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Donald F. Reindl

Filozofska fakulteta, Ljubljana

Slovene Ultra-Formal Address: Borrowing, Innovation, and Analysis

Slovenščina ima ogovorni sistem, ki se od osnovnega dvojnega ogovornega sistema mnogih evropskih jezikov loči v tem, da oblikovno razlikuje do štirih ravni formalnosti (neformalno/tikanje, polformalno/napol vikanje, formalno/vikanje in ultraformalno/onikanje). Do nedavnega je bilo onikanje v redni uporabi tako v neposrednem kot v posrednem govoru (oz. govorjenjem o odsotni osebi). Čeprav bi lahko slovnične značilnosti onikanja izvirale iz stika z nemščino, se zdi, da predstavlja slovenska uporaba onikanja v posrednem govoru samostojen izum. Avtor analizira Linhartovo veseloigro *Županova Micka* z namenom, da razišče in prikaže vzajemno delovanje teh ogovornih oblik. Podobne raziskave onikanja v drugih jezikih (češčina, slovaščina) bi lahko bolje osvetlile pojav, ki je prisoten v več slovanskih jezikih.

Slovene has a system of address that differs from the basic binary address system of many European languages by grammatically distinguishing up to four levels of formality (informal, semiformal, formal, and ultra-formal). Until recently, ultra-formal address was regularly used in direct as well as indirect address (i.e., reference to absent persons). Although the grammatical characteristics of Slovene ultra-formal address (3rd plural) appear to have been the result of contact with German, the Slovene application of this form to indirect address appears to have been an independent innovation. Anton Tomaž Linhart's play *Županova Micka* is analyzed in order to explore and illustrate the interaction of these various address forms. Similar studies of ultra-formal address in other languages (e.g., Czech and Slovak) could shed light on a phenomenon that has been attested in multiple Slavic languages.

1. Introduction

In comparison with the other Slavic languages and the languages of Europe in general, the Slovene system of address is both typical and complex at the same time. From a synchronic perspective, the modern literary Slovene address system shares the basic characteristics of "Standard Average European" languages (Whorf 1956: 138), which display relatively little variation (cf. Dickey 1996: 8). That is, Slovene distinguishes between informal and formal (also referred to as honorific, deferential, or polite) address in pronominal choice (i.e., *ti* vs. *vi*), verbal morphology (i.e., indicative *-š* vs. *-te*, imperative *-Ø* vs. *-te*), and name and title usage (e.g., *Janez* 'John' vs. *gospod* 'sir'). In this respect, the Slovene opposition between 2nd singular *tikanje* (informal address) and 2nd plural *vikanje* (formal address) is comparable to analogous systems in more widely known European languages such as French (*tutuyer* vs. *vousvoyer*) and German (*Duzen* vs. *Siezen*), and conforms to the basic T/V (after Latin *tu*, *vos*) binary opposition presented in Brown and Gilman's (1960) groundbreaking sociolinguistic study of forms of address.

However, Slovene includes a number of special features. Diachronically¹ there is a triple opposition in the literary language with what is now an increasingly rare “ultra-formal” 3rd plural form known as *onikanje*, used in both direct and indirect address (i.e., reference to absent persons). In addition, contemporary conversational Slovene utilizes a semiformal construction known as *napol vikanje* (cf. §3.1). Until recently Slovene therefore included four formality levels in its address system: informal, semiformal, formal, and ultra-formal (cf. Reindl 2005: 246–253).

Address is an enormous topic in sociolinguistics, and a complete survey of the intricacies of address in Slovene would be a book-length project. For example, Kocher (1967: 738) lists over 60 factors contributing to pronominal choice in Serbo-Croatian. This article focuses on the likely borrowed nature of Slovene *onikanje*, the innovation that it underwent in Slovene, and its manifestation in a literary work as a case study.

2. European Development

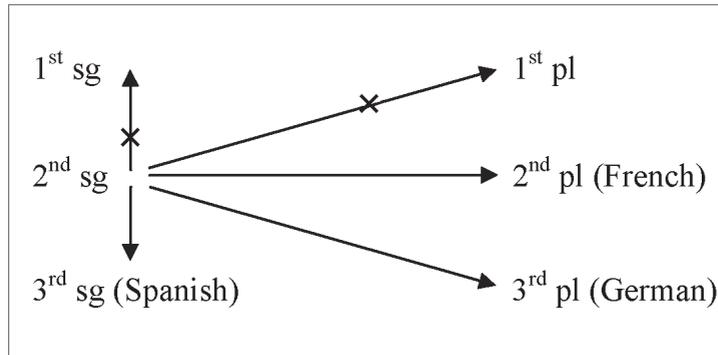
The similarity of the Slovene address system to other European systems is unremarkable because it is generally believed that all of these systems share a common origin: an originally French linguistic phenomenon that was disseminated through medieval European culture via trade, diplomacy, and other language contact (cf. Friedrich 1966: 223, Kess & Jurčič 1978: 308, Paulston 1975: 7). Along the way, individual linguistic systems developed their own idiosyncracies. For example, in contrast to the French 2nd plural to mark formality, German settled on the 3rd plural *Sie* (creating pronominal and verbal syncretism with *sie* ‘they’ and like French preventing a singular-plural contrast within formal address), whereas Spanish and northern Italian settled on the 3rd singular (thus allowing a singular-plural contrast within formal address). On the other hand, Modern English has lost the contrast by abandoning archaic *thou*, and some other languages such as Swedish² have essentially done so as well.

What all of these systems have in common is a distancing of the singular referent in formal address, either through number (shift from singular to plural; e.g., French) or person (shift from 2nd to 3rd person; e.g., Spanish and Italian), or both (e.g., German). Increased distance has a psycholinguistic correlation with decreased familiarity, and increased number has an iconic correlation with increasing the importance of the referent. Because the first person is reserved for the addressee in a conversation, it is natural that a shift in person will only be expressed in 2nd to 3rd, not 2nd to 1st.³ These patterns are depicted in Figure 1:

¹ Lubecka (1993: 14) notes that most studies of forms of address are synchronic rather than diachronic.

² The Swedish change is generally dated to the “*du* reform” of the 1970s.

³ This article does not consider various non-basic 1st person forms of address such as the *pluralis majestatis* (“royal we”), the *pluralis modestiae* (“editorial we”), the *pluralis benevolentiae* (“medical we,” e.g., *How are we feeling today?*), etc. in which the addressor undergoes number shift or the addressee is incorporated into an inclusive 1st person. Nor does it consider shift of the addressor to the 3rd person (e.g., “Bob Dole believes . . .”), deferential attributive possessives or abstractions such as *Your Highness* (cf. Plank 2003), etc.

Figure 1. Acquisition of formal pronouns

It should be noted that the notion of “formal” vs. “informal” address is a gross but useful simplification. In addition to multiple levels of formality and informality in some languages (e.g., Japanese *kudaketa* or *futsuu* ‘plain’, *teineigo* ‘polite’, and *keigo* ‘advanced polite’, with its subdivisions into *sonkeigo* ‘honorific’ and *kenjōgo* ‘humble’) there are also directional variants such as reciprocal informal address (e.g., used between Slovene students), reciprocal formal address (e.g., used between Slovene adult strangers), and non-reciprocal address (e.g., between pupils and their instructors). Address patterns between generations (i.e., children, parents, and grandparents) also change across generations, as Weiss (2003) discusses in his examination of Slovene address forms in the Dreta Valley. Very specific situational factors create additional variations. For example, it is reported that Slovene nudists are expected to address one another informally (Peteršič & Jambrek 2006: 7).

The development of the address systems has been remarkably fluid. The development of the German address system has been extensively investigated and serves as a case in point. Polite 3rd singular forms came into use by the 16th century (i.e., *er*, *sie*). Although the 2nd plural (i.e., *Ihr*) had been in use since the 9th century, presumably as a result of French influence, some writers objected to this use of the plural, which gained ground in the 16th century. The polite 3rd plural (i.e., *Sie*) was attested in Vienna by the end of the 17th century, and by the beginning of the 18th century there were four competing forms of formal address in use: 3rd singular, 2nd plural, and 3rd plural, as well as non-pronominal abstractions (e.g., *Gnaden* ‘your lordship’), thereby exploiting all of the possible strategies shown in Figure 1. It is believed that the multiplicity of forms served to differentiate rank in what was still a highly stratified society. The 3rd singular lost its formal function soon thereafter,⁴ although the 2nd plural persisted as the most formal pronoun under French influence. Eventually the 3rd plural *Sie* won out and the other formal forms fell into obsolescence (cf. Ammon 1972: 82–86, Grimm 1905: 769, Metcalf 1938: 5–11, 118).

⁴ In fact, it underwent pejoration, as effectively utilized in Georg Büchner’s 1837 play *Woyzeck*, e.g.: *Hat Er schon seine Erbsen gegessen, Woyzeck?* ‘Have you (3 sg.) already eaten your (3 sg.) peas, Woyzeck?’

Slovene acquired its distinction between informal and formal address as part of the general development of European address systems. Although modern Slovene *vikanje* (formal use of the 2nd plural) differs formally from modern German *Siezen* (formal use of the 3rd plural), the historical synopsis of the German system above shows that this does not exclude the possibility that Slovene formal address was modeled on German. The nascent Slovene system could have been directly modeled on an earlier German system that employed *Ihr* (2nd plural) as the formal pronoun. In any case, the fact that German (as the primary prestige language in Slovene territory) utilized an informal-formal address system could have indirectly influenced Slovene to do likewise by exploiting its own resources.

3. Slovene Special Features

Beyond the basic *tikanje*–*vikanje* distinction in conversational Slovene,⁵ a number of other variations exist in the address system. In the contemporary system these concern primarily gender distinction and, secondarily, phenomena involving the dual number. In more archaic Slovene this also includes a person/number shift to the 3rd plural.

3.1. Semiformal Address (*Napol Vikanje*)

Some Slavic languages, such as Upper Sorbian, express formal address with a numerical shift in verbal morphology (singular to plural), but retain the singular gender markers for adjectives and participles. In a periphrastic construction consisting of an auxiliary plus a participle, the result is a mixture of singular and plural: *Sće_{2,PL} po kraju pućowala_{FEM.SG}* ‘You have traveled around the country’ (Wowčerk 1955: 48). In literary Slovene, in contrast, the number shift is complete and the gender is obligatorily masculine: *Po deželi ste_{2,PL} potovali_{M.PL}* ‘You have traveled around the country’ (female addressees; cf. Toporišič 1992: 353).

However, conversational Slovene also uses a pattern corresponding to that of Upper Sorbian above (as well as Czech and Polish), referred to as *napol vikanje*, *polvikanje*, *polovično vikanje*, or *pogovorno vikanje* (semiformal address) – for example, *Kam ste_{2,PL} pa šla_{FEM.SG}?* ‘Where did you go?’ Toporišič characterizes this pattern as especially typical of some regions of Slovenia and semiformal or relaxed business communication (1976: 326; 1992: 122). Semiformal address is widely used in the Slovene spoken in Ljubljana.

3.2. Effects of the Dual

Because Slovene has a dual number (in addition to a singular and plural), this also has repercussions in terms of formality in the address system. Slovene can make a formal-informal distinction for semantically singular addressees (*ti* vs. *vi*), but not for semantically plural addressees (*vi* being used for formal singular, formal plural, and multiple informal singular addressees). There is a lack of agreement on whether the dual *vidva* ‘you two’ (and by extension *midva* ‘we two’ when subsuming the ad-

⁵ As opposed to literary Slovene (*knjižnoslovenski jezik*), especially as regulated by the academy-produced normative guide (*pravopis*; e.g., Toporišič 2001).

dressee) is inherently informal or simply neutral. Some informants have stated that they avoid dual forms to refer to individuals that they would otherwise address as *vi* when alone, whereas others disagree (cf. §6.2). This is an area that clearly requires further research.

3.3. Ultra-Formal Address (*Onikanje*)

Finally, conversational Slovene also includes (or until recently included) an invariably masculine 3rd plural formal address form, *oni* ‘they’ – for example, *Kakó se počútijo, gospá?* ‘How are you (3 pl.) feeling, madam?’ (Murko 1843: 59). This is analogous to and often viewed as modeled on German *Sie* (cf. Murko 1843: 58–59, Janežič 1876: 200).

The supposed demise of *onikanje* has been commented on repeatedly; for example, “Tak način govorjenja je danes že skoraj čisto iz rabe” (This manner of speaking has nearly passed completely out of use; Toporišič 1976: 326), and “[t]he form is archaic, however, and its use is now largely unknown” (Kess & Jurčič 1978: 298). Younger informants generally recount that their grandparents and even parents used to speak this way. Nonetheless, such forms remain actively used by some of the middle generation. As only one example, in May 2006 an innkeeper in his 40s brought coffee to me in the village of Topol pri Medvodah, casually remarking *Izvolijo!* ‘Here you are!’ with a 3rd plural affix.⁶ Nonetheless, the form is clearly in decline, perhaps best evidenced by the fact that it can be used in jest, as in the following Internet posting:

- (1) Prečastiljivi Gospod Aleš! Po dolgih premišljevanjih, sem se na koncu trdno odločila, da Jih bom od sedaj naprej onikala. Oni so preveč za samo vikanje, kaj še za tikanje! . . .
 ‘Most noble Mr. Aleš, After lengthy consideration, I have finally resolutely decided that I will now use *onikanje* to address You (3 pl.). You (3 pl.) are too great for mere *vikanje*, let alone *tikanje!* . . .’
 (<http://www.authentic.it/index.php?module=postguestbook&func=view&page=4>)

4. Borrowing

Whenever borrowing of a linguistic feature is proposed, it should be questioned whether the feature may have arisen by chance, without external influence. In the case of Slovene *onikanje* two arguments speak against this. The first is that influence on pronominal systems is attested elsewhere in language-contact situations, and the second relates to markedness.

First, transfer of pronominal system structure is attested in other languages. Just as German is believed to have undergone French influence in the development of its

⁶ The form is actually imperative (cf. sg. *izvoli!*, pl. *izvolite!*) with the 3rd plural *-jo* suffix appended to the imperative stem as a formality marker. This raises another interesting issue beyond the scope of this paper: the grammaticalization of verbal affixes in Slavic and their use with non-paradigmatic forms, such as Slovak *Ahojte!* ‘Hello!’ or Russian *Пойдемте!* ‘Let’s go!’.

pronominal system (cf. §2), it is sometimes asserted that Italian also underwent a shift in formal pronoun usage under influence from German. Formerly *Voi* (2 pl.) was used for this purpose⁷ (as French *vous* and Ladin *Vos*; Valentini et al. 2001: 44), but is said to have been supplanted by *Lei* (3 sg., syncretic with *lei*, fem. 3 sg.) in modern standard Italian by analogy with German *Sie* (syncretic with *sie*, fem. 3 sg.), including the orthographic distinction in capitalization. However, others state that Italian *Lei* arose from a 3rd singular abstraction under Spanish influence (cf. Popinceanu 1963: 84) – although this does not preclude the influence of both languages. Similarly, Swedish apparently borrowed its (now defunct) formal pronoun *Ni* (in the form *I*, prior to n-prothesis from a preceding copular verb) from formal German *Ihr* (cf. Евменов 2002). Of course, counterexamples are also widespread. For example, despite centuries of strong Russian influence, Chechen has failed to develop any formal-informal pronominal contrast resembling that of Russian *ты–вы* (Алароев 1999: 66).

Second, 3rd plural deferential forms are less common in world languages. Head (1978: 151) states that alternation in person “indicates greater differences in degree of respect or social distance that does alternation of number, while alternation of both categories shows greater difference in social meaning than does change of only one of them.” He continues by observing that use of a 3rd plural deferential form is more likely in languages that use, or have used, the 2nd plural for the same purpose (1978: 170–171). Consequently, Slovene *onikanje* is both more highly marked than *vikanje* and is likely to have developed after the emergence of *vikanje*.

As argued in Reindl (2003: 290, 2005: 32–34), acquisition of a marked feature by a language in contact with a language that shares that marked feature is good evidence of borrowing rather than independent innovation.

5. Innovation

A special feature that distinguishes Slovene *onikanje* from its presumed German model is that it can be applied to 3rd person referents as well, as a sign of deference in their absence (referred to by Weiss 2003 as *množinsko govorjenje o odsotni osebi* ‘plural reference to an absent person’). The objects of this deference are most often priests, grandparents, and parents, although in the past it could apply to members of the gentry as well (cf. Table 2 and §6.2). Some typical examples of *onikanje* in indirect address are:

- (2) *mati so bili bolni*
‘mother was (3 pl.) ill’ (Metelko 1825: 224)
- (3) *Spoštuj svojo mater in pomni, kaj so vse zavaljo tebe prestali; kedar ti pa umerjô, pokoplji je zraven mene.*
‘Honor your mother and remember everything that she endured (3 pl.) for you; when she dies (3 pl.), bury her (3 pl.) at my side.’ (Janežič 1876: 200, quoting Ravnikar)

⁷ The dialects of southern Italy continue to use the 2nd plural, whereas the central and northern dialects use the 3rd singular (Hall 1948: 18). This geographical distribution is further evidence of possible Germanic influence.

The origin of this innovation has not been determined. I have not found a precedent for this usage in German or its attestation in any other Slavic language except for closely related Kajkavian Croatian (Jasna Novak, p.c.), and a comment by Pavle Ivić (in Friedrich 1966: 254) that this is found as an uneducated deferential form in spoken Russian. Such forms are attested in other world languages – for example, Kannada (Bean 1970: 564). The use of *onikanje* for indirect address therefore appears to be an independent Slovene innovation rather than a direct borrowing from German.

6. Text Analysis

To exemplify the interplay of various forms of address in older Slovene, the two-act social comedy *Županova Micka* (Micka the Mayor's Daughter), published by Anton Tomaž Linhart in 1790, was analyzed. Weiss (2003: 205–206) cited some examples from this play in his study of address in the Dreta Valley. This play is ideal for such analysis because it includes characters from a number of social strata. The characters are as follows:

- Higher social rank: *Tulpenheim* (a nobleman), *Šternfeldovka* (a rich young widow), *Monkof* (Tulpenheim's friend), *Glažek* (an educated clerk). Tulpenheim is also initially referred to by the fictitious name *Schönheim*;
- Medium social rank: *Jaka* (the mayor);
- Lower social rank: *Micka* (Jaka's daughter), *Anže* (Micka's fiancé).

In addition, there are two characters that never appear on stage: Jaka's deceased wife and Tulpenheim's uncle.

Table 1 shows the forms of direct address used among all of the characters in the play. A broad range of formality and dynamics of interaction occur:

- Ultra-formal reciprocal *onikanje* between persons of higher rank to signal respect/equality (e.g., Tulpenheim–Šternfeldovka);
- Non-reciprocal *onikanje–vikanje* between persons of higher and medium rank to signal respect/inequality (e.g., Tulpenheim–Jaka);
- Extreme non-reciprocal *onikanje–tikanje* between persons of higher and lower rank to signal respect/inequality (e.g., Tulpenheim–Micka);
- Non-reciprocal *vikanje–tikanje* between persons of medium and lower rank to signal respect/inequality (e.g., Jaka–Micka);
- Reciprocal *tikanje* between persons of higher rank to signal solidarity (e.g., Tulpenheim–Monkof);
- Reciprocal *tikanje* between persons of lower rank to signal solidarity (e.g., Micka–Anže).

Table 2 shows the forms of indirect address used among all of the characters in the play. Two types of formality occur:

- Unmarked *onkanje* (3 sg.) and related dual forms directed at persons whose rank does not demand special deference (e.g., most cases);
- Marked *onikanje* for persons whose rank requires special deference (e.g., Šternfeldovka–Tulpenheim, Micka–Jaka).

Table 1

Direct address in Linhart's *Županova Micka*

Addressee(s)	Addressor						
	Tulp.	Štern.	Monk.	Glaž.	Jaka	Micka	Anže
Tulp.	<i>ti</i> (2.6) ^m	<i>ti</i> (1.3) ^m <i>oni</i> (2.7) <i>oni</i> (2.7) ⁱ	<i>ti</i> (1.5) <i>ti</i> (1.5) ⁱ	<i>oni</i> (1.6) <i>oni</i> (1.6) ⁱ	<i>oni</i> (2.6) <i>oni</i> (2.6) ⁱ	<i>ti</i> (1.2) ^m <i>oni</i> (1.8) <i>oni</i> (1.8) ⁱ	–
Štern.	<i>oni</i> (2.7)	–	–	<i>oni</i> (2.7)	<i>oni</i> (2.3) <i>oni</i> (2.7) ⁱ	<i>oni</i> (1.3) <i>oni</i> (1.3) ⁱ	<i>oni</i> (2.7)
Monk.	<i>ti</i> (1.5) <i>ti</i> (1.6) ⁱ <i>ti</i> (1.9) ^c	<i>oni</i> (2.7)	–	<i>oni</i> (1.10) <i>oni</i> (1.10) ⁱ	<i>oni</i> (2.6) <i>oni</i> (2.6) ⁱ	–	–
Glaž.	<i>oni</i> (1.6) <i>oni</i> (1.6) ⁱ	<i>oni</i> (2.7)	<i>oni</i> (1.6) <i>oni</i> (1.10) ⁱ	<i>ti</i> (2.6) ^m	<i>oni</i> (2.6) <i>oni</i> (2.6) ⁱ <i>vi</i> (2.6)	–	<i>oni</i> (2.6) <i>vi</i> (2.6)
Tulp./Monk.	–	<i>oni</i> (2.7) ⁱ	–	<i>oni</i> (1.6) ⁱ <i>oni</i> (1.10)	<i>oni</i> (2.7) <i>oni</i> (2.7) ⁱ	–	–
Monk./Glaž.	<i>vi</i> (1.10) ⁱ	–	–	–	–	–	–
Tulp./Monk./Glaž.	–	<i>oni</i> (2.7)	–	–	<i>oni</i> (2.6) ⁱ <i>vi</i> (2.6) ^c	<i>oni</i> (2.6) <i>oni</i> (2.6) ⁱ	<i>oni</i> (2.6) <i>oni</i> (2.6) ⁱ <i>vi</i> (2.6)
Jaka	<i>vi</i> (2.6) <i>vi</i> (2.6) ⁱ	<i>vi</i> (2.3)	<i>vi</i> (2.6)	<i>vi</i> (2.6)	–	<i>vi</i> (1.1) <i>vi</i> (1.1) ⁱ	<i>vi</i> (1.4) <i>vi</i> (2.2) ⁱ
Jaka/Anže	–	–	–	–	–	<i>vi</i> (2.4) ⁱ	–
Jaka/Micka/Anže	–	<i>vi</i> (2.7) <i>vi</i> (2.7) ⁱ	–	–	–	–	–
Micka	<i>ti</i> (1.7) ^m <i>ti</i> (1.8)	<i>ti</i> (1.3) <i>ti</i> (1.3) ⁱ	–	–	<i>ti</i> (1.1) <i>ti</i> (1.1) ⁱ	–	<i>ti</i> (2.2)
Anže	–	<i>ti</i> (2.7)	–	<i>ti</i> (2.6)	<i>ti</i> (1.4) <i>ti</i> (1.4) ⁱ	<i>ti</i> (2.2) <i>ti</i> (2.2) ⁱ	–
Micka/Anže	–	–	–	–	<i>vi</i> (2.2) ⁱ	–	–

Note. Scenes of first attestation are marked 1.1. (etc.) = Act 1, Scene 1; *ti* = 2 sg.; *vidva* = 2 du.; *vi* = 2 pl.; *oni* = 3 pl.; ^c = conditional; ⁱ = imperative; ^m = monologue; unmarked = indicative, non-monologue; – = no data

Table 2

Indirect address in Linhart's *Županova Micka*

Addressee(s)	Addressor						
	Tulp.	Štern.	Monk.	Glaž.	Jaka	Micka	Anže
Tulp.	–	<i>on</i> (1.3) ^m <i>on</i> (1.3) ⁻ <i>oni</i> (2.7) ⁺	–	–	<i>on</i> (2.1) ⁻	<i>on</i> (1.3) ⁻	<i>on</i> (2.2) ⁻ <i>on</i> (2.7) ⁺
Štern.	<i>ona</i> (1.5) ⁻	–	<i>ona</i> (2.7) ^m	<i>ona</i> (2.7) ^m	–	–	–
Monk.	–	–	–	<i>oni</i> (1.6) ⁺	–	–	<i>on</i> (2.4) ⁻ <i>on</i> (2.7) ⁺
Glaž.	<i>on</i> (1.5) ⁻	–	<i>on</i> (1.5) ⁻	–	<i>on</i> (2.2) ⁻	–	<i>on</i> (2.4) ⁻
Tulp./Monk.	–	–	–	–	<i>onadva</i> (2.7) ⁺	–	–
Tulp./Monk./Glaž.	–	<i>oni</i> (2.3) ⁻	–	–	<i>oni</i> (2.2) ⁻	<i>oni</i> (1.3) ⁻	<i>oni</i> (1.11) <i>oni</i> (2.6)
Jaka	<i>oni</i> (2.6) ⁻	<i>on</i> (1.3) ⁻	<i>on</i> (2.6) ⁻	<i>on</i> (2.6) ⁻	<i>on</i> (1.1) ⁺	<i>on</i> (1.2) ^m <i>oni</i> (1.3) ⁻ <i>oni</i> (2.6) ⁺	–
Micka	<i>ona</i> (1.5) ⁻	<i>ona</i> (1.3) ^m <i>ona</i> (2.7) ^m	<i>ona</i> (1.5) ⁻	<i>ona</i> (2.6) ⁺	<i>ona</i> (1.4) ⁻	–	<i>ona</i> (1.4) ⁻
Anže	–	–	–	<i>on</i> (2.6)	<i>on</i> (1.1) ⁻	<i>on</i> (1.1) ⁻	–
Micka/Anže	–	–	–	<i>onadva</i> (2.6) ⁺	–	–	–
Jaka's wife †	–	–	–	–	<i>ona</i> (1.1) ⁻	–	–
Tulp.'s uncle	<i>on</i> (1.8) ⁻	<i>on</i> (2.7) ⁻	–	–	–	<i>on</i> (1.3) ⁻	–

Note. Scenes of first attestation are marked 1.1 (etc.) = Act 1, Scene 1; *on/ona* = 3 sg.; *onadva* = 3 du.; *oni* = 3 pl.; ⁻ = in referent's absence; ⁺ = in referent's presence; ^m = monologue; unmarked = indicative, non-monologue; – = no data

As will be seen in the commentary below, these forms are influenced by situational dynamics.

Table 3 shows the forms of inclusive address used among all of the characters in the play. Two types of formality occur:

- Unmarked *midvakanje* (1 du.) or *mikanje* (1 pl.) including one or more persons whose rank does not demand special deference (e.g., most cases);
- Marked *mikanje* for two persons when the includee's rank requires special deference (e.g., Micka–Tulpenheim) or precludes solidarity (e.g., Šternfeldovka–Glažek).

The rapid interchange between numbers and persons is exemplified by a comment by Tulpenheim:

- (4) Nič naj se ne bojé! – Tiho! Eden pride – Bratec, ti se tukej doli skrij, v te ulice! – *H Glažku*. Oni pak kje v pšenico. – Bi ne blo dobru, ke bi nas kdo tukej vkup najdel.

‘Don’t (3 pl.) worry! – Quiet! Someone’s coming – Brother, you (2 sg.) hide down here, in this street. *To Glažek*. You (3 pl.) somewhere in the wheat field. – It wouldn’t be good for someone to find us (1 pl.) together here.’ (Act 1, Scene 6)

Several interesting details emerge in the analysis. These relate to the use of the imperative, internal monologue, self-address, and variation in address.

Table 3

Inclusive 1st person in Linhart’s *Županova Micka*

Includee(s)	Speaker						
	Tulp.	Štern.	Monk.	Glaž.	Jaka	Micka	Anže
Tulp.	–	<i>midva</i> (2.7) ⁺	–	–	–	<i>mi</i> (1.8) ⁺	–
Monk.	<i>midva</i> (1.5) ⁺	–	–	–	–	–	–
Glaž.	–	<i>mi</i> (2.7) ⁺	–	–	<i>midva</i> (2.6) ⁺	–	–
Tulp./Monk.	–	–	–	<i>mi</i> (2.6) ⁱ	–	–	–
Tulp./Glaž.	–	–	<i>mi</i> (2.6) ⁺	–	–	–	–
Monk./Glaž.	<i>mi</i> (1.6) ⁺	–	–	–	–	–	–
Tulp./Monk./Glaž.	–	<i>mi</i> (2.7) ⁺	–	–	–	–	–
Jaka	–	–	–	–	–	–	<i>mi</i> (1.4) ⁺
Jaka/Micka	–	<i>mi</i> (1.3) ⁺ <i>mi</i> (1.3) ⁱ	–	–	<i>mi</i> (2.2) ⁺	–	–
Micka	<i>midva</i> (1.9) [–]	<i>medve</i> (1.3) ⁺ <i>medve</i> (1.3) ⁱ	–	–	–	–	<i>midva</i> (2.6) ⁺
Anže	–	–	–	–	<i>midva</i> (1.4) ⁺ <i>mi</i> (1.4) ⁺ <i>madva</i> (2.5) ⁱ	–	–

Note. Scenes of first attestation are marked 1.1 (etc.) = Act 1, Scene 1; *midva/madva/medve* = 1 du.; *mi* = 1 pl.; – = in includee’s absence; + = in includee’s presence; ⁱ = imperative; unmarked = indicative, non-monologue; – = no data

6.1 Imperative, Internal Monologue, Self-Address

First, a 3rd plural optative *naj*-construction is used to create imperatives addressed to persons otherwise addressed with *onikanje* because Slovene cannot form third-person imperatives. Use of the ordinary 2nd plural imperative would have signaled a shift in formality – for example, Šternfeldovka to Tulpenheim:

- (5) Kaj se bodo branili? Naj se podpišejo, vsaj zavolo mene! – Jih prosim – ‘What are you (3 pl.) waiting for? Go ahead and sign (3 pl.), for my sake! I ask you – (3 pl.)’ (Act 2, Scene 7)

Second, internal monologue allows the characters to speak “secretly” to one another, addressing them in ways that they cannot in public. For example, Micka addresses Tulpenheim/Schönheim informally (2 sg.) in internal monologue and ultra-formally (3 pl.) in his presence:

- (6) Zakaj sim se pak v tebe lohka zalubila, lubeznivi Schönheim? . . . Pak si tudi druge sorte fanteč: lep, bogat – inu še zraven en žlahten gospod . . . ‘Why did I allow myself to fall in love with you (2 sg.), dear Schönheim? . . . After all, you (2 sg.) are a different sort of fellow: handsome, rich – and a nobleman as well . . .’ (Act 1, Scene 2)
- (7) Schönheim! . . . Kaj me res toku močnu ljubijo? ‘Schönheim! . . . Do you (3 pl.) truly love me so much?’ (Act 1, Scene 8)

Similarly, Šternfeldovka addresses Tulpenheim with *tikanje* in internal monologue, but with the ultra-formal distance of *onikanje* in his presence:

- (8) O ti goluf nesramni! ‘Oh, you (2 sg.) shameless cheat!’ (Act 1, Scene 3)
- (9) Naj ga pogledajo, če je ta pravi! ‘Look (3 pl.) at it, to see if it’s real!’ (Act 2, Scene 7)

In contrast, befitting his higher rank, Tulpenheim addresses Micka with *tikanje* both in internal monologue and in her presence:

- (10) Dekle, skorej boš v mojih pesteh! ‘Girl, soon you (2 sg.) will be in my clutches!’ (Act 1, Scene 7)
- (11) Bog te obári, angelček! ‘God safeguard you (2 sg.), my angel!’ (Act 1, Scene 8)

Internal monologue also allows characters to reveal their true attitudes toward other characters; for example, when Jaka describes a hypothetical encounter with a gentleman, using *tikanje* to express disdain:

- (12) Vidiš, dekle, kader mi eden pravi: “Jaka, vi ste en mož, vi imate to narlepši žito, per vas se en dober glažek vina pje,” inu toku naprej, tok jest mislim: beštja, ti lažeš . . . ‘Look, girl, if one of them says to me: “Jaka, you’re (2 pl.) a real man, you (2 pl.) have the best grain, one can drink a good glass of wine at your (2 pl.) place,” and so on, then I think to myself: beast, you (2 sg.) are lying . . .’ (Act 2, Scene 1)

Third, characters address themselves with *tikanje* – even Glažek, who is addressed with *onikanje* by all the others, maintains a psycholinguistically normal 2nd singular relationship with himself rather than a *pluralis majestatis* or some other form:

- (13) Tiho bodi, Glažek! ‘Be (2 sg.) quiet, Glažek!’ (Act 2, Scene 6)

Similarly, all of the characters express themselves in 1st singular, from highest to lowest rank – for example, Šternfeldovka and Micka, respectively:

- (14) Bogu se zahvali, de sim jest prišla.
‘Praise God that I (1 sg.) came along.’ (Act 1, Scene 3)
- (15) Jest očem perstan imeti.
‘I (1 sg.) want to have the ring.’ (Act 1, Scene 3)

The *pluralis majestatis* was likely reserved for royalty, who do not appear in the play.

6.2 Variation in Address

Finally, there are occasional variations in address form. Sometimes this appears to occur for no reason. For example, in one scene Jaka first addresses Anže in a 1st dual inclusive form, but then switches to a 1st plural in a hortatory invitation:

- (16) Anže, jest ti povem, moja dekle ima več pameti koker midva oba vkup.
‘Anže, I tell you, my girl has more sense than the two of us (1 du.) put together.’ (Act 1, Scene 4)
- (17) Pridi z mano, bomo kaj goričuváli . . .
‘Come with me and we’ll (1 pl.) have a talk . . .’ (Act 1, Scene 4)

Similarly, although Glažek refers to Micka and Anže in the dual as expected (he uses *tikanje* to address them singularly), Jaka addresses the pair in the plural (although he also uses *tikanje* to address them as individuals):

- (18) Anže Hudoba inu Micka Zanétovka se bosta narpervič tukej podpisala.
‘Anže Hudoba and Micka Zanétovka will (2 du.) sign first here.’ (Act 2, Scene 6)
- (19) Zdej mi pomagajte, to mizo vun znesti!
‘Now help (2 pl.) me carry this table out!’ (Act 2, Scene 2)

The dynamics of the dual (cf. §3.2) sometimes appear to influence shifts in number and person. Such variation is seen at the end of the play, when Šternfeldovka addresses Tulpenheim with an imperative 3rd plural, and then includes him in a 1st dual:

- (20) Saj ne bodo komedijo jegráli – Naj se poberó! – Midva sva nárazen!
‘Don’t act (3 pl.) like a clown – Get up (3 pl.)! – It’s over between us (1 du.)!’ (Act 2, Scene 7)

Despite the double shift from 3rd to 1st person and plural to dual, the grammar leaves little choice: Šternfeldovka must address Tulpenheim with *onikanje* to display proper distance, but should use the 1st dual to comment on her relation with a social equal (and her ex-lover). At the same time, Šternfeldovka nonetheless uses a 1st plural to comment on herself and Glažek, toward whom she displays respect, but not solidarity (as Glažek is merely educated, and not a member of the gentry):

- (21) Gospod Glažek, jutri se bomo vidili. Me zastopijo?
‘Mr. Glažek, we’ll (1 pl.) see each other tomorrow. Do you (3 pl.) understand me?’ (Act 2, Scene 7)

Similarly, Micka uses 1st plural to comment on herself and Tulpenheim, whom she otherwise addresses with ultra-formal *onikanje*. The use of 2nd dual would presumably have been overly familiar:

- (22) Se bomo vidili, Schönheim!
 ‘We’ll (1 pl.) see each other soon, Schönheim!’ (Act 1, Scene 8)

Another interesting shift occurs when Tulpenheim addresses Monkof (whom he invariably addresses with *tikanje*) and Glažek (whom he invariably addresses with *onikanje*) simultaneously. The result is a “compromise” use of *vikanje*:

- (23) Tiho! Nikar tak šum ne delejte!
 ‘Quiet! Don’t (2 pl.) make so much noise!’ (Act 1, Scene 10)

An example of “best fit” occurs when Micka addresses Jaka (whom she invariably addresses with *vikanje*) and Anže (whom she invariably addresses with *tikanje*) simultaneously. She is forced to use *vikanje*, presumably because a dual form would have been too informal to express her relationship to her father:

- (24) Nič se ne bojite! To je moja skerb!
 ‘Don’t (2 pl.) worry! That’s my concern!’ (Act 2, Scene 4)

The most interesting variation in address occurs in Act 2, Scene 6, where there is a shift in formality when it is clear that the gentlemen have been outwitted. Until this point, Jaka and Anže have addressed the gentlemen using *onikanje* in deference to their social status:

- (25) Tok naj pijejo, no! – Kaj jim ne duši?
 ‘So drink (3 pl.) then, well! – Don’t you (3 pl.) like it?’ (Act 2, Scene 6)
- (26) Nič naj se ne bojé; se jim bo vže damú svetilu
 ‘Have (3 pl.) no fear; I’ll give you (3 pl.) a piece of my mind’ (Act 2, Scene 6)

But now Jaka and Anže suddenly switch to *vikanje* – signaling continued politeness, but less deference:

- (27) Žlahtni gospodje, jest sim le en kmet, ampak za norca se ne pustim deržati, de bi vi še taki gospodje bili.
 ‘Noble gentlemen, I am only a peasant, but I will not let myself be made a fool of, even if you (2 pl.) are still gentlemen.’ (Act 2, Scene 6)
- (28) Za norca vam ne bomo!
 ‘We won’t be your (2 pl.) fools!’ (Act 2, Scene 6)

There is some fluctuation after this in the use of *onikanje* and *vikanje* to address the gentlemen as a group and Glažek individually.⁸

Nonetheless, most of the characters have stable direct address forms. Šternfeldovka, who does not lose face throughout the play, is consistently addressed with *onikanje* by all of the characters. Jaka, as a man of importance but not higher sta-

⁸ This shift is inversely analogous to that seen in Shakespeare’s *Richard III*, in which there is a gradual transition from formal *you* to familiar *thou* between Richard and Anne in Act 1, Scene 2.

tus, is consistently addressed with *vikanje* by all of the characters. Micka and Anže, as lower-status younger persons, are consistently addressed with *tikanje* by all of the characters.

There are also contextual constraints on the formality of reference to referential 3rd persons. This is most clearly seen in the relationship between Micka and her father, Jaka. In internal monologue she is free to refer to him in the 3rd singular:

- (29) Tukej ni treba, de bi moj oča rekal: “Lubi ga . . .”
 ‘Here it’s not necessary for my father to say (3 sg.): “Love him . . .”’ (Act 1, Scene 2)

However, in the presence of anyone else, she deferentially refers to her father with *onikanje*:

- (30) Sej bi oča tudi pustili ne bili.
 ‘Because my father also wouldn’t (3 pl.) allow it.’ (Act 1, Scene 3)

Likewise, others respect this relationship and refer to Jaka with *onikanje* when speaking to Micka, even if they otherwise refer to Jaka with an ordinary 3rd singular – for example, Tulpenheim:

- (31) Kaj res vse vedó?
 ‘Does he really know everything?’ (Act 2, Scene 6)

Likewise, Šternfeldova also uses 3rd plural reference to Tulpenheim when speaking to Micka in his presence (even though she refers to him in 3rd singular elsewhere) in order to maintain the difference in social rank between them:

- (32) Vidiš, Micka, tole tebi ta gospod k doti perložé.
 ‘Micka, look what the gentleman is adding to your dowry.’ (Act 2, Scene 7)

In addition to direct, indirect, and inclusive address, it should be noted that a wide range of titles or non-pronominal abstractions are also used in the play, ranging from low (e.g., *dekle* ‘girl’, *lubka* ‘dear’), to casual (e.g., *oča* ‘father’), to formal (*gospodje* ‘gentlemen’, *gospod šribar* ‘mister clerk’), to elevated (e.g., *gnádliva gospa* ‘esteemed lady’, *njih dobrota* ‘your grace’). These add another dimension to the address forms used in the text but cannot be analyzed here.

7. Further Research

As noted in Reindl (2005: 248, 252), *onikanje* for direct address is not limited to Slovene among the Slavic languages, but has also been attested Czech and Slovak (as well as Kajkavian Croatian and Russian in indirect address; cf. §5). Examination of older dramatic works in these languages would yield similar data – for example, Ján Pálarik’s 1858 play *Inkognito*, which abounds in such examples:

- (33) A oni majú syna, pán radný?
 ‘Do you (3 pl.) have a son, mister town councilor?’ (Act 1)

Pálarik’s play also contains extensive metalinguistic commentary. Contrasting the findings of analyses of such works with Slovene patterns would be of great interest for comparative purposes, and would also shed light on how this shared phenomenon was manifested in the Slavic languages.

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Onikanje v slovenščini: prevzem, inovacija in analiza

Mnogi evropski jeziki imajo dvojni ogovorni sistem, ki razlikuje med formalnim in neformalnim ogovorom. Čeprav knjižna slovenščina sledi temu vzorcu, se od njega razlikuje tako v zgodovinskem smislu kot v vsakodnevni (casual) rabi, saj njen ogo-vorni sistem oblikovno razlikuje do štiri ravni formalnosti: neformalno (tikanje), polformalno (napol vikanje), formalno (vikanje) in ultraformalno (onikanje). Na splošno gledano je imela slovenščina, tako kot mnogi drugi evropski jeziki, diahronično spremenljiv razvoj ogovornih sistemov. Avtor primerja ogovorne sisteme v slovenščini s sistemi v drugih slovanskih in nekaterih svetovnih jezikih, pri čemer upošteva vpliv dvojine v slovenščini. Do nedavnega je bilo onikanje v slovenščini v redni uporabi tako v neposrednem kot posrednem govoru (v primeru govorjenja o odsotni osebi, ki je visoko cenjena). Čeprav nekateri trdijo, da onikanje ni več v uporabi oz., da je njegova uporaba omejena na najstarejšo generacijo, se primeri uporabe ultraformalnega ogovora pojavljajo (resda izjemoma) tudi pri govorcih srednjih let, in sicer tako na podeželju kot v mestih. Slovnične podobnosti slovenskega onikanja z nemškim in relativna zaznamovanost slovničnega vzorca kažejo na nemški izvor, vendar pa se zdi, da slovenska uporaba onikanja v posrednem ogovoru predstavlja samostojen izum brez ustreznice v nemščini. Avtor analizira Linhartovo veseloigro *Županova Micka* iz leta 1790, ki vsebuje pogovore med osebami različnih družbenih položajev, z namenom, da raziše in prikaže vzajemno delovanje teh ogovornih oblik. Tako analizira različne vzorce v velelnih povedih, monologih in samoogovorih ter razlike v ogovornih vzorcih. Raziskave onikanja v drugih jezikih (češčina, slovaščina in kajkavska hrvaščina), vključno z njegovo uporabo v igrah in z metalingvističnim komentarjem v dramskih delih, bi lahko bolje osvetlile pojav, ki je prisoten v več slovanskih jezikih.

Slovene Ultra-Formal Address: Borrowing, Innovation, and Analysis

Typical European languages have a binary system distinguishing between formal and informal address. Although literary Slovene conforms to this pattern, it differs both historically and in casual use, in which the language has a system of address grammatically distinguishing up to four levels of formality: informal (2nd singular), semiformal (2nd-plural verbs with singular participles), formal (2nd-plural verbs with plural participles), and ultra-formal (3rd-plural). In general, Slovenian has shared in the diachronically fluid development of address systems common to many other European languages. Comparisons are drawn between address forms in Slovene, other Slavic languages, and some world languages, and effects of the Slovene dual number are considered. Until recently, Slovenian ultra-formal address was regularly used in direct as well as indirect address (i.e., reference to absent persons held in high esteem). Although some claim that the pattern has passed out of use or is restricted to the most elderly generation, instances of ultra-formal address are encountered (albeit exceptionally) among middle-aged speakers as well, both rural and urban. The grammatical similarities of Slovene ultra-formal address to German formal address, as well as the relative markedness of the grammatical pattern, indicate its German origin. However, the Slovene application of this form to indirect address appears to have been an

independent innovation without a parallel in German. Anton Tomaž Linhart's 1790 play *Županova Micka*, which includes verbal interactions between persons of varying social status, is analyzed in order to explore and illustrate the interaction of these various address forms. Different patterns are observed in imperatives, monologues, and self-address, as well as variation in address patterns. Studies of ultra-formal address in other languages (e.g., Czech, Slovak, and Kajkavian Croatian), including its use in plays and even metalingistic commentary in dramatic works, could shed light on a phenomenon that has been attested in multiple Slavic languages.