

Words or Word Forms in the Particle Role: The Case of Slovene

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Summary. This paper presents particles and other words used as particles in Slovene. It is particularly focused on the conversion of other parts of speech into particles. The functional structuralist approach is adopted, which classifies parts of speech in terms of their syntactic-semantic role in the clause. The particle as a dynamic function word as well as a clause modifier is presented from both a theoretical and practical standpoint and thus the paper concerns both linguistic observations on particles and the practical, i.e. lexicographic, treatment of particles in Slovene texts. With true particles, the text often alternates between a stressed modal role expressing the speaker's evaluation of what is being communicated, and a related connective role.

Various situational contexts in communication cause syntactic-semantic inversions between the expressive and connective roles to be very common and ordinary, thereby functionally likening particles to conjunctions. A particle as a nonmember of sentence has neither substantive nor grammatical independent meaning and is therefore often in a conversion relationship with other parts of speech. In Slovene, it is thus confirmed that at least 25% of all particles especially due to their nonindependent generalized meaning, can be in a conversion relationship with other parts of speech. More frequent conversion relationships include interjection → particle, adverb → particle, conjunction → particle, noun → particle, verb → particle.

Keywords: particles, word forms, lexicalized forms, parts of speech, text modality, Slovene.

Besede oz. besedne oblike v členkovni vlogi: na primeru slovenščine

Povzetek. Prispevek predstavlja slovenske členke oz. členkovne rabe v slovenščini, in sicer z vidika konverzije drugih besednih vrst v členke. Izhodišče obravnave je funkcijski strukturalistični vidik, ki besedne vrste opredeljuje glede na njihovo skladenjskopomensko vlogo. Teoretično-praktična predstavitev členka kot dinamične funkcijske besede in stavčnega modifikatorja združuje in komentira sodobne jezikoslovne predpostavke o členku in praktični oz. slovarski prikaz rabe členkov v slovenskih besedilih. Pri pravih, tj. prvotnih členkih se v besedilu pogosto menjujeta poudarjena naklonska vloga, ki izraža govorčev odnos do sporočanega, in pridružena povezovalna vloga.

Ključne besede: členki, besedne oblike, leksikalizirane oblike, besedne vrste, naklonskost besedil, slovenščina.

Žodžiai ir žodžių formos kaip dalelytės: slovėnų kalbos atvejis

Santrauka. Šiame straipsnyje analizuojamos slovėnų kalbos dalelytės ir kiti žodžiai, vartojami kaip dalelytės. Ypač daug dėmesio skiriama kitų kalbos dalių konversijai ir vartojimui kaip dalelyčių. Re-

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miantis įprastu funkciniu struktūralistiniu požiūriu, kalbos dalys klasifikuojamos pagal jų sintaksinį ir semantinį vaidmenį sakinyje. Dalelytės, kaip dinaminiai funkcijos žodžiai, taip pat sakinio modifikatoriai, apibūdinamos tiek teoriniu, tiek praktiniu požiūriu. Darbe nagrinėjamos tiek šiuolaikinės lingvistinės prielaidos, tiek praktinis, t. y. leksikografinis, dalelyčių vartosenos slovenų kalbos tekstuose traktavimas.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: dalelytės, žodžių formos, leksikalizuotos formos, kalbos dalys, teksto modalumas, slovenų kalba.

0 Particles

Particles, unlike adverbs (objective expression of circumstances), always express the subjective evaluation of the speaker or the creator of a concrete text. The transition from adverbs to articles therefore entails the subjectivization of assessment or evaluation. Particularization, as this transition is known, is characteristic of deadjectival adverbs¹ which name a relative property or evaluation, such as *čisto* ‘completely’, *preklemano*, *preklemansko* ‘hella, like hell’, etc.

True particles often alternate between a stressed modal function expressing the speaker’s evaluation of the message, and a connecting function. Modal particles may express participants, circumstances, the event described by the verb, or the quantity, as in *bogvaruj* ‘God forbid’, *končno* ‘finally’, *dejansko* ‘actually’, *baje* ‘allegedly’ and *nikar* ‘Don’t!’. On the other hand, connecting particles affect the cohesion and coherence of a text: *celo* ‘even’, *kaj šele* ‘let alone’, *drugače* ‘otherwise’, *sicer pa* ‘in fact’, *torej* ‘so’, etc. Modal particles are unsurprisingly the most frequent in number given that modality is the primary role of a particle in message formation: *Kdor ne najde nobene povezave, se seveda moti* ‘If you fail to see a connection, you are **of course** mistaken.’ (semantic feature (SF) of ‘emotion’ prevails), *Stari Marinč je bil kajpa slep in gluhi [...] Vrata bodo seveda odklenjena* ‘Old Man Marinč was **definitely** blind and deaf’ [...] The door is **definitely** going to be unlocked.’ (SF of ‘confirmation’ prevails), *Bržkone so to pobožne želje nekaterih ljudi* ‘This is **probably** some people’s wishful thinking’ (SF of ‘probability’ prevails), *To je pravzaprav njena edina sreča* ‘This is **actually** her only source of happiness’ (SF of ‘assumption’ prevails), *Našli so pravzaprav samo še eno truplo* ‘They **actually** only ever found one more body’ (SF of ‘reservation’ prevails). Frequently used connecting particles include *češ* ‘as if to say’, *le* ‘just’, *samo* ‘only’ alongside their phraseological equivalents *češ da* ‘as if to say that’, *samo da* ‘only that’ and derived/compounded lexemes such as *čeprav* ‘although’, *četuđi* ‘albeit’, *predvsem* ‘mainly’, *resda* ‘although’, *seveda* ‘of course’, *vsekakor* ‘certainly’, etc. Some particular-adverbial compounds, such

¹ In Czech linguistics, see [Grepł 1989], this process is frequently termed ‘partikularizace’ and ‘zčasticovávání’.

as *prav tako* ‘also’, and particular-conjunctival compounds, such as *in tudi ne* ‘nor’, also exist.²

Following the grammar of the Slovak Academy which treats compound particles as “secondary particles” [sk. *Sekundárne častice*; Dvonč et al. 1966, 753] as they are basically regular compounds. This is because there is always a verb heading such a compound, even though it might sometimes be contracted or omitted; see, e.g., *seveda* ‘of course’, *morebiti*, *morda* ‘maybe’, *baje* ‘allegedly’, *resda*, *gotovoda*, *kajpa*, *kajpada*, *kajpak* ‘certainly, for sure’, *bržkone*, *najbrž* ‘probably, likely’, *kajne* ‘right’ and *najsibo* ‘let’. Some of such pairs, for instance *skoraj – skorajda*, *kajpa – kajpada* and *kakopa – kakopada*, display a difference in emphasis encoded.

In an intonationally and functionally normal sentence (with the theme-rheme functional sentence perspective and the topic-comment arrangement of sentence elements), connecting particles may encode a change in perspective such that sentence-initial theme actualization obtains a second nucleus. Both nucleus-carrying forms are communicatively central, e.g., in *Ni bilo praktično nobenih mimoidočih [...] Samo drobna starka je pred seboj potiskala napol prazen voziček* ‘There was almost no one there [...] except for a tiny old lady pushing a half empty cart’ [Běličová, Uhlířová 1996, 199].

It follows from this that a particle can function as a nucleus in an intonation phrase comprising an entire sentence. Another example is *Tja ne grem, tako ali tako nimam možnosti zmagati* ‘I’m not going there. There’s no chance I’ll win anyway.’ [Daneš 1999, 152; Daneš 2000, 168–169].

0.1 Slovenian linguistics, especially structuralist Slovenian linguistics describes a particle as a “sentence element modification” [sl. *Stavčnočlenska modifikacija*: cf. Vidovič Muha 1984, 144].³ Not being a sentence element, a particle has neither an objective nor a grammatical meaning and is defined in terms of syntax-semantics and pragmatics [cf. Nekula 2012–2020] in each given text in which it is used. A particle is functionally desemantized and not fixed in form. It is merely a sentence modifier,⁴ sometimes labeled a clause adverb because it introduces contextual circumstances into the text.⁵ Typical de-

² All the examples in the article are taken from the Gigafida 2.0 textual corpus: <https://virijvt.si/gigafida/> (July 2023).

³ This part is based on currently valid observations of contemporary Slovene linguists J. Toporišič [1991; 1992; 2000], I. Černelič Kozlevčar [1991; 1992], A. Vidovič Muha [1984; 2000], A. Skubic [1999] and N. Jakop [2000/01] and in some part on contemporary Anglo-American, Russian, Czech and Slovak reference grammars.

⁴ ‘Modifier’ refers to a word which shifts existing semantic relations or introduces new ones into a text.

⁵ Milka Ivić [1973] discusses clause adverbs (scr. *Rečenični prilozci*) in terms of pragmatic aspects of modality.

fining characteristics of a particle as a relational modifier that is not a sentence element include (a) semantic indeterminateness and (b) a related capacity to semantically modify any given message.⁶

Thus it is those lexemes with a stressed communicative (connecting) role⁷ that constitute the prototypical set of particles as a part of speech.

Functional structuralism (an approach according equal importance to both form and function as connected and co-determined by a given syntactic meaning) was found to be a broad enough approach to follow for the present purposes. There is also an existing functional classification of particle classes in this approach. According to functional structuralism, there is a binary division of particles into (a) those which typically have a **connective role** in a text, with an accompanying modal role, and (b) those which typically express **subjective evaluation**, i.e. a speaker's view and assessment. The former are termed **connective particles (C)** and the latter **modal particles (M)**.⁸ An intermediate group of particles in a both **connective and modal role (C/M)** comprises the particles of affirming and negating. Further subdivision on grounds of syntactic-semantic roles and usage in various text types is also possible within this classification.

1 The role of particles in relation to other parts of speech

At least 25% of all particles in Slovene came about by conversion from a different part of speech.⁹ This happens when a content word in an oblique case loses some of its semantic determinedness (see *hudiča* 'devil_{GEN.SG}', *figo* 'fig_{ACC.SG}') and thus becoming a typically indeterminate, semantically general particle: *Kaj hudiča je bilo to?!* 'What the hell was that?', *Kako za hudiča*

⁶ Multi-word semantically determined units such as *ja, itak* 'yeah right', *češ da* 'as if to say that', *samo da* 'only that' appear most frequently when the second element is an interjection. They can be seen as phraseological units, e.g., *beži no* 'come on, who do you take me for?' *ah ja* 'oh well', etc.

⁷ A 'connector' is a modifier of propositional relations within a text, that is, a fundamental relational modifier of a text. It is typical of particular modifiers to form a kind of co-predicate relative to the co-text. They can therefore be thought of as co-message.

⁸ Connective particles (C) describe different ways of verbalizing while modal particles (M) describe the relations between participants and their reactions to circumstances and events at large. It is for this reason that functional dictionary entries for both types of particles start with matrix verbs *uporabljati se* 'to be used' and *izražati* 'to express' and involve the *speaker* establishing the evaluation of the given situation, participants, and the verbalized content and context as the basic and fundamental pragmatic feature of a definition. A typical definition commences with *izraža, da govorec ..., izraža govorčev odnos do ...* 'expresses the speaker's (evaluation of)... or *uporablja se, ko govorec ...* 'it is used when the speaker...'

⁹ With conversion, a word obtains new morphosyntactic properties and thus changes its part of speech, which results in a new lexical meaning and lexicographic entry [Žele 2014]. From a lexicographic viewpoint, it is significant that whenever a content word is converted into a function word, an entirely novel semantic field is typically created due to an increased syntactic-semantic indeterminateness. Examples include *vrh_n* > *vrh_{prep}* 'top, summit; atop', *stran_n* > *stran_{adv}* 'side; away', *popoldne_n* > *popoldne_{adv}* 'afternoon; in the afternoon', etc.

bi lahko nadgradil svojo športno slavo ‘How in the hell would he be able to elevate his sporting fame?’, *Ta cesta se od hudiča vleče* ‘This road drags on like hell’, *Njemu je za eno figo mar* ‘He doesn’t give a toss’, *Vse skupaj je eno figo vredno* ‘None of it is worth a dime’.

Not being a sentence element, a particle has neither an objective nor a grammatical meaning and is therefore convertible to other parts of speech. The most frequent conversion paths include interjection → particle, adverb → particle, conjunction → particle, noun → particle, and verb → particle.

1.1 Particle VS interjection

Differentiating between particles and interjections is particularly difficult since both parts of speech belong to nonsentence elements and modify both parts of speech and parts of text. The crucial difference between the two lies in the fact that a particle modifies the message of the text whereas an interjection merely adds to its atmosphere. One might say that a particle pertains to the text while an interjection pertains to the event, and this assumption is confirmed by the fact that a particle relates to the co-text while an interjection relates to the context – the extralinguistic and the situational elements. Cf. *fuj* ‘yuck’: we say *fuj* when coming across something disgusting, but it can also be used as a particle if co-text is invoked. E.g., *Fuj pa taka zmaga* ‘To heck with this victory’ means that the speaker is repulsed by the victory and sees it as pointless.

Both particles and interjections are typically indeclinable. Compound particles and interjections especially are fixed in form due to their structurally-morphologically determinate clausal and phrasal wordformational bases. While interjections constitute their own intonation phrases, particles typically belong within the intonation phrase that is the clause in which they appear. The differentiating properties of both word classes are evident in pairs such as *Kaj zaboga dela!* ‘What in God’s name is he doing!’ (particle; paraphrased with *Kaj neki dela?* ‘What on Earth is he doing?’ ‘I neither know nor can know what he is doing.’ VS *Zaboga! Kaj dela?* ‘Dear Lord! What is he doing?’ (interjection); *Primojduš, to je zagotovo tako!* (interjection) VS *To je (za) primojduš tako!* ‘Swear to God, that’s true!’ (particle; paraphrased with *To je zagotovo tako* ‘That is definitely true’).

While interjections can frequently be converted into particles, the reverse is not the case. An interjection’s loose signification, or several of its more concrete significations, can be contained in a more abstract meaning of a particle actualized relative to its head in a given text and thus better definable on a higher conceptual level. On the other hand, a particle’s meaning is emphatic on the basic level, which is why it cannot pass to semantic indeterminacy or a polysemy of several concrete meanings of an interjection. In brief, interjections are more objective than particles because they serve as a direct response

to an actual situation. The interjection *hej* ‘hey’, for example, is used when one calls for attention: *Hej, počakaj malo* ‘Hey, wait a second’. Conversely, the particle *hej*, which has a modal function next to a given verb or noun, renders the verb or noun’s concrete meaning more abstract by **merely emphasizing** its propositional content, e.g., *Vse je v redu, hej* ‘Hey, everything is going to be all right.’¹⁰ An especially frequent conversion is that from emotive interjections into emphatic particles. Several emotions expressed by the interjection *no* ‘well’, for example, convert into an abstract, emphatic particle *no*: *No, boš kaj kmalu izbral?* ‘Well, are you going to make your choice any time soon?’ > *Bodi no malo bolj moder.* ‘Do act a little more wisely’.¹¹

Compared with particles, interjections are more concrete because they are used to react to a concrete situation. In other words, a particle always modifies the word or clause following it, unlike an interjection which is its own unit or text. A particle expresses a subjective evaluation or opinion, for this reason one must hold that affirmatives such as *aha* ‘uh huh’, *aja* ‘oh?’ are particles which can only be converted into interjections. *Aha* signifies that its speaker agrees with the preceding co-text and/or context, as in *Aha, to pojasni vse* ‘Uh huh, this explains everything’, *Aha, je hišnik znova prikimal. Ta mora biti – je pomislil.* ‘Uh huh, the groundskeeper nodded again in agreement. It has to be that one, he thought.’ As an interjection, *aha* is pronounced with greater volume and is used to indicate the speaker’s recognition or recollection of something, as in *Aha, že vem, kam bom šel!* ‘Oh, I know where to go!’, *Se mi že svita. Aha.* ‘I’m getting it, yes.’ *Aja* is used in a similar vein whenever a speaker wishes to emphasize their affirmation or negation, as in *Aja, seveda* ‘Oh, right!’, *Aja, meni se pa ne zdi ravno usluga, da nekomu dovoliš, da skoči čez tvoj balkon.* ‘Well I don’t think you did anyone a favor by letting them jump from your balcony.’ Again, as an interjection, it is pronounced with greater volume and expresses the speaker’s recognition or recollection: *Aja, pa še to* ‘Oh, and another thing’, *Aja?! Potlej pa ni panike* ‘Is that so? No worries then.’

¹⁰ See also *Merila za razločevanje med medmeti in členki, ki so bila narejena za redakcijski priročnik* ‘Differentiation Criteria for Interjections and Particles Created for the Manual of Editing’ passed by the Department of Lexicology of the Institute for the Slovene Language of the Slovenian Academy of Arts and Sciences on 29 March 2022 [Snoj, Žele 2022].

¹¹ The same is true for the emotive interjection *ah* ‘oh’ when it is converted into an emphatic particle. The deciding factor for its categorization as a particle is the fact that it is synonymous with *čuj, ejga, hej, oštja* ‘hey’ in the same function. Its emphatic nature is most evident when it is used directly, i.e. without a pause, before particles of affirmation and negation, e.g., *Ah da. Prav imaš, da.* ‘Oh yes, you are correct.’ This *ah* is without a doubt a particle and it is not feasible for it to be a particle when stressing affirmation and negation, and an interjection when stressing something else. Another argument in favor of this conclusion is the lack of an unambiguous interpretation of *ah* in examples such as *Ah, ne da se mi več razlagati* ‘Oh I can’t be bothered to keep explaining’ or *Ah, dajte no, saj znam brati* ‘Oh come on, I can read it myself’. The interpretation depends on the co-text, which is one of the defining properties of emphatic particles.

1.2 Particle VS adverb

Whereas particles can modify the stress and meaning of any following sentence element, adverbs can only do so to predicators and complements (i.e. they modify “events” and “properties”). See *Ona se **praktično** obnaša/Ona se obnaša **praktično*** ‘She is behaving practically/pragmatically’ (adverb) VS *Naloga je **praktično** že opravljena* ‘The task has practically been completed’ (particle; a particular interpretation is impossible in *Naloga je že opravljena #praktično*), etc.

Particles are used to express a speaker’s or a text author’s subjective evaluation. On the contrary, adverbs are used to express objective evaluation. Compare **particles** in *Danes so **komaj(da)/čisto zares** prišli* ‘They **only/really** came today’ – ***Komaj** danes so prišli* (the speaker’s subjective viewpoint is that they came too late or too slowly) with **adverbs** in *Danes so **težko** prišli/ **Težko** so danes prišli/Danes so prišli **težko*** ‘They **had trouble** coming today’ (the adverb expresses objective evaluation; the speaker expresses the fact that their coming was not without difficulty). On the other hand, *težko* ‘sorry’ in ***Težko** mi je zanj, ker je dober človek* ‘I feel sorry for him since he is a good person’ expresses a more subjective evaluation, like a particle would. This indicates possible conversion to subjective evaluation, from adverb to particle, which is especially common with adverbs of measure or degree such as *hudo* ‘badly’, *čisto* ‘clearly’, *popolnoma* ‘completely’, *zagotovo* ‘definitely’ and *jasno* ‘of course’. See, e.g., ***Jasno**, tajnica je kriva* ‘**Of course** it’s the secretary’s fault’ (the speaker infers that it is beyond doubt), *Ni mi **jasno**, kako si to dosegel* ‘I have **no idea** how you did that’ (the speaker infers that they cannot understand this) VS *Nad dva tisoč metri je danes **jasno*** ‘The weather is **clear** above 2000 m’ (this is a fact as there are no clouds). Another such class of adverbs is the originally spatial adverbs. Thus *blizu* ‘near, about’ expresses the speaker’s evaluation: *Čreda šteje **blizu** petsto ovac* ‘There are **about** 500 sheep in the herd’, *Zmaga jim je bila zelo **blizu**, vendar niso uspeli obrzati prednosti do konca* ‘Victory was so **close**, but they couldn’t maintain the lead to the end’. *Blizu* and also *počez* ‘across’ are interesting from this point of view as they both encode prepositional relations in two different ways. While *blizu* can be used as an adverb and as a particle, *počez* is a compound of a particle and a preposition. See *To je **počez** ocenjevanje, kar je škodljivo* ‘This was estimated **carelessly**, which may be problematic’, *Če vzamem **počez**, so tri svetlolaske, tri črnolaske, predsednica pa je videti izvirno najbolj blond* ‘To be **blunt**, there are three blondes and three brunettes, and it is the president that looks the most naturally blonde.’ Finally, *prej* ‘before, sooner’ is an originally temporal adverb which may also be used as a particle, e.g., ***Prej** bi umrl, kot pa odnehal!* ‘I’d **sooner** die than give up!’, *Pridobivanje koncesije je bilo vse **prej***

kot lahko ‘Obtaining a concession was anything **but** easy’, *Ni bil prijazen, prej vsiljivo radoveden* ‘He wasn’t being nice, **more like** nosy’, etc.

1.3 Particles VS conjunctions

Conjunctions typically encode syntactic-semantic relations between words and clauses. Adding a particular dimension to a conjunction encodes a specific modal meaning. *In* ‘and’ as one of the most common conjunctions thus adds emphasis when used in the particular role, as in *In vse to je res* ‘**And** all of this is true’, meaning ‘Let me stress that this is all true.’ Another particle *naj* ‘may, let’ is not merely a conjunction when used conjunctively – depending on the message, it encodes additional modal content; see *Prosil ga je, (da) naj ga pospremi*. ‘He asked if he **might** escort him’. Conversion from particle to conjunction usually occurs when particles and conjunctions are compounded into complex conjunctions or connecting particles,¹² as in *četudi, čeprav* ‘although’: *Ponosni smo na ta svoj, četudi skromni prispevek* ‘We are proud of our contribution, **however** small it may be.’ ‘We must still admit that the contribution was small’; *Moram ti povedati naravnost, kaj si mislim, pa čeprav te nikoli več ne vidim* ‘I need to give it to you straight, **even though** I may never see you again’ or ‘I must risk never seeing you again’, etc.

The conjunction *da* ‘to’ carries a strict order or warning when it is used as a particle: *Da mi ne zineš nobene več* ‘Not another word from you!’ Other possible messages include indignation (*Da te ni sram!* ‘Shame on you!’) and emphasis (*Ne bomo te več vabili, da veš* ‘We won’t ever invite you again, **just so you** know’). Further emphasis or explanation of previously uttered content is also encoded by particular *kajti*: *Nič se ne bomo sekirali za to, kajti jutri bo nov dan in nove priložnosti* ‘No use beating ourselves up over this **as** tomorrow is a new day which brings new opportunities.’ Upon conversion, the connective meaning of a conjunction becomes part of the particle’s inherent meaning.

1.4 Particles VS nouns

That a word in question has a primarily particular function is indicated by only a few derived forms, e.g., *figico* ‘fig_{DIM.ACC}’, *figole* ‘only-fig’, *grozôta* ‘horror’ (*Figico te bom ubogal* ‘I won’t listen to you, lit. I will listen a fig to you’, *Figole greš* ‘You’re not going anywhere, lit. you’re going just a fig’, *Grozota*

¹² Particles converted from conjunctions belong to the connecting particles class whose function pertains to text cohesion and coherence and can be further divided into the following subclasses based on their input: particles of addition (*celo, kaj šele, še več*), selection (*drugače, sicer pa*), exception (*edino, le, sicer (pa)*), continuation (*kakorkoli (že), najsi bodi, potemtakem, vendarle, vsekakor*), alternation (*namesto tega, nasprotno*), opposition (*zato pa*), explanation (*to se pravi, torej*), demonstration (*namreč*), correction (*ali bolje, namreč, oziroma*), emphasis (*pravzaprav, predvsem, vsaj, zlasti*), summation (*skratka, torej*), digression (*mimogrede*), etc.

to danes ‘Today has been horrible, lit. horror this today’), and nouns in only some oblique cases: *figo* ‘fig_{ACC}’, *groza* ‘horror_{NOM}’, *hudiča* ‘devil_{ACC}’, *vraga* ‘devil_{ACC}’, *máčko* ‘cat_{ACC}’ (*Figo ste pridni* ‘You were not working hard, lit. You worked hard a fig’, *Groza kaj je zinil* ‘What he said was horrible, lit. horror what he said’, *Kaj hudiča se greste!?* ‘What the devil are you doing?’, *Mačko veš!* ‘You know f... all!/ You haven’t got a clue!’). It has been discovered that syntactically-semantically and textually indeterminate particles tend to be in the accusative and other oblique cases while interjections are marked by the nominative or the vocative.

A very typical noun used as a particle is *hudič* ‘devil’. Examples include *Potem se je zgodilo tisto, zaradi česar je Nikolina na robu stresa, zunaj pameti in ogorčena kot hudič [...]* ‘Later arose the reason why Nikolina is stressed out to the end of her wit and indignant **as hell**’ *Bil je besen kot hudič* ‘He was mad **as hell**’, *Ti trgovci so res od hudiča!* ‘There salespeople make me so angry, lit. are **of the devil**’, *Še enkrat lahko povem, da mi je od hudiča všeč, da sem ženska* ‘I will say it again: I’m **helluva** glad to be a woman’, *Kdo za hudiča nas sili na cesto z neustrezno opremljenimi vozili?!* ‘Who **in the hell** is forcing us to drive in insufficiently equipped vehicles?!’, *Kakšen sistem za hudiča pa sploh je to!* ‘What **the hell** kind of a system is that!’, *Rad bi, da bi pri hudiču že prišel ven, da bi opravili zastavljeno* ‘I want him to come **the hell** out so that we can do what we came for’, *Le kdaj, pri hudiču, so prišli?* ‘When **the hell** did they get here?’, *Kako pri hudiču naj vem da so tam?!* ‘How **in the hell** am I supposed to know that they were there?’, etc. Another such example is *figa* ‘fig’: *Mi je eno figo mar* ‘I couldn’t care less, lit. I care **a fig**’, *Eno figo bo drugače!* ‘Like hell will it be different, lit. it will be **one fig** different!’, *Navadno dajo eno figo od sebe,* ‘They don’t usually make an effort, lit. they usually give out **a fig**’, *Prava figa, če pride* ‘I don’t care if he comes or not, lit. **a real fig** if he comes’.

A word with a remarkably wide array of significations is *konec* ‘end’. *Konec* can be a noun, an adverb or a preposition, and in strings with relational parts of speech such as prepositions and conjunctions it can also be used as a particle. See *S svojimi vztrajanji gre vedno do konca* ‘He always insists on his opinion **until the end**’, *Bil je do konca izčrpan* ‘He was **completely** exhausted’, *Z živci je na koncu* ‘He is at his wit’s **end**’, *Najhuje je, da na koncu nima nič za pokazati* ‘the worst part is that they had nothing to show for it **in the end**’, *Nič se ne ve, kaj bo na koncu iz tega* ‘nobody knows how this is going to **end**’ *Tako bo, in/pa konec!* ‘That’s the way it’s going to be, and that’s **final!**’

1.5 Particles VS verbs

Only a few verb forms allow for a particular interpretation, such as *izvólite* ‘here you go, choose_{2pPIIMP}’, *néhaj* ‘stop_{2pSgIMP}’, *recímo* ‘let’s say, say_{3pPIIMP}’,

se razúme ‘for sure, is understood’: *Izvolite sestí* ‘this place is available to sit, lit. choose to sit’, *Nehaj, ni on* ‘I can’t believe it’s him, lit. stop, it’s not him’, *Recimo, da imaš prav* ‘I assume a possibility that you are correct, lit. let’s say you’re correct’, *To se razume samo po sebi* ‘You don’t have to explain it, lit. this is understood itself’.

1.5.1 Lexicalized verb forms

When it comes to particles, it is not surprising that it is present tense forms such as *denimo* ‘let’s put, put_{3pPIPRes}’, *recimo* ‘let’s say, say_{3pPIPRes}’, *vzemimo* ‘let’s take, take_{3pPIPRes}’ that should be the ones that lexicalize. This is because tense lexicalizes together with the verb form and is retained as the prototypically verbal syntactic category. In SSKJ,¹³ the primary explanatory dictionary of Slovene, two common elements can be found in the definitions of those lexicalized forms, yet no explicit link, such as a label ‘used as a particle’, between the three is presented. According to SSKJ, the two common dimensions of meaning in the definitions of the aforementioned lexicalized forms are (a) “*uvaja povedano kot izhodišče za razmišljanja ne glede na resničnost*” ‘frames the following discourse as basis for what is to come irrespective of its truth value’: *Denimo, da je tako, kako zdaj ukrepati naprej* ‘Assuming this is the case, how should we proceed?’, *Recimo, da začne goretí, kaj boš najprej naredil* ‘Let’s say a fire starts, what are you going to do first?’ *Vzemimo, da bodo prišli vsi* ‘Let’s say that they all come’; (b) “*uvaja konkretne prikaze za širši, splošnejši pojem*” ‘introduces specific illustrations of a more general idea’: *Ponekod, denimo na deželi* ‘Somewhere, such as in the countryside’, *Dobro bi bilo gojiti šport, recimo kolesarjenje, košarko* ‘It would be great to do some exercise, say cycling or basketball’, *Zakaj se ne ukvarja s športom, vzemimo na primer s kolesarjenjem?* ‘Why doesn’t he practice sports, such as cycling for example?’ Several other verbs have lexicalized present tense forms, such as *gledati* ‘watch, be in awe’ (*Samo gledam, kaj se dogaja* ‘I am in awe at what I am seeing right now’), *držati* ‘hold’ (*Drži se!* ‘Bye!’), lit. ‘Hold yourself!’), *paziti* ‘watch over, notice’ (*Pazi!* ‘Watch out!’), *praviti se* ‘tell, be equivalent to’ (*Kaj se to pravi!?* ‘I won’t stand for this, lit. ‘What is being told?’), *zdeti* ‘seem’ (*Zdi se, da [...]* ‘It seems that [...]).

The examples show a discrepancy between the particles’ function and the imperative form of the verb which some of them retain. Especially verbs of thinking and feeling tend to retain this form, whose syntactic-semantic intention is bleached when they take on modal roles as particles¹⁴: *Glej, tako ne gre!*

¹³ *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika* ‘The dictionary of literary (standard) Slovene’ is commonly abbreviated as SSKJ. Fran/iskanje (July 2023).

¹⁴ This reminds one of Ramovš’s [1952] claim that the syntactic-semantic distinction between the perfective and the imperfective is the most clear-cut and because of that the most meaningful in the imperative.

‘Look, it doesn’t work like that’ = *Moral bi sam vedeti, da tako ne gre* ‘You should know that it doesn’t work like that’, *Poslušaj, to ne gre!* ‘Listen, you can’t do this’ = *Moral bi sam vedeti, da tako ne gre!* ‘You should know that it doesn’t work like that’.

1.5.2 Periphrastic modal verb forms

Finite verb forms form periphrastic modal verb forms together with the de-verbal particle *naj* and the secondary particle *daj*. Forms with *naj* typically take 1pDu, 1pPl, 3pDu and 3pPl forms (*Naj narediva/naredijo* ‘*naj* do_{1pDu/3pPl}’) while forms with *daj* typically take 2pDu and 2pPl forms (*Daj naredita/naredite* ‘*daj* do_{2pDu/2pPl}’). These periphrastic verbal forms with *naj* and *daj* may be considered a periphrastic optative from a syntactic-semantic point of view.

Ajd, e.g., *Ajd, vstani!* ‘C’mon, get up!’ is a strictly informal counterpart of *daj*. Its variants *ajd*, *ajdi* and *ajde* ‘off you go, go and’ are used as modal particles with the meaning of encouragement or going forward, e.g., *Če se vam tu ne dopade, ajd na drugo stran!* ‘If you don’t like it here, **go and** get to the other side!’.

2 The role of particles in text modality

Modality¹⁵ is an aspect of verbalization¹⁶ in Slovene. Verbalization modality is pragmatically tied to the author/speaker and combines functional syntax and message pragmatics to form objective or subjective sentence modality centered on the author/speaker. Subjective modality is expressed by nonverbal modal expressions of subjective circumstances such as particles, which are not part of the proposition and are independent of it. Instead they are tied to the speaker’s/author’s communicative intention, i.e. the speaker’s/author’s relation to objective content [Petr et al. 1986, 166–167]. Particles and modal adverbs, which are no longer verbs from the synchronic point of view, appear in general to have strong modal meanings and therefore to be nonpropositional.

The modality of particles is always hierarchically superordinate to the nucleus rheme keyword of any finite clause with free word order and functional sentence perspective. Thus, it is possible to say *Zaprlí so tudi njega, Tudi njega so zaprlí* (both ‘He was **also** locked up’), *Njega so tudi zaprlí* or *Tudi zaprlí so ga* ‘He was **even** locked up’ (but not **Zaprlí so njega tudi*). The par-

¹⁵ Modality is a semanticizing suprasyntactic phenomenon not restricted to syntactic patterns, which means it also involves suprasegmental and contextual factors such as intonation, pitch intensity, and even facial expression and gesticulation.

¹⁶ This is so because each verbalization involves a choice of modal verb in the predicate of the proposition relative to the speaker’s communicative intention. The pragmatic view of verbalization involves wide-scope modality, which can, according to J. Nuys [2014], be either dynamic modality (modality of possibility and need), deontic modality (modality of obligation) or epistemic modality (modality of possibility).

ticles place emphasis on the immediately following nucleus rheme sentence element, which means that unlike regular adverbs of objective circumstance, they never transition from theme to rheme.

The speaker's immediate subjective evaluation may be expressed by a wide range of available meanings with regard to intentions behind a given text. Revelatory, mandative and contractual roles are foregrounded, which are in a sense emotive/modal upgrades on the basic descriptive role of expressions of objects and concepts. The classes of particle modality include (in descending frequency): (a₁) reinforcement (*Tako dobro se ti **seveda** ne bo več godilo* 'Of course, you're not going to be doing as well as you have anymore', *Ne bom več toliko delal, **primojsvet** da ne* 'I'm not going to work so hard anymore, **no chance!**'), (a₂) negation reinforcement (*To je storil **vragvedikdo*** 'This was done by **who knows** who did this! = It is impossible to know who did this', ***Vragvedī**, če je še kaj varno* 'God knows if anything is safe anymore = It is impossible to know if anything is safe anymore'), (b) negation (***Bogvaruj** povedati komu* 'God forbid you tell anyone', ***Vseeno**, morali vi si vzeti čas* 'Still, you should have taken enough time'), (c) warning (***Bogvaruj** da bi se mu približal* 'God forbid you get close to it'), (d) mandate (***Ali** bo kaj?! 'Well? We're waiting!*), I scope (*Zamisel je **resda** dobra, samo izvedljiva ni* 'While your idea is good, realistically it's not achievable') (e₁) scope of salience (*Bil je **predvsem** miren* 'He was **above all** calm'), (e₂) scope of totality (*Bil je **povsem** miren* 'He was **totally** calm'); (f) various subjective evaluations: (f₁) wish (*To bo zdaj **le** v redu* 'This **ought to** be fine now'); (f₂) certitude (***Zagotovo** bo boljše* 'It is **definitely** going to be better').

If a particle forms a standalone minor clause (i.e. an elliptical particular minor clause) with falling intonation, it is so because the reinforced proposition previously expressed in the text has been ellipted in that clause. See, e.g., *Ali naj pridem? **Kar.** = *Kar pridi.** 'Should I come? Do. = Do come.' and *Ali boš prišel? **Seveda.** = *Seveda, prišel bom.** 'Are you coming? I am. = I am coming.'

3 Conclusion

As words not semantically-syntactically restricted to any one sentence element, particles may combine grammatical (syntactic), semantic and pragmatic roles. For this reason, any full lexical word can function as a particle as long as it can be used to purely emphasize another, immediately following lexeme and form a collocation with it.

A full lexical word obtains a particle role when it is grammaticalized either with or without a preposition into a particle modifying the following objective sentence element and also adds a semantic input to it. Its grammaticalized form has a generalized meaning within a given text that is constrained by semantic valency of the lexemes in its immediate syntactic environment. If it

is grammaticalized with a preposition, the preposition stresses the relational character of the particle role. Simultaneously with grammaticalization (i.e. loss of semantic content and generalization of grammatical role) of one of the noun's cases or one of the verb's declined forms, lexicalization of that same form into a particle may occur.

The modality of particles is always hierarchically superordinate to the nucleus rheme keyword of any finite clause with free word order and functional sentence perspective, which means that (unlike adverbs) they never transition from theme to rheme within a sentence. The functional sentence perspective of the message and the sentence or text is co-created by nonsentence element modifiers as well as particles as both express the speaker's subjective evaluation.

All in all, a particle's grammatical role is determined by the speaker's immediate subjective evaluation and their use of the wide range of available meanings of the particle or particular lexeme. Thus, a particle's syntactic-semantic role always depends on a given text, which means that there is always a pragmatic dimension alongside the syntactic-semantic one.

Data Sources

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