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ON THE CATEGORIALNESS OF LEXEMES BETWEEN LEXICON AND GRAMMAR

The present article builds on the findings concerning the connectedness between lexical and grammatical linguistic issues – the paradigmatic and syntagmatic aspects of lexico-semantic analysis. The categorial semantic features as definitional properties of individual sentence elements divide lexemes into those which concretize these categorial semantic features when performing syntactic functions and those which do not. A change in the syntactic function of the lexeme results in the change of categorial semantic features and, consequently, in the change of the lexical meaning. – It is characteristic of lexemes with syntactic functions that their denotata are part of the propositional structure of the (underlying) sentence meaning if these are verbs or nouns or adverbs of exterior circumstances. Outside the proposition remain the semantic »modifiers« of propositional lexemes, the adjective next to the noun, and the adverb of interior circumstances next to the verb. The meaning of lexemes with such denotata can be represented structurally as a hierarchically organized string of semantic features which reflect the logical relationship between what is conceptually wider and conceptually narrower.

Razprava izhaja iz spoznanja o prepletenosti slovarskih in slovničnih vprašanj jezika – paradigmatskih in sintagmatskih vidikov leksikalnopomenske analize. Kategorialne pomenske sestavine kot definicijske lastnosti posameznih stavčnih členov ločujejo leksiko na tisto, ki v stavčnočlenskih vlogah te kategorialne pomenske sestavine konkretizira, od tiste, ki te vloge nima. Spreminjanje stavčnočlenskih vlog leksema pomeni spreminjanje kategorialnih pomenskih sestavin in s tem spreminjanje leksikalnega pomena. – Za lekseme s stavčnočlensko vlogo je značilno, da njihov denotat sodi v propozicijsko ogrodje (stavčne) povedi, če gre za glagolsko in samostalniško besedo ter prislovno besedo zunanjih okoliščin; zunaj propozicije sta pomenska »modifikatorja« propozicijskih leksemov, ob samostalniku pridevniška beseda, ob glagolu pa prislov notranjih okoliščin. – Pomen leksemov s tovrstnimi denotati je mogoče predstaviti strukturalno kot hierarhično urejen nabor pomenskih sestavin, ki odsevajo smiselno razmerje med pojmovno širšim in pojmovno ožjim.

Key words: categorial property, semantic feature, denotative meaning, word-formational meaning, sentence element

Ključne besede: kategorialna lastnost, pomenska sestavina, denotativni pomen, besedotvorni pomen, stavčni člen

It is a well-known fact that lexemes as vocabulary units can possess both obligatory and potential meanings; the obligatory meaning comprises the categorial as well as the denotative lexical meanings,¹ while the potential meaning includes the connota-

¹ The distinction between the categorial meaning and the denotative one is, as will be clarified later, based on a different method of their identification.

tive and the pragmatic meanings (Vidovič Muha 2000: 30).² The present discussion will be limited to the obligatory lexical meaning, primarily to the issues of categorialness, but will also touch on denotativeness.

Within the lexicon, categorialness can be linked to the denotative meaning and to the word-formational meaning. Categorialness linked to the issues of lexical denotativeness opens up a rather complex relationship between the functions performed by lexemes as sentence elements and the denotative lexical meaning fixed by the structure. In categorial word-formational meaning, as was established already in 1988 (Vidovič Muha 1988: 16–17, 18; 2000: 40–42)³, we build on the fact that a foreseeable group of complex words (derivatives) can be transformed into the proposition on the level of sentence meaning. Since this transformational link limits the number and type of word-formational meaning as to the elements of the proposition, the word-formational meaning can also be referred to as the propositional meaning.⁴ However, in at least two instances both types of categorial meaning, the denotative meaning and the word-formational one, enter a cause-effect relationship: the categorial word-formational meaning, which is transformationally linked to the predicate (denoting an action, a property, or a state), is also the carrier of the morphemic abstract properties (suffixal formatives) as one of the lexical categorial semantic features of the noun; in other words, the abstract quality is its definitional feature, as can be observed in nouns such as *pisa-nje* 'to, da /.../' , *mlad-ost* 'to, da je /.../' , *gozdar-stvo* 'to, da je /.../' [writing '(the fact) that /.../' , youth '(the fact) that /.../' is', forestry '(the fact) that /.../' is']; the same holds true for the time of an action or the time when something exists, e.g. *mlad-ost* 'tedaj, ko /.../' [youth '(the time) when /.../']. This statement, however, does not hold true for any other categorial (propositional) word-formational meanings, such as the doer of an action (*nomen agentis*), the carrier of a property, the animate ^{+/-} feature, the result of an action, the instrument of an action (these are all derived from a base denoting an actant), the place or time of an action, the place

² In certain lexemes, the potential meaning is to be understood as obligatory. In other words, the potential meaning is in such lexemes necessary to provide complete information on the potential textual role of that particular lexeme. The connotative and pragmatic lexical meanings are determined by the fact that they are always accompanying additions to the denotative meaning, e.g. *baraba* slabšalno 'človek /.../' [bastard pejorative 'man /.../']; ob dvigu kozarca *Na zdravje/in* 'Pijemo /z določenim namenom/' [when lifting a glass of drink Cheers 'Let us drink /a toast to a certain purpose/']. In connotative meaning, various factors (emotionality, stylization, etc.) make the creator of the text enter into the relationship existing between the meaningful concept of the denotatum and the (linguistic) form. As for the denotatum, curses are an exception, since in them the denotative and connotative meanings coincide; in this case, it would be possible to speak of transvaluation of the connotatum into the denotatum. However, these curses do not include swearwords (with the subclass of names of abuse) where we deal with a type of connotatum determined primarily by the fact that the denotatum is a human being whose action etc. is being evaluated from the point of view of the creator of the text (Vidovič Muha 2000: 89). In (lexicalized) pragmatic meaning, the textual realization of the lexeme is possible only under foreseeable extralinguistic circumstances.

³ This thesis was first put forward in the PhD dissertation *Zloženke v slovenskem knjižnem jeziku* [Compounds in Standard Slovene] by the same author, defended in 1984.

⁴ Snoj (2003: 387–409; 2004: 27–38) offers an explanation of the term 'syntactic wordformation' as used by Apresjan (1995); of particular interest is his syntactically interpreted analogy between wordformation and the so-called regular polysemy such as (lexicalized) metonymy.

of existence of somebody/something, the time of existence of somebody/something (these are all derived from bases denoting locative or temporal circumstances). The categorial word-formational meaning is to be found in nominal and verbal derivatives, which are a result of suffixation, of derivation from a prepositional phrase or of infixal-suffixal compounding.⁵ This word-formational meaning excludes modificational derivatives such as *pra-domovina*, *medved-ek* [original homeland, little bear] as well as a special group of compounds containing only an infixal formative such as *sever-o-vzhod*, *golf-0-igrišče* [northeast, golf course] as these cannot be linked to the proposition of the sentence.⁶

1 Definition of denotative meaning

1.1 Typology of lexical denotatum

The metalinguistic definition or description of the denotative meaning is based on the denotatum of the lexeme. These denotata can be classified as follows:⁷

(a) The denotata of nouns and verbs⁸ as well as of locative and temporal adverbs make up the propositional structure of the (underlying) sentence meaning: verbs and verbal primitives function as predicates, nouns and pronouns as actants, adverbs as locative and temporal circumstances. Outside the proposition there remain adjectives with pronouns, e.g. *dober/njihov/kakšen (govor)* [a good (speech), their (speech), what a (speech)], and partly adverbs, e.g. *dobro/slovensko/večkrat (govoriti)* [(speak) well/Slovene/often]. The lexical meaning of lexemes with such denotata can be represented structurally by forming a semantic network, i.e. a network of potential interlexemic semantic ties.⁹ In this case the meaning is determined by the smallest units of meaning – the semantic features (semes).

⁵ Traditional Slovene wordformation does not deal with the word-formational meaning in verbs. However, the comprehension of wordformation as a generative-transformational process which includes verbal primitives (*biti, imeti, delati; postati, dati* [be, have, do; become, give]) – these possess, like pronouns, a transformational value of suffixal formatives/suffixes on account of their semantic extensiveness – enables us to identify the (categorial) word-formational meaning also in verbs, e.g. action: *gozdar-i-ti* [biti] gozdar [-0], [] → -i-ti, gozdar- [to work as a forester]; instrument of action: *pluž-i-ti* ← [delati s] plug[-om], [] → -i-ti, plug- [to plough], etc.

⁶ In the locative adverbial meaning of the prefixal formative found in verbal derivatives such as *iz-pisati* ← pisati [iz], [] 'ven' ← iz-, -pisati [copy out] (Vidovič Muha 1988: 21–24), a link with the proposition of the sentence can be established. This calls for an additional typological classification of such derivatives.

⁷ The classification according to the type of denotatum has been taken from Vidovič Muha (2003: 37–48); the same issue has been dealt with already in *Slovensko leksikalno pomenoslovje* [Slovenian Lexical Semantics] (SLP) by the same author (2000: 83–97).

⁸ Apart from the terms nominal word and adjectival word [samostalniška beseda, pridevniška beseda], which were introduced into Slovene linguistics by Toporišič (1976: e.g. 208, 252), the term verbal word [glagolska beseda], with the sub-classes of verbal primitives or primary verbs and all other verbs, is necessary both from the syntactico-functional and word-formational aspects.

⁹ The denotative meanings of those lexemes which compose the propositional structure of the sentence meaning are characterized by an internal hierarchical organization of the semantic features (semes), e.g. *Kaj je drevo* – (Drevo je) *rastlina*, *Kakšna rastlina* – (npr.) *z olesenelim stebлом /.../* [What is a tree – (A tree is) a plant, What kind of plant – (e.g.) *with a woody trunk /.../*]; these are the so-called endogenous lexemes. In lexemes which do not make up the proposition of the sentence meaning – the exogenous lexemes – there is

- (b) The denotata of lexemes are speech acts which can be realized either non-verbally, e.g. by lowering and raising the head in 'nodding', or verbally; the usage of both is often bound to lexicalized extralinguistic circumstances, to the lexicalized pragmatic meaning (Vidovič Muha 2000: 83–97). The form of a lexicalized speech act can be either a covert or overt sentence or sentence meaning. Interjections stem from covert speech acts since these are deep-structure sentence meanings, e.g. *Au 'Zelo me je zbolelo'* [Ouch 'It hurt me a lot'], as do (some) particles where the underlying deep-structure sentence is expressed as part of the (coordinate) complex sentence, e.g. *Tudi oče pride* 'Vsi pridejo (in) oče pride' [Father will come too 'Everybody will come (and) Father will come'] (Toporišič 2000: 445). Overt speech acts comprise various lexicalized patterns of linguistic behaviour such as greetings, address formulae, etc.; these can be realized in connection with foreseeable (lexicalized) pragmatic circumstances, e.g. greeting ob prihodu *dober dan (želim)* [on arrival *Hello*].
- (b¹) The communication elements which form the speech act, i.e. the speaker and the addressee (first- and second-person pronouns, deep-structure (personal) proper nouns, including all personifications), form a special sub-class of denotatum. Proper nouns per definition belong to a special part of the lexicon as they do not designate a group, a class of denotata of the same kind. They designate something individual, but not necessarily one (Mluvnice češtiny, MČ 2: 47). Thus, their lexical value cannot be determined and they are classified as textual actualizers (Mikuš 1960; Vidovič Muha 1996).¹⁰
- (b²) The denotatum of locative and temporal adverbs or adjectives derived from these can be bound to both spatial-temporal elements of the speech act, i.e. the location of the speaker (place) and the moment of speaking (time), e.g. *tukaj – tukajšnji* [here – local], *tam – tamkajšnji* [there – (of) there], or *sedaj – sedanji* [now – present], *včeraj – včerajšnji* [yesterday – of yesterday].
- (c) The denotata of sentence-structured phraseological units can be either potential minimum texts or parts of texts, depending on the presence of co-referential linguistic elements in their sentence structure. They form a special part of the lexicon – phraseology.

no internal hierarchical organization of the semantic features. For more on this cf. the monograph *Slovensko leksikalno pomenoslovje* (Vidovič Muha 2000: 45–77). Geneva structuralism introduced the term lexical value for this type of lexical meaning.

¹⁰ On the lexico-semantic level, therefore, the common nouns differ from the proper ones precisely in their ability to define their own meaning by means of the smallest semantic units – the semantic features (semes). As is well-known, a proper name can also speak volumes as to its connectedness to certain linguistic, cultural, religious, political and other circumstances; it tells of its own momentary fashionableness or datedness, and also of the social status of its bearer, the social structure of the society, the wish to be different in respect of generalness or frequency, etc. It is particularly place names and street names which can be subjected to current political circumstances, and they may also indicate a person's importance considering their central or marginal position within a place. However, these interesting, mainly sociolinguistic findings should not overshadow the fact that those are, after all, secondary roles performed by proper names, and that their primary role remains the naming of an individual and thus his/her identification as opposed to all else that is individual (Vidovič Muha 2000: 77–78).

- (d) The linguistic relationships (coordination, subordination) are the denotata of grammatico-semantic word-classes or of grammatico-semantic lexis, i.e. of conjunctions and prepositions.¹¹

1.2 The hierarchy of semantic features in denotative meaning

The lexical denotative meaning in the structuralist sense is based on the comprehension of a non-linear or graded organization (structure) of our conceptual world. Or, seen from the aspect of the lexicon: an individual entity is to be found within the more general one without having lost its distinguishable characteristics. Or, put in yet another way: the structural organization of the lexical meaning can be understood as a logical relationship between what is conceptually wider and thus in principle more general and more extensive in meaning, and what is conceptually narrower and thus more specialized and intensive in meaning.

The degree of semantic extensiveness or intensiveness is the basis for a distinction between three types of the smallest meaning-distinguishing units of lexical meaning – distinctive semantic features or semes. These are the categorial semantic features (CaSF), classifying semantic features (ClSF) and differentiating semantic features (DSF).

1.2.1 The double nature of CaSF

The CaSF seem particularly interesting: on the one hand, they are a condition for the realization of sentence elements and thus for the formation of the basic sentence structure as a textual unit – the sentence meaning. On the other hand, they form the lexical meaning of lexemes. They can thus be considered a kind of bridge between the grammar or, more precisely, the syntax, and the lexicon or, more precisely, its denotative meaning.

1.2.1.1 The syntactic functions of CaSF

The starting point is the realization that word-classes need to fulfil certain conditions in order to be able to perform their functions within the sentence. They need to be carriers of the so-called categorial semantic features (CaSF) since these, along with the syntactic categorial properties, determine individual sentence elements.¹² Thus, everything which is the subject is determined by the CaSF of gender, which is, in turn, a condition for the presence or absence of animateness and/or humanness,

¹¹ Everything said so far confirms that the lexeme is to be understood in a much wider sense than the term word as it comprises designations of all the denotata mentioned. This, however, does not rule out the possibility of using other terms within the lexicon, due to the specificity of individual denotata, e.g. phrase, phraseological unit.

¹² Seen from the syntactico-functional viewpoint, the CaSF are to be understood as a subgroup of categorial properties; these can be divided into syntactic properties which can only be realized in a sentence in the form of case, number, tense, mood, voice, and lexical properties, termed CaSF and recognizable in the lexicon.

of person, of abstractness,¹³ also of countability as a potential syntactic category of number, and of declension as a potential syntactic category of case. Everything which is the predicator is determined by the CaSF of aspect, i.e. the lexical foresightedness of duration, and by the ability of (at least) leftward (lexical) valency (subject-related valency), that is by the intention or capability to form the smallest possible text, i.e. the sentence meaning.¹⁴ The CaSF of exterior circumstances (of place and time) are linked to the adjunct, and primarily to those adverbs which are propositional elements of the sentence. The functions performed by the developing sentence elements, i.e. the adjective next to the noun and the adverb denoting interior circumstances next to the verb, as well as the functions performed by the complementary sentence element, the predicative adjective, are (apart from some foreseeable exceptions) determined by their distribution and, primarily, by the CaSF of degree.¹⁵ The lexicon in the functions of individual sentence elements can be said to make concrete the CaSF which are characteristic of individual sentence elements.

The syntactic functions are therefore determined by the categorial semantic features. These are categorial in the sense of comprising an entire group of lexemes performing a certain function as a sentence element. The syntactico-functional view relativizes the word-classes by limiting them to the metalinguistic systemization of a certain linguistic reality expressed by the sentence meaning.¹⁶ The invariability of

¹³ Abstractness as a CaSF of the subject-function of the noun (and thus its definitional function) is, as was already mentioned, formally (morphemically) recognizable only in derived nouns, namely in those bearing the word-formational meaning of action, quality, state and the word-formational meaning of the time of an action or the time when something exists. The label »abstract« is also used by the *Slovar slovenskega pravopisa* (2001), probably on the basis of the editor's language feeling as no definition or explanation of the term is provided.

¹⁴ In the chapter on morphology (*Oblikoslovje*) of his *Slovenska slovnica* (1976: 176), Toporišič cites among the »morphological categories of declinable words« gender, case, number, person and other. To this last category he assigns »the remaining categories shared by several classes, e.g. definiteness /.../« (207). Within gender in nouns, animate and human features are included as well as declension, in verbs there are aspect, types of verbal actions, transitivity, voice and mood (1976: 183, 184). The »morphological categories« remain unchanged in the latest edition of *Slovenska slovnica*.

¹⁵ The inability to express degree is a definitional characteristic of those adjectives and adverbs which form nominal set phrases and semi-variable verbal phrases, e.g. *ambulantni pregled* [outpatient management] – *ambulantno pregledati* [manage as outpatient], of propositional (temporal and locative) adverbs, e.g. *stanovati doma* [live at home], *priti danes* [come today], as well as of some other semantically related groups of adjectives and adverbs. Interestingly, the locative adverbs whose meanings may depend on the speaker's location generally combine with an adverb of degree, e.g. *čisto, zelo, precej blizu, daleč; čisto zgoraj, spodaj* [quite/very/rather near/far; at the very top/bottom]. These adverbs lose their ability to combine with an adverb of degree once they are lexicalized, for example in the form of a prefixal formative in the verb, i.e. when they become part of the syntactic base of the derived verb, e.g. (*Kdo*) *pod-piše* ← *piše pod*, *pod 'spodaj'* [(Somebody) signs].

¹⁶ The Slovene linguist Mikuš (1960; 1972), influenced by Geneva structuralism, particularly Bally, understood word-classes as the metalinguistic systemization of syntactic functions. The syntactico-functional perspective of the word-class classification can also, to some extent, be found in works by Toporišič (e.g. 1974/5; 1976: 192–193), which is reflected in the use of terms such as nominal word, adjectival word (these also include pronouns on account of identical syntactic functions). However, Toporišič still gives definitions such as »G/lagoli so besede, ki izražajo dejanje /.../, stanje /.../, potek /.../« [Verbs are words which denote actions /.../, states /.../, processes /.../] (2001: 345) and also does not distinguish between word-classes which can function as sentence elements and those which cannot.

syntactic functions is thus a condition for the invariability of categorial properties, and within these of the CaSF, and thus also for the open, dynamic invariability of the word-classes. This determines their primary or secondary status: a change in categorial property results in a change of syntactic function, of sentence element, of word-class.

Thus, the word-classes can be divided into two basic groups when the above findings are taken into account:

- (a) The word-classes functioning as sentence elements are determined by the fact that they are carriers of categorial properties which determine individual sentence elements. Within this group they can be subdivided into those which are propositional (both first-degree word-classes, i.e. nouns and verbs,¹⁷ and second-degree adverbs of exterior circumstances) and those which are not (adjectives, adverbs of interior circumstances).¹⁸ The third-degree status of the latter is based on their syntactico-functional dependence, connected to their role of developing first-degree and second-degree sentence elements. The meaning of both subclasses – the propositional one and that reaching beyond the proposition – can in principle be represented structurally by means of semantic features, as will be clarified later.¹⁹
- (b) The word-classes which cannot function as sentence elements are non-propositional, their denotatum is a speech act or a grammatical relationship, and therefore their meanings cannot be represented structurally. As was already mentioned, the denotatum of modificational word-classes (interjections and (some) particles) is a covert speech act, while the denotatum of grammatical word-classes (prepositions and conjunctions) is a grammatical relationship (coordination or subordination).

¹⁷ All verbs can express the subject-predicator relationship. That is why the subject and its CaSF can justifiably be called definitional in the case of noun. The function of the object, possible only with transitive verbs, is irrelevant when word-classes are defined.

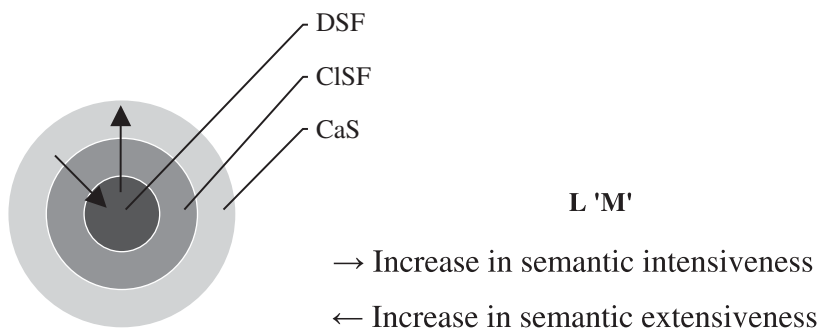
¹⁸ Both of these word-classes belong to exogenous lexemes which need to combine with a noun or a verb as their syntactic and semantic nucleus. Syntactically, the two function as modifiers to nouns or verbs. A special place is reserved for the predicative »noun/adjective« as the complementary (syntactic) word-class which, basically, represents the (lexico-)semantic part of the predicator; in this case, we have a two- or multi-part »verb«. The issue of positioning the predicative »noun/adjective« among the third-degree sentence elements remains open. Švedova (1970: 304), for example, tries to find a solution in the term syntactic derivative – later, for instance in her Russian grammar of 1980, this term is no longer used – which, however, does not provide a solution to the problem for our syntactico-functional word-class classification in general. In fact, we have a two-part »verb« with two separate roles – a syntactico-categorial one and a lexico-semantic one.

¹⁹ Why in principle? Here we deal with locative and temporal adverbs such as *tu, zgoraj* [here, up] or *sedaj, lani* [now, last year]. Although in these cases positioning within time and space is built into the potential sentence meaning, i.e. the proposition itself opens up a possibility of locative and temporal positioning, as can be proven by word-formational morphemization of their meanings in, for example, *v-pisati* ← *pisati* v, v 'noter' [write in], this ability is concretized only in the text (unlike instances such as *doma* [at home]) with regard to concrete textual circumstances, e.g. the location of the speaker, as in *tu, blizu* [here, near] or the moment of speaking, as in *sedaj* [now]. Their textual semantic realization results in their inability to be represented structurally by semantic features.

1.2.1.2 The lexico-semantic role of CaSF

The starting point for the following discussion is the realization that the CaSF form a link between the lexicon in the function of sentence elements and the lexicon as the carrier of the denotative (lexical) meaning. As to the structural denotative meaning, the CaSF namely make possible the initial division of the lexicon, that is the gender with animateness, humanness, abstractness, countability and person separates out the group of nouns which are syntactically linked to the subject function, while the aspect and lexical intention separate out the group of verbs, syntactically in the function of the predicator. Among the nominal (subject) categorial semantic features, the gender is a precondition for all the other features, while in the (Slavic) verb the aspect plays the same role due to its morphemic recognizability. As will be clarified later, all other CaSF often have a crucial meaning-distinctive function within the basic syntactic (and thus word-class) determination, that is within the nominal meanings as opposed to, for instance, the verbal meanings. Therefore, it is possible to talk of duality of role of the CaSF within the lexicon as well.²⁰

In order to further define the lexeme as to its semantic structure, another two lexico-associative complexes of semantic features are needed: the classifying semantic features (CISF), and within these the differentiating semantic features (DSF). Here an increase in semantic intensiveness of the lexeme is set into operation until the point of irreplaceability of its denotative meaning has been reached. The graphic representation below shows how the structural denotative meaning of the lexeme (L 'M') is determined by the three complexes of semantic features which differ in semantic intensiveness.





1.2.2 The lexico-associative role of CISF and DSF²⁰

The difference in the roles performed by the CISF and the DSF is based on the difference in semantic intensiveness or extensiveness. The essential underlying realization here is the fact that what is conceptually wider (and designated by the CISF) can be used to explain what is conceptually narrower.²¹ Thus, for example, a *birch* can be defined as a deciduous tree (CISF), yet as one possessing certain qualities, denoted by the DSF, which differentiate a birch from all other deciduous trees, such as the thin white peeling bark, etc.

The semantic features thus form the basic pattern of the semantic structure of the lexeme: 'M' = CaSF [CISF/_xDSF].²² This formula reads: the (lexical) meaning is, with regard to the original semantic word-class (sentence-element) identification by the CaSF – gender or aspect or location (in adverbs of place and time) – defined by the classifying semantic feature (CISF), which is subordinate to (*l*) a relative number (*x*) of the differentiating semantic features (DSF); the relativity of the number of the DSF is based on the role performed by the DSF, i.e. on the achievement of lexicosemantic differentiation of the lexemes within their common CISF.²³ The lexical structural meaning, originally defined by the CaSF, is based on the syntagmatic, i.e. subordinate relationship between the associative concepts of paradigmatic origin expressed by the CISF and DSF. The syntagmatic-paradigmatic aspect has been established as the basic constituent element in defining the lexical meaning.

The hierarchical two-degree relationship between the semantic features of lexemes (the CISF and the DSF), which the present discussion will remain limited to, therefore results from two different roles within the lexemic meaning: the CISF defines the meaning as to its position within the higher (and, in principle, directly superordinate) and thus more extensive conceptual and semantic field. A generalization of the meaning is possible until a pronoun or a verbal primitive (i.e. the lexical groups which denote only the CaSF) is used as the only possible CISF, e.g. *jazbečar* → *lovski pes* → *pes* → *domača žival* → *žival* → *bitje* → *kar biva /.../* [dachshund → hunting dog → dog → domestic animal → animal → being → what exists /.../].²⁴

In their basic roles, the semantic features establish semantico-structural lexical links. Thus, the CISF opens up possibility of lexico-semantic differentiation by means of semantic transition in terms of hypernymy or hyponymy (extension or intensification of meaning of the lexeme), and as an agent linking together the meanings of

²⁰ Adapted from Vidovič Muha (2000: 51–77).

²¹ However, as has been proven by cognitive semantics (Kleiber 1993: 77; Taylor 1995: 257–264), what is wider in abstract terms is not necessarily conceptually wider. A classification of conceptuality is needed already, for example, for the world of sciences and professions as opposed to the world outside these fields.

²² This formula has been further developed since the original publication in 1988 (Vidovič Muha 1988: 26).

²³ For more on the role of semantic features in the formation of the smallest and the largest conceptual and semantic fields, see *SLP* (especially pp. 59–64).

²⁴ A similar type of hierarchical structure of the lexicon in the form of tree diagram was put forward by Lyons (1980: 305–311). Of particular importance is the realization concerning the possibility of transition between individual lexemes which are hierarchically interrelated in terms of hypernymy or hyponymy.

the lexemes which are members of its conceptual-semantic field. The DSF, however, establish semantico-differentiating relations between the meanings of the lexemes sharing a common CISF, e.g. *pes*: *lovski pes* [dog : hunting dog] – the DSF are fixed with relation to *hišni pes*, *lavinski pes* [pet dog, avalanche dog], etc.; *hišni pes* [pet dog] – the DSF are fixed with relation to *lovski pes*, *lavinski pes* [hunting dog, avalanche dog], etc.

To sum up: the communicative power of the semantic features which make up a lexical semantic pattern depends on the position or on the role which these semantic features have in the conceptual-semantic structure of the lexeme, that is their power depends on the extensiveness of the conceptual-semantic field which they cover.²⁵

It can be deduced that the hyper-/hyponymic relation, or the super-/subordinate relation in the broad sense, remains the basic principle of the organization of the lexicon, reflecting the way of thinking or abstract processing and thus to a large extent also the actual organization of the real world. It is on this relationship that the lexical meaning is based, as is its metalinguistic expression – the paraphrase of two groups of hierarchically different semantic features: the CISF in the hypernymic role, and the DSF performing the role of lexicosemantic identification of concrete meanings of individual lexemes.

It is interesting that inter-dependent conceptual relationships (lexically expressed by hyper-/hyponymy) are eliminable not only within the abstract world of an individual lexemic meaning, but also between the senses of an individual polysemous lexeme. Thus, the motivated meaning of the lexeme *mož* [man] (synonymous with *moški* [male]), expressed in syntagms such as *Četa je štela dvajset mož* [The squad had twenty men], is included in the motivating meaning 'adult human being of male sex', yet it is undefined by semantic features. The CISF of the motivated meaning becomes the entire motivating meaning, i.e. 'mož' (CISF) with a new meaningful DSF 'as a member of a military unit'. Naturally, the semantic relationship presented here is also an interlexemic one, as in *Bor je iglavec* [A pine is a coniferous tree].

The hyper-/hyponymic relationship is, as expected, based on one-sided inclusion (Lyons 1980: 300–305). This can be proven by Halliday's identifying clauses (1994: 122) such as *Češnja je drevo* [A cherry is a tree] or *Jazbečar je lovski pes*; *Lovski pes je pes* [A dachshund is a hunting dog; A hunting dog is a dog], etc. The sentences are absolutely truthful statements, i.e. they are absolute in the sense of categorial unmarkedness for tense (present tense) as well as for mood (indicative). Understandably, the subject-predicator elements are not interchangeable, e.g. **Drevo je češnja* [*A tree is a cherry]. The concept of semantic inclusion, which is typical of the hypernymic lexeme, is based on the fact that the hypernym contains all the properties whose carriers appear on the level of hyponymic lexemes.

²⁵ The type of lexical meaning presented here is, naturally, a structural one. The validity of semantic structuralism has been further supported by the fact that the tenets of cognitive (lexical) semantic theory (whether on the prototypical level or on the level of the model of necessary and sufficient conditions) also indirectly support the findings of structural lexical semantics which seems to be able to largely reflect the structure of the real world through the structure of the language (more on this in Vidovič Muha 2000: e.g. 47–51).

1.2.3 The field of the lexicon of CISF and DSF

The semantic features CISF and DSF are part of both basic aspects of the structurally defined lexical meaning, the syntagmatic and the paradigmatic. The semantic features perform their meaning-formative and meaning-distinctive functions in all fields of the lexicon:

- (a) They differentiate between two basic designative groups, the common and the proper nouns. The former are, in principle, defined by their semantic feature structure, the latter by textual functionality, i.e. the designative quality pertaining to something or somebody individual.
- (b) They differentiate multi-word lexemes – set phrases – such as *rdeča mravlja* – (spoken) rdečka [red ant], *nedovršni glagol* – nedovršnik [progressive verb], *strojni inženir* – strojnik [mechanical engineer], from multi-lexemic free combinations, such as *rdeča bluza*, *zgornji sosed*, *očetov klobuk*, *drugi otrok (v družini)* [red blouse, the neighbour upstairs, father's hat, a second child (in the family)]. The former are identified by the fact that they are one single lexeme, with a semantic-feature structure identical to that which can be found in the meaning of the single word, the latter do not display this characteristic and always form a combination (a phrase) of at least two lexemes.
- (c) As units of lexical meaning they determine not only the identity, but to a great extent also the formalization of the type of semantic diversity, i.e. the types of polysemy of the lexeme. Therefore, in semantic inclusion, the entire motivating meaning appears as the CISF in the motivated meaning (cf., for instance, the example *mož* [man] above), in lexicalized synecdoche there is a rearrangement of the roles performed by the semantic features of the motivated meaning with respect to the motivating meaning (e.g. *hruška* [pear] (1) CISF tree, DSF with /.../ fruit, (2) CISF fruit, DSF of tree), in metonymy there is a new CISF introduced into the motivated meaning, while on the DSF level the entire semantic structure has motivating meaning (e.g. *svila* [silk] (1) CISF fibre, DSF by silkworm to make its cocoon, (2) CISF fabric, DSF from silk (1) (SLP: 111–157); in lexicalized metaphor, two types can be distinguished, whereby the conceptual world of the CISF of the motivating meaning is either retained in the motivated meaning or changed (e.g. (a) *klepetulja* [chatterbox] (1) CISF woman, DSF chatty, (2) pejorative any woman; (b) *osel* [ass] (1) CISF animal, DSF /.../, (2) pejorative CISF man, DSF /.../).
- (d) As to the meanings of different lexemes (SLP 157-186), we can distinguish carriers of:
 - (1) semantic equality – synonymy. In denotative meaning, synonymy can be defined as a phenomenon of overlapping semantic features both on selective and hierarchical levels, i.e. in the determination of the CISF with respect to the DSF, while the phonemic/graphemic forms remain different. In synonymy, we deal with references of different expressions sharing the same denotatum, e.g. *bab-i* – *bab-ica* – *stara mama* [gran – granny – grandmother],
 - (1a) semantic similarity, as in hypernymy, hyponymy, and parallel hyponymy or koehyponymy,
 - (2) semantic difference – antonymy. In Lyons' sense there is polar antonymy, defined by the so-called mean value, such as *velik* – (*srednji*) – *majhen* [big – (medium)

- small], complementary antonymy, such as *moški* – *ženska* [man – woman], vectorial antonymy, such as *priti* – *oditi* [come – go], conversive antonymy which affects the theme-rheme division, e.g. *dati* – *dobiti* [give – get]; heteronymy can also be counted here,
- (3) homonymy, which is characterized by the overlapping of the phonemic/graphemic forms with different meanings of at least two lexemes. These are references of identical expressions with different denotata, e.g. *boks* 'usnje', *boks* 'prostor', *boks* 'šport' [box 'box calf', 'cubicle', 'sport']. Unlike polysemy, no polysemic criteria (e.g. semantic inclusion, metonymy with synecdoche, metaphor) can be applied in these cases.
- (e) On the interlinguistic level the semantic features facilitate the identification of calques, both denotative calques and semantic ones. In the denotative calque, the denotatum is non-existent in the recipient language, while in the semantic calque, the calque makes possible a choice and a hierarchy of the semantic features of the donor language, e.g. *Wortschatz* – *besedni zaklad* : *besedišče* [vocabulary] or *Hochofen* – *visoka peč* : *plavž* [blast furnace] (*SLP* 11–17).

2 The position of CaSF in the semantic structure of the lexeme

2.1 On the metalinguistic level, the CaSF is built into the CISF, i.e. into the dictionary definition of the lexeme, whereby the transparency of the definitional syntactico-functional role of the CaSF is retained (e.g. the subject or the nominal CaSF remain nominal also on the level of the CISF). The metalanguage of the definition is a structural one: a subordinate (non-sentential) phrase with the CISF in its syntactic nucleus (e.g. *človek* [human] CISF *bitje* [being], DSF 'ki je sposobno misliti /.../' ['capable of thinking /.../']). When the original noun functions as the subject complement (e.g. *(Sosed) je (zelo) človek* [(The neighbour) is (very) human] where *human* appears as the meaningful part of the predicator), the verbal role of the original noun, now the predicative »noun«, is reflected in the dictionary metalanguage (to a certain extent also in the SSKJ) in the sentence-style dictionary definition, i.e. in the omission of the structural explanation with semantic features, as in *(Sosed) je človek* – *biti človek* '/Kdo/ izraža /izražati/ pozitivne vrednote koga' [(The neighbour) is human – be human '/Somebody/ expresses positive values of somebody else (the subject noun)]. However, within the CISF, the CaSF of gender is rendered irrelevant in the metalinguistic explanation of the noun, e.g. *moški* [man] 'oseba (CISF) moškega spola' [person (CISF) of male sex] or *drevo* 'rastlina /.../' [tree 'a plant /.../']). The aspectual distinction in the explanation of the verb, however, is retained, as in *brati* 'razpoznati (CISF) /.../' [read 'recognize (CISF) /.../'] versus *izbrati* 'odločiti se (CISF) /.../' [choose 'decide on (CISF) /.../'].²⁶

²⁶ It seems that word-formational morphematics plays a crucial role in preserving the type of the CaSF: both aspectual morphemes – the prefix and the suffix – have not only an aspectual, but also a word-formational role.

2.2 The nominal (subject) CaSF can be divided into two groups regarding the role performed by the CaSF in the semantic definition of the lexeme: they either completely take over the role of the CISF when this is a pronominal one, or (in all other cases) they tend to become part of the CISF, e.g. *učitelj* 'kdor (tisti, ki) /.../' [*teacher* 'that who /.../']. A similar pattern is to be observed, in principle, in all occupations, also interpersonal relationships, e.g. *prijatelj* 'kdor je s kom v iskrenem, zaupnem odnosu /.../' [friend 'that who is known well to another person and has an intimate relationship /.../'], *sovražnik* [enemy]. The relative pronoun *kdor* [who], marked human⁺ and itself of masculine gender, in fact relates only to designations of masculine gender, or, more precisely, the designations for male persons, e.g. *učitelj*, *sodnik*, *prijatelj* [teacher, judge, friend]. The gender identification is made possible only by analysing its primary components: *kdor* ← *tist-i/-a*, *ki* /.../[who ← 'that who /.../'], e.g. *natakarica* 'ženska, ki (tista, ki) /.../' [waitress 'a woman who (that who) /.../']. Everything that is unmarked for human is, where the function of the CISF is concerned, expressed by the relative pronoun *kar* [what] and formally of neuter gender: *kar* ← 'tisto, ki /.../' [what ← 'that which /.../']. Here belong all designations marked concrete, unless they are human, and abstract, e.g. *bitje* 'kar živi ali je mišljeno kot živo' [being 'what is alive or is perceived as alive'], *stvar* 'kar je, obstaja, ali se misli, da je, obstaja /.../' [thing 'what is, exists, or is perceived to be, exist /.../'], *stanje* 'kar je v kakem času določeno z dejstvi /.../' [state 'what is at a certain time determined by facts /.../'], *pojavnost* 'kar se kaže in je čutno zaznavno' [phenomenon 'what shows and can be perceived by the senses'], etc. When overlapping with the CaSF, the CISF denotes only the distinction between human⁺ and human⁻, i.e. *kdor* [who] vs. *kar* [what].

2.3 When the noun is used predicatively (as the subject complement), the CaSF of gender and with it other subject CaSF lose their roles or these become irrelevant since the gender information is expressed already by the noun functioning as the subject.²⁷ What was originally a noun (and is now a predicative »noun«) takes on verbal characteristics along with the copula; formally, this is reflected in the ability to undergo comparison: *Težko ga poslušam, je zelo učitelj-0* 'učiteljski, zelo uči-0' [I find it difficult to listen to him, he is very much a teacher 'teacher-like'] (Isačenko 1954: 358–382; Kozlevčar 1968).²⁸ The meaning of the noun functioning as the subject complement is limited to denoting qualities, actions, states (verbal meaning), while the meaning of the noun functioning as the subject denotes the carrier, the agent (of an action, quality, etc.).²⁹ The fact that the original noun when functioning as the subject complement

²⁷ Naturally, this cannot be described as unmarkedness for gender (cf. the following), but rather as redundancy of this category.

²⁸ Adjectives such as *učiteljski*, *človeški* [teacher-like, human] functioning as subject complements are originally qualitative, and appear as predicative adjectives only secondarily. In both cases they can be combined by the CaSF of degree: *zelo učiteljski*, *zelo človeški* [very teacher-like, very human]. Instances such as *(zelo) učitelj* [(very much) a teacher] functioning as the subject complement are, as can be expected, abstract, but are marked human⁺ in their original, subject function.

²⁹ In the denominal predicative »noun«, the (sub)category human (h⁺) also fails. This can be neatly illustrated by pronominal questions, e.g. *Kdo (č) je tvoj sosed*: *Kaj (č) je (dela) tvoj sosed* [Who (h⁺) is your neighbour: What (h⁻) is your neighbour (What does your neighbour do)]. The first question requires a subject as its answer, e.g. *Učitelj (je moj sosed)* [The teacher (is my neighbour)], while the second question requires a

forms part of the predicator is further proven by its inability to influence the agreement. As already established by Slovene grammars, the linking verb can be affected only by the noun functioning as the subject with its nominal categories, e.g. *Sosed je (bil) lisica* : *Lisica je (bila) sosed* [The neighbour is/was a (cunning) fox : The fox is/was the neighbour].³⁰

The lexicalization of, for example, metaphorical nominal meanings, that is the meanings of nouns which are per definition derived, proceeds in principle via the sentence, i.e. via the predicative »noun« or the subject complement function: *Direktor je (kot) osel* 'neumen kot osel' [The manager is (like) a donkey 'stupid like a donkey'].³¹ It is only when such a noun functions as the subject or, sometimes, the object (e.g. *S tem oslom se nima smisla pogajati* [There's no point in negotiating with this donkey], or *Samo osli so se strinjali* [Only the donkeys agreed]) that total lexicalization of the derived (motivated) meaning is achieved; the change of the (sub)category animate into the (sub)category human is the basis for a new, motivated meaning. Naturally, *lisica* [fox] as the (predicative – subject complement) designation for *sosed* [neighbour] does not automatically entail a change of the concept *neighbour* from human⁺ into human⁻ or into animate⁺. The original (subject) noun (e.g. *donkey* or *fox*), when functioning as the subject complement, is, like all predicative »nouns«, marked for (verbal) abstractness, i.e. abstract⁺. All predicative »nouns« can only be abstract. This is true even of those which are denominal, regardless of their original (nominal) categorial abstractness. They may denote an activity (*Sosed je učitelj* [The neighbour is a teacher]), a quality (*Sosed je lisica* [The neighbour is a (cunning) fox]), etc.

2.4 It has been made evident so far that the CaSF have an important role also within the semantic classification of the same lexeme. This is to be further elucidated in the following discussion.

Yet before we turn to issues concerning the influence of the CaSF on semantic diversity, we should clarify the relationship existing between markedness and unmarkedness relating to the CaSF of gender and other categorial properties, not necessarily the CaSF (Jakobson 1964: 347). In fact, it is necessary to distinguish between form and meaning (function) within the CaSF too. Thus, the CaSF linked to the masculine form can actually denote male gender or give no information at all on the gender. However, this latter option – the unmarkedness – should also be understood as the presence and not absence of the CaSF. The concept of unmarkedness thus equals the

subject complement, e.g. (*Moj sosed je učitelj*) [(My neighbour is) a teacher]. The (sub)category human (h⁺) corresponding to the pronoun *who* – is invalid for the »noun« functioning as the subject complement.

³⁰ It is also possible to consider aspectual qualities of the complex verb, its exterior, not just interior valency properties; more on this by Žele (2001: e.g. 143–147).

³¹ Only one anthropocentrically selected animal quality is singled out to denote a human being. In the subject complement function the human being is not (yet) fully identified with a (certain) animal. Correspondingly, the offensiveness of such lexemes is felt to be relatively low.



irrelevance of a certain category and not, for example, in the case of the masculine form, the absence of information on the feminine.³²

Within the present discussion, the influence of the CaSF on polysemy will be illustrated by several instances of primarily first-degree sentence elements, i.e. the subject-noun and the predicator-verb; the meanings of the (second-degree) adverb of exterior circumstances and the third-degree word-classes (adverbs of interior circumstances and adjectives) will be only touched upon.

2.4.1 The relationship between the CaSF animate and human, also between concrete (abstract⁻) and human, is to be taken as the point of departure in the analysis of polysemy based on the anthropocentric view, which can then function as a basis for metaphorical polysemy. Thus, the motivating meaning (1) is marked for the CaSF animate⁺, and the motivated meaning (2) for the CaSF human⁺, as in *osel* [donkey] (1) animate⁺ 'domača žival z dolgimi uhlji /.../' ['domestic animal having long ears /.../'] → (2) (conotative) perjorative human⁺ 'omejen, neumen človek' ['a stupid, silly person']. Also, the motivating meaning (1) is marked for concrete (abstract⁻), the motivated meaning (2) for human⁺, as in *hlod* [log] (1) concrete 'odžagano, debelejšo deblo brez vej' ['the trunk of a felled tree'] → (2) (conotative) perjorative human⁺ 'neroden, okoren človek' ['a clumsy person']. An instance of anthropocentricity in metonymical polysemy can be observed in: *violina* [violin] (1) concrete 'godalni instrument /.../' ['a bowed instrument /.../'] → (2) human⁺ 'violinist' ['a violinist'].³³

Countability as a CaSF of the subject is determined by the possibility of using cardinal numerals attributively, i.e. countable⁺ as opposed to countable⁻ if such attributes are not possible (MČ 2. 1986: 114). To this second group (countable⁻) belong mass and abstract nouns as well as nouns of multitude, e.g. *vino*, *moka*; *mladost*, *veselje*; *vejevje*, *srnjad* [wine, flour; youth, joy; branches; roe deer] (Toporišič 1976: 210). As for their countability, mass nouns denoting fruits are of interest syntactically. They are consistently uncountable when forming a (potential) base for mass adjectives, i.e. when they can be linked to the subject-complement function, e.g. *Sok (ki je) iz ananasa* → *ananasov* [juice (which is made) of pineapple → pineapple juice]³⁴; in all other cases these nouns can also be countable, e.g. *Dva krompirja sta gnila* [Two potatoes have gone bad] and *Dve drevesi se sušita* [Two trees have been withering] next to *Krompir je drag* [Potato is expensive] and *Sladkor je drag* [Sugar is expensive]. The

³² The statement made by Toporišič (2001: 266) that the »masculine gender« – probably the masculine form – »is grammatically unmarked as opposed to the feminine one« does not fit in with the concept of unmarkedness as presented above.

³³ All the examples cited have been taken from the *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika* [Dictionary of the Standard Slovene Language] (*SSKJ*) (1970, 1975, 1979, 1985, 1991).

³⁴ When denoting fruitage, the nouns appear in their plural form, and when denoting fruits in their singular form (for a comparison with Russian see Derganc 1991). Exotic fruits also take singular forms, e.g. *hruškov*, *jagod-ov/-ni*, *jabolč-ni (sok)* [pear, strawberry, apple (juice)] – *kivi(j)-ev*, *ananas-ov*, *mang-ov (liker)* [kiwi, pineapple, mango liqueur] – *krompir(j)-ev*, *fižol-ov*, *grah-ov (pire)* [potato, bean, pea puree] ← *sok (ki je) iz hrušk, jagod, jabolk* [juice (which is made) of pears, strawberries, apples] – *liker (ki je) iz kivija, ananasa, manga* [liqueur (which is made) of kiwi, pineapple, mango] – *pire (ki je) iz krompirja, fižola, graha* [puree (which is made) of potatoes, beans, peas].

taking on of the countable quality by what were originally uncountable nouns can motivate a new meaning, e.g. uncountable abstract noun (e.g. *lepota* [beauty] – *krhka lepota* [fragile beauty] 'quality'), when acquiring countability, becomes a concrete (abstract) noun, which can be further determined by the CaSF human denoting the carrier of the quality (e.g. *lepote z vsega sveta* [beauties from all over the world] 'beautiful women').

The person as a categorial property of the noun³⁵ is directly linked only to the first and the second persons – to the two active elements of a speech act in which there is always a human being defined by his/her personal proper name. The third person, however, can be anything that functions as the subject, in other words, everything that belongs to either common or proper nouns; however, in the case of personal proper names only if it is not identical to the first or the second person. In this sense the third person is semantically the most general (extensive) one, being determined by gender on the level of the CaSF. Declension has turned out to be the formal behaviour of the word within the text dependent on gender.³⁶

As was already hinted at earlier, abstractness is morphemically expressed in two semantic groups after the normal process of nominal derivation: in those where the suffixal formative expresses the propositional meaning (that of action, quality, state, e.g. *skok-0* [jump], *bel-ina* [whiteness], *hudob-ija* [evil]) or the meaning of temporal circumstances (that of time of action, time when something is, e.g. *že-tev* [harvest], *mlad-ost* [youth]). It has already been established that the denominal predicative »noun« can only be abstract; the opposition between concrete and abstract, so characteristic of nouns, is lost in the predicative »noun« derived from a noun with the CaSF concrete (abstract).

2.4.2 A peculiarity of the verb can be seen in the fact that the intention of the verbal action³⁷ as its CaSF is, unlike aspect, not expressed within the morphemic structure of the verb. The aspect, however, can be expressed by means of a prefix (perfective aspect) or a (verbal) suffix (progressive aspect).³⁸ The aspect as an overt lexico-categorial characteristic of the verb, as a CaSF of the verb affecting (like intention) the entire class of verbs, is therefore justifiably treated by dictionaries, including the

³⁵ An important issue here concerns the justification for the inclusion of person among the CaSF, i.e. among lexical units. Personal pronouns (apart from certain exceptions) as lexemes find their textual realization in the morphemic ending of the personal verbal form (e.g. *Piše-m* [I write]). This, however, does not affect their status as lexemes – deep-structure personal pronouns. From the personal verbal form results another rule which can be transferred to the lexicon in the form of CaSF, namely that all nominal words, including pronouns of the type *kdo, kaj* [who, what] are third-person pronouns (Toporišič 1976: 207). Changing this CaSF can bring about a change in lexical meaning.

³⁶ The logical classification of declension patterns according to gender (Toporišič 1976: 213–236) indirectly connects this categorial lexical property to gender.

³⁷ As is well known, verbal intention makes possible the potential valency ability of a verb as realized in a text – a sentence (Danež, Hlavsa a kol. 1981: 15; MČ, 3, 1987: 132–135; MČ, 3, 1987: 9–10, 22–37).

³⁸ Naturally, a change in aspectual characteristics (the formation of perfective and progressive verbal forms) can cause a change in valency qualities since aspectual morphemes are, in principle, also word-formational (formatives).



SSKJ, as a word-class label.³⁹ Furnished with the formal carriers – the verbal suffix or, in the case of word-formational function, the suffixal formative and the verbal prefixal formative – the aspect is the basis for a phenomenon which can usually be explained in word-formational terms, e.g. *pod-pisati* ← *pisati* [pod], [] 'spodaj' → *pod-*, *-pisati* [sign]. In a word-formationally explicable verbal suffix (concerning the value of the suffixal formative), the type of verbal action can be explained word-formationally, as in *dvig-ova-ti* ← [večkrat] *dvig[-ni]-ti*, [] → *-ova-(ti)*, *dvig-* [lift several times] to denote repetition of an action, but also termination of an action, e.g. [*delati*, *da*] *dvig[-ne]-mo*, [] → *-ova-(ti)*, *dvig-* [lift up].

The intention of the verbal action enables us to form sentence meaning by filling a minimal number of actant positions, i.e. by actualizing the left (subject) actant, thus forming the smallest possible text. Even the so-called synthetic sentence⁴⁰ such as *Grmi, Dežuje* [It thunders/rains] is the carrier of all categorial properties which define the predicator: it contains the CaSF of aspect and syntactic categorial properties such as tense *Je/Bo grmelo/deževalo* [It thundered/rained; It will thunder/rain] and mood *Bi grmelo/deževalo* [It would thunder/rain]. In these cases we can justifiably talk of an unexpressed, covert, or, even better, interior actant whose formal marker is the verbal ending in the third person singular.⁴¹

The valency ability (intention) of the verb is at least leftward, whereby the leftward actant can be, as already mentioned above, either an interior (covert, unexpressed) one, as in *Grmi* [It thunders] or an exterior (overt) one, as in (*Sosed*) *spi* [(The neighbour) sleeps]. Naturally, the actant can be also rightward, filling one, two or more positions, as in *zidati, kupiti komu kaj* [build/buy somebody something]. A change in verbal intention and thus a change in sentential valency behaviour of the verb can affect the verb already when an interior actant turns into an exterior one; the semantic-feature structure of the verb is consequently changed and thus also the polysemy of that verb. *Deževati: Zunaj dežuje* 'padati iz oblakov v obliki vodnih kapelj' – Vodne kaplje padajo (iz oblakov) : *Kamenje je kar deževalo* 'v veliki količini padati' – Kamenje pada [Rain: It is raining outside 'fall from the clouds in the form of drops of

³⁹ This statement, however, is valid for Slavic verbs which are capable of expressing not only relative (text-related) time, but also lexical time (language-systemic time).

⁴⁰ A synthetic sentence is a sentence which does not distinguish formally between place and time, i.e. between the meanings of the subject (nominal) and the predicator (verbal) in, for example, Indo-European languages; the term is used in the structuralist interpretation of the origin of language (Mikuš 1946; 1960). It is based on the understanding of the communicational role of the language as part of its origin: the language originally actualizes time and place, always in accordance with the communicational effect, i.e. regardless of the form of expression of both determining actualizations of existential reality (Vidovič Muha 1994).

⁴¹ The term »prisojevalna nevezljivost« [quasi-valency] of the Slovene verb (Toporišič 1992: 351) for the type *Grmi* [It thunders] was, following the Czech valency theory, developed by Žele (2001: 74–75; 2003: 11) into »formal sentence-forming relationship« »without a concrete person as a valency-related category« (2001: 75). For more on the relationship between meaning and sentence structure or, rather, on the relationship between the sentence-forming elements from the formal and semantic viewpoints see Karolak (2001: 117–1220). Žele also provides an excellent overview on valency treatment in Slovene linguistics and presents the theories developed by European valency schools, German, Czech, and Russian respectively (2000: 245–264; 2001: 21–69).

water' – Drops of water are falling (from the clouds) : The stones rained on everybody 'fall in large measure' – Stones were falling]. Another example can be cited here, that of verbs of sensory perception, which in their primary meaning, when denoting an ability or a characteristic of man for a certain activity (i.e. for being capable of perceiving, for example, with the sense of hearing or the eyesight), can be considered solely leftward-valency verbs; their valency changes when this ability is made concrete, e.g. *Otrok že sliši, vidi*; *Po operaciji spet vidi* : *Ga že vidim, slišim* [The child can already hear/see; After the operation he can see again : I can already see/hear him]. A more extensive group of such verbs can also include verbs of knowledge acquisition, i.e. know (learn something and then know it); in this case the ability can be regarded as a resultative state, e.g. *Otrok že plava, piše, bere* [The child can already swim/write/read], and as a realization of this ability with a possible rightward actant, as in *Ves dan samo bere, piše*; *Berem zanimivo knjigo* [He's been reading/writing all day; I'm reading an interesting book].

Interesting from the point of view of valency are also prefixed verbs whose prefixal formative has an adverb of place in its syntactic base.⁴² All these verbs are characterized by lexicalized adjunctive locative positioning, which is expressed in the syntactic base of such a verb by a free verbal morpheme which is, in principle, homonymous with the preposition, e.g. *Dim se po-leže* ← *leže po (čem)*, *po 'zgoraj* [The smoke settles]; *Neznanec v-stopi* ← *stopi v (kaj)*, *v 'noter* [The stranger enters]; *(Kdo) po-lije juho* ← *lije juho po (čem)*, *po 'zgoraj* [(Somebody) spills the soup]. The rightward actant or one of the rightward actants remains non-lexicalized in these cases; if needed, such an actant can be actualized in the text and is therefore a textual actant. Roughly speaking, at least two types of textual valency can be distinguished here: (1) The lexicalized locative meaning of the prefixal formative is realized in the text; in this case the prefixal formative, combined with a durative base, retains only its aspectual function, that is it gives the verb a perfective status, while its locative meaning is textually concretized in the form of a free verbal morpheme, e.g. *Dim se poleže po prostoru* [The smoke settles in the room], *vstopiti v*, e.g. *Neznanec vstopi v sobo* [A stranger enters the room], *politi po*, *(Kdo) polije juho po mizi* [(Somebody) spills the soup all over the table]; (2) The locative meaning of the prefixal formative is textually irrelevant for various reasons. In the text itself another free verbal morpheme with a locative meaning is concretized, e.g. *po-mesti (kaj) pod (stopnice)* [sweep (something) under (the stairs)], *za-/po-tlačiti (kaj) v (usta)* [stuff (something) into (the mouth)], i.e. *mesti (po čem) pod*, *tlačiti (za čem, po čem) v*. If the lexicalization of the locative meaning in the verbal prefixal formative becomes accepted, then it is also understandable that prefixed verbs can be poorer as to their valency patterns (e.g. ČM 1 1986: 392).⁴³

⁴² »Syntactic base is a term taken from word-formation; it can be defined as a non-sentential subordinate phrase (with foreseeable exceptions) whose lexical and grammatico-semantic components can be transformed into a meaningful combination of morphemes – a complex word (Vidovič Muha e.g. 1988: 183).

⁴³ An extensive treatment of valency change in prefixed verbs, also covering covert and overt rightward actants, can be found in Vidovič Muha (1993). Based on the material collected from the *SSKJ*, the treatise

2.4.3 As for the CaSF, only adverbs denoting exterior circumstances of the verbal action, i.e. of place and time, remain of interest as second-degree sentence elements. As already established, both sub-groups belong entirely to the propositional components of the sentence and act as carriers of the categorial feature or, more precisely, of the CaSF.⁴⁴ An adverb of exterior circumstances makes possible a spatial and temporal positioning of the verbal action; this positioning can be lexically concretized if the adverb has been derived from, in principle, a prepositional noun, e.g. (*Stanuje*) *doma* 'na domu' [(He lives) at home 'in his home']; (*Dela*) *ponoči, zvečer* 'v noči, večeru – ko je noč, večer' [(He works) nights/evenings 'at night/in the evening – when there is night/evening'], or it can be dependent on the elements of the speech act or the context, e.g. *tu* – *Naj ostane tu* 'kjer je govoreči' [here – Let him stay here 'where the speaker is'], *sedaj* – *Sedaj ne utegne* 'v trenutku govorjenja' [now – He can't do it now 'at the moment of speaking']. Locative adverbs whose meanings depend on the location of the speaker or the contextual circumstances can be either overt or covert. In principle, only the overt ones can combine with adverbs of degree and motivate the adjective, e.g. *čisto zgoraj, spodaj* – *čisto zgornji, spodnji* [at the very top/bottom – the very top/bottom one]. Covert locative adverbs can be used as free verbal morphemes, forming with the verb either a lexicalized or a free word combination (see also Žele 2001: 82–101), e.g. *biti ob denar* 'zgubiti ga : *biti ob drevesu* 'zraven drevesa' ['lose the money : be/stand next to the tree'], or, as was exemplified earlier, they can also be used as verbal prefixal formatives, e.g. *na-sesti* ← *sesti na, na* 'zgoraj' ['to strand/get stranded'].

2.4.4 The degree or the ability to undergo comparison affects the nuclei of both developing, i.e. modifying, sentence elements (the semantic group of qualitative adverbs and qualitative adjectives), and affects the complementary (subject complement) predicative »noun/adjective« in its entirety.

Seen from the lexico-categorial, i.e. sentence-functional, perspective, two sub-groups should be distinguished in adverbs: firstly, there is the adverb functioning as the developing sentence element, a kind of »modifier« of the verbal action, and expressing interior circumstances of the verbal action; secondly, there is the adverb expressing exterior circumstances. The modifying adverbs can only be used next to the verb, e.g. *dobro/lepo pisati* [write well/nicely], or, if they are adverbs of degree,

deals with the valency relationship between a verb with a prefixal formative, a syntactic-base verb with an obligatory free verbal morpheme, and a verbal simplex without a free morpheme. Additionally, there are two monographs by Žele (2001; 2003) which treat valency in Slovene in general and verbal valency in particular, covering an exceptional amount of material. Žele, however, builds her work on sentential semantic-structural patterns where free verbal morphemes are also taken into account. However, an approach which would reach beyond the sentence and include both typological patterns presented above within the so-called obligatory valency (e.g. 2001: 89–94; 2003: 34–35) in terms of lexicalization, i.e. semantic abstraction, might prove more useful.

⁴⁴ Both place and time are also propositional elements in terms of word-formational meaning, just like the predicate and the potential first, fourth, and sixth actants. In the *SSKJ* they are treated as independent entries with an explicit word-class label, unlike qualitative and classifying adverbs, which are derived from adjectives and treated as sub-entries of the corresponding adjectives.

next to all word-classes which can denote a different dimension, intensity of something, for example of activity in a verb (*močno/zelo jokati* [cry hard/bitterly]), of quality in an adjective (*zelo dober (človek)* [a very good (man)]), of degree of activity in an adverb (*zelo/čisto malo (jokati)* [(cry) very little]), of degree of quality, state, etc. in a predicative »noun/adjective« (*zelo/precej všeč, (biti) zelo/precej človek, (biti) zelo/precej mraz/mrzlo* [very/quite likeable, (be) very/rather human, (be) very/rather cold]), etc. As developing elements of an adjective or another adverb they can also be transformed into the (modification) ending of an adjective or an adverb as in *bolj lep – lep-ši, bolj lepo – lep-še, izredno lep – pre-lep* [more pretty – prettier; more prettily; extraordinary pretty – prettiest]. The adverbs developing the verb originate from qualitative adjectives, e.g. *lepo pisati* [write nicely], or from proper classifying adjectives, e.g. *ambulantno pregledati* [manage as outpatient].⁴⁵ Only qualitative adverbs can undergo comparison if their original qualitative adjectives allow comparison.

In the research of adjectival modifiers another phenomenon, interesting from the lexico-semantic aspect, is to be pointed out. The qualitative adjective can assume the ability to express degree: its denotatum is identical to the denotatum of the adverb of degree. An adjective of this type formally retains its adjectival characteristics, e.g. agreement,⁴⁶ semantically, however, it can express only the highest degree of the quality denoted by the nominal headword. In fact, it performs the role of an adverb of degree and, as such, cannot be used predicatively functioning as a subject complement, e.g. *čista laž, golo dejstvo, pravi konstrukt* [absolute lie, bare fact, blatant construct]; these combinations resist transformation into **Laž je čista* [*The lie is absolute], etc.⁴⁷

3 Concluding thought

It is important for the lexical meaning which can be represented structurally that individual syntactic functions are determined by the categorial semantic features which are realized by word-classes. Both the lexicon and the grammar have proven themselves to be metalinguistic fiction of what is, in fact, an inseparable whole called the language.

V angleščino prevedla
Eva Sicherl.

⁴⁵ It is questionable whether the so-called classifying adverbs (derived from classifying adjectives proper) can be regarded as those denoting interior circumstances of a verbal action; these adverbs have, like the corresponding adjectives, been derived from locative adverbial phrases, e.g. *ambulantno pregledati* 'pregledati v ambulanti' [manage as outpatient 'treat in the doctor's office']. This issue remains open.

⁴⁶ Agreement is a (syntactic) categorial property of the adjective; this is the ability of the adjective to take over the CaSF of gender and syntactic categorial properties of number and case from the nominal headword, which makes this a dependent relationship. In adjectives, therefore, it is necessary to distinguish their intrinsic categorial properties from the acquired ones.

⁴⁷ For more on the nominal phrase, particularly that with the adjectival modifier and on adjectives in general, cf. several treatises by Vidovič Muha (e.g. 1981, 1988a, 2000: 62–75); see also *SLP* (75–77) for an attempt to make a semantic classification of adverbs.



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POVZETEK

1 Kategorialne lastnosti kot prvine slovarskega pomena, se pravi kot kategorialne pomenske sestavine, je mogoče prepoznavati v zvezi s posebnim tipom denotativnega pomena leksemov in besedotvornega pomena tvorjenk: v prvem primeru gre za razmerje med stavčnočlenskimi vlogami leksike in strukturno določenim denotativnim pomenom, v drugem za t. i. propozicijski besedotvorni pomen.

1.1 Pri besedotvornem pomenu izhajamo iz dejstva, da je mogoče priponske (obrazilne) morfeme določene množice tvorjenk razlagati kot pretvorbene variante prvin pomenske podstave (propozicije) stavčno zgrajene povedi; tako je povedje v podstavi dejanja, lastnosti, stanja, delovalniki (aktanti) v podstavi vršilca dejanja, nosilca lastnosti, stanja (razločevalno glede na kategorijo živosti), rezultata in sredstva dejanja, okoliščine kraja in časa pa v podstavi mesta, časa dejanja, mesta, kjer je kdo kaj, časa, ko je kdo, kaj. Število in vrste propozicijskih sestavin določajo torej tudi število in vrste besedotvornih pomenov, zato v tem primeru govorimo lahko o kategorialnem ali propozicijskem besedotvornem pomenu.

1.2 Denotativni pomen in s tem tudi njegova metajezikovna predstavitev (razlaga) izhaja iz treh različnih tipov denotatov:

(a) Za strukturalno pomenoslovje so posebej zanimive stavčnočlenske besedne vrste – samostalniška in glagolska beseda, prislovna beseda zunanjih okoliščin (kraj, čas), prislovna beseda notranjih okoliščin, pridevniška beseda in povedkovnik. Njihov denotat je določen s kategorialnimi pomenskimi sestavinami (KPS), ki definirajo posamezne stavčnočlenske vloge. Besedne vrste kot realizatorke posameznih stavčnih členov, se pravi kot nosilke KPS, omogočajo temeljno slovarskopomensko razvrščanje leksemov. – KPS so podlaga za paradigmatična (asociativna) razmerja, ki izhajajo iz predvidljivih sintagmatskih povezav tako na ravni opredelitve samega pomena, kjer gre za razmerje med uvrščevalnimi in razločevalnimi pomenskimi sestavinami (UPS in RPS), kot večpomenskosti s pomenotvornimi tipi – pomenska vsebovanost, metonimični in sinekdohični pomen ter metaforični pomen – in medleksemskih povezav, ločenih na podlagi zgradbe jezikovnega znaka na pomenska in izrazna razmerja – sompomenskost, protipomenskost, nad-/podpomenskost, enakoizraznost, če naštejemo samo glavne.

(b) Denotati leksemov so leksikalizirana govorna dejanja, katerih izrazna podoba je lahko zakrita – medmeti in del členkov – ali izražena stavčna poved oz. stavek, npr. različni govorno-vedenjski vzorci v leksikaliziranih pragmatičnih okoliščinah.

(c) Razmerji v jeziku – prirednost, podrednost – sta denotat slovnichopomenskih besednih vrst – veznika in predloga.

2 Kategorialnost slovarskega denotativnega pomena izhaja iz spoznanja, da temeljna klasifikacija besednih vrst temelji na stavčnočlenskih vlogah, se pravi na potencialnem (minimalnem) besedilu. Besedne vrste so torej odprta, dinamična metajezikovna sistemizacija stavčnih členov, s slovarskega vidika določenih s kategorialnimi pomenskimi sestavinami. Spreminjanje KPS v smislu različnosti stavčnočlenskih vlog leksema pomeni hkrati tudi spreminjanje leksikalnega pomena.

2.1 Samostalniška beseda, če je v definicijski osebkovi vlogi, je nosilka prakategorije spola, tudi človeškosti, živosti, pojmovnosti, števnosti – pogoj za skladenjsko kategorijo števila, sklanjatve – pogoj za skladenjsko vlogo sklona, in osebe. Prehod samostalnika med povedkovnike – (slovarsko)pomensko vlogo glagola v povedku – pomeni izgubo relevantnosti spola in pridobitev kategorialnih lastnosti (zloženega) glagola v povedku, kot so vid in vezljivost, na ravni skladenjskih kategorij pa časa, naklona; stopnjevanje zaznamuje tudi iz samostalnika nastali povedkovnik, npr. *Je zelo učitelj, zelo človek*.

2.2 Vid in intencnost – potencialna vezljivost – sta slovarski KPS glagola. Glede potencialne vezljivosti velja omeniti, da ima t. i. leva vezljivost lahko tudi notranji aktant v tipu *Grmi*. Zanimivost s predponskim obrazilom tvorjenih glagolov izhaja iz leksikalizacije krajevnega



prislovnega pomena predpanskega obrazila, npr. *v-stopiti* ← *stopiti v*, v 'noter'. Če se leksikaliziran pomen predpanskega obrazila aktualizira v besedilu, ohrani predpansko obrazilo samo vidsko vlogo (na nedovršniški podstavi), npr. *po-liti po mizi*, če pa pomen predpanskega obrazila besedilno ni aktualen, se v besedilu konkretizira kateri izmed drugih prostih glagolskih morfemov s pomenom krajevnosti, npr. *za-/po-tlačiti* (*za čim, po čem tlačiti*) *kaj v odprtino*. Leksikaliziranost krajevnoprislovnega pomena predpanskega obrazila lahko povzroči vezljivostno osiromašenje glagola oz. spremembo vezljivosti glede na netvorjeni glagol, npr. *grmovje raste pod /.../*: *Grmovje pod-raste*.

2.3 Prislovi kraja in časa sodijo tako kot samostalniške in glagolske besede med pozicijske sestavne. Zanimiva je njihova izrazna podoba: kot prosti glagolski morfemi ali kot predpanska obrazila se lahko pojavljajo načeloma le v krajevnoprislovnem pomenu, npr. *v-stopiti, stopiti v*. Kot prislovna določila kraja, časa pa so pomensko dvovrstni, slovarskopomensko samostojni, npr. *doma*, ali odvisni od prvin govornega dejanja – krajevni od mesta nahajanja govorečega, časovni od trenutka govorjenja oz. sobesedila, npr. *tu; sedaj*.

3 Vprašanja skladenjskih vlog so se izkazala tudi kot osrednja vprašanja strukturalno določenega slovarskega pomena: kategorialne slovnične lastnosti so hkrati tudi kategorialne pomenske sestavine skladenjskofunkcijsko določene množice besed – besednih vrst.