auf bestimmte Sprachen beziehbar. Welche Faktoren bewirken nun, dass in einer Sprache beispielsweise eine weniger transparente Konstruktionsweise geläufiger ist als in einer anderen?

6. Zur Rangfolge der SNT-Prinzipien in Texten

Sprachliche Konstruktionen sind das Produkt von Optimalisierungsprozessen in der Kommunikation, bei möglichst geringen kognitiven Kosten soll eine möglichst große Wirkung erreicht werden (Minimax-Prinzip). Zwischen den sprachlichen Bedürfnissen des Textproduzenten und des Textrezipienten besteht ein Konflikt: Geringer Kodieraufwand hat einen höheren Dekodieraufwand zur Folge. Die in Texten verwendeten sprachlichen Konstruktionen stellen mehr oder weniger erfolgreiche Kompromisslösungen zur Bewältigung des kommunikativen Konflikts dar.

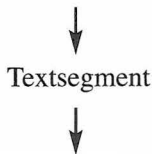
Die vom Textproduzenten intendierte Bedeutung (d.h. der propositionelle Gehalt und/oder der illokutive Inhalt einer Äußerung bzw. eines Textsegments bzw. eines Textes) kann vom Textrezipienten besser verstanden werden, wenn sie transparent, uniform und ikonisch übermittelt wird, außerdem wenn sie mit typangemessenen und/oder systemangemessenen Mitteln kodiert wird (d.h. mit prototypischen sprachlichen Mitteln, häufiger verwendeten Ausdrücken, ...) übermittelt werden.

Der kognitive Aufwand beim Kodieren und Dekodieren kann oft nur indirekt bewertet werden. Dazu können folgende heuristische Hilfsmittel verwendet werden (vgl. auch Mayerthaler 1981, Orešnik (2003: 59– 60), Dobrovoljc (2005: 32 – 33, 36, 38):

1. das phylogenetische Alter (Sprachgeschichte)
2. das ontogenetische Alter (Spracherwerb)
3. Sprachpathologie
4. Versprecher
5. Prototypizität
6. Strukturprinzipien (Symmetrie, Integration)
7. Gebrauchsfrequenz
8. Sprachtypologie (Universalien: Verbreitung in den Sprachen der Welt)
9. Paradigmengröße (einzelsprachliche Musterbildung)
10. Spezieller Gebrauch (Irregularität)
11. Kategoriengebrauch und Prozessdurchführung (Transformationen)
12. Textualitätskriterien (Kohärenz, Kohäsion, Situationalität, Akzeptabilität, ...)
13. ...

Die Art und Weise der sprachlichen Kodierung und Dekodierung ist von vor- und außersprachlichen Umständen abhängig. Ausgangspunkte für den Textproduzenten:

1. Bewertung des außersprachlichen Situationszusammenhangs und der Teilnehmer
2. vorsprachliche Zielsetzung (Illokution, Sprechhandlung)
3. intendierter propositioneller Gehalt



Ausgangspunkte für den Textrezipienten:

4. Bewertung des außersprachlichen Situationszusammenhangs und der Teilnehmer
5. Erschließung des vorsprachlichen Ziels des Sprechers (Illokution, Sprechhandlung)
6. Erschließung des intendierten propositionellen Gehalts

Der außersprachliche Situationszusammenhang und die Teilnehmer können im Rahmen eines Textvorkommens meist als Konstanten betrachtet werden.

Ziel der folgenden Darstellung ist eine Einschätzung der Kodiervor- und -nachteile von sprachlichen Konstruktionen. Zu diesem Zweck wird eine Tabelle erstellt, in der ein Vorteil einer Konstruktion auf einer bestimmten Werteskala durch einen höheren Rang ausgedrückt wird.

Als Input in einer solchen Tabelle können folgende Größen gewählt werden:

- (a) der vom Sprecher intendierte propositionelle Gehalt – prop
- (b) der vom Sprecher intendierte illokutive (modale) Inhalt – ill
- (c) der vom Sprecher geäußerte sprachliche Ausdruck – con

Als Output einer solchen Tabelle können folgende Größen gewählt werden:

- (a) theoretisch mögliche sprachliche Konstruktionen oder Varianten – con

- (b) die vom Hörer verstandene propositionelle Bedeutung – prop
- (c) die vom Hörer verstandene illokutive (modale) Bedeutung – ill

In der folgenden Darstellung wird die Prädikation P (*behandel-, operier-, ...*) mit den dazugehörigen semantischen Rollen Agens (Arzt, ...) und Patiens (Patient, ...) als Input in die Bewertungstabelle eingesetzt. Im Output der Tabelle erscheinen verschiedene theoretisch mögliche Konstruktionen, deren Kodiervorteile und -nachteile im Folgenden auf verschiedenen Natürlichkeitsskalen bewertet werden sollen. Die Darstellung bezieht sich auf die deutsche Sprache, kann aber zumindest teilweise auch für andere Sprachen, insbesondere Nominativ-Akkusativ-Sprachen, Gültigkeit haben.

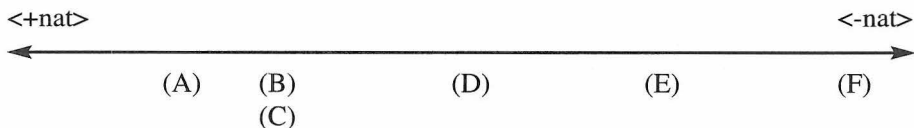
Input	Output
Assertion:	(A) Hauptsatz (Aussagesatz, Aktivsatz), z.B. Der Arzt behandelt den Patienten
P	(B) Hauptsatz (Aussagesatz, Passivsatz), z.B. Der Patient wird (vom Arzt) behandelt
(Agens, Patiens)	(C) Nebensatz (Aktivsatz), z.B. dass der Arzt den Patienten behandelt
	(D) Nebensatz (Passivsatz), z.B. dass der Patient (vom Arzt) behandelt wird
	(E) Infinitivsatz, z.B. den Patienten zu behandeln
	(F) Nominalisierung, z.B. die Behandlung (des Patienten) (durch den Arzt)

1. Ausgehend vom **konstruktionellen Ikonismus** (k. Ikon.: ein komplexerer Inhalt korreliert mit einer komplexeren Form) sind (B), (D) und (F) bei fehlendem Agens (bzw. fehlendem Agens und Patiens) weniger ikonisch als (A) und (C), da die zuerst genannten drei Konstruktionen das Prädikat zweiteilig realisieren, die Konstruktion (E) hingegen immer kontraikonisch (aufgrund obligatorisch nicht realisiertem Agens). Daher erhalten (B), (D) und (F) Rang 2, (A) und (C) Rang 1, die Konstruktion (E) dagegen Rang 3.
2. Eine Sprechhandlung (hier eine Behauptung (Assertion)) wird durch einen Satz eindeutiger ausgedrückt als durch eine Nominalphrase, d.h. die **illokutive Transparenz** (ill. Tra.) von (A) und (B) ist größer als von (C), (D), (E) und (F). Daher erhalten (A) und (B) auf dieser Skala Rang 1 (den höchsten Rang), (C) und (D) Rang 2, (E) und (F) Rang 3.
3. Ausgehend vom **Kodieraufwand** (Ökon) ist eine Konstruktion für den **Textproduzenten** einfacher, wenn sie fakultative Bestandteile enthält bzw. wenn sie bestimmte Bestandteile einer Proposition nicht enthält. (A) und (C) enthalten nur obligatorische Bestandteile, (B), (D) und (E) enthalten eine fakultative Konstituente bzw. erlauben die Nicht-Realisierung einer Konstituente (nämlich des Agens), die Konstruktion (F) ermöglicht sogar die Aussparung von zwei Bestandteilen (nämlich des Agens und des Patiens). Daher erhält (F) Rang 1, (B), (D) und (E) Rang 2, die Konstruktionen (A) und (C) dagegen Rang 3.
4. **Rektionsrichtung** (Rekt.): Im Deutschen kann die Konstituentenstellung SOV als zugrunde liegend angesehen werden, d.h. Links-Rektion. In den Konstruktionen (B), (C), (D) und (E) regiert das Hauptverb nach links, daher erhalten sie Rang 1. In (A) kann das Hauptverb in Zweitstellung auftreten und dann nur indirekt (über die Spur) nach links regieren, daher erhält (A) Rang 2. In (F) wird nach rechts regiert, daher erhält (F) nur Rang 3.

5. Ausgehend von der anthropozentrischen und egozentrischen Perspektive sind in Nominativ-Akkusativ-Sprachen die Konstruktionen (A) und (C) **typangemessener** (Typ) als (B), (D), (E) und (F), denn in (A) und (C) wird die Erwartung „**Agens vor Patiens**“ erfüllt, in (B), (D), (E) und (F) dagegen nicht. Daher erhalten (A) und (C) auf dieser Skala Rang 1, (B), (D) und (F) Rang 2, (E) hingegen wegen obligatorisch fehlendem Agens nur Rang 3.
6. **Paradigmengröße** (Paradig.): Alle Prädikate können in (A), (C) und (E) eingesetzt werden, nicht jedoch in (B), (D) und (F), denn es gibt einerseits nicht passivfähige Verben, andererseits aber nicht-nominalisierbare Verben. Die Paradigmen (A), (C) und (E) sind größer als die Paradigmen (B), (D) und (F). Daher erhalten (A), (C) und (E) Rang 1, (B), (D) und (F) dagegen nur Rang 2.
7. **Prototypische Funktion**: Sätze sind der prototypische Ausdruck für einen propositionellen Gehalt. **Prototypische Sätze** enthalten ein finites Verb (Vfin). Daher erhalten die satzartigen Konstruktionen (A), (B), (C) und (D) Rang 1. (E) enthält immerhin noch eine infinite Verbform und erhält daher Rang 2. Nominalisierungen sind dagegen als Nominalphrasen der prototypische Ausdruck für Teile von Sätzen, d.h. Satzkonstituenten oder Valenzpartner von Verben. Sie enthalten keine Verbform. Daher erhalten Sie nur Rang 3.
8. Hauptsätze sind **funktionell weniger eingeschränkte** Konstruktionen als Nebensätze, Infinitivsätze oder Nominalisierungen. Letztere sind gewöhnlich einem anderen sprachlichen Element untergeordnet (Subord.): (C) und (D) einem Subjunktior, (E) einem Matrixverb im übergeordneten Satz, von dem aus ersichtlich ist, ob Subjekt- oder Objektkontrolle vorliegt (in manchen Fällen, insbesondere bei adverbialen Infinitivsätzen, kann auch eine Abhängigkeit von einem Subjunktior vorliegen), und (F) einem Matrixverb im Trägersatz. (A) und (B) erhalten daher Rang 1, die übrigen Konstruktionen Rang 2.

Input	Output	Subord.	Vfin	Paradig.	Typ	Rekt.	Ökon	Ill. Tra.	K.Ikon.	Sum.
Ass: P (Ag, Pat)	(A) HS-A	1	1	1	1	2	3	1	1	11
	(B) HS-P	1	1	2	2	1	2	1	2	12
	(C) NS-A	2	1	1	1	1	3	2	1	12
	(D) NS-P	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	2	14
	(E) INF	2	2	1	3	1	2	3	2	16
	(F) NOM	2	3	2	2	3	1	3	2	18

Mit Hilfe dieser (hierarchisch noch nicht geordneten) acht Parameter (d.h. acht Ordinalskalen) können die sechs Konstruktionstypen hinsichtlich ihrer Natürlichkeit eingeordnet werden. Auf der linken Seite der unten abgebildeten Skala werden die Konstruktionen abgebildet, die hinsichtlich der oben verwendeten Parameter höher eingeordnet worden (d.h. die Rangsumme ist niedriger). Auf der rechten Seite der Skala sind Konstituenten mit einer höheren Rangsumme abgebildet. Je weiter links eine Konstruktion auf der unten folgenden Skala eingeordnet ist, umso natürlicher ist sie für den Ausdruck eines propositionellen Gehalts bzw. umso präferenter ist sie in Texten.

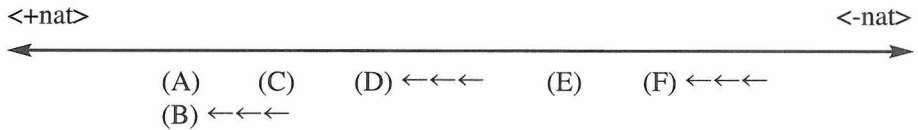


Die Reihenfolge der oben verwendeten acht Parameter ist noch nicht hierarchisch (d.h. nach ihrer Stärke) geordnet. Gemäß den Vertretern der NT 1987 ist jedoch vorgesehen, dass einzelsprachliche Parameter (wie Systemangemessenheit oder Paradigmengröße) einen höheren Rang einnehmen als typologische oder universelle Parameter, d.h. dass einzelsprachliche Parameter auf der Grundlage universeller und typologischer Prinzipien, aber auch im Konflikt mit diesen, die Herausbildung des Sprachsystems entscheidend in bestimmte Bahnen lenken. Die Reihenfolge der acht Parameter in der obigen Tabelle richtet sich nach der Hierarchisierung der NT 1987 nur insofern, als die universellen (möglicherweise weniger einflussreichen) Prinzipien weiter rechts in der Tabelle erscheinen als typologische oder einzelsprachliche. Aufgrund der oben verwendeten Rangsummenmethode wird die Stärke der einzelnen oben verwendeten Prinzipien allerdings noch nicht berücksichtigt. Allerdings ist leicht einzusehen, dass bei hoher Prominenz des Parameters der illokutiven Transparenz (d.h. auch bekannt als Präferenz für direkte Sprechakte gegenüber indirekten) Konstruktionen wie (E) und (F) kaum noch in Frage kommen und Konstruktionen wie (A) und (B) an Präferenz gewinnen.

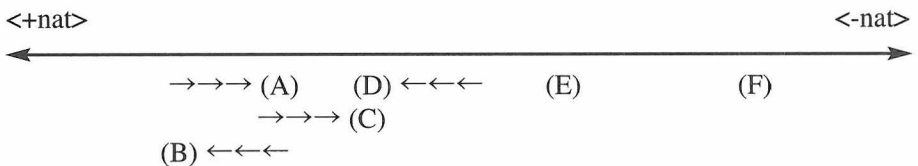
Weitere Parameter können die oben dargestellte Rangfolge der Konstruktionen (wie sie sich aus der Rangsumme ergibt) auf jeden Fall verändern (vgl. auch Petrič 1995b). Eine Konstruktion, die nach den oben verwendeten acht Parametern als weniger natürlich eingestuft wurde (z.B. ein Passivsatz), kann unter besonderen Umständen an Akzeptabilität gewinnen und in der obigen Präferenzskala weiter nach links rücken:

9. Bei **Definitheitsunterschieden** (Def.): Das Definitheitsprinzip ist einflussreicher als die Belebtheithierarchie oder das Agensprinzip, das Agensprinzip dominanter als das Belebtheitsprinzip. Sind sowohl Agens als auch Patiens definit, dominiert das Prinzip »Agens vor Patiens«. Ist jedoch das Agens indefinit, das Patiens dagegen definit, kommt das Prinzip „Definites vor Indefinitum“ zur Geltung. Im Falle eines definiten Patiens und eines indefiniten Agens sind (B), (D) und (F) angemessener (Rang 1), (A) und (C) weniger angemessen (Rang 2). Auf (E) ist die Definitheitsskala (zumindest in dieser Ausprägung) nicht anwendbar. Entsprechende Definitheitsunterschiede bewirken im Deutschen, dass Passivkonstruktionen oder Nominalisierungen eine präferentere Stellung einnehmen können (in der unten verwendeten Skala durch einen Pfeil nach links abgebildet). Ein Passivsatz (B) mit definitem Patiens kann bei Verwendung der Rangsummenmethode zumindest als ebenso präferent wie ein Aktivsatz (A) eingeordnet werden. Ob dann im Text tatsächlich ein Passiv verwendet wird, hängt aber auch von anderen Faktoren ab. Mit Bezug auf eine Einzelsprache kann man die Stärke der einzelnen Parameter festlegen. Man könnte sich beispielsweise vorstellen, dass in einer flexionsarmen Sprache wie dem Englischen das Defi-

nitheitsprinzip eine größere Stärke aufweist als in einer flexionsreicheren Sprache wie dem Deutschen.



10. Im Text ist auch die **Thema-Rhema-Gliederung** (TRG; thematische Progression) bei der Reihenfolge der Satzkonstituenten zu berücksichtigen: Nach dem Themaprinzip ist die Reihenfolge Thema vor Rhema vorherrschend. Ist beispielsweise das Patiens (trotz Indefinitheit) thematisch und das Agens (trotz Definitheit) rhematisch, wird das Agensprinzip zugunsten des Themaprinzips zurückgestellt, d.h. der Einfluss des Agensprinzips auf die Reihenfolge der Satzkonstituenten wird zugunsten des Themaprinzips vermindert. Da im Deutschen das Subjektprinzip (Subjekt vor Objekt) einflussreicher ist als das Themaprinzip, kann beispielsweise ein Aktivsatz (A) seinen hohen Präferenzrang zugunsten eines Passivsatzes (B) verlieren. Denn im Passivsatz (B) wird sowohl das Themaprinzip (Thema vor Rhema) als auch das Subjektprinzip (Subjekt vor Objekt) berücksichtigt. Entsprechendes gilt für den Vergleich von (C) und (D). Auf (E) und (F) ist das Themaprinzip in dieser Ausprägung aus bekannten Gründen nicht anwendbar.

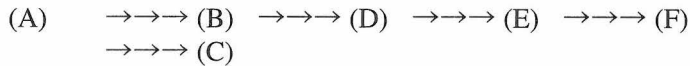


- (A) Der ARZT operiert einen Patienten (nicht die Krankenschwester).
 (B) Ein Patient wird vom ARZT operiert (nicht von der Krankenschwester).

11. Die **Textsorte**, die sich aus Globalziel, kommunikativen Umständen und Teilnehmern ergibt, beeinflusst ebenfalls den Gebrauch von sprachlichen Konstruktionen (vgl. Petrič 1998a). Anders ausgedrückt: sprachliche Konstruktionen zeigen nicht nur eine Affinität zu bestimmten sprachlichen Umgebungen, sondern auch zu bestimmten außersprachlichen Umgebungen. Nehmen wir die Grundtextsorten (GTS) aus Diwald 1991 (vgl. auch Petrič 1998a) als Grundlage zur Bewertung der Distribution sprachlicher Konstruktionen, stellt sich heraus, dass (B), (C), (D), (E) und (F) in markierteren Grundtextsorten (insbesondere in schriftlichen Fernmonologen) häufiger auftreten als in weniger markierten Grundtextsorten (wie mündlicher Nahdialog oder mündlicher Ferndialog).

<+nat>

<-nat>



12. Letztendlich spielen überhaupt **Textualitätskriterien** (Beaugrande & Dressler 1992, Dressler 1989) wie Kohärenz, Kohäsion, Informativität, Akzeptabilität, Situationalität, Intertextualität eine Rolle, welche sprachliche Konstruktion sich unter welchen Umständen in realen Textzusammenhängen durchsetzt bzw. an Präferenz gewinnt.

Welche Konstruktion im Text tatsächlich gewählt wird, hängt davon ab, welche **Rangfolge** (welches Gewicht) die einzelnen (universellen, typologischen, sprachsystemspezifischen, pragmatischen) Prinzipien einnehmen (vgl. auch das Ranking in der Optimalitätstheorie).

7. Einzelsprachliche Unterscheidung durch rangierte SNT-Prinzipien

Die zweite Fragestellung betrifft die Rangfolge der SNT-Prinzipien (Parameter), um einzelsprachliche Unterschiede zu beschreiben und zu erklären.

Ausgangspunkt meiner Darstellung

Orešnik behandelt in seinem Artikel (Orešnik 2000) die Natürlichkeitsskalen >sem (+/-A, -A) und >sem (+/-A, +A). Die Natürlichkeitsskalen folgen wohl der allgemeinen Annahme der Markiertheitstheorie, dass das Spezielle (+A) oder (-A) markierter (weniger natürlich) ist als das Allgemeine (+/-A). Im Aufsatz möchte ich mich eingangs mit der unten angeführten Annahme und Vorhersage über englische abhängige Sätze mit finiter und infiniter Verbform aus Orešnik (2000) beschäftigen. Dabei soll der Blick danach vor allem auf meine Beurteilung der deutschen Infinitivsätze gelenkt werden.

»English. With non-finite clauses,« [-fin] »the lack of a clause link« [-CLL] »is normal« (Orešnik 2000: 239, Nr. 2). Orešniks Fortsetzung (Orešnik 2000: 239-240, Nr. 2):

Wenn

- (a) >sem (+fin, -fin) / clause (vgl. Mayerthaler & Fliedl & Winkler 1998: 325)

und wenn

- (b) >sem (+/-CLL, -CLL) / clause type

und wenn

- (c) [>sem] → [>sem] und

- (d) [<sem] → [<sem]

dann

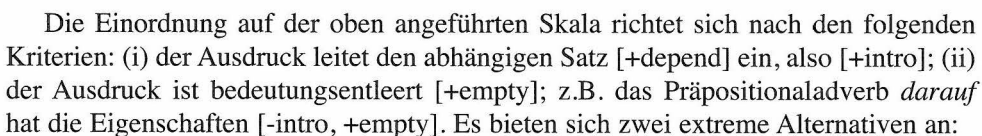
- (e) [+fin] → [+/-CLL] in

- (f) [-fin] → [-CLL].

Im Deutschen kann eine derartige Verallgemeinerung auf alle abhängigen Sätze mit infinitiver Verbform nicht formuliert werden, denn im Deutschen findet man neben [+fin, +/-CLL] auch Satztypen wie [-fin, +/-CLL], also nicht nur bzw. nicht vorwiegend [-fin, -CLL], wie für das Englische aus (f) folgt.

Aus dem Artikel von Orešnik (2000) ist leider nicht ersichtlich, wie die Kategorie *clause link* [CLL] definiert ist. Deshalb möchte ich zunächst erläutern, wie ich diesen Begriff im Weiteren verwende. Die Bewertung, ob es sich um einen Satztyp mit Clause Link [+CLL] oder ohne Clause Link [-CLL] handelt, ist auf jeden Fall definitionsabhängig. Deshalb möchte ich zunächst einige Beispiele aus einer Standardgrammatik zur Illustrierung der Problematik vorführen (vgl. Helbig & Buscha ¹⁰1987: 660):

- Was kann noch als „Clause Link“ [+CLL] aufgefasst werden und was nicht mehr [-CLL]?



- (A) Wenn adverbiale Ausdrücke wie *genug*, *so*, *darauf* oder die Infinitivpartikel *zu* als [+CLL] gewertet werden, dann haben alle oben angeführten Infinitivsätze die Eigenschaft [+CLL].
- (B) Wenn lediglich der Subjunktor *daß* / *dass* als [+CLL] eingeordnet werden, dann hat nur ein Infinitivsatz in den oben angeführten Beispielen die Eigenschaft [+CLL], nämlich der in (5).

Beispiel (2) zeigt (so wie (1)) noch eine Unterscheidungsmöglichkeit: die Bedeutung des Subjunktors *dass* ist zu allgemein, als dass er ein konsekutives Verhältnis [+consec] im Satzgefüge anzeigen könnte. Dies wird erst durch das Adverb *genug* ermöglicht. Demnach wäre es angemessen, auch das Adverb *genug* als »clause link« einzuordnen. Der Unterschied zwischen den Sätzen [+fin] und [-fin] in (2) läge demnach darin, dass das „Clause Link“ im ersten Satztyp [+fin] zweiteilig wäre (d.h. *genug* + *dass*), im zweiten Satztyp [-fin] dagegen nur einteilig (nämlich nur aus *genug* bestehend). Die Kombination des Präpositionaladverbs *darauf* mit dem Subjunktor *dass* könnte demnach als prototypischeres zweiteiliges „Clause Link“ bezeichnet werden, die Kombination des quantitativen Adverbs *genug* mit dem Subjunktor *dass* dagegen als weniger prototypisches „Clause Link“, so trägt doch die erst genannte Kombination die Eigenschaften [-intro, +empty und +intro, +empty], die zuletzt genannte Kombination dagegen die Eigenschaften [-intro, -empty und +intro, +empty].

Deshalb liegt die m.E. angemessenste Grenze zwischen den Kategorienwerten [+CLL] und [-CLL] gerade zwischen dem Adverb *so* [-empty] und dem Präpositionaladverb *darauf* [+empty]. Im Weiteren werde ich angesichts meiner Fragestellung, ob deutsche Infinitivsatztypen mehrheitlich die Eigenschaft [+CLL] aufweisen, dennoch die ungünstigere Definition des Begriffs „Clause Link“ wählen, d.h. (B), wonach dem syntaktischen Kriterium Genüge geleistet wird, dass der Ausdruck in der Rolle eines „Clause Link“ den abhängigen Satz einleitet und damit nicht Bestandteil des übergeordneten Satzes ist.

Deutsche Neben- und Infinitivsätze mit und ohne „Clause Link“

Wenn wir nun die Beschreibung der Infinitivsätze [+inf] in einer deutschen Standardgrammatik berücksichtigen, z.B. die in Helbig & Buscha (¹⁰1987: 656-661), dann sind im Deutschen sowohl abhängige Sätze mit den Merkmalen [+fin, +/-CLL] als auch mit den Merkmalen [-fin, +/-CLL] zu finden, also im Gegensatz zum Englischen, wie aus der Schlussfolgerung (f) in Orešnik (2000) folgt, nicht nur bzw. nicht vorwiegend Infinitivsätze mit den Merkmalen [-fin, -CLL].

Wenn ein deutscher Infinitivsatz in der Funktion einer Adverbialbestimmung [+adv] auftritt, weist er meist das Merkmal [+CLL] auf, erscheint ein deutscher Infinitivsatz dagegen als Subjekt oder Objekt [-adv], hat er gewöhnlich die Eigenschaft [-CLL].

Die meisten Adverbialbestimmungen sind nicht valenzgebunden [-val], während das Subjekt und alle Objekte valenzgebunden [+val] sind. Als Ausnahmen unter den Adverbialbestimmungen dürfen z.B. Richtungsbestimmungen, sogenannte Direktivergänzungen, gelten, denn sie weisen die Merkmale [+CLL] und [+val] auf.

Allerdings erscheinen die Direktivergänzungen meines Wissens nach nicht in der Form von Infinitivsätzen.

Hier folgen einige Beispiele aus Helbig & Buscha (¹⁰1987: 656ff.) zur Illustration, und zwar zunächst Infinitivsätze mit dem Merkmal [+val], wobei ein Infinitivsatz in (7) als Präpositionalobjekt, in (8) als Subjekt, in (9) als Akkusativobjekt, in (10) als Genitivobjekt und in (11) als Präpositionalobjekt zum Substantiv *Recht* auftritt:

- (7) Wir freuen uns, ihn zu sehen. [-fin, +inf, +val, +prp, -CLL]
- (8) Ihn zu treffen ist mir peinlich. [-fin, +inf, +val, +sub, -CLL]
- (9) Sie erlaubte ihm, früher nach Hause zu gehen. [-fin, +inf, +val, +akk, -CLL]
- (10) Peter ist sich bewußt, seinen Freund verletzt zu haben. [-fin, +inf, +val, +gen, -CLL]
- (11) Er hat das Recht, diese Papiere zu lesen. [-fin, +inf, +val, +prp N, -CLL]

Noch einige Beispiele aus Helbig & Buscha (¹⁰1987: 656ff.) zur Illustration, und zwar mit nicht-valenzgebundenen adverbialen Infinitivsätzen mit den Merkmalen [+adv] [-val]:

- (12) Er geht in das Bad, (an)statt zu arbeiten. [-fin, +inf, -val, +substitutiv, +CLL]
- (13) Er geht in die Bibliothek, um dort zu arbeiten. [-fin, +inf, -val, +final, +CLL]
- (14) Er geht in den Betrieb, ohne dort zu arbeiten. [-fin, +inf, -val, +kommitativ, +CLL]

Die valenzgebundenen Satzglieder betrachte ich als natürlicher, die nicht-valenzgebundenen Satzglieder hingegen als weniger natürlich. Dies möchte ich damit begründen, dass der Textrezipient valenzgebundene Satzglieder eher erwartet als nicht-valenzgebundene Satzglieder, d.h. die zuerst genannten Satzglieder redundanter sind als die zuletzt genannten:

- (g) >sym (+erwartet, -erwartet) / Redundanz
- (h) >sym (+val, -val) / Erwartbarkeit der Satzglieder

Ähnlich (wenn auch nicht gleich) wird von Orešnik (2000: 246) zwischen »subject or object gap« einerseits und »adverbial or prepositional object gap« andererseits unterschieden, indem erläutert wird, dass »subject and objects are easier for the hearer to process than adverbial or prepositional object gaps.«:

- (i) >sym (subject/object gap, adverbial/prepositional object gap) / inf. clause in English.

Aus den Natürlichkeitsbewertungen (a) - (d), (g) in (h) folgt, dass wir unter den deutschen Satztypen mit den Merkmalen [+fin, +val] häufiger solche mit dem Merkmal [+/-CLL] finden können als unter den Satztypen mit den Merkmalen [-fin, -val].

Hier folgen einige Beispiele aus der deskriptiven Grammatik Helbig & Buscha (¹⁰1987: 653, 660) zur Illustration, und zwar zuerst Satztypen mit den Merkmalen [+depend, +fin, +val, -adv]:

- (15) Ich dachte, er hätte seine Prüfung abgelegt / daß er seine Prüfung abgelegt hätte.
(16) Es ist besser, du kommst pünktlich / daß du pünktlich kommst.

Die valenzgebundenen finiten Nebensätze [+fin, +val], die als Subjekt [+sub] oder Objekt [+akk, +prp, ...] auftreten, erlauben also die Eigenschaft [+/-CLL], die wenigen valenzgebundenen finiten Nebensatztypen in Adverbialfunktion [+fin, +val, +adv] erlauben dagegen nur das Merkmal [+CLL], z.B. die Richtungsbestimmungen (Direktivergänzungen). Das Kriterium [+/-adv] ist demnach im Deutschen einflussreicher als das Merkmal [+/-val].

Sowohl finite abhängige Sätze in Subjekt- oder Objektfunktion, d.h. solche mit den Merkmalen [+depend, +fin, +val, -adv], als auch finite abhängige Sätze in Adverbialfunktion, d.h. solche mit den Merkmalen [+depend, +fin, +/-val, +adv], können entweder das Merkmal [+CLL] oder (in wenigeren Fällen) das Merkmal [-CLL] aufweisen (siehe Beispiele (17) – (19) unten).

Hier folgen wiederum einige Beispiele aus der deskriptiven Grammatik Helbig & Buscha (¹⁰1987: 653, 660) mit den Satztypen [+depend, +fin, -val, +adv], die uns zeigen, dass es sich lediglich um drei Fälle von valenzungebundenen finiten Nebensätzen [+fin, -val] handelt, und zwar um Konzessivsätze [+conces], um Konditionalsätze [+cond] und Konsekutivsätze [+consec], die das Merkmal [+/-CLL] erlauben, während die meisten anderen Nebensatztypen mit den Merkmalen [+depend, +fin, -val, +adv], die im Deutschen wesentlich zahlreicher sind, lediglich das Merkmal [+CLL] zulassen:

- (17) Mag er auch noch wenig Erfahrung haben / Obwohl er noch wenig Erfahrung hat, so weiß er doch sehr viel.
(18) Solltest du sie treffen / Falls du sie treffen solltest, sage ihr bitte Bescheid.
(19) Er war klug genug, seinen Fehler einzusehen / daß er seinen Fehler einsah.

Im Deutschen bestimmt die grundlegende Abgrenzung zwischen infiniten Satztypen mit den Merkmalen [+adv] und [-adv] auch im Wesentlichen die Grenze zwischen den infiniten Satztypen mit den Merkmalen [+CLL] und [-CLL]. Das Valenzmerkmal [+/-val] leistet dazu im Deutschen keinen entscheidenden Beitrag, so dass man in der Natürlichkeitsskala (h) das Merkmal [+/-val] durch [+/-adv] ersetzen sollte.

Im Deutschen folgen die finiten und infiniten abhängigen Sätze der Natürlichkeitsskala >sem (+/-A, +A) (vgl. dazu Orešnik 2000: 253ff.), denn mehrere deutsche finite Nebensätze [+fin] erlauben das Merkmal [+/-CLL], deutsche Infinitivsätze [+inf] dagegen relativ häufiger [+CLL]. Deutsche Infinitivsätze mit dem Merkmal [+adv] gehören fast ausschließlich zum Typ [+CLL], was darauf deutet, dass

sie im Rahmen der Natürlichkeitsskala $>_{\text{sem}} (+/-A, +A)$ und nicht gemäß der Natürlichkeitsskala $>_{\text{sem}} (+/-A, -A)$ betrachtet werden können – im Unterschied zu den englischen Infinitivsätzen.

Zusammenfassung des 7. Abschnitts

Zurück zu der Grundannahme in Orešnik (2000: 239, Nr. 2): In englischen Satzkonstruktionen mit infinitiver Verbform [-fin] fehlt gewöhnlich ein „Clause Link“ („Konjunktionswort“), also [-fin] [-CLL].

Im Deutschen kann diese Schlussfolgerung höchstens auf Infinitivsätze in Subjekt- und Objektfunktion (also [+val, -adv]) übertragen werden, denn diese weisen tatsächlich die Eigenschaft [-CLL] auf, was bedeutet, dass sie als Fall der Natürlichkeitsskala $>_{\text{sem}} (+/-A, -A)$ betrachtet werden könnten.

Infinitivsätze mit den Merkmalen [+/-val, +adv] gehören in den meisten Fällen zum Typ [+CLL], was bedeutet, dass sie als Fall der Natürlichkeitsskala $>_{\text{sem}} (+/-A, +A)$ aufgefasst werden könnten.

Wenn man davon ausgeht, dass wesentlich weniger Objektsatztypen als verschiedene Arten von Adverbialsätzen unterschieden werden können, kann die Annahme, dass im Deutschen (so wie im Englischen) mehr Infinitivsatztypen ohne „Clause Link“ [-CLL] auftreten, nicht bestätigt werden, denn die meisten Infinitivsatztypen [-fin, +inf] weisen im Deutschen das Merkmal [+CLL] auf.

Im Deutschen kann man die Stärke der Parameter [+/-fin], [+/-val] und [+/-adv] folgendermaßen festlegen: [+/-fin] $>$ [+/-adv] $>$ [+/-val], d.h. der einflussreichste Parameter auf das Auftreten eines „Clause Link“ in einem abhängigen Satz ist der Finalitätsparameter, gefolgt vom Adverbialparameter. Der Valenzparameter spielt im Vergleich zu diesen beiden eine untergeordnete Rolle. In deutschen Infinitivsätzen spielt somit der Adverbialparameter eine entscheidende Rolle für das Auftreten eines „Clause Link“ („Konjunktionswortes“). In einer anderen Sprache, z.B. dem Englischen, scheint der Adverbialparameter diesbezüglich eine geringere Rolle zu spielen als im Deutschen.

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Povzetek

PREDLOGI ZA RAZŠIRITEV SLOVENSKE RAZLIČICE TEORIJE NARAVNOSTI

Jezikovne zgradbe so rezultat optimalizacije v procesu sporočanja: tvorec besedila želi s čim manj kognitivnega napora doseči čim večji učinek (načelo *minimax*). Med jezikovnimi težnjami tvorca besedila in sprejemnika besedila prihaja do nasprotij: varčno izražanje otežuje razumevanje in obratno. Jezikovne zgradbe, ki nastopajo v besedilih, predstavljajo več ali manj uspešne kompromise za rešitev komunikativnih nasprotij. Sprejemnik besedila lažje razume pomen povedi (tj. stavčno vsebino in/ali namen povedi), če jo tvorec besedila posreduje z manj zaznamovanimi ali naravnjejšimi (razvidnejšimi, ikoničnejšimi, tipsko ustrežnejšimi, prototipičnejšimi, ...) jezikovnimi sredstvi. V sestavku avtor razglablja o možnostih za razširitev slovenske teorije naravnosti: kateri dejavniki povzročajo, da se npr. tvorec besedila odloči za potratnejšo, vendar razvidnejšo jezikovno zgradbo, in kako bi z razporejanjem načel naravnosti mogli prikazovati naravnostne razlike jezikovnih zgradb znotraj enega jezika in naravnostne razlike jezikovnih zgradb različnih jezikov.

THE AORIST AND THE PERFECT OF THE OLD INDIAN CAUSATIVES IN THE LIGHT OF NATURAL MORPHOSYNTAX

Abstract

The Old Indian causative conjugation features a reduplicated aorist and a periphrastic perfect. Within Natural Syntax, an attempt is made at predicting this state of affairs. Morphologically, the causative conjugation, the reduplicated aorist, and the periphrastic perfect are the most complicated structures within the verb system. The rules of alignment valid in Natural Syntax therefore predict the existing pairing of the two tenses within the causative conjugation.

In Slovenia, we study the behaviour of (near-)synonymous syntactic expressions, here called syntactic variants. Whenever two syntactic variants are included in the same naturalness scale, and consequently one variant can be asserted to be more natural than the other, something can be said about some grammatical properties of the two variants.

Naturalness values will be stated in naturalness scales. The basic format is >nat (A, B), i.e. with respect to cognitive complexity, A is more natural than B.

In the present paper, the language examples are dealt with in »deductions.« Each deduction is valid only within the limits set by the language data stated at the beginning of any deduction.

Each deduction contains at least two naturalness scales. The naturalness values of paired scales will be aligned by the principle of markedness alignment as stated in Andersen 1968 (repeated in Andersen 2001), and adapted to naturalness in the following way: what is more natural tends to align with another instance of more natural; what is less natural tends to align with another instance of less natural.

A basic contribution of the »Slovenian School« to Naturalness Theory is the following list of instructions (criteria) for determining naturalness in (morpho)syntax:

(A) The principle of least effort (Havers 1931:171). What conforms better to this principle is more natural. What is cognitively simple (for the speaker) is easy to produce, easy to retrieve from memory, etc.

(B) Phylogenetic age. What is older phylogenetically is more natural. What is cognitively simpler (for the speaker) is acquired earlier by the language.

(C) Prototypicality. What is nearer to the prototype is more natural.

(D) Degree of integration into the clause. What is better integrated into its clause is more natural. This partially exploits (C): the prototypical syntactic situation is for a syntactic element to be well integrated into its syntactic construction.

(E) Frequency (in the spirit of Fenk-Oczlon 1991). What is more frequent in a language tokenwise is more natural. What is cognitively simpler (for the speaker) is used more. (However, the inverse situation does not obtain: what is natural is not necessarily frequent.)

(F) Small v. large class. The use of a unit pertaining to a small class is more natural than the use of a unit pertaining to a large class. During speech small classes are easier for the speaker to choose from than are large classes.

(G) Specialised v. non-specialised use. If there exists a specialised way of expressing a category, that specialised way is very natural as expression of the category in question. Suppose a language has reflexive personal pronouns. In that case, they are specialised to express reflexivity (whereas other personal pronouns are not specialised to express reflexivity, even if they may express it under certain circumstances), and their use to express reflexivity is very natural: >nat (+reflexive, -reflexive) / personal pronoun as expression of reflexivity.

(H) Use v. non-use. The use of a category or process is more natural than its non-use. This generalisation is based on the following consideration. All kinds of categories occur in the most natural lexical items, paradigms and constructions of the language, and ebb on the way out of that core. Take for example a language whose noun phrases distinguish singular, plural and dual. Although singular, plural and dual are not equally natural with respect to one another, each of them is highly natural in its own field. For instance, the dual is highly natural as an expression of duality: >nat (+, -) / dual in expressions of duality. This is correlated with the circumstance that the dual (in fact all three numbers) is present in personal pronouns, i.e. in the most natural noun phrases, while it may be present to different degrees in the remaining noun phrases of the language. The situation is similar with processes (such as raising); all processes are natural.

(I) Acceptable v. non-acceptable use. What is acceptable is more natural than what is not acceptable. The very reason for the acceptability of a syntactic unit is its greater naturalness with respect to any corresponding non-acceptable unit.

(J) What is more widespread in the languages of the world is more natural (the typological criterion). What is cognitively simpler (for the speaker) is realized in more languages.

The current version of criteria (A–J) has resulted from the cooperation of Janez Orešnik with Helena Dobrovoljc. Each of criteria (A–J) is assumed to indirectly inform us about what is easy or difficult for the cognitive activity in the human brain. Criterion (B) has recently been removed from this list.

Notice that the framework just outlined contains no generative component, and that it operates *ex post facto*.

(The above is from work by Janez Orešnik and is here published with permission. Janez Orešnik has also translated the present paper into English.)

The Naturalness theory will here be applied to the Old Indian causative conjugation, which is different from all other conjugations in that it is paired (a) with a periphrastic perfect (involving the auxiliary 'do, make' or, more frequently, the auxiliary 'be'), and (b) with the reduplicated aorist. For the (philological) detail, see Whitney 1889:378 ff.

The question to be answered is, why the causative conjugation, of all conjugations, is combined with the two exceptional formations, the periphrastic perfect and the reduplicated aorist. More precisely, we shall enquire which presuppositions have to obtain so that this state of affairs becomes predictable. The answer will be couched in a deduction, as follows:

Old Indian. Of all the conjugations, only the causative one is combined with a periphrastic perfect.

The variants: the causative and the remaining conjugations.

1. The assumptions of Naturalness Theory:

1.1. >nat (other conjugations, causative conjugation)

I.e. the causative conjugation is less natural than other conjugations. – The internal structure of the causative conjugation is richer than the internal structure of the other conjugations. The speaker generates and pronounces the forms of the causative conjugation using more effort than handling the forms of other conjugations. Therefore the causative conjugation is the least natural conjugation by the criterion of least effort, item (a) in the list of criteria.

1.2. >nat (other perfects, periphrastic perfect)

I.e. the periphrastic perfect is less natural than the other perfects. – The same argumentation as sub 1.1 applies.

2. Rules of alignment:

2.1. >nat tends to associate with another >nat,

2.2. <nat tends to associate with another <nat.

3. The consequences:

If the language distinguishes among a structurally most complicated conjugation (viz. the causative one) and structurally less complicated conjugations, such that one class of conjugations combines with the structurally most complicated perfect (viz. the periphrastic perfect), and the other class of conjugations combines with other perfects, then it is the structurally most complicated conjugation (viz. the causative one) which tends to combine with the structurally most complicated perfect (viz. the periphrastic perfect), and it is the structurally less complicated conjugations that tend to combine with other perfects. Q.E.D. (We do not expect the reverse state of affairs.)

4. Notes.

4.1. The reduplicated aorist is the structurally most complicated kind of aorist. The above deduction applies, mutatis mutandis.

4.2. The intensive and the desiderative are of similar structural complexity as the causative. They are not included above because the respective early philological evidence is so scarce as to be of no practical value here.

In short, if it is accepted that the causative conjugation is the least natural conjugation, and if it is accepted that the periphrastic perfect is the least natural perfect (and if it is accepted that the reduplicated aorist is the least natural aorist), then it can be predicted that it is the causative conjugation that tends to combine with the periphrastic perfect (and with the reduplicated aorist).

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Povzetek

AORIST IN PERFEKT STAROINDIJSKIH KAVZATIVOV V LUČI NARAVNE OBLIKOSKLADNJE

Staroindijska kavzativna spregatev vsebuje reduplicirani aorist in perifrastični perfekt. Članek skuša odgovoriti na vprašanje, pod katerimi predpostavkami se da ta konstelacija napovedati. Uporabljeni so prijemi naravne (obliko)skladnje.

Izhaja se iz okolnosti, da je kavzativna spregatev zgradbeno najbolj zapletena spregatev, da je reduplicirani aorist zgradbeno najbolj zapletena vrsta aorista in da je perifrastični perfekt zgradbeno najbolj zapletena vrsta perfekta. V okviru teorije naravnosti sledi, da je kavzativna spregatev najmanj naravna spregatev, reduplicirani aorist najmanj naravni aorist in perifrastični perfekt najmanj naravni perfekt. Po pravilih ujemanja med vrednostmi naravnosti se kavzativna spregatev poveže z redupliciranim aoristom in perifrastičnim perfektom.

IL LINGUAGGIO ARTISTICO IL LESSICO

Il presente lavoro tratta della terminologia delle arti e in particolare del lessico della pittura, della scultura e dell'architettura. L'articolo discute ed esamina i principali procedimenti formativi dell'italiano contemporaneo, come la suffissazione, la prefissazione e la composizione delle parole, in relazione alla terminologia delle arti. La principale funzione di questi procedimenti formativi è permettere alla lingua di arricchirsi, di coniare nuove unità lessicali; la formazione delle parole e il prestito linguistico sono elementi non trascurabili di arricchimento lessicale.

Keywords: linguaggio artistico, lessico della pittura, lessico della scultura, lessicologia, formazione delle parole, prestiti, forestierismi

1 Introduzione

Il presente lavoro tratta della terminologia delle arti e in particolare del lessico della pittura, della scultura e dell'architettura; il disegno riguarda le parti e gli elementi decorativi architettonici che sono collegati con l'arte della pittura e con l'arte della scultura. L'articolo discute e esamina i procedimenti formativi dell'italiano contemporaneo, come la suffissazione, la prefissazione e la composizione delle parole, in relazione alla terminologia delle arti. La principale funzione di questi procedimenti formativi è permettere alla lingua di arricchirsi, di coniare nuove unità lessicali; la formazione delle parole e il prestito linguistico sono elementi non trascurabili di arricchimento lessicale.

Filippo Baldinucci nel suo *Vocabolario toscano delle arti del disegno* pubblicato nel 1681 dimostrava grande interesse per la nomenclatura delle arti e registrava il lessico delle arti. Nel Settecento si accolgono nei vocabolari termini della lingua tecnico-scientifica, si includono nelle opere lessicografiche i termini che appartengono ad arti e scienze e si includono negli spogli testi scientifici. Si registrano nei dizionari voci appartenenti ai lessici specifici delle scienze, della tecnica e dell'artigianato contribuendo in tal modo al rinnovamento lessicale. Il linguaggio della tecnica, delle arti e dell'artigianato fece il suo ingresso ufficiale nei dizionari con le indagini lessicografiche e lessicologiche del D'Alberti.

2 La suffissazione

Esamineremo la suffissazione, procedimento formativo che mediante i suffissi forma nuove unità lessicali: i suffissati sono nominali, aggettivali e verbali.

2.1 I nomi suffissati

La suffissazione o la formazione delle parole mediante suffissi è notevole. Molti suffissi nominali denominali, deaggettivali e deverbali formano nomi suffissati.

2.1.1 Il suffisso *-aiolo/-arolo* forma sostantivi indicanti chi esercita un mestiere, anche con valore spregiativo e *macchiaiolo* è detto così perché ritrae le cose a macchie¹; il suffisso *-aro* forma sostantivi indicanti chi esercita un mestiere e così *madonnaro* (o *madonero*) significa ‘pittore specialista in Madonne’ e nella tradizione veneziana, dal Quattrocento in poi, significa ‘pittore di Madonne alla bizantina’, e *marmoraro* significa ‘artista applicato ai commessi marmorei’ o ‘collaboratore dello scultore per la fase di dirozzamento e sbazzatura del marmo’; il suffisso *-anza* ha valore collettivo in *maestranza* che indica insieme di artisti che lavorano sotto un maestro.

2.1.2 I suffissi *-accio*, *-aia*, *-ame* e *-aiolo/-arolo* indicano oggetti o elementi decorativi architettonici: il suffisso alterativo *-accio* con valore accrescitivo in *bottaccio* significa ‘tondino’; *-aia* indica apparecchiature destinate a raccogliere qualcosa e così il suffissato *grondaia* indica canale di scarico orizzontale situato all’estremità della gronda di un tetto per raccogliere l’acqua piovana; il suffisso *-ame* forma sostantivi con valore collettivo come il suffissato *fogliame* che indica ornamento di foglie dipinte, scolpite, e l’espressione *a fogliame* significa ‘decorazione orafa sbalzata o incisa a corridietro, specialmente di foglie d’acanto’; il suffissato *vasellame* indica insieme di piatti, vassoi e sim., specialmente se di valore; *fusarolo* o *fusaiolo* indica decorazione in uso nell’architettura classica con raffigurazione schematica di fusi e dischi; il suffisso *-ario* forma il nome *reliquiario* che indica oggetto di uso liturgico destinato alla conservazione delle reliquie sacre.

2.1.3 Il suffisso *-ata* forma sostantivi che indicano elementi decorativi architettonici, parti di un edificio o spazi di un edificio, generi artistici o tecniche artistiche: *arcata* ‘struttura in forma di arco’ o ‘serie continua di archi o di volte sostenute da supporti liberi’, *architravata* ‘disposizione degli architravi’, *balaustrata* ‘motivo architettonico di origine vegetale’, ‘insieme dei balaustri o delle colonnine disposte a formare un parapetto o un divisorio’, *bambocciata*² ‘genere artistico del Seicento di composizione pittorica di piccolo formato, ispirato a scene quotidiane di vita popolare’, *campata* ‘spazio compreso tra due successivi elementi di sostegno, come colonne o pilastri’, *capriata* ‘travatura lignea, strutturata a triangolo (detta anche a cavalletto) che, in alcuni edifici architettonici (per esempio basiliche paleocristiane), era destinata a rimanere a vista’, *carpinata* ‘siepe di carpini tenuti al taglio, specie in declivio’, *cordonata* ‘scalinata a lieve pendenza, con gradini di altezza molto bassa’, *facciata* ‘parte frontale esterna di un edificio’, in un edificio a più lati in vista, si assume come facciata il lato dove si trova l’ingresso principale, *fiancata* o *fianco* ‘parte laterale di un edificio’, *navata* ‘spazio compreso longitudinalmente tra due file

¹ Il pittore appartiene ai *macchiaioli*, scuola pittorica italiana del secondo Ottocento che assumeva come tecnica l’uso di piane macchie di colore, accostate per contrasto, attraverso le quali, e non attraverso il chiaro-scuro, si evidenziassero sommariamente le figure.

² Dal soprannome di Bamboccio con cui era noto a Roma il pittore Pieter van Laer.

di colonne, tipico della basilica', *pennellata* 'modo di applicare il colore proprio di un artista', *testata* 'parte terminale e frontale di un corpo architettonico o comunque sezione estrema di un elemento architettonico', *vetrata* 'insieme costituito di parti di vetro, solitamente di colore diverso, unite mediante legature di piombo ed inserite in un'intelaiatura di metallo'.

2.1.4 Il suffisso *-ato/-ito/-uto* forma nomi astratti indicanti ufficio, carica, attività o forma nomi con valore collettivo, *antiquariato* indica carica di antiquario, collezionismo e commercio di oggetti d'arte e di libri antichi, ma indica anche insieme degli oggetti antichi di interesse commerciale, *artigianato* significa 'produzione a mano di oggetti su modello', quindi indica l'attività produttiva degli artigiani e il prodotto di tale attività e indica la condizione e la categoria sociale degli artigiani, *colonnato* con valore collettivo, indica l'insieme di colonne che compaiono all'esterno o all'interno di un edificio in portici, logge, navate, sale, facendo parte di altri organismi architettonici, o costituendo un insieme autonomo, ad esempio il colonnato berniniano di S. Pietro, *ornato* indica partito decorativo di un edificio.

2.1.5 Il suffisso alterativo *-ello/-ella* conferisce ai derivati valore diminutivo, spesso con tono affettivo e vezzeggiativo: i suffissati indicano oggetti ornamentali di piccole dimensioni e in particolare elementi decorativi architettonici e motivi ornamentali architettonici: *arcatella* 'elemento decorativo architettonico costituito da una serie di archetti pensili ciechi', *bandinella* 'elemento decorativo a forma di nastro', *campatella* 'piccola campata, e in genere, campata di navata minore', *cappella* 'piccolo edificio religioso, generalmente con carattere commemorativo', *cartella* 'elemento decorativo in uso soprattutto nel Barocco raffigurante una targa, di forma rettangolare, con i bordi accartocciati', *dentello* 'motivo decorativo a forma di dente, costituito da un piccolo parallelepipedo ripetuto in serie su di una modanatura, con intervalli di circa la metà della sua lunghezza', *formella* 'elemento decorativo, in forma di figura geometrica piana, da applicarsi su muri o su soffitti, spesso con cornice', *listello* 'modanatura sottile a profilo rettilineo, sottile striscia di legno, usata in funzione ornamentale o di rinforzo', il suffisso *-erello* forma il nome *acquarello* (o *acquerello*) che significa 'tecnica pittorica a base di colori stemperati in acqua, specialmente usati su carta'.

2.1.6 Il suffisso *-eria* forma nomi indicanti negozio, attività, insieme di oggetti: *argenteria* 'complesso di oggetti e la produzione di oggetti d'argento, quali vasellame, posate, piccole sculture, monete', *oreficeria* 'arte di lavorare metalli preziosi per farne oggetti di uso e di ornamento' e 'negozio o laboratorio dell'orefice'. Il suffisso *-esca* forma il nome *grottesca* che indica decorazione fantastica con mascheroni, meduse, pesci alati, foglie, armi delle grotte romano-antiche e *raffaellesca* che indica tipo di decorazione simile a quello condotto dal Raffaello e collaboratori nelle Logge vaticane indicata anche con il termine Grottesca.

2.1.7 Il suffisso *-etto/-etta* conferisce a nomi valore diminutivo, spesso con particolare tono affettivo e vezzeggiativo; i suffissati indicano oggetti ornamentali di piccole dimensioni e in particolare elementi decorativi architettonici e motivi decorativi architettonici: *aletta* 'superficie del piedritto dell'arco nella struttura romana

dell'arco trionfo', *anconetta* si riferisce a dipinti o rilievi di piccole dimensioni, più o meno riccamente incorniciati, destinati alla privata devozione', *archetto* 'arcatella', 'è un piccolo arco cieco', *barocchetto* 'aspetto tardo del barocco che si manifesta con un alleggerimento delle forme preannunciando il rococò', *baccelletto* 'elemento decorativo ottenuto dalla stilizzazione del baccello vegetale', *bavetta* 'è una sbavatura che si forma nelle fusioni in metallo per qualche imperfezione della forma', *bozzetto* 'modello di un'opera, in dimensione minore e abitualmente di stesura approssimata', *bronzetto* 'piccolo bronzo' si riferisce a una scultura bronzea di piccolo formato, *cavalletto* 'supporto ligneo di pittura mobile che sostiene la tela durante la stesura dell'opera pittorica'; nella scultura significa 'sgabello per supporto del materiale plastico da lavorare', *cavetto* 'modanatura ricurva a profilo concavo, caratteristica della cultura dorica e assai usata in età barocca', *filetto* 'listello, modanatura sottile a profilo rettilineo', *macchietta* 'figurina sommaria introdotta ad animare un paesaggio o una veduta', 'piccolo schizzo', 'abbozzo', *palmetta* 'antico elemento decorativo di tipo vegetale costituito da foglie di palma stilizzate, disposta a forma di ventaglio', *quadretti* 'dipinti in formato ridotto, cioè di piccole dimensioni, su tela, tavola o rame', *rosetta* 'elemento decorativo a forma di fiore stilizzato, specialmente usato come chiave di volta o per decorare cassettoni', *spalletta* 'strombatura di porta o finestra nella quale sono infisse le imposte', *storiette* o *istoriette* sono dipinti o bassorilievi generalmente in formato ridotto³, *unghietto* 'scalpello con la punta sottile, schiacciata a forma di unghia'.

2.1.8 Il suffisso *-ia* si trova in *cantoria* che indica parte della chiesa, a forma di balcone o comunque con parapetto, nella quale stanno i cantori, in *iridescenza* che è un fenomeno ottico per cui un fascio di luce si decompone nei colori dell'iride, in *perizia* che indica dichiarazione di un esperto sull'attribuzione di un'opera d'arte, sulla quotazione e sullo stato di conservazione. Il suffisso *-la* accentuato si trova in *maestria* 'abilità e perizia'; il suffisso *-iera* lo troviamo in *crociera* che indica luogo dell'incontro di due elementi che si incrociano e in particolare volta costituita dall'intersezione di due volte a botte; il suffisso *-igiano* lo troviamo in *artigiano* 'esercitatore d'arte, produttore a mano di oggetti su modello'.

2.1.9 Il suffisso *-ino/-ina* alterativo con valore diminutivo si trova in *amorino*⁴, in *bastoncino* 'modanatura che ha per profilo un semicircolo di piccolo raggio decorato a file di olive, perle, fusi', 'tondino', in *carboncino* 'cannello di carbone speciale usato per il disegno, che dà luogo a un segno nero e pastoso', in *casino* 'casa signorile di campagna, adibita a luogo di villeggiatura o di svago', in *collarino* 'piccola modanatura anulare, leggermente sporgente, tra fusto della colonna e capitello', in *martellina* 'martello, con ferro tagliente da ambo le parti, usato specialmente da muratori e scalpellini', in *puttino* che è una rappresentazione figurativa di bambino

³ Figurano scene di soggetto storico, mitologico, biblico e comunque sacro, per lo più pittoresco: vari riquadri della vita o dei fatti di un personaggio, sono composizioni con figure piccole, condotte da un artista su scomparti o pannelli di un fregio di soffitto o facenti parte della cornice, o predella, di una pala d'altare.

⁴ Il puttino alato è frequente nelle rappresentazioni allegoriche di ispirazione mitologica, è la personificazione di Eros, Dio dell'amore, raffigurato come fanciullo.

totalmente o parzialmente ignudo⁵, in *ritoccatina* ‘piccola ritoccata’ e in *tondino* ‘bastoncino’; il suffisso *-ino* forma anche nomi di mestiere come *scalpellino* che indica operaio che lavora pietre e marmo con lo scalpello.

2.1.10 Il suffisso *-ismo* forma suffissati che indicano tendenze e movimenti artistici: *astrattismo* si riferisce all’espressione artistica che produce forme non naturali, puntando esclusivamente su rigorosi nessi formali⁶; *barocchismo* indica la tendenza a un gusto barocco che anticipa e riecheggia gli stilemi del barocco storico (Marino, De Chirico), spesso in modo spregiativo, *bizantinismo* nelle arti figurative indica la tendenza a uno stile affine a quello bizantino o presenza nell’opera di un artista di elementi di cultura bizantina, *chiarismo* è denominato così perché indica la maniera di un gruppo di pittori italiani attivi a Milano intorno al 1930, caratterizzata da una stesura di colore chiara e leggera, *colorismo* nella pittura indica la tendenza a usare il colore, più che il disegno, come elemento espressivo fondamentale, nella scultura e architettura indica la tendenza a usare gli effetti di pieno e di vuoto a fini cromatici, *complementarismo* (da *colori complementari*) indica la tecnica e la teoria pittorica per una particolare resa della luce-colore che si basa sullo sfruttamento e impiego sistematico dei colori complementari, *divisionismo* (dalla *divisione dei colori*) come movimento pittorico è sorto in Francia verso la fine dell’Ottocento e passato poi in Italia⁷, *futurismo* come movimento artistico italiano è fondato nel 1909⁸, *graffitismo* significa ‘arte di realizzare graffiti’, questo movimento artistico molto interessante è nato in America negli anni ‘80 del Novecento come *graffiti-art*; *materismo* o *arte materica* rappresenta il tipo di pittura o di espressione figurativa che tiene conto della consistenza fisica della materia cromatica e pertanto della sua percepibilità come tale, *orfismo* indica il movimento paracubista sorto a Parigi intorno al 1912-‘13 con il programma di unire procedimenti cubisti a ricerche di luce-colore, specie sulla base della teoria della complementarità, *plasticismo* rappresenta l’arte o la ricerca di effetti di rilievo e profondità nella realizzazione delle figure di un bassorilievo o di un’opera pittorica, *realismo* indica l’atteggiamento espressivo che intende rappresentare in maniera diretta e anche brutale la realtà cosiddetta oggettiva, *rovinismo* indica la tendenza a riprodurre e a descrivere paesaggi in cui compaiono paesi di fantasia o ruderi di monumenti romani antichi e rovine di antichi edifici; *vedutismo* si riferisce a un particolare genere pittorico diffuso in Italia nel Settecento e caratterizzato dalla rappresentazione di vedute di edifici o paesaggi, *verticalismo* si riferisce alla tendenza a sviluppare gli elementi compositivi verso l’alto, comunemente riferiti alle architetture gotiche⁹.

⁵ In composizioni religiose o allegoriche il bambino simboleggia un angelo, Cupido.

⁶ In senso storico rappresenta il movimento o gruppi di movimenti del Novecento che prescindono dalla figuratività tradizionale.

⁷ Il *divisionismo* adotta una tecnica consistente nell’accostare sulla tela tocchi di colore puro, talvolta piccoli come punti, per moltiplicare le vibrazioni luminose.

⁸ È nato con il programma di respingere la cultura tradizionale e modellare l’espressione artistica sul dinamismo della vita moderna e sui caratteri della civiltà della macchina.

⁹ Cfr. altri suffissati in *-ismo*: *alessandrinismo*, *antropomorfismo*, *classicismo*, *collezionismo*, *decorativismo*, *figurativismo*, *funzionalismo*, *grafismo*, *novecentismo*, *oleografismo*, *pittoricismo*, *primitivismo*, *quadraturismo*, *romanticismo*, *strutturalismo*, *suprematismo*, *tonalismo*.

2.1.11 Il suffisso *-ista* forma sostantivi connessi con i termini in *-ismo* che indicano seguaci di una tendenza artistica, di una corrente artistica, di un movimento artistico, e in particolare aderenti a uno stile artistico o a una scuola artistica: *acquerellista* ‘artista che dipinge all’acquarello’, *affreschista* o *freschista* ‘pittore che dipinge con la tecnica dell’affresco’, *animalista* ‘pittore o scultore di figure di animali’, *artista* ‘chi opera nel campo dell’arte; chi eccelle nel proprio lavoro’, *bronzista* ‘chi esegue lavori in bronzo’, *divisionista* ‘pittore che pratica il divisionismo’, *figurista* ‘pittore specializzato nella rappresentazione di figure umane’, *graffitista* ‘autore di graffiti’, *macchiettista* ‘disegnatore di macchiette’, *marmista* (o *marmorario*) ‘chi lavora o scolpisce il marmo’, *miniaturista* o *miniaturista* ‘pittore di miniature’, *mosaicista* ‘artista o artigiano che esegue lavori di mosaico’, *naturamortista* ‘pittore di nature morte’, *paesaggista* o *paesista* ‘chi dipinge, disegna o fotografa paesaggi’, *pastellista* ‘chi dipinge usando il pastello’, *quadraturista* ‘pittore di quadrature’, *ritrattista* ‘pittore o scultore che si dedica in particolare modo ai ritratti’, *rovinista* ‘pittore specializzato nella rappresentazione di rovine di edifici, specialmente dell’età classica’, *vedutista* ‘pittore di vedute’, *vignettista* ‘chi disegna vignette satiriche, umoristiche’.

2.1.12 Il suffisso *-istica* forma nomi astratti connessi con i nomi in *-ismo*, indicanti per lo più dottrine: *paesaggistica* ‘in pittura e fotografia, arte e tecnica di riprodurre paesaggi’, *ritrattistica* ‘parte della pittura e della scultura che si dedica in particolar modo ai ritratti’, *urbanistica* ‘scienza della sistemazione architettonica-ambientale dei centri urbani’. Il suffisso *-ito* forma *graffito* che indica disegno ottenuto incidendo e scalpendo una superficie (di solito intonaco di un muro) in modo che sia messa in vista ad arte. Il suffisso *-occio* forma *cartoccio* che indica elemento ornamentale caratteristico del Barocco, dalla forma più o meno ispirata a un foglio accartocciato o arrotolato; il suffisso *-ola* forma il nome *absidiola* che indica piccola abside, abside minore rispetto all’abside principale.

2.1.13 Il suffisso *-mento* forma sostantivi fondalmente astratti, talora anche con valore collettivo, che indicano azione, effetto, risultato: *accompagnamento* ‘termine imprestato dalla musica per indicare, in pittura, oggetti accessori di carattere ornamentale, che si accompagnano, in linea subordinata, agli andamenti o forme principali di una figurazione’, *accoppiamento* ‘modo di mettere le colonne più vicino che sia possibile, senza che si tocchino fra loro le basi ed i capitelli’, *accartocciamento* ‘fregio ricurvo a forma di cartoccio’, *arredamento* ‘arte di disporre nell’interno di uno spazio architettonico, di solito destinato alla vita quotidiana, varie attrezzature, i mobili, le luci’, *basamento* ‘è propriamente la base o il sostegno di un edificio, di un monumento, di un’insieme architettonico’, *battimento* nella terminologia della pittura indica l’effetto della luce che violentemente percuote i piani o campi chiari e aggettanti delle immagini dipinte, *bianchimento* si riferisce all’operazione di pulire i metalli preziosi, in particolare l’argento, *rinascimento* si riferisce al movimento culturale italiano ed europeo, *sgrossamento* indica lo sgrossare, togliere il superfluo a un materiale per portarlo alla forma voluta.

2.1.14 Il suffisso *-one/-ona* che forma sostantivi alterati con valore accrescitivo perde spesso il suo valore accrescitivo e i suffissati indicano elementi decorativi

architettonici, motivi ornamentali architettonici, mobili e oggetti di varia materia e destinazione: *cartone* ‘disegno preparatorio per affresco, mosaico o arazzo, delle medesime dimensioni dell’opera definitiva’, *cassettone* ‘mobile a cassetti, destinato generalmente alla biancheria e agli indumenti’, *cassone* ‘cassapanca, mobile a forma di cassa’, *cornicione* ‘cornice architettonica modanata, posta a coronamento di un edificio, in forte aggetto, si compone di tre parti, dell’architrave, del fregio e della cornice’, *costolone*, sinonimo di nervatura architettonica a cordone posta lungo lo spigolo delle volte, *festone* ‘motivo ornamentale a mezza ghirlanda, raffigurante per lo più un *encarpo* retto da nastri e putti’, *fiorone* ‘motivo ornamentale in forma di fiore stilizzato’, *frontone* ‘coronamento di facciata, usato per la prima volta nel tempio greco, e in origine di forma triangolare’, *gattone* ‘motivo ornamentale a forma di foglia’, *manierona*, nel significato positivo ‘di maniera grande’, *mascherone* indica un elemento per lo più decorativo¹⁰, *medaglione* indica un elemento circolare o ovale di varia materia e destinazione¹¹, *mensolone* ‘mensola architettonica di grandi dimensioni’, *orecchione* indica un elemento decorativo a forma di orecchia, sporgente lateralmente ad una membratura riquadrata (porta, portale, finestra), *pilone* ‘pilastro’, *quadrone*, *quadroni* ‘dipinti, ad affresco, su tavola, o su tela, di forma quadrangolare o rettangolare, di grandi dimensioni’, *rosone* ‘finestra circolare d’importanza monumentale, in genere su facciata di chiesa, ornata di cornici e sovente di raggi’, *tabellone*, tavola dipinta, per lo più votiva, che si riferisce alla parte centrale di forma rettangolare di un crocifisso dipinto di età medioevale, *voltone* indica volta di grandi dimensioni, sinonimo di archivoltio.

2.1.15 Il suffisso *-otto* forma il nome *paliotto* che indica parte anteriore dell’altare in quanto costituita da un paramento di stoffa preziosa e, per estensione, ogni paramento esterno dell’altare, di qualunque materiale; il suffisso *-ozza* forma *tavolozza* che indica piccolo ripiano, generalmente di forma arrotondata con un foro per l’inserimento del pollice, usato dal pittore per disporre, preparare e lavorare i colori all’atto del dipingere e per metonimia indica la gamma di colori usata da un pittore; il suffisso *-ità* forma *classicità* ‘l’esser classico’ e *funzionalità* ‘adeguamento di un’opera, intesa come struttura o come insieme, alla funzione pratica cui è destinata’.

2.1.16 Il suffisso *-toio* forma nomi di oggetti e strumenti: *abbozzatoio* indica lo strumento lanceolato che lo scultore adopera per aiutarsi a modellare la cera o l’argilla, *gocciolatoio* si riferisce all’elemento architettonico, alla parte della cornice di un edificio che consente all’acqua piovana di cadere a terra senza bagnare le pareti e pertanto è sinonimo di gronda.

2.1.17 Il suffisso *-tore/-atore/-itore* (femminile *-trice*) si applica a nomi di persona per indicare una caratteristica, un’attività: *abbozzatore* si riferisce all’operaio scalpellino che lo scultore impiega per sgrossare il blocco di marmo, *cesellatore* indica

¹⁰ È costituito di solito da un volto umano trattato in modo grottesco o caricaturale e collocato per lo più alla bocca di una fontana.

¹¹ In modo più specifico può riferirsi ad una custodia per reliquie, ad una miniatura, a un motivo compositivo, sia scultoreo sia pittorico, fingente una medaglia che rechi l’effigie di un personaggio o altre figurazioni.

l'artista o l'artigiano che fa lavori di cesello, *conoscitore* significa 'esperto che sa riconoscere l'autenticità, originalità e qualità estetica dell'opera d'arte', *disegnatore* è chi disegna, specialmente per professione, *fruitore* è colui cui l'opera d'arte è destinata e pertanto il pubblico, *intagliatore* è chi lavora d'intaglio, *modanatore* indica il falegname che esegue modanature di mobili, *modanatrice* in falegnameria indica la macchina fresatrice per operazioni simultanee di profilatura e modanatura di tavole, travetti', *sbozzatore* indica marmorario che digrossa il blocco prima di passarlo allo scultore e *squadratore* indica scarpellino che lavora pietre e marmi di quadro¹².

2.1.18 Il suffisso *-tura/-atura/-itura* indica azione, atto, effetto, risultato di un'azione: *acciaiatura* si riferisce al procedimento tecnico consistente nell'applicazione su un metallo inciso di un sottile strato di ferro a scopo protettivo, *ammorsatura* (o *addentellatura*) si riferisce alla tecnica muraria che alterna pietre sporgenti e rientranti in una sistemazione a morsa, *architrvatura* indica il complesso degli architravi di un edificio e la loro messa in opera, *baccellatura* indica elemento decorativo a bacelli, in particolare in forma dei bacelli delle fave, *campitura* significa 'dipingere il fondo o campo di una pittura, specie se a tinta unita', *cesellatura* si riferisce all'arte e alla tecnica della lavorazione col cesello, *commettitura* o commesso¹³; il suffisso *-tura* si trova anche in *cordatura* 'membratura dall'aspetto di lungo cordone con funzione strutturale o decorativa', *doratura* 'procedimento mediante il quale si ricoprono con oro superfici di diversa materia', *imprimitura* 'preparazione della tela o della tavola da dipingere, consistente nella stesura di uno strato di materiale atto a rendere levigata e compatta la superficie', *intelaiatura* 'operazione dell'intelaiare', *lumeggiatura* 'applicazione su un dipinto di brevi e sottili tocchi o strisce di colore chiaro, o d'oro, molto luminosi', *macchiattatura* 'insieme di macchie e chiazze sparse', *miniatura* 'dipinto di ridotte proporzioni'¹⁴, *modanatura* 'elemento fondamentale della decorazione di un'opera architettonica, elemento di raccordo tra due parti di un unico contesto costruttivo o decorativo', *nervatura* 'cordatura con funzione strutturale', *ombreggiatura* 'chiaroscuro che si avvale del tratteggio o dello sfumato', *rifoderatura* 'nuova foderatura', *rintelatura* 'operazione di restauro e conservazione di un dipinto su tela, consistente nell'applicazione di una fodera sul rovescio della tela stessa', *specchiatura* 'in una porta, riquadro in legno compensato e liscio o lavorato', sinonimo di riquadro, *strigilatura* 'decorazione a scanalature ondulate', *strombatura*¹⁵, *unghiatura* 'taglio o incisione a forma di unghia, *velatura* 'ritocco di pittura finita'¹⁶.

¹² Si tratta in ogni caso di artefici impegnati in lavori relativi a membrature architettoniche (lavori di quadro) o di preparazione su blocchi di pietra o di marmo destinati ad essere scolpiti.

¹³ Si riferisce al lavoro di congiunzione di frammenti o parti di materiale in una stesura liscia e continua. Si danno commessi in legno, marmo e pietre preziose.

¹⁴ Generalmente è condotto con estrema diligenza e finezza per decorare mediante la tecnica a tempera, tavoline, superfici in avorio e soprattutto rotoli o fogli manoscritti a pergamena.

¹⁵ Sono termini particolarmente usati, come il sinonimo sguancio, in riferimento a porte e a finestre che presentano un'apertura verso l'esterno, tale da facilitare la penetrazione della luce; tali aperture si dicono *strombate*.

¹⁶ È una pittura condotta con colori trasparenti e molto diluiti, di solito sovrapposti ad una superficie già dipinta per correggere il tono di un colore, per ottenere particolari effetti.

2.1.19 Il suffisso *-ura* forma *placcatura* che indica rivestimento di un metallo con altro metallo di maggior pregio; *scapigliatura* si riferisce al movimento letterario e artistico degli »Scapigliati« operante in Lombardia nella seconda metà del Novecento nell'ambito delle ricerche europee.

2.1.20 Il suffisso *-zione/-azione/-izione* forma sostantivi indicanti azione, effetto, risultato: *coniazione* 'stampa a conio di monete o medaglie', *modellazione* 'il modellare, modellatura', *ornamentazione* 'ornamento, decorazione, l'insieme di elementi ornamentali', *quotazione* 'valutazione venale di un'opera d'arte', *rastremazione* 'riduzione progressiva di un diametro di una colonna verso l'alto', *valutazione* 'quotazione, il quotare'.

2.1.21 Suffisso *zero*; la derivazione a suffisso *zero* è notevole; i derivati sono nomi tratti da verbi all'infinito presente: *abbozzo*, da *abbozzare*, significa 'schizzo, prima e generica stesura di un'opera', *accollo* 'parte aggettante di edificio sostenuta da mensole o simili', *accordo*: il termine, imprestato dalla musica, viene usato nella pittura come sinonimo di unione dei colori e armonizzazione di parti', *autentica* 'perizia, dichiarazione scritta di un esperto che confermi la paternità, la scuola o la datazione di un dipinto', *contorno* 'linea effettiva o ideale che attornia un'immagine disegnata o dipinta', *contrasto* 'disaccordo di cose diverse tra loro: il contrasto delle luci e delle ombre', *disegno* 'rappresentazione figurativa per mezzo di linee', *drappeggio* 'insieme di pieghe morbide, disposte a ornare un abito', *impasto* 'insieme dei colori di un quadro', *intaglio* 'arte e tecnica della lavorazione del legno e di altri materiali per mezzo di solchi', *intarsio* 'procedimento di restauro per dipinti su tavola, consistente essenzialmente nell'inserimento di listelli lignei sul retro della tavola stessa', *intreccio* 'motivo decorativo a treccia, costituito da elementi vari (vegetali, nastriformi, filiformi)', *maneggio* 'il maneggiare', *panneggio* 'modo di atteggiarsi delle pieghe delle vesti o genericamente delle stoffe in una rappresentazione figurale', *piega* 'andamento più o meno curveggiante del panneggio di una figura', *restauro* 'ripristino', *ritocco* 'ripresa di un'opera già terminata per piccole modifiche e finiture', *schizzo* 'abbozzo rapido e sintetico, generalmente a matita o inchiostro', *sguancio* 'spalletta di porta e finestra tagliata obliquamente dietro lo stipite', *sguscio* 'modanatura concava, e come tale sinonimo di cavetto', *spolvero*¹⁷, *strombo* 'strombatura', *tempera* 'tecnica pittorica che impiega colori a colla diluiti in acqua', *tratteggio* 'tecnica del tratteggio usata per ottenere ombreggiature nei disegni'.

2.2 Gli aggettivi suffissati

I suffissi aggettivali che riguardano la terminologia artistica sono notevoli.

2.2.1 Il suffisso *-ale* serve a formare aggettivi di relazione come *absidale* 'relativo all'abside', *ambientale* 'che si riferisce all'ambiente', *chiaroscurale* 'che è ottenuto per mezzo del chiaroscuro', *ogivale* 'che presenta arco acuto', cioè che è tipico dell'arte gotica¹⁸, *ornamentale* 'di ornamento', 'che serve di ornamento'; il suffisso *-eo* forma

¹⁷ Si riferisce all'operazione che si compie per trasferire dal cartone, precedentemente bucherellato, sulla superficie da dipingere il disegno per realizzare una pittura, procedimento tipico della tecnica dell'affresco.

¹⁸ Lo stile ogivale è sinonimo di stile architettonico gotico.

aggettivi di relazione come *scultoreo* ‘che riguarda la scultura’. Il participio presente di alcuni verbi si usa come aggettivo in *-ante*: *aggettante* ‘che sporge’, ‘che aggetta’; il suffisso *-esco* forma suffissati di tono e valore diversi come *pittoreesco* detto di paesaggio, scena, veduta aventi caratteristiche di colore e di composizione particolarmente suggestive; il suffisso *-ico* forma aggettivi di relazione come *materico* detto di materia¹⁹, *pittorico* ‘di pittura’, ‘relativo alla pittura’, *prospettico* ‘di prospettiva’.

2.2.2 Il suffisso *-ista* forma aggettivi connessi con sostantivi in *-ismo* indicanti tendenze, correnti e movimenti artistici come *dadaista* ‘proprio del dadaismo’, *divisionista* ‘divisionistico’, *futurista* ‘seguace del futurismo’.

2.2.3 Il suffisso *-istico* serve a formare aggettivi connessi con sostantivi in *-ismo*: *classicistico* ‘che è proprio del classicismo e dei classicisti’, *coloristico* ‘che si riferisce ai coloristi’, *divisionistico* ‘che è proprio del divisionismo’, *espressionistico* ‘relativo all’espressionismo e agli espressionisti’, *futuristico* ‘relativo al futurismo’, *impressionistico* ‘che concerne l’impressionismo e gli impressionisti’, *luministico* ‘del luminismo, dei luministi’, *macchiettistico* ‘di, da macchietta’, *manieristico* ‘del manierismo’, ‘proprio del manierismo e dei manieristi’, *miniaturistico* ‘che riguarda la miniatura’, *paesaggistico* ‘relativo al paesaggio’, *paesistico* ‘relativo al paesaggio’, *ritrattistico* ‘relativo alla ritrattistica’, *simbolistico* ‘del simbolismo’, ‘dei simbolisti’, *surrealistico* ‘che si riferisce al surrealismo e ai surrealisti’.

2.2.4 Il suffisso *-oso* è connesso con sostantivi in *-ismo*: *pittore maneroso* ‘pittore di modi artificiosamente raffinati e ricercati, partecipe della cultura figurativa del manierismo’.

2.2.5 Il suffisso *-tivo/-ativo/-itivo* forma aggettivi da verbi come *decorativo* ‘che serve a decorare, che ha la funzione di decorare’; *illustrativo* ‘che serve a illustrare e a chiarire’²⁰.

2.3 I verbi suffissati

I suffissi verbali che riguardano la terminologia artistica non sono pochi.

2.3.1 Il suffisso *-are* si trova in *aggettare* ‘sporgere, fare aggetto, detto di parti architettoniche’, in *fregiare* ‘guarnire di fregi’, ‘decorare’, ‘abbellire’, ‘adornare’, in *macchiettare* ‘spargere di piccole chiazze di diverso colore’, in *modellare* ‘foggiare, sagomare secondo un modello’, in *pitturare* ‘dipingere’; il suffisso *-ire* lo troviamo in *campire* che in pittura significa ‘dipingere il campo o fondo’, ‘stendere il colore in maniera uniforme in una zona nettamente delimitata’.

2.3.2 Il suffisso *-eggiare* forma verbi indicanti manifestazione del termine stesso da cui derivano o indicano azione intensiva, continuata: da *lume* si ottiene *lumeggiare*

¹⁹ Cfr. l’arte materica: la pittura e la scultura che si avvalgono anche di materiali insoliti quali stracci, legni bruciati, lamiere e simile.

²⁰ Da molti aggettivi suffissati si formano gli avverbi in *-mente* dando luogo a lessemi molto lunghi: *caricaturalmente*, *classicisticamente*, *coloristicamente*, *decorativamente*, *espressionisticamente*, *impressionisticamente*, *macchiettisticamente*, *manieristicamente*, *manerosamente*, *paesaggisticamente*, *paesisticamente*, *pittoreescamente*, *pittoricamente*, *prospetticamente*, *simbolicamente*, *surrealisticamente*.

‘dare i lumi ad un disegno o ad una pittura per far risaltare e rilevare parte della composizione mediante un colore chiaro’, da *mano* si ottiene *maneggiare* ‘saper usare qualcosa con particolare capacità o abilità: maneggiare lo scalpello, maneggiare il pennello’, da *muscolo* si ottiene *muscoleggiare* ‘far muscoli’, ‘conformare e accomodare la struttura muscolare di una figura’; da *ombra* si ha *ombreggiare* che significa ‘tratteggiare o sfumare leggermente’ e indica procedimento per bene distinguere in un disegno (o acquarello o dipinto) le ombre in rapporto o in contrasto con le luci e con la variazione dei colori, da *panno* si ha *panneggiare* ‘avvolgere o ricoprire con panneggi’, da *tratto* si ha *tratteggiare* ‘tracciare linee brevi e molto vicine’; il suffisso *-erellare* forma il verbo *bucherellare* ‘forare con molti piccoli buchi’.

3 La prefissazione

Le unità lessicali vengono formate mediante i prefissi che si prepongono alla base dando luogo ai prefissati nominali, aggettivali e verbali.

3.1 Il prefisso *contro-* indica contrasto, opposizione, reazione in *controluce* ‘contrasto che si determina in una pittura quando parte di essa è in ombra su di un fondo chiaro e luminoso’, in *controriforma* ‘movimento riformatore della vita religiosa’, in *controspinta* ‘forza che contrasta e contiene la spinta di un elemento strutturale (arco, volta, ecc.) mediante altro elemento a ciò destinato (arco, arco rampante, contrafforte, piedritto, ecc.)’.

3.2 Il prefisso *dis-* esprime valore negativo in *dissimmetria* ‘il concentrarsi di una intenzione compositiva in modi opposti a quelli che si realizzano nella simmetria’; il prefisso *in-/im-* ha il significato spaziale ‘di dentro’ in *imbotte* ‘superficie concava di arco a pieno sesto’; in *informale* il prefisso è negativo; nel significato artistico *informale* è fatto sul modello del francese *informel* che riguarda un gruppo di manifestazioni e orientamenti artistici contemporanei che rifiutano il concetto tradizionale di forma.

3.3 Il prefisso *post-* significa ‘posteriore’, ‘dopo’, ‘successivo’ e *postimpressionismo* indica un particolare clima nel quale operarono personalità e gruppi artistici che tendevano a superare le poetiche e le affermazioni formali dell’impressionismo.

3.4 Il prefisso *pre-* significa ‘prima’ e indica un rapporto di anteriorità nel tempo, o un fatto che precede nel tempo: l’aggettivo *preromanico* indica relativo alle opere d’arte, specie dell’Italia settentrionale e dei paesi europei limitrofi, nel periodo tra l’VIII e il X secolo, e il nome *preromanticismo* indica insieme di tendenze intellettualistiche e artistiche che nella seconda metà dell’Ottocento anticiparono atteggiamenti tipici del romanticismo.

3.5 Il prefisso *ri-* esprime ripetizione, ritorno a fase anteriore, con un valore di opposizione in *rifacimento* ‘ricostruzione’, ‘ristrutturazione’, ‘restauro’, in *rifoderare* ‘foderare di nuovo’, in *rinascita* ‘miglioramento’, ‘progresso’, ‘risorgimento’, in *riquadro* ‘spazio quadro di parete o soffitto dipinto e talora delimitato da modanature in rilievo’ e in *ritoccare* ‘tornare su qualcosa per correggere, abbellire o cambiare’. Il

prefisso *s-* fa assumere il significato contrario alla parola cui è premesso come in *sproporzione* ‘la mancanza di proporzione’.

3.6 Il prefisso *sopra-/sovra-* indica che una cosa si trova sopra l'altra come in *sopracornice* ‘complesso delle modanature che formano la parte più aggettante della trabeazione’, in *sopraporta* ‘in senso lato è lo spazio sovrastante l'architrave di una porta e può essere aperto per facilitare l'illuminazione e l'aerazione di un ambiente interno, o chiuso, e in senso specifico è un ornamento scultoreo o pittorico, di forma per lo più rettangolare, che si colloca al di sopra dell'architrave o del fregio di una porta nell'interno degli edifici’, in *soprarco* ‘arco costruito su di un altro di solito a scopo ornamentale, ma anche per ragioni statiche’, in *sopravvolta*, sinonimo di *estradosso*, in senso specifico è la volta di copertura gettata superiormente ad un'altra volta sottostante a struttura leggera’ e in *sovrastuttura* ‘elemento o struttura o insieme di elementi, sovrapposti alle strutture originarie, portanti, di un edificio’.

3.7 Il prefisso *sotto-* con valore locale indica una cosa, un oggetto che si trovano collocati sotto ad altri, oppure indica una parte sottostante ad altra in *sottarco* ‘imbotte o intradosso’, in *sottocornice* ‘termine con cui si designa in modo generico l'insieme di elementi, modiglioni, mensole, mutuli, dentelli, posti tra gocciolatoio e fregio nelle cornici facenti parte di trabeazioni di ordini architettonici classici’, in *sottogola* che indica gola rovescia, le sottogole stanno sotto il dentello, o altri membri, in *sottogronda* ‘parte inferiore di una gronda o di un gocciolatoio, munita di un incavo che permette una più facile caduta dell'acqua e in *sottosquadro* ‘incavo scultoreo ad angolo acuto’.

3.2.1 *I parasintetici*

I parasintetici sono propri dei verbi; alla base vengono aggiunti simultaneamente il prefisso e il suffisso. La produttività dei verbi parasintetici è notevole.

Si distinguono alcuni sottogruppi:

3.2.1.1 Il tipo *a-* + Aggettivo/Nome + *-are/-ire*: *abbellire* ‘rendere più bello mediante ornamenti’, *accompagnare* ‘accompagnamento’, *accoppiare* ‘accoppiamento’, *accartocciare* ‘piegare a forma di cartoccio’, *annerire* ‘rendere nero’, ‘diventare nero’;

3.2.1.2 Il tipo *a-* + Nome + *-ico* (suffisso aggettivale): *aniconico* ‘che non permette immagini’, e nel linguaggio della critica d'arte significa ‘non figurativo’;

3.2.1.3 Il tipo *di-* + Aggettivo/Nome + *-are/-ire*: *digrossare* nel linguaggio degli artisti, in particolare degli scultori, indica il procedimento del togliere da un blocco o da una superficie le parti più grezze, *dirozzare* ‘rendere meno rozzo’;

3.2.1.4 Il tipo *in-* + Aggettivo/Nome + *-are/-ire*: *imbiancare* ‘azione di dare il bianco sui muri’, *impastare* ‘mescolare e diluire i colori sulla tavolozza’, *intarsiare* ‘lavorare ad intarsio’, *intelaiare* ‘mettere su un telaio’, *intrecciare* ‘unire in treccia’;

3.2.1.5 Il tipo *in-* + Nome + *-ato*: *impegnato*, participio passato del verbo parasintetico *impegnare*, si dice di intellettuale o movimento artistico e culturale che prende posizione sui problemi politici e sociali del momento;

3.2.1.6 Il tipo *s- estrattivo* + Aggettivo/Nome + *-are/-ire*: *scanalare* ‘incavare longitudinalmente legno, pietra, metallo’, *sgrossare* ‘togliere il superfluo a un materiale (per esempio marmo) per portarlo alla forma voluta’.

4 La composizione

I composti saranno divisi in due gruppi: i composti ottenuti con elementi non colti e i composti ottenuti con elementi dotti o colti.

4.1 *I composti ottenuti con elementi non colti*; si uniscono due nomi, un nome e un aggettivo, un verbo e un nome e formano un’unità lessicale più grande.

4.1.1 Il nome *rilievo* entra in composizione con gli aggettivi *alto*, *basso*, *mezzo*, *tutto* e forma i composti *altorilievo* ‘scultura a rilievo di cui alcune parti sono completamente staccate dal piano di fondo’, *bassorilievo* ‘scultura a rilievo, di vario spessore, di cui nessuna parte sia staccata dal piano di fondo’, *mezzo rilievo* indica la raffigurazione plastica emergente per metà, rispetto al piano di fondo di un rilievo²¹, e *tutto rilievo* si riferisce alla scultura scolpita a tutto tondo, cioè rilevata pienamente, ma che è relativa, si sviluppa, rispetto ad un fondo, in base a una veduta principale’.

4.1.2 Il nome *capo* entra in composizione con i nomi *croce*, *lavoro*, *lettera*, *maestro* e *scuola* e forma i composti *capocroce* che indica la parte terminale di una chiesa, che si estende oltre il transetto, con varietà di pianta (quadrata, circolare, poligonale), *capolavoro* che indica l’opera considerata migliore di un artista²², *capolettera* che si riferisce all’iniziale decorata e spesso figurata, in uso soprattutto nei codici miniati, *capomaestro* o *capomastro* che si riferisce al capo di una maestranza specializzata²³ e *caposcuola* che indica chi, nelle arti, nelle lettere e nella scienza, è a capo di una nuova scuola o corrente.

4.1.3 Da due aggettivi *chiaro* e *scuro* si forma il nome *chiaroscuro* che indica il rapporto tra zone chiare e scure in una composizione artistica²⁴; dall’imperativo di *correre* e dall’avverbio *dietro* si forma il nome *corridietro* che indica motivo ornamentale a linea continua, costituito dall’iterazione d’uno schema fisso, indicato anche come ‘cane corrente’; il nome composto *madreperla* si riferisce alla parte interna di conchiglie bivalvi e in particolare delle ostriche perlifere²⁵; il nome composto *marcapiano* si riferisce alla striscia o leggera cornice che all’esterno di una casa segna il livello dei vari piani.

²¹ Nella terminologia della scultura l’espressione *mezzo rilievo* è inscindibile dai concetti *bassorilievo*, *altorilievo*, *tutto tondo*, e si pone come proposta »intermedia« nell’ideazione e realizzazione della »veduta« ottenuta dall’artista »rilevando«, tramite il modellato.

²² Il concetto di *capolavoro* non è soltanto relativo al corpus autografo di un determinato maestro, ma può anche significare una o più opere d’arte eccelse, dovute a una o più personalità anonime, in senso assoluto.

²³ Nel Medioevo la figura del *capomaestro* si identifica con quella dell’architetto e dall’età rinascimentale diviene l’esecutore di quanto ideato e progettato dall’architetto.

²⁴ Il *chiaroscuro* è specialmente sfruttato per gli effetti di rilievo nella pittura e in particolare nel disegno monocromo, dove il chiaroscuro è reso a tratteggio o a sfumato.

²⁵ Per la colorazione e per la resistenza della materia è stata variamente utilizzata per far bellissimi ornamenti di grotte, di pavimenti, mosaici, tarsie, bassirilievi e anche di figurette tonde.

4.1.4 L'aggettivo *mezzo* e i nomi *busto*, *distanza*, *figura*, *maiolica* e *tondo* formano i composti *mezzo busto* 'rappresentazione della figura umana simile al busto ma tagliata poco sotto le spalle', *mezza distanza* 'in una pittura di paesaggio è il piano immediatamente successivo al primo', è più frequente nella lingua inglese (*middle distance*), *mezza figura* che si riferisce al genere, o taglio compositivo in cui l'immagine di una persona appare dipinta o scolpita a metà²⁶, *mezza maiolica* che indica oggetto in argilla rossa ricoperta da ingobbio e spesso decorata con incisioni a graffito, *mezzotondo* che si riferisce alla scultura che, pur essendo scolpita a tutto tondo, appare dimezzata nell'effetto visivo del *tutto rilievo*, e *tutto tondo*, sinonimo di tutto rilievo.

4.1.5 Il verbo *parare* e il nome *petto* formano il composto *parapetto* 'riparo di varia altezza ai bordi di terrazzi, balconi, ponti'; *puntasecca* indica lo strumento fornito di punta metallica di acciaio molto sottile e assai dura, adatta per incidere lastre di rame e di zinco; *tagliapietre* è sinonimo di lapiçida o scalpellino; *terracotta/terra cotta* indica i prodotti ottenuti dalla essiccazione al sole o più comunemente dalla cottura in forno ad alta temperatura dell'argilla, precedentemente modellata.

4.2 *I composti ottenuti con elementi colti o dotti*; i prefissoidi e i suffissoidi, che i dizionari chiamano elementi di composizione, si uniscono con elementi indigeni, cioè con morfemi lessicali liberi o non legati, in altri termini con parole italiane, o si uniscono tra di loro. Si hanno i composti con un elemento colto e un elemento indigeno: *autoritratto*, *fotoincisione*, con due elementi colti: *oleografia*, *monocromia*, con tre elementi colti: *cromolitografia*.

4.2.1 *I prefissoidi*; la formazione delle parole mediante prefissoidi è notevole.

4.2.1.2. *Aero-* che significa 'in rapporto con l'aeromobile' forma il composto *aeropittura* che indica genere di pittura futurista che si è sviluppato negli anni Trenta e che traduce in forme più o meno astratte l'esperienza aviatoria.

4.2.1.3 *Agio-* che significa 'santo' si trova in *agiografia* 'scienza che si occupa della vita e delle leggende dei santi', in *agiografico* 'relativo all'agiografia', in *agiologia* 'studio critico dei documenti della vita e dei miracoli dei santi', in *agiologico* 'relativo all'agiologia' e in *agiologo* 'studioso di agiologia'.

4.2.1.4 *Anti-* che significa 'contro', 'avversione', 'antagonismo', 'capacità o disposizione a contrastare, a impedire' forma i composti *antibarocco* 'atteggiamento o situazione stilistica antitetica al barocco', *anticlassico* 'reazione più o meno consapevole alla tradizione di un gusto o di modelli che si definiscono classici', *antirazionale* 'che si oppone alla ragione', *antirinascimento* si riferisce agli aspetti discosti del classicismo rinascimentale, le componenti più realistiche, capricciose, fantastiche del rinascimento; il prefissoide *archi-* significa 'primo' o 'capo' e in *architrave* indica trave principale e elemento architettonico decorativo costituito da un corpo parallelepipedo disposto orizzontalmente e retto da piedritti.

²⁶ Si tratta spesso di un ritratto che, rappresentando metà della figura o persona, si distingue dalla forma, o dimensione del cosiddetto busto; ma la distinzione tra *mezza figura* e *busto* non è sempre precisa.

4.2.1.5 *Auto-* significa ‘di sé stesso’, da sé e forma il nome *autoritratto* che indica il ritratto che l’artista fa di sé medesimo, in genere giovandosi della riflessione della propria figura in uno o più specchi, e il nome *autocritica* che indica il comportamento riflessivo dell’artista intorno alla propria opera; il prefissoide *bi-* significa ‘due’, ‘due volte’, ‘composto di due’, ‘doppio’, in *bidimensionale* indica un modo di rappresentare a due dimensioni, secondo l’altezza e la larghezza e in *bilobato* significa ‘che è costituito da due lobi’.

4.2.1.6 Il prefissoide *cosmo-* ‘universo’ in *cosmologia* indica i rapporti tra cosmo e forme artistiche operanti in tutte le civiltà²⁷. Il prefissoide *cromo-* che significa ‘colore’, ‘colorazione’ in *cromatografia* indica metodo di analisi del colore, basato su un processo di separazione dei suoi componenti chimici, usato quale indagine di laboratorio nell’esame di opere pittoriche. *Gipso-* che significa ‘gesso’ in *gipsoteca* indica raccolta di gessi di statue antiche, organizzata per fini didattici o documentari. Il prefissoide *glitto-/glipto-* che significa ‘intaglio’, ‘incisione’ in *gliptoteca/glittoteca* indica raccolta o collezione di gemme incise e per estensione può indicare anche una collezione di scultura antica.

4.2.1.7 Il prefissoide *icono-* ‘ritratto’, ‘immagine’, ‘immagine sacra’, lo troviamo in *iconografia* che si riferisce alle immagini intese secondo il loro significato storico-contenutistico ed ha per oggetto la classificazione, la descrizione e la interpretazione dei temi figurati; in *iconologia* indica lo studio dei significati simbolici, emblematici, allegorici, metaforici e ideologici delle immagini; in *iconoteca* indica la raccolta di icone o luogo in cui tale raccolta è collocata. Il prefissoide *ideo-* ‘idea’, ‘che si riferisce all’idea’ forma il nome *ideografia* che rappresenta concetti tramite segni grafici.

4.2.1.8 *Iper-* significa ‘sopra’, ‘oltre’ o indica quantità o grado superiore al normale o eccessivo e forma il nome *iperrealismo* ‘movimento pittorico sorto negli Stati Uniti all’inizio degli anni Settanta che tende a rappresentare la realtà in modo fortemente mimetico, spesso con effetti vicini alla fotografia’; con *iper-* si formano anche il nome *iperrealista* e l’aggettivo *iperrealistico*. *Mono-* significa ‘uno’, ‘uno solo’, ‘costituito da uno solo’ e in *monocromatico* significa ‘di un solo colore’, in *mococromato* si riferisce alla pittura a un solo colore, variamente graduato, in uso specialmente per fingere effetti di rilievo scultoreo.

4.2.1.9 *Neo-* ‘nuovo’, ‘recente’, ‘moderno’ in *neoavanguardia* indica denominazione di correnti artistiche e letterarie contemporanee che si sono sviluppate negli anni Sessanta del Novecento, in *neobarocco* indica stile che riprende modi e forme dell’età barocca, spec. con riferimento all’architettura della seconda metà dell’Ottocento, in *neocinquecentismo* significa ‘rinascita delle maniere di alcuni grandi maestri di pittura del Cinquecento soprattutto in riferimento al Caravaggio, a Tiziano, a Tintoretto, Raffaello e Michelangelo’, in *neorealismo* si riferisce al movimento artistico contemporaneo italiano nato nell’immediato secondo dopoguerra che nelle arti visive si manifesta con un ritorno al figurale e contenuti di carattere politico-sociale.

²⁷ Tali rapporti si realizzano attraverso particolari forme architettoniche ed urbanistiche e attraverso una varia tematica iconografica, nelle quali hanno evidente risalto forme simboliche ed allusive.

4.2.1.10 Il prefissoide *oleo-* significa ‘olio’, ‘sostanza grassa’ in *oleografia* ‘riproduzione litografica di un dipinto con colori ad olio’. *Paleo-* ‘antico’ fa riferimento a una fase antica, originaria in *paleocristiano* ‘relativo al cristianesimo antico, dei primi secoli’; *piro-* ‘fuoco’, ‘calore’, ‘combustione’ in *pirografia* indica tecnica d’incisione di pelli, cartone, legno e simili mediante punta di platino arroventata. Il prefissoide *poli-* indica molteplicità numerica o quantitativa in *policromia* ‘uso di tavolozza varia e differenziata, con stacchi vivaci di colore, o comunque effetto coloristico vario o vivace’ e in *polilobato* indica elemento decorativo fornito di più lobi.

4.2.1.11 *Proto-* che significa ‘primo’ in relazione al tempo o allo spazio in *protoclassicismo* e/o *protoneoclassicismo* si riferisce all’orientamento di stile che verso la metà del Settecento viene considerato un anticipo di accenti formali propriamente neoclassici, e in *protorinascimento* si riferisce all’ordine formalistico-specificativo che ricorre nelle manifestazioni artistiche esplicitamente in anticipo o sulle forme rinascimentali, soprattutto su quelle del Quattrocento.

4.2.1.12 *Pseudo-* che significa ‘falso’ o indica analogia esteriore, qualità apparente, semplice somiglianza o qualche affinità con quanto designato dal secondo componente, forma i nomi *pseudoarco* ‘struttura simile o uguale a quella di un arco’, *pseudocupola* ‘costruzione rotonda, coperta da una pseudocupola a filari concentrici’, e *pseudovolta* ‘copertura a forma di volta realizzata mediante il progressivo aggetto di filari di pietre’.

4.2.1.13 *Quadri-* significa ‘di quattro’, ‘che ha quattro’, ‘costituito di quattro’ in *quadrilobato* ‘elemento decorativo fornito di quattro lobi’, in *quadrilobo* ‘motivo ornamentale dell’architettura e della decorazione gotica, formato da quattro archi di cerchio inscritti in un quadrato’ e in *quadriportico* ‘portico che si sviluppa sui quattro lati di un cortile’.

4.2.1.14 *Semi-* significa ‘mezzo’, ‘a metà’, ‘parzialmente’, ‘quasi’ e forma *semicatino* che si riferisce alla cupola costituita da una mezza calotta sferica che ricopre l’abside di una chiesa, *semicerchio* che indica metà di un cerchio o mezzotondo e *semicolonna* che indica mezza colonna, colonna sporgente da una struttura muraria per parte della sua sezione; *semio-* significa ‘segno’ o indica relazione con i segni in *semiologia* ‘scienza dei significati dei segni’ e in *semiologo* ‘studioso di semiologia’.

4.2.1.15 Il prefissoide *stereo-* ‘solido’, ‘rigido’ forma *stereocromia* che indica tecnica di pittura su muro in cui i colori disciolti nell’acqua assieme ad un silicato hanno la proprietà di fissarsi senza altri interventi, è detta anche pittura minerale. Il prefissoide *tetra-* ‘quattro’, ‘formato di quattro’ forma il nome *tetracromatismo* che indica uso di quattro colori e il nome *tetracromatista* che si riferisce al pittore che adotta la legge del tetracromatismo. Il prefissoide *tri-* ‘tre’, ‘formato da tre’ forma l’aggettivo *trilobato* che significa ‘che ha tre lobi’.

4.2.2.1 *I suffissoidi*; le parole composte ottenute con suffissoidi sono numerose.

4.2.2.2 Il suffissoide *-cromia* significa ‘colorazione’ in *monocromia* ‘stampa o pittura con un solo colore’, in *quadricromia* ‘riproduzione fotomeccanica a colori ottenuta con quattro clichés di colori diversi’.

4.2.2.3 Il suffissoide *-fero* significa ‘che genera’, ‘che porta’, ‘che produce’ in

perlifero ‘che produce perle’; il suffissoide *-forme* significa ‘di forma’, ‘che ha forma’ in *cupoliforme* ‘che ha forma di cupola’, in *filiforme* ‘che ha forma di filo’, ‘che è lungo e sottile come filo’, in *nastriforme* ‘che ha forma di nastro’ e in *petaliforme* ‘che ha forma di petalo’.

4.2.2.4 Il suffissoide *-grafia* significa ‘scrittura’, ‘disegno’, ‘descrizione’, ‘studio’, ‘scritto’, in *museografia* ‘teoria e tecnica relativa alla costruzione, all’ordinamento e alla manutenzione dei musei’ e in *oleografia* ‘riproduzione litografica di un dipinto con colori ad olio’; *-grafo* significa ‘scrittura’ in *aerografo* ‘apparecchio per l’applicazione di vernici o colle a spruzzo’.

4.2.2.5 Il suffissoide *-logia* significa ‘teoria’, ‘trattazione’ in *agiologia* e *semiologia*. Il suffissoide *-logo* significa ‘studioso di una data disciplina’ in *agiologo* e *semiologo*. Il suffissoide *-teca* significa ‘raccolta’, ‘deposito’ in *gipsoteca*, *gliptoteca*, *glittoteca* e *iconoteca*.

5 Le unità lessicali superiori

Le unità lessicali superiori riguardano i lessemi complessi; è un tipo particolare di composti; sono unità composte di più elementi, gruppi di parole che formano unità di significato. Sono espressioni composte che si usano come un tutt’uno. Vanno distinti alcuni tipi di unità lessicali superiori:

5.1 Il tipo Nome + *prep* + Nome

5.1.1 Il tipo Nome + *di* + Nome

autonomia dell’arte, *bianco di S. Giovanni*, *campo d’oro*, *chiave dell’arco*, *critica d’arte*, *dente di cane*, *grappolo d’uva*, *idea della capanna*, *lavori di quadro*, *opere di quadro*, *maestro di legname*, *mutamento di stile*, *oggetto d’arte*, *opera d’arte*, *opera di bottega*, *opera di getto*, *pala dell’altare*, *piede dell’arco*, *pittori della realtà*, *pittura di cavaletto*, *pittura di genere*, *pittura di macchia*, *pittura di tocco*, *prova d’artista*, *fine dell’arte*, *punta d’argento*, *stile di transizione*.

5.1.2 Il tipo Nome + *a* + Nome

capitello a stampello, *chiesa a sala*, *conci a ventaglio*, *decorazione a nastro*, *disegno a ricalco*, *giardino all’inglese*, *giardino all’italiana*, *incisione a bulino*, *intaglio a cuneo*, *messa al sepolcro*, *pennacchio a cuffia*, *pilastrò a fascio*, *pittura a olio*, *stile a incrostazione*, *volta a botte*, *volta a carena*, *volta a crociera*, *volta a padiglione*, *volta a vela*, *volta ad anello*, *volta ad imbuto*.

5.1.3 Il tipo Nome + *altre prep* + Nome

bozza in modello, *campate in aria*.

5.2 Il tipo Nome + Nome

fondo oro, *stile reggenza*

5.3. Il tipo Nome + Aggettivo (o Aggettivo + Nome)

affresco scialbato, *arco moresco*, *arco polilobato*, *arco rampante*, *arco spezzato*, *arte applicata*, *arte bizantina*, *arte decorativa*, *arte greca*, *arte ebraica*, *arte egiziana*, *arte ellenica*, *arte fenice*, *arte fiamminga*, *arte francese*, *arte industriale*, *arte moderna*, *arte sacrale*, *arti minori*, *arti visive*, *basiliche gemine*, *capitello cubico*, *cappelle radiali*, *cappelle raggiate*, *catino absidale*, *colore locale*, *conca absidale*, *colonne*

binate, colori complementari, croce capitata, croce commissa, croce decussata, croce greca, croce immissa, croce latina, croce patibolata, disegno industriale, disegno scultoreo, finestra guelfa, ferro battuto, fonte battesimale, sacro fonte, mostra retrospettiva, natura morta, naturalismo astratto, pianta basilicale, pianta centrale, pianta accentrata, pietra tombale, pilastro cruciforme, pilastro polistilo, pittura gestuale, prospettiva aerea, quadro storico, rappresentazione iconica, strutture primarie, stile bizantino, stile dorico, stile egizio, stile fiorito, stile floreale, vernice molle, vetro soffiato, volta inerte, volta unghiata.

6 Conversione

La conversione è notevole. Alcuni termini propri del lessico artistico sono ottenuti propriamente con questo procedimento formativo che consiste nell'effettuare il passaggio di una parola da una parte del discorso a un'altra.

6.1. I participi presenti e passati sono diventati spesso in italiano dei sostantivi che esprimono termini appartenenti al lessico artistico, in particolare al lessico della pittura e della scultura; così il nome *colorito* indica il modo proprio di un pittore di colorire i dipinti, il *commesso* si riferisce al lavoro di congiunzione di frammenti o parti di materiale in una stesura liscia e continua; il *contenuto* indica argomento illustrativo, narrativo, allegorico dell'opera d'arte, in una parola il suo soggetto; la *corrente* artistica si riferisce all'atteggiamento stilistico e di gusto comune a gruppi di artisti non obbligatoriamente legati da precisi rapporti di studio e di cultura; il *dilettante* è chi pratica l'arte per scopi non professionali, e in senso dispregiativo indica chi pretende di esprimersi artisticamente per stimolo superficiale; il *dipinto* rappresenta l'opera pittorica, specie se mobile; l'*esperto*, studioso d'arte figurativa, o anche conoscitore, rilascia giudizi responsabili di carattere attributivo intorno all'opera che gli viene sottoposta; il *montante* indica elemento architettonico di sostegno di forma rettilinea e in posizione verticale; l'*inferriata* indica grata disposta per ragioni di sicurezza o a scopo decorativo ad una apertura (finestra o porta); il *ritratto* rappresenta la figura umana; il *saliente* si riferisce allo spiovente che segue il profilo di una navata sul prospetto di una chiesa e che pertanto dà luogo a una cimasa ad andamento interrotto; lo *sfondato* è un tipo di decorazione pittorica che apre illusoriamente pareti, volte, soffitti e cupole su visioni di spazi liberi; lo *sfumato* è un chiaroscuro estremamente sottile nel passaggio dalla luce all'ombra, morbido e ombroso; la *veduta* è un disegno, dipinto o un'incisione che riproduce un aspetto della realtà naturale, in particolare un ambiente di città, un complesso di edifici, un luogo panoramico.

7 Parole prese a prestito

Il lessico di una lingua si arricchisce di prestiti, adattati e non adattati; non vanno dimenticate le parole prese a prestito da altre lingue - prestiti e forestierismi o esotismi, parole adattate alla fonologia e alla morfologia dell'italiano e quelle non adattate alla fonologia e alla morfologia dell'italiano.

Una lingua attinge a un'altra lingua per ragioni politiche, culturali, sociali, economiche; la supremazia artistica e culturale della Francia nel Settecento ha fatto sì che la

lingua italiana attingesse alla lingua francese molti termini relativi alle arti; e nel Novecento e oggi ciò accade per la lingua inglese, il cui prestigio linguistico e sociale è grandissimo. L'italiano accoglie con facilità le parole straniere e in particolare le parole del francese e dell'angloamericano. I francesismi, gli anglicismi e gli americanismi non adattati alla morfofonologia dell'italiano sono numerosi.

7.1 *I francesismi; l'assemblaggio*, prestito adattato imprestato dal francese *assemblage*, indica un'opera artistica costituita da un insieme di oggetti reali, scelti per lo più tra quelli di uso quotidiano, tipica del pop art; *atelier* indica l'ambiente dove l'artista lavorava insieme con i discepoli o apprendisti e si usa anche per designare il gruppo di collaboratori che lavorano alle dipendenze di un maestro; *avancorpo*, dal francese *avant-corps*, indica la parte architettonica aggettante, e in senso lato tutto ciò che in un edificio sporge dal corpo principale; *avanguardia*, dal francese *avant-garde*, si riferisce al movimento artistico e letterario caratterizzato da atteggiamenti polemici ed innovatori nei confronti della tradizione; *collage*, termine francese, designa la tecnica pittorica che si avvale di materiali diversi, e in particolar modo di strisce di carta, applicati sul supporto con effetto di intarsio piatto o di rilievo.

7.1.1 Tra i francesismi troviamo molti nomi in *-ismo* che indicano correnti e tendenze artistiche: *cubismo*, dal francese *cubisme*, indica il primo e più importante tra i movimenti artistici d'avanguardia; *dadaismo*, dal francese *dadaïsme*, si riferisce al movimento artistico e letterario d'avanguardia sorto nel 1916 a Zurigo, con intenti provocatori antirazionalisti, su un atteggiamento di base nichilista; *decadentismo*, dal francese *décadentisme*, si riferisce alla corrente artistica europea della fine dell'Ottocento e dei primi decenni del Novecento, caratterizzata da un acuto senso dell'individuale, del subconscio e dell'ignoto e dall'esigenza di creazioni e linguaggio assolutamente nuovi e suggestivi; *espressionismo*, dal francese *expressionnisme*, tendeva a manifestare nell'arte il mondo interiore dei sentimenti, deformando fino alla più violenta esasperazione i dati del reale; *fauvismo*, dal francese *fauvisme*, si riferisce al movimento pittorico sorto in Francia intorno al 1905 come sviluppo in senso astratto delle premesse coloristiche dell'impressionismo; *illusionismo*, dal francese *illusionnisme*, consiste nel far apparire come reali illusioni ottiche e sensorie in genere; *impressionismo*, dal francese *impressionnisme*, si riferisce al movimento che si è affermato nelle arti figurative della seconda metà dell'Ottocento come ricerca del vero mediante la trascrizione sintetica delle impressioni, ottenuta con varie tecniche; *manierismo*, dal francese *maniérisme*, si riferisce alla corrente artistica del tardo Rinascimento che tende all'imitazione esasperata di Michelangelo e Raffaello; *neodada* o *neodadaismo*, dal francese *néodada* e dall'inglese *new dadaism*, indica un particolare aspetto del pop art che si avvale di montaggi di oggetti comuni, specie se deteriorati, di rifiuti e simili, come rappresentazione polemica della civiltà dei consumi; *puntinismo*, dal francese *pointillisme*, si riferisce al procedimento di tecnica pittorica e al movimento artistico per i quali più comunemente si adoperano divisionismo e neoimpressionismo; *simbolismo*, calco traduzione sul francese *symbolisme*, indica l'impegno di simboli all'interno di un'esigenza espressiva; *surrealismo*, dal francese *surréalisme*, si riferisce al movimento artistico caratterizzato dalla negazione degli strumenti espressivi tradizionale della ragione; e *tachisme*, parola francese

italianizzata talvolta in *tachismo*, adattamento di *tachisme*, indica tecnica a macchia.

7.1.2 Tra i francesismi troviamo molti nomi in *-ista*: *colorista*, dal francese *coloriste*, ‘pittore, artista seguace del colorismo’, *cubista*, dal francese *cubiste*, ‘del cubismo’, ‘artista che segue il cubismo’, *espressionista*, dal francese *expressionniste*, ‘esponente, seguace dell’espressionismo’, *impressionista*, dal francese *impressionniste*, ‘seguace dell’impressionismo’, *manierista*, dal francese *maniériste*, ‘seguace del manierismo’, *surrealista*, dal francese *surréaliste*, ‘seguace o esponente del surrealismo’, *tachista*, dal francese *tachiste*, ‘chi dipinge con la tecnica del tachisme’.

7.1.3 Tra altri francesismi menzioniamo *dettaglio*, dal francese *détail*, che nell’uso corrente è sinonimo di particolare; *expertise* ‘perizia, autentica, dichiarazione di un esperto sull’attribuzione di un’opera d’arte’; *fiorista*, dal francese *fleuriste*, significa ‘fioraio’, ‘frutticoltore’, ma anche ‘pittore di fiori’; *flamboyant*, participio presente di *flamboyer*²⁸, significa ‘fiammeggiante’; *frottage*, dal francese *frotter*, indica disegno a ricalco ottenuto per sfregamento; *grisaille*, dal francese *gris*, indica pittura monocroma in diverse tonalità di grigio; indica anche vetrata a chiaro-scuro; *grisaglia* è adattamento del francese *grisaille*; *manichino*, dal francese *mannequin*, indica fantoccio usato come modello da pittori e scultori; *naïf*, dal latino *nativus*, significa ‘ingenuo’, ‘semplice’ ‘popolare’²⁹; *parchettatura*, dal francese *parquet*, è un termine proprio della tecnica del restauro; *piattabanda*, calco traduzione sul francese *plate-bande*, banda piatta, indica raccordo architettonico orizzontale, che si configura come un architrave, ma è costituito da un sistema di concii a ventaglio; *piedritto*, calco traduzione sul francese *pied-droit*, indica sostegno verticale sotto un arco, una volta o un architrave; *silhouette* (dal nome del finanziere Etienne de Silhouette) indica disegno piatto a contorno netto e colore pieno unito; *trouvaille*, propriamente ‘trovata’, è una parola francese con la quale nel linguaggio delle arti, e in particolare nel gergo dei mercanti d’arte, si indica la scoperta di un’opera di grande valore.

7.2 *Espressioni francesi*; le espressioni francesi si riferiscono principalmente a nuovi movimenti artistici, a nuovi stili o a particolari generi di pittura: *art autre* esprime il diverso, il non-naturalistico, il non-figurativo, è un particolare aspetto dell’informale del Novecento; *art brut* è una particolare declinazione di arte primitiva o spontanea³⁰; *art nouveau* si riferisce al movimento artistico sorto in Belgio e in Francia nell’ultimo decennio dell’Ottocento³¹.

7.2.1 *Art pour l’art* significa ‘arte per l’arte’³²; *art déco* è accorciamento di *art décoratif*³³.

²⁸ L’espressione *Gotico flamboyant* si riferisce alla fase matura dell’architettura gotica, con speciale localizzazione tra Francia e paesi tedeschi, caratterizzata da forme decorative a ritmo ascendente e fiammiformi.

²⁹ Il termine si riferisce ad artisti spontanei, autodidatti, di intonazione espressiva fanciullesca o primitiveggianti, e in particolare al gruppo identificabile come tale nei primi decenni del Novecento.

³⁰ Come è l’aspetto recente di atteggiamento »naïf«, vale per »arte rozza«. Con il termine *art brut* si voleva indicare l’arte spontanea propria ai bambini, agli alienati, ai maniaci, ai carcerati, ai »non professionisti«.

³¹ Aveva per scopo la sostituzione delle formule eclettiche tradizionali con formule figurative originali e autonome, e l’estensione del principio della bellezza agli oggetti di destinazione pratica e d’uso corrente.

³² L’espressione nacque in Francia e fu adoperata per indicare la volontà di negare all’Arte ogni fine utilitario e ogni rapporto con la vita pratica e sociale.

³³ Si riferisce ad uno stile ed a un gusto che si è affermato nell’Europa occidentale nel decennio 1920-1930; il »déco« si rialaccia alle proposte dell’Art nouveau.

Groupe Espace è un gruppo di astrattisti che si è costituito a Parigi nel 1951, e nel 1955 si è fuso con gli artisti del MAC; il forestierismo *trompe-l'oeil* 'inganna l'occhio', indica un genere di pittura, più particolarmente di natura morta, eseguita secondo precise regole della prospettiva lineare che, con un'accorta disposizione di luci ed ombre, rende al massimo il senso del rilievo, così da dare allo spettatore un'illusione di realtà.

7.2.2 Inoltre vanno menzionati i forestierismi *papier collé* 'collage' 'tecnica pittorica che si avvale di materiali diversi, e in particolare modo di strisce di carta, applicati sul supporto con effetto di intarsio piatto o di rilievo', *papier gaufré* 'tipo di carta stampata a rilievo per impressione su foglio umido' e *papier peint* 'carta da parati variamente dipinta (specialmente a fiori e uccelli) assai in uso nell'arredamento ottocentesco'.

7.3 *Anglicismi e americanismi*; il forestierismo *dripping*, procedimento di versare o 'gocciolare' i colori sulla tela, disposta per terra, direttamente dal tubo o dal barattolo abolendo la tradizionale stesura col pennello è un espediente tecnico che rifiuta l'uso del pennello per la stesura dei colori in un dipinto; *grattacielo*, calco traduzione sull'angloamericano *skyscraper*, indica l'edificio altissimo a molti piani.

7.3.1 Il forestierismo *happening*, letteralmente 'avvenimento' indica il genere artistico basato sull'estemporaneità di azioni di tipo teatrale, mimico, pittorico, musicale e così via³⁴; il termine inglese *liberty* si è diffuso in Italia tra il XIX e il XX secolo ad indicare l'art nouveau e movimenti affini; il forestierismo *performance* designa dal 1970 circa un particolare tipo di intervento artistico basato sulla capacità di «dare spettacolo» con capacità e bravura³⁵.

7.3.2 Il prestito adattato *Postmoderno* o *post-moderno*, calco traduzione sull'inglese *post-modern*, indica il gusto e lo stile dell'arte contemporanea, soprattutto dell'architettura, derivati dalla crisi del movimento moderno e del razionalismo, e caratterizzati dalla libera ripresa di elementi classici; *revival* significa 'rinascita', 'risveglio'.

7.4 *Espressioni inglesi*; *action painting*, propriamente 'pittura di azione', indica il movimento pittorico informale astratto, sorto negli Stati Uniti d'America dopo la seconda guerra mondiale, che esalta il gesto di dipingere in quanto estensione dell'esperienza dell'artista; *arts and crafts* indica il movimento sorto in Inghilterra nell'Ottocento, con intento di promuovere un artigianato di alto livello qualitativo; *body art* 'arte del corpo' si riferisce al movimento e al fenomeno artistico degli anni Sessanta-Settanta che utilizza il corpo umano come strumento espressivo.

7.4.1 *computer art*, espressione entrata nell'uso intorno agli anni 1965-66, indica il complesso delle esperienze che basano la realizzazione dell'opera d'arte sull'uso del computer; *videoarte*, adattamento dell'inglese *videoart* o *video art*, indica un

³⁴ Indica una forma d'arte, intesa non come oggetto di contemplazione, ma come un'azione in svolgimento, che coinvolga, in forme impreviste ed improvvisate, lo spettatore.

³⁵ Il forestierismo *performance* è in rapporto con l'*happening*, ma a differenza di quest'ultima forma espressiva, nella quale è frequente una partecipazione collettiva, comporta per lo più il coinvolgimento di un singolo performer.

complesso fenomeno di creatività e sperimentazione espressive con il mezzo televisivo, la varia strumentazione elettronica, le utilizzazioni del computer; *conversation piece* 'quadro di conversazione', indica il soggetto iconografico che rappresenta un gruppo di persone in atto di conversare familiarmente.

7.4.2 *industrial art*, *industrial design* consiste nell'ideazione formale degli oggetti d'uso di produzione industriale; *mail art* 'arte postale', movimento sorto negli anni Settanta, si serve della posta per diffondere opere, dando importanza non tanto al contenuto del messaggio, quanto all'atto del comunicare; *minimal art* 'arte povera', 'arte elementare' propone l'oggetto come nuda concretezza con rifiuto di ogni suo aspetto propriamente estetico; *modern style* rappresenta la prima fase dell'*art nouveau*; *new-dada* è un particolare aspetto del *pop art* che si avvale di montaggi di oggetti comuni, di rifiuti e simili, come rappresentazione polemica della civiltà dei consumi.

7.4.3 *op art*, accorciamento di *optical art*, termine in uso dal 1964 per intendere l'espressione artistica che sfrutti particolarmente effetti ottici di varia natura, cinetici o no, con diversi mezzi, compreso l'intervento di azione meccanica sul prodotto artistico stesso; *pop art*, accorciamento di *popular art*, corrente artistica che si è definita nei paesi anglo-sassoni verso il 1960, si avvale dei simboli attuali della comunicazione visiva e della cultura di massa, specialmente delle immagini pubblicitarie; *topological art* è una particolare espressione figurativa basata su figure di eccezionali dimensioni.

8 Sigle e abbreviazioni

L'italiano forma con facilità le sigle e le abbreviazioni. Mediante le lettere iniziali di una o più parole usate convenzionalmente al posto della denominazione per esteso si coniano le sigle. Si usano di frequente anche per la loro brevità. Si hanno le sigle dei dizionari e delle enciclopedie dell'arte che raccolgono la terminologia artistica, e in particolare il lessico delle arti: il lessico della pittura, il lessico della scultura e il lessico dell'architettura, poi si hanno le sigle delle associazioni artistiche, dei movimenti artistici e culturali, delle gallerie d'arte: ADI - *Associazione per il Disegno Industriale*; CNR - *Consiglio Nazionale per le Ricerche*; CNUCE - *Centro Nazionale di Calcolo Elettronico*; DA - *Dizionario d'Antiquariato*; DAMS - *Discipline delle Arti, della Musica e dello Spettacolo - corso di laurea della Facoltà di lettere*; DAU - *Dizionario enciclopedico di Architettura e Urbanistica*; DPP - *Dizionario della Pittura e dei Pittori*; DCA - *Dizionario della Critica d'Arte*; DEI - *Dizionario Etimologico Italiano - Dizionario Enciclopedico Italiano*; DELI - *Dizionario Etimologico della Lingua Italiana*; DOP - *Dizionario di Ortografia e Pronuncia*; DSE - *Dipartimento Scienza ed Educazione*; EAA - *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica classica e orientale*; EC - *Enciclopedia Cattolica*; EGA - *Enciclopedia Garzanti dell'Arte*; EUA - *Enciclopedia Universale dell'arte*; FIMA - *Federazione Italiana Mercanti d'Arte*; GDLI - *Grande Dizionario della Lingua Italiana*; GNAM - *Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna*; IBACN - *Istituto Beni Artistici Culturali Nazionali*; MAC - *Movimento per l'Arte Concreta*; OP ART - abbreviazione di »*Optical-art*«; POP ART - abbreviazione di »*Popular-art*«; UTET - *Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese*.

9 Conclusione

Il lessico della pittura, della scultura e dell'architettura è ricco e innovativo, si rinnova sempre. La suffissazione è propria del lessico della pittura, della scultura e dell'architettura; prevalgono i suffissi nominali *-ata*, *-ismo*, *-ista*, *-mento*, *-tura*, *-zione*, il suffisso *zero* e in particolare i suffissi alterativi *-ello*, *-etto*, *-ino* e *-one* che indicano elementi decorativi architettonici, motivi ornamentali architettonici e oggetti ornamentali di piccole dimensioni, di varia materia e destinazione; sono presenti i suffissi aggettivali *-ale*, *-ista*, *-istico* che formano aggettivi di relazione. La produttività dei verbi parasintetici è notevole. La composizione delle parole è propria del lessico della pittura, della scultura e dell'architettura che abbonda di parole composte che appartengono al linguaggio scientifico; sono composti formati mediante elementi formativi colti, detti anche prefissoidi e suffissoidi; prevalgono di gran lunga i prefissoidi e i suffissoidi di origine greca: *agio-*, *anti-*, *archi-*, *auto-*, *cosmo-*, *cromato-*, *-cromia*, *gipso-*, *glitto-/glipto-*, *-grafia*, *-grafo*, *icono-*, *iper-*, *-logia*, *-logo*, *mono-*, *neo-*, *paleo-*, *piro-*, *poli-*, *proto-*, *pseudo-*, *semio-*, *stereo-*, *-teca*, *-tipia*, *tetra-*; pochi sono di origine latina: *bi-*, *-fero*, *-forme*, *oleo-*, *quadri-*, *semi-*.

Il lessico della pittura, della scultura e dell'architettura forma facilmente le unità lessicali superiori, composte di più elementi che formano unità di significato, forma facilmente le sigle e le abbreviazioni e accoglie facilmente le parole straniere e in particolare i francesismi, gli anglicismi e gli americanismi; l'accoglimento di forestierismi non adattati alla morfofonologia dell'italiano è notevole.

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Prispevek obravnava terminologijo umetniških dejavnosti, še posebej besedje slikarstva, kiparstva in arhitekture. Ukvarja se z besedotvorbom v sodobni italijanščini in tehta postopke tvorbe s pomočjo predpon, pripon in tudi skladnje. Temeljna naloga tvorbenih postopkov je v tem, da se jezik bogati, da ustvarja nove leksikalne enote, kar je poleg prevzemanja tujih leksikalnih prvin najpomembnejši vir jezikovnega bogatenja.

Jezik slikarstva, kiparstva in arhitekture je bogat, inovativen, poleg tega doživlja stalno obnavljanje. Za samostalnike so zelo pogostne pripone *-ata*, *-ismo*, *-ista*, *-mento*, *-tura*, *-zione*, tudi ničta pripona, razen tega pa manjšalnice *-ello*, *-etto*, *-ino*, v nasprotnem pomenu pa npr. *-one*. Te se pojavljajo kot prvine motivov, zlasti v stavbarstvu za okrasne elemente manjših dimenzij. Dokaj pogostna je raba pridevniških pripon *-ate*, *-ista*, *-istico*. Ugotavljamo tudi produktivnost parasintetične tvorbe.

Skladenjska tvorba je značilnost slikarskega, kiparskega in stavbarskega besedja. Za tehnično terminologijo je neogibna raba učenih besednih tvorb s pomočjo grških in latinskih včasih samo navideznih predpon in pripon. Grščina se zdi v teh postopkih prevladujoča: *agio-*, *anti-*, *archi-*, *auto-*, *cosmo-*, *cromato-*, *cromia-*, *gipso-*, *glino-/glipto-*, *grafia-*, *grafo*, *icono-*, *iper-*, *-logia*, *-logo*, *mono-*, *neo-*, *paleo-*, *piro-*, *poli-*, *proto-*, *pseudo-*, *semio-*, *stereo-*, *-teca*, *-tipia*, *tetra-*; manj jih je latinskega vira: *bi-*, *-fero*, *-forme*, *oleo-*, *quadri-*, *semi-*.

Besedje slikarstva, kiparstva in arhitekture brez težav tvori tudi obsežnejše leksikalne enote (*unità lessicali superiori*), enako lahko pa tudi sigle in okrajšave in se bogati s prevzemanjem izrazov iz drugih jezikov.

EARLY CELTICITY IN SLOVENIA AND AT RHAETIC MAGRÈ (SCHIO)

From the area around lakes Maggiore and Como in the west clear across the northern alpine crest of the Italian peninsula to the Balkans (albeit primarily in Slovenia) in the east we find the following varieties of early Continental Celtic: *Golaseccan* /*Lepontic* (with highly archaic features by virtue of dramatically early attestation, ca. 550-350 BC); *Camunic* (meagerly recorded, etymologically opaque, but, if anything, probably mainly Celtic) in Valcamonica north of Lago d'Iseo, also beginning about 550 BC; *Rhaeto-Celtic* (also but fragmentarily recorded, ca. 450-40 BC) from various sites such as Vadenà (Pfatten) south of Bolzano (Bozen) in the Fritzens Sanseno and Magrè Horizons; *Carnian* (northward from Udine, evidenced chiefly by onomastics, e.g. present-day *Cadore* < **Catubrigum* 'battle-mount') and *East Celtic* in southwestern Austria and the Balkans (again but fragmentarily retrievable from, for example, Magdalensberg and the onomastics retrievable from Roman necropoli such as that at Ig south of the Ljubljana marshes; see Hamp [1976, 1978]).

Although not generally recognized as such by Celticists, a carpenter's chance find in November of 1912 of what became known as the Magrè staghorn votives remains the single most dramatic heuristic event for mapping early Celticity in northeastern Italy; cf. Solinas (1992-1994), who omits Magrè from her otherwise exhaustive survey of Celtic materials.

The initial discovery of these Rhaetic votives was made below the Collina del Castello (acropolis) escarpment at Magrè, a town in the Leogra Valley near Schio in the Veneto, some twenty miles northwest of Vicenza. Previously, however, Vicenza and its environs had been portrayed archaeologically as Venetic, rather than Rhaetic; see Pellegrini and Prosdocimi (1967:1.380-381). The Magrè find thus proved surprising in every way, and it soon became known to two prominent local authorities, Giuseppe Pellegrini (1866-1918) and Alfonso Alfonsi (? – 1922). *Pellegrini was a distinguished archaeologist and an accomplished art historian who had been active at Etruscan Pitigliano at the end of the 19th century. This native of the Marche had, moreover, been a research assistant at the archaeological museums of Bologna, Florence, Naples and Ancona before obtaining a professorship and museum*

¹ While Whatmough's (1921:245) comment that Pellegrini "... died of fatigue during the war ..." may strike the casual reader as an authentic crumb of sophisticated insider information, this is actually but one in a series of infelicities in his Magrè report. During the summer and autumn of 1918, Giuseppe Pellegrini was, in fact, working in the museum at Este and supervising the excavation of a Bronze Age lake dwelling site at Palude di Feniletto near Padua. It was there that he contracted typhoid fever, from which he died on December 2nd, 1918. We are grateful to Bolzano's Lorenzo Dal Ri, who introduced the author to the region's archaeology in

directorship at Padua in 1907; see Pellegrini (1914).¹ At the time of the discovery, Alfonso Alfonsi was acting curator of the National Museum in Este (Museo Nazionale Atestino) and *de facto* successor of the pioneering archaeologist Alessandro Prosdocimi (1843-1911). Alfonsi had conducted numerous excavations throughout il Veneto. Pellegrini and Alfonsi quickly collaborated to conduct a more systematic investigation of the Magrè site. Eventually, a total of twenty-two staghorn votives with well-defined and professionally authenticated provenance histories made their way from Magrè to the National Museum in Este (Inv. Nos. 58808-58817, 58819 are still recorded), where they presumably remain yet today.

Conversely, however, in *The Prae-Italic Dialects of Italy* (PID) Whatmough (1933:33-48) presented the Magrè votives as if they were twenty-three items, numbered 221 through 243, but items 222 and 230 are actually three fragments of the same horn: PID 222][230 RITANMELKA][TURIEPU (with *nm* as a probable scribal inversion of a *difficilior mn*) = *Ritamnel Katuriepu* for **Reitiamnel Catu-ritos / -retos* = N (dedicatory Etruscoid Genitive II) + N (Rhaeticization of a Celtic nominative: *Catu-ritos / -retos*); cf. RITAMNE in PID 221 and see the research concordance in Table 1 and our discussion below.

The twenty-two Magrè votives conserved at Este were inscribed in a North Etruscan alphabet and were presumably dedicated, so the majority of scholars now believe, primarily to Reitia (probably a Veneticization of *ρηθειςσα* [dialectal *πειθειςσα*] nominative singular feminine of the aorist passive participle of *εἰρω* ‘to say, to tell, typically through a divine intermediary’, medio-passive ‘to ask’; derivationally and functionally akin to *Ilithyia* = Juno Lucina, who, like Reitia, presided over the travails of women, from *εληλυθι* to *έρχομαι* ‘to come’). For discussions of Reitia, the Venetic Artemis (Orthia) or Athena who was possibly represented in plastic art only on Venetic coins (cf. similarly the role of coins in the veneration of Juno Lucina), as the primary recipient of the Magrè votives and on Magrè as a possible sister foundation of the women’s Baratella sanctuary-scriptorium at Venetic Este, see Kretschmer (1949), Mastrocinque (1987:97-128), Pascal (1964:113-114) and Whatmough (1922).

The first publication of the Magrè find was prepared by Giuseppe Pellegrini as a survey that appeared posthumously in 1918, a work that many authorities, such as Alberto Mancini (1973:365), still consider a remarkable piece of analysis. On March 31st, 1922, just two months after the death of Este’s Alfonso Alfonsi and nearly a decade after the initial find, Joshua Whatmough (1897-1964), then barely twenty-five, read the Magrè inscriptions at Este; see Whatmough (1921, 1923, 1933:33-48). Whatmough autopsied the Magrè inscriptions at the request of his mentor, the University of Manchester’s Robert Seymour Conway (1864-1933), with whom he

the autumn of 1998, for kindly supplying biographical information on Pellegrini, an outstanding student of the justly celebrated Eduardo Brizio at Bologna. Incidentally, as the *DAPs* Horst Blanck kindly informs us, Alessandro Prosdocimi was director of the Este museum from 1887 until 1909, when he retired, whereupon administration of the museum was entrusted to Alfonso Alfonsi, but who was formally appointed director as late as 1921, just one year before his death.

would collaborate in publishing the monumental three volume *The Prae-Italic Dialects of Italy* (= *PID*) eleven years later.

Since Whatmough's survey --- and unfortunately many of his readings have by now been deemed both imprecise and questionable, the Magrè votives have been addressed numerous times, most notably by Alberto Mancini (1975), Maria Grazia Tibiletti Bruno (1978), Stefan Schumacher (1992) and Alessandro Morandi (1999); see the concordance in Table 1. In our discussion below, the Magrè and other Rhaetic inscriptions are referenced by their *PID* numbers, where available, optionally followed by the corresponding siglum in Schumacher's (1992) *CIRCE* (= *Corpus inscriptionum raeticarum completum et emendatum*) and a reference to Morandi (1999) = MOR + number. Venetic inscriptions are referenced by the sigla (e.g. Es 1 = Este 1) in Pellegrini and Prosdocimi (1967). The writer examined the Magrè votives at the Museo Nazionale in Este on October 19th, 1998.²

Relative, much less absolute, chronologies for the Magrè staghorns remain elusive. As an initial working hypothesis, however, it seems only reasonable to assume a relatively broad time span for a collection of votives that probably represents but a fraction of the *ex voto* remains that presumably accumulated in *favissae* over some three or four centuries during the sanctuary's putative existence. Even from the scant, regrettably largely decontextualized, archaeological evidence that has come down to us, it appears likely that votives were still being inscribed at Magrè during the final decades (ca. 70-50 BC) prior to its destruction as a sanctuary-*scriptorium*, a result of the Roman conquest, and ensuing imposition of Roman construction on its surface.

In his contribution to *Italia omnium terrarum alumna* (1988:121), Raffaele Carlo De Marinis, the authoritative and widely published Milan archaeologist, dated the

² The following conventions have been adopted here: so-called "Etruscan *t*" with an angled bar at its head = *t*, St. Andrew's Cross *t* = *x*, arrowhead *tau* = *†*, so-called "Magrè thorn" = *þ*, presumably the ultimate source of runic thorn. *San* is indicated by *š*. Gk. *φ* is retained for *phi*, while so-called "red" *chi* is represented by *χ*, rather than *ψ* (*psi*) which, with regional variants with and without the handle (so-called "crowfoot *chi*", Lejeune's [1974] *g*²), was the actual morphology of *chi* in Etruscan, Rhaetic, Messapic, Venetic, Golaseccan / Lepontic and at Castaneda (crowfoot *chi* in two attestations to date); see Markey and Mees (2004). In passing, we note that *phi* is lacking in Golaseccan / Lepontic and that both *phi* and *chi* are absent at Tortora, at Novilara, in Oscan, Umbrian, Faliscan, Sicel and South Picene. In our transliterations here, syllabic punctuation is indicated by periods. Where indicated by puncts (typically three or six) in the inscriptions themselves, such "word" division is here indicated by a colon. We have inserted spaces to indicate "word" divisions, and these divisions often result from "etymological" interpretation of a *scriptio continua* text, while forward slashes (/) indicate actual line breaks in the originals.

The smooth undersides — the horns were sawed in halves, of *PID* 221-233, 236-240, 242-243 bear graffiti that sometimes resemble Roman numerals (e.g. *PID* 227 *V*//, *PID* 238 *I I X I*, *PID* 239 *X I*); that is, *X*, *D*, *V*, *I*, *N*, *W*, *///*, but also crowfoot *chi* and decorative arrowhead *zeta*-like *x*'s. In fact, of the twenty-two votives, only four (*PID* 220-230 = a composite, 234, 235 and 241) lack such graffiti; see Whatmough (1933: 33-48). These graffiti are similar and sometimes identical to those found at Padua, Monte Pore, on the Vadena stela, the votive alphabet pins from the Baratella sanctuary-*scriptorium* at Venetic Este, the Negau B helmet and the various Sanzeno-Casalini votives and castings; see fn. 7.

Five of the horns have "partials": *PID* 226 (*JEMANIS*), *PID* 235 (*†šū*), *PID* 240 (*JIXINATVIXA*), *PID* 241 (*AXT*) and *PID* 242 (*ATV*). These inscriptional fragments have been omitted by Morandi (1999) and Tibiletti Bruno (1978), and, in so far as "readings" are possible at all, have so far never been provided with "explanations"; see Table 1.

related Vadena stele inscription (*PID* 196 = BZ-10) to the 5th century BC (ca. 450-400?). He mistransliterates the stele's inscription, however, as *pnake vitamu laze*, apparently confusing Rhaetic arrowhead *tau* [p̥, t] with Camunic arrowhead *zeta* [s]. He offers no further interpretation, but then abruptly proceeds to assign the Magrè inscriptions, which he also neglects to interpret, to the same century (ca. 450-400?). Pauli (1885:17 [Nr. 36], 107), Markey (2000) and numerous others have repeatedly interpreted Vadena's *pnake* as a Rhaeticized (Etruscoid-syncopeated) Celtic *Ben(n)acos*, a reading with which Whatmough (1934:31) eventually agreed, although he abstained from interpretive translation at *PID* 196; see also Pellegrini's (1985:108-109, fn. 50) abortive attempt.

For De Marinis (1988:121), the chronologically diagnostic benchmark for dating Magrè's votives is the ousting of closed *alpha* (= Latin A) by so-called "open *alpha*" (an A on which the central crossbar parallels, rather than horizontally joins, one of its sides, thereby forming a letter shape that approximates and can sometimes be confused with that of *F*-shaped *digamma*). For De Marinis, the benchmark rule is: closed *alpha* until the end of the 5th century, but open *alpha* thereafter; see our discussion below and Markey (2001a:99-102).

Conversely, in view of its two versions of closed *alpha*, the second putatively earlier than the other, Morandi (1999:78) dates Magrè *PID* 221 = MA-1 to the IIIrd century (ca. 250-200?). He then (1999:78) proceeds to date Magrè *PID* 222 = MA-2, the final portion of which both he and Giuseppe Pellegrini convincingly reconstruct as a Celtic *KA[TURIEPU]* (= *Caturito* for *Caturitos*), to the IIIrd century as well; see Schmidt (1957:259) on *-rito*. In view, however, of the Celticity of its onomastics and the fact that its closed *alpha* is matched by Negau B from about 55 BC, Morandi's 3rd century date seems far too early. Morandi (1999:79) concludes his Magrè chronologies by dating *PID* 231 = MA-11 to the 4th century (ca. 350-300?), though this is the only Magrè inscription with two contrasting *alpha*'s, the first of which is closed, and the second of which is open.

Finally, in the *PID*, for reasons that are rather imperiously evasive (undefined "epigraphical evidence"), Whatmough (1933:34) categorically assigned the Magrè votives to about the middle of the 3rd century; that is, within Este IV as he knew it, a period now generally considered roughly contemporaneous with La Tène B2 through C1 (ca. 300-175 BC in Padania); see De Marinis (1986), Riemer (1998). Earlier, Giuseppe Pellegrini (1918:176) had dated the stratum in which the Magrè votives were found to the closing phase of the pre-Roman Venetic period; that is, sometime just prior to about 150-100 BC.

The fact is that, while contrasting *alpha*'s such as those on *PID* 231 = MA-11 afford little or no uncontroversial evidence for dating the Magrè inscriptions, they certainly do evidence the contemporaneous or near contemporaneous performance of different epigraphic disciplines at Magrè. In reality, introduction of open *alpha* in the various North Italian epichoric systems must have varied widely, certainly earlier in Lepontic than Rhaetic, prospects De Marinis (1988:121) fails to entertain. In fact, the demonstrably late (ca. 55 BC or shortly before) Negau B inscription, epigraphically

influenced as it clearly is by Magrè, and the late Venetic Isonzo inscriptions (Is 1 and Is 2, ca. 100-50 BC) all have closed *alpha*; see Markey (2001a:124, 130). Subsequently, De Marinis (1990-1991:216) suggested that the appearance of open *alpha* was contingent upon the disappearance of *digamma*, a contingency that seems indicated by the history of Golaseccan / Lepontic alphabetism with its closed *alpha* and *digamma* in inscriptions from the 6th through the 5th century vs. its open *alpha* and conspicuous absence of *digamma* in inscriptions from some two centuries later. Indeed, we find closed *alpha* beside *upsilon* but no *digamma* at Lepontic Banco (PID 273), Tesserete (PID 268/II) and Vergiate (PID 300), but this is presumably indicative of *digamma*'s marginalization as a semivowel. Cf. Magrè's (PID 237 = MA 17) ASUA, possibly for *ASVA, but VALT- and not *UALT- in the same inscription, and on *upsilon* vs. a marginalized *digamma* at Prestino (ca. 480-450 BC), see Markey and Mees (2003). Nevertheless, as we (2001:99-101) have demonstrated elsewhere, the universality of De Marinis's contingency hypothesis is vitiated by, *inter alia*, Camunic which deftly avoided the prospect of pernicious homographic confusion between open *alpha*, *digamma* and possibly even *epsilon*, as seems to have been the case on the late 6th century Providence Situla (RISD Museum, Providence, Rhode Island, Inv. No. 32.245); see our discussion below and fn. 6.

In contradistinction to its two-pronged open *alpha*, Camunic introduced a four-pronged *digamma* that is unique among North Italian alphabets, whereupon Camunic continued both *digamma* and open *alpha*. Then, too, despite their virtual homography, open *alpha* and canonical *digamma* simply co-existed at, for example, Monte Pore and Serso and in the discipline that produced the remarkable Sanzeno-Casalini votives (SZ 1-15, ca. 420-380 BC). Open *alpha* and *digamma* also coexist on the late VIth century (ca. 525 BC) Providence Situla (MOR 27), reputedly from Certosa, but here a two-pronged *epsilon* has been aligned with a two-pronged *digamma*. Interestingly enough, at Etruscan Balone (Rovigo) about 450 BC, we find closed *alpha*, while *digamma* has but one downward prong, though it cannot be confused with L-shaped *lambda* nor with V-shaped *upsilon*, while *epsilon* has three horizontal, rather than angled, prongs; see Marinetti (1994).

Within the allegedly talismanic alphabetic *disciplinae* of northern Italy (with evident echoes throughout the eastern Mediterranean), *alpha* and *digamma* must have been open to persistent reciprocal morphological influence. In this tradition's Phase Two *abecedaria*, they would have been equipollent initials (*a-e* ... [full, unabbreviated consonant and vowel alphabet] / *v-z* = /*v-d*/ ... [abbreviated consonant only alphabet of Reitia veneration at Este]); see below for further definition of Phase Two alphabets.

Identification of the language and ethnicity of the Magrè inscriptions long remained as controversial as determination of their chronologies and epigraphic elucidation. Whatmough repeatedly (1923:69-72, 1933:4, 34) categorized their dialect as "Kelt(o)-Illyrian", a vacuously hypothetical branch of Indo-European that embraced an equally fictive and now generally discredited Illyrian. In comparison with Whatmough's categorization, we may cite Massimo Pallottino's (1963:77-78) rather evasive, prejudicial and hardly more informative assessment some forty years later, an

evaluation embraced by the venerable Giovan Battista Pellegrini (1985:122), that the “Liguri e Reti” as “nuclei tribali” were “cuturalmente arretrati e privi di autentiche tradizioni storiche. La penetrazione etrusca da sud e le invasioni celtiche da nord debbono aver alterato profondamente i caratteri di queste genti ...”

Despite Whatmough’s (1934) resistance to Thurneysen’s (1932) stunning equation of Magrè *pinake* with Etruscan *zinace* ‘made, made for’ (as an artistic signature) and thereby the insight that Rhaetic was necessarily Etruscan (or genetically Etruscoid or at the very least heavily influenced by Etruscan) and Kretschmer’s (1932) impression that Rhaetic was a mixture of Indo-European and Etruscan, we now consider Rhaetic typologically Etruscoid, although it sometimes incorporated Indo-European elements, preeminently so with respect to (Celtic) onomastic items; see the relevant discussion and bibliographical references in Markey (2001a:135, 137). Further to the detriment of Whatmough’s position, more than fifty years earlier, despite initial reservations (1885:101, 109), Carl Eugen Pauli (1839-1901) had been essentially correct in his contention that Rhaetic was probably Etruscan.

Albeit clearly influenced by both Venetic and North Etruscan, the East Rhaetic alphabet that emerged at Magrè was a distinctly independent epichoric accomplishment. It descended from a so-called (Etruscoid) Phase Two *aev*-Alphabet, that is, from an ancestral North Etruscan alphabet in which the first three letters were *aev*, not *abg* (*abc*); see Pandolfini and Prosdocimi (1990:13). Such alphabets evolved after implementation of an Etruscan (Vulci?) reform that dictated elimination of *beta*, *gamma* (*c*), *delta*, *s*⁺, *omicron* and *s*[’]. The precise date of this early reform is unknown, but a best guess estimate is about 600 BC, though certainly prior to a later reform (ca. 570-560 BC) that ushered in so-called “Phase Three Alphabets” signaled by introduction, typically in alphabet final position (after *chi*), of an hour glass figure (8) to express /f/. Datable Phase Two Alphabets are evidenced as follows in northern Italy: Spina (from ca. 580-480), San Martino in Gattara (ca. 400), San Polo d’Enza near Reggio Emilia (Golasecca III A 3, ca. 400-375) and at Roncoferraro near Mantua (ca. 390); see Pandolfini’s convenient catalogue in Pandolfini and Prosdocimi (1990:19-94). Note that both the San Martino in Gattara and San Polo d’Enza sites are in Celtic horizons; see Bermond Montanari (1969:218-224, 226-228), Colonna (1974:4-5, 11-19) and de Marinis (1977:27b and Figure 3:1).

Here we should underscore the fact that the role of Etruscan Mantua as a center for the spread of Etruscoid alphabetism in northern Italy, particularly to Golaseccan / Lepontic horizons, but probably also to Rhaetic sectors as well, should not be underestimated. Contrary to earlier impressions, the Mantua area must have hosted imposing and long-standing Etruscan enclaves, points of convergence for Greek, Celtic, Venetic and, of course, Etruscan trade and exchange; see the comprehensive state-of-the-art report and copious bibliographical documentation by De Marinis (1986), a survey now somewhat dated by continuing (at Ca’ dei Monti in 2002) work at Etrusco-Celtic Monte Bibele (at Monterenzio south of Bologna, ca. 400-200 BC) and by De Marinis’s own ongoing excavations at the Etruscan settlement at Forcello di Bagnolo S. Vito (southeast of Mantua on the triangle between the Mincio and the Po).

In the absence, as demonstrated below, of an indigenous *zeta* (= /d/) and in contrast

to Atestinian $v-z = /v-d/$ (the abbreviated consonant only alphabet of Reitia veneration at Este), the Magrè alphabet's initial consonants would have been $v-h$.

Like all North Etruscan systems and in contrast to the five vowel systems (with *o*) of Venetic and Golaseccan / Lepontic, Magrè had but four vowels: *a*, *e*, *i*, *u*. Vocalic length was left unindicated (not by $V + h$, gemination, macrons, or any other diacritic device), nor, in the same vein, was consonant gemination indicated. Magrè's *upsilon* assumed both inverted (Λ) and non-inverted V -shapes. With but one dramatic exception, discussed below, its *epsilon* was the cardinal angled three (never four!) pronged *epsilon* (E) found in virtually all North Italian systems. It had the conventional single-stroke vertical *iota*. As pointed out above, it had both open and closed *alpha*, though the latter shape was dominant. Explicit diagnostic arguments and evidential details need not detain us here, but it appears that, as was certainly the case in contemporaneous Etruscan, Rhaetic vowel systems, including that at Magrè, were asymmetrical with a non velar $[a]$:

i *u*
e
a

and therefore $/u/$, but not $/a/$, could approach backward *c*; see Agostiniani (2000:495) and note Magrè's (*PID* 239 = MA-19) $\Phi UTI-$, not $\Phi AUTI-$ or archaic $\Phi AVTI-$, for Celtic *boudi-* 'victory' as in British *Boudicca* (*sic*, Tacitus, *Agr.* 16.1). Accordingly, if etymologically equivalent, then one would expect Venetic *volti-* (*Es* 1, 8) to have been reflected at Magrè as **vulti-*, rather than Magrè's (*PID* 237 = MA 17) putatively equivalent *valti-*; see, however, our discussion below and recall the structuralists' graphemic / phonemic contingency ruling that, the fewer the vowel phonemes, the more room (phonological space) for non-distinctive variation on the part of each phoneme.

With respect to diphthongs, we emphasize at the outset that Magrè reflects Neo-Etruscan *ei* (*e*) < *ai* (attested since the beginning of the 5th century); see our discussion of Rhaeticization of theonymic *Reitia* below. As at other Rhaetic sites, we find *ei* ~ *i* ~ *e* oscillation; see Pellegrini and Prosdocimi (1967:2.146-147) for the comparable Venetic situation. Cf. *reite* (*PID* 227 = MA-8) and *ritie* (*PID* 224 = MA-5) and note *eluku* (WE-3, SZ-14, SZ-30) vs. fragmentarily preserved *eiluke* (possibly $[RITI]EILUKE = ritie iluke < *reitai ilukai$) at Magrè (*PID* 223 = MA-4) : Etr. *ilucu* '(destined) ritual offering' (Tegola di Capua) / *eluce* 'destined for'; see Rix (1985:23-24) and Zavaroni (1996:282-284, with an extensive research history) for discussions of Etr. *ilucu*, *ilucve*. As for rising diphthongs, we detect a general Etruscoid tendency toward their elimination, so, for example, $ZIMU\Theta E < ZIUMI\Theta E$ (and not $*\Theta IUMI\Theta E$ or $*TIUMITE$ with regular source to target devoicing) for $\Delta\iota\omicron\mu\acute{\eta}\delta\eta\varsigma$ on the Zinthreus mirror from Talamone (*ES* V 121); see Van der Meer (1999), cf. Helbig (1880:260-264), ignored by Van de Meer (1999). As indicated by $ZIUMI\Theta E$, rather than $*\Theta IUMI\Theta E$ or $*TIUMITE$, the initial palatal of rising diphthongs tended to be absorbed by the preceding consonant; cf. Etr. *Arxaze* (not $*Arxatie$) to $\text{Ap}\chi\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$, Etr. *Θezi* to $\text{T}\eta\theta\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$: Lat. *Tety*s.

We note Magrè's **RITIE** (*PID* 224 = MA-5) and **RIBIE** (*PID* 229 = MA-10) vs. **REITE** (*PID* 227 = MA-8); see our discussion of Magrè thorn (þ) below. On the other hand, the vocalic nucleus was eliminated after the glide in Negau B's **HARIXASTI**, the Rhaeticization of a Germanic nom. sg. *i*-stem **Harjagastiz*; see *infra*.

As for its consonants, Magrè presents surd shapes and only surd shapes.

For *tau*, Magrè used both the cross-barred, so-called "Etruscan *t*" and the St. Andrew's Cross *t* = <x>, historically the *x* extruded from crossed *theta*, an innovation apparently spawned at Chiusi that spread northward. Indeed, Central Etruscan **ZILAθ** (with crossed *theta*) appears instead as **ZILAX**, that is, with St. Andrew's Cross *tau*, on the so-called "Second Rubiera Stele" (from about 640 BC), which was found as recently as 1984 in a riparian setting near Rubiera (Emilia); see De Simone (1992:10).³

Magrè obviously eschewed *scrittura fonetica* (cf. fn. 4) and utilized both *k* and its aspirated counterpart *χ* (*chi*) to the exclusion of *c* and/or *qoppa*, but, as pointed out by Whatmough (1933:36) and numerous others, while Magrè attests φ, it lacked *p*; see our discussion below of ear-shaped vs. handled *rho* (not *pi*). Magrè apparently merged *p* and φ as <Φ>, which seems to have been a general tendency in Rhaetic systems. As evidence of this merger, compare, for example, *upiku* (Siebeneich / Settequerce, *PID* 191 = BZ-3, MOR 10; Castelgrifo *PID* 192 = BZ-4, MOR 11) and *uφiku* (Verona, *PID* 247 = VR-3, MOR 51) vs. *uiiku* (1x: Meclo, *PID* 210 = NO-3, MOR 13) as a *facilior* rendering of *upiku* with "unmarked" *iota* for *pi*; see fn. 6. Further to Rhaetic *upiku* ~ *uφiku* 'to place, position (an object, institutionally, not physically)?' with the locative or *pertinentivo*, compare fragmentarily attested South Picene *upeke* [— at Crecchio (CH 1), on which see Marinetti (1985:113-117), who was apparently oblivious of the possible Rhaetic analogue, and Untermann's (2000:801) laconic entry.

As a recap, then, while Magrè merged *p* and φ as φ, it retained both *k* and *χ*, albeit sometimes in free variation (*-ke* ~ *-χe*), but did not merge them as *χ* in a symmetrical structural correlative to its merger of *p* and φ as φ.

Observers of early northern Italian epigraphy have long realized that, while letters (**P T, K**) that stood for plain stops in an Etruscan *alfabeto princeps* may represent fortis

³ Together with Adolfo Zavaroni, to whom many thanks for numerous kindnesses and instructive conversations are due, the author examined the Rubiera stelae at the Museo Civico di Reggio Emilia on September 14th, 2002. In contrast to Stele 2's nascent St. Andrew's Cross *tau*, Stele 1 has dotted *theta* throughout. As evidenced by Stele 2, which attests *k* exclusively, it is clear that so-called "*scrittura fonetica*" (*k* before *a*, *c* before *e* / *i*, and *q* = *qoppa* before *u*) was no longer practised; so **KUVEL**, presumably the first member of a binomial onomastic formula. Both "*cippi*" present *aev*-alphabets as regional systems that persisted locally well into the 5th century; witness the *AEV*-shard from neighboring San Polo d'Enza, ca. 410-400 (Inv. No. S37/67, Museo di Reggio Emilia), a Celtic signature site; see Colonna (1974:4-5), de Marinis (1977:27b and Figure 3:1), Pandolfini and Prodocimi (1990:73-74). Stele 1 attests handled *rho* (2x) exclusively, and ear-shaped *rho* was apparently a later introduction in North Etruscan alphabetism, so, for example, in **KRALNIŠ** from Villa Coviolo, division of San Rigo, ca. 440 (Inv. No. S96/1, Vetrina 96, Museo di Reggio Emilia) and exclusively so in the pitifully few epigraphic remnants retrieved from Marzabotto; see Colonna (*loc. cit.*). It seems likely that ear-shaped *rho* (along with crow-foot *chi*) was introduced to the Italian peninsula via the *san*-less "red" *chi* alphabetism of the Locrian colonies (chronologically: Epizephyri, Hipponium, Nicotera and then, finally, Medma), probably about 540-490 BC; see Guarducci (1995:302-306), cf. Markey and Mees (2004:99-101).

or lenis / voiceless or voiced stops indiscriminately in North Etruscan systems that portray Indo-European dialects, characters that represented aspirates (Φ, Θ, Χ) in early Etruscan models were typically employed to disambiguate fortition / voice in such dialects, particularly Celtic and secondarily Germanic (Negau B).⁴ Thus it is that Negau B's HARIKASTI with "red" *chi* (ψ), the Rhaeticization of a Germanic nom. sg. *i*-stem **Harjagastiz*, is unambiguously *Harigasti*, not an ambiguous **Harigasti* ~ **Harikasti* if spelled with *kappa*; see Markey (2001a:121-124). Alternatively, in Rhaetic systems that merged *p* and *φ* as *p*, *p* was deployed to represent /b/ in Indo-European dialects; hence *pnake* = Celtic *Ben(n)acos* at Vadena. Recall the absence of *phi* (merger with *pi*?), but retention of *kappa* vs. *chi* in Lepontic (Golaseccan).

Many investigators, among them Maria Grazia Tibilleti Bruno and the late Ernst Risch (1911-1988), who introduced the author to Rhaetic in July of 1972, considered Magrè's handled *rho* a *pi*. Seemingly, however, this identification is the result of some misguided attempt to align Magrè's handled *rho* with the closest matching letter shape in Venetic, namely Venetic's hooked shepherd's crook *pi*; cf. Tibilleti Bruno (1987:237) and Pellegrini (1985:109-110). In fact, a fully-fledged Roman *P*-shaped *pi* is attested but once in Rhaetic, namely at Lothen (PU-1) in the cluster *PD* = /pr/, that

⁴ The following vastly simplified tabular surveys of comparative consonantisms are presented here for ready reference; Indo-European, Greek, Latin, Osco-Umbrian, Venetic and Messapic vs. Etruscan. Nasals, resonants, laterals and spirants are basically the same among systems.

Part 1: Indo-European - Greek - Etruscan Correspondences

IE	bh	dh	gh	g ^w h	g ^w	k ^w	b	d	g	p	t	k
Gk.	φ	θ	χ	φ θ χ	β δ γ	π τ κ	β	δ	γ	π	τ	κ
Etr.	φ	θ	χ	φ θ χ	p t k	p t k	p	t	k	p	t	k

Part 2: Indo-European - (Selected) Italic - Messapic and Etruscan Correspondences

IE	bh	dh	gh	g ^w h	g ^w	k ^w	b	d	g	p	t	k
Lat.	f -b-	f -b- -d-	h g f	f -v- gu	v gu	qu	b	d	g	p	t	k
Etr.	f ~ p	f ~ h - θ	h	f	v	χ	p	t	k	p	t	k
Osc.	f	f	h	f	b	p	b	d	g	p	t	k
Ven.	f -b-	f -d-	h-	?	v	kv	b	d	g	p	t	k
Mess.	b	d	g	?	?	k	b	d	g	p	t	k

As pointed out by various investigators, numerous factors conspired to alter "predicted", conceivably *lautgesetzlich* outcomes: inverse spellings, different degrees of effort toward etymological transparency in nativizing loans (different nativization strategies), differences in loan input sources (Greek vs. Italic) and different nativization chronologies. Etr. *Klavtie*, for example, instead of **Klavθie* for Lat. *Claudius*, may be due to attempted etymological transparency rather than phonological rigor; cf. Etr. *Rutapis* : Ροδωπισ, Etr. *Epeur*, *Epiur* : Εποροπίω, Etr. *ersipnai* : Περσέφον, Etr. *Pilunice* : Φιλόνικος. Thus, in some cases input *tenues* emerge as *tenues aspiratae* in Etruscan (*p* >), while in others the reverse is true (> *p*). Moreover, in some cases, Etr. *t-* has been assimilated to *θ-*, and *h-* to *f-* and *vice versa* and *b* > *p* to *f*; cf. Lat. *Fausta* vs. Etr. *Fasti*, *Fausti*, *Hasti*; Lat. *Faber* : Etr. *Hapre*; Lat. *Tiberius* : Etr. *Θefarie* to *Tiber* : Etr. *Θepri*, *Θefri*. In this context, it is significant to ask why some anticipated configurations do not occur: given *Pupluna* and *Fufluna*, then why not **Hupluna* or **Hufluna*? Attempts to nativize non-Indo-European loans also altered "predictable" outcomes, construed as regularities, particularly so in the case of Phoenician where the underlying vocalism remains largely unknown and the consonantism is known to have lacked equivalent graphemes in the target orthography: Etr. *Karθazie* 'Carthage' : QRTHDŠT 'new city', *qutum* 'pitcher' : KDM 'id.', *španti* 'basin' : ŠPN 'id.'. See, further, the commentary to Table 2.

is, Roman *P*-shaped *pi* plus triangular, ear-shaped, *delta*-like *rho*. Although ear-shaped *rho* (*D*) and handled (*P*-shaped) *rho* certainly co-existed in numerous Greek and Etruscan (e.g. Cerveteri, Vulci) systems, as well as in some (e.g. Sicel) Italic systems, ear-shaped *rho* and only ear-shaped *rho* is found in Oscan, Umbrian, Venetic, Lepontic, Camunic, at Novilara, at Monte Pore, in Rhaetic at Sanzeno and in North Etruscan at Mantua, Spina, Adria, Marzabotto and Villa Coviolo (Reggio Emilia), while handled *rho* and/or *R* (and only these shapes) are found in South Picene (only handled *rho*, both angular and rounded), Faliscan (also *R*), Messapic (also *R*) and at Tortora (only handled *rho*, 7x); see Guarducci (1995:99). A Magrè type handled *rho* also occurs (1x) on the Castelrotto bone votive (VR-4) discussed below. Moreover, the Rhaetic inscription (PID 208 = NO-10) at Tavon near Sanzeno apparently also attests handled *rho*, probably **IREKE**, although this has been read by some as **ILEKE**, cf. Schumacher's (1992:152) **?[r]ileke:sa[?]**. Paradoxically, Tibilleti Bruno (1978:222) reads *rho* at Tavon, presumably because the "knob" of its handled *rho* is rounded rather than angular like the Magrè handled *rho*'s, which, however, she seemingly prefers to read as *pi*'s. Were she consistent, then she would surely have read Tavon as **IREKE** with *pi*. Such speculation aside, the fact is that, at Magrè, ear-shaped *rho* and handled *rho* were presumably in free (allographic) variation, not only initially, but also medially and finally: e.g. **#ri-** in PID 225 vs. **#Pi-** in PID 221, 222, 228, 229), cf. **#Pi-** vs. **-uri-** in PID 222, and note **keP** = **[ker]** in PID 229; see McLaughlin (1963:56-133) on the phonological significance of such graphemic orchestrations. Finally, we note that, with the exception of Camunic and its innovative paper-clip *pi* (a probable precursor of which is the North Etruscan humped or camelback *pi* on Stele 2 at Rubiera), presumably the progenitor of runic <þ>, *pi* was one of the more immutable letter shapes of early northern Italian alphabetism.⁵

⁵ Basic *pi* shapes on the Italian peninsula fall into two major typological categories: (1) humped/semicircular, sometimes postulated as Proto-Italic (Sicel, Messapic, South Picene, Oscan), but presumably an outgrowth of (2), the shepherd's crook *pi* (or *lambda*) and a left-facing shepherd's crook *pi* (or *lambda*), a combination of the shepherd's crook *pi* was sometimes hooked at the end, as in early Venetic, Messapic and at Tortora. Naturally, the unhooked shepherd's crook *pi* was sometimes easily confused with *lambda*'s that had their oblique descender attached to the head, rather than the foot, of the perpendicular stave; see Mancini (1975:303-305) for an enlightening discussion of this problem. In Rhaetic, and to some extent in Venetic as well, maintenance of a clear distinction between *lambda*, *pi* and even asymmetrical *upsilon*'s must have been problematic. This problem was solved in Camunic by introduction of the *M*-shaped so-called "paper-clip" *pi*, probably a fusion of a right-facing shepherd's crook *pi* (or *lambda*) and a left-facing shepherd's crook *pi* (or *lambda*), a combination that may well have served as the model for runic <þ>; see Marstrand (1928:104). While alignment of the paper-clip /t/ of Tortora (vs. arrowhead *tau* as /t/ in Faliscan and hour glass 8, simplified as a colon in South Picene, as /t/ in Oscan, Umbrian and South Picene) with the paper-clip *digamma* of South Picene may be a productive line of inquiry for mapping the transmission of alphabetism on the Italian peninsula, alignment of paper-clip *digamma* with runic <þ> while omitting discussion of the Camunic paper-clip *pi* leads but to genetic confusion; *pace* the under-informed discussion in Letizia Lazzarini and Poccetti (2001:41-42), cf. Markey (2001a:95, 103). It was, of course, the humped/semicircular "Asiatic" *pi* that engendered "modern" Greek *pi*. It appears that one Rhaetic solution for maintaining a distinction between *upsilon*, *lambda* and *pi* was a cop-out, namely selection of *iota* as an "unmarked" neutral substitution for *lambda* or *pi*, particularly between *upsilons*. This was presumably a serviceable solution given the redundancy of votive "texts". Note **UIMKU** for **UPIKU** at Meclo (PID 210 = NO-3, MOR 13), as pointed out above. Consider, moreover, Magrè's PID 227 = MA-8 (right-reading *scriptio continua*) **REIXEMUIU INA E** = *Reite muui ina e* (with *muui ina e* inverted, upside-down) for **Reitie mulu zina e* 'dedicated, offered to (and) made for Reitia', with passive verbs in asyndetic

Magrè lacked the Sanzeno-Bolzano/Vadena and Negau (A [Ia]) arrowhead *tau* (or *sampi*) = ↑. Like Camunic, however, Magrè presents a saw-toothed thorn (*b*) with either two or three teeth, probably historically a digraph, *t* + *s*. Indeed, in view of Magrè (PID 228 = MA-9) *pinaxe* : Etr. *zinace* [t^sinake] ‘made, *elaboravit*’, one necessarily infers that Magrè *b* represented [t^s]. However, Magrè also records *xinaxe* (PID 231 = MA-11), with St. Andrew’s Cross *tau*, which patterns with ↑*inaxe* (SZ-1) at Sanzeno-Casalini, a site in proximity to Revo’s ↑*erisna* = Vače’s ↑*erisna*. We thus retrieve <↑ : x : ↑ : ↑> as an etymologically braided chain of divergent graphemes that could represent surficial [t^s]; see Markey (2001a:142-143).

In contrast to Magrè (and Rhaetic alphabets generally), we recall that Prestino rendered [t^s] with *zeta*: KOZIS = Celtic *got^sis* < IE **ghosti-s* (IEW 453).⁶ At Padua

tandem, indeed the same ‘dedicated’ + ‘made’ formulaic sequencing as in Greek votives (ἀνέθηκε + πεποίηκε); see Rouse (1902) for examples.

If this interpretation is correct, then this is the only attestation of *mulu* in Rhaetic, but note North Etruscan *mylvainice* on the Providence Situla (ca. 525 BC). Alternatives are bleak: there is no comparable Etruscan *muui* or Celtic *moio*, *mojo*, *muio*, etc. Moreover, selection of *iota* (MVIV) instead of L-shaped *lambda* (MVLV) avoided possible misinterpretation as (numerical?) *mvvv*.

⁶ *Zeta* charts a checkered history in the early alphabetism of the Italian peninsula. In most Italic settings, as noted below, it denoted [ts], its value in Etruscan, which is the source of, for example, Faliscan’s I-shaped *zeta* (at Narce). In other epigraphic settings, however, *zeta* is absent, lacking at Italic Tortora and in the cryptic Novilara inscription.

While *zeta* makes single appearances at Prestino and Casate, it is otherwise absent in Lepontic. In the 2nd BC century Casate inscription, we have: ZV OŠORIS = *dv Ordorix* ‘*dv* prince of maces’, in which *dv* plausibly represents a reversal of *vd*, the initials of a consonant only Phase Two *abecedarium*; see Schmidt (1957:252) on *ordo*- and Solinas (1995:341) on Casate. On deployment of *san* for dentals (*t* / *d*) and clusters with dentals in the Celtic alphabetism of northern Italy, see Markey and Mees (2004).

In South Picene, which has ear-shaped *delta*, I-shaped *zeta* was apparently relegated to the *tau* slot to represent /t/. The top and bottom crossbars of I-shaped Picene *zeta* for *tau* were retooled as globes (dots), yielding a dumb-bell-shaped letter that represents /d/ in the Celtic Ic-inscription on Negau A: IUBNI gen. sg. of *Dubnos*; see Markey (2001a:105, 113-116). In Rhaetic, in addition to Magrè and Castelrotto (VR-4) as detailed below, we find *zeta* shapes only at Lothen, Steinberg and Sanzeno-Casalini (1x). On the Lothen (PU-1, MOR 7) belt buckle (later half of the 5th century) from St. Lorenzo di Sebato, Valle Pusteria (Pustertal), ØELZURIE (with a *zeta* often misread as *sigma*) presumably corresponds to Etruscan VELOUR; that is, (early) Rhaetic *z* : Etr. *theta* in an “inverse spelling”; for a classic restatement of the orthographic / phonological mechanics, see Hoenigswald (1960:9-10).

In passing, we should point out that the buckle’s deer motif is foreshadowed by comparable arrangements in the late VIIth century style of the “*Maestro delle Spine di Pesce*” at Cerveteri (cf., for example, Inv. No. 50364, Collezione Augusto Castellani, Villa Giulia) and in heavily Etruscan-influenced Faliscan venues (e.g. VIIth century Etrusco-geometric amphorae, particularly from Narce’s necropolis of Contrada Morgi). Moreover, execution of the Lothen graphics finds a near match on the celebrated and contemporaneous Celtic terracotta from Matzhausen (Oberpfalz, Bavaria; Inv. No. IIc1244, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Berlin). As Mitja Guštin has repeatedly informed us (p.c.), art forms that emerged in Etruria were quickly picked up in Celtic settings, either as imports or as skillful copies.

Cross of Lorraine shaped *zeta*’s (T), conventionally transliterated as *t*’s, have crossbars in immediate parallel proximity to each other across the middle of a central perpendicular stave. In Rhaetic, they are found only at Steinberg (ST-2, ST-3: *kasTri* = *kastri* : Etr. *Castr* : *Καστάνδρα* ?); see Schumacher (1992:223).

Finally, concluding our inventory of Rhaetic *zeta*’s, we note that a “Camunic-style” (Castaneda, Montagna, Tresivio, Valcamonica - Cimbergo, Voltino) arrowhead *zeta* has so far been attested just once in a Rhaetic inscription, namely, as an isolated graffito on the “belly” of a votive from Sanzeno-Casalini (SZ-11, MOR 18; Inv. No. 7668, ‘Castello del Buonconsiglio’ [Monumenti e collezioni provinciali], Trent); see Pellegrini (1951:313, Fig. 11). In Camunic, however, arrowhead *zeta* represents /s/. On arrowhead *zeta* in Castaneda’s demonstrably Celtic inscription; see Markey and Mees (2004). However, the Sanzeno-Casalini arrowhead *zeta* may well be a smith’s mark, as it also occurs elsewhere at Sanzeno on castings; see Nothdurfter (1979:101, 103, Taf. 24-25) and de Marinis’s (1986:107) enlightened and well documented commentary on this early practice for talismanic or apotropaic purposes and recall the graffiti on Negau B, Vadena and the undersides of the Magrè votives.

(PID 244 = PA-1, MOR 52), however, we find *Etsuale* (a possible Celticity?) vs. Magrè's *Estuale* (PID 232 = MA-12), [*E*].*stuva* (PID 231 = MA-11) and *Es.stuatel* (PID 233 = MA-13). As a further possible, albeit remote, scribal Celticity in the Paduan inscription, note, if etymologically related, suspension of the nasal in Padua's *utiku* past passive participle 'brought' vs. *utince* 'led forth' in the *Liber Linteus*; see Facchetti (2002:11-12), who justifiably segments *utince* as *ut-in-* like *alpn-in-*, *rep-in-*. Suspension of nasals is, however, also periodically noted in Etruria, e.g. *Atiuce* = *Avríoxos* : Lat. *Antiochus*.

Given the morphosyntactic comparability of Padua's *kaian* (ca. 500-480) and *kaianin* (with deictic, pronominal acc. *-in* 'this') on the Providence Situla (Certosa, ca. 525 BC), the Paduan ember palette would seem to share not only the same lexical, but also the same dialectal tradition. By the early fifth century, except in the dialects of the northwest, intervocalic *-y-* had been lost (cf. *Kae* < **Kaie* : Lat. *Caius*), particularly between equal vowels: *kaian* > **kan*, whence Etrurian *cana*, *can(-l)* 'gift, image, stele' vs. *χanu* at Sanzeno-Casalini (SZ-1, ca. 420-380 BC) and Lothen (PU-1, ca. 450 BC). On the problematic semantic range and definitional complexity of *cana*; see the ample documentation and discussions by Agostiniani (1982:179, 189-190).

While I-shaped *zeta* rendered [t^s] at Prestino (and in Oscan, Umbrian, Faliscan, Sicel and Messapic), it represented /d/ at Este, where Etruscoid I-shaped *zeta* assumed a Cross of Lorraine format with two slanted bars across the midpoint of its perpendicular stave. Significantly, Magrè attests this latter-day Este-shaped *zeta* just twice in a single inscription (PID 243 = MA-23: *USTIPU* / *ZEZEVE*) that we now consider East Celtic rather than Rhaetic. In that inscription, detailed below, *zeta* represents /d/: *ZEZE-* = *dede* 'gave, dedit'.

In addition to *zeta* as /d/ at Magrè, there is, in the entire Rhaetic sector, but one other probable occurrence of I-shaped *zeta* representing /d/; namely in VR-4 from Castelrotto (Comune di San Pietro di Cariano, Valpolicella, Verona). This epigraphically difficult left-reading inscription is in a Magrè-derived font on a pig bone (votive?). Castelrotto's M-shaped *san*, inverted *upsilon* (Λ), handled *rho* (P) and handled "red" *chi* (Ψ) are all uniquely matched at Magrè. As is the case with PID 243 = MA-23, the Castelrotto inscription is presumably also Celtic. It possibly reads as follows: *RUZINEŠχAN* = *rudinešgan*, in which at least *RUZ* is epigraphically unmistakable, probably *rudi-* for Celtic *roudi-* 'red'; cf. Schumacher (1992:207 and Tafel 2.3), see Schmidt 1957:262) and revisit fn. 5 below.

Although scribal practice and *disciplinae scriptori* at Magrè apparently recognized graphemic <x : ɸ : z> as /t/ - /t^s/ - /d/ respectively, <x> and <ɸ> were obviously the indigenous graphemes most actively utilized to represent dentals to the general exclusion of *zeta*. Nonetheless, we contend that, in addition to its recognition of Atestine use of *zeta* as /d/, Magrè alphabetism deployed its thorn in the same discretionary manner as *theta* was deployed in comparable North Italian Etruscoid systems, namely, as a "wild card" to render /d/ unambiguously in Indo-European, particularly Celtic, dialects. Just as discretionary *theta* was marked, so too was discretionary thorn. It was these marked, sometimes virtually moribund, graphemes that served as discretionary disambiguators in

polyvalent systems in which, for example, St. Andrew's Cross *tau* could represent both /t/ and /d/. Consequently, arrowhead *tau*, a regional innovation, was deployed in the Vadena Stele inscription as a discretionary marked *tau* to represent /t/ unambiguously, while bivalent St. Andrew's Cross *tau* (*t* or *d*) was deployed to represent /d/: VIXAMU / LA↑E = Celtic *windamolatos* 'having most conspicuous warriors'. This is obviously an archaic (bipartite) superlative *bahuvrīhi* immediately comparable to Prestino's UVAMOKOZIS 'having supreme guests'. Vadena's final, after LA↑E, highly suspect *san*-like figure is most credibly interpreted as a decorative graffito akin to the terminal decorative graffiti on Negau B and on the undersides of many of the Magrè votives; see Markey (2000) and fn. 2.

In line with these interpretations, we derive Magrè's USTIPU (PID 243 = MA-23) from an underlying Celtic anthroponym **Ostedō(n)*. Cf. *Ostī*-names (Vi 2, Es 6, Es 133, Ts 1, Tr 1, Tr 3) in Venetic settings at both Este and Lâgole (Calalzo); see Morandi (1999:84), Pellegrini and Prosdocimi (1967:2.148-150), and RIG 4.4, 102, 103, 314. As a product of Thurneysen's Law (1946:Art. 75), Magrè's cognomalizing -IPU = -idū necessarily derives from -edū < **-edō(n)*. We may therefore compare a Pre-Celtic **-edō(n)*, segmentable as **-ed-ō(n)*, with the Oscan and Umbrian patronymic formans -idio- (~ -edio-), a thematic composite of -id- + -yo-, Messapic patronymic -id-, and Greek -idā, which formed anthroponyms, gentilicia and patronyms, e.g. Πριαμίδης; cf. the abbreviated account by Thurneysen (1946:58-59) and the uninformed discussion by Prosdocimi in Pandolfini and Prosdocimi (1990:292-295).

Having identified USTIPU (PID 243 = MA-23) as *Ostidū* < **Ostedū*, we may now proceed to relate its composition to Magrè's KUNIPU (PID 224 = MA-5) < **Cuniedū*, Prestino's PLIALEU (ca. 480-450 BC) = *Plialedū*, Salassian (Lepontic) numismatic SEXEÜ (ca. 400-377 BC) = *Segedū*, Verona's KOLITI.ETU or, better, KALITI.ETU (PID 248 = VR-5) = *Caletiedū*: Lingones numismatic καλετεδου (RIG 4.91, 92, ca. 148 BC) = *Caletedū*, Ornavasso's OLETU (PID 307, corrected reading, ca. 190-75 BC) = *Olledū*, Cenomanian KELEŠU (ca. 100-50 BC) = *Celedū* at Isola Rizza in Casalandri (Verona), built to **kel-* 'to strike' (IEW 545-546); see Colbert de Beaulieu (1966), Solinas (1995:376, 1998:148), Schmidt (1957:160, 170, 186, 250-251, 265-266). On deployment of *san* for dentals (*t* / *d*) and dental clusters in early Celtic alphabetism; see Markey and Mees (2004) and fn. 6.

With respect to -idū / -edū, then, Magrè lines up securely with Lepontic and Gaulish (including Cenomanian) onomastic practice recorded both long before and long after the Celtic onslaught of 388 BC. Moreover, as Magrè's -idū evidences Thurneysen's Law and contrasts with -edū elsewhere in northern Italy, one might infer a comparatively late (ca. 70-50 BC?) date for PID 243 = MA-23; see our account further below. For now, however, compare Magrè's -idū < -edū and Cembra's (PID 215 = CE-1) vino- < **veno-* in VINUTALINA < **Venó-tal-inā*, a situla inscription traditionally dated to between 390 and 350 BC whose OSV-syntax and dedicatory intent are highly reminiscent of the celebrated second century BC Briona (Novara) inscription; see Solinas (1995:379-381) for a convenient survey of the latter. Cf., further, Cembra's VINUTALINA < **Veno-tal-inā*, nom. sg. fem., as a hypocoristic

diminutive, lit. ‘the little one having the clan’s brow, forehead, face,’ and Briona’s patronymic TĀNOTALIKNOI, nom. pl. masc. of a sg. *TĀNOTALIKNOS = *Dan(n)o-tal-ikno-s* ‘son of one having a judge’s brow, forehead, face’ : (Briona) TĀNOTALOS = *Danno-tal-o-s*. We recall Latin *Fronto*, *-ōnis*, Celticized as *Frontu*, *Frontunis*, a calque on Celtic *talo-* ‘forehead, brow, face’ (OIr. *taul* < **talu-*), along the peripheries of Romania, particularly in Romanized Noricum, but also in post-conquest (after ca. 15 BC) Valcamonica; see Falkner (1948), Markey (2001a:103), Schmidt (1957:91, 274, 289).⁷

Magrè’s *sigma* consistently has but three strokes, as opposed to excessively multi-stroked serpentine *sigma*’s in early Lepontic systems vs. three or four-stroked *sigma*’s (consistently) in later Lepontic systems. Magrè apparently never evolved or adopted a butterfly or a Lâgole *san*, and here one recalls that *san* = /š/ designated palatal *s*, while *sigma* = /s/ designated apical *s*. Palatalization of *s* before /i/, /y/ or consonants was putatively a northern, rather than southern (Etrurian), phenomenon: so North Etruscan *špur-* ‘city’ vs. Etrurian *spur-*, like German *šp-* vs. English *sp-*.

Magrè inscriptions attest *h*, indeed a 3-runged ladder *h*, but /h/ is generally absent in Rhaetic, and it is distributionally rare (regularly only word initially) in Etruscan. In fact, *h* is a beacon for word boundaries in deciphering Etruscan *scriptio continua*. At Magrè, it is found in but two inscriptions: *PID* 221 = MA-1 (HELĀNU) and *PID* 225 = MA-6 (TRĪAHL.S). Otherwise in Rhaetic, *h* is found twice (also 3-runged) at Lothen (PU-1), twice (three-runged) in the Ca’ dei Cavri inscription (*PID* 247 = VR-3) and, finally, possibly three times (SR-1, 2, 7) at Serso (Pergine, Trent) as follows: -VĪTAHUR (SR-1), -VĪTAHU.R (SR-7) and, possibly, as a two-runged variant in HETĪNU or HETĪNA (SR-2). We approach the matter of *h*’s representational status indirectly.

PID 229 = MA-10 (right reading, *scriptio continua*) RĪPIEKERRINAKE = *Ritie ker rinake* for **Rietie(i) ker tinaxe*. Having emended the putatively erroneous scribal dittography of RR by substituting *rt* and having etymologized *tinake* as *tinaxe* to fit the etymologically inferred semantactic requirements, this inscription seems transparent enough except for *ker* as an apparently problematic hapax. There is no comparable onomastic *Ker* in any probable donor language. We compare *Ritie ker tinaxe* ‘(it) was made as a *ker* for Reitia’ and *mi titasi cver menaxe* (TLE 282, Bomarzo, a 3rd-2nd century mirror inscription) ‘I was made as a *kver* for Tita’. We have seemingly comparable common denominator configurations and therefore equatable morpho-syntactic constructions: (*it*) / *I* + N(dative / *pertinentivo*) + *cver* + *Vxe*; see Agostiniani (1982:106, 219-220). We therefore equate Magrè *ker* and Etr. *cver*, whatever its precise semantic value, but presumably ‘gift, offering,’ its long-standing traditional gloss supported in part by combinatory equation of *cver turce* and *alpan turce*. Moreover, in the majority of its occurrences, *cver* follows a theonym in the dative / *pertinentivo* case; see Zavaroni’s (1996:324-325, fns. 97 & 98) thorough research history. On ES 398, *cver* is personified as *Cvera* ‘Grace, Benevolence’. Finally, we

⁷ Segmentation of Cembra’s VINUTALINA as VINU TALINA and interpretation of VINU as an abbreviated (why?) *vinum* and TALINA as an otherwise unattested Etruscoid gentilicium in *-lina* (cf. TAU RILINA on SZ-9 = MOR 20 at Sanzeno-Casalini, Etr. PUPLINA, etc.) is counterproductive, raising, rather than solving, a multitude of epigraphic, syntactic and etymological problems.

note that gradual elimination of labial closure and regression of aspiration are clearly observable in Etruscan from the early 4th century onward: * χ vestna- > * χ estna- > cestna- (cestnal; San Manno, Pe 5.2, TLE 619, 3rd/2nd century).

If construed as a dative recipient, then *Ritie* in PID 229 = MA-10 presumably calques Ven. RE.I.TI(I)A.I (dat. sg. $\bar{a}$ -stem). A Neo-Etruscoid (after ca. 375) *Ritie* could be legitimately derived from Venetic **Reitiai*, albeit without remarking with -i. As argued by Agostiniani (2000:495), **Riti-e-i* would derive from **Riti-ai* + -i to yield a late Neo-Etruscan feminine “absolute” singular in -ei. Etruscan “absolutes”, we recall, functioned as morphologically undifferentiated nominatives or accusatives; see Facchetti (2002:fn. 38). In fact, such late 4th century Neo-Etruscan remarking is apparently recorded by Magrè’s RITIEI (PID 224 = MA-6). The argument here, then, is that Ven. dat. *Reitiai* was rephonologized (nativized) as a Rhaetic *Ritie(i)*, a feminine “absolute”, but that the thus nativized *Ritie(i)* retained its original Venetic dative (*pertinentivo*) morpho-syntactic functions within Magrè’s highly proscriptive votive setting. This argument seems validated by what may be presumed to be later replacement of *Ritie(i)* as an early nativized approximation of Venetic dative grammaticality by a fully Rhaeticized *Ritale* in PID 228 = MA-9 with the (later) dative (*Pertinentivo* II) desinence -ale common to both Rhaetic and Etruscan.

PID 228 = MA-9 (1 line: right-reading *scriptio continua*) reads as follows: RITALELEMAISPINAKE = *Ritale Lemais pinake* (N-ale = *Pertinentivo* II (recipient) + N-is = Ablativo I (agent) + Vke) ‘Made for Reitia by Lema’, where *Lema* is perhaps akin to Ven. *Lemotor*–; see Pellegrini and Prosdocimi (1967:2.129-130). This interpretation avoids positing dittography (-le-le-) and then presuming *Mais* to be an (otherwise unknown) idionym.

Returning to PID 229 = MA-10, we contend that, if Magrè *ker* = Etr. *cver*, then *kw*- > *k*- in Rhaetic (or at least at Magrè). By extension, one could assume that, in a structurally parallel rephonemicization and / or regraphemicization strategy upon general loss of labialization, *hv*- > *h*-. Recall that both *k*- and *k^w*- (*qu*-) in Latin loans were represented by χ - in Etruria. In both Etruscan and Atestine Venetic orthography, however, graphemic *vh* / *hv* = /f/, the *digamma* of which yielded Lat. *f*.⁸ Alternatively, Venetic at Lågole (Cadore) and Würmlach opted for *h*, rather than *vh* / *hv*, to represent /f/: HA.R.TO (Gt 14) = *Harto*. In Etruria, *h*- = Lat. *f*, e.g. Etr. *Herme* = Lat. *Firmus*, Etr. *Hapre* = Lat. *Faber* and revisit fn. 4.

Reiterating and hopefully refining arguments presented in Markey (2001a:95), we accept the convention that archaic Etruscan <*v* / *u*> (*digamma* / *upsilon*) represented semivocalic *w*, but suggest that *w* later emerged as a labiodental [v] upon acquisition of stridency. Phonologically, then, Proto-Etruscan **w* later emerged as *v* as a result of

⁸ Incidentally, the late Arthur Gordon (1975:52-57) presented the fullest research history to date on recognition of the digraphs *vh* / *hv* as /f/, first by Wilhelm Deecke (1831-1897) in print in 1888 (if not in conversation before) and again three years later by Carl Pauli (1839-1901), then 52; cf. Hamp (1981:152-153). Unfortunately, both Deecke and Pauli found confirmation in Wolfgang Helbig’s (1839-1915) “Manios hoax” of 1887, a masterful collaborative forgery that took epigraphers and classicists nearly a century to discredit. The list of worthies, in addition to Deecke and Pauli — Holger Pedersen, Carl Darling Buck, Ernst Pulgram and numerous others, even yet today, “sucked in” by Helbig et Cie. is no less than stunning.

articulatory simplification (bilabial being arguably more marked than labiodental), while *v* subsequently gave rise to *f* upon acquisition of tenseness; that is: **w* (*digamma*) > *v* (*digamma*) > *f* (VH/HV and later 8). Just so, as Cortsen (1935:178) pointed out, while *p* > *p^h* (ϕ) > *f* in Etruscan, *f* never becomes *p*; cf. Breyer (1993:21). Note, further, *Nevtlane* on ES 231 for *Νεοπτόλεμος*, *nefts* : OLat. *neptis*, *Neθuns* : *Neptunus* with cluster simplification in Etruscan. We may therefore infer that, upon acquisition of stridency, an affricated Rhaetic ϕ was variously (dialectally) identified with /v/ or /f/. This inference accounts for ϕEL- (ϕELZURIE-) at Lothen (PU-1) = Etruscan *vel-* (VELθUR) < **wel-*. Note, too, affrication of θ [t] > z [t^s] in the non-etymological orthography of Lothen's ϕELZURIE- vs. Etr. VELθUR. Moreover, ϕRIMA (SZ-2) at Sanzeno-Casalini, presumably a nom sg. fem. idionym or epithet, the putatively syncopated counterpart of Sanzeno-Casalini's ϕIRIMA (SZ-1), is traditionally compared with Venetic *Frema* (VHREMA.I.-).

We conclude as follows. On the basis of etymological correlations, as selectively demonstrated below, we contend that, when confronted with possible representational ambiguities between *digamma* / *upsilon* and affricated ϕ, Rhaetic, specifically at Magrè, optionally deployed <h> = /f/ (reminiscent of Etr. *h-* = Lat. *f-*) to represent aspirated Celtic *w* <v> = [w^h]; on which see now De Bernardo Stempel (1990). In PID 221 = MA-1, as detailed below, *h-* in *Helanu* was presumably selected to represent Celtic *Vellaunos* (in which *v-* = [w^h]), thereby avoiding confusion with, for example, an Etruscoid *Velna* (in which *v-* = [w]). One is reminded of *ulatucia* ~ *flatucias* at Larzac.

We may categorize Magrè's consonant inventory as follows where graphemic realizations are presented in angled brackets beside presumed phonetic values:

Consonants		Labials	Apicals	Gutturals	Sibilants	Laterals	Resonants
Voiceless Stops	Full expiration	ϕ <ϕ> ↑ (?)	(θ <Θ>) ↓	χ <ψ> ↓↑	(ts <Z>) ↓		
	Restricted expiration	(p <ϕ>)	t <X>	k <K>	ts' <P> ↓		
Fricatives		f <H>	s <S>		š <M>		
Nasals		m	n				
Liquids		w <F>/<Λ>				l <L>	r <P, Δ>

Table 2. The Rhaeto-Etruscoid Consonant System at Magrè

Commentary: There appears to have been a general tendency toward a regression of aspiration just as there was in Central Etruscan. However, only the *k* vs. *χ* contrast is diagnostic, as *p* is lacking and all instances of ϕ are etymologically /b/ at Magrè. Nevertheless, a combination push and drag-chain movement in the direction of more restricted expiration is clear in the case of apicals and sibilants, whereby Θ and z were eliminated in favor of τ and ϑ respectively. The same progression is seemingly evidenced by ϑ [ts'] > M (*san*) [š]; we have *-ipu* at Magrè vs. comparable *-ešu* at Isola Rizza, perhaps a window on linguistic competencies in a contact situation: *ts* (z) > *ts'* (ϑ) > š (M). There was also an apparent tendency toward lenition whereby plosives were weakened to fricatives (*p* > *f*) along a strength hierarchy. Lack of a voiced / voiceless contrast may have mattered less to speakers of Continental Celtic who may

have been more concerned with contrasts in fortition than voice, than to speakers of other languages, such as Venetic, with a critical need for this contrast; see Watkins (1955), Evans (1967:403), Jackson (1953:545-548). Observe what are necessarily fortition distinctions between the two <t>'s of Rhetto-Celtic at Sanzeno / Vadenà: fortis arrowhead *tau* for Celtic /t/ vs. lenis St. Andrew's Cross *tau* (x) for Celtic /d/.

The paroxytonality of Celtic onomastic items embedded in Rhaetic inscriptions is reflected by accent-conditioned reduction (Etruscoid syncope) / assimilation; see De Bernardo Stempel (1994) and recall Celtic *ben(n)ákos* > *pnáke* at Vadena.

Celtic onomastic desinences were optionally subject to Rhaeticization, e.g. Celtic nom. sg. masc. *-os* could be Rhaeticized as *-e*, that is, as an Etruscan and Rhaetic absolute desinence (vs. Celtic and Italic voc. sg. *-e*), perhaps as part of a facultative interlingual discourse strategy, a quasi-pidginization process seeking common ground. Alternatively, it seems, Celtic *-os* could also be Rhaeticized as *-u*, rather than *-us*, thereby avoiding confusion with Rhaetic's *sigmatic* genitive (Genitive I). The flexible rule-of-thumb for Rhaeticization of non-native onomastic desinences seems to have been as follows: forms with Italic (particularly Latin) analogues were Rhaeticized in the same manner as Italic (particularly Latin) forms were Etruscanized: e.g. Lat. *-us* (*-os*) *-ius* (*-ios*) > Etruscan and Rhaetic *-e*, *-ie* respectively. Forms without Italic analogues were, however, optionally grammaticalized / nativized (Celtic *-os* > Rhaetic *-u*) as if Rhaetic (Etruscoid).

With the above survey in mind, we now proceed to comment further on Celticity in a selection of Magrè votives.

(1). *PID* 243 = MA-23: *USTIPU* / *ZEZEVE* = *Ostidū dedeve* < **Ostedō(n) dedhē(t)-we* 'Ostido dedicated (me, this) emphatically'.

Cf. Gaulish *δεδε* 'posuit, placed' (with the sense of *ἀνέθηκε*) < **de-dhē-t*, and for the enclitic emphatic *-we* ~ *-wē* (> *-wī*), hereby corroborated as the initial morpheme of the Castaneda inscription, see, further, Markey and Mees (2004). Cf. Latin *vē-cors* 'mad' = Old Welsh *gui-cr* 'brave', lit. '(too) much heart.' Bernard Mees (p.c.) points out that **co(m)wē* 'emphatically, utterly' underlies the *coui* of *secoui* at Chamalières in the *figura etymologica* of li. 7-8 (*etic secoui toncnaman / toncsiiontio* 'as well as they who may prosper that prosperity utterly') with *etic* reflecting formulaic *utique* and *tonc-* 'to prosper': OIr. *tocad* 'luck, fortune, prosperity' < **tonketo-* vs. *e-grade* OIr. *técht(a)e* 'proper' < **tenk-tyo-*; pace Lambert (1997:156). For the mechanics, cf. OIr. *co(a)ir* 'proper, fitting' < **com-wari-*; see Thurneysen (1946:503).

Magrè's syntagmatic *dedeve* is, presumably, a regional calque on formulaic *ἀνέθηκε-επι*, exemplified by **SOANEΘEKEEDI** = *σω(ς)-ἀνέθηκε-επι* on a votive at Adria (Cabinet 7, Museo archeologico di Adria, autopsied by the author on October 25th, 1998) 'in good cause (*salvus*) - dedicated - emphatically' with formulaic suffixation of the intensive prefix *επι-* to the perennial Greek votive operator *ἀνέθηκε*; pace Dubois (1995:177-178).

A photograph of *PID* 243 = MA-23 is displayed on Adolfo Zavaroni's admirable website, and the inscription has been accurately reproduced by Morandi (1999:Fig. 29, No. 48). The orthography of *USTIPU* (**Asxipv**) with both inverted and uninverted

upsilons, St. Andrew's Cross *tau* and a thorn with three teeth is consistent with Magrè fonts. While the *zeta*'s of ZEZEVE are generic Venetoid *zeta*'s, the *epsilon*'s are uniquely diagnostic. They find their closest match in the *epsilon* of the late Negau A (II) Celtic inscription KERUP = *Kerub[ogios]* 'he who harvests deer'; see Markey (2001a:116-118). This was probably the helmet's final inscription, plausibly engraved in Noricum, if not on the Magdalensberg, toward the middle of the first century BC; that is, just prior to its deposit at Ženjak (Negova / Negau).

(2). PID 237 = MA-17: (right-reading *scriptio continua*) KLEVIEVA.L.XIKINUASUA = *Klewie Valtikino ASUA* < **Klewios Waletikenos ASUA (ASVA)* 'Clevios Valeticnos LIBENS MERITO'; that is, a binomial (Celtic or Venetoid) idionym + patronym configuration naming a (votive) dedicator followed by what we presume to be the abbreviation of an Etruscoid formula for dedicatory motivation, so DEDICATOR + (RECIPIENT) + DEDICATION MOTIVATION FORMULA. This presumed mixture of Celtic + a non-native votive formula, here Etruscoid, is echoed by Latin *VSLM* appended to the Gaulish votive from Sazeirat (Arrènes), on which see Lambert (1994:95).

Compare the inferred DEDICATION MOTIVATION-positioning of *ASUA* with the positioning of Etr. *alpan turce* 'gave the gift' in TLE 64 and the positioning of frequently abbreviated Latin motivation formulas such as *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)* or *d(onum) d(edit) l(ibens)*; e.g. *C. Aemilius / Felix / Aecur(nae) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*, CIL 3.3831 (Emona) = DEDICATOR + RECIPIENT + DEDICATION MOTIVATION FORMULA. Etr. *alpan* is, moreover, probably best glossed 'offering, gift' and not *libens* or *libenter* as traditionally proposed: *alpan turce* equates with *donum dedit*, not *libens dedit*. A plausible resolution of *ASUA* (= *ASVA* ?) might well be: *a(lpan) s(acni-) v(acl) (a)ra* 'perform(s) the sacred offering in praise (of X)'; see Facchetti (2002:34, 61-63).

The *-ie* outcome of **-ios* in an underlying **Klewios* (IEW 605-607) 'the renowned one' (*uel sim.*) is a Rheticization: cf. Etr. *-ie* for Lat. *-ius* (*-ios*) beside Gaul. *-ios* : OIr. *-e* < **-e(s)* < **-yos* vs. Ven., Osc. and South Picene *-is* (*-es*), Goth. *-jis* (after a short stem syllable as in *harjis*) and, finally, Lith. *-jys/-is*. Cf. unrelated Etr. *cleva* 'offering', conceivably as a collective in *-va* and thus possibly related to the *-va-* in the non-human (inanimate) plural marker *-(χ/c)va-*; see our discussion of *estua-* / *estva-* / *etsua-* below.

The patronym (or gentilicium) *Valtikino* has traditionally been paired with Ven. *VOLTIXENEI* (Es 1) = *Voltigenei*, *VO.L.TIX[N]O.S.* (Es 8) = *Voltignos* and similar Venetic names with *Volti-*; see the history of early research in Pellegrini and Prosdociami (1967:2.205-206). Untermann (1961:1.17, 89-90, 92-93, 170) has devoted the fullest discussion to date to this matter, but then waffled in conclusion by asserting that, if the names are related at all, then it is only their initial components, *volti-* resp. *valti-*, either by remote genetic relationship or by borrowing from Venetic. He presumed (1961:1.92) that the suffixes *-genei* / *-gnos* and *-kinu* were but coincidental resemblances; cf. Lejeune (1974:42, 44, 47-48, 52-53), who derives Ven. *volti-* 'of desired (birth)' from IE **wl-ti-* : Goth *wulþus*, but fails to address Magrè's *Valtikinu*. Finally, we note that, in his recent research history of the *Valtikinu* problem, Schumacher (1992:66) chides Untermann's conclusions, but then offers nothing

memorable in return. For a dress rehearsal of Untermann (1961) with particular emphasis on the onomastic stock of the Rhaetic sector, mainly as reflected in post-Romanization Latin, see Untermann (1959-1961).

As pointed out above, if Rhaetic had borrowed *volt-* from Venetic, then we would expect **vult-*, not *valt-*, at Magrè; cf. Lat. *Clovatius* and Osc. *Kluvatius* as examples of formations recorded in systems with and without *omicron* respectively. Conversely, if Venetic *volt-* were ultimately Etruscoid, then one might well expect the underlying form to have been **velt-*; cf., for example, Etr. *Velθurna* vs. *ΦELZURIE* (= Etr. **Velθurie*) at Lothen : Lat. *Volturnus*; see fn. 7. Having identified Rhaetic as genetically Etruscoid, one would then expect **velt-*, not *valt-*, at Magrè; We thus infer that *valt-* is neither Etruscan nor Etruscoid and neither Venetic nor Italic, and, by a further process of elimination, having also discounted Illyrian, Ligurian, or some other nebulous non-Indo-European (Mediterranean) speech community as entirely specious possible sources, we necessarily infer that *valt-* is ultimately Celtic: *valti-* < *valeti-*, cf. OIr. *failte* ‘gladness’, Caesar’s *Valetiacus* (BG.VII.32) : Lat. *Laetus*. If, however, *Valtikino* = *Valtikina* (Etr. **Valtici-na*) were from Italic, then we clearly lack an underlying Italic **Valtikio-*; cf. Etr. *Melacina* < Ital. **Melakio-* as conjectured by Prosdocimi (1986:88-89). On the syncopation (*valeti-* > *valti-*) assumed here, cf. Breton *Verlamio* < **Verolámion* and see De Bernardo Stempel (1994).

We conclude that *Valtikinu* represents Rheticization of a Celtic **Valetikenos*, a patronym in **ken-* (*-keno-* ~ *-kno-*) ‘son of the prosperous, propitious one’ (*uel sim.*); see Lejeune (1974:Art. 38), Schmidt (1957:100, 216-218) and note derivationally similar Celtic *Enicenius* (CIL 5.2620) from the Roman period at Este.

(3). *PID* 236 = MA-16: (right-reading) *VAL.TEΦNU* = *Valtebnu* < **Valetibenou* ‘of the two Valeti Women (suppliants)’ < Pre-Celtic **wH₂eleti-g^Wn-ou* ‘of the two joyous, pleasing, propitious women’ (*uel sim.*) gen. dual : **wH₂eleti-g^Wen-eH₂* nom. sg. (*IEW* 473-474, 1111-1112); cf. *Mandubenos* and OIr. gen. dual *ban* < **gwH₂n-ou* and see Thurneysen’s (1946:Art. 287) prophetic hypothesis on a possible fem. gen. dual in *-ou* and Schmidt (1957:147-148) on names with *benos* / *bena*, which are never fronted as initial components. Cf. **Valetibena* and Etr. *Alpan* : Lat. *Laetitia*, and consider possible reference to members of a college of sibyls.

This is a “possession inscription” comprised of the genitive of a syncopated compound feminine idionym with lowering of its composition vowel: *-i-* > *-e-* before *b* as in *Prestino*’s *ARIUONEPOS* = *Ariwonebos* < **Ariwonibhos*, on which see Markey and Mees (2004). Syncopation of a gen. dual **-benou* (< **g^WHn-ou*) > *-bnu* = *-ΦNU* is reminiscent of *Vadena*’s **ben(n)ákos* > *PNAKE*, but here we presumably have elimination of a weakly articulated vocoid before a nasal. Except for its lowered composition vowel, the first member of our compound here is identical with the *Valti-* in *PID* 237 = MA-17.

(4). *PID* 239 = MA-19: (left-reading *scriptio continua*) *LASXEΦUXIXINU* = *Laste Boudigino* for **Lastos Boudiginos*; once again a binomial (Celtic, Venetoid) idionym + patronym configuration naming a (votive) dedicator. *Boudiginos* contains *boudi-* (OIr. *buaid*, W *budd*) ‘victory’, as in British *Boudicca*, while *-ginu* corresponds to *-kinu* in *PID* 237 = MA-17 (*Valtikinu*); see Schmidt (1957:100, 152, 154). Cf.

ΦΥΧΙΑΚΟ.S. (Ca 17) = *Boudiakos* at Venetic Làgole within the context of a well documented Celticity; e.g. Làgole's ΦΡΙŠ (Ca 3) with butterfly (Lepontic) *san* for *Briš* = PRIŠ[--- (late VIIth /early VIth century Hallstatt vase fragment from Montmorot, Jura) for *Brixios* or *Brixia* : BRI (Es 103 bis); see the sketchy treatments in Pellegrini and Prosdocimi (1967:1.220, 463-464) and the insightful recovery report by Kaenel (2000:151,153) on this recent Jura find. *Laste* = Lat. *Lastus* (*Lastuca*, etc.).

With respect to Magrè *Boudiginos* vs. British *Boudicca* it is interesting to note that, similarly, the Celtic names attested in the Ig inscriptions (from the Roman necropolis south of the Ljubljana marshes) are more closely related to insular Celtic onomastics than to the Celtic names retrieved from neighboring Noricum or Pannonia; see Hamp (1976, 1978), Kos (1999:53 with copious references). From this, we concur with Kos (*loc. cit.*) that at least some of the Celts at both Magrè and Ig must have belonged to an early branch of immigrants, perhaps one related to the tribes of the Carni known to have settled in Venetic territory at an early date; see Šašel (1992:539). We recall that a Magrè - East Celtic (Slovene) connection is also reflected by the Celtic inscriptions on Negau (A) and the epigraphy of Negau (B).

(5). PID 221 = MA-1: (left-reading *scriptio continua*) RIXAMNEHELANU = *Ritamne Helanu* for **Reitiamne Vellaunos* 'Vellaunos to Reitia (at the Reitalia)'.

As argued above, *Ritamne* is necessarily datival from **Reitiamnai*; cf. RITAMN.U (WE-3) at Brixen and RITAME (PID 195 = BZ-9) at Moritzing and see Laroche (1966:255-263) for a discussion and citation of the then current literature on Hitt. -*umna*-, IE non-participial onomastic -*mnos* / -*mna* and Etr. -*mne(i)* / -*mna* as manifestations of "Mediterranean" onomasticization. In some Rhaetic dialects -*mn*-presumably became -*m(m)*- (Moritzing) or -*n(n)*- (Sanzeno-Casalini), much as -*mn*- > -*nmn*- > -*nmn*- in Venetic; cf. Lejeune (1971:420-412, n. 220; 1974:128-129, 138), Schumacher (1998:95-96).

This is possibly a local hypocoristic form of Ven. *Reitia*, but, more likely, an interlingual (Rhaetic / Celtic) abstraction for epiclesis. We note Celtic abstracts with -*mn*- such as OIr. *flaithemna* < **vlati-mn-ad-tu-s* 'lordship' and the epiclesis implied by Rhaetic theonyms: Magrè's ESIUM.NINUŠU.R (PID 234 = MA-14) with *Esiumni* '(for) Esia', Steinberg's ESIMNESI (ST-3) = *Esi(a)mnesi* < **Esiamnai-si* 'for or on behalf of Esia' and Sanzeno's ESIUNNE = *Esiunne* < **Esiamnai*; see Morandi (1999:48, 63-64, 81). On Etruscoid alternation of *a* and *u*, particularly before velar nasals; cf., for example, *Velianas* [Pyrgi A] ~ *Veliumus* [Pyrgi B], *Priumne* [ES V 118] : *Priamus*, Πρίαμος, and see Morandi (1991:119-120). Pace Helmut Rix's myopic insistence (*p.c.* Sept. 21st, 2001, at the Gubbio *convegno*) that the Sanzeno-Casalini votives fail to attest theonyms.

Our suggestion, then, is that Rhaetic regularly suffixed -*mne(i)* < -*mna-i* to names of (ethnonymic) goddesses, pre-eminently Reitia at Magrè, but also Esia at Magrè, Steinberg and Sanzeno-Casalini, as deities venerated by state cults. With respect to this suggestion, cf. the analogous deployment of -*āli*- in Latin: *Saturnus* (theonym) vs. *Saturnālia* (veneration). Note, further, Central Etruscan *Velθa* (*Veltune*) : Lat. *Voltumna* :: *Velθurna* : Lat. *Volturnālia*; see Varro (*L.L.* 6.21, 7.45) on *Volturnālia* and Bader (1991) on -*āli*-, a provocative evaluation, whether one ultimately subscribes to her conclusions or not.

We note, moreover, what appear to be reflexes of *Esia*- in Valtellina and Valcamonica: Montagna (Sondrio) *PID 252 esiavau*, Tresivio (Sondrio) *PID 253 esiau* (for *Esio*?) and Piancogno (Valcamonica) Rock 25 h 37 *esi(u?)msz*. On the other hand, Valcamonica presents items that appear comparable to *estu*- at Magrè and *etsu*- at Padua: Camunic (Berzo Demo 3 c) *eztiau* and the recently (2001) discovered Camunic *espiau* or *estiau* (Campanine di Cimbergo); see Tibiletti Bruno (1990:38-40, 92-93), Gavaldo and Solano (2001), Morandi (1998:109, 124) and our discussion below of Magrè *est*-forms.

Interestingly enough, *Esia* is otherwise known only from the South. She was apparently an (archaic) Etruscan Ariadne / Persephone / Core and, as such, quite possibly the counterpart of an Italic (Oscan, Umbrian, Volscian, Marsian) *Vesuna*.⁹ An Etrurian *Esia* is, in fact, identified but twice, on two Praenestine mirrors that are reverses of each other; Brussels (Inv. No. R 1260 [818]) and Bologna (Inv. No. It. 746). For accounts of these important mirrors, see Colonna (1975:216), Lambrechts (1978: No. 10, pp. 67-73), Sassatelli (1981:No. 10, pp. 27-30, Figs. 10a-f) and Van der Meer (1995:51-54).¹⁰ Dating the mirrors is complicated, but is discussed by all four authors. On both mirrors, *Esia* is depicted as a shade brought by Artemis to Fufluns (functionally Bacchus / Dionysus / Liber) in the company of Minerva. The legends on the mirrors, inscribed by what are clearly different hands at widely different times, read as follows (letters within square brackets are missing; those in italics barely legible):

⁹ The *Esia-Vesuna* constellation is the primary focus of an ongoing study being conducted together with Fausto Orioli, a portion of which was presented by the author on September 21st, 2001, at the Gubbio conference: "L'umbro e le altre lingue dell'Italia mediana antica", hosted by IRDAU (Istituto di ricerche e documentazione sugli antichi umbri). *Vesuna* is apparently attested but once in an Etruscan context, namely on the so-called "Vesuna Mirror" (Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Maryland, Inv. No. WAG 54.85). The mirror portrays the goddess in an Ariadne-like setting, thereby permitting an equation: *Ariadne* (Etr. *Areaḡa*, *Ara a*) = *Esia* = *Vesuna*; see the discussion and documentation by Zavaroni (1996:331-332). While our study discusses a possible Rhaetic *Vesuna* at Sanzeno-Casalini, it also presents evidence to show that the *Vesuna Mirror*, which mysteriously vanished to scholarship in 1884 only to resurface on a somewhat clandestine private art market some forty-two years later in 1926, is implicated as yet another Helbig hoax. The mirror's integrity as a probative integer of *Vesuna* veneration appears to have been compromised as part of a rather elaborate 19th century gallery scam. Details are by now elusive, but the scam seems to have involved the avaricious Count Biagio Bucciosanti of Orvieto (d. 1889) as a rather reprobate property owner of the discovery site: one of eight Etruscan tombs said to have been located about three meters from the ancient Via Cassia at a place known locally as Fattoraccio ('the evil bailiff') in Comune di Castel Giorgio, sometime between October 14th and 20th, 1877. The archaeologist who made the discovery was Riccardo Mancini (1843-1915), who emerges as a rather venal Helbig sycophant, while the overly ambitious Helbig probably orchestrated the scam. Alessandro Castellani (1824-1883) seems to have been the prospective fencer, possibly aided by the notorious Francesco "Checco" Martinetti (1833-1895) as the forger, and these two surely played major roles in the subsequent "Manios hoax" (fabricated sometime between 1880 and 1887); see the tantalizing hints of foul play in the confiscated (upon Helbig's dismissal) Mancini - Helbig dossier (Archiv Nr. M 571) at the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (DAI)* in Rome. Torquato Castellani, Alessandro's son, is known to have been active ca. 1877-1879 as an unusually skillful ceramic ware (*maiolica*) copyist in Orvieto; see Savage (1963:135).

¹⁰ We are grateful to Richard Daniel De Puma (p.c.) for these initial references. Dating the mirrors is difficult, but an Etruscan *Esia*-mythology was probably in place well before production of the Sanzeno-Casalini votives (ca. 420-380 BC). Recently (September 5th, 2001), Roger Lambrechts kindly informed us (p.c.) as follows: "Le miroir *Esia* de Bologne est certainement le plus ancien. Sassatelli l'a daté du deuxième quart du Ve siècle. Il a certainement raison. Celui de Bruxelles est mieux conservé et plus beau. Dans *Miroirs étrusques et prénestins des Musées Royaux*, je l'ai daté de la seconde moitié du Ve siècle. C'est certainement

	Minerva	Fufluns	Artemis	Esia
Bologna (ca. 475-450 BC):	menarva	fu[flu]nus	artame[s]	esia
Brussels (ca. 330-300 BC):	menarea	fuflunus	artc[me]ns	esia

At Magrè, then, we seem to glimpse a triad of Rhaetic lararian guardians of communal munificence and fertility: *Estia* - *Esia* (*Ariadne* / *Vesuna*) - *Reitia* (*Artemis* / *Athena*), perhaps in this order, cf. Pausanias 5.14.4. One recalls the mid-5th century (Eleusinian?) choral prayer in *The Suppliant Maidens* (li. 674-677): “And that other guardians be always renewed (τίκτεσθαι), we pray; and that Artemis-Hecate watch over the child-bed (λόχους) of their women.” (*Loeb Library*, Smyth translation). The ordering, *τίκτω* ‘to bring forth (as a mother)’ followed by *λοχεύω* ‘to give birth to’, is surely intentional, probably formulaic and quite possibly an expression of wish and fulfillment excerpted from a cult song.

(6). *PID 234* = MA-14 (1 line: right-reading *scriptio continua*) **ESIU.MNINUŠU.R** = *Esiumni Inušur* for **Esiumnei Inosur[ix]* ‘Inosurix for Esia (at the Esialia)’ with **Esiumnei* ultimately from **Esiamnai* as discussed above. Pace Morandi’s (1999:81) reading *Esiu.mni Nušur* and contention that *Nušur* is an otherwise unknown idionym.

The final *iota* of the first term (*Esiu.mni*) is “re-used” as the initial *iota* of the second term (*Inušu.r*). Note the syllabic punctuation. The major epigraphic advantages of syllabic punctuation, made scrupulously regular to the point of becoming otiose in Venetic, are as follows. It aids “word / morph” identification in *scriptio continua* by: (1) revealing syllable boundaries and (2) blocking “the re-use option”. The re-use option was exercised in *scriptio continua* whenever the final vowel or consonant of a foregoing word was “re-used” as the initial vowel or consonant of a following word. This practice was wide-spread, and it is also found in (early) Runic inscriptions. For example, the heroic Mjöbro Stone (ca. 480-500 AD, Hagby Parish, just southwest of Uppsala in the heart of the ancient realm of the Svear), presents **ISLAGINAR** for **IS#SLAGINAR** ‘was slain’.

In the *Inosurix* retrieved here, we posit *ino* < *eno*; cf. Cembra’s (*PID 215* = CE-1) *vino*- < **veno*- in *VINUTALINA* as discussed above. We thus have *Inosurix* from *Enosurix* ‘the grand (good) king of the Inn’; see Schmidt (1957:91, 206, 226) on *eno*- and note that the majority of *eno*- / *ino*-names are concentrated in neighboring Noricum.

Even from this rather cursory presentation we can firmly posit an East Celtic presence at Rhaetic Magrè and point to Celtic as an essential component of the diverse mixture that has enriched Slovenia’s cultural heritage.

une erreur de ma part. Je me suis basé uniquement sur des critères stylistiques, qui effectivement nous reportent au Ve siècle. Mais j’aurais dû accorder plus d’attention à la typologie (prénestine) de l’objet, qui n’apparaît qu’à partir du dernier tiers du IV^e siècle. Toutefois ce désaccord entre le style de la gravure et le type du miroir crée un gros problème. La seule explication (provisoire) de ce mystère semble être celle proposée par Sassatelli: un artiste du IV^e s. aurait repris une composition plus vieille d’un siècle. Beaucoup d’auteurs éliminent le problème en déclarant (toujours sans l’avoir vu!) que le miroir de Bruxelles est un faux. C’est une solution de facilité. J’ai eu ce miroir assez d’heures, et de jours, sous les yeux et dans les mains pour affirmer avec force qu’il est authentique. Je maintiens aujourd’hui encore cette position, même si l’explication de Sassatelli n’est pas entièrement convaincante.”

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Table 1: Concordance of Presentations of the Magrè Votives

<i>PID</i>	<i>CIRCE</i>	Inv. No. Este Museum	Tibiletti Bruno (1978)	Morandi (1999)No.
221	MA-1		p. 237	38
222	MA-2	58811	p. 237	39
223	MA-4		p. 237	45
224	MA-5	58813	p. 237	36
225	MA-6	58812	p. 237	35
226	MA-7			
227	MA-8	58808	p. 237	34
228	MA-9	58810	p. 237	40
229	MA-10	58809	p. 237	37
230	MA-3	58811	p. 237	39
231	MA-11	58816	p. 237	41
232	MA-12		p. 232	42
233	MA-13	58815	p. 234	43
234	MA-14		p. 237	44
235	MA-15			
236	MA-16	58819	p. 237	47
237	MA-17		p. 237	46
238	MA-18	58814	p. 237	50
239	MA-19	58814	p. 237	49
240	MA-20			
241	MA-21			
242	MA-22			
243	MA-23	58817	p. 238	48

Zgodnje oblike celinske keltščine (okrog 550-50 pr. Kr.) so bile razširjene v severnem alpskem pasu italijanskega polotoka od jezer Maggiore in Como na zahodu do Slovenije na vzhodu. Fragmenti keltskih napisov s tega območja so se ohranili v različnih lokalnih abecedah, na katere je vplivala prvenstveno etruščina (retščina). V teh sicer skopih besedilih lahko spoznavamo, kako se je v železni dobi pismenost razširjala z mediteranskega področja proti severu v keltsko Evropo. Zgodnje jezikovne in kulturne stike med etruščino (retščino), keltščino in venetščino pa lahko še posebej opazujemo na osnovi votivnih napisov, povezanih s čaščenjem boginje Reitije v svetišču v kraju Magrè (Schio) severno od Vicenze. Zdi se, da imamo tu pred seboj tri larijske čuvajke blaginje in plodnosti skupaj: to so *Estija - Esija (Ariadna / Vesuna) – Reitija (Artemis / Atena)*. V članku avtor z jezikoslovnega stališča analizira nekaj magrèjskih napisov, predvsem v odnosu do keltščine, pa tudi z vidika njihovih epigrafskih značilnosti. Vezi med otoško keltščino in vzhodno keltščino, kot se odraža v italijanskem Magrèju in na slovenskem Igu, so presenetljivo in obenem enigmatično močne. Tako npr. v enem izmed magrèjskih votivnih napisov najdemo onomastično pojavitev keltske osnove *boudi-* 'zmaga', prisotno tudi v britanskem imenu *Boudicca* (sic, Tacitus, Agr. 16,1) za slavno kraljico Icenov, ki je v letih 60 – 61 pr. Kr. vodila tragično neuspešen upor proti rimskim okupatorjem.

PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES WITH VERBA DICENDI FROM DALMATIN'S TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE (1584) IN RELATION TO FOREIGN LANGUAGE TRANSLATIONS

0 INTRODUCTION

In a diachronic perspective from the 16th century to the present, this article investigates translated interlinguistic agreement and difference in the use of the temporally marked Slovenian prepositional phrases that appeared in the semantic group of *verba dicendi* in the first two books of the Old Testament and the New Testament of the oldest Slovenian translation of the Bible, from 1584, and that were replaced in the modern literary language in the 19th century by the introduction of prepositionless or other prepositional patterns. A comparison is made on the basis of Internet publications of parallel sections of six foreign language translations (Latin, German, two English [17th century and modern], French and Russian), and the extent to which these prepositional phrases are covered by older or modern literary Slovenian syntactic patterns is determined.

1 PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES WITH VERBA DICENDI IN A DIACHRONIC PERSPECTIVE

1.0 For the older period of literary Slovenian, from the diachronic perspective the differential use of prepositional phrases is significant, especially in certain syntactic senses with verb phrases with free prepositional morphemes, known as prepositional verbs, in verb phrases and in certain figurative meanings that were adopted on the model of foreign language literary patterns (in this case, on the basis of Biblical pattern), and therefore a certain interlinguistic agreement, and even interlinguistic universality of equivalent prepositional phrases in the valency of obligatory and non-obligatory syntactic senses in a particular time are expected, and on the other hand deviation in the direction of differential linguistic specifics as well.

1.1.0 The sample group of prepositional phrases that was selected with regard to a developmentally disproportional distribution of use in Slovenian and great lexical frequency is limited to a comparison of right valence prepositional complements as part of the semantic field of structurally similar *verba dicendi* such as *govoriti*, *odgovoriti*, *reči*, *praviti*, *dejati*, *povedati*, *klicati*, *vpiti*, *pridigati*, etc. that from the 16th century up to the 19th century partially corresponded to the model *govoriti/reči ... h komu kaj od koga/česa (skozi koga/kaj)*, for which the omission of the use of prepositional free morphemes and especially the substitution of non-Slovenian calqued prepositional

phrases with suitable native elements (e.g., *govoriti, reči... komu kaj o kom/čem (po kom/v čem, s čim)*) is typical in historical development. To show which prepositional structures agree with those in foreign languages, interlinguistic comparison will cover a number of such prepositional phrases from the first two books of the Old Testament and New Testament in six different languages and eight translations. These are: Dalmatin's Bible from 1584 (DAL), the Slovenian standard translation from 1996 (SSP), Luther's German Bible from 1545 (L45), the Latin Vulgate from the 4th to 5th century (VUL), the English King James translation from 1611 (KJV) and modern English (the Good News Bible, GNB), a French translation from 1910 (Louis Segond, SEG) and the Russian synodal translation from 1876 (RUS). The results were verified with the same Latin and German foreign language phrases in Hutter's six-language *Biblia sacra* (1599), which did not significantly differ from the samples in the two editions mentioned above.

1.1.1 All of the prepositional phrases mentioned above primarily express spatial relations. Their figurative use, which in Slovenian linguistics this is defined as *calqued*, semantically also derives from them and, with a link to the abstraction of the spatial component, expands its usage to verbs that express this semantic relationship at the figurative, metaphorical level, which would agree with the prototype theory of prepositional meaning and the radial interpretation of the cognitive linguistics approach (Sicherl 2000, 416–420). Prepositions – as polysemously complex relators or a sub-type of junctors that prototypically connect a given base with a nominal or pronominal adjunct and distinguish three determining types or syntactic functions: attributive, predicative and applicative, in which the base is a noun, a subject and a copula as well as a verb (Weinrich 1993, 610) – show a varying degree of preservation of the original sense, which is partially lost (made meaningless), and take on the grammatical function of what are known as free morphemes, the semantic trace of which is nonetheless marked (with selected verbs, the orientation of the verbal action toward the participant in the communication as opposed to the goal with the free dative), while their exchangeability with non-prepositional verbs defines their non-obligatory nature or non-necessity in synthetic languages as opposed to analytical languages.

1.2 The sample studied is limited to the semantic group of *verba dicendi*, which František Daneš (1999, 105–106) defined as verbs of action whose agentive participant is the agent of an action based on the use of language in its spoken (auditory), graphic or figurative shape and express only a spoken activity or its content or thought (goal, function) and have the role of performatives (e.g., *opravičiti se, ukazati, prisiliti, prositi*, etc.) with a declarative function (termed illocutionary power by Austin) in which the use of language is only one of the possible means for attaining the same goal. A similar basic scheme of obligatory and non-obligatory participant complements is characteristic for all of them.

1.2.1 In Dalmatin the right argument role that names the person responded to with *verba dicendi* is the most numerous, for example: the most general unidirectional or bidirectional communicative verb *govoriti*, the typical unidirectional *reči*, less often

poreči, the grammatically limited verb *dejati*, which, like today, appeared only with a temporal-functionally expressed limitation on the past (the type *je djal* ‘said’), *izgovoriti*, exceptionally *praviti*, DAL: *GOSPVD Bug je djal k’Sheni* (Gen. 3.13), *k’Sheni je on rekàl* (Gen. 3.16); SSP: *GOSPOD Bog je rekel ženi; ženi je rekel*). In the four books of the Bible mentioned, in Dalmatin the verb *dejati* is most frequently used, with nearly one thousand attestations, with a formal-temporal limitation on the reporting of past verbal actions that primarily introduce a literal quotation or report it, and with it the free morpheme *k/h* consistently appears. It follows the verb *reči* with nearly 450 attestations – which, however, in cases with a stated receiver of the message expressed with a dative participant does not always realize the morpheme *k* with itself (14 times)), and a content complement does not appear with it. In third place is the verb *govoriti* (over 200), which appears in two distinct forms of the past participle, *govoril* and *govuril*, which surprisingly appear in a two-to-one relationship at the expense of the non-Lower Carniolan phonetic variant (86 to 46), whereas the entirety of examples from all available books exhibits a diametrically opposed picture (145 to 272). Next is *povedati* (approximately 180), which does not require a free morpheme, e.g. DAL: *de ste timu Moshu povedali* (Gen. 46.31). The verb *praviti* is more rarely represented (approximately 70 examples), and is usually followed by a literal quotation, and otherwise the morpheme may be given or not: DAL: *od kateriga je Bug njemu pravil* (Gen. 22.3). Usage without the prepositional morpheme sporadically appears (e.g., Gen. 19.12, 34.11, 41.55, Mt 22.13, Mk 3. 9, etc.). In analytical languages it is expressed with a complement for the indirect participant in the action, which also implies the orientation of the verbal action (KJV: *the LORD God said unto the woman*; GNB: *and he said to the woman*; KJV: *Unto the woman he said*; SEG: *l’Éternel Dieux dit à sa femme*; L45: *da sprach GOtt der HErr zum Weibe*, whereas in Russian a bare dative is used (*I skazal Gospodъ Bog žene; žene skazal*), and in Latin both usages are attested (*et dixit Dominus Deus ad mulierem, mulieri quoque dixit ei – dixit ad eum, dixit mihi, dixit Sarai uxori suae*, etc.), which also occurs in French with a personal pronoun complement (*Ils lui dirent*), and in German only with the verb *sagen*, and not *sprechen* (*Und sie sagten ihm* versus *und sprach zu ihm*).

1.2.2.1 The basic bivalent grammatical pattern of the verb *govoriti*, which alone anticipates bidirectional communication (S_N (+hum.) V (*govoriti*) S_I (+hum.) ‘govoriti s kom’ ‘to speak with someone’), was also dominant in the 16th century, and in the modern translation is substituted for with unidirectional verbal action (*s’fvojjim fynom Esavom govoril*; SSP: *govoril sinu Ezavu* (Gen. 27.5)), whereas unidirectional verbal action of the subject is designated (directed) toward the listener or interlocutor; i.e., the type S_N (+hum.) V (*govoriti*) $S_{D(k/h)}$ (+hum) S_A (+inan.) ‘govoriti komu kaj’ ‘to say something to someone’: (*od*)*govoriti, reči, povedati, dejati, praviti, poročati, komu kaj* in the 16th century was very often expressed by a prepositional dative with the free morpheme *k* (e.g., *govoriti h komu kaj*), and one also finds complements without it, always with the verb *povedati*. The unidirectional verb, the perfective pair of the upper (*odgovoriti*), which appears rarely (16) and generally has

no complement (e.g., *Moses je pak timu Folku odgovoril* (Ex. 20.20)), which also agrees with the government of the German verb (e.g., *Mose antwortete ihm*), also does not appear with a prepositional morpheme in the 16th century (the type *odgovoriti komu kaj*), which corresponds to the German translation, in which the verb *odgovoriti* (*antworten*) does not have the free morpheme *zu*, and therefore it also does not exist in Slovenian. Russian is similar, where the response to the participant in the message is rarely stated, whereas in French and Latin the free morpheme for the indirect object is also found with this verb (e.g., *et répondit à Abraham*). A prepositional morpheme is not always found with the verb *reči* (*reči komu kaj*), e.g. DAL: *Jest hozhem gori pojti inu Pharaonu povédati, inu hozhem k'njemu rezhi*; SSP: *Pojdem poročat faraonu in mu rečem* (Gen. 46.31), where it corresponds with the German text: *und Pharaon ansagen und zu ihm sprechen*; GNB: *said to him, tell so.*; KJV: *say unto so.*, the Russian and Latin translation also have a bare dative (*nunciabo Pharaoni dicamque ei*). The verbs *zapovedati* and *poročiti* have only a bare dative (*poročiti komu kaj* 'to announce'), which agrees with German.

1.2.2.2 According to the theory of strong and weak syntactic variants, the use of a prepositional verb as opposed to a prepositionless verb could be defined with regard to the complexity of syntactic structures as more or less complex, which may be diachronically interpreted as a change from more complex structures to simpler structures.

1.2.3 With verbs that include semantic content of the manner (strength, intensity) of expression, such as *vpiti*, *klicati h komu* 'to cry, to call' the prepositional morpheme of directionality in Biblical texts is also preserved in all newer translations up to the most recent, and is also known in foreign language translations; e.g., DAL: *vpili h'GOSPV DV* (Ex. 17.4); SSP: *je vpil h GOSPODU*, although today's normative rules do not allow this valency possibility (only *vpiti na koga/kaj*, emphatic *vpiti po kom/čem* and prepositionless *vpiti komu/kaj* (e.g., orders to workers)).

1.2.4 With *govoriti* the prepositions *proti* and *pred* also sporadically appear in the role of orientation toward the interlocutor or location (DAL: *Moses je pak pred GOSPV DOM govoril* (Ex. 7.2), whereas the semantic opposition is expressed by *zoper*, which takes the accusative (*supèr*: DAL: *govory supèr Synu* (Mt 12.32)), which can also be preserved today (SSP: *če kdo reče besedo zoper sina*), *pruti*: DAL: *je Jesus sazhel pruti folku govoriti ad Joannefa*; SSP: *je Jezus začel množicam govoriti o Janezu* (Mt 11.7). In foreign translations there is no change in the prepositional morpheme – *k* remains, whereas the phrase with *od* for the most part corresponds with an older translation (German *von*, Latin *de*, except English *about* in newer (in older *concerning* (KJV)) and Russian (*o*, *ob*)).

1.2.5.0 The object complement of content, substituted for by the preposition *o* ($S_{LO}+/-hum.$) ('about someone/something'), the type *govoriti*, *reči o kom/čem* was expressed in the 16th century with the preposition *od* (*govoriti od koga/česa*), a free valency phrase of circumstance (a circumstant) that defines the verbal action with regard to the manner in which it is carried out or the mediator of the verbal action that is not also the agent of the action in the role of the subject was introduced in the 16th

century with the preposition *skozi*, but in the standard Slovenian translation has been replaced by *po* for human mediators and by the prepositions *v* and *z/s* with nouns lexically and verbally defined for manner or communication.

1.2.5.1.1 With verbs of reporting, speaking, knowing and feeling, the typical prepositional phrase for a content object complement in the 16th century was expressed with the free morpheme *od* (the type *govoriti od česa*), which appears with the verbs *brati*, *disputirati*, *govoriti*, *misliti*, *pisati*, *povedati*, *praviti*, *prerokovati*, *pridigovati*, *(za)slišati*, *(z)vedeti*, *vprašati*, *zamerkati*, and *zdeti* ... *od* and with an appropriate noun that implies the meaning of the verbal communication (e.g., DAL: *befsedo od krajleftva* (Mt 13.19); SSP: *besedo kraljestva*), which was used in the literary language until the middle of the 19th century and is still found in Wolf's edition of the Bible of 1856 (except for *vprašati od*, where it is replaced by *vprašati za*), and is still alive in the spoken language today, where the meaning of the spatial starting point or separation, or in a metaphorical sense the origin of the verbal action or deduction, has already lost the sense of a semantic connection to spatial separation. Since the end of the 19th century it has been replaced by the morpheme *o* (*čem*), because there was a desire to root out the same surface structure as there was in German, upon which the Slovenian use is apparently based. A similar change is shown in English translations from various times expressing *of – about* (e.g., DAL: *je on od nyh govuril*; SSP: *da govori o njih*; KJV: *that he spake of them*; GNB: *that he was talking about them* (Mt 21.45). The Russian translation always contains the morpheme *o*, and the others are the equivalent of Slovenian *od*: German *von*, Latin and French *de*, except in the noun phrase, where the right non-agreeing attribute in the modern translation is a bare genitive, as in Latin (SSP: *besedo kraljestva poslušati*, VUL: *verbum regni*).

1.2.5.1.2 With the performative verb *prošiti* the right human participant is expressed in the 16th century with an original *od* (e.g., *prošiti kaj od koga*), while today this is a grammatically accusative object complement (*prošiti koga kaj*): DAL: *je eno rezh od njega prosila*; SSP: *da bi ga nekaj prosila*; KJV: *to want something from someone: desiring a certain thing of him*; GNB: *to ask for a favour: asked him for a favor*, French differently, VUL: *petens aliquid ab eo* (Mt 20.20).

1.2.5.2 Non-obligatory prepositional phrases define the mediator of the verbal action (the type *govoriti skozi koga*) or define the manner of the utterance (e.g., *govoriti skozi kaj*), which proceeds from the meaning of transition within something from one end to the other, and according to the semantic shift expresses mediation (today more suitably with *po*), spoken medium or means (the preposition *z/s čim*), manner (the preposition *v čem*, *s čim*), purpose (to speak in memory [of]): *govoriti v podobah*, *z besedami*, etc.; e.g., DAL: *Satu jeft k'nym govorim fkusi priglihe* (Mt 13,13), SSP: *Zato jim govorim v prilikah*, which is expressed with the preposition *v* [in] all languages except in German, which has *durch*, corresponding to the Slovenian preposition. Passive structures also occur with *verba dicendi* when the agent (left participant) is unexpressed and, along with the active, it is often replaced in translations with Latin *per*, German *durch*: DAL: *kar je govorjenu fkusi Preroke* (Mt 2.23); SSP: *kar je bilo rečeno po prerokih*).

2 CONCLUSION

From an interlinguistic comparison of Biblical translations in the expression of the participant role with *verba dicendi* with regard to the use of bound and free (with regard to valency) prepositional verb phrases that do not express continuity in Slovenian, but were substituted for by a bare complement (the type *govoriti, reči*, etc. *h komu, prositi od koga*), a semantically similar metaphorically used preposition (*skozi – po*) or an apparently semantically different prepositional morpheme (*od – o*), it is possible determine connections to or dependencies on foreign language translations that were often limited only to a German (or broader Germanic) grammatical linguistic example as an imitation of this, or to infer a mutual linguistic type or agreement at the level of prepositional phrase use in general, which probably derives from deep-structure semantic argumentation, as, for example, in the type *govoriti od koga/česa* the diachronic tendency is apparent to omit semantically undetermined prepositional use with verbs that express direct speech toward an interlocutor in the speech interaction as well as certain other verbal senses (with the sememe of association, approaching), as well as a tendency for semantic simplification or other semantic motivation of certain prepositions (*od – o*) in certain languages (Slovenian, English *of – about*) and with continuity in spoken linguistic practice. The tendency toward prepositional verbal forms in the older periods was, like other syntactic parallels, part of the heritage of Western European civilization and culture and was fostered by formal linguistic variation and similar semantic motivation.

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Povzetek
PREDLOŽNE ZVEZE OB GLAGOLIH GOVORJENJA IZ DALMATINOVEGA PREVODA
BIBLIJE (1584) V RAZMERJU S TUJEJEZIČNIMI PREVODI

V prispevku je v diahroni perspektivi od 16. stoletja do sodobnosti raziskana prevodna medjezikovna ujemalnost in različnost v rabi tistih časovno zaznamovanih slovenskih predložnih zvez, ki se pojavljajo v pomenski skupini glagolov govorjenja v prvih dveh starozaveznih in novozaveznih knjigah najstarejšega slovenskega prevoda Biblije iz l. 1584 in ki so jih v 19. stoletju zamenjali v sodobnem knjižnem jeziku uveljavljeni nepredložni ali drugi predložni vzorci. S primerjavo na podlagi internetne objave vzporedno izpisanih mest v šestih tujejezičnih prevodih (latinskem, nemškem, dveh angleških (iz 17. stoletja in sodobnem), francoskem in ruskem) je bilo ugotovljeno, v kolikšni meri se te predložne zveze prekrivajo s starejšimi ali sodobnimi slovenskimi knjižnimi skladenjskimi vzorci.

Iz medjezikovne primerjave svetopisemskih prevedkov pri izražanju udeleženskih vlog ob glagolih govorjenja glede rabe vezljivostno obveznih in prostih predložnih glagolskih zvez, ki v slovenskem jeziku ne izkazujejo kontinuitete, ampak so bile nadomeščene z brezpredložnim dopolnilom (tip *govoriti, reči* ipd. *h komu, prositi od koga*), blizupomenskim metaforično rabljenim predlogom (*skozi – po*) ali navidezno pomensko različnim predložnim morfemom (*od – o*) lahko ugotovimo tujejezično prevodno navezavo oz. odvisnost, ki se večkrat omejuje le na nemški (ali širše germanski) slovnični jezikovni zgled kot posnemanje le-tega, ali pa lahko predvidevamo medsebojno jezikovno tipiko oz. skladnost na ravni predložnozvezne splošnosti rabe, ki izhaja verjetno iz globinske pomenske argumentacije, kot je razvidna npr. v tipu *govoriti od koga/česa* jezikovnorazvojna težnja po opuščanju pomensko neodločevalne predložne rabe pri glagolih usmerjenosti govorjenja na soudeleženca v govorni interakciji in tudi nekaterih drugih glagolskih pomenih (s sememom pridruženja, približevanja), ter težnja po pomenski razbremenjenosti oz. drugačni pomenski motivaciji nekaterih predlogov (*od – o*) v nekaterih jezikih (slovensko, angleško *of – about*) in s kontinuiteto v govorjeni jezikovni praksi. Pogostejša predložnosklonska glagolska raba v starejših obdobjih je bila kot druge skladenjske vzporednosti del zahodnoevropske civilizacijske in kulturne dediščine, za katero je bila značilna formalnojezikovna različnost in podobna pomenska motivacija.

FINAL SONORANT SEQUENCES IN THE CELJE DIALECT¹

1 Introduction

In this paper I will analyse final sonorant sequences² in the Celje variety of Slovene. In §2 various definitions of a consonant cluster will be discussed and the definition needed for further development of the article will be provided. In §3 I will present pretheoretical arguments against treating all final sonorant sequences as consonant clusters. In addition, a seemingly special behaviour of a small group of sequences will be pointed out. The government phonology framework will be introduced in §4. In §5 the data from the Celje dialect will be analysed within the given theoretical framework.

2 Consonant clusters

Let us have a look at definitions of the term consonant cluster.

Toporišič (1959, 203) claims that consonant clusters are sequences of consonants in words, word units and on word boundaries. They fall into three categories: initial, intervocalic and final clusters. The order of cluster members is not arbitrary; vowels are flanked by sonorants, in front of sonorants and after them appear obstruents. Toporišič observes the “increase” of sonorants when preceding a vowel, which can be interpreted as a sequence of sonorants ordered according to the sonority sequencing principle. The sonority sequencing principle requires the more sonorous segments to appear closer to the vowel (the most sonorous part of the syllable) (Kenstowicz, 1995). The relative sonority of segments is read off the sonority scale (as proposed in Srebot Rejec (1992, 228) for sonorants). Although Toporišič (1959) is not specific about the “decrease” of sonorants in positions following a vowel we can assume it exists as a logical opposition to the “increase” in initial positions.

Unuk (2003, 48) uses the term consonant sequences instead of consonant clusters to underline the importance of the ordering of consonants. The ordering of members in a sequence is determined by phonotactic principles, the most prominent among them being the sonority sequencing principle, which relies on the sonority scale (1).

(1) stops, fricatives, affricates < nasals < sonorants < r < vowels (taken from Unuk (2003))

¹ I would like to thank dr. Erika Kržišnik for her helpful comments on the draft of this paper. The remaining errors are mine.

² This paper focuses merely on final sonorant sequences. However, the same analysis I propose for final sequences would also apply to sonorant sequences in preconsonantal position.

In addition, Unuk distinguishes true consonant sequences (consonant clusters in our terminology, see (2)) from bogus sequences. The former belong to the same syllable while the members of the latter belong to different syllables. The distinction is guided by the sonority sequencing principle: the former obey it, the latter do not.

Srebot Rejec (1992, 228) similarly observes that any arbitrary sequence of consonants does not necessarily stand for a consonant cluster, since the latter is conditioned by the sonority sequencing principle. She argues that final consonant sequences in *butelj* [butɨ] 'an idiot'³ and *siten* [sitɨ] 'fussy, masc.' do not represent consonant clusters but sequences of two consonants with the second consonant having the value of a syllable.⁴

Although the definition of a consonant cluster does not seem very unified, a common tendency can be recognized in all the given works. For the purpose of this paper let us assume the following definition of a consonant cluster:

- (2) Final consonant clusters are those final consonant sequences that belong to the same syllable as the vowel preceding them.

It will be assumed that consonant clusters are subject to the sonority sequencing principle as in (3).

- (3) Sonority must decrease from the vowel to the margins of a syllable. The ranking of consonants according to their sonority is given in a sonority scale.

When not referring to a particular work which uses the term cluster the term sequence will be used from now on in the most general way to avoid any implication as to whether a series of consonants in question are a part of the same syllable as the preceding vowel or not.

3 Sonorant sequences and syllabic consonants

3.1 *The sonority sequencing principle in final sonorant sequences*

Srebot Rejec (1992) proposes the following sonority scale for sonorants (4).

- (4) $v < m, n < l < r < j$

She argues that sonorant clusters in final positions must obey the sonority sequencing principle, which means that they are of falling sonority (as in the word *gostiln* 'a pub, gen.pl.').

The Celje pronunciation of the word *kalen* 'muddy, masc.' shows vocalic reduction in the last syllable, thus we get [kalɨ]. This kind of a final sonorant

³ The data are in the nominative singular, unless indicated otherwise.

⁴ The phenomenon of sonorants being the most sonorous parts of the syllables is also found in languages such as Slovak, Czech, English, German and others.

sequence obeys the sonority sequencing principle, which suggests that it could belong to the same syllable as the vowel preceding it and could thus be a consonant cluster as defined in (2).

Alongside the falling sonority final sequences the rising sonority final sequences (again as a result of vocalic reduction) can be found in the Celje dialect, as in the word *kanilo* [kanɪ] ‘to drip, past part., neuter’. According to (3) a final sequence of /n/ and /l/ can never be a consonant cluster. This is also confirmed by the intuition of the speakers that such a sonorant sequence is a syllable on its own.⁵ However, the same intuition applies for the final sequences in [kalɪ] and [gostilɪ], which could, according to (4), represent true consonant clusters but apparently never do. Recall that Srebot Rejec (1992, 228) proposes that the second member of the final consonant sequence as in [butɪ] has a value of a syllable, and is thus called syllabic. Due to the apparent similarity, let us propose the same for the second member of a final sonorant sequence in the Celje dialect.

The Celje dialect permits not only the given pair of sonorant sequences [nɪ]/[lɪ] but also most other sonorant sequences⁶ regardless of the sonority sequencing principle. In each of the cases the second member of a sequence is always syllabic.

We can conclude this section by claiming that final sonorant sequences in the Celje dialect are not subject to the sonority sequencing principle. The aim of the sonority sequencing principle is to predict distribution of segments within the scope of a syllable. We have seen that in the Celje dialect a final sonorant sequence does not belong to the same syllable as the preceding vowel,⁷ but is a syllable on its own. Therefore any attempt to analyse the given sequences by referring to the sonority sequencing principle would be misleading.

3.2 *Toporišič's categorisation of words with final sonorant sequences*

Toporišič (1978) observes that words with final sonorant sequences fall into four categories.

The first one is represented by words that insert a schwa between the two sonorants in the nominative singular (*jarem* ‘a yoke’).

The second group consists of words in which a schwa immediately precedes the sonorant cluster, therefore the cluster is not broken by an additional schwa (*trn* ‘a thorn’, *obrv* ‘an eyebrow’). The same is true for loan words (*film* ‘a film’). However, Toporišič himself observes that words from this group have a tendency to syllabify the sonorant sequence by means of inserting an additional schwa (*trn* is realised as [tərən]) or by vocalising the final sonorant (*obrv* is realised as [obəru]).

The third group is represented by words in the genitive plural that tend to be as

⁵ The data concerning the number of syllables in this paper are acquired by using simple experiments on rhythm and verse.

⁶ Sequences with /r/ as the second member are exceptions to this. The reason for the inability of /r/ to become syllabic lies most likely in its melodic structure. (A discussion on this is beyond the scope of the present paper.) Whenever /r/ is to appear as the second member of a final consonant sequence, a vowel (usually a schwa) is phonetically realised immediately before it.

⁷ With the exception of sequences with a glide /j/ as the first member of the sequence (see §3.2).

faithful as possible to the the nominative singular form, therefore they avoid the insertion of a schwa (tovarn 'a factory, gen.pl.', trm 'stubbornness, gen.pl.').

The fourth group consists of words in the genitive plural (moriĵ 'a sea, gen.pl.', slavij 'a celebration, gen.pl.'), which have undergone the "the hardening of j into -i, which is then followed by an additional j due to the analogy with other cases" (Toporišič, 1978, 46).

Let us now go back to the Celje dialect. What we observe is that words that Toporišič painstakingly divides into the first three groups behave exactly the same: the second member of the sonorant sequence becomes syllabic (5).

(5) kalen [kalɲ], trn [tɐɲ], film [filɲ]

The only exception we observe here are sequences with /j/ as the first member, as in fajn 'good, colloquial' and mejl 'e-mail, colloquial', which are according to the speakers' intuition monosyllabic words. Srebot Rejec (1992, 229) independently proposes that these sequences are not really clusters since [j] forms a diphthong with a previous vowel. Another explanation might be that these sequences are actually the only final sonorant clusters that can be found in the Celje dialect.

We observe that the behaviour of words that belong to Toporišič's fourth group seems different from other words in the Celje dialect as well. Toporišič's explanation seems to be rather complicated, since it involves two processes: the "hardening" of a segment into another segment and the analogy (the relevant example is morje/moriĵ 'a sea, nom.sg./gen.pl.'). It is disputable whether it is necessary to make use of two unrelated processes that turn one segment into another one and then call back the identity of the first one.

If the behaviour of final sonorant sequences with /j/ as the last member is truly different from the behaviour of other final sonorant sequences, then a phonological theory that attempts to explain not only describe phonological phenomena should find reasons for this discrepancy. We will come back to this issue once we are armed with a good theory. For the time being let us pretheoretically propose that since other sonorants (except /r/) can become syllabic in the final position of a final sonorant sequence, /j/ also becomes syllabic.

4 Theoretical background

We shall be analysing final sonorant sequences within the government phonology framework (Kaye et al., 1985, 1990), more precisely in the strict CV approach (Lowenstamm, 1996; Scheer, 2004).

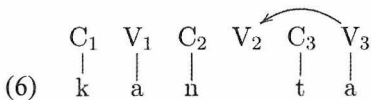
In government phonology a phonological string consists of a series of positions. There are two types of positions: C and V. The former type roughly corresponds to consonants and the latter to vowels. These two types of positions have to alternate in a phonological string. A C starts a phonological string and a V finishes it.

A set of items that determine pronunciation and perception is attached to the positions in autosegmental fashion (see Goldsmith, 1976). These items are called elements and represent melodic material attached to a particular position. The

theory uses only a small number of elements, the most radical versions recognize only six of them (for discussion cf. Neubarth and Rennison, 1998, 2005). The same elements can appear in a C or a V position—the nature of the position will determine the exact pronunciation. For instance, the phonetic realization of the element I will be a glide /j/ when attached to a C position, and a vowel /i/ when attached to a V position. Adjacent positions can also share melodic material. The melody sharing can either be lexical (already in our mental lexicon) or the result of a phonological process called spreading that allows elements to spread from a position to its adjacent positions of the same or different type.

To use a skeleton of alternating Cs and Vs to represent the structure of words in a language that only permits syllables consisting of one consonant followed by one vowel hardly poses any problems. What about a language with consonant clusters? In such cases the strict CV approach allows a position to remain inaudible if it is empty, i.e. without melodic material. Also, the distribution of inaudible V positions is not arbitrary. It is constrained by the empty category principle (ECP), which can be satisfied in different ways. For the purpose of this paper let us discuss only two of them.

Let us take a Slovene word like *kanta* ‘a bin.’ Although it lacks an audible vowel between n and t I claim that its structure consists of three CV pairs as shown in (6)⁸.

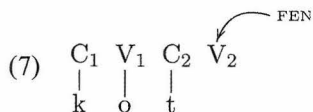


The theory allows positions to become involved in two different types of relations. The relations are strictly local and always involve exactly two adjacent positions, the direction of a relation is from right to left. The source of the relation is a phonetically audible position.

Since position V2 in (6) is inaudible, it has to satisfy the empty category principle. A way of satisfying the ECP is to be the target in the governing relation (or government) with the following V. We can say that position V3 governs position V2 and thus allows it to remain inaudible (the governing relation is marked by a single arrow). If position V2 was not governed, it would be phonetically interpreted. The interpretation of an empty unsilenced V varies across languages: it usually appears as some sort of a schwa (Neubarth and Rennison, 1998).

An empty V position can also remain inaudible by virtue of being the last position in a phonological domain. The theory proposes the (parametrized) final empty nucleus (FEN) principle, which allows domain-final V positions to remain unexpressed as in *kot* ‘an angle’ (depicted in (7)).

⁸ Orthographic symbols stand for an informal summary of the melodic elements attached to a particular skeletal position.



5 Syllabic sonorants in government phonology and the analysis of the Slovene data

We have pretheoretically proposed that (almost) any final sonorant sequence in the Celje dialect has a value of a syllable and that it is the second member of a sequence that functions as the most sonorous part of a syllable. In other words, the second member in a sequence becomes syllabic. Let us now see whether these observations are the expected outcomes in the given theoretical framework.

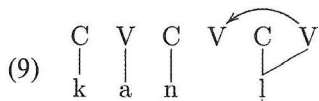
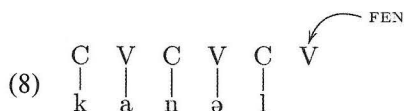
Despite a more or less unified idea about the building blocks of government phonology, the representation of syllabic consonants due to their vocalic and consonantal characteristics remains open to dispute.

One way to represent them is to propose that melodic material indicating the phonetic interpretation of a sonorant is attached to a V position (Toft, 2002; Harris, 1994). The shortcomings of this proposal are the following: (i) whether the phonetic realisation is that of a consonant or a vowel cannot be determined on the basis of melodic material itself; the type of the position elements attach to plays a decisive role, and (ii) alternations between syllabic and non-syllabic realisations of the same consonant in different forms of a word would imply resyllabification (switching of melodic material from one position to another), which is not recognized as a phonological process in government phonology.

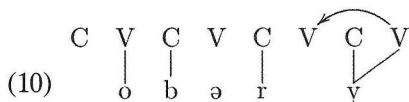
Another proposal is that the same melodic material is attached to at least two adjacent positions (Scheer, 2004; Blaho, 2001). These positions are of different types, which implies the twofold character of a syllabic consonant. However, this proposal does not entirely overcome the shortcoming of the previous one concerning the interpretation of melodic material. For the purpose of this paper we need to make the following assumptions: (i) A CV pair represents a unit, therefore the interpretation of the melodic material shared within a unit is specific, in this case a segment with a vocalic function and consonantal phonetic realisation. (ii) Melodic material is shared by precisely two adjacent positions: a C and a following V position.⁹ (iii) In Slovene there are no syllabic consonants present lexically; whenever they appear they are the result of the application of phonology on a phonological string.

If a final empty V receives melodic material from the adjacent C position by means of spreading, we get a syllabic consonant, which is the case in the Celje dialect (depicted in (9)). This V position is thus phonetically realised and can therefore silence (by governing) the preceding V position. If there is no spreading into the last V position and consequently no sharing of the melodic material, the last empty V position is not phonetically realised and thus incapable of silencing the preceding V position. In this case a schwa is realised between the two sonorants (depicted in (8)).

⁹ Other possibilities are discussed in Scheer (2004); Blaho (2001); Ferme (2004).



Let us take the alternation *obrv/obrv* [obəru]/[obərvi] ‘an eyebrow, nom. sg./gen.(=nom.)pl.’ In contrast with the example above, phonetic realisations of the segment under inspection differ: [u] in the position of an expected syllabic consonant and [v] in the position where a non-syllabic consonant is expected. Toporišič (1978) argues that [u] in the given example is the vocalised variant of the final sonorant. If ‘vocalised’ is translated to government phonology vocabulary as ‘syllabic,’ then Toporišič (1978) and our theory agree in explaining a phenomenon which at first glance seems very different from what we have observed in (9), but is in fact very similar depicted in (10). The structure (not taking into account the melodic material) of a syllabic /v/ is the same as in the case of other syllabic consonants, the unexpected part is the phonetic interpretation.¹⁰ This is not surprising since glides are phonetically very close to vowels, therefore the distinction, if there is one, can be easily blurred. Further elaboration of this stipulation, however, is beyond the scope of this paper.



Let us recall that Toporišič (1978) proposes the hardening of /j/ to [i]¹¹ when it is a second member of a final sonorant sequence. In addition to this process another /j/ is added to the sequence due to the analogy with other cases. This way of dealing with sonorant sequencing with /j/ as a second member is radically different from previous observations made for other sonorant sequences. Let us see if a different analysis is really necessary.

¹⁰ Despite the difference in pronunciation, I claim that the melodic representation of a segment does not change (it is always the element U), the only difference being the type and number of relations that target the given position. A discussion on the real character of the alternation is beyond the scope of this paper and will be dealt with elsewhere.

¹¹ It is interesting to note that Toporišič (1978, 46–47) actually uses two explanations concerning this phenomenon interchangeably. The first one is the one mentioned above, that is, the hardening of /j/ to [i] and adding another /j/, the second one is the insertion of the [i]. The two proposals provide the same surface output, however, there is a fundamental difference between them: the first one involves the allophonic explanation (/j/ turns into [i]) while the second one calls for the insertion of a new phoneme.

We encounter two problems if we want to translate this proposal directly into our theory. The first one concerns the existence of a process that changes a consonant into a vowel, provided that each segment is represented by one position. The theory of government phonology does not recognize such a process. The second problem concerns the source of the element I, which represents the additional /j/. We could stipulate that I first breaks the bond with its original position, attaches to the adjacent position and in the end spreads into its original position. Not only that this process is not recognized by the theory, it is also intuitively hardly plausible that an element that is frequently lost in weak positions (e.g. unaccented [i] is very often lost) would have enough strength to delink, link again and finally spread. In addition, from this point of view the phenomenon does not seem to be motivated by analogy in any way.

Having shown that Toporišič's proposal cannot be treated in our theory, let us go back to the previous analysis of final sonorant sequences and propose that sequences with /j/ behave exactly the same. We find that the surface result is very similar to the /v/ case: syllabic /j/ is phonetically identical to the vowel /i/. The phonological structure of the word *morij* is depicted in (11).



As for the additional /j/, the intuition of speakers shows that there is no such object.¹²

To sum up, final sonorant sequences with /j/ as the second member are phonologically the same as other final sonorant sequences. In all cases alike the theory predicts that the second member becomes syllabic, i.e. that its melodic material spreads and attaches to the following V position. “The hardening of /j/ into [i],” “the insertion of /i/” or “adding a /j/ due to analogy” turn out to be merely illusions fed by orthography.

6 Conclusion

In this paper I examined final sonorant sequences in the Celje dialect. After having provided the definition of a consonant cluster, I pointed out that given sequences cannot be treated as sonorant clusters, since they do not need to obey the sonority sequencing principle and always form a syllable on their own. These pretheoretical proposals were strongly supported by the analysis in the government phonology framework.

Furthermore, the analysis in the given theoretical framework dispensed with a belief in the idiosyncratic behaviour of sequences with /j/ as the second member, and showed that these sequences behave phonologically exactly the same as other final sonorant sequences.

¹² An experiment shows that speakers cannot hear the difference between *ladij* ‘a ship, gen.pl’ and *Ladi* (a proper name).

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Povzetek ZVOČNIŠKA IZGLASJA V CELJSKEM GOVORU

Članek obravnava izglasne zvočniške nize v celjskem govoru. Na podlagi definiranega termina izglasni soglasniški sklop ugotavljam, da celjski govor pravih izglasnih zvočniških sklopov ne pozna. Prav zato se v njem lahko uresničujejo skoraj vsi končni zvočniški nizi, pri čemer se drugi zvočniški člen skoraj brezizjemno ozloži.

Nazadnje so podrobneje preučeni primeri z izglasnim /j/, ki je edini izmed zvočnikov, pred katerega naj bi se vrival samoglasnik /i/. V okviru teoretičnega aparata vezalne fonologije pokažem, da v tovrstnih primerih ne gre za izjemno obnašanje, temveč za popolnoma pravilen proces ozloženja drsnika /j/, katerega fonetična realizacija (ne pa tudi fonološka zgradba!) je enaka samoglasniku /i/.

CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN JAPANESE AND SLOVENE

0. Introduction

Whereas Japanese has a productive causative morpheme *-(s)ase-* that is added to a non-causative verb to derive a causative verb, Slovene has no such single morpheme that may be considered to directly correspond with the Japanese morpheme. This article considers causative constructions first from a typological perspective, and then in present-day Japanese and Slovene by examining a small corpus of literary texts. The use of the Japanese causative morpheme is analyzed according to the characteristic of agency. For the most typical causative situation (with agentive causer and causee), corresponding Slovene constructions are analyzed.

1. Causative situation, causative constructions and causative semantics

A causative situation is such that an event is brought about by some outside entity. For example, Comrie (1985) states:

If we take a sentence containing a non-causative verb (or other predicate) to be describing a certain situation [s], then a sentence containing the corresponding causative verb will describe a situation [s/cause/] where some entity (person, thing, abstract force) either brings about situation [s] or, at the very least, fails to prevent [s]. Syntactically, one of the main differences between non-causative and causative constructions will be the increased valency (or potential valency) of the latter, since in addition to the participants in [s] there will also be the actant that brings about [s]. (Comrie 1985: 330–331)

Comrie (1985) continues with English and Turkish examples to illustrate analytic (or syntactic), morphological (or synthetic), and lexical causative constructions.

- (1) *Sam slid off the roof.*
- (2) *Mary brought it about that Sam slid off the roof.*
- (3) *Mary caused Sam to slide off the roof.*
- (4) *Mary made Sam slide off the roof.*

If one takes what is expressed in sentence (1) as the certain situation [s], then corresponding analytic causatives in English would be sentences (2), (3), and (4), where the idea of causation is expressed by the verbs *bring about*, *cause*, or *make* (Comrie 1985: 331). A morphological causative means that the predicate of [s] undergoes some derivational process in order to express causativity, as in (6) below from Turkish, where (5) represents [s]; the derivational process is the addition of the suffix *-dür*: (Comrie 1985: 331)

(5) *Hasan öl-dü.*

Hasan die-PAST

‘Hasan died.’

(6) *Ali Hasan-i öl-dür-dü.*

Ali Hasan-DO die-CAUSE-PAST

‘Ali caused Hasan to die. / Ali killed Hasan.’

The alternative English gloss to sentence (6), according to Comrie, exemplifies lexical causatives. The verb used in describing [s] in English here is *die*, but to indicate that Ali brings about [s] one may use a completely different lexical item, *kill*, which has no morphological resemblance to *die*; *kill* is thus the lexical causative of *die* (Comrie 1985: 323, 331).

According to Comrie, formation of analytic causatives is completely productive. Formation of lexical causatives is by definition non-productive because there is no regular pattern to be extended to new items. The degree of productivity of morphological causatives varies from language to language, from languages such as English with only a few fossilized pairs (*lie/lay*, *sit/seat*) to languages such as Turkish, in which virtually any verb (including a causative verb) can form a causative (Comrie 1985: 332).

As for the semantics of causatives, the degree of closeness between the cause (i.e., the causer’s actions) and the effect (resultant situation) comes into question (Comrie 1985: 332–333). Although an absolute distinction between mediated and immediate causation is difficult to draw, one often finds that, if a language has both analytic and morphological or lexical constructions, the former imply less direct causation than the latter, as in the Russian examples below (Comrie 1985: 333):

(7) *Anton slomal paločku.*

Anton(NOM) break(TRANS)-PAST stick(ACC)

‘Anton broke the stick.’

(8) *Anton sdelał tak, čtoby paločka slomala-s’.*

Anton(NOM) do-PAST so that stick(NOM) break(INT)-PAST

‘Anton brought it about that the stick broke.’ (For example, Anton pushed against the lever that released the weight that fell on the stick, Comrie 1985: 333)

A similar distinction is sometimes found between non-productive (lexicalized or virtually lexicalized) and productive morphological causatives, the former implying greater closeness between cause and effect; for example, in Nivkh, the productive morphological causative in *-gu* (Comrie 1985: 333):

(9) *Lep ce-d’.*

bread dry(INT)-PAST

‘The bread dried.’

(10) *If lep seu-d’.*

he bread dry(TRANS)-PAST

‘He dried the bread.’

(11) *If lep ce-gu-d'.*

he bread dry(INT)-CAUSE-PAST

'He caused the bread to get dry (e.g., by forgetting to cover it).'

Another aspect of the relation between causer and effect is the difference between causative proper and permissive meaning. For example (Comrie 1985: 333):

(12) *I made John climb the tree.*

(13) *I let John climb the tree.*

Analytic causative constructions generally have distinct predicates for causation proper and permission; for example, English *cause*, *make* versus *allow*, *let*. Lexical causatives typically express causation proper, but morphological causatives often cover the range of both causation proper and permission. Consider the following example in Nivkh (Comrie 1985: 334):

(14) *Ni atik-ax ph-emek vi-gu-d'.*

I younger brother-CAUSEE own-mother go-CAUSE-PAST

'I made/let my younger brother follow my mother.'

2. Causative expressions in Japanese

The syntactic, semantic, and morphological characteristics of the Japanese causative '*shieki*' are defined by Teramura (1982) as follows:

In the typical sentence structure: W *ga* X *wo* (Y *ni*) / *ni* V-(*s*)*ase-ru*,

W NOM X ACC (Y DAT) /DAT V-CAUSE-PRESENT

W brings about, or cannot prevent, a situation in which X does something (to Y); or W feels responsible for the situation brought about (Teramura 1982: 290).

The distinctive Japanese morpheme -(*s*)*ase-*, called *shieki-ji* ('causative suffix'), is a productive means to derive causative verbs from non-causative verbs. For example:

(15) *Tarô ga gakkô e itta.*

Tarô NOM school DIR go-PAST

'Tarô went to school.'

(16) *Haha ga Tarô wo gakkô e ikaseta.*

mother NOM Tarô ACC school DIR go-CAUSE-PAST

'Mother made Tarô go to school.'

(17) *Haha ga Tarô ni gakkô e ikaseta.*

mother NOM Tarô DAT school DIR go-CAUSE-PAST

'Mother let Tarô go to school.'

Taking what is expressed in sentence (15) as the certain situation [s], the corresponding morphological causative to express a situation [s/cause/] in Japanese is sentence (16). The lexical verb *iku* 'to go' combines with the derivational morpheme -(*s*)*ase-* to form the causative verb *ikaseru* 'to make (someone) go'. Sentence (17) is another variation of the causative expression: whereas sentence (16) expresses immediate causation with the case particle *wo*, sentence (17) conveys permissive meaning with the case particle *ni*. The semantics of sentences (16) and (17) may be compared somewhat parallel to the example sentences (12) and (13) in the previous section, below as (18a) and (18b):

(18a) *I made John climb the tree.*

(18b) *I let John climb the tree.*

If the certain situation [s] is a transitive action with a direct object as in sentence (19) below, the case particle *wo* is already taken, so the corresponding causative sentence expressing [s/cause/] has no variation. Sentence (20) below may convey the causative proper as well as permissive meaning.

(19) *Tarô ga ringo wo tabeta.*

Tarô NOM apple ACC eat-PAST

'Tarô ate an apple.'

(20) *Haha ga Tarô ni ringo wo tabesasetu.*

mother NOM Tarô DAT apple ACC eat-CAUSE-PAST

'Mother made Tarô eat an apple. (= Mother fed Tarô with an apple.)'

Mother let Taro eat an apple.'

Teramura (1982) states that the causer of the Japanese causative construction is usually an animate being. If not, the expression is felt as a personification (1982: 293). Most typically, the Japanese causative is used when both the causer and the causee are human beings, and usually when the causer is superior to the causee (Teramura 1982: 301). However, there are cases when the morpheme *-(s)ase-* appears even when the causee is inanimate. This happens when there is no transitive counterpart of a certain intransitive verb: in this case, the derived causative verb with the causative morpheme takes over the role of the transitive verb that happens to be absent in the Japanese lexicon (Teramura 1982: 293–296). For example, although there is a pair of intransitive and transitive verbs with the common root *ak-*, *aku* 'to open [intr.]' and *akeru* 'to open [trans.]', there is no transitive counterpart to the intransitive verbs *hikaru* 'to shine, glisten' and *sumu* 'to be settled, finished'. Observe:

(21a) *Mado ga aku.*

window NOM open(INT)

'The window opens.'

(22a) *Garasu ga hikaru.*

glass NOM shine(INT)

'The glass shines.'

(23a) *Kanjô ga sumu.*

account NOM settle(INT)

'The account is settled.'

(21b) *Mado wo akeru.*

window ACC open(TRANS)

'(I) open the window.'

(22b) *Garasu wo hikaraseru.*

glass ACC shine(INT)-CAUS

'(I) make the glass shine.'

(23b) *Kanjô wo sumaseru.*

account ACC settle(INT)-CAUS

'(I) settle the account.'

For expressions that may stand parallel to example (21b) with the transitive verb *akeru*, the derivational causative morpheme *-(s)ase-* appears for the transitive expressions (22b) and (23b).

The morpheme *-(s)ase-*, which has just been seen above, is an example of grammatical means to create the voice opposition of non-causative vs. causative. What is called the 'semi-lexical' opposition of voice in Japanese (Noda 1991) are morphological forms such as *-as-*, *-s-*, *-ar-*, and *-r-*, which appear only in certain verb pairs with a common verbal root. In the example pairs below, the morphological form *-s-*, which seems historically related to the derivational causative *-(s)ase-*, is found in the transitive counterpart of each pair:

Intransitive

kowareru 'to break(INT)'

okiru 'to get up, rise'

Transitive

kowasu 'to break(TRANS)'

okosu 'to wake, raise'

The third type of opposition, so-called 'lexical' by Noda (1991), is realized by verbs of no common morphology. A typical example is the verb pair *shinu* 'to die' vs. *korosu* 'to kill'.

(24) *Tarô ga shinda.*

Tarô NOM die-PAST

'Tarô died.'

(25) *Hanako ga Tarô wo shinaseta.*

Hanako NOM Tarô ACC die-CAUS-PAST

'Hanako let/made Tarô die.'

(26) *Hanako ga Tarô wo koroshita.*

Hanako NOM Tarô ACC kill-PAST

'Hanako killed Tarô.'

Taking the expression in sentence (24) as the certain situation [s], the corresponding morphological causative to express a situation [s/cause/] is (25). Here the derived causative verb conveys mediated causation, something like 'Hanako let Tarô die by not caring for him enough, etc.' The transitive counterpart of the lexical opposition, the verb *korosu* 'to kill' in sentence (26), on the other hand, expresses direct causation; i.e., 'Hanako killed Tarô by stabbing with a knife, etc.', though of course the degree of closeness between the cause and the effect depends on the individual context in which each expression appears.

3. Causative expressions in Slovene

Toporišič's encyclopedia of the Slovene language (1992) carries an entry »causative verb« (*vzročniški glagol*) and it is explained that causative verbs express the achievement of someone's purpose that some event comes true. Examples are (Toporišič 1992: 362):

pojiti/napajati = *povzročiti/doseči, da kdo/kaj pije*

'to supply (with water, fuel etc.) = to cause/achieve that s.o./s.th. drinks'

točiti = *povzročiti/doseči, da kaj teče*

'to pour = to cause/achieve that s.th. flows'

uspavati = *povzročiti/doseči, da kdo spi*

'to lull = to cause/achieve that s.o. sleeps'

In Toporišič's grammar under »morphological means of expressing transitivity« (2000: 353—354), the following three derivational means are listed:

i) Pairs of verbs with vowel gradation:

Intransitive

rumeneti

oživeti

Transitive

rumeniti

oživiti

'to turn yellow' vs. 'to make yellow'

'to become animated' vs. 'to revive'

ii) Preposition as a free verbal morpheme:

hoditi 'to walk'

hoditi za 'to try to obtain s.o.'s affection'

iii) Taking the morpheme *se* from the intransitive verb:

Steklenica se je razbila.
 bottle(NOM) break(INT)-PAST
 'The bottle broke.'
Razbil je steklenico.
 break(TRANS)-PAST bottle(ACC)
 'He broke the bottle.'

The first means (i) is very similar to the »causative verb« above. Although the systematic vowel alternation *-e-/i-* is not seen in the former examples of the causative verb, the shared etymology is observed in each pair. If the pairs are examined semantically, the intransitive/transitive opposition is seen in the same manner with the following verb pairs: *piti/pojiti*, *teči/točiti*, and *spati/uspavati*. It is in fact the causativization process of gaining a new argument, an agent, whose purpose is to realize the event expressed by the intransitive counterpart (Shigemori Bučar 2003: 100). The second (ii) is mentioned in Dular (1982: 147) as one of the word formation processes to gain a place for a new argument. The example cited in Toporišič (*hoditi* vs. *hoditi za*) is not a simple semantic pair of intransitive and transitive verbs by way of derivation, but the transitive counterpart has an additional semantic value, as pointed out by Dular (1982: 147). Another such example is found in the verb pair *poslati* 'to send' vs. *poslati po* 'to send for'. The preposition *po* in this case combined with the lexical verb *poslati* derives a new verb with a causative meaning (Shigemori Bučar 2003: 242):

(27) *Janeza smo poslali po zdravnika.*
 Janez(ACC) send(1.p.pl.)-PAST for doctor(ACC)
 'We sent Janez to get the doctor./We sent Janez for the doctor.'

The third means mentioned by Toporišič (iii) is one of the main means of intransitive/transitive opposition in Slovene.

These are all derivational processes of verbs between 1-place (intransitive) and 2-place (transitive) variations of the same semantic base of events, but none of them are productive in modern Slovene. The vowel alternation *-e-/i-* is observed in a few fossilized pairs of verbs and, together with intransitive/transitive opposition of the type *pojiti/napajati*, most of these pairs have become semantically quite distant and are actually used in quite different contexts in modern Slovene (Shigemori Bučar 2003: 214). These and the lexical oppositions of the type *razbiti se/razbiti* may be called "semi-lexical" oppositions of voice in Slovene. "Lexical" opposition would be, for example, *ostati* 'to stay'/'*pustiti* 'to leave', or *pasti* 'to fall'/'*spustiti* 'to let fall, drop', etc.

Orešnik (1992) expected that morphological causative verbs would display 3-role semantic valency. However, his analysis of all verbs under the letter *j* shows that most of the verbs of 3-role semantic valency are verbs of saying. Instead, many causative verbs are present among the verbs of 2-role semantic valency (Orešnik 1992: 184–185). An example of a rare 3-place causative verb in Slovene is *učiti* 'to teach'. Sentence (29) is an analytical interpretation of sentence (28), also by Orešnik (1982: 185):

(28) *Janez poučuje Micko matematiko.*

Janez(NOM) teach-PRES Micka(ACC) mathematics(ACC)

‘Janez teaches mathematics to Micka.’

=(29) *Janez dela neposredno, da se Micka uči matematiko.*

Janez(NOM) do-PRES directly that Micka(NOM) learn-PRES mathematics(ACC)

‘Janez does it directly that Micka learns mathematics.’

4. Hypothesis for corpus analysis

Both Japanese and Slovene have lexical and semi-lexical means of causative expressions, but they are limited to certain verbs and are not productive today. The productive derivational morpheme for the causative, on the other hand, is found only in Japanese.

Based on the survey of Slovene grammar (in the previous section), one may expect the causative expressions in Slovene to be found in one of the following constructions:

A. With a lexical or semi-lexical transitive (causative), 2-place, or 3-place verb

B. Analytical expression:

B-1. With 2 verbs of which the latter is in a subordinate clause

e.g., (30) *Janez mu je dovolil, da vstopi.*

Janez(NOM) he(DAT) permit(PAST) that enter(3.p.sg.PRES)

‘Janez permitted him to enter.’

(31) *Janez mu je rekel, naj vstopi.*

Janez(NOM) he(DAT) say(PAST) should enter(3.p.sg.PRES)

‘Janez told him that he should enter.’

B-2. With 2 verbs, of which the latter is in the infinitive

e.g., (32) *Janez mu je dal piti.*

Janez(NOM) he(DAT) give(3.p.sg.PAST) to drink

‘Janez gave him to drink.’

B-3. With a verb and a verbal noun

e.g., (33) *Janez mu je omogočil vstop.*

Janez(NOM) he(DAT) enable(3.p.sg.PAST) entrance(ACC)

‘Janez enabled him entrance./Janez made it possible for him to enter.’

C. With a phrasal verb of the type *hoditi za* ‘to try to obtain s.o.’s affection’, *poslati po* ‘to send for’.

5. Corpus analysis

Literary texts in modern Japanese literature with direct translations in Slovene were chosen (altogether 197,730 Japanese characters, the list is found at the end of the article).

The analysis is in 2 parts: First, passages with the Japanese causative morpheme are searched throughout the chosen corpus and classified according to the agency of the causer and causee (Section 5.1). Second, for the most typical causative situation with the Japanese causative morpheme, corresponding Slovene expressions are analyzed according to their grammatical constructions (Section 5.2).

5.1. Japanese causative morpheme and agency

There are 140 passages in which Japanese causative morphemes (the productive suffix *-(s)ase-* and the semi-lexical morpheme *-s-*) appear. These Japanese causative expressions were classified according to the distinction of agency. In accordance with the assertion by Teramura (1982: 293—301; see Section 2 above) and other Japanese grammarians, the productive causative morpheme is usually used and is also taught (e.g., in Japanese language teaching) within the context of both the causer and the causee being human beings; therefore, with agency or self-control of these two. Languages vary with respect to how often agency is lexicalized in verbs (e.g., Van Valin & Wilkins 1996: 309—340), and it has been observed that Japanese verbs are more sensitive to the distinction of agency than are verbs in English (Shigemori Bučar 2003:15—16) and Slovene (Shigemori Bučar 2003: 199). However, one must also bear in mind that in some cases the derived causative verb in Japanese assumes the role of a transitive verb. (Teramura 1982: 293—296; see Section 2 above) Therefore, it may be expected that some passages with the derived causative may be of an inanimate/non-agentive causee.

Thus, the 140 cases of Japanese causative expressions are classified below (Table 1) according to the agency of the causer (the one that brings about the event [+agency] or a thing/force causing the event [-agency]), and the causee (the one that is acting in the event [+agency] or a thing with which some change is brought about in the event [-agency]).

Table 1: Agency of the causer and causee in Japanese literary texts
(total 140 cases)

<u>Agency of causer</u>	<u>Agency of causee</u>	<u>Number of cases and %</u>
+	+	63 (45%)
+	–	51 (36.5%)
–	+	10 (7%)
–	–	16 (11.5%)

It is interesting, when considering the definition of the Japanese causative and the sensitivity of Japanese to agency, that inanimate causers are still found in the Japanese corpus (18.5% of the corpus). In Hasegawa (1992) it is argued that Japanese transitive verbs such as *korosu* ‘to kill’ and *kowasu* ‘to break’ take true agent arguments, not simply effectors. The Japanese situation is compared to the quite different situation in English. Van Valin & Wilkins (1996: 309—340) cite the following example sentences:

- (34) *Larry killed the deer.*
- (35) *Larry accidentally killed the deer.*
- (36) *The explosion killed the deer.*

and argue that sentence (34) is neutral and leaves room for our interpretation whether or not the subject *Larry* is an agent, that in sentence (35) the adverb *accidentally* is »agent-cancelling« and thus the subject *Larry* is interpreted as an effector but not the

direct agent, and that in sentence (36) the subject is non-human and thus cannot be interpreted as the agent, but as the »force« that effected the killing. When the English sentence (36) is translated into Japanese, the following is observed (Shigemori Bučar 2003: 15):

- (37) **Bakuhatsu ga shika wo koroshita.*
 explosion NOM deer ACC kill-PAST
 ‘The explosion killed the deer.’
 (38) *Bakuhatsu de shika ga shinda.*
 explosion INST deer NOM die-PAST
 ‘The deer died due to the explosion.’

Whereas sentence (37) is difficult to accept, a translation possibility is found in sentence (38) in which the noun phrase ‘explosion’ is accompanied by the case particle *de* to express the cause of the event and ‘deer’ is in the nominative/agentive case as the central entity for which the event ‘to die’ occurs.

In the same manner, the passages found in the corpus with an inanimate/non-agentive causer (effector) may be formulated otherwise. Examples (39a) and (40a) are the original passages in the Japanese corpus ‘*Kagiri naku...*’, and (39b) and (40b) are my reformulations:

- (39a) *Toppû ga boku wo fukitobasu.*
 sudden wind NOM I ACC blow away(TRANS)
 ‘A gust of wind blows me away.’
 (39b) *Toppû de boku ga fukitobu.*
 sudden wind INST I NOM be blown away(INT)
 ‘I am blown away by a gust of wind.’
 (40a) *Pinku no keroido ga ue no hô made hifu wo hikitsurasete iru.*
 pink keloid scar NOM upwards skin ACC crinkle(INTR)-CAUS-STATE
 ‘The pink keloid scar drew the skin upwards.’
 (40b) *Pinku no keroido de ue no hô made hifu ga hikitsutte iru.*
 pink keloid scar INST upwards skin NOM crinkle(INTR)-STATE
 ‘Due to the pink keloid scar the skin is drawn upwards.’

The original passage (39a) contains an inanimate causer (*toppû* ‘sudden wind’), a human causee (*boku* ‘me’), and a transitive/causative verb with the morpheme *-s-* (*fukitobasu* ‘to blow away’). In the reformulated sentence (39b), the animate participant of the event is in the nominative case with the particle *ga* (*boku ga* ‘I’), the sudden wind is accompanied by the particle *de* to express the cause of the event, and the verb is intransitive (*fukitobu* ‘to be blown away’). In (40a), which is also an original literary expression, the scar is the inanimate causer (*keroido ga*) and the skin is the causee, which is also inanimate (*hifu wo*). The verb in this passage is affixed with *-ase-*, which causativizes the originally intransitive verb *hikitsuru* ‘to crinkle’. My reformulation puts the skin in the center of the expression with the nominative case particle *ga*, and the inanimate causer *keroido* is accompanied by *de* as the cause of the event.

These are all grammatically acceptable sentences in Japanese, but (39a) and (40a), especially (39a), are felt to be stylistically characteristic. It may be assumed that these cases of a non-animate/non-volitional causer are characteristic for the literary genre.

In many cases in these passages, the inanimate causer is a natural force (wind, the sound of rain, clouds, the sun, etc.), and in other cases traces of personification are seen; for example, another passage from '*Kagiri naku...*':

(41) ...*kage ga, kaibutsu ga ha wo mukidasu yôni boku-tachi wo odorokaseru.*

shadow NOM monster NOM teeth ACC bare as-if we ACC surprise-CAUSE-PRESENT
'The shadow frightens us, like a monster baring its teeth.'

It may be concluded that, in the modern literary genre, Japanese causative expressions with the productive causative morpheme *-(s)ase-* or causative verbs with *-s-* are mainly used with the causer being agentive (more than 80% in the present corpus), and most often when both the causer and the causee are agentive (45% in the corpus). There are also cases in which the causer is not an animate agent but simply an effector/cause of the event (a little less than 20% in the corpus).

5.2. Slovene constructions for the causative situation with animate participants

The 63 passages of the present corpus with both the causer and the causee being animate/agentive were further analysed in order to see which Slovene constructions correspond to the most typical Japanese causatives with the distinctive morphemes *-(s)ase-* and *-s-*.

The results are listed below in the same order as the hypothesis in section 4 above. The classification of verbs as to whether they are 2-place or 3-place and the English translations of each expression are given according to the specific contexts of individual verbs. Some prepositional cases (*z* 'with' and *v* 'in, into') are also counted as the third argument in clauses with a 3-place verb.

A. With a lexical or semi-lexical transitive (causative) verb: 34 cases

2-place (14 cases): *dvigniti* 'to lift, raise', *narediti konec* 'to put an end to', *oploditi* 'to impregnate', *peljati* 'to drive, lead', *pobratiti* 'to pick up', *posaditi* 'to plant', *posesti* 'to seat', *presenetiti* 'to surprise', *priganjati* 'to drive, spur, hurry', *poslati nazaj* 'to send back', *udariti* 'to beat, strike', *ustaviti* 'to stop', *utrujati* 'to tire', *uvoziti* 'to import';

3-place (20 cases): *govoriti* 'to speak', *izpostaviti* 'to expose', *naliti z* 'to pour, fill with' (2), *narediti* 'to do', *naznaniti* 'to notify, inform', *pokazati* 'to show', *poslati* 'to send', *povedati* 'to tell' (3), *predstaviti* 'to present, introduce', *reči* 'to say, tell', *vključiti v* 'to include in' (3), *stisniti v* 'to press, squeeze into', *vpisati* 'to register, enroll in', *vtakniti v* 'to put into', *zadeti* 'to hit';

B. Analytical expression: 10 cases

B-1. With 2 verbs, of which the latter is in a subordinate clause: (5 cases)

narediti, da počuti 'to make s.o. feel', *pusiti, da opravi* 'to let s.o. settle', *pustiti, da počne* 'to let s.o. do' (2), *ukazati, da sede* 'to order s.o. to sit';

- B-2. With 2 verbs, of which the latter is in the infinitive: (4 cases)
dati piti 'to give to drink', *dati stkati* 'to have weave', *dovoliti iti* 'to permit to go', *pustiti opazovati* 'to let s.o. watch';
- B-3. With a verb and a verbal noun (1 case):
ponuditi izkušnje 'to offer experience'
- C. With a phrasal verb: none

34 out of 63 cases are expressions with a transitive verb (either 2-place or 3-place); altogether, 54% of 63 cases. Analytical expressions are found in 10 cases (16%), much less than the cases with a transitive verb. The only disappointment is that no case of word formation (phrasal verb) of the type *poslati po*, *hoditi za* is found in the corpus. For the analytical expression, it must be noted that the distinctive predicates show the semantic subcategories of the original Japanese morpheme in one form. Whereas the semantic distinction between direct or mediated causation must be made according to the context in Japanese, the Slovene analytical expressions make this distinction by the choice of lexical verbs: *ukazati* 'to order' denotes direct or forceful causation, whereas *pustiti* 'to leave, let' and *dovoliti* 'to permit' denote mediated causation or more distance between the causer and the causee. One case is found in which the Slovene corresponding expression is a set phrase without any verb: *po njegovih besedah* 'in his words' for the original Japanese expression *kare ni iwasereba* 'if (I/we) let him say'.

The remaining passages are difficult to analyse in the given framework and need further discussion mainly due to the change in the viewpoint of narration. The following two tendencies are observed:

1. The causer-part of the expression is dropped in the Slovene corresponding passage, probably because the analytical expression is felt to be too complicated and stylistically awkward. The semantics of the causer are often included in a wider range of the narrative.
2. The original Japanese causative expression is a part of a more complicated predicate construction; i.e., causative-passive, causative-imperative, and links with giving and receiving verbs to denote benefit or favor. These constructions trigger a switchover in the viewpoint.

6. Conclusion

This paper is an attempt to search for common ground for contrastive analysis of the causative in Japanese and Slovene. Within the limits of a small corpus analysis in this paper (i.e., the most typical causative semantics with agentive causer and causee, and in the modern literary genre), the majority of passages with the Japanese causative morpheme found their equivalent in a transitive verb or in an analytical construction of two verbs in Slovene. Further research with a broader view of the semantics of the causative, using more corpora in various genres, may lead to more detailed accounts of this subject.

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Text corpus

<i>Chinmoku</i> , MURAKAMI Haruki, 1998	(18,400 characters)
<i>Gotai Fumanzoku</i> , Ibarin-bō, OTOTAKE Hirotada, 1998	(19,244 characters)
<i>Toshishun</i> , AKUTAGAWA Ryūnosuke, 1920	(10,741 characters)
<i>Danmari-ichi</i> , TSUSHIMA Yōko, 1983	(10,660 characters)
<i>Yasashii Sayoku no tame no Kiyūkyoku</i> , SHIMADA Masahiko, 1983	(31,434 characters)
<i>Hōkago no Ki-nōto</i> , Jay-Walk, YAMADA Eimi, 1989	(12,751 characters)
<i>Kagiri-naku Tōmei ni Chikai Burū</i> , MURAKAMI Ryū, 1976	(94,500 characters)

Slovene translations of the first three texts are parts of undergraduate theses presented to the Dept. for Asian and African Studies, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana; the following three are in *Literatura*, 16 (2004), Nos. 161—162, LUD Ljubljana; the last one was independently published as *Skoraj prosojna modrina* (2005), Cankarjeva založba, Ljubljana.

Povzetek

VZROČNIŠKE ZGRADBE V JAPONŠČINI IN SLOVENŠČINI

Medtem ko v japonščini obstaja produktivni vzročniški morfem *-(s)ase-*, ki se doda nevzročniškemu glagolu za izpeljavo vzročniškega, slovenščina ne razpolaga s čim podobnim, ki bi ustrezalo japonskemu morfemu.

Članek najprej tipološko povzema vzročniške zgradbe, nato na osnovi korpusa modernih literarnih besedil primerja vzročniške izraze v japonščini in slovenščini. Japonščina dobro označuje in ločuje živost aktantov, kar je delno potrdil tukaj obravnavani korpus. Več kot 80 % vzročniških izrazov v japonskem korpusu (z vzročniškim morfemom *-(s)ase-* ali z vzročniškim glagolom s *-s-*) spremlja človeški aktant (oz. povzročitelj) in pogosto sta oba člena, tj. povzročitelj kot tudi vzročno vplivano, živo bitje oz. človek. Našlo se je tudi nekaj primerov, pri katerih je aktant neživ (manj kot 20 %).

Večina japonskih izrazov z vzročniškim morfemom in s človeškim aktantom ima v slovenščini svojo ustreznico v zgradbah s prehodnim glagolom (54 %) ali z analitično zgradbo dveh glagolov (16 %). Primerov predložnomorfemskih glagolov po hipotetičnem pričakovanju v obravnavanem korpusu ni bilo. Nadaljnje delo na področju protistave japonskih in slovenskih vzročniških zgradb zahteva širši oz. obsežnejši pregled semantike vzročniškosti in predvsem z večjimi korpusi.

TRIJE ZGLEDI NEPOSREČENEGA PREVODA ZARADI »LAŽNIH PRIJATELJEV«

Znano je, da posebej v sorodnih jezikih, genetsko zares ali navidezno sorodne besede, ki imajo enako ali podobno zunanjo podobo, pogosto nosijo različen pomen. Takšnim besedam pravimo »lažni prijatelji«. Če jih ne prepoznamo oz. ne zaznamo, da je pomen, ki ga pripisujemo kaki besedi, v nekakšni opreki s kontekstom, postanemo njihova žrtev.

Ob prebiranju prevoda knjige *Zakladi Slovenije* M. Kmecla v ruščino sem naletela na mesto, ki mi je vzbudilo nevero: ali je mogoče, da je Kmecl napisal kaj takega? Mesto se je glasilo (tu in v naslednjih zgledih so okrepljeno tiskana mesta moj dodatek):

В замечательной красоте Шалецкой долине (**красоту** её в многом **приумножила** современная индустриализация) пока нашли один-единственный римский камень, что для нас более чем скромно. (Kmecl 1990: 70)

Prevod tega mesta nazaj v slovenščino se glasi:

V prelepi Šaleški dolini (njeno **lepoto** je v mnogočem **povečala** sodobna industrializacija) so doslej našli en samcat rimski kamen, kar je za nas nadvse skromno.

Seveda se mi je zazdelo skrajno neverjetno, da bi Kmecl napisal, da je lepoto Šaleške doline povečala sodobna industrializacija, zato sem brž poiskala ustrezno mesto v slovenskem izvirniku. Le-to se glasi:

V vsej nenavadno lepi (do neke mere jo je **razlepotila** šele zadnja industrializacija) Šaleški dolini so menda doslej našli en sam rimski kamen, kar je za slovenske razmere pravcato ubožstvo. (Kmecl 1979: 70)

Prevajalka slovenskega besedila v ruščino je kompetentna ruska slovenistka, ki je delo kot celoto dobro prevedla. Niti najmanj ni moj namen kako posmehovanje, saj velja, da naj prvi vrže kamen tisti, ki ni nikoli grešil, in verjamem, da se je skoraj vsakemu, ki je kdaj prevajal, kdaj zgodila kaka nerodnost, le odkrije se bolj poredko. Ta zgled bi rada opisala le zato, ker gre za zelo nazoren zgled o pomenu poznavanja vrednot in prepričanj kake družbe, da lahko pravilno interpretiramo besedila, ki so nastala v njej. Tu je nadvse ustrezna misel Radojke Vrančič:

Za prevajalca ni dovolj, da je dober lingvist, ampak mora biti tudi kos sociologa, etnologa, antropologa in še kakega drugega strokovnjaka za tisto družbo, tisto okolje, tisto dobo, o kateri govori njegov avtor. Če ta aspekt zanemarja, pride lahko do prav ljubkih pomot, nad katerimi se, če jih odkrijemo pri svojem bližnjem, seveda prav prisrčno in hudobno zabavamo. (Vrančič 1996: 77-78)

Kako je torej lahko prišlo do te »ljubke pomote«?
Pojdimo po vrsti:

Jezikovni vir nesporazuma je a) redkost glagola *razlepotiti*, ki ga ni v Slovarju slovenskega knjižnega jezika, b) večpomenskost slovanskih glagolskih predpon in c) obstoj »lažnega prijatelja«, ruskega glagola *разукрасить*, ki pomeni *okrasiti*, *olepšati* z *mnogim*.

Razlepotiti je tako redka beseda, da sem sprva menila, da je to Kmeclov neologizem, vendar kaže, da le ni popoln hapaks, saj v korpusu Nova beseda najdemo še dva zgleda etnologinje Marjetke Kavčič Golež. Ta dva zgleda sta naslednja (kot ju najdemo v korpusu Nova beseda):

- ... zanika mitološkost Lepe Vide, jo **razlepoti** ...
- ... ta svet **razlepoti**, podre realizem ljudskega ...

V SSKJ je pomen predpone *raz-* opisan takole: v glagolskih sestavljenkah izraža

- a) *premikanje ali usmerjenost v več krajev, smeri*: razgnati, raznesti, razvoziti ...
- b) *dejstvo, da kaj ni več skupaj, v prvotnem položaju*: razgrebsti, razriniti, razsuti ...
- c) *delitev, ločitev na več delov*: razcepiti, razdeliti, razrezati ...
- č) *nastop stanja, navadno v veliki meri*: razbesneti, razjeziti, razžariti ...
- d) *doseg zaželenega namena, cilja*: razgreti, razmehčati ...
- e) *nasprotnost tega, kar pomeni glagol z drugo predpono*: razbarvati, razčlovečiti, razelektriti, razorožiti, raztovoriti ...

V okviru gornjih razlag bi lahko *razlepotiti* uvrstili pod pomen e). Nekoliko drugače opredeljuje skupine glagolov, tvorjenih z *raz-* A. Vidovič-Muha (1993: 179). Glagol *razlepotiti* bi po tej tipologiji verjetno sodil v skupino a) (ob levi in desni tožilniški vezljivosti), v kateri tvorjeni glagol izraža odvzem, prekinitev dejanja podstavnega glagola, npr. razbarvati les, razbremeniti avto, razočarati koga, razdediniti sina, razdružiti podjetje.

V ruščini je opis pomena predpone *раз-* v Slovarju Ožegova in Švedove naslednji: 1. delitev na dele, razdelitev po površini, po različnih krajih: разделить (razdeliti), разбросать (razmetati), разложить (razložiti), размазать (razmazati); 2) okrepitev, intenzivnost dejanja: разукрасить (okrasiti), разгуливать (razgrajati); ... 5) prekinitev dejanja, stanja: разлюбить (prenehati ljubiti); 6) nasprotno dejanje: разбинтовать (razvezati), разминировать (razminirati), размагнитить (razmagnetiti) ...

Vidimo torej, da so pomeni predpone *раз-* (oz. pomeni skupin tvorjenih glagolov) v ruščini precej podobni pomenom predpone *raz-* v slovenščini. Tudi tu smo priča precej običajnemu pojavu: glagolske predpone imajo v slovanskih jezikih več pomenov, te skupine pomenov so si precej podobne, vendar nikakor ni nujno, da nastopajo v dveh slovanskih jezikih predpone v enakih oz. podobnih pomenih pred genetsko ali pomensko ustreznimi glagoli. V ruščini obstaja glagol *разукрасить*, vendar nima pomena 'nasprotno dejanje od podstavnega glagola', ampak 'okrepljeno dejanje pod-

stavnega glagola'. Približno tak pomen imajo v slovenščini glagoli *razmehčati*, *razgreti* ali *razjeziti*, *razžariti*. Pomen nasprotnosti tega, kar pomeni podstavni glagol, pa imajo glagoli *разбинтовать*, *разминировать*, *размагнитить*.

Разукрасить ima v slovarju Ožegova in Švedove oznako *pogovorno* in pomeni *okrasiti obilno ali na mnogih krajih*. Zgleda sta *разукрасить новогоднюю ёлку* (okrasiti novoletno jelko) in *разукрасить рассказ подробностями* (okrasiti pripoved s podrobnostmi).

Ruska prevajalka je skoraj gotovo povezala glagol *razlepotiti* z ruskim *разукрасить*, čeprav potem v prevodu ni uporabila tega glagola. Ko je prevajalka pripisala glagolu *razlepotiti* nasproten pomen, tj. *olepšati*, je to gotovo storila pod vplivom na videz enako tvorjene glagolske sestavljenke v ruščini, pri kateri pa se je realiziral drug pomen predpone kot pri slovenski. Vendar mislim, da bi do te napake pri razumevanju ne moglo priti, če ne bi bilo v sovjetskem okolju tedaj še vedno vsaj deloma sprejemljivo oz. še ne čisto zastarelo prepričanje, da je industrializacija tako pozitivna vrednota, da lahko celo olepša kako pokrajino. Takega prepričanja nikakor ne pripisujem prevajalki osebno, o njenem mnenju ne vemo ničesar. Gre za to, da je prevajalka menila, da je tako prepričanje vsaj deloma še sprejemljivo. Možno je celo, da je menila, da je tako prepričanje možno v Sloveniji. Če tega ne bi menila, bi se ji zazdela ta interpretacija tako absurda (kot se je zazdela meni kot bralki njenega prevoda), da bi nadalje raziskovala pomen glagola *razlepotiti* in bi se dokopala do pomena, ki ga je imel v mislih avtor izvirnika. Poglavitni razlog za ta resnično ponesrečeni prevod je torej poleg »lažnega prijatelja« premajhno poznavanje sistema vrednot in prepričanj v družbi izvirnega besedila, še posebej seveda prepričanj in vrednot avtorja.

Naslednji »lažni prijatelj«, ki bi ga rada opisala, se je pojavil v prevodu začetka znanega romana V. Jerofejeva *Moskva-Petuški*. Roman se v ruščini začne takole:

Первое издание »Москва-Петушки«, **благо** было в одном экземпляре, быстро разошлось. (Ерофеев 1990: 14)

Prevod pa je takle:

Prva izdaja dela »Moskva-Petuški«, **blago** je bilo v enem primerku, je hitro pošla. (Jerofejev 1980: 5)

V slovarju Ožegova in Švedove najdemo za *благо* dva slovarska članka, v prvem gre za samostalniki, v drugem pa za veznik:

Благо 1. Blagor, sreča, dobrina (*visoko*).

Благо 2. *Veznik (pogovorno, pogosto ironično)*. Zahvaljujoč temu, da.

Korekten prevod bi se torej moral glasiti:

Prva izdaja dela »Moskva-Petuški« je **zahvaljujoč temu**, da je bila v enem primerku, hitro pošla.

Prevajalec je torej prehitro menil, da ruska beseda *благо* po pomenu ustreza slovenski besedi *blago* in da je samostalniik. Po pravici rečeno njegov prevod ne moti kaj posebno in ni v kaki očitni opreki z nekakšnim »splošnim« smislom besedila, vendar bi bil pravilen prevod bolj tekoč, smiselni in bi bolje posredoval ironijo izjave, čeprav tudi pri dejanskem prevodu ni čisto izgubljena. Tu bi prevajalca pred napako morda obvaroval premislek o statusu besed z nepolnoglasnim korenem v ruščini. Besedo *благо* v ruščini lahko takoj prepoznamo kot cerkvenoslovanizem, saj ima v svojem korenu južnoslovansko cerkvenoslovansko nepolnoglasje. Fonetično avtohtona vzhodnoslovanska beseda bi imela polnoglasje in bi se glasila *болого*, vendar take besede v knjižni ruščini ni, obstajajo pa nekatere besede iz polnoglasnega korena v ruskih dialektih (Porohova 1988: 77). Načeloma velja, da imajo cerkvenoslovanizmi, ki so se v knjižni ruščini pojavili zaradi večstoletnega bivanja cerkvene slovanščine v funkciji kulturnega jezika na vzhodnoslovanskih tleh, v ruščini abstrakten, vzvišen, duhoven pomen in točno to vidimo pri *благо*, ki ima pomen *blagor*, *dobrina* *sreča* in ima kvalifikator *visoko*. Uporablja se v zvezah kot so *благо народа* (*blagor ljudstva*), *для блага Родины* (za *blagor domovine*) itd. Kadar obstajajo v ruščini besede s polnoglasnim in nepolnoglasnim korenem, imajo ponavadi prve konkretnješi, bolj vsakdanji pomen, druge pa abstraktnješi, vzvišenejši. Tako imamo v pomenu 'zdravje' besedo *здоровье*, 'zdravstveno varstvo' pa je *здравоохранение*, v pomenu 'glas' imamo *голос*, 'soglasnik' pa je *согласный*, 'mlad' je *молодой*, 'mladogramatiki' pa so *младограмматики*. Skratka, besede s koreni z nepolnoglasjem, ki so po zunanji podobi taki kot v slovenščini, imajo v ruščini ponavadi vzvišen, knjižen, poetičen pomen. Slovenščina je tako kot stara cerkvena slovanščina južnoslovanski jezik in ima seveda v vseh teh besedah avtohtono nepolnoglasni koren ter ne pozna take stilistične oz. semantične diferenciacije med besedami s polnoglasnim oz. nepolnoglasnim korenem. Zato bi prevajalec lahko postal nekoliko sumničav, ko je pripisal ruski besedi z nepolnoglasnim korenem povsem konkreten, trgovski pomen slovenske besede *blago*.

Pa še tretji »lažni prijatelj«, tokrat iz znamenitega romana *Mojster in Margareta* M. Bulgakova. Na začetku romana Berlioz razlaga pesniku Ivanu Bezdomnemu, ki mu je bilo naročeno napisati antireligiozno pesnitev, naslednje:

Нет ни одной восточной религии, - говорил Берлиоз, - в которой, как правило, **непорочная дева**, не произвела бы на свет бога. (Булгаков 1969: 14)

Prevod se glasi:

»Prav nobene vzhodne vere ni,« je govoril Berlioz, »da ne bi v njej kot po pravilu **непороченная девица** spravila na svet boga.« (Bulgakov 1977: 9-10)

Tu je lažni prijatelj pridevnik *непорочный*, ki ne pomeni *neporočen*, ampak *brezmadežen*, *brezgrešen*, uporablja se npr. v zvezi *непорочно зачатие* 'brezmadežno spočetje'. *Порок* pomeni v ruščini *greh*, *napaka*, *порок* pa *grešen*, *nenraven*, *napačen*. V ruščini so besede v zvezi s poroko: *свадьба* (poroka, svadba), *венчание* (cerkvena poroka), *ожидать* (poročiti se, omožiti se), *жениться* (poročiti se, oženiti se). 'Neporočena' je *незамужняя*. Pravilen prevod bi bil:

»Prav nobene vzhodne vere ni,« je govoril Berlioz, »da ne bi v njej praviloma **brezmadežna devica** rodila boga.«

Skratka, prevajalec je bil prenašel v sklepanju o sorodnosti pomenov na podlagi zunanje podobnosti. Spet moram poudariti, da je prevod na splošno dober, pa tudi v navedenem citatu pravzaprav ni v opreki s splošnim smislom.

Čeprav sem se tudi sama prav pristržno in hudobno zabavala, ko sem odkrila omenjene napake, poudarjam, da so vsi trije prevodi kot celota dobri. Služijo pa kot opozorilo študentom, da naj pri prevajanju čimvečkrat preverjajo pomene besed v slovarjih in skušajo pridobiti čim več vedenja o jeziku, kulturi, kontekstu in okolju, iz katerega prevajajo.

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THREE INSTANCES OF INCORRECT TRANSLATIONS DUE TO FALSE FRIENDS

Some examples of incorrect translation from Slovene to Russian resp. from Russian to Slovene are discussed in the paper. All mistakes are due to »false friends«, especially frequent in genetically related languages. An interesting mistake can be found in a translation from Slovene to Russian. The author used a rare verb *razlepotiti* in the meaning of 'taking away the beauty' when speaking of what happened to a valley after industrialization. The Russian translator connected the verb *razlepotiti* because of the structural similarity with the Russian verb *разукрасить*, which means exactly the opposite: to decorate, to adorn. It is suggested in the paper that this mistake wouldn't happen if the translator paid more attention to values prevailing in Slovenia in the period when the book had been written. In the 70ties (and of course later) the idea of industrialization embellishing a valley was inconceivable.

COMBINABILITY WITH PREPOSITIONS IN SLOVENE AND ENGLISH: THEORETICAL AND CONTRASTIVE VIEWS

The present article aims to shed some light on the combinability of verbs, nouns and adjectives with prepositions - a phenomenon which is common both in Slovene and in English, but has not been extensively commented on by Slovene linguists. In Anglo-American linguistics, such combinations with prepositions are basically divided into two groups, which tend to be named differently by authors of different linguistic "orientations".

Keywords: semantic- and structural-syntactic aspect of valency, combinability with prepositions, prepositional free morpheme, prepositional collocation, free combination

0 Introduction

Valency theory, originating in dependency grammar as developed by Tesnière (1959) and particularly developed in the 1960s and 1970s by German linguists (e.g. Helbig, Schenkel, Heringer, Schumacher, Engel), has also found its place in Slovene linguistics. A rather complex multi-level treatment of valency from the semantic- and structural-syntactic aspect (with an original orientation from form to meaning and vice versa and with account taken of transformational grammar linguistics) is found as early as the second half of the 1970s in Toporišič (1976). Approximately at the same time valency in Slovene was dealt with by the French author Vincenot in his grammar *Essai de Grammaire Slovène* (1975). In the following years, valency was treated in more detail and depth by Toporišič (1982), as well as by Dular (1982), Križaj (1981, 1982, 1989), and Vidovič Muha (1993), who all researched the transformational grammar aspect of valency more intensively. Kunst Gnamuš (1981) and Orešnik (1992) have contributed to shaping the theory of Slovene valency with a more exact treatment of the semantic composition of the utterance and by presenting semantic orientation. These two works rely theoretically and methodologically on Anglo-American studies¹ and treat valency within the framework of the semantic level.

¹ Mainstream Anglo-American linguistics has largely neglected the findings of valency theory, but has often gone parallel ways to describe the same phenomena (cf. Herbst and Roe 1996: 179–180). Nevertheless, several attempts have been made to apply the concept of valency to English (e.g. Emons 1974, 1978), Matthews (1981), Allerton (1982), Herbst (1983, 1988), Somers (1984), von Randow (1986)).

One aspect of valency pertains to complementation of verbs (but also of nouns and adjectives) by prepositions. The present article aims to shed some light on this phenomenon, which is common both in Slovene and in English, but has not been extensively commented on by Slovene linguists. In Anglo-American linguistics, such combinations with prepositions are basically divided into two groups, which tend to be named differently by authors of different linguistic “orientations” (cf. Herbst and Roe 1996: 180), yet most of them seem to agree that the key issue lies in the obligatoriness of the preposition and its dependence on the lexical word. Most speakers of either of the languages thus tend to “feel” there exists a difference between sentences like:

John lectures on || semantics.
John lectures || on Fridays.

Janez predava o || semantiki.
Janez predava || ob petkih.

In the first sentence, the link between the lexical word (verb) and the following preposition is felt to be stronger than is the case with the combination in the second sentence. In the latter sentence, the phrase boundary comes after the verb, and the preposition with the following noun forms a (prepositional) phrase. The latter combinations are usually referred to as free combinations of lexical words with prepositions; they are constructed in accordance with general syntactic rules and freely allow substitution (e.g. *John lectures || in the classroom*, *John lectures || from five to six thirty* / *Janez predava || v razredu*, *Janez predava || od petih do pol sedmih*). The former combinations may be referred to as collocations² consisting of a lexical word (a verb/noun/adjective forming the base of the unit) and a preposition (functioning as the collocator); this type of word combination could also be named ‘prepositional collocation’ (cf. Sicherl 1999, 2004). Prepositional collocations can thus be defined as typical, recurrent combinations of verbal, nominal or adjectival bases with prepositional collocators.³

However, the distinction between the two groups is not always clear cut – while some cases may be immediately classified as either prepositional collocations or prepositional free combinations, others may prove to be extremely unclear and vague, and there are many borderline cases which may satisfy some of the syntactic criteria⁴ for inclusion among prepositional collocations but not others. Semantic criteria for dis-

² Hausmann (1985: 178) defined collocations as “typical, specific and characteristic two-fold relationships between words” (*typische, spezifische und charakteristische Zweierbeziehungen von Wörtern*). Characteristically, collocations are not produced creatively by the speaker as are free combinations; rather, they are retrieved from the speaker’s memory as combinations forming a unit, as some kind of language “semi-products”. Another typical trait is a relationship of affinity between the two words forming a collocation, so that they often appear together (see also Hausmann 1984: 398 and Bahns 1996: 24).

³ In *The BBI Dictionary of English Word Combinations* such combinations are referred to as a subclass of grammatical collocations (see categories *G1*, *G5* and *G8D* in Benson, Benson, Ilson 1997: xvi, xviii, xxi).

⁴ These criteria were mainly defined by British and German linguists (for further details see, for example, Quirk et al. 1985: 1163 ff, Palmer 1988: 229–231, Schröder 1986: 13–22, Helbig and Schenkel 1975: 40–49, Lerot 1982: 263–265), and include the choice of the question form, possibility of passive transformation, possibility of cutting the preposition off from the lexical verb in relative clauses and wh-questions, substitutability of preposition, etc.

tinguishing between free combinations and prepositional collocations seem to be even more elusive,⁵ yet they often prove decisive for inclusion in one group or the other, especially when combined with the syntactic ones (see also Quirk et al. 1985: 1163). The distinction between the two categories remains to a certain extent arbitrary and subject to gradience.

The existence of different semantic-syntactic roles of prepositions in Slovene, however, was commented on already in the first Slovene grammar by Bohorič (1584); the author felt the preposition to be gravitating towards the verb in some cases, and towards the adverb in others.⁶ A survey of later Slovene grammars shows that the treatment of prepositions under either verbal or adverbial government is not accidental; rather, it suggests the authors' language feeling which made them treat governed prepositions as part of the verb, i.e. as free morphemes which help to form the meaning of the verb⁷, or, in other words, they perceived the entire combination as a prepositional collocation. However, the fact that Slovene as a synthetic language realizes cases by means of case inflections also has to be taken into account, and prepositional free morphemes can thus also be used to mark the case in the following free combination.

1 Valency and Combinability with Prepositions

Combinability with prepositions is related to valency on the morpho-syntactic level. Thus, the prepositional free morpheme (as described by Helbig 1984, 1992) which combines with a content or lexical word (usually a verb, but also a (morphologically related) adjective or noun) can be said to primarily modify the meaning of the lexical word it co-occurs with. The preposition is used to "direct" the verbal (adjectival or nominal) meaning; however, the morphological extension (the addition of a preposition to a lexical word) can also introduce new lexemic meanings, which results in new lexemes. The following examples may illustrate this point:

⁵ Naturally, since the borders between the two groups remain fuzzy, no hundred-percent agreement can be expected between different analysts as to the inclusion of certain cases in either of the two groups. Thus, for example, the degree of metaphoricalness or idiomaticity may influence our decision. If "*disagree with*" as used in the sentence *Orange juice seems to disagree with some babies*, is perceived as a prepositional collocation, does the same hold true for "*disagree with*" in the sentence *I respect the president but I disagree with his decision* ... (illustrative sentences taken from *Collins Cobuild English Dictionary* 1995: 464), or is the latter a free combination? It seems that the verb "*disagree*" when used with an inanimate subject becomes semantically specialized and is therefore often treated differently from "*disagree*" with an animate subject. In such cases obviously the context, and not the word combination itself, causes semantic modification which may result in a different classification. Other factors which may influence our analysis, apart from the combination of strictly semantic and syntactic ones, are also usage and frequency.

⁶ Bohorič (see Toporišič ed. 1984: 258) used the terms "*dostavljen*" and "*pristavljen*" and classified prepositions according to the cases they govern based on Latin patterns, quoting examples such as *od Buga, pres njega, s' Bugom, krivjhi pred ozhetom*. The preposition, according to Bohorič, is either syntactico-semantically closely related to the verb ("*dostavljen*") or just added to it ("*pristavljen*"). Centuries later, Toporišič (1976) introduced the terms "*vezavnovezljiv*" and "*vezavnodružljiv*".

⁷ In his description of the Slovene language, Gutsman (1777: 110–111) makes a distinction between sentences like *Je v' Zelovzi rojen, Mi jno vu Velikouzi prebivali, Eni je v' Doberlevejs, eni pak v' Tershizh popelajo* and sentences such as *On je sa jednika med nami biu pořtaulen, On bo sa mieřnega řodnika svolen gratau*.

Počakati moram.	I need to wait.
Počakati moram na šolski avtobus.	I need to wait for the school bus.
Tone je prišel. ('prispeti')	Tony has come. ('arrive')
Tone je prišel do odločitve. ('odločiti se')	Tony has come to a decision. ('decide')

While the Slovene language is generally oriented into using the direct accusative, it tends to express itself more accurately and analytically by using combinations with prepositions (cf. Žele 2001). English as an analytic language seems to depend on prepositions to an even greater degree; there prepositions are, like other grammatical items, primarily used to mark the syntactic relation between lexical words forming a construction (cf. also Lyons 1968: 435–438 and Collinge 1990: 144). However, the semantic distinction between the illustrative sentences cited below seems to be identical in both languages:

Streljali so zajce.	They shot rabbits.
Streljali so na zajce.	They shot at rabbits.

When the direct accusative is used with the verb *shoot/streljati*, the sentences imply that the rabbits were either killed or injured. When the verb is combined with the preposition *at/na*, the preposition introduces the meaning of 'orientation/direction' of the shooting, without implying the result of the action.

When used in combinations, prepositions form part of the semantic content of verbs, nouns and adjectives (particularly those nouns and adjectives which are morphologically related to the corresponding verbs) they combine with. When a preposition enters into a combination with a lexical word, it either helps form the meaning of the entire combination (resulting in lexicalization⁸ of the whole) or merely adds some stress to the lexical word.

Živi skupaj s psom. ('deliti si življenjski prostor')	He lives with his dog. ('share a living place with')
Živel je z njo, še preden sta se poročila. ('živeti v partnerstvu')	He lived with her before they got married. ('live together as if married')

A practical and useful differentiation between free combinations with prepositions and grammatical, or, to be more precise, prepositional collocations taken from Anglo-American linguistics may be paralleled to the classification of combinations with prepositions as used by Slovene linguists. However, the distinction between the two

⁸ The term lexicalization is used here to denote that the preposition becomes part of the meaning of the lexical word; a syntactic unit consisting of a lexical word and a preposition becomes a dictionary unit, a multi-word lexeme.

categories is subject to gradience. Prepositional collocations can be regarded as results of natural semantic- and structural-syntactic combining of words, as mutual semantic and syntactic expectancy of words.⁹ When used in collocations or in free combinations, the prepositions usually express those semantic components which tend to participate in valency both semantically and syntactically. Prepositions thus help express intentional/valency-related semantic components of verbs, nouns or adjectives also in structural-syntactic terms. Prepositions express more clearly the mutual dependency between the semantic component of a verb/adjective/noun and its valency, or, in other words, they show the reverse effect valency has on the semantic structure of a verb/adjective/noun.¹⁰ It needs to be stressed, however, that in prepositional collocations the two-way semantic-syntactic affinity observed between the lexical word and the preposition (cf. Sicherl 2004: 44) is not equally strong: the one leading from the dominant lexical word to the preposition is felt to be much stronger than the one leading from the preposition to the lexical word. The mutual expectancy therefore seems to work more strongly from the lexical word to the preposition than vice versa. The following pairs of Slovene and English equivalents may illustrate this point:

povabiti na (zabavo)	invite to (a party)
jezen na (mamo)	angry at (Mum)
prepir o (politiki)	argument over (politics)

Naturally, such mutual semantic-syntactic ties are to be found in other languages as well and are not characteristic of Slovene or English only. However, they make a particularly interesting subject of study when viewed contrastively. While free combinations with prepositions seem relatively straightforward and unproblematic when two languages such as English and Slovene are contrasted¹¹, the mutual semantic-syntactic ties existing between the verbal/nominal/adjectival base and the prepositional collocator in collocations are more interesting to observe, particularly when the same base can be combined with several different prepositions with little or no change in meaning. The addition of the prepositional collocator stresses a certain semantic component, and, usually, also introduces valency. Thus, for example, the Slovene preposition *na* introduces the semantic component of ‘expectation’ in combinations such as *pripraviti se na*, *čakati na*, *upati na*, etc.; in English, there are prepositional

⁹ In linguistics, the mutual semantic and syntactic expectancy of words could only be subjected to adequate research in the last decades of the 20th century when extensive computerized corpora of over ten million words enabled analysts to collect relevant data on the basis of which a certain word combination could be classified as a collocation with more certainty. However, statistical data cannot be the only criterion for the inclusion of a combination among collocations.

¹⁰ Prepositions combined with verbs, particularly those lexicalized, are treated in the *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika* (1975–1991) in the form of notes on grammatical patterns: “*s predložnim povedkovim določilom*” [used with a prepositional subject complement]; “*s predložno zvezo*” [used with a prepositional phrase]; “*s predlogom*” [used with a preposition]; “*v zvezi z/s*” [followed by the preposition s/z].

¹¹ For more on this, see Sicherl (1999).

collocations with *for* carrying a similar meaning, as in *prepare for*, *wait for*, *hope for*, etc. And, similarly, German equivalents of those bases tend to combine with the preposition *auf* to introduce ‘expectation’ as in *sich vorbereiten auf*, *warten auf*, *hoffen auf*, etc.

Pripravil se je na izpit.	He prepared for the exam.	Er bereitete sich auf das Examen vor .
Čakal je na vlak.	He waited for the train.	Er wartete auf den Zug.
Upal je na pozitiven rezultat.	He hoped for a positive result.	Er hoffte auf ein positives Resultat.

Another example to illustrate the above point is provided by prepositional combinations in which the verbal/nominal base carries the meaning of ‘intellectual activity’ while the combining preposition is used to introduce the ‘theme/content’ of this intellectual activity. The preposition used in Slovene in these combinations is typically *o*, in English it is substituted by *on* (with alternative combining options possible in several cases, such as *about*, *concerning*, *over*, *of*) with bases of the same or a similar meaning, while German tends to use the preposition *über* with most equivalents:

Prosili so ga, naj spregovori o pomembnosti umetnosti v izobraževanju.	He was asked to talk on the importance of arts in education.	Er wurde gebeten, über die Bedeutung der Kunst im Unterricht zu sprechen .
Napišite spis o napredku civilizacije.	Write an essay on the advance of civilization.	Schreiben Sie einen Aufsatz über den Fortschritt der Zivilisation.

2 Classification of Prepositions Used in Combinations

Prepositions used in combinations have developed out of spatial (and temporal) adverbs which define an action more accurately, so it is not surprising that their primary semantic-syntactic position is next to the verb. In Slovene linguistics, verbal-prepositional combinations can be classified into the following three types (according to Žele 2001):¹²

- a) lexicalized verbal-prepositional combinations
- b) non-lexicalized verbal-prepositional combinations
- c) verbal-prepositional free combinations

A preposition is lexicalized when it semantically co-forms the meaning of the verb.

¹² *Enciklopedija slovenskega jezika* (Toporišič 1992: 230, 351) distinguishes between “predložni vezavni morfem” [prepositional morpheme] and “prosti morfem” [free morpheme]. See also Švedova (1980: 156) for Russian. Žic Fuchs (1991: 123) mentions J.M. Anderson’s classification into “inherent lexical content”, which corresponds to the lexicalized verbal-prepositional combination in semantic-syntactic terms, and “derived lexical content”, the latter corresponding to non-lexicalized verbal-prepositional combination in semantic-syntactic terms.

The preposition in such a lexicalized combination thus behaves as if it were an “inherent” part of the verb (cf. also Dixon 1991: 268); it becomes part of the verbal lexeme as a dictionary unit and, simultaneously, part of this verb’s valency. A preposition is said to be non-lexicalized when it is semantically related to (usually) only one sense of the verbal lexeme and expresses its semantic- and structural-syntactic valency.

Delal je na projektu. (‘ustvarjati’) LEXICALIZED VERBAL-PREP. COMBINATION	He worked on the project. (‘have sth as the subject of thought’) PREP. COLLOCATION
Delal je na polju. (‘obdelovati, kmetovati’) NON-LEXICALIZED VERBAL-PREP. COMBINATION	He worked in the fields. (‘grow crops’) FREE COMBINATION

A lexicalized preposition is bound to the entire meaning of the multi-word unit (dictionary unit) it co-forms with the lexical word, a non-lexicalized preposition is bound only to one sense of the dictionary unit.

The differentiation between lexicalized and non-lexicalized prepositions in Slovene can also be illustrated by delexical primary verbs. The preposition is lexicalized in the following combinations where the verb is delexical, or rather, does not carry a full lexical meaning. Semantically equivalent English sentences do not necessarily use a prepositional combination.

Bil je ob hišo. (‘izgubiti’)	He lost his house.
Imel jo je za pametno. (‘ceniti kot’)	He regarded her with respect.
Dala je na njegov nasvet. (‘upoštevati’)	She paid attention to his advice.

Below, the preposition is non-lexicalized; it is combined with the verb with a full lexical meaning. Again, parallel semantically equivalent English combinations are given, yet they do not always use a combination with a preposition:

Bil je ob hiši. (‘nahajati se’)	He was next to the house. (‘stand’)
Prihranke je imel za slabe čase. (‘hraniti’)	He kept his savings for hard times. (‘set aside’)
Krožnike je dal na mizo. (‘položiti’)	He put the plates on the table. (‘place’)

Analyzing the above combinations from the point of view of the collocation - free combination dichotomy, the non-lexicalized are mainly free combinations, while the lexicalized can pass for collocations.

2.1 The lexicalization of the preposition in combination with a full (specialized) non-primary verb can neutralize the meaning of that verb. Along with the neutralization of the original, specialized verbal meaning, the addition of a preposition results in transitivity of the lexicalized unit, and often gives the combination an additional

tenor in terms of register, formality, etc.

Tista kača se je že levila.	That snake has already shed its skin.
Janez se levi v pravega podjetnika.	John is turning into a proper businessman.
Pri izgovorjavi težkih besed se je zapletel.	When pronouncing difficult words he stumbled.
Zapletel se je v umazane posle.	He got mixed up in some shady business.

With some other verbs, the addition of a preposition merely changes the valency of the verb in semantic- and structural-syntactic terms.

Kokoš vali jajca.	The hen hatches her eggs.
Vedno je valil krivdo na koga drugega.	He always shifted the blame onto somebody else.
Ponudba še velja.	The offer still holds.
Velja za poštenjaka.	He is believed to be an honest man.

Syntactic characteristics of lexicalized prepositional combinations:

- 1) The preposition introduces rightward valency
- a) when combined with originally intransitive verbs

Prišlo je do vojne.	It came to war.
Spustil se je v dolgo razlago, zakaj me mora videti.	He went into a long explanation of why he had to see me.

- b) when combined with primary verbs

Še boš moral delati na šibkih točkah svoje slovenščine.	You will have to work on the weak points in your Slovene.
Nenadoma je bil ob vse svoje bogastvo.	He suddenly lost all his fortune. ¹³

- c) when combined with verbs of motion; the preposition in these combinations retains the meaning of orientation, and gives a secondary, metaphorical meaning (of phaseness of action/characteristic/state or of relation of action) to the verbal base.

Oddaljil se je od teme.	He digressed from the subject.
Planili so po sovražniku.	They fell on the enemy.
Dan se je prevesil v noč.	The day turned into night.
Nehaj dregati vame!	Stop picking on me.
Pes se je spravljal nad lastnega gospodarja.	The dog turned on his own master.

¹³ The English equivalents of the Slovene illustrative examples of lexicalized prepositional combinations given here may not be constructed on the same pattern and may lack a prepositional combination altogether.

2) Combinability with prepositions can also result in generalization of the verbal meaning, as in:

- a) purpose(fulness)/intensity of action/state
- b) conclusion of action
- c) excitement or diligence
- d) intrusiveness
- e) active/passive relationship or acquisition or use

a) Moral se bo vreči na delo. Zakopal se je v študij.	He will need to bury himself in his work. He dug into his studies.
b) Vstala je od mize.	She rose from the table.
c) Zagorel je za novo idejo.	He burned with excitement for the new idea.
d) Tiščali so vanj, pa jim ni povedal.	They plied him with questions, but he refused to tell them anything.
e) Živi od pisanja knjig.	She manages to live on her writing.

3) The preposition can change the meaning of an originally transitive verb and thus also its rightward valency:

Konj je vlekel voz.	The horse pulled the cart.
Barva je vlekla na zeleno.	The colour was greenish.

4) The preposition causes semantic transition to a non-spatial evaluation of the state:

Nagibal se je čez ograjo.	He leaned across the fence.
Nagibajo se k praktičnim rešitvam.	They tend to lean towards practical solutions.

5) The preposition stresses a characteristic of an actant:

Visel je med življenjem in smrtjo.	He hovered between life and death.
Fantje so se kar lepili nanjo .	The boys were really stuck on her.

2.2 A non-lexicalized preposition in a combination retains its spatial meaning or has at least some orientational meaning. As part of verbal valency, a non-lexicalized preposition can be obligatory and introduce the so-called “partially obligatory verbal valency” (cf. also Samardžija 1986: 119).

Od včeraj leži v bolnišnici. (‘biti hospitaliziran’)	He’s been in hospital since yesterday. (‘be hospitalized’)
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It is precisely within the group of non-lexicalized prepositional combinations that the boundary between prepositional collocations and free combinations with prepositions as known from Anglo-American linguistics can be drawn. However, this bound-

ary is often hard to define and remains fuzzy. Nevertheless, it can be said that in most cases non-lexicalized combinations with prepositions either introduce or retain valency and form some kind of non-idiomatic prepositional collocations.

Syntactic characteristics of non-lexicalized prepositional combinations:

1) The preposition introduces new participant roles, making what was originally a rather general meaning of the verb more precise and concrete:

a) prepositions combined with verbs of oriented control, transfer, introduction/continuation, limitation, prevention tend to have an orientational meaning

Poslal je sporočilo.	He sent a message.
Poslal je sporočilo po elektronski pošti.	He sent a message by e-mail.
Nadaljeval je.	He continued.
Nadaljeval je z razpravo.	He continued with the discussion.

b) prepositions combined with verbs of motion retain a spatial meaning of aim or target

Zdrsnil je.	He slipped.
Drasel je v depresijo.	He sank/slid into depression.

c) prepositions may render the meaning of end of state

Prebudil se je.	He woke (up).
Potrebuje nekaj časa, da se prebudi iz nočnega spanca.	It takes him some time to wake from his night's sleep.

2) Prepositions combined with prefixed verbs of motion in Slovene tend to be homonymous with the prefix used in the verb; such prepositions introduce a certain "orientational valency":

Vstopil je v stranko.	He joined the party.
Sonce zahaja za gorami.	The sun sets behind the mountains.

3) The preposition can act as a permanent (stylistically neutral) free morpheme combining with a verb, the two making up a prepositional collocation. These combinations are particularly interesting to compare when the preposition is either used explicitly to express spatial meaning (the combination is non-lexicalized) or has a changed, figurative meaning (the combination is lexicalized).

Njegova parcela meji na športno dvorano. ('biti na meji z' – NON-LEXICALIZED)	His plot of land borders on the sports hall.
Njeno obnašanje meji na blaznost. ('biti zelo podoben' – LEXICALIZED)	Her behaviour verges on madness.

4) The preposition is optional with some verbs whose meanings already include 'purpose' or 'aim'; in the following illustrative sentences the Slovene prepositions *na* and *za* can be omitted without a change in meaning:

Čakam (na) šolski avtobus.	I wait for the school bus.
Igral je (na) flavto.	He played the flute.
Pazila je (na) otroke.	She looked after the children.
Pritisnil je (na) gumb.	He pressed the button.
Lovil je (za) njegov rokav.	He grabbed at his sleeve.

In the above combinations, Slovene allows for variant forms (prepositional and non-prepositional), which testifies to the relative weakness of the link between the verb and the preposition. Consequently, this makes an ellipsis possible. A similar phenomenon can be observed in English, but usually a (slight) change of meaning is observable there:

He grabbed his sleeve. ('take something suddenly and roughly')

He **grabbed at** his sleeve. ('try to take/grab something')

He kicked the door. ('hit something forcefully with one's foot')

He **kicked at** the door. ('aim one's foot at something')

3 The Influence of Prepositions on the Formation of Verbal Valency Groups in Slovene¹⁴

In the following classification, the entire spectrum of combinations with prepositions as they appear in Slovene can be found, ranging from prepositional collocations proper to free combinations with prepositions. Again, their semantic equivalents in English may not be constructed on the same pattern and may lack a prepositional combination altogether.

3.1 With specialized verbs denoting physical or mental states the preposition stresses the state itself and/or the resulting characteristics

Norčujejo se iz starega učitelja.	They make fun of the old teacher.
Dvomi v njene sposobnosti.	He doubts her abilities.

3.2 Combined with specialized verbs denoting action/operation/creation, the preposition can express the prevalent semantic component, which is also the intentional/valency-related semantic component. The preposition thus introduces:

¹⁴ For participant roles in the Slovene language see Orešnik (1992).

a) enabling the originating/origin of something

Organizirajo kmete za sodelovanje z zadruho.	They are helping to organize farmers to work for the co-operative.
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b) a stressed semantic component of motion

Odstranil je navlako z dvorišča.	He removed the junk from the yard.
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c) a stressed semantic component of co-occurrence/co-appearing/appearance

Pacienti čakajo (na) zdravnika.	The patients are waiting for the doctor.
Čaka na ugodno priliko.	He's waiting for his chance.
Sodelujejo z različnimi organizacijami.	They cooperate with various organizations.

d) a stressed semantic component of a change of property

Pretvarjal se je v čudaka.	He was turning into a loony.
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3.3 Combined with specialized verbs of communicating/thinking/understanding, the preposition introduces:

a) emphasis on 'receiving and having information'

Dokumentiral je podatke s tabelami.	He tabulated the data.
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b) emphasis on 'understanding and reacting to information'

Projekt je argumentiral s številkami.	He backed up the project with statistics.
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c) emphasis on 'giving information'

Agitirali so za kandidata.	They canvassed for the candidate.
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3.4 Combined with specialized verbs with a general meaning of change, the preposition introduces emphasis on 'self-movement'.

Navijači so se pulili za vstopnice.	The fans scrambled for tickets.
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3.5 Combined with specialized verbs of movement, the preposition stresses:

a) the course of movement when used with a process verb;

b) the goalness of movement or purpose when used with a goal-directed verb;

c) the content of the event when used with an event verb.

a) Vozi se v šolo.	He drives to school.
b) Redno hodi na obiske.	He visits them regularly.
c) Rad se vrača k domačim.	He likes to go back to his family.

4 Contrastive View of Prepositions Used in Combinations

A contrastive treatment of combinability with prepositions and valency patterns in two or even three different languages may often help shed some light on the characteristics of this phenomenon, outline potentially difficult areas in foreign-language learning as well as suggest techniques which may help sensitize users of a foreign language to divergences between their mother tongue and the foreign language.

While native speakers of a language may find prepositional collocations quite unproblematic as word associations of the collocational type are relatively uniform within one language community (cf. Herbst 1996: 389-390), these have proven to be one of the most difficult areas of linguistic knowledge to master for non-native speakers. To native speakers, collocations allow a certain degree of syntagmatic predictability which they have gradually learnt to master; however, non-native speakers, even very advanced ones, often lack this type of knowledge and end up combining their words in an untypical and unusual way. On the whole, it seems that Slovene learners of English, after having reached a certain level of proficiency, tend to have less difficulty producing free combinations than prepositional collocations (cf. Sicherl 1999)¹⁵. The reason for this may lie in the (changed, usually abstract and hardly definable) content of the preposition when this is used as collocator.

During recent decades linguists began to realize that even in the case of prepositional collocations we cannot talk of “semantic emptiness” (see Schröder 1986: 10), and that the choice of the preposition is semantically motivated (cf. also Dixon 1991: 271). It has become clear that in some collocations there is a possibility of variation in the preposition (e.g. *talk of/about/on*) without a radical change in meaning. That the preposition when used as a collocator acts, at least to some extent, as a carrier of meaning, can also be proven by valency patterns which the collocational bases enter. If these prepositions were entirely meaningless, we would probably not tend to combine meaning-related content words (collocational bases) with identical prepositions. However, in most cases, this is precisely what we do, and the emerging valency patterns turn out to be surprisingly uniform in the languages compared.

To illustrate this point, let us compare instances of prepositional collocations consisting of a verb/noun/adjective denoting sensations perceived through the nose by the olfactory nerves, and the following preposition which introduces a substance emitting an odour¹⁶. We can see that in English practically all these bases regularly combine with the preposition *of*; similar combinability with a preposition seems to be present in

¹⁵ Typically, Slovene speakers of English opt for that English preposition to combine with a lexical word which is “nearest” to the prototypical meaning of the Slovene preposition used in the semantically equivalent Slovene combination. Since the English preposition *for* is felt to be the nearest semantic equivalent of the Slovene preposition *za*, they tend to “translate” the combination *značilen za* as **typical/characteristic for* and not as *typical/characteristic of*. Even when there is a choice between two prepositions in English with little or no change in meaning, they usually select the one that is felt to be semantically nearer to the Slovene preposition: thus, an accidental sample of 33 advanced students of English at Ljubljana University preferred the combinations *fair to* (63%), *suited for* (91%) and *rich with* (47%) to the combinations *fair on* (6%), *suited to* (3%) and *rich in* (44%) as translation equivalents of the Slovene combinations *pravičen do* (otrok), *primeren za* (delo) and *bogat z* (vitamini).

¹⁶ The illustrative sentences below were taken from various sources found in the Internet and simplified by the authors.

other languages as well. Below, comparison has been made with Slovene and German, where most verbal, nominal, and adjectival semantic equivalents of the English bases regularly combine with the prepositions *po* and *nach* respectively.

His room smelled of his dog.	V njegovi sobi je dišalo po psu.	Das Zimmer roch nach seinem Hund.
The pale blue flowers scented of almonds.	Svetlomodri cvetovi so dehteli po mandljih.	Die blauen Blüten dufteten nach Mandeln.
My clothes were stinking of tobacco.	Moja obleka je smrdela po tobaku.	Meine Klamotten stanken nach Tabak.
The cabin reeked of kerosene.	V kabini je zaudarjalo po kerozinu.	Im Cockpit roch es nach Kerosin.
An odour of lemons was left in the room.	V sobi je ostal vonj po limonah.	Im Zimmer blieb der Duft nach Zitronen.
The male was attracted by the natural scent of a female.	Samca je privabil duh po samici.	Der Geruch nach Weibchen zog das Männchen an.
Try to remove the smell of vomit from your carpets.	Poskusite odstraniti smrad po bruhanju iz preprog.	Versuchen Sie, den Gestank nach Erbrochenem aus den Teppichen zu entfernen.
The aroma of sizzling bacon filled the kitchen.	Kuhinjo so napolnile vonjave po cvrčeči slanini.	Das Aroma von brutzelndem Speck füllte die Küche.
I wish I could bottle the fragrance of magnolia blossom as perfume.	Rad bi ustekleničil vonjavo magnolijinih cvetov kot parfum.	Ich wünsche mir, ich könnte den Duft nach Magnolienblüten als Parfum in Fläschchen abfüllen.
The stench of burning rubber was in the air for days.	Smrad po zažgani gumi je še več dni ostal v zraku.	Der Gestank nach verbranntem Gummi lag noch tagelang in der Luft.
His lungs were filled with the malodour of diesel fumes.	Pljuča mu je napolnil smrad po dizelskem gorivu.	Seine Lungen füllten sich mit dem Gestank von Dieseldämpfen.
The old pharmacy was odorous of herbs and flowers.	Stara lekarna, dišeča po zeliščih in cvetju ...	Die alte Apotheke, wohlriechend nach Kräutern und Blüten ...
Her clothes were redolent of moth balls and cedar closets.	Njena oblačila, vonjajoča po naftalinu in omarah iz cedrovine ...	Ihre Kleider, riechend nach Mottenkugeln und Zedernholzschränken ...
She ran out of the dirty room reeky of stale cigarettes.	Pobegnila je iz umazane sobe, zaudarjajoče po cigaretnem dimu.	Sie rannte aus dem schmutzigen, nach Zigarettenrauch stinkendem Zimmer.
Its blooms, deliciously scented of orange blossom ...	Cvetje, čudovito dišeče po pomarančnih cvetovih ...	Die Blumen, herrlich duftend nach Orangenblüten, ...

Naturally, one can find exceptions (e.g. the noun “aroma” in Slovene regularly combines with the non-prepositional genitival case, as in *aroma sveže kave/the aroma of fresh coffee*; the German nouns *Aroma* and *Gestank* in the above examples are combined with the preposition *von* if the source of the odour is immediately present), yet the pattern which emerges from the illustrative examples above seems distinct enough.

The finding that prepositions in collocations are not devoid of content, but contribute a certain content to the meaning of the collocational base, even if their content is even more abstract and difficult to define than that of prepositions used in free combinations (which, per definition, tend to have more general and dispersed meanings than lexical words with their lexical meanings), is particularly helpful for language learners and non-native speakers: in the apparent chaos of word combinations, there seem to appear certain patterns which may make easier the memorizing of prepositional collocations, and thus in general improve the quality and naturalness of the texts they produce.

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Povzetek
PREDLOŽNE ZVEZE OZ. PREDLOŽNOMORFEMSKOST V SLOVENŠČINI IN
ANGLEŠČINI: TEORETIČNI IN KONTRASTIVNI VIDIK

Predložnomorfemska kot aktualna stalnica različnih jezikovnih sistemov vedno znova zahteva tudi aktualne teoretične opredelitve – zlasti povedne, širše informativne in uporabne so kontrastivne obravnave. Izhodiščno je z aktualno slovensko-angleško jezikoslovno terminologijo komentirana predložnomorfemska v slovenščini. Potem je kontrastivno, z vidika prevajanja in žive vsakodnevne prakse, predstavljena problematika doseganja logične in hkrati normativno ustrezne (ne)idiomatične rabe predložnih morfemov v slovenščini, angleščini in nemščini.

V slovenščini kljub prevladujoči usmeritvi v neposrednejše tožilniško izražanje težnja po natančnosti in analitičnosti sporočanega hkrati vodi tudi k pogostejši predložnomorfemski uporabi glagolov. Kako glagolski pomen odloča o izbiri predložnega morfema kažejo npr. zgledi *delati na projektu* (pov. dol.) : *govoriti za njega / govoriti o njem* (obvezno dol.) : *klestiti s šibo* (neobvezno dol.). Prosti glagolski morfem je **leksikalizirani** kot del pomenskosestavinske glagolov v smislu, da jo soti (leksikalizacija) in hkrati del glagolskega leksema in glagolske vezljivosti, ali **neleksikalizirani**, ko pomensko izhaja vsaj iz enega pomena glagolskega leksema in izraža njegovo pomensko- in strukturnoskladenjsko vezljivost ter je zato del povedkove vezljivosti; izven vezljivosti ostajajo še obglagolski vezavnodružljivi predložni morfemi. V anglo-ameriškem jezikoslovju se je v zadnjih desetletjih uveljavila delitev predložnih zvez na proste predložne zveze in slovnične/predložne kolokacije; kolokacije so opredeljene kot povsem naravno pomensko- in strukturnoskladenjsko povezovanje besed v smislu vzajemnega pomensko-skladenjskega pričakovanja besed (mutual expectancy of words). V obeh primerih pa so s prostimi morfemi navadno ubesedene tiste pomenske sestavine, ki so tako pomensko- kot strukturnoskladenjsko udeležene pri vezljivosti. S prostimi morfemi so torej tudi strukturnoskladenjsko izražene intencne/vezljivostne pomenske sestavine glagolov. Tako npr. predložni morfem *na* poudari pomensko sestavino 'pričakovanja' v zvezah kot *pripraviti se na*, *čakati na*, *upati na* ipd.; v angleščini imamo podobnopomenske predložne kolokacije *s for* v primerih kot *prepare for*, *wait for*, *hope for* ipd. in še v nemščini *z auf* v primerih tipa *sich vorbereiten auf*, *warten auf*, *hoffen auf* ipd. Dejstvo je, da je ravno pri vezljivosti precej velika interferenca – govorci si vezljivosti v materinščini niti ne uzavestijo, zato vezljivostne vzorce prenesejo tudi v jezik prevoda.

A RESEARCH-BASED STUDY OF FOREIGN STUDENTS' USE OF GRAMMATICAL CODES IN FIVE LEADING BRITISH LEARNERS' DICTIONARIES

Abstract

Grammatical codes are one of several ways of including grammar in learners' dictionaries. In our research we focussed on the usability and user-friendliness of learners' dictionaries as regards grammatical information. The results presented and discussed in this article are based on answers obtained by a questionnaire that tested the understanding of codes found in five leading British monolingual learners' dictionaries and the success of the explanations of the same codes provided in the front matter of each dictionary. The results are presented by dictionaries and by codes. The most important finding of this research is that the understanding of the code and thus its usefulness depends on the code itself rather than on the dictionary.

1. Introduction

Dictionaries, especially monolingual dictionaries designed to meet the needs of a foreign language learner, contain a large amount of information of various types. Early studies conducted into dictionary use (Barnhart 1962, Quirk 1973, Béjoint 1981, Tomaszczyk 1979) show that dictionaries are most often used for checking the meaning of unknown words. Apart from meaning, other types of information are also included and used by dictionary users but to a lesser extent than meaning. Undoubtedly, one of the important elements of monolingual learners' dictionaries is the inclusion of grammar (McCorduck 1993). Grammar has been included in learners' dictionaries since the very beginning (Cowie 1999), but the amount of grammar in dictionaries has increased noticeably in the course of time (Béjoint 2000: 29). Typically, all monolingual learners' dictionaries include the part of speech label, which represents grammatical information about words, where they can operate in the syntax of sentences, and what their combinatorial possibilities are. Other grammatical information refers to various grammatical properties of each individual word class, such as countability in nouns, verb patterns, attributive, postpositive, and predicative use of adjectives, as well as gradability in adjectives and adverbs (Herbst 1989, Jackson 2002, Landau 2001, Cowie 1999). Grammatical information is provided in the form of codes or abbreviated phrases as well as more indirectly, i.e. in definitions and examples of use. The question of what should be taken into consideration when including grammatical information has been widely discussed (Jackson 1985, Lemmens and Wekker 1986, Sinclair 1987), but it is of the greatest importance to

know what dictionary users understand and make use of when consulting their dictionaries in terms of grammar. The only way to find this out is to carry out research into different aspects of dictionary use, including grammar. Surveys should enquire into students' awareness of the existence of grammatical information in learners' dictionaries. Several aspects have been tested so far, such as syntax, complementation codes and labels (Nuccorini 1992), the obligatory use of the article, verb patterns, and countability (Tono 2001), and verb patterns, especially verb complementation (Bogaards, van der Kloot 2001). The results show that grammar is rarely looked up by the test subjects; they do not use all the available information, and they tend to choose the first definition in the entry rather than read the whole entry (this applies especially to long entries), even though useful grammatical information may be included later in the entry. Several comparisons of codes used in different learners' dictionaries have also been made, investigating the system of grammatical codes (Aarts 1991, Dalgish 1995, Strevens 1987), the thoroughness and consistency in the use of grammatical codes (Heath 1982), and the transparency of codes (Aarts 1991, Herbst 1989, Strevens 1987). The most commonly expressed criticism refers to the fact that codes are not sufficiently transparent, therefore not sufficiently user-friendly. The main proposal is that a coding system should be self-explanatory and reasonably easy to use.

In order to test the transparency and usability of grammatical codes included in the latest editions of five leading British monolingual dictionaries, we carried out a survey, the results of which are presented and discussed in this article. Research was undertaken to prove our hypothesis that dictionary users do not regularly consult the front matter in order to check a code or an abbreviated phrase they do not understand. We, therefore, wanted to find out to what extent the codes or abbreviated phrases are understood without being explained (are they so clear that the explanation is redundant, or are they so difficult that they cannot be understood without an explanation?).

2. Methodology

2.1 Test Subjects

Research was carried out among second- and third-year students of the Faculty of Economics (hereafter referred to as FE) and fourth-year students of the Faculty of Arts (hereafter referred to as FA), Department of English, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia. Together the groups comprised 162 respondents. One hundred and fifty-seven respondents (i.e. 96.9 %) speak Slovene as their mother tongue, and 5 (i.e. 3.1 %) speak some other language as their mother tongue. The test subjects were asked to give details about the number of years they had been studying English. Most of the respondents (i.e. 69.1 %) had been studying English for 10–12 years; 15.4 % had been studying it for less than 10 years, and 15.4 % for more than 12 years. Our test subjects were considered as belonging to a quite homogenous group: most of them attended schools in Slovenia; they had the same number of English lessons per year and covered the same syllabus. For these reasons we considered it unnecessary for them to undergo a placement test. However, we did enquire about the students' average grades in

English in grammar school. The majority of students indicated that their average school grade in English was either A or B (37 % stated Grade A and 34.6 % stated Grade B); 24.1 % had a Grade of C and only 4.3 % a Grade of D.

2.2 Test Design

The questionnaire consisted of two parts: a Dictionary User Profile Form and a Dictionary Research Test. The Dictionary User Profile Form was completed by all test subjects and was aimed at obtaining information about the dictionary users, i.e. their mother tongue, how long they have been studying English, and their grades in grammar school (cf. 2.1 Test Subjects).

The Dictionary Research Test concentrated on the respondents' abilities to decipher the grammatical codes included in five leading British monolingual learners' dictionaries: COBUILD4, OALD6, CALD2, LDOCE4, and MED1. It consisted of two tasks. In both tasks, the respondents were subdivided into five groups depending on the dictionary tested. Thirty-two students were given ten grammatical codes or abbreviated phrases from MED1, 32 from OALD6, 31 from LDOCE4, 36 from COBUILD4, and 31 from CALD2. In Task 1, the students were supposed to explain the code or the abbreviated phrase taken from the above-mentioned dictionaries. It was aimed at testing students' understanding of the codes. The students did not have to use the appropriate terminology; they could also explain their understanding in their mother tongue or provide an example. Task 2, on the other hand, included the same codes with the explanations taken from the front matter of each dictionary. It was aimed at testing the understanding of the explanations of these codes or abbreviated phrases.

2.3 Procedure of data collection

For the purpose of this study, data were collected by means of a questionnaire. Test subjects were given the questionnaire, and the researchers explained what they had to do. The respondents were supposed to complete the questionnaire in 45 minutes. The respondents' answers were appropriately coded and prepared for a statistical analysis using the Microsoft Excel program. Standard statistical methods were used for the data processing, which was carried out by the SPSS for Windows, version 11.

3. Results of the Dictionary Research Test

In Task 1, the range of correct answers in all the dictionaries tested is quite broad (from 12.5 % to 87.5 % in OALD6, from 3.2 % to 90.3 % in LDOCE4, from 11.1 % to 88.9 % in COBUILD4, and from 0.0 % to 90.3 % in CALD2). The only dictionary where the percentage of correct answers is somehow more balanced is MED1, where the difference between the best and the worst result is also quite large but still smaller than in other dictionaries (between 46.9 % and 96.9 %).

In Task 2, where the understanding of the explanations of the codes or abbreviated phrases was tested, COBUILD4 has to be mentioned as the dictionary where the difference between the explanation that was understood by the highest percentage of

the respondents (97.2 %) and that which was understood by the lowest percentage of the students (22.2 %) is most noticeable. In MED1, the difference between the explanation that was understood by the highest percentage of the students (100.0 %) and that which was understood by the lowest percentage of the respondents (62.5 %) is the smallest, whereas the results range from 58.1 % to 100.0 % in CALD2, from 43.8 % to 100.0 % in OALD6, and from 38.7 % to 100.0 % in LDOCE4.

Let us consider the individual codes and abbreviated phrases included in all the above-mentioned dictionaries.

The codes or abbreviated phrases in MED1 do not seem to pose great problems to dictionary users. Among the codes that were the most problematic we have to mention code 8 ‘in imperative’, code 1 ‘linking verb’, and code 7 ‘usually progressive’. Code 6 (‘usually passive’) with 96.9 %, code 4 (‘never before noun’) with 87.5 %, and code 10 (‘in negatives or questions’) with 87.5 % are the most successful ones.

A comparison of results concerning the explanation of the codes found in the front matter shows that only the explanation for code 6 (‘usually used in the passive’) was understood by all the test subjects. The explanations for code 3 (‘adjectives that can only be used before a noun’), code 4 (‘adjectives that can never be used before a noun’), code 10 (‘usually used in negative sentences or questions’), and code 9 (‘usually used in the infinitive’) also proved successful, since they were all understood by more than 90 % of the respondents. The respondents found the explanations for code 7 (‘usually used in the progressive’) and code 8 (‘usually used in the imperative’) the most difficult ones, since they were understood by 62.5 % and 65.6 % of the test subjects respectively. Here a parallel can be drawn with the results in Task 1, where the same codes were understood by a relatively small number of respondents. For more detailed results concerning the success in deciphering the codes and understanding their explanations in MED1, see Table 1.

Table 1: Success in deciphering and understanding the grammatical codes in MED1 (in %)

Stud. resp.	Code 1	Code 2	Code 3	Code 4	Code 5	Code 6	Code 7	Code 8	Code 9	Code 10
Cor.	50.0	78.1	84.4	87.5	68.8	96.9	53.1	46.9	75.0	87.5
U	78.1	87.5	96.9	93.8	87.5	100.0	62.5	65.6	90.6	93.8

- Stud. resp. – students’ responses
- Cor. – the respondent managed to explain the code correctly
- U – the respondent understood the explanation of the code

Among the grammatical codes taken from OALD6, code 10 (‘VN speech’) proved to be the most difficult one, since it was correctly explained by only 12.5 % of the respondents. The most difficult part of this code is most certainly the second element (‘speech’), since 71.9 % of the respondents correctly explained code 3 (‘VN’), which corresponded to the first element in code 10. Less than 50 % of the test subjects were able to explain the meaning of code 4 (‘VN + adv./prep.’) and code 9 (‘VN -ing’).

Code 2 ('pt') and code 5 ('V-ADJ') were correctly explained by 81.3 % and 87.5 % of the respondents respectively, a result which means that they are among the most successful codes in OALD6.

As regards the explanations of the codes, code 2 ('past tense') was the most successfully explained, which is understandable, given that all language learners are familiar with the term 'past tense'. Apart from code 2, code 3 ('verb + noun phrase'), code 1 ('past participle'), code 5 ('verb + adjective'), and code 7 ('verb + that clause') are also explained in such a way that the majority of respondents are able to understand them. The most problematic code seems to be code 10 ('verb + noun phrase + direct speech'), whose explanation was understood by only 43.8 % of respondents. The same code also yielded the worst result in Task 1, and even the explanation provided in the front matter does not help as much as it should. Detailed results of student success in deciphering the codes and understanding of the explanations of the codes are presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Success in deciphering and understanding the grammatical codes in OALD6 (in %)

Stud. resp.	Code 1	Code 2	Code 3	Code 4	Code 5	Code 6	Code 7	Code 8	Code 9	Code 10
Cor.	62.5	81.3	71.9	40.6	87.5	71.9	68.8	53.1	40.6	12.5
U	90.6	100.0	93.8	68.8	90.6	84.4	90.6	78.1	78.1	43.8

In comparison to MED1 and OALD6, the codes included in LDOCE4 are less transparent. Only code 5 ('only before noun') was understood by more than 90 % of the respondents. As many as five codes were understood by less than 50 % of the students, which is far from being satisfactory. Code 9 ('+ adj/adv') was deciphered by 3.2 % of the respondents only. The explanation of this code ('shows that an adverb of degree is used before adjectives and adverbs') seems to be more successful, since 51.6 % of the respondents were able to understand it. Apart from code 9, code 10 ('also + plural verb BrE') was also a problematic one, since less than 20 % of the test subjects managed to explain it correctly. Again, the explanation ('shows that a group noun can take a plural verb in British English') was understood by 77.4 % of the respondents, which is quite a good result in comparison to the ability of the test subjects to explain the code. Another code that gave students problems is code 8 ('sentence adverb'), which was appropriately explained by only 23.3 % of the respondents. The explanation of this code ('shows that an adverb modifies a whole sentence') provided in the front matter is not of great help to dictionary users, either, since it was understood by only 38.7 % of the respondents. Apart from code 5 (already mentioned) the most successful codes include code 7 ('only after noun'), and code 6 ('not before noun'), as they both were successfully deciphered by more than 80 % of the respondents. Similarly, the explanations of these three codes were clear enough to be understood by the majority of respondents (the explanations for codes 5 and 6 were understood by all the respondents, and the explanation for code 7 by 96.8 %). The greatest difference

between correct answers that show students’ ability to decipher the code and those that show that respondents understood the explanation of the code can be found with code 2. Only 41.9 % of students understood the code, as opposed to 100.0 % of students who understood the explanation of the code. Further details concerning students’ ability to decipher the code and understand its explanation are presented in Table 3.

Table 3: Success in deciphering and understanding the grammatical codes in LDOCE4 (in %)

Stud. resp.	Code 1	Code 2	Code 3	Code 4	Code 5	Code 6	Code 7	Code 8	Code 9	Code 10
Cor.	41.9	41.9	54.8	54.8	90.3	80.6	87.1	23.3	3.2	19.4
U	67.7	100.0	93.5	93.5	100.0	100.0	96.8	38.7	51.6	77.4

Generally speaking, codes in COBUILD4 give cause for concern. Only one code (code 7 – ‘V-PASSIVE’) was understood by 88.9 % of the students. The results show that code 4 (‘N-VAR’) with 11.1 %, code 1 (‘PREP-PHRASE’) with 13.9 %, and code 3 (‘N-COUNT-COLL’) with 27.8 % were the most difficult ones. The results showing how well the students understood the explanation of the codes indicate that the explanations for code 7 (‘passive verb’), code 2 (‘comparative form’), and code 9 (‘imperative’) were understood by the majority of respondents, whereas the explanation for code 4 (‘variable noun’) was understood by only 22.2 % of respondents. For more detailed results, see Table 4.

Table 4: Success in deciphering and understanding the grammatical codes in COBUILD4 (in %)

Stud. resp.	Code 1	Code 2	Code 3	Code 4	Code 5	Code 6	Code 7	Code 8	Code 9	Code 10
Cor.	13.9	61.1	27.8	11.1	33.3	58.3	88.9	41.7	66.7	58.3
U	66.7	83.3	50.0	22.2	52.8	69.4	97.2	77.8	80.6	63.9

The questionnaires tested the success of 50 codes – i.e. 10 codes taken from each dictionary – but the only code that was not understood by a single respondent was code 5 (‘M’) from CALD2. Even the explanation itself (i.e. ‘phrasal verb with a particle that can come before or after the object’) is not really revealing, since only 58.1 % of the students managed to understand it. This result is not a complete failure, but if we compare it with other results for explanations of codes in this dictionary, it is the worst one. Besides code 5, we have to mention code 4 (‘L’) and code 8 (‘R’), which were appropriately explained by less than 10 % of the respondents. Again, a single letter is not self-explanatory; therefore students did not manage to decipher ‘L’ as referring to linking verbs and ‘R’ as referring to reflexive verbs. Also worth mentioning is code 9 (‘S’), which was correctly explained by 35.5 % of the students. All the users understood this code after having read the explanation. A comparison of the results

showing how well the students understood the explanations of the codes reveals a completely different picture. As many as three explanations (code 3 – ‘adjective that is placed only before a noun’; code 9 – ‘singular’; code 10 – ‘verb usually used in the passive’) were understood by all respondents. Effective explanations also include those for code 6 (‘verb with an object followed by a noun or an adjective’) and code 7 (‘verb with an object followed by the -ing form of another verb’), which were understood by more than 90 % of the test subjects. More detailed results are presented in Table 5.

Table 5: Success in deciphering and understanding the grammatical codes in CALD2 (in %)

Stud. resp.	Code 1	Code 2	Code 3	Code 4	Code 5	Code 6	Code 7	Code 8	Code 9	Code 10
Cor.	25.8	67.7	77.4	6.5	0.0	58.1	58.1	9.7	35.5	90.3
U	83.9	71.0	100.0	64.5	58.1	93.5	93.5	61.3	100.0	100.0

4. Discussion

These results clearly show that the test subjects find some codes or abbreviated phrases fairly transparent, whereas others prove to be quite difficult. It is surprising, for example, that respondents had problems with the abbreviated phrase ‘in imperative’, since they come across the term ‘imperative’ in the course of learning English, but it is understandable that they did not know the meaning of the abbreviated phrase ‘linking verb’, since this is not used when teaching English grammar at school. The term ‘linking verb’ is known only to the students of English who get acquainted with it in their grammar courses at the university, when discussing the classification of the verbs. The general dictionary user, on the other hand, cannot possibly be familiar with the meaning of this term.

The term ‘progressive’ also poses problems because it is not used in textbooks, the result being that students are not familiar with it. At school, the term ‘continuous’ is used, and it can be assumed that this term would be much better understood. It has to be stressed that all the textbooks that are officially approved for use in primary and grammar schools in Slovenia are published by the same publishing houses as the monolingual learners’ dictionaries (e.g. *Cambridge English for Schools* – Cambridge University Press; *Project* – Oxford University Press; *New Headway English Course* – Oxford University Press; *Matrix* – Oxford University Press; *Natural English* – Oxford University Press). The same terminology can justifiably be expected in textbooks as well as dictionaries intended for the same target audience. It is true that in primary school and at least at the beginning of grammar school the level of English is not sufficient to enable the use of the dictionaries tested, which are intended for advanced learners. Advanced learners, however, have experienced many years of learning English, and the basic learning aid they have used has been the school textbooks. One would, however, expect a better result with ‘v-cont’ (in COBUILD4), where the term

'continuous' is used, as opposed to the term 'progressive', which is used in other learners' dictionaries. It is possible that our respondents did not manage to understand the abbreviated form of the term (cont for continuous), but even the results showing how many students understood the explanation provided for this code are not as high as one would expect. The students seem to have been puzzled by the entire expression 'continuous verb', which is used in the front matter of this dictionary, as they are more familiar with the term 'continuous tense' rather than with the term 'continuous verb'.

Another complicated abbreviated phrase is 'sentence adverb', since a general dictionary user does not understand the concept underlying this term. This is a term language learners do not come across when learning English; they become acquainted with it as late as their grammar classes at the university (if they study English). The terms 'variable noun', 'prepositional phrase', 'collective countable noun', and 'reciprocal verb' are also much too complicated for an average dictionary user. The results for these abbreviated phrases are unsatisfactory and the reason for such poor results is most certainly the terminology used.

What about one-letter codes? The code 'S' used in CALD2 proved to be quite difficult, which is surprising if we know that this code refers to 'singular'. In this particular example, the difficulty lies in the code itself not in the terminology used. In other learners' dictionaries the code 'sing.' is used (OALD6 and COBUILD4), or the word 'singular' is written in full (MED1 and LDOCE4). We also cannot ignore the code 'M' (used in CALD2), which is the only code (out of all 50 codes tested) that was not understood by a single respondent. What is it that makes this code so complicated? As we learn from the explanation of this code, it refers to a 'phrasal verb with a particle that can come before or after the object'. The code 'M' suggests that the object can occupy the medial position between the verb and the particle, but the code itself is not self-explanatory. How can a dictionary user know that 'M' stands for medial position?

In codes consisting of several elements, such as 'VN speech', 'VN + adv./prep.', 'VN -ing', we can presuppose that it was the second element that the respondents were unable to understand, taking into account that the code 'VN' was not problematic. Probably, the reason cannot be attributed to the fact that the students do not know what 'speech', 'adv./prep.' or '-ing' mean; it is rather that they do not know what the entire code refers to. The same holds true of the codes '+ adj/adv', 'always + adv/prep' found in LDOCE4, since they consist of elements that average dictionary users would know, but probably users are unable to link the elements and understand what the entire code means. Consequently, the verbalization of these two codes ('shows that an adverb of degree is used before adjectives and adverbs' and 'shows that a verb must be followed by an adverb or a preposition') is perfectly clear, and is thus understood by all respondents. However, the explanation does not always prove successful, which is confirmed by the explanation of the code 'VN speech', meaning 'verb + noun phrase + direct speech'. The test subjects understood all parts of the explanation even the last part, i.e. 'direct speech', since they get acquainted with this term in the course of learning English, but in all likelihood, they were not able to make a connection between all three elements of the explanation.

With a high degree of certainty it can be claimed that understanding of the code or abbreviated phrase and thus its usefulness depends on the code or abbreviated phrase itself rather than on the dictionary used. The compilers of the dictionaries provide as much grammatical information as possible, much of which is included in the form of grammatical codes or abbreviated phrases. As is shown in our research, the transparency and simplicity of the codes or abbreviated phrases are of the utmost importance if we want users to understand them and to make use of them. These results also confirm the findings of Aarts (1991), Herbst (1989), and Strevens (1987).

5. Conclusion

There is no doubt that dictionary reference skills involve highly complicated cognitive skills. Dictionary skills are problem-solving skills: users are trying to solve a particular linguistic conflict by consulting a dictionary. However, it should be emphasized that dictionary use is not as simple as one would imagine. A dictionary abounds with information of various types, and very often a dictionary user is not even aware of the wealth of information he/she can find when consulting a dictionary. We strongly believe that students should be made aware of the whole range of information included in monolingual learners' dictionaries, and the inclusion of codes and abbreviated phrases is no exception. The front matter of each dictionary where the types of information included in this particular dictionary are explained can be of great help. Unfortunately, many dictionary users never read it, the result being that they cannot be regarded as proficient dictionary users. The educational system can play an important role, since the teaching of dictionary skills could be integrated into the foreign language syllabus. An important tool in the training of dictionary users is the use of separate companion booklets that are meant to train users and offer them practice in using the special features, including grammatical codes. Systematic dictionary training is absolutely necessary to enable learners to become efficient dictionary users.

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Povzetek

RAZISKAVA O UPORABI SLOVNIČNIH KOD V PETIH VODILNIH BRITANSKIH ENOJEZIČNIH SLOVARJIH ZA TUJCE NA VZORCU TUJIH GOVORCEV

Slovnične kode so eden od načinov vključevanja slovnice v enojezične slovarje za tujce. V raziskavi smo preučevali, v kakšni meri so ti slovarji uporabni in prijazni do uporabnika pri vključevanju slovničnih podatkov. Rezultati, predstavljeni v tem članku, temeljijo na odgovorih, ki smo jih dobili s pomočjo vprašalnika, s katerim smo testirali razumevanje kod, ki jih najdemo v petih vodilnih britanskih enojezičnih slovarjih za tujce. Poleg tega smo testirali razumljivost razlag istih kod, ki jih najdemo v uvodnem delu vsakega slovarja. Rezultati so predstavljeni po slovarjih in po kodah. Najpomembnejša ugotovitev te raziskave je, da sta razumevanje kode in posledično njena uporabnost odvisna od kode same in ne od slovarja.

Appendix I

The Dictionary User Profile Form was produced in Slovene, so that respondents could complete the form in their native language. The questionnaire here is a translation of the original form.

DICTIONARY USER PROFILE FORM

The aim of this questionnaire is to discover how dictionaries can be improved. You can help us by filling in this questionnaire. The questions are about monolingual (i.e. English-English) dictionaries.

1. What is your native language? _____
2. How many years have you been learning English for? _____
3. What was your average grade in English in grammar school? _____

Appendix II

The Dictionary Research Test was produced in Slovene to ensure that participants in the project would read the questions in their own language. The questionnaire here is a translation of the Slovene original.

DICTIONARY RESEARCH TEST

Task 1: The following grammatical codes can be found in Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (6th edition). Please write down what each code means (you can explain it or provide an example).

1. pp
2. pt
3. VN
4. VN + adv./prep.
5. V-ADJ
6. VN-ADJ
7. V(that)
8. V wh-
9. VN -ing
10. VN speech

Task 2: The codes from the previous task are accompanied by the explanations that can be found in the introductory part of the dictionary. Please indicate whether the explanation is clear enough for you to make use of it when using English actively.

- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| 1. pp | past participle |
| a. understand | b. don't understand |
| 2. pt | past tense |
| a. understand | b. don't understand |
| 3. VN | verb + noun phrase |
| a. understand | b. don't understand |
| 4. VN + adv./prep. | verb + noun phrase + adverb or prepositional phrase |
| a. understand | b. don't understand |
| 5. V-ADJ | verb + adjective |
| a. understand | b. don't understand |
| 6. VN-ADJ | verb + noun phrase + adjective |
| a. understand | b. don't understand |
| 7. V(that) | verb + that clause |
| a. understand | b. don't understand |
| 8. V wh - | verb + wh -clause |
| a. understand | b. don't understand |
| 9. VN -ing | verb + noun phrase + -ing phrase |
| a. understand | b. don't understand |
| 10. VN speech | verb + noun phrase + direct speech |
| a. understand | b. don't understand |

OR: Codes from Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (4th edition).

1. linking verb
2. always + adv/prep
3. not in progressive
4. no comparative
5. only before noun
6. not before noun
7. only after noun
8. sentence adverb
9. + adj/adv
10. also + plural verb *BrE*

Codes from LDOCE4 with explanations

- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| 1. linking verb | a verb that is followed by a noun or adjective complement that describes the subjects of the verb |
| a. understand | b. don't understand |
| 2. always + adv/prep | shows that a verb must be followed by an adverb or a preposition |

a. understand	b. don't understand
3. not in progressive	shows that a verb is not used in the progressive form, that is, the -ing form after 'be'
a. understand	b. don't understand
4. no comparative	shows that an adjective is not used in the comparative or superlative form, that is, not with -er and -est, or 'more' and 'most'
a. understand	b. don't understand
5. only before noun	shows that an adjective can be used only before a noun
a. understand	b. don't understand
6. not before noun	shows that an adjective cannot be used before a noun
a. understand	b. don't understand
7. only after noun	shows that an adjective is used only immediately after a noun
a. understand	b. don't understand
8. sentence adverb	shows that an adverb modifies a whole sentence
a. understand	b. don't understand
9. + adj/adv	shows that an adverb of degree is used before adjectives and adverbs
a. understand	b. don't understand
10. also + plural verb <i>BrE</i>	shows that a group noun can take a plural verb in British English
a. understand	b. don't understand

OR: Codes from Macmillan English Dictionary (1st edition).

1. linking verb
2. auxiliary verb
3. only before noun
4. never before noun
5. + (that)
6. usually passive
7. usually progressive
8. in imperative
9. in infinitive
10. in negatives or questions

Codes from MED1 with explanations

- | | |
|-----------------|--|
| 1. linking verb | verbs that are followed by a noun or adjective complement describing the subject |
|-----------------|--|

a. understand	b. don't understand
2. auxiliary verb	verbs 'be', 'have', and 'do' when they are used with other verbs to form questions, show their tense, etc
a. understand	b. don't understand
3. only before noun	adjectives that can only be used before a noun
a. understand	b. don't understand
4. never before noun	adjectives that can never be used before a noun
a. understand	b. don't understand
5. + (that)	can be followed by a clause beginning with 'that' but you can miss out the 'that'
a. understand	b. don't understand
6. usually passive	usually used in the passive
a. understand	b. don't understand
7. usually progressive	usually used in the progressive
a. understand	b. don't understand
8. in imperative	usually used in the imperative
a. understand	b. don't understand
9. in infinitive	usually used in the infinitive
a. understand	b. don't understand
10. in negatives or questions	usually used in negative sentences or questions
a. understand	b. don't understand

OR: Codes from Collins Cobuild English Dictionary for Advanced Learners (4th edition).

1. PREP-PHRASE
2. adj-compar
3. N-COUNT-COLL
4. N-VAR
5. V-RECIP
6. V-LINK
7. V-PASSIVE
8. v-cont
9. imper
10. pron-refl

Codes from COBUILD4 with explanations

1. PREP-PHRASE	phrasal preposition
a. understand	b. don't understand
2. adj-compar	comparative form
a. understand	b. don't understand

3. N-COUNT-COLL	collective count noun
a. understand	b. don't understand
4. N-VAR	variable noun
a. understand	b. don't understand
5. V-RECIP	reciprocal verb
a. understand	b. don't understand
6. V-LINK	link verb
a. understand	b. don't understand
7. V-PASSIVE	passive verb
a. understand	b. don't understand
8. v-cont	continuous verb
a. understand	b. don't understand
9. imper	imperative
a. understand	b. don't understand
10. pron-refl	reflexive pronoun
a. understand	b. don't understand

OR: Codes from Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2nd edition).

1. always + adv/prep
2. + question word
3. before n
4. L
5. M
6. + obj + n/adj
7. + obj + v-*ing*
8. R
9. S
10. usually passive

Codes from CALD2 with explanations

1. always + adv/prep	verb that must be followed by an adverb or preposition
a. understand	b. don't understand
2. + question word	verb with a question word
a. understand	b. don't understand
3. before n	adjective that is placed only before a noun
a. understand	b. don't understand
4. L	linking verb (followed by an adjective or noun)
a. understand	b. don't understand
5. M	phrasal verb with a particle that can come before or after the object

a. understand

6. + obj + n/adj

a. understand

7. + obj + v-*ing*

a. understand

8. R

a. understand

9. S

a. understand

10. usually passive

a. understand

b. don't understand

verb with an object followed by a noun or an adjective

b. don't understand

verb with an object followed by the *-ing* form of another verb

b. don't understand

reflexive

b. don't understand

singular

b. don't understand

verb usually used in the passive

b. don't understand

VALORES Y USOS DE LAS PERÍFRASIS VERBALES DE GERUNDIO CON LOS AUXILIARES IR, ANDAR Y VENIR

El presente artículo tiene como fin presentar las perífrasis verbales de gerundio con los verbos de movimiento *andar*, *ir* y *venir* como auxiliares. En la primera parte se presenta la problemática de la perífrasis verbal en general y la definición del concepto y los valores que se expresan con estas estructuras verbales complejas. A continuación el artículo se centra en las perífrasis verbales aspectuales de gerundio y en particular en las que tienen como auxiliar los verbos de movimiento. Partiendo de algunos ejemplos de obras literarias españolas y latinoamericanas y sus traducciones al esloveno se comparan las dos lenguas y se comentan las “(im)posibilidades” de traducir adecuadamente estas estructuras verbales al esloveno.

1. El concepto de perífrasis verbal

La perífrasis verbal es la combinación de dos elementos verbales, uno flexionado con función de verbo auxiliar y otro en una forma no flexionada o no personal,¹ unidos directamente sin ningún tipo de nexos (las perífrasis verbales de gerundio, de participio y algunas de infinitivo) o indirectamente con conjunciones y preposiciones (perífrasis verbales de infinitivo). La perífrasis verbal es una unidad sintáctico-semántica que actúa como un solo predicado y su significado propio proviene de la unión del auxiliar y de la forma no personal. Se distingue de otras construcciones no perifrásticas parecidas y de las locuciones verbales compuestas de dos verbos². El español, sobre todo algunas variantes latinoamericanas, es muy rico y creativo en la formación de nuevas perífrasis verbales y en la agrupación de varias perífrasis verbales especialmente con fines expresivos, estilísticos y/o pragmáticos³.

2. Las perífrasis verbales de gerundio

En las perífrasis verbales de gerundio el verbo auxiliado en gerundio está relacionado directamente con el verbo auxiliar sin ningún tipo de nexos. Se distinguen estas

¹ Las perífrasis verbales denominadas copulativas son una excepción a esta definición ya que los dos verbos unidos por la conjunción copulativa y van en forma personal: el auxiliar *ir* (*coger, tomar, agarrar*) + verbo conjugado. Expresan acciones puntuales, vistas como bruscas, rápidas, inesperadas. Ej.: -Y ahora va y se nos duerme, el tío – farfulló Adrián... (HDC, 190)

-“No, zdaj pa gre in nam zaspi, “ je zajecljajl Adrian. (KH, 190)

² La construcción de dos verbos en el ejemplo “deseo viajar” no es perifrástica. Se trata de dos verbos plenos. Tampoco son perifrásticas las locuciones verbales formadas de dos verbos como “echar a perder”.

³ “Che, Cristóbal. Vamos a tener que ir yendo pa’ casa que está por llover. No me gusta eso de tener que mezclar el vino con el agua.” (Markič 1990:204)

perífrasis de estructuras semejantes no perifrásticas en las que hay un verbo no auxiliar con una oración subordinada adverbial de gerundio (*Van cantando a la escuela*) o un gerundio como predicado de complemento directo de un verbo de percepción (*La vio charlando con su amiga*) (García Fernández 2006:31). En este último caso es posible construir una oración subordinada sustantiva, lo que es una prueba importante de que se trata de una construcción no perifrástica (*La vio que charlaba con su amiga*).

En los usos perifrásticos, es la base léxica del gerundio, y no la del auxiliar, la que determina la estructura argumental de la perífrasis, por lo que coinciden necesariamente el sujeto del auxiliar con el sujeto referencial del gerundio y los complementos inciden sobre el conjunto y no exclusivamente sobre el verbo en forma personal. (Yllera 1999:3393)

El esloveno no conoce las estructuras perifrásticas con gerundio⁴, pero existen algunas estructuras correspondientes a las estructuras no perifrásticas en español de verbo no auxiliar seguido de un gerundio en función adverbial aunque en la lengua hablada son raras ya que son de uso literario u obsoleto (*V šolo gredo pojoč*). El esloveno emplea otros medios lingüísticos para expresar los valores de las perífrasis verbales españolas de gerundio (formas verbales imperfectivas, complementos circunstanciales, etc.) como se presenta en los apartados siguientes.

Entre los valores que se expresan con las perífrasis verbales de gerundio predominan los aspectuales. Algunas perífrasis de gerundio funcionan como marcadores de discurso: *empezar/comenzar* + gerundio como marcadores de apertura y *acabar/terminar* + gerundio como marcadores de cierre. Otras tienen valores temporales-aspectuales como *estar* + gerundio.

La noción de aspecto es esencial para estudiar las perífrasis verbales en las lenguas románicas en general y en español en particular. En la opinión de Coseriu y Dietrich (1983: 12-13) las perífrasis verbales están creando un sistema verbal paralelo especializado para la expresión de valores aspectuales. Para los fines de este análisis el concepto de aspecto es considerado más allá de la tradicional división del aspecto verbal en perfectivo e imperfectivo. Bajo el término de valores aspectuales se tienen en cuenta los siguientes conceptos⁵:

- a) las características del desarrollo de la acción verbal en el tiempo (acciones momentáneas, reiterativas, habituales, resultativas, progresivas, durativas), es decir, el modo de la acción, lo que frecuentemente se denomina Aktionsart;

⁴ En esloveno hay algunas estructuras perifrásticas indicadoras de la fase inicial de la acción formadas con infinitivo parecidas a las perífrasis verbales españolas: *Začel je peti. / Empezó a cantar*. También existen en esloveno las perífrasis copulativas (véase la nota 1).

⁵ La definición general del concepto de valores aspectuales se desprende de las definiciones de aspecto de los autores Miklič, T. (1983), "L'opposizione italiana perfetto vs imperfetto e l'opposizione slovena dovršnost vs nedovršnost nella verbalizzazione delle azioni passate". *Linguistica* XXIII. Ljubljana: Filozofska fakulteta. 53-123; Comrie, B. (1976), *Aspect*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Coseriu, E. (1980), *Aspect verbal ou aspects verbaux? Quelques questions de théorie et de méthode. La notion d'aspect*, Colloque organisé par le Centre d'Analyse Syntaxique de l'Université de Metz, Paris: Klincksieck; y otros.

- b) el tipo de la acción: acciones télicas (realizaciones y logros) y atélicas (estados y actividades) referentes a la clasificación de Vendler (en García Fernández 2006: 41);
- c) las fases de la acción se refieren al grado de la realización de la acción (comienzo, mitad y fin): fase inminente, fase incoativa o ingresiva, fase media, fase terminativa;
- d) el aspecto en el sentido estrecho, lo que normalmente se denomina aspecto verbal y expresa cómo el hablante ve la acción, desde qué punto de vista o perspectiva la observa, es decir, como la focaliza:
- abarca la acción globalmente, en su totalidad (con el inicio y el final) - perspectiva global o perfectiva (en español se suele indicar con el pretérito perfecto simple),
 - abarca una parte de la acción sin interesarle el inicio ni el final, la perspectiva cursiva o imperfectiva (en español se suele indicar con el pretérito imperfecto),
 - abarca una parte de la acción señalando el inicio pero sin indicar el final; focaliza una acción desde su inicio hasta un momento central de su desarrollo (perspectiva imperfectiva continuativa, se suele señalar en español con el pretérito perfecto compuesto).

2.1 Las perífrasis verbales de gerundio con los verbos de movimiento *andar*, *ir* y *venir* como auxiliares

Estas construcciones son perífrasis verbales aspectuales de contenidos complejos condicionados en parte por el significado original del auxiliar que añade un significado de dinamismo y un importante valor estilístico. Cuando los verbos *andar*, *ir* y *venir* funcionan como verbos plenos, verbos léxicos de movimiento, entonces la construcción *andar/ ir/ venir* + gerundio no constituye perífrasis verbal.⁶

Como lo señala Gómez Torrego (1988:127-134) no es siempre fácil determinar si se trata o no de una construcción perifrástica. Para determinar el grado de gramaticalización de la perífrasis verbal, es decir, para comprobar que se trata de una perífrasis verbal, son necesarias pruebas sintácticas entre las que figura la imposibilidad de omitir el gerundio o sustituirlo por otros términos equivalentes (el adverbio interrogativo ¿cómo?; las subordinadas adverbiales, un adverbio).⁷

⁶ Ana va andando a la oficina. ¿Cómo va a la oficina? Andando.

Los chicos han venido cantando a la escuela. ¿Cómo han venido? Cantando.

Josefa anda moviendo los brazos. ¿Cómo anda? Moviendo los brazos.

⁷ Ando dándole vueltas a este asunto. *¿Cómo ando a este asunto?

Este coche viene costando tres millones. *¿Cómo viene este coche?

*Este coche viene tres millones.

La calle se iba despoblando. *La calle iba - porque/ cuando - se despobló.

*La calle se iba de ese modo/así.

Otra de las pruebas del grado de gramaticalidad de las perífrasis verbales es la posición de los clíticos delante del auxiliar o detrás del auxiliado.⁸

2.2 Andar + gerundio es una perífrasis de valor aspectual durativo con la idea del desarrollo de un movimiento sin dirección fija con efectos de ironía, ansiedad, irreflexividad. A menudo se le añaden ideas de movimiento interno y/o externo. Es una perífrasis con un alto significado expresivo. El esloveno no dispone de este tipo de construcción perifrástica y tiene que emplear otros medios lingüísticos para expresar los matices expresivos y aspectuales de la perífrasis. En el ejemplo 1a el valor aspectual durativo/imperfectivo de *andaba refunfuñando* se transmite al esloveno mediante el uso del verbo imperfectivo *godrnjati* en pretérito pero los matices expresivos de la perífrasis no se transmiten: *ko je Fernanda že godrnjala po kotih* significa literalmente *cuando Fernanda ya refunfuñaba por los rincones*. En la traducción eslovena, se pierde la idea del desarrollo de un movimiento sin dirección fija y el valor expresivo con matices de ironía de la perífrasis verbal con *andar*.

1a) No bien Remedios, la bella, había subido al cielo en cuerpo y alma, y ya la desconsiderada Fernanda andaba refunfuñando en los rincones porque se había llevado las sábanas (CAS, 199)

1b) Remedios, prelepa, je z dušo in telesom komaj izginila v nebo, ko je Fernanda že godrnjala po kotih, da ji je odnesla rjuhe. (SLS, 220)

Con *andar pidiendo* (ej. 2a) el hablante no expresa solamente una acción durativa reiterativa sino que se burla del interlocutor; en esloveno (ej. 2b) la perífrasis no se transmite sino se usa simplemente el presente (*ker zahtevate* - *por pedir*) sin los matices expresivos de la perífrasis verbal (*por andar pidiendo*). El tono sarcástico, sin embargo, se transmite a través del resto del texto.

2a) - A mí no me venga a hablar mierda - le dijo -. Vamos a lo que se trata. Usted tiene todo empantanado por andar pidiendo huevonadas y aquí no hay sino una vaina: simplemente, los tipos tienen que entregarse y confesar algún delito por el cual se les puede meter doce años. (NS, 112)

2b) »Nehajte ga srat,« mu je rekel. »Gremo k stvari. Vi ste vse skupaj zamočvirili, ker zahtevate sama jajca, gre pa samo za to: tipi se morajo vdati in priznati kak prestopek, za katerega lahko dobijo dvanajst let.« (PU, 104)

Si el verbo auxiliar en la perífrasis *andar + gerundio* se encuentra en un tiempo verbal imperfectivo (pretérito imperfecto), se focaliza una acción desde la perspectiva

⁸ Anda acusándome por ahí de haber robado su dinero. Me anda acusando por ahí ... Me lo han ido revelando poco a poco. Han ido revelándome lo poco a poco.

cursiva, sin su inicio ni su final (ejemplo 1a). Si el tiempo verbal del auxiliar es perfecto (pretérito perfecto simple), la focalización de la acción es completa con el inicio y el final (ej.: *Anduve buscando mis llaves toda la tarde*).

2. 3 Ir + gerundio es una perífrasis aspectual con la que el hablante acentúa el transcurrir progresivo y la duración de la acción. Si el predicado es puntual télico, indica también la repetición. El valor progresivo de la acción se refuerza con complementos circunstanciales de tiempo o modo: *poco a poco*, *paulatinamente*, *progresivamente*. Tiene un fuerte valor expresivo y se usa a menudo para describir la lenta progresión de las acciones. En la perspectiva cursiva, cuando la perífrasis verbal con el auxiliar en pretérito imperfecto (u otro verbo imperfectivo) focaliza una acción sin indicar el inicio ni el final, se acentúan aún más el lento progresar, la duración de la acción y se crean imágenes prolongadas. La perífrasis tiene un fuerte efecto estilístico. En la perspectiva global (el auxiliar se encuentra en pretérito perfecto simple), cuando se indican el inicio y el fin de la acción, la perífrasis verbal expresa la progresión de la acción vista globalmente, es decir, señala una acción progresiva pero limitada temporalmente. El ejemplo 3a muestra el uso estilístico de la perífrasis, donde un juego de focalizaciones produce efectos especiales. En esloveno (3b) la diferencia entre la perspectiva global y la cursiva se expresa con ayuda de complementos circunstanciales (*zmeraj bolj /cada vez más; polagoma/ gradualmente, poco a poco*) y con los verbos en forma imperfectiva.

3a) Poco a poco, sin embargo, y a medida que la guerra se iba intensificando y extendiendo, su imagen se fue borrando en un universo de irrealidad. Los puntos y rayas de su voz eran cada vez más remotos e inciertos, y se unían y combinaban para formar palabras que paulatinamente fueron perdiendo todo sentido. (CAS, 132)

3b) Kljub temu pa se je sčasoma in v enaki meri kot vojna, ki je bila zmeraj bolj razvlečena, njegova podoba razblinjala v veselju neresničnosti. Pike in črte njegovega glasu so bile zmeraj bolj oddaljene in negotove, družile in prepletale so se, da bi tvorile besede, ki so polagoma izgubljale vsakršen smisel. (SLS, 145)

Teniendo en cuenta la naturaleza del predicado la perífrasis en cuestión se combina tanto con los predicados durativos télicos, orientados a alcanzar una meta (ej. 7a) – lo que se explica con el propio verbo *ir* como verbo de movimiento de dirección orientada (García Fernández 2006:175) –, como con predicados durativos atélicos que van acompañados de complementos indicadores de progresión gradual (ej. 8a). Con predicados puntuales télicos la perífrasis indica iteración (ej. 5a) y con predicados estativos se indica un proceso (*Voy entendiendo el problema cada vez mejor* – García Fernández 2006:174). Una característica de la perífrasis verbal *ir* + gerundio es también la de que el auxiliar y el auxiliado pueden ser el mismo verbo *ir* (*La gente se iba yendo poco a poco* – Gómez Torrego 1988:160).

En los textos eslovenos analizados hay diferentes soluciones al problema de traducción de la perífrasis *ir* + gerundio. En muchos casos la versión eslovena se empobrece por falta de una traducción adecuada de los valores aspectuales y estilísticos de la perífrasis. En 4b la traducción eslovena no transmite el valor progresivo de la perífrasis. En esloveno *ni bilo več* no corresponde a *se iban acabando*, simplemente quiere decir »cuando no había más (pastas)«. En 5b y 6b la traducción de la perífrasis logra transmitir la progresividad mediante el uso de un verbo imperfectivo (*se je opotekal*, *se razkraja*), pero la traducción eslovena sería la misma si en 5a y 6a tuviéramos un pretérito imperfecto (*ahora daba tumbos*, *se desmoronaba*), es decir, que en la traducción eslovena falta un realce de la progresividad. En 7b la traductora añade el adverbio *počasi* (*lentamente*) al verbo en forma perfectiva (*naberemo*) que logra transmitir en parte el significado de la perífrasis del original español (*vamos reuniendo*) posiblemente por ser un predicado durativo télico. En 8b la progresividad se transmite con el adverbio *sčasoma* (*con el tiempo*), mientras que el verbo está en presente.

- 4a) Devoraba guinda tras guinda y la masa la tiraba a una papelera. A medida que se iban acabando las pastas de ese tipo, los Camareros-Gorilas traían más. (HDC 190)
- 4b) Goltal je eno višnjo za drugo, testo pa je metal v koš. Ko teh kolačkov ni bilo več, sta natakarja-gorili prinesla nove. (KH, 190)
- 5a) Ahora iba dando tumbos por la calle, con los ojos desenfocados y brillantes. (HDC, 191-192)
- 5b) Zdaj se je opotekal po cesti, z medlimi, sijočimi očmi. (KH, 192)
- 6a) El protagonista, no recuerdo ahora cómo se llamaba, había participado de muchacho en la revolución de 1848, y de mayor mostraba el mismo desencanto ante sus sueños juveniles que el que pude sentir yo al ver cómo se iba desmoronando el ideal libertario. (HDC, 327)
- 6b) Protagonist, zdaj se ne spomnim, kako mu je bilo ime, je kot fant sodeloval v revoluciji leta 1848, in ko je bil starejši, je bil nad svojimi mladostnimi sanjami enako razočaran kot jaz, ko sem videl, kako se razkraja anarhistični ideal. (KH; 324)
- 7a) Así es que todos vamos reuniendo nuestro montoncito de porquerías y lo llevamos rodando delante de nosotros como escarabajos peloteros (...) (HDC 328)
- 7b) Tako da počasi vsi naberemo svoj kupček gnoja, ki ga potem kot skarabeji kotalimo pred sabo. (KH, 325)
- 8a) - Pero hay algo que compensa todo eso, y es la sabiduría. Al crecer ganas conocimiento. Es en el único registro de la vida en el que vas mejorando con el tiempo, pero es importante. (HDC, 329)

- 8b) »A nekaj vendar vse skupaj poplača, in to je modrost. Ko rasteš, pridobiš vedenje. To je edini register v življenju, v katerem si sčasoma vse boljši, in to je pomembno.« (KH, 325)

2.4 Venir + gerundio es una perífrasis verbal aspectual que indica acciones durativas y progresivas. Focaliza la acción desde su inicio hasta un momento central sin definir el final (perspectiva imperfectiva continuativa). Es incompatible con verbos que expresan alejamiento, rasgo que la diferencia de la perífrasis con *ir*. Ello se debe al valor déctico del auxiliar *venir* que indica acercamiento al lugar del hablante desde un punto determinado: *La tormenta se viene acercando / La tormenta se va acercando*. Es agramatical **la tormenta se viene alejando*, pero correcto *la tormenta se va alejando*.

La perífrasis tiene restricciones en cuanto a los tiempos verbales: predomina el presente y el pretérito imperfecto, también son posibles las formas compuestas (pretérito perfecto compuesto y pretérito pluscuamperfecto), pero no el pretérito perfecto simple que aspectualmente focaliza la acción en su inicio y en su final.

El esloveno no conoce este tipo de estructura perifrástica. En los textos revisados hay pocas perífrasis de gerundio con el auxiliar *venir*. En las traducciones las traductoras encuentran diferentes soluciones. En el ejemplo 10a la idea del desarrollo expresada por la perífrasis indicando el acercamiento hacia el presente, desde un punto inicial hacia el momento del habla sin indicar el final, está traducida por el sustantivo *potek boja* (*el desarrollo de la lucha*). El pretérito perfecto compuesto acentúa el valor aspectual de una acción iniciada en el pasado que se desarrolla hacia el momento del habla pero queda abierta, sin indicación del final.⁹ En el ejemplo 11b, en la traducción eslovena, el valor aspectual imperfectivo continuativo se traduce con un verbo imperfectivo (*razmišljati*). El complemento *desde hacía tiempo / že precej časa* le da el valor de acercamiento de un pasado al presente del hablante.

- 9a) »Recuerde, doctor Villamizar, que la extradición ha cobrado muchas víctimas, y sumarle dos nuevas no alterará mucho el proceso ni la lucha que se ha venido desarrollando«. (NS, 215)

- 9b) »Ne pozabite, dr. Villamizar, da je ekstradicija pokosila že veliko žrtev; dve več ne bosta kaj prida vplivali na ta proces in na potek boja.« (PU, 199-200)

- 10a) Este captó la idea de inmediato, pues él también venía pensando desde hacía tiempo en una manera de judicializar el problema del narcotráfico. (NS, 84)

- 10b) Ta je pri priči dojel zamisel, saj je tudi sam že precej časa razmišljal, kako bi se dalo pravno urediti problem preprodaje mamil. (PU, 78)

⁹ Este uso aspectual del pretérito perfecto compuesto es frecuente en el español de América, ya que el uso temporal de presente reciente frecuente en el español peninsular no es usual en la variedad americana del español.

3. Conclusión

El breve análisis de las perífrasis verbales de gerundio con los auxiliares *andar*, *ir* y *venir* y de los valores aspectuales que se expresan con estas perífrasis demuestra que son unos potentes recursos lingüísticos para la expresión de la aspectualidad, poseen un fuerte valor expresivo y se usan para lograr efectos estilísticos especiales. Las traducciones al esloveno plantean el problema de la traductibilidad de los matices expresados por estas estructuras perifrásticas y la necesidad de analizarlas en profundidad para entenderlas y encontrar los medios correspondientes en la lengua eslovena que puedan transmitir toda la riqueza de significados tempo-aspectuales y expresivos de las perífrasis verbales españolas.

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Povzetek

VREDNOSTI IN RABE GLAGOLSKIH PERIFRAZ S POMOŽNIKI *IR*, *ANDAR* IN *VENIR* V GERUNDIJU

Uvodni del prispevka predstavlja problematiko perifrástičnih struktur, ki jih špansko jezikoslovje opredeljuje kot glagolske strukture, sestavljene iz dveh glagolov, pomožnika in glavnega glagola v neosebni obliki (nedoločniku, gerundiju ali participu), s katerimi govorci izražajo aspektualne, časovne, modalne in pragmatične pomene. Glagola sta povezana neposredno ali posredno s predlogi in vezniki, nastopata pa kot enovit povedek. V osrednjem delu je govora o glagolskih perifrazah z gerundijem, predvsem o tistih, ki imajo za pomožnike glagole gibanja *andar*, *ir* in *venir*. Opredeljene so njihove aspektualne vrednosti in slogovne rabe. Predstavljeni so tudi nekateri primeri rabe teh struktur iz pripovednih del Rose Montero in Gabriela Garcíe Márqueza ter analiza prevodov v slovenščino, ki prikazuje (*ne*)možnosti prevajanja teh perifrástičnih struktur.

NOUVELLE CONTRIBUTION A L'ÉTYMOLOGIE DU TOPONYME LJUBLJANA

Ce n'est sans doute pas un hasard si les toponymes Ljubljana, Lubiana et Laibach se sont vu attribuer une série d'explications étymologiques et ceci par d'éminents linguistes slovènes tels que Miklošič (1859), Kelemina (1950), Ramovš (1953), Bezljaj (1956) auxquels on ajoutera également le grand croate Petar Skok (1934) et surtout à la fin des années soixante-dix, Anton Grad, professeur titulaire à la chaire de français de l'Université de Ljubljana (1978, 1980).

Pour ce qui concerne *Ljubljana* les slavissants auraient choisi une racine anthropomorphique slave *L'ub* à laquelle s'ajouteraient des suffixes ethniques du type *-jan-ine* au pluriel ; Kelemina a préféré le choix d'une base adjectivale *l'ub* suivie des suffixes *-ja-na*. Notons cependant que Bezljaj reste inexplicablement indécis et qu'il laisse ouvertes toutes hypothèses possibles et imaginables, entre autres une origine préslave de l'hydronyme initial *Ljubija*.

Quant à Grad, il bâtit son explication sur une origine romane (ô combien acceptable de nos jours et combien mal vue, il y a un bon quart de siècle !) - **alluviana*, forme elliptique de (*aqua*) **alluviana* »eau qui déborde, inonde, submerge le terrain riverain, y dépose de la boue etc., crée des marais, ce qui, en effet, a toujours été (et est encore) un trait caractéristique de la rivière en question«. Ces interprétations sémantiques nous semblent effectivement fort acceptables. Il est évident, cependant, que les développements phonétiques vers les formes *Lubiana*, *Ljubljana* et *Laibach* ont pu paraître, à l'époque, quelque peu simplificateurs, pourtant le fait qu'il n'y ait pas eu d'opposition définitive, laisse l'espoir qu'elles peuvent paraître plausibles encore aujourd'hui, bien que parfois non très orthodoxes.

Mis à part le respect que nous devons à notre éminent prédécesseur à la chaire, mais peut-être mus par le désir de renouveler le défi en matière diachrono-socio-linguistique, plus particulièrement à l'occasion de ce volume de *Linguistica* que son méritant rédacteur en chef, Mitja Skubic, offre en hommage à l'académicien Janez Orešnik (lequel aurait fourni des données enrichissantes au dernier »interprète« du toponyme de Ljubljana), nous proposons deux solutions possibles et de par ce fait critiquables :

- 1) **luppa*: étymon celtique signifiant » argile, terre grasse, glaise« ou encore préceltique **lappa*, signifiant »schlamm« + *i-ana* (suffixe hydronimique latin): Wartburg, FEW, V, J-L(p.457)
- 2) **lupia* (luoghi sabbionosi ed incolti; campi dove il fiume si spande (onde

il verbo *lubia* ‘scoscendere’) + -ana (suffixe hydronymique latin): D. Olivieri: *Toponomastica Veneta* (p.105)

Nous avons une petite préférence pour la première proposition: elle réconcilie les deux variantes ultérieures: la latino-slave Lubiana-Ljubljana et la germanique Laibach selon les gradations phonétiques proposés par A. Grad(1980), et correspond à la fois aux exigences sémantiques et logistiques de la sociolinguistique moderne. Notons que le toponyme d’une grande métropole culturelle européenne *Louvain* s’alignera peut-être un jour, si ce n’est pas très prochainement, dans ce contexte précis, à celui de la capitale slovène. Et pourquoi pas le *Louvre* – grève inondée? Et le village slovène de *Ljubno* dans la vallée de la Savinja, ayant depuis son existence, des problèmes avec l’eau »roide« qui l’inonde?

Il nous faut avouer cependant que, voulant rester fidèles aux pistes romanes parcourues par le professeur Grad, nous préconisons aussi l’étymologie »louparde« de notre capitale, bien que contestée par A. Dauzat (et al.: *Dict. étym. des noms des rivières...*): »les formes médiévales *lupa* sont de mauvaises latinisations (par attraction de *lupus*, loup); des rivières dormantes ne peuvent avoir reçu le loup pour emblème et le -p- serait devenu -v-; il s’agit d’une rac. hydron. *low-*, sans doute préceltique, cf. irlandais *lo*, eau (p.61).«

Dans un contexte plus léger, culturel cependant, il faudrait citer les voisins européens: Louviers, Louveciennes, La Louvière. Et pourquoi ne pas leur associer Luwigana (?), ancienne appellation de Ljubljana, Ljubno en Haute-Carniole (loin de toute eau inondatrice), et Ljubelj, col de montagne se prêtant parfaitement à la denture du loup - *Lupillum*, et rejoignant tant d’exemples sur le territoire de la Gallia »romantica«? Sans parler de Ljubogojna, Ljubečna, Ljubela, Ljubinski potok, Libeliče; Voše, Vovše, Volčji potok, Volčja draga etc.

La confusion est parfaite. La phonétique historique impose ses règles, parfois quelque peu trop rigides... A qui d’instituer l’ordre? Aux scientifiques, bien évidemment. La course au premier prix est ouverte...

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Povzetek

NOV PRISPEVEK K ETIMOLOGIJI TOPONIMA LJUBLJANA

Prispevek k obnovljenemu razmišljanju o etimologiji toponima Ljubljana nakazuje več možnih, a vsekakor neslovanskih oz. neslovenističnih rešitev: keltski etimon *luppa*, predkeltski *lappa* (oba: blato, močvirje, morost)- slednji se bo verjetno bolje prilegal germanskemu postreliktu *Laibach* - ter romanski *lupia* »volčji vrelec, ponikovalne narave«, hidronimi, ki se zdijo naravnejši in zlasti manj moteče »tehnični« od Gradove »alluviane«, poplavne reke, in ki se več ali manj vsi kar dobro prekrivajo s prvim vrelcem Ljubljanice, *Ljubijo*. Kar zadeva vodotočno pripono *-ana* in vse različne fonetične spekulacije, se avtor ne spušča v polemiko s prof. Gradom niti z njegovimi morebitnimi oponenti, misleč skromno, da ni nič bolj fonetično od nefonetičnega, seveda v strukturiranem jezikovnem kontekstu.

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