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VALENCY IN STANDARD SLOVENIAN (WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE VERB)

The paper is a chronological and problem-oriented survey of the uneven development of Slovenian valency theory. The relations between the semantic, syntactic-functional, and expressive levels of language through the centuries very clearly show the gradual perception of Slovenian from the initial merely surface-level comparative descriptions of syntax (comparative descriptions of syntactic phenomena in Latin, German and Slovenian) to problem-oriented treatments.

Prispevek je kronološko-problemska predstavitev slovenske vezljivostne teorije. Obenem pa razmerja med pomensko, skladenjskofunkcijsko in izrazno ravnino jezika skozi stoletja zelo jasno pokažejo postopno uzaveščanje slovenskega jezika, od začetnih zgolj površinskih opisov skladnje (primerjalni opisi skladenjskih pojavov v latinščini, nemščini in slovenščini) do problemskih obravnav.

Key words: semantic-syntactic / structural-syntactic verbal valency, valency verbal groups, primary/basic/specialized verbs, verbal prepositional morphemes, nonlexicalized prepositional deverbal (participant) morpheme, basic participant roles

Ključne besede: pomenskoskladenjska / strukturalnoskladenjska glagolska vezljivost, vezljivostne glagolske skupine, primarni/temeljni/specializirani glagoli, glagolski predložni morfemi, neleksikalizirani predložni izglagolski (udeleženski) morfemi, temeljne udeleženske vloge

1 Valency in Slovenian and foreign linguistics

The relations between the semantic, syntactic-functional, and expressive levels of language through the centuries very clearly show the gradual perception of the Slovenian language from the initial, merely surface-level comparative descriptions of the syntax (comparative descriptions of syntactic phenomena in Latin, German, and Slovenian) to issue-oriented treatments.

1.1 The representatives of **phrasal valency** are A. Bohorič (1584), M. Pohlin (1768), O. Gutschman (1777), and J. Kopitar (1808). Their work is a predominantly surface-level comparative treatment of valency. However, Bohorič's treatment of clausal valency was not surpassed until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

V. Vodnik (1811) represents the **transition from phrasal valency to clausal valency**. He pointed out the relationship between semantic- and structural-syntactic verbal valency with a normative commentary on the use of active and passive verbal moods.

The main representatives of **clausal valency** are P. Dajnko (1824) and F. Metelko (1825), who display a strong theoretical influence of the leading Slavonic linguist of

the time, J. Dobrovský (1940), and his grammar *Podrobná mluvnice jazyka českého*. The hierarchy of sentence element relations is taken into account, thus all the particular features of the predicative relation are first presented. The second half of the nineteenth century is marked by the **mutual (also transformational) link between phrasal and clausal valency**. This is the period of Janežič's editions of his Slovenian grammar (1854; 1863; 1900) and of Miklošič's syntactic theory (1868–1874).

In the first decades of the twentieth century Slovenian syntactic theory began to be visibly modernized. With A. Breznik (1916; 1982) and above all with R. F. Mikuš (1945) it attempted to follow current European linguistic development. The starting-point is the **semantic-syntactic aspect of valency**. In addition to Breznik, R. F. Mikuš (1945) in the 1950s tried to interrupt the course of primarily grammarian linguistics.

A more complex **multi-level treatment of valency** from the semantic- and structural-syntactic aspects (with an original orientation from form to meaning and vice versa and with account taken of transformational grammar linguistics) is found in the second half of the 1970s with J. Toporišič's *Slovenska slovnica 1976 (Slovenian Grammar)*.¹

At the beginning of the 1980s studies appeared by J. Dular, A. Vidovič Muha and M. Križaj Ortar, who introduced the **transformational grammar aspect of valency** more intensively. In treating the valency value of verbal free morphemes and by investigating the influence of verbal motivation on verbal valency they complement and extend the knowledge available up to that time.²

1.2 The influences of foreign valency theories on the development of Slovenian valency theory

We can affirm that Tesnière's findings on the structure of the predicate are particularly useful for the progress of valency theory.³

G. Helbig (1984; 1992) complemented Tesnière when he condensed valency in terms of the language system into the definition that *logical valency* is the extralinguistic relation between the contents of reality, *semantic valency* represents the distri-

¹ J. Toporišič's *Slovenska slovnica 1976 (Slovenian Grammar)* (which derives from *Slovenski knjižni jezik I – IV (Standard Slovenian Language) – Sintaksa stavka (Clause Syntax)*, 1965: 67–74; *O četverih stavčnih členih (On the Four Clause Elements)*, 1967: 181–202; *Posebni tipi stavkov (Special Clause Types)*, 1970: 151–187). Approximately at the same time Slovenian valency was dealt with by Claude Vincenot in his grammar *Essai de Grammaire Slovène* (1975; cf. Toporišič's review in *Slavistična revija (Slavonic Review)* and *Nova slovenska skladnja (New Slovenian Syntax)*).

² See the review by A. Vidovič Muha (1984) *Nova slovenska skladnja J. Toporišiča*. From the valency viewpoint more weighty works and discussions (in chronological order) include: the doctoral thesis by J. Dular (1982), *Priglagolska vezava v slovenskem knjižnem jeziku (20. stoletja) (Verbal Rection in Standard Slovenian (of the 20th Century))*; the B.A. thesis of M. Križaj (1981) *Glagolska vezljivost (na podlagi ko pusa črke b v SSKJ) (Verbal Valency (on the Basis of the Letter B Corpus in SSKJ))*; also the article derived from the thesis *Glagolska vezljivost* (1982); and the studies by M. Križaj Ortar (1989) *Vezljivost: iz pomena v izraz (Valency: from Meaning to Expression)* and A. Vidovič Muha (1993a) *Glagolske sestavljenke – njihova skladenjska podstava in vezljivostne lastnosti (Z normativnim slovensko-nemškim vidikom) (Verbal Compounds – their Syntactic Base and Valency Properties (with a Slovenian-German Aspect))*.

³ L. Tesnière's *Éléments de syntaxe structurale* (c1965).

butional/ combinatory capacities of specific word meanings or semes, while *syntactic valency* indicates the (non)obligatory valency places and thus the number of complements as well as their grammatical-functional properties in individual languages.

In addition, F. Daneš (1957; 1968; 1987) pointed out as early as in the 1950s the importance of taking into account the semantic, syntactic-functional and expressive levels. A more contemporary approach to the relationship of semantic-syntactic and structural-syntactic valency (e.g., the question of obligatorily expressed circumstances and the (non)expression of actants, etc.) is used in the works of P. Sgall (1976; 1986a,b), E. Hajičová (1983) and J. Panevová (1975).

Ju. D. Apresjan (1967) within the framework of the contemporary semantics develops the theory of so-called (non)productive semantic forms and establishes that the most productive semantic forms are those in phrases with basic verbal meanings, and the least productive are those in phrases with phraseologically bound meanings (non-productive semantic forms are idioms).

Works of O. Kunst Gnamuš (1981) and J. Orešnik (1992) rely theoretically and methodologically on Anglo-American studies, thus from the aspect of Slovenian valency the treatment within the framework of the semantic level is particularly important. Within Anglo-American valency theory N. Chomsky (1957) from the valency standpoint introduced some theses or even *rules of translating from meaning into expression*, which are a supportive orientation in removing semantic ambiguities and, at the same time, in establishing the valency characteristics of a particular language. In contrast to Chomsky, C. J. Fillmore (1968) concentrates primarily on the description of the deep structure. M. A. K. Halliday (²1994) as the representative of systemic-functional grammar deals with valency within the framework of clause meaning – of the clausal semantic base and of the clause as message.

2 Valency as a semantic- and structural-syntactic phenomenon

2.1 From the viewpoint of verbal valency, verbal groups are elaborated.⁴ The semantic-syntactic or valency base for all verbs is the three primary verbs or verbal primitives BITI (to be), IMETI (to have), and DELATI (to do, make). The basis of the semantic-hierarchical valency network is composed of basic verbs of state (the hypernyms of all stative verbs are the two primitives *biti* ('existence') and *imeti* ('relations')), basic verbs of active/nonactive actions and processes (the hypernyms of process active verbs are the two primitives *delati* and *dati* < 'povzročiti, da (kdo) imeti', and of process nonactive verbs the phasal *postati* < 'narediti se/začeti biti' and *dobiti* < 'začeti imeti'). The basic verbs (already defined as to type and lacking true synonyms) constitute the fundamental classifying standard for verbal valency groups and at the same time the semantic-syntactic basis and starting-point for semantically specialized verbs (a) of treating/managing/creating, (b) of speaking, thinking, understanding, (c) of changes, (d) of movement. A special subgroup of basic verbs consists of (e) ele-

⁴ The typology of verbal valency here worked out is at the same time a basis for producing a valency dictionary of Slovenian.

mentary verbs of natural phenomena and life processes, which form a kind of semantic-syntactic or valency synthesis of all the enumerated verbal semantic groups.

Each semantic group is embraced and thus typified semantic-syntactically by the so-called realizer basic verb. Realizer basic verbs as representatives of verbal semantic groups are *bivati*, *čutiti*; *govoriti/reči*, *misliti*, *gledati*, *hoteti*, *želeti*; *delovati*, *deti*, *vzeti*, *igrati (se)*; *spreminjati (se)*; *iti*, *hoditi*. (A subgroup of basic verbs is the elementary verbs, which indicate basic life processes/activities and natural phenomena.) The basic verbs are hypernyms of specialized and higher specialized verbs.

The different meaning and derivation of the verbs shapes the semantic-hierarchical valency network of the type *premikati se – iti – stopati – korakati*, *delati – udarjati/tolči – sekati – cepiti*, etc.

The hierarchical semantic-syntactic relation between **primary, basic** and **specialized verbs** makes it possible to formulate a valency network with valency overlapping and with the semantic-syntactic valency formulas, including the participant roles: the agent or bearer of an action/processes/state (V/Nd/p/s), the affected object of an action/processes/state (Prd/p/s), goal/result of an action/processes/state (Cd/p/s/Rd/p/s), recipient of an action/processes/state (Pred/p/s), the relative object of an action/processes/state (Rad/p/s), content of an action/processes/state (Vsd/p/s), means of an action/processes/state (Sd/p/s), place of an action/processes/state (Md/p/s), starting-point/goal place of an action/processes/state (IM/CMd/p/s), time of an action/processes/state (Čd/p/s), starting-point/goal time of an action/processes/state (IČ/CCd/p/s), as follows:

2.1.1 Specialized verbs of physical or mental state/processes (*prebivati*, *stanovati*, *počivati*, *smejati se*, etc.) overlap in valency with **basic verbs of state/processes** (*bivati*, *nahajati se*, *ležati*, *čutiti*, etc.). The semantic-syntactic possibilities are: $Sam_1|Np/d/dog/s| + Glag|E^+|$, $Sam_1|xVd/Ns/p/d/dog \check{z}^{+/}| + Glag|M_{so}/p/d/dog| (+ Prisl_{k/} / p \cap Sam_{2-6}|yM/\check{C}/IM/I\check{C}/CM/CC/Po/N/wL/S/Ra/Vs_{sp}/d/dog \check{z}^{+/}|)$: (*Nekdaj*) *je (tu) bival je kralj*, (*Ob poteh*) *so bivala znamenja*; $Sam_1|xVd/Ns/p \check{z}^{+/}| + Glag|POS/M_{so}/p| + Prisl_k / p \cap Sam_{2/4-6}|yM_{sp} \check{z}^{+/}|$: *Bival/Stanuje doma*, *Tedaj je (pre)bival tam/na deželii/v Pivki/sredi polja/pri teti*; $Sam_1|xNs/p \check{z}^{+/}| + Glag|POS/M_{so}/s| + p \cap Sam_2|yVss \check{z}^{|$: *Biva iz več delov*. The realizer basic verb for physical and mental relations is *čutiti –* 'to perceive, to foresee with the senses: *Čuti pod prsti utripanje (Vss/p) žile*, *Psi so čutili ljudi/potres (Ras/p)*, *Čutila je bližino/nevarnost (Ras/p)*, 'to establish with the consciousness the presence of something' *V zraku se čuti pomlad (Ras/p)*: $Sam_1|xNs/p \check{z}^{| + Glag|E^+ + P| + Sam_4|yRa/Vs/s/p \check{z}^{+/}/\check{c}^{| + p \cap Sam_5|zMs/p \check{z}^+ \check{c}^{| / Prisl_{k/\check{c}}|zMs/p//\check{C}s/p \check{z}^{+/}|$; $Sam_1|xNs/p \check{c}^+| + Glag|(E_F + P \cap (L \cdot T L^+)| + Sam_4|yRas \check{z}^{+/}|$.

2.1.2 Specialized verbs of treating/managing/creating as regards their dominant semantic element are divided into:

2.1.2.1 Verbs of enabling the originating/origin of something (*organizirati*, *opremljati*, *osredotočati se*, etc.) which overlap in valency with **basic verbs of enabling the originating/origin of something** (*omogočati*, *pripravljati*, *prizadevati si*, etc.). The semantic-syntactic possibilities are: $Sam_1|xVd \check{c}^+| + Glag(se)Mo_{za/na/v/k} +$

(Sam₃|yPred/Cd č⁺) + Sam_{4(2/3)}|yCd/Rd ž^{+/-}: *Tako delo (Prd) je potrebno dobro organizirati/pripraviti, Organizirajo (jim (Pred)) prenočišče (Rd); organizirati se – colloq. Organiziral se je k socialistom (Cd).*

2.1.2.2 Verbs with a stressed semantic element of movement (*nesti/nositi, lepiti, postaviti, čolnariti*, etc.) which overlap in valency with **basic verbs of dealing with movement and self-movement** (*deti, namestiti (se), vzeti*, etc.). The semantic-syntactic possibilities are: Sam₁|xPvd č⁺ + Glag + Sam₄|yPrd ž^{+/-} + p_{v/na/k} ∩ Sam₃₋₄/Prisl_k/Namen|Cmd|: *Dati/Nesti kaj v popravilo/promet/mlin/na pošto, Dati delat obleko*; Sam₁|xPvd č⁺ + Glag + Sam₄|yPrd ž^{+/-} + p ∩ Sam₂|IMd|: *Dati/Dobiti/Vzeti denar iz denarnice*; Sam₁|xPvd č⁺ + Glag + Sam₃|zPred/Prd č⁺ + Sam₄|yPrd ž| (+ p ∩ Sam₄|Cd ž^{+/-}): *Dati/Nesti/Nositi mu denar (za blago).*

2.1.2.3 Verbs with a stressed semantic element of co-originating/co-occurring/appruenance (*zgrabiti, čakati, pestovati, pustiti, pomagati, nabrati, sprejeti*, etc.), which overlap in valency with **basic verbs of treating and managing** (*ravnati, izvajati, upravljati, vplivati*, etc.); the element of co-originating/co-occurring also represents the partial valency overlap with **basic verbs of non-active happenings and processes** (*pojavit se, nastati, spreminjati se*, etc.), while the semantic element of appurtenance represents the partial valency overlap with **basic verbs of dealing with movement** (*vzeti, pustiti*, etc.). The semantic-syntactic possibilities are: Sam₁|xVd č⁺ + GlagMo_{v/pri/z/s} + Sam₅₋₆|yMd–Sd/Vsd ž|; Sam₁|xVd č⁺ + GlagMo_{z/s} + Sam₆|wVsd ž|; Sam₁|xVd č⁺ + Glag + p Sam₆|zSd ž|; Sam₁|xV/Nd/s/p ž^{+/-} + Glag|M_{so}d/s/p| + Prisl_{k/č/n} / p ∩ Sam₂₋₆|yM/IM/CM/Č/IČ/CČ/ N/wL/S/Ra/Vs_{d/s/p} ž^{+/-}: *Pacienti čakajo zdravnika (Ras/p), /Težko/ čaka pomlad (Vss/p), Čaka s kosilom/plačilom/ otvoritvijo (Ras/p), Kosilo vas čaka na mizi (Ms/p), Sodelujejo z različnimi organizacijami (Sp/d) Sodelujejo pri knjigi/pri projektu/na predstavitvi (Mp/d)*; (similarly: *reševati se*).

2.1.2.4 Verbs with a stressed semantic element of a change of property (*aktivirati, kisati, odpirati/zapirati (se)*, etc.), which overlap in valency with **basic verbs of a change of property** (*spreminjati (se), oblikovati, ohranjati*, etc.) and of **dealing** (*izpolnjevati, izdelovati, pripravljati*, etc.). The semantic-syntactic possibilities are: Sam₁|xPvd ž^{+/-} + Glag + Sam₄|yRd/Cd/Prd ž|, Sam₁|xPvd ž^{+/-} + Glag (+ Sam₃|zRad ž^{+/-}) + Sam₄|yVsd ž|: *Oblikuje stavke (Cd), Oblikuje posode (Cd)/v posode (Cd), Oblikujejo (mu (Rad)) svetovni nazor (Rd), odpreti/zapreti – Odprl/Zaprl je znancu (Rad) vrata (Prd), Odprl/Zaprl je trgovino/razstavo/razpravo (Prd); Odprl se je prijatelju (Ras), Odprl se je estetskim idejam romantike (Ras)*, etc.

2.1.3 Specialized verbs of speaking, understanding and thinking (*sporočati, signalizirati, ugotavljati, razumeti, spoznavati, preučevati*, etc) overlap in valency with **basic verbs of speaking, understanding and thinking** (*govoriti, predstavljati (si), misliti*, etc.). Specialized and higher specialized verbs of speaking, thinking and understanding (mental acting) include 'accepting and appropriating information' (*dokumentirati, izvedeti, dojemati, verjeti*, etc.) and 'intelligent understanding and

responding to information' (*razumeti, argumentirati*, etc.) and 'giving out information' (*sporočati, pokazati, agitirati*, etc.). They have the same participant roles and the same semantic-syntactic valency formulas as the basic verbs of 'speaking, understanding, thinking'. The semantic-syntactic possibilities are: $Sam_1|xNd \check{z}^{+/}$ + Glag: *Ljudje govorijo/mislijo*, $Sam_1|xVd \check{c}^{+}$ + Glag /+ Prisl_{nc} / p \cap $Sam_2 \cap Sam_2|wNd/\check{C}d$ / p \cap $Sam_5|zMd \check{z}$ = modifier/; $Sam_1|xVd \check{c}^{+}$ + Glag /+ Prisl_n|yNd| / + kot \cap Sam_1 / p \cap $Sam_{5-6}|yNd/Sd/Vsd$ abstr. \check{z} -| = modifier/; *Govori proti okupatorju/z mladino/ za odpravo zaostalosti /v korist človeštva*: $Sam_1|xVd \check{c}^{+}$ + Glag $Mo_{vzall/zs/na/pri/proti/o}$ + $Sam_{3-6}|yCd/Vsd \check{z}$ / yRad/Prd \check{c}^{+} : *Obravnava problematiko (Vsd) / mladostnika (Rad), Ugotavlja rezultate (Rad) /z zadovoljstvom (Rad)/*, etc.

2.1.4 Specialized verbs with a general meaning of change (*rušiti se, prikazovati se, vznikati*, etc.) overlap in valency with **basic verbs of enabling the originating/origin of something** (*napravljati se, lotevati se, prizadevati si*, etc.), **of dealing** and **of self-movement** (*uresničevati se, uveljavljati se, iskati* etc.). The semantic-syntactic possibilities are: $Sam_1|xVd \check{c}^{+}$ + Glag + $Sam_4|yPrd/Cd \check{z}^{+/}$ (+ p \cap $Sam_4|Cd \check{z}^{+/}$); $Sam_1|xVd \check{c}^{+}$ + Glag(se) $Mo_{za/na/vk}$ + ($Sam_3|yPred/Cd \check{c}^{+}$) + $Sam_{4(2/3)}|yCd/Rd \check{z}^{+/}$;

$Sam_1|xVd \check{c}^{+}$ + Glag $Mo_{vpri/zs}$ + $Sam_{5-6}|yMd-Sd/Vsd$; $Sam_1|xVd \check{c}^{+}$ + Glag + $Sam_4|yRd \check{z}$ (+ p_{iz} \cap $Sam_2|yPrd \check{z}$); + 'self-movement': $Sam_1|xVd/Np/d/dog \check{z}^{+/}$ + Glag $|M_{sop}/d/dog$ + Prisl_k / p \cap $Sam_{2-6}|yM/IM/CM/ Ra_{pd/dog} \check{z}^{+/}$: *V zadnjem času se je zelo razkošatil, Iz sobe se je skolobaril dim*. Similarly: *pogrezniti se, razdeliti (se), razliti se, spojiti (se), zatoniti*, etc.

2.1.5 Specialized verbs of movement are divided as regards valency into **a)** rightward non-valent **process verbs** (*iti, bežati, letati, begati, voziti se*, the course of movement is stressed) and into rightward-valent **b) goal-directed verbs** (*teči nakupovat, Janez žene Toneta na delo, Janez goni kolo v popravilo, Pes podi kokoši spat*, the goal/purpose is stressed) and **c) event verbs** (*srečati se, sestati se, vrniti se, preiti*, the content of the event is stressed with predominating verbal compounds). The elementary verb **premikati se** and the basic verbs **hoditi** and **iti** with their derivatives typically cover the entire valency of verbs of movement. The semantic-syntactic possibilities are: $Sam_1|xVd/Np/d/dog \check{z}^{+/}$ + Glag $|M_{sop}/d/dog$ + Prisl_{č/k/n/kol} / p \cap $Sam_{2,4-6}|yM/\check{C}/IM/ I\check{C}/CM/C\check{C}/Po/N/wL/S/Ra/V_{S_{pd/dog}} \check{z}^{+/}$.

2.2 Within the framework of compounds with the same prefix the valency influence of the basic semantic values of the prefixes is expressed (žphaseness (initial/momentary/final)', 'resultativeness (once/several times)' and 'property/measure (degree/quantity)'), which are additional semantic properties or distinguishing semantic elements. The compound is transitive when another one of the other two enumerated semantically distinguishing elements is added to the phaseness. The semantic value of the prefix also influences the participant role of the valency complement. Typical original verbal hypernyms with typical semantic-syntactic valency formulas are verbal compounds with syntactic-base *delati, dati, biti* or *iti*, e.g. with syntactic-base *delati*: *dodelati* – 'finalness' (Fk): 'to finish work' – 'absolute finalness of action' – absolute

semantic-syntactic use of the verb: /*Pri nas/ je dodelal*: Sam₁|xVd č⁺| + Glag|Fk|: *Duhovnik domašuje, Bolnik dotrpi*; 'relative finalness of action': *Kmet dobrana/ dogospodari/dokosi/dokuje/domlati/domolze, Mati dohrepeni/domodruje/dopoje*; – 'resultativeness': 'to produce something to the end' – 'completeness of an action to the end': *dodelati obleko/sliko*: Sam₁|xVd č⁺| + Glag|Fk|(Mo) + Sam₄|yCd ž⁺|: *Dodajila je otroka, Dooral je njivo, Dopekel je kruh, Dopil je vino, Dopleta je jopico, Dopolnil je kozarec, Dotipkal je stran, Dogradili so most, Dokrmil je čebele, Dogovoril se je za sestanek*; – 'property': 'to carry out final works for a better appearance, better quality': *dodelati okrasje/dodelati tkanino*: Sam₁|xVd č⁺| + Glag|Fk (L· T L⁺)| + Sam₄|yCd ž⁺|: *Dočakal/Dobojeval je zmago za zatirane, Dosegel je sporazum, Dočaral je lepše življenje za otroke, Doklicali so blagostanje*.

2.3 Within the framework of valency according to nominalization and adjectivalization or the valency of deverbal derivatives, the following are taken into account as realizers of valency **a**) the so-called transpositional derivatives with the meanings of action/state/property (De/St/L) – they are of clausal origin and are thus treated transformationally, and **b**) the so-called mutational derivatives with word-formational meanings of agent, object, result and means (Vd, Pd, Rd, Sd), allowed by the selected verbal meaning.

2.3.1 The nuclear Vd (the agent of an action) and Nd/s/l (the bearer of an action/state/property) introduce a true possessive (since with the simultaneous indicating of action/state (De/St) they express the direct connection of agent/ bearer with the object of the action), e.g. *prijateljev znanec/svetovalec, prijateljev brat*. But action (De), property (L) and state (St) can only introduce non-true possessive relations, e.g. *očetovo delo, voznikova prednost*. With same-verb derivatives with the word-formational meaning of object of an action (Pd) or result of an action (Rd) or means of an action (Sd), compared with the word-formational meaning of action (De) or agent of an action (Vd), the arrangement of participant roles or semantic-syntactic valency is optionally narrowed. The hierarchical or preferential optional arrangement of the participant roles is: with **nuclear deverbal nouns of action/state/property (De/St/L)** and of **the agent of an action** and of **the bearer of an action/state/property (Vd / Nd/s/l)**, the nucleus-adjacent position can be occupied by all the participant roles, though the preferential arrangement is: affected/relative/content/ appearing object of an action (Pr/Ra/Vs/Pod), means of an action (Sd), goal of an action (Cd), result of an action (Rd); with all these the non-preferential roles, which can be semantic-syntactically obligatory or non-obligatory, are occupied by spatial and temporal participants, e.g. *pripravljanje (De) športnikov (Prd)/napitkov (Rd), igranje (De) nogometa (Vsd) s prijatelji (Rad) za nagrado (Cd), igranje (De) hokeja (Vsd) na travi (Md) z žogico (Sd); bivanje (De/St) doma (Md), obseg (St) romana (Vss), pripadnost (St) zemlje (Prs) obdelovalcu (Ras), obstojnost (L) barv (Vss) proti vlagi (Ras); igravec (Vd) sonate (Vsd) na klavir (Rad), prebivalec (Nd/s) bloka (Md/s), rastje (Np/s) v močvirju (Mp/s), hudič/hudobec (NI) do najbližnjih (Ral)*. With **nuclear Pd** the nucleus-adjacent position is most frequently occupied by means of an action (Sd) or goal of an

action (Cd), more rarely by the content, affected or relative object of an action (Vsd/Prd/Rad), e.g. *iskalnik* (Pd) z *elektromagnetom* (Sd) za *kable* (Cd), *igralo* (Pd) s *krogi* (Sd) za *guganje* (Cd), *spravljalnik* (Pd) *žita* (Prd), *nadzorstvo* (Pd) nad *tržiščem* (Rad). With **nuclear Rd** the nucleus-adjacent position is occupied by means of an action (Sd) or material, more rarely by the content of an action (Vsd), e.g. *izdelek* (Rd) z *roko* (Sd) iz *kovine* (Vsd), *proizvod* (Rd) iz *kovine* (Vsd) od *kovačev* (Rad); with **nuclear Sd** the nucleus-adjacent position is occupied by goal of an action (Cd), e.g. *igrača* (Sd) za *odrasle* (Cd).

Pd, **Rd** and **Sd** also have non-preferential participant roles: place of an action (Md), starting-point/goal place of an action (IM/CMd), time of an action (Čd), starting-point/goal time of an action (IČ/CČd).

Pd, Rd and Sd are semantically linked with De metonymically, while Vd (which can combine non-actual De and V/Nd) and De semantically exclude each other due to the cause-consequence link within the predicative relation. The syncretic linkage or combination of 'action' (De) with 'agent of an action' (Vd) is also indicated by attributive adjuncts with the noun with the meaning 'agent of an action' (Vd), when they can transformationally modify the predicative verb e.g. *možni kandidat Tone* – *Tone je možni kandidat* – *Tone bi lahko kandidiral* (cf. M: 152).

2.3.1.1 The combination or syncretism of participant roles as a valency important semantic-syntactic phenomenon.

2.3.1.1.1 The deverbial nuclear noun as agent of an action (Vd) can combine action (De) and the agent or bearer of an action (V/Nd) into (Vd \cap V/Nd), thus proving the possibility of expressing a true possessive to the object of an action (Pd), e.g. *znančev svetovalec* (< svetovalec (od) znanca / svetovalec znancu < kdor svetuje znancu) – this true-possessive relation is a transformation of rection. A true possessive to the object is also expressed by the bearer of a state (Ns), e.g. *sestrin mož* (< mož (od) sestre / sestri mož < sestra ima moža). But in contrast to the deverbial Vd, only action (De) or state/property (St/L) with only a predicative relation can transform only into a non-true possessive relation, e.g. *delavčevo služenje* (< služenje delavca < delavec služi) or *delavčeva pripravljenost/prijaznost* (< pripravljenost/prijaznost delavca < delavec je pripravljen/prijazen).

2.3.1.1.2 The deverbial nuclear noun in the participant role of result of an action (Rd), which at the same time is the final phasal degree of an action (De_{FR}), according to expectation combines action (De) and the object of an action (Pd) into (De \cap Pd), which is also confirmed by the syntactic bases for the word-formational meaning Rd, e.g. *izpis* < |to, kar| izpiše|-Ø| with the semantic base 'izpisati kaj'.

2.3.1.1.3 The deverbial nuclear noun as means of an action (Sd) with the semantic element 'self-acting' can further combine the two participant roles of causer of an action (Pvd) and bearer of an action (Nd), e.g. *celilno mazilo* (< mazilo za celjenje < mazilo, ki celi), similarly *mehčalno sredstvo*. But only the bearer of an action (Nd) is

included in means of transport, e.g. *dostavno vozilo* (< vozilo za dostavo < vozilo, s katerim se dostavlja).

2.3.1.2 The nominalization of clauses into gerundial-nuclear phrases is followed by adjectivalization, when the predicative relation is transformed into a relative (non-true possessive) gerund-adjacent adjective, while the rection and collocation relations are transformed into classifying adjectives.

Within the framework of transformations of leftward valency gerund-adjacent-nuclear non-true possessive adjectives of action/state ($Sp_{a/s}$) are generally adjectivalized into the most typical subject participant roles as agent/causer/initiator of an action ($Vd/Pvd/Pbd$), which typically have the category of animacy, expressing potential self-causation. But the bearer of an action/state/property ($Nd/s/l$) is obligatorily adjectivalized only if it is at the same time also the causer of an action/ state/property ($Nd/s/l \cap Pvd/s/l$), e.g. *Janez se premika* > *Janezovo premikanje* (as against e.g. *premikati Janeza* > *premikanje Janeza*), *Janez je vztrajen* > *Janez ima vztrajnost* > *Janezova vztrajnost*.

The fact that classifying adjectives as transformers of **rightward-valency relations** with nuclear deverbal nouns having different word-formational meanings are preferentially arranged differently has already been established (Vidovič Muha 1981).

2.4 The valency roles of verbal prepositional morphemes are seen in that a rection-valent prepositional morpheme, unlike a rection-combinatory prepositional morpheme, requires the arrangement of all the obligatory rightward participant roles and thus from the structural-syntactic aspect as well demands the complete expression of all the syntactically obligatory complements. Unjustified omissions, e.g. with the action of an affected object, are also confirmed by transformations, e.g. *dajanje Janeza otroka za pastirja*, *dajanje Janeza hrane za pastirja* – *Janezovo dajanje otroka/hrane za pastirja* – the second genitive (from left to right: *otrok/hrana*) has the participant role of affected due to the communicative completion of the phrase, which is demanded by the free prepositional verbal morpheme, e.g. *za*. The omission of this genitive also causes a semantic change: *dajanje Janeza za pastirja* : *dajanje hrane za pastirja*.

2.4.1 The prepositional verbal morpheme underscores the obligatory semantic- and structural-syntactic role of the affected with the action (Prd). An additional indirect proof that prepositional verbal morphemes are part of the verbal meaning lies in the fact that in the tendency to preserve the verbal meaning (with its transitivity) they are sometimes expressed only with a transformation, e.g. *kesati se (zaradi) grehov* – *kesanje zaradi grehov*, *udeležiti se česa* – *udeležba pri čem*.

2.4.2 A nonlexicalized prepositional deverbal (participant) morpheme is determined primarily by the participant role which is anticipated by the verbal occasional syntactic meaning. The clearest examples for deverbal (participant) prepositional morphemes are seen in a transformation with indication of the subject participant roles, e.g. *Janez in prijatelj se pogovarjata* – *Janez se pogovarja s prijateljem* – *pogovarjanje/pogovor Janeza s prijateljem* – *Janezovo pogovarjanje/Janezov pogovor s*

prijateljem). This is because the participant role of agent of an action is self-evident from the standpoint of the verbal action.

2.5 Predominating obligatorily valent participant roles according to verbal groups

This treatment takes into account basic, specialized and higher specialized verbs (the latter are derivatives – verbal derivatives, compounds with particular predominating semantic elements, which are also at the same time semantically distinguishing between the individual verbal semantic groups.

Within the framework of deverbal nouns, the basic word-formational meanings of action, property and state (De, L, St) are dealt with, while Vd, Pd, Rd in Sd are also presented comparatively.

Although the verbal semantic groups, determined on the basis of verbal valency, include all the participant roles, certain participant roles are more frequent. Also after the nominalization of verbs into nuclear deverbal nouns with the word-formational meaning of action (De), all the participant roles are preserved (mostly also adjectivalized into different classifying adjectives) and the same semantic-hierarchical arrangement (distributing and expressing participant roles in the direction agent/ causer/source of an action > recipient > affected by an action > circumstances of an action; first the so-called mono-functional cases and then the poly-functional cases), only in varying extent – as regards the starting-point nuclear word-formational meaning certain participant roles are omitted.

The sufficiency or correctness of the extent of valency verbal semantic groups from the aspect of structural-syntactic valency is also confirmed by the accusative complement (T), which with verbs of state, course, and action encompasses all the basic participant roles. However in transformations, instead of the accusative (T) there is the genitive (R): **a**) verbs of state/process – relative/content T, **b**) verbs of active processes/actions – **b₁**) affected/result/goal T, **b₂**) – affected/relative T, **b₃**) affected/result/goal T, **b₄**) content/appearing/relative T, **b₅**) T as goal place/time; in transformations R functions as departure-point/goal place/time. (The more frequent non-obligatorily valent participant roles are indicated by round brackets.)

In Slovenian, the frequency case arrangement TRIMOD has been confirmed (the case arrangement of words which are at the same time phrasally nuclear is TIMROD, while the use of verbal prepositional morphemes – the most frequent are *za*, *z/s*, *o*, *v*, *pri*, *na* – gives the case relation TMROD). The locative (M) is so high in frequency because the prepositional morphemes *o* and *pri* are only locative, *z/s* are only instrumental whereas the other three prepositional morphemes have several cases.) The nominative complement is something special from the semantic- and structural-syntactic aspect, while the dative complement in terms of valency is arranged before prepositional-case complements.

For Slovenian I distinguish five basic groups of complements, which as regards their morphological-syntactic properties I further divide into ten classes (DI₁₋₁₀):

- a) With **verbs of full meaning** as realizers of valency (on account of their valency properties they are internationally indicated as *functors*, alongside which the complements indicate the appropriate participant or else its participant role on the syntactic level):
- case complements (DI₁₋₄): nominative, accusative, genitive and dative (in terms of word-class these are nouns);
 - (prepositional) case complements (DI₅₋₇): locative and instrumental (in terms of word-class these are nouns whose case is determined by a verbal prepositional morpheme); the same holds true for accusative, genitive and dative complements with prepositional-morpheme verbs;
 - adverbials (DI₈): in terms of word-class these are adverbs – *static adverbs*, which in terms of clause function encompass all the basic adverbials of place/time/manner/ cause, *dynamic adverbs*, which are all the adverbials of direction and goal.
- b) With **verbs of non-full meaning** as only copular or grammatical-functional realizers of non-true/non-participant valency (they are internationally indicated as *proto-functors*, which together with non-participant predicate complements define a particular participant as to property):
- case/adverb predicate-attribute complements (DI₉): in terms of word-class these are nouns and adjectives, verbs and adverbs;
 - infinitive/supine complements (DI₁₀): in terms of word-class these are verbs.

2.6 The typology of obligatory valency is the basis for the typology of clause patterns

From the standpoint of the semantic- and structural-syntactic obligatoriness of complements the typology of clause patterns in Slovenian is formulated, taking into account the verbal-semantic orientation of all the verbal semantic groups.

From the standpoint of clause creation the original division is into **a)** one-part and two-part clause utterances, while a secondary division is that regarding **b)** the semantic-syntactic valency of verbs in the predicate, which can be non-valent, uni-, bi-, tri-, or multi-valent. In a one-clause utterance, verbal valency can be caught in predicate valency, which forms clause utterances with two, three or four clause elements and takes into account **c)** the criterion of grammatical correctness and communicative completeness, which divides utterances into the main clause patterns and subpatterns.

Clause subpatterns are formed by two special semantic-syntactically foreseeable but structural-syntactically non-obligatory complements: a) the general subject (*Misli se, Človek misli*) and b) the internal object (with the same word: *Pleše ples*, not with the same word: *Češe lase, Govori besede*) or the inner adverbial, whose semantic properties are already included in the verb. (The two complements are indicated by round brackets.)

The number of clause patterns (V) and subpatterns (PV) also reveals the most frequent and at the same time most usual semantic-syntactic use of verbs from the standpoint of forming clause utterances as well: **a)** one-part clauses: originally imper-



sonal non-valent Glag (1V, *Lije, Dežuje, Piha, Noči se*), and secondarily impersonal uni-/bivalent Glag (8V, 1PV, *Brni (mu) v glavi, Zahotelo se mu je bogastva*); **b**) two-part clauses: univalent Glag (2V, 1PV, *Ponočuješ, Spi, (Dež) lije*), bivalent Glag (10V, 9PV, *Vozim avto, Mati ziba otroka*), trivalent Glag (27V, 7PV, *Učitelj je otroke naučil pesem/pisati*), quadrivalent Glag (4V, *Mati je hčeri vpletla trak v kito*), pentivalent Glag (1V, 1PV, *Zdravnik je bolniku vbriznil zdravilo v žilo (z injekcijo)*).

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POVZETEK

Predstavitev razvoja slovenske vezljivostne teorije kaže, kako se je od 16. stoletja naprej počasi tipizirala oz. izoblikovala tudi slovenska skladnja s svojimi lastnostmi in problemi. Kar pomeni, da se je obravnava od začetnih vsesplošnojezikovnih primerjalnih skladenjskih pojavov začela oživit in hkrati kvalitetno poglobljati. Obenem pa razmerja med pomensko, skladenjskofunkcijsko in izrazno ravnino jezika skozi stoletja zelo jasno pokažejo postopno



uzaveščanje slovenskega jezika, od začetnih zgolj površinskih opisov skladnje (primerjalni opisi skladenjskih pojavov v latinščini, nemščini in slovenščini) do problemskih obravnav. Tako se začetno predstavljanje osnovne rabe posameznih sklonov v slovenščini – izhodišče obravnave je izrazna ravnina – osredotoči na obravnavo predvsem slovenskih skladenjskih posebnosti, ki jih izpostavlja skladenjskofunkcijska oz. stavčnočlenska ravnina v vzročno-posledični povezavi s pomensko ravnino jezika.