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Словенские комитативные конструкции с местоимениями в двойственном числе

Данная статья представляет собой попытку анализа формальных и семантических характеристик словенских комитативных конструкций, которые используются при обозначении двух участников, включенных в одно событие, причем оба участника выполняют в нем одинаковые семантические роли. Особое внимание уделяется функции форм двойственного числа в комитативных конструкциях, а также другим параметрам (употребление местоимений, предикативных форм и линейного порядка), которые оказывают влияние на интерпретацию числа референтов.

Ключевые слова: словенский язык, комитативные конструкции, двойственное число, личные местоимения

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Slovenian comitative constructions with dual personal pronouns

The paper deals with the Slovenian comitative constructions that encode two human participants who fulfil the same semantic role and are involved in the same event. It analyses their formal and semantic characteristics. A special focus of our analysis is put on the role of the dual in these constructions. We examine the impact of the different parameters (pronouns, predicate form, gender and linear order) on the interpretation of the referents' number in the comitative constructions.

Key words: Slovenian, comitative constructions, dual, personal pronoun

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1. Introduction: Comitative constructions with dual personal pronouns

The paper deals with the Slovenian comitative constructions (called SCC below) which encode two human participants who fulfil the same role and are involved in the same event. On a formal level, the construction

is composed of a dual personal pronoun (*midva*_(m.), *midve/medve*_(f.)¹ ‘the two of us’; *vidva*_(m.), *vidve/vedve*_(f.) ‘the two of you’; *onadva*_(m.), *onidve/onedve*_(f.) ‘the two of them’) followed by a prepositional instrumental (*z Andrejem/Špelo* ‘with Andrej/Špela’) and the dual form of the predicate (*sva*_(1Du), *sta*_(2Du&3Du) *šla*_(m.) / *šli*_(f.) ‘the two of us went to the cinema’).

(1) Slvn.

Midva	z	Andrejem /	s	Špelo
we.NOM.M.DU	with	Andrej.INS.SG	with	Špela.INS.SG
sva	šla	v		kino.
be.IND.PRS.1DU	go.LPTCP.M.DU	in		cinema.ACC.SG
‘Andrej/Špela and I went to the cinema.’				

(2) Slvn.

Vidva	z	Andrejem /	s	Špelo
you.NOM.M.DU	with	Andrej.INS.SG	with	Špela.INS.SG
sta	šla	v		kino.
be.IND.PRS.2DU	go.LPTCP.M.DU	in		cinema.ACC.SG
‘You and Andrej/Špela went to the cinema.’				

(3) Slvn.

Onadva	z	Andrejem /	s	Špelo
they.NOM.M.DU	with	Andrej.INS.SG	with	Špela.INS.SG
sta	šla	v		kino.
be.IND.PRS.3DU	go.LPTCP.M.DU	in		cinema.ACC.SG
‘He and Andrej/Špela went to the cinema.’				

(4) Slvn.

Midve /	medve	s	Špelo
we.NOM.F.DU	we.NOM.F.DU	with	Špela.INS.SG
sva	šli	v	kino.
be.IND.PRS.1DU	go.LPTCP.F.DU	in	cinema.ACC.SG
‘Špela and I went to the cinema.’			

A common feature of all the examples above (1), (2), (3), (4) is a combination of a dual personal pronoun and a comitative phrase. The dual personal pronoun has an inclusory reading, that is, the accompanier expressed by the comitative phrase is one of the referents of the pronoun.

While the inclusory reading is dominant in comitative constructions with dual pronouns in contiguous position with an accompanier, this interpretation

¹ It should be emphasized that feminine dual pronouns *midve/medve* ‘the two of us’; *vidve/vedve* ‘the two of you’; *onidve/onedve* ‘the two of them’ are mere variants, there are no semantic differences between the two elements in each pair.

is less common in constructions with plural pronouns. Thus, *Mi z Antonom* ‘We and Anton’ is less frequent than *Midva z Antonom* ‘Anton and I’ and it has no obligatory inclusory reading.

Examination of corpora (cf. below) shows that comitative constructions with inclusory readings are most frequently used with the first-person dual pronouns (*midva; midve/medve*), SCC with the second-person dual are, in turn, more frequent than the ones with the third-person dual pronouns.

**Frequency of the usage of dual pronouns
in the Slovenian comitative constructions
(according to Gigafida 2.0)**

Construction	The usage in Corpus Gigafida 2.0, %
1Du + with NP + V _{Du}	83.06
2Du + with NP + V _{Du}	11.97
3Du + with NP + V _{Du}	4.79

The frequency of the usage of the first person can be explained in the light of the fact that it has a special status in the hierarchy: only the first-person dual pronoun can imply the accompanier expressed in the second (5) or third person (6):

(5) Slvn.

Midva	s	teboj.
we.NOM.M.DU	with	you.INS.SG
‘You and I.’		

(6) Slvn.

Midva	z	Antonom.
we.NOM.M.DU	with	Anton.INS.SG
‘Anton and I.’		

Second-person and third-person dual pronouns only act as inclusory in relation to the third-person accompanier (7), (8):

(7) Slvn.

Vidva	z	Antonom.
you.NOM.M.DU	with	Anton.INS.SG
‘You and Anton.’		

(8) Slvn.

Onadva	z	Antonom.
they.NOM.M.DU	with	Anton.INS.SG
‘He/she and Anton.’		

In (7) and (8) the inclusory reading implies two persons, while this interpretation is excluded in (9):

(9) Slvn.

Vidva	z	menoj.
you.NOM.M.DU	with	I.INS
‘Two of you and I.’		

In Slovenian, inclusion of two participants in the same role may also be expressed by means of a regular coordinate noun phrase:

(10) Slvn.

Peter	in	Andrej
Peter.NOM.SG	and	Andrej.NOM.SG
gresta	v	kino.
go.PRS.3DU	in	cinema.ACC.SG
‘Peter and Andrej are going to the cinema.’		

However, if the coordinate NP contains a dual pronoun (*midva*, *vidva*, *onadva*), it cannot refer to the second conjunct. This means that in this case the pronoun does not have an inclusory interpretation. Accordingly, the predicate used with such a coordination will take a plural verb, as shown in (11).

(11) Slvn.

Midva	in	Andrej /	Špela
we.NOM.M.DU	and	Andrej.NOM.SG	Špela.NOM.SG
smo	šli	v	kino.
be.PRS.1PL	go.LPTCP.M.PL	in	cinema.ACC.SG
‘We went to the cinema with Andrej/Špela.’			

A coordinate NP with a dual pronoun (*midva*, *vidva* and *onadva*) excludes the possibility of using a dual predicate:

(12) *Midva

in	Špela
we.NOM.M.DU	and Špela.NOM.SG
greva	v kino.
go.PRS.1DU	in cinema.ACC.SG

2. The role of the dual in comitative constructions

One of the key factors for understanding the analysed construction is the role of the dual.² For that reason, we will switch to the role of dual in Slovenian comitative constructions before continuing the analysis of the construction.

In the SCC, the dual plays a significant role, since this grammatical value allows the speaker to express the number of participants in a more precise manner, enabling for instance a distinction between two types of non-singular participants.

The SCC with a dual pronoun and a dual form of the predicate expresses duality: two participants, who otherwise exist independently, are thus united into a single syntactic unit.

3. Some particularities of Slovenian non-singular pronouns

As mentioned above, one of the key elements of the SCC is the personal pronoun. Let us take a closer look at some of peculiarities of Slovenian personal pronouns. Slovenian, unlike other Slavic languages, maintains a gender distinction between masculine and feminine in all nominative case non-singular personal pronoun forms. In the other cases, there is no gender distinction:

(13) The paradigm of the first-person dual personal pronoun

Case	Dual	Plural
NOM	<i>midva</i> (m.) vs. <i>midve</i> (f.)	<i>mi</i> (m.) vs. <i>me</i> (f.)
GEN	<i>naju</i> (m. & f.)	<i>nas</i> (m. & f.)
DAT	<i>nama</i> (m. & f.)	<i>nam</i> (m. & f.)
ACC	<i>naju</i> (m. & f.)	<i>nas</i> (m. & f.)
LOC	<i>nama</i> (m. & f.)	<i>nas</i> (m. & f.)
INS	<i>nama</i> (m. & f.)	<i>nami</i> (m. & f.)

Another peculiarity of Slovenian is the distinction between dual and plural pronouns. In the nominative, dual pronouns are formed by concatenating a plural pronoun (for instance, *mi*, *me* 'we') with the numerals *dva*

² It is precisely in sentences with nominative dual subjects (*Midva s Špelo greva v kino* 'Špela and I are going to the cinema', *Sin in oče gresta v kino* 'Son and father are going to the cinema') that the use of dual has remained most stable and has not been replaced by plural through the history of the Slovenian language [Belić, 1932; Jakopin, 1966]. A. Belić (1932, p. 58–90) notes that Slovenian has preserved all Proto-Slavic categories of the old dual except for the most important one, i.e. the dual in pair nouns (e.g. *oči* 'eyes', *noge* 'legs', *roke* 'arms').

or *dve* ‘two’, which yields the dual forms *midva*, *midve/medve* ‘the two of us’.³ The agglutination of the pronoun and the numeral into a single morphologized unit only appears in the dual (*midva* ‘the two of us’), usually in the nominative. In other cases in dual the pronoun acts as an independent word and the use of numeral is optional (e.g. GEN *naju dveh* = *naju* ‘of the two of us’; INS *z nama dvema* = *z nama* ‘with the two of us’).

In contrast, in combinations of plural pronouns with numerals (*mi trije* ‘the three of us’, *mi štirje* ‘the four of us’) the latter act as a separate word. Unlike *mi trije*, the cluster *midva* functions as a single indivisible accentual unit (**mi pa dva* vs. *mi pa trije*).

Below the summary table with non-singular pronouns in the nominative:

(14) Non-singular pronouns in the nominative

Masculine dual	Feminine dual
<i>midva</i> ‘the two of us’	<i>midve/medve</i> ‘the two of us’
<i>vidva</i> ‘the two of you’	<i>vidve/vedve</i> ‘the two of you’
<i>onadva</i> ‘the two of them’	<i>onidve/onedve</i> ‘the two of them’
Masculine plural	Feminine plural
<i>mi</i> ‘we’	<i>me</i> ‘we’
<i>vi</i> ‘you’	<i>ve</i> ‘you’
<i>oni</i> ‘they’	<i>one</i> ‘they’

4. Some syntactic features of comitative constructions

In the SCC (*midva z Andrejem* ‘Andrej and I’), the two participants who are presented as acting as a single unit, most frequently play the role of Agent (the nominative subject) or of the Experiencer in predicative *be*-sentences (15), (16):

³ A similar system of dual pronouns figures in Lithuanian (*mudu* (m.) / *mudvi* (f.) ‘the two of us’; *judu* (m.) / *judvi* (f.) ‘the two of you’; *juodu* (m.) / *jiedvi* (f.) ‘the two of them’). The difference in gender is present in the nominative and the accusative in all three persons, whereas in the third person it is also expressed in all oblique cases (DAT, INS, LOC), except for the GEN. In Lithuanian, unlike Slovenian, the agglutination of the pronoun and numeral is found also in non-nominative cases (e.g. GEN *mudvieju, judvieju, juðvieju*; DAT *mudviem, judviem, jiedviem/jodviem*, etc.).

(15) Slvn.

Naju	z	Andrejem	je
we.ACC.DU	with	Andrej.INS.SG	be.IND.PRS.3SG
strah,	da	ne	bova
fear.NOM.SG	COMP	NEG	be.IND.FUT.1DU
to be late.LPTCP.M.DU			
‘Andrej and I are afraid to be late.’			

(16) Slvn.

Nama	z	Andrejem	ni	popsem
we.DAT.DU	with	Andrej.INS.SG	be.NEG.IND.3SG	completely
jasno,	ali	bo	jutri	deževalo.
clear	whether	be.IND.FUT.3SG	tomorrow	rain.LPTCP.N.SG
‘It isn’t completely clear to Andrej and me whether it will rain tomorrow.’				

In cases where the nominative is reserved for some other NP rather than for the dual pronoun, the SCC is at least ambiguous or loses its inclusory reading. For instance, in (17) the phrase *nama / nama dvema s Pavlom* is not a comitative construction under discussion, since the participant expressed by the instrumental is not part of the addressee expressed by the dual dative (*nama dvema* ‘to the two of us’).

(17) Slvn.

Peter	piše	nama /
Peter.NOM.SG	write.IND.PRS.3SG	we.DAT.DU
nama	dvema	s
we.DAT.DU	two.DAT	with
		Pavel.INS.SG
‘Peter is writing with Pavel to the two of us.’		

5. The predicate role in comitative constructions with omitted pronouns

The relevance of the predicate form becomes evident in cases when the anaphoric pronoun is dropped and the predicate form, as evident in (18), (19), (20), is central to the interpretation of referential subject.

(18) Slvn.

pro	Z	Andrejem /	S	Špelo
	with	Andrej.INS.SG	with	Špelo.INS.SG
sva		bila	v	gledališču.
be.IND.PRS.1DU		be.LPTCP.M.DU	in	cinema.LOC.SG
‘Andrej/Špela and I went to the theatre.’				

(19) Slvn.

pro	Z	Andrejem /	S	Špelo
	with	Andrej.INS.SG	with	Špelo.INS.SG
sta		bila	v	gledališču.
be.IND.PRS.2DU		be.LPTCP.M.DU	in	cinema.LOC.SG

‘You and Andrej/Špela went to the theatre.’

(20) Slvn.

pro	Z	Andrejem /	S	Špelo
	with	Andrej.INS.SG	with	Špelo.INS.SG
sta		bila	v	gledališču.
be.IND.PRS. 3DU		be.LPTCP.M.DU	in	cinema.LOC.SG

‘He and Andrej/Špela went to the theatre.’

It is precisely in examples with omitted pronouns that the dual form of the predicate in Slovenian proves to be decisive in determining the number of participants. Especially when directly addressing someone, the dual predicate form (21) suggests that the non-expressed pronoun includes the accompanier, since the predicate makes it sufficiently clear that the accompanier (*Andrej*) acts as a participant and is part of the comitative construction.

(21) Slvn.

Lepo	se	imejta
nicely.ADV	REFL	have.IMP.2DU

pro z Andrejem!
with Andrej.INS.SG

‘You and Andrej have a nice time.’ (As the dual form of the predicate impacts the interpretation, Andrej has the status of a participant of the comitative construction)

A plural predicate in Slovenian (22), on the contrary, indicates that one is not dealing with a comitative construction: Andrej lacks the status of a participant and is therefore part of the adjunct of the same action:

(22) Slvn.

Lepo	se	imejte
nicely.ADV	REFL	have.IMP.2PL

pro z Andrejem!
with Andrej.INS.SG

‘Have a nice time with Andrej.’= the addressee does not include Andrej (Andrej does not have the main participant status)

6. How many participants are included in the comitative constructions?

Having considered the predicate role in the analysed construction, the question now arises how changes in the linear order affect the interpretation of comitative constructions. The NP-with-NP cluster may appear before the predicate, which was the case in the examples discussed so far. This cluster can be preceded by an auxiliary which does not change the interpretation of the number of participants (in examples (23) and (24) the dual pronoun has an inclusory reading):

(23) Slvn.

Mislím,	da	sta	vidva
think.IND.PRS.1SG	COMP	be.IND.PRS.2DU	you.M.DU
z Markom	šla	iz mesta.	
with Marko.INS.SG	go.LPTCP.M.DU	from city.GEN.SG	

‘I think that you and Marko have left town.’

(24) Slvn.

Na žalost	sta	vidva
On sadness.ACC.SG	be.IND.PRS.2DU	you.M.DU
z Markom	bila	zadnja.
with Marco.INS.SG	be.LPTCP.M.DU	last.NOM.M.DU

‘Unfortunately, you and Marko were last.’

The construction can appear in both simple or a complex sentences (23).

The position of the dual pronoun with respect to the position of the accompanier, however, plays an important role in the interpretation of the number of participants.

When a dual personal pronoun (for instance, *midva*; *midve/medve* ‘the two of us’) is followed by a prepositional instrumental expressing the accompanier – both elements being contiguous (25), (26), they form a single syntactic unit most frequently in the role of subject (*midva/medve z Mojca* ‘Mojca and I’) which imposes dual agreement of the verbal predicate (*sva šla/šli* ‘we went’).

(25) Slvn.

Peter	pravi:	Midva	z
Peter.NOM.SG	say.IND.PRS.3SG	we.NOM.M.DU	with
Mojca	sva	šla	v kino.
Mojca.INS.SG	be.IND.PRS.1DU	go.LPTCP.M.DU	in cinema.ACC.SG

‘Peter says: Mojca and I went to the cinema.’

(26) Slvn.

Špela	pravi:	Midve	z
Špela.NOM.SG	say.IND.PRS.3SG	we.NOM.F.DU	with
Mojco	sva	šli	v kino.
Mojca.INS.SG	be.IND.PRS.1DU	go.LPTCP.F.DU	in cinema.ACC.SG

‘Špela says: Mojca and I went to the cinema.’

An exception to this rule is related to gender resolution: when a masculine dual pronoun (*midva*, *vidva*, *onadva*) acts as the central participant, it may include a feminine accompanier (*s Špelo* ‘with Špela’). However, a feminine dual pronoun (*midve/medve*) acting as the host NP cannot include a masculine accompanier.

(27) Slvn.

Midve	z	Andrejem
we.NOM.F.DU	with	Andrej.INS.SG
sva	šli	v kino.
be.IND.PRS.1DU	go.LPTCP.F.DU	in cinema.ACC.SG

‘We (fem.) went to the cinema with Andrej.’

The example in (27) only allows a non-dual interpretation (more than two participants went to the cinema).

The order of the pronoun and the prepositional phrase cannot be reversed (28) without changing the inclusory reading.⁴ For that reason in (28) the accompanier is not implied in the dual pronoun nor does it have the status of a component of the SCC.

(28) S	Špelo	midva
with	Špela.INS.SG	we.NOM.M.DU
greva	v	kino.
go.IND.PRS.1DU	in	cinema.ACC.SG

‘We went to the cinema with Špela.’

If other constituents are introduced between the pronoun and the prepositional phrase (*z Mašo* ‘with Maša’ in (29)), the inclusory reading disappears:

⁴ In contrast to Slovenian, an extracted accompanier in Russian may retain the inclusive reading in the case of a contrastive interpretation: *С Ваней мы пошли в кино, а не с Ирой* ‘It’s with Vania that we went to the cinema, not with Ira’ (Alexander Letuchij, p.c.). In Slovenian, the inclusive interpretation is conveyed if the dual pronoun is omitted: *S Špelo midva greva v kino* ‘Špela and I go to the cinema’.

(29) Slvn.

Midva sva šla
 we.NOM.M.DU be.IND.PRS.1DU go.LPTCP.M.DU
 z Mašo v kino.
 with Maša.INS.SG in cinema.ACC.SG
 'We went to the cinema with Maša.'

In these constructions, possessive pronouns (moj 'my', tvoj 'your', njegov 'his') are not commonly used with the accompanier expressed by the comitative phrase. This is related to the fact that relational nouns (*prijatelj* 'friend', *žena* 'wife', *soseđ* 'neighbour'), in which the possessive relation is implied, are the ones that most frequently play the role of the accompanier.

Adding a possessive pronoun can make the construction ambiguous between the inclusory and non-inclusory reading:

(30) Slvn.

Midva s prijateljem
 we.NOM.M.DU with friend.INS.SG
 greva na morje. = *inclusory reading*.
 go.IND.PRS.1DU on sea.ACC.SG
 'My friend and I are going to the seaside.'

(31) Slvn.

Midva z **mojim** prijateljem
 we.NOM.M.DU with my.INS.SG friend.INS.SG
 greva na morje. = *ambiguous reading (2 or 3 people)*
 go.IND.PRS.1DU on sea.ACC.SG
 'The two of us are going to the seaside with my friend.' or 'My friend and I are going to the seaside.'

(32) Slvn.

Midva z njegovim prijateljem
 we.NOM.M.DU with his.INS.SG friend.INS.SG
 greva na morje. = *more likely non-inclusory reading*.
 go.IND.PRS.1DU on sea.ACC.SG
 'We're going to the seaside with his friend.'

If the dual pronoun has an inclusory reading, the reflexive possessive svoj as the modifier of the accompanier is outright ungrammatical:

(33) Slvn.

*Midva s svojim prijateljem
 we.NOM.M.DU with one's own.INS.SG friend.INS.SG
 hodiva na morje.
 go.IND.PRS.1DU on sea.ACC.SG

However, the complete construction (dual pronoun + accompanier) can control a reflexive possessive:

(34) Slvn.

Midva _i	s	Petrom _j	sva	se
we.NOM.M.DU	with	Peter.INS.SG	be.IND.PRS.1DU	REFL
veliko naučila		iz svojih _{i+j}		napak.
a lot learn.LPTCP.M.DU		from one's own.GEN.PL		mistakes.GEN.PL

‘Peter and I have learned a lot from our mistakes.’

7. Comitative construction with the singular form of the predicate

The construction with the dual pronoun which includes the accompanier (*Midva s Špelo*) should be distinguished from comitative constructions in which two participants are expressed by means of two separate phrases. In that case, the central participant imposes the agreement with a singular form of the predicate, while the accompanier is demoted to a circumstantial adjunct.

(35) Slvn.

Janez	je	šel
Janez.NOM.SG	be.IND.PRS.3SG	go.LPTCP.M.SG
s Špelo	v kino.	
with Špela.INS.SG	in cinema.ACC.SG	

‘Janez went to the cinema with Špela.’

(36) Slvn.

Janez	je	s	Špelo
Janez.NOM.SG	be.IND.PRS.3SG	with	Špela.INS.SG
šel	v	kino.	
go.LPTCP.M.SG	in	cinema.ACC.SG	

‘Janez went to the cinema with Špela.’

In the Slovenian comitative construction with an associated subject in a contiguous position fulfilling the same role, the central participant cannot be expressed by a proper or common name (37)–(38):

(37) *Janez s Špelo
 Janez.NOM.SG with Špela.INS.SG
 gresta v kino.
 go.IND.PRS.3DU in cinema.ACC.SG

- (38) *Francozi z Nemci v EU
 French.NOM.PL with Germans.INS.PL in the EU.LOC.SG
 dosegajo politične uspehe.
 achieve.IND.PRS.3PL political.ACC.PL success.ACC.PL

As can be seen from examples (39), (40), such examples of comitative constructions are perfectly normal in Russian:

- (39) Ru.
 Иван с Машей
 Ivan.NOM.SG with Maša.INS.SG
 идут в кино.
 go.IND.PRS.3PL in cinema.ACC.SG
 ‘Ivan and Maša are going to the cinema.’

- (40) Ru.
 Французы с немцами
 French.NOM.PL with Germans.INS.PL
 в Европейском союзе достигли
 in European.LOC.SG union.LOC.SG achieve.PST.PL
 политических успехов.
 political.GEN.PL success.GEN.PL
 ‘The French and Germans have achieved political successes
 in the EU.’

In Slovene the construction containing two proper or common names, fulfilling the same nominative role, can be conveyed with the coordinate phrase (*Janez in Špela* ‘Janez and Špela’, *Francozi in Nemci* ‘Frenchmen and Germans’):

- (41) Slvn.
 Janez in Špela
 Janez.NOM.SG and Špela.NOM.SG
 sta šla v gledališče.
 be.IND.PRS.3DU go.LPTCP.M.DU in cinema.ACC.SG
 ‘Janez and Špela went to the theatre.’

- (42) Slvn.
 Francozi in Nemci v EU
 French.NOM.PL and Germans.NOM.PL in the EU.LOC.SG
 dosegajo politične uspehe.
 achieve.IND.PRS.3PL political.ACC.PL success.ACC.PL
 ‘The French and Germans are achieving political successes
 in the EU.’

This means that Slovenian comitative constructions with non-singular predicates are limited to cases with dual personal pronouns acting as the host NP. As we have shown, Slovenian comitative constructions structurally and semantically differ from coordinated NPs.

8. Some interesting features of comitative constructions in colloquial Slovenian

Whereas in standard Slovenian the predicate form of the 1st person dual is the same for the masculine and feminine (*greva* '[we] are going' in (43)–(44)), a distinct feminine dual form ending in *-e* is found for the first person in colloquial Slovenian and some Slovenian dialects [Jakop, 2004; Derganc, 2006, p. 426]:

(43) Slvn. stand.

Midva	s	Petrom
we.NOM.M.DU	with	Peter.INS.SG
greva	v	gledališče.
go.IND.PRS.1DU	in	theatre.ACC.SG
'Peter and I are going to the theatre.'		

(44) Slvn. stand.

Midve	s	Špelo
we.NOM.F.DU	with	Špela.INS.SG
greva	v	gledališče.
go.IND.PRS.1DU	in	theatre.ACC.SG
'Špela and I are going to the theatre.'		

(45) Slvn. coll.

Midve	s	Špelo
we.NOM.F.DU	with	Špela.INS.SG
greve	v	gledališče.
go.IND.PRS.F.1DU	in	theatre.ACC.SG
'Špela and I are going to the theatre.'		

The form of the feminine predicate ending in *-e* (45) may be explained through the influence of the feminine pronoun form (*greve* ← *midv-e*)⁵ and the tendency to formally distinguish between the feminine (*greve*) and masculine (*greva*) genders in predicate agreement.

A special colloquial form of the dual predicate in the feminine gender changes the inclusory relation in those cases in which the pronoun is dropped

⁵ The adoption of the plural ending *-e* corroborates the finding [Jakop, 2009, p. 165] that dual forms of nouns in Slovenian dialects are more frequent and thus more consistently used than dual forms of verbs.

and the accompanier is masculine. In Standard Slovenian, the verbal form of the predicate announces the inclusory relation of the dropped pronoun towards the accompanier as the verbal form *greva* ‘we are going’ is the same for masculine and feminine genders. On the other hand, a special feminine dual form *greve* ‘we are going’ blocks the inclusory relation of the dropped pronoun *midve* ‘the two of us’ with respect to the masculine accompanier (47).

(46) Slvn. stand.

pro S Petrom
with Peter.INS.SG
greva na morje.
go.IND.PRS.1DU on sea.ACC.SG
‘Peter and I are going to the seaside.’

(47) Slvn. coll.

pro S Petrom
with Peter.INS.SG
greve na morje.
go.IND.PRS.F.1DU on sea.ACC.SG
‘We are going to the seaside with Peter.’

9. Conclusion

Our paper focuses on Slovenian comitative constructions with two human participants who are involved in the same situation: the first participant, most frequently expressed by a nominative noun phrase, acts as a nucleus of the comitative construction, whereas the other accompanying participant is expressed by means of a prepositional phrase. Slovenian possesses two comitative constructions.

The first one includes two participants, which are often detached, and a singular predicate (Slovenian *Anton je gledal film z Ano* ‘Anton watched a film with Ana’).

The second one, which is in the focus of our study, consists of two participants (the dual personal pronoun and the accompanier expressed by the instrumental case) and the dual form of predicate (*Midva z Ano sva gledala film* ‘Anna and I watched the film’). In that case, as it was shown, the dual personal pronoun can be omitted (*Z Ano sva gledala film* ‘Anna and I watched the film’).

One of the key features of the Slovenian comitative construction is that it allows the inclusory reading when the accompanier expressed by the comitative phrase is one of the referents of the pronoun. The interpretation of the number of referents of the SCC is contingent especially on their linear

position (the accompanier may be either detached from or contiguous with the dual pronoun (host NP)) and the form of the predicate.

The Slovenian dual, expressed usually by means of dual pronouns and the form of the predicate, plays a significant role in comitative constructions – it allows the speaker to express the number of participants in a more precise manner.

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