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Second argument realization
with verbal nouns in Macedonian:
an example of grammatical variability

This paper discusses the variability of realization of the direct argument of nominalized predications in Macedonian constructions. As it is common in other languages, the possessive *na*-construction is utilized for accommodation of both subjective and objective case in the noun phrase built by the verbal noun in *-nje*. There is a possibility, however, to add the objective NP directly to the verbal noun if it is not marked for definiteness. The constructions with and without the preposition are seemingly freely interchangeable and there is no consensus among native speakers regarding the choice between the two patterns. This non-categorical or probabilistic variation is the focus of the present paper. On the basis of attested examples from written sources and a questionnaire survey we examine the factors of referentiality and structural complexity of the objective NP, which may be responsible for the preference of one or the other pattern. The usage reveals that the choice is not optional, but may be governed by some probabilistic rules that need to be further examined by application of more rigorous statistical methods.

Key words: syntax; verbal noun; nominalized predication; objective case; preposition; grammatical variability.

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1. Introduction

In Macedonian the preposition *na*[1] occurs in a range of functions covering the broadly defined category of possession. It is prototypically a marker of ownership (*kolata na Ana* 'Anna's car'), kin relations (*sestrata na Ana* 'Anna's sister) and body parts (*kosata na Ana* 'Anna's hair'), but it has expanded its use to part-whole relations (*krajot na ulicata* 'the end of the street') and other more abstract relations, among which the realization of arguments of nominalized predications is of primary importance (first argument realization: *smeata na decata* 'the laughing of the children'; second argument realization: *organizacijata na proektot* 'the organization of the project'). Typologically, the use of the possessive marker in such functions is often attested in languages, which bears witness to the existence of a cognitive relation between the prototype possession and the predicate – argument relation.[2] In Macedonian the prepositional phrase is obligatory with deverbal nouns, but the verbal noun in -*nje* behaves differently. The first argument is invariably realized with the grammaticalized preposition *na* or *od*[3] (example 1) and when the second argument is marked for definiteness, it generally requires the possessive preposition *na* (example 2). However, if the second argument is not definite, there are two possibilities: it can either be realized in a prepositional *na*-construction or directly, without any marker, as it is common for the clause structure[4] (example 3). This variability is the focus of the present study, which aims to draw attention to some factors that are important in determining the choice of the construction (with or without the preposition *na*).

(1) *Me razbudi **laenjeto na/od kučinjata***.
    '**The barking of the dogs** woke me up.'

(2) *Za **tehničko ureduvanje na spisanieto** Redakcijata ovlastuva kompetentno lice*, …

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[1] Its basic spatial meaning is 'support' and it is most often translated in English with the preposition *on*.

[2] Cognitive linguists (e.g. Langacker 2000: 178) claim that this relation is due to our perception of the arguments as an important part of the relation expressed in the base of the nominalized predication.

[3] This preposition has ablative semantics (detachment or origin) and also marks the agent in passive constructions.

[4] Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1993: 121) has noted, among others, that "action nominals can combine both verbal and nominal features, which means, among other things, that some of their arguments are treated as sentential dependents, while others are treated as nominal dependents."
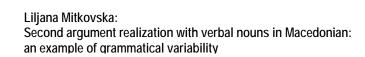
'For **technical editing of the journal** the Editorial Board appoints a competent person, …'

(3) *Dali sakate poveḱe slobodno vrme za meditacija,* **gledanje televizija** *ili* **čitanje na vesnici***?*
'Do you want more free time for meditation, **watching TV** or **reading newspapers**?'

The variation between the pattern with and without the possessive preposition *na* with the second argument not marked for definiteness is not governed by some strict structural or extra-linguistic principles, i.e. it is not categorically determined, but demonstrates properties of probabilistic variability (Cuyckens et al. 2014). It is characteristic for such structures that they are interchangeable and it seems as if the native speakers choose between the two options randomly. However, the contemporary research in language variation (Cuyckens & D'hoedt 2015; Kolbe-Hanna & Szmrecsanyi 2015; Cuyckens et al. 2014) shows that such alternations are not arbitrary, despite the fact that it is difficult to pinpoint the principles that govern the choice, because it depends on a number of interrelated factors.

Variability is a rule, not an exception in language, thus it has always been in the centre of the linguistic research. Chronological and areal variability have been the subject of study since the establishment of linguistics as a discipline, but the interest for synchronic variability gained grounds with the sociolinguistic studies of William Labov in the 1970es. Language variability was the central issue in Labov's research, which aimed to prove that it does not involve an arbitrary and chaotic oscillation between two structures, but that there is some pattern. With his methodology, and especially by applying quantitative analysis, he managed to show that the regularity in the apparently haphazard choice between the variants in the speech of a language community is related to a number of linguistic and sociolinguistic factors (Gordon 2013: 18). Since the 1990es the research in language variability has been strengthened by the application of new computer technologies, large electronic corpora and statistical models that calculate the probability of occurrence of each variant in different contexts. Some factors are better predictors than others, and statistical analyses can show if there is one or more dominant factors (Kolbe-Hanna & Szmrecsanyi 2015). The realization of the second argument of a nominalized predication with or without the possessive preposition *na* is a typical example of grammatical variation, but in Macedonian linguistics there is a tendency to impose categorical rules upon its use. For instance, Tanturovska (2013) considers the construction without *na* as the norm with the second argument not marked for definiteness, ostracizing the use of preposition in such constructions.

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The aim of this paper is to identify some properties of the two competing patterns that seem to have a role in the choice of the pattern in order to show that speakers abide by some probabilistic rules in deciding which pattern to use in certain situations. The research is based on attested examples from literary and journalistic prose and a survey conducted among native speakers of Macedonian. Before discussing the research results some observations by authors dealing previously with this topic will be presented.

2. Views of some Macedonian linguists on the variable character of the realization of the indefinite second argument with the verbal noun

In the most influential *Grammar of the Macedonian Literary Language*, Blaže Koneski (1987: 451–453) points out that the fact that the verbal noun in *-nje* in Macedonian can accommodate the second argument directly (in some circumstances) reveals its verbal nature, but he points out that it is not the only strategy, since the preposition could be used in all cases. According to him, the choice is a matter of style, but whether by this he means individual choice, or a switch in register is not very clear. However, he adds that "we are nowadays more sensitive to the excessive forcing of the constructions without the preposition, than to those with the preposition".

Korubin (1980: 119–124) explains more precisely that we are dealing with two types of construction when the second argument is realized: (a) verbal noun + NP unmarked for definiteness and (b) verbal noun + NP marked for definiteness. In the latter case Korubin states categorically that the preposition is obligatory.[5] As for the former, Korubin thinks that the general rule should be omission of the preposition, but he also observes that in some contexts both constructions are acceptable and admits that in some situations the pattern with the preposition seems to sound better. Korubin (1980: 122) assumes that there might be a reason for that and calls for further research into this matter.

In his study on the syntax of the verbal noun in modern Macedonian, Čašule (1989: 259–261) also noted the variability exhibited in the constructions with the second argument NP unmarked for definiteness. He observes that in the examples he had compiled the pattern without the preposition occurs more frequently, but the

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[5] Indeed, such constructions are extremely rarely encountered without the preposition. This was confirmed by Čašule (1989: 260) and in our data base only one such example was attested.

number of examples with the preposition *na* is also considerable. He further adds that "we can by no means talk about some rigorous or absolute norm", because the choice is a question of personal style. Moreover, he also notices that the choice may be determined by some general tendencies: "… if the object has more modifiers and a complex NP structure, the construction with the preposition *na* is preferred. If only the head noun is present, and it is not definite, it is more usual to attach it directly to the verbal noun" (Čašule 1989: 261).

Thus it is obvious that both Korubin and Čašule are aware of the probabilistic variable character of the construction that the verbal noun creates with the unmarked second argument NP and therefore recommend further research into factors influencing the choice of the patterns. It seems that the underlying motivation for such variability stems from the double nature of the Macedonian verbal noun in *-nje,* which oscillates between the nominal and the verbal pole, in some contexts assuming more verbal and in others more nominal semantics. In relation to this, Topolinjska (2003: 29–31) claims that the occurrence or non-occurrence of the preposition *na* in the realization of the second argument is motivated on semantic grounds. She argues that the opposition "definite – indefinite" is not enough to explain this variation in the Macedonian language, and suggests that it would be more useful to consider it from the point of view of the opposition "generic – non-generic".[6] She (2003: 41–42) further argues that the generic second argument NP is more closely connected to the verbal activity expressed in the base of the verbal noun, creating a kind of periphrastic predicate (*mienje činii* 'washing dishes', *igranje tenis* 'playing tennis'). Thus in contexts that indicate this type of interpretation the construction without the preposition will be preferred. It is however not straightforwardly clear how we tease apart the indefinite from the generic interpretation in a NP not marked for definiteness. In many situations both interpretations may be acceptable, without causing a considerable difference in the semantics of the utterance, so that the choice of a pattern with or without the preposition depends on subjective interpretation. This is most probably the main factor that triggers the variable nature of the construction.

The present analysis is carried out in an attempt to examine some of the semantic and structural factors that may affect the choice between the two available patterns. It is possible that some sociolinguistic factors may be involved, but this study focuses on the linguistic ones. There is also an individual inclination towards one

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[6] "The basic semantic (and formal) restriction reads that the accusative phrase, in order to remain unchanged in the process of derivation, must be used generically, with no markers for referentiality." (Topolinjska 2003: 29).

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or the other variant, which is common with grammatical variation of this type and should be explored in more rigorous quantitative studies.

3. Research results

In our data base compiled from literary and journalistic prose the examples with the preposition *na* prevail (106 occurrences) over those without a preposition (98 occurrences), but the ratio of 52 : 48 strongly indicates that there is a tight competition between the two constructions (Mitkovska 2005: 241). Applying the generic principle did not result in a more strict dividing line, as could be inferred from the results in Table 1. As expected, the pattern with the preposition prevailed in contexts in which the second argument is more likely to be interpreted as non-generic (59% : 41%), while the direct pattern (without a preposition) was more common in situations that favoured generic interpretation (62% : 38%). However, the two-factor ANOVA without replication run for the results showed non-significant difference both between the rows ($F=0.0362$, $P=0.8801$) and between the columns ($F=0.0204$, $P=0.9096$).

Table 1: Results from the literary and journalistic prose

NPs in which the realized second argument is not marked for definiteness	non-generic second argument		Generic second argument		total
	Nr.	%	Nr.	%	
NPs with preposition na	58	59%	40	38%	98
NPs without preposition na	41	41%	65	62%	106
total	99	100%	105	100%	204

These results indicate that the generic principle cannot fully explain the distribution of the variants. In order to check the native speakers' intuition regarding the choice between the two possible constructions with the verbal noun and a realized second argument unmarked for definiteness a questionnaire was conducted among 100 native speakers of Macedonian. The respondents were asked to supply the missing preposition in 20 sentences that contained nominalized predicates, both deverbal and verbal nouns, and realized first or second argument. In 8 of those sentences the second argument NP was not marked for definiteness, which allowed variability. These sentences and the results obtained from the questionnaire are presented in

Table 2. The sentences were taken from the base of collected examples, four of them originally attested with the preposition and four without the preposition. In some of them the realized second argument was more likely to be interpreted as generic and in some as specific. The overall results indicate that the respondents gave priority to the construction with the preposition (64% : 34%). A one-way ANOVA test run on the scores of the completion test showed statistically significant differences of $p < 0.05$ between the two options (F= 14.52517, P=.0019). These results do not correspond to the results from the attested examples cited above, nor to the results reported by Čašule (1989: 259-261), which suggest a slight prevalence of the direct pattern. The reason for this discrepancy could be the choice of the examples in the questionnaire or the individual preferences of the respondents. Moreover, the written questionnaire as a method of data collection could have skewed the result towards the prepositional pattern: since the sentences were given in writing and the respondents could spend some time on each sentence and repeat it, the analytic intuition of the speakers was prompted (see the discussion in Mitkovska 2006: 82-84). These factors, however, will not be expounded further here. The discussion will focus on the factors already pointed out by the linguists referred to in the previous discussion.

Table 2. Questionnaire results

Sentences given in the questionnaire	NA	/	other
1. Ovde se vrši besplatno **montiranje ___ patnički gumi**. 'Here we do **tire mounting** for free' (originally with *na*)	91	9	
2. Helikopter na ARM bil angažiran vo **prenesuvanje ___ povreden rabotnik, koj rabotel na hidrocentralata "Kozjak"**. 'ARM helicopter was engaged in **transportation of an injured worker, who had worked at the hydroelectric plant "Kozjak".** (originally without *na*)	81	19	
3. Razmislete za **počnuvanje ___ nekoja honorarna rabota**. 'Consider **starting some part-time job**.' (originally without *na*)	68	19	13 so
4. Vo Kina bučavata ja koristele za **izvršuvanje ___ smrtna kazna**. 'In China noise was used in the **execution of death penalty**.' (originally with *na*)	67	33	

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5. Agencijata ḱe se zanimava so **prodavanje ___ dela od makedonski fotografi**. (originally with *na*) 'The agency will deal with **selling works by Macedonian photographers**.'	61	38	1 so
6. Isto taka tie se aktivni i vo **organiziranjeto ___ blokadi** na avtopatot kaj Bujanovec. (originally with *na*) 'They are also active in **organizing blockades** on the highway near Bujanovec.	52	48	
7. Prezafateni so **prigotvuvanjeto ___ zimnica**, stanarite na zgradata nemaa mnogu vreme za gubenje. (originally without *na*) 'Too busy with the **preparation of winter preserves**, the residents of the building had no time for waisting.'	49	51	
8. Se obiduvaa da ne im dadat možnost za **objavuvanje ___ vojna**. 'They tried not to give them a possibility for **declaring war**.' (originally without *na*)	47	53	
TOTAL (out of 800 responses)	516 64.5%	270 33.75%	14 1.75%

Two factors have come up more prominently in the works of the authors dealing previously with variability of the syntactic constructions built by the verbal noun and the second argument NP unmarked for definiteness in Macedonian:

1. Semantic factor: specific (indefinite) or generalized (generic) reference of the second argument NP;
2. Structural factor: the complexity of the second argument NP (if it is expressed only by the head or with elaborate pre-and post-modifications).

In the course of our analysis it turned out that the context or the broader situation does not always indicate clearly if the second argument is meant to be presented as referential indefinite or as non-referential generic. Often the context allows both interpretations and it depends on the speaker to decide how to present the nominalized predication and its second argument, without affecting the meaning of the utterance.[7] Such situations often trigger the variation related to the presence or absence of the preposition *na*. The results of the questionnaire partly confirmed this assumption. Let's look at examples (4) and (5) more closely.

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[7] Other authors have pointed out the proximity and the possible overlap between referential indefinite meanings and non-referential meanings of a NP. See for example Givón (1983: 390), Taylor (1996: 185-186), Topolinjska (1997: 214-215).

(4) *Helikopter na ARM bil angažiran vo prenesuvanje ___ **povreden rabotnik, koj rabotel na hidrocentralata "Kozjak"***.
'ARM helicopter was engaged in transportation of an injured worker, who had worked at the hydroelectric plant "Kozjak"'.

(5) *Isto taka tie se aktivni i vo organiziranjeto ___ **blokadi** na avtopatot kaj Bujanovec*.
'They are also active in organizing blockades on the highway near Bujanovec.

In example (4), the relative clause indicates clearly that the NP after the verbal noun stands for a specific, though indefinite, worker. It is thus justified that in the questionnaire 82% of the respondents opted for a preposition and only 18% chose the direct construction. In example (5), even though the utterance is about a concrete event, the result was quite indeterminate: 52% with the preposition and 48% without the preposition. Such oscillation is a result of the potential structural ambiguity: the prepositional phrase *na avtopatot kaj Bujanovec* 'on the highway at Bujanovec' could be interpreted either as a modification of the noun *blokadi* 'blokades' or as a modification of the nominalized predicate (expressed by the verbal noun) and the second argument *organiziranjeto blokadi* 'organizing blockades'. On the first interpretation the referent of the second argument is rendered specific, hence inviting the occurrence of the prepositional construction. On the second, the argument NP is understood as generic and closely connected to the verb, creating a construction which codes a type of organizing, so the direct juxtaposition of the noun would match this reading better. Consequently, in example (5) the variability is a result of the possibility for dual interpretation. However, in example (4), which is more clear-cut, we still have some variability, and in the original text the construction without a preposition was used.[8] This supports the assumption that there is no categorical restriction.

Nonetheless, this analysis confirms the hypothesis that the referential status of the object argument affects the choice of the variant construction in NPs with verbal nouns. The generic direct argument incorporates in the nominalized predicate so the absence of the preposition mirrors this unity. As pointed out above, Topolinjska (2003) has also noted that the generic argument is more easily attached to the verbal noun directly because, as non-individualized entity, it is more closely connected to the meaning of the nominalized verb, and serves as a kind of its clarification, creating a special unit with the verb. In accordance with this she argues

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[8] Since this example is from a daily newspaper, it could be due to the intervention of the language reviewer, since they are advised to erase the preposition in such structures automatically.

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that the phrase *čitanje knigi* 'reading books' is interpreted as a type of reading, "in other words the generic meaning of the object phrase seems to be amalgamated with the meaning of the verb; …" (Topolinjska 2003: 40–41). This semantic blending is reminiscent of object incorporation.[9] In this respect, we can say that the alternation between the constructions with and without the preposition illustrates the principle of iconicity in language: the tendency for the conceptual closeness between two concepts to be paralleled by immediate contact of the language elements in the language string. Since generic objects are less individualized they tend to be realized directly in nominalized predications, while the more individualized status of indefinite objects is signaled by the intervening preposition. The fact that the definite object NP is always realized with prepositional constructions corresponds to the greater individualization of a definite entity.

The structural factor is closely connected to the semantic one. Accepting the view that language form reflects function we can say that the former is a consequence of the latter. Grounding objects requires more specification that results in syntactic complexity. Therefore, the possibility for the second argument to be interpreted as generic is enhanced if the noun has no modifications. The observation by Čašule (1989: 259–261) that if the head noun alone represents the object referent the construction without a preposition prevails may well be based on this fact. This was confirmed in our samples of literary and journalistic texts (example 6 and 7). In both examples the realized second arguments of the predicate coded in the verbal noun are interpreted as generic and expressed in constructions without a preposition. There were two such sentences in the questionnaire, repeated in example (8) and (9). The results did not reflect strong prevalence of the direct construction, but the responses lean slightly towards it: 51% for example (8) and 53% for (9).

(6) *Vo našata kuća nemalo slučaj na **tepanje deca**.*[10]
   'In our house there was no case of **beating children**.

(7) *Niv najmnogu gi interesira **pravenjeto pari** i komforen život.*[11]
   'They were mostly interested in **making money** and comfortable life.'

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[9] "The correlation between objecthood and topicality is so strong that in a number of languages non-topical patients cannot be expressed as syntactic objects, and must undergo incorporation." Dalrymple, Nikolaeva (2011: 130)

[10] Attested in Andreevski, Cane (1991) *Razgovori so Koneski.* Skopje: Kultura, p. 37.

[11] Attested in *Vikend* (Nr. 131, p. 26), an entertainment weekly magazine.

(8) *Prezafateni so **prigotvuvanjeto** ___ **zimnica**, stanarite na zgradata nemaa mnogu vreme za gubenje.*
'Too busy with **the preparation of winter preserves**, the residents of the building had no time for waisting.'

(9) *Se obiduvaa da ne im dadat možnost za **objavuvanje** ___ **vojna**.*
'They tried not to give them a possibility for **declaring war**.'

How can we explain this? Certainly, there is also a possibility to interpret the second argument as referential indefinite even if it is only coded by the head. The sentence in (10) is a good example: it is about a particular high-jacking and by using the prepositional phrase the writer indicates that a particular plane was involved in this event. The direct construction would present the act of high-jacking as a type of event, though it would not change the meaning considerably.

(10) *KGB uspešno otkri obid za grabnuvanje **na avion**.*
'KGB discovered successfully an attempt of high-jacking a plane.'
(https://mk-mk.facebook.com/...mk/.../8623328271291...)

The questionnaire results for the sentences given in (4) and (5) above indicate that the elaborate second argument NP strongly suggests indefinite reference. This is to be expected, since the modifications help specify the expressed entity. The referential interpretation can also be enhanced by the use of indefinite pronouns or adjectives, such as *eden* 'one', *nekoj* 'a certain', *nekakov* 'of a certain quality' etc. For example (11), which was given in the questionnaire, 68% of the respondents inserted the preposition *na*. This result correlates with the situation we find in our sample of collected examples.

(11) *Razmislete za počnuvanje ___ nekoja honorarna rabota.*
'Consider starting some part-time job.'

The type of event expressed in the main clause can also play a crucial role in the interpretation of the referential status of the second argument unmarked for definiteness. This is strongly suggested in example (10). If the main predicate expresses a generalized or a potential event, which is the case in example (7) above, or a negated event as in example (6), the second argument of the nominalized predicate is more likely to be understood as generic and thus expressed without a preposition. These examples testify that the factors determining the choice of one of the variant patterns are interconnected and that there is no simple answer to the question what governs the speakers' choice.

The role of the structural factors is also hard to pinpoint because of the idiosyncratic behavior of some verbal nouns, being inclined more to realization of

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the second argument in the prepositional or with the direct construction. It is noticeable that some verbs of foreign origin demonstrate preference to the prepositional construction, and this tendency can take priority over the other factors. The questionnaire results for example (12) offer some proof for this: 91% of the respondents chose the prepositional construction, even though the situation expressed in the main predicate is generalized and the argument acquires generic interpretation. Neither is the second argument NP an elaborate structure that may prompt the prepositional construction.

(12) *Ovde se vrši besplatno montiranje ___ patnički gumi.*
'Here we do tire mounting for free'

It seems that the verbal noun of the verb *montira* 'mount' is preferably used with the prepositional phrase, regardless the referential status of the second argument or the complexity of the NP expressing it. This example may indicate that the choice is shifting towards the prepositional construction, despite the efforts of the normative linguists to minimize it. The individual preferences reflected in the questionnaire results also indicate that the speakers' priority leans towards the prepositional construction. Namely, 20 respondents used the prepositional constructions in all relevant sentences, but only 4 opted exclusively for the direct construction. These facts do not correspond to the data from written sources (Mitkovska 2005; Čašule 1989) and bear evidence for some ongoing change. It is well known that "changes get a foothold by hooking on to particular items" (Aitchinson 2001: 107). With variable structures usually one variant sticks to a particular lexical item, or a class of items, and may considerably reduce the occurrence with the other variant(s).

4. Conclusions

The above discussion has demonstrated that the realization of the second argument of a verbal noun (when the argument is unmarked for definiteness) in Macedonian is an example of structural variation between a construction with or without the preposition *na.* The choice between the two variants depends on a number of factors which do not have categorical (functional) status. The two variants are often interchangeable in the same context, though a small difference in meaning or emphasis may arise. The referential status of the object argument can be accepted as a general distinguishing principle. There is evidence that generic arguments, which are most often coded in simple NPs, are usually realized without the preposition, because they are more tightly connected to the verb meaning. There are, however,

indeterminate situations in which the presence or absence of the preposition marks the referential status of the object argument. By choosing one of the two constructions the speaker expresses a personal view towards the relation between the nominalized predication and the realized second argument. Thus the use of the preposition *na* can be seen as a means of disambiguation, i.e. of distinguishing between reference to type and reference to indefinite instance of that type. As it has been pointed out, the two areas of meaning are close and can overlap in certain circumstances, so covering the two concepts with one structure is common practice in languages.[12] Consequently, the described variation in Macedonian testifies for the fact that there are no strict borderlines between the concepts of type, instance and grounded instance.

The analysis shows that the semantic principle is affected by other structural factors, such as the complexity of the NP or the nature of the predicate in the main sentence structure. However, sometimes the choice between the variants seems to be dependent on individual factors that cannot be defined – speakers' personal preferences or the collocational affinities of a particular verbal noun. Such oscillations reflect the tension between two opposing tendencies in the Macedonian language: analytic vs. synthetic constructions. This divergence is the source of variation in other areas of syntax, such as the pseudo-partitive constructions: *golem broj studenti/golem broj na studenti* 'a large number of students', *razni vidovi kolači/razni vidovi na kolači* 'different types of cakes'; or those expressing specification: *relacija posesivnost/relacija na posesivnost* 'relation of possessivity', *edinica mera/edinica na mera* 'a unit of measure'.[13] It seems to be the reason why we encounter choices that go counter the expectations based on the referential and complexity principles.

The results of this study suggest that the question of choice between the construction with or without the preposition in realization of the second argument (not marked for definiteness) with the verbal noun opens up a number of theoretical issues relevant for structural, functional and typological linguistics. It deserves further, more comprehensive investigation on a wider range of attested examples from written and spoken sources in order to pinpoint the true nature of this variable structure.

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[12] Such as the indefinite article in English (Taylor 1996: 185–186).

[13] These constructions are discussed in Mitkovska (2002) and Mitkovska (2005: 329-330 and 340–344).

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NAČINI OSTVARIVANJA DRUGOGA ARGUMENTA S IMENICAMA IZVEDENIMA OD GLAGOLA U MAKEDONSKOM: PRIMJER GRAMATIČKE VARIJABILNOSTI

U ovome se radu raspravlja o različitosti načina ostvarivanja direktnih argumenata poimeničenih predikacija u konstrukcijama u makedonskome jeziku. Kao što je uobičajeno u drugim jezicima, posvojna konstrukcija s *na* upotrebljava se za smještanje kako subjektivnog, tako i objektivnog padeža u imenskoj frazi koju se tvori glagolskom imenicom na -*nje*. Međutim, postoji mogućnost da se imensku frazu u ulozi objekta doda direktno na glagolsku imenicu, ako ista nije označena glede određenosti. Konstrukcije s ili bez prijedloga čine se slobodno međusobno zamjenjivi i ne postoji slaganje u izvornih govornika glede izbora jednoga ili drugoga obrasca. Na tu se nekategoričnu ili probabilističku varijaciju koncentrira ovaj rad. Na temelju ovjerenih primjera iz pisanih izvora i ankete u obliku upitnika promatra se čimbenike referencijalnosti i strukturne složenosti imenske fraze u ulozi objekta, koje bi se moglo smatrati odgovornima za preferenciju prema jednom ili drugom obrascu. Uporabe otkrivaju da izbor nije slučajan, nego njime upravljaju određena probabilistička pravila koja se treba daljnje istražiti primjenom rigoroznijih statističkih metoda.

Ključne riječi: sintaksa; glagolska imenica; poimeničene predikacije; objektni padež; prijedlog; varijabilnost u gramatici.