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Alenka Valh Lopert, Mihaela Koletnik

Non-standard Features of the Slovene Language in Slovene Popular Culture



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MIHAELA KOLETNIK

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of the Slovene Language in
Slovene Popular Culture**

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Non-standard Features of the Slovene Language in Slovene Popular Culture
Neknjižne prvine slovenskega jezika v slovenski popularni kulturi

Avtorici / *Authors:* Assoc. Prof. Dr. Alenka Valh Lopert, Prof. Dr. Mihaela Koletnik

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Introduction

The monograph provides an overview of the authors' ten-year joint research and the results of linguistic analyses carried out on samples from various media: film, theatre, radio and popular music.¹ Some of the research has already been presented at conferences and consequently partially or completely published in Slovene or English.² Overall, they have paid particular attention to Non-standard social varieties, from regional colloquial language and urban language to the dialects of north-eastern Slovenia. The work thus combines dialectological and sociolinguistic studies, emphasising the importance of selecting an appropriate linguistic variety for public use, whether that use is to broadcast on the radio, to express oneself in song lyrics or to flesh out a character in a film or play.

The monograph consists of three parts: the first part presents general information on the Slovene language, focusing specifically on its history, legislation and language policy, as well as on Standard and Non-standard Slovene, with particular emphasis on the dialects. It concludes with the question of Slovene language and identity. The second part highlights the use of different language varieties in Slovene popular culture in general, particularly the question of speech in Slovene film, theatre and radio as well as Slovene lyrics both past and present. The main focus lies in the third part, where linguistic analyses are presented as case studies based on the following films: *Rdeče klasje* (*Red Ears*), 1970, *Halgato* (*Halgato*), 1994, *Traktor, ljubezen in rock'n'roll* (*Tractor, love and rock'n'roll*), 2008, *Petelinji zajtrk* (*Rooster's Breakfast*), 2007, *Oča* (*Dad*), 2010; theatre performances *Čaj za dve* (*Tea for Two*), 2002, and *Plemeniti meščan* (*Le*

¹ This book was written as part of research programme No. P6-0156 (Slovenian language, literature and teaching – head of the programme Prof. Dr. Marko Jesenšek), of which Mihaela Koletnik is a member. The authors acknowledge the financial support from the Slovenian Research Agency.

² The sources of published articles appear in the bibliography.

Bourgeois gentilhomme), 2007; the radio station speech of a commercial radio station (Radio City in Maribor) and of radio stations with status of special importance (Radio Ptuj, Radio Murski val, Radio Slovenske gorice); Prekmurje, Prekija and Styrian dialectal features in Slovene popular music.

The monograph has two main goals: on the one hand, to make research on the Slovene language in various media available to foreign as well as domestic audiences, and on the other, to provide support to students of translation studies when translating technical texts from the field of Slovene linguistics.

Uvod

Monografija predstavlja pregled desetletnega sodelovanja obeh avtoric in prinaša rezultate jezikovnih analiz, ki sta jih opravili na vzorcih iz različnih medijev: filma, gledališča, radia in popularne glasbe.³ Nekatere analize so bile predstavljene na konferencah in posledično tudi delno ali v celoti objavljene v slovenskem ali angleškem jeziku.⁴ Osrednja pozornost je namenjena predvsem neknjižnim socialnim zvrstem, od pokrajinskega pogovornega jezika in mestne govorice do narečij severovzhodne Slovenije. Delo tako združuje dialektološke in sociolingvistične študije s poudarkom na pomembnosti izbire primerne jezikovne zvrsti v javni rabi ne glede na to, ali gre za govor na radiu, izbiro zvrsti za prepoznavanje likov v filmu ali gledališču ali za osebni izraz v besedilih slovenske popularne glasbe.

Monografija je sestavljena iz treh delov. V prvem so predstavljena nekatera dejstva o slovenskem jeziku, in sicer o zgodovini, o zakonodaji o slovenskem jeziku in jezikovni politiki ter o knjižnem in neknjižnem slovenskem jeziku s poudarkom na slovenskih narečjih. Prvi del zaključuje vprašanje o slovenskem jeziku in identiteti. Drugi del izpostavlja uporabo različnih jezikovnih zvrsti v slovenski popularni kulturi na splošno, in sicer gre za vprašanje govora slovenskega filma, gledališča, radia in besedil slovenske glasbe v preteklosti in sedanjosti. Glavni poudarek je v tretjem delu, kjer so jezikovne analize predstavljene kot študije primerov, in sicer so obravnavani: filmi *Rdeče klasje* (1970), *Halgato* (1994), *Traktor, ljubezen in rock'n'roll* (2008), *Petelinji zajtrk* (2007), *Oča* (2010); gledališki predstavi *Čaj za dve* (2002) in *Plemeniti meščan* (2007); govor komercialne radijske postaje (Radio City v Mariboru) in radijskih postaj posebnega pomena

³ Knjiga je rezultat raziskav v okviru Raziskovalnega programa št. P6-0156 (*Slovensko jezikoslovje, književnost in poučevanje slovenščine* – vodja programa prof. dr. Marko Jesenšek), katerega članica je Mihaela Koletnik in ki ga sofinancira Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije.

⁴ Objave so zabeležene v seznamu literature.

(Radio Ptuj, Radio Murski val, Radio Slovenske gorice); prekmursko, preleško in štajersko narečje v slovenski popularni glasbi.

Avtorici sta se odločili za angleški jezik monografije iz dveh razlogov. Po eni strani, da bi bile raziskave o slovenskem jeziku in njegovi uresničitvi v različnih medijih na voljo tudi tujemu občinstvu na širšem območju, kot je Slovenija, po drugi strani pa sta želeli ponuditi podporo študentom prevajalskih študij pri prevajanju strokovnih besedil s področja slovenskega jezikoslovja.

PART 1

About the Slovene language

- 1.1 General information on the Slovene language
 - 1.1.1 History of the Slovene language
 - 1.1.2 Slovene language legislation and language policy
- 1.2 Standard and Non-standard Slovene language
- 1.3 The Slovene dialects
- 1.4 Language and identity

Part 1 presents general information on the Slovene language, giving a brief insight into its history and presenting the Slovene language system according to its language varieties. Selected legal acts relating to the Slovene language with respect to language policy will also be presented. As the Slovene language has the distinction of being the most dialectally heterogeneous in the Slavic language group, dialectal diversity will be discussed in a separate chapter. The theoretical section concludes with a reflection on Slovene language and identity.

1.1 General information on the Slovene language

The system of language represents a communication system that applies to a particular social community and is common to all its members. The position of the Slovene language was strengthened by its appointment as the official language of the country after Slovenia declared independence in 1991, and also by Slovenia's entry into the European Union in 2004. Vidovič - Muha (2003: 10) notes that the national language acts not only as an official language but also performs the role of state representative. As a communicative tool it is used in all situations, while in terms of social and political status, the official language of the country is also the first language. She stresses that the concept of official language is broader than that of national language because it is also the language of formal speech situations.

This role in particular carries immense social significance. Specifically, language is often used to overcome silence and protect us from the unknown; it allows us to express our feelings and manage them; language may disclose or hide thoughts, motives, or intentions; it enables us to establish contacts and relationships or to avoid them; it helps us to develop and maintain our identity; it can be used to communicate or hide information; it allows us to control and be controlled; language expresses strength and power; it can be used to influence, persuade, manage, control, dominate; it also enables meta-communication, i.e. communication about communication (Ule 2005: 133–134). The same author (131) refers to language as being the most important of the symbolic systems, and also as a social system, i.e. a social institution.

1.1.1 History of the Slovene language

According to Pogorelec (2011: 95), the history of the Standard literary Slovene language has played an important part in the historical memory of Slovenia's development and cultural creativity, just as it has for every nation. The Slovene language has a written tradition that goes back a thousand years and a grammar tradition of more than four hundred years. It originates from Proto-Indo-European, which was spoken in the middle of the third millennium BC, from the East Carpathian Mountains to

southern Turkestan, perhaps even as far as the Altai Mountains. It spread towards India, Asia Minor and Western Europe due to migration. The indirect predecessor of the Slovene language is Proto-Slavic, which is, in structure, also very similar to the first preserved records of Slovene, the so-called *Brižinski spomeniki* (*Freising Manuscripts*),⁵ which were also the first steps in the development of the language. Before the 13th or 14th century, the – until then uniform – Slovene language had divided into dialects, confirmed by the *Manuscripts of Celovec*, *Stična* and *Stara gora*,⁶ the first and the latter of these texts with The Lord's prayer, Hail Mary, and the *Stična* text with a form for confession and the translations of hymns. Besides these religious texts, we also know of some texts for other ritual occasions (oaths for town functionaries and citizens of Kranj at the beginning of the 16th century); texts of an administrative nature (e.g. the *Manuscript of Černjeja* with the Latin to Slovene translation of donations to the church brotherhood in Černjeja at the end of the 15th century; the *Manuscript of Videm* from 1457 with Slovene numerals; the *Manuscript of Škofja Loka* from the 15th century with Slovene names for months) and poetry excerpts (the *Auersperški fragment* from 15th century with a record of a Slovene poem; the Slovene versions of multilingual poems by Oswald von Wolkenstein from around 1400) (Pogorelec 2011: 108–111). When Primož Trubar produced the first ever Slovene books in the 16th century – 1550 to be exact – entitled *Abecednik and Katekizem*,⁷ it led to the development of the central Slovene Standard literary form, which then

⁵ According to Grdina (1993: 154), the Freising Manuscripts are the oldest records of Slavic language in Roman script, and perhaps the oldest preserved Slavic manuscripts overall. The three Slovene religious texts, which were found in multipart Latin code by the Bavarian State Library in München and were written at the end of the 10th century, were likely used by the bishop Abraham, who is said to have been Slovene. The first text, containing confession, and the third text, which is a form for confession, are said to have been translated and adapted from the Latin original, while the second text (preaching on sin and penance) was written from dictation. It is assumed that the preserved texts are transcriptions of the texts, which were written in the 9th century.

⁶ The Manuscript of Celovec or Rateče from the second half of the 14th century displays dialectal characteristics from Carinthia and Upper Carniola. The Manuscript of Stična from the beginning of the 15th century displays certain characteristics of the Lower Carniola region, and the Manuscript of Stara gora from the end of the 15th century confirms the existence of the Venitian-Slovenia dialect.

⁷ The first Slovene printed words – “*Stara praua*” and “*Leukhup leukhup leukhup woga gmaina*” – appeared some time before that, in 1515, on a German military flyer *Ain newes lied von dem kraynnerischen bauren*, in which there is an excerpt from a folk rebel song from the Carniola region within the German text (Jesenšek 2015a: 13).

established itself in Protestant religious and biblical texts. In choosing a language, Trubar did not opt for his native, Lower Carniolan dialect. He wanted his texts to be understood by people from Carinthia, Styria and the Littoral region, therefore by everyone in direct linguistic and geographic contact with the residents of Kranj; he thus created a linguistic standard that phonologically, morphologically and syntactically transcended all dialectal borders (Jesenšek 2015a: 13). Trubar's literary works serve as the foundation of the language (besides those previously mentioned, there is also his translation of the *New Testament*, postil, calendar, church order, songbook, polemic and religious texts, etc.) and Dalmatin's translation of the entire *Bible* (*Biblija*, 1584). According to Jesenšek (ibid: 14), Dalmatin's high linguistic culture was an example to all Slovene church and secular authors of the 17th and 18th century, because the *Bible* was the only Protestant book that was spared from being burned at the stake during the Counter Reformation by Bishop Hren from Ljubljana. The language of Protestantism, the norms of which were simultaneously set by Dalmatin's *Bible* translation and Adam Bohorič's grammar *Arcticae horulae succisive* (*Zimske urice proste*), was not particularly influenced by Sebastijan Krelj, with the exception of spelling. The first attempts at lexical records go back to the time of Protestantism, evident from the register of words in Dalmatin's *Bible* and the Slovene section in Megiser's *Dictionarium quatuor linguarum* (*Slovar štirih jezikov*, 1592). After the decline of the Reformation and Counter Reformation, the *Evangeliji inu listuvi* (1613) by Bishop Tomaž Hren,⁸ based on Dalmatin's *Bible*, actually continued the Protestant language tradition. After this point, literary creativity in Slovenia declined for some time, only to resurface in the second half of the 17th century with Catholic authors and preachers from the Slovene Baroque period (Matija Kastelec, Janez Svetokriški, father Rogerij, Jernej Basar, father Hipolit), who cultivated the central Slovene language, appealing to both lay people and the intelligentsia with their literary works (e.g. *Bratovske bukve sv. Roženkranca* /1678/, *Nebeški cilj* /1684/ or *Navuk kristjanski* /1688/ by Matija Kastelic, book of sermons *Sveti priročnik* /1691–1707/ by Janez Svetokriški and Hipolit's grammar 1715⁹).

⁸ Tomaž Hren (1560–1639), a Catholic bishop from Ljubljana, was the main Counter-Reformist in the Carniola region.

⁹ This is a new edition of Bohorič's grammar, titled *Grammatica Latino-Germanico-Sclavonica*, which is emphasised by the author himself in the title, who claims that it is "adapted to the modern way of speaking in the language of the Carniola region".

In the 18th century, Slovene began to play a role in national awakening. Marko Pohlin took an interest in it in the German-written grammar *Kraynska grammatika* (1768), and began promoting Slovene secular poetry, notching up its first successes with Valentin Vodnik (Jesenšek: *ibid*). In the 18th century, when a new, updated translation of the *Bible* was produced (1784–1802) – the work of Slovene Catholics under the leadership of Jurij Japelj – linguistic awakening spread to other regions as well. In Carinthia, the Klagenfurt Jesuits reprinted Megiser’s *Dictionarium quatuor linguarum* (*Slovar štirih jezikov*), 1744, with distinct dialectal characteristics of the Carinthia region, also publishing Bohorič’s grammar in German (1758). In Prekmurje, where hand-written songbooks have been in existence since the 16th century,¹⁰ the first preserved printed book – *Mali katekizem* (*Small Catechism*), 1715,¹¹ which is a translation of Luther’s Small Catechism – attests to the belief of the Prekmurje Protestants that religious teachings should be distributed among the faithful in a language that was comprehensible to them.¹² In the 18th century, this meant the existence of two Standard languages in Slovenia. Alongside the Central Slovene language, there was Eastern Slovene, which was established in book form approximately two hundred years after the Central form. According to Jesenšek (2013: 20), two variants developed in the Pannonia region – the Prekmurje Standard language between the Mura and Raba rivers, and the Eastern Styria Language between the Mura and Drava rivers.

Prekmurje Standard language, which was a source of rich manuscript activity, was ultimately validated in the fundamental work of Prekmurje literature – *Nouvi zakon* (*New Testament*), 1777, by Štefan Küzmič, the first Slovene translation of the Bible from ancient Greek. The Prekmurje Standard language had taken further developmental steps – in terms of expressiveness and meaning – by the middle of the 19th century with the emergence of the Catholic priests Mikloš Küzmič and Jožef Košič; all of the conditions for the development of all the functional genres, including belletristic, were now met (Orožen 1996: 369). The oldest preserved text in Eastern Styrian is a manuscript record that includes dialect speech from

¹⁰ The *Martjanska pesmarica I* was written during that time.

¹¹ The first written monument from Prekmurje is allegedly *Agenda vandalica* (1587), which was mentioned by Mihael Bakoš in his letters to the Bratislav priest Mihael Institorius Mošovski.

¹² In the Prekmurje region, Protestant literature began to develop only when the reformation in other Slovene provinces had already died out.

the 16th century – *Velikonedeljska prisega* (1570), while dialectal peculiarities can also be found in other preserved recordings from the 17th century. Eastern Styrian language, which Leopold Volkmer and Štefan Modrinjak tried to raise above the dialect from the late 18th to early 19th centuries, was standardised in the grammar *Lehrbuch der Windischen sprachen* (1824) by Peter Dajnko. In terms of historical development, Eastern Styrian was the bridge between Central Slovene Carniolan and Prekmurje Standard in the formation of the uniform literary norm in the second half of the 19th century. During the so-called “Spring of Nations” in 1848, when the realisation that the unification of all Slovenes into one country could only be achieved on the basis of linguistic unity, the convergence of Central Slovene and Eastern Slovene Standard began, leading to the formation of the uniform Slovene Standard language, the so-called “novoslovenščina” (“the new Slovene language”) (Jesenšek 2005: 34; 2013: 24; 2015a: 17–18).

1.1.2 Slovene language legislation and language policy

The legislation on Slovene falls under the competence of the *Služba za slovenski jezik* (*The Slovene Language Service*; Služba: Internet source) as well as the *Direktorat za medije* (*The Media Directorate*; Direktorat: Internet source), both a part of the *Ministrstvo za kulturo* (*The Ministry of Culture*; Ministrstvo: Internet source) which is:

“.../ the part of the Government of the Republic of Slovenia responsible for regulating matters in the sphere of culture which are in the public interest. These include involvement in the coordinated cultural development of Slovenia, protection of cultural heritage, ensuring the plurality of media landscape, providing suitable conditions for the creation, communication and accessibility of cultural assets, guaranteeing the special cultural rights of minorities, international cooperation in the sphere of culture and the promotion of culture at home and abroad.”

Three basic documents relating to the analyses in the monograph are briefly presented, i.e. on the Slovene language; they were drawn up by *Služba za slovenski jezik* and are available on the website of the Ministrstvo za kulturo.

(1) *Zakon o javni rabi slovenščine* (*Public Use of the Slovene Language Act*; *Zakon o javni rabi*: Internet source). In the first paragraph of common provisions, the Slovene Language is defined as:

“(1) /.../ the official language of the Republic of Slovenia. It provides spoken and written communication in all areas of public life in the Republic of Slovenia, except when in accordance with the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia, in addition to Slovene, the official language is also Italian and Hungarian, and when the provisions of international treaties binding the Republic of Slovenia specifically permit the use of other languages.

(2) With the Slovene language, which is one of the official languages of the European Union, the Republic of Slovenia is represented in international contacts.”

(2) *Resolucija o Nacionalnem programu za jezikovno politiko 2014–2018* (*Resolution on the National Programme for Language Policy 2014–18*; Resolucija: Internet source). In the *Introduction*, section 1.2 *The framework of the National Programme for Language Policy* (5) presents the main tasks and goals of language policy in Slovenia:

“The current language situation in Slovenia demands a well-thought-out and active language policy, one which will both take into consideration the historical background and traditions and take on new tasks and achieve new goals in today’s conditions. A development-oriented language policy is based on the conviction that the Slovene state, the Slovene language and the Slovene language community are vital and dynamic realities, which must continue to evolve and generate new energy. In those areas that need special attention in order to maintain the extent, vitality and dynamics of the Slovene language, it is imperative to put in place measures that will, if necessary, help to improve the existing situation.

An essential element in the realisation of fundamental human rights is the right of individuals to use their own language and to join together as language communities. Slovene language policy must put in place adequate measures in order to achieve two things: that the Slovene language remains the prevalent choice for native speakers to the largest possible extent in both private and public usage where evidence suggests that some Slovene native speakers are willing to put their mother tongue in second place; and that the option to prescribe the legally binding use of Slovene in certain language situations is not a priori relinquished. What is even more important for boosting the vitality of the Slovene language and strengthening its position is to enhance the awareness of Slovene native speakers of its multifunctionality, and through systematic development of skills, capacities and knowledge of the possibilities for expression offered by the Slovene language educate and form sovereign, confident and motivated speakers of Slovene while better equipping them with all the tools required by any modern language and its users.”

(3) *Zakon o medijih* (*Media Act*; *Zakon o medijih*: Internet source) gives directions on Slovene language use in Section 2, General Principles, *Protection of the Slovene language* in the Article 5:

“/.../ (4) Publishers founded and registered in the Republic of Slovenia must disseminate programme in Slovene, or must translate programme into Slovene in an

appropriate manner, unless such is primarily intended for readers, listeners or viewers from any other language group. (5) Publishers may disseminate programme intended for language education in a foreign language. (6) The reason for disseminating programme in a foreign language or the purpose thereof must be separately elaborated in a discernible position within/on the programme medium using clear graphic, visual or acoustic symbols in Slovene. (7) If programme is intended for the Hungarian or Italian ethnic communities, broadcasters may disseminate the programme in the language of the ethnic community. /.../”

In the Republic of Slovenia, the Slovene language is (Pogorelec 2003: 203):

“... the official language defined by the Constitution, the language of all three branches of government, i.e. legislative, executive and judicial, of public life with education and science, of the media and culture and of the economy. The constitution and laws define the special position of the language of both autochthonous minorities.”

Furthermore, Vidovič - Muha (2003: 10) notes that the state language functions as an official language as well as having a role in state affairs. As a communication tool, it is used in all circumstances; from the point of view of social and political status, the official language of the country – the state language – is also the first language. She emphasises, however, that the concept of an official language is wider than the notion of a state language, since it is the language of official discourse.

According to Stabej (2006: 697):¹³

“/.../ Slovene must therefore remain the dominant public language in the territory of the Republic of Slovenia if it is to further develop its corpus and if the number of its speakers is to be maintained or increased. The public dominance of Slovene must at least in principle conform to the communicative and symbolic needs and the democratic (legal) obligations of society and its individuals. The discrimination of other languages in Slovenia cannot render public communication inaccessible to speakers (here the key role is played by efficient planning not only of the corpus of the Slovenian language, but most of all of the language capacity for Slovenian).”

Udovič and Kalin Golob (2014: 523) in the journal dedicated to the 10th anniversary of Slovenia’s membership of the European Union make a clear statement on language policy, pointing out that regardless of:

“/.../ which side were the experts, they agreed that the position of Slovene in the institutions and EU bodies should be appropriate; it is imperative to take care not only of the appropriate staff, but especially of the appropriate language planning, quality

¹³ More in Udovič & Kalin Golob (2014).

language teaching, also at the university level, the statutory regulations of the status of the Standard literary Slovene language, an appropriate state policy that truly, not only declaratively support linguistic research, and institutionalised language policy and combining the professional and scientific work of linguists of all universities, research institutions and the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts.”

Kalin Golob (ibid. 529) wonders whether “/.../ the national connection role of the Slovene language is strong enough to be preserved in the process of European integration, particularly the spiritual dimension of the Slovene language at the level of contemporary creation in science and art /.../ for /.../ it is necessary to develop for this purpose the economic basis for the use of the Slovene language, and at the same time to strengthen its political and cultural autonomy and self-esteem.”

In section 2.4 of her monograph *Jezikovna kultura, jezikovna politika in jezikovno načrtovanje* (*Language culture, language policy and language planning*), Zemljak Jontes (2014) discusses the designated terms relating to language policy, specifically *jezikovna kultura/language culture, jezikovna politika/language policy, jezikovno načrtovanje/language planning*, calling attention to the fact that they have become somehow interwoven and as a result are interpreted differently by Slovene linguists.

Vidovič - Muha emphasises (2013: 490):

“Finally, it is imperative that we remain aware of the fact that we are, alongside our literary language co-creators of the Early Modern European humanistic space, deeply anchored in European culture and arts and that today, with the socio-political status we enjoy, also part of the research space.”

In the past few years, the Slovene language has been systematically supported in terms of language policy through language planning, which, according to Jesenšek (2015b: 72),¹⁴ is “/.../ required by the general and political changes of the awareness about the position of the Slovene language /.../” in “the process of the confederalisation of Europe and ethnic pluralism of the European community.” At the same time, the author remarks that the questions of “beautiful/correct language/norm/perscription” seem no longer relevant for the new generations; instead “language appropriate

¹⁴ For more by the same author on Slovene language policy, see also Jesenšek (2005a and 2016).

for the purpose of communication” should be taken into consideration (ibid.).

We will conclude by drawing attention to the immensely significant *Florence Resolution guidelines concerning “Language Use in University Teaching and Research”*, approved by the General Assembly of European Federation of National Institutions for Language (EFNIL) at the Accademia della Crusca on September 28th 2014 (Florence: internet source). Even if the main theme of the *Florence Resolution* is the language of higher education, the mother tongue question is undeniably relevant to the Slovene *Resolucija o Nacionalnem programu za jezikovno politiko 2014–2018* as well:

- Throughout Europe, there is nowadays an increasing tendency to use English as the language of academic instruction and research. This tendency is stronger in the sciences than in the humanities. The tendency to adopt an “English-only policy” in scientific publications and as the exclusive medium of discourse in international (and even national) conferences is growing fast. In such situations, there is no doubt that progress made in international communication is won at the cost of all languages other than English.
- EFNIL, the association of the central institutions for the official languages of many European countries, regards the current tendency towards the use of English as a language of academic instruction in non-Anglophone countries with deep concern. This tendency to use English instead of the standard languages of the various countries in university teaching and research restricts the domains of these languages and their development, and thus endangers the linguistic diversity of Europe that is essential for the cultural diversity and wealth of our continent.
- EFNIL therefore appeals to the academic and political authorities in the non-Anglophone countries of Europe in the strongest terms to encourage teachers and students to use their respective national languages for research and studies.
- In the interest of Europe’s cultural and linguistic diversity, EFNIL also appeals to professors, students and administrations of universities in the Anglophone countries to pursue the study and use of other European languages. This will help to preserve the linguistic diversity of Europe and its core values.

1.2 Standard and Non-standard Slovene language

It should be emphasised that the Slovene language occurs in several forms, or so-called varieties: *social, functional, transmissive, temporal/historical and quantitative*. In the present monograph, we are primarily interested in its social varieties, which can be further divided into two sub-varieties: the Standard literary Slovene language and Non-standard.¹⁵ The first one serves as a means of communication throughout Slovenia and plays an all-national and representative role. It is classified into a formal variety and a colloquial one (the latter being a less formal variety of the Slovene language). The Non-standard Slovene language is divided into seven local dialect groups: Pannonian, Styrian, Lower Carniolan, Carinthian, Upper Carniolan, Littoral and Rovte¹⁶ as well as into regional colloquial languages. These are a kind of transdialect made up of several geographical dialects, i.e. a kind of social variety in between the Standard literary Slovene language on the one hand and dialects on the other: the Central Slovene language (with the centre in Ljubljana), the South Styrian (Celje), the North Styrian (Maribor with an influence on Ptuj and Ravne as well; a subvariant that developed along the Mura River and is centred around Murska Sobota), the Littoral (with variants around Nova Gorica, Trieste, Koper and Postojna) and possibly two more: the Rovte (Škofja Loka) and the Austrian Carinthian (Toporišič 2000: 13–21).

Slovene linguists have devoted some attention to the problem of classifying the social (Valh Lopert 2013) varieties of the Slovene language, and proposals have been made regarding a different naming of the varieties and an alternative hierarchy of current social varieties. In her work on this topic, Smole (2004: 321–328) considers the division of social varieties into *systemic* (literary language, dialectal local speech) and *non-systemic* (all others), underlining the basic protopole *natural* (now: dialectal local speech) and standardised (now: literary) language, while it also classifies

¹⁵ The English terms for Slovene language varieties are those set out in Greenberg's *A Short Reference Grammar of Slovene* (2006): Standard (literary) language (for knjižni j.), divided into formal (zborni j.), colloquial (splošno- ali knjižno pogovorni j.), and Non-standard (neknjižni j.), divided into regional colloquial (pokrajinski pogovorni jeziki), local dialects (zemljepisna narečja).

¹⁶ More on dialects in the subsequent chapters.

all other genres in between. Smole (ibid.) points out that her proposal is both well thought-out and well-structured.¹⁷

Skubic (2003: 258) presents a different perspective, i.e. that one should be aware that the culture of the Slovene language is not only composed of classical literary authors and a spelling norm but also of a lively language practice; the complexity of the structure of its relations is a sign of its full development, not a sign of confusion. This kind of view can lead to frustration over its role in society and over representations of culture in general (Skubic 2003: 258). He also suggests that the name *knjižni* ‘formal’ (the Standard literary Slovene language) be changed into *standard* ‘standard’, but Vidovič - Muha (2013: 488, note 14) expresses real doubts about this:

“According to Skubic (2005: 45–55), the *standard* language is less burdened by the enactment of norm-codification, as though Slovene linguistics does not follow actual usage. /.../ but renaming *knjižni* language as *standard* has actually done nothing to solve the problem. Instead, the reverse has occurred: the traditional name *knjižni* – with its established importance – its intellectual role within the language itself and its multilingual integrative national role – has without justification often attempted to replace the standard language.”

In his monograph (2005: 15, also 2003), Skubic describes Slovene language diversity as “a unique reflection of the diversity of society itself”, and introduces the concepts of so-called sociolects into Slovene language theory, describing them as “richness and justice” (155, 172–231): sociolects of age group, sociolects of gender, sociolects of lifestyle, sociolects of ideology, sociolects of social classes—cultivated sociolects (sociolects of elite and hypercorrectness, sociolects of social classes – marginal sociolects (rural and urban sociolects, sociolect of foreigners), sociolects of social classes – self-eliminated groups, i.e. excessive sociolects.

As early as 1992, the renowned Slovene linguist Toporišič in his *Enciklopedija slovenskega jezika* (*The Encyclopedia of the Slovene Language*) stated in his explanation of the (Slovene) term ‘norma’ (norm) that the ‘norm’ should in no way be static, but flexible, since this is the only way to enable the development of the language. According to his definition, *norm* is (1992: 147):

¹⁷ Also in Valh Lopert (2013).

“/w/hat is generally normal in a particular linguistic genre, especially in books. It is established through the creators of texts invoking certain properties of voices, forms, words, phrases, etc. over a long period and the addressees generally accepting it. A text-based standard can be learned in the manuals (orthography, spelling, grammar, dictionaries and texts), with which the language is also externally standardised (prescribed, codified). Certain linguistic facts can have a double standard, and between such doubles, a silent struggle for domination is usually enacted, resulting in changes to the norm; that is, it is never purely static but flexible in its stability. A blank reference to the once-captured norm is therefore backward, since the language prevents the necessary development.”

Major social and political changes have transformed the importance and role of dialects and regional colloquial languages; they are increasingly used and represented in public life (in the media and popular culture, while a Slovene dialect literature is even beginning to emerge).

Dialects and regional colloquial languages are gradually rising to the level of equivalent linguistic subsystems, a result of Slovene dialectology abolishing mistaken beliefs about the inferiority of dialects and the prejudices concerning them, i.e. that dialects are the lowest social variety of spoken language, that they are deficient in various grammatical categories and have no structure or rules, and therefore can only serve at best a comic role onstage (Stanonik 2007: 464). In recent years, dialectologists and other linguists in Slovenia (Škofic 1991; Smole 1994, 1998a, b; Koletnik 2001a, b; Zorko 2002; Valh Lopert 2006, Pulko & Zemljak Jontes 2015,¹⁸ etc.) have observed that regional colloquial languages and dialects are increasingly assuming the roles previously occupied by Standard Slovene.

Recently, we have witnessed major language democratisation and liberalisation, resulting in the research focus widening into the area of language usage after years of concentrating solely on researching written language resources.

We should point out here that for the majority of Slovenes, regional colloquial language or dialect is their first or native language, while Standard Slovene is taught in schools to enable communication between different dialectal speakers.

¹⁸ For more, see also Pulko & Zemljak Jontes (2015).

An interesting characteristic of the Slovene language is that it is the most dialectally heterogeneous within the Slavic language group (Logar 1993: 5). Typical linguistic features of particular regional colloquial languages and dialects will be explained in relevant chapters within the case study analyses.

Beside the social varieties, the Slovene language is defined according to functional varieties, specifically practical communicative, publicistic, artistic and technical (practical technical, scientific, popular scientific); trasmissional (according to media), spoken or written; temporal: contemporary and historical, as well as types of writing, i.e. poetry or prose (Toporišič 2000).

The great dialectal diversity of Slovene and the creation of urban speech has led to research on the Slovene language in the field of urban dialectology (Orožen 1999: 222).

1.3 The Slovene dialects

Dialects have been – in Slovenia and elsewhere in Europe – enjoying a resurgence in popularity. This tendency could be interpreted as a response to the processes of globalisation and the ever-more influential Anglo-Saxon mentality as well as cultural and language practices, and is primarily based on the need of language to preserve identity. Of late, and despite being – first and foremost – a spoken form of language and defined accordingly as a social Non-standard variety, dialects have also been increasingly used in written form.

Even though Slovene is among the smallest of the Slavic languages, only 2.5 million Slovenes use Slovene for communication; its speakers are scattered throughout Slovene ethnic territory in the Republic of Slovenia, in Austria in southern Carinthia and southern Styria, in Italy in the Province of Trieste and Gorizia, in Venetian Slovenia and in the Kanal valley, and in Hungary in the Porabje region. Yet, despite being one of the smallest of the Slavic languages, it is the most dialectally divided among them. According to the classification by the dialectologist Fran Ramovš in the book *Dialekti (Dialects)*, 1935, the Slovene language is divided into over 40 dialects and speeches, which are further divided into seven dialectal groups: the Pannonian dialect group, Styrian dialect group, Carinthian dialect group, Upper Carniolan dialect group, Lower Carniolan dialect group, Littoral dialect group and Rovte dialect group. According to Logar (1993: 5), this condition reflects the thousand-year historical development of Slovene, which was influenced by numerous external and internal linguistic factors. The most important among the first are (a) the settlement of the Slovene territory from two directions – from the north through the Carpathian Mountains and from the south-east along the Sava and Drava rivers upwards, which resulted in the oldest dialectal division of the Slovene language, clearly expressed in the 12th and 13th century, when *ê* and *ô* in the south-east of Slovenia diphthongised into *ei* and *ou*, and in the north-west into *ie* and *uo*. Next, (b) high hills and mountains (Pohorje Mountains, Kamnik-Savinja Alps, Karawanks, Julian Alps) and (c) extensive forests (e.g. in the Sorško Plain, Upper Sava valley and Tuhinjski Valley, etc.), which rendered the expansion of linguistic innovations from the Slavic south difficult. Mountains and hills frequently served as the foundation for the political, feudal, monastic and church administrative borders that

directed the movement and mutual communication of the population in certain areas for centuries. Dialectal division was also stimulated by: the colonisation of unpopulated and sparsely populated areas with non-Slovene inhabitants, especially the Bavarians, Carinthians and Tyroleans from the 10th century onwards; the geographical proximity of Slovene to non-Slavic languages or dialects (German, Friulian, Italian, Hungarian), falling behind in the development of marginal, remote and less busy language areas and the accelerated development of central, in terms of transport and culture, more diverse areas. It was partially impacted by the fusion with pre-Slavic inhabitants, specifically Roman native inhabitants (Celts, Illyrians) and Turkish invasions, which caused the population from White Carniola to move from the south of this region to the north, their place being taken by refugees from Croatian and Serbian territory. According to Smole (1998a: 1), the internal linguistic factors relating to dialectal division originate mostly in the diverse development of phonetics and prosody, and less in morphology, syntax, and melody of speech. The latter are mostly linked to the geographical proximity of neighbouring languages.

The majority of present-day Slovene dialects retain dynamic stress accent, while the pitch or tonemic accent system can still be found in the Upper and Lower Carniolan dialects, in the Carinthian dialects in Austria, in the northern part of the Littoral dialect group (the Torre Valley dialect, the Nadiža (Natisone) Valley dialect and the Soča dialect) and in part of the Rovte dialect group (Horjul and Poljane dialects). They can be distinguished from one other particularly by their systems of long and short vowels, while dialect differentiation was also influenced by the accentual movements which took place in some parts of Slovenia, but not throughout the entire country. The systems of long vowels can be monophthongal (most Upper Carniolan speeches, the Horjul dialect and the Prlekija dialect) or monophthongal-diphthongal, with the number of phonemes in each system varying from three (the Tolmin dialect) to fifteen and more (some Carinthian, Styrian and Panonnian speeches). With the exception of the Jaun Valley dialect, which contains two nasal vowels (ɛ̃, ɔ̃), Slovene dialects consist of entirely oral vowels.

The modern reduction of vowels (vowel diminution), which was strongest in the central Slovene dialects, yet hardly had any effect on the peripheral dialects (Venitian-Slovenia dialect, the Carinthian dialect and the Panonnian one), had a significant impact on the differences in the system of

short vowels. Alongside the complete reduction of the high close *i*, *u* and *ě* in final syllables and in positions adjacent to sonorants, one should also mention the shift in the central Slovene dialects of unaccented *o* into *a* (in the Gail Valley, Rovte, Lower Carniolan and Inner Carniolan dialects) and into *u* (in the majority of Slovene dialects). The range of this phenomenon differs across dialect areas – appearing either as positional vocalisation or complete *akanje* (*akanye* i.e. reduction of the vowel to *a*) or *ukanje* (*ukanye* i.e. reduction of the vowel to *u*), respectively.

The dialectal diversity of the Slovene language was also enhanced by the development of Proto-Slavic consonants. The dialects to the west of the Kranj–Ljubljana line have lost the velar plosive *g*, as it developed into the fricative *ɣ*. The palatal consonant *ň* was preserved over a wide area of the western, northern and extreme eastern and southern dialects, while elsewhere it hardened into *n* (the Upper Carniolan dialect) and lost its nasal character or shifted into *jn*. Palatal *ľ* in most cases hardened, shifting into *jl* or *j*, while still preserved on a smaller part of the territory. Dialectal palatalisation of *k*, *g*, *h* > *č*, *j*, *š* in positions preceding front vowels has been preserved in the western Slovene dialects, while velar *l* is spoken before back vowels in the Upper Savinja and White Carniolan dialects, while in other parts, however, it alternates either into *u/w/v* or into middle *l*. Proto-Slavic *ŭ*, too, developed in anything but a uniform manner in the Slovene language: in the majority of Carinthian and western dialects the bilabial *w* (*ŭ*) survived, while in the Styrian dialects and those of Lower Carniola, and the northern parts of White Carniola, it changed into labio-dental *v*. Elsewhere it developed according to its position in the word. In the far western parts of Slovenia, i.e. from the Gail Valley to Istria, and in the far eastern parts (Prekmurje, Prlekija) one can observe the shift of final *-m* > *-n*. Indeed, consonants in the Slovene dialects have seen several other developmental phenomena which are, however, limited to smaller areas.¹⁹

Slovene dialects differ among each other also in terms of morphology. As the scope of this survey does not allow us to enumerate them all, it should at least be noted that all three genders have survived only in the peripheral dialects. Elsewhere, neuter nouns have either masculinised or feminised. The dual number is well preserved in both western and eastern dialects.

¹⁹ For more on the development of consonants, cf. Ramovš (1924).

Nevertheless, it has, especially in the case of the feminine gender, merged with the plural number.

Differences in vocabulary, word formation and syntax have also contributed to the dialectal diversity of the Slovene language. Logar (1993: 15) observes that major differences in vocabulary and syntax exist between the central and the peripheral dialects, the latter being enriched with borrowings, calques and syntactic patterns from German, Friulian, Italian, Hungarian and Croatian, which would have made it extremely difficult for people from these remote areas to communicate with each other without knowledge of Standard Slovene (Ramovš 1924, 1935; Logar 1993; Logar & Rigler 1983; Smole 1998a).

1.4 Language and identity

National language serves both as an official language and as a means of expressing national identity. Therefore, in the implementation of multilingual strategies in European integration and globalisation processes, the preservation of linguistic and cultural diversity should be regarded as a benefit and not a disadvantage. At the same time, the role and position of national languages and dialects over the globe must not be neglected.

Language is becoming an increasingly important element of national expressions of identity, and even more so for individuals, as Gibson (2004: 1, 4) states: “Language is a central feature of human identity. When we hear someone speak, we immediately make guesses about gender, education level, age, profession, and place of origin. Beyond this individual matter, a language is a powerful symbol of national and ethnic identity” and “Ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity – I am my language.”

The concept of identity is also defined in the *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika* (SSKJ; *Dictionary of the Slovene Standard Language*, 2014) as ‘compliance, data matching with real facts, evidence, identity’, in *Slovenski pravopis* (SP; *Slovene Orthography*, 2001) as an ‘identity, sameness’, in the *English-Slovene Dictionary*, (Grad 2009) as the ‘identity, unity, equality’, and in the *German-Slovene Dictionary* (Debenjak 2008) as ‘identity’, etc.

In the linguistic context, this means the identification of the individual with the primary language of his/her own environment (e.g. family, place of birth). Speaking about identity also produces terminological questions on “materni jezik (mother tongue), prvi jezik (first language), nacionalni jezik (national language), regionalni/lokalni jezik (regional/local language), uradni jezik (official language) in manjšinski uradni jezik (minority official language)” that Pulko and Zemljak Jontes (2015) also define, drawing upon a variety of resources, such as Toporišič, Vidovič - Muha, etc.

In Toporišič’s *Enciklopedija slovenskega jezika* (1992: 100) he defines both terms (mother tongue; first language) as synonyms, specifically *materni jezik/mother tongue* as “the language that a child learns from his mother, from the speaking environment with which it is in contact when

(instinctively) learning the language” as well as *prvi jezik* (*first language*) (ibid. 236) as the language “somebody learns first, i.e. the mother tongue”.

As previously stated, for the majority of Slovenes therefore, their dialect or regional language is the first or native language; we are born into it, while the Standard is taught in schools to enable communication between the speakers of different dialects (also Pulko & Zemljak Jontes 2015). We should again point out that the Slovene language is the most dialectally heterogeneous within the Slavic language group (Logar 1993: 5).

While language is certainly a means of expressing identity, both personal and national, it is also becoming an increasingly important element also in popular culture in order to draw or determine a character, as each character has their own way of speaking that they adapt to different discourse situations, be they psychological or social.

Each dialect or colloquial speech is of immeasurable value, and the loss of dialects is certainly equally important to that of language extinction (Kapović 2006: 378). Regional colloquial languages and dialects should not be considered as inferior to the national (Standard) language in terms of their unifying capacity, but as the first language of most speakers they should actually help in the acquisition of it. Many speakers use their local language as a reflection of their identities and do not even want to use Standard Slovene (Škarić 2000: 173).

The impact of local speech is widely recognised, even among professional speakers, i.e. professors, journalists and those employed in the cultural sphere. Although many linguists speak about a conflation of dialects with the Standard language, or even about the disappearance of dialects due to the disappearance of rural culture, it appears that many speakers not only maintain their linguistic structure, but even consciously improve and cultivate it (Kenda Jež 2004: 263–276).

The choice of linguistic variety undoubtedly depends on the circumstances in which one is endorsed as a social being. Communicative competence is dependent on a specific social community (Badurina 2004: 154). Such language crossing/switching can be positive or negative; it may act as a reduction of discourse strategies, thus reducing the tension between speakers. By using, for example, colloquial within the Standard language, we can

reduce stress, especially in a tense atmosphere (when different opinions are being expressed). On the other hand, it also enables us to distance ourselves from the subject or partner (Cutler 2002). In any case, language always adapts itself to usage and naturally reflects the social identity of the speakers. This phenomenon is known as linguistic diversity/variation, and is treated by linguists as both inevitable and natural.

Sociolinguists, anthropologists and cultural theorists explore the phenomenon of language crossing/switching (although the definition has not yet been standardised) in order to understand how and why individuals use language elements of other language varieties. Communication in particular is a special form of human behaviour, in which at least two communication partners meet for the specific purpose of exchanging messages with the help of linguistic or non-linguistic signs. It is important to realise that communication is not automatic, but conveys the specific purpose of the speaker, i.e. to influence the recipient/addressee. The following factors are important in communication: circumstances, purpose or objective, theme, language, transmission, and three phases of communication, these being invention, disposition and elocution (Bešter et al. 1999: 27).

Language also reflects the speaker's social affiliation and separates individual communities, each of which make up their own language (those who belong to smaller groups such as families, couples, roommates, professional groups...). Of course, language can also reflect the power of the individual in dialogue. We can say then that language depends on the social structure of the local language community (Skubic 2005). Baron (2011) points out that we all master several versions of the language i.e. *standard* and *less standard*, which we use depending on social context. Similarly, the importance of social context is also underlined by Orožen (2003: 216–233), who claims that people in their home environment speak in dialect, but in the workplace they “adapt their speech according to their superior”. This leads to a higher or lower level of interference between dialect and formal or colloquial. The same author looks to the past to explain the reasons for the change which occurred in Slovene in the late 20th century: the extinction and emigration of the original rural population; commuting to industrial and urban centres; the new methods of work in rural areas; the disappearance of craft occupations; the impact of “prestigious language” in schools, church and in broadcasting. Traditional geographical speech was unfairly affected in various ways and was most certainly undervalued and

undermined. The concept of the prestige of Slovene has been investigated by Tivadar (2004: 438), who notes that this is actually an inherent feature of standard language, as it is used for intellectually demanding texts. He states that speech is constantly changing and elitism is actually damaging because it leads to a narrowing of the communicative space, the result of which is that language is studied down to the finest detail, but that the population become alienated from it.

In Slovene linguistics, the treatment of language culture, linguistic elitism and prestige is exposed by Skubic (2004, 2005). Within the so-called cultivated sociolects and elites, he explains (2004: 297–320) the behavior of the upper class, who, as has been repeatedly found in linguistics, sociolinguistics and sociology, are often excluded from strict adherence (to their own) dominant conventions. This means that those who set the rules can also violate them. Thus, speakers who are aware that their prestige has been provided otherwise (with economic or social capital), express a higher degree of language confidence and can “give vent” without fear of damaging their reputation. Even linguists ask themselves what is “right and wrong in language and who decides such issues.” The answer is those who hold positions of power.

To introduce the subsequent chapters, we shall quote Jesenšek (2015b: 44):

“The Slovene language is an important part of the Slovene national identity, since it enables the study of cultural, societal and interactive conventions.”

PART 2

Language varieties in Slovene popular culture

- 2.1 Language as a key factor in determining character
- 2.2 Dilemmas in subtitling elements of Non-standard Slovene language
- 2.3 Speech research of Slovene media
 - 2.3.1 Slovene film speech
 - 2.3.2 Slovene theatre speech
 - 2.3.3 Slovene radio speech
 - 2.3.4 Slovene music speech

In the following section, we first present a brief insight into popular culture, followed by the language varieties used there, while also considering speech as a key in determining characters (in film and on stage) and the expression of identity through language. The problems of translation from foreign languages for the purposes of subtitling Slovene films are also addressed.

2.1 Language as a key factor in determining character

In his discussion of contemporary popular culture, Storey (2009: 5) stresses that there are various ways to define it, presenting six definitions that bring into play a complex combination of the different meanings of the term ‘culture’ with the different meanings of the term “popular”. We can summarise (ibid.):

“An obvious starting point in any attempt to define popular culture is to say that popular culture is simply culture that is widely favoured or well liked by many people.”

Pop culture is also defined as the culture that is “left over” when we have decided what high culture is. Researchers on culture (Stankovič 2002: 12) classify art, specifically movies and theatre, alongside media, ads, sport, fashion, etc. within it. Whenever comparing classical with pop music, it is said that in “the case of classical against pop music, it is always to show the banality of pop music and to say something about those who consume it” (Storey 2009: 55). However, the same author (8) in his third definition of popular culture explains:

“A third way of defining popular culture is as ‘mass culture’. /.../ The first point that those who refer to popular culture as mass culture want to establish is that popular culture is a hopelessly commercial culture. It is mass produced for mass consumption. Its audience is a mass of non-discriminating consumers,”

and concludes (69):

“Culture may have become mass culture, but consumption has not become mass consumption.”

Betts (2004: 140–1) describes the United States with its dominant economy and privileged position in software production (computers, movies, television programmes) in combination with English as the language of international communication as “the heartland of popular culture”.

Furthermore, he (ibid.) explains that most books are published in English:

“/.../ in order to reach wider audience. /.../ Yet the preponderance of English in contemporary scientific and business discourse, to say nothing of the popular culture of music and film, makes facility in it something of a cultural imperative.”

The same author (141) uses the term “cultural imperialism” to denote the tendencies that “override national interests and divergent culture areas” and the penetration of Western culture in other cultural environments (142). Globalisation and the tendency to replace national language with the universal one – English – is present in Slovenia as well. On the one hand, negative language assimilation is a serious problem, while on the other, language (standard language, idiolect, sociolect or dialects) is playing an increasingly crucial role in the shaping of national identity. Therefore, the dialectal consciousness of the dialect speaker is intensified with the use of dialects in the media due to expanding linguistic democracy and media liberalisation. Dialects are – no doubt – the speech of our primary surroundings, i.e. the first or the mother tongue. The use of dialects is increasing at public events, in public media (especially spoken), public political discourse, school, art (literature, music, film, theatre) and popular culture (Smole 2009: 559).

Škarić (2000: 173) states that many speakers use their local language intentionally, as a reflection of their identities, and have no desire to use the standard form. This can be widely seen even among professional speakers such as professors, journalists, and those employed in the cultural sphere, who are using their local speech instead of the standard. The same has been established by Merkujeva (2009: 243–250), who ascertains that although (German) Standard prevails in the mass media, even in “TV-series, theatre performance, songs, poems, adds dialect is used” and “journalists, politicians, athletes, writers /.../ take their dialect with them when leaving their homeland” (243).

A similar situation exists in Slovenia, where it seems that dialects are not just being maintained but consciously improved and cultivated (Kenda Jež 2004: 263–276). As mentioned before many local linguists speak of a conflation of dialects with Standard Slovene, or even about the disappearance of dialects because of the disappearance of rural culture, the research carried out by Kenda Jež (*ibid.*) points to the opposite. The main reasons lie in the following functions of dialect, which the standard form cannot carry out: functionality, distinctiveness, self-identification, and insignificant sentimentality. Nastran Ule (2000: 95) concludes that all definitions of identity share a common essential element – “identity is the process of social ‘(self-)instalment’ of the subject itself”.

In film-making it should be emphasised that, in theory, film as a genre already represents itself as a *language* with specific expressive means. According to Podbevšek (1983: 294), the concept of *film language* in film theory is already established: "... it refers to specific expressive means of the film or to a particular technique (scenes, details, plans, perspective, editing, etc.)." She adds that in the case of film speech, in fact, we speak about the transmission of a written text (scenario), that is, the "auditory realisation of the script" (ibid.). The basic form is undoubtedly the dialogue, which is regarded as an interaction between two or more people; the language variety should be – at best – determined by the screenwriter. In the *Gledališki terminološki slovar* (Sušec Michieli et al. 2007: 78) gives the following explanation for the entry 'govor' (speech):

"./.../ fundamental acting expression, through which the actor performs with his/her voice, words, mimics, gestures, interacts with other actors on the stage and the audience, enacts, comments on the stage performance, and expresses emotions, thoughts."

Koršič (2006: 160) considers what it is that makes film speech artistic, noting that the only acceptable criterion is functionality. In this context, he warns (ibid.) that when speaking about speech we need to consider several factors, especially genre and style, but that authenticity should always be the ultimate goal. However, it cannot be, as Koršič states, an absolute criterion. For the viewer, the *impression* of authenticity is always decisive, and this *impression* "can in fact-lie" (163).

2.2 Dilemmas in subtitling elements of Non-standard Slovene language

Foreign language films which we wish to present to a domestic audience should be translated, either by synchronisation/dubbing or by subtitling. As synchronisation/dubbing is an extremely demanding, time consuming and costly process;²⁰ it is used somewhat rarely in Slovenia, where films are instead frequently subtitled. At this point we should mention (Pavličič 2009: 31) that – as in other parts of Europe – in Slovenia there is no distinction made between subtitling and subtitling for the hard of hearing or the deaf. This contrasts with the U.S. and Canada where subtitles, or the so-called *captions* for the hard of hearing or deaf, do not only transcribe dialogues but also try to transmit relevant information, such as information about music, actors and non-verbal communication elements (ibid.).

A distinction is also made between the so-called *open captions* and *closed captions* subtitles for the hard of hearing or deaf. *Closed captions* are subtitles which can be turned off by the viewer, while *open captions* cannot. Captions, as they are known in Slovenia, are known in the U.S. and Canada as *subtitles*. This type of subtitle does not contain elements of non-verbal communication, because the translator works on the understanding that viewers do not understand the source language in which the film is shot, but the dialogue, sound effects and music can be heard. Therefore, only verbal communication from the film is translated into the target language (Pavličič 2009: 31). Of course, this is also true for translation from one language to another, although there are certain rules for standardising the subtitles that could be adopted for the present case-study as well,²¹ i.e.

²⁰ Synchronisation/dubbing is frequently used only for animated films (for example *Ice Age* or *Madagascar*), because children are unable to follow the subtitles and consequently cannot understand the meaning.

²¹ Karamitroglou (1998) explains: “If a dialect of the target language (regional or social) is chosen to be used on the subtitled text, it should not be rendered as a phonetic or syntactic transcription of the spoken form. Only dialects that have already appeared in a written form in printed materials are allowed to be used in subtitles as well. For example, archaic or biblical forms like ‘thee’ for ‘you’ are allowed but sociolect forms like ‘whadda ya doin?’ are not allowed because they are not immediately recognisable and comprehensible by the viewers’ eye.”

translation from one social variety (dialect) to another (the Standard literary Slovene language) (film speech into subtitles) and vice versa (written text of a book or screenplay into film speech).

The European Association for Studies in Screen Translation (Ivarsson 1998) is involved in the practice of good subtitling; their leading members, Jan Ivarsson and Mary Carroll, set out guidelines on behalf of the ESIST (1998, Internet source), which are also officially available on their website. Among the many, mainly technical, guidelines, the following are important for our analyses in particular: (1) the quality of translation should be high-level in terms of all idiomatic and cultural nuances; (2) if the dialogue has to be reduced, the result must be coherent; (3) if possible, each subtitle should be a semantic unit; (4) the subtitles should not contain grammatical errors, as they serve as a model of literacy; (5) subtitles for the hard of hearing or deaf should contain “redundant” information such as names, interjections, etc.; (6) if songs have a significant impact on understanding what is happening, they should be captioned; (7) dialogues from the film and the occurrence subtitles should be harmonised; (8) all the subtitles should be edited; and last but not least (9), the language variety of the subtitles must reflect the language variety of the film speech (Pavličič 2009: 38–41).

Here, we are most interested in the practice of the translation of dialectal elements, as dialects belong to an extremely complicated area of translation. Dialects are mostly used to denote a variety of features such as humour, lack of education, narrow-mindedness, etc. If the translator decides to preserve the dialect in translation, the specific features and functions of the chosen dialect must be taken into account. They must also identify the role of the dialect in the original text or the effect caused by the original that the author intended to achieve with its use. Literal translation from the original/source language into the target one is often inappropriate, since it is unable to recreate the original character of the text. It is more important that the original dialectal element (word or phrase) in translation is replaced by a word or phrase in the target language which creates the original character. If this is not possible in the target language, the translator should use a different translation method in order to create the original dialectal function (Hribar 2007: 126). Slovene translation practice, however, shows that Slovene translators, especially literary translators, prefer to avoid dialect, for two main reasons: (1) narrowing of the scope/understanding of

translation, (2) “exceptional complexity and lack of dialectal translation oriented secondary literature on dialects” (ibid.).

Jakobson (1989: 204) differs three kinds of translation, which he labels differently:

- “1. Intralingual translation or *rewording* is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs of the same language.²²
2. Interlingual translation or *translation proper* is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language.
3. Intersemiotic translation or *transmutation* is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs of nonverbal sign systems.”

In the subsequent chapters, we discuss the first kind of translation as defined by Jakobson, i.e. how to translate the Standard literary Slovene language into Non-standard varieties of the Slovene language and vice versa.

²² Underlined by the authors of the monograph.

2.3 Speech research of Slovene media

As stated in the introduction, Slovene literary Standard language and Non-standard language as they appear in film, theatre, radio and popular culture will be presented. We will also pay attention to the importance of the function of the language consultant in all the mentioned media.

2.3.1 Slovene film speech

Film as an art form was created at the turn of the 20th century, and its history is divided into two periods: (a) silent and (b) sound. December 28th, 1895 counts as the beginning of silent film, when the Lumière Brothers presented the first filmed images in a Paris café. A year later, the first film performances, i.e. “living photos” could be viewed in today’s Slovenia, first in Maribor (October 24th, 1896), then in Celje (November 3rd, 1896) and in Ljubljana (November 16th, 1896). Slovenes were hot on the heels of other countries in terms of film production. In 1905, Karol Grossman, attorney and amateur photographer from Ljutomer, recorded a few-minute long documentary film *Odhod od maše v Ljutomeru* (*Dismissal from Mass in Ljutomer*) and (*Sejem v Ljutomeru/Fair in Ljutomer*), the first metres of Slovene film (about 50 metres).

In 1906, the film *Na domačem vrtu* (*In the Family Garden*), a record of the images of family life, appeared. Thus, Karol Grossman became a global film pioneer, although he was unaware of the weight of his achievements or those of his contemporaries (Šimenc 1996: 7–23).

The first Slovene silent feature films were *V kraljestvu zlatoroga* (*In the Kingdom of the Goldhorn*; Janko Ravnik, 1931, part-documentary, part-feature film about the Julian Alps) and *Triglavske strmine* (*The Slopes of Triglav*; Ferdo Delak, 1932, a full feature film).

They were filmed just four years after the beginning of the new period of global film, that is, the appearance of the first sound film, *The Jazz Singer*, October 6th, 1927 (Šimenc 1996: 41–49). The first Slovene sound film, *Na svoji zemlji* (*On Our Own Land*), was produced by France Štiglic, and shot in 1948. The film sets a pattern which was to be followed by later

productions: the screenplay was written by Ciril Kosmač, based upon his short story *Očka Orel* (Father Eagle 1947; Kosmač 1958) (Šimenc 1996: 70–74).

The scenarios of that time were mainly based on literary works,²³ but the fact that literature and film are two very different media with their own standards was not sufficiently respected in film production. In other words, film adaptation must be an artistic creation for itself. According to Šimenc (1983: 16–17), while the film version must accept the reality of the literary work, it must also be entirely distinct from it as an independent structure, i.e. as a new creation. It is this distance that serves as a foundation on which the freedom to enrich the material about which and with which it works rests, because only by building upon the literary work in this way, i.e. ‘film plus’, can a film become an independent work of art.

Until the late 1960s, as scenarios originated in literary works, Slovene films featured Standard literary Slovene, creating films with an overwhelming feeling of alienation, clumsiness and affectation.

Slovene film was in fact for many years an embodiment of the national consciousness and “pure/correct” Standard literary Slovene language, so it was “nice, clean, orderly, non-dialectal, conscious, and unified /.../ high language, without slang and dialect” (Štefančič 2005: 60).

An extreme example which serves as an illustration of the language situation in Slovene films is *Ljubezen na odoru* (*Love on the Furrows*; based on the novel by Lovro Kuhar - Prežihov Voranc; directed by Vojko Duletič, Viba film, 1973), which shows the director’s resistance to “the unbearableness of Slovene in film”. He reduced the dialogues, cutting them back to the absolute minimum in order to show that Slovene film “should be mute” (Štefančič 2005: 61).

It should be said that in recent years there has been a marked shift away from Standard literary Slovene, and as a result film speech has a much more natural, relaxed and modern feel, while it is also more functional in

²³ For more on the filmography of Slovenian feature films for the period 1931–2005, see Šimenc (2005).

terms of content, reflective of the move from artistic to non-artistic speech (Koršič 2006: 160).

While, as stated, there was a period in which only non-dialectal Standard literary Slovene was heard in film, a shift occurred in 1970 when the article *Slovenski pogovorni jezik (Colloquial Slovene Language)* by the linguist Toporišič was published, allowing directors and language consultants to argue for the use of (spoken) colloquial – not only exclusively formal – Slovene as well as regional colloquial varieties and dialects. This granted them some leeway in choosing an appropriate social language variety for a film. The actors had usually undergone formal education in Standard literary Slovene, although they came from all over Slovenia and spoke different dialects. Some of them were simply glad to use their own “first/mother tongue” in film if requested, while some of them had to study a dialect as a part of the role (which was in some cases challenging). As previously stated, the resulting film language has become much more convincing. Koršič (2006: 160) claims that speech functionality serves as a criterion of the film’s artistic value; language and speech norms should be in accordance with the aesthetic and functional objectives of the speech employed by the film’s characters. However, good dialogues can only grow out of the cooperation between film directors, screenwriters, authors, language consultants and actors.

Also in relation to film, it needs to be said that that each community must somehow recognise that language is not homogeneous (Škiljan 1999) and that the media especially – including film – should reflect linguistic differences, allowing all those who participate within it to use examples from their own communicative model. This may be a dialect or even second-language norm, intended for private usage. In this way, the problem of discrimination can be addressed (Kalin Golob 2003), while at the same time openness in the media can help to save dialects and restore their value and dignity (Škarić 1982).

Furthermore, as has been previously stated, although many linguists have spoken of the merging of dialects with Standard literary Slovene or even the disappearance of dialects because of the disappearance of rural culture, it appears that many speakers transcend mere maintenance of their linguistic structure (first/mother tongue), and intentionally preserve it (Kenda Jež 2004).

The question therefore of how to translate a literary work written in Standard literary Slovene, with a scattering of dialectal words, into film speech, is rather delicate. Surely this task falls to the director, as the literary work simply provides an optional framework on which to base the film. Slovene linguistics, still being mostly prescriptive, offers “a compulsory norm” in the manuals, such as the *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika* (*Dictionary of Standard Slovene*, 2014), *Slovenski pravopis* (*Slovene Orthography*, 2001), *Slovenska slovnica* (*Slovene Grammar*, 2000). As we have seen, however, films oppose unnatural or forced speech, instead demanding speech that will not only become part of the film’s reality but also an integral element of the visual experience (Koršič 2000: 60 after Lawson 1964).

It is important to note that in Slovene film there have been a significant number of very successful transfers/translations of written Standard literary Slovene language into Non-standard colloquial or dialect. Accounts of the difficulties and experiences of language consultants in creating films that were filmed in Non-standard colloquial language or dialect have even been published in a number of articles,²⁴ although exhaustive studies on dialects in Slovene film have rather been limited, i.e. *Pot na klop, Boj na požiralniku, Halgato, Traktor, ljubezen in rock & roll*.²⁵

Reichenberg (Plahuta Simčič 2012),²⁶ on the connection between Slovene literature and film, argues that Slovene literature is a good ‘springboard’ for film but in the last decades this connection has weakened; fewer films have been adapted from literature, which is reflected in both their quality and quantity. He adds that filmmakers used to be “once attracted” by large texts, great dramatic texts, which partly touched on national questions and partly on rural themes, people and content. /.../ Most modern films deal with marginalised individuals, behavioral and social disorders, psychopathic traits and similar deviations.” Feri Lainšček, whose sixth literary work was turned into a film adaptation, explains (ibid.):

“When I write a novel, I’m not thinking about a film, and it doesn’t bother me at the time. Even if it did, it certainly wouldn’t help any possible transformation into a film

²⁴ More: *Jezik na odru, jezik v filmu* (1983), *Kolokvij o umetniškem govoru* (2000).

²⁵ More: Koletnik & Valh Lopert & Zorko (2009).

²⁶ Plahuta Simčič (2012): “According to data provided two years ago by the Slovene Film Archive at the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia and the Slovene Cinematheque at the retrospective of *The Book in a Slovene Film*, 47 of 166 feature films were made based on literary texts between 1948 and 2003.”

script, as literary and film language differ so much that in any case a ‘translation’ is necessary. My point of view, after my experience with the six films based on my literary works, is even more radical – I do not believe in the so-called film adaptation of the novel, but I am convinced that the novel can offer a solid starting point for the emergence of a good film. What the scriptwriter or director can find in a novel is an idea, a theme, a substance, a story, a message, perhaps an emotion and other moods, but it must be connected to the language of the film as the first step towards creating moving pictures. Only in this way, I believe, on the basis of one artwork, can another be created without conflict or at the expense of the other.”

2.3.2 Slovene theatre speech

The role of speech in theatre was (also) recognised in 1960 by Hartman (96), who stated that stage speech is one of the most prestigious components of theatre. The history of stage speech in the Slovene theatre²⁷ is closely connected to Župančič,²⁸ according to whom the theatre in Slovenia should be:

“/.../ a practical school where Slovenes would hear at least two, two and a half uninterrupted hours of their language *clean* and *undamaged*, free of those contaminants and errors that they cannot avoid hearing in everyday life” (Antončič 1987: 63).

To Slovenes, the route to appropriate stage speech mirrors the cultural-political and historical motifs of national development. One very important milestone (already mentioned within film speech) was reached in 1970 by Toporišič’s article *Slovenski pogovorni jezik*, which enabled language consultants to opt for common and regional colloquial language in the theatre.

In recent years, as with film speech, theatre speech in general has become much more natural, relaxed, and contemporary, while the content of theatre speech has become especially functional. In particular, there has been a noticeable shift, again similar to film, from artistic to non-artistic speech (Koršič 2006: 160). Regional colloquial languages were already well established on stage, so theatre nowadays truly reflects authentic speech;

²⁷ The beginnings of Slovene theatre go back to the 18th century; the first preserved record with Slovene versified dialogues is *Škofjeloški pasijon* (*Škofja Loka Passion Play*; lat. *Processio locopolitana*), dating back to 1721. It is the oldest preserved dramatic work in the Slovene language and the oldest preserved European director’s script. (*Veliki slovenski leksikon: A–G*. 2004: 631.)

²⁸ Oton Župančič, Slovene poet, playwright, translator and editor (1878–1949).

indeed, functionality now counts among artistic criteria. Stage speech is only one element of theatrical performance; it should aim to be a complete work of art and not just speech that is perfectly realised by linguistic norms (Podbevšek 2000: 85). Since speech is only one of the components of the theatre transmitted by the play to the viewer/listener, it should be harmonised with other theatrical forms of expression, such as costumes, scenery and lighting, while the speech of individual dramatic characters must present a polyphonic whole (Podbevšek 1997/98: 85).

The transfer of written words into spoken language and stage speech reveals that a written text which reads perfectly is not necessarily best suited for a theatre performance (Jan 2000: 63). Therefore, the role of the language consultant or even dialectologist in preparing the actors cannot be underestimated. We believe that he/she should be an equal partner in the translator-director-actor team, especially in providing expert advice on selecting the appropriate language variety for the staging of the work. It is also vitally important how a literary work written in Standard Slovene, perhaps with individual dialectal words, is transferred into stage speech. This is surely a matter of staging which the director must resolve, as the literary context provides a framework rather than binding him/her to a particular approach. We should note, again as with film, that there have been a number of very successful transfers of written Standard Slovene into colloquial or dialectal stage speech in theatrical performances.²⁹

The decision relating to appropriate language variety is based on the following duality: on the one hand, the prevalent use of Non-standard variety to provide the “comedy element”, and on the other hand, “dramatic use” (Fišer 2006: 71). Problems mostly arise because of the translation itself: whether (a) by insisting on the fullness of terms, thus narrowing the space and audience of the performance if Non-standard, even dialectal speech is employed, or (b) translating the text into Standard or colloquial Slovene and taking the risk that a deviation occurs between the content and linguistic expression of the character, possibly resulting in a “starchy”

²⁹ In his diploma paper, Šerbinek (2011) discusses the role of the stage speech consultant in theatre as well as in film. His case study was a comedy by Tone Partljič *Moj ata, socialistični kulak* (*My Father, Socialistic Richman*), in which he analyses the Maribor regional colloquial language in three theatrical performances (by the Slovene National Theatre Maribor, Slovene National Theatre Drama Ljubljana, Slovene Public Theatre Celje) and a film shot by Viba Film.

translation (Fišer 2006: 74). While knowledge of Non-standard varieties is necessary for the translator and desirable for the language consultant and actors, in practice, this is more difficult to achieve. Although theatre actors come from different parts of Slovenia, they have been educated solely in Standard Slovene. Fišer believes (ibid.) that from the linguistic point of view, knowledge and experience of both types of Slovene could help in addressing this issue.

Recently, Vrtačnik (2012, Vrtačnik & Tivadar 2017) have added to the literature on contemporary approaches to language consulting in drama theatre, as well as on the term 'language consultant' itself. He emphasises that the theatrical speaker should incorporate their knowledge of and approaches to cognitive linguistics in teatrology into practice, allowing for an improved understanding of dramatic texts and selection of the optimal stage speech strategy.

As stated previously, stage speech is only one element of theatrical performance. Our analyses therefore focus on the speech realisation of dialogic elements, where the social varieties of the speech of individual characters in the performance are highlighted.

Again, it is important to state that in recent years, stage speech has become much more natural and relaxed, with a contemporary feel, while its content has become particularly functional in order to preserve the expression of the character's identity. The role of the language consultant is undoubtedly crucial in this (Stanič 2006: 67):

"When studying a dialect, it is a huge challenge to achieve the appropriate interaction between the speech authenticity and the intelligibility of stage speech /.../ the task of a contemporary language consultant in theatre is to seek and enable the optimal use of multilingualism, while the task of a contemporary actor is to be a polyglot within his/her native language."

It should be emphasised that a language consultant has to participate as an equal member of the team and help the director and dramaturge to select the appropriate language variety and any variety switches which may be necessary due to different speech positions. The following quote perfectly captures the challenges faced by the language consultant (Podbevšek 1997/98: 83):

“Putting a lower social variety into words is a hard nut to crack, as special attention has to be paid to distinct pronunciation. In addition, many actors are not familiar with certain lower varieties, which is why it may take a long time before the actors are able to grasp them. Dialect on stage is a special category. If a particular character only speaks in dialect the whole time, it is almost imperative for the actors’ original speech to be that particular dialect, otherwise dialect speech tends to sound artificial. Moreover, some Slovene dialects (e.g. from the Pannonian dialect group) are definitely less comprehensible to the general public.”

Despite the previously mentioned difficulties of transferring literary Slovene into dialectal theatrical discourse through the use of perhaps only individual dialectal words; there is in fact an impressive number of Slovene plays that have very successfully achieved this feat. There are several key questions that must be addressed with regard to productions in dialect: (1) the use of pure dialects or only (2) their stylisation, (3) the need to include a language consultant (perhaps even from the area where a particular dialect is spoken) or, even better, a dialectologist, (4) the selection of actors – (a) professional actors from a particular dialect area, (b) professional actors that learn the dialect, (c) inclusion of amateur actors.

The analyses in Part 3 offer a wide range of speech images of individual roles in various social varieties.

2.3.3 Slovene radio speech

The focus of our research is on public communication in particular, which – as opposed to private – is under constant social control. We assume that Standard literary Slovene is used in public communication; however, the choice of variety depends on the social situation or communication circumstances. In this way, we are able to demonstrate that Standard literary Slovene is not a prerequisite for public communication; rather, the key factor is the speaker’s so-called language competence, i.e. the ability to choose the most appropriate variety according to the communication circumstances. Intra- and extra linguistic circumstances significantly affect the choice of language variety, regardless of the speaker’s linguistic competence.

Škiljan (1999) therefore stresses the elements of linguistic competence, communicative competence and pragmatic norms, adding that the community

should be aware that language is not homogeneous. This view is supported by Granić (1996: 220), who emphasises the role of communication skills. She points out that just as there are linguistic rules for the formation of sentences which play a part in linguistic competence, there are also pragmatic rules for the selection and use of language resources based on the speech situation or context.

The type of variety chosen by a speaker depends on her/his needs, but if the choice made is inappropriate, so-called ‘noise’ occurs, because the speaker has not displayed adequate communicative competence. The choice of variety is also undoubtedly influenced by extra linguistic reasons. Standard language, or at least as close as possible to it, is desirable in public communication (although rare). As language is a social phenomenon, linguists do not only examine phonology, grammar and meaning, but also how language functions in social situations. Language reveals not only what we are, but also what we want to be, and as such, can either unite or separate us. Research of radio speech, according to Zgrabljić (2002: 46), occupies a special place within the framework of communication science, as it is a form of mass communication in which the media use both specific language and a specific manner of speaking. The choice of linguistic means is strongly influenced by external and internal circumstances and does not depend solely on the speaker’s linguistic competence. The task of the radio is not only to inform, but also to establish communication with its listeners, which means that reporters and presenters are, on the one hand, wary of overly strict linguistic purism and potential audience rejection and, on the other, aware of the need for appropriate language.³⁰ Appropriate language allows them to convey messages in a cultivated voice through which they also express a personal and cultural identity (Zgrabljić 1996: 155–167). In short, similar to those who use language for artistic or literary purposes, radio presenters enrich language’s capacity for development and flexibility, thus contributing to its dynamic and lively nature (Stramljič Breznik 1999).

Radio is as a medium of speech that also involves listeners in their broadcasts. Therefore, from the viewpoint of the linguistic (and communicative) competence of the speaker, the management of different linguistic social varieties of the professional presenters is extremely important. This

³⁰ Also in Tivadar (2008).

involves conscious or unconscious language code switching or changing. Orožen (2003: 221–223) also points out that language interlacing occurs because of the spoken relations between social or dialectically different speakers in all language planes. The culture of speech is of great importance on the radio, because it is ephemeral and because all messages are delivered with a precisely defined communication purpose, which means that the listener creates his/her own interpretation of the information they hear.

Due to the supradialectal nature of urban speech, the emphasis in the analyses of radio speech is placed on the complexity of dialectal influences demonstrated in radio discourse, primarily on the phonological and lexical levels. Such an approach points to the importance and advantages of so-called bidialectalism, in our case mastering of both the local and Standard speech (Trudgill 1990, Kalogjera 1996). While the ability to speak a dialect is an advantage in promoting the local community and region, the ability to use Standard Slovene is preferable for broader communication purposes. Media discourse research is concerned with the influence of colloquial language on the culture of public speech, and the individual analyses in our work reveal the interweaving of Standard and Non-standard Slovene used on the radio.

Research (also Valh Lopert 2013)³¹ confirms that radio language culture depends on the linguistic and communicative competence of the presenters, be they professional or non-professional. The switch between Standard literary Slovene, colloquial varieties and dialect is triggered by either conscious or subconscious code switching on the part of professional or non-professional presenters in order to accommodate the target audience or because of the radio station's purpose and intended audience. Deviations from Standard literary Slovene occur more frequently – as may be expected – on commercial rather than public radio. Radio is no doubt an important factor influencing the language of the environment in which it broadcasts; certain groups of individual listeners are particularly susceptible to its influence because radio is inexpensive, widely accessible and unobtrusive as a background to other activities.

³¹ For more on radio speech in Maribor, see the same author Valh Lopert (2008, 2009, 2011, 2012).

There are two main conclusions that can be drawn from our analyses. The first is that radio plays an important role in preserving dialects and regional identity. Contrary to the views expressed by some linguists and sociologists, there are no signs of dialects dying out, but there are signs of change. And also, studies confirm that it is precisely the media, because of its democratic, open and accesible nature, that is restoring the value of dialects.

Through its influence on the language of the environment, radio is contributing to the gradual altering of language norms.

Speech research on public and commercial radio stations in Maribor (Valh Lopert 2005, 2013) reveals also that on national radio, professional presenters are more highly educated, and additional language training is required; language consultants are employed on a regular basis; both language and professional standards are also higher; Standard literary Slovene acts as a unifying factor for the entire country; more challenging issues are addressed; the audience is more demanding. In contrast, the education of presenters is not regulated on commercial radio stations; Non-standard Slovene (regional or urban language) plays a part in their marketing, usually playing an imaginative, fun and humorous role. Standard literary Slovene – in stark contrast – serves to broaden the listening experience beyond local boundaries.

Standard language in public communication is consciously controlled; the use of meta-language tools often result in forced and unnatural, allocall speech³² i.e. we do not recognise where the speaker comes from. The media, bearing in mind their connecting/unifying role, are somehow “persuaded” to employ the standard language; however, through the linguistic means at their disposal, they also have ample opportunity to attract those listeners who resort to dialectic speech for extra-linguistic reasons (on the one hand, “rebellion”, on the other affiliation, or even prestige). This

³² Zgrabljić & Hršak (2004: 133–145) in their survey of the speech of professional presenters on the national (public) radio emphasise that with the increased influence of the media and their institutionalisation, speech – on the radio and in social communication – reflects a “model of correct and desired speech”. However, they note that with the development of local radio and TV stations, the other two dialect groups are becoming increasingly important – the Kajkavian and the Chakavian (the norm is Štokavian).

question therefore transcends the exploration of traditional dialectology and passes into the wider area of sociolinguistics, as Kenda Jež (2004) has established. Modern dialectology has thus become part of sociolinguistics, as it considers the language in terms of its adaptation to use, or as an expression of the socially determined identity of speakers. Žele (2006) also points out that – over the last two decades – vocabulary and syntax in dialectal local language have been transformed into a non-systemically superficial conversational version.

2.3.4 Slovene music speech

One of the leading Slovene figures in literary theory, Kmecl (1983: 262), defines pop songs as a popular form of lyrical poetry accessible to the masses. Although such lyrical poetry is often very simple in that its straightforward melodies cater for the similarly straightforward needs of a none-too-demanding audience, it may nevertheless reach a considerable level of quality. Kmecl claims that many pop lyricists should be considered true poets; lyrics are unarguably a crucial element of pop music, and some of the lyrics written in Slovene dialects are outstanding.

We turn to the use of Non-standard elements of the Slovene language in Slovene popular music based on the analyses of selected Styrian popular music bands. Slovene dialects have recently enjoyed an improvement in their status, with dialect prose and lyrical poetry in particular becoming increasingly common in various kinds of media and popular culture.

Our focus is on the phonetic, morphological and lexical analyses of written and sung language. The lyrics in pop music, which must be sensitive to musical expression such as rhythm, represent a fairly accurate imitation of spoken dialect, especially on phonological, morphological and lexical levels.

In the last twenty years, Slovene popular music writers have increasingly included dialectal features into their songs. The reasons for this can be seen as: (1) a reaction to the globalisation of society that encourages individuals to look to the local, to use his/her mother tongue, the dialect, with which he/she most easily identifies, (2) recognition of the importance of Slovene in becoming the state language after the declaration of Slovene

independence, (3) the use of dialect as a means of semantical marking in comparison to literary language. It should be noted that in the selected songs the dialect is never fully integrated but is usually included with certain phonetic, morphological and lexical elements. Our research set out to determine the use of Non-standard Slovene language elements in Slovene popular music based on an analysis of the selected popular music bands' lyrics.

PART 3

Case studies

3.1 Film

3.1.1 Rdeče klasje (Red Ears), 1970

3.1.2 Halgato (Halgato), 1994

3.1.3 Traktor, ljubezen in rock'n'roll (Tractor, love and rock'n'roll), 2008

3.1.4 Petelinji zajtrk (Rooster's Breakfast), 2007

3.1.5 Oča (Dad), 2010

3.2 Theatre

3.2.1 Čaj za dve (Tea for Two), 2002

3.2.2 Plemeniti meščan (Le Bourgeois gentilhomme), 2007

3.3 Radio

3.3.1 Maribor commercial radio station Radio City

3.3.2 Radio stations with status of special importance

3.4 Slovene dialects in popular music

3.4.1 Prekmurje and Prlekija dialectal features in Slovene popular music

3.4.2 Styrian dialectal features in Slovene popular music

Chapter 3 presents case studies of selected analyses of speech in five films, two theatre performances, radio speech in broadcasts of four radio stations, and in the lyrics of more than twenty songs.

3.1 Film

Chapter 3.1 poses several key questions with regard to the films produced in Non-standard language varieties. In the analyses, we present selected films from various periods in order to demonstrate the changes in the use of social varieties over time, and thus the link between film characterisation and language identification according to the selected social variety. What follows is a brief presentation of the analysed films.³³

Rdeče klasje (Red Ears), 1970. Our research focused on the shift from the written word to its spoken realisation in the film *Rdeče klasje*, directed by Živojin Pavlović, which is based on themes from Ivan Potrč's novel *Nakmetih (In the Country)*, 1954. The comparative analysis includes lexical items from the Drava Plain dialect used in the novel, which was otherwise written in Standard literary Slovene, and examines the use of dialect to reflect the characters' feeling of local belonging.

Halgato (Halgato), 1994. The film is based upon Feri Lainšček's novel *Namesto koga roža cveti (Instead Of Whom A Flower Now Blooms)*, 1991. The screenplay for the film is the result of the collaboration between Feri Lainšček and the director Andrej Mlakar and is based on the novel in which Lainšček depicts the life of the Roma population in the Prekmurje region. Both the novel and the screenplay were written in Standard Slovene; however the film was produced in the Prekmurje dialect.

Traktor, ljubezen in rock'n'roll (Tractor, love and rock'n'roll), 2008. The director of *Traktor, ljubezen in rock'n'roll*, Branko Djurić, wrote the screenplay for the film with Feri Lainšček and Miroslav Mandić. Both the novel and the screenplay were written in Standard literary Slovene and Lainšček set out to systematically translate the spoken part of the screenplay into the Prekmurje dialect. In this particular case, we limited ourselves to the analyses of the translation of the written dialogues from the screenplay only and did not examine the actors' pronunciation or their spoken implementation of the dialogues.

³³ For more, see Koletnik (2008a), Koletnik & Valh Lopert & Zorko (2009), Valh Lopert & Zemljak Jontes (2013), Koletnik & Valh Lopert (2012, 2016).

Petelinji zajtrk (Rooster's Breakfast), 2007. The analysis focuses on the realisation of the contemporary dialectal speech of north-eastern Slovenia in the film *Petelinji zajtrk*, based on the literary work of the same name by Feri Lainšček (1999), which was written in Standard literary Slovene. The research also touches upon the issue of the translation of the dialect with intralingual/monolingual (in this case, Slovene) subtitling into Standard literary Slovene for those who do not understand the dialect, or (at least in part) for the hard of hearing and the deaf.

Oča (Dad), 2010. The film speech in *Oča*, directed by Vlado Škafar and filmed in the Slovene Prekmurje dialect, is analysed. We are interested in dialogic speech realisation and, in particular, to what degree it matches the non-fictional reality we recognise from our experience and scientific research of the Prekmurje dialect, specifically the degree to which it reflects real-life authentic speech.

3.1.1 Rdeče klasje (Red Ears), 1970³⁴

The aims of the analysis

The writing of the script for the film *Rdeče klasje*, based on the novel *Nakmetih* (1954) (Standard literary and dialectal), was extremely challenging; we are primarily interested in how authentic the film realisation of the dialogues is, and whether or not it captures the local speech of Ptuj and its surroundings, where the film is set. The language definitely expresses the authenticity of the individual characters and the speech of their primary environment.

About the novel

The film *Red Ears* (a drama; 85 minutes) was shot in 1970 and directed by Živojin Pavlović, who also wrote the script. Milorad Jakšić was the director of photography, and the film was shot by the Viba film and Filmska radna zajednica Beograd film studios (Šimenc 1996: 109). The film premiered on December 28th 1970 and featured Rade Šerbedžija in the leading male role

³⁴ This section was co-authored by Alenka Valh Lopert and Melita Zemljak Jontes. The co-author from page 55 to 64 is Melita Zemljak Jontes.

(i.e. Južek Hedl) and Majda Potokar (i.e. Zefa) as the female lead. The film was awarded a Golden Arena for Best Film at the Yugoslav Feature Film Festival in Pulj in 1971. In the same year, Majda Potokar was awarded a Carica Teodora Award for the role of Zefa.

The novel *Na kmetih* (1954) was translated into various languages: only a year after its release (1955) it was translated into Italian, *Terra e donne*, by the translator Mija Kalan; into English in 1969, *The Land and the Flesh*, by the translator Henry Leeming; into Polish, *Białe czereśnie*, by the translator Maria Krukowska (1962); into Croatian, *Na selu*, by the translator Branimir Žganjer (1974); into Macedonian, *Na selo*, by the translator Bistrica Mirkulovska (1975); into Russian, *V derevne*, by the translator A. D. Romanenko (1977); into Chinese, *Chengdu: Sichuan wen yi chu ban she*, by the translator Gou Chengyi yi (2001). Interestingly, the translations, in particular the English version, were produced with the help of the author and his brother, who organised sightseeing around the Haloške gorice area, naming the buildings they encountered and what they contained, as well as the activities in which people of the area were engaged (Gerlanc 1969: 3).

In the language of his writing, Ivan Potrč attempted to reflect the diversity of the landscape as well as the interpersonal relations among those who lived there. The author described the dialectal language as (Čeh 2006: 17):

“/.../ his mother tongue, as he called Styrian Slovene, he defended [it] and [was] able to reply that he had to write in this manner, if he wanted to remain loyal to himself, his opinions, emotions and instinct, in short, if he wanted to write as vividly and authentically about the peasant life, living in a humble hut, as he experienced it and witnessed it in the Ptuj area, Dravsko polje, Haloze and Slovenske gorice. Potrč’s writings on language reveal that in public life he always favoured Standard literary Slovene and that in literature he believed in a regional and dialectal word only when that life revealed human thought, emotion and passion.”

He emphasised the authenticity of the dialect and criticised the so-called forced dialect, a literary novation, as it seemed to be far from his real-life experience (Čeh 2006: 17).

The plot: the novel tells the story of Južek Hedl and his stay in prison. Due to a dispute with his sister Liza and her husband Štrafela, but also with his mother regarding their property, he leaves their farm and is employed on the neighboring farm of the Toplek family. This is where he becomes sexually entangled with the elderly Toplečka, lady of the house, who gives

birth to his child. After this, Hana, the older Toplečka daughter, also becomes involved with him, mainly out of fear that Toplečka will marry Južek after the death of her husband (Hana's father) – and in this way – Južek could become the master. Hana also gets pregnant with Južek. When he realises that he will never really be able to become the master of the house at home or on the neighboring farm, he strangles Toplečka and is sentenced to prison. The character of Tunika makes a brief appearance in the novel, and while Južek falls in love with her, they develop neither a sexual nor romantic relationship. The reader learns at the end of the novel, however, that Tunika loved Južek. Hana is left with two children, with her mother's and with her own, waiting for Južek to be released.

About the film

The director produced a 'translation' of the literary work for the film, thus creating two works of art, and used only some of the themes from Potrč's novel. For example, the main character, Južek Hedl, who is a local in the novel, becomes a former Partisan and post-war young activist, who comes to a remote Styrian village – somewhere on the Drava Plain (Šimenc 1983: 132); in the film we can hear the wounded Hedl say to Zefa “/.../ here on Gomila /.../”, while Toplak also asks him “Do you like it here on Gomi-la?” – to persuade the farmers to join the cooperative, i.e. the Štajerski kolhoz. Hedl is no longer a farmer's son from his home village but comes from Razkrižje, while his father hails from Styria and his mother from Zágorje. He is an activist, (Poniž 1971: 21):

“/.../ the problem of his three-way/triple love is not just his personal problem anymore, but a problem of the authority's fate and errors.”

The reason for Hedl's imprisonment is not the murder of Zefa, as in the novel, but the murder of a village boy. Hedl falls into disfavour with the village community because of his rude attitude towards the villagers and his affairs with the Toplek women, and during a dispute with the village community he pulls out a gun and shoots the boy (Šimenc 1983: 133).

The dialectal group of the dialect spoken in the film

The geographical definition of the area known as Styria had an impact on the delimitation of dialects by Fran Ramovš on his map of Slovene dialects (1931), since this area is classified as “north-east Styrian dialects”, which

consists of the “Goričansko dialect, the Prlekija dialect and Prekmurje dialect”. Current modern dialectology (Logar & Rigler 1993) places the area into the Prlekija dialect of the Pannonian dialectal group. Zorko (1998: 50) explains that on the map of Slovene dialects, Logar and Rigler included the whole of Pannonia and its monophthongal system into the Prlekija dialect. The name of the region and dialect comes from the adverbs of frequency *prvje* ‘before, earlier’ → *prvle* → *prle*. The dialect can be further divided into: the speech of lower Prlekija (east of Ormož–Ljutomer line), the speech of central Prlekija (the area of the rivers Mura, Spodnja Ščavnica, Spodnja Pesnica), the Kujleški speech (the name comes from the adverb *kùj* for now; between the rivers Dravinja and Drava), the speech of upper Prlekija (above Ptuj between the rivers Drava and Pesnica). This region belongs to the speech of upper Prlekija (more about the Prlekija dialect in Zorko (1998, 2009), Koletnik (2007), Rajh (1999, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004a, 2004b, 2005, 2006, 2008, 2010), Rajh & Zemljak Jontes (2005), Škofic (2004), etc.).

The fundamental phonological characteristics of the Prlekija dialect are summarised in Zorko (2009: 241–242). The dialect has lost its tonemic contrasts, with only dynamic or stress accents being retained. Historically, they have also witnessed all the Slovene stress movements, and they, too, adhere to the general Slovene rule of the dependency of vowel quality on the place and quantity of the accent or vowel. Stress placement is usually the same as in the original formation; the second stress movement from the short-stress of the final syllable/ultimate onto *e*, *o*, the semi-vowel, and the new accented vowel as a rule remain typically short. The vowel systems of all speeches in the central part of the Prlekija dialect are monophthongal with long, short and unaccented vowels. In the east of the Prlekija dialect the long *a*, which has been rounded to *o*, can be diphthongised to *ou*, while *u* is not rounded to *ü*. In the western areas, all short vowels have lengthened under the influence of the Styrian dialect; short narrow *e* and narrow *o* are diphthongised into *ie* and *uo*, the latter process being characteristic of all speech at the contact point of the Styrian, the Slovenian Hills (Slovenske gorice) and the Prlekija dialects. In the western areas where the Prlekija dialect is spoken, the rounded *ü* has also been lost. In most speeches of the Prlekija dialect two narrow *e*-sounds occur: the common narrow *é* as a reflex for the long nasal *en*, for long etymological *e* and for the long semi-vowel, while the rather narrow *e* is a reflex for the long jat. The latter element may have emerged from the diphthong *ei* after

monophthongisation, since the diphthong *ei* is a phenomenon typical of yat in the whole south-eastern part of the Slovene dialect region.³⁵ The old long acute has been reduced in the entire Pannonian dialect group and has remained short in the majority of these dialects. Only towards the western and southern regions along the Styrian dialect margin was it possible for the acute to lengthen, this resulting in two new diphthongs, *ie* and *uo*, developed from the short narrow *e* and *o* sounds. Short-stressed vowels can occur also in the middle of a word. In the case of younger speakers, we notice that the quantitative differences are disappearing. The short vowels are beginning to lengthen, and the tonemic difference between the short accented vowel and the following, higher pitched syllable remains the same. Unaccented *i* is lowered in all positions, unaccented *e* is always very broad, while unaccented *a* is only slightly rounded. Vowels are very rarely reduced and only in positions adjacent to sonorants. The consonant system resembles that of the Standard literary Slovene language, with dialectal consonant inflectional variations as follows: *-hč-* > *-č-*; *-nj-* > *-j-*; *-v, vt-* > *-f-*; *-um-* > *-vm-*; *-lj-* > *-l-*; *-šč-* > *-š-*; *-dl-* > *-l-*; *-sc-* > *-hc-*; *-vm-* > *-hm-*; *-ht-* > *-ft-*; *-m* > *-n*; prothetic *v*; *-l-* > *-a, -eja, -ó*.

Linguistic analysis of the film speech

An overview of the reviews of *Rdeče klasje* (Zorman 2009: 175) reveal that:

“/.../ critics welcomed the film speech: they mostly complimented the Croatian accent of Šerbedžija, which was supposed to be deeply rooted in the natural environment of east Slovenia, the Drava Plain; at the same time they were bothered by the unnatural mix of dialect and Standard literary speech, with the latter proving a weak point in the speech of the film – the so-called theatrical speech, which preserves the tradition of beautiful and pure literary language, seems artificial and unnatural in the rural area.”

The analysis of the dialogic section of the enacted text shows that the speech of the film characters is very close to the Standard on morphological and syntactical levels. Elements of dialect and regional spoken language appear in places of stress and vocabulary and vary from character

³⁵ Zorko (2009: 242) observes: “The users of the analysed Markovci speech are not referred to as a Prlekija population, but rather as Styrian natives, in accordance with the former naming of the province of Styria, which reached all the way to the Mura River.” The same observation holds also for the setting both in the case of the novel and the film.

to character. Differences in speech are also apparent in the articulation of vowels in places of stress and quality, and again in the vocabulary. Standard literary Slovene prevails, with a small number of dialectal characteristics, mostly those belonging to the Pannonian dialect group, and Croatian, also featuring. It was not the director's intention to produce an accurate representation of the local speech or that of the area in which the film is set. He also did not set out to produce entirely authentic speech, which would in this case be the Prlekija dialect (this is the dialect of Ptuj and its surroundings which, alongside the Haloze dialect, Slovenske gorice dialect and Prekmurje dialect, forms the Pannonian dialect group); nor did he intend to portray the speech of Gomila, where the film takes place and which is not part of the Styrian dialect group.

The results of the linguistic analysis of the main characters' speech are presented – Južek Hedl, Zefa and the daughters Hana and Tunika – as well as an insight into the other characters' speech.

Južek Hedl. The main character comes from Razkrižje. He is a Styrian (Slovenia) on his father's side and belongs to the Zágorje (Croatia) region on his mother's side. His speech mostly consists of the Standard literary Slovene language; however, it also reflects the origin and identity of his parents as it incorporates elements of the Pannonian dialect region. The impact of Croatian is strong, especially in pronunciation and vocabulary, and is also particularly evident in swear words and emotionally marked words. Dialect characteristics are evident in the pronunciation of the consonant *l* (Standard diphthongal *ɥ*) within the word before a vowel as in *dólgo* 'long' – *že dolgo stoji* (it has been standing for a long time). The phoneme *v* as a final sound is pronounced as in *kríf* 'guilty' – *nisem jaz krif* (it is not my fault). The pronunciation of the vowels *o* and *e* is dialectally narrow for the Standard wide vowels; *dóbro* 'good', *zadósti* 'enough', *iz vóde* 'from water', *kónja* 'horse', *tvója* 'yours', *téta* 'aunt'; a typical accent shift to the left appears: *zápri usta* (close your mouth), *zápri gobec* (close your muzzle), *ni slábo* (it is not bad), *ne sádite rožic* (do not plant flowers). Vowels that are narrow in Standard and dialect Slovene are pronounced wide when impacted by Croatian: *Kaj me tako glêdaš?* (Why are you looking at me like that?), *da bi pêla* (wish to sing), *preklêta* 'damned', *Sem jaz svêtec*. (I am a saint.) ... Croatian pronunciation appears in: syllabic consonants *r* *brž* 'at once'; with the verb *biti* 'to be' in first person singular: *prišlek sam* (I am a newcomer), *s teboj sam* (I am with you), *Štajerac sam* 'Štajerec

sem³⁶ (I am Styrian) and in the third person plural *vojskina leta su za mano* ‘so’ (military times are behind me), *na svidanje* ‘na svidenje’ (goodbye); Croatian vocabulary *Uzmi to prdalo avto džip* ‘vzemi’ (take this farting car jeep), *neću više* ‘ne bom več’ (I don’t want it anymore), *Rad bi govorio s teboj*. ‘govoril’ (I want to talk to you.), *Rad bi ti nekaj poveda*. ‘povedal’ (I would like to tell you something.), *Za mesec dni ja grem v Rusijo*. ‘jaz’ (I am going to Russia for a month.), *mi je obećao* ‘obljubil’ (he promised me); The Croatian influence is also evident in morphology, that is the personal interrogative pronoun *ko* ‘who’ for the Slovene *kdo* ‘who’: *Ko si ti, baraba, a?* (Who are you, scoundrel?), and the interrogative pronoun of place *gdje* ‘where’ for the Slovene *kje* ‘where’: *Gdje ti je mati?* (Where is your mother?).

In morphology, Standard Slovene use predominates, while dialect peculiarities are rare: the use of the interrogative pronoun *kaj* ‘what’ in the relative subordinate clause instead of the relative pronoun *kar* ‘which’: *Kaj je bilo, je bilo*. (It was what it was.). Pannonian dialects preserve the dual: *pa dajva* ‘let us (two) do it’. The eastern-provincial expression *lepa deklina* ‘beautiful girl’ for the Standard Slovene ‘dekle’ also appears.

Hedl’s restless character is substantiated by numerous swear words, e.g. *jebemti*, *sem se zajebal* (fuck, I have fucked up), *mater mu božju* (fuck) his mother of god), *ti mater božju* (fuck) your mother of god), *jebemti mater* (fuck your mother) and lower ones: *gobec* ‘muzzle’ for the Standard Slovene ‘usta’ ‘mouth’.

The choice of actor was successful in this case, as his speech expresses his character’s Slovene and Croatian origins well.

Zefa, daughters Hana and Tunika. In all three of the characters’ speech, we encounter mostly Standard pronunciation, but it is most distinct in Tunika’s speech. In Zefa’s speech, in the consonant cluster *-lj-* only the palatalised part of the cluster is preserved: *strelajo* ← *streljajo* ‘(they are) shooting’, *nedeje* ← *nedelje* ‘Sundays’; the vowels *e* and *o* are pronounced narrowly: *réklo* ‘saying’, *vódo* ‘water’, *po svóje* ‘my way’; we can hear the *o*-pronunciation of the masculine *l*-participle: *ne bo prišo* (he will not

³⁶ Standard Slovene words are also added in quotation marks ‘ ’ to illustrate the difference between Croatian and Slovene words.

come), *da si prišo* (if you came); vocal reduction occurs in the middle of a word: *oskubli* ← *oskubili* 'swindled'; a typical accent shift to the left appears: *kaj zijate* (what are you staring at), *prêveč trde oči imaš* (your eyes are too hard), *preséliti v mlin* (to move into the mill), *je prišla* (she came), *ti bi lahko skóčila* (you could jump). There are also some pejorative words: *Kaj zijate?* (What are you staring at?). However, what stands out are the Standard Slovene formulations and pronunciation which seem, considering the environment, completely alien: *Mar je to za ljudi?* (Is this for the people?), *pozabila* 'she forgot' ... In Hana's speech, we can also hear that in the consonant cluster *-lj-* only the non-palatalised part of the cluster is preserved: *nedele* 'Sundays'; the vowels *e* and *o* are pronounced narrowly: *ôča* 'father', *pópek* 'navel', *snópek* 'little bundle', *móгла* 'had to', *bóžji vólek* 'ladybird'; we can hear the semivowel reduction and transition of the final *-m* into *-n*: *snj* for the first person singular of the verb *biti* 'to be' *sem* 'I am'; Germanisms also appear on the lexical level, e.g. *je scêrala* ((she) completely exhausted).

Tunika's speech is the most standardised, even sounding foreign in the context: *Pomagájte!* (Help!), in the example *tudi ôča so radi* (the grandfather also loved) the wide and long pronunciation of the vowel *o* combined with the intonation is closer to the Carniolan dialect, making it seem artificial.

Other characters, such as the farmers and communist activists, also mostly speak the Standard Slovene variety. The activist Janža speaks Standard literary Slovene, even though we can find traces of some dialect elements, such as accent shifts to the left: *te láhko potegnejo* (they can pull you), *láhko* 'can', narrowness of the vowel pronunciation: *zapómni si* (remember it), vowel reduction in the middle of the word in the position of the initial and final sound: *omenla* ← *omenila* (she mentioned), *bomo meli* ← *imeli* (we will have), *ne gre kar tak* ← *tako* (it doesn't work that way); pronunciation of the participle *-l* as *o*: *boš prišo* (you will come), when it comes to vocabulary, we can find regional, unliterary folk, pejorative, and even informal terms:³⁷ *deklina* 'hussy' (regional eastward for 'dekletje'/'girl'), *ne bo ti gratalo* (you won't succeed) (unliterary folk words 'uspeti'/'succeed'), *prokleta baba* 'damn woman' (pejorative 'ženska' 'woman'), *ti boš krvavo scal* (you will pee blood) (informal low 'opravljati malo potrebo' 'to pee'),

³⁷ Labels: regional eastward; unliterary folk words; pejorative; informal low are as used in the SP 2001.

srati ‘to shit’ (informal low ‘iztrebljati se’ ‘to relieve yourself’), *drek* ‘shit’ (informal low ‘blato, govno, iztrebki’ ‘mud, dung, droppings’), *rit* ‘arse’ (informal low ‘zadnjica’ ‘bottom’). Other activists also speak Standard literary Slovene, such as the activist Lojze *Pogovôri se z Janžo*. (Talk to Janža.), and the agitator Liza, where only the counting is in dialect form: *trideset osem* ‘thirty-eight’, *trideset devet* ‘thirty-nine’ ...; informal expressions such as *si se zasral* (you’ve messed up everything) also appear.

There are other examples of the farmers’ speech which also seem foreign because of its Standard Slovene pronunciation: farmer Sergej: *se je správil náme, da bi me zlômil* (he came after me to break me); farmer Franc: *ker sem hôtel* (because I wanted); farmer Štefica: *vsekákor si ti málo glúh, Janža* (you are definitely somewhat deaf, Janža); farmer Vinko: *da bólje ne bi môglo* (could not be better), *popéval v nebêškem zbôru* (was singing in a heavenly choir). It is rare to hear dialectal speech from a farmer who is ploughing: *nêmre biti dóbro* (can’t be good); the boy, who is carrying a pig and a bag on his shoulders, sounds as if he is reading: *Jòj, stríc Jánža. Dêda sem kómaj okróg prinéssel, niti slíšati ni hôtel o tém* (Oh, uncle Janža, I only just got around granddad. He wouldn’t even hear of it.), etc.

Conclusion

While the speech of the characters differs from the Standard literary Slovene language mostly in placement of the accent and in vocabulary, it also appears to be different from character to character. The speech of the main character, Južek Hedl, features dialectal phonetic characteristics, such as narrowness *dóbro je* (it is good), accent shifts to the left *zápri usta* (close your mouth), *ni slábo* (it isn’t bad), vocabulary *deklina* ‘girl’, *ne zevaj* (don’t open your mouth), which also reveals Croatian pronunciation: syllabic consonant *r*, *Štajerac sam* ← *Štajerec sem* (I am a Styrian), as the young activist from the movie originates from Razkrižje. One of the most emotionally charged scenes, a fight between Zefa and Južek, includes Croatian as the native language of the main character.

The other main characters, Zefa and her daughters Hana and Tunika, express characteristics of the dialect mainly on a phonetic level: the narrowness of vowels: *ôča* ‘father’, *bóži vólek* ‘ladybird’, *do kónca* ‘until the end’, *snópek* ‘little bundle’; accent shifts to the left: *priséliti* (to move to), *meni ni láchko* (I don’t have it easy), *si prišel* ‘you came’, *sósedi* ‘neighbours’,

ako vas ne bi bilo (if you weren't here); reduction of the semi-vowel and change *-m > -n* (*sn*); vocabulary *čula sn* (I heard), even in the word order *pa te ja ni mama do kónca scerala* (your mother didn't completely exhaust you); however, in some places the Standard pronunciation of all the three Toplek women is very present, especially in Tunika's speech.

3.1.2 Halgato (Halgato), 1994

The aims of the analysis

The purpose of this analysis is to shed light on the actors' pronunciation (i.e. the spoken realisation of the dialogues) in the film *Halgato*, based on the novel *Namesto koga roža cveti* by Feri Lainšček.³⁸

About the novel

Feri Lainšček wrote the novel *Namesto koga roža cveti*, which depicts the life of the Roma population in the Prekmurje region, in 1991. His depiction far from idealises or romanticises; instead, Lainšček presents the rough reality of Roma life, but infuses it with a magical openness to the mysteries of the world. The protagonist of the film is the miraculous Romani boy Halgato. The name of the boy is derived from the Hungarian word *hallgat*, which means *to listen* (to gentle, romantic, sad music), and his childhood is marked by the mysterious white violin left by his father Mariška. The socio-social elements of the plot act merely as background. The outside world, wider society and the city all intervene in the lives of the Roma, but to little effect, since the fate of the Roma is carved out elsewhere, in them, in the separation between the sky and the earth, by melancholy and longing. Halgato grows up with his friend Pišti, who, it seems at the beginning at least, has a different destiny, connected to his attendance of the local school. But it turns out that the Roma cannot escape their essence; their marginalisation, their radical individuality, the chaos,

³⁸ Feri Lainšček (born in 1959) is a leading Slovene author. He is also known as a song-writer and has worked with a number of Slovene singers and pop bands. He writes lyrical and epic songs as well as dramas for adults and young people. The majority of his works are written in Standard Slovene. Some, however, were written in dialect and later published in Standard Slovene as well. He is well regarded by contemporary Slovene literary critics who appreciate him as a prolific author of excellent novels.

and the realisation that the outside world cannot be changed inspires their particular raw experiencing of the world, producing a unique sentiment and melancholy, a devoted and peaceful acceptance of their fate (Zor Simoniti 1992: 68).

About the film

The film *Halgato*, directed by Andrej Mlakar and based on the novel *Namesto koga roža cveti* by Feri Lainšček, is the first feature film produced in the Prekmurje dialect. The novel is written in Standard literary Slovene and won the best novel award in 1991, while the screenplay for the film is the result of cooperation between Lainšček and the director Andrej Mlakar. The screenwriter and director faithfully follow the literary material, as *Halgato* does not differ from the novel in plot, ideas, or in the characters or their physical appearance. However, it does differ in the characters' speech. The movie is spoken in dialect with some inter-genre switches which were indicated in the script. While both the novel and the script were written in Standard literary Slovene, which is notably interwoven with Non-standard (spoken language and dialect) words, serving Lainšček's purpose of emphasising the collision of two different worlds: gypsy and non-gypsy, the majority of the latter – the white population – is anything but tolerant towards the Roma community.

Because the setting of the novel is Lainšček's birthplace, Prekmurje, the screenwriter and director chose to portray geographical place, time, and the social belonging of the characters and their character traits through language. They decided on the Prekmurje dialect, which is one of the Non-standard social variants of the Slovene language and creates a feeling of authenticity in the film.

When it was decided that the movie would feature the Prekmurje dialect, Feri Lainšček and the language consultant Branko Šömen, also a native speaker of the Prekmurje dialect, systematically translated the dialect section of the script during shooting³⁹ into it. The actors learned the dialogues for the shots as they went along, which was not too challenging, as most

³⁹ The term translation, which was introduced into the Slovene by Matičetov (1973: 23), defines transfer of text from one language system into another on every linguistic level.

of them come from the linguistic environment in which the film was set. Also, the director decided to cast not only professional actors but also opted non-professional actors who were proficient in the dialect.

Because the dialogues in the Prekmurje dialect were not written in the script, it is impossible to analyse the translation of the dialogues from Standard Slovene into dialect; however, we can analyse the speech in the film.

The dialectal group of the dialect spoken in the film

The story features two Roma children as central figures: Pišti, who decides on an education, and Halgato, who earns money by playing the violin, but who are both destined to fail, since their social status means that they will never be accepted into mainstream society. The action unfolds in Lacki roma, a Roma shack district in the Prekmurje area. Lainšček's native Prekmurje is an agricultural landscape in the extreme north-eastern part of Slovenia, bordering on Austria and Hungary and situated on the left bank of the River Mura. The speech of this region is, dialectologically speaking, classified into the Pannonian dialect group, the latter consisting also of the Slovenske gorice, Prlekija and Haloze dialects.

The Prekmurje dialect is not a uniform one, as it is divided into three sub-dialects: the northern (Goričko) dialect, the central (Ravensko) and the southern (Dolinsko) one. They differ in the more recent Prekmurje developments, specifically: (a) different expressions for long and short *a*, (b) in the development of the final *-l* into *-o* or *-u*, and (c) in the pronunciation of the sonorant *j*, which is in the southern areas and in part of the eastern central sub-dialect pronounced as *j*, while the older phonological and morphological developments were fairly uniform. The Prekmurje dialect does not know pitch or tonemic opposition, the accent is a dynamic or stress one, and the quantative contrasts have been preserved. Long and short accented syllables are possible in all syllables of polysyllabic words. The long broad Proto-Slavic vowel *yat* was reduced and diphthongised into *eĭ*, with a simultaneous narrowing of the Proto-Slavic long *o* diphthongising into *ou*. A specific feature of the Prekmurje dialect is also the front rounded vowels *ü* for *u* and *ö* for *e*, and *u* in the positions next to sonorants *v* and *r*, and the pronunciation of the sonorant *j* as *dj*, *tj*, *kj*, *dž*, or *g*, depending on the adjacent sounds.

Linguistic analysis of the film speech

Most of the dialogues in the film that we have phonetically transcribed include the six main characters – four male characters and two female characters: Mariška, Halgato, Bumbaš, Pišti, Tereza and Iza. Of the six actors who starred in the film: (a) three of them are non-professional actors, two of them are Roma, but they come from the Prekmurje linguistic environment, and (b) three of them are theatre actors from central Slovenia, educated in formal speech; two of them learned the Prekmurje dialect, and one of the actresses in the film speaks Standard Slovene. The cast was relatively large, since there were fifty supporting roles besides the six main roles, but relatively unified regarding speech, since most of the actors came from the Prekmurje region. The linguistic analysis of the dialogues shows that the speech plan of the film was well executed – so good in fact that the film required subtitles in the Standard Slovene language because those who did not speak the Prekmurje dialect were unable to understand it.

All of the characters featured in the film consistently use the Prekmurje dialect on all linguistic levels. Only two persons (one in the main and the other in a supporting role) speak the Standard Slovene language as indicated in the screenplay. The acoustic realisation of sounds, sequences of sounds, words, phrases, etc. is most authentic from the actors that were born in Prekmurje.

The latter preserve (1) all the Prekmurje vowel sounds:⁴⁰ the dialectal diphthongs *ej* for the Proto-Slavic long *yat* (*p're:ik* 'over') and *o:u* for the Proto-Slavic circumflexed *o* (*'to:u* 'this') and nasal *o* (*'go:uβec* 'snout'; pejoratively also 'mouth'); dialectal *ü* for the Proto-Slavic old-acute *u* (*'tüdĭ* 'also'), dialectal *ö* for *e* and *u* in the positions next to the sonorants *v* and *r*: *'vöter* 'wind', *'vöra* 'clock' and *u* developed from vocalic *ĭ*: *'žu:tiĭ* 'yellow'. Proto-Slavic always long *i* and *u* have undergone diphthongisation in the dialect, similar to the also long narrow *e*, which developed from the Proto-Slavic constant long *e*, nasal *ĕ* and semivowel (schwa), and are thus also pronounced as diphthongs: *'vi:ĩdin* '(I) see', *b'rü:ĩsin* '(I) sharpen'; *'še:ĩst* 'six', *g'lę:ĩdan* '(I) look, watch', *'vę:ĩs* 'village'. The Proto-Slavic long *a* remains open in the dialect, while the old-acute *a* becomes labialised and is also pronounced by the actors in such a manner; and (2) the Prekmurje

⁴⁰ The Slovene phonetic transcription is used to denote dialectal examples.

stress placement with all its stress removals and short vowels, which in the Prekmurje dialect can occur in any syllable of words with well-preserved suffix accentuation in the present tense verbal conjugation of the stress type: *ne'se:ɪ* '(he) carries', *be're:ɪ* '(he) reads'.⁴¹

Actors who are not originally from Prekmurje and who had to learn how to speak dialect deviate occasionally from the dialectal linguistic system. These deviations are manifested on the level of phonology in (a) intonation – a different speech melody, which is not quite the same as the authentic Prekmurje one, and is the most distinct of all these features; (b) stress placement – which is at times influenced by Standard Slovene; actors stress: *zató* 'therefore', *poznála* '(she) knew', *sigdár* 'always', instead of the dialectal *záto*, *póznala*, *sigdar*; (c) quantity of vowels – where the Prekmurje short vowels in non-final and final word syllables are often prolonged; the actors also lengthen vowels accented after the new stress removal, and which are also pronounced as short, e.g. *z'da:j* 'now', *'do:bro* 'good', *'mo:ški* 'man', *'sa:mo* 'only', instead of the dialectal *'zâj*, *'dôbro*, *'môški*, *'sâmo*; (d) quality of vowels, where the very pronounced dialectal roundness of the short *a* is often omitted, e.g. *'baba* 'woman', *'ka* 'that', *g'da* 'when', instead of the dialectal *'bâba*, *'kâ g'dâ*. Occasionally, the colouring of the *o* sound also differs from the dialect: the dialectal narrow *o*, e.g. *'dôbro* 'good', is replaced with long broad *o* – *'do:bro*, as is the case in the Standard variety. It seldom happens that in the entire Pannonian dialect group the normally rounded *ü* would be pronounced as unrounded *u*, as is the case in Standard Slovene, e.g. *d'ru:gi* 'others, second', instead of the dialectal *d'rü:igi*. The actors sometimes pronounce the rounded *ü* also as *i*:⁴² *'viva* 'you two (masculine)', *'vivi* 'you two (feminine)', *gos'tivanje* 'wedding feast' instead of *ü* which is the way it occurs in the dialect: *'vüva*, *'vüvi*, *gos'tüvanje*. Occasionally the actors pronounce Standard monophthongs, e.g. *'tɔ:* 'this', *po've:dala* '(she) told', *'re:san* 'true', instead of the dialect diphthongs: *'to:u*, *po've:ɪdala*, *'re:ɪsan*. The actors' pronunciation also seldom preserves the proclitical *u*, e.g. *lud'jɛ:* 'people', which is in the dialect regularly replaced by *i* – *lid'jɛ:*.

⁴¹ Preservation of long thematic vowel *-e* in the present tense points towards connections with the West Slavic languages, particularly Slovak (Zorko 2009: 272).

⁴² The phoneme *ü*, which Standard Slovene lacks, is according to the rules of Standard Slovene in the literary variety pronounced with the sound closest to it, i.e. *i*.

The consonants are pronounced by all the actors as they are in the dialect. The only difficulties for those trained in the Prekmurje dialect are: (a) the consonant *x*, which is unpronounced in the dialect or replaced by the sonorant *j*, while the actors pronounce it in the Standard variety, i.e. as *x*: *'xe:rbala* '(she) inherited', *k'rūx* 'bread', *'kūxo* '(he) cooked', instead of *'erbala*, *k'rū(j)*, *'kūjo*, which is the case in the dialect; (b) the singular masculine descriptive participle is seldom pronounced with the Standard final *-u* – *š'la:tau* 'feel up, touch', instead of the dialectal *-o* – *š'la:to*. In the case of all of the actors, we can observe dialectal suffixes and endings for grammatical gender. Occasional deviations can be observed in the masculine singular dative case, which is sometimes pronounced with the Standard *-u* ending, e.g. *v 'mestu* 'in the city', instead of dialectal *-i*: *v 'mestj*; also the dative masculine clitic of the personal pronoun *on* 'he', which is pronounced by the actors as *mu* and not as *njemi* which is more characteristic of the dialect: *Mu p'la:čamo?* (Do we pay him?), dialectal *N'jemj p'la:čamo?*

The most original display of dialect can be observed in all the actors with respect to the formation of sentences with numerous non-finite verbal constructions, exclamations, interjections, (also swear words), and authentic dialectal adverbs, e.g. *ednok* 'once upon a time', *kama* 'where', *nači* 'differently', *nindri* 'somewhere', *nikan* 'nowhere', *prle* 'before', *sigdar* 'always', *vači* 'otherwise', *včasi* 'immediately', and particles, e.g. *bar* 'at least', *ešče/šče* 'still', *ranč* 'just', *vej* 'since, as', all types of repetition, and a rich Pannonian Slovene lexis, e.g. *broditi* 'think', *deca* 'children', *dvor* 'courtyard', *gostüvanje* 'wedding feast', *gučati* 'speak, talk', *istina* 'truth', *iža/kuča* 'house', *prckati* 'have sexual intercourse', *škrabati* 'scratch', *viditi* '(to) please, (to) appeal', *znati* 'know', *žitek* 'life', *žmiriti* 'to have eyes shut'.

Germanisms also occur alongside individual Slovene literary expressions, some of them adopted in the Prekmurje dialect during the Old and Middle High German period:⁴³ *gvüşno* 'certainly, undoubtedly' < MHG. *gewiss*, *xerbat* 'inherit' < MHG. *erben*, *muzika* 'music' < G. *Musik*, *penezi* 'money' < OHG. *pfenni(n)g*, *špilati* 'play' < G. *spielen*, *žlajfar* 'whetter' < G. *Schleifer*, and Hungarianisms: *bači* 'any older man' < Hun. *bácsi*, *čarda* 'tavern, inn' < Hun. *csárda*, *čunta* 'bone' < Hun. *csont*, *fačuk* 'illegitimate

⁴³ Abbreviations: G. – German, Hun. – Hungarian, MHG. – Middle High German, OHG. – Old High German.

child, bastard' < Hun. *fattyú*, *muzikaš* 'musician' < Hun. *muzsikás*, *somar* 'donkey' < Hun. *szamár*, *varas* 'town' < Hun. *város*.

The Standard variety (type) of speech was assigned to one main character in the film, the librarian Iza, and one supporting role, the social worker.

In the film, Iza appears in seven sequences: three times with Pišti and twice with Halgato; once she appears with Pišti and her co-workers and once with two policemen. In all cases, with the exception of the last one, the dialogue with the policemen, the speech situation is an informal one (conversation on the road, among close acquaintances and in a social situation with her co-workers in the town pub) in the urban environment of the city of Ljubljana, where the roles of speaker and listener constantly shift. Since the Standard variety of language is not a status type in Slovene, but rather a speech-act one, we would expect that the above-mentioned situations would be characterised by a Non-standard regional (Ljubljana associated) language of communication.

As Pišti comes from a rural rather than an urban environment and because he is not equal to Iza in terms of speech type (dialect), they communicate in the Standard formal variety, which was not acquired as a mother tongue, but learned through formal schooling. We can thus observe subtle slidings into the Standard colloquial variety of Slovene. Accordingly, the unaccented participial ending *-el* is occasionally pronounced as *-u* and not as *-eu*, as is the case with the Standard variety, e.g. *'xo:tu* '(he) wanted', *'re:ku* '(he) said'. In some places, the lexis may also appear literary colloquial, e.g. *ja* 'yes', as opposed to the Standard *da*. At the lexical level, Iza twice, and Pišti once, uses slang-like expressions such as *foter* 'father', *živijo* 'Hi' and *težiti* 'nag, give someone a hard time', with which they achieve a heightened naturalness, directness and spontaneity.

Standard Slovene was chosen also for the role of social worker. In the film she appears in only one sequence, in her own working environment while visiting the Roma community. As this is a case of the verbalisation of a particularly formal reality which the social worker deals with in her professional life, the choice of the Standard variety is completely justified.

Deviations from the basic language variety in the film can be observed only in the case of one character, that of Pišti. In five sequences (dialogue

with Iza and her co-workers), Pišti moves from one basic social variety of the Slovene language to another, from the dialect used in rural environments into the Standard variety used in urban neighbourhoods. Such switching between varieties is a normal phenomenon also in the real world, which is why his switches between varieties appear justified and realistic.

Conclusion

The analysis of the film speech in Halgato shows that the language in the film is such that “the spectacle is an illusion for the viewer, as though it were not a playful and film world, but one in which the viewer really lives” (Gjurin 1983: 316). The speech therefore very closely emulates similar real-life circumstances and is one of the reasons that the film is truly exceptional.

3.1.3 Traktor, ljubezen in rock’n’roll (Tractor, love and rock’n’roll), 2008

The aims of the analysis

The purpose of this analysis is to shed light on the translation of the dialogues (i.e. the text of the dialogues) in the film *Traktor, ljubezen in rock’n’roll* from Standard literary Slovene into dialect.

About the novel

The film *Traktor, ljubezen in rock’n’roll* by the director Branko Djurić is based on the novel *Vankoštanc*⁴⁴ by Feri Lainšček. Thematically, the film touches on the honest longing for acceptance and love, which is also the driving force of the film’s plot. The action unfolds in the 1960s, in the north-east of Slovenia, somewhere in Prekmurje, when rock’n’roll was emerging and The Rolling Stones were changing the world with their music. Breza, a country guy from a remote village in Prekmurje, wants to perform at public events with his electric guitar, but the traditional gypsy band, which performs popular ethnic music, stands in his way. He does, however, manage to win the heart of the local beauty, Silvija, the daughter

⁴⁴ Vankoštanc is the traditional wedding dance with pillows in the Prekmurje region.

of a wealthy man from Prekmurje, who is temporarily working in Switzerland and has sent his daughter back home to find an affluent husband. The story's main protagonist is Düplin, the village eccentric, who is perceived as having special needs by his fellow villagers. The feast depicted in the film, at which people dance the traditional Prekmurje pillow wedding dance, or *vankoštanc*, sets in motion a series of powerful events. Düplin's loneliness is expressed very clearly and causes an existential crisis, while the fatal power of Silvija, who is seen as a fantasy figure by Düplin, eventually turns into an obsession, triggering a further chain of events. The story about how rock'n'roll came to a Prekmurje village is both funny and tragic, and also works on a metaphorical level (<https://www.kolosej.si/filmi/film/traktor-ljubezen-in-rocknroll>, accessed September 15th 2018).

About the film

The film *Traktor, ljubezen in rock'n'roll* was premiered in 2008 at the Festival of Slovene film. Due to legal and financial obstacles, however, it was not shown in Slovene cinemas until the end of 2011. In the intervening years, it was played at a small number of film festivals around the world, where it won several awards.

The screenplay for the film was written by the film's director alongside Feri Lainšček and Miroslav Mandić. Both the novel and the screenplay were written in Standard literary Slovene and Lainšček, who is a native speaker of the Prekmurje dialect, set out to systematically translate the screenplay's dialogues into it. The analysis is limited to the translation of the written dialogues from the screenplay; it does not examine the actors' pronunciation or their spoken implementation of the dialogues.

The dialectal group of the dialect spoken in the film

The story of the film takes place in an unnamed village in Prekmurje, the agricultural area in the extreme north-west of Slovenia, at the border with Austria and Hungary on the left riverbank of the Mura River, after which it was named. The basic characteristics of the Prekmurje dialect in *Traktor, ljubezen in rock'n'roll* have already been presented in the language analysis of Halgato, as the speech realisation in both films refers to the same dialectal group.

Linguistic analysis

As a rule, texts translated into the Prekmurje dialect have no diacritic marks for stress, which is why only native indigenous dialect speakers can read all of its prosodic features correctly. The vowels are not marked for stress, quality or quantity except for eight lexemes, where there are diacritic marks for long and narrow vowels (*brez tebéj* ‘without you’, *brez vodé* ‘without water’) and for short and open *e* (*něščén* ‘I don’t want’, *srěčen* ‘happy’).

Phonology

The text is written with the Goričko sub-dialect vowel system.⁴⁵ In it, we encounter two dialectal diphthongs: *ej* and *ou* as well as the dialectal *ü* and *u*, which developed from the syllabic *l*, e.g. *lejpa* ‘beautiful’, *svejt* ‘world’, *zvezda* ‘star’; *boug* ‘God’, *nouč* ‘night’, *šoula* ‘school’; *Düplin*; *duk* ‘debt’, *gučo* ‘(he) spoke’, *sunce* ‘sun’. The diphthongised *i* and *u* are written as *ij* and *üj*, e.g. *mij* ‘we’, *očij* ‘eyes’, *trij* ‘three’; *drüjgi* ‘other, another’, *küjpin* ‘(I) buy’, *trüjden* ‘tired’. The labialised *a* is not specially marked; in some cases, it is written as *ä* or even as *o*, which is indicative of typically rounded articulation: *kräva* ‘cow’, *män* ‘(I) have’, *zdäj* ‘now’; *zakoj* ‘why’. Compare also: *-ir-* → *-er-*: *komandejrala* ‘(she) commanded’, *odpejramo* ‘(we) open’, *požejra* ‘(he) swallows’. In the text, the final *-i*, which is pronounced in the dialect as less tense and slightly lower than the accented *i*, is transcribed in some places with *-e*: *prave* (človik) ‘real (man)’, *v Švice* ‘in Switzerland’. Cases of vocalic reduction are also recorded: *käk* ‘how’, *pravla* ‘(she) said’, *täk* ‘so’. The written forms of voiced consonants mirror their pronunciation: the sonorant *j* is written also as *g*: *ge/ges* ‘I’, *h* is reduced: *iža* ‘house, room’ or it is transcribed as *j* at the end of the word between two vowels: *na kolenaj* ‘on the knees’, *praj* ‘dust’, *straj* ‘fear’, *tija* ‘(she is) quiet’; final *-l* develops into *o* or *u*: *delo* ‘(he) worked’, *povedo* ‘(he) told’, *dau* ‘(he) gave’, *spiu* ‘(he) drank’, *lj* hardens and is transcribed as *l*: *lübica* ‘lover’, *pelo* ‘(he) drove’, *pozdravla* (nas) ‘(she) welcomes (us)’, while *nj* remains preserved: *njiva* ‘field’, *svinja*

⁴⁵ In the screenplay the Prekmurje dialectal sounds are written with a simple system of symbols which are manageable for the transcriber and at the same time not disturbing for the reader.

‘pig’. *M* at the end of a word is consistently written with *-n*, the same as it is pronounced: *man* ‘(I) have’, *prosin* ‘(I) ask’. The exception is *-v*, which in word-final positions or before voiceless consonants remains unstable and is written either as *v* or *f*, e.g. *včasí* ‘immediately’, *vse* ‘everything’, *v štali* ‘in the barn’, *fse* ‘everything’, *fsi* ‘everyone’, *naščo* ‘(he) learned’, *s tebof* ‘with you’. Initial *v* is sometimes reduced in positions preceding *s* and *z*: *sij* ‘everyone’, *zeme* ‘(he) takes’, and occurs also in the form of prothesis: *vüja* ‘ear’, *vüpanje* ‘hope’. The following dialectal shifts in the consonant clusters were also recorded: *dn* > *gn*: *gnes* ‘today’; *kt* > *št*: *šteri*, *što* ‘who’; *xt* > *šč*: *ščeti* ‘want, wish’.

Morphology

All the form-changing or morphological patterns for declensions, conjugations and gradings are written in present day dialect form, with the exception of the dialectal feminine gender singular instrumental suffix *-ouf* (< *-ov*), which is occasionally written as *-ou*. All three genders are preserved, and the dual is firmly embedded into the language system. The diphthongs in the text reveal where the words are stressed with the mixed stress type (*na glavou* ‘on the head’, *v vodou* ‘into the water’). The declension of adjectives is in most cases hard with the ending *-oga*, e.g. *čüjdnoga* ‘strange’, *divjoga* ‘wild’, *toga* ‘this’. Features of the text include the conjugation of the verb preserved dual suffix for grammatical person *-va*, the reduced future tense form of the verb *be* (*mo* ‘I will’, *de* ‘he/she will’, *va* ‘we will’, *te* ‘you will’, *do* ‘they will’), and the old infinitival suffix developed from *-nq-*, for the present-day standard *-ni-*: *crknola* ‘she croaked’. The text is rich in dialectal adverbs and particles, which Lainšček used to replace the literary style in his translation: *dovolj* ‘enough’ > *zadosti*, *drugače* ‘or else’ > *nači*, *enkrat* ‘once’ > *enouk*, *kam* ‘where’ > *kama*, *nekje* ‘somewhere’ > *nindre*, *nič* ‘nothing’ > *nika*, *nikoli* ‘never’ > *nikdar*, *res* ‘really’ > *rejsan*, *spet* ‘again’ > *pa*; *saj* ‘well’ > *vej*, *še* ‘still’ > *šče*, *vsaj* ‘at least’ > *bar*.

Syntax

All inflection, conjugation and comparison patterns follow the rules of current dialectal use. Simple one-clause sentences in the Prekmurje dialect typically have the same structure as those in the Standard literary Slovene with theme, transition and rheme. Some word-order particularities can be

observed, although they do not change meaning:⁴⁶ (1) the positions of the starting point and core are changed, as well as that of the transition: *Dajte mi še en dan.* (Give me another day.) > *Še en den mi dajte.* – *Odpiramo ob sedmih.* (We open at seven.) > *Ob sedmi odpejramo.* – *Kaj bomo jedli pozimi?* (What shall we eat in the winter?) > *Ka mo pa v zimi jeli?* – *Pri nas vsi orjejo s plugom.* (Here everybody ploughs fields with a plough.) > *Prinas fsi s plügon orjejo.* (2) the adversative particle *pa* follows the present-tense form of the non-lexical verb *be*: *Kaj pa je tebi?* (What is the matter with you?) > *Ka je pa tebi?* – *Komu pa so namenjene?* (Who are they heading off to see?) > *Komi so pa namenjene?* (3) there is a change in the order of clitics in the clitic chain so that the (a) verbal clitic with the root form *bo* precedes the non-reflexive pronominal dative form: *Jaz jima bom kupil traktor!* (I'll buy them both a tractor!) > *Jes bon njima traktor küjpo!* (b) the modal particle *naj* follows the conditional auxiliary *biti*: *Trideset konjev naj bi bilo moči v njem, praviš?* (You're saying that it has thirty horsepower?) > *Tresti konjof bi naj meu, praviš?*

In addition to some word order idiosyncrasies that have no impact on the meaning, the following characteristics were found in the translation: (1) Changes (extension or narrowing) of Standard Slovene syntactic patterns:⁴⁷ *Nimam gotovine.* (I have no cash.) > *Znaš, ka neman gotovine.* (You know that I have no cash.) – *Ne vidiš, da imam rjave lase.* (Don't you see that I am a brunette?) > *Rjave lasej man.* (I am a brunette.) – *Greva, vankoštanc bo.* (Let's go, there will be 'vankoštanc'.) > *Odi, vankoštanc do plejsali.* (Come on, they will dance the 'vankoštanc'.) – (2) The use of personal and demonstrative pronouns in places where Standard Slovene, owing to stylistic markedness, uses the zero pronoun: *Tu si doma?* (So this is where you live?) > *Tü si tij doma?* – (3) Addition of cohesive particles and/or adverbs in places where they are redundant in Standard literary Slovene: *Saj veš, zakaj.* (You know why.) > *Vej pa znaš, zakoj.* – *Kdo sploh ve?* (Who would know?) > *Što pa sploj zna?* – *Potem ne prihajaj več.* (Then don't come back any more) > *Sämo te se ne odi več.* – *Povej od začetka.* (Tell me everything from the beginning) > *Povej zdäj od začejtka.* – (4) Addition of adjectival modifiers (a) to the left of the headword: *Daj mi kozarec vode.* (Give me a glass of water.) > *Daj mi eno kupico vode.* (b)

⁴⁶ The principles and rules for word order and clauses for Standard Literary Slovene are defined in *Slovenska slovnica* (The Slovene Grammar) by Jože Toporišič (2000: 667–687).

⁴⁷ The Standard Literary Slovene is to the left of the arrow.

to the right of the headword, placing greater emphasis on the headword and achieving a higher degree of emotional markedness: *na svetu* (in this world) > *na svejti božjon* (in this world of ours) – (5) Replacement of interrogative particles with interrogative pronouns: *Ali vaju spoznam?* (Do I know you two?) > *Ka vaji spoznan?* – *Ali ti je kdo kaj napravil* (Has anybody hurt you?) > *Ka ti je što kaj napravo?* – (6) Replacement of the right non-prepositional nominal modifier in the genitive case with a prepositional one: *Kje pa so čebulice gladiol?* (And where are the gladioli bulbs?) > *Ge pa maš ljukece od gladiol?* – (7) Replacement of non-finite verbal forms with finite ones: *Videti je, /.../* (It seems that /.../) > *Vijdin, /.../* (I see that /.../) – (8) Replacement of derivational lexemes with non-derivational ones: *prestopiti* (to overstep) > *stopiti prejk*; *pohiteti* (to hurry) > *priti pred časom* – (9) Omission of particles and pronouns that seem to be redundant in the dialectal context: *Ali me slišiš?* (Can you hear me?) > *Me čuješ?* – *Ti si zmešana.* (You are crazy.) > *Zmejšana si.* – *Morda pa že kar danes.* (Perhaps already today) > *Mogouče pa že gnes.* – *Saj Cvetka sploh ni breja.* (Cvetka isn't even gestating) > *Vej pa cvetka nej je breja.* – (10) Consistent use of the so-called Pannonian negation – when emphasised, the particle *nej* 'not' is used together with the verb *biti* 'to be': *nejsan* 'I'm not', whereas when serving an unstressed function it is shifted to the second slot: *san nej* 'I'm not': *To ni Švica.* (This is not Switzerland.) > *Tou je nej Švica.* – *Midva z Düplinom nisva takšna.* (Düplin and I are not like that.) > *Miva z Düplinom sva nej takša.* – *Nikoli mi ni ničesar dal.* (He never gave me anything) > *Nikdar mi je nej nika dau.* The negated present tense form of the verb *imeti* 'to have' takes the form of *neman*: *Ampak ata nima rdečih dlak.* (But Dad does not have red hair.) > *Sämo ka oča nema rdejče dlake.*

Lexical level

On the lexical level also, Lainšček's translation attempts to come close to the dialect. In lexical terms, dialectal Pannonian Slovene vocabulary prevails: *dete* 'child', *füčkati* 'whistle', *gostiivanje* 'wedding feast', *enja-ti* 'to stop', *gučati* 'to speak, to talk', *gut* 'throat', *istina* 'truth', *kupica* 'drinking glass', *obečati* 'to promise', *ograček* 'garden', *oudati* 'sell', *penezi* 'money', *pitati* 'ask', *posvejt* 'light', *viditi* 'to appeal', *zvati* 'to call'. There are, however, occasional Germanisms and Hungarianisms,⁴⁸ e.g. *gas* 'gas' <

⁴⁸ Abbreviations: G. – German, Hun. – Hungarian.

G. *Gas*, *špilati* ‘to play’ < G. *spielen*, *štanga* ‘pole’ < G. *Stange*; *pajdaš* ‘friend’ < Hun. *pajtás*, and occasionally there are some terms which were not translated into the dialect, e.g. *beseda* ‘word’, *luč* ‘light’, *miza* ‘table’, *tema* ‘darkness’.

Idioms or fixed phrases, which are (in most cases) simply transferred from Standard Slovene to the dialectal variety of language, or are translated with a dialectal single word equivalent, are transcribed in the Prekmurje sound form: *Samo z levo noge je vstala.* (I got out of bed on the wrog side.) > *Sāmo na lejvo nogou je gor stanola.* – *Bila je ljubezen na prvi pogled.* (It was love at first sight.) > *Bijla je tou lūbezen na prvi poglejd.* – *Na eno uho noter, na drugo ven.* (In one ear and out the other.) > *Na eno vüjo notre, na drüjgo pa vö.* – *Samo preko mojega trupla.* (Only over my dead body.) > *Sāmo prejko mojoga trupa!* – *Nor sem nate.* (I’m crazy about you.) > *Nouri san na tebe.*

Conclusion

We can conclude that Feri Lainšček, who not only completely masters the linguistic system of his own dialect, but also uses it both in spoken and written discourse, does not adhere strictly to the original text when translating it. He does not translate word-for-word, instead taking into account that the differences between the dialect and Standard literary Slovene are not limited to phonology and morphology but are instead manifested on all linguistic levels. The comparison of the Standard literary Slovene and dialectal versions of the text point to some of the original expressive possibilities of the dialect; compared to the Standard literary Slovene version, the text in dialect has a much greater expressive power.

3.1.4 Petelinji zajtrk (Rooster’s Breakfast), 2007

The aims of the analysis

While the audience certainly gain a fundamental understanding of the plot of the film from the translation of the dialect into Standard literary Slovene subtitles, in a sense they are also deprived by it; the loss of dialectal, stylistically marked and idiolectal terms is felt particularly, as they carry a significant additional informative load. The discussion of the film *Petelinji*

zajtrk and its written form examines the placement of the dialect in the dialectal group and highlights the problems of intralingual/monolingual subtitling; it provides an analysis of the realised dialectal speech in the film and its comparison to the subtitles.

About the novel

The film *Petelinji zajtrk* is director Marko Naberšnik's first feature film. The film was based on the literary work of the same name, Feri Lainšček's novel *Petelinji zajtrk* (1999),⁴⁹ written in Standard literary Slovene and dealing with the theme of redemptive love.

Petelinji zajtrk is a romance about ordinary people who are smouldering with burning passion and dreaming about a world of good. The director himself wrote the screenplay, which was published in print version in 2008.⁵⁰ The film version is relatively faithful to the literary original; the plot and the ideas it expresses as well as the characters and their external appearance do not differ significantly from the novel, but it does differ in terms of speech: the film is spoken in dialect, while both the novel and screenplay are written in Standard literary Slovene.

About the film

Some of the differences between the novel and the film should be mentioned: the narrator in the novel appears in the first person (DJ, in the film Djuro), whom we get to know through his own actions and behaviour and his descriptions of the other characters. The story of the love triangle (Bronja, DJ/Djuro, Lepec) is narrated from the first-person perspective in the novel and is therefore subjective. In the film Djuro is not the narrator and the events are no longer interpreted through his eyes but become seemingly objective (Janc 2008). As well as the three different editions of *Petelinji zajtrk*, published in 1999, 2006 and in electronic form in 2007,⁵¹ there is also a radio play, a film and a script in book form, which has become increasingly common in Slovenia.

⁴⁹ The novel was reprinted in 2006. See also Zupan Sosič (2008) on the novel and film.

⁵⁰ This is one of the last working versions, which differs slightly to the film version.

⁵¹ Accessed in January 2011: <http://www.vecer.com/Ruslica>.

A short summary of the film: Djuro works as an apprentice at master Gajaš's, who is an elderly garage owner. The tranquil life of the young apprentice is disturbed by the arrival of a beautiful brunette, Bronja, who is married to Lepec, the local hardman and pimp. Bronja and Djuro start a risky love affair, which does not go unnoticed. Meanwhile, Gajaš also has his own romantic fantasies, dreaming about Severina, a well-known pop singer, who is on tour and coming to town. When an opportunity arises for him to meet her, Gajaš is beside himself with excitement.

Petelinji zajtrk is a love story. It is set in a small town, practically a village, and while the protagonists live quiet and uneventful lives, they all have their own hidden passions, which ultimately trigger a series of dramatic events (<https://arsmedia.si/celovecerni-filmi/petelinji-zajtrk>, accessed September 15th 2018).

The dialectal group of the dialect spoken in the film

In this section, social varieties of the Slovene language, with special focus on Non-standard regional colloquial and dialects, will be considered. The film *Petelinji zajtrk* takes place in a relatively small town in north-eastern Slovenia, Gornja Radgona, where the Slovenske gorice dialect is spoken. This dialect, alongside those of Prekmurje, Prlekija and Haloze, belongs to the Pannonian dialectal group. More about Slovenske gorice dialect is available in Koletnik (2001b).

Linguistic analysis – Translation of dialect (spoken language) into Standard Slovene (written form)

Since the range of the so-called varieties of Slovene is extremely rich – social, functional, transmissive, temporal/historical and quantitative – the director's decision to define geographical environment, time, and the social status of the characters as well as their personalities through language, in this case dialect, is entirely appropriate. Especially when compared to the Standard literary Slovene in the film, the dialect infuses the script with a necessary sense of identity and authenticity.

However, the following points have to be made: (1) The director's choice of language is incorrect.⁵² In the small border town of Gornja Radgona where the film was set, the Slovenske gorice dialect is spoken (Koletnik: *ibid*) rather than Styrian, as noted in the preface to the published script (Naberšnik 2008: 22, 166–167). The Slovenske gorice dialect, alongside its Prekmurje, Prlekija and Haloze counterparts, belongs to the Pannonian and not to the Styrian dialect group. The director's choice of dialect is wrong, we assume, because the residents of Gornja Radgona feel that they belong to a different region than the name of their dialect suggests. Gornja Radgona, at the time of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, belonged to the administrative region of Styria.⁵³ However, former state borders (similar to border provinces in geographical terms), do not entirely correspond to the borders of the dialect groups or dialects. (2) The speech in the film is not completely suitable. The basic varieties of speech, i.e. the dialect and Maribor colloquial language, were appropriately selected,⁵⁴ as scientific dialectal research in this area shows (Koletnik: *ibid*) that the Slovenske gorice dialect is spoken in Gornja Radgona rather than the Prlekija dialect. This is reflected in a certain level of hesitation in the film, as only one of the main characters manages to emulate the dialect effectively, although with the marked intonation of the Prekmurje region.

However, our purpose is not to analyse the dialectal pronunciation of the actors in detail, but to highlight the change of spoken dialectal speech in the film into the written form of subtitles. The film is also subtitled, specifically into Standard literary Slovene.

⁵² The choice of language was a condition of chronotopical choice; the transfer of the events in the novel from Lainšček's birthplace of Prekmurje to Gornja Radgonja in the Štajerska region was explained by Naberšnik, the director, in the following way: "I moved the story from Prekmurje to Štajerska region for two main reasons: first, I'm much more at home with the Štajerska dialect, and secondly, it's easier for me to guide actors in the Štajerska dialect. /.../ If you shoot a film in the Prekmurje dialect, you pretty much need subtitles – and the viewer loses too much, especially in terms of humour and feeling. The transfer from the Prekmurje to the Štajerska dialect was a commercial move." (Naberšnik 2008: 167)

⁵³ This is not region in the geographical sense, but the remnants of the Austro-Hungarian administrative division of areas.

⁵⁴ The main actors were all formally educated in Standard Slovene, thus they had to learn the dialect used in the film.

The process of transferring spoken language (in our case film speech) into a written form (film subtitles) is particularly acute in the Slovene ethnic territory, since Slovene has an unusually diverse range of dialects and speech varieties. Through the process of transfer, primary dialect spoken text in written literary language usually loses much of its original message, as the dialect does not only differ from Standard literary Slovene on the phonological, morphological and lexical levels, but also in sentential construction and textual syntax (Škofic 2006: 174). Transcoding therefore often results in the omission of dialectal elements and substitution with Standard literary Slovene, which is also noticeable in the analysed film.

The differences between the spoken (actors' pronunciation or verbal realisation of dialogue respectively) and written text (Slovene subtitles) can be observed on all linguistic levels.

All dialectal phonemes are changed into Standard literary Slovene in the subtitles, using formal letters in spelling, which follows the rules of Slovene orthography. The same can be seen in all dialectal word-formation and word-changing patterns, which renders the morphological image in subtitles somewhat unnatural. The sentence structure is also changed both on the level of sentence and sentence elements, so the originality of the syntax is lost. In the transfer of everyday speech into written Standard literary Slovene used in the subtitles the following elements are discarded:

(1) The repetition of words and word phrases: *Djuro, Djuro.* (Djuro, Djuro.) > *Djuro. (Djuro.) – /.../ nea vem, nea vem, kaj naj naredim. (/.../ I don't know, I don't know what to do.)* > */.../ ne vem, kaj naj storim. (/.../ I don't know what to do.) – V redi je, v redi. Skadi, skadi.* (It's OK, it's OK. Let's smoke, let's smoke.) > *V redu je. Kar pokadi.* (It's OK. Let's smoke.)

(2) Omission of words that seem to be redundant in the Standard Slovene context: *Dobro te.* (Good, there.) > *Dobro. – Tak sn si nekaj razmislo.* (I was thinking somehow) > *Tako sem razmišljal. – V bistvi je Cikuta ena taka dobričina.* (Cikuta is pretty much a good guy.) > *V bistvu je dobričina.*

(3) Some personal and demonstrative pronouns that seem to be redundant in the Standard Slovene context: *Jas f svoji firmi /.../ (I, in my own firm.)* > *V svoji firmi /.../ (In my own firm.) – Ti, Gajaš, si ti pogleda? (You, Gajaš, have you taken a look?)* > *Si pogledal? (Have you taken a look?)*

– Veš, kake dobre kave *toti* automat dela. (You know; what good coffee *this* machine makes.) > Avtomat dela res dobro kavo. (The machine really makes good coffee.)

(4) Some adverbs and cohesive articles: Se bo že *nekak* znajdo, ne. (He'll manage fine *somehow*, *won't he*.) > Se bo že znašel. (He'll manage fine.) – Idi f kočo *ta*. > (Get into the hut *over there*.) > Izgini f kočo. (Get into the hut.) – Podbregar se je *glihkar* ženo. (Podbregar has *just* got married.) > Podbregar se je poročil. (Podbregar has got married.) – *Saj* jas vem, razumeš, *saj* jas vem. (*Well*, I know, you understand, *well*, I know.) > *Saj* jaz vem. (*Well*, I know.) – *Ja* gi si Lepec? (*Well*, where are you, Lepec?) > Lepec, kje si? (Lepec, where are you?)

(5) Discursive signals and spoken gags: Djuro je pa mlat, *ne*, sn si reko. (Djuro is still young, *isn't he*, I said to myself.) > Ti si pa še mlad. (You are still young.) – Se bo že *nekak* znajdo, *ne*. (He'll manage *somehow*, *won't he*.) > Se bo že znašel. (He'll manage fine.) – *aaa*, ogn bi še proso. (*aaa*, I would ask for a light.) > Še vžigalnik, prosim. (A cigarette lighter, please.)

(6) Interjection, particle and vocative verbless sentences: *O*, Bronja. (*O*, Bronja.) > Bronja. (Bronja.) – *Aja*, res neoš kavice? (*Well*, you really won't have some coffee?) > Res ne bi malo kave? (You really won't have some coffee?) – *Evo*, Djuro, to je *./.../* (*Here you are*, Djuro, this is *./.../*) > Djuro, to je *./.../* (Djuro, this is *./.../*) – *Həm?* > \emptyset (omission of translation) – *Mhə*. > \emptyset – *Ja*, tak je blo. (*Well*, so it was.) > Tako je bilo. (So it was.) – *Jezos*, jas pa toga nisen veda. (Jesus, I didn't know that.) > Tega pa nisem vedel. (I didn't know that.)

(7) Additionally added sentence elements to the syntactical unit: Glej ga, *pubeca* (Look at *that guy*.) > Glej ga. (Look at him.) – (Gajaš pravi, ka si z Maribora). Ja, *iz Maribora*. (Gajaš says you are from Maribor). Yes, *from Maribor*. > (Gajaš pravi, da si z Maribora). Ja. > (Gajaš says you are from Maribor). Yes.

(8) Allocutional verbal expressions: *Veš*, pa seštevam dnar, ki ga zaslužimo *./.../* (*You know*, I'm adding up the money we earned *./.../*) > Seštevam denar, ki ga zaslužimo *./.../* (I'm adding up the money we earned *./.../*) – *Čujte*, po telefonu ste mi rekli, da *./.../* (*You know*, you told me on the phone that *./.../*) > Rekli ste, da *./.../* (You said that *./.../*) – *Razumeš?* (Understand?) > \emptyset .

(9) Adjectival modifier in subordinate compound word-phrase: Jas bon *vel-ki* špricar. (I'll have a *big* spritzer.) > Jaz bom špricer. (I'll have a spritzer.), rarely also the headword of such a word-phrase: Djuro, *fant moj!* (Djuro, *my boy!*) > Djuro moj! (My Djuro!).

Replacement of nominal compounds expressing a smaller number of base characteristics by non-compounds: Boš *kavico?* (Would you have *some coffee?*) > Boš *kavo?* (Would you have *a cup of coffee?*); non-pronominal words are replaced by pronouns: Səvəa man *pasoš.* (Of course I've got *a passport.*) > Seveda *ga* imam. (Of course I've got *it.*) – Nemaš *pasoša.* (You don't have *a passport.*) > Nimaš *ga.* (You don't have *it.*); dialectal adverbs by Standard forms: *dostikrat* (several times) > *večkrat*, *nigdar* (never) > *nikoli*; *totikrat* (this time) > *tokrat*; *skos* (always) > *vedno*. Addition of: adjectival modifiers to the left of the headword: Jutro. (Morning.) > *Dobro* jutro. (*Good* morning.); particles of agreement and support: Hvala. (Thanks.) > *Ja*, hvala. (*Yes*, thanks.) – Skadi, skadi. (Just smoke, just smoke.) > *Kar* pokadi. (*Let's* smoke.); unexpressed predicates in speech: Vroč, ne? (Hot?) > Vroč *je*, ne? (Hot, *isn't it?*) – Dobro, ka te ma Gajaš. (Good, he's got you, Gajaš.) > Dobro *je*, da te ima Gajaš. (*It is* good he's got you, Gajaš.) – V Avstrijo al po tablete? (To Austria or for tablets?) > *Greste* samo v Avstrijo ali po tablete? (Do you just *go* to Austria or to buy pills?); and appositives: Saj vijite. (You can see.) > Saj vidite, *Gajaš.* (You can see, *Gajaš.*) – Kaj de dobrega? (What's up?) > Kaj bo dobrega, *Bronja?* (What's up, *Bronja?*).

Specific dialectal word order in the subtitles is not noticed, as the word order is changed and as such stylistically unmarked; it meets the criteria of the Slovene Standard language: Pukšič *bajto zida.* (Pukšič *is making a hut.*) > Pukšič *gradi hišo.* (Pukšič *is building a house.*) – Mhə, šou boš, ja. (Mhə, you will go, well.) > Ja, boš šel. (Yes, you will go.) – /.../ *je pa dostikrat zadrema.* (/.../ *so he often fell asleep.*) > /.../ *pa je zadremal.* (/.../ *so he fell asleep.*)

Standard Slovene language syntactic patterns are changed or narrowed: Čuj me dobro, ka mo ti reka. (Listen to me carefully, what I'm going to tell you.) > *Poslušaj me.* (*Listen to me.*) – Meni se vidi, ka nemški bole razmi. (I think he understands German better.) > *Nemško bolje razume.* (*He understands German better.*) – Dobro, pa naj me te vaš pomočnik pela, če meni ne zavupate. (*Well, let me have your assistant drive me, if you don't*

trust me.) > *Naj me vaš pomočnik zapelje.* (*Let your assistant drive me.*); interrupted syntactic patterns (typical for spoken language) are corrected and uninterrupted in the subtitles: *Se bo že nekaj znajdo, ne, tak sn si nekaj razmislo, tak da sn, razumeš, ne.* (*He'll manage somehow, well, so I've been thinking about, so I've been ..., you know.*) > *Se bo že znašel. Tako sem razmišljal.* (*He'll manage fine. That's what I was thinking.*)

As the subtitles also show greatly modified vocabulary, this is no longer an indicator of dialect or urban vernacular. Some borrowed words used in dialect or urban vernacular, mostly of German origin, are stylistically marked mostly as colloquial or lower colloquial according to Standard literary Slovene, and are substituted by Standard literary Slovene (neutral) terms:⁵⁵ *cajt* 'time' < G. *Zeit* > *čas*, *friški* 'fresh' < G. *Frisch* > *svež*, *hica* 'heat' < G. *Hitze* > *vročina*; *bajta* 'hut, cottage' < Rom. *baita* > *hiša*, *familija* 'family' < G. *Familie* < Lat.) > *družina*, *froc* 'child' < G. *Fratz* > *otrok*, *probat* 'to try' < G. *probieren* > *poskusiti*, *špilati* 'to play' < G. *spielen* > *igrati*. The same (substitution) applies to the Pannonian dialect vocabulary heard in the film and general Slovene, which is marked as expressive from the Standard Slovene point of view: *betežen* 'ill' > *bolan*, *dečko* 'boy' > *fant*, *kupica* 'glass' > *kozarec*, *obečati* 'to promise' > *obljubiti*, *šinjek* 'neck' > *vrat*, *žganjica* 'spirits' > *žgano*; *baba* 'woman' > *ženska*, *dobričina* 'good soul' > *dober človek*, *punca* 'girl' > *dekle*, *režati se* 'to laugh' > *smejati se*.

Idioms are (a) transferred from dialect into the Standard Slovene language variety (from which they were most likely taken into dialect): *S kūrami hodi spat /.../* > *S kurami gre spat /.../* (*She goes to bed with the chickens.*) – *Moj mož je tudi gnes na levo nogo fstana.* > *Tudi moj mož je na levo nogo vstal.* (*My husband also got out of bed on the wrong side.*) or (b) translated with an equivalent qualifying expression: *Desna roka Gajaša?* (*Gajaš's right-hand man*) > *Si ti novi Gajašev pomočnik?* (*Are you Gajaš's new assistant?*).

Dialectal vulgarisms and profanities, which are mostly not translated (Θ): *jebal ga vrak* (fuck you, hell) > Θ; *jebenti* (fuck you) > Θ; *jebi ga* (fuck it) > Θ; *pička ti materina* (fuck your mother) > Θ, are replaced by phrases from Standard literary Slovene language or neutral terms, and very rarely

⁵⁵ Abbreviations: G. – German, Lat. – Latin, Rom. – Roman.

with pejorative ones: *Jebenti vročina!* > *Vroče je kot v peklu!* (It's hot as hell!) – (biti) v *vukojebini* > (biti) *bogu za hrbtom* (/to be/ in the middle of nowhere) – *Naj ide fse f pizdo materino!* > *Naj gre k vragu!* (To go to hell!) – *Politikom se jebe.* > *Politikom ni mar za nič.* (Politicians do not care about anything.) – *Jebem ti babo!* > *Preklemana baba!* (Damn woman!) – *Jebenti mater!* > *Baraba!* (Bastard!)

Dialect, with its phonological and morphological regulated system, syntax and vocabulary, reinforces creative identity and directness. The translation of spoken dialect into written Standard Slovene language does not involve merely transcoding it into another language (Škofic 2006: 181), but also into a different context, as it means (consequently) a loss of at least some of its essence, in the same way as literature loses some of its essence with translation into a foreign language.

Conclusion

The present analysis confirms established findings regarding literary translation: the translation of dialectal elements and dialects belongs to a very problematic area of translation, which is also true of intralingual (monolingual) translation from one variety to another, as in the case of subtitling and bilingual translation (Hribar 2007: 216); also, dialect is avoided because of narrowing in the understanding of the translation. This also applies to the film under discussion, where the subtitles do not follow the directives of ESIST (ESIST 1998) “*language variety of the subtitles must reflect the language register in the speech of the film*”. Consequently, the original message expressed by dialectal elements (word or phrase) is lost in translation, as seen in the original characters expressing themselves in dialect. The situation regarding films produced in dialects could be improved with a number of measures: including a language consultant (perhaps even from the area where a particular dialect is spoken) or a dialectologist; careful selection of actors, either professional actors from a particular dialect area or professional actors that are able to learn the dialect, or even by the inclusion of amateur actors.

3.1.3 Oča (Dad), 2010

The aims of the analysis

The purpose of this analysis is to shed light on the actors' pronunciation (i.e. the spoken realisation of the dialogues) in the film *Oča*. The analysis explores to what degree the realisation of the dialogic speech from script matches the non-fictional reality presented in research on the Prekmurje dialect and how much it reflects authentic real-life speech.

About the film

Oča, the first feature-length film directed by Vlado Škafar, premiered at the 67th Venice Film Festival (Sept. 1st–11th 2010). Instead of following the Slovene film tradition of basing the screenplay on a literary work, the director chose to employ a fictional context. He set out to merge his fictional character with that of a real man to fully portray his reality – what is real for him and within him – as the truth after all is just an emotion, hidden somewhere deep in our hearts.

The following extracts give a flavour of the reviews from the Festival in Venice: “Škafar /.../ a poet knows, how to weave all the threads together /.../”; “This was love at first sight /.../”. The producer is Frenk Celarc; the main actors are Miki Roš, Sandi Šalamon, and employees of the Mura factory.⁵⁶

About the story

The film, which is both a lyrical and shocking story of the love between a father and son, was shot in the Slovene Prekmurje dialect. The entire narrative of their unusual friendship is covered in one day. The father is a simple man, worn down by a hard life, and the son, who after the divorce of his parents becomes increasingly close to his mother with whom he lives, is troubled by his father's absence. They come together one fine Sunday afternoon in the hope of establishing some kind of genuine contact. Through the painstaking exploration of the deep feelings of

⁵⁶ For more about the film: <http://www.oa.si/odzivi>.

family relationships, layers of time build upon one another, culminating in a moment of incredible sensitivity. The image of love depicted in the film incorporates desire, passion, joy and the pain of love, a moment of love and memories of it (<https://www.kinodvor.org/film/oča>; accessed September 15th 2018).

The dialectal group of the dialect spoken in the film Oča (Dad)

The film is set in the easternmost part of Slovenia (near the Hungarian border), where the Pannonian dialects are spoken, one of which is the Slovene Prekmurje dialect featured in the film. Dialects are increasingly transcending their use in individual words in scripts to provide stylisation, and directors are increasingly seeking out professional actors from the dialect area where the chosen dialect is spoken or even engaging amateur actors from the same area. The director's decision to also use language (the Prekmurje dialect to be exact) to define the characters' personalities, geographical environment, time and social affiliation, is not surprising. The narrative space is situated in the director's native Prekmurje, within the boundaries of the Prekmurje dialect, and the choice of the Ravensko subdialect creates the necessary sense of genuineness and authenticity of life there when compared to the Standard language in the film. The director also deliberately chose not to use trained/professional actors but non-professional actors and native speakers who come from the described area and are therefore most proficient in the Ravensko subdialect.

Linguistic analysis of the film speech

Most of the dialogues in the film, which we phonetically fully transcribed, are spoken by the two main male characters, the father and son. Both of the main actors are non-professional actors, but come from the Prekmurje dialect area. The role of the father is performed by Miki Roš, a Prekmurje writer, director and amateur actor, while the role of his son was taken by Sandi Šalamon, a 13-year-old elementary school pupil from Murska Sobota, one of the most mature Slovene child “non-professional” actors, or so-called “naturščik”. Twenty-two people appear beside them in three sequences of the film, mostly in the role of extras. The cast is therefore relatively modest, but in terms of film speech they are uniquely colourful.

In the realisation of the film speech both actors preserve: (1) the Prekmurje place of stress with all (a) accent shift removals from old circumflexed length or shortness:⁵⁷ *'sāmo* 'just', *'vūja* 'ear', *p'rišo* '(he) came', *'zāčne* '(he) begins' or a significant tendency towards analogical generalisation of stress to all or most forms of the same words: *'so:usit* *'so:usida* 'neighbour', *'be:īžo*, *'be:īžala*, *'be:īžalo* 'he/she/it run (Past T.)', and (b) short vowels, possible in any syllable in the Prekmurje dialect: *'rāzmiš* '(you) understand', *ži'vėti* 'live', *'kūp* 'heap'; (2) all Prekmurje vowels: dialectal diphthongs *eī* for the Proto-Slavic long *yat* – *s're:īda* 'Wednesday', *š'če:īš* '(you) want' – and *ou* for Proto-Slavic always long *o* – *'no:uč* 'night', *'šo:ula* 'school' and nasal *o* – *k'lo:up* 'bench', *'so:usit* 'neighbour'; dialectal *ū* for Proto-Slavic old acuted *u* – *'tūdi* 'also', *'vūpala* 'she was hoping', dialectal *ō* for *e* in the position beside the sonant *v*: *'vōter* 'wind', *'vō* 'out' and *u*, originated from vocalic *ĭ* – *skuza* 'tear'. Proto-Slavic always long *i* and *u* are sometimes pronounced as diphthongs – *o'či:ī* 'eyes', *f'či:īš* '(you) learn', *'dū:īša* 'soul', *pos'lū:īšan* '(I) listen', the same applies to the also long narrow *e*, originating from the Proto-Slavic always long *e*, semivowel and nasal *ę*: *'te:ī* 'this', *i'mę:ī* 'name', *g'lę:īdo* '(he) watched', but *'de:n* 'day', *po'tę:gni* '(you) pull', *z'vę:živa* '(we) bind'.⁵⁸ The proto-Slavic long *a* in dialect remains open – *'ma:la* 'small', *z'na:š* '(you) know', old acuted *a* is labialised – *'mān* '(I) have', *p'rāf* 'right' and it is pronounced as such by the actors.

There are some rare deviations from the dialectal vowel system in the actors' speech, specifically in the vowel quality. Sometimes short *a* is not clearly pronounced as *a*. Labialisation is to be expected, while in dialect it is clearly expressed, e.g. *'māma* 'mother', *'kā* 'what', *'tākši* 'such'; in only some cases in the film the short but not labialised *a* is pronounced. In the whole Pannonian dialectal group, the labialised *ū* is normally pronounced, but in the film the non-labialised *u* as in Standard literary Slovene is heard very rarely, e.g. *l'jucki* 'folk' (dialectal: *'lücki*); in only one example the dialectal labialised *ū* is pronounced as *i*, as in Standard literary Slovene: *'midva* 'two of us' (dialectal: *'müva*). Occasionally the pronunciation follows Standard literary Slovene, specifically (a) pre-stressed *u* remains

⁵⁷ The Slovene phonetic transcription is used to denote dialectal examples.

⁵⁸ In the Prekmurje Goričko subdialect, diphthongisation of the long narrow *e* in *eī* has occurred; in the Ravensko subdialect this process is still underway. Therefore, as regards the Proto-Slavic always long vowels, two forms appear: monophthongs and/or diphthong.

unchanged, displaying the *o* or *i* colour in dialect – *učitel* ‘teacher’ (dialectal: *o'čitel*, *vi'čitel*); (b) as well as pre- and post-stressed *e* in dialect being strictly pronounced as *i* – *dek'lina* ‘small girl, girl’ (dialectal: *dik'lina*), *č'lòvek* ‘person’ (dialectal: *č'lòvik*).

The consonants are pronounced as in the dialect, although some deviations can be seen in: (1) the consonant *x*, which in dialect disappears, e.g. *'fa:la* ‘thanks’, *'fča:si* ‘sometime’, or is replaced by the sonant *j*, e.g. *st'ra:j* ‘fear’, *'vüja* ‘ear’, in the film it is pronounced here and there as in Standard literary Slovene, i.e. as *x*: *xo'diti* ‘walk’ (dialectal: *o'diti*), *'tə:x* ‘these (Gen. Pl.)’ (dialectal: *'tə:j*); (2) the sonant *j* in the Ravensko subdialect is pronounced as *g* before front vowels – *'gə:n* ‘(I) eat’, *pi'gən* ‘(I) drink’; in front of back vowels as *dž*: *'džo:učən* ‘(I) cry’, in the film is pronounced also as in Standard literary Slovene, i.e. as *j*: *'jas* ‘I’ (dialectal: *'ge*); (3) palatal *l*, which in the dialect becomes hard, retains its palatalisation in the film in three cases: *lju'bə:zen* ‘love’ (dialectal: *li'bə:zen*), *l'jucki* ‘folk’ (dialectal: *'lücki*), *živ'l'jə:nje* ‘life’ (dialectal: *živ'lenje*).

Dialectal endings with verbs for the first person dual *-va* without Standard tendency are observed in all of the actors’ speech: *bova* ‘we will’, *napra-viva* ‘let’s do (both of us)’, the same pattern is used in Standard literary Slovene, while north-eastern Slovene dialects use the Non-standard *-ma* instead. One highly dialectal feature which appears is the use of adverbs beside verbs in order to change their meaning: *fk'rāj v're:žē* ‘cut’, *'cu:j z've:žē* ‘bind’, or to strengthen its basic meaning: *'cu:j pr'pelan* ‘bring along’, *'døj pok'lăčiti* ‘to press (down)’.

Vocative verbless sentences, exclamation sentences, interjections and authentic adverbs are all typical dialectal speech features, e.g. *'es* ‘here’, *'eti* ‘here’, *'fčasik* ‘at ones’, *g'vüşno* ‘sure’, *'na:jpr'le*: ‘first of all’, *'nigdar* ‘never’, *po'māli* ‘slow’, *'i:nda s've:žta* ‘once upon a time’, *'sigdar* ‘always’, *ž'metno* ‘difficult’, particles, e.g. *'ba:r* ‘at least’, *'ešče/š'če* ‘still; yet’, *'ra:nč* ‘just; exactly’, *'vej* ‘but’, repetitions of all kinds, among which some idiosyncrasies in word order stand out: (1) interchanges of theme and rheme, even transition:⁵⁹ *'Dobro je 'to:u ?* (Is this right?) – *K'rāp je 'to:u, z'na:š*.

⁵⁹ The word order of Standard Slovene is stylistically neutral when used in the following sequence: the topic (theme), the transition, and the focus (rheme). It may deviate according to language use. (See Toporišič 2000: 668–677.)

(This is a carp, you know.); (2) the auxiliary verb is placed at the beginning or at the end of the sentence: *Sen* 'džo:uko. (I was crying.) – *Op'čü:ito* 'kå *si?* (What did you feel?); (3) frequent use of the personal pronoun where it is not used in Standard literary Slovene: *'Ma:š* 'ti:ĩ *råt* 'le:is? (Do you like wood?) – *'Gę* *si* *se* 'ti:ĩ *'to:ũ* *f'čiu?* (Where did you learn this?) – *'Se,* 'kå *mo* 'ge 'vido, *mo* *po'vedo* 'dåle *s'voji* 'deci. (Everything I'll see, I'll tell my children.); (4) the particle *naj* is used after the reflexive pronoun: *Ja,* *pa* *za'kåj* *si* *naj* 'nebi? (And why shouldn't I?); (5) adverbial adjective to the right of the antecedent:⁶⁰ *'so:usit* 'nåš (our neighbor), 'oča 'moj (my father).

Besides the rich Pannonio-Slavic vocabulary, e.g. *b'rōditi* 'think', 'čeden 'smart', 'dęca 'children', 'gu:ũcati 'speak', 'istina 'truth', 'pi:ĩtati 'ask', 'š'tęti 'read', 'viditi 'see', *zg'råbiti* 'catch', *z'nåti* 'know', Standard-Slovene lexemes are also noticeable, e.g. *'mi:za* 'table' (dialectal: *s'tō*), *'ra:biti* 'need' (dialectal: *'nucati*), *z'rak* 'air' (dialectal: *'lũft*), *'xi:tro* 'fast' (dialectal: *f'riško*), doublets (dialectal words as well as Standard), e.g. *'turba* (dialectal) and *tō:rba* (Standard) 'bag', *'müva* (dialectal) and *'mi:dva* (Standard) 'two of us', *pripo've:ĩst* (dialectal) and *z'gō:dba* (Standard) 'story', *'fōma* (dialectal) and *ob'li:ka* (Standard) 'form', slangisms, e.g. 'čik 'cigaret', and Germanisms preserved in the dialect, some of which were adopted into the Prekmurje dialect in the Old High German and Middle High German period: *'cuk* 'train' < G. *Zug*, *fa'liti* 'miss' < G. *fehlen*, *g'vũšno* 'sure' < MHG. *gewiss*, *'pę:nezi* 'money' < OHG. *pfenni(n)g*, *'pę:nzija* 'pension' < G. *Pension*, *'pucati* 'clean' < G. *putzen*, *š'pic* 'point' < G. *Spitze*, *š'pilati* 'play' < G. *spielen*, *'tępix* 'carpet' < G. *Teppich*, and rare Hungarianisms: *'čōnta* 'bone' < Hun. *csont*.⁶¹

Conclusion

Language as a reflection of our individual and national identity is a very powerful constituent of the analysed film. The analysis of language dialogues shows that the speech plan in the film is extremely well implemented; as native speakers of the dialect, the characters express themselves perfectly and consistently speak the selected language variety on all language

⁶⁰ In Standard Slovene adjectival attributes precede the antecedent, while nominal ones follow it.

⁶¹ Abbreviations: G. – German, Hun. – Hungarian, MHG. – Middle High German, OHG. – Old High German.

levels. Although there are slight deviations from the dialect system on the phonological and lexical levels, the speech in the film is such as we would expect in similar real-life circumstances, which is one of the film's outstanding features. No other language variety would lend itself so well to psychological or social expression in the required discourse situations.

3.2 Theatre

In this chapter we present the analyses of the stage speech in two comedies: *Čaj za dve* (*Tea for Two*) and *Plemeniti meščan* (*Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*), both staged in the Slovensko narodno gledališče Maribor (SNG; The Slovene National Theatre Maribor). The social varieties employed by the characters in these productions (ranging from Standard literary Slovene to regional colloquial and dialectal) have been carefully selected to reflect their personalities, social origins and position, education, etc.⁶²

Čaj za dve (Tea for Two), 2002. The focus is on the analysis of the stage speech used in the comedy *Čaj za dve*, based on the eponymous literary text (2001), which premiered in Maribor in 2002. The linguistic analysis shows that the stage speech of the performance can be placed into three social linguistic categories selected according to specific dramatic roles: (a) the formal and colloquial Standard Slovene language; (b) Non-standard Maribor regional colloquial language coloured with elements of the Prlekija dialect, and (c) the Haloze dialect.

Plemeniti meščan (Le Bourgeois gentilhomme), 2007. The survey focuses on an analysis of the dialogic speech realisation of the Molière play *Plemeniti meščan*, staged in Maribor regional colloquial language, which was first performed in 2007 in Maribor. The analysis focuses on the speech of the actors, specifically the speech text layering, as it is crucial in determining the extent to which the theatrical realisation is consistent with the staging concept.

3.2.1 Čaj za dve (Tea for Two), 2002

The aims of the analysis

The focus is placed on the analysis of the stage speech of the performance, which can be placed into different social linguistic categories selected according to specific dramatic roles: from the Standard literary Slovene language, both formal and colloquial varieties to Non-standard Maribor

⁶² For more, see Koletnik & Valh Lopert (2011), Valh Lopert & Koletnik (2013).

regional colloquial language coloured with elements of the Prlekija dialect, and the Haloze dialect.

About the comedy

The analysis focuses on the stage speech in the staging of the comedy *Čaj za dve* by Tone Partljič, based on the eponymous literary work (2001),⁶³ which premiered in 2002 at The Slovene National Theatre Maribor. In 2003, *Čaj za dve* was awarded best comedy at the Dnevi komedije (Days of Comedy Festival) in Celje, and the performance of Sonja Blaž as the farmer Angela Bračko earned her the title of best female comedian. As Bogataj (2003: 151) summarises, the comedy reflects the relationships of the inhabitants of a retirement home, where two elderly women from two different worlds meet: on the one hand, there is “the lonely, self-absorbed retired actress with die-hard habits”, Jasmina Rudolf; on the other, her new roommate, a simple farmer Angela Bračko, who “farts, has a primitive attitude toward art and eats onion /.../ she is not sophisticated or polite in the least”. Next to the extremely lively Angelca, an interest for “flesh and lust” (ibid.: 152) is awakened in Jasmine, which is sated by the retiree Janko Gregorič, “encouraged by Viagra” (ibid.). At the end of the comedy, both worlds (Jasmina’s artistic world and Angela’s hard-working farm life) are united, reflecting that “nothing lasts forever” (ibid.).

The literary work is written in Standard literary Slovene with individual Non-standard regional colloquialisms, dialect and even lower colloquial words: Jasmina – *madonca* ‘interjection expressing astonishment, annoyance, (also) enthusiasm’ coll.⁶⁴ *mater*, ‘interjection expressing astonishment, annoyance, (also) enthusiasm’ low; *fajn* ‘good, honest’ nonstand. coll.; *viš* ‘see, look’ Stand. coll.; Bračkova – *tak* ‘therefore, then’ coll.; *ko*

⁶³ The literary work was first published in 2001. In 2003 it was published again in Tone Partljič (2003): *Čaj za dve. Izbrane komedije* II. Ljubljana: Karantanija 2003. 87–137. The later text was used for the analysis; the pages refer to the 2003 edition.

⁶⁴ The labels for Standard and Non-standard varieties are taken from the *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika* (SSKJ, *The Dictionary of Standard Literary Slovene Language*): coll. – colloquial, dial. – dialect, dial. Styr. – dialectal Styrian, East. reg. – Eastern regional, low – lowly, low. coll. – lowly colloquial, nonstand. – nonstandard, nonstand. coll. – nonstandard colloquial, nonstand. f. – nonstandard folk, Stan. coll. – Standard colloquial, vulg. – vulgar; Other abbreviations: BMHG. – Bavarian Middle High German, G. – German, Lat. – Latin, MHG. – Middle High German, OHG. – Old High German, Pre-G. – Pre-Germanic.

‘like, as’ (Stand.) coll.; *pišeka* ‘hen’ dial.; *luk* ‘onion’ East. reg.; *prdnem* ‘to break wind’ vulg./low.; *dohtarjev* ‘doctor’ low. coll./nonstand. f.; *marelo* ‘umbrella’ low. coll./nonstand. f.; *rit* ‘arse’ vulg./low.; *zajebavala* ‘to tease, make fun of somebody’; *svinje* ‘pig; dirty person; worthless person’ for person low.; *toti* ‘this’ dial. Styr.; *matralo* (to cause distress, torment’ low. coll./nonstand. f.; *si potrebna* ‘sexually unsatisfied’ low.; *fukali* ‘to have sexual intercourse’ vulg./low.; *farbati* ‘to deceive, lie’ low. coll./nonstand. f.; *pojstlo* ‘bed’; *povštrom* ‘cushion’ low. coll./nonstand. f.; *viš* ‘see, look’ coll./Stan. coll.; *totemu* ‘this’ dial. Styr.; *fajn* ‘good, honest’ nonstand. f.; Angela’s son – *špricanje* ‘spray, sprinkle’ low. coll./nonstand.

Most of the actors performing these roles had no particular difficulties in adapting the language of the text to the concept of the performance, as they are multilingual within one language despite being educated solely in Standard literary Slovene (since there are different social varieties of Slovene and given the fact that most Slovenes do not learn Standard literary Slovene until they start primary school). During rehearsals, the actors’ speech was supervised by a language consultant who selected social varieties of language for the performance according to the characters’ social status. Given the fact that the speech realisation of Non-standard language on stage can be extremely demanding, the aim of our analysis was to establish in particular to what extent the stage realisation is consistent with the performance concept in the actors’ speech.

Realisation of speech in the stage performance

The story takes place in a retirement home, where a retired actress, Jasmina Rudolf, has to share her twin room for a limited period with a female farmer, Angela Bračko. Although not enthusiastically, given their different social backgrounds and personal preferences, and after many comical situations and misunderstandings, they become friends. Their friendship grows particularly after Jasmina falls in love with Janko Gregorič.

The analysis includes the phonetic, morphological, syntactic, and lexical image of the characters’ speech and determines its linguistic characteristics in terms of realisation in everyday life. The stage speech in the performance of the comedy *Čaj za dve* can be classified into three social varieties of language, selected according to specific roles: (a) Standard language: Jasmina Rudolf, a retired actress; Marjana, manager of the retirement

home; the priest; (b) Non-standard Maribor regional colloquial language with elements of the Prlekija dialect: Janko Gregorič, a retiree; nurses, other retirees; (c) the Haloze dialect: Angela Bračko, a farmer from Cirkovci, and her son. A more detailed analysis focuses on the speech of the main characters, Jasmina Rudolf, Janko Gregorič, Angela Bračko and her son, whose identity and social status is reflected by the appropriate language variety.

The Slovene Standard literary language in the stage performance

The main character, retired actress Jasmina Rudolf, appears in all 14 (13 and the epilogue) scenes and uses Slovene Standard Literary language,⁶⁵ partly even formal Slovene, because of her professional career. Only individual deviations from the Standard language can be observed in her speech, reflecting her wish to become closer to her co-speakers. On a phonetic level,⁶⁶ this is manifested as vowel reduction when using the infinitive: *ne móremo več ustvárjat* (we can't be creative any longer); *ne mórem pomágat* (I cannot help); *móram vádit* (I have to practice); *potem pa ne bi smel pít* (then you should not drink); *jaz tudi ne mórem spát* (I cannot sleep either); *bi jo dála poprávit* (I should have it repaired); *ponôči ne mórem spát* (I cannot sleep at night); *ne me tolážit* (do not comfort me); *za poskúsit je* (you should try it); *ne mórem verjét* (I cannot believe it); and in one case in the pronunciation of the phoneme *v* as the first phoneme of the word instead of the voiced variant of the bilabial *w*: *vlóga*. On the morphological level, colloquial forms are employed: the use of masculine and feminine nouns instead of both feminine: *gospá diréktor* 'Madam Director'; use of contracted verbs: *víš* 'see'; verbs with the root ending in *-č* have a typical affix *-t* in the infinitive: *ti ne mórem odréčt* for Standard *ne morem odreči* (I cannot deny you this); colloquial form of the interrogative pronoun: *Kák?* (How?); omission of the interrogative *ali* and use of the colloquial variant *a*: *Ga vi nimate?* (Don't you have it?), *A ni ópij prepovédan?* (Isn't opium illegal?), *A vídiš, premlád si zame*

⁶⁵ Social varieties of Slovene language by Toporišič (2000: 13–14).

⁶⁶ Examples are marked with symbols denoting the place of stress: the acute (´), grave (`) and roof (˘) are used in Slovene literary language. The acute lengthens and narrows *e* and *o*, the grave shortens and widens *e* and *o* and labialises *-a*; a small dot under a vowel denotes narrowness. The vowel nature of *l* and *n* is marked with a small circle underneath; a semi-circle under *i* and *u* (*ĩ*, *ũ*) denotes their consonant pronunciation, while the semi-vowel is marked with *ə*.

(Can't you see, you are too young for me), *A je bil to vaš sín?* (Was that your son?), *A mislite, da môški?* (Do you think that men?), *Joj, a mislite?* (Oh, do you think?), *Ja, a véste kakó?* (Yes, do you know how?), *A zdàj me?* (Now I?), *A véš, da sem mislila?* (Did you know I thought?). On the syntactic level, the auxiliary verb next to the participle ending in *-l* is omitted: *A občevála?* (Have sexual intercourse?). Because of her roommate, she also partly uses Non-standard colloquialisms,⁶⁷ mostly of German origin: nonstand. coll.: *lárifári* 'rubbish, nonsense'; nonstand. coll.: *páše, páše*, 'to feel good' < G. *passen*; nonstand. f.: *za deset dóhtarjev* 'doctor' < G. *Doktor* < Lat. *doctor*; nonstand. coll.: *hécati* ... 'to play a joke on someone' < G. *Hetz* 'rough joke'; nonstand. f.: *núc* 'to require, need' < G. *nutzen*; nonstand. f.: *fájn* 'good, honest' < G. *fein*, *matrati* 'to cause distress, torment' < G. *martern*.

Non-standard Maribor regional colloquial language, partly coloured with the elements of the Prlekija dialect in the stage performance

Maribor regional colloquial language⁶⁸ developed at the juncture of three dialectal groups: the Styrian, Pannonian and Eastern Carinthian dialects, with Selnica and Ruše bordering on the North Styrian dialect. The influence of the Pannonian dialect group extends from Maribor to Melje and Košaki on one side, and Urban and Rošpoh to the other. The Styrian East Pohorje Dialect is spoken east of Radvanje na Pohorju and on the Drava Plain as far as Rače; the Styrian Kozjak subdialect is spoken in a narrow band on the left bank of the Drava from Selnica to Urban and Rošpoh (Zorko 1995: 341–343). Maribor speech does not discern tonemic contrasts, nor is the stress position in words fixed; an interesting feature of this speech is its two stresses: *vinográt* (vineyard), *Máribór*; there is a strong tendency to generalise the stress on all variations of the same word or at least the majority; *próso, prósla* 'he/she asked'; *pês, pêsa* 'dog' (Nom. Sg and Gen. Sg.) (Zorko 2002: 138–144).

Janko Gregorič, retiree, appears in 6 scenes (5 and the epilogue) and speaks the Non-standard regional colloquial language of Maribor with elements of the Prlekija dialect. Elements of the Maribor regional colloquial language

⁶⁷ Abbreviations: nonstand. coll. – Non-standard colloquial, nonstand. f. – Non-standard folk. Social variety labels in *Slovenski pravopis* (2001 § 1060).

⁶⁸ For more on Maribor regional colloquial language, see Redjko (1992), Koletnik (2001a), Zorko (2002), Valh Lopert (2013) et al.

are particularly distinct on the phonetic level, with the following phonetic features most noticeable: vowel decline: *jàs sŋ* ‘I am’, *sŋ tərko* ‘I knocked’, *sŋ prišo* ‘I came’, *sŋ glédo* ‘I watched’, *si práula* ‘you were saying’, *pov-édla* ‘you told’, *je blà* ‘she was’, *spústlo* ‘let off, let go, release’, *preskóčla* ‘jumped over’, *snóči* ‘last night’, *ne mórm spát* ‘I cannot sleep’, *fprášat* ‘to ask’, *učítlca* ‘a teacher’, *sma mēla* ‘we had’, *vŋke debáte* ‘big’, *mótlī* ‘to disturb’; long and wide *e* instead of Standard long and narrow *e*: *vēren* ‘religious’, *večērnica* ‘vespers’; long narrow *o* instead of Standard long and wide *o*: *pod rōko* ‘hand in hand’, *otrōka* ‘a child’, *s tvōjim* ‘with your’; pronouncing masculine participles ending with *-l* as *o* instead of the Standard diphthongal variant *u*: *prišo* ‘I came’, *prnéso* ‘I brought’, *pobārko* ‘I mixed up’, *bom réko* ‘I will say’, *sŋ číto* ‘I read’, *sŋ pozábo*, ‘I forgot’, *nísŋ se hēco* ‘I was not kidding’, *vgásno* ‘I turned off’, *se bom fsédo* ‘I will sit’, *bom vído* ‘I will see’, *xóto fprášat* ‘I wanted to ask’; omission of consonants: *záj se pa móraš* ‘now’; the phoneme *v* as word-initial phoneme (also word-final phoneme) and as a preposition before a voiceless consonant is pronounced as *f*: *fčásix* ‘sometimes’, *fsákemu* ‘to each’, *fsáj málo* ‘at least a little’, *fsi* ‘everybody’, *fprášat* ‘to ask’, *fkrámpŋla* ‘to scratch’; *z áftom* ‘with a car’; *f tišini* ‘in silence’, *f kákega* ‘in some’; middle *l* instead of palatal *l*, pronunciation of *srednji l* instead of palatal *l*, pronunciation of *j* instead of literal *lj/nj*: *zalúblena* ‘in love’, *učítlca* ‘a teacher’, *prijátŋ* ‘a friend’; *jíva* ‘a field’. Also, typical colloquial forms for morphological features are reflected, such as: short infinitive: *hóto fprášat* ‘wanted to ask’, *ne mórm spát* ‘I cannot sleep’; first-person dual *-ma* instead of Standard *-va* in verb conjugation: *grēma* ‘we are going’, *sma mēla* ‘we had’; use of verb *moči* ‘can’ instead of *morati* ‘have to/must’: *si se mógla* ‘had to’; articulation of unstressed *i* of singular masculine and neuter nouns in the locative case: *v dōmi* ‘in the home’; *v mēsti* ‘in the city’; colloquial use of relative pronoun *ki* ‘which’; use of the verbal interrogative contracted form: *jás, víš* ‘I, you see’); thematic verb conjugation instead of athematic: *sámo véte* ‘you know’. Furthermore, typical examples of colloquialisms are present: the position of the left attribute after the antecedent: *mója žēna*, *pokójna* (my wife, the deceased); incomplete sentences, interruptions, particle verbless-clause: *Jàs sŋ, trideset lét, sma mēla z žēno abonmá /.../ ja, v énem blōku sma mēla, bres prekinítve, ja, ja, sŋ sam ostáu; To sŋ te hóto fprášat, le, ti, ko si se na ódru polúblala, ne, saj si se, sej si se mógla, če si bila, igrálka, ko si recímo, igrála, ne vēm /.../; Ja, gléjte /.../* (I had, thirty years we had, my wife and I, season tickets for the theatre, in a whole period, without interruption, yeah, yeah, I stayed alone; I wanted

to ask you, when you were kissing on stage, you had to, of, course, you were an actress, I don't know /.../; Yeah, look /.../)

Due to the proximity to Austria and its enduring historical influence, many Germanisms can be found in the vocabulary: *šálter* < G. *Schalter* 'switch'; *špetír* < G. *disputieren* 'fight, fighting'; *nùc* < MHG. *nützen* 'for use'; *fláša* < Pre-G. *flaskō* 'bottle'; *fêrtik* < G. *fertig* 'finished'; *pri eni glihi* < MHG. *gleich* 'even, levelled; to negotiate'.

Some elements of the Prlekija dialect, which is a subdialect of the Pannonian dialect group, are present in Gregorič's (the retiree's) speech. The Prlekija dialect is divided into five subdialects: Lower Prlekija, Middle Prlekija, Upper Prlekija, Mura-Ščavnica-Lower Pesnica and so-called the Kujleško subdialects. The tonemic stress has disappeared from the Pannonic dialect group and only dynamic stress now exists.⁶⁹ In the performance, the Prlekija dialect is especially present in phonetics: the pronunciation of the vowels *l* and *v* instead of the Standard diphthongal variant *u*: *aktívna* 'active', *popóldan* 'afternoon', *ávtobusi* 'busses', *igrálka* 'actress', stress shift to the left *je bílo* 'it was', and in words: *nax* 'later', *té* 'then', *dúgo* 'or long'; *vjútro* 'in the morning'.

Both the nurses and retirees, who appear rarely during the performance, display the same speech characteristics.

The Haloze dialect in the stage performance

Two of the eleven performing actors speak in the Haloze dialect,⁷⁰ which characterises their personalities by social background: the farmer Angela Bračko and her son. The linguistic image of the dialogues, which were fully phonetically transcribed, suggests that the verbal images of the aforementioned roles are well realised; both characters consistently speak the prescribed variety of speech, i.e. the (East) Haloze dialect.

Angela Bračko, who appears in ten scenes, retains the monophthongal vowel system in her speech, as spoken in Cirkulane: the long and narrow *e* for Proto-Slavic *yat* – *gréx* 'sin' and semi vowel – *dén* 'day', long and

⁶⁹ For more on the Prlekija dialect, see Zorko (1998: 50–63).

⁷⁰ For more on the Haloze dialect, see Zorko (1998: 12–49).

wide *e* for Proto-Slavic long *e* – *šest* ‘six’ and nasal *ɛ* – *pēt* ‘five’, long and narrow *o* for Proto-Slavic long *o* and nasal *ɔ* – *nôč* ‘night’, *pót* ‘way’, dialectal *ũ* for Proto-Slavic *u* – *plúča* ‘lungs’, *tũ* ‘here’ and *u* as a result of vocalic *ɫ* – *gúčati* ‘to speak’. In dialect, the Proto-Slavic long *a* remains open, while the old acute vowel *a* is labialised and pronounced as follows: *kàn* ‘where’, *spàti* ‘to sleep’. Minor deviations from the dialectal language system are especially noticeable at the phonetic level: (1) the quantity of vowels: lengthening of short vowels in last and other syllables: *zêmla* ‘soil’, *jás* ‘I’, *nič* ‘nothing’, *vêč* ‘more’, the actress also prolongs the vowels stressed after a later stress reduction that remain short in the dialect: *príšo* ‘(he) came’, *sámo* ‘just’; (2) the quality of vowels: partially unclear colour of the vowel *a* in the pronunciation of short *a* is noticed. One would expect to hear the labialisation that is clearly expressed in dialect, for example *màlo* ‘a little’, *tàn* ‘there’; however, in the performance non-labialised *a* is pronounced: *málo*, *tán*. The colour of the vowel *e* is changed: instead of dialectal long and wide *e*, i.e. *devêt* ‘nine’, *pêt* ‘five’, long and narrow *e*, as in Standard Slovene, is pronounced; the same is also partly true of the vowel *u*, i.e. *počútin se* ‘(I) feel’, *ùpaje* ‘hope’, otherwise labialised in the whole Pannonian dialectal group. In pronunciation, pre-stressed *u* rarely remains unchanged, for example *opčutliva* ‘sensitive’, where in dialect, *u* is consistently replaced with *i* – *pistite* ‘allow’, *lidjé* ‘people’; instead of the dialectal monophthongs, diphthongs which are characteristic of the central and western parts of Haloze are pronounced in some places: *poviêdo* ‘(he) told’, *př tötix léjtax* ‘at this age’.

Angela’s son Bračko, who appears in one scene, maintains the monophthong-diphthong vowel system in his speech, characteristic of central Haloze, with the diphthong *eĭ* and *ou* and round *a* for always long and old-acute stress *a*, for example *poštejáci* ‘honest men’, *màma* ‘mother’; minor deviations from the dialectal system are also noticeable in the direction of the linguistic norm.

The consonants are pronounced by both actors as in dialect: shift *v-m* > *x-m* – *xmèla* ‘(she) died’ is especially common. Deviations from the dialectal norm are apparent in the Standard pronunciation of palatal *ĺ*, which has become hard in the dialect – *življênsko* ‘vital’, *zaljúbili* ‘to fall in love’, and final *-l* in masculine singular participle, which in dialect has passed over into *-o*: *mêu* ‘(he) had’, *báu* ‘(he) was afraid of’, *spíu* and *spío* ‘(he) drank’, *bíu* and *bío* ‘(he) was’.

In the actors' speech, dialectal endings, personal endings and sentence formation with numerous verbless clauses, exclamatory sentences, interjections (even swearwords), authentic dialectal adverbs and prepositions are noticeable, for example: *nikan* 'nowhere', *òpet* 'again', *pòtli* 'later', *zavòlo* 'because', repetitions of all kinds and rich Pannonian lexis: *děca* 'children', *xìtati* 'to throw', *lùk* 'onion', *òpati* < *opadniti* 'to fall', *pìcek* 'chicken', *pìtati* 'to ask', *viditi* 'to be liked', *rášti* 'to have sexual intercourse'.

Alongside Slovene Standard words, such as *bolnica* 'hospital', *moški* 'man', *usoda* 'destiny', Germanisms also appear in the dialect. Some of them were adopted into the dialect during the Old and Middle High German period: *càjt* 'time' < G. *Zeit*, *glìx* 'same' < MHG. *gelìch*, *glìch*, *grùnt* 'property' < MHG. *grunt*, *lùšna* 'pretty, lovely' < MHG. *lustec*, *lustic*, *modràc* 'mattress' < G. *Matratze*, *púbec* 'a boy' < BMHG. *puobe*, *rèkle* 'jacket' < G. *Röckel*, *špilati* 'to play' < MHG. *spielen*, *špitál* 'hospital' < G. *Spital*, *vèncrli* 'vinedresser' < MHG. *winzer*, *žláxta* 'relatives' < OHG. *Slahta*.

Conclusion

According to Podbevšek (2000: 85), stage speech is only one of the elements of a theatrical performance; this speech should contribute to the overall artistic experience rather than simply reflect standard language norms. Consequently, our analysis focuses on the speech realisation of dialogues, highlighting the division of the individual characters' speech into social varieties. Over the years, speech in theatre has become much more contemporary, natural and relaxed; its focus is on function, allowing the characters to express their identity fully and accurately. The speech analysis of the staging of *Čaj za dve* shows that the dialogue very accurately reflects real life, an outstanding feature of the staging.

3.2.2 Plemeniti meščan (Le Bourgeois gentilhomme), 2007

The aims of the analysis

In this analysis, the main focus is on the dialogic speech realisation of the actors, mostly Maribor regional colloquial language, i.e. the Non-standard social variety of Slovene as spoken in the town, as well as on the other social

varieties according to character, as this is crucial in determining the extent to which the theatrical realisation is consistent with the staging concept.

About the comedy

Although the Slovene term ‘theatre’, according to linguistic logic, is related to vision or the visual, theatre has been an art form which has also been listened to ever since its beginnings in ancient Greece (Podbevšek 2008: 51). One of the most crucial components of theatre is certainly the live sound image of the literary language, which we will focus on in this section. We will concentrate on the analysis of the speech realisation of the dialogical element of Molière’s dramatic text *Plemeniti meščan*, in which “Molière’s theatrical sense for speech layering” finds full expression (Vitez 2007: 20), reflected in the rich language variety of the spoken realisations in individual roles.

This five act balletic comedy, directed by Vito Taufer, premiered on February 23rd 2007 at the Maribor Drama National Theatre; it features as its central character a wealthy Parisian bourgeois, Mr. Jourdain, who aspires to climb the social ladder. He wishes to be part of the elite, to dress, talk, dance and philosophise as a “lord” would do. In short, he wants to be “modern” and behave “trendily.” He is obsessed with social status and elitism; he wishes to mix with important, influential people and he takes great pleasure in flaunting his “generosity.” Unfortunately, while Mr. Jourdain possesses money and material wealth, he has none of the human characteristics that might make him an aristocrat. His primitivism and stupidity are dressed up in beautiful attire, and while he remains oblivious to this, it is abundantly clear to those around him, who are happy to exploit and mock him. Moreover, to top it all, they prepare a tragicomic trap for him, a masquerade ball, in which his daughter apparently marries the son of a Turkish sultan. Moliere had experienced first hand that some people suffer from incurable stupidity (Borin 2007: 7–8).

Realisation of stage speech in the stage performance

The Slovene translation of the French original was written by Primož Vitez, who is also a stage manager; it is written in Standard literary Slovene with some colloquial (especially lexical) stylemes.

Molière's ultimate mastery lies in *drawing* characters, society and people, and because his *drawing* of the characters is in actual fact a means of providing a character with speech, each character has his/her own way of speaking, adapted to different discourse situations. In this way, Molière defines the psychological and social situation of his characters in order to play with the rules of standard speech (Vitez 2007: 19–20). It was therefore necessary to consider this in determining the speech image of the text; the language was key in determining the social and class status as well as the generational and geographical origin of the theatrical characters.

The language consultant, Janez Bostič, in co-operation with the director, stage manager and actors, decided on the so-called language *painting* of the dialogues, even incorporating Non-standard varieties of Slovene, specifically Maribor, and to a lesser extent, Ljubljana colloquial. Both require a very sharp pitch and a high level of mental discipline on the part of the actors, who are trained in Standard literary Slovene (Podbevšek 1997/98: 82). The director's choice of language variety was not realised in the performance, as the script was actually written in Standard literary Slovene. However, the actors, with the support of the language consultant, who although not born in Maribor has an excellent command of Maribor colloquial language, successfully converted the written dramatic text into speech.

We assume that the actors who were chosen for the roles had no particular difficulties with language adaptation because of the performance concept, which stated that the noble citizen would speak in Maribor colloquial, while the aristocrats and cultural elite would use Standard literary Slovene. Most of the actors, otherwise trained in Standard literary Slovene, come from the Maribor area, the language of which was chosen for the theatrical representation of the dramatic text (also Čížek 2010). We can therefore conclude that they are multilingual within one language. The staging process was supervised by the language consultant, who checked the pronunciation suggested by the director.

As the realization of Non-standard variety on stage is extremely demanding, we set out to establish to what extent the theatrical realisation is consistent with the staging concept. The analysis is based on the actors' speech, in particular the speech text layering.

The Maribor colloquial language in the stage performance

Six of the fourteen performing actors speak in the Maribor regional colloquial language: Lord and Lady Jourdain, their daughter Lucia, their maid Nikolina, the lackey and Kovič, Kleont's servant. Sometimes their language is coloured by so-called lower colloquial (inadmissible, vulgar) and dialectal elements, another speech indicator of their social background. The linguistic image of the dialogues, which were fully phonetically transcribed for the analysis, suggests that the verbal images of the above roles are well realised. All of the characters consistently speak the prescribed Maribor colloquial language, which is either their mother tongue or very close to their native language. "Lord" Jourdain has dialogues in 23 scenes, "Lady" Jourdain in 9 scenes, Lucija in 3 scenes, Nikolina in 7 scenes, the lackey in 5 scenes and Kovič in 4 scenes. The following elements are preserved in their pronunciation:⁷¹ (1) The emphasis typical of Maribor regional colloquial language with all later stress shifts, which is the result of: (a) shift of stress by one syllable to the left from the former long circumflex: *lépo* 'nice', *prišo* 'came', *prêveč* 'too much', *tákrat* 'then' for Standard *lepó*, *prišèl*, *prevèč*, *takràt*; (b) significant tendency for analogical generalisation of stress in all or most forms of the same word: *móš* 'man, Nom. Sg.', *móža* 'man, Gen. Sg.', *nóso* 'he wore', *nósła* 'she wore', *nóslo* 'it wore' for Standard *móž*, *možá*, *nôsil*, *nosíla*, *nosílo*, and two stresses in compound words: *dópóudne* 'in the morning', *právopís* 'orthography' for Standard *dopôdan*, *pravopís*.

(2) Quantitative vowel shift from Standard; after losing tonemic opposition, quantitative opposition also occurred in all of the Maribor area dialects. All Proto-Slavic old and new acute vowels in the last, other, or only syllable, which remain short in the Standard Slovene language today, were prolonged in Maribor colloquial. Nowadays, short stressed vowels are no longer heard in Maribor: *tú* 'here', *níč* 'nothing', *tám* 'there', *věč* 'more', *sprehót* 'walk', *sém* 'here' for Standard *tù*, *nič*, *tàm*, *vèč*, *sprehòd*,

⁷¹ Examples are marked with symbols denoting the place of stress: the acute (´), grave (`) and roof (˘) are used in Slovene literary language. The acute lengthens and narrows *e* and *o*, the grave shortens and widens *e* and *o* and labialises *-a*; the small dot under a vowel denotes narrowness. The vowel nature of *l* and *n* is marked with a small circle underneath; a semi-circle under *i* and *u* (*ĩ*, *ũ*) denotes their consonant pronunciation, while the semi-vowel is marked with *ə*.

sèm. All long stressed vowels are monophthongs,⁷² the diphthongs *ej* for Proto-Slavic vowel *yat* and *ou* for the Proto-Slavic vowel always long *o*, which are still present in all Styrian and Pannonian dialects surrounding Maribor became monophthongs, i.e. long and narrow *e* and *o*: *beséda* ‘word’, *vém* ‘know’, *bók* ‘God’, *šóla* ‘school’. Deviation from this colloquial rule occurred four times in the performance, twice by Lady Jourdain: *Jás sem razjouko, jás sem razjouko*. (I burst into tears, I burst into tears.) – *Ne poznám nič leípšega, lépšega ko tó*. (I don’t know anything nicer than that.); and twice by Kovič: *Párvo ko párvo, óna má premále ouke*. (First at all, her eyes are too small.) – *Spobêri se mi, da te nígdar věč ne čújem pa vídim věč nej*. (Get out of my sight, I don’t want to hear or see you ever again.); who also used the dialectal (Pannonian) round *ü*.

(3) Qualitative vowel shift from Standard; while stressed *e* and *o*, after the later stress shift, are wide vowels in all Maribor area dialects, in Maribor colloquial they are extremely narrow. The narrow quality of *o*, and more rarely *e*, is strikingly obvious in the dialogue of the performance: *mója* ‘mine’, *dóbra* ‘good’, *dósti* ‘enough’, *nóga* ‘leg’ for Standard *môja, dôbra, dôsti, nôga*; *mêne* ‘I (Gen. Sg.)’, *žéna* ‘wife’ for Standard *mêne, žéna*. The actors pronounce the colloquial wide quality of *e*, which in Standard literary Slovene is the narrow *e*, before the monosyllables *r*, *j* and *u*: *večér* ‘evening’, *povêj* ‘tell’, *mêu* ‘(he) had’.

(4) All the Maribor area dialects share the Proto-Slavic later acuted semi-vowel with *e*-vowel character: *pêhne* ‘push’, *pês* ‘dog’, and the Proto-Slavic long semivowel with *a*-vowel character, which is the same in Maribor colloquial as it is in Standard: *dán* ‘day’, *vás* ‘village’.

(5) The omission of vowels in certain cases is typical of Maribor regional colloquial (mostly in the infinitive and in the vicinity of sonorants, less frequently at the beginning or at the end of the word); this may cause the appearance of the syllabic sounds *ŋ* and *l̥*: *bógaš* ‘(you) obey’, *vídli* ‘(we) saw’, *zló* ‘very’, *mám* ‘(I) have’, *počístla* ‘(she) cleaned’, *ták* ‘such’, *jézŋ* ‘angry’, *prijátl̥* ‘friend’.

⁷² For more on the typical features of Maribor colloquial, see Koletnik (2001a: 245–254), Zorko (2002).

Consonants are pronounced by the actors as in the Standard literary Slovene language, while regional language coloration appears in the following features, i.e.: masculine participles with *o*-ending: *réko* '(I) said', *míslo* '(he) thought', *vido* '(I) saw', *poslúšo* '(he) listened'; in the pronunciation of medium *l* for palatal *ĺ*, in the pronunciation of *n*, *j* or *jn* for palatal *ň*: *ból* 'more', *zalúblen* 'be in love', *lubézn* 'love'; *zádnič* 'lately', *svíja* 'pig', *májn* 'less'; in the pronunciation of *f* for sonorant *v* preceeding voiceless consonants: *f pésmi* 'in a poem', *fčêraj* 'yesterday', *fprášo* 'ask' and in the omission of *d* and *b* between two vowels: *víta* '(you two) see', *prie* '(he) comes', *bóta* '(you two) will be', *nêom* 'I won't'.

The dialogical element of the performance is closer to Standard language on the morphological and syntactic levels. Regional colloquial elements are indicated by: short infinitive: *móram míslit* 'must think'; 1st person dual ending *-ma* for Standard *-va* in verbal conjugation: *ménima se* 'we talk', *stópima (ven)* 'go out', and in the use of *-ta* and *-te* for Standard *-sta* and *-ste* in the conjugation of atematic verbs: *vête* 'you know', *ne gréta* 'you don't go'; colloquial imperative verb forms: *Ídi, ídi bék!* (Go, go away!) – *Rêči* mu, da pridem takój. (Tell him I'll be back soon.); plural forms of participles for dual standard: */.../ sma zjútraj šlê.* (*/.../* we went in the morning.) – */.../ sma se mídve strán obárnle.* (*/.../* we turned away.); rare colloquial personal and demonstrative pronouns: *míjadvá* 'two of us', *óvega* 'this one', *tóta žénska* 'this woman' and particle: *nêa vídiš* 'you don't see', *nêja smé védet* 'you should't know' (< *nê(j)a* < *nêna* < *ne ne* 'no'). There are just two situations where intention is expressed with the Maribor colloquial verb of possibility: */.../ bi mógo bít tú.* (*/.../* it could be here.) – *Tí móreš védet.* (You can know for you should know.); slightly more frequent is the substitution of the relative pronoun *kar* with the interrogative *kaj*: *Žêna, tó, káj ti jás záj govorím /.../.* (Wife, this, what I am telling you */.../*.) – *Délaj, káj ti páše.* (Do what you want.) and relative pronoun *ki* with conjunction *ko*: */.../ má sína, ko je nájvéčja barába.* (*/.../* she has a son, who is a bastard.). One regionally used adjective also appears – *káki* 'what' and conjunction – *ko* 'like', three particles: *skóro* 'almost', *glih* 'just', *kúj* 'that', and some adverbs: *pól* 'after', *nígdar* 'never', *párvo* 'first of all', *gdáj kóli* 'whenever', *bék* 'away', *nót* 'inside', *vún* 'outside', *pólek* 'beside', *kí* 'where', *strášno* 'very'.

Elements of spoken syntax are obvious and appear often in: repetitions: *Ídi, ídi bék.* (Go, go away.) – *No, bomo vídli, bomo vídli.* (Well, we will see,

we will see.); additionally, added sentence elements (as terms of address, etc.): *Kák ste te obléčeni, gospót?* (How are you dressed, Sir?) – *Tího bota obé, slúškinja pa žéna.* (Be quiet both of you, maid and wife.); elements for establishing contact with the speaker: *Jás mám dnár, jás mám dnár, razúmeš?* (I have money, I have money, do you understand?) – *Čúj, káj splóh máš ti z njím?* (Well, what do you have with him?) – *Víta, tó pa mám jás za dópóudne, do enájstih.* (See, I have this in the morning, until eleven.). Regional colloquial character is most noticeable in word order, i.e.: (1) Interchanges of theme and rheme, even transition:⁷³ */.../ je pa rés, da si sposója dnár ot tēbe.* (*/.../ it is true; he borrows money from you.*) – *Jás ból múhaste žénske ot tvóje víjo nís n nikól.* (I've never seen a more capricious woman than yours.); (2) The auxiliary verb is placed at the beginning or at the end of the sentence: *Je blá sréčna, da se je láchko z námi igrála.* (She was happy to play with us.) – *Pa káj te z váma je?* (What's the matter with you?), and the adverb at the end of the sentence: *Něom se s tábo méno tú.* (I won't speak to you here.); (3) The use of long instead of short forms of pronouns: *Gdáj bo tēbe pámet sréčala?* (When will you see reason?) or instead of clitics: *Tó za mēne poméni válko část.* (It is a great honour for me.); (4) The use of personal and demonstrative pronouns in places where Standard Slovene, owing to stylistic markedness, uses the zero pronoun: *Kleónt, kák sꝛ jás veséla, da vás vídim.* (Kleónt, how happy I am to see you.) – *Káj se tí režíš?* (What are you laughing at?) – and the addition of adjectival modifiers to the right of the headword and nominal modifiers to the left of the headword:⁷⁴ *hčērka mója* 'my daughter'; *od graščáka sín* 'lord of the castle's son'.

The use of colloquial or lower colloquial coloured words, i.e. *méniti se* 'to talk', *štímunga* 'atmosphere' < G. *Stimmung*, *bájta* 'house', *dopásti se* 'be pleased', *šténge* 'stairs' < MHG. *stiege*, expressive: *bedarija* 'nonsense' < over Cro. from Tur., *natákjen* 'indisposed', pejorative: *šarlatánt* 'charlatan', *režáti se* 'to laugh', *kozlarija* 'foolishness', *barába* 'bastard' < It. *barabba*, also vulgar: *drêk* 'shit' < G. *Dreck*, *fšráti* 'to dirty', *fúkjen* 'stupid, fuck' indicates the strong regional colloquial colour of the stage performance. German loanwords are not accepted in Standard literary Slovene language,

⁷³ The word order of the Standard Literary Slovene language is stylistically neutral when used in the following sequence: the topic (theme), the transition, and the focus (rheme). It may deviate according to language use. (See Toporišič 2000: 668–677.)

⁷⁴ In Standard Slovene adjectival attributes precede the antecedent, while nominal ones follow it.

and are present only in the Maribor regional colloquial language: *ziher* ‘for sure’ < G. *sicher*, *bék* ‘away’ < G. *weg*, *nóbl* ‘noble’ ← G. *nobel*, *cájt* ‘time’ ← G. *Zeit*, *šúhi* ‘shoes’ ← G. *Schuhe*, *trófiti* ‘to hit’ ← G. *treffen*.⁷⁵

The Ljubljana regional colloquial language in the stage performance

In the performance of *Plemeniti meščan*, Kleont, Lucija’s suitor, also uses Non-standard Slovene language; he speaks the regional colloquial language of Ljubljana, which is regarded as elite and prestigious, similar to Central Slovene. His speech is also highly intertwined with slangisms, a decision taken by the director to indicate the suitor’s (beside geographic) generational affiliation. In pronunciation he preserves a quality and quantity of vowel appropriate to the Standard literary Slovene language, while elements of colloquial spoken language are reflected in: strong complete or partial (i.e. to the level of semivowel) vocal reduction: *tút* ‘also, as well’, *prevélka* ‘too big’, *sám* ‘only’; *zdajle* ‘now’, *kər dóbər* ‘quite good’, *prósəm* ‘ask’; pronunciation of non-stressed participles *-el*, *-il*, *-al* like *u*: *védu* ‘(he) knew’, *govóru* ‘(he) spoke’, *zasovrážu* ‘(he) hated’; pronunciation of palatal *l* as *l*: *ból* ‘more’, *oblúbu* ‘(he) promised’ and pronunciation of palatal *n* as *n*: *lúkna* ‘hole’, *zádnič* ‘last time’; use of only short infinitive: *mórš priznát* ‘you have to admit’; masculinisation of neuter: (si vrtam lukno u) *kolén* ‘to make a hole in my knee’; colloquial adverbs and pronouns: *néki* ‘a certain’, *posébi* ‘especially’, *kvá* ‘what’. It is strongly interwoven with slangisms, mostly borrowed from English, German or French, i.e.: *lúzer* ‘loser’ ← Engl. *lose*, *ókéj* ‘okey’ ← Engl. *okay*, *šánsa* ‘chance’ ← over G. *Chance* from Fr., which are used to denote also the sexual or erotic *píčka* ‘vulgar for a young woman, bitch’.

The Slovene Standard language in the stage performance

Duke Dorant and marchioness Dorimena, members of the aristocracy and cultural elite, speak in the Standard literary Slovene language. Deviations are apparent only in the speech of the music teacher, who mixes Littoral colloquial language, resulting in a distinctly Latin-influenced sentence melody, and Italian (Ambrozius, Berce 2007), which is present as incorrect verb government on the morphological level, i.e. inappropriate rection with

⁷⁵ Abbreviations: Cro – Croatian, G. – German, It. – Italian, MHG. – Middle High German, Tur. – Turkish.

the Nominative instead (a) of the Accusative: Vam lahko zdaj pokažem *zadeva*? (May I show you the thing now?) – (b) of the Genitive: Za družba ni koristnejše *stvar* ko muzika. (There is no better thing for society than music.) – (c) of the Locative: Ne govorite taka grda *o muzika*. (Don't speak so negatively about music.) This is especially noticeable in the lexicon, which is acknowledged as being of Roman origin: for example: *alora* 'consequently', *inkredible* 'incredible', *maestro* 'conductor', *molto bene* 'very good', *sinjore* 'Sir'.

Individual deviations of the actors' speech from the basic variety (Maribor urban vernacular) to Standard literary Slovene are rare, but noticeable with Mr. and Mrs. Jourdain. They are recognisable in places of stress which are typical of Standard literary Slovene: *lepó blagó* 'nice cloth', *lahkó* 'can', in the Standard quantity and quality of vowels: *zdāj* 'now', *sāj* 'but', *rōka* 'hand', *mōja* 'mine', *primér* 'example', *zvečér* 'evening' and the use of sophisticated Standard Slovene words, particularly in the dialogues between Mr. Jourdain and members of the aristocracy, when he (more or less unsuccessfully) tries to communicate in Standard literary Slovene, i.e. *očáran* 'fascinated', *izjémna lepôta* 'extreme beauty', *zeló imenítna dáma* 'very prominent person', *velíka část* 'great honour', etc.

Conclusion

The analysis of the theatrical speech in the staging of *Plemeniti meščan* demonstrates that the dialogue very accurately reflects the language of everyday or real life. The director, stage manager, language consultant and actors have managed to successfully create a unique, one-off and theatrically effective speech image, which is one of the outstanding features of the performance.

3.3 Radio

The questions posed in this section concern the expression of (personal) identity through radio broadcasts in Non-standard varieties:⁷⁶

Maribor Commercial Radio Station Radio City. In this section, the linguistic analysis of a humorous programme broadcast on the Maribor commercial radio station Radio City is presented. The programme is deliberately recorded in the Maribor regional colloquial language and as such reflects the diversification of media language. The analysis makes two main claims: on the one hand, there is a need for identification with the language of the local environment and on the other hand, there is a need for the national language to be used in the public sphere in order to express collective identity.

Radio Stations with status of special importance. Based on the three regional radio stations in north-east Slovenia, i.e. Radio Ptuj, Radio Murski val and Radio Slovenske gorice, we present examples of radio shows which express identification with the language of their environment. The radio stations presented here all belong, according to the language environment in which they broadcast, to the Pannonia dialect group, but to different local dialects: Radio Ptuj (from Ptuj) to the Prekija dialect; Murski val (from Murska Sobota) to the Prekmurje dialect; Radio Slovenske gorice (from Lenart) to the Slovenske gorice dialect. According to the *Direktorat za medije/The Directorate for Media*, they belong to the category of so-called stations of special importance.

3.3.1 Maribor commercial radio station Radio City

The aims of the analysis

The theoretical section sets out to explore the following issues: (1) the role played by language and (2) Slovene language varieties as elements of national and individual identity in communication within spoken media. The empirical section presents an analysis of the *Reporter Milan* show, a

⁷⁶ For more, see Valh Lopert & Koletnik (2011) and Valh Lopert (2015).

humorous broadcast on the Radio City commercial radio station in Maribor. The producers of this and similar shows have made the conscious decision to use Non-standard regional colloquial language, enabling them to fit into the environment in which they broadcast and connect more easily with their audience. Language, we can most certainly claim, is humankind's most important symbolic system, and at the same time social system, or *social institution*, as Ule (2005: 131) labels it. The issue of language is in essence also political, and as such important for the development of nations.

Maribor urban colloquial language in radio broadcasting

Maribor colloquial language is also known as urban colloquial, a variety which stems mainly from the dialects of major cities; its individuality lies largely in lexis, syntax, phonological accent and overall auditory impression. It is a social Non-standard category, which is heavily influenced by Standard Slovene.

The media in particular are important contributors to speech culture and wide differences are visible in this area between local commercial and national radio stations. Journalists, announcers and presenters on commercial stations are unsure as to which language to use, since they are constantly under pressure to be market efficient. They usually conclude that the more spontaneous and natural the language is, the better the contact is between the interlocutors. The culture of speech on the radio, therefore, depends on the presenter's communicative competence (both professional and non-professional). Changes in the variety they use (standard–colloquial–dialect) occur as a result of conscious or unconscious switching and depend largely on purpose and circumstances (target audience); *derogation* from standard language is therefore much more commonplace on commercial than on national radio, especially on the phonological and lexical level.

In addition, radio is a factor that affects the language of the environment in which it broadcasts, especially within certain groups of individuals; radio helps to preserve dialects, enhances the feeling of belonging to the region and its influence on language gradually leads to the changing of language norms. The local commercial radio station on which we base our research is Radio City, which was founded in 1995 and remains the most listened to radio station in north-eastern Slovenia, despite the proliferation of new stations in recent years. Ratings for commercial radio stations are

extremely important, which is confirmed by the listening figures (source: Institute for Media Research Mediana). Based on the range of audibility in September 2018 (Radio City: Internet source), the data suggests that Radio City is listened to by 39.3 % of listeners in the category of listeners aged 10–59, and 43.5 % of listeners aged 30–50 years.

Analysis of local commercial radio station language

The analysis focuses on 30 humorous episodes of the *Reporter Milan show* on the local commercial radio station, Radio City, broadcast between November 2009 and February 2010. The results are still considered relevant, for partial analyses of the humorous shows still on air show little deviation from the data. The content of the show mostly consists of ironic updates on issues affecting the city, and often also on broader (political, economic, social, ecological ...) themes. The show is recorded in the Maribor colloquial, i.e. Non-standard north-eastern regional colloquial language, which is used in order to maximise the impact on listeners.

The Maribor colloquial language has been formed at the direct intersection of the Styrian and Pannonian dialect groups; the speech of Reporter Milan displays the combined influences of the Styrian and Pannonian dialect of Slovenske gorice. The following phonological elements occur in the spoken realisation of dialogues:⁷⁷

(1) Recent accent shifts, which are a result of (a) removals from old circumflexed length or shortness: *blágo* ‘cloth’, *lépo* ‘nice’, *prêveč* ‘too much/many’, *záčne* ‘begins’ for Standard *blagó*, *lepó*, *prevêč*, *začnè*; (b) significant tendency towards analogical generalisation of stress to all or most forms of the same words: *sóset* ‘neighbour, Nom. Sg.’, *sóseda* ‘neighbour, Gen. Sg.’, *sósedu* ‘neighbour, Dat. Sg.’; *próso* ‘he asked’, *prósła* ‘she asked’, *próslo* ‘it asked’ for Standard *sósed*, *soséda -u*, *prôsil*, *prosíla*, *prosílo*; and two accents in compounds: *kólodvór* ‘terminal’, *kválificíran* ‘qualified’, *Máribór* ‘Maribor’, *nêspôsóbŋ* ‘incompetent’, *sámomór* ‘suicide’.

⁷⁷ Examples are marked with symbols denoting the place of stress: the acute (´), grave (`) and roof (˘) are used in Slovene literary language. The acute lengthens and narrows *e* and *o*, the grave shortens and widens *e* and *o*; the roof is used to lengthen and widen *e* and *o*. The vowel nature of *l* and *n* is marked with a small circle underneath; a semi-circle under *i* and *u* (*i̇*, *u̇*) denotes their consonant pronunciation, while the semi-vowel is marked with *ə*.

(2) The loss of quantity oppositions; after toneme opposition the quantity opposition in Maribor colloquial was lost, as well as in the surrounding dialects. All Proto-Slavic vowels and vowels with a new acute accent in the position before last, last or the only syllable, which has remained short in the Standard Slovene language until the present day, have been prolonged in Maribor colloquial, therefore short vowels are no longer heard: *níč* 'nothing', *tú* 'here', *dét* 'man', *věč* 'more', *kmêt* 'farmer', *nóš* 'knife', *brát* 'brother', *pês* 'dog' for Standard *nič*, *tù*, *dèd*, *věč*, *kmèt*, *nòž*, *bràt*, *pàs*.

(3) Change in the quality of stressed vowels; the recent stress shift of stressed *e* and *o*, which are wide in the Standard Slovene language and the dialects surrounding Maribor, remain markedly narrow in Maribor colloquial: *séstra* 'sister', *téta* 'aunt', *dóbro* 'good', *róka* 'hand', *vóda* 'water', in comparison to Standard *sêstra*, *têta*, *dôbro*, *rôka*, *vôda*. Long and wide *e* is a rare phoneme, occurring only as a narrow alofon of *e* in the groups: *-er*, *-ej* in *-euj*: *fčêraj* 'yesterday', *hčêrka* 'daughter', *prevêrit* 'check'; *povêj* 'tell'; *mêuj* '(he) had', *pêuj* '(he) sang', *záčêuj* '(he) began'.

(4) Monophthongisation of diphthongs; the dialects in the Maribor surroundings belong to the original southern Slovene dialects as regards the diphthongisation of Proto-Slavic *yat* (*ě*) into *ej* and always long *o* into *ou*. Both diphthongs, on the one hand, survived in the Styrian, Pannonian and Dolenjska dialects, while on the other hand, they became monophthongs in Standard Slovene as well as in the Maribor colloquial, i.e. long and narrow *e* and *o*: *snék* 'snow', *měšam* 'mix', *vém* 'know'; *bók* 'God', *most* 'bridge', *nós* 'nose'. Thus, the Maribor colloquial vowel system consists only of monophthongs.⁷⁸

(5) The vocalisation of the Proto-Slavic old acuted, the lengthening and vocalisation of vowels with new acuted and the shift of the stressed Proto-Slavic semivowel (schwa) in all word syllables into *a*, is the same in the Maribor colloquial as it is in Standard Slovene *dán* 'day', *lán* 'flax', *vás* 'village'. However, in all the north-eastern Slovene dialects, the long schwa is reflected as *e*. The same reflection, i.e. *a*, is heard for the new acute semivowel not in the last syllable of words: *máša* 'mass', *snáha* 'daughter-in-law', while shifted and new acute schwa vowels in the last

⁷⁸ Redjko (1992) states that the diphthongs *ej* and *ou* are still present in the Studence suburb on the right bank of the River Drava.

syllable of the word *e*, as in all the surrounding dialects, is heard: *mêgla* ‘fog’, *têma* ‘darkness’, *stêber* ‘pillar’, *pês* ‘dog’, *dêš* ‘rain’.

Modern vowel reduction is a feature of Reporter Milan’s pronunciation, mostly with infinitive and near consonants, less at the beginning or at the end of the word, resulting in the syllable-forming phenomena *ɲ* and *ʃ*: (mórš) *délat* ‘(have) to work’, (záčni) *písat* ‘(start) to write’; *blá* ‘(she) was’, *glédla* ‘(she) watched’, *materjál* ‘material’, *nardím* ‘(I) do’, *povédli* ‘(they) told’; *bógi* ‘poor’, *méla* ‘(she) had’; *dóst* ‘enough’, *drugáč* ‘different’, *ták* ‘like this’; *ponósɲ* ‘proud’, *sɲ* ‘(I) am’, *zbirátʃ* ‘collector’. The initial *u* is pronounced also as *o*: *ogotovíu* ‘(he) found out’, *omár* ‘(he) died’, while the consonant distribution system displays the following features: palatal *l* is hard: *lúba* ‘love’, *múl* ‘slime’, *podálšo* ‘(he) extended’, *ń* is also losing its palatal element, but the components sometimes switch places: *górna* ‘upper’, *kníga* ‘book’, *lúkna* ‘hole’, *svíja* ‘pig’, *kójn* ‘horse’, *zastójn* ‘free’. A sonant *v* in the position before voiceless consonants and at the end of the word is pronounced as *f*, as usually occurs in the northern Styrian and the Pannonian dialects: *fčásih* ‘sometimes’, *fprášat* ‘ask’, *f péték* ‘on Friday’, *bárf* ‘wooden footbridge’, *várf* ‘rope’, otherwise as *v*: *víno* ‘wine’, *gláva* ‘head’, less frequently as *u*: *áuto* ‘car’, *gláuni* ‘main’. The final *-l* is pronounced as *-u* in the accented syllable: *dáu* ‘(he) gave’, *kadiu* ‘smoked’, *sedêu* ‘(I) sat’ otherwise as *-o*: *délo* ‘(he) worked’, *réko* ‘(he) said’, *hóto* ‘(he) wanted’, *próso* ‘(he) asked’, the sonant *r* is losing its palatal element with inflection: *krompíra* ‘potatoes, Gen. Pl.’, *papíra* ‘paper, Gen. Pl.’, *šč* is reduced into *š*: *išem* ‘(I) seek’, *tíšat* ‘press’, *dn* changed into *gn*: *gnár* ‘money’; *d* and *b* between the vowels is lost: *príu* (< *pridi*) ‘come’, *poglêat* (< *pogledat*) ‘take a look’, *víiš* (< *vidiš*) ‘(you) see’; *trêa* (< *treba*) ‘need to’, *nêoš* (< *ne boš*) ‘(you) will not’, *dám* (< *da bom*) ‘that I will’.

Feminisation of the neuter form is a very frequent occurrence, even of plural nouns: *dréva* ‘tree’, *jápka* ‘apple’, *jétre* ‘liver’, *vráte* ‘door’, generalisation of feminine *a*-endings, masculine *-o* ending in the dative and locative singular and the genitive plural for the Standard ending *-u* and *-ov*: *k bráto* ‘to brother’, *v žêpo* ‘in a pocket’, *pét dédo/-of* ‘five men’; only short infinitive: (sɲ hóto) *dól požágat* ‘(I wanted) to burn’, (ne smém) *hódit* ‘(I must not) walk’, use of *-ma* with verbs for the first person dual instead of the Standard *-va*: *gréma* ‘we go’, *čákama* ‘we wait’, *známa* ‘we know’, expressing willingness with verbs denoting possibility (must for can/be able to): *mórem délat* ‘can work’ for ‘must work’, *ví mórete vêet* ‘you can

know’ for ‘you have to know’, *bi móglo bít fêrtik* ‘it could be finished’ for ‘it should be finished’, generalisation of thematic conjugation for athematic verbs: *bóte* (dóbli) ‘you will (get)’, *véte* (tó) ‘you know (this)’, reduplication of demonstrative pronouns: *tóti* ‘this, m.’, *tóta* ‘this, f.’, *toto* ‘this, n.’ and negative particles: *ne ne* > *nêna* > *nêa* ‘no, not’, replacement of reflexive pronouns *kar/ki* ‘which/that’ with the interrogative *kaj* ‘what’: *Fsê, káj je še živo* /.../ (Everything that is alive /.../), *Tóti Máribórcani, káj so* /.../ (The Maribor citizens that are /.../), or with the conjunction *ko* ‘when’: *Óni, ko je pêú* /.../ (The one who sang /.../) and frequent use of regional colloquial variants of adverbs and particles, e.g. *bék* ‘away’, *nót* ‘in’, *pól* ‘then’, *párvo* ‘the first place’, *vún* ‘out’; *kúj* ‘as soon as possible’.

All syntactic patterns of the Maribor urban variety follow the current colloquial Slovene, i.e. repetitions: *Dáj, dáj, dáj, saj tó níma fúrma.* (*Come on, come on, come on* this is of no use.) – *Míja snêške zbírama, snêške.* (We (both) collect (*snow*)mushrooms, (*snow*)mushrooms.); omissions, additions: *Z mêsom délažo, na hládnem.* (They work with meat, *in the cold*.); exposures: *Máribórski delfín, tó je kráp.* (*Maribor dolphin*, i.e. carp.); establishing contact with the partner: *Já, glêjte, tó je ták.* (Well, *look*, that’s it.) Simple one-clause sentences have the same structure as those in Standard Slovene, but some word order idiosyncrasies were also found: (1) exchange of theme and rheme, also of transition: *Kónc avgústa* sŋ jo kúpo. (I bought it *at the end of August*.) – *Zakáj me za róko dəržíš?* (Why are you holding *my hand*?); (2) the auxiliary verb is sometimes placed at the beginning of the sentence as well: *Sém si sáma kúpla éno jákŋco.* (I bought this jacket by myself.), while the adverb is placed at the end: *Míja móрма posvétit tú.* (We have to light *here*.) – *Káj ste ví nóri málo?* (Are you *completely* out of your mind?); (3) the cohesive particle *pa* follows the present form of the non-lexical verb *to be*: *Káj je pa tēbi?* (What’s wrong with you?); (4) the emphatic particle is used in unexpected positions: *Sáj vam velá še.* (It’s *still* valid.) – *Káj sta víja splóh?* (What *actually* are you?) – *Tó ti právim glíh.* (That’s what I’m telling you *exactly*.); (5) word order of enclitics is changed, so: (a) the verbal enclitic is situated in front of a non-reflexive pronominal Dative form: *Jás bom te ták fséko.* (I will punch you so hard.); (b) the conditional of auxiliary *to be* is placed after the reflexive pronoun *se*: /.../ *če se mu bi káj zgódlo, pa bi jás slábo vést méla.* (/.../ if anything happens to him I would feel guilty); (c) the enclitic of the personal pronoun is placed between elements of the compound verbal form: /.../ *boš me málo potégno s strójčekom dól* /.../. (/.../ you will trim

me with the machine a little bit /.../); or at the end of the sentence: *Pérvo sŋ ga obvládo, sŋ ga pa tút shráno si.* (I mastered it first, but I saved it as well.); (d) the particle *naj* is used after the conditional auxiliary *to be*: *No, ne vém záj, káj bi drúga naj.* (Well, I do not know what else I should do.) The use of personal pronouns in places where Standard Slovene, owing to stylistic markedness, uses the zero pronoun: *Káj tí nêa razúmeš?* (Well, it's you who doesn't understand?) – *Náj ón príde lépo na stól.* (Let him come onto this chair.), addition of cohesive particles and/or adverbs in the positions redundant in Standard Slovene: *Káj te máš v žêpo?* (What do you have in your pocket?) – *Jás bom ták fprášo tó župána.* (I will ask the major, indeed.) and position of (a) adverbial adjective to the right of the antecedent: *soséda górna* 'upper neighbour', *várf nosílina* 'carrying rope', *pálce éne* 'a stick' and (b) noun qualifier (attribute) nominal attribute to the left of the antecedent: *ot sína žéna* 'the son's wife'.

In the vocabulary of *Reporter Milan*, the words of Slavonic origin mostly belong to Standard Slovene, but there are also numerous Germanisms and calques, since a significant number of Maribor residents were German until the First World War. Many of the words of Slavonic origin are nowadays denoted as colloquial: *dopasti se* 'to please', lower colloquial: *trotelj* 'idiot', *šlatati* 'to touch', north-eastern dialectal: *ded* 'man', pejorative: *baba* 'woman', *butelj* 'idiot', *požeruh* 'greedy-guts', lower: *tele* 'idiot', *žreti* 'to devour' or vulgar: *zajebavati* 'make fun of someone', *drek* 'shit, smth. less or not important'; two words have an expressive marker: *gn-javiti* 'to annoy' and *razkuriti* 'to infuriate'. The oldest German borrowed words originated in Old High German (7th–10th century) or in the Alpine Slovene period and are – from a Standard Slovene perspective – stylistically unmarked:⁷⁹ *basati* 'to stuff; to fill' < OHG.⁸⁰ *fazzōn* or colloquial: *žlahta* 'relatives' < OHG. *Slahta*. Middle high German (until 13th century) and later borrowed words, especially from Bavarian German, were accepted into Standard Slovene as stylistically unmarked: *ceker* 'narrow, two-handled bag, usually of straw' < G. *Zecker*, colloquial: *jaga* 'hunt' < MHG. *jagen*, *jakna* 'jacket' < G. *Jacke*, *kikla* 'skirt' < MHG. *kittel*, lower colloquial: *froc* 'child, kid' < G. *Fratz*, *gas* 'gas' < G. *Gas*, *kelner* 'waiter'

⁷⁹ For etymology, we used: Bezljaj (1976–2007), Snoj (2003) and Striedter-Temps (1963).

⁸⁰ Abbreviations: Aust. – Austrian, Bav. – Bavarian, Cro. – Croatian, Dalm. – Dalmatian, dial. – dialectal, Eng. – English, Fr. – French, Fri. – Friulian, G. – German, It. – Italian, Lat. – Latin, MHG. – Middle High German, OHG. – Old High German, Rom. – Roman, Serb. – Serbian.

< G. *Kellner*, *lojtra* 'ladder' < Bav. MHG. *Lõiter*, *plac* 'place, area' < MHG. *pla(t)z*, *šank* 'bar desk' < G. *Schank*, *šintar* 'knacker' < G. *Schinder*, *špilati* 'to play' < MHG. *spielen*, *štant* 'stand' < G. *Stand*, *štima* 'voice' < G. *Stimme*, dialectal Styrian: *pubec* 'boy' < Bav. MHG. *Puobe*, pejorative: *taca* 'hand, leg' < MHG. *tatze*, mostly used in Maribor colloquial only: *bek* 'away' < G. *weg*, *cajt* 'time' < G. *Zeit*, *fajn* 'fine' < G. *fein*, *faliti* 'to lack' < G. *fehlen*, *fertik* 'finished, done' < G. *fertig*, *flek* 'stain, spot; soil' < G. *Fleck*, *glih* 'equal, the same' < MHG. *gelīch*, *glīch*, *hakelj* 'hook' < G. *Haken*, *kiclati* 'to tickle' < G. *kitzeln*, *luft* 'air' < G. *Luft*, *mantel* 'coat' < G. *Mantel*, *perajt* 'be ready' < G. *bereit*, *pucati* 'to clean' < G. *putzen*, *rosfraj* 'rustfree' < G. *rostfrei*, *Ziher* 'certain, sure' < G. *sicher*. The majority of Romanisms were borrowed through German, especially the Latin ones. They are unmarked stylistically in contemporary Standard Slovene: *bajta* 'hut' < dial. north It. *baita*, Fri. *Bàite*, *gajba* 'crate' < Dalm. Rom. *gaiba*, *muzika* 'music' < G. *Musik* or It. *musica* < Lat. *Mūsica*, *komplificirati* 'to complicate' < through G. *komplizieren* < Lat. *complicāre*, *procent* 'percent' < G. *Prozent* < It., *šef* 'boss' < (eventual through G. *Chef*) < Fr. *chef* < Lat. *caput*; colloquial: *familija* 'family' < through G. *Familie* or It. *famiglia* < Lat. *familia*, *šansa* 'chance' < through G. *Chance* < Fr. *chance* < vulgar Lat. *Cadentia*, *tarifa* 'tariff' < It. *tariffa*; lower colloquial: *direct* 'direct' < G. *direkt* and Fr. *Direct* < Lat. *Dīrēctus*, pejorative: *amater* 'amateur' < (eventual through G. *Amateur*) < Fr. *Amateur* < Lat. *amātor*, one word with expressive qualification: *čik* 'cigarette' < through Aust. G. *Tschick* or through It. *cicca* < Fr. *Chique*, one word with qualification *neobčevalno* (not used in everyday communication): *servus* 'hello' < Bav. G. *servus* < Lat. Among the selected terms, we see some which are of Roman origin, but which were borrowed through German or contemporary European languages into Standard Slovene and then subsequently into Maribor colloquial: *avdicija* 'audition' < through Eng. *audition* and Fr. *Audition* < Lat. *audītiō*, *deponirati* 'to deposit' < through G. *deponieren* < Lat. *Dēpōnere*, *totalen* 'total' < (eventual through G. *total*) < Fr. *total* < middle Lat. *totalis*, *vinjeta* 'vignette' < (eventual through G. *Vignete*) < Fr. *vignette* < Lat. *Vīnea*. There are also some borrowings from Croatian: *blesav* 'fool' < Cro. *blēsav*, *budala* 'idiot' < Cro., Serb. *budàla*, *gužva* 'crush' < Cro., Serb. *gûžva*, *novinar* 'journalist' < Cro., Serb. *nõvinār* and one borrowing from English (through German): *štartati* 'to start' and one from German (through Italian): *roba* 'merchandise, commercial wares'.

The texts of Reporter Milan, a humorous programme broadcast on the Maribor commercial radio station Radio City, conform entirely to the Maribor colloquial variety, which has formed at the intersection of the two main dialect bases – Styrian and Pannonian. On the phonological and terminological levels, traces of German can be observed. We should also point out that contemporary Maribor colloquial has been noticeably affected by Standard Slovene.

Conclusion

In this world of globalisation, where national languages are being replaced by global English (e.g. in science, politics and education), which in effect inevitably leads to negative assimilation, language – be it the standard variety, an idiolect, sociolect or dialect – plays a fundamental identifying role in national entities, Slovene included. This identifying role is strengthened also through the use of dialect in the media.

The analysis shows that Radio City is connected to both its surroundings and its listeners. This serves as confirmation of the stratification of media speech as a manifestation of the need to identify with the speech of the environment, i.e. the intended public, while at the same time pointing to the need for public speech to act as a national language in order to both attain and reflect a collective identity. We believe that in the realisation of the strategy of multilingualism in the integrational and globalisational processes in Europe, the preservation of such linguistic and cultural diversity should present a source of strength rather than a weakness, suggesting it is time to reconsider the role and status of national languages and dialects in this increasingly globalised world.

3.3.2 Radio stations with status of special importance

The aims of the analysis

This research focuses on dialect as an identity feature on radio stations in north-east Slovenia, specifically Radio Ptuj, Radio Murski val and Radio Slovenske gorice. The language used in media is multi-layered; while the use of different varieties expresses the need to identify with the local language, the use of Standard literary Slovene reflects the need for public

speech as a national and state language to maintain and mirror collective identity. Radio is a medium which not only informs its listeners but also connects and expresses belonging and identification to/with the group, and consequently enables inclusion into it. As these radio stations offer broadcast diversity, they are listened to by both the older population (mostly because of information-based broadcasts and the feeling of inclusion and belonging to the local area) and by the young (mostly because of music and entertainment broadcasts).

In the first, theoretical, section we present the problem of the use of Slovene in the public/media in general according to the *Resolucija o Nacionalnem programu za jezikovno politiko 2014–2018* (*Resolution on the National Programme for Language Policy 2014–18*; Resolucija: Internet source), providing a brief review of the legislation defining the term “Radio Programme of Special Importance” (AKOS: Internet source), since all three radio stations belong to this category. In the second, empirical section, we examine the hypothesis of dialect as an expression of identity in the selected radio stations.

The *Resolucija o Nacionalnem programu za jezikovno politiko 2014–2018* (*The Resolution on the National Programme for Language Policy*) (Resolucija: Internet source) in article 2.2.2 *Language description* carries an extremely important statement:

Moreover, it should be remembered that Slovene does not consist only of the contemporary standard variety, but also of dialects, and possesses a history that reaches far into the past. Special attention must, therefore, be given to research on dialects, and to the compilation of language atlases, dictionaries of dialects, books on individual (moribund) dialects, and to historical and comparative research, in particular to the compilation of the historical dictionary and historical grammar of the Slovene language, as well as to revising the current etymological dictionary, etc.

Radio programmes of special importance

Article 2 of the *Pravilnik o programih posebnega pomena* (*Rules on Programmes of Special Importance 2002*; Pravilnik: Internet source) sets out the tasks of programmes of special importance:

Programme content of local or regional, student and non-profitmaking radio and television programmes are intended for:

- Ensuring objective and impartial informing of the residents of local, regional, student or other communities about political, cultural, religious, economic and other issues that are important for their lives and work;
- Balanced representation of all legitimate interests in a given local, regional, student or other community, interests of minor social communities included. In doing so, the social communities concerned have a possibility of a direct participation in the programme;
- Presentation of the original production of Slovene audio-visual and radiophone authorial work;
- Cultural development and cultural heritage preservation;
- Education;
- Encouraging dialogue and coexistence among people based on respect of human dignity and other human rights and fundamental freedoms;
- Nursing the culture of speech and expression.

All three mentioned radio stations were until the end of 2017 also part of the Common Night Programme of local and regional radio stations (i.e. SNOP⁸¹) which participated in producing night programming from mid-night until five o'clock in the morning.

Radio Ptuj, Radio Murski val and Radio Slovenske gorice

In the empirical section, we test the hypothesis on dialect as an element of identity on radio stations in north-east Slovenia, specifically Radio Ptuj, Radio Murski val and Radio Slovenske gorice. This time we will not focus on the analysis of the dialect speech, but on the position of dialect in the broadcast schedule of the individual radio stations.^{82, 83}

⁸¹ SNOP: Skupni nočni program regionalnih radijskih postaj Slovenije (Common Night Programme of local and regional radio stations). This was still broadcasting during our research, but was cancelled on December 31st 2017.

⁸² Goltz (2009: 113–134) writes about Radio Bremen, which has broadcast the news in the dialect or colloquial speech of Bremen and the vicinity of De Narichten up Platt (for German Plattdeutsch people use Umgangssprache, while Niederdeutsch is used in scientific discourse) on its first station from Monday to Friday since 1977. Access to the radio station: http://www.radiobremen.de/bremeneins/serien/plattdeutsche_nachrichten/startseite102.html (Accessed October 23rd 2015.)

⁸³ For more on the language of the environment and dialects on radio stations in Slovenia, see: Valh Lopert (2006).

All three radio stations belong, according to the language environment in which they are broadcast, to the Pannonian dialect group, which consists of – according to the map of Slovene dialects (Logar & Rigler 1983) – the following: Prekmurje, Prlekija, Haloze and Slovenske gorice dialect.⁸⁴ However, despite belonging to the same dialect group, each station uses a different dialect (more will be explained as the individual radio station is discussed). Based on the radio programme scheme, i.e. the content that the radio station offers to its listeners, we attempt to establish if and to what extent dialect is present in the broadcasts of the three radio stations, which according to the *Pravilnik o programih posebnega pomena* (Pravilnik: Internet source) belong to the so-called regional programmes of special importance (i.e. “/.../ they significantly fill up the gap on the informative axle local-national /.../”, and thus cover more regional and local information content. According to this definition, we assume that they offer content in the language of their environment, i.e. also in dialect.

Radio Ptuj

Radio Ptuj, with its headquarters in Ptuj, broadcasts in a language environment in which the Prlekija dialect dominates.⁸⁵

Radio Ptuj has operated continuously since 1963 and broadcasts on frequencies 89.8 MHz, 98.2 MHz and 104.3 MHz. It is one of the most listened to radio stations in north-east Slovenia, and Slovenes around the world also listen to it online. Since 1990, every Thursday (8pm to 12pm), they have broadcast a regular humorous music show on folk music *Orfejček*. The professional presenters strive for Standard Slovene, while two out of the three radio presenters speak in the regional colloquial language as well. The amateur presenters occasionally use individual dialect words. It is also worth mentioning part of the morning show schedule, hosted by various radio presenters in mixed pairs, the so-called Morning Alarm Clock, which was introduced on January 3rd 2003. This show features some dialectal elements, which according to its presenters, brings them closer to their listeners.

⁸⁴ The Goričansko dialect renamed the Slovenske gorice dialect by Bregant (Koletnik 2001b: 38).

⁸⁵ Refer to: Ramovš (1935), Logar (1993), Zorko (2009), Koletnik (2007), Rajh (2010) et al.

Radio Murski val

Radio Murski Val, based in Murska Sobota, broadcasts in the linguistic environment of the Prekmurje dialect, further categorised into three sub-dialects: Goričko, Dolinsko and Ravensko.

Radio Murski val is a regional informative channel with the status of special importance. It has been active since 1958 and broadcasts on frequencies 94.6 and 105.7 MHz and 648 kHz; it can be heard in the Mura regions, Styria and the Raba Valley in Hungary, where some Slovenes live.

The broadcast schedule offers some titles written in dialect, e.g. on Monday *Vaj kak san zlüfto* (11:15; sport events reporting), *Kak je inda fajn bilou* (20:05; an ethnographic show carrying the tagline: “Shall we sing like our grandmothers taught us”); on Tuesday *Zdrafko Dren* (12:30), *Eti ta je muzika* (19:15); on Wednesday *Brat Džouži* (8:45), *Zamúrjenci* (available in the archives from February 2nd 2009), broadcasting on Fridays (11:15) and Sundays (8:30). Despite the use of dialect in their titles, not all of the shows use it in their broadcasts, featuring instead only the occasional regional colloquial word.

We should draw attention, however, to the dialect-based show *Zamúrjence*, which features: Dušan Radič – show writer, Berta Kološa – aunt Berta, and Marko Kočar – Vinci and Jože Brunec – uncle Džouži. The show provides commentary on current social and everyday themes in dialect (not only the Prekmurje dialect, but also the Prlekija dialect). At the end of October 2014 they cancelled a programme on radio Murski val after 32 years of broadcasting called *Geza se zeza*, a music request show presented by Geza Farkaš. The programme was replaced by *Propöler*, which is on air on Thursdays (20:05), and made by Primož Dani and Miran Camplin.

One show which does not include dialect in its title – the children’s programme *Biba buba baja* (Wednesdays at 18:00) – is proof of how integrated children (mostly) are in the “family language”. Children are asked questions by a journalist in such a way that they are led to discuss various topics, very often in dialect. This show illustrates how children master their first language, i.e. dialect, and that parents speak with them in it to pass it on to the next generation in the hope of keeping it alive.

Dialect words are specifically mentioned in the programme *Besede, besede, besede* (*Words, Words, Words*; Tuesdays at 8:30). As stated, the purpose of the programme is to:

“/.../ explore forgotten words, or the words that are not so much forgotten, but their meaning has changed due to changes in the rhythm of life and lifestyle in general /.../ and to not completely forget about the fine tuning of our language /.../ to help in the search for forgotten words.”

The journalist presents an *old* word in dialect (e.g. *pác*), while the listeners report on how it was said in different places and what it is in Standard Slovene (*páca* or *kvaša* ‘mixture of vegetables, herbs and vinegar’).

Radio Slovenske gorice

Radio Slovenske gorice, based in Lenart in Slovenske gorice, broadcasts in the linguistic environment of Slovenske gorice (referred to previously as “goričansko”) dialect.⁸⁶

Radio Slovenske gorice, the regional informative programme of special importance, started broadcasting on February 15th 1995 and broadcasts at 96.4 MHz. There music show *Blažev večer* (*Blaž's evening*) is hosted by a comic named Blaž (real name Jože Eder), a local from Slovenske gorice. Blaž uses his “home language” with the audience, although the use of dialect is not the main point of the show. Another dialect-related broadcast is *Zabavnoglasbeni kviz z Janezom Voglarjem* (*Popular Music Quiz With Janez Voglar*), which also uses a question-based format. The show is not entirely in dialect, but switches are made to colloquial language, and its listeners, who are included in the programme, occasionally use dialect. The show contains a strong language element, as the host asks “linguistic” questions, searching for standard language synonyms for dialect words, and explanations for proverbs and sayings.

Conclusion

As far as the use of Slovene in the media is concerned, all three radio stations, as broadcasters of special importance, meet the criteria set out in

⁸⁶ For a short review of classification and descriptions: Koletnik (2001b): 38–40. Consult: Ramovš (1935).

the *Pravilnik o programih posebnega pomena*, which among others include “maintaining culture of speech and communication; education; culture development”, etc. As the preservation of dialects falls into the “preservation of cultural heritage” category, we can conclude that radio contributes to the preservation of dialects, respecting the identity of individuals, and consequently the identity of the nation as a whole. As the analytical overview demonstrates, each of the radio stations in their own way connects to their audience with the use of dialect, and even more with the use of regional colloquial language, mostly in the form of relaxed, fun shows. A good example of this is *Besede, besede, besede* (*Words, Words, Words* – Radio Murski Val), where the audience tries to come up with dialect names for individual objects (aimed at preserving dialect words), while the audience of the previously mentioned *Zabavnoglasbeni kviz z Janezom Voglarjem* (*Popular Music Quiz With Janez Voglar* – Radio Slovenske gorice) searches for standard language synonyms of dialectal names.

There is undoubtedly a need for the speakers of various dialects to have a common or standard language. Slovene may have a small number of speakers, but it is a highly dialectally divided language. Each dialect (rural language, regional colloquial language...) is a source of richness and variety, and as linguists have established, it is equally devastating for a dialect to die out as a language, which is precisely why dialects and regional colloquial languages should not be seen as inferior to the Standard language for the sake of linguistic unity.

There should be more shows like those presented here which are designed to preserve dialect words (we will talk about television later). In this way, the status of dialects will improve, and in the future people speaking in dialect will serve as something more than just “.../ heroes talking in Dolenjska dialect, Littoral dialect and Styrian dialect, serving only to give a psychological dimension to a village klutz or a clown,” as Jančar stated in 2007.

3.4 Slovene dialects in popular music

As dialects have undergone something of a renaissance and are enjoying renewed credibility, this chapter focuses on dialects in the lyrics of Slovene popular music, specifically Prekmurje, Prlekija and Styrian dialectal features.⁸⁷

Prekmurje and Prlekija dialectal features in *Murske balade in romance* (Ballads and Romances of Pomurje Region). In Slovenia, as elsewhere in Europe, dialects have been enjoying a resurgence in popularity. We focus here on the Pannonian Prekmurje and Prlekija dialectal features of songs written by musicians, lyricists and writers such as Feri Lainšček, Vlado Žabot, Milan Vincetič, Dušan Šarotar, Štefan Kardoš, Marko Kočar, Vlado Kreslin and Vlado Poredoš. Performed by the Murska Banda instrumental ensemble and local vocalists, the fourteen romantic ballads were especially written for the *Murske balade in romance* music and literary project under the auspices of the 2012 Maribor European Capital of Culture. The premiere took place in September 2012 at The Festival of Murske balade in Murska Sobota (Slovenia).

Styrian in Slovene popular music. The analysis examines the lyrics of songs written by three Styrian musicians and attempts to establish to what degree their texts mirror the spoken Styrian dialect. All three bands originate from the region of the Styrian dialectal group, i.e. Nude from the regional colloquial language of Celje, Orlek from the dialect of Posavje and Mi2 from the central Styrian dialect. All three bands began performing in the 1990s and have been writing their own lyrics and music from the outset, offering audiences a flavour of dialect in their work.

⁸⁷ For more, see Koletnik (2008b), Koletnik & Valh Lopert (2017), Koletnik & Zemljak Jontes (2017).

3.4.1 Prekmurje and Prlekija dialectal features in Slovene popular music

The aims of the analysis

The focus here rests on the use of Pannonian Prekmurje and Prlekija dialectal features in fourteen songs by the musicians, lyricists and writers Feri Lainšček, Vlado Žabot, Milan Vincetič, Dušan Šarotar, Štefan Kardoš, Marko Kočar, Vlado Kreslin and Vlado Poredoš. This chapter discusses how the dialects of the Prlekija and Prekmurje⁸⁸ region are imitated on the phonetic, morphological and lexical level.

Murske balade in romance

These songs pay tribute to Pomurje, a region straddling the Mura River in north-east Slovenia, a land that their authors consider home and with which they feel closely connected. Performed by the Murska Banda instrumental ensemble and local vocalists, the fourteen romantic ballads were especially written for the Ballads and Romances of Pomurje Region music and literary project as part of the 2012 Maribor European Capital of Culture. Premiering in September 2012 at The Festival of *Murske balade in romance* in Murska Sobota, these ballads have since been released on CD (Lainšček et al. 2012).

While the project was inspired by the traditions of Pannonian music, the authors carefully planned this project as a response to the processes of globalisation and with the stated aim of preserving their regional identity. They have chosen to express themselves (and their identity) in their mother tongue – dialect – the language they were taught by their parents, in their surroundings, the language that has remained in their consciousness from childhood as a much more appropriate means of expressing their deepest, most intimate experiences than the learned Standard language.

⁸⁸ See Koletnik (2008b: 219–226) for more on the use of the Prekmurje dialect in (1) the original songs of Slovenia's most popular song-writer and performer of ethno music, Vlado Kreslin, and in the folk songs (especially those originating in Prekmurje) that he arranged, (2) the original Prekmurje poetry of Feri Lainšček, which was set to music, and (3) the original lyrics of the Prekmurje band D'Kwaschen Retashy, whose first album was recorded in the Prekmurje dialect.

Fundamental phonetical and morphological features of Prekmurje and Prlekija regional dialects

The dialects of the Prekmurje and Prlekija region are classified into the Pannonian dialect group alongside the Haloze and Slovenske gorice region dialects. While the Pannonian dialects do not have tonemic contrasts, they do have quantitative contrasts; stressed vowels are long or short, while the unstressed vowels are only short. In the Prekmurje and Prlekija dialect, long and short stressed syllables are possible in all syllables of polysyllabic words. The general Slovene stress shift (*zláto* > *zlatô* 'gold', *ôko* > *okô* 'eye', *dūšà* > *dúša* 'soul') has occurred; the vowels *e*, *o* and *ə* are stressed before previously short last stressed syllables (*žèna* 'wife', *nòga* 'leg', *mègla* 'fog'),⁸⁹ after the tertiary shift, there are stressed vowels in open syllables in some cases (*vùja* 'ear'), vowels are stressed after removing stress from the short syllable, even in prefixes and prepositions (*bògat* 'rich', *nàbrali* '(we, you, they) picked', *prìnas* 'here (at our place)', and vowels in word forms that are analogous in base are stressed as well. The new circumflex in the suffixes *-ec* and *-ek* and the upper lengthened new acute in suffix *-je* is preserved: *Štuhèc* (family name), *lakèt* 'forearm'; *korenjè* 'carrots' (Pkm.), *klajè* 'slaughter' (Prl.).

The Prekmurje vowel vocal system is relatively unified. Long vowels include *i/ī*, *ū/ū*, *u/ū*, *e*, (*ō*), *o*, *e/ē*, *ou*, *a* and *r*, while the short vowels are *i*, *ū*, *u*, *e*, (*ō*), *o*, *e/ä*, *ā* and *r*. Vowels also developed in a relatively unified fashion. The Prekmurje dialect does not recognise the velar fricative *x*, as it was reduced – *lāpec* 'farmhand' or shifted into *j* in the position between vowels or after a vowel before a pause – *strèja* 'roof', *práj* 'dust'. The final *-m* is replaced by *-n* – *dèlan* '(I am) working', *tàn* 'there', while *v* loses voicing and shifts into *f* in the position before a voiceless obstruent and at the end of the word before a pause – *fkùp* 'together', *záfca* 'rabbit, Gen. Sg.', *rètkef* 'radish'. The final *-l* in a stressed position is pronounced as *-u* – *dáu* '(he) gave', and as *-o* in an unstressed position – *pròso* '(he) asked'; the palatal *ń* is preserved – *njiva* 'field', while the palatal *ĺ* is rigid – *král* 'king',

⁸⁹ Dialectal examples are marked with symbols denoting the place of stress: the acute (´), grave (`) and roof (˘) are used in Slovene literary language. The acute lengthens and narrows *e* and *o*, the grave shortens and widens *e* and *o* and labialises *-a*; the small dot under the vowel denotes narrowness. The vowel nature of *l* and *n* is marked with a small circle underneath; a semi-circle under *i* and *u* (*ī*, *ū*) denotes their consonant pronunciation, while the semi-vowel is marked with *ə*.

vòla ‘will’. In the position before final vowels and sometimes before *e*, the sonorant *j* is pronounced as *dʹdž* – *dʹjóykati/džóykati* ‘to cry’, *zèldʹel/zèldže* ‘cabbage’, while in the position before front vowels and sometimes before *ü*, it is pronounced as *dʹg* – *dʹès/gès/gè* ‘I’, *dogí* ‘(she’s) milking a cow’, *günec* ‘bull calf’ – or *k* (in a position after a voiceless consonant) – *lístke* ‘leaves’, *vlaské* ‘hair’.⁹⁰ The following consonant clusters have also changed: *bn* > *vn* – *dróuvno* ‘finely’; *dn* > *gn* – *gnès* ‘today’; *xč* > *šč* – *ščí* ‘daughter’; *kt* > *št* – *štò* ‘who, what’; *mn* > *ml* – *gùmla* ‘threshing floor’; *mn* > *vn* – *vnóugo* ‘many, a lot (of)’; *pt* > *ft* – *fñič* ‘bird’; *tl* > *kl* – *mèkla* ‘broom’; *tm* > *km* – *kmica* ‘darkness’; *-vi-* > *-j-* – *ilojca* ‘clay’. The *šč* cluster is preserved: *pñjšče* ‘chick’.

Unlike the Prekmurje dialect, the vowel system of the Prlekija dialect has no diphthongs, only monophthongs. Long vowels include *i*, *ü*, *u*, *ę*, *o*, *a/ã* and *ɣ*,⁹¹ while the short vowels are *i*, *ü*, *u*, *ę*, *o*, *e*, *a* and *ɣ*. The consonant composition of the Prlekija dialect is similar to that of Standard Slovene. The dialectal shifts are: *ń* > *j* – *prédji* ‘the front one’; *ĺ* > *l* – *nedèla* ‘Sunday’; *v* > *f* in word-final morpheme and before voiceless obstruents – *fsè* ‘all’, *práf* ‘right’; *-m* > *-n* – *pròsin* ‘I please’, *dìn* ‘smoke’; *pt* > *ft* – *fñič* ‘bird’; *hč* > *šč* – *nìšče* ‘no one’; *dn*, *dl* > *gn*, *gl* – *gnès* ‘today’, *glétva* ‘chisel’; *gd* > *g* – *gè* ‘where’, *xt* > *št* – *štèja* ‘wanted’, *kt* > *št* – *štò* ‘who, what’. The *šč* cluster is preserved – *gòšča* ‘bushes’.

Special features of the Prekmurje and Prlekija dialect morphology include the ending *-i* in dative and locative singular masculine declination – *bràti* ‘brother’, *o kovóči* ‘about the blacksmith’, lengthening of the base with *-je* is preserved in the plural – *lasjé* ‘hair’, while the base before the ending *-je* is often lengthened with *-ov-* – *zobóuvge* ‘teeth’, but only in the Prekmurje dialect. In the Prlekija dialect, the singular instrumental feminine ending is *-oj* – *z rokój* ‘by hand’, and *-ov* – *z mǎterjof* ‘with mother’ in the Prekmurje dialect. The dual is firmly preserved in all genders. The adjectival ending *-i* does not express definiteness; in addition to the soft adjectival declination – *fsèga* ‘all, everything’, the hard adjectival declination is also

⁹⁰ In the Dolinsko subdialect, the sonorant *j* is pronounced as *j* in all positions.

⁹¹ The Lower Prlekija dialect, which is spoken east of the Ormož-Ljutomer line, distinguishes between two long close *es* and *os*: the close *e* was developed from the constant long *e*, nasal *ę* and semivowel, the really close *e* was developed from the Proto-Slavic *yat*, the close *o* represents the originally long *a*, while the really close *o* reflects the constant long *o* and nasal *o*.

preserved – *máloga* ‘a small one’. In Prekmurje dialect, the present verb conjugation in the first person dual preserves the suffix *-va* for masculine gender, and *-ve* for feminine gender, while in Prlekija dialect, the dual suffix *-ma* can be heard – *dělava* and *dělama* ‘(we are) working’. The formation of iterative verbs with the present suffix *-je* is quite common – *plačùvlen* ‘(I am) paying’, *lěčen* ‘(I am) running’, and numerous archaisms are preserved among adverbs.

The linguistic analysis of the songs

The Prlekija dialect is the native speech of two authors, Vlado Žabot and Marko Kočever.

Vlado Žabot (born in 1958 in Šafarsko near Razkrižju) is one of the leading contemporary Slovene novelists. In 1996, he received the Prešeren fund award for his novel *Pastoralna*, which is the highest award of the Republic of Slovenia for artistic achievements, while in 1997, he received the Kersnik award for novel of the year for *Volčje noči*. In *Murske balade in romance*, Žabot’s three poems, *K ciganici*, *V belom snegi bela* and *Murska romanca*, introduced him as a lyrical poet. These works closely reflected the Prlekija dialect on the phonetic, lexical and morphological levels, and as the accent, quality and quantity of sounds was not marked in the text, only a native speaker of the dialect can read them correctly on a prosodic level.

The texts are written with dialectal monophthongs, among which the vowels are most striking: *o* for the Proto-Slavic long *a*: *dvo* ‘two’, *soma* ‘alone’, *storka* ‘old woman’, *u* for the Proto-Slavic vocalic *ĭ*: *duga* ‘long’, *suza* ‘tear’, *e* for the Proto-Slavic semi-vowel: *seje* ‘dream’, *sneha* ‘daughter in-law’, *tenki* ‘(the) thin (one)’ and *i* for the non-accented *e*, formed from *yat*: *nasmijana* ‘to be smiling’. Žabot does not write the dialectal *ü* for the Proto-Slavic *u*. The following consonants are written dialectally: *ń* with *j*: *sadovjok* ‘orchard’, *k joj* ‘to her’, *ĺ* with *l*: *pole* ‘field’, *metul* ‘butterfly’; the dialectal shift *tm* > *km*: *kmica* ‘darkness’ and *pt* > *ft*: *ftič* ‘bird’ as well as the prosthetic *j*: *nejšo* ‘(he) found’ are also noticeable. The final *-m*, which generally changes into *-n* in dialect speech, and the sonorant *v*, which is pronounced as *f* preceding voiceless consonants or at the end of the word, is preserved in writing by Žabot, e.g. *tam* ‘there’, *z glasom* ‘with voice’; *v kmico* ‘into the darkness’, *vse* ‘all, everything’, *prav* ‘right’.

The morphological patterns for declination and conjugation correlate with the dialectal forms, i.e., the singular masculine locative ending *-i* is written: *v snegi* ‘in the snow’, *v vetri* ‘in the wind’, as well as the singular adjectival dative and locative feminine ending *-oj*: *k mojoj mladoj, nasmijanoj* (ciganici) ‘to my young, smiling (gypsy)’, *v mrzloj zimskoj* (noči) ‘on a cold winter’s (night)’, the singular masculine adjectival genitive ending *-oga*: *drugoga* ‘the other one’ and the locative ending *-om*: *v belom* (snegi) ‘in white (snow)’. The repetition of verbs also occurs: *počivle* ‘she is resting’, *popevle* ‘she is singing’, the dialectal ending *-o* for the masculine participle: *nejšo* ‘he found’, the dialectal conjunctive *kak* ‘as’ and the adverb *kdo* ‘when’. In Žabot’s lexis we observe general Slovene lexemes intermixing with dialect lexemes, e.g. *ciganica* ‘gypsy’, *gorica* ‘vineyard’, *pivnica* ‘wine cellar’, *žvegla* ‘whistle’, and from modern Standard Slovene, temporally marked expressions intertwining with expressively marked ones, e.g. *frleti* ‘(expressive) swayingly lightly flying’, *samoča* ‘(old-fashioned) solitude’, *snežec* ‘(expressive) diminutive snow’, *šlar* ‘(old-fashioned) veil’.

Marko Kočar (born 1958 in Murska Sobota), a humorist and renowned author of dialectal lyrics, who spent his youth in the town Križevci pri Ljutomeru, is also an established poet from the Prlekija region. He is the author of 49 playfully mischievous works, gathered in three collections, and written in dialect: *Zeleni vrelec* (1998), *Kisla župa* (2003) and *Severno od Kolajnsčaka* (2008). He has also published a collection of Prlekija texts set to music – *Venkraj* (2008). Three of his lyrical works appear in *Murske balade in romance*: *Zacügjani pajzl*, *Tan zadi za Moto* and *Meja sen dedeka*.

Marko Kočar’s generally unaccented dialect texts⁹² preserve all the characteristics of the Prlekija region phonetics, morphology and lexis. In comparison with Žabot’s confessional lyrical poems, Kočar’s texts are narrative and epic in nature. They preserve the Prlekija region typical monophthongal phonetic image with the written phoneme *ü* for the Proto-Slavic *u*: *Müra* ‘the Mura river’, *drügi* ‘the other one’, *tü* ‘here’, with the written phoneme *o* for the long *a*: *mo* ‘she has’, *glova* ‘head’, *pijonec* ‘drunker’, *u* for the vocalic *ǐ*: *dužen* ‘indebted’, *puno* ‘full’ and the phoneme *e* for the Proto-Slavic schwa: *z meno* ‘with me’, *seje* ‘dreams’, *denen* ‘to put’, the

⁹² In the poem *Meja sen dedeka* the acute (´) marks the place of stress in the lexemes *kajér* ‘boy’, *ostóla* ‘stayed’ and *visoko* ‘high’.

prosthetic *v*: *vūra* ‘time, hour’, *vujša* ‘he escaped’ and the vowel reduction: *kelnarca* ‘waiter’, *palca* ‘stick’. According to dialectal pronunciation, the palatal *ń* is written as *j*: *za jin* ‘behind him’, *zacügjeni* ‘not fully mature’ or *n*: *prelüknnani* ‘perforated’, the palatal *ĺ* is written as *l*: *posprovleni* ‘tidy’, *poprovla* ‘he is repairing’, the final *-m* as *-n*: *tan* ‘there’, *za Cvenon* ‘behind Cven’, the notation of the final *-v* or a *v* preceding an unvoiced consonant, however, is unsettled – either it is written as *v* or, according to dialectal pronunciation, as *f*: *včosih* ‘sometimes’, *v šumo* ‘into the forest’, *fküpe* ‘together’, *f kupici* ‘in the glass’.

In morphology, the locative singular masculine form ends with *-i*: *na Cveni* ‘at Cven’, *k šanki* ‘to the bar’, the masculine participle ends with *-a/-ja*: *potegna* ‘he pulled’, *bija* ‘he was’. Hard adjective declension and dialectal pronouns, e.g. *niše* ‘no one’, *što* ‘who’, the long infinitive: *voziti* ‘to drive’, *skočiti* ‘to jump’ and the form *nega* ‘is not’ for the negated subject are retained. There are also archaisms among the adverbs and particles: *rano* ‘early’, *sigdar* ‘always’, *dere* ‘when’, *ve* ‘but’. Calques occur in the combination of directional adverbs and verbs, e.g. *doj zvezati* ‘tie down’.

In addition to the Panonian-Slovene lexemes, e.g. *cecki* ‘breasts’, *kupica* ‘a glass’, *kušati* ‘to taste’, *nogača* ‘chair/table leg’, *scati* ‘to relieve yourself’, *svaja* ‘quarrel, disagreement’, *šajtrav* ‘a tottering, staggering (person)’, there are also numerous Germanisms: *bremza* ‘brake’ < G. *Bremse*,⁹³ *cajt* ‘time’ < G. *Zeit*, *cug* ‘train’ < G. *Zug*, *fajn* ‘fine, nice’ < G. *fein*, *flaša* ‘bottle’ < G. *Flasche*, *herbija* ‘inheritance’ < MHG. *erben*, *kufer* ‘suitcase’ < G. *Koffer*, *kurblati* ‘to start the engine’ < G. *kurbeln*, *pajzl* ‘a rundown, sordid tavern’ < Aust. G. *Beis(e)l*, *pasati* ‘to suit, to be beneficial, pleasant’ < G. *passen*, *rukzak* ‘backpack’ < G. *Rucksack*, *šank* ‘bar’ < G. *Schank*, *šker* ‘tools’ < OHG. *giskirri*, MHG. *geschirre*, *šminka* ‘lipstick’ < G. *Schminke*, *špegel* ‘mirror’ < G. *Spiegel*, *špula* ‘bobbin, reel, spindle’ < MHG. *spuole* or G. *Spule*, *švoh* ‘weak’ < G. *schwach*, *troštati* ‘to comfort’ < G. *trösten*, *ziher* ‘certainly’ < G. *sicher*.

Roman loanwords are rare, e.g. *blanja* ‘plank’ < Ist. Rom. or Fri. < Dalm. Rom. **plana*, *biljard* ‘a game of pool’ < G. *Billard* < Fr. *billard*, *čiki*

⁹³ Abbreviations: Aust. – Austrian, CG. – Carinthian German, Dalm. – Dalmatian, Eng. – English, Fr. – French, Fri. – Friulian, G. – German, Hun. – Hungarian, It. – Italian, Ist. – Istrian, Rom. – Roman, MHG. – Middle High German, OHG. – Old High German, SG. – Stryian German.

‘cigarettes’ < Aust. G. *Tschick* or from It. *Cica* < Fr. *chique*. Usually they enter the Pannonian region via German.

The authors of the Prekmurje texts in *Murske balade in romance* are Feri Lainšček, Milan Vincetič, Dušan Šarotar and Štefan Kardoš. The Prekmurje dialect is not their sole or most authentic means of linguistic expression; however, they recognise it as part of their identity and acknowledge the dialect’s broader sociolinguistic and cultural value in the area just over the Slovene border, especially in the Porabje (Hungary) linguistic and cultural space (see Franci Just: online source). Vlado Kreslin and Vlado Poredoš also belong to this group of authors.

Feri Lainšček (born 1959 in Dolenci on Goričko) is considered one of the best modern Slovene writers; he is known as a lyricist, working with numerous Slovene singers and pop groups, and also as a screenwriter and author of screenplays. He writes lyrical and epic songs as well as dramas for adults and young people. While the majority of his works are written in Standard Slovene, some, however, were written in dialect and also later published in the Standard. He has been honoured with numerous awards for his literary work, including the Kajuh Prize in 1986 for the novel *Raza*, the Kresnik Prize in 1992 for his novel *Namesto koga roža cveti* and in 2007 for the novel *Muriša*, the Prešeren Foundation Prize in 1995 for the novel *Ko jo je megla prinesla* and the Večernica Prize in 2001 for the best young adult text *Mislce*. In addition, he has received several awards as a lyricist at the Dialectal Song Festival and an award for best scriptwriter (2008) for the film *Hit poletja*. He is represented by three poems in *Murske balade in romance*, one of which is in the Prekija dialect.

Milan Vincetič (born 1957 in Murska Sobota) is a poet and writer, as well as a qualified specialist in Slovene studies and an author of radio plays, book reviews and essays. He received the Prešeren Foundation Prize (2005) for the *Lakmus* collection of poems and the *Čaša nesmrtnosti* literary award for his 10 years of poetic work (2007).

Dušan Šarotar (born 1968 in Murska Sobota) is a writer, poet, publicist, and a scriptwriter and language consultant of the Študentska založba student publishing house as well as the editor of the newspaper *AirBeletrina*. In 2007, he was nominated for the Kresnik Prize for his novel *Biljard v*

Dobrayu. The novel was the basis for the film *Biljard v Dobrayu* directed by Maja Wiess.

Štefan Kardoš (born 1966) is a writer and a teacher at the bilingual school in Lendava. His novel *Rizling polka* was awarded the Kresnik Prize for best novel in 2008.

Vlado Kreslin (born 1953 in Beltinci) is one of the most popular Slovene singers and text writers, and is regarded by many as a symbol of Slovene ethno rock. His work has managed to connect folk and ethno traditions on the one hand and popular music on the other, maintaining just the right balance between folk, pop and quality, and inspiring a rethinking of folk music in Slovenia. His story began in 1991 with his first album *Namesto koga roža cveti*, a fusion of the author's message and traditional Prekmurje folk songs. He worked with the Beltinška banda on this album (founded in 1938), a legendary folk group from his native village, best known for the albums *Spominčice* (1992) and *Najlepša leta našega življenja* (1993). Not only is Vlado Kreslin the most popular singer in Slovenia, but he is also a poet and the author of three collections of poems: *Vriskanje in jok*, Kreslin's rock lyric book (2002), *Venci – Povest o Beltinški bandi* (2006) and *Pojezije* (2009), a collection of poems – some of which were set to music and have also enjoyed some success.

Vlado Poredoš (born 1958 in Beltinci) is a musician, singer, text author and frontman of the music group Orlek. He moved from his native village Beltinci to the Zasavje region, and sees himself as a native of all of these areas: Prekmurje as well as Zasavje and Beltinci as well as Zagorje. His music is a mixture of rock, polka, ethno, pop and punk music, a true representation of centuries of musical creativity, spiced however with his own unique – Poredoš – style.

The texts of the Prekmurje authors in *Murske balade in romance* are generally unaccented: the vowels do not have diacritic marks, whether for place of stress or for quality or quantity. Only a few of the lexemes in the five poems are marked with an acute indicating the place of stress, e.g. *pá* 'again', *pojás* 'belt', *poštíja* 'road'. In all the Prekmurje texts the dialectal diphthong *eĭ* is written for the Proto-Slavic constantly long *yat*, e.g. *brejg* 'hill', *slejpi* 'blind', *na srejdi* 'in the middle', *zvezde* 'stars'. Also, the dialectal diphthong *ou* is written for the always long *o* and the

nasal *q*: *bilou* ‘was’, *moust* ‘bridge’, *tou* ‘this’, the dialectal *ü* for the *u* of old-acute stress: *čüden* ‘strange’, *vüpan* ‘I hope’, *tüdi* ‘also’, the dialectal *ö* for the vowels *e* and *u* following the labial *v*: *vö* ‘out’, *vöra* ‘hour’ and the dialectal *u* for the Proto-Slavic vocalic *ǫ*: *dugo* ‘long’, *skuza* ‘tear’, *sunce* ‘sun’. The Proto-Slavic always long *i* and *u* are written with the digraphs *ij* and *üj*. In the Prekmurje language they became diphthongs: *očij* ‘eyes’, *tij* ‘you’, *vijdi* ‘they see’; *čüjdna* ‘strange’, *düjša* ‘soul’. The grapheme *a* is used for writing the Proto-Slavic long *a*, remaining open in dialect, and the *a* of old-acute stress, mostly labialised in the Prekmurje language. The grapheme *e* is used for writing the Proto-Slavic schwa: *den* ‘day’, *gene* ‘to move’, *lehko* ‘can’ as well as the tautosyllabic *i* preceding an *r*: *mer* ‘peace’, *vert* ‘garden’. Lainšček and Šarotar use it to some extent for writing the unstressed *i*, which in the Prekmurje dialect is pronounced less tensely in the word-final morpheme and somewhat lower than the stressed *i*: *na lanenon prte* ‘on the linen tablecloth’, *v čarnome gvan*ti ‘in a black dress’. The grapheme *i* is used for writing the dialectal unstressed *i*, which developed from the unstressed *u* or *yat*: *lidij* ‘people, Gen. Pl.’, *zbidij* ‘he wakes up’; *lipou* ‘beautiful’.

Consonants are mostly written according to dialectal pronunciation: the sonorant *j* preceding the front vowels as *g*: *ge* ‘I’, *gemle* ‘he takes’, preceding the last vowels however as *d*: *goloubdji* ‘of a pigeon, pigeon-like’. In Kreslin’s and Poredoš’s texts it is mostly written in their native village Beltinci’s tongue, i.e., as *j*: *jes* ‘I’. In the Prekmurje dialect, the consonant *x* in the word-initial and word-final morpheme is reduced and written accordingly: *odin* ‘I am walking’, *ladi* ‘(he) is refreshing’; *včasi* ‘sometimes’. The palatal *ń* is preserved: *ogenj* ‘fire’, *njega* ‘him’, whereas the palatal *ĺ* is hardened and written with *l* as pronounced: *najbole* ‘best’, *nad Ženavlami* ‘above Ženavlje’. The *m* at the end of the word is written consistently with an *-n*: *tan* ‘there’, *znan* ‘I know’, the final *-v* or *v* preceding an unvoiced consonant, however, is only once written according to the dialectal pronunciation, i.e. as *f*: *krf* ‘blood’, apart from that it is written with *-v* as in Standard Slovene: *vse* ‘everything, all’, *vküper* ‘together’, *v parki* ‘in the park’. The following consonant changes also appear in the text: *kt* > *št* – *šteri*, *što* ‘who’, *tm* > *km* – *kmica* ‘darkness’, *pt* > *ft* – *ftič* ‘bird’, *hč* > *šč* > *č* – *čer* ‘daughter’, the transitive *j* is also written – *najšla* ‘(she) found’.

The morphological patterns for declination, conjugation and comparison follow dialectal forms. In the dative and locative of masculine nouns the

ending *-i* developed through *-u*: *ob teji* ‘by the side of my body’, *v ognji* ‘in the fire’, and in the locative in the unstressed position *yat* ending *-ej*: *v srceji* ‘in heart’ is retained. The place of accent in the words of mixed stressed type is shown by diphthongs: *kraj vodej* ‘by the water’. Final *-l* in the masculine participle is written as pronounced as *-o/-u*: *skrijvo* ‘he was hiding’, *biu* ‘he was’, *dau* ‘he gave’. Hard adjective declension is retained: *staromi* ‘to the old’, *mladoga* ‘young one’, adjective dative and locative feminine ending is *-oj*, adjective base in dual is lengthened with *-va*: *lejpiva* ‘beautiful’, *maliva* ‘small’.

In the verb conjugation of the first-person dual ending *-va* is preserved – *sva skrivala* ‘we were hiding’, the thematic *e* in the ending, added to the verb to express person, is stressed: *tečej* ‘it runs’, *gemlej* ‘he takes’. The negative article *nej* ‘not’ is valenced with the auxiliary verb *biti* ‘to be’ in the stressed position: *nejso* ‘they are not’, otherwise it is put in second position: *sta nej* (znala) ‘they did not know’. Among the adverbs, particles and conjunctions, numerous Panonisms are noticeable: *esig* ‘here’, *ge* ‘where’, *naoupak* ‘wrong’, *nindrik* ‘nowhere’, *pa* ‘again’, *prle* ‘before’, *sigdar* ‘always’, *zajtra* ‘in the morning’, *šče* ‘more’, *ar* ‘because’.

Lexically speaking, Panonian-Slovene words predominate, i.e., *broditi* ‘to think’, *deca* ‘children’, *dvor* ‘yard’, *füčka* ‘he whistles’, *gizdavica* ‘a haughty, vain woman’, *krf* ‘blood’, *kunec* ‘thread’, *ljubav* ‘love’, *pojás* ‘belt’, *poštija* ‘road’, *sto* ‘table’, *vrabli* ‘sparrows’, *znati* ‘to know’, while some Germanisms are also present, largely those borrowed from the Middle High German era (until the 13th century), i.e. *farba* ‘colour’ < MHG. *varwe*, *gvant* ‘best clothes’ < MHG. *gewant*, *plac* ‘place, area’ < MHG. *pla(t)z* or G. *Platz*, *tören* ‘church belfry’ < MHG. *turn*, the number of those borrowed later is lower: i.e. *krugla* ‘sphere’ < G. *Kugel*, *krumpli* ‘potato’ < CG. *gruntpirn*, *grumper*, *krumpir*, SG. *grundbir*, *vert* ‘master’ < G. *Wirt*. Only one lexeme has been borrowed through contact with Hungarian: *lanec* ‘chain’ < Hun. *lánc*.

Feri Lainšček is the author of the text in the Prlekija dialect which features in *Murske balade in romance*. The humorous song *Nej za vüha* retains the characteristic Prlekija stress and phonetic image, dialectal verb-form and morphological patterns, and also the predominant Pannonian lexicon, i.e. *gučijo* ‘they speak’, *stirati* ‘to shoo, to chase away’, *znati* ‘to know’, while rare Germanisms appear as well: *gvišna* ‘sure’ < MHG. *gewis*, *nucan* ‘I

need' < MHG. *nuz*. Deviation from the Prlekija phonetical system toward Lainšček's native Prekmurje dialect is shown by writing the diphthong *ej* in the negative article *ne* 'not' – *nej* and by writing *nj* for the palatal *ń*, which is generally pronounced as *j* – *njemi* 'to him' in the Prlekija dialect. In one of the stanzas, Lainšček also further defines the generational and geographical affiliation of the poetic subject, which is expressed in the Ljubljana urban language and carries an air of elitism and prestige due to its position as central Slovene. In the text, the elements of colloquialism are shown through complete vowel decline marked by an apostrophe: *s*' '(you) are', *bod*' '(you) be', *sam*' 'just', the word-final element *-u* instead of *-l* in the masculine participle: *podiru* '(he) knocked down', *čekiru* '(he) was checking', the interrogative pronoun *kva* 'what', the vowel *e* instead vowel *a* before *j*: *dej* 'give' and the sonorant *e* before an unvoiced consonant: *u krizi* 'in crisis' are written as pronounced, while there are also slangisms borrowed from foreign linguistic environments in the text: (*biti na*) *izi* 'relax' < Eng.⁹⁴ *easy*, *čekiru* '(he) checked' < Eng. *to check*.

Conclusion

All 14 texts in *Murske balade in romance* closely imitate the dialects of the Prlekija or Prekmurje region on the phonetic, morphological and lexical levels. The texts are written with a dialect vocal system and are not generally stressed, which means that only native speakers of the dialect can read them in the correct prosodical manner. The analysis of these songs, which express dreams and hopes, fear and love, mourning for lost human closeness, home, memories of the deceased, the misfortune of loneliness, points to how well dialect can be used to express thoughts and emotions, in this case very closely capturing the speech of a Pomurje native. As Slovene dialects enjoy a renaissance, the authors of these texts have deftly proven that dialects can also exist as 'cultivated speech', and as Just (*ibid.*) claims, persuasive poetic address.

⁹⁴ Abbreviation: Eng. – English.

3.4.2 Styrian dialectal features in Slovene popular music⁹⁵

The aims of the analysis

This chapter focuses on the use of the Styrian dialect in the songs of three Styrian bands, Nude, Mi2 and Orlek. Although the bands originate from an area in which different Styrian dialects are used, they still show some common dialectal characteristics, identified mostly on the phonetic, morphological and lexical levels. The analysis was carried out on the bands' lyrics from their albums published pre-March 2014. All of the selected bands perform pop-rock music although their lyrics differ thematically, i.e. Nude sing mostly about love, Mi2 about everyday life, Orlek about everyday life and the more or less recent history of the local mining area. The analysis provides information on the use of Non-standard Slovene elements in popular music on the phonological, morphological and lexical levels, based on representative dictionaries of the Slovene Standard language: SSKJ – *Dictionary of the Slovene Standard Language* (2014), SP – *Slovene Orthography* (2001), SNBSJ – *Dictionary of New Slovenian Words* (2014), SSF – *Dictionary of Slovene Idioms* (Keber 2015), of Slovene etymology in general: Bezljaj (1976–2007), Snoj (2003) and specifically of German loanwords in Slovene (Striedter-Temps, 1963).

The Styrian dialects

Styrian dialects are spoken in the wide area of central-eastern Slovenia bordered by the Upper Carniolan dialectal group to the west, Carinthian dialectal group to the north, Pannonian dialectal group to the north-east, Lower Carniolan group to the south and Croatian to the east. The Styrian dialectal group (Zorko 1994: 333; 2009: 160) is present in the northern and southern area, and marked by the late new acute lengthening of *yat*, of *o* and *e* in comparison to long *yat*, and *o* and *e* in the northern area. None of the Styrian dialects use tonemic contrasts (the distinction between low and high, acute and circumflex intonation, is lost). All of the Styrian dialects have falling word intonation on long and short vowels, although some of them have nevertheless lost their quantity opposition, resulting in the partial or complete lengthening of short vowels, thus sometimes

⁹⁵ This section was co-authored by Mihaela Koletnik and Melita Zemljak Jontes. The co-author from page 136 to 141 is Melita Zemljak Jontes.

also diphthongising narrow *e* and *o* into *ie* and *uo*. The long *i* and *u* have diphthongised and the long *a* has become partially or completely labialised and thus pronounced in some areas as Standard broad *o*. The diphthongisation of *yat* to *eĭ* or *aĭ* is common to all the Styrian dialects, as is the diphthongisation of long *o* to *ou* or *au*. Some dialects have undergone late monophthongisation. All speakers of the Styrian dialects pronounce the long semi-vowel *ə* and nasal vowel *ɛ̃* as a narrow or broad variant of *e*. In the eastern area of the Central Styrian and the Kozjansko-Bizeljsko dialect, the vowel *ü* instead of Standard *u* is commonly pronounced. Vowel reduction is more common in the southern Styrian dialects, mostly in word endings, thus causing masculinisation. The non-stressed *o* is pronounced as a very narrow vowel. The syllabic *r* is pronounced mostly with prior semi-vowel or non-labialised *a*. Syllabic *l* is mostly pronounced as *ou* or *au*.

The following phenomena are typical of the consonant system (Logar 1993: 136–141): in front of voiceless consonants or before a pause, *v* tends to become *f*, the consonant cluster *šč* is mostly reduced to *š*, *ń* is mostly reduced to *j* or undergoes a change to *jn*, and *ľ* is mostly reduced to *l*. The secondary *dl* is usually reduced to *l*, the pronunciation of the hard *l* especially in front of the vowels *u*, *o* and *a* is partially preserved; the prothetic *j* can still be heard, while voiced consonants (except *l*, *r*, *m*, *n*, *v*, *j*) in front of other voiceless consonants and before a pause usually become voiceless.

According to Zorko (2009: 160–161), the southern area of the Styrian dialectal group has masculinised most of the neuter nouns and the northern area has undergone feminisation mostly of the neuter nouns in the plural form. There is a strong tendency towards the loss of the dual particularly in the feminine gender. Conjugation does not apply the rule of changing *o* to *e* after *c*, *č*, *ž*, *š*, *j*, *dž*. The instrumental case of singular feminine nouns has the instrumental ending *-oj*: *z ženaj* ‘with wife’, which has developed into *-i* or *-o*: *z ženi*, *z ženo*. The most common demonstrative pronoun is *toti*, *teti*, *titi* ‘this’. Most frequently, verbs undergo suffix conjugation, hence the forms for the first person dual are mostly *date* ‘you give’ (Pl.), *vete* ‘you know’ (Pl.), *grete* ‘you go’ (Pl.), also although rarely *vajste* ‘you know’ (Pl.), *grajste* ‘you go’ (Pl.), instead of the Standard *daste*, *veste*, *grete*.

Styrian popular music bands and the linguistic analysis of their songs

Nude is a Slovenian pop-rock band established in 1993, currently with five members. The band has recorded a number of hit singles and seven CDs, five of them in the studio, played more than a thousand concerts and won numerous Slovene music and other awards. While the common perception of their lyrics, which touch on the themes of love and the trials and tribulations of everyday life, is that they are written in dialect, they are in actual fact mostly in Standard literary Slovene with an occasional lapse into the regional colloquial language of Celje, the urban speech of the third largest city in Slovenia. Its most evident features appear rarely, but there are omissions of short unstressed vowels, seen in the written form as graphic marks: *R'd te 'mam* 'I love you', (as compared to the Standard 'rad te imam') and the extremely broad stressed *e* and *o*, uncharacteristic of Standard Slovene: *žezlo* 'scepter'.

Mi2 is a rock band established in 1995 of originally two and currently five members, originating from the middle Styrian dialectal area (Rogatec, Šmarje pri Jelšah). The band has become extremely popular, especially after the release of their second album of seven in 1999, and their lyrics deal with everyday issues, from love to politics, as seen by the band members. Every CD includes lyrics sung both in Non-standard Slovene regional colloquial language and in Standard formal and colloquial varieties. Chronologically, the band lyrics demonstrate an increase in the use of Standard Slovene. Most of the lyrics available on their official website have been written by the band and do not include accentuation marks, information on quantity and quality of vowels, or marks on omission of unstressed vowels and pronunciation of diphthongs, although all these are audible in the execution. Non-standard words are written as pronounced: *tišler* 'carpenter' < G. *Tischler*, *jes* 'I'. The lyrics often contain loanwords and vulgarisms.

As regards vowels and consonants, the band's pronunciation in Non-standard lyrics is largely dialectal: mostly complete vocal reduction: *al* 'or', *bla* 'I was' (F. Sg.), *drgač* 'on the other hand', *kak* 'how', *htela* 'we wanted', *sn* 'I am', *tedn* 'week', *zmenla* 'she agreed'; pronunciation of the short stressed vowel *a* as *e*: *jes* 'I'; there is no conjugation applying the rule of changing *o* to *e* after *c*, *č*, *ž*, *š*, *j*, *dž*: *s Fikijom* 'with Fiki'; the syllable *l* is pronounced as *u*: *vuna* 'wool'; pronunciation of consonants, which mostly differs in

prepositional *u* and prefixal *f*: *u toplice* ‘to the spa’, *fčasih* ‘sometimes’, *flegnem* ‘I manage to do it in time’, *bi ftopil* ‘would drown sb.’, *ftrpne* ‘he/she freezes’; pronunciation of *lj* as *l*: *lubezn* ‘love’, *pospravlene* ‘cleared up’; pronunciation of *nj* is maintained or pronounced as *j*: *v življenji* ‘in life’, *škrija* ‘freezer’; reduction of final consonants: *ka* ‘what’. In rare cases dialectal diphthongs are heard as well: *fsje* ‘all’, *problejm* ‘problem’, *skrbejlo* ‘worried’.

In morphology, long and short infinitives are used: *sma htela iti* ‘we wanted to go’, *naročiti* ‘to order’, *se ga vliti* ‘to get drunk’; *hočeš bit* ‘you want to be’. The verb ‘to be’, first person dual, always appears as *sma* (Standard *sva*). The verb endings *-il*, *-el*, *-al* are usually Styrian dialectal *-o*: *je oceno* ‘he judged’; *sn našo* ‘I have found’, *je prišo* ‘he came’; *sn delo* ‘I have worked’, but not always: *vzel mere* ‘he took measures’, *narisal* ‘he drew’, *zračunal* ‘he calculated’. The ending *-i* in the dative and locative of singular masculine and originally neutral (masculinised) nouns developed from Standard *-u*: *na Boči* ‘on the Boč hill’, *v življenji* ‘in life’.

The use of colloquial or lower colloquially coloured vocabulary:⁹⁶ *ajmrček* ‘small bucket’ < G. *Eimer*, *britof* ‘cemetery’ < G. *Friedhof*, *crkniti* ‘to die’, *fajn* ‘fine’ < G. *Fein*, *kufer* ‘suitcase’ < G. *Koffer*, *lušten* ‘pretty’ < MHG. *lustec*, *lusic*, *matrati* ‘to make an effort’ < G. *martern*, *rugzak* ‘backpack’ < G. *Rucksack*, *sekirati* ‘to be upset’ < G. *sekkieren*, *šajba* ‘pane’ < G. *Scheibe*, *štrik* ‘rope’ < G. *Strick*, *tenf* ‘pool’ < G. *Tümpel*, *zastopiti* ‘to understand’, also from English: *emajl* ‘e-mail’, *do fula* ‘to the full’; pejorative vocabulary: *majmun* ‘monkey’ < Cro. *majmun*; vulgar vocabulary: *fukniti* ‘to fuck, to be negative towards sth. or sbd.’, *prdniti* ‘to fart’, *rigniti* ‘to burb’, *scati* ‘to pee’. These examples point to the highly regional colloquial nature of Mi2’s lyrics, further strengthened by their use of German loanwords that have not been accepted into Standard Slovene, such as *luft* ‘air’ < G. *Luft*, *pucati* ‘to clean’ < G. *putzen*, rarely from Croatian: *kao* ‘as’ < Cro. *kao*, *odmah* ‘right now’ < Cro. *odmah*. Occasionally, Mi2’s lyrics feature slang expressions that are most often borrowed from foreign languages, such as *folk* ‘people’ < G. *Volk*, *fajt* ‘fight’ < Eng. *fight*, *fotr* ‘father’ < G. *Vater*, *plata* ‘gramophone record’ < G. *Schalplatte*.

⁹⁶ Abbreviations: Cro. – Croatian, G. – German, MHG. – Middle High German.

Orlek is a band of currently nine members, established in 1998, who play an original blend of rock and roll, a kind of folk punk rock polka. They are based in Zagorje ob Savi, dialectologically speaking the Styrian dialect of Posavje (the speech of Zagorje and Trbovlje). The name of the band originates from the name of the hill at the edge of Zagorje, in the heart of the mining area, and they specialise in lyrics with a social and humorous flavour, rich in expressions reflecting the graft of the mining way of life. Their music features a range of diverse instruments, incorporating accordions and a brass section, placing them firmly into the ethnic folk music category. Orlek has performed successfully at festivals at home and abroad and have published nine CDs.

The band's official website presents lyrics written by the authors (band members) themselves. Their song lyrics (and interpretation of them) feature formal and partially colloquial varieties of Standard Slovene, containing numerous German loanwords and specific dialectal mining terminology, which while giving the band a populist feel also creates an audible illusion of dialectal speech. The band's pronunciation in Non-standard lyrics is dialectal, mostly displaying complete vocal reduction. The omission of unstressed vowels is usually marked in the central word position: *rož'ca* 'flower', *rok'n'roll* 'rock and roll', and sometimes also in word endings: *tud* 'as well', *skoz* 'through', although not consistently: *spomlad* 'in spring'.

In terms of dialectal lexical characteristics, the most striking are loanwords adopted by Slovene largely from German, but which have not been accepted into Standard Slovene: *ajzenpon* 'railways' < G. *Eisenbahn*, *britof* 'cemetery' < G. *Friedhof*, *cajg*, *cajk* 'tools' < G. *Werkzeug*, *colnga* 'pay' < G. *Zahlung*, *faulast* 'lazy' < G. *faul*, *ksiht* 'face' < G. *Gesicht*, *kufer* 'suit-case' < G. *Koffer*, *luft* 'air' < G. *Luft*, *matrati* 'to make an effort' < G. *martern*, *mušter* 'sample' < G. *Muster*, *pauri* 'farmers' < G. *Bauer*, *penzija* 'pension' < G. *Pension*, *rajš* 'rice' < G. *Reis*, *rugzak* 'backpack' < G. *Rucksack*, *šajba* 'pane' < G. *Scheibe*, rarely also from English: *fajt* 'fight' < Eng. *fight*. The band's official website contains a mining dictionary that features (mostly German) terminology used by the local miners and passed down from generation to generation; the terms were largely influenced by the mine owners, the contemporary political system and the names of the tools brought to the area. As there is no information as to the origin of the translations, we assume that the band members translated the terminology into Standard Slovene themselves, such as *ferdinst* 'pay' < G. *Verdienst*,

gverk ‘mine’ < G. *Bergwerk*, *nohšiht* ‘night shift’ < G. *Nachtschicht*, *šafila* ‘shovel’ < G. *Schaufel*, *štil* ‘handle for shovel’ < G. *Stiel*, *vahtar* ‘watchman’ < G. *Wächter*, *urmohar* ‘watchmaker’ < G. *Uhrmacher*.

Conclusion

Similar to the rest of Europe and as a possible consequence of globalisation, Slovenia has recently seen an improvement in the status of dialects, with dialect prose and lyrical poetry becoming increasingly common in various kinds of media and in popular culture. Our analysis of the use of Non-standard Slovene elements in a small selection of popular music has found a range of dialectal engagement among Styrian bands. The most evident Styrian dialectal characteristics appear in the lyrics of the popular band Mi2, mostly on the phonetic and lexical levels, and include colloquial or lower colloquially coloured vocabulary, and occasionally even pejorative and vulgar vocabulary. The popular band Orlek features the most distinctive dialectal lexical characteristics, with loanwords largely from German adopted into Slovene. Orlek’s use of mining terms constitutes a clear example of a sub-cultural identity being expressed in dialect in popular music, contrasting starkly with the lyrics by the popular band Nude, which display almost no Non-standard Slovene characteristics.

Summary

The monograph provides an overview of the authors' ten-year cooperation and the results of linguistic analyses carried out on samples from various media: film, theatre, radio and popular music. Overall, they paid attention primarily to Non-standard social varieties, from regional colloquial language and urban language to the dialects of north-eastern Slovenia. The work thus combines dialectological and sociolinguistic studies, emphasising the importance of selecting an appropriate linguistic variety for public use, whether for speech on the radio, when developing a character in film or theatre, or for personal expression in Slovene music lyrics.

The monograph consists of three parts.

Chapter one presents general information on the Slovene language, giving a brief insight into its history and presenting the Slovene language system according to its language varieties. Selected legal acts relating to the Slovene language with respect to language policy are presented. As the Slovene language has the distinction of being the most dialectally heterogeneous in the Slavic language group, dialectal diversity is discussed in a separate chapter. The theoretical section concludes with a reflection on Slovene language and identity.

In chapter two, we first present a brief insight into popular culture, followed by the language varieties used there, while also considering speech as a key in determining characters (in film and on stage) and the expression of identity through language. The problems of translation from foreign languages for the purposes of subtitling Slovene films are also addressed.

The main focus is within the third chapter, which presents case studies of selected analyses of the speech in five films *Rdeče klasje* (*Red Ears*), 1970, *Halgato* (*Halgato*), 1994, *Traktor, ljubezen in rock'n'roll* (*Tractor, love and rock'n'roll*), 2008, *Petelinji zajtrk* (*Rooster's Breakfast*), 2007,

Oča (Dad), 2010; two theatre performances *Čaj za dve (Tea for Two)*, 2002, and *Plemeniti meščan (Le Bourgeois gentilhomme)*, 2007; radio speech in the broadcasts of four radio stations (Radio City commercial radio station in Maribor, and of radio stations with status of special importance, Radio Ptuj, Radio Murski val, Radio Slovenske gorice); and in the lyrics of more than twenty songs in the Prekmurje, Prlekija and Styrian dialects.

The first part poses several key questions with regard to the films produced in Non-standard varieties. In the analyses, we present selected films from various periods in order to demonstrate the changes in the usage of language social varieties through time, and thus the link between characterisation and language identification according to the choice of social variety. Brief presentations of the analyzed films follow.

Rdeče klasje (Red Ears), 1970. This section focuses on the shift from the written word to its spoken realisation in the film *Rdeče klasje*, which is based on the themes from Ivan Potrč's novel *Na kmetih (In the Country)*, 1954, directed by Živojin Pavlović. The comparative analysis includes the dialect vocabulary from the Drava field that was used in the novel, which was actually written in the Standard Slovene language, and demonstrates how the use of dialect also contributes to the characters' feeling of local belonging. The speech of the film characters deviates (in various forms from character to character) from Standard Slovene, mostly in the placing of accent and vocabulary. The speech of the main character, Južek Hedl, is presented through his dialectal phonetic characteristics, as well as his Croatian pronunciation of Slovene words and in particular his use of Croatian words – his native language – in emotionally charged scenes. The other main characters in the film – Zefa and her daughters Hana and Tunika – also display elements of dialect in their speech, although at certain points the Standard pronunciation of all three Toplek women is very present.

Halgato (Halgato), 1994. The film is based upon Feri Lainšček's novel *Namesto koga roža cveti (Instead Of Whom A Flower Now Blooms)*, 1991. The screenplay for the film is the result of the cooperation between Feri Lainšček and the director Andrej Mlakar and is based upon the novel in which Lainšček depicts the life of the Roma population in the Prekmurje region. Both the novel and the screenplay were written in Standard Slovene, while the film was produced in the Prekmurje dialect. The assessment of the film speech in *Halgato* shows that the language in the film is such that

“the spectacle is an illusion for the viewer, as though it were not a playful and film world, but one in which the viewer really lives” (Gjurin 1983: 316). The speech can be described as an accurate portrayal of real-life use and one of the distinctive features of the film.

Traktor, ljubezen in rock'n'roll (Tractor, love and rock'n'roll), 2008. The film director, Branko Djurić, wrote the film screenplay with Feri Lainšček and Miroslav Mandić. Both the novel and the screenplay were written in Standard Slovene and Lainšček set out to systematically translate the spoken part of the screenplay into the Prekmurje dialect. In this case we limited ourselves to the analysis of the translation of the written dialogues from the screenplay, leaving out an evaluation of the actors' pronunciation and their spoken implementation of the dialogues. Feri Lainšček, who not only completely masters the linguistic system of his own dialect but also uses it both in spoken and written discourse, does not adhere strictly to the original text in his translation. He does not translate word-for-word, but takes into account the fact that differences between the dialect and the Standard Slovene language transcend phonology and morphology and are instead present on all linguistic levels. The comparison of the Standard Slovene and dialectal versions of the text points to the dialect's original expressive potential. Indeed, compared to its Standard Slovene version, the text in dialect carries a much greater expressive power. The results of the analysis show that the phonological, morphological and lexical levels of language are close to the Prekmurje dialect, while the syntax is nearer to the regional spoken language.

Petelinji zajtrk (Rooster's Breakfast), 2007. The analysis focuses on the realisation of the contemporary dialectal speech of north-eastern Slovenia in the film, based on the literary work of the same name by Feri Lainšček (1999), which was written in Standard Slovene. This section also discusses the issue of the translation of the dialect speech with intralingual/monolingual (in this case, Slovene) subtitling in Standard Slovene for those who do not understand the dialect and (at least in part) for the hard of hearing and the deaf.

The present analysis confirms established findings on literary translation: the translation of dialectal elements and dialects is an extremely complex area of translation, which is true also for intralingual (monolingual) translation from one variety to another (as in the case of subtitling and bilingual

translation; Hribar 2007: 216); dialect is avoided because of narrowing in the understanding of the translation. This is true of the film, while the subtitles; do not follow the directives of ESIST 1998 “*language variety of the subtitles must reflect the language register in the speech of the film*”; consequently the relevant original message expressed by dialectal elements (word or phrase) in translation is lost; the same holds for original characters expressing themselves in dialect. The situation regarding the films produced in dialect could be improved by: including a language consultant (perhaps even from the area where a particular dialect is spoken) or, a dialectologist, the selection of actors, either professional actors from a particular dialect area or professional actors who are able to learn the dialect, or even by the inclusion of amateur actors.

Očca (Dad), 2010. This section analyzes the film speech in this work, which was directed by Vlado Škafar and filmed in the Slovene Prekmurje dialect. We are interested in the dialogic speech realisation of scenarios, and in particular, to what degree it matches the non-fictional reality we recognise from our experience and scientific research of the Prekmurje dialect, i.e. how much it replicates authentic speech. The analysis of the language dialogues shows that the speech plan in the film is well implemented. All the characters consistently speak the kind of language variety that was chosen and defined for the film on all language levels. Slight deviations from the dialect system are noticeable only on the phonological and lexical level. The review of dialogues in the film *Očca* suggests that the speech is such as we would expect it to be in similar circumstances in real life, which is one of *Očca's* outstanding features. Language, as a reflection of our individual and national identity, is a very powerful constituent of the analyzed film. Both actors, as native speakers of the dialect, express themselves perfectly in it. The choice of any other language variety would not allow them to express themselves psychologically or socially in the required discourse situations.

The second part presents analyses of the stage speech in two comedies, both performed in the Slovensko narodno gledališče Maribor (SNG; The Slovene National Theatre Maribor). In both, social varieties pass from the literary Standard language to the regional colloquial and dialectal ones with the intention of labelling the characters according to their personality, social origin/position, education, personal characteristics, etc.

Čaj za dve (Tea for Two), 2002. This section focuses on the analysis of the stage speech used in the comedy, based on the eponymous literary text (2001), which premiered at The Slovene National Theatre (SNG) Maribor in 2002. The linguistic analysis shows that the stage speech of the performance can be placed into three social linguistic categories selected according to specific dramatic roles: (a) Standard and literary language; (b) Non-standard Maribor colloquial language coloured with elements of the Prlekija dialect, and (c) the Haloze dialect. According to Podbevšek (2000: 85), stage speech is only one part of a theatrical performance, the main goal of which is to be a complete work of art rather than simply speech that conforms entirely to standard language norms. Consequently, our analysis focuses on the speech realisation of the dialogues, emphasising the division of the speech images of the individual dramatic characters into social varieties. Throughout the years, theatre speech has become much more contemporary, natural and relaxed, focused on content and therefore functional, allowing the identity of dramatic characters to be fully expressed. In conclusion, the speech in the staging of *Čaj za dve* demonstrates that the dialogue very accurately reflects real-life language, which is one of the distinguishing features of the performance of this work.

Plemeniti meščan (Le Bourgeois gentilhomme), 2007. In this section, the focus is on an analysis of the dialogic speech realisation of the Molière play, staged in Maribor colloquial language – i.e. the Non-standard social variety of the Slovene language, as spoken in the town – which was first performed on February 23rd 2007 in the Slovene National Theatre, Maribor. The analysis focuses on the speech of the actors, specifically the speech text layering, as it is crucial in determining the extent to which the theatrical realisation is consistent with the staging concept.

The analysis of the theatrical speech in the staging demonstrates that the dialogue very accurately reflects the language of everyday or real life. The director, stage manager, language consultant and actors have managed to successfully create a language-speech image, which is unique, one-off and theatrically effective, and certainly one of the idiosyncratic features of the performance.

The third part raises questions with regard to expressing (personal) identity through radio programmes broadcast in Non-standard varieties.

Maribor commercial radio station Radio City. Here the linguistic analysis of a humorous programme broadcast on the Maribor commercial radio station Radio City is presented. The programme is deliberately recorded in the Maribor colloquial language variety and as such reflects the diversification of media language. The analysis has produced two main conclusions: on the one hand, there is a need for identification with the language of the local environment and on the other hand, there is a need for the national language to be used in the public sphere in order to express collective identity. We demonstrate that the deviation from the Standard speech here is intentional, due in particular to the specific role of the spoken texts and the context (i.e. target audience). The show, which presents an ironic take on urban issues (or broader: politics, social issues, ecology ...), is recorded in the Maribor colloquial, i.e. the Non-standard regional colloquial speech of the northern part of Slovene Styria, which developed at the very meeting point of the Styrian and Pannonian dialect groups. The intertwining of the North Styrian dialect features and the Pannonian features of the Slovenske gorice dialect is also present in the pronunciation of Reporter Milan.

Radio stations with status of special importance – Radio Ptuj, Radio Murski val, Radio Slovenske gorice. Based on the three regional radio stations in north-east Slovenia, i.e. Radio Ptuj, Radio Murski val and Radio Slovenske gorice, this section presents examples of radio shows which express an identification with the language of their environment. The radio stations presented in this paper belong, according to the language environment in which they broadcast, to the Pannonian dialect group, but also to different dialects: Radio Ptuj (Ptuj) to the Prlekija dialect; Murski val (Murska Sobota) to the Prekmurje dialect; Radio Slovenske gorice (Lenart) to the Slovenske gorice dialect. According to the Direktorat za medije (The Directorate for Media), they belong to the so-called stations of special importance.

The last part is focused on the dialects (Prekmurje, Prlekija and Styrian dialectal features) enjoying a resurgence in popular music lyrics.

Prekmurje and Prlekija dialectal features in Murske balade in romance (Ballads and Romances of Pomurje Region). In Slovenia, as elsewhere in Europe, dialects have been enjoying a resurgence in popularity. This section focuses on the use of the Pannonian Prekmurje and Prlekija dialectal features of songs written by musicians, lyricists and writers, i.e. Feri

Lainšček, Vlado Žabot, Milan Vincetič, Dušan Šarotar, Štefan Kardoš, Marko Kočar, Vlado Kreslin and Vlado Poredoš. Performed by the Murska Banda instrumental ensemble and local vocalists, the fourteen romantic ballads were especially written for the *Murske balade in romance* music and literary project as part of the 2012 Maribor European Capital of Culture. All 14 texts in the Ballads and Romances of Pomurje Region closely imitate the dialects of the Prlekija or Prekmurje region on a phonetic, morphological and lexical level. The analysis of the songs, which express dreams and hope, fear and love, mourning for lost human closeness, home, memories of the deceased and the misfortune of loneliness, points to the original dialectal expressive potential close to the thoughts and emotions of a Pomurje native. The authors of the texts have – in the period of revitalisation of dialects in the Slovene cultural sphere – proven that dialects can also exist as ‘cultivated speech’.

Styrian in Slovene popular music. The analysis examines the lyrics of songs written by three Styrian musicians, and attempts to establish the degree to which their texts mirror the spoken Styrian dialect. All three bands originate from the region of the Styrian dialectal group, i.e. Nude from the regional colloquial language of Celje, Orlek from the dialect of Posavje and Mi2 from the Central Styrian dialect. All three bands started performing in the 1990s and have been writing their own lyrics and music, with a flavour of dialect, from the beginning of their careers. The most Styrian dialectal characteristics are evident in the lyrics of the popular music band Mi2, mostly on the phonetic and lexical levels, including colloquial or lower colloquially coloured vocabulary, and also pejorative and vulgar vocabulary. The lyrics of the popular band Orlek contain the most distinctive dialectal lexical characteristic loanwords, which were largely adopted into the Slovene language from German. The popular band Nude’s lyrics show almost no Non-standard Slovene characteristics. The motivation for the use of dialectal characteristics lies mostly in the lyrics of the songs; their music styles, since they are all pop-rock music bands, do not seem to be a distinguishing feature.

As we stressed at the beginning, the authors have set two goals with this English monograph. On the one hand, to make research on Slovene in various media available also to foreign audiences, not just a Slovenia audience, and on the other hand, to provide support to students of translation studies when translating technical texts from the field of Slovene linguistics.

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Reviews / Recenziji

Snov v monografiji *Non-Standard Features of the Slovene Language in Slovene Popular Culture* je zelo premišljeno strukturirana. Za tujega bralca je zelo dobrodošlo, da se najprej seznani s splošnimi lastnostmi slovenskega jezika in njegovo zgodovino, zakonodajo in jezikovno politiko, nato pa se mu predstavi razmerje med slovenskim jezikom in njegovo razvejenostjo v številna narečja. Posebno pomemben je razdelek o pomembnosti jezika za slovensko identiteto.

Uvod v drugo poglavje je razmislek o jeziku kot osebnostni noti posameznika in zavest o sestavinah neknjižnega jezika v različnih jezikovnih položajih. Razdelek Raziskave govora v slovenskih medijih je morda malce preozek za predstavljene teme, ker sta film in gledališče bolj umetnostni panogi kot mediji za posredovanje novic. Če že, pa tu manjka vsaj televizija.

Drugače pa je tako koncipirana problematika navdušujoča, saj daje slovenskim narečjem novo vrednost in širi prostor za uporabo slovenskih narečij prek meja domačega ognjišča in zasebne ali zgolj čustvene rabe. Z njimi se karakterizirajo pokrajina in kultura, posamezni stanovi in poklici.

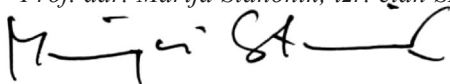
S to monografijo se izkaže funkcionalnost slovenskih narečij v novi luči, v številnih jezikovnih položajih, ki se jih doslej nismo zavedali, predvsem v veliko večji pestrosti, kot smo jih bili vajeni gledati doslej. Razkrila se je sproščenost rabe narečij in drugih neknjižnih zvrsti slovenskega jezika.

Prvi dve poglavji sta zamišljeni teoretično, medtem ko je tretje namenjeno analitičnim študijam posameznih slovenskih umetnostnih ali eksperimentalnih izdelkov pa tudi spontani rabi narečij v govornih radijskih oddajah. Glede na prostorsko izhodišče raziskovalne ustanove je razumljivo, da so pod drobnogledom radijske postaje iz severovzhodne Slovenije.

Predvsem zaradi podpore študentom prevajalskih skupin je primerno, da delo izide v angleščini, in dobro je, da se z navedeno problematiko seznani tuja publika, toda prav tako bi bila monografija dobrodošla tudi v slovenščini, da bi spodmaknila kakšen kompleks manjvrednosti govorcem narečij, tistim pa, ki so vzvišeni nad njimi in celo nad slovenskim knjižnim jezikom, pa dala v premislek njihova superiorna stališča.

Nazadnje: Avtorici Alenka Valh Lopert in Mihaela Koletnik sta za zgled, da je sodelovanje tudi med slovenskimi znanstveniki mogoče.

Prof. ddr. Marija Stanonik, izr. član SAZU



Monografija prinaša opis in analizo trenutnega stanja zlasti govorjene slovenščine, v navezavi z govorjeno slovenščino v različnih medijih z največjo vplivajnsko močjo – to so radio, zlasti pokrajinski (lokalni) radii, slovenski filmi, slovenska glasba. Kot vzorčni prikaz aktualnega stanja govorjene in hkrati pogovorne slovenščine se analizira stanje govorjene slovenščine severovzhodne Slovenije, ki vključuje tudi posebnosti urbanega govora Maribora. Odkriva aktualnost različnih slovenskih sociolektov, še zlasti prehode med pokrajinsko pogovorno slovenščino in narečji. Tu gre za uzaveščanje večjezičnosti znotraj slovenščine: od knjižnega jezika prek pogovornega podstandarda v pogovorni nestandard, in v narečje, ki je seveda povsem svoj sistem. Uzaveščanje mora v naslednji stopnji prehajati v zmožnost preklapljanja znotraj jezika glede na vrsto situacije in namenskost sporočane. Poleg naslovno predstavljenih poglavij monografija prinaša tudi sporočilo: Slovenščina je kot državni nacionalni jezik z dolgim knjižnim statusom podvržen trenutnim aktualnim globalnim težnjam, ki se odražajo na vseh ravneh jezikovnega in siceršnjega delovanja. Na eni strani gre za razčiščevanje razmerij med globalnim angleškim jezikom in državnim nacionalnim jezikom, in to razmerje, povezano seveda z razvijanjem vsestranske polifunkcijskosti slovenščine na eni strani in s hkratnim spodbujanjem večjezičnosti na drugi, skušamo čim bolj uzaveščeno predstavljati in opisovati. Kot rečeno, gre za vsestransko razvijanje lastnega jezika, ki bo hkrati sposoben opravljati vse vloge tudi v večjezični družbi. In ravno najnovejše razmere v Evropi in svetu in takorekoč vsakodnevna vplivajnska moč globalne predmetnosti in pojavnosti vpliva tudi na stalne spremembe znotraj knjižne slovenščine, ki se še najhitreje kažejo v stalnem procesu standardizacije jezikovnih pojavov. Živost vsakodnevne jezika namreč dopušča vedno več t. i. prožne stabilnosti tudi v segmentu knjižnega standarda, kar pomeni, da se že znotraj knjižne slovenščine razvijata tudi nadstandard in podstandard. In ravno ta slednji, tj. knjižni podstandard, predstavlja prehod v pogovorno rabo, pogovorni jezik pa je v primeru slovenščine vezan na pokrajinsko pogovorne jezike.

In zagotovo je jezik medijev in jezik umetnosti tisti, ki glede na največjo dostopnost in hkrati tudi na največjo vplivajnsko moč združuje vso trenutno aktualno rabo večinske javne vsakdanje slovenščine. Jezik medijev in jezik umetniškega ustvarjanja je zato tudi zelo aktualno sito in hkrati potencialni vir za stalno aktualizacijo knjižnega jezika. Večno aktualizirano je tudi razmerje med govorjenim in zapisanim jezikom. Vse to bi se moralo postopno uzaveščati s postopnim zorenjem posameznika. Tudi na to posredno opozarja ta monografija.

Trdelnost monografije je s stališča izbora metajezika, tj. angleščine, premišljeno zastavljena. Prvi del je celovita (zgodovinska in sodobna) sociolingvistična predstavitev slovenščine. Drugi del se problemsko loteva analize posameznih jezikovnih posebnosti na področju lokalnih radijskih oddaj, gledališča, filma in glasbe. Tretji del obsega jezikovne analize konkretnih domačih filmov in gledaliških predstav, v katere je bil vključen pokrajinski pogovorni jezik, deloma tudi

posamezen narečni govor, analizira narečne popevke oz. narečno glasbo. Delo zaokroža obsežen povzetek z bibliografijo.

Z jezikovnega vidika je poudarek na predstavitvi sociolingvističnega prostora v Sloveniji tudi v angleški terminologiji: namen angleške predstavitev je zlasti informativni in didaktični v smislu prevajalskih zmožnosti jezikoslovnih pojmov predvsem s področja sociolingvistike. Delo je namenjeno najprej strokovni javnosti in zlasti zaradi terminologije tudi študentom jezikoslovnih smeri in prevajalstva. Obenem je delo zaradi informativne zastavljenosti obrnjeno v mednarodni prostor: brez dvoma bo prispevalo k boljšemu razumevanju jezikovne situacije v Sloveniji in tudi k boljšemu razumevanju položaja slovenščine kot vsestranskega delovnega jezika EU nasproti drugim evropskim jezikom.

Tovrstna dela so potrebna in koristna, ker prispevajo k vsesplošni osveščenosti položaja jezikov manjših nacij, ki kljub zgodovinsko in obsegovno izjemnemu knjižnemu statusu nimajo resničnega enakopravnega mesta med večjimi evropskimi jeziki. Obenem je opozorjeno tudi na njihovo izjemno notranjo dialektalno členjenost oz. leksikalno bogatost, ki je z jezikovnorazvojnega vidika pomembna tudi za mednarodno znanost.

Izbor angleščine kot metajezika je upravičen, ker monografija teži k širši informativnosti in terminološkosti v smislu, da obstoječim jezikoslovnim terminom poišče še angleške ustreznike. Torej v slovenščini že napisane vsebine skuša na malo drugačen način in z drugačnim namenom predstaviti tudi mednarodni javnosti.

Red. prof. dr. Andreja Žele



Abstract

Non-standard Features of the Slovene Language in Slovene Popular Culture

Alenka Valh Lopert, Mihaela Koletnik

The monograph provides an overview of the authors' ten-year joint research and the results of linguistic analyses carried out on samples from various media: film, theatre, radio and popular music. Some of the research has already been presented at conferences and consequently partially or completely published in Slovene or English. Overall, they have paid particular attention to Non-standard social varieties, from regional colloquial language and urban language to the dialects of north-eastern Slovenia. The work thus combines dialectological and sociolinguistic studies, emphasising the importance of selecting an appropriate linguistic variety for public use, whether that use is to broadcast on the radio, to express oneself in song lyrics or to flesh out a character in a film or play.

Key words: popular culture, Non-standard language, regional colloquial language, dialect, film, theatre, radio, music

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Neknjižne prvine slovenskega jezika v slovenski popularni kulturi

Alenka Valh Lopert, Mihaela Koletnik

Monografija predstavlja pregled desetletnega sodelovanja obeh avtoric in prinaša rezultate jezikovnih analiz, ki sta jih opravili na vzorcih iz različnih medijev: filma, gledališča, radia in popularne glasbe. Nekatere analize so bile predstavljene na konferencah in zato posledično tudi delno ali v celoti objavljene v slovenskem ali angleškem jeziku. Osrednja pozornost je namenjena predvsem neknjižnim socialnim zvrstem, od pokrajinskega pogovornega jezika in mestne govorice do narečij severovzhodne Slovenije. Delo tako združuje dialektološke in sociolingvistične študije s poudarkom na pomembnosti izbire primerne jezikovne zvrsti v javni rabi ne glede na to, ali gre za govor na radiu, izbiro zvrsti za prepoznavanje likov v filmu ali gledališču ali za osebni izraz v besedilih slovenske popularne glasbe.

Ključne besede: popularna kultura, neknjižni jezik, pokrajinski pogovorni jezik, narečje, film, gledališče, radio, glasba

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