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THE PARTICLE AND CONJUNCTION *ARTI* IN THE CROATIAN KAJKAVIAN LITERARY LANGUAGE

Beginning from its lexicographical description in the *Dictionary of the Croatian Kajkavian Literary Language*, this paper analyses the structure and usage of the synsemantic word *arti* – which is both a particle and conjunction as a morphological and syntactic unit – based on selected Kajkavian literary texts. The main goal of this analysis is: (1) define its morphological and syntactic purpose, (2) determine the period of its usage in the Croatian Kajkavian literary language, and (3) suggest additions to the lexicographical description of the entry in the *Dictionary of the Croatian Kajkavian Literary Language* in terms of its meaning and the examples provided. Analysis of the particle and conjunction *arti* shows that certain synsemantic words in the Croatian Kajkavian literary language underwent changes in usage from the 16th to the early 20th century.

1. Introduction

The lexicon of the Kajkavian Croatian literary language consists of words that are autosemantic (lexical) and synsemantic (grammatical). In accordance with this, both types of word can be described in terms of their phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic, and other linguistic features, depending on approach. There are two sources for the linguistic analysis of Kajkavian literary examples: (1) printed works and manuscripts created or published from the 16th to the mid-19th century (including dialectal literary texts up to the mid-20th cen-

tury), and (2) the *Rječnik hrvatskoga kajkavskoga književnog jezika* [*Dictionary of the Croatian Kajkavian Literary Language*] (KRj) with published volumes of lexicographical analysis (1984–2020) based on an established corpus of Kajkavian original sources. If chosen as the subject of analysis of autosemantic or synsemantic lexical units, both source types affirm the temporal course of language usage. Although autosemantic words are understandably subjected to analysis more often, this paper examines the linguistic usage of the synsemantic word *arti*.

Beginning from its lexicographical description in the Dictionary of the Croatian Kajkavian Literary Language, this paper analyses the structure and usage of the synsemantic word *arti* – which is both a particle and conjunction as a morphological and syntactic unit – based on selected Kajkavian literary texts. The main goal of analysis of the synsemantic word *arti* is to:

1. define (a) the morphological function of the particle in expressing verbal mood, and (b) the syntactic function of the conjunction based on its distribution in sentences

2. determine the period of its usage in the Croatian Kajkavian literary language

3. suggest additions to the lexicographical description of the entry in KRj in terms of meaning and examples provided (which affirm the linguistic usage of the word in the entry) based on Kajkavian literary texts published across a period of three centuries.

The analysis of the particle and conjunction *arti* shows that certain synsemantic words in the Croatian Kajkavian literary language changed their usage over time, from the 16th to the early 20th century.

2. Theoretical assumptions

The analysis of the particle and conjunction *arti* in the Kajkavian literary language is based on the philological approach and inductive method. Examples from a corpus of selected Kajkavian literary original sources were analysed. In addition, comparison and conclusive synthesis are also used.

The linguistic analysis in this paper is not based on the implementation of any specific modern theory; instead, it is the result of a philological approach to the analysis of linguistic material from the perspective of Croatian linguistic history. The analysis of corpus examples

(a) uses linguistic reflections found e.g. in the works of Tomo Maretić (1887, 1888), in modern grammatical descriptions of the standard language (e.g. Katičić 1986, Silić and Pranjković 1995) and in the descriptions of the Croatian Kajkavian literary language (Šojat 2009)

(b) reflects upon modern linguistic theories implemented in various works (e.g. Pranjković 2001, Pranjković 2002,[1] Belaj and Tanacković Faletar 2020).

The philological approach in this analysis is the main starting point for appropriately describing the characteristics of the linguistic structures under scrutiny. These structures are drawn from Kajkavian literary sources to examine the fundamental principles governing the usage of the particle and conjunction *arti* in the Croatian Kajkavian literary language.

3. Analysis of examples

3.1. This research into the meaning and usage of the particle and conjunction *arti* in the Croatian Kajkavian literary language shall commence by considering the lexicographical description provided in the entry in KRj:

> "**arti[1]** konj. *isto što* ar[1] 1. Već ga tam brige teraju črne … kak bude zbiksan doma od žene, arti je ostal do vure jene. *Žmig spel* 12.
>
> **arti[2]** interj. *isto što* ar[2]. Ako bi jeden mešter imel dva detiča, a drugi ni jednoga, arti mu ima jednoga odpustiti, ako mu je potreban. *Starine* 49, 243" (KRj I, 93).

It can be observed that *arti* is lexicographically described:

1) in two entries designated with the grammatical determinants of a conjunction (*konj*.) and an interjection (*interj*.)

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[1] E.g. in the use of syntactic names according to the modern syntactic description of explicit subordinate structures introduced using subjunctors (cf. also Pranjković 2004; Silić and Pranjković 2005).

2) (a) as a conjunction, *arti*[1] is semantically linked to the meaning of the conjunction *ar*[1]: "1. uzročni veznik: jer" […] (KRj I, 87)

(b) as an interjection, *arti*[2] is linked to the meaning of the interjection *ar*[2]:

"**ar**[2] interj. *za izricanje zapovijedi, želje: neka.* Štogode more ruka tvoja dobro činiti, ar ti[2] čini i dale ne odlači od dne do dne. *Vram* A, 178" (KRj I, 87).

The meaning that illustrates the grammatical description of an *interjection*[3] is exemplified by a single example sentence dating back to the 16th century.[4]

3) Regarding the examples attested: (a) *arti* as a causal conjunction is exemplified in a sentence from a 20th-century source; (b) *arti* as an interjection is exemplified in an attestation from a 17th-century work.

In the historical *Dictionary of the Croatian or Serbian Language*, (ARj) no definition or usage examples for *arti* are provided. However, the dictionary does describe certain synsemantic words in context, for instance, *conjunction + ethical dative of the pronoun* ti. This is the case e.g. with the conjunction *ali* [en. *but*]: "e. često mu se dodaje ozad riječ *ti*, koja mu značeńe potrkepļuje svojim (vidi *ti*), prem da se to slabo osjeća" (ARj I, 70) or e.g. conjunction *kakoti*: "vidi *kako* (kojemu je dodana zamjenica druge osobe u dativu etičkom)" (ARj IV, 761). When explaining the ethical dative, the lexicographical description of the conjunction *ti* states: "bb) dodaje se često veznicima, prilozima i uzvicima. U Ivekovićevu rječniku (riječca, kojom se samo utvrđuje: ti; sastavļena sa ni; niti; u tom je poslu i nu-ti, ili-ti, kakono-ti […]" (ARj XVIII, 282).

Petar Skok (1973: III, 431, *s. v.* taj[1]) notes that -*ti* is a deixis (e.g. in *niti, iliti, kakti*); he then refers to *ti* as a pronoun element (II, 508, *s. v.* ne). Furthermore,

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[2] In this analysis, we consider *ar ti* in this example from Vramec's *Postilla* to be the same as *arti* (cf. example (21)).

[3] As an exclamation, likely in line with the grammatical description "da se imperativom uzvikuje nekome" [that one exclaims something to someone else using the imperative] (Maretić 1963: 238).

[4] According to the established methodology of lexicographic analysis, examples in entries in the *Dictionary of the Croatian Kajkavian Literary Language* (1984–2020) are provided in transcribed form, not in the script (or orthography) of the original. Each meaning is exemplified through one literary attestation for each century (from the 16th to the 19th century, including dialectal literary works from the early 20th century). The examples also note dictionary attestations in historical dictionaries (Habdelić, Belostenec, Jambrešić, Patačić, and an anonymous Latin-Kajkavian dictionary).

he claims that the deixis *ti* in *iliti, oliti*, and the Kajkavian *kajti, kakti* is not the same as the enclitic *ti* (Skok 1973: III, 449, *s. v.* tebi).

In the legal-historical dictionary of Vladimir Mažuranić, *arti* is described in a highly sensitive approach, defining it as synonymous to the conjunction 'neka'. The dictionary provides 16th- and 17th-century Kajkavian attestations demonstrating this syntactic purpose:

> "**arti,** conj., znači, sva je prilika, isto što: neka. *Včinil je poseći veliko pušpanovo drevo* (zeleniku, šimšir, na Medvedgradu) … *Zato arti ti plati tih jezero dukat.* 1613. 1613. Ark. III. 72. op. U prievodu Verb. I. tit. 134. § 6. prevodi Perg.: *zemlje, lugove, grmja* (i. t. d., nekretnine, koje su prieporne medju strankami), *arti je s toliko plemenitimi ljudmi vzeme i da je svoje učini on, komu prisegu dopitaju*" (Mažuranić 1908–1922: I, 9).

In his extensive discussion on conjunctions, Tomo Maretić notes that "u češkom (se) i u ruskom jeziku nalazi partikula *at'* i *ati* kojoj je značeńe lat. ut finale" [the Czech and Russian languages feature the particle *at'* and *ati*, whose meaning is the Latin *ut finale*], juxtaposing Miklošić's and Jagić's opinions on its creation. In his *Sintaksa*, Franc Miklošić claims that "*t'* ili *ti* (je) navezak (änhange-partikel), koji je postao od pronominalne osnove *to*, a nalazi se često dodan veznicima, n. pr. hrv. ni*ti*, ili*ti* itd." [*t'* or *ti* is a particle (änhange-partikel) derived from the pronomial root *to*, which is often added to conjunctions, e.g. Cro. ni*ti*, ili*ti*, etc.]. According to Jagić "to *t'* ili *ti* u vezu s litavskom partikulom *te,* koja presentu daje permisivno značeńe: *te*suka = vertat, neka vrti (suče)" [this *t'* or *ti* is related to the Latvian particle *te*, which gives the present tense a permissive meaning *te*suka = to spin, to let spin]; however, Maretić does not agree with Jagić's explanation. He claims that "*t'* ili *ti* samo pojačava značeńe prvoga dijela, t. j. partikule *a,* i kako *at'* ili *ati* ima finalno značenje, mislim, da ga treba izvoditi od eksklamativnoga, koje smo značenje vidjeli, da *a* sámo ima" [*t'* or *ti* only strengthens the meaning of the first part, i.e. the particle *a*, and as *at'* or *ati* have a final meaning, I believe it should be derived from the exclamational meaning which only *a* has, as we have seen] (Maretić 1887: 114).

Maretić (1887: 115) provides an explicit explanation of the Kajkavian *arti*: "U ńekijem se jezicima partikula *a* rado slaže s ekspletivnom partikulom *že*, te biva *aže* ili *až*. Kako je i samo *že* vrlo često adverzativna partikula, sasvijem je naravno, da i *aže* ima adversativno značeńe, t. j. adversativnost partikule *a* samo je

pojačana. Ńezino se adversativno značeńe vidi iz porabe, što se nalazi u starijih kajkavskijeh pisaca koji je upotrebļavaju baš onako kao Česi svoje *at'*. U rečenijeh pisaca glasi ta partikula *arti* t. j. a+že+ti" [In some languages, the particle *a* is readily joined with the expletive particle *že*, becoming *aže* or *až*. As *že* itself is a highly common adversative particle, it is quite natural that *aže* should have an adversative meaning, i.e. the adversativity of the particle *a* is only strengthened. Its adversative meaning is apparent from its usage by older Kajkavian writers, who use it just as the Czechs use *at'*. More recent authors write this particle as *arti*, i.e. a+že+ti]. Maretić provides Kajkavian examples: ki čte, *arti* razme; *arti* mene nasleduje; *arti* pripeļa pope.

If we return to the aforementioned initial lexicographic description of *arti* in KRj (I, 93), the question arises regarding the presence of examples with causal conjunctions in pre-20th century sources, as well as with examples with the meaning of an exclamation after the 17th century. Based on selected texts, we shall analyse examples from Kajkavian printed literary sources by century and work.

3.2. The following examples from the first printed Kajkavian text, Pergošić's *Dekretum* (1574), will be analysed:[5]

> (1) A ona klaužula *per eum etc*: to je to po njem: *arti* se tako ne razme da bi toliko činila, kako da bi bila pisana […] (*Perg* 15a)

This example clearly shows the usage of the word *arti*, which can be compared with the word *neka* in accordance with the Kajkavian, Štokavian, and Čakavian usage. Ivo Pranjković analyses "konstrukcije s riječju *neka*" [constructions with the word *neka*], claiming that *neka* is a "riječ (čestica, veznik) u slaven-skim jezicima, a najviše u slovenskome, daleko šira i raznolikija od onoga što tradicionalno povezujemo s imperativom trećega lica, npr. *neka* (*on, ona, ono*) *čita*" [word (particle, conjunction) in Slavic languages, especially in Slovenian, that is far broader and more varied than what we traditionally connect with the third person imperative e.g. *neka* (*on, ona, ono*) *čita*], emphasing that "*neka* kao čestica, osim u „imperativu trećega lica", dolazi često i u različitim (gramatički neovisnim) rečenicama kojima se izriču prisege, molbe, prijetnje, dopuštanja i sl. (npr. **Neka** *radi što hoće*! [...] itd.). U tim i takvim slučajevima ono je neosporno

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5   All the examples from the sources are provided in transcribed form.

čestica" [*neka* as a particle, aside from the 'third person imperative', also often appears in various (grammatically independent) sentences used to express oaths, requests, threats, permission, etc. (e.g. **Neka** *radi što hoće*! […] etc.). In these and similar cases, it is unquestionably a particle] (Pranjković 2001: 51). Based on example (1), we can conclude that this is *arti* functioning as a particle, serving to morphologically form the third person imperative in a grammatically independent sentence. In works by all Kajkavian authors in the Kajkavian literary language, the third person singular and plural imperative is expressed using the particle *naj* and the present of the verb, while "neki pisci, u želji da se približe čakavcima i štokavcima, upotrebljavaju i riječcu *nek, neka*" [some writers, wishing to make themselves more accessible to Čakavian and Štokavian readers**,** also use the particle *nek, neka*] (Šojat 2009: 84); the impersonal and personal third person imperative can be expressed using the third person present with the infinitive, as shown by examples (3), (33), (34), e.g. *ima živeti/otpustiti/dati*.[6]

> (2) […] takova pogledanja da zemlje, lugove, germja ili gaji, ili sinokoše, ili gore, kotere se međ peruši verte, volja na koliko se gode griven prestiraju, *arti* je s toliko plemenitimi ljudmi vzeme, i da je svoje včini on, komu prisegu opitaju. (*Perg* 46)

Example (2), as compared to (1), supports the claim that "ima međutim relativno dosta konstrukcija u kojima *neka* dolazi i u vezničkoj službi ili bar u službi koja je slična vezničkoj. To najviše vrijedi za zavisnosložene rečenice tipa *Reče mu* **neka** *ustane*, u kojima je *neka* zamjenjivo sa *da*" [there are, however, a fair number of constructions in which *neka* also serves as a conjunction, or at least serves a similar function. This holds foremost for subordinate clauses, such as *Reče mu* **neka** *ustane*, in which *neka* can be replaced with *da*] (Pranjković 2001: 51). It is possible to conclude that *arti*, if not functioning as a conjunction, at least serves the same function, although considering the structure of the sentence in example (2), it could also be argued that it functions as a particle in the third person singular imperative. However, the position of the particle/conjunction

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[6]   For more information on the imperative in the Croatian Kajkavian literary language, cf. Šojat (2009: 82–85). For more details on expressing the imperative in the modern standard language, cf. e.g. descriptions in modern Croatian grammars. We must note the grammatical reflection by which the second person singular imperative and the first and second person plural imperative is described within the framework of *simple* (*verbal*) *forms*, while the third person singular and plural imperative lie within the framework of *complex* forms (cf. Florschütz 1916). We must also thus refer to certain linguistic works on ways of expressing imperative meanings (cf. e.g. Broz 1885; Pranjković 2016: 31–46).

arti in this example is unique in the way it *connects* parts and components of the compound sentence.

> (3) Da ako poglavnik komu terg ili senjem, ili bruod da, on *arti* do leta počne
> i ima živeti danim privilegijomom. (*Perg* 51)

In example (3) from Pergošić, *arti* is a particle, as in example (1), in the independent clause of a compound sentence which, due to inversion, is preceded by the dependent clause. The components *dependent clause + independent clause* (with *arti*) are often organised in this way in examples from 16th- and 17th-century sources.

3.3. Examples of this in Vramec's *Postilla* (1578) are somewhat more numerous; this source contains the most examples of all the sources analysed. The examples from this source are classified according to sentence structure.

I) examples from *Postilla* in which *arti* can be claimed to be a particle expressing the imperative with the present of a verb in the independent clause (which is, in principle, not directly connected to the dependent clause), include:

> (4) Potomtoga dobro živlenje i činjenje, kotero vučenike i ovce svoje zveršiti
> i sponiti po reči Božje vuči i zapoveda, *arti* on sponi i čini ono sam per-
> vlje, ki inako vuči i predekuje […]. (*Vram* A, VI)
>
> (5) I pastirje i ovce *arti* vsaki v svoje česti i zvanje pravdeno hode […]. (*Vram*
> A, 111)
>
> (6) Kakoti Gospon videvši poleg puta jedno drevo figovo, ter ne najde sada,
> nego samo listje, i reče njemu, nigdar *arti* z tebe ne rodi sad, i lekmestu
> vsehnu. (*Vram* A, 177a)
>
> (7) Modri *arti* se v modrosti ni bogat v bogactve, penezeh i kinče, ni zmožni
> v zmožnosti ili ladanje, ni jaki v jakosti svoje, ne diči ni ne hvali. (*Vram*
> A, 179a)
>
> (8) *Arti* se ne diči modri v modrosti svoje, ni jaki vu jakosti svoje, ni bogatec
> v blage svojem, nego *arti* se človek v tom diči, da zna, pozna i razume
> mene, ar sem ja Gospon […]. (*Vram* A, 188)
>
> (9) Stoga se *arti* navče vsi ludje, dobri i hudi vsi na skradni den valuvali i
> videli očima svojima sina Božjega Krištuša, budu […]. (*Vram* B, 14a)

(10) *Arti* ne dotiče svetoga, i da nejde vu templom, doklem ne spone se dni očiščavanja nje. (*Vram* B, 27a)

(11) […] da vsegdar z česti i oficijoma svojega spominaju se, vsegdar čineči i govoreči, što bude na pobolšanje i na hasen ili na korest Krištuševim ovčicam, *arti* nikoga ne zmote, ne spače ali ne skandalizuju […]. (*Vram* B, 73a)

(12) *Arti* dobro vide rođenici i roditeli, otec i mati, meštri i školniki da pasku i skerb na dečicu nose. (*Vram* B, 93)

II) examples from *Postilla* in which *arti* can be claimed to be a particle expressing the imperative with the present of a verb in the independent clause which is due to inversion preceded by the dependent conditional clause with the conjunction *ako* include:

(13) Ako što mene lubi (tako Krištuš govori), *arti* reč moju zderža, i otec moj hoče njega lubiti […]. (*Vram* A, 1a)

(14) Ako kral israelski jest, *arti* zleze vezda iz skriža i veruvati hočemo njemu. (*Vram* A, 85a)

(15) Ako što hoče za meno pojti i z meno vojuvati, *arti* vzeme svoj križ vsaki den i da nasleduje mene. (*Vram* B, 22a)

(16) Ako ne bude mogel zmoči i prikazati ovcu, teda *arti* prime dva golobiča ali dve gerlice […]. (*Vram* B, 28a)

(17) Ako što mene služi, *arti* mene nasleduje. (*Vram* B, 110)

These examples clearly demonstrate that *arti* consistently appears at the beginning of the independent clause in relation to the preceding dependent clause (in inversion), particularly with the conjunctive relationship *ako … (teda) arti*.

III) examples from *Postilla* in which *arti* can be claimed to be a particle expressing the imperative with the present of a verb in the independent clause which, due to inversion, is preceded by the dependent relative clause with the conjunctions *što* (*gode*)*, ki, koteri*, e.g.

(18) I što je Bog skupa spravil, *arti* ga človek ne loči ni ne razdeluje, ni ne raspravla. (*Vram* A, 41a)

(19) Ki je kral, *arti* vre ne krade, neka bolje dela, i delajuči i trudeči se rukami

svojimi po Božje milošči arti se[7] hrani. (*Vram* A, 76a)

(20) Koteri ima obilno suken, *arti* onomu da ki nema. (*Vram* A, 149a)

(21) Ki je do se dobe kral i tat bil, *arti* ne krade […]. (*Vram* A, 165a)

(22) Što gode more ruka tvoja dobro činiti, lekmestu *arti* čini i dale ne odlači od dne do dne činiti. (*Vram* A, 178)

IV) examples from *Postilla* in which *arti* can be considered a conjunction include:

(23) Oni ki sveti kerst prijemlu, oneh keh imenom imenuvani budu, *arti* nih čistoču i dobrotu nasleduju. (*Vram* A, 143a)

(24) Znamenuju dobre i verne kerščenike, ki reči Boži poslušati i govoriti ili moliti Boga jesu druge navčili, *arti* gluhe k slišanju reči Božje, a njeme k govorjenju i k molitve Krištuševe dopelaju. (*Vram* A, 192)

(25) Ništor ki z Krištušem vojuje i hodi, *arti* se ne meša z telovnimi, zemelskimi doguvanji ni posli, *arti* ono nastoji, opravla i zveršava čest duhovno, na ku je zvan. (*Vram* B, 4a)

Similar examples are vague as *arti* also serves to express the imperative (with the present of a verb) in these sentences. It is thus questionable whether there is a difference in its function and type compared to the previous examples from *Postilla* in II. and III. If *arti* is a conjunction in these examples, then it is part of a dependent compound clause.

3.4. The analysis considers examples from 17th-century sources, but only until the middle of the century. One source dates to 1613 (*Star* 49); the second is *Molitvene knjižice* (1640.) (*Kraj*); the third is *Sveti evangeliomi* (1651) (*Pet*) by Nikola Krajačević. Just one example is taken from the *Pavlinski zbornik* (1644) (*Pavl zb*), despite the fact that Kajkavian translations of gospel pericopes are considered older than 1644;[8] the texts of the gospel in the miscellany are "idu među najstarije kajkavske očuvane prijevode Biblije" [among the oldest surviving Kajkavian translations of the Bible] [(Šojat 1991: 298)]. In terms of sentence structure, *arti* functions as in earlier source. It is found:

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7   This example belongs to the first group of examples in *Postilla*.

8   "[...] grafija, morfologija i leksik toga Zbornika upućuju na to da je nastanak mnogih tekstova u njemu stariji od toga nadnevka" [[…] the graphemic system, morphology, and lexicon of the Miscellany indicates that many of the texts it contains originated before this date] (Šojat 1991: 298).

I) in the independent clause, e.g.

(26) Z drugim takajše duguvajnim, kaj se srebernarske mestrije (!) dostoji da *arti*[9] vsakomu jednako bude. (*Star* 49, 243)

(27) *Arti* prosi vu vere, nikaj ne dvoječi vu Božje darežlivosti. (*Kraj* 45b)

(28) Pervo ada tvoje mišlenje ali govorenje juterno *arti* ne bude svecko i zemeljsko […]. (*Kraj* 58)

(29) Lotrija, i vsake fele sramotna nečistoča, *arti* se i ne imenuje međ vami, kakti međ svetemi ljudmi. (*Kraj* 71)

(30) *Arti* pobeži pred tobum ze vsemi svojemi šeregi peklenski Šatan, i puta tvojega *arti* ne spači. (*Kraj* 371)

(31) [152v] Hvaljen budi Bog, Otec nebeski, z Ježušem Krištušem i svetim Duhom v jedinom Boštve od nas vsako vreme, *arti* se diči z čistoga serca ino z prave vere. Amen. (*Pavl zb* 195)

(32) […] lotrija i vsa nečistoča, ali merskoča ali sramotna šalnica, ali kakova nora pripovest *arti* se i ne imenuje međ vami […]. (*Pet* XXI)

II) in an independent clause which, due to inversion, is preceded by a dependent conditional clause, e.g.

(33) Item ako bi jeden mešter imel dva detiča, a drugi nijednoga, *arti* mu ima jednoga odpustiti, ako mu je potreban. (*Star* 49, 243)

(34) Item ako bi se koj mester (!) našel, da bi detiča ali navučnika od drugoga meštra vabil, *arthe* (!) te takoj ima dati biršaga dva lota srebra […]. (*Star* 49, 243)

(35) […] ako je komu potrebna mudrost poniznosti, pokornosti, terplivnosti, mertučlivosti, krotkoče, tihoče, čistoče i ostaleh dobrot keršćanskeh, prez keh se zapovedi Božje ne mogu obderžavati; *postulet a Deo*, *arti* ih prosi od Boga vsegdar i vsaki den. (*Kraj* 15)

(36) Ako je gdo betežen međ vami, *arti* pripelja cirkvene pope […]. (*Kraj* 338)

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9   "Ispred **neka** dolazi **da** u novijoj čakavštini: Sestra j' otela, da neka tuže oštara. *Mikul. 115.* [...] U kajkavštini: Ona mu da tri šibe i reč, da naj z ovemi šibami mahne i naj vudri psa i końa, da onda ona doli ide. *Vaļ. 125.*" [**Da** comes before **neka** in more recent Čakavian dialect: Sestra j' otela, da neka tuže oštara. *Mikul. 115.* […] In Kajkavian: Ona mu da tri šibe i reče, da naj z ovemi šibami mahne i naj vudri psa i końa, da onda ona doli ide. *Vaļ. 125.*] (Zima 1885: 133).

(37) Ako gdo mene služi, *arti* mene nasleduje. (*Pet* 166)

III) in an independent clause which, due to inversion, is preceded by a dependent relative clause with the conjunction *ki*, e.g.

(38) Oberh toga vsega, ki kakovu čast ali dostojnost ima, budi svecku, budi ckirkenu (!), *arti* marlivo preštima, i občini zamudke, lenosti, nemarnosti i ostale grehe osebučne […]. (*Kraj* 249)

(39) […] ki dvoji, *arti* ne štima on človek da bi kaj svojum prošnjum dobil pri Boge. (*Kraj* 45b)

(40) Reče Ježus vučenikom svojem: Gda budete videli odurnost pustoši, kotera je povedana po Daniel proroke, stoječu na svetom meste: (ki čte, *arti* razme:) onda ki su vu Judae, naj beže na gore: i ki je na krove, naj ne zleze dole jemat štagode iz hiže svoje: i ki je na polje, *arti* se ne poverne jemat halje svoje. (*Pet* 127)

3.5. Examples from the 16th and 17th centuries confirm usage of *arti* in the same position in the sentence structure. In the independent clause, as shown in examples (1), (4–12), and (26–32), *arti* as a particle undoubtedly serves to express the third person imperative – the verbal mood used to express desires, commands, requests, advice, warnings, orders, etc.

Arti as a particle is also attested in examples of independent clauses preceded by the dependent clause, which is most often conditional and relative, with the structure *ako / ki, koteri, što* (*gode*) *… arti*, as shown by examples (3), (13–17), (18–22), (33–37), (38–40). However, as mentioned above, such structures are indicate that *arti* appears "bar u službi koja je slična vezničkoj" [at least in a service similar to that of a conjunction] (Pranjković 2001: 51), precisely because *arti* stands at the beginning of the independent clause in such sentences, it gives the appearance of binding the dependent clause to the independent clause. This is despite the fact that *arti* is a so-called imperative particle[10] used with the third person present of the independent clause.

The imperative at the morphological level and dependent conditional sentence structures at the syntactic level are consistent in expressing hypotheticality. It

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[10] Or a *stimulative/encouraging particle* in the framework of dependent particles (cf. Silić and Pranjković 2005: 256).

has been established that, by its nature, the imperative is not tied to factiveness, instead being a form characterised by hypotheticality, which is in essence the main characteristic of all moods (Pranjković 2016: 31). According to syntactic research, in compound sentences with conditional clauses, "za razliku od složenih struktura s namjernom klauzom, i glavna i subordinirana klauza smještene u domenu potencijalnosti jer je uvjet izrečen protazom potencijalan (hipotetičan) po samoj naravi stvari, a aktualizacija (faktivnost) uvjetovanoga u apodozi ovisi o ostvarenju uvjeta" [as opposed to compound structures with intentional clauses, the independent and subordinate clauses are placed in the domain of conditionality, as the condition expressed through the protasis is conditional (hypothetical) by its very nature, while the actualisation (factivity) of the conditioned in apodosis depends on the fulfilment of conditions] (Belaj and Tanacković Faletar 2020: 259).

In the few examples in Vramec's *Postilla* (23–25) and in Pergošić's example (2), *arti* can be claimed to be a conjunction. If this is appropriate, this is in accordance with linguistic explanations of the conjunction *neka* in the modern language, especially as relates to intentional, declarative, and object clauses. Aside from the use of pronouns as conjunctions, (e.g. Tko ne zna, neka pita., Žena koja je ušla nije mi poznata.), Ivo Pranjković in his examination of hybrid forms and word types claims that particles also can function as conjunctions "(i o) konjunkcijalizaciji (poveznjičenju) čestica. Tako se npr. čestice *li* i *neka* mogu pojaviti u službi veznika namjernih rečenica" [conjunctialisation of particles. For example, the particles *li* and *neka* can appear in the function of a conjunction in intentional clauses], e.g. Pošalji ga u trgovinu *neka* ti kupi voća i povrća. (Pranjković 2016: 79). Branimir Belaj and Goran Tanacković Faletar (2020: 292) note that "veznik *neka* profilira imperativno značenje, te stoga kao alternativa vezniku *da* dolazi uz kauzalne glagole zapovijedi i naredbe te uz glagole govorenja, i to onda kada se želi jače istaknuti obaveza aktanata objektne klauze u vezi s izvršenjem sadržaja propozicije, odnosno kada se nekoga želi dodatno potaknuti na izvršenje radnje" [the conjunction *neka* profiles imperative meaning, and thus it appears as an alternative to the conjunction *da* alongside causal verbs of command and orders, as well as speech verbs, when one wishes to emphasise the obligation of the actor of the object clause to execute the content of the proposition, that is, to additionally encourage someone to perform an action]. In this context, Belaj and Tanacković Faletar agree with Radoslav Katičić,

who refers to clauses with the conjunction *neka* as *dependent stimulus* clauses. He states that these clauses lack special conjunctions or other conjunction-like words; rather, the encouraging particle *neka* assumes the function of a conjunction in such sentences (Katičić 1986: 343).

Additionally, "po nekim mišljenjima spojevi čestice *neka* i pojedinih glagolskih oblika čine svojevrsni, doduše marginalni glagolski način koji bi se mogao nazvati koncesivom" [some hold that connections between the particle *neka* and certain verb forms comprise a kind of marginal verbal mood which could be referred to as the concessive] (Pranjković 2001: 51), as Zuzana Topolinjska (1999: 21–28) explains in her analysis, differentiating between *neka*-constructions as constituents of (grammatically) independent statements (e.g. *Neka samo proba!*, *Neka dođe ako već mora*), wherein *neka* qualifies as a particle, from declarative *neka*-sentences (e.g. *Reci majci neka svrati do nas ponekad*.) wherein "*neka* u njima nije veznik, nego pokazatelj modusa" [*neka* is not a conjunction, but rather an indicator of mood] (Topolinjska 1999: 28).

One constant component of the Kajkavian examples analysed is that *arti* appears in the sentence structure only with the present tense of the verb, just as e.g. Maretić explains that *at'* and *ati* do not stand alongside the imperative, but rather with the present indicative, which is used to express what could be expressed with the imperative. Maretić argues (citing examples from Czech) that the present tense of perfective verbs occasionally has an imperative meaning which, he holds, developed out of the future tense, as perfective verbs in the present often have a future meaning,[11] "a iz futura je lak prijelaz u imperativ, jer i futur i imperativ teže na budućnost" [and it is easy to transition from the future into the imperative, because both the future and the imperative imply future actions] (Maretić 1887: 114).[12]

The use of the particle and conjunction *arti* in 16th- and 17th-century Kajkavian literary texts is comparable to Czech, in which, as Maretić notes, "partikula at'

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[11]   Adolfo Weber makes the same claim: "Svaki je imperativ *buduće* naravi, jer se tekar ima učiniti, što se njime izriče" [Every imperative is of *future* nature, as what it expresses is yet to be done] (Weber 1859: 116).

[12]   Some also hold that the original meaning of the imperative in Slavic languages was optative (e.g. Broz 1885: 19, Maretić 1887: 106), as also claimed by Marcel Kušar in 1884 (according to Pranjković 2016: 31). Modern inquiries also claim that "imperativnost doista tijesno povezana s modalnošću" [imperativity is quite closely related to modality] (Pranjković 2016: 31).

još i danas veoma obična" [the particle at' is still quite common today] (Maretić 1887: 114). Maretić provides examples in which at' 1. replaces the imperative alongside a verb in the present tense, e.g. kdo nemá peníze: *at'* do ní nechodí, 2. has final meaning, e.g. podej, sestro poduštičku, *at'* položím svou hlavičku; vemte sobě lékaře *at'* vám ránu zaváže (Maretić 1887: 115). This usage of the Kajkavian *arti* is also attested in the analysed literary examples.

A sentence structure analysis shows that *arti* is used in the earliest Kajkavian literary texts from the 16th and first half of the 17th century.[13] A break in the continuity of usage of *arti* from the 18th century on in Kajkavian literary texts is apparent in an example from Krajačević's *Sveti evangeliomi* (1651), which had been published in multiple editions by the turn of the 19th century. Example (40) clearly shows the usage of the particle *arti* in the 1651 edition; simultaneously, the usage of the particle *naj* is attested to express the remaining imperatives in the same paragraph:

> (40) Reče Ježuš vučenikom svojem: Gda budete videli odurnozt pustoši, ko-tera je povedana po Daniel proroke, stoječu na svetom meste: (ki čte, *arti* razme:) onda ki su vu Judae, naj beže na gore: i ki je na krove, naj ne zleze dole jemat štagode iz hiže svoje: i ki je na polje, *arti* se ne poverne jemat halje svoje. (*Pet* 127)

In the 1759 edition, the particle *arti* is replaced in both previously attested places with the particle *naj*:

> (40') Reče Ježuš vučenikom svojem: Gda budete videli odurnost puščine, kotera je povedana po Danielu proroku, stoječu na svetom mestu: (ki čte, *naj* razme:) onda ki su vu Judaee, naj beže na gore: i ki je na krovu, naj ne zleze dole jemat štagoder iz hiže svoje: i ki je na polje, *naj* se ne poverne jemat halje svoje. (*Pet* 1759., 113)

The same applies to the 1778 edition:

> (40'') […] (koji čteje, *naj* razme:) onda koji su vu Judaee, naj beže na gore: i koji je na krovu, naj nejde doli jemat kajgoder iz hiže svoje: i koji je na

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[13] It should be noted that the corpus of sources for this analysis has been narrowed down to the selected headings. If Kajkavian written literary works were made available in a modern, searchable digital corpus, we would be likely to find more attestations from the aforementioned centuries, and possibly some attestations from the 18th and 19th centuries. However, the process of excerpting of sentence examples for lexicographic analysis in KRj did not yield results in compiling the entry for *arti*.

polju, *naj* se ne poverne jemat halje svoje. (*Pet* 1778., 151)[14]

It must be noted here that *naj* is also attested in the *Pavlinski zbornik*, which is somewhat older than the 1651 *Evangelium*:

> […] – koji čte, *naj* razume! – onda ki su vu Židovske zemlje, naj beže na gore, i ki su na krovu, naj ne zlezu česa vzimat z hiže svoje i ki je na njive, *naj* se ne poverne vzimat halje svoje […] (*Pavl zb* 88–89).[15]

In this part of the gospel, *arti* is not attested in 19th century sources either, e.g.

> (x) […] koj čteje, *naj* razme. Onda, koji vu Judeji jesu, naj beže na gore. I, koji na krovu, naj nejde doli, da bi kaj vzel iz hiže svoje; i koj na polju, *naj* ne poverne se, da bi vzel halju svoju. (*NZ Gusič*, 74)[16]

> (y) […] – koj čteje, *naj* razme! – onda – koji su vu Judei, naj beže na gore. I koi je na krovu, naj nejde dole, da bi kaj vzel iz svoje hiže. I koi je na polju, *naj* se nepovraća, da bi vzel svoju halju. (*Ev* 1851., 151)

The simultaneous usage of the particles *naj* and *neka* in place of *arti* in 18th and 19th century sources is also apparent in the following examples as compared to the examples in the *Sveti evangeliumi*:[17]

> (37) Ako gdo mene služi, *arti* mene nasleduje. (*Pet* 166) –

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[14] Additionally, *naj* also appears in place of *arti* in the late-17th-century *Sveti evangeliumi*, published shortly after the edition from 1651: […] (ki čte, *naj* razme:) onda ki su vu Judaee, naj beže na gore: i ki je na krovu, naj ne zleze dole jemat štagoder iz hiže svoje: i ki je na polju, *naj* se ne poverne jemat halje svoje. (*Szveti Evangeliumi, koteremi Szveta Czirkva Zagrebecska Szlovenzko-Horvaczka okolu godiscsa, po Nedelyah i Szvetkeh sivee*, Češka Trnava, 1694, 113–114). [I wish to thank Kristina Judaš from the National and University Library for checking the original.]

[15] The example is in the text of the gospel according to *Postilla*: […] (ki čte da razume). Teda ki jesu v Židovske zemle, da pobegnu na gore, a ki jesu na krove, na strehe ali na nahižje, da ne zlezu vzeti što iz hiže svoje, i ki jest na polje, ne verni se svite svoje vzeti. (*Vram* A, 235a)

[16] According to the 2018 printed modern Latin transcription of the original Kajkavian manuscript, Rupert Gusič's translation of the *New Testament* can be assumed to have been made between 1810 – 1821.

[17] There are two attestations of the same example in *Postilla*: Ako što mene služi, nasleduj mene. (*Vram* B, 69) as opposed to example (17) in the analysis: Ako što mene služi, *arti* mene nasleduje. (*Vram* B, 110). It should be noted that the first example is in Vramec's citation from the Gospel of John (12:26), and the second (17) in his homily of the Gospel. In this context "da u Postilli nalazimo dva tipa kajkavskog književnog jezika: jezik evanđelja i jezik njihova tumačenja (homilija). Na tu činjenicu već je s pravom upozorio V. Jagić (1905)" [that *Postilla* shows two types of Kajkavian literary language: the language of the gospel and the language of homily. Vatroslav Jagić (1905) has already rightly pointed out this fact] (Jembrih 1990: 32), it is likely possible to also explain the fact that all examples from *Postilla* (with *arti*) in this analysis are cited from Vramec's homilies.

The example in *Pavl zb* (1644) is attested with *naj*: Ako ki mene dvori, mene *naj* nasleduje. (*Pavl zb* 45)

Ako gdo mene služi, *neka* mene nasleduje. (*Pet* 1759., 153)

Ako gdo meni služi, *naj* mene nasleduje. (*Pet* 1778., 191)

Ako koj meni služi, *naj* nasleduje mene. (*NZ Gusič*, 250)

Ako gdo meni hoće služiti, *naj* mene nasleduje. (*Ev* 1851., 197)

3.6. As described lexicographically in KRj (*s. v. arti*[1]), literary examples confirm the usage of the conjunction *arti* in the first half of the 20th century. Relevant examples are attested in the works of Milan Dobrovoljac (Žmigavac) (1879–1966), a Kajkavian dialectal author (most often of Kajkavian poetry). According to the examples above, the usage and meaning of the conjunction *arti* differs from previously analysed 16th- and 17th-century Kajkavian literary examples. Of the author's literary works included in the sources of KRj (cf. list in KRj 1984: I, 46), the use of the conjunction was attested in e.g.:[18]

Žm buna

V red postavit treba ljude *arti* boj to strašen bude. (39); Pozval plemstvo, *arti* masa ni imela jošče glasa. (50); Saki spremen, da se hrva, *arti* sabla mu je z drva. (51); Nek vam mamce bude znanec, *arti* je republikanec! (122); Kupiniču oko bleska, *arti* čuje vikat vani: »Vojska na vas vudrit kani!« (131); Kak se dela več po kloštri, *arti* zapt je nutri oštri. (150)

Žm stip

Ni to posel lehki čisto, *arti* kad bi navek isto Radić rekel, Radić delal, lehko bi ja stvar tu spelal! (*uvod*); Saki dan se nekaj peče *arti* muže za – nos – vleče. (18); I mnogi se tomu čudi *arti* piše gore: »Judi!« (27); Če i tu bi bila »dika« prost je mužek, arti čika. (41); Stipa ima puni tur. *Arti* vraže malo ono na vrati se zglasi zvono. (48)

Žm ver

Poklopec ste sakom loncu, *arti* v bogog poslanika saki smrad se – znate – ftika. (5); Kaj veliju o tom ljudi?! *Arti* ozdek v kraji vuti sakojačke priče čuti. (67)

Žm zlat

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[18] For attestations of examples in *Spelavanja domaćih i općih dogodovčina* (1928), see *arti*[1] according to the citation in 3.1.

Vinček slatki to je skrivel *arti* Thaler još ni živel, još ni onda bila moda da se čista pije voda! (26); Izgled imel jako grubi. *Arti* imal je mustače duge kakti morske kače. (45); Onda mamce v tabor van *arti* ja sem kapetan! (122)

These examples show that, on the syntactic level, *arti* is a conjunction in causal dependent clauses. According to the distribution attested by the examples, *arti* appears: 1. in the regular sentence order (independent and dependent clause), e.g. Nek vam mamce bude znanec, *arti* je republikanec! (*Žm buna* 122), 2. in a position conditioned by certain characteristics of sentence structure – at the beginning of the sentence (separated from the previous one most often with a full stop), in the anteposition, e.g. Stipa ima puni tur. *Arti* vraže malo ono na vrati se zglasi zvono. (*Žm stip* 48). The function of a causal conjunction in the cited works is performed by the Kajkavian *ar*, which can be juxtaposed with *arti*. The assumption is that the suffix -*ti* alongside *ar* allowed the author to add an extra syllable in order to satisfy the metric conditions of verse in octameter. If the suffix -*ti* is omitted from these examples, the verse does not correspond with the corresponding verse in octameter in the majority of cases. We thus hold that *arti* as a causal conjunction (subjunctor) came about on the syntactic level of subordinate compound dependent clauses according to the individual author's needs.

4. Conclusion

Starting from the lexicographic description in KRj and based on selected printed sources written in the Croatian Kajkavian literary language, the usage and function of the word *arti* was analysed. It was found that *arti* most often appeared in the following structures:

1. independent clause. In these sentence constructions, *arti* is a encouraging particle that serves to express the third person singular and plural imperative alongside a present tense verb, or rather the verbal mood used to express desires, commands, requests, advice, warnings, orders, etc.

2. the main clause preceded by: a) a dependent conditional clause, b) a dependent relative clause, i.e. *ako / ki, koteri, što* (*gode*) … *arti.* In such structures, we may claim that *arti* as a particle (expressing the third person imperative) performs a

function similar to that of a conjunction, as it gives the appearance of binding the dependent clause to the independent clause.

3. dependent clause. Few examples attest *arti* as a conjunction in dependent clauses (comparable to e.g. intentional clauses, dependent encouraging structures, or declarative clauses with the conjunction *neka* in the standard language).

The particle and conjunction *arti* in the aforementioned sentence structures are attested in Kajkavian literary sources only in the 15th century and in the first half of the 16th century. Considering the lexicographic description of *arti*[2] in KRj (I, 93), we suggest: a) correcting the grammatical determinant of the word type to *particle* (as compared to the current *exclamation*), b) supplementing examples with the addition of examples from the 16th century (as compared to the current examples, which are only from the 17th century), c) adding a description of meaning in which the particle is used to serve the function of a conjunction in a dependent clause (on the basis of several examples from Vramec's *Postilla*). Additionally, according to the conducted analysis, (1) we hold that example from Vramec's *Postilla* written as *ar ti* (in the entry *ar*[2]) imply the use of *arti*, and the description of the entry *ar* should be left out ("*ar*[2] interj. *za izricanje zapovijedi, želje: neka.* Štogode more ruka tvoja dobro činiti, ar ti čini i dale ne odlači od dne do dne. *Vram* A, 178" (KRj I, 87)) as *ar ti* in this example from Vramec's *Postilla* is equivalent to the particle *arti*, not the exclamation *ar*, and (2) this example from *Postilla* is thus a 16th century attestation of the entry *arti*[2] (KRj I, 93).

This analysis shows that, in Kajkavian dialectal literary examples from the first half of the 20th century, *arti* is a causal conjunction in dependent clauses used according to the individual author's choice to create the desired number of syllables in a verse in poetic literary expression.

The analysis of the particle and conjunction *arti* shows that certain synsemantic words in the Croatian Kajkavian literary language underwent changes in usage from the 16th to the early 20th century.

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Čestica i veznik *arti* u kajkavskome hrvatskom književnom jeziku

Sažetak

Polazeći od leksikografskoga opisa natuknice u KRj-u i na temelju odabranih izvora kajkavskoga hrvatskog književnog jezika suznačna riječ *arti* pojavljuje se u strukturi rečenica: 1. glavna rečenica. U takvim je rečeničnim konstrukcijama *arti* poticajna čestica koja uz prezent glagola služi u izricanju imperativa 3. l. jd. i mn., odnosno glagolskoga načina kojim se izražava želja, zapovijed, molba, savjet, opomena, naredba i sl.; 2. glavna rečenica kojoj u inverziji prethodi: a) zavisna pogodbena rečenica, b) zavisna odnosna rečenica, tj. uopćeno: *ako / ki, koteri, što* (*gode*) ... *arti*. U takvim je strukturama *arti* čestica (u izricanju imperativa 3. l.) u službi koja je slična vezničkoj jer pokazuje prividnost vezivanja zavisnoga dijela s glavnom rečenicom; 3. zavisna surečenica. Malobrojni primjeri potvrđuju da je *arti* veznik u zavisnim rečenicama (usporedivim s npr. namjernim, zavisno poticajnim ili izričnim s veznikom *neka* u standardnome jeziku). Prema navedenoj strukturi rečenica čestica i veznik *arti* potvrđeni su u kajkavskim književnim izvorima samo u 15. stoljeću i u prvoj polovici 16. stoljeća.

Na temelju analize u leksikografskome opisu *arti*[2] u KRj-u (I, 93) predlaže se: a) promjena gramatičke odrednice vrste riječi i to u *čestica* (u odnosu na postojeći *uzvik*), b) dopuna oprimjerenja dodavanjem rečenične potvrde iz Vramčeve *Postille* pripadne 16. stoljeću (u odnosu na postojeći primjer samo iz 17. st.), c) dodatak opisa značenja prema kojemu se čestica ostvaruje u svojevrsnoj službi veznika zavisne rečenice (na temelju nekoliko primjera iz Vramčeve *Postille*). Usto, prema provedenoj analizi primjera: 1. smatramo da u *Rječniku* valja izostaviti i opis natuknice „*ar*[2] interj. *za izricanje zapovijedi, želje*: *neka*. Štogode more ruka tvoja dobro činiti, ar ti čini i dale ne odlači od dne do dne. *Vram post* A, 178" (KRj I, 87) jer je u navedenome oprimjerenju iz Vramčeve *Postille*

ar ti = arti, to jest čestica *arti*, a ne uzvik *ar*, 2. navedeno oprimjerenje iz *Postille* stoga pripada oprimjerenju za 16. stoljeće u natuknici *arti*[2] (KRj I, 93).

Analiza pokazuje da je *arti* u kajkavskim dijalektnim književnim primjerima prve polovice 20. st. uzročni veznik u zavisnim surečenicama, nastao prema individualnoj autorskoj uporabi u svrhu ostvaraja duljine sloga u poetskome, pjesničkome književnome izričaju.

Na primjeru čestice i veznika *arti* potvrđuje se da su pojedine suznačne riječi u kajkavskome hrvatskom književnom jeziku podložne mijeni jezične uporabe od 16. do prve polovice 20. stoljeća.