

The “*Budalo jedna!*”-Type Construction in Contemporary Serbian*

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Abstract. This paper describes the qualifying exclamatory construction in Serbian exemplified by *Budalo jedna!* ‘What a fool you are!’. This construction belongs to non-descriptive (or **SIGNALATIVE**) linguistic expressions which cannot be questioned, negated, or freely modified. The lexicographic description of such expressions has received insufficient attention. We argue that in the above construction the adjective JEDAN intensifies the speaker’s negative feelings such that the construction means: ‘You are a fool and I feel very negatively about it’. Extensions of the construction include the use of JEDAN with a positive evaluative noun, which produces an ironic effect (e.g., *Genije jedan!* ‘You are the opposite of a genius, and I feel very negatively about it’) and with a non-evaluative noun, which results in the “transfer” of negativity to the noun (e.g., *Profesore jedan!* ‘You act as a typical professor [which is bad], and I feel very negatively about it’). Since all these effects are attributable to JEDAN, we describe the qualifying exclamatory construction in the lexical entry for JEDAN.

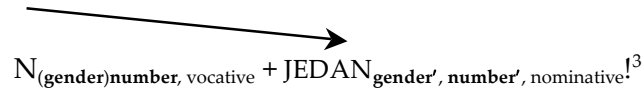
1. The Problem Stated

Contemporary Serbian has an open-ended set of colloquial phrases of the form *Budalo jedna!*, *Idiote jedan!*, etc., which are addressed directly to a person and can be glossed literally as ‘Fool/Idiot one!’; they mean, roughly, ‘What a fool/idiot you are!’.¹ Such a phrase consists of a **HUMAN NOUN** in the vocative case and the indefinite adjective JEDAN

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¹ In what follows, we use Serbian data, but our statements are valid for Croatian and Bosnian as well. The construction in question is marginally found also in Macedonian and Western Bulgarian dialects. Outside South Slavic, it is attested in Czech and Slovak.

'one',² which immediately follows the noun and agrees with it in gender, number, and case. The phrase has a specific prosody: exclamatory intonation with an uninterrupted falling contour and a strong phrasal stress on the noun, represented as follows:



The N + JEDAN construction is quite common in Serbian.⁴ It immediately attracts the attention of a learner of this language. Note that there also exists a variant with the second component negated: N + NIJEDAN 'not one'. We do not see any semantic or syntactic differences between the two variants. The version with NIJEDAN seems slightly obsolescent and stylistically marked. It is also less frequent. To make our task better circumscribed, we do not consider this variant at all.

In the present paper we want to answer the following question:

What is the linguistic nature of the N + JEDAN construction and how can it be represented in a description of Serbian?

Our methodology is **FORMAL MODELING** of linguistic phenomena, or more precisely, a formal description of the relevant meaning-text correspondence. We restrict ourselves to a synchronic investigation and put the main emphasis on formalizing as much as possible the intuition of a native speaker of Serbian. The result of the present study is an explicit and precise statement of the correspondence between a par-

² The expression *human noun* is an accepted abbreviation for "noun whose potential referent is a human being".

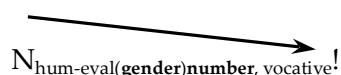
JEDAN has several senses, which are presented in section 5.1. Suffice it here to say that in the construction under analysis JEDAN is used with the sense of an indefinite adjective, the closest English gloss being 'one'.

³ Serbian adjectives do not have a special form for the vocative. An adjective that modifies a noun in the vocative must itself be in the nominative.

⁴ For ease of reference we will speak of the N + JEDAN "construction" without trying to characterize the concept of construction itself. This construction is mentioned, without a semantic or syntactic description, in Stanojčić and Popović 1997: 370 and 373.

ticular, rather complex meaning of the N + JEDAN construction and its linguistically conventional expressions in appropriate contexts. Due to its precision and explicitness, such a description can serve as a basis for deeper and wider studies of this and similar phenomena.

The first fact to note about the N + JEDAN construction is that in most (but not all!) cases of its use the adjective *jedan* can be omitted, the result being another exclamatory construction—in our case, *Budalo!* ‘Fool!’ and *Idiote!* ‘Idiot!’.⁵ Despite the vocative form of the noun, it is used not to attract the attention of the Addressee but to evaluate or qualify him. We will call it a **QUALIFYING EXCLAMATORY CONSTRUCTION WITH A HUMAN EVALUATIVE NOUN**, OR **N_{HUM-EVAL} EXCLAMATORY CONSTRUCTION** (since the noun appearing in it is of a special type, which will be characterized below):⁶



The second relevant fact is that, in the examples of the type considered above, the meaning of the N + JEDAN construction includes the meaning of the N_{hum-eval} construction. Therefore, we will proceed in two steps: we will first consider the simpler N_{hum-eval} construction and then determine the semantic contribution of the modifier JEDAN. Accordingly, the paper has the following structure. Section 2 discusses the N_{hum-eval} exclamatory construction. Section 3 deals with the contribution of JEDAN to the N + JEDAN exclamatory construction. Section 4 treats a similar construction involving JEDAN and non-human evaluative nouns. Section 5 proposes a lexicographic description of the modifier JEDAN and the qualifying constructions it is associated with. Section 6 concludes this paper.

Our frame of reference is the Meaning-Text linguistic theory (Meřćuk 1974, 1988: 43–91; Kahane 2003). In our lexicographic treatment of JEDAN we follow the principles of the *Explanatory Combina-*

⁵ This latter construction is by no means specific to Serbian; it is known in many if not all languages.

⁶ The N_{hum-eval} construction seems to be more frequently used than the N + JEDAN construction. For instance, a Google search returns 243,000 hits for *Budalo!* ‘[You] fool!’ and 39,600 for *Budalo jedna!* ‘[You] fool one!’. There are 35,600 occurrences of *Barabo!* ‘[You] scoundrel!’ and 4,350 of *Barabo jedna!* ‘[You] scoundrel one!’.

torial Dictionary, or *ECD* (Mel'čuk, Clas, and Palguère 1995, Mel'čuk 2006).

2. The Exclamatory Human Evaluative Noun Construction

This section characterizes the class of human evaluative nouns appearing in our construction and describes the semantic, prosodic, and syntactic properties of the construction itself.

First, however, we need to warn the reader of possible confusion between the qualifying exclamatory construction and a similar—but distinct—address construction, i.e., a clause element used to attract attention of one's addressee, e.g., *Jovane!* 'John!', *Gospodine!* 'Sir!', *Profesore!* 'Professor!'. In addition to having different meanings, the two constructions differ in the elements that they cooccur with (e.g., the address construction allows for the use of particles HEJ, EJ, O, OJ ≈ 'hey', which cannot be used with the exclamatory construction) and prosody. Although an evaluative noun can be used in the address construction (e.g., *Hej, kretenu!* 'Hey, [you] idiot!'), this use is not quite normal pragmatically. The only subclass of evaluative nouns to which this restriction does not apply are the nouns used typically as direct address, e.g., *Dušo!* '[My] soul', *Srećo!* '[My] happiness!', *Srce!* '[My] heart!', *Draga!/Dragi!* '[My] darling!', *Ljubavi!* '[My] love!', *Oko moje!* 'My eye!' = 'Apple of my eye!', etc. These nouns combine with vocative particles (*Hej, dušo!*, etc.), although not quite freely. This is, however, irrelevant to the present discussion.

2.1. Human Evaluative Nouns

A human evaluative noun $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$ is a qualifying lexical unit whose meaning involves an axiological dimension.⁷ This means that an $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$ denotes an individual ascribing to him a property P and associating P with a **VALUE JUDGMENT** by the Speaker: to have the property P is bad/good, in the speaker's view. The meaning of an $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$ can be roughly represented as 'individual [X] who is P, and the Speaker signals that being P is bad/good'. Three types of evaluative noun can be distinguished.

⁷ Axiology is the study of quality or value. The adjective *axiological*, as used in linguistics, means "related to the expression of human values".

Type 1 nouns. The property P is axiologically "loaded" (in a pragmatic or cultural, rather than strictly linguistic, respect): in a given social context, being P is generally considered as bad/good. The axiological judgment is based on semantic configurations in the definition of the noun and the knowledge of social norms. Thus, ALKOHOLIČAR 'alcoholic' means 'individual who drinks excessively', and excesses are rejected by the society. The meaning of PROSTITUTKA 'prostitute' is 'woman who sells sexual favors', which is socially unacceptable. HEROJ 'hero' means 'individual who has risked his life for the benefit of someone else or the society', and this is considered very good.

This property manifests itself as the possibility of using the noun alone in the exclamatory evaluative construction, cf. *Alkoholičaru!* '[You] alcoholic!' (evaluative) vs. *#Profesore!* '[You] professor!' (non-evaluative). The latter expression is correct only if the noun is used as a genuine address, i.e., to attract the attention of the individual in question.

Type 2 nouns. The definition contains the component 'bad'/'good'. For instance, STIHOKLEPAC 'poetaster' = 'poet who writes **bad** poetry', VIRTUOZ 'virtuoso' = 'musician who plays an instrument very **well**', MAJSTOR 'master' = 'individual who has done something not easy to do very **well**', etc.

Type 3 nouns. The definition contains a component 'and I dislike/like people having the property P'. For instance, ŠVABA '[a] German, and **I dislike** Germans', KOMUNJARA 'Communist, and **I dislike** Communists', NOSONJA 'man having a big nose, and **I dislike** people having big noses', etc.⁸

Nouns of type 1 are called **OBJECTIVELY EVALUATIVE**, those of type 3 are **SUBJECTIVELY EVALUATIVE**, while type 2 nouns are somewhere in-between, presenting different degrees of subjectivity.

The characteristic features of these three types of human evaluative nouns can combine. For example, PIJANDURA ≈ 'drunkard' has the features of both type 1 and type 3 nouns (drinking excessively is so-

⁸ The component 'and I dislike [...]' is in fact a simplified formulation. Strictly speaking, it should be 'and the author of the primary utterance dislikes [...]'. If Peter complains that John called him a scoundrel (*He called me a scoundrel!*) the bad opinion is John's, not Peter's (= I, in this sentence). We allow ourselves to make abstraction from such cases of quotation. This simplification does not affect our reasoning. In what follows, we identify 'I' = 'the Speaker', but it should be borne in mind that in case of secondary utterances the situation is more complex.

cially reprehensible; 'I dislike people who drink excessively'), so the definition of PIJANDURA is '**drunkard**, and I **dislike** drunkards'. Similarly, STARKELJA ≈ 'old doddering man' combines features of type 2 and type 3 nouns, since it means, roughly, '**pitiful** old man, and I **dislike** pitiful old people'.

Type 1 nouns are the least subjective, which allows for their use in official texts. Type 3 nouns are the most subjective and therefore in the case of negative evaluation, they are perceived as offensive. In a legal document someone can be referred to as an alcoholic/a prostitute (type 1 evaluative nouns) but not as a drunkard/a whore (type 3). Type 2 nouns are in an intermediate position. Because of the different degrees of subjectivity they present, $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$ are not easily used in the construction under analysis. Thus type 1 nouns are less frequent in such contexts.⁹

Below we indicate some correspondences between non-evaluative and evaluative nouns, objectively and subjectively evaluative nouns.

Table 1. Non-Evaluative vs. Evaluative Nouns

Non-evaluative N	Evaluative N
DRUG 'friend'	DRUGARČINA 'very good friend'
HOMOSEKSUALAC '[a] homosexual'	PEDER 'faggot'
ITALIJAN '[an] Italian'	ŽABAR 'wop'
JEVREJIN 'Jew'	JEŠA/ČIVUTIN 'kike'
KOMUNISTA '[a] Communist'	KOMUNJARA 'Commie'
NEMAC '[a] German'	ŠVABA 'kraut'
PESNIK 'poet'	STIHOKLEPAC 'poetaster'
PROSTITUTKA 'prostitute'	KURVA 'whore'
STARAC 'old man'	STARKELJA 'doddering old man'
_____	ALAPAČA 'miserable gossip'
_____	KRAVA _{II} lit. 'cow' ≈ 'big, stupid and unpleasant woman'

⁹ The form *pijanduro*, which is unambiguously a manifestation of our construction, gives over 10,000 hits on Google. For the form *alkoholičaru*, ambiguous between the vocative and the dative, there are 1,800 occurrences, only a minor portion of which manifest our construction. A Google search revealed that *Alkoholičaru!* '[You] alcoholic!' is ten times less frequent than *Pijanduro!* '[You] drunkard!'

SVINJA_{II} lit. 'swine' ≈ 'mean and contemptible individual'

As one can see, some $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$ have no non-evaluative one-word counterparts.

Table 2. Objectively vs. Subjectively Evaluative Nouns

Objectively evaluative N (type 1)	Subjectively evaluative N (types 2 and 3)
KRADLJIVAC/LOPOV 'thief'	LOPUŽA ≈ 'disgusting thief'
PIJANAC/PIJANICA 'drunkard'	PIJANDURA ≈ 'disgusting drunkard'
PRIČALICA 'chatter box'	LAPRDALO ≈ 'disgusting chatter box'
ULIZICA 'toady'	DUPEUVLAKAČ lit. 'asshole infiltrator' ≈ 'asslicker'
SIROMAŠNI 'the poor'	SIROTINJA ≈ 'the pitiful poor people'

We cannot enter into a detailed discussion of evaluative nouns here. We will henceforth not distinguish evaluative nouns according to their types and will consider all of them together. With a vast majority of $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$, the property P predicated of the individual X is evaluated as negative or even strongly negative. (It is commonplace that languages elaborate negative characteristics to a much greater extent than they do positive ones.) That is why in our discussions we always start with negative evaluative nouns.¹⁰

Table 3. Some Negative Human Evaluative Nouns

ANTIHRIST 'naughty child'	MAGARAC _{II} lit. 'donkey' ≈ 'stupid individual'
BAKZUS 'born loser'	MANGUP 'hooligan'
BALAVAC ≈ 'greenhorn'	MONSTRUM 'monster'
BITANGA 'vagabond'	MRŠAVKO 'skinny individual'

¹⁰ Curiously, the literature on evaluative nouns seems to be rather scarce. We can cite the following three papers on the topic: Wierzbicka 1992: 435–39, offering a lexicographic description of some Russian evaluative nouns; Halupka-Rešetar and Radić 2003, discussing Serbian evaluative nouns derived from animal names; and Declerck 1978, describing particularities of evaluative nouns with respect to relativization.

BRBLJIVAC ≈ 'blabbermouth'	NAIVČINA 'sucker'
BARABA 'scoundrel'	NESREĆA '[individual who is a] calamity'
CICIJA 'miser'	NEVALJALAC 'mischievous individual'
DEBELGUZA 'female fat ass'	NEZNALICA 'ignoramus'
DEBELI 'fatso'	NIKOGOVIĆ '[a] nobody'
DEBELJKO 'fatso _{DIMINUTIVE} '	OŠTROKONĐA 'shrew'
DEBELJUCA 'fatso _{DIMINUTIVE} '	OVCA _{II} lit. 'sheep' ≈ 'stupid and submissive woman'
DRIPAC 'jerk'	PAMETNJAKOVIĆ 'smart ass'
DUPE 'asshole'	PROSTAK 'vulgar individual' ≈ 'lout'
ĐAVO 'devil'	PROSTAČINA 'very vulgar individual'
ĐUBRE lit. 'rubbish' ≈ 'swine'	PSETO _{II} lit. 'dog' ≈ 'despicable, principless individual'
GOVNAR 'shithead'	ROGONJA 'pitiful cuckold'
GUSKA _{II} lit. 'goose' ≈ 'silly woman'	SERONJA 'shithead'
GUZONJA 'fat ass'	SELJAK 'redneck'
IDIOT 'idiot'	SELJAČINA 'redneck _{AUGMENTATIVE} '
ISPIČUTURA 'drunkard'	SLEPAC lit. 'blind individual' = 'ignoramus'
IZDAJICA 'traitor'	SOM _{II} lit. 'catfish' ≈ 'stupid individual'
KOKOŠKA _{II} lit. 'hen' ≈ 'stupid woman'	STOKA _{II} lit. 'cattle' ≈ 'uncultured individual'
KRETEN 'bonehead'	ŠEPRTLJA 'tinker'
KRMAČA 'sow'	ŠKRTICA 'miser'
KUČKA _{II} lit. 'bitch' ≈ 'morally degraded woman'	TUŽIBABA 'tattletale'
KUKAVICA 'coward'	ULIZICA 'toady'
LENČUGA 'lazybones'	VEŠTICA _{II} 'witch'
LICEMER 'hypocrite'	ZLOĆA 'wicked individual'

LUDAK 'nutcase'	ŽIVOTINJA _{II} lit. 'animal' ≈ 'vulgar and cruel individual'
LUPETALO 'windbag'	ŽUTOKLJUNAC 'greenhorn'

All the nouns above are offensive, although to varying degrees. Thus, *Budalice!* '[You] fool_{DIMINUTIVE}!' is less offensive than *Budalo!* '[You] fool!', which is less offensive than *Budaletino!* '[You] fool_{AUGMENTATIVE}!' Similarly, *Svinjo!* '[You] swine!' is very offensive, while *Prase!* '[You] piglet!' can be used as a mild and rather sympathetic reproach (for instance, when speaking to a child who has made a mess).

The set of N_{hum-eval} with which P is positive is much more restricted:

Table 4. Some Positive Human Evaluative Nouns

DOBRICA 'good-natured individual'	LEPOTICA '[a] beauty' = 'beautiful woman/girl'
DOBRIČINA 'very good-natured individual'	LUTKA _{II} lit. 'doll' = 'pretty little girl'
DELIJA 'braveheart'	MAZA 'cuddly individual'
GENIJALAC 'genius'	MUDRICA 'smart child'
GENIJE 'genius'	PAMETNICA 'clever child'
HEROJ 'hero'	POŠTENJAK 'honest individual'
JUNAK ≈ 'hero'	POŠTENJAČINA 'very honest individual'
JUNAČINA ≈ 'big hero'	VREDNICA 'industrious child'

Positive evaluative nouns that are specifically reserved for children can actually refer to adults as well. However, in that case they are used ironically. For example, *Vrednice!* applied to an adult means 'You who are trying to pass for an industrious individual without being one!'

When we characterize an expression as ironic, this means that it can only be used ironically. Possible, but not obligatory, ironic use of expressions is not considered here, since any positive expression can in principle be used in such a way.¹¹

¹¹ The literature on ironic use of linguistic expressions is huge; see, for instance, Gibbs and Colston 2007.

The grammatical gender of an $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$ and the sex of its referent do not necessarily correspond. While some feminine $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$ can refer exclusively to females (DEBELA_(fem) 'fatso', GUSKA_(fem) 'silly woman', OŠTROKONĐA_(fem) 'shrew', etc.) and some masculine $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$ exclusively to males (DEBELI_(masc) 'fatso', GUZONJA_(masc) 'fat ass', ROGONJA_(masc) 'pitiful cuckold', etc.), it is more often the case that a noun of any of the three grammatical genders can be used to refer to both males and females (BUDALA_(fem) 'fool', MONSTRUM_(masc) 'monster', ĐUBRE_(neut) 'trash', etc.). For each of these nouns, the sex of its potential referents must be indicated in its dictionary entry, in the definition (by specifying the appropriate generic component: 'individual', 'woman', 'man', 'child'). Interestingly, there are more feminine "unisex" nouns than masculine ones.

Along with human evaluative nouns, Serbian has a few non-human evaluative nouns that also can be used in the constructions under discussion. Most of these nouns are negative characterizations of physical objects or animals: KRNTIJA 'a bad car/machine' \approx 'lemon', STRAČARA 'shack', UDŽERICA 'shanty', OLUPINA 'wreck', RAGA 'bad horse' = 'nag', etc.

2.2. The Semantics, Prosody and Syntax of the Exclamatory $N_{\text{Hum-Eval}}$ Construction

2.2.1. Semantics

Used as an exclamation, an $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$ that expresses a characteristic P signals the emotional reaction of the Speaker to the fact that the individual X he is referring to is a P. More precisely, the exclamatory construction in which the $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$ is used carries the meaning 'I feel negatively/positively towards X because of X's being a P'. The choice between negative and positive feeling is controlled by the corresponding axiological load of $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$: *Baksuze!* '[You] born loser!' \approx 'You are a born loser, and I feel **negatively** towards you because of this' vs. *Majstore!* '[You] master!' \approx 'You are a master, and I feel **positively** towards you because of this'.

The indication of a bad property of someone plus the Speaker's negative feelings about him results in an insult. Conversely, the indication of a good property, together with the Speakers' positive feelings, amounts to praise.

The $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$ exclamatory construction belongs to the class of signaling expressions, or **SIGNALATIVES**, which include, among other things, all interrogative, imperative, and exclamative constructions (Mel’čuk 2001: 243ff, 354). The dominant component of the meaning of a signalative contains a reference to the Speaker (his feelings, wishes, attitudes, opinions, etc.) and has the form ‘I [= the Speaker] signal that I feel/believe/wish/...’.¹² Signalatives have an important linguistic property that opposes them to descriptive expressions: they cannot be negated, interrogated, or freely modified. The signaling character of an expression is formally modeled in our approach by means of the communicative marker *Signaled*.¹³

The following examples illustrate the contrast between a descriptive and signalative use of the $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$ BUDALA ‘fool’ = ‘individual who acts stupidly, and I dislike such people’:

- (1) a. *Ti si budala.*
 ‘You are a fool.’ = ‘**I am telling you that** you are a fool’.
- b. *Budalo!*
 ‘What a fool you are!’ = ‘**I am signaling that** you are a fool **and that I feel negatively towards you because of this**’.

2.2.2. Prosody

The semantic component ‘[I signal that... and that] I feel negatively/positively towards X because of this’ is expressed by specific prosody—strong phrasal stress on the noun, accompanied by a falling intonation. This prosody is thus the signifier of the construction.

Actually, the prosody of the construction can be modulated if the Speaker wants to convey additional semantic nuances—for instance, to express in a more specific way his feeling/degree of emotionality or to enhance/mitigate the offensiveness of the expression. Thus, *Mangupe!* ‘[You] hooligan!’ or *Davole!* ‘[You] devil!’, uttered with appropriate

¹² Some evaluative nouns (cf. type 3 evaluative nouns above) also have a component referring to the Speaker. However, in the definitions of such nouns this component does not occupy the communicatively dominant position in the way it does in the meaning of a signalative; cf. the definition of BUDALA ‘fool’ below.

¹³ See below, subsection 5.2.

prosody, can convey that the Speaker, while still having negative feelings towards the Addressee, is somehow forgiving, and so on. However, we will not describe these prosodic effects.

2.2.3. Syntax

From the viewpoint of its distribution, the $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$ construction is an interjection, which can either constitute a full utterance, as in (2a–b), or be an extra-structural element of a sentence, as in (2c–d). In either case, the $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$ can be directly addressed to a person (in the vocative, see (2a) and (2c)), or be used as an exclamation referring to a third person (in the nominative, see (2b) and (2d)).

- (2) a. *Budalo!*
 ‘[You] fool!’
 b. *Budala!*
 ‘[What a] fool!’
 c. *Ućuti, budalo!*
 ‘Shut up, [you] fool!’
 d. *Zašto ne ućuti, budala!*
 ‘Why doesn’t [he] shut up, [the] fool!’

X, i.e., the individual referred to by the $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$, is not expressed if this construction is used to refer to a third person. If the construction is used to directly address X (in which case X corresponds to TI ‘you_{SG}’ or VI ‘you_{PL}’), the latter may be, but is preferably not, expressed. Thus, *Ućuti, ti budalo!* ‘Shut up, you fool!’ is less felicitous than *Ućuti, budalo!* This quasi-impossibility of expressing X is due to its communicative status: X is always communicatively Given—either by previous context or by the situation.

As far as the internal organization of the $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$ construction is concerned, the noun can have one or more adjectival modifiers, of one of two types.

- (i) Either the adjective specifies the reason for calling X an $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$ (a free modifier):

- (3) *Svinjo nezahvalna <pijana>!* '[You] ungrateful <drunken> swine!' | *Stoko nevaspitana <neobrazovana, neodgovorna, seljačka, špijunska, muška, šovinistička, katolička, izdajnička>* '[You] mannerless <uneducated, irresponsible, redneck, spying, male, chauvinist, catholic, treacherous> animal [lit. cattle]!'
- (ii) or the adjective intensifies $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$, or more precisely the degree of the property P (a phraseologically bound modifier—*Epit*, *Magn*, or *AntiBon*):¹⁴
- (4) *Budalo glupa!* '[You] stupid fool!' | *Magarče tvrdoglavi!* '[You] stubborn ass!' | *Svinjo debela!* '[You] fat swine!'
- (5) *Budalo neopevana!* '[You] unsung fool!' = '[You] big fool!' | *Stoko smrdljiva <bezrepa>!* '[You] stinking <tailless> animal!'

Although in Serbian a modifying adjective normally precedes the noun (e.g., *ta nezahvalna <pijana> svinja* 'that ungrateful <drunken> swine', *taj tvrdoglavi magarac* 'that stubborn ass', etc.), within the $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$ construction it obligatorily follows, as seen above. This marked noun + adjective order seems to be related to the expressive nature of the construction under analysis; cf. a similar phenomenon in Italian (Longobardi 1994).

3. Semantics and Syntax of the N + JEDAN Construction

The adjective JEDAN, which appears with $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$ is one of the word senses, or **LEXEMES**, of the **VOCABLE** (= polysemous word) JEDAN, whose basic sense is 'one' = 'the name of the number 1'. From now on, this adjective will be referred to as JEDAN_{III.2}.¹⁵

The role of JEDAN_{III.2} in the N + JEDAN construction can be described along two axes—semantic and syntactic. As for the prosody of

¹⁴ *Epit*, *Magn*, and *AntiBon* are what is known in the Meaning-Text theory as lexical functions (see, for instance, Mel'čuk 2006: 275–84). They represent collocations and have to be stored in the lexical entries for the corresponding $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$.

¹⁵ For a traditional lexicographic description of JEDAN, see Stevanović et al. 1967: 574–75; for the structure of the vocable JEDAN proposed in this paper, see Subsection 5.1; on the lexicographic unity of the lexeme JEDAN_{III.2}, see subsection 3.1.3.

the construction, in our rough presentation it is the same as the prosody of the $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$ exclamatory construction.

3.1. The Semantics of the N + JEDAN Construction

As part of the discussion of the semantics of the N + JEDAN construction, we examine the semantic contribution of $JEDAN_{\text{III.2}}$.

3.1.1. The Semantic Scope of $JEDAN_{\text{III.2}}$: Intensification of Speaker's Negative Feelings

The semantic role of $JEDAN_{\text{III.2}}$ in the N + JEDAN construction is intensification of the Speaker's negative feelings. More precisely, $JEDAN_{\text{III.2}}$ bears on the semantic component '[I feel] **negatively** [towards X because of this]', expressed by the $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$ construction.

Comparing exclamative expressions with and without $JEDAN_{\text{III.2}}$, one perceives the former as signaling a more intense emotional reaction of the Speaker:

(6) a. *Budalo!*

'I signal that you are a fool and that I feel **negatively** towards you because of this.'

vs.

Budalo jedna!

'I signal that you are a fool and that I feel **very negatively** towards you because of this.'

The same semantic difference is observed in all similar pairs:

- (6) *Emotional Reaction* *Strong Emotional Reaction*
 b. *Idiote!* '[You] idiot!' ~ *Idiote jedan!* '[You] idiot one!'
 c. *Prase!* '[You] piglet!' ~ *Prase jedno!* '[You] piglet one!'

The intensification by JEDAN_{III.2} does not bear on the property P the Speaker is ascribing to X but, rather, on the feelings the Speaker has about X's being a P. The intensification of P is expressed, when needed, by a qualifying adjective, as in (4) and (5). This intensification clearly contrasts with the intensification by JEDAN_{III.2}:

- (7) a. *Budalo neopevana!*
 'I signal that you are a **complete fool** and that I **feel negatively** towards you because of this'.
 b. *Budalo jedna!*
 'I signal that you are a **fool** and that I **feel very negatively** towards you because of this'.

The semantic scope of JEDAN_{III.2} can be demonstrated by three types of facts.

First, the intensifying qualifying adjective and JEDAN_{III.2} can cooccur without creating redundancy:

- (8) *Budalo jedna neopevana!*
 'I signal that you are a **complete fool** and that I **feel very negatively** towards you because of this'.

Second, the intensification of P can be also expressed by an augmentative derivative of the N_{hum-eval}: BUDALETINA 'big fool' ≈ 'individual who acts in a **very** stupid way'. Such a formation leads to semantic redundancy if combined with a P-intensifying adjective but not if combined with JEDAN_{III.2}:

- (9) a. ^{??}*Budaletino neopevana!*
 'I signal that you are a **complete big fool** and that I **feel negatively** towards you because of this'.

(9) b. *Budaletino jedna!*

'I signal that you are a **big fool** and that I **feel very negatively** towards you because of this'.

Third, $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$ can have a diminutive derivative expressing a low degree of P: BUDALICA 'little fool' \approx 'individual who acts in a **somewhat** stupid way'. Such a formation semantically precludes intensification of P, but easily combines with $JEDAN_{\text{III.2}}$:

(10) a. **Budalice neopevana!*

'I signal that you are a **complete little fool** and that I **feel negatively** towards you because of this!'

b. *Budalice jedna!*

'I signal that you are a **little fool** and that I **feel very negatively** towards you because of this!'

3.1.2. "Negativeness" as a Transfer Feature of $JEDAN_{\text{III.2}}$

In most cases $JEDAN_{\text{III.2}}$ combines with a negative $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$: in the construction under consideration, the property P is almost always negative (a few exceptions will be discussed below). Moreover, when used with a non-evaluative noun, $JEDAN_{\text{III.2}}$ turns it into a negative evaluative one. Thus, nouns such as PROFESOR 'professor' or POLITIČAR 'politician' are non-evaluative (they cannot be used alone in the $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$ construction: **Profesore!/*Političaru!* > '[You] professor/politician!'); however, the expressions *Profesore/Političaru jedan!* '[You] professor/politician one!' are felicitous and mean, roughly, 'I signal that you are acting as a typical bad professor/politician and that I feel very negatively towards you because of this'. Finally, if $JEDAN_{\text{III.2}}$ is used with a positive evaluative noun, this makes the whole expression ironic, thus turning it into a negative one. For instance, *Genijalac jedan: ima popravni u avgustu!* 'What a genius, he is retaking the exam in August' means 'I signal that he is the opposite of a genius and that I feel very negatively towards him because of this'. The same observation can be made about the noun JUNAČINA 'hero_{AUGM}' in *E takve rane, junačino jedna, ne lečimo!* 'Well, such injuries we do not treat, [you] big hero!'

The semantic configuration 'σ = [I feel] **very negatively** [towards X because of this]' that appears in our glosses is intended to capture this particularity of JEDAN_{III.2}. This semantic component works in three ways, depending on the type of the noun:

- (i) With a negative N_{hum-eval}, the main bulk of the configuration 'σ' is redundant, since it repeats what is already contained in the exclamatory construction and the noun. The only semantic element added is 'very', so that JEDAN_{III.2} here is a pure intensifier.
- (ii) With a positive N_{hum-eval}, a large part of the configuration 'σ' is also redundant, but the element 'bad' clashes with the positive axiological load of the noun, thus forcing an ironic interpretation.
- (iii) With a non-evaluative N, the configuration 'σ' is minimally redundant; it contributes two semantic elements to the combined meanings of the noun and the construction—'negatively' and 'very'.

In the second and the third case, 'σ' functions as if it were provisionally transferring the element 'bad' to the noun's meaning, thereby transforming it into a negative evaluative noun. For instance, in *Profesore jedan!*, something like 'A professor that you are!' ≈ 'You behave as a typical bad professor, and I dislike such professors', the neutral noun PROFESOR is perceived as negative. In other words, the component '[I feel] **very negatively** [towards X]' carries over to the modified noun—that is, it constitutes what Weinreich called a **TRANSFER FEATURE** (1966: 429–32).¹⁶

For such a transfer to be natural, the noun in question must have some negative linguistic or cultural connotations, obvious to both in-

¹⁶ Transfer features are used by speakers to create metaphorical expressions, thus playing on words. For example, *He was avidly drinking the quietness of the night* [the feature 'liquid' is transferred to the noun *quietness* from the verb (*to*) *drink*, which gives a poetic ring to the sentence] or *He is my sworn friend* [the feature 'negativeness' is transferred to the noun *friend* from the established collocation *sworn enemy*, which has an ironic effect: a *sworn friend* is not a friend at all]. Transfer features are also at work in interpreting semantically absurd, but syntactically well-formed expressions. For an illustration, see Jakobson's (1959) interpretation of Chomsky's *Colorless green ideas sleep furiously*.

terlocutors.¹⁷ For example, in the case of the nouns in (11a), the transfer is possible because of their negative linguistic connotations, while with the nouns in (11b) it works owing to their cultural connotations:

- (11) a. *Kočijašu jedan!* '[You] horse driver one!' [connotation: vulgarity; cf. *Psuje kao kočijaš* 'He swears like a horse driver'] | *Maćeho jedna!* '[You] stepmother one!' [connotation: meanness; cf. *Život je nekom majka a nekom maćeha* 'Life is a mother to one person and a stepmother to the next'] | *Škote jedan!* '[You] Scot one!' [connotation: avarice; cf. *štedljivo kao Škot* 'thrifty as a Scot'].
- b. *Profesore jedan!* '[You] professor one!' [connotation: absent-mindedness] | *Političaru jedan!* '[You] politician one!' [connotation: dishonesty] | *Fudbaleru jedan!* '[You] soccer player one!' [connotation: stupidity].

If a noun does not have any such linguistic or cultural connotations, its use in the qualifying exclamatory construction is infelicitous. Thus, *#Obučaru jedan!* '[You] shoemaker one!', for instance, would be pragmatically unacceptable, since it is not clear what negative features are to be associated with the noun.¹⁸

As shown below, the N + JEDAN phrase can also be used outside of the exclamatory construction, in which case JEDAN_{III.2} contributes to the meaning of the phrase more than just 'very' and 'negatively': it adds also the component 'feeling'. This, however, can only be seen in particular syntactic environments.

¹⁷ The linguistic connotation of a lexical unit L is a meaning regularly associated with potential referents of L without being part of L's definition (e.g., 'rapidity' for WIND, 'stubbornness' and 'stupidity' for ASS, etc.). Linguistic connotations necessarily have some manifestation in language (typically in L's derivations [*stone* ~ *stony*], semantically related lexemes in the same vocable [*ass*_I 'animal' ~ *ass*_{II} 'stupid man'], or collocations [*stubborn as an ass*]). This is not the case with cultural connotations, which are much less stable. See Iordanskaja and Mel'čuk 2009.

¹⁸ Interestingly, in Russian the noun SAPOŽNIK has a linguistic connotation of sloppy work.

3.1.3. JEDAN_{III.2} as Intensifier of Positive Feelings

There are a few cases in which JEDAN_{III.2} intensifies the Speaker’s positive feelings, i.e., it does not give an ironic reading to a positive $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$ and thus does not negativize it. To the best of our knowledge, this happens with positive $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$ that denote children and so have the component ‘child’ in their definitions or are used to address a child. For instance, *Pametnice jedna!* ‘[You] clever child one!’ is ironic when addressed to an adult, but not if said to a child. A corresponding indication must be introduced into the lexical entry of JEDAN_{III.2}.

However, such indications create a theoretical problem. Traditionally, a lexeme is understood as being a set of signs whose lexical signifieds are identical. But in this case we allow for some elements of a lexeme to have different signifieds. If we followed the *ECD* principles to the letter, we would have to split JEDAN_{III.2} into two lexemes, one intensifying negative feelings and the other positive feelings. However, both would-be lexemes are lexicographically identical except for the semantic difference in question. Moreover, intensifying the positive feeling constitutes a very special case: it is possible only with a few evaluative nouns when addressed to children. Therefore, we prefer to handle this semantic “deviation” by means of an amendment to the definition of JEDAN_{III.2} and consider it a single lexeme.¹⁹ The same type of treatment is reserved for the rhetorical marker **ironic**, appearing in strictly circumscribed environments.

3.2. The Syntax of the N + JEDAN Construction

First we discuss the external syntax of the construction, i.e., its distribution in broader contexts, and then its internal syntax.

Most frequently, the N + JEDAN construction is used to talk directly to the individual X. In this case, $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$ is in the vocative. However, just as with the $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$ exclamatory construction, this does not represent a “normal” use of the vocative. In other words, this construction cannot be uttered in order to attract the attention of the Addressee; cf. unacceptable (12a), intended as a genuine address, vs. correct (12b), intended not to attract the attention of a person (since I am already talking to him), but as a way to evaluate him.

¹⁹ See subsection 5.2.1.

- (12) a. [?]**Ej, budalo jedna!*
 ‘Hey, [you] fool one!’
 b. *Da li ti je jasno, budalo jedna?*
 ‘Do you get that, [you] fool one?’

This typical use of the construction is the basis of the proposed description.

There are three other ways to use the N + JEDAN construction, which we present in order of declining frequency and naturalness. These three cases differ as to the syntactic role played by the noun N.

- (i) The N + JEDAN phrase can quite naturally refer to a third person and then N is the head of an exclamatory nominal expression. N_{hum-eval} appears, of course, in the nominative: *Budala jedna!* ‘What a fool!’ or *Kreten jedan!* ‘What a bonehead!’
- (ii) Less frequently, the N + JEDAN phrase is used as an apposition to a human noun or pronoun in the nominative case, often within an exclamatory sentence (the pronoun can be dropped): *Videće (on), budala jedna!* ‘He’ll see, fool one!’ | *Videćeš (ti), budalo jedna!* ‘You’ll see, [you] fool one!’ | *Kajaće se (on), kreten jedan idiotski!* ‘He’ll regret [this], moron one idiotic!’ | *Naljutili ste me, (vi) kreteni jedni!* ‘You made me mad, (you) idiots ones!’ | *Baš vas je zeznuo direktor, lopov jedan!* ‘The director really hoodwinked you, thief one!’ However, the phrase does not appear necessarily in an exclamative environment: *A ovi moji, budale jedne, nemaju pojma* ‘And these folks of mine, fools ones, have no clue’ or *On će mene da uči, slepac jedan* ‘And HE is trying to teach ME, this ignoramus’.
- (iii) The least frequent and least natural use of the phrase is with the copula BITI ‘be’, as in [?]*On je budala jedna* ‘He is fool one ≈ He is a fool and I feel very negatively toward him because of this’. Its restricted character can be seen from two facts. First, N + JEDAN is impossible with any other copula—POSTATI ‘become’ (**On je postao lenčuga jedna* ‘He became a lazybones one’ vs. *On je postao lenčuga* ‘He became a lazybones’) and IZGLEDATI ‘seem’ (**On izgleda kao pijanica jedna* ‘He looks like a drunkard one’ vs. *On izgleda kao pijanica* ‘He looks like a drunkard’). Second, the

Speaker feels the need to add to the N + JEDAN phrase an emphatic particle (e.g., *Ma on je budala jedna* ≈ 'But he is fool one'), to make the expression more acceptable.

The uses of the second and the third type demonstrate that the component 'I feel very negatively towards X because of this' does not come from the exclamatory construction: it is brought about by JEDAN_{III.2} itself. Therefore, this component must be a part of the definition of JEDAN_{III.2}.

As for the internal syntactic organization of the N + JEDAN construction, the adjective JEDAN_{III.2} must immediately follow the N_{hum-eval}: *Budalo jedna!* vs. **Jedna budalo!*²⁰ If the construction includes another codependent adjective, this adjective cannot separate the N_{hum-eval} and JEDAN_{III.2}: it either follows JEDAN_{III.2} or (a less felicitous variant) precedes the noun: *Budalo jedna pijana!* '[You] drunken fool!' vs. **Budalo pijana jedna!* <[?]*Pijana budalo jedna!*>.

4. Another Construction of the N + JEDAN Type

In addition to JEDAN_{III.2} combined with a human noun (in most cases evaluative, but also possibly neutral), Serbian also uses similar expressions featuring JEDAN_{III.2} and a non-human evaluative noun:

- (13) *Sramota jedna!, Užas jedan!, Milina jedna!* 'Shame one! Horror one!, Pleasure one!' = 'I signal that this is a shame/a horror/a pleasure and that I feel very negatively <very positively> towards this because of this fact'.

The semantic element 'this' in the definition refers to an entity, an event, an activity, etc. that is specified by the situation in which the expression at hand is being uttered (either ostentatiously or by previous utterances). Thus, *Užas jedan!* 'What a horror!' can be uttered when one sees a very bad piece of art, a messy scene, etc., or as a reaction to an account of an undesirable event.

Because of their semantics, many non-human evaluative nouns take a clausal complement, introduced by the conjunction DA/ŠTO

²⁰ All other lexemes of the vocable JEDAN normally precede their governors in a sentence.

'that' or an interrogative pronoun (KOLIKO 'how much', ŠTA 'what', KAKO 'how'):

- (14) a. *Sramota jedna da se ovako nešto toleriše!*
 'Shame one that something like this is being tolerated!'
 b. *Užas jedan kako je to teško!*
 'Horror one how difficult that is!'
 c. *Milina jedna koliko stvari ima!*
 'Pleasure one how many things there are!'

As in the case of $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$, non-human evaluative nouns can also be negative or positive, the negative ones being again more numerous.

Table 5. Some Non-Human Negative Evaluative Nouns

BAKSUZLUK 'bad luck'	NESREĆA 'misfortune'
BEZOBRAZLUK 'impudence'	PROSTAKLUK 'vulgarity'
BUDALAŠTINA 'imbecility'	SRAMOTA 'shame'
CIRKUS 'circus'	SRANJA 'shit'
FARSA 'farce'	STRAHOTA \approx 'horror'
GLUPOST 'stupidity'	SVINJARIJA '[a] mess', 'mean trick'
IDIOTARIJA 'idiocy'	TRAGEDIJA 'tragedy'
KOMEDIJA 'comedy'	UŽAS 'horror'
LUDILO 'madness'	

Table 6. Some Non-Human Positive Evaluative Nouns

DIVOTA 'splendor' \approx 'pleasurable situation'	MILINA 'sweetness' \approx 'pleasurable situation'
LEPOTA 'beauty' \approx 'pleasurable situation'	UŽIVANCIJA 'enjoyment' \approx 'pleasurable situation'

There are also a few non-human evaluative nouns that are "ambivalent", i.e., they can be either negative or positive, depending on the evaluation of X by the Speaker. For instance, ČUDO 'wonder' and STRAVA \approx 'something unbelievable' ['scare']: *Čudo jedno/Strava jedna*

koliko je to korisno/nekorisno ‘Wonder/Horror one how useful/useless that is’.²¹

Just like $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$ non-human evaluative nouns can be used without JEDAN_{III.2} in the qualifying exclamatory construction, and the semantic difference between this use and that with JEDAN_{III.2} is the same as with $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$; cf.: *Ovaj članak: užas!* ‘This article: horror!’ ≈ ‘I signal that this article is a horror and that I feel negatively towards it because of this’ vs. *Ovaj članak: užas jedan!* ‘This article: horror one!’ ≈ ‘I signal that this article is a horror and that I feel very negatively towards it because of this’.

Non-human evaluative nouns with JEDAN_{III.2} appear quite naturally in another type of syntactic environment, in which the construction $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$ + JEDAN_{III.2} is only marginally possible—namely, with the copula BITI ‘be’:

- (15) a. *Na bazenu nije gužva, voda je lepota jedna.*
 ‘The pool is not crowded, the water is beauty one’.
- b. *Ta moja tetka je čudo jedno.*
 ‘That aunt of mine is miracle one’.
- c. *A preticanje je uživancija jedna.*
 ‘And passing [another car] is pleasure one’.
- d. *Ništa mi ne govori, ovo je užas jedan!*
 ‘Do not tell me anything, this is horror one!’
- e. *Ovo što se radi sa povratnicima je strahota jedna!*
 ‘What is being done with the returnees is horror one!’

The copula can be in tenses other than the present (which is the only tense allowed when it cooccurs with $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$ + JEDAN_{III.2} construction); cf.: *Porodaj je bio užas jedan, ali sada to nije važno* ‘The delivery was horror one, but this is not important now’. | *Sad kad završe ovaj most,*

²¹ *Užas jedan*, *strava jedna*, and *čudo jedno* can also be used as adverbial intensifiers of adjectives appearing as rhematic focus in an appropriate construction, e.g., *Dosadan je užas jedan* ‘He is boring horror one’ = ‘He is boring to the extreme’, *A ukusne su strava jedna* ‘And [they] are tasty scare one’ = ‘And they are tasty to the extreme’, *Nemiran je čudo jedno* ‘[He] is unruly miracle one’ = ‘He is unruly to the extreme’. These phrases are idioms which mean ‘very intensely’ and have special prosody.

biće lepota jedna 'Now when [they] finish this bridge, [it] will be beauty one'.

Also, such expressions readily appear with left dislocation of the noun and a resumptive demonstrative pronoun TO 'that'/OVO 'this' as the subject, cf. (16b):

- (16) a. *Takvo ponašanje je užas jedan.*
 'Such behavior is horror one'.
 b. *Takvo ponašanje, to je užas jedan.*
 'Such behavior, that is horror one'.

Given the different syntactic behavior of expressions featuring non-human evaluative nouns and $JEDAN_{\#III.2}$, one can conclude that we are dealing here with a construction that is closely related to, but distinct from, the $N_{\text{hum-eval}} + JEDAN_{III.2}$ construction. The adjective $JEDAN$ appearing in both constructions, however, is the same lexeme, $JEDAN_{III.2}$: the two constructions behave in the same way, both with respect to the semantic contribution of the adjective and their internal syntax.

To sum up, we describe all the phenomena presented above in one lexical entry, that of the adjective $JEDAN_{III.2}$, indicating both syntactic constructions it controls. This type of description represents a parallel or, to be more precise, mirror image of a situation where a predicative lexical unit appears with several government patterns describing its actants. Thus, the verb PUNISH appears in two different syntactic frames, represented by two different government patterns:

- (17) a. $X_{\text{AUTHORITY}}$ punishes $Y_{\text{INDIVIDUAL}}$ for his Z_{ACTION} by W_{SANCTION}
 and
 b. $X_{\text{AUTHORITY}}$ punishes Z_{ACTION} [of $Y_{\text{INDIVIDUAL}}$] by W_{SANCTION}

Yet all the other elements of the lexical entry for this verb, i.e., definition, inflection, derivatives, and lexical cooccurrence, remain the same. This is what we see with $JEDAN_{III.2}$ as well.

5. JEDAN in a Serbian ECD-Dictionary

To present a formal lexicographic description of the N + JEDAN construction, we would need first to deal with the $N_{\text{hum-eval}}$ exclamatory construction. The latter is to be described in the grammar of Serbian, where all such constructions are described (*Kakva pametna žena!* ‘What an intelligent woman!’, *Kreten od čoveka!* ‘An idiot of a man!’, etc.). In what follows, we simply presuppose that such a description exists and only deal with the properties contributed by JEDAN_{III.2}. These are described in the dictionary entry for this lexeme.

Since JEDAN_{III.2} is one of several lexemes of the vocable JEDAN, a cursory description of the structure of this vocable is provided.

Our presentation, as stated above, is based on the principles and concepts proposed within Meaning-Text Theory for the elaboration of Explanatory Combinatorial Dictionaries. As before, illustrative examples are taken from Google.

5.1. The Structure of the Vocable JEDAN

Some lexemes of the vocable JEDAN are not considered here—namely, those that are not genuine adjectivals, such as *Oni su jedno* ‘They are one’, *Dobio sam jedan iz matematike* ‘I got a one [= a failing mark] in math’, as well as the expression JEDAN DRUGOG ‘one another’.²²

JEDAN

JEDAN_I, numeral nominal

‘number 1’

Jedan je prvi broj u skupu prirodnih brojeva

‘One is [the] first number in [the] set of natural numbers’

²² Our division of the vocable JEDAN into lexemes differs from that found in Stevanović 1967, but we cannot enter here into a discussion of this issue.

JEDAN_{II}, numeral adjective

'[the quantity of X is] 1'

U Srbiji postoji samo jedan centar za rehabilitaciju žrtava torture 'In Serbia there is only **one** center for the rehabilitation of victims of torture'. | *Na šest muškaraca dolazi jedna žena koja previše pije* 'For every six men there is **one** woman who drinks excessively'.

JEDAN_{III.1}, indefinite pronominal adjective

Weakly indefinite modifier [vaguely analogous to the indefinite article in the languages that have articles]

Objašnjenje o dejstvu leka dao mi je jedan doktor iz Nemačke 'The explanation about the effects of the medication was given to me by **a** doctor from Germany'. | *Hronika jednog zločina* 'Chronicle of **a** crime'. | *On je jedan super dečko* 'He is **a** great guy'. | *On je jedan oportunist koji ne želi da povuče ni jedan politički riskantan potez* 'He is **an** opportunist who does not want to make **a** (single) politically risky move'. | *I jedan Ajnštajn je na kraju života počeo da veruje u Boga* 'Even **an** Einstein at the end of his life started believing in God'.

JEDAN_{III.2}, indefinite pronominal adjective

'[X is a P,] and I signal that I feel very negatively towards X because of this' [intensifier of the Speaker's feelings]

Nemaš ti pojma, budalo jedna! 'You_{SG} have no clue, fool **one** [= 'you fool']!' | *Idiot jedan!* 'Idiot **one**' = 'What an idiot (he is)!'. | *To je užas jedan!* 'That is horror **one**' = 'This is sheer horror!'

JEDAN₄, adjective

'undivided'

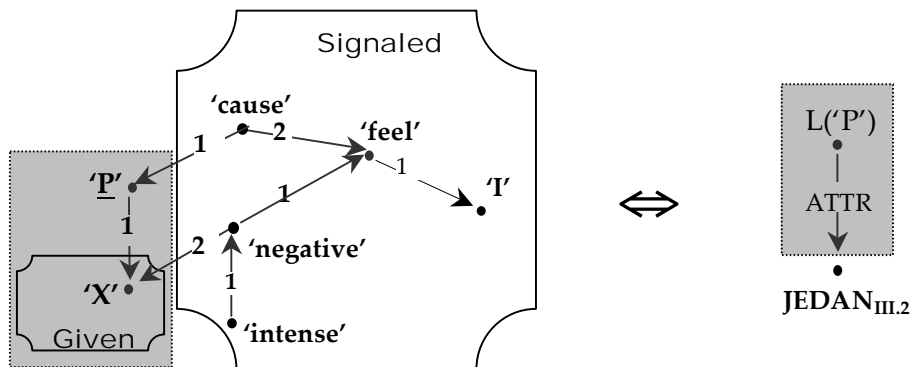
Mi smo jedno tržište, to nemojte zaboraviti
'We are **one** [= a single] market, don't forget that'.

5.2. Lexicographic Description of JEDAN_{III.2}

5.2.1. The Lexicographic Entry of JEDAN_{III.2}

Definition

[P] *jedan!* ≡ ‘[a contextually given X is a P,] and I signal that I feel very negatively towards X because of X’s being a P—as if X were one [= JEDAN_{III.1}] typical representative of the class of Ps’.



Construction with a Human N_{eval}

Semantic Constraint

‘P’ ⊃ ‘individual’

Semantic Amendments

- If ‘P’ is expressed by a positive N_{hum-eval} addressed to or denoting a child, then the component ‘[feel very] **negatively**’ has to be replaced by ‘[feel very] **positively**’ (*Vrednice jedna!* ‘What a hard worker you are!’). If ‘P’ is expressed by a neutral N, then the component ‘[X is a P,]’ has to be replaced by ‘[X **behaves as a P,**]’ (*Fudbaleru jedan!* ‘[You] soccer player one!’ = ‘You bonehead!’).
- If ‘P’ is expressed by a positive N_{hum-eval} neither addressed to nor denoting a child, then the use is **ironic**; e.g., *Genije jedan!* ‘Some genius that you are!’

These amendments to the definition allow us to treat JEDAN_{III.2} as a single lexeme (cf. the above discussion on the lexemic unity of JEDAN_{III.2}), rather than posit three different lexemes that are lexicographically identical except for these semantic differences.

Syntactic Properties

EXTERNAL SYNTAX

- Most common use: as an interjection.
- Less common use: as an apposition to a noun in the nominative, preferably to a pronoun, in an exclamative environment.
- Restricted use: as the attribute of the copula BITI 'be'. (This is a borderline case: BITI can only be in the present and to enhance the acceptability, the emphatic particle MA ≈ 'but' is often added.)

INTERNAL SYNTAX

- N is in the vocative or in the nominative.
- JEDAN_{III.2} immediately follows N: *Budalo jedna!* '[You] fool one!' vs. **Jedna budalo!* '[You] one fool!'

Other codependent adjectives, if any, also follow N, as is typical of the qualifying exclamatory construction: *Budalo pijana!* '[You] fool drunk!' vs. *?Pijana budalo!* '[You] drunk fool!' Because of its position immediately after N, JEDAN_{III.2} precedes other adjectives: *Budalo jedna pijana!* '[You] fool one drunk!' vs. **Budalo pijana jedna!* '[You] fool drunk one!'

- 'X' can be expressed only in the vocative but even then it is preferably not expressed.

Construction with a Non-Human N_{eval}

Semantic Constraint

'P' ⊃ 'situation' or 'physical entity'

Semantic Amendment

If 'P' is expressed by a positive $N_{\text{non.hum.eval}}$, then the component '[feel very] **negatively**' has to be replaced by '[feel very] **positively**' (*Uživancija jedna!* 'What a pleasure!').

Syntactic Properties

EXTERNAL SYNTAX

- Most common use: as the attribute of the copula BITI 'be', preferably, with the left dislocation of the subject and the resumptive pronoun TO/OVO 'that'/'this'; e.g., *Takvo ponašanje je užas jedan* 'Such behavior is horror one'. ~ *Takvo ponašanje, to je užas jedan* 'Such behavior, that is horror one'.
- Slightly less common use: as an interjection; e.g., *Tragedija jedna neviđena!* 'Tragedy one unseen!' ≈ 'What a horrible tragedy!'

INTERNAL SYNTAX

N is in the nominative.

- The word order is the same as for the construction with a human N_{eval} .

Examples

Construction with a human N_{eval}

Nema to veze sa vama, kreteni jedni! 'It has nothing to do with you, [you] idiots!' | *Normalno da sam ljuta, ti idiote jedan!* 'Sure that I am mad, you idiot!' | *Kiki, pametnice jedna, ne moraš baš u svakoj čorbi da budeš mirođija* 'Kiki, [you] clever thing, do not meddle in everything!' | *Rago jedna, baš si lenja!* '[You] nag, aren't you lazy!' [from a nursery rhyme] | *Baš me je iznervirala, alapača jedna!* 'She did annoy me, the miserable gossip!' | *Ma to je stoka jedna, bre!* 'They are animals, they really are, I tell you!' | *On će meni da odgovara, đubre jedno bezobrazno!* 'And he dares to contradict me, this impudent trash!' | *Ali Krajzler se raspao, krtnija jedna!* 'But the Chrysler fell apart, the lemon!' | *A ovi moji, budale jedne, nemaju pojma* 'And these folks of mine, the fools, have no clue'. | *Ma on je budala jedna* 'But he is a fool'.

Construction with a non-human N_{eval}

*Ova reklama ti je **ludilo jedno** 'This ad is simply madness'. | Tehnologija je **čudo jedno** 'Technology is a miracle'. | Slika je **milina jedna** 'This painting is a marvel'. | Firefox 3 je **glupost jedna teška** 'Firefox 3 is an enormous stupidity'. | To je **užas jedan** koliko je to zastarelo 'It is horrendous how outdated that [thing] is'. | Ma to je **bezobrazluk jedan**, ta mizogonija u našem društvu 'It is plain indecency, that misogyny in our society'. | Ma **komedija jedna!** 'What a comedy!' | **Tragedija jedna neviđena!** 'What a horrible tragedy!' | **Budalaština jedna obična!** 'Sheer stupidity!' | **Ovi naši se potukli, sramota jedna!** 'Our people came to blows, what a shame!'*

5.2.2. Comments on the Definition of $JEDAN_{III.2}$

- (i) We have provided, in addition to the linear ECD-style definition of $JEDAN_{III.2}$, a semantic rule (more specifically a lexicalization rule) that specifies the correspondence between the decomposition of the meaning of $JEDAN_{III.2}$ and $JEDAN_{III.2}$ itself as a lexeme. A verbal definition and its formal counterpart are useful for different purposes: intuitive evaluation of the accuracy and relevance of the description from a linguistic viewpoint is easier with the verbal formulation, while logical precision and formal correctness are easier to verify on a semantic network.
- (ii) Underscoring of a component in a semantic network indicates that this component is **COMMUNICATIVELY DOMINANT** in a given semantic configuration, i.e., it constitutes the minimal paraphrase of this configuration—with some loss but without distortion of the information conveyed.
- (iii) Given and Signaled are values of the communicative oppositions of Givenness and Locutionality (Mel'čuk 2001: 158ff and 242ff), marking particular areas in a semantic network.
- (iv) A shaded area in a semantic rule indicates the context: it specifies the environment in which the rule can be applied but is not itself affected by the rule.
- (v) The component '— as if ...' in a verbal definition represents a **SEMANTIC BRIDGE** between the lexeme under description and at

least one other lexeme of the same vocable. In our case, the main component of the semantic bridge is the meaning 'JEDAN_{III.1}'. As for the other lexemes of the vocable in question, they are linked via the component 'JEDAN_I'. A semantic bridge has an intra-systemic value only, as it is intended to make explicit the semantic links within a polysemous vocable (as opposed to the absence of such links between homophonous vocables). Its use corresponds to a technical principle of the Meaning-Text lexicography requiring that each lexeme in a vocable be linked through a chain of semantic bridges to all other lexemes in it. A semantic bridge does not participate in the meaning-to-text transition, and therefore we chose not to represent it in the formal version of the definition of JEDAN_{III.2}.

To sum up, JEDAN_{III.2} means, roughly, 'I feel very negatively [... because of this]'. In a few cases, however, it means 'I feel very positively [... because of this]'. A major difficulty with the description of JEDAN_{III.2} is that it is prototypically found in an exclamatory construction which has itself a very similar meaning: 'I feel positively/negatively [... because of this]'. The use of JEDAN_{III.2} in this construction leads to a semantic overlap, and the researcher can be tempted to conclude that JEDAN_{III.2} means just 'very', i.e., that it is simply an intensifier. However, as soon as one starts considering further uses of JEDAN_{III.2}, then the other part of its meaning, which is neutralized within the qualifying exclamatory construction, becomes apparent and one discovers that JEDAN_{III.2} itself introduces the component 'I feel very negatively [... because of this]'

6. Conclusion

This paper is intended to attract attention to one concrete expression characteristic of Serbian: a phrase consisting of an evaluative noun and the postposed indefinite adjective JEDAN. Its contribution can be summed up as follows:

- (i) It proposes a description of one particular qualifying exclamatory construction. Until now this topic—the study of exclamatory expressions or, more generally, interjections—has not been

thoroughly investigated within Meaning-Text Theory or related frameworks.²³

- (ii) This construction treated is an example of a signalative, i.e., non-descriptive, linguistic expression. Within Meaning-Text lexicography, only a few lexical units of this type have been described so far.²⁴ We supply a sketch of how such “exotic” lexemes could be presented in an ECD.
- (iii) Albeit peripherally, this paper sheds some light on the important but vague notion of construction. It demonstrates how one type of what is commonly called a construction can be described in a lexical entry for a syntactically dependent member of this construction.

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²³ Three such studies are Wierzbicka 1991, Vázquez Veiga and Alonso Ramos 2004, and Iomdin 2006: 604–12.

²⁴ See, for instance, Iordanskaja and Mel'čuk 1999, 2007: 347ff and Dostie 2004.

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