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“ZAVRŠENA VELIKA KONZUM NAGRADNA IGRA” – ON THE STATUS OF PREMODIFYING NOUNS IN CROATIAN¹

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Various new structures are emerging in Croatian as the result of the influence of English. This paper focuses on one such innovation – e.g. Konzum nagradna igra – and the possibility of its grammatical description. In this structure the proper name Konzum is placed in the position of an attributive adjective. The problem here is how to analyse this structure because the traditional descriptive grammar does not offer any adequate models. Two different approaches are suggested as possible solutions in literature. These include expanding the definition of apposition and changing the word category noun → adjective. In this paper we analyse the frequency with which structures of this type appear on the basis of analysis of magazines and websites, we test their acceptability with the help of a questionnaire and test the applicability of the two proposed approaches to the analysis of such structures. Our research has revealed that these structures are present in language and are acceptable and that the analysis based on the change of word category covers more cases than the expansion of the definition of apposition.

Key words: *apposition; indeclinable adjective; (semi-)compound; premodifying noun; Croatian language*

1. Introduction

Premodifying nouns have become an issue both in the Croatian language and in Croatian linguistics. Expressions such as *internet stranica* ‘webpage’, *kontakt centar* ‘contact centre’, *poklon kartica* ‘gift card’ as well as *Maestro kartica* ‘Maestro card’, *Nike*

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tenesice 'Nike tennis shoes' are nowadays frequent in written media texts and in private publications on the internet and are even making their way into scientific discourse, e.g. *theta valovi* 'theta waves'. This kind of structure is traditionally considered non-Slavic and seen as a contact phenomenon under the influence of German, Hungarian, Turkish, and, most prominently since the age of globalization, English (cf. Horvat, Štebih Golub 2010, Sapunar Težević, Togonal 2012). A Slavic solution would be a noun phrase with a premodifying adjectival attribute, e.g., *internetska stranica* 'webpage', or a postmodifying attribute, e.g., a prepositional phrase, e.g., *centar za kontakt*, literally 'centre for contact', or a postmodifying apposition, e.g., *tenesice Nike*, 'Nike tennis shoes', which is also recommended by normative linguistics.²

The constructions with premodifying nouns illustrated so far are usually analysed as semi-compounds (*polusloženice*³) or compounds (e.g., Badurina, Marković, Mićanović 2008: 147) in Croatian linguistics. This means that they represent single words consisting of two nouns, where the right constituent is the head and the left constituent the modifier. As has been shown by Starčević (2006: 649) the relations between the two constituents can be manifold – as is typical for compounds generally (see section 4 for discussion).

However, Starčević (2006), as well as Marković (2008), argues against analysing them as (semi-)compounds and contends instead that we are facing noun phrases with an appositive noun to the left, e.g., in *Maestro kartica*, 'card named Maestro' or 'Maestro, the card', at least when the modifier is a proper name. This idea is intriguing but remains intuitively unconvincing. It has therefore also been criticized by Horvat and Štebih Golub (2010: 11), who speak of juxtaposition. The reason for this new analysis is to be found in the relatively recent (as it seems⁴) spread of premodifying nouns to noun phrases that contain premodifying adjectival attributes, such as *Franck nagradna igra*, 'Franck sweepstake', or *Chanel tematski prostor*, lit. 'Chanel thematic space'. In this particular construction the premodifying noun (a proper name) remains undeclined, e.g., *u bilo kojem Konzum prodajnom mjestu*, 'in any Konzum retail outlet', and finds itself in a position normally allowing only another premodifying adjective, adjectival pronoun or numeral, or an adverb modifying the adjective (Barić et al. 1997: 540-551), e.g. *u bilo kojem Konzumovom prodajnom mjestu*, 'in any of Konzum's retail outlets'. Therefore juxtaposition (as defined by Horvat and Štebih Golub 2010, i.e., as a semi-compound) is not convincing either, since the intervening inflected adjective presupposes an

² Cf. the explanation in Badurina, Marković, Mićanović (2008: 147) as well as Starčević (2006: 649). A similar stance has also been taken by some of my informants, cf. section 3.

³ ".../ atributnost prve imenice u odnosu prema drugoj, nemogućnost sklanjanja prve imenice, čuvanje obaju naglasaka, njihovo nesudjelovanje u tvorbi, sintaktička cjelovitost" (Barić, Malić 1976: 94, cited according to Starčević 2006: 646), "attributive relation of the first noun to the second, impossibility of first noun declination, preservation of both accents, non-interaction in word formation, syntactic integrity".

⁴ This type of structure was noted by the end of the 1990s, which does not preclude earlier occurrences, which have hardly, if ever, been reported or studied, cf. e.g., Naylor (1982): *portabl pisaća mašina* 'portable typewriter'.

independent status for the preposed noun. In Doleschal (1999) I therefore analysed such occurrences as indeclinable adjectives. For the constructions without an intervening inflected adjective the analysis as a (semi-)compound can still be maintained and, to my mind, it should be. This is related to both the grammaticality of compounds and the frequency of the two different structures.

Indeed, such noun-adjective-noun constructions (hence N(AN)-constructions) should be ruled out not only by normative grammar but also by the Croatian language system. Nonetheless, they do occur regularly, and not only in Croatian, but also in Serbian, Slovene, Slovak and Czech (Doleschal 1999), where they are equally ungrammatical (cf. Mološnaja 1975, 1985 for the types of adjectival and nominal syntagms found in the Slavic languages). Thus, if speakers of a language choose to regularly use structures which are not in accordance with the available descriptions, it is the task of descriptive linguistics to account for them and to try to describe them in terms of grammaticography.

The goal of this article is therefore to shed more light on the grammatical status of the preposed nouns in the N(AN)-constructions of the type *Franck* (*nagradna igra*), 'Franck sweepstake'. Are they modifiers or appositions? Can they be analysed as indeclinable adjectives? Or do we have to postulate a new word class? Or a new kind of construction, as Starčević does (2006)? In order to assess the relevance of this analysis we ask, in addition, the following two questions: Do such constructions occur frequently? And what are the communicative conditions in which the phenomenon is used?

The structure of the article is as follows: We will first present the results of a survey of magazines and internet pages, showing the types, the frequency and stylistic characteristics of the preposed nouns. We will also show how the preposed noun structures are evaluated by the native speakers of Croatian.

Secondly, we will present the grammatical descriptions proposed so far and discuss their benefits and drawbacks in the light of our material and the questionnaire we have conducted with students from the University of Rijeka with the purpose of obtaining more information on the phenomenon from young native speakers.

2. Empirical investigation of texts

Former treatments of the N(AN)-constructions have shown that they occur predominantly in the media. In my own investigation (Doleschal 1999) I moreover found that their use was by and large restricted to one genre – written advertisements published either in magazines or on flyers. It was therefore logical to look at the same genre and discourse in order to verify if the N(AN)-construction was productive or if the examples registered in the 1990s had just been the result of uncontrolled language contact in the early post-socialist years.

The first search for the item "nagradna igra", 'sweepstake', on the internet showed that the construction remains alive and has proliferated, which is especially clear from the

website "nagradneigre.hr", where sweepstakes being held in Croatia can be advertised. The events on this site are mostly listed under the name of their promoter, e.g., *Cockta nagradna igra*, 'Cockta sweepstake', *Plodine nagradna igra*, 'Plodine sweepstake', *Head & Shoulders nagradna igra*, 'Head & Shoulders sweepstake', or according to an important feature: *besplatne nagradne igre*, 'free sweepstakes', *SMS nagradne igre*, 'SMS sweepstakes', which in most cases entails an N(AN)-structure. Note that the first element in these structures is not necessarily a foreign name or a foreign word, as used to be the case in the 1990s (Doleschal 1999).

Each sweepstake is briefly described at the site "nagradneigre.hr" and links to the official sites of the promoters are given. Interestingly, these sites never name the events by an N(AN)-structure, but rather by the name of the competition as appositive to the right – hence (AN) (N), e.g., *nagradna igra Plodine i Pepsi*, 'Plodine and Pepsi sweepstake', *pravila nagradne igre "Naruči Cocktu i odvezi auto"*, 'the rules of the sweepstake "Order a Cockta and get(take home) a car"', even though these official pages, too, represent one of the genres of advertising. This is equally true of the pages where the rules of the respective event are explained, i.e. of the legal genre. Nevertheless, the N(AN)-structure is not completely absent from these pages, either, with *SMS nagradna igra*, 'SMS sweepstake' being found both on official pages and in the respective rules, since phrasings like *nagradna igra preko/putem SMS*, 'sweepstake through/by way of SMS', are not accepted by native speakers.

The legal texts investigated did not contain any N(AN)-structures with a proper name as the first constituent, whereas the official pages announcing the sweepstakes sometimes, if rarely, did – for example on the page of the competition advertising *Osvoji F1 iskustvo i vožnju s Lewis Hamiltonom*, 'Win the F1 experience and a ride with Lewis Hamilton', (promoted by the supermarket chain "Konzum") we find a *Mercedes-Monster sportska torba*, 'Mercedes-Monster sport bag', as one of the prizes. Altogether I studied sites related to 10 different events of this type. This material consisted of the webpage which either contained the announcement of the event or the list of winners (if the game was already over), and the page with the rules.

As a next step I investigated the website of the supermarket chain "Konzum", one of the promoters of events on the sweepstakes website, in order to identify other possible cases of N(AN)-constructions. Konzum was chosen because it is a Croatian company, so that direct influence of the language of a parent company can be excluded.

Starting from the main page (<http://www.konzum.hr/>) I investigated the 15 subpages under the heading "Usluge kupcima", 'Services for customers' (<http://www.konzum.hr/Usluge-kupcima>), which differ significantly in length (between 32 and 795 words). Altogether, these texts contained three instances of the N(AN)-structure: *Konzum benz benzinska postaja*, 'Konzum benz petrol station', *Konzum American Express kreditna kartica*, 'Konzum American Express credit card', *Konzum prodajno mjesto*, 'Konzum retail outlet', on three different subpages – interestingly the ones with the longest texts (455, 643, 795 words, resp.). Of course, more instances can be found

on the pages of the internet shop where physical products are advertised and offered. In those cases, however, the expressions we want to investigate are not part of running text, which makes the evaluation of their syntactic properties impossible. I have therefore refrained from considering such cases. Note, however, that the N(AN)-structure is not very frequent there, either.

All texts investigated so far can be categorised as a part of advertising discourse,⁵ with the exception of the legal texts explaining the rules of competitions. My next step was to explore whether the N(AN)-construction had spread to other domains. I therefore investigated the print versions of magazines, and in particular fully analysed one issue of "Sensa" and "Autoklub" each (and less thoroughly one issue of "Men's Health", "Gloria" and "Cosmopolitan", all published in 2014). I found eight occurrences in "Sensa" and three in "Autoklub". All instances, except for two, contained a proper name as the first constituent, e.g., *Ciobar vruća čokolada* 'Ciobar hot chocolate', in one case in the form of an abbreviation: *BSI*⁶ *servisni paket*, 'BSI service package'. The other two were *theta moždani valovi* 'theta brainwaves', and *pull-rod prednji ovjes*, 'pull-rod front suspension', where both *theta* as well as *pull-rod* are foreign words, but notably from very different stylistic levels: While the first comes from scientific discourse, the second belongs to technical jargon and could be replaced by a calque or another construction. In the case of *theta moždani valovi*, 'theta brainwaves', this is more difficult (as in the case of *SMS nagradna igra*, 'SMS sweepstake', mentioned above). My informants did not favour any of the substitutes I offered in the questionnaire. Regarding the discourse properties of the items, these two instances occurred in informative texts, the remaining ones in advertising texts or informative texts with advertising elements. There are no such constructions in other text genres in the magazines, i.e. in articles or short notices. A less thorough, though exhaustive, perusal of the three other magazines corroborated this picture.

All N(AN)-structures beside *SMS nagradna igra*, 'SMS sweepstake', and *theta moždani valovi*, 'theta brainwaves', are ad hoc-formations. This is probably why they occur in relatively longer advertising texts, since they need the co-text and context (cf. Badurina 2008: 67–82 for the role of context) in order to function semantically and it is hard to imagine them becoming lexicalized. In contrast, *SMS nagradna igra*, 'SMS sweepstake', and *theta moždani valovi*, 'theta brainwaves', are already habitual in a certain style, and the latter might become terminological in neuroscience.⁷ The same is true for *omega-3 masne kiseline*, 'omega 3 fatty acids', or *trans nezasićene masne kiseline*, 'trans unsaturated fatty acids', which are also found in scientific publications.

⁵ For the peculiarities of Croatian advertising discourse please see Stolac, Vlastelić (2014).

⁶ "BMW service inclusive".

⁷ I found 39 instances on the internet, only two of which came from a university site. The rest came from esoteric websites which can also be subsumed under advertising (or in any case persuasive) discourse, since they aim at promoting certain treatments.

This small investigation clarifies the following: The N(AN)-construction occurs very rarely (whereas semi-compounds with the same types of constituents are rather frequent in my corpus) and mostly in genres of advertising and promotion. Usually, the first constituent is a proper noun, an abbreviation or a foreign word, or a syntagm. Thus, we are usually dealing with ad-hoc formations.

3. The questionnaire

In order to check the acceptability and the semantics of the N(AN)-structures, I conducted a small survey with the words found in the magazine "Sensa". Fifteen subjects participated in the survey which was later verified by two philologists. Eleven subjects were born between 1990 and 1994, three between 1977 and 1982. One of them was an instructor of Croatian language and literature, and one an engineer. Eleven subjects were students of Croatian language and literature at the University of Rijeka, and the remaining three were studying economics, English and pedagogy. All considered Croatian their mother tongue.

I created a questionnaire with the seven following N(AN)-constructions from my material: *Himalaya hranjivi balzam za usne*, 'Himalaya nourishing balm for the lips', *Ciobar vruća čokolada*, 'Ciobar hot chocolate', *Chanel tematski prostor mirisa i ljepote*, 'Chanel thematic space of scent and beauty', *Pandhy's šećerni gel s dodatkom 2 posto kofeina*, 'Pandhy's sugar gel with 2 percent caffeine added', *Pandhy's kofeinska celulitna masaža*, 'Pandhy's caffeine cellulite massage', *100% SPA šećerni piling za tijelo*, '100% SPA sugar peeling for the body', *theta moždani valovi*, 'theta brainwaves'. These items were presented in a sentence taken from the original text from "Sensa" and were accompanied by a copy of the whole text (including pictures). The sentences were then varied by substituting the original form (e.g. a. below) by constructions which might be its semantic equivalents (e.g. b., c.):

- a. *Dr. Oetker nam je pripremio Ciobar vruću čokoladu prema talijanskoj recepturi.*
- b. *Dr. Oetker nam je pripremio vruću čokoladu Ciobar prema talijanskoj recepturi.*
- c. *Dr. Oetker nam je pripremio Ciobarovu vruću čokoladu prema talijanskoj recepturi.*⁸

The respondents were asked to read through the advertisements and then proceed to answer the questions:

U sljedećim reklamama iz magazina "Sensa" naći ćete nekoliko imeničkih skupova koji sadrže imena i tuđice. Molimo Vas da pročitate dijelove teksta i onda odgovorite na pitanja.

⁸ lit. a. Dr. Oetker has prepared us Ciobar hot chocolate according to an Italian recipe.
lit. b. Dr. Oetker has prepared us hot chocolate Ciobar according to an Italian recipe.
lit. c. Dr. Oetker has prepared us Ciobar's hot chocolate according to an Italian recipe.

Jesu li jedna ili više sljedećih rečenica istoznačne s izvornom rečenicom iz reklame? Ako jesu, molim, označite ih i objasnite zašto su istoznačne. Što u njima znači imenički skup koji je istaknut?

Ako mislite, da nisu istoznačne, molim objasnite zašto! Precrtajte varijante koje Vam se čine nekorektnima.⁹

The main aim of this questionnaire was to investigate the semantics of the N(AN)-construction by finding possible synonymous expressions and, at the same time, the explanations that native speakers would give. These judgments were required to help with the grammatical analysis presented below (section 4). The test items were purposely presented in their original environment in order to facilitate the semantic task and also in order to prevent context-free judgments on purely normative grounds. The option of excluding test sentences as inadequate was intended as a grammaticality judgment (in the tradition of Generative grammar). As it turned out, this should have been communicated differently, for some respondents related it to the adequacy of the semantics as compared with the original text. Other respondents regarded the questionnaire as a task of correct Croatian and chose to comment on the normativity of the single sentences. This was, although unexpected, very interesting as a means of gauging the level of irritation caused by the N(AN)-structure of the original examples.

Six persons expressed criticisms regarding the N(AN)-test items. One person (a student) thought that the word order was not correct in any of the original examples, favouring the version with an appositive noun to the right, i.e., *vruća čokolada Ciobar* instead of *Ciobar vruća čokolada*. Two students disliked the examples *Chanel tematski prostor mirisa i ljepote* and *Pandhy's šećerni gel s dodatkom 2 posto kofeina*. The brand name *Pandhy's* created problems for other subjects, too. One of them commented that the use of English possessives was incorrect in Croatian ("U hrvatskom jeziku ne bi trebalo upotrebljavati engleske oznake za posvojne pridjeve, kao što je Phandhy's."¹⁰). Three subjects commented that the names had to be put in quotation marks in order to make the sentences correct. But, all in all, the N(AN)-constructions passed surprisingly well as potential Croatian expressions.

What we have seen in this section is that N(AN)-structures do occur in media discourse, and more specifically in advertisements, where they are productive, but their frequency is low. Native speakers of Croatian do not discard these examples, nor do they find them strange (although some qualify them as bad style) and they have no difficulty in interpreting them semantically. Thus, we cannot neglect them. Let us therefore proceed to the grammatical analysis of the N(AN)-constructions themselves.

⁹ In the following advertisements from the magazine "Sensa" you will find some noun phrases containing proper names and foreign words. Please read through the text clippings and then answer the questions. Are one or more of the following sentences synonymous with the original one from the advertisement? If so, please mark it/them and explain why they are synonymous. What does the highlighted noun phrase mean? If you do not think that they are synonymous, please explain why you think so. Cross out variants that seem incorrect to you.

¹⁰ In Croatian one should not use English designations for possessive adjectives, such as Phandhy's'.

4. The grammatical problem

As stated in the introduction, the N(AN)-construction is usually described together with other types of complex noun structures, such as *Internet veza*, 'internet connection', *Q10 Plus borba*, 'Q10 Plus contest', *Vodafone Mobile Connect – EDGE paket*, 'Vodafone Mobile Connect EDGE package' (examples from Starčević 2006), which consist of two or more elements, all of which – except the rightmost (the head) – remain uninflected and can be analysed as parts of a semi-compound or a compound. The only cases where such an analysis is impossible are the constructions with an intervening inflected adjective that agrees with the head noun of the whole noun phrase, e.g. *Ciobar vruća čokolada* 'Ciobar hot chocolate', *Konzum prodajno mjesto* 'Konzum retail outlet'. We want to clarify the status of the element to the left of the inflected adjective (*Ciobar*, *Konzum*) in this construction.

The elements in question are usually nouns. They stand in their base form, i.e., they remain undeclined. In the noun phrases in question they occur in a syntagmatic position where either adjectives, adjectival pronouns, numerals or adverbs are expected and allowed, cf. *odlična vruća čokolada*, 'excellent hot chocolate', *ova vruća čokolada*, 'this hot chocolate', *jako vruća čokolada*, 'extremely hot chocolate', but not undeclined nouns. The only grammatical way to integrate undeclined nouns in a noun phrase (NP) is by using apposition.¹¹ Apposition is the solution proposed by Starčević (2006) and Marković (2008), whereas I proposed to analyse the undeclined preposed nouns as indeclinable adjectival attributes (Doleschal 1999).

Starčević (2006: 650–651) notes that the peculiarity of the preposed elements in question is that their semantic relation to the right constituent is often ambiguous and cannot always be unequivocally determined even in single concrete cases. In this respect the N(AN)-constructions resemble compounds, where any semantic relation may hold between the constituents. Starčević (2006: 649–251) enumerates typicality (*Billa usluge*, 'Billa services'), location (*internet usluge*, 'internet services'), instrument (*internet veza*, 'internet connection'), purpose (*shopping kartica*, 'shopping card'), content (*jagoda cocktail*, 'strawberry cocktail'), possessiveness (*Franck kava*, 'Franck coffee') and naming (*Volvo limuzina*, 'Volvo limousine'). He notes that the first six realise the function of a modifier, whereas the last has the function of an identifier, and thus either of an attribute or of an apposition, cf. *Iris parfumerija* ('perfume shop owned by Iris') and *Iris grupa* ('group (of companies) called Iris') (Starčević 2006: 651). He also notes that it is sometimes impossible to decide whether a certain instance should be analysed as one or the other and that this is probably one of the reasons for the success of this structure. In conclusion, he advocates a new N+N-structure in the grammar of Croatian with new possibilities of expression.

¹¹ Note that NPs like *Franck kava*, 'Franck coffee', or *Konzum prodavaonica*, 'Konzum shop', are here considered to be compound nouns, i.e., as word formations.

Marković (2008: 127), on the other hand, argues that the N(AN)-structures are appositional structures where the leftmost noun is the head and the NP to the right the apposition. Marković thus interprets constructions such as *Raiffeisen banka*, 'Raiffeisen bank', or *Mazda prodajno mjesto*, 'Mazda retail outlet', as cases where the name is not used onymically but rather in the sense of a set or kind which can then be differentiated by a restrictive apposition into different sorts. In *Mazda prodajno mjesto*, 'Mazda retail outlet' is intended as opposed, for example, to *Mazda limuzina*, 'Mazda limousine'.

Assuming the N(AN)-construction has, as argued by Starčević, two different semantic values, i.e., modification and apposition, let us now examine how these can best be analysed within the traditional syntactic view of the Croatian noun phrase.

If the preposed element can have the meaning of modification, i.e. the function of a congruent attribute, it should be analysed as an adjective or, more precisely, as a relational adjective (including the relation of possessiveness which is signaled by the suffix *-ov*). Adjectives can express all sorts of relations in Croatian (Marković 2010: 91) but usually not the function of naming. Syntactically, they can be congruent attributes in NPs (usually left of the head noun) and parts of the predicate together with a copula verb.

Appositions, in contrast, are characterised by full or partial referential identity, and the two members of an appositional construction are often interchangeable, or one of the two members can stand for both (cf. Meyer 1992: 41). Moreover, the function of naming is one of the central functions of appositions, e.g., *hotel Kolovare*, where *hotel* is the main noun and *Kolovare* the apposition (cf. Meyer 1992: 76).

Let us now consider arguments in favour of the classification of the preposed element as an indeclinable adjective. 1) The element in question is in the position of an adjectival attribute, e.g. *Konzum prodajno mjestom*, 'Konzum retail outlet', or *theta moždani valovi*, 'theta brainwaves'. 2) It has the semantics of an adjectival attribute (relational), e.g. *Franck nagradna igra*, 'Franck sweepstake'. 3) The preposed elements can function anaphorically¹² like *omega-3* and *omega-6* do in the following text:

OMEGA-3 MASNE KISELINE

Zajedno s omega-6 spadaju u grupu nezasićenih masnih kiselina. (...)

Vrlo pojednostavljeno možemo reći da omega-3 djeluju protuupalno (sudjeluju u proizvodnji tvari koje sprječavaju upalne procese) a omega-6 proupalno (sudjeluju u proizvodnji tvari koje uzrokuju upalne procese).¹³ (<http://ljekarnerizk.com/savjeti-i-zdravlje/clanci-o-zdravlju/140-omega-3-masne-kiseline>, 5.9.2015)

¹² Cf. Marković (2010: 86) for this criterion.

¹³ 'OMEGA-3 FATTY ACIDS

Together with omega-6 [acids] they belong to the group of unsaturated fatty acids (...) Simplifying greatly we can say that omega-3 [acids] have an anti-inflammatory effect (they participate in the production of substances inhibiting inflammatory processes) whereas omega-6 have a pro-inflammatory effect (they participate in the production of substances causing inflammatory processes)'.

Arguments against this classification as an adjective are as follows: 1) Not all instances can be substituted by an adjective with the meaning being preserved, e.g. *Ciobar vruća čokolada* but not **Ciobarova vruća čokolada*. 2) The predicate position is ruled out for the elements in question: **Ova čokolada je Ciobar*, 'this chocolate is Ciobar', **ovo prodajno mjesto je Konzum*, 'this retail outlet is Konzum', whereas it is usually possible for all adjectives in Croatian (Marković 2010: 127–128, but also 124 for a qualification of this statement). From a typological point of view, however, adjectives need not necessarily be allowed in the predicate, e.g. German includes an entire group of deonymical relational adjectives which lack this ability (e.g., *Wiener*, 'Viennese', *Tiroler*, 'Tyrolean', cf. also Marković 2010: 125).

One reason for the classification as apposition is that the element in question often has the (potential) meaning of a label, i.e., a proper name can substitute the whole construction, e.g. *pijem Ciobar*, 'I drink Ciobar'. In this interpretation, the noun phrases are interchangeable: *Ciobar vruća čokolada*– *vruća čokolada Ciobar*, 'Ciobar hot chocolate – hot chocolate Ciobar'

Arguments against this classification as apposition are as follows: 1) According to Marković (2008) in an NP with an apposition only the right constituent can remain uninflected; in our case, however, it is the name, the left constituent, which is uninflected. The right constituent behaves as the head of the construction, it is inflected and controls the concord of adjectival attributes when it comes to gender, number and case: *u bilo kojem Konzum prodajnom mjestu*, 'in any Konzum retail outlet', *velika Konzum nagradna igra*, 'big Konzum sweepstake'. 2) Moreover, we find cases where the undeclined name is to the left and an appositive phrase to the right: *Velika Allianz nagradna igra "Policu ugovori i auto osvoji!"*, 'Big Allianz sweepstake "take out a policy and win a car"'. Such a proliferation of two naming appositions is atypical, and it is hard to interpret the name "Allianz" as being in a naming function here, as it identifies the promoter of the game and therefore has a possessive meaning. 3) Moreover, there are also cases such as *SMS nagradna igra*, 'SMS sweepstake', where the analysis of *SMS* as an apposition is ruled out semantically.

The discussion of the two possible treatments of the N(AN)-construction – attributive indeclinable adjective or appositional noun – offered in the linguistic literature shows that neither can account for all facets. But does that really make two different analyses necessary? Applying Occam's razor, the solution with the indeclinable adjective is more rational, since it can accommodate more cases, resp. meaning relations. The onymic function would in this case only mean a slight extension and is already present in the adjectives: *općina Trogir – trogirska općina* 'municipality Trogir – Trogirian municipality'.

The results of the questionnaire, too, can be interpreted along these lines. All items in the questionnaire contained a name as the first element, with the exception of *theta moždani valovi*, 'theta brainwaves'. As described above (Section 3) the questionnaire contained sentences with the elements in question placed in different constructions.

The subjects were asked to determine which of the sentences were synonymous and in line with the meaning of the original text (which was presented alongside). In most of the cases the N(AN) constructions were seen as synonymous with clear appositional constructions with the noun to the right of the head and were explained as stating the name of the entity in question, e.g. *Himalaya balzam za usne – balzam za usne Himalaya*, 'Himalaya balm for the lips'. However, four subjects marked the versions with possessive adjectives as synonymous also, where this was possible, e.g. *Chanel tematski prostor mirisa i ljepote – Chanelov tematski prostor mirisa i ljepote*, lit. 'Chanel thematic space of scent and beauty – Chanel's thematic place of scent and beauty'.

5. Conclusion

As we have seen, the N(AN)-construction of the type *Konzum nagradna igra*, 'Konzum sweepstake', is alive, if not very productive, in modern Croatian and is even seen as inevitable in some cases, such as *SMS nagradna igra*, 'SMS sweepstake'. We have discussed two different possibilities for analysing this structure. Based on the arguments put forward we conclude that the indeclinable elements are better analysed as a conversion of nouns into indeclinable adjectives in this construction than as appositional nouns. Such a solution is broader and can be applied in a uniform manner, and may even be extended to semi-compounds if considered necessary.

However, this question should be pursued further both empirically (by including academic discourse) and theoretically. For the analysis of a particular element of language as being representative of one category or another is deeply connected to the theoretical framework used. We have adhered to the traditional analysis of word classes and syntactic structures put forward in the grammars of Croatian, most notably Barić et al. (1997).

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SAŽETAK

Ursula Doleschal

"ZAVRŠENA VELIKA KONZUM NAGRADNA IGRA" – O STATUSU PREDATRIBUTNIH IMENICA U HRVATSKOME JEZIKU

U hrvatskome se jeziku javljaju različite nove strukture pod utjecajem engleskoga jezika. U članku se raspravlja o jednoj takvoj inovaciji kao što je *Konzum nagradna igra* i mogućnosti njezina gramatičkog opisa. U takvoj konstrukciji vlastito ime *Konzum* zauzima sintaktičku poziciju pridjevnog atributa. Pitanje je kako se može analizirati takvu konstrukciju, jer tradicionalna deskriptivna gramatika ne nudi adekvatne modele. U literaturi se kao moguća rješenja nude dva različita pristupa, a to su proširenje pojma apozicije i promjena vrste riječi imenica → pridjev.

U ovome se članku provjerava učestalost pojavljivanja takvih konstrukcija na osnovi istraživanja časopisa i internetskih stranica, anketom se ispituje njihova prihvatljivost te se provjerava primjenjivost obaju navedenih pristupa u analizi tih konstrukcija. Istraživanje je pokazalo da su spomenute konstrukcije prisutne i prihvatljive te da analiza u smislu promjene vrste riječi pokriva više slučajeva nego proširenje pojma apozicije.

Ključne riječi: apozicija; nepromjenljiv pridjev; (polu)složenica; predatributna imenica; hrvatski jezik