

Sandra Birzer

Historical development and contemporary usage of discourse structuring elements based on *verba dicendi* in Croatian

Abstract: Modern Croatian features four functional domains which are marked by constructions based on two non-finite forms of *verba dicendi*, namely the adverbial participle *govoreći* ‘speaking’ and the past participle *rečeno* ‘said’:

- a) stance-marking with the prototypical construction ADV + non-finite *verbum dicendi* (e.g. *iskreno govoreći / rečeno* ‘frankly speaking’);
- b) contextualization with the prototypical construction *govoreći / rečeno* + ADJ.INS + NOUN.INS (e.g. *nogometnim žargonom rečeno* ‘speaking (lit. said) in soccer jargon’);
- c) quotative indexing with the prototypical construction *govoreći / rečeno* + NOUN.INS+ NOUN.GEN (e.g. *govoreći rječnikom sv. Pavla* ‘lit. speaking in the language of St. Paul’)
- d) direct speech marking with the help of “plain” *govoreći*.

Only with the formant *rečeno* ‘said’ is the construction semi-productive, which implies a crystallization of functions: “plain” *govoreći* seems to be developing towards an exclusive marker of direct speech, whereas *rečeno* ‘said’ is turning into the preferable formant for all the modified constructions that are associated with discourse functions.

The diachronic part of the paper is concerned with the development of the four constructions mentioned above and proposes an explanation for the current crystallization of functions: firstly, the semantic structure of *reći* ‘say’ predisposes this verb for discourse functions. Secondly, historical language contact with German may have enhanced the rooting of discourse structuring constructions with *rečeno* ‘said’ in Croatian, as German also features a semi-productive construction based on the past participle *gesagt* ‘said’ that serves discourse functions.

1 Introduction

Many languages – not only Slavonic ones – feature discourse structuring elements (henceforth DSEs) based on *verba dicendi*, e.g. B/C/S *iskreno rečeno* ‘frankly speaking’, POL *dokładnie mówiąc* ‘precisely speaking’, RUS *mjagko govorja*

‘mildly speaking’ or GER *kurz gesagt* ‘in short (lit. shortly said)’. As the number of DSEs formed this way is rather high for each language (e.g. 109 types formed with *mówiąc* in POL and 39 formed with *govorja* in RUS (cf. Birzer (accepted)), this may be considered a semi-productive way of forming DSEs. Furthermore, the Slavonic languages display the specificity that many of them employ two different morphological forms of *verba dicendi* for the formation of these DSEs. The simultaneous adverbial participle may be labelled the “fixed participant” in this process, as all Slavonic languages mentioned above feature it, (1)–(4).¹ Additionally, Russian employs the infinitive of *skazat’* ‘say’ (5), Polish the anterior adverbial participle *powiedziawszy* ‘having said’ (6), B/C/S (7) and Czech (8) the passive past participle neuter *rečeno* and *řečeno* ‘said’ respectively.

(1) RUS

Irina-NOM imela status ljubovnicy, a v Azerbajdžane ètot-ADJ.NOM status-NOM ne prestižen, mjadko-ADV govorja-AP.

‘Irina had the status of a lover, and in Azerbaidjan this status is not prestigious, mildly speaking.’

(Tokareva, V. *Svoja pravda*, 2002)

(2) POL

Halina ma płaszcz. Taki-ADJ.NOM płaszcz-NOM to skarb, choć na pozór nic specjalnego – znoszony, trochę za długi i zbyt szeroki, krótko-ADV mówiąc-AP, niemodny.

‘Halina has got a coat. Such a coat is a treasure, although to all appearances it is nothing special – worn out, a bit too long and a bit too wide, in short, unmodern.’

(*Granica wytrzymałości*. // Dziennik Polski. 2006-06-03)

(3) B/C/S

Ambicija nam je bila osvojiti bar bod, ali iskreno-ADV govoreći-AP nismo-1PL ga zaslužili.

‘It was our ambition to win at least this point, but honestly speaking we did not deserve it.’

(HNK_v25 subcorpus, gs20030325sp18906)²

¹ All examples are taken from the respective national corpora if not marked otherwise. For the B/C/S examples the Croatian National Corpus was employed for reasons explained below. Morphosyntactic characteristics of the DSEs, such as the missing coreference between the adverbial participle (AP) and the first argument of the matrix sentence (probably illustrated best by the feminine or neuter AP and the male first argument in (4)), as well as interpunction issues will be discussed in Section 2.

² Unfortunately, the HNK_v25 subcorpus of the Croatian National Corpus does not allow one to identify the text title behind the ID number of the text.

- (4) CZ
 ... muž-NOM.SG.M [...] byl- NOM.SG.M starý a těžce nemocný, **tak-ADV říkajíc-AP.F/N jednou nohou v hrobě.**
 ‘The man was old and very ill, so to say (lit. so saying) with one leg in the grave.’
 (Goldberg, L. *Virus*, 2005)
- (5) RUS
Tut, vidite li, est’ dva puti – tak-ADV skazat’-INF, put’-NOM Cholmsa i put’-NOM Puaro.
 ‘There exist, you see, two ways – so to say, Holmes’s way and Poirot’s way.’
 (Belousova, V. *Vtoroj vystrel*, 2000)
- (6) POL
Tego już, szczerze-ADV powiedziawszy-AP, dokładnie nie pamiętam.
 ‘This, frankly speaking, I do not remember in detail.’
- (7) B/C/S O
Slovačkej, iskreno-ADV řečeno-PTCP.PASS, nisam mnoho znao.
 ‘About Slovakia, frankly speaking, I did not know much.’
 (HNK_v25 subcorpus, fo2005br162cl4078)
- (8) CZ
Hospoda, tedy lépe-ADV řečeno-PTCP.PASS firma, je psaná na jméno Sartanová.
 ‘The pub, so better said the company, was registered under the name Sartanová.’
 (Jonquet, T. *Tarantule Uvězněná paměť*. 2005)

The two forms compete with each other in the sense that they form doublets in combination with some select elements, mainly adverbs (e.g. *RUS čestno govorja / skazat’*, *POL szczerze mówiąc / powiedziawszy*, *B/C/S iskreno govoreći / řečeno* ‘frankly speaking’), but only one of the patterns is semi-productive, whereas the other one has only a few highly lexicalized representatives. What makes B/C/S and Czech special is the fact that one of the “competitors”, namely the passive past participle neuter displays structural similarities with the corresponding German construction (henceforth Cxn) *ADV + gesagt* ‘said’ that also employs the passive participle. As Birzer (2012a) showed that language contact with French and its pattern *á / pour ADV parler-INF* seems to have given rise to the two competing constructions *ADV + govorja* and *ADV + skazat’* in Russian, there is reason to examine the question whether the constructions with the passive past participle neuter in B/C/S and Czech are the result of language contact with

German; the more so, as especially Croatian (cf., among others, Rammelmeyer 1975; Golubović 2007; Štebih 2003) and Czech have been in long-term contact – both oral and written – with German, and German calques in Czech served as a model for replication in other Slavonic languages, among them Croatian (cf. Turk and Sesar 2003). In both languages the construction with the past participle is also a semi-productive one. Another peculiarity of B/C/S not paralleled by Czech, namely the fact that *govoreći* functions also as marker of direct speech, led us to make Croatian the subject of our study. The choice of Croatian over Bosnian and Serbian is motivated by two reasons. Firstly, Croatian is considered the variety on which German has exerted the most influence (cf., among others, Rammelmeyer 1975) and, secondly, Croatian offers the most comprehensive online-accessible text corpus, the Croatian National Corpus, comprising even a subcorpus of classics ranging from the 16th to the 20th century.³

This paper is organized as follows. In the following section a short definition of the term DSE is given. The third section discusses the corpus data that serves as the basis for our investigation. The functions of *govoreći* and *rečeno* in Contemporary Croatian are described in the fourth section, whereas the fifth section traces how *govoreći* acquired the functions of a direct speech marker and DSE, and *rečeno* that of a DSE. Conclusions will be presented in the sixth section.

2 Defining DSEs

Most literature on DSEs in B/C/S uses the terms *diskursivna* or *pragmatska partikula* ‘discourse / pragmatic particle’ (cf. Ivić 2005: 46; Dedaić and Mišković-Luković 2010) and *diskursivan marker* (cf. Popović 2009: 186–187), inspired by the terminology proposed for DSEs in English.

The term *discourse marker* bears some advantages, but also shortcomings. In contrast to *discourse* or *pragmatic particle*, the term *marker* does not provide implications on the item’s size or affiliation with a certain word class (cf. Fischer 2006: 5). Mosegaard-Hansen (2006: 28) illustrates this attitude rather to the point:

the term *discourse marker* is not a cohyponym of, for instance, *interjection*, *conjunction*, *modal particle*, *focus particle*, or *sentence adverbial*. I consider these latter terms to be names for specifiable syntactic categories which may or may not exist in a given language, whereas *discourse marker* names a function which may be fulfilled by items from several of these categories.

³ For a list of sources included in the subcorpus “Klasici” cf. http://www.hnk.ffzg.hr/Izvori_Klasici.html

At first glance, it seems there is nothing to be added to this definition. However, an issue that remains unclear is the exact working principle of a *marker*. This will become clearer if we draw on the function of grammatical markers in morphology, where the term *marker* has probably been borrowed from. Each grammatical category forms a paradigm of values. The grammatical marker is member of the paradigm and expresses one value of the category. In other words, the marker not only signals that the given grammatical category is at work, but at the same time also bears one of its values. DSEs, however, behave in various ways concerning the representation of values. We will demonstrate this with the help of examples (9)–(10).

- (9) *Na pitanje o tome koji bi mu redatelj najviše odgovarao za ekranizaciju “Ken Parkera”, Milazzo je odgovorio “John Ford, ali on-NOM je, **nažalost**-ADV, mrtav”.*
 ‘On the question which director would suit him most for the film adaptation of “Ken Parker”, Milazzo answered “John Ford, but, unfortunately, he is already dead”.’
 (HNK_v25 subcorpus, CW040199811051407hr)
- (10) ... *nacionalizacija-NOM, konfiskacija-NOM, eksproprijacija-NOM . . . **ukratko**-ADV **rečeno**-PTCP.PASS – ozakonjena-ADJ.NOM otimačina-NOM, [se] rastegnula na mnoge hektare najbolje zemlje ...*
 ‘... nationalization, confiscation, expropriation ... in short – legalized seizure, has extended itself over many hectares of the best land.’
 (HNK_v25 subcorpus, gs20021023sb14745)

Nažalost ‘unfortunately’ in (9) is a stance marker and – just like a grammatical marker – signals not only that stance marking is at work, but also embodies one “value” of stance – a negative one in this case. *Ukratko rečeno* ‘in short (lit. shortly spoken)’ is a reformulation marker (on reformulation markers in general cf. Saz Rubio and Fraser 2003). It signals that a reformulation follows, but does not constitute the reformulation. Furthermore, the discourse markers may bear two functions at the same time, e.g. stance marking and reformulation (cf. examples (29)–(32) in Section 4.1). Thus, the so-called discourse markers differ concerning the realization of the discourse function(s) they mark. If we adhere to Mosegaard-Hansen’s definition that a “*discourse marker* names a function which may be fulfilled by items from several of these categories” (2006: 28), we would need to exclude reformulation markers (such as examples (4), (8), (10)) and possibly other subgroups as well) from *discourse markers*, as they do not themselves fulfil the function they signal. However, our items under investigation fulfil all of these functions depending on the context they occur in.

Moreover, there are items called *veznički prilozi* (‘connecting adverbs’). They are distinguished by the fact that

svojim leksičkim sadržajem izriču odnos rečenice u kojoj stoje prema drugim rečeničnim sadržajima, izrečenim ili samo pomišljenim. Takvim priložima i priložnim izrazima nije obično mjesto kraj predikata, kao drugim priložnim oznakama što jest, nego na početku rečenice. (Katičić 2002: 169)

[by their lexical content they express the relationship of the clause in which they stand to other clausal contents, overtly expressed or only imaginary ones. The usual place for such adverbs and adverbial expressions is not the verge of the predicate, as for the other existing adverbial features, but the beginning of the clause. Translation – S. B.]

This coincides with the features of Slavonic connectives offered by Mendoza (2009: 983) following Pasch et al. (2003: 331). Thus, a connective is

a) *nicht flektierbar*, vergibt b) *keine Kasusmerkmale* an seine syntaktische Umgebung, seine Bedeutung ist c) *eine zweistellige Relation*, deren Argumente d) *propositionale Strukturen* sind, die e) als *Satzstrukturen* ausdrückbar sein müssen.

[a] non-inflective, does not assign b) case to its syntactic surrounding, its meaning is c) a binary relation, whose arguments are d) propositional structures which e) need to be realizable as syntactic structures. (Translation – S. B.)]

Furthermore, Mendoza (2009: 984) mentions that the meaning of some conjunctions (CONJ), which may be considered to be prototypical connectives, can be specified by the help of so-called concretizers (*Konkretisatoren*), which in their turn also function as connectives in their own right. This also holds for the Croatian items under investigation, as (11) shows.

- (11) ... *Europska-ADJ.NOM bi unija-NOM u optimalnom obliku mogla postati “federacijom nacionalnih država” ili-CONJ, drukčije-ADV rečeno-PTCP.PASS, konfederacija u kojoj bi nacionalni parlamenti dobili važniju ulogu stvaranjem zajedničkog tijela, “kongresa” ...*
 ‘... the European Union in an ideal configuration could become a “federation of national states” or, in other words (lit. otherwise said), a confederation in which the national parliaments would acquire a more important role by the formation of a collective authority, a “congress”...’
 (HNK_v25 subcorpus, vj20010601gl03)

However, our items occur not only in the sentence-initial position, as is expected of *veznički prilozi*. This is explained by the fact that apart from the connective function, our items fulfil some more functions from the realms of topic management and expressing the speaker’s stance, for example hedging (12). Here, *blago rečeno* ‘mildly speaking’ does not connect two propositional structures, but scopes over just one structure, namely *gangsterski* ‘gangster-like’.

- (12) *Takav-DEM.NOM pristup-NOM politici je, blago-ADV rečeno-PTCP.PASS, gangsterski.*
 ‘Such an approach to politics is, mildly speaking, gangster-like.’
 (HNK_v25 subcorpus, fo2003br63cl1560)

Thus the term *veznički prilog* is also too narrow for the items under investigation.

Therefore, we propose the term *discourse structuring element*, as it does not entail any formal restrictions, but the constituent *structuring* implies scope over certain structures independently from the DSE’s syntactic position.

We recur to Rathmayr (1985) for defining the properties of DSEs. Rathmayr offers an enumeration of defining properties of particles serving as so-called pragmalexemes, which we adapt for DSEs. In addition to these general properties some specific properties exist that are derived from formal aspects of the subgroup under investigation, i.e. DSEs that are based on the adverbial participle *govoreći* ‘speaking’ and the participle *rečeno* ‘spoken’.

Rathmayr’s properties are the following:

- a) syntactic eliminability due to irrelevance for the content, i.e., the proposition (1985: 42). As example (13a) shows, the elimination of the DSE *iskreno rečeno* ‘frankly speaking’ does not change the proposition of the sentence. This coincides with Fraser (2006: 189), who establishes integration into a discourse segment without contribution to its proposition as a defining criterion. However, this criterion is a semantic rather than a syntactic one.
- (13) *O Slovačkoj, iskreno-ADV rečeno-PTCP.PASS, nisam-1SG mnogo znao.*
 ‘About Slovakia, frankly speaking, I did not know much.’
 (HNK_v25 subcorpus, fo2005br162cl4078)
- a. *O Slovačkoj nisam-1SG mnogo znao.*
 ‘About Slovakia I did not know much.’
- b) DSEs cannot be subject to questions, i.e. just like particles (cf. Rathmayr 1985: 72) DSEs do not serve as answers to (probe) questions.
- b. *Šta nisam znao-1SG o Slovačkoj? – *Iskreno-ADV rečeno-PTCP.PASS.*
 ‘What did I not know about Slovakia? – Frankly speaking.’
- c) as a third criterion Rathmayr (1985: 72) lists the non-negatability of particles, which also holds for DSEs (14).
- (14) a. **Ne iskreno govoreći / *iskreno ne govoreći ne*
 NEG frankly speak-AP / frankly NEG speak-AP NEG
očekujem ništa posebno.
 expect-1SG.PRS nothing-ACC special
 ‘Not frankly speaking / frankly not speaking, I do not expect anything special.’

- b. **Ne iskreno rečeno / *iskreno ne rečeno*
 NEG frankly speak-PTCP.PASS.N frankly NEG speak-PTCP.PASS.N
ne očekujem ništa posebno.
 NEG expect-1SG.PRS nothing-ACC special
 ‘Not frankly speaking / frankly not speaking, I do not expect anything special.’

- d) Rathmayr (1985: 72) gives two more defining criteria typical for particles, namely that they are unstressed and cumulative with other particles. However, these fit only partially for DSEs. Firstly, DSEs may bear secondary stress if they consist of several words. Secondly, not all DSEs may be used cumulatively. Probably this is due to the length of some DSEs based on semiproductive constructions, but restrictions also seem to exist due to functional reasons. Concretisation constitutes an occasion for cumulation. Mendoza (2009: 983) states that

[d]ie Bedeutung bzw. Funktion von multifunktionalen koordinierenden Konjunktionen kann durch die Kombination mit sog. Konkretisatoren spezifiziert werden [...], wobei die Konkretisatoren alleine wiederum meistens ebenfalls Konnektorenfunktion übernehmen können.

[the meaning respectively function of multifunctional coordination conjunctions may be specified by combination with so-called concretisators [...], whereupon the concretisators in turn may in most cases also take over the function of connectives on their own. (Translation – S. B.)]

In contrast to Russian and Polish, where this kind of cumulation seems to concern only DSEs with a primarily connective function, usually reformulation markers, Croatian allows for it independent of the DSE’s function, as examples (15)–(17) show. (15) contains the stance marker *iskreno govoreći* ‘frankly speaking’, (16) features *usput rečeno* ‘by the way (lit. spoken)’, a marker for the introduction of further, digression-like information, and (17) contains the reformulation marker *točnije rečeno* ‘more precisely (lit. spoken)’.

- (15) *Ovakav-ADJ.NOM odgovor-NOM sasvim je nedovoljan-ADJ.NOM, a-CONJ*
iskreno-ADV rečeno-PTCP.PASS i netočan-ADJ.NOM.
 ‘Such an answer is completely unsatisfactory, and frankly speaking inaccurate.’
 (HNK_v25 subcorpus, vj20030827ko03)
- (16) ... *svoj rođendan nisam-1SG nikad javno i na javnim mjestima slavio, a-CONJ*
usput-ADV rečeno-PTCP.PASS ne slavim-1SG ga od 1991.
 ‘I never celebrated my birthday openly and in public places, and by the way, I have not celebrated it at all since 1991.’
 (HNK_v25 subcorpus, na249_r03)

- (17) ... *novi*-ADJ.NOM *ili*-CONJ, *točnije*-ADV *rečeno*-PTCP.PASS, *novi-stari*-ADJ.NOM *izvršni*-ADJ.NOM *producent*-NOM *te manifestacije* ...
 ‘... the new or, more precisely, the new-old executive organizer of this event ...’
 (HNK_v25 subcorpus, v230fil01)

Furthermore, Russian and Polish allow cumulation in cases where the DSEs in question serve different discursive needs (cf. Birzer accepted), whereas no such instances were found in our Croatian corpus data.⁴

All DSEs consisting of multi-word units display other characteristic traits that are at least partially derivable from their semantics and syntax.

The semantic criterion defines possible constituents of multi-word DSEs. As this definition is elaborated best in Russian grammar AG-80,⁵ we will apply it to Croatian as well. According to it, multi-word DSEs contain verbs, nouns, adverbs and phraseological units with the meaning of “mysli, reči, vosprijatija, ocenki, émocional’nych, intelektual’nych, volevyh, uzual’nych sostojanij, raznoobraznyh otnošenij, svjazej i zavisimostej, mery, stepeni, kačestvennosti ili količestvennosti [thought, speech, perception, evaluation, of emotional, cognitive, volitional, habitual states, of various relationships, connections and dependencies, of measure, degree, quality or quantity – translation S. B.]” (AG-80: § 2220). The importance of semantics might imply that morphological and (morpho)syntactic features play a minor role. However, only the specific interplay of semantics and morphosyntax allows us to distinguish DSEs from other (syntactic) constructions.

Since the objects of our investigation are formed with the patterns ADV + AP or ADV + PTCP respectively, we will restrict our description of morphosyntactic criteria to the features of these two formation types.

For the ADV + AP type, undoubtedly the most important syntactic issue is the loss of obligatory coreference⁶ between the covert subject of the adverbial participle and the first argument of the matrix verb. Instead the speaker (SP) is the covert subject of the adverbial participle (18). The aforementioned coreference is the characteristic trait of prototypical adverbial participles (19).

⁴ Tagged corpora are suited best for this kind of search. Unfortunately, the Croatian National Corpus offers only one small subcorpus of tagged texts, the cw2000 corpus, in which no corresponding matches have been found. The non-tagged HNK_25 was searched for all instances of *govoreći* and *rečeno*, followed by manual post-processing, also with no corresponding matches.

⁵ Compare the following enumeration with e.g. Katičić (2002: 169) cited above, who deems it sufficient to mention that the items in question have special lexical content, but fails to describe it more precisely.

⁶ Coincidental coreference may still occur if the first argument of the matrix clause is in the first person.

- (18) ... Ø_{sp} *iskreno govoreći, to nije moj problem ...*
 frankly speak-AP this-NOM not-is my-NOM problem-NOM
 ‘Frankly speaking, this is not my problem.’
 (HNK_v25 subcorpus, vj20000211un19)
- (19) Ø_j *Govoreći o birokraciji, ministar_j Petrović_j*
 speak-AP about bureaucracy-LOC minister-NOM Petrović-NOM
je istaknuo
 AUX.3SG stress-PTCP.SG.M
da se protiv toga problema mora boriti svaki hrvatski građanin.
 that every Croatian citizen must fight this problem
 ‘Speaking about bureaucracy, Minister Petrović stressed that every Croatian
 citizen must fight this problem.’
 (HNK_v25 subcorpus, CW008199803051004hr.S17)

The loss of obligatory coreference, together with the speaker as the covert subject of the AP and the irrelevance of the AP for the proposition of the matrix clause, indicates that the adverbial participle ceases to function as a secondary predication, a trait all adverbial participles share – even those that may not be considered prototypical due to the coreference of their covert subject with a matrix verb argument other than the first one (cf. Katičić 2002: 491–492; ex. 22).⁷

- (20) *Odlazeći, od njih, zanesen_j, / Mene_j muče*
 go_away-AP from them excited-NOM.SG.M me torment-PRS.3PL
vrele žudnje.
 torrid-NOM.PL desire-NOM.PL
 ‘On leaving them, excited, / torrid desires torment me.’
 (Tadijanović cited in Katičić 2002: 492)

The situation is somewhat different with the past participle passive *rečeno*. The passive diathesis rests upon the demotion of the agent,⁸ and in the majority of cases the demoted agent is not realized syntactically (cf. Katičić 2002: 156–158; Kunzmann-Müller 1994: 65–68). Thus, we may only state that, in the

⁷ In fact, the loss of secondary predication status implies that the affected item be no longer labelled as an adverbial participle. Yet for reasons of convenience we will retain this denomination. Concerning the new status of the items under investigation, the assignment poses some problems. As has been described above, the items behave like particles, but, on the other hand, they also show resemblance to items like *na žalost* ‘unfortunately’ that are traditionally labeled as sentence adverbials.

⁸ The promotion of the patient is not addressed here, as it is irrelevant for the point we want to make.

case of DSEs based on *rečeno*, the speaker is the only possible semantic argument to fill the role of demoted agent out of a whole range of potentially eligible ones (21).

- (21) *Iskreno rečeno, to nije moj problem.*
 frankly speak-PTCP.PASS.N this-NOM not-is my-NOM problem-NOM
 ‘Frankly speaking, this is not my problem.’
 = *Iskreno rečem da to nije moj problem*
 frankly speak-1SG COMP this-NOM not-is my-NOM problem-NOM
 ‘I say frankly that this is not my problem.’
 ≠ *Ivan iskreno reče da to nije moj problem*
 Ivan-NOM frankly speak-3SG COMP this-NOM not-is my-NOM
 problem-NOM
 ‘Ivan says frankly that this is not my problem.’

Other aspects of valence need to be considered as well. The concerned items are derived from polyvalent verbs. In our case we are dealing with the polysemous verbs *govoriti* ‘speak, say’ and *reći* ‘speak, say’ that require an agent producing the message and, in the majority of their meanings (among them the most frequently used ones), the message itself with the semantic role content. The semantic role content is represented syntactically in various ways – as NP (22), PP (23) or complement clause (24).⁹

- (22) a. *Ivan ne govori istinu.*
 Ivan-NOM NEG say-PRS.3SG truth-ACC
 ‘Ivan is not telling the truth.’
 b. *On je odbio reći ime osobe*
 he-NOM AUX.3SG refuse-PTCP.SG.M say-INF name-ACC person-GEN
s kojom se pregovara ...
 with REL.INS.SG REFL negotiate-PRS.3SG
 ‘He refused to say the name of the person with whom was being negotiated.’
 (HNK_v25 subcorpus, cw116200005051304hr)

⁹ For reasons of space we cannot discuss each meaning and each valency pattern separately. Therefore, we restrict ourselves to the analysis of the two semantic arguments that are pivotal for the development of the items under investigation.

- (23) a. *Ivan je otvoreno govorio o mnogim pitanjima.*
 Ivan-NOM AUX.3SG openly speak-PTCP.SG.M about many-LOC.PL
pitanjima.
 issue-LOC.PL
 ‘Ivan spoke openly about many issues.’
- b. *Što je rekao o njezinoj bolesti liječnik?*
 what-ACC AUX.3SG say-PTCP.SG.M about her-POSS.LOC illness-LOC
liječnik?
 doctor-NOM
 ‘What did the doctor say about her illness?’
 (HNK_v25 subcorpus, izv vjnovak_nove)
- (24) a. *Ivan govori da će doći do Zagreba.*
 Ivan-NOM say-PRS.3SG COMP AUX.FUT go-INF to Zagreb-GEN
 ‘Ivan says that he will come to Zagreb.’
- b. *U tom slučaju, ne bih mogao reći da će proces početi za tri godine.*
 In this case, NEG AUX.COND.1SG can-PTCP.SG.M say-INF COMP
će proces početi za tri godine.
 AUX.FUT.3SG process-NOM begin-INF within three years
 ‘In this case, I could not say that the process will start within three hours.’
 (HNK_v25 subcorpus, cw117200005121003hr)

DSEs based on the adverbial participle inherit this argument structure in an adapted version (on the historical aspects of the adaptation process in Russian and Old Church Slavonic cf. Birzer 2012a, 2012b). The speaker is the only agent to fill the first argument position. Each DSE is integrated into a clause or sentence which may be considered the “heir” of the originally second argument with the semantic role content (12).

Example (21) gives reason to raise the question of whether we are dealing with an instance of clause restructuring in the sense that the formerly superordinate clause becomes a parenthesis in the formerly subordinate clause. This question will be addressed in the section on historical development.

3 Corpus data

As has been mentioned above, our analysis relies on corpus data. The Croatian National Corpus offers several subcorpora. Unfortunately, by the time of our data retrieval in summer 2013 only the subcorpus cw2000 was tagged morphologically. As a corpus of newspaper texts containing just 118 000 tokens is too small for our needs, we resorted to the morphologically untagged HNK_v25 corpus for the synchronic description. We refrained from the usage of web corpora such as

hrWaC, as most texts from the web are rather colloquial and close to oral communication and thus hardly comparable to historical texts, which are the main focus of this paper. For the diachronic description we made use of the untagged subcorpus “Klasici”, containing 65 classical pieces of Croatian literature with an overall token number of 3.6 million words (for a list of the works included cf. http://www.hnk.ffzg.hr/Izvori_Klasici.html) and the Marulić subcorpus of the Croatian National Corpus with all texts of the 15th century writer (81,000 words). As the two historical corpora are still not comprehensive enough to answer our research question, we supplemented them with texts from the University of Zagreb’s *Zbirka književnih djela na hrvatskome jeziku* (<http://dzs.ffzg.unizg.hr/popis.htm>) and Kašić’s translation of the Bible.

Since contemporary Standard Croatian is based on Štokavian, but the material for our historical analysis comprises Čakavian and Kajkavian data as well, some words are in order on this seeming inconsistency. The literature on the history of Croatian stresses the fact that even rather early texts such as the Missals of 1483 and 1494 or the *Korizmenjak* (1508) display a mixture of elements from all three dialect groups (cf. Moguš 1995: 37, 41, 45, Holzer’s discussion (2007: 22–23) of the use of isoglosses for delineating Croatian dialects from other South Slavonic dialects takes the same direction). Although the processes in the 16th and 17th centuries are described differently in the literature, all authors nonetheless stress the mutual influence of all three dialects on the respective standard varieties: Poljanec (1931: 114–115) speaks of the “širenje štokavskog dijalekta na severozapad na račun kajkavskog, a s južne strane na zapad na račun čakavskog dijalekt” [expansion of the Štokavian dialect to the Northeast at the expense of Kajkavian, and from South to West at the expense of the Čakavian dialect. – translation S. B.]. At the same time, he stresses the dialects’ mutual influence on one another, e.g. Čakavian influence on the Štokavian of the Dubrovnik circle (cf. Poljanec 1931: 116) or Štokavian elements in the Kajkavian of Juraj Zrinjski’s press (cf. 1931: 130). Moguš (cf. 1995: 56–76) probably draws a more apposite picture by describing the mutual influence and interdependencies between the dialects as a *koiné* situation: “Two types of common language, or two literary *koinés*, were formed in sixteenth century Croatia. One developed in the west and south, and the other, [sic!] in the north. [...] any dialect spoken in Croatia, i.e., Čakavian, Štokavian, and Kajkavian, could have become the basis of the Croatian literary language. In this respect, the three dialects were equally important, although they were not equally represented in terms of quantity” (Moguš 1995: 75–76). Although Moguš also states an expansion of Štokavian beginning in the 17th century (cf. 1995: 106 for the regression of Čakavian), he also makes it clear that all three dialects continued to influence each other and thus the emerging “All Croatian” standard throughout the 18th century: “This [Kajkavian] standard was interwoven with Čakavian and Štokavian elements, which helped create its distinct character. In addition to that, the Kajkavian areas had been open

to Štokavian influences even before, but in the eighteenth century the reverse was also true” (Moguš 1995: 154). Therefore, we decided to consider texts from all three dialect areas for our diachronic analysis. The more so, as phonetics / phonology and inflectional morphology, where the most fundamental differences between the dialects may be expected, are rather irrelevant for our research question.

In HNK_v25 we restricted our search to the two expressions *govoreći* and *rečeno* forming the verbal element in the explored DSEs. As we do not know which historical syntactic structure(s) served as the point of departure for the modern construction, we decided to consider more inflectional forms and *verba dicendi*. Of the 22 *verba dicendi* in Croatian Church Slavonic enumerated by Mihaljević (2011: 64) we picked the semantically unspecified ones *glagolati*, *govoriti*, *kazati*, *reči* and *skazati*, all with the meaning ‘speak’ or ‘say’ (with the exception of *kazati*, which then meant ‘show’ or ‘point’, but today has the meaning ‘speak’).

The untagged historical subcorpora and digitized texts were searched for the following expressions:

glagol.*

govor.*

kaza.*

kaž.*

rek.*

reče.*

skaza.*

skaž.*

Needless to say that all (half)automatic searches were followed by manual post-processing.

As Kašić’s Bible translation is not available in digitized form, it was searched for the same verbs with the help of the index in the edition from 1999. The index enumerates all attested forms of a lexeme together with selected instances, which means that we could not trace all instances.

4 Constructions with *govoreći* and *rečeno* in Contemporary Croatian

Although DESs in B/C/S have become an issue rather recently (cf. the works cited in Section 2), to the best of our knowledge DSEs based on *govoreći* and *rečeno* have not been analysed so far.

Several works on *verba dicendi* and on language contact that are relevant for our research have been published; however, as these are all – except one – concerned with historical data and contact situations, we will discuss them in Section 5. Pranjković (2007) constitutes the aforementioned exception. He analyses the complements and (at least partially) the modifiers and adjuncts of *verba dicendi* and shows that each meaning of the two polysemous verbs *govoriti* and *reći* displays a specific pattern of complements, modifiers and adjuncts. In the following we will have a closer look at the patterns that show structural parallels with our DSEs. The first relevant pattern concerns *govoriti* and is tied to contexts where the process of conveying a message is focused (this and the following cf. Pranjković 2007: 134). In this case *govoriti* displays no complement but a modifier or adjunct describing the “qualitative circumstances” (*kvalitativna cirkumstancijalnost*, Pranjković 2007: 134), e.g. *govoriti lijepo*-ADV ‘speak nicely’ or *govoriti s prekidima* ‘speak with interruptions’. The parallels to *govoreći* in the DSEs under investigation are twofold. Firstly, the verb is accompanied by a modifier but realizes no complements. Secondly, of the rather infinite multitude of adverbs that are potentially eligible as modifiers of *govoriti*, some describe not the quality or manner of articulation (e.g. *govoriti glasno* ‘speak loudly’), but the quality and / or outer form of the content (e.g. *govoriti lijepo* ‘speak nicely’), just as DSEs like *iskreno govoreći* ‘frankly speaking’ convey the speaker’s evaluation of the proposition the DSE is integrated in.

Furthermore, Pranjković points out that *govoriti* also occurs with some more or less lexicalized accusative complements whose semantics can be expressed alternatively with an adverb, e.g. *govoriti gluposti* vs. *glupo* ‘speak stupid things vs. stupidly’ or *govoriti pametne stvari* vs. *pametno* ‘speak sensible things vs. sensibly’ (2007: 134–135). Quite interestingly, in these cases “u prvi plan izbija predmet nego kvaliteta govorne manifestacije” [to the foreground comes the subject or quality of the utterance – translation S. B.]. In other words, the evaluation of the utterance by the speaker plays a prominent role, just as it does with our DSEs.

Reći seems to prefer complement clauses (25) over NPs for denoting the content of the speech act (cf. Pranjković 2007: 136 as well as the following); PPs are rather unusual. In the cases where *reći* takes an NP as its complement, the noun has to be modified by an adjective (26). This can be interpreted in the way that *reći* has its semantic focus rather on the conveyance of content than its mode of articulation. With the DSEs under investigation this semantic feature is even more distinct, as the mode of articulation is absolutely irrelevant. Amongst others, this can be seen from the fact that the DSEs can be used in written discourse without substituting the respective *verba dicendi* by *pisati* ‘write’ or other verbs denoting written communication.

- (25) *Rekli su svima da ne moraju dolaziti.*
 speak-PTCP AUX.3PL all-DAT.PL COMP NEG must-3PL come-INF
 ‘They told everybody that they needn’t come.’
 (after Pranjković 2007: 136)

- (26) *Reći će vam zanimljive stvari*
 tell-INF AUX.FUT.3SG you-DAT interesting-ACC.PL thing-ACC.PL
o glagolima govorenja.
 PREP verb-LOC.PL speaking-GEN
 ‘He will tell you interesting things about *verba dicendi*.’
 (after Pranjković 2007: 136)

As quite a few adjectives (among them the ones Pranjković gives in his examples: *lijep* ‘nice’ and *zanimljiv* ‘interesting’) are evaluative, the necessity of (evaluative) modification allows us to draw a parallel with our DSEs. The fact that *reći* prefers complement clauses allows us to formulate the hypothesis that the loss of (matrix) clause status was one step in the development of our DSEs. The combination of these three factors, i.e. the focus on content conveyance (in contrast to polysemous *govoriti*, where content conveyance is just one meaning out of several), the predilection of complement clauses and the necessity of an (evaluative) modifier in all other cases, together with the higher general of usage of *reći* in comparison to *govoriti* is probably an explanation of why DSEs based on *rečeno* predominate numerically over those based on *govoreći*.

We will now have a look at the functions of DSEs based on *govoreći* and *rečeno*. In doing so, we follow the categorization proposed in Birzer (accepted) as far as possible.

4.1 The stance-marking function

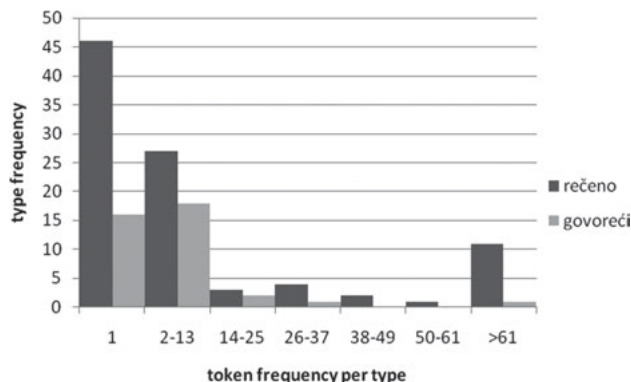
ADV + *govoreći* / *rečeno*¹⁰ is not only the most common construction based on *verba dicendi*, but it is also the prototypical construction for stance-marking, although some instantiations of other construction types, such as e.g. *jednostavnijim*-ADJ.INS *rječnikom*-NOUN.INS *rečeno* ‘in simpler words (lit. with simpler language said)’ may also fulfil this function.

¹⁰ ADV + *govoreći* / *rečeno* is used here as representative, i.e. it stands for all instances with the adverb in pre- and postposition to the verb. This also applies for all other constructions that will be discussed below.

The stance-marking function has 38 representatives based on *govoreći* and 94 representatives based on *rečeno*. To get a more precise picture, we will compare the token frequencies for all representatives (Chart 1) as well as the semantics of the most frequent representatives for *govoreći* and *rečeno* respectively (Chart 2). Since all frequencies are drawn from the same corpus, HNK_v25, we can do without conversion into a words per million count.

As Chart 1 shows, the representatives can be divided into occasional formations with very low usage frequency, an intermediate field, and formations with very high usage frequency. The latter ones may be considered lexicalized. Whether lexicalization also applies to the intermediate field, deserves consideration at least for those representatives with a frequency of 11 to 50.¹¹

Chart 1: Number of stance-marking DSEs of the type *ADV + verbum dicendi* with indication of their token frequency and their verbal basis.¹²



The fact that the mere number of representatives for the *rečeno* constructions outweighs the number of *govoreći* constructions not only in the low, but also by far in the high (token frequency > 51) and intermediate fields (token frequency 10–50) may be interpreted as evidence that the *rečeno* construction is semi-productive. Many of the most frequent *govoreći* constructions have direct (e.g. *iskreno govoreći* / *rečeno* ‘frankly speaking’ or *uvjetno govoreći* / *rečeno* ‘conditionally speaking’) or synonymous counterparts (e.g. *pošteno govoreći* ‘honestly

¹¹ This study is a qualitative one. For a quantitative treatment of similar data cf. Birzer (accepted).

¹² To ensure comparability, the bins of the histogram are of equal size and have been generated on the basis of the data points for *govoreći*.

speaking vs. *iskreno govoreći / rečeno* ‘frankly speaking’) among the most frequent *rečeno* constructions. Furthermore, if we disregard frequency counts, it turns out that each *govoreći* construction has a direct counterpart among the *rečeno* constructions. This might be indicative for the *govoreći* constructions to be analogical forms of the *rečeno* constructions.

Quite interestingly, synonymous series also exist among representatives of one construction type, e.g. *usput / uzgred rečeno* ‘by the way (said)’, *najkraće / ukratko / kratko / sažeto / kraće rečeno* ‘in short (lit. most shortly / more shortly / shortly said)’ or *iskreno / pošteno / otvoreno govoreći* ‘frankly / honestly / openly speaking’, to mention just a few.

The functions of the construction are (partially) derivable from their semantics. On the pragmatic level, the construction expresses speaker’s stance towards the proposition. On the syntactic level, the construction may function as a connective. Both functions are inherent in the construction, but depending on the semantics of the adverb inserted into the construction, their manifestation varies.

Chart 2: Representatives of stance-marking with token frequency > 10 in HNK25.

<i>govoreći</i>		<i>rečeno</i>	
element	token frequency	element	token frequency
<i>iskreno</i> ‘frankly’	73	<i>bolje</i> ‘better’	360
<i>općenito</i> ‘generally’	33	<i>najblaže</i> ‘most mildly’	277
<i>objektivno</i> ‘objectively’	24	<i>uvjetno</i> ‘conditionally’	265
<i>uvjetno</i> ‘conditionally’	18	<i>blago</i> ‘mildly’	176
<i>pošteno</i> ‘honestly’	13	<i>usput</i> ‘by the way’	147
<i>realno</i> ‘frankly (lit. really)’	12	<i>jednostavno</i> ‘plainly’	102
<i>otvoreno</i> ‘frankly (lit. openly)’	11	<i>najkraće</i> ‘in shortest term (lit. most shortly said)’	102
<i>pojednostavljeno</i> ‘simply’	10	<i>pojednostavljeno</i> ‘simply’	99
		<i>iskreno</i> ‘frankly’	81
		<i>točnije</i> ‘more exactly’	75
		<i>uzgred</i> ‘by the way’	73
		<i>jednostavnije</i> ‘more plainly’	59
		<i>preciznije</i> ‘more precisely’	44
		<i>drukčije</i> ‘in other words (lit. in another way said)’	39
		<i>ukratko</i> ‘in short’	34
		<i>uzgred budi</i> ‘by the way’	34
		<i>grubo</i> ‘roughly’	32
		<i>usput budi</i> ‘by the way’	30

Chart 2 (continued)

<i>govoreći</i>		<i>rečeno</i>	
element	token frequency	element	token frequency
		<i>kratko</i> 'in short (lit. shortly said)'	24
		<i>najjednostavnije</i> 'most plainly'	24
		<i>sažeto</i> 'in short (lit. shortly said)'	14
		<i>kraće</i> 'in still shorter terms (lit. shorter said)'	10

Thus, connectivity is less pronounced with *iskreno govoreći* / *rečeno* 'frankly speaking', but speaker's stance figures prominently (compare (27), where speaker's stance is dominant, with (28), where connectivity is also at work); whereas with *najkraće govoreći* / *rečeno* 'in short' connectivity is dominant (29) and the speaker's stance plays only a minor role (compare (29) with (30), where stance is more in focus).

- (27) *EXTRA* : *Jeste li očekivali takav uspjeh? – Ne, iskreno-ADV rečeno-PTCP.PASS nisam-1SG se nadao pobjedi.*
 'EXTRA: Have you expected such a success? – No, frankly speaking I did not hope for victory.'
 (HNK_v25 subcorpus, na138_08)
- (28) *Čini mi se da sam previše introvertirana ili, bolje rečeno, izbirljiva, pa čak i komotna. Iskreno-ADV rečeno-PTCP.PASS, kad se ugase-3PL reflektori-NOM.PL pozornice, prilično sam-1SG dosadna osoba.*
 'It seems to me that I am too introverted or, more precisely (better said), fastidious, even also easy-going as well. Frankly speaking, when the theatre lights are turned off, I am a rather boring person.'
 (HNK_v25 subcorpus, na146_12)
- (29) *Sigurno je, međutim, da je premijer Ehud Barak, koji je preživio glasovanje o povjerenju vladi, doživio snažan udarac izborom Katsava za novoga, osmoga izraelskog šefa države. Otpao je-3SG, najkraće-ADV rečeno-PTCP.PASS, njegov-POSS.NOM vrlo blizak-ADJ.NOM politički-ADJ.NOM istomišljenik-NOM.*
 'Meanwhile it is sure that prime minister Ehud Barak, who has survived the cabinet's no-confidence vote, experienced a strong blow by Katsav's election as the new, eighth Israeli head of government. In short (lit. most shortly said) his very close political like-minded friend has been moved aside.'
 (HNK_v25 subcorpus, vj20000802gl03)

- (30) *Sarajevske vlasti za Herceg Bosnu ne plaćaju ni jednog bosanskog dinara, a Hrvatska za održavanje samo četiri gardijske brigade HVO-a izdvaja – točno i precizno – 105 milijuna američkih dolara godišnje. To-DEM.NOM je-3SG, najkraće-ADV rečeno-PTCP.PASS, apsurdna-ADJ.NOM bilanca-NOM povijesnog HDZ-ova projekta na tlu susjedne države.*

‘The authorities in Sarajevo do not pay a single Bosnian dinar for Herceg-Bosna, but Croatia spends for the maintenance of just four infantry brigades of the HVO [Croatian Defence Council – S. B.] – exactly and precisely – 105 million US dollars per year. That is, in short (lit. most shortly said) the absurd balance of accounts of the HDZ’s historic project on the soil of a neighbouring country.’ (HNK_v25 subcorpus, na135_13)

4.2 The contextualizing function

govoreći / rečeno + ADJ.INS + NOUN.INS is the prototypical construction representing contextualization. A contextualizer relates (part of the) proposition within a certain discourse – be it modern terminology for old and well-known phenomena (cf. especially (31)) or different style registers that characterize certain types of discourse, (32)–(33).

- (31) *Odmah nakon uvođenja [godine 1910 – S. B.], tramvaj-NOM je-3SG u Dubrovniku, današnjim-ADJ.INS jezikom-INS rečeno-PTCP.PASS, bio pravi hit.*

‘Directly after the implementation in 1910, the tramway in Dubrovnik was, using (lit. speaking in) contemporary language, a real hit.’ (HNK_v25 subcorpus, HR510209A)

- (32) *Može li vjernik dati glas stranci koja se protivi izgradnji crkve? Sportskim-ADJ.INS rječnikom-INS govoreći-AP, to-DEM.NOM je-3SG isto kao da član Hajduka navija za Partizan!*

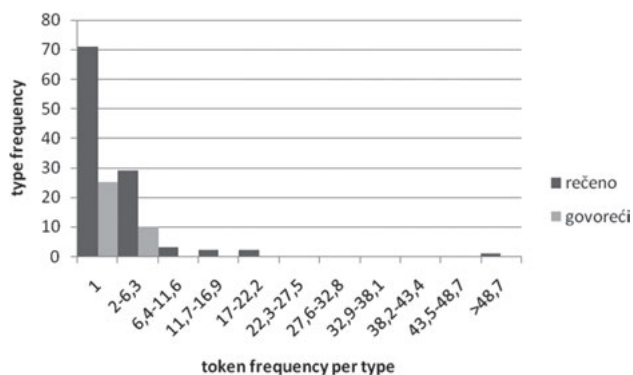
‘Can a believer give his vote to a party that opposes the building of a church? In terms of sports (lit. speaking in sportive language), this is the same as if a member of Hajduk supported Partizan!’ (HNK_v25 subcorpus, gs20050516hr41161b)

- (33) *Dinamov-ADJ.NOM trener-NOM Ilija-NOM Lončarević-NOM u maksimirskom klubu još uvijek radi-3SG bez ugovora, ili-CONJ kolokvijalno-ADV rečeno-PTCP.PASS – radi-3SG “na crno”.*

‘The trainer of Dinamo, Ilija Lončarević, still works in the club of Maksimir without a contract, or, in colloquial language (lit. colloquially said) – he “moonlights”.’ (HNK_v25 subcorpus, vj20010424sp03)

Apart from the construction with ADJ.INS + NOUN.INS, contextualizers can also be based on adverbs, (33).

Chart 3: Representatives of contextualizing sorted after token frequency.



Regarding the distribution of instantiation types and synonymy, Charts 3 and 4 show a picture similar to Charts 1 and 2. However, one difference deserves special mention: judging from the token frequencies of representatives, it looks like the prototypical construction *govoreći / rečeno* + ADJ.INS + NOUN.INS is not as productive as the ADV + *govoreći / rečeno* construction is in general. Yet the fact that along with *nogometnim riječnikom / nogometnim žargonom / nogometnom terminologijom rečeno* ‘speaking (lit. said) in soccer language / jargon / terminology’ there exists also *nogometno rečeno* ‘speaking (lit. said) in a soccer way’ gives reason to assume that at least some of the adverbs used in the contextualizing function are derived from the *govoreći / rečeno* + ADJ.INS + NOUN.INS construction.

Chart 4: Representatives of contextualizing with token frequency > 3.

<i>govoreći</i>		<i>rečeno</i>	
element	token frequency	element	token frequency
<i>slikovito</i>	6	<i>slikovito</i> ‘figuratively’	54
‘figuratively’		<i>laički</i> ‘in layman’s terms (lit. amateurishly)’	19
<i>simbolički</i>	3	<i>simbolično</i> ‘symbolically’	19
‘symbolically’		<i>figurativno</i> ‘figuratively’	13
<i>stručno</i>	3	<i>metaforički</i> ‘metaphorically’	12
‘technically’		<i>pučki</i> ‘in popular language (lit. popularly)’	10

Chart 4 (continued)

<i>govoreći</i>		<i>rečeno</i>	
element	token frequency	element	token frequency
		<i>nogometnim riječnikom</i> ‘in football language’	9
		<i>narodski</i> ‘in folk language’	7
		<i>hrvatski</i> ‘in plain language (lit. Croatian)’	6
		<i>popularno</i> ‘in the language of the masses (lit. popularly)’	6
		<i>simbolički</i> ‘symbolically’	6
		<i>kolokvijalno</i> ‘colloquially’	5
		<i>slikovitije</i> ‘more figuratively’	5
		<i>karikirano</i> ‘in caricature fashion’	4
		<i>današnjim jezikom</i> ‘in today’s language’	3
		<i>diplomatski</i> ‘in diplomatic language’	3
		<i>među nama</i> ‘between us’	3
		<i>naški</i> ‘in our language’	3
		<i>pravnički</i> ‘in legal terms’	3

4.3 The quotative index

Govoreći / rečeno + NOUN.INS + NOUN.GEN is the prototypical construction for this function. The quotative index can be roughly described as “non-verbal clauses (or copula clauses without a canonical subject topic) with a foregrounding function with scope over a nominal that refers to the source, aka [also known as – S. B.] speaker, of an associated direct quote” (Güldemann 2012: 134; for a more detailed description and discussion of the pros and cons of Güldemann’s approach cf. Birzer accepted). Quotative indices combine two functions: Apart from identifying the source of quotation, they also connect two discourses with each other. They link the discourse into which the citation is integrated to the one from which the citation was taken. Weiss (2012) describes the mechanism at work as follows: As basis for the connection [between citation and the text it is integrated into – S. B.] functions the metatextual operation of comparison, i.e. an implicit or explicit parallel between the actual [...] situation [...] and the content of the xeno-text [the quote – S. B.]” [translation – S. B.].

Since referring to quotation sources is a rather individual process in several senses (an individual speaker may use a quotation and give the index or not), most quotative indices are attested just once. They all base on *rečeno*, (34)–(36). It is also possible to use the constructions *rečeno / govoreći* + ADJ.INS + NOUN.INS (34)

and ADV + *rečeno* / *govoreći* (35) as a quotative index if the respective adverb or adjective is derived from the (proper) noun that takes the genitive in the prototypical construction.

- (34) ... živimo u zvjerinjaku ali zato smo svoji na svome, ili – **rečeno**-PTCP.PASS **jezikom**-INS **pokojnoga**-ADJ.GEN **Gojka**-GEN **Šuška**-GEN – kad nas već okružuju-3PL lopovi-NOM, bolje da su to naši lopovi nego tuđi.
 ‘... we live in a menagerie, but consequently we are our people on our ground, or – using the words of the late Gojko Šušak (lit. said in the language of the late Gojko Šušak) – when villains surround us, it is better that they are our villains than foreign ones.’
 (HNK_v25 subcorpus, na147_k08)
- (35) Za razliku od svojih tranzicijskih parnjaka u zemljama gdje, **Držićevim**-POSS. ADJ.INS **rječnikom**-INS **rečeno**-PTCP.PASS “ruka-NOM maha-3SG”, a često polete i odgojne palice, meci i mine, današnje stanovništvo bivše Istočne Njemačke nema vidljivog razloga svoje javne istupe ...
 ‘In contrast to its transitional mates in countries where, using Držić’s wording (lit. said in Držić’s language) “the arms are in a frenzy”, and truncheons, bullets and mines often fly, today’s population of former East Germany does not have an obvious reason for its public furore ...’
 (HNK_v25 subcorpus, na208_r02)
- (36) ... Bleiburg-NOM nosio-3SG neizbrisiv pečat tragedije i bio-3SG smatran-PTCP.PASS.NOM, **matoševski**-POSS.ADV **rečeno**-PTCP.PASS, “teškim križem jedne nacije”.
 ‘... Bleiburg carried the tragedy’s ineradicable stamp and was considered, using Matoš’s words (lit. said in Matoš’s way) “the grave crux of one nation”.’
 (HNK_v25 subcorpus, vj20030430st01)

4.4 The direct speech marking function

This function is a specificity of Croatian, as it has not been attested for Russian and Polish. Only “plain” *govoreći* can be used in this function, (37)–(39). At first glance, the direct speech marker looks like a prototypical adverbial participle whose covert subject is co-referent with the subject of the matrix clause (cf. Katičić 2002: 489–490). However, this is only half the picture, as *govoreći* may also figure in sentences introducing direct speech where it is the only predicate, although such cases are rather few in number (40). Croatian is less rigid about adverbial participles with an overt, non-co-referent subject (cf. Katičić 2002: 491–492) than other Slavonic languages, but, to the best of our knowledge, the possibility of

an adverbial participle forming the only predicate in a sentence has never been allowed for in the grammaticography of contemporary Croatian – even if *govoreći* is co-referent with the subject of the preceding sentence, as in (40). This may be considered an argument for classifying plain *govoreći* as a special marker of direct speech.

Another idiosyncratic feature can also be interpreted as evidence that plain *govoreći* is not a “normal” adverbial participle, but a marker: it occurs directly after a finite *verbum dicendi*, which is semantically more complex and renders the manner of speaking, (37)–(39). From the point of view of semantics and information structure, the finite verb is sufficient to introduce the rendering of speech content, but *govoreći* specifies that the content is rendered in its original form, i.e. as direct speech, and not as reported speech or “digested” in the form of a complement clause or PP, (41).

- (37) *Pokraj nje bila su prevrnutu dječja kolica, a djevojčica-NOM je-3SG plakala govoreći-AP: “Što si napravio mojoj mami!?”*
 ‘Next to her the pram was turned over, and the girl cried, saying: “What have you done to my mama!?”’
 (HNK_v25 subcorpus, gs20050702ck42973)
- (38) *Valpurga-NOM se smijala-3SG tome govoreći-AP: - Eto*
 ‘Valpurga laughed about this, saying: “That is, ...”’
 (HNK_v25 subcorpus, vjnovak_stip)
- (39) *Veselin-NOM Šljivančanin-NOM, major-NOM, postrojio je-3SG pred sobom liječnike i ... držao im moralno-političko vaspitanje govoreći-AP: “Evo bre doktori,”*
 ‘Veselin Šljivančanin, a major, made the doctors deploy in front of him and gave them a moral-political instruction, saying: “Look you doctors”’
 (HNK_v25 subcorpus, gs20031118hr25841)
- (40) *Nisam, međutim, dobro razumjela. – Niste dobro razumjeli? – Ne. Gouldov se otac ponovno stao-3SG smijati, odmahujući-AP glavom. Ali ne govoreći-AP: – Da poludiš.*
 “‘However, I haven’t understood well.’ – “You haven’t understood well?” – “No.” Gould’s father started to laugh again, shaking his head. But not saying: “You are driving me crazy.”’
 (HNK_v25 subcorpus, vj20021218ku08)
- (41) *... on-NOM me nazvao-3SG mobitelom govoreći-AP mi da je otišao u Gospić*
 ‘... he called me by mobile phone, telling me that he had gone to Gospić.’
 (HNK_v25 subcorpus, gs20040614os31492)

This allows us to draw an interesting diachronic parallel to Croatian Church Slavonic, where a cumulation of two *verba dicendi* was also used for marking speech report. Mihaljević (2011: 75) states that “[o]nly in examples where the reporting marker is a combination of two verbs of speaking, the second being *reći* or *glagolati*, the speech report must always follow the reporting verb.” This allows us to propose the hypothesis that the contemporary direct speech marker *govoreći* is the result of a diachronic development, in whose course the rules for the positioning of speech markers slackened and *govoreći* achieved the status of the exclusive marker of direct speech. We will come back on this hypothesis in Section 5.

Taxis embedding is another issue, as plain *govoreći* seems to be on the way to losing it. The adverbial participle (henceforth AP) of imperfective verbs marks the simultaneity of the situations denoted in the AP clause and its matrix clause. Roughly speaking, the tense of the matrix clause predicate serves as a point of reference for the relative tense of the AP (for a more detailed discussion of taxis and its implications cf. Xrakovskij 2003). When the AP is the only predicate in a sentence, as in example (40), the AP is deprived of its point of taxis reference. Example (40) is very enlightening, as it contains two simultaneous APs, *odmahujući glavom* ‘shaking his head’ and *govoreći* ‘speaking’. The point of reference for *odmahujući* is *stao se smijati* ‘he began to laugh’. Although, strictly speaking, the head-shaking should coincide only with the beginning of the laughing, it is more likely that head-shaking and laughing coincide in their temporal extension. Now to *govoreći*. As it has no matrix verb of its own, its placement on the time axis remains unclear. It may be conceived as a) a non-implemented alternative to *odmahujući glavom* ‘shaking his head’, which would imply simultaneity with the (start of) laughing; b) an alternative to the combination of laughing and head-shaking, which would imply posteriority in relation to the preceding dialogue; c) a possible, but non-implemented reaction following the combination of laughing and head-shaking, thus implying posteriority in relation to it. Example (42) provides a similar picture. Here, *govoreći* has a matrix verb, but the temporal extension of the situations denoted by AP and matrix verb differ considerably: the matrix verb *otvoriti vrata* ‘open the door’ denotes a momentary situation, whereas *govoriti* ‘speak’ denotes a perdurative action. This reason as well as common knowledge make it rather improbable that the two situations take place simultaneously, and rather plausible that the speaking antecedes the opening of the door, i.e. is anterior.

(42) *Ja te željno očekujem! – To govoreći-AP, otvori-3SG vrata svoje sobe i, stojeći na pragu, dobaci mu prstima cjelov.*

“‘I wait for you ardently!’” Saying this, she opened the door of the room, and, standing on the threshold, she blew him a kiss with her fingers.’

(HNK_klasici subcorpus, J. Tomić. *Melita*. 1899)

Finally, some words on semantics and valency are in order. In contrast to *reći*, the exact mode of articulation is much more central for many meanings of *govoriti*, just as well as the syntactic realization of content (cf. Pranjković 2001: 136). Thus it is not too surprising that an inflectional form of *govoriti* becomes a marker of direct speech, and an inflectional form of *reći* is part of a semi-productive pattern for forming DSEs. Another contrast to the three functions described above is the fact that plain *govoreći* as a direct speech marker lacks the semantic component ‘the speaker’.

Therefore, considering all facts rendered in this section, we may assume that plain *govoreći* occupies an intermediate position between the prototypical adverbial participle and DSE.

5 Historical development

5.1 State of the art

As our research question is the diachronic development of DSEs based on *verba dicendi* and the role language contact plays in it, we need to cover the state of the art of three issues: the historical development of DSEs, *verba dicendi* in the history of Croatian, and the role of language contact therein.

To the best of our knowledge, the diachronic development of DSEs in the South Slavonic languages is a rather understudied subject, the more so if one is not concerned with elements that are usually subsumed under the label *discourse markers*, i.e. particles or interjections. However, we would like to point out that a study on the historical development of DSEs based on the AP *govorja* ‘speaking’ has already been conducted for Russian (Birzer 2012a), where eight developmental steps have been established:

- 1) APs of the *verba dicendi glagolati*, *rešći* and *govoriti* ‘speak’ function as markers of direct speech with the semantics ‘X is saying Q. X is not the author of P; the speaker is author of P.’¹³ At this stage the direct speech forms a sentence of its own. The contextual information gradually integrates into the AP’s semantics.

13 In this quotation semantic explications in the style of the Moscow Semantic School have been used (cf. Apresjan 2005). The variable X represents semantic arguments of content words; P and Q those of function words. Although *verba dicendi* are without doubt content words, the variables P and Q have been used in order to mark those arguments that are retained on the historical way to DSE.

- 2) Bleaching out of the semantic components connected with sound production; loss of the corresponding syntactic arguments.
- 3) Tightening of the paradigm: only AP *govorja* marks speaker's evaluation Q of a situation P.
- 4) Loss of obligatory co-reference between the covert subject of AP and first argument of the matrix clause.
- 5) AP loses clause status.
- 6) Collocation of the former and a restricted number of manner adverbs; collocations convey speaker's stance to Q.
- 7) Collocation forms sentence with Q.
- 8) Phonological reduction of the collocation; remaining manner adverb conveys meaning of the whole collocation.

(Birzer 2012a: 246–247)

Quite interestingly, inflectional forms of Old Church Slavonic and Old Russian *verba dicendi*, among them APs, functioned as markers of direct speech, quite often in cumulation with a second *verbum dicendi* (cf. Birzer 2012a: 238, 2012b). In later times, this function was fulfilled exclusively by the AP *glagolja* 'speaking', which finally also went out of use in the 18th century (cf. Birzer 2012a: 240). So Russian, in contrast to Croatian, features no more markers of direct speech based on *verba dicendi*.

Verba dicendi have received much attention in the historical linguistics of B/C/S. Mihaljević (2011) gives an account of the semantic arguments of Croatian Church Slavonic *verba dicendi* and their syntactic realization. In his analysis of the possible syntactic realizations of the semantic role 'content', he elaborates on the problems for analysis that (complement) clauses pose (cf. Mihaljević 2011: 69–75). His analysis of speech report markers is of special interest for us.

Mihaljević states that "a reporting marker can be a combination of any verb of speaking with the verb *reči* or *glagolati*. In that case the speech report is always direct speech" (2011: 74). However, judging from Mihaljević's examples, a single, semantically more complex *verbum dicendi* also seems to be sufficient as a reporting marker. These markers may also form a parenthesis or be postponed (cf. Mihaljević 2011: 74–75), but "[o]nly in examples where the reporting marker is a combination of two verbs of speaking, the second being *reči* or *glagolati*, the speech report must always follow the reporting verb" (Mihaljević 2011: 75). If we consider example (42) from Modern Croatian, where the direct speech marker *govoreći* is postponed, it turns out that *govoreći* occupies a less fixed position than the Croatian Church Slavonic reporting markers based on *reči* or *glagolati*.

Hudeček explores foreign influence on the syntactic structures of *verba dicendi* and *cogitandi* in the Čakavian literary language up to the 17th century

(2001) and in the Croatian literary language from the 17th century up to the first half of the 19th century (2003). Unfortunately – as complement clauses are much more interesting for our research question – in both cases Hudeček analyses only arguments syntactically realized as NPs and PPs. These structures deviate in case assignment and choice of prepositions from Modern Croatian, and Hudeček aims to establish which role structural influence from foreign languages played in these deviations. For the Čakavian literary language up to the 17th century, she identifies Latin and Italian as the main sources for the replication of syntactic structures (cf. Hudeček 2001: 97); for the Kajkavian literary language from the 17th to the first half of the 19th century she postulates a strong influence from German (Hudeček 2003: 117). Unfortunately, Hudeček does not confirm her claims by providing appropriate data from the source languages even in cases where this can be accomplished easily, e.g. the Latin source for Kašić's Bible translation. Finally, we would like to mention that there exists manifold literature on (adverbial) participles in Old Serbian (cf., among others, Grković-Major 2003), but, unfortunately, the (morpho)syntactic issues discussed cannot be exploited for our needs.

The role of language contact in the history of Croatian has been an issue for a long time. As our assumption is that German syntactic structures influenced the rise of DSEs based on *rečeno*, we will discuss only works concerned with German influence. The focus of most studies has been on the borrowing of lexical material (cf. among others Striedter-Temps 1958; Schneeweis 1960; Grotzky 1978; Golubović 2007). Štebih (2003: 305) pays some attention to the replication of morphological patterns (and partially morphosyntactic ones, such as reflexivization) in the verbal sector, but this entails only the replication of Croatian patterns by German loans that share the semantics of the pattern-giving Croatian verb, and not the replication of German syntactic patterns in Croatian. Rammelmeyer (1975) explores German loan translations in B/C/S. In doing so, he finds that many past participles passive in B/C/S are borrowed from German (cf. Rammelmeyer 1975: 107; Turk and Sesar 2003: 329–330). Quite interestingly, several of Rammelmeyer's examples serve discourse functions: (43) has text referential function, and (44) expresses the speaker's doubt about the applicability of a concept to a given entity, i.e. conveys speaker's stance.

(43) B/C/S

<i>gore-spomenut</i>		<i>gore-naveden</i>	
above-mention-PTCP.PST.PASS		above-adduce-PTCP.PST.PASS	
G			
<i>oben</i>	<i>erwähnt</i>	<i>oben</i>	<i>angeführt</i>
above-ADV	mention-PTCP.PST.PASS	above-ADV	adduce-PTCP.PST.PASS
	'above mentioned'		

(44) B/C/S

tako-zvan

so-call-PTCP.PST.PASS

G

so-genannt

so-call-PTCP.PST.PASS

'so-called'

The evidence that in general German structural patterns played a role in the formation of participles serving discourse functions strengthens our hypothesis that the specific construction with *rečeno* also developed under German influence.¹⁴ Three more factors also support our hypothesis: Firstly, according to Turk and Sesar (2003: 337) German is considered to be the language to which the Slavonic languages resorted for the replication of patterns and to be the mediator for the adaptation of patterns from the classical and other European languages. This statement deserves a critical comment. Without doubt German exerted some influence on all Slavonic languages, but it was by far not the only influential language; the extension of its influence over linguistic domains such as lexicon, morphology and syntax varied considerably depending on the intensity of language contact,¹⁵ and the influence was not equally strong in all historical time periods, so it is quite difficult to determine which patterns were replicated directly and which ones via a mediator language. However, Croatian was in contact with German for a rather long time, which makes the replication of German patterns very probable. The same also applies to Czech, which leads us to the second factor. Czech is considered to be the mediator language via which calques from German were passed on to other (South) Western Slavonic languages (cf. Turk and Sesar 2003: 327). Since Czech also features DSEs based on the past participle passive *řečeno* 'spoken', it might be that Czech influence reinforced the consolidation of the *rečeno* pattern in Croatian. Thirdly, structural calques seem to enhance the existence of doublets with a different (morpho)syntactic structure (cf. Turk and Sesar 2003: 335). This

¹⁴ Examples of direct translations would be very enlightening, but the identification and accessibility of historical parallel texts poses a major problem. With respect to German-Croatian parallel texts, the *corpora juris* of the Austrian Crownlands probably constitutes the largest resource. Some of them are available online at <http://alex.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/alex-iv.pl> but only as graphical images without the possibility of automatic search. Therefore, we refrained from searching this database. Furthermore, only DSEs of the type (43–44) and possibly reformulating DSEs can be expected due to the text genre.

¹⁵ For example, the German influence on Russian is restricted to loanwords in the lexicon, whereas Czech replicated constructions (cf. e.g. Berger 2009).

might explain the existence of the competing discourse structuring constructions based on *govoreći* and *rečeno* respectively.

5.2 Analysis of diachronic data

Our data allows us to establish three periods in the diachronic development of DSEs based on *govoreći* and *rečeno* respectively. The first one ends with the first half of the 17th century and covers the development of *govoreći* into a marker of speech report. From the second half of the 17th century onwards constructions with *govoreći* and *rečeno* respectively begin to function as DSEs and to develop the morphosyntactic features characteristic for these DSEs. Finally, in the 19th century the DSEs expand their field of usage, which can be seen from increasing type and token frequency.

5.2.1 Development until the first half of the 17th century

As has been mentioned above, in this period *govoreći* acquires its status as a marker of speech report.¹⁶ The comparison of secular and religious writing, namely Kašić's Bible translation, proved to be very helpful, as the two text genres differ in the usage of *verba dicendi* and their morphological forms for marking speech report. As the examples below will show, in the secular texts only the AP *govoreći* is used for marking speech reports. It appears both in a cumulation with another (semantically more complex) *verbum dicendi* and as the sole predicative element; its syntactic position relative to the speech report varies. On the other hand, Kašić uses only cumulations of *verba dicendi* for marking speech reports; the marker always precedes the speech report, i.e. is syntactically fixed, but is formed of various *verba dicendi* in various morphological forms. This may be attributed to archaic style – the more so as Church Slavonic redactions are known to display such variety in the marking of speech reports (cf. among others Daiber 2009; Birzer 2012b) – but it is helpful for our analysis, as it allows us to draw some conclusions on earlier language stages.

In example (45) *govoreći*, the prototypical marker of speech report, functions as a “normal” AP with complements and a matrix verb that is not a *verbum*

¹⁶ Why *marker of speech report* is preferred to *direct speech marker* will become clear in the course of this section.

dicendi. The aim of this example is showing that the features of speech report markers enumerated above are indeed decisive for setting markers apart from mere inflectional forms of *verba dicendi*. It is also noteworthy that in this context *govoreći* does not introduce any speech report.

(45) *Mojses-NOM govoreći-AP na gori z Bogom, puk-NOM se pristraši-3SG i odstupi-3SG od gore, čuvši trublje i glas strašan Božji.*

‘While Moses was speaking on the mountain with God, the people got scared and retreated from the mountain, having heard the blare and God’s awesome voice.’

(HNK_Marulić subcorpus)

Let us now have a look at instances of speech report marking. We will set out with cases where the marker is part of a cumulation of *verba dicendi*. In all these cases, the complements go with the first, semantically more complex *verbum dicendi* (46), whereas the second one is bare, irrespective of the chosen verb and its morphological form.¹⁷ The marker always precedes the speech report. It is also noteworthy that in some cases (47) the semantically more complex verb has a non-finite form, whereas the second *verbum dicendi* is finite – and not vice versa. This can be explained by the higher syntactic independency participles and APs enjoyed in earlier times (cf. Grković-Major 2003). Finally, (53)–(54) are two examples that illustrate why the elements under investigation need to be labelled *markers of speech report* and not *markers of direct speech*: it is not clear whether the prophecies introduced by the markers are renderings of direct speech or periphrases, and are thus citations. Furthermore, (54) can also be treated as evidence that *rečeno* has not yet acquired any discourse function. It is part of a regular passive construction where even the facultative PP encoding the agent is realized syntactically. At the same time, this example shows quite nicely that already in the 17th century *reći* obviously had its semantic focus rather on the conveyance of information than the mode of its articulation, as the Lord does not speak Himself but uses the prophet as instrument.

¹⁷ This holds even for those few cases – 2 of more than 30 analysed ones – where the two *verba dicendi* are placed in reverse order:

(1) kursiv (Kašić, Lk 8,8)

(2) ... kursiv ... (HNK_Klasici subcorpus, Hektorović, Petar: *Ribanje i ribarsko prigovaranje*, 1556.)

- (46) *ere Gñ-NOM govorio jest-3SG Davidu rekši-PTCP.ACT: U ruci sluge moga Davida sahraniti ću puka moga Izraela od ruke filistejske i od svih neprijatelja njegovich.*
 ‘So the Lord spoke to David saying: “In the hands of my servant David I will save my folk Israel from the Philistines’ hand and from all its foes.”’
 (Kašić, 2 Sam 3:18)
- (47) *Odgavarajući-AP tad Job-NOM, reče-3SG: “...”*
 ‘Then answering Job said: “...”’
 (Kašić, Job 26:1)
- (48) *... kamenovahu-3SG Stiepana-ACC, zovećega-PTCP.ACT.ACC i govorećega-PTCP.ACT.ACC: Gñe Jesuse, primi duha moga.*
 ‘... they lapidated Stiepan, who was crying and speaking: “Lord Jesus, accept my soul.”’
 (Kašić, Dj 7:58/Acts 7:59)
- (49) *Koja-NOM [Sara-NOM – S. B.] se nasmija-3SG potajno, govoreći-AP:*
 ‘This one [Sara] laughed in secret, saying: “...”’
 (Kašić, Post/Gen. 18:12)
- (50) *Zanika-3SG Sara-NOM govoreći-AP: Niesam se nasmijala, strahom pristrašena.*
 ‘Sara denied, saying: “I did not laugh, paralysed by fear.”’
 (Kašić, Post/Gen. 18:15)
- (51) *Panucij-NOM poče-3SG Bogu zahvaljivati-INF govoreći-AP: Hvala mi ti budi, o slatki Bože moj ...*
 ‘Panucij began to praise God, saying: “Be this my praise to you, oh my sweet God ...”’
 (HNK_Marulić subcorpus)
- (52) *... moj-POSS.NOM drug-NOM Sladmil-NOM opita-3SG me govoreći-AP: – Ako ti nî trudno, reci mi*
 ‘... my friend Sladmil asked me, saying: “If it is not difficult for you, tell me”’
 (HNK_klasici subcorpus, Zoranić P. *Planine*. 1569)
- (53) *I ispunjuje-3SG se u njih prorocanstvo-NOM Isaije-GEN proroka-GEN govorećega-PTCP.ACT.GEN: Sluhom ćete slišati i nećete razumieti: i gledajući gledati ćete i nećete vidieti.*
 ‘And in them is fulfilled the prophecy of Esaias, which saith, By hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand; and seeing ye shall see, and shall not perceive.’ (King James Bible translation)
 (Kašić, Mt 13:14)

- (54) *A ovo sve bi učinjeno neka bi se izpunilo što-NOM je-3SG rečeno-PTCP.PASS.N od Gospodina po proroku-DAT govorećemu-PTCP.ACT.DAT: Evo će dievica u utrobi imati i roditi će sina i zvati će se ime njegovo Emanuel, koje istomačeno jest S nami Bog.*

'Now all this was done, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which being interpreted is, God with us.' (King James Bible translation)

(Kašić, Mt 1:22)

The second type of contexts is characterized by the following features: the marker is incurred without a second *verbum dicendi* and has no complements or adjuncts. It is optionally accompanied by the deictic adverb *tako* 'so'. Quite interestingly, in secular texts only *govoreći* occurs in this context (55), whereas religious texts feature other, even finite verbal forms (56).¹⁸ If one still considers *govoreći* to be the member of a verbal paradigm and not a lexicalized element, it has to be described as a predicate that has been promoted from secondary predication in a complex sentence to primary predication in a sentence consisting only of the predicate. In comparison to the cumulative speech report marker its position is relatively free, as it can be inserted into the speech report as parenthesis.

- (55) *On ju tišeći-AP tisućkrat i tisuć milo pritiskajući-AP celunu-3SG: – Nemoj se – govoreći-AP – dušice moja, rascviljevati.*

Consoling and a thousand and thousand times pressing her heartily, he kissed her: "Don't," saying, "my darling, moan."

(HNK_klasici subcorpus, Zoranić P. *Planine*. 1569)

- (56) *Zanika-3SG Sara-NOM govoreći-AP: Niesam se nasmijala, strahom pristrašena. A Gñj-NOM: Nie tako, reče-3SG; pače si-2SG se nasmijala.*

'Then Sarah denied, saying, I laughed not; for she was afraid. And he said, Nay; but thou didst laugh.' (King James Bible translation)

(Kašić, Post/Gen. 18:15)

Based on the description of prototypical contexts and features of speech report marking, we will now discuss intermediate cases that allow us to reconstruct the marker's development.

¹⁸ Since the finite verb forms are attested only in contexts where the second *verbum dicendi* is in the 3SG, it is impossible to determine whether they are already fossilized or not.

The first group of intermediate cases consists of instances where the marker still takes the addressee of the speech report as complement. This may happen in the cumulative construction, (57), as well as in cases where the marker is incurred independently of a second *verbum dicendi*, (58).

- (57) *dvižuć-AP dlan u nebo moleći-AP; Bogu govoreći-AP: O Bože, ...*
 ‘... moving the palm to heaven in prayer (lit. praying), speaking to God:
 “Oh God, ...”
 (HNK_Marulić subcorpus)

- (58) *Govoreći-AP njemu: Vid ...*
 Speaking to him: “Eyelight...”
 (HNK_klasici subcorpus, Hektorović, P. *Ribanje i ribarsko prigovaranje*. 1556.)

In the second group complex sentences are gathered. The *verbum dicendi* is predicate of an AP clause with an overt subject; the subject of the AP clause and matrix clause do not coincide. The AP clause follows immediately after the direct speech; the deictic adverb *tako* ‘so’ anaphorically relates to the direct speech (59)–(60). Except that *tako* ‘so’ comes directly after the speech, no fixed order of constituents in the AP clause can be discerned.

- (59) *Anica našim hoće reći – Tako-ADV Dubjak-NOM govoreći-AP, dojdosmo-1PL uz goru ...*
 “Anica wants to speak to our people ...” With Dubjak speaking so, we came to the mountain ...’
 (HNK_klasici subcorpus, Zoranić, P. *Planine*. 1569)
- (60) ... *pripravni ste reći, dali trudi moji nećete podleći. – Tako-ADV govoreći-AP Isus-NOM s učenicí, ugleda-3SG hodeći na njih oružnici ...*
 ‘... you are ready to say that you will not follow my teachings.” Speaking so with his disciples, Jesus saw armed men approaching them ...’
 (HNK_Marulić subcorpus)

In both groups of context, the dropping of complements may serve as an explanation for the development of the syntactically independent marker attested in (57)–(58).

Generally, the semantically more complex *verba dicendi* in “cumulative” contexts fall into two groups: verbs with the semantic component ‘conveyance of information’, such as *odgavarati* ‘answer’ or *moliti se* ‘pray’ and verbs with the component ‘manner of articulation’, such as *smijati se* ‘laugh’ or *vapiti* ‘cry (out)’. The semantics of the former ones implies an addressee for the information and interestingly, markers with the addressee as complement occur only in those intermediate cases, where the semantically more complex *verbum dicendi* belongs to the semantic group of information conveyance. As both *verba dicendi*

have the same subject, the addressee can easily be shifted from one verb to the other and the former AP can be detached into a sentence of its own. In cases where the subject of the preceding sentences is different, the point of reference for the marker is made explicit with the help of a “detached” nominative, (56).

In the second group, the relative syntactic independence of the AP clause with an overt subject enhances its syntactical autonomy from the matrix clause. The situations under consideration are also characterized by the conveyance of information, so it can be assumed that the same mechanisms as described above for the first group of contexts takes place in a second step.

Finally, we would like to discuss one curious example (61) that sheds light on how the marker might have acquired the function of citation marking. The example contains two syntactical structures with a *verbum dicendi* each, namely *govoreći tako* ‘speaking so’ and *kako on reče* ‘as he said’, which frame the speech report. The speech report or citation itself is introduced with the complementizer *da*. As has been shown above, *govoreći tako* prototypically functions as a marker of direct speech, although the verb *govoriti* of course does take complement clauses encoding indirect speech or citations. To make things more complicated, deictic *tako* ‘so’ inhibits a complement clause, as *tako* ‘so’ moves the concrete mode of articulation or the concrete wording (or both) into the focus – information which indirect speech cannot provide. Nearly the same problem arises with *kako on reče* ‘as he said’. *On reče* ‘he said’ is no marker and takes a complement clause without any problems, but *kako* ‘how’, which works as anaphoric deictic referring to the speech content in this context, drastically reduces the probability of *on reče* doing so. Therefore, we propose that the two syntactical structures containing a *verbum dicendi* be considered as markers of the beginning and end of indirect speech. Such marking was helpful with the inconsistent punctuation in historical times, because the beginning and end of the indirect speech were difficult to detect as all pronouns – except the 2nd person – have to be transformed into 3rd person – the most frequent person in narrations (cf. Večerka 2002: 417–419 for Old Church Slavonic). Given that there are no examples found where the initial marker occurs in a cumulative construction and introduces a citation, it can be assumed that the usage as a citation marker was developed via analogy to the marking of direct speech. Since the combination of *govoreći tako* and *da* constitutes a double marking, *da* is in fact obsolete. The more so, as more prototypical examples of citation marking, (53)–(54), involve contexts that explicitly refer to the source of information and thus make it obvious that a citation will follow.

- (61) ***Govoreći-AP tako-ADV: da će svih zgubiti ki ne htiše, kako on reče.***
 ‘Saying so: that he will kill [another possible interpretation would be *izgubiti* ‘lose’] all who do not want, as he said.’
 (HNK_Marulić subcorpus)

5.2.2 The second half of the 17th and the 18th centuries

This time period witnesses the first developmental steps towards DSEs with a stance marking and contextualizing function. Already at this early stage a division line between constructions based on *govoreći* and *rečeno* respectively can be distinguished: although in our corpus *govoreći* with a discourse function is attested four times as often as *rečeno*, we found just one instance where *govoreći* fulfils the contextualizing function, whereas *rečeno* occurs three times in contexts of stance marking or contextualization.

Govoreći is now the only marker of speech report and no intermediate cases are incurred. As in the preceding time period, contexts with two *verba dicendi*, (63)–(64), dominate numerically over those with *govoreći* occurring alone, (65)–(66). In the latter case, the syntactic position of *govoreći* is still less limited, as it can also follow the direct speech. Since the features of this usage have been described extensively in the preceding section, we will not discuss it further.

- (62) ... *videći sada mostove široke i tvrde, počeše-3PL ga blagosivljati-INF govoreći-AP: "Ej junače, uvik živio!"*
 '... seeing there the broad and solid bridges, they began to praise him saying: "Hey hero, may you live forever!"'
 (HNK_klasici subcorpus, Relković, M. A. *Satir iliti divji čovik*. 1762)
- (63) "... *Vidiš lađu eto, ... kako srično brodi*", *kaže-3SG govoreći-AP, "igra se po vodi kao ptič leteći"*
 "...Do you see this ship, how smoothly it runs," he says speaking, "it floats through the water like a flying bird"
 (HNK_klasici subcorpus, Kanižlić, A. *Sveta Rožalija*. 1759)
- (64) ... *zavapi-3SG govoreći-AP: 'Bismo, er nijesmo veće: ...*
 '... he cried of fear, saying: "We were, but aren't no more: ...".'
 (HNK_klasici subcorpus, Đurđević, I. *Uzdasi Mandalijene pokornice*. 1720)
- (65) *Dižem-1SG ruke kao poletit-INF želeći-AP: "Ah, tko bi mi dao krila!" govoreći-AP.*
 'I move my hands like wishing to fly: "Ah, who would give me wings!" saying.
 (HNK_klasici subcorpus, Kanižlić, A. *Sveta Rožalija*. 1759)
- (66) *Da ustavi tebe, neće-3SG "Tko si?" reći-INF ni odbit-INF od sebe "Natrag!" govoreći-AP.*
 'In order to stop you he won't say "Who are you" nor will he repel you from himself by saying "Back!".'
 (HNK_klasici subcorpus, Kanižlić, A. *Sveta Rožalija*. 1759)

Furthermore, there is also one instance of *govoreći* marking a citation (67). Once again, the marker precedes the citation and the source of information is made explicit.

(67) *Imala si prid ovim junake, kako kaže pismo i kronike, koji uvijek slavno vojevaše, ovo ime Slavonci dobiše s Aleksandrom od Macedonije, koji njima dade-3SG dopuštenje baš u pismu tako-ADV govoreći-AP: “Da ne može nitko posli reći neg da ste nam bili pomoćnici, ...”*

‘You had heroes, as the charter and the chronics relate, who always fought gloriously and who this name Slavonci received with Alexander of Macedonia, who gave them the permission in the very charter so saying: “So nobody will later be able to say anything but that you have been helpful”’
(HNK_klasici subcorpus, Relković, M. A. *Satir iliti divji čovik*. 1762)

The 18th century is also the time when *govoreći* and *rečeno* occur for the first time in progenitors of the contemporary DSEs.

Example (68) is enlightening, as the clause *pravo je rečeno* ‘it is rightly said’, merges two functions that are of interest for us. The analytical verb form *je rečeno* introduces the quotation of a saying. But in contrast to (61), where an inflectional form of *reći* ‘speak’ marks the end of an indirect speech, not deictic *kako* ‘how / as’, but the adverb *pravo* ‘rightly / correctly’ is used, which expresses the speaker’s stance towards applying the cited saying to the situation described in the preceding text segment. This may be considered an evidence that stance-marking DSEs developed out of constructions for speech report marking by substituting deictic elements such as *tako* ‘so’ or *kako* ‘how / as’ through adverbs (a similar observation has been made for Russian DSEs of the same pattern, cf. Birzer 2012a: 227). This development is not too surprising, as DSEs – at least in their function as stance markers – are deictic as well. Quite interestingly, in Modern Croatian the construction finds its continuation in *pravo govoreći* ‘rightly speaking’, which is attested twice in the HNK_v25 corpus.

(68) *Pođe s ovoga svita kralj slovinski isto vrime udari na Ljutovida neizbrojena vojska cesara Ludovika, kojoj ne mogući Ljutovid odoliti, pobiže u srbsku zemlju i bi primljen od vojvode srbskoga u dvor svoj; ali se Ljutovid ukaza nepoznan i žestoko neharan, jer pogubivši svoga dobročasnika učini se gospodar od njegova grada i svega bogatstva. Pravo-ADV je-3SG rečeno-PTCP.PASS: “Ne čini dobra nepoznanu, da te zlo ne nađe”.*

‘The Slavonic king [i.e. Borna – S. B.] had departed from this world and at that time uncountable armed forces of Emperor Ludovik made an attack against Ljutovid, and Ljutovid, unable to resist them, fled to the Serbian lands and was received by the Serbian duke in his court; but Ljutovid turned out unthankful and terribly disrespectful, because having killed his benefactor he made himself sovereign of his city and all riches. Rightly it is said: “Don’t do good to an unknown person, so evil will not find you.”’
(HNK_klasici subcorpus, Kačić-Miošić, A. *Razgovor ugodni naroda slovinskoga*. 1759)

- (69) ... *skoro sasvim durchaus ništa ne valjade. Al po-**PREP** duši-**DAT** naški-**POSS.DAT** govoreći-**AP**, umrit ćemo, ...*
 ‘... nearly in general nothing turns around. But speaking according to our soul, we will die ...’
 (HNK_klasici subcorpus, Relković, M. A. *Satir iliti divji čovik*. 1762)

Finally, we would like to mention two expressions that serve textual reference. On the one hand, this is the parenthetical clause *kako je gori rečeno* ‘as has been said above’, (70)–(71), and the attributive participle *rečeni* ‘aforesaid’. Both refer to information that has already been introduced into the discourse at an earlier point in the text. In principle, expressions of the type *kako je gori rečeno* ‘as has been said above’ have the potential to become DSEs with a non-finite verbal element via deletion of the auxiliary. However, the expression is not attested in any form at later stages. *Rečeni* ‘aforesaid’, (72), figures also in contemporary texts; as a participle it is a non-finite verb form, but the fact that it has attributive function does not comply with our definition of DSEs. Therefore, we will not describe its further development.

- (70) ... *Memed-NOM u njega [kašteo – S. B.] stavio-3SG svoje vojnike, kako-ADV je-3SG gori-ADV rečeno-PTCP.PASS, Skenderbeg, ne mogući podnositi Turke u svojoj državi, otiđe od grada do grada kupit vojsku za osvojiti rečeni-PTCP.PASS.ACC kašteo-ACC.*
 ‘... Memed placed his soldiers in it [the fort – S. B.], as was said above, Skenderbeg not being able to stand Turks in his state, went from town to town to buy soldiers for the conquest of the aforesaid (lit. said) fort.’
 (HNK_klasici subcorpus, Kačić-Miošić, A. *Razgovor ugodni naroda slovinskoga*, 1759.)

- (71) *kako je gori rečeno*
 as AUX.3SG above say-PTCP.PST.N
wie oben gesagt / erwähnt (wurde)
 as above say-PTCP.PST.N mention-PTCP.PST.N AUX.3SG
 ‘as has been said / mentioned above’

- (72) *rečeni*
 say-PTCP.PST.M
be-sagt
 PREFIX-say.PTCP.PST
 ‘aforesaid’

Structurally, Examples (68) and (70)–(72) are rather close to the contemporary constructions *ADV + rečeno* and *(ADJ.INS) jezikem.INS rečeno*; (68) may even be

considered a predecessor of the former construction. Since the contemporary constructions also display alternation between *rečeno* and *govoreći*, the question arises how this alternation came into being.

We know from the history of other Slavonic languages that the alternation between two inflectional forms of *verba dicendi* in constructions with the same functions and similar structure is a result of language contact (cf. Birzer 2012a for Russian). Therefore, it seems worth checking this hypothesis for Croatian *rečeno* as well.

Popović (1960: 554: 622) gives a comprehensive survey of the source languages for syntactic replications, loan words and loan translations in Croatian; unfortunately, especially his account of syntactic replications cannot be considered exhaustive. Nonetheless, it helps to identify possible source languages. As the Croatian constructions have structurally and functionally similar counterparts in other Indo-European languages (among them other Slavonic ones such as e.g. Russian, Polish and Czech (see the introductory Section) and non-Slavonic ones such as e.g. English *frankly speaking*-AP, French *à dire*-INF *frai* ‘frankly speaking’ or German *ehrlich gesagt*-PTCP.PASS ‘frankly speaking’) it can be excluded that the respective Croatian constructions are the result of language contact within the *Balkansprachbund*. To capture as many source languages as possible, we decided to consider literature on language contact concerning all three varieties, i.e. Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian. Three major sources of influence are cited there: the first source are the Romance languages, with French as the source language and Italian as both the source and mediating language (cf. Musić 1972; Popović 2005; Franolic 1976; Šoć 2002). Two authors deserve special mention: Popović (2005: 157–166) gives a good theoretical survey of calque types, but applies his theoretical insights only randomly to data from French-Serbian language contact. Musić (1972: 117–119) offers a fine description of semantic influence and syntactic pattern replication from Italian. However, none of them mention the constructions under investigation as cases of language contact with Romance, and the fact that both French and Italian favour constructions with the infinitive as equivalents for the Croatian constructions described above, makes Romance language contact a rather unlikely explanation. Russian (Ajduković 1997) may also be excluded for structural reasons, as its relevant constructions are formed with the help of either the adverbial participle or the infinitive. Thus only German remains, which has exerted quite some influence on Croatian (for the probably most detailed account, also from a historic perspective, cf. Striedter-Temps (1958); Rammelmeyer (1975) and Turk and Sesar (2003) show that loan translations from German also imply pattern replication) and also displays structural convergence: just like Croatian *rečeno*,

the element *gesagt* ‘said’ of the corresponding German construction is a past participle passive. Apart from the structural parallelism, several facts from our data support the assumption that German influence indeed played a role in the enhancement of DSEs based on *rečeno*. Firstly, from their first attestation stance marking DSEs and their precursors are in their majority formed with the help of *rečeno*, the form that is structurally similar to the German equivalent. Furthermore, as example (70) shows, in the 18th century many more expressions existed with a structural parallelism to German (71) than attested today. This may be interpreted as a hint that many more pattern replications from German circulated in the 18th century, but not all of them got rooted in Croatian.

5.2.3 The 19th and 20th centuries

The 19th century witnessed the consolidation of the structures that had emerged in the 17th and 18th centuries. However, we would like to set out with examples that allow us to reconstruct a possible developmental path. For the DSEs based on *rečeno*, the status as a passive clause containing a finite form of the auxiliary *biti* ‘be’ is the point of departure. In (73) *rečeno* is part of an analytic VP with the auxiliary *biti* ‘be’; in the two paratactic clauses, the first semantic participant of the verbs differs – for *reći* ‘say’ it is the person whose direct speech is rendered, and for *činiti se* ‘seem’ it is the narrator. Different first semantic participants and / or first arguments within a sentence are one of the conditions for the development of DSEs (cf. Birzer 2012a). It is also noteworthy that *Ovo je bilo rečeno kao u zanosu* ‘this was said seemingly in ardour’ also expresses the speaker’s stance towards his statement – a function DSEs fulfil as well.

(73) ... *mi iz starih familija – khm – istom u takovoj staroj plemićkoj kući dišemo pravi zrak. Odmah osjeća čovjek – khm – da se nalazi – khm – u sigurnom domaćem gnijezdu. - Ovo-DET.NOM je-3SG bilo rečeno-PTCP.PASS kao-ADV u zanosu*

‘... we from old families – hmm – only in such an old aristocratic house do we breathe the right air. You feel immediately – hmm – that you are – hmm – in the secure native nest. – This was said seemingly in ardour ...’

(HNK_klasici subcorpus, Gjalski, Ks. *Pod starimi krovovi*. 1886)

Sentence (74) is a fine example for the transition of the adverbial participle *govoreći* from secondary predicate to part of a DSE. Coreference between the first semantic participant of the matrix verb and the adverbial participle is still given. It is the speaker who constitutes this participant – they are also the subject of the DSE developing out of the secondary predication.

- (74) – *Ne boj se mene! I ja-NOM znam-1SG – među-PREP nama-PERS.1SG.INS govoreći-AP – za novu gospodu*
 ‘Don’t be afraid of me! I also know – speaking between us – of the new authorities ...’
 (HNK_klasici subcorpus, Šenoa, A. *Prosjak Luka*. 1879)

In (75)–(76) we are dealing with two instances where the construction with *govoreći* marks reformulation. Quite interestingly, the conjunction *ili* ‘or’ has the same function; thus the question arises whether we are dealing with a cumulation of connectives – namely the conjunction *ili* ‘or’ and the construction with *govoreći* – or whether the construction with *govoreći* has not yet reached the status of connective. Following Mendoza (2009: 983) we may assume that in the case of *govoreći* the cooccurrence with a conjunction is also typical for the transitional phase in which the construction is gaining “connective power”. Quite interestingly, the coreference between the first arguments of the matrix clause and adverbial participle is already lost at this stage; the speaker is the covert subject of *govoreći*.

- (75) *A neće l’ se i vama, djevice Doro, osladiti usne zlatnom kapljicom iz srebrne čaše kad vas pozove bog Hymen u svoj hram ili, jasnije-ADV govoreći-AP, kad se udadete-2PL?*
 ‘And won’t your lips sweeten you, damsel Dora, with a draught from the silver goblet when the God Hymen calls you to his temple or, more clearly speaking, when do you marry?’
 (HNK_klasici subcorpus, Šenoa, A. *Zlatarovo zlato*. 1871)
- (76) ... *da ste-2PL novovjeki-ADJ.NOM filozofi-NOM ili, s-PREP dopuštenjem-INS govoreći-AP, hrvatski-ADJ.NOM literati-NOM.*
 ‘... that you are new-age philosophers or, if you will pardon my saying so (lit. with permission speaking), Croatian men of letters.’
 (HNK_klasici subcorpus, Kovačić, A. *U registraturi*. 1888)

If one considers all instances of discourse structuring constructions based on *govoreći* and *rečeno* in the 19th century, it turns out that the number of types increases rapidly (cf. Chart 3). The collocations vary not only in their structure – with adverbs (e.g. *ukratko* ‘shortly’) and PPs (e.g. *među nama* ‘between us’) – but also in their functions: for example, *iskreno* ‘frankly’ and *blago* ‘mildly’, express speaker’s stance, whereas e.g. *jasnije* ‘more clearly’ and *ukratko* ‘shortly’ serve reformulation and *matematički prozaično* ‘mathematically prosaically’ contextualizes the statement in a certain discourse. Thus all functions described in Section 4 for Contemporary Croatian are accounted for the first time at the latest in the 19th century. An explanation for the explosion of forms

and functions in the 19th century will be given below after discussing *govoreći* as a direct speech marker, since an interaction between these functions can be assumed.

Chart 3: Types of the constructions with *govoreći* and *rečeno*.

types of the construction with <i>govoreći</i>	types of the construction with <i>rečeno</i>
<i>jasnije</i> ‘more clearly speaking’	<i>matematički prozaično</i> ‘mathematically prosaically speaking (lit. said)’
<i>hladno</i> ‘in cool fashion speaking’	<i>ukratko</i> ‘in short (lit. shortly said)’
<i>među nama</i> ‘between us speaking’	<i>s dopuštenjem (budi)</i> ‘if you will pardon my saying so (lit. with permission speaking)’
<i>iskreno</i> ‘frankly speaking’	<i>u zanosu</i> ‘in ardour speaking (lit. said)’
<i>s dopuštenjem</i> ‘if you will pardon my saying so (lit. with permission speaking)’	<i>blago</i> ‘mildly speaking (lit. said)’
<i>pravo</i> ‘rightly speaking’	<i>ne za grijeh (budi)</i> ‘not in vain speaking (lit. not for a sin said)’

Let us now consider *govoreći* as a direct speech marker. In the 18th century it was able to take a multitude of syntactic positions and enjoyed a high degree of syntactic independence, as it could occur as the only predicative element in a sentence and thus was not necessarily subject to coreference with the first syntactic argument of a matrix clause. Furthermore, *govoreći* functioned both as a direct speech marker and as quotative index. The latter function is not attested in our data from the 19th century, which is most probably due to corpus size, as we find examples in the centenaries before and after. The syntactic behaviour related to the former function changes in the 19th century. Casually speaking, the development may be described as “back to the roots”, (77)–(78): *Govoreći* always co-occurs with another, finite *verbum dicendi* describing the manner of speaking; this *verbum dicendi* syntactically precedes *govoreći* and functions as the matrix verb for the latter. In other words, *govoreći* behaves like a prototypical adverbial participle whose covert subject is coreferent with the first argument of the matrix verb. Furthermore, *govoreći* itself is always in immediate preposition to the direct speech it introduces.

- (77) *Irena-NOM Ostalinski-NOM, ona krasna udovica, uvijek mu je-3SG riječ prekidala govoreći-AP: šuti, ti si još dijete!*
 ‘Irena Ostalinski, this beautiful widow, interrupted him all the time, saying: “Be silent, you are still a child!”’
 (HNK_Klasici subcorpus, Kumičić, E. *Olga i Lina*. 1881)

(78) *No što im nejasno bijaše ili što nije išlo na njihov račun – na to pristajahu-3PL govoreći-AP: “ah, to bi bilo dobro.”*

‘But whatever remained unclear or whatever did not turn out the way they had expected it – they always agreed on the following, saying: “ah, this would have been good.”’

(HNK_Klasici subcorpus, Leskovar, J. *Propali dvori*. 1896)

Thus, in comparison to the usage of *govoreći* as a marker of direct speech, we are witnessing a retrogressive development in the sense that the direct speech marker *govoreći* readopts the features of a prototypical adverbial participle.

Croatian is not the only Slavonic language in which the types for discourse structuring constructions based on *verba dicendi* rise dramatically in the 19th century. A highly probable explanation for this phenomenon is a new narrative technique of the so-called *erlebte Rede* (henceforth *experienced speech*) that comes into existence along with the emergence of realism¹⁹ and remains in use thereafter:

Mit E.R. [erlebter Rede – S. B.] bezeichnen wir jene Stellen in einem schriftlichen oder mündlichen Text, die in einer gegebenen Rede die Frage aufkommen lassen, wer da “eigentlich” spricht (denkt/wahrnimmt). Also: E.R. als Irritation der Redeinstanz und in deren Folge: E.R. als Form der Interferenz von Primär- und Sekundärtext [...]

[As experienced speech we describe those passages in a written or oral text which within a given speech raise the question of who is “actually” speaking (thinking/experiencing). So: experienced speech as irritation of the speech authority and in its result: experienced speech as interference of primary and secondary text [...] [– translation S. B.] (Hodel 2001: 49)

Experienced speech poses the question of the speaker, and DSEs can give an answer to this question: several of the (secondary) characteristics of experienced speech directly correspond to one of the functions the (prototypical) construction types under investigation display:

- a) the “wertungsmässige” (evaluative) characteristic (cf. Hodel 2001: 45) of experienced speech implies a differing evaluation of the same situation and complies with the discourse structuring function of speaker’s stance with its prototypical construction ADV + *govoreći* / *rečeno*. Within experienced speech “kann einmal die “Sinnposition” (smyslovaja pozicija) des Sprechers, d.h. die „gegenständliche Zusammensetzung“ des Gesagten im Vordergrund stehen, ein andermal der “Ausdruck” (vyraženie) selbst [at one time the speaker’s “positioning of meaning” (smyslovaja pozicija) may be in the

¹⁹ I owe many thanks to Robert Hodel for pointing this out to me.

foreground, and another time the “expression” (vyrazenie) itself]“ (Hodel 2001: 29). In linguistic terms this means that either the situation and thus the proposition can be evaluated by experienced speech, or its formal side, i.e. the chosen lexeme or construction to describe the situation. This complies with our finding that, among the DSE types expressing speaker’s stance, some focus rather on evaluation (e.g. *iskreno rečeno* ‘frankly speaking’), i.e. foreground the speaker’s evaluation of the situation, and some focus on their reformulating potential (e.g. *ukratko rečeno* ‘in short’), i.e. concentrate on the (lexical and / or constructional) means for describing a situation; but all types bear the potential for both foci.

- b) the contextualizing function and its prototypical construction *govoreći / rečeno* + ADJ.INS + NOUN.INS may be considered a “remedy” for the irritation evoked by the unmarked interference of primary and secondary text (cf. Hodel 2001: 29–32), as it indicates the source discourse, i.e. the primary text, from which a chunk in the secondary text was taken.
- c) another issue that is typical for experienced speech is the so-called “zitierende (citatnaja) Rede [... die] reicht von einzelnen Lexemen bis zu “subjektiven Redemassiven” [quoting (citatnaja) speech which ranges from single lexemes up to “whole subjective passages of speech” – translation S. B.]” (Hodel 2001: 32). In our opinion, the situation that an “Enunziator EN ist eine von der Sprecherinstanz SI zu unterscheidende Äußerungsinstanz, die anhand unterschiedener sprachlicher Manifestationen bestimmbar ist [enunciator EN is an authority of utterance to be distinguished from the speaker authority SI and can be identified by differing lingual manifestations – translation S. B.]” (Hodel 2001: 39) also applies to quotative speech. The latter relates to the quotative index function with its prototypical construction *govoreći / rečeno* + NOUN.INS + NOUN.GEN that allows one to identify the enunciator, who is encoded as noun in the genitive.

The described parallels between the narrative technique of experienced speech and the constructions under investigation make it highly possible that the emergence of this technique enhanced the rise of type and token frequencies for these constructions.

While the proportion of types for the *govoreći* and *rečeno* constructions was approximately equal in the 19th century, this changes in the 20th century. As our corpus data shows (cf. Chart 4), *govoreći* features not only much fewer collocation types than *rečeno* – which moreover include synonyms of DSEs based on *rečeno*,²⁰ but their token frequencies are also much lower. Furthermore, “plain”

²⁰ Not all of these synonyms are listed in Chart 4, as some of them have a token frequency below ten.

govoreći in the speech marker function (so to say a “void collocation”) takes the second place regarding token frequency. This may be interpreted as follows: The constructions with *govoreći* and *rečeno* respectively stand at the beginning of a crystallization of functions.²¹ The *govoreći* construction reduces the number of types with discourse structuring functions, which may finally result in “plain” *govoreći* with speech marking function as only remaining type. In fact, this comes close to a cyclic process, as historically the marking of speech was the point of departure for the development of DSEs based on *verba dicendi*. The reduction of types with discourse structuring functions is facilitated by the fact that all these types of the *govoreći* construction are doubled by synonymous types of the *rečeno* construction. As a consequence of the process described for the *govoreći* construction, the *rečeno* construction becomes the only construction with discourse structuring functions.

Chart 4: Collocations types of *govoreći* and *rečeno* with token frequency > 10 in HNK25.

<i>govoreći</i>		<i>rečeno</i>	
element	token frequency	element	token frequency
<i>iskreno</i> ‘frankly’	73	<i>bolje</i> ‘better’	360
direct speech marker	54	<i>najblaže</i> ‘most mildly’	277
<i>općenito</i> ‘generally’	33	<i>uvjetno</i> ‘conditionally’	265
<i>objektivno</i> ‘objectively’	24	<i>blago</i> ‘mildly’	176
<i>uvjetno</i> ‘conditionally’	18	<i>usput</i> ‘by the way’	147
<i>pošteno</i> ‘honestly’	13	<i>jednostavno</i> ‘plainly’	102
<i>realno</i> ‘frankly (lit. really)’	12	<i>najkraće</i> ‘in shortest term (lit. most shortly said)’	102
<i>otvoreno</i> ‘frankly (lit. openly)’	11	<i>pojednostavljeno</i> ‘simply’	99
<i>pojednostavljeno</i> ‘simply’	10	<i>iskreno</i> ‘frankly’	81
		<i>točnije</i> ‘more exactly’	75
		<i>uzgred</i> ‘by the way’	73
		<i>jednostavnije</i> ‘more plainly’	59
		<i>preciznije</i> ‘more precisely’	44
		<i>drukčije</i> ‘in other words (lit. in another way said)’	39
		<i>ukratko</i> ‘in short’	34
		<i>uzgred budi</i> ‘by the way’	34

²¹ Following Doroszewski (1958), Hansen (2001: 400) defines crystallization as following: “Kristallisation ist ein Prozess, in dem von vielen Einheiten nur eine oder einige übrig bleiben und andere Konkurrenten verschwinden. [Crystallization is a process, in which out of many units only one or a few remain and other competitors vanish. – translation S. B.]”

Chart 4 (continued)

<i>govoreći</i>		<i>rečeno</i>	
element	token frequency	element	token frequency
		<i>grubo</i> ‘roughly’	32
		<i>usput budi</i> ‘by the way’	30
		<i>kratko</i> ‘in short (lit. shortly said)’	24
		<i>najjednostavnije</i> ‘most plainly’	24
		<i>sažeto</i> ‘in short (lit. shortly said)’	14
		<i>kraće</i> ‘in still shorter terms (lit. shorter said)’	10

6 Conclusion

Since DSEs based on *verba dicendi* constitute a phenomenon that can be found in many Slavonic languages, among them Russian (cf. Birzer 2012a) and Polish (cf. Birzer 2013), in this section we would like to tend to those characteristics that contrast the development in Croatian from Russian and Polish.

In all three languages DSEs developed out of the adverbial participle of a *verbum dicendi*, which was originally used as marker of direct speech. Syntactically, the covert first argument of the AP gradually loses coreference with the first argument of the matrix verb; finally, the speaker becomes covert subject of the AP. In all three languages, the construction containing the AP is paralleled by another construction containing another non-infinite form of a *verbum dicendi* (the infinitive *skazat* ‘say’ in Russian and the anterior adverbial participle *powiedziawszy* ‘having said’ in Polish) but fulfilling the same functions, i.e. we are dealing with competing constructions. Language contact plays a role in the development of DSEs based on *verba dicendi* in all three languages: Russian replicates the construction with infinitive from French, and Polish uses replicated lexical matter from Latin for forming the adverbs that go into the DSEs. Still, Croatian sets itself apart from the other discussed languages in the following respects:

a) impact of language contact

In Contemporary Russian and Polish, the constructions with the (simultaneous) AP have the highest type and token frequencies and form a semi-productive pattern for forming DSEs based on *verba dicendi*. Thus, language contact plays only a minor role, as in the case of Russian it led to the existence of a second, non-productive pattern for forming DSEs, and in Polish lexical

borrowing resulted in a few adverbs out of a large range of adverbs that are potentially eligible in the construction ADV + AP. In Croatian, however, the replicated pattern with *rečeno* has become the semi-productive pattern for forming DSEs based on *verba dicendi*.

b) direct speech marking

Of the three languages discussed, Croatian is the only one that has retained the AP *govoreći* in the function of direct speech marker, i.e. in the function that has to be considered the point of departure for the development of DSEs based on *verba dicendi*. In the 19th century the direct speech marker *govoreći* loses much of the syntactic independency it had gained in the centuries before and is confined to usage in sentences containing a second *verbum dicendi* that is semantically more complex and functions as matrix verb for *govoreći*. Therefore, one may assume a

c) developmental circle of *govoreći*

The aforementioned syntactic and semantic prerequisites for *govoreći* as a speech marker also existed at the initial point of the historical development of DSEs based on *govoreći*.

d) crystallization of functions

Croatian is the only language where the competition of constructions based on different (inflectional forms of) *verba dicendi* is resolved via a beginning crystallization of functions: The construction with *rečeno* is the only semi-productive pattern for forming DSEs based on *verba dicendi* and is at present already able to convey all the functions DSEs based on *verba dicendi* may display. *Govoreći*, on the other hand, seems to develop into an exclusive marker of direct speech, as it is a non-productive pattern for forming DSEs with low type and token frequency and (with one exception) the token frequency of *govoreći* as a direct speech marker is much higher than for the DSE types based on *govoreći*.

References

- AG-80: Švedova, Natalija J. (ed.). 1980. *Russkaja grammatika. Tom I–II* [Russian Grammar. Vols. I–II]. Moskva: Nauka.
- Ajuković, Jovan. 1997. *Rusizmi u srpskohrvatskim rečnicima. Principi adaptacije. Rečnik* [Russisms in Serbo-Croatian dictionaries. Principles of adaptation. Dictionary]. Beograd: Foto Futura.
- Apresjan, Jurij D. 2005. O Moskovskoj semantičkoj škole [On the Moscow Semantic School]. *Voprosy jazykoznanija* 1. 3–30.
- Berger, Tilman. 2009. Einige Bemerkungen zum tschechischen Absentiv. In Tilman Berger, Markus Giger, Sibylle Kurt & Imke Mendoza (eds.), *Von grammatischen Kategorien und sprachlichen Weltbildern – Die Slavia von der Sprachgeschichte bis zur Politsprache. Festschrift für Daniel Weiss zum 60. Geburtstag*, 9–28. München & Wien: Wiener Slavistischer Almanach.

- Birzer, Sandra. 2012a. From subject to subjectivity: Russian discourse structuring elements based on the adverbial participle *govorja* 'speaking'. *Russian Linguistics* 36 (3). 221–249.
- Birzer, Sandra. 2012b. Von der (in)direkten Rede zum Kommentar. *Verba dicendi* in griechischen und altkirchenslavischen Konstruktionen der Redewiedergabe. In Björn Hansen (ed.), *Diachrone Aspekte slavischer Sprachen* (Slavolinguistica 16), 197–209. München & Berlin: Otto Sagner.
- Birzer, Sandra. 2013. Zur historischen Entwicklung der auf *mówiqc* 'sprechend' basierenden *komentarze metatekstowe* (metatextuellen Kommentare). Paper presented in the procedure of appointment for the position of W1 professor at the University of Hamburg. 27 June.
- Birzer, Sandra (accepted). Formal unity and functional diversity: a corpus-linguistic approach to Russian and Polish adverbial participles with the meaning 'speaking' between discourse and grammar (working title). In Mirjam Fried & Eva Lehečková (eds.), *Conjunctions vs. contextualizers*. John Benjamins.
- Daiber, Thomas. 2009. Direkte Rede im Russisch-Kirchenslavischen. Zum pragmatischen Wert des *jako recitativum*. In Juliane Besters-Dilger & Achim Rabus (eds.), *Text, Sprache, Grammatik. Slavisches Schrifttum der Vormoderne. Festschrift für Eckhard Weiher*, 363–386. München: Otto Sagner.
- Dedačić, Mirjana N. & Mirjana Mišković-Luković (eds.). 2010. *South Slavic discourse particles*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Doroszewski, Witold. 1958–1969. *Słownik języka polskiego. 1–10*. [Polish dictionary. 1–10]. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.
- Fischer, Kerstin. 2006. Introduction. In Kerstin Fischer (ed.), *Approaches to discourse particles*, 1–20. Amsterdam et al.: Elsevier Ltd.
- Franolić, Branko. 1976. *Les mots d'emprunt Français en Croatie*. Paris: Nouvelles éditions latines.
- Fraser, Bruce. 2006. Towards a theory of discourse markers. In Kerstin Fischer (ed.), *Approaches to discourse particles*, 189–204. Amsterdam et al.: Elsevier Ltd.
- Golubović, Biljana. 2007. *Germanismen im Serbischen und Kroatischen*. München: Otto Sagner.
- Grković-Major, Jasmina. 2003. Predikativni gerund u starosrpskom jeziku [The predicative gerund in Old Serbian]. *Zbornik Matice srpske za filologiju i lingvistiku* XLVI (1). 23–34.
- Grotzky, Johannes. 1978. *Morphologische Adaptation deutscher Lehnwörter im Serbokroatischen*. München: Trofenik.
- Güldemann, Tom. 2012. Thetic speaker-instantiating quotative indexes as a cross-linguistic type. In Isabelle Buchstaller & Ingrid van Alphen (eds.), *Quotatives: cross-linguistic and cross-disciplinary perspectives*. 117–142. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Hansen, Björn. 2001. *Das Modalauxiliar im Slavischen. Semantik und Grammatikalisierung im Russischen, Polnischen, Serbischen/Kroatischen und Altkirchenslavischen*. (Slavolinguistica 2). München: Otto Sagner.
- Hodel, Robert. 2001. *Erlebte Rede in der russischen Literatur. Vom Sentimentalismus zum Sozialistischen Realismus*. Band 1. Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang.
- Holzer, Georg. 2007. *Historische Grammatik des Kroatischen: Einleitung und Lautgeschichte der Standardsprache*. Frankfurt/Main et al.: Peter Lang.
- Hudeček, Lana. 2001. Glagoli govorenja i mišljenja u hrvatskome čakavskom književnom jeziku do 17. stoljeća – strani sintaktički utjecaji [Verbs of speaking and thinking in the Croatian Čakavian literary language up to the 17th century – foreign syntactic influences]. *Rasprave Instituta za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje* 27. 95–112.
- Hudeček, Lana. 2003. Dopune glagolima govorenja i mišljenja i srodnih značenja u hrvatskome književnom jeziku od 17. do polovice 19 stoljeća – strani sintaktički utjecaji [Complements

- to verbs of speaking and thinking and of related meanings in the Croatian literary language from the 17th to the first half of the 19th century – foreign syntactic influences]. *Rasprave Instituta za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje* 29. 103–129.
- Ivić, Milka. 2005. *O rečima. Kognitivni, gramatički i kulturološki aspekti srpske leksike* [On words. Cognitive, grammatical and cultural aspects of the Serbian lexicon]. Beograd: Biblioteka XX vek.
- Kašić, Bartol. 1999. *Biblia Sacra: versio illyrica selecta, seu declaratio vulgatæ editionis latinæ, Bartholomæi Cassij curictensis e Societate Iesu Professi, ac sacerdotis theologi, ex mandato Sacræ Congregationis de propag: fide, Ano 1625*. Ed. Hans Rothe, Christian Hannick. Paderborn et al: Schöningh.
- Katičić, Radoslav. 2002. *Sintaksa hrvatskoga književnog jezika*, 3rd edn. [Syntax of the Croatian literary language, 3rd edn.]. Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti.
- Kunzmann-Müller, Barbara. 1994. *Grammatikhandbuch des Kroatischen und Serbischen*. Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang.
- Mendoza, Imke. 2009. Anaphorische Mittel: Konnexion. In Sebastian Kempgen, Peter Kosta, Tilman Berger & Karl Gutschmidt (eds.), *Die slavischen Sprachen: Ein internationales Handbuch zu ihrer Struktur, ihrer Geschichte und ihrer Erforschung / The Slavic languages: An international handbook of their structure, their history, and their investigation*. Band 1. (HSK Band 32.1), 982–990. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Mihaljević, Milan. 2011. Verba dicendi in Croatian Church Slavonic. *Zbornik Matice srpske za filologiju i lingvistiku* LIV (1). 63–77.
- Moguš, Milan. 1995. *A history of the Croatian language: Toward a common standard*. Zagreb: Globus.
- Mosegaard-Hansen, Maj-Britt. 2006. A dynamic polysemy approach to the lexical semantics of discourse markers (with an exemplary analysis of French *toujours*). In Kerstin Fischer (ed.), *Approaches to discourse particles*, 21–41. Amsterdam et al.: Elsevier Ltd.
- Musić, Srđan. 1972. *Romanizmi u severo-zapadnoj Boki Kotorskoj* [Romanisms in the northeastern Bay of Kotor]. Beograd: Filološki fakultet Beogradskog univerziteta.
- Pasch, Renate, Ursula Brauße, Eva Breindl & Ulrich Hermann Waßner (eds.). 2003. *Handbuch der deutschen Konnektoren: linguistische Grundlagen der Beschreibung und syntaktische Merkmale der deutschen Satzverknüpfen (Konjunktionen, Satzadverbien und Partikeln)*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Poljanec, Franja (ed.). 1931. *Istorija srpskohrvatskog književnog jezika: s pregledom naših dijalekata i istorijskom čitankom* [History of the Serbo-Croatian literary language: with an overview of our dialects and a historical textbook]. Beograd: Narodna prosveta.
- Popović, Ivan. 1960. *Geschichte der serbokroatischen Sprache*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Popović, Ljudmila. 2009. Leksičke inovacije u elektronskom diskursu srpskog i hrvatskog jezika [Lexical innovations in the electronic discourse of the Serbian and Croatian language]. In Branko Tošović (ed.), *Die Unterschiede zwischen dem Bosnischen / Bosniakischen, Kroatischen und Serbischen. Lexik – Wortbildung – Phraseologie*, 183–203. Wien – Berlin: LIT Verlag.
- Popović, Mihailo. 2005. *Reči francuskog porekla u srpskom jeziku* [Words of French origin in the Serbian language]. Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva.
- Pranjković, Ivo. 2007. Glagoli govorenja i njihove dopune [Verbs of speaking and their complements]. *Zbornik Matice srpske za slavistiku* 71–72. 133–141.
- Rammelmeyer, Matthias. 1975. *Die deutschen Lehnübersetzungen im Serbokroatischen. Beiträge zur Lexikologie und Wortbildung*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.

- Rathmayr, Renate. 1985. *Die russischen Partikeln als Pragmalexeme*. München: Otto Sagner.
- Saz Rubio, M^a Milagros del & Bruce Fraser. 2003. *Reformulation in English*. <http://people.bu.edu/bfraser/> (accessed 18 October 2016).
- Schneeweis, Edmund. 1960. *Die deutschen Lehnwörter im Serbokroatischen in kulturgeschichtlicher Sicht*. Berlin: De Gruyter & Co.
- Striedter-Temps, Hildegard. 1958. *Deutsche Lehnwörter im Serbokroatischen*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Šoć, Branko. 2002. *Romanizmi i grecizmi u crnogorskom jeziku* [Romanisms and Graecisms in Montenegrin]. Cetinje: Centralna narodna biblioteka Crne Gore “Đurđe Crnojević”.
- Štebih, Barbara. 2003. Adaptacije germanizama u iločkom govoru [The adaptation of Germanisms in the Ilok dialect]. *Rasprave Instituta za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje* 29. 293–323.
- Turk, Marija & Dubravka Sesar. 2003. Kalkovi njemačkoga podrijetla u hrvatskome i u nekim drugim slavenskim jezicima [Calques of German origin in the Croatian and some other Slavonic languages]. *Rasprave Instituta za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje* 29. 325–338.
- Večerka, Radoslav. 2002. *Altkirchenslavische (altbulgarische) Syntax IV. Die Satztypen: Der zusammengesetzte Satz*. Freiburg. i. Br.: Weiher.
- Xrakovskij, Viktor S. 2003. Kategorija taksisa (obščaja karakteristika) [The category of taxis (general characterisation)]. *Voprosy jazykoznanija* 2. 32–54.
- Weiss, Daniel. 2012. Deputaty ljubjat citaty: ssylki na ksenoteksty v Gosdume [Deputies love citations: references to foreign texts in the Russian parliament]. In Nina N. Rozanova. *Russkij jazyk segodnja. Vypusk 5: Problemy rečevogo obščeniya*, 64–75. Moskva: Flinta & Nauka.