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On Lexicalized Valency and the Valency of (New) Complex Verbal Formations in Slovenian

Prispevek v okviru novejših glagolskih tvorjenk v slovenščini, obravnava pojav t. i. leksikalizirane valence in posledično vse bolj prevladujoče tožilniške vezave v slovenščini, kar lahko tudi nakazuje, da povečana skladenjskopomenska neodvisnost glagolov poenostavlja skladnjo.

The paper considers the matter of so-called lexicalized valency within the framework of new complex verbal formations in Slovenian, and in consequence, the increasingly dominant accusative valency in the language, which can also indicate that the extension of semantic verbal independence simplifies the syntax.

0 Introduction

Lexicalized valency can only be discussed if a noun, which is in the role of a verbal root, was used before such a formation in a particular language, in this case, Slovenian.¹ Borrowed nouns in the syntactic and word-formational base are characteristic of new verbal formations in Slovenian. Only the verbs as verbal simplex are derived from the syntactic base, and add to the new verbal formation a type of verbal action.²

¹ Considering the semantic scope of verbal formations and compounds, it is possible to deduce that the scope of their semantic features represents higher semantically specialized verbs and their semantic interpretation given in dictionaries, including verbal primitives as semantically wakened verbs and the most frequent basic verbs (*narediti/delati* [to make/to do], *imeti* [to have], *biti* [to be]; *vzeti* [to take], *spremeniti* [to change], *igrati (se)* [to play], *govoriti* [to speak], *gledati* [to look], *iti* [to go]/*priti* [to come]).

² The explanatory words along with other valent, semantic features in the lexicological sense (also on the expressive level), are represented by semantically basic verbs *bivati* [to stay], *čutiti* [to feel]; *govoriti* [to speak], *misliti* [to think], *gledati* [to look]; *delovati* [to work/to operate], *deti* [to put], *vzeti* [to take], *igrati (se)* [to play]; *spreminjati (se)* [to change]; *iti* [to go], *hoditi* [to walk]. These verbs retain the type of state/action/process (s/d/p) due to their wide semantic field, and are therefore also considered to be the main representatives of separate verbal valency groups. A special subgroup of basic verbs consists of elementary verbs of basic life processes/actions, and natural phenomena. Basic and elementary verbs function as lexical semantic features, whereas primitives (*biti* [to be], *imeti* [to have], *delati* [to do]) function as

Ju. Apresjan (1995: 131) explicitly mentions this sort of valency, and believes that it is in the very nature of every lexeme, including the verb, to have its grammatical potential, which is reflected both in the meaning (along with word-formational abilities), and in the co-existence with various aspectual-temporal settings (Храковский 2007: 77).

If verbal derivatives with (mainly borrowed) nouns in the base morpheme are taken into account, this phenomenon can best be described as verbal derivation. Such frequent derivatives include verbs ending in *-irati*, which are susceptible to aspectual neutralization, the latter showing more clearly than otherwise the lexical and syntactic influence on the act of determining the verbal aspect of a concrete verbal meaning.

Why is the need for the bivalent pattern with the accusative valency predominant? It can express all participant roles, so that, from the point of view of cause-consequence, its tendency to appear is the least risky to predict. In other words, only the accusative valency is capable of stabilizing those semantic valences that are ordinarily uneven. The following statements support this idea. From the lexicological point of view, each semantically and syntactically productive lexeme develops its semantic valency, and is fully developed in the syntactico-semantic sense when it is derived and has reached the full potential of verbal valency;³ however, the verbal lexeme first chooses the most neutral, or rather, the most unmarked case form, the accusative.⁴

– From the syntactic point of view, the principal goal of syntactico-semantic language economy is to reach the optimal minimum of the clause pattern, represented by a verb's nominative-accusative valency, e.g., *He is buying an apartment*. The fact that the accusative valency has become more frequent has to do with the extension of the action's causation, or rather, the stress placed upon the cause of the action, not the action itself.

– The direct or non-prepositional accusative supplies the verb with additional

word-formational semantic features: *govoriti* [*to speak*] (lexical semantic feature) *vi* [*you*] / *delati* [*to do*] (word-formational SF) *vi* [*you*] > *vikati* [*to address someone formally*], *iti* [*to go*] (lexical SF) *kot štokrlja* [*as a stork*] / *delati* [*to do*] (word-formational SF) *kot štokrlja* [*as a stork*] > *štorkljati* [*to tramp*] *spremeniti* [*to change*] (lexical SF) *v kapital* [*into capital*] / *delati* [*to do*] (*dati* [*to give*]) (word-formational SF) *v kapital* [*into capital*] > *kapitalizirati* [*to capitalize*], *gledati* [*to look*] (lexical SF) / *delati* [*to do*] (word-formational SF) *srepa* [*staring*] > *srepeti* [*to stare*], *vzeti* [*to take*] (lexical SF) *za plen* [*for pray*] / *narediti* [*to do*] (word-formational SF) *za plen* [*for pray*] > *zapleniti*, *igrati* [*to seize, to play*] (lexical SF) (*na*) *citre* [*the zither*] / *delati* [*to do*] (word-formational UPS) *na citre* > *citirati* [*to play the zither*]). Explained in detail by A. Vidovič Muha (2000).

³ According to Miroslava Sokolová (Miroslava Sokolová, 1993), the following semantic characteristics of the verb need to be considered along with the attained semantic valency: 1) division (according to the amount of participants), 2) actuality (static/dynamic course), 3) mutation (active or non-active changes depending on the presence or absence (without the doer), activity (according to the presence or absence of the doer).

⁴ From the point of view of a verb's tendency to appear, the accusative valency is by far the most neutral (Dular 1983a: 283). In other cases, the accusative is unmarked (Dular 1983b: 191).

information, new content, or goals, which can therefore always be added to the lexicalized content or goal, as long as clauses remain logical, e.g., *etiketirati blago* (to label goods), *garažirati avto* (to put a car in a garage). The repeated possibility for accusative valency makes it unmarked, or rather, neutral.

– The predominance of the direct accusative valency can be explained both from the point of view of clausal meaning and participant roles. The predominance of verbs with semantic elements of treating/managing/creating, change and speaking is therefore directly connected to the accusative valency.

– The lexicalization of a given participant role within the framework of the same syntactico-semantic pattern makes possible another valency of the same role. This would normally not be possible, as duplication of the same participant roles in the same valent surroundings is not considered reasonable or acceptable (Fillmore 1968: 24–25).

– What is caused by an action typically calls for direct accusative valency, and, if lexicalization is excluded, so does the relative object in the accusative case, along with the recipient in dative. Meanwhile the content, means and goal often lexicalize into a verb. In the opposite case, the content and the goal are expressed with the accusative. The means of an action, e.g., *posipati pesek / posipati s peskom* (to sand / to sprinkle with sand), rarely occur in the accusative valency.

– Semantically specialized verbal derivatives and coinages are usually capable of binding more complex accusative nucleuses.

In the sense of systemic economy, the language seeks for optimal word-formation and verbal derivation, which directly reflects the maximum word-formational and semantic use of the verb. This consequently enables the most neutral and simple valent realizations, such as the accusative valency, which indirectly confirms the importance and influence of syntactic word-formation.

1 About lexicalized valency

In addition to the valency of newly formed verbal derivatives, a question arises regarding the valency of motivating derived nouns, enabling these verbal derivatives. As participants of the syntactic-base verbal valency, these nouns are normally capable of expressing a fairly strong proper tendency or valency. It is perfectly ordinary that the most commonly used nouns also participate in verbal derivation, as their frequent usage calls for, and shapes a particular valent, as well as syntactic setting, most precisely expressed with verbal valency.

As might be expected, the newly formed verbal derivatives are semantically rather specialized. Similarly, it can be presumed that the change of a particular verbal meaning will bring about changes in verbal valency. Those newly formed verbal derivatives normally include both prepositional and semantic characteristics (agent of an action, means of an action, spatial and temporal participants) in their meaning

and meaning-forming ability, all the while simplifying the syntax. This type of verbal derivation introduces rightward monovalence, including the prevalent accusative valency (in the sense of the affected and content/goal; see examples in Dular 1983/4: 292). Rightward bivalence is not as common, and, even if it does occur, one of the participant roles remains optional.

The most typical denominal derivatives with a narrowed valency field (with the participant already in the base) are *krampati* (*to pickax / to pick*), *plužiti* (*to plough*), *bobnati* (*to drum*); *načelovati* (*to chief*), *sestankovati* (*to assemble*), *taboriti* (*to camp*), etc.⁵

Verbs not yet included in the *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika* (*Dictionary of Standard Slovenian*) display a strong tendency for both prepositional and non-prepositional accusative valency. J. Dular (1983/4: 292) observed the very beginnings of the tendency in the first half of the eighties and suggested that lexicalized valency be named “systemic reduction”, representing valent reduction.

The meaning of the syntactic-base verb preferentially determines the non-valency or valency of the newly formed verbal derivative according to its valent ability. Verbs with a basic meaning denoting state, process, expression and movement, which are included in the base of the future verbs, normally fill up the semantics of the complex verbal formation with the help of a base agent, e.g. *beračiti*, *čevljariti* (*to beg, to make shoes*) < biti berač/čevljar (*to be a beggar/shoemaker*), *moževati* (*to socialize with men*) < družiti se z možmi (*to associate with men*), *službovati* (*to have a job*) < imeti službo (*to have a job*), *beketati* (*to bleat*) < oglašati se z be (*to go baa*), *akati* (*to pronounce the sound “a”*) < govoriti a (*to pronounce the sound “a”*), *basirati* (*to sing bass*) < peti bas (*to sing bass*), *sankati se* (*to sleigh*) < voziti se s sankami (*to sleigh*).

The most often lexicalized agent, means, and content in denominal verbs preferentially predict the possibility of accusative valency first of the affected-object accusative, and then the (non-prepositional/prepositional) accusative indicating the goal of an action. In every case, the affected-object accusative takes priority due to its frequency, and is followed by the content accusative, the accusative indicating the goal of an action, the relative accusative, and the recipient dative.

Due to its frequent usage, the base and the lexicalized agent (*dekanovati* [*to be a dean*]) < biti dekan, *čebelariti* [*to be a dean, to keep bees*]) < biti čebelar, along with content (*esejizirati* [*to write essays*]) < pisati eseje, *ampakovati* [*to say “but”*]) < govoriti ampak, *anketirati* [*to survey*]) < izvajati anketo, *grafitirati*; in this way also: [*to draw graffiti*], *kofetkati* [*to go for coffee*], *božičevati* [*to celebrate Christmas*], *kresovati* [*to celebrate Midsummer Day*], *letovati* [*to vacation*]) most often

⁵ In order to maintain the systematic nature of syntactic word-formation, A. Vidovič Muha (1985: 50) indicates that there are examples of verbal derivatives, where the meaning of a noun enables a more thorough, or rather, a more concrete semantic definition of the (base) verb *delati* (*to work/do*), such as *bakriti* (*to copper*) – prevleči, namazati z bakrom (*to coat with copper*), *fižolčkati* (*to play with beans*) – igrati se s fižolčki (*to play with beans*), etc.

enable non-valent usage, as opposed to the goal, which takes the accusative valency (*familizirati* koga/kaj [to familiarize somebody/something], *pomokati* kaj [to flour something] < *namočiti* v moko [to dip into flour], *barokizirati* kaj [to reshape something into baroque] < *predelovati* v barok [to reshape something into baroque], also: *hospitalizirati* [to hospitalize]), as do the means (*vatirati* kaj [to cotton something] < *oviti* z vato / v vato kaj [to wrap something in cotton], also: *olistati* vozila [to ticket cars], *popeskati* [to sand/to sprinkle with sand] < *posuti* s peskom), and the spatial-temporal setting (*garažirati* avto [to put a car in a garage]).

Examples of vocabulary items not yet included in the Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika – indicated in the base of the complex verbal formation is the possible valency of the noun which already exists in the base of the future verbal formation (noun valency is shown after the example, in italics):

- antioksidirati* 'biti/delovati kot antioksidant' Nobena krema ne odpravlja ničesar – le vlažijo, hranijo, *antioksidirajo*; *antioksidant* v (to antioxidantize 'be/act as an antioxidant' No cream eliminates anything – it only moisturizes, nourishes, **antioxidizes**; *antioxidant* in);
- desničariti* 'biti/delovati kot desničar' **Desničari**, kjer ga še prenašajo; further examples: *levičariti*, *tračariti*, *vinariti*, *vrtičkariti* (to right-wing 'to be/act as a right-wing' He **right-wings** where they still put up with him; further examples: to left-wing, to gossip, to occupy oneself with wine-growing, to garden);
- botrovati* 'biti boter' Nesreči je *botroval* alkohol; further examples: *menedžirati* ('to be responsible for' Alcohol **was responsible for** the accident; further examples: to manage);
- piknikirati* 'biti na pikniku' **Piknikirali** so že vsepovsod na tem področju (to picnic 'to be on a picnic' They have **picnicked** everywhere around this area);
- dopustovati* 'preživljati dopust / biti na dopustu' **Dopustuje** kar doma, s svojimi. (to holiday 'to spend a holiday / to be on a holiday' He **holidays** at home, with his own);
- balirati* 'delati bale' Želite **balirati** komunalne odpadke in ovijati bale v folijo?; (to bale 'to make bales' Do you wish to **bale** municipal waste and wrap the bales in foil?); further examples: *kapsulirati*, *tabletirati* (to put something in a capsule, to tablet);
- dizajnirati* 'delati dizajne' **Dizajnira** vse vrste izdelkov (to design 'to make designs' He/She **designs** all sorts of products);
- dvoklikniti* 'narediti dva klika' Na ikono je vsakič **dvokliknil** (to double-click 'to click twice' He **double-clicked** the icon every time);
- alocirati* 'določiti lokus' Procesi morajo zahtevati in *alocirati* vse vire (to allocate 'to determine the locus' The processes must require and **allocate** all sources);
- arbitrirati* 'določiti arbitra' Ustavno sodišče je bilo pri odločanju v težkem položaju, saj je moral **arbitrirati**, ali bodo v konkretnem primeru nastale protiustavne posledice; *arbiter* v, *arbiter* o, *arbiter* med, *arbiter* pri (to arbitrate 'to choose/determine an arbitrator' The constitutional court was in a difficult position while making the decision, because it had to **arbitrate** whether there would be unconstitutional consequences in that particular case; *arbiter* in, *arbiter* for, *arbiter* at the time of, *arbiter* with);
- centralizirati* 'dati v center' *Centralizirali* so državno upravo; further examples: *fokusirati*, *getizirati*, *kantonizirati* (to centralize 'to draw to a center' They **centralized** state administration; further examples: to focus, to ghetto, to canton);
- ekranizirati* 'dati na ekran' Igro so **ekranizirali** (to screen 'to project on a screen' The play was **screened**; further examples: *inkubirati* (to incubate);

- energizirati 'dajati energijo' **Energizirali** so svoje storitve v celoti; *energija za* (to energize 'to provide with energy/to give energy to something' They wholly **energized** their services; *energy for*);
- aerirati 'ozračiti, vnašati aer' Zaradi zadostne koncentracije raztopljenega kisika, vode ni potrebno *aerirati*; *aer v* (to aerate 'to expose to air/to supply with oxygen' Due to its sufficient concentration of dissolved oxygen, water does not have to be **aerated**; *air in*);
- akcentirati 'poudariti, dati akcent' **Akcentirali** so ugotovitev; *akcent na* (to accentuate 'to stress/to give emphasis to' They **accentuated** the statement; *accent on*);
- razcvetkati – 'dati cvetove raz /narazen/' Kadar cvetačo pred termično obdelavo *razcvetkamo*, jo skušamo razdeliti na enakomerno velike cvetke, ki se enakomerno skušajo (to deflower – 'to split into small florets/to split the florets' When we **deflower** a cauliflower before boiling it, we try to split it into equally sized florets to ensure even cooking);
- razhroščiti – 'dati hrošča raz /stran/' Če program ne dela, ohranite mirno kri in ga poskusite »razhroščiti«, in poskusite razhroščiti tudi videokasete (to debug 'to remove a bug' If the program does not work, remain calm and try to **debug** it, and also, try to debug the videocassettes);
- certificirati 'izdati certifikat' Uporabijo certifikacijski znak za označevanje proizvodov, ki jih je treba *certificirati*; **certifikat za/o** (to *certify* 'to issue a certificate' They use a **certification mark to label the products which need to be certified**; **certify for/of**);
- čekirati 'izdati ček' Če bi res rad pregledal vse v nulo bi moral vse razdirati in *čekirati*...to pa ne gre, pa kateri lastnik ti bo dovolil; *ček za* (to check 'to issue a check' If you would really like to examine everything thoroughly, you would have to break everything apart and **check** it ... and that would not work ... which owner would let you do that; *check for*);
- cestniniti 'pobirati cestnino' Začeli so *cestniniti* tovorna vozila na pomurskem avtocestnem kraku; *cestnina za* (to toll 'to collect something as toll' They began **tolling** cargo vehicles on the Pomurje motorway section; *toll for*);
- amandmirati 'tvoriti, oblikovati amandmaje' Praktično bodo spoznali, kako *amandmirati* predloge in jih obrazložiti; *amandma o/k* (to amend 'to make, draft amendments' They will come to know how to **amend** proposals and expound them; *amendment about/to*);
- evangelizirati 'oznanjati/uvajati evangelij' **Evangelizirajo** okolje; further examples: kriminalizirati (to evangelize 'to preach/spread the gospel' They are **evangelizing** the area; further examples: to criminalize);
- ateizirati 'uveljaviti ateizem' Nameravajo z različnimi načrtnimi postopki družbene prevzgoje *ateizirati* ves narod in vso družbo; *ateizem v*, *ateizem kot* (to atheize 'to enforce atheism' They intend to **atheize** the whole nation and the whole society with various planned methods of social re-education; *atheism in*, *atheism as*);
- biotržiti 'uveljavljati biotrg' **Biotržiti** pomeni biti v navezi z pridelovalci bio- in ekoizdelkov; *biotrg z* (biomarketing 'enforcing the biomarket' **Biomarketing** stands for the cooperation with producers of bio- and eco-products; *biomarket with*);
- blogati 'pisati blog' Za zaposlene v določenih podjetjih bi bilo koristno, da začnejo *blogati*; *blog o/za*; further examples: esejizirati, grafitirati, haikuirati (to blog 'to write a blog' It would be useful for employees of certain companies to start **blogging**; *blog about/for*; further examples: to write essays, to draw graffiti, to write haiku);
- čipirati 'uporabiti čip' Pes je bil star že leto dni, z vsemi cepljenji ... in so mi ga *čipirali* zastonj; *čip za* (to chip 'to use a chip' The dog was already one year old, and had had his shots, so they **chipped** him for free; *chip for*);
- deodorirati 'uporabljati deodorant' No, umivati in *deodorirati* se je seveda treba; further examples: fenati, sprejati, lisičiti, injektirati, forverdirati, googlati/guglati, petardirati, skenirati

- (‘to use deodorant’ Well, you have to wash yourself and **use deodorant**; further examples: to blow-dry, to spray, to act in a cunning manner, to inject, to forward, to google, to use firecrackers, to scan);
- etnizirati 'vključiti v etnijo' Okoljska vprašanja ni potrebno še dodatno **etnizirati** (‘to include into a nation’ The environmental questions do not have to be additionally **included into the nation**);
- familializirati 'vključiti v familio' Drugega je treba *familializirati*, ga dobesedno vpotegniti v družino, mu dati hčer (‘to make him a family man’) We have to literally make each other a family man, give him a daughter);
- hidrirati 'spajati z vodo' *hidrirati* žgano apno *hidrirati* ribje olje ali utekočinjati / spajati z vodo (to hydrate ‘to combine/fuse with water’ to **hydrate** burnt lime to **hydrate** fish oil or to liquefy/combine with water);
- ozonirati – 'spajati z ozonom' Podtalnica iz Medloga najprej *ozonira* v bazenih za ozonizacijo, nakar teče preko peščenih filtrov in preko filtrov z aktivnim ogljem (to form into ozone ‘to fuse with ozone’ The groundwater from Medlog first **forms into ozone** in ozone pools, then it flows through sand filters and filters with activated carbon);
- kofetkati 'hoditi na kofe' Kar nekaj let sta redno tedensko **kofetkali** v mestu (‘to go for a coffee’ For a few years, they regularly **went for coffee** in the city once a week);
- očetovati 'iti se očeta'; further examples: zgodoviniti (to father ‘to act as a father’; further examples: to historicize);
- deskati 'voziti se na deski' **Deska** po domačih smučičih; prim. še: bordati/boardati, rolati, skatati/skejati, glisirati (to snowboard ‘to ride on a board’ He **snowboards** on domestic slopes; further examples: to rollerblade, to skate, to jet ski);
- soteskati – 'voziti in spuščati se po soteski' **Soteskali** so na najnevarnejših predelih (‘to drive and descend into a gorge’ They **drove and descended into gorges** in the most dangerous parts).

The usage of verbal compounds⁶ of the type *sformatirati* (to format), *sklonirati* (to assign a case), *zaasfaltirati* (to asphalt), *zamoralizirati* (to moralize), *zamuzicirati* (to start making music), *zasneževati* (to cover with snow), *zatraviti* (to cover with grass), *zazipati* (to zip), *zdigitalizirati* (to digitalize), *zerotizirati* (to eroticize), *zgenerirati* (to generate), *zindividualizirati* (to individualize), *zmasakrirati* (to massacre), *zminimalizirati* (to minimalize), *zminirati* (to mine), *zmonopolizirati* (to monopolize), *zlobirati* (to lobby), *zrelaksirati* (to relax) is becoming increasingly frequent, and Slovenian

⁶ Ada Vidovič Muha (1993: 163) points out that with verbal compounds an important distinction has to be drawn between verbal prefixes and suffixes, and their relationship – the role of verbal prefixes is always word-formational, whereas suffixes function as distinct morphemes of each verb due to their primary aspectual role. The suffixes with both an aspectual and functional role can in fact be word-formational, that is, can be transformed into an element of the syntactic base, for example, *skočiti* : *skakati* (to jump : to jump continuously) < večkrat skočiti (to jump continuously). The role of prefixes is therefore syntactic and categorical, aspectual and word-formational, the latter including the denomination of the type of verbal action (Vidovič Muha 1993: 163). F. Miklošič considers forming the iterative a part of so-called base formation, and A. Schellander believes that the types of verbal action function on the same level as various word contexts (Vidovič Muha 1993: 162).

prefixes such as *za-* and *z-/s-* retain **a**) only the initial/final meaning, e.g., *zaasfaltirati* (to asphalt), *zamoralizirati* (to moralize), *zamuzicirati* (to start making music), *zamasakrirati* (to massacre) and others **b**) the transformation into a new state with a new characteristic, e.g., *po-* in *polastniniti* (to make something your own), *poskenirati* (to scan). Some prefixes like *pre-* can indirectly express **c**) social changes, e.g., *preformulirati prastar red* (to reformulate an ancient order) etc.⁷ The predominant type of verbal action is thus typified, so that compounds with the prefix *po-* normally express a transition into a new state, compounds with the prefix *pre-* a change of action, and those with the prefix *do-* the finality/goal of an action.⁸

Less frequent are complex verbal formations or derivatives from prepositional phrases, e.g., *ubesediti* (to verbalize), *ufilmiti* (to make into a film), *ugledališčiti* (to make into a theater play), *uslovariti* (to make into a dictionary), *vkodirati* (to encode), etc. Social cynicism is expressed in verbal derivatives of the type *očetovati* (to father), *zgodoviniti* (to historicize), etc.

From the viewpoint of valency changes, two thousand verbs (from various electronic and other sources)⁹ have been reviewed. These verbs express a new kind of manifestation in **a**) various specialized fields: *digitalizirati/internetizirati vse* (to digitalize/to network everything), *informatizirati procese* (to computerize processes), *ekologizirati regionalni sistem* (to make the regional system eco-friendly), *piratizirati programe* (to pirate programs), *plastificirati oblačilo* (to laminate a garment), *preplastiti cestišče* (to layer the roadway), *splakatirati mesto* (to placard the town), *vitaminizirati margarino* (to infuse vitamins into margarine), *tehnizirati kmetijstvo* (to incorporate technology into agriculture), etc, **b**) sociopolitical activities: *globalizirati svet* (to globalize the world), *internacionalizirati študij* (to internationalize studies), *marginalizirati politični sektor* (to marginalize the political sector), *personalizirati trženje* (to personalize marketing), *refeudalizirati premoženjske odnose* (to refeudalize property relations), **c**) socially engaged activities: *dilati mamila* (to deal drugs), *injicirati drogo* (to inject drugs), *snifati heroin* (to sniff heroin), etc.

⁷ From the comparative standpoint, the entirely aspectual prefixes *za-* and *z-* are listed both in Czech (1986: 404–405) and Slovak (1966: 414). In Czech, one of the most frequent meanings of the prefix *po-* denotes the transition into a new state or characteristic; the meaning of the prefix *pre-*, denoting change, is also stressed in Czech (1986: 395); the meaning of *do-*, denoting finality and goal, is stressed both in Slovak (1966: 409) and Czech (1986: 395).

⁸ The typology of verbal compound valency along with all prefixes, brought about by the vocabulary presented in the *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika I–V* (1970–1991), is discussed in the article *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)]*, *Slavistična revija* XLI/1 (1993), 161–192, by Ada Vidovič Muha.

⁹ The accessible electronic sources are FidaPLUS: <http://www.fidaplus.net>, and Nova Beseda, http://bos.zrc-sazu.si/s_beseda.html. Some new vocabulary items, systematically collected at Fran Ramovš Institute of the Slovenian Language from 1990 onwards so as to be included in the *Slovenski pravopis (Slovenian Orthography)*, 2001, were also considered.

Derivation (denominal, with the prevailing suffix *-irati* which has no secondary imperfective aspect) of verbs of acting/treating/managing/speaking/movement prevails with accusative valency, e.g. *figurirati* (to figure as), *filmizirati* (to make into a film), *finiširati* (to finish), *injecirati drogo* (to inject drugs), *kanonizirati* (to canonize), *lastniniti* (to privatize), *operacionalizirati dogovor* (to operationalize an agreement), *savnati se* (to sauna/to take a sauna), *stekleničiti* (to bottle), *tračariti* (to gossip), *zgodbariti* (to tell tales), *žirirati* (to jury) etc, and there is a high percentage of compounds (62%), normally occurring as second degree derivatives, with the most common prefixes *po-*, *pre-*, *za-*, *raz-*, *z/s*, *o-*, and *v-/u-* (*polastniniti* [to privatize], *poskenirati* [to scan], *predimenzionirati* [to oversize], *zasmrečevati* [to plant spruce trees], *zasneževati* [to cover with snow], *razlastniniti počitniške hišice* [to expropriate vacation homes], *razmrežiti* [to organize], *zdogovoriti intervju* [to arrange an interview], *sprofesionalizirati šport* [to professionalize sports], *stehnzirati družbo* [to make society more technical], *olastniniti* [to privatize], *opredmetiti* [to make something tangible], *opomeniti* [to assign meaning to sth.], *vsajati organe* [to plant organs], *uplemeniti dejavnost* [to refine an activity]), etc.

The pronominal *sam-* stresses a higher degree of individualization and self-initiative in increasingly extended compounds *samoaktualizirati potrebe* (to self-modernize needs), *samocenzurirati se* (to self-censure), *samodisciplinirati (se)* (self-discipline [yourself]), *samointerpretirati se* (to self-interpret), *samoohranjati/samoohranjevati se* (to self-preserve), *samozaposlovati se* (to self-employ), and usually brings about the transition into monovalency. It has been established that compounds with the deterministic element *sam-* are fairly new (Vidovič Muha, 1988: 163–164), but some of them have already been mentioned by A. Bajec (1952: 108, 120, 124).

When comparing the affix *-irati* to other Slovenian affixes, it becomes clear that it indicates a newer (secondary) verbal formation. In cases like *kadrirati* (to format/to hire), homonymy is (at least partially) clarified with the help of varying affixes, e.g. *Veliko lažje in ceneje bo ujeti ptico in potem fotko primerno kadrirati* (It will be much easier and cheaper to catch the bird and then **format** the shot accordingly), as opposed to *Po zmagi na volitvah imajo pravico kadrirati / kadrovati svoje ljudi* (After winning the election, they have the right to **hire** their own personnel). There are other doublets of the type *favlirati/favlati igralca* (to foul a player), *slovenizirati/sloveniti pisavo/imena* (to Slovenize the writing/names), *perfekcionizirati/perfekcionirati vlogo* (to perfect a part), *zumirati/zumati* (to zoom), *žurirati/žurati* (to party) etc.

With denominally motivated bi-aspectual verbs, chosen from the *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika* according to semantic (valent) groups, the usage ratio (as well as aspectual differences) between Slovenian and borrowed verbs becomes clear: *abonirati se* [to book a season ticket at the theatre] (nasproti: naročiti se) na hrano [as opposed to: to order food], *adresirati* (nasproti: nasloviti) pismo [to address a letter (as opposed to: to send a letter)], *alarmirati* (obvestiti) gasilce [to alarm (inform) the firefighters], *bandažirati* (obvezati) roko [to bandage a hand], *bazirati* (/o/snovati) svoj položaj [to base one's position], *delegirati* (predlagati) zastopnika [to delegate (to propose) a representative] etc.

The aforementioned examples illustrate that complex verbal formations are syntactico-semanticly normally restricted to unmarked accusative valency (The findings of Ch. J. Fillmore (1968: 24–25) indicate that none of the participant roles can duplicate within the scope of a particular meaning's valency field. If a participant combines two roles, however, one of them always remains predominant). The valency of prepositional cases (such description is only allowed from the structural-syntactic aspect) is more accurately defined by verbal prepositional morphemes. The accusative (T), as a systemically unmarked case, expresses all rightward-valent participant roles: $T_{/v}$ = result of an action (Rd) – inanimate (*v* by *se*), $T_{(na/za/ob/v)}$ = the relative object of an action/state/process ($Ra_{d/s/p}$) – animate/inanimate (*po* – SE), $T_{/v/na/ob/za}$ = the affected object of an action/process ($Pr_{d/p}$) – animate/inanimate, $T_{/za/v/zoper/na/ob/po/nad}$ = goal of an action/process ($C_{d/p}$) – inanimate, $T_{/na/za/v}$ = content of an action/state/process ($Vs_{d/s/p}$) – inanimate (*na/za/v* by *se*), T = phenomenon (Po) – inanimate, $T_{na/v/nad/skozi/cez/med/pod/za/ob}$ = goal place/time of an action/process (CM/ $CC_{d/p}$) – inanimate, $T_{skozi/cez}$ = place/time of an action/state/process ($M/\check{C}_{d/s/p}$) – inanimate, $T_{na/v/za/med/skozi/cez}$ = manner of action/process/direction ($N_{d/p}$) – inanimate.

2 Verbal class (aktionsart) and aspect in co-dependence with syntactico-semantic verbal characteristics

With an assessment of the aspectual character of prefixed verbs which determine the verbal action from the point of view of class, it is possible to establish a link between aspect, functioning as the base of verbal category.¹⁰

With the verb, it is quite reasonable to speak of the influence lexemes and syntax have on aspect, as the latter breaks apart the neutralized bi-aspectual character¹¹ within the same meaning and form, by assigning each verb the more appropriate perfective or imperfective form. The preferential imperfective meaning, confirmed within the scope of borrowed vocabulary especially by linguistic instinct, enables a prefix, e.g., *sfabricirati* (to fabricate), *sfrizirati* (to do one's hair), *prediskutirati* (to discuss),

¹⁰ A. В. Бондарко (2008: 68, 73, 79) distinguishes between three types of categories, determined more widely and bypassing grammar, so that in essence, it reaches the level of semantic categorization: 1) grammatical categories (aspect, time, mood, person [...]), 2) lexical-grammatical categories (limited-unlimited, transitivity, personal and impersonal verbs, and means of action [...] along with word class), 3) functional-semantic categories, that is, semantic categories according to linguistic expression, or models of functional grammar, e.g., aspect, temporality in the predicative base, subjectivity, objectivity, definiteness and indefiniteness in the subjective-objective base, elements of quality and quantity in the base implying quality and quantity, locality and possessiveness in the predicative-circumstantial base.

¹¹ Not only has the grammatical economy of language been expressed with aspectual duality, but also the aspect itself has proved to be a progressive category, consequently expressing a higher degree of generality in the approach to investigating the verbal action (Никьюлеськы P. И. 1984: 116).

preanalizirati (to analyze), *zbombandirati* (to blitz/to bombard) etc (Korošec 1972: 205), which introduces aktionsart (= the internal structure of the verbal action = the class of verbal actions). The influence of the lexemes and the syntax is thus confirmed, the latter emphasizing the so-called temporal framework, or the structure of the phrase (Svein Mønnesland, 2006: 155. 156, Падучева, 2007).

Preferentially perfective bi-aspectual verbs have been specified according to the reciprocal connection between meaning, syntax and aspect, e.g. *vatirati* (plašč): *podložiti z vato* (to line a coat with cotton wool), *birmati* (ga): *podeliti birmo* (to administer confirmation), *čestitati komu*: *izraziti čast komu* (to congratulate somebody), *darovati komu*: *oddati dar* (to donate something to somebody), *dedovati*: *prevzeti od dedov* (to inherit: to inherit from ancestors), *eksati*: *izpiti na eks* (to gulp: to drink something in one gulp), *glasovati*: *izraziti svoj glas* (to vote), *jagnjetiti/jagniti*: *roditi*, *povreči jagnje* (to drop: to calve a lamb), *kronati*: *podeliti*, *priznati krono* (to crown), *presamevati*: *prebiti sam* (to be alone: to spend alone). Other verbs are preferentially imperfective, such as *filmati*: *prenašati na film* (to film), *križati*: *pribijati na križ* (to crucify), *rimati*: *tvoriti rimo* (to rhyme), *sidrati*: *pritrjevati s sidrom* (to anchor), *stopati*: *ustavljati s stop* (to stop), *tlakovati*: *polagati tlak* (to pave), *točkovati*: *izražati/ocenjevati s točkami* (to grade), *žigosati*: *opremljati z žigom* (to stamp / to brand), *žrtvovati*: *dajati/ponujati kot/za žrtev* (to sacrifice).

3 The strong tendency for accusative valency

The expansion of specialized vocabulary into various fields plays an interesting role here. The so-called wide formation of new terminology thus enables the (repeated) transition of a particular verb, which can blur the direction of the formation of terminology. This gives the verb its valent possibilities by widening its meaning. First comes the most preferential, and simple accusative valency: *akcentuirati besede* (jezikosl.) [to accentuate words (ling.)] > *Vulgarnost v svojem delu premočno akcentuirajo* [The vulgarity in their work is overly accentuated]; *alimentirati otroke* (pravn.) [to make alimony payments for children (legal)] > *alimentirati investicijske sklade iz amortizacije* [to pay alimony for investment funds from amortization], *kanalizirati reko* (teh.) [to canalize a river (tech.)] > *kanalizirati družbene interese* (publ.) [to channel public interests (publ.)], *kapitalizirati obresti* (fin.) [to capitalize interest (fin.)] > *kapitalizirati prihranke* (ekon.) [to capitalize savings (econ.)] > *kapitalizirati obrt* [to capitalize a trade], *profilirati brus* (teh.) [to shape a grindstone (tech.)] > *profilirati raziskovalne ustanove* [to shape/profile research institutions] etc.

Frequent modernized use can eventually blur the direction of the formation of terminology, e.g., *normirati cene/stroške/volitve* [to standardize prices/expenses/elections] – *normirati knjižni jezik* (jezikosl.) [to standardize literary language (ling.)] – *normirati izdelek* (teh.) [to standardize a product (tech.)], *kanalizirati* [to channel] (*kanalizirati vodo/rečni tok* (teh.) [to canalize water/a river current (tech.)])

– *kanalizirati manko ideološke identitete v delo* [to channel the lack of ideological identity into work] – *kanalizirati dobičke v nogavice* [to channel profits into socks] – *Agresivnost se je kanalizirala na obtoženca* [The aggression was channeled through the defendant] – *kanalizirati zasluge k skupnosti* [to channel profits into/through the community] – *Veselje do življenja je kanaliziral skozi umetnost* [He channeled his passion for life through art], etc.

3.1 We can speak of typical (terminological) accusative valency both from the viewpoint of general and terminological use, e.g., *balirati železne odpadke/hmelj/krmoseno* (to bale iron waste/hops/forage/hay), *diplomirati/magistrirati/doktorirati zgodovino* (*diplomirati iz zgodovine/na zgodovini* [to graduate/to receive a Master's degree/to obtain a PhD in history] is more frequently used), *džezirati na trobento* [to play the trumpet in the manner of jazz], *fikcionalizirati pot* [to fictionalize the way], *misijonizirati vero in vrednote* [to rearrange religion and values the way missionaries do], *pamfletirati dogodke* [to pamphlet/tract events], *snifati heroin* [to sniff heroin]. Bivalence with the accusative of content is present both with verbs of movement like *teči/skočiti/plavati/voziti* (to run/to jump/to swim/to drive) in *teči maraton* (to run a marathon), *skočiti raznožko/skrčko* (to jump a leapfrog), *plavati žabo/metulja* (to swim breaststroke/butterfly), *voziti reli/formulo ena/slalom* (to rally/to drive a formula one/to slalom), *voziti tovornjak/avto* (to drive a truck/car), *pilotirati motornega zmajaja* (to pilot a powered hang-glider), and with complex verbal formations of the type *diplomirati/magistrirati/doktorirati slavistiko* (to obtain a diploma/Master's degree/PhD in Slavonic studies), etc.

The already established verbs of the type *solidarizirati se* (to feel solidarity), as in *solidarizirati se z bojem koroških Slovencev* (to feel solidarity with the fight of Corinthian Slovenes), more and more frequently take the accusative valency, e.g. *solidarizirati boj koroških Slovencev* (to feel solidarity with the fight of Corinthian Slovenes), meaning 'podpreti, odobriti boj' ('to support, approve the fight'). Similar are *specializirati se v jezikoslovju* (to specialize in linguistics) and *specializirati jezikoslovje* (to specialize linguistics).¹² The same goes for verbs without the free morpheme *se*, so that *špijonirati za kom* (to spy on someone) can also be substituted by *špijonirati koga* (*to spy someone).

When the content or goal is stressed, the prepositional morphemes are omitted if their semantic element is already implied in the verbal meaning, e.g., *na* and *za* in *pritisniti (na) gumb* [to press (on) the button], *prositi (za) pomoč* [to ask for help], etc.

¹² These cases do not undergo the spatial-temporal transition of action from one participant to another, because the other participant's role expresses the content of the action (Vs_i), and as such merely determines more accurately the content of the action in the sentence. The action thus remains only within the framework of the subject's activities, so that the free morpheme *se* can be left out. We can only speak of the possibility for accusative valency, however, when there is a content participant. The active participant is expressed with instrumental valency, as in *solidarizirati z junakom* (to feel solidarity with the hero) etc.

Some complex verbal formations (compounds, derivatives) are still monovalent but strive to become bivalent, e.g., *diskati* (*diskati cel večer*) [*to disco (to disco all night)*], *igrati* (*se*) *na računalnik* > *igrati računalnik* [*to play on the computer*], *surfati* (*surfati po/v mreži*) [*to surf (to surf the net)*] etc; similar are *polarizirati javnost* (*to polarize the general public*), *amputirati policijski sindikat* (*to amputate the police union*), *identificirati odgovornost pristojnih* (*to identify the responsibility of those in charge*), etc.

3.2 The obligatory bivalence

The predominance of the accusative valency with the most frequent syntactico-semantic role of concretized meaning, along with the more accurate/specialized hierarchy of meaning within the verb, is also predicted by bivalent verbs not yet included in the *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika* (SSKJ), e.g., *foulirati nasprotnika* [*to foul an opponent*], *lastniniti/olastniniti kapital* [*to privatize assets*], *onaglasiti izraze* [*to accentuate expressions*], *(pre)miksati material* [*to mix the material*], *preblefirati nastop* [*to bluff the performance*], *spozorirati dejavnost* [*to sponsor an activity*], *stekleniti steno* [*to glass a wall*], *vprogramirati v rom* [*to install a program into ROM*], *zdogovoriti intervju* [*to arrange for an interview*], as opposed to some monovalent verbal formations (mostly derivatives, some compounds), e.g., *diskati cel večer* [*to disco all night*], *lobirati po podjetjih* [*to lobby for/on behalf of companies*], *raftati po rekah* [*to raft rivers*], *breznariti na krasu* [*to descend into karstic caves/gorges*], *razkomotiti se na kavču* [*to make oneself comfortable on the couch*], *dobro se samoohranjati* [*to self-preserve well*], etc.

3.3 The narrowing of the valency field into accusative valency

The tendency for accusative valency is also expressed by complex verbal formations and derivatives, existing in phrases of the type *dopingirati športnika* (*to dope a sportsman*), *ekranizirati gledališče* (*to screen the theater*), *filetirati sardele* (*to filet anchovies*), *kanonizirati Ketteja* (*to canonize Kette*), *klimatizirati prostor* (*to air-condition a room/an area*), *parcelirati zemljišče* (*to parcel land*), *raketirati mesto* (*to attack a town with missiles*), *robotizirati celico za varjenje* (*to robotize a welding cell*), *žirirati prispevke* (*to endorse contributions*); *prizemljiti plovilo* (*to land a vessel*), *ubesediti dogajanje* (*to verbalize an action*), *ustekleničiti vodo* (*to bottle water*), etc. The narrowing of the valency field with the semantic coordination of the free morpheme *se* with the prefixes *za-*, *z-/s-*, *na-* and *raz-* needs to be stressed from the viewpoint of verbal semantics. The morpheme either denotes a phase (initial/final), or the degree or measure of an action, e.g., *zahoditi se* (*to waste a day/time by walking around*), *zajesti se* (*to penetrate sth. by biting into it*), *zaklepetati se* (*to have a long chat*), *zakoreniniti se* (*to take root/to settle down*), *zagledati se* (*to gaze/to develop a crush/to fall in love*), *zahvaliti se* (*to thank*); *zjeziti se* (*to become angry*), *zjesti se* (*to destroy by gnawing/to form with a constant flow*), *shladiti se* (*to cool*), *spomniti*

se (to remember), *nahoditi se* (to walk enough), *naplesati se* (to dance enough), *nagovoriti se* (to talk enough), *nagledati se* (to see enough), *najesti se* (to fill oneself up); *razhoditi se* (to exercise by walking), *razjeziti se* (to get angry), *razgovoriti se* (to discuss at length), *razgledati se* (to look around), etc.¹³ The formation of verbal compounds with non-spatial/other prefixes, to which the reflexive *se* is added, is restricted to intransitive or potentially transitive verbs. The valency of the latter is ceasing to exist due to metonymical semantic shifts of prefixes (Vidovič Muha, 1988: 23).¹⁴ When using such complex verbal formations, the indirect syntactico-semantic influence of various word-formational means on the increase, or the intensity of the linguistic message becomes evident (Toporišič, 1982: 229–230, 275–278).

3.4 Complex verbal formations normally continue to narrow the valency field of the type *prednastaviti digitalni izenačevalnik* (to pre-set a digital equalizer), *prenamestiti programsko opremo* (to re-set programming equipment), *preošteviliti stavbo* (to re-number a building). These verbal formations have prefixes which usually continues to narrow the valency field of the verbal formation. The comparative formation consequently narrows valency fields, so that besides the type *osamiti se/koga* (to isolate yourself/someone), there is also the type *oposamezniti se/koga* (to individualize yourself/somebody). In linguistics, the examples *ubesediti* (to verbalize) and *upovediti* (to form into a linguistic message) are followed by *ustavčiti* (to form into a sentence) and *uimeniti* (to nominalize) in *Ni treba, da bi pretirano ustavčevali, vendar je dejstvo, da se dandanes pretirano uimenuje* (There is no need for excessive sentence forming, but the fact is that there is too much nominalization nowadays).

4 The expansion of language functionality

When new syntactico-semantic phrases are taken into account, the most productive field of the last two decades has been computer science. It included many frequently used and thus set verbs into its specialized vocabulary, so that in new phrases these verbs attained a new meaning: *izrezati s tipko označeni blok* (to cut a selected frame), *odpreti novo datoteko* (to open a new file), *odpreti okno z vsebino diskete* (to open a window with the disc's content), *e-poslovati* (to do online-business), *piratizirati programe* (to pirate programs), *preimenovati datoteke* (to rename files), *podpirati prenos podatkov z dvema izvedbama* (to support two data transfer modes), *pognati programska okna* (to start a program), *pošiljati podatke po računalniških omrežjih*

¹³ The Czech grammar (1986: 396–405) stresses the same linguistic-systemic phenomenon, or the semantic coordination of the prefix *se* with various other prefixes, the same as those in Slovene.

¹⁴ The mutual influence of verbal valency and semantics has been explicitly confirmed a number of times, lastly by Ada Vidovič Muha (2000: 34), who approached it from the lexicological viewpoint.

(to send data via computer networks), *povoziti datoteko* (to replace a file), *prelistati s tipko ali miško celotno datoteko* (to scroll over a file with a mouse or key), *prigraditi CD-pogon* (to add a CD drive), *priklicati besedila na zaslon* (to recall texts back to the screen), *priiti iz ene datoteke v drugo* (to come from one file into another), *seliti se na strežnik* (to move to a server), *shraniti v pomnilnik* (to save into memory), *startati računalnik* (to start a computer), *vstopiti v nov program* (to start a new program), *zapeči na CD-disk* (to burn on a CD), *zapustiti zaslon* (to leave the screen), *zmrzniti okna '95* (to freeze Windows 95).

5 The spatial and temporal value of the prepositional verbal morpheme is retained in the more and more frequent content or goal accusative (Žele, 2001: 72–74): *na-plaviti na površje* (to rise to the surface), *nastopiti na konferenci* (to perform/speak at a conference) ('the spatial orientation of an action' with 'the maximum amount of duration'). If the setting is without spatial or temporal value, the syntactico-semantic link between the preposition and the verb, or the so-called prepositional verbal morpheme, no longer exists. Examples of the link with the spatial prepositional morpheme are: *nakladati (na) tovornjak* [to load (on) a truck], *igrati (na) kitaro* [to play (on) the guitar], as opposed to links with non-valent, non-spatial setting, e.g., *nakladati na novo* [to start loading all over again], *igrati na novo* [to start playing all over again], etc.

With complex verbal formations, or verbs deriving from a prepositional phrase including both a prefix and a suffix, the (spatial-temporal) value is divided between the prefix and the prepositional morpheme due to the conversion of the preposition from the syntactic base to the prefix, e.g., *ukalupiti se v povprečje* (to mold into the average), *včlaniti se v skupino sedmih* (to join a group of seven), *vprogramirati makroukaze v notranji makrorom* (to install macrocommands into the inner macro-rom), etc.

6 Conclusion

New verbal formations in Slovenian can be discussed from the viewpoint of the so-called lexicalized valency on the one hand, or from the viewpoint of the increasingly standard or frequent accusative valency on the other hand. Both phenomena, that is, the lexicalized and the direct accusative valency, are very much compatible as they elucidate the syntactic and semantic influence of the verb. They also indicate the possibility of syntactically simpler sentences and influence the language economy of Slovenian in the syntactico-semantic sense.

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O leksikalizirani valenci in valenci glagolskih (novo)tvorjenk v slovenščini

Pri novejših glagolskih tvorjenkah v slovenščini lahko govorimo o t. i. leksikalizirani valenci na eni strani in o vedno bolj navadni oz. prevladujoči tožilniški vezavi na drugi strani. Oba pojava, tj. leksikalizirana in neposredna tožilniška vezljivost, sta zelo združljiva, ker /so/poudarjata skladenjskopomensko moč in samozadostnost glagola in hkrati nakazujeta možnost skladenjsko enostavnejših povedi. Oba pojava tudi pomensko-skladenjsko delujeta v smislu izrazijske ekonomičnosti slovenščine.

On Lexicalized Valency and the Valency of (New) Complex Verbal Formations in Slovenian

New verbal formations in Slovenian can be discussed from the viewpoint of the so-called lexicalized valency on the one hand, or from the viewpoint of the increasingly standard or frequent accusative valency on the other hand. Both phenomena, that is, the lexicalized and the direct accusative valency, are very much compatible as they elucidate the syntactic and semantic influence of the verb. They also indicate the possibility of syntactically simpler sentences and influence the language economy of Slovenian in the syntactico-semantic sense.

