

Dejan Gabrovšek (ORCID: 0000-0002-4995-1814)

ZRC SAZU, Inštitut za slovenski jezik Frana Ramovša, Slovenija

dejan.gabrovsek@zrc-sazu.si

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3986/16.1.05>

BACKWARDS ANAPHORA AND BACKWARDS ELLIPSIS IN SLOVENIAN MULTI-CLAUSE SENTENCES

The article discusses backwards anaphora and backwards ellipsis in Slovenian multi-clause sentences. It demonstrates their characteristics on all types of Slovenian multi-clause sentences that allow the two phenomena. It turns out that backwards anaphora and backwards ellipsis are rare; backwards anaphora in the role of correlative is the most frequent, and backwards anaphora in coordination is the rarest. I have found individual instances of backwards anaphora and backwards ellipsis even in relationships where they were not envisaged in most studies to date. Backwards anaphora and backwards ellipsis can also have a stylistic effect. It is also possible to have more than one backwards anaphora or backwards ellipsis in one sentence. A semi-backwards anaphora and semi-backwards ellipsis are also shown as a special type of a backwards anaphora and backwards ellipsis.

KEYWORDS: syntax, sentence, cataphora, pronoun, correlative

Članek se ukvarja z vzvratno anaforo in vzvratno elipso v slovenski večstavčni povedi. Njune značilnosti prikazuje pri vseh tipih slovenske večstavčne povedi, ki ju v slovenščini omogočajo. Izkaže se, da sta vzvratna anafora in vzvratna elipsa redki: vzvratna anafora je najpogostejša v vlogi odnosnice, najredkejša pa v priredjih. Posamezne primere vzvratne anafore in vzvratne elipse smo našli tudi v razmerjih, pri katerih jih večina dosedanjih raziskav ni predvidevala. Vzvratna anafora in vzvratna elipsa imata lahko tudi stilistični učinek. V posameznih povedih je možna tudi več kot ena vzvratna anafora ali vzvratna elipsa. Kot poseben tip vzvratne anafore in vzvratne elipse sta obravnavni tudi polzvratna anafora in polzvratna elipsa.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: skladnja, poved, katafora, zaimek, odnosnica

1 INTRODUCTION

The article explores backwards anaphora and backwards ellipsis in the Slovenian multi-clause sentences,¹ which are rare options² of text building and are also limited as regards in which relationships they occur the most frequently, in which more rarely, in which only sporadically and in which at least one of the two is not possible, which does not apply to “ordinary” anaphora and ellipsis. Thus, it is sensible to explore their characteristics and the environments in which they occur separately. I have searched for examples in the *Gigafida 2.0* corpus of written standard Slovenian, using a CQL³ tool allowing me to find a number of examples belonging to a given type, which has made it easier to determine what backwards anaphora and backwards ellipsis have in common.

The aim of this article is to present and study all the types of backwards anaphora and backwards ellipsis that occur in Slovene multi-sentence sentences.

2 SHARED CHARACTERISTICS

Backwards anaphora and backwards ellipsis represent a text-building procedure where a lexical element (especially a noun or verb) or antecedent⁴ is first expressed with a pronoun (backwards anaphor), example (1) or left out

¹ There are also a backwards anaphora and backwards ellipsis within the clause:

Njen_i ginekolog bo zvezdnico_i morda spravi_l v zapor.
 her.nom.sg gynaecologist.nom.sg AUX.FUT star.acc.sg might put.lpt.m.sg in jail.acc.sg

‘Her_i gynaecologist might put the star_i in jail.’

Ljudje naj pred Ø_i in med vožnjo_i ne uživajo alkohola.
 people.nom.sg.pl should before and during driving.ins.sg not consume.ipfv.prs3pl alcohol.gen.sg

‘People should not consume alcohol before and during driving.’

Ellipsis of part of the words is also possible:

Na voljo so eno-, dvo- in tridnevne vozovnice.
 on will.acc.sg AUX one- two and three-day.nom.f.pl ticket.nom.pl

‘One-, two- and three-day tickets are available.’

² It is not possible to determine the frequency ratio between anaphora and ellipsis and backwards anaphora and backwards ellipsis, but a corpus search shows that it is significantly easier to find anaphora and ellipsis than backwards anaphora and backwards ellipsis. The literature review also shows that anaphora and ellipsis are discussed more frequently than backwards anaphora and backwards ellipsis.

³ Corpus Query Language.

⁴ In this case, the term is not particularly apt as the element in question follows the backwards anaphora, but I still use it due to established practice.

(backwards ellipsis), example (2) and only then expressed with a lexical word (Huddleston, Pullum 2002: 1455; Huang 2006: 231; Pavlič, Stepanov 2023: 294). The procedure with backwards ellipsis and backwards anaphora is thus the same. Backwards anaphora is also called cataphora or anticipatory anaphora (Huddleston, Pullum 2002: 1456). Backwards ellipsis is also termed cataphoric ellipsis (Vičar 2011: 96), catalipsis or anticipatory ellipsis (Huddleston, Pullum 2002: 1456). Anaphor is a pronoun in an anaphoric role.

(1)

Če jih_i še ne jemljete, je sedaj pravi čas, da začnete jemati [nosečniške vitamine]_i.

if he.gen.pl yet not take.ipfv.prs.2pl AUX now right.nom.m.sg time.nom.sg that start.pfv.prs.2pl take.ipfv.inf pregnancy.acc.m.pl vitamin.acc.pl

‘If you aren’t taking them yet, now is the right time to start taking pregnancy vitamins.’

(2)

Naloga ni Ø_i in ne bo lahka.

task.nom.sg AUX.NEG and not AUX.FUT easy.nom.f.sg

‘The task is not and will not be easy.’

In the article, I take backwards anaphora to mean any type of anaphora in which the pronoun refers to the following word or part of the text, even though some other linguistic theories would explain some relationships differently. The same applies to backwards ellipsis except that there is an empty space instead of a pronoun.

Backwards ellipsis and backwards anaphora are rarer than anaphora and ellipsis (Beaugrande, Dressler 1992: 50; Kazanina, Phillips 2010: 373; Trnavac, Taboada 2016: 72), even barely detectable in some types of Slovenian multi-clause sentences, though the thesis that there is no backwards anaphora or ellipsis in certain relationships, particularly coordination (Haspelmath 2004: 35), has not been confirmed, because I also found examples of backwards anaphora and backwards ellipsis in the coordination (SECTIONS 3.5 and 4.3).

The presence or possibility of backwards anaphora and backwards ellipsis are signs of approaching the subordinate pole: the inability of backwards anaphora and backwards ellipsis is one of the criteria for coordination (Gabrovšek 2021; Gabrovšek 2023a: 78-79), so they should not appear in typical compound

sentences,⁵ whereas subordination and relationships close to subordination have no such limitations, or such limitations are not as strict. As is shown further on, this is not quite true. The possibility of backwards anaphora and ellipsis is conditioned upon a closer connection (i.e. closer to subordination and they often appear in subordination and less common in other relationships) between clauses, which is the prerequisite for backwards anaphora and backwards ellipsis to be grammatical and understandable. This is also linked to a more pronounced hierarchisation of clauses, which facilitates the formation of more complex structures, which definitely include backwards anaphora and backwards ellipsis (Ross 1967: 121).

In subordination, backwards anaphor and backwards ellipsis can be placed in the dependent clause.⁶ In the correlative role (SECTIONS 3.1.1 and 4.2) they are in the main clause and are very common in this position. Only sporadically can the backwards anaphor which is not in the correlative role be placed in the main clause (SECTION 3.1). This means that backwards anaphor and backwards ellipsis can occur in a hierarchically lower clause when backwards anaphor and backwards ellipsis are not in the role of correlative, and in a hierarchically higher clause when they are in the role of the correlative.

In hierarchically equal clauses (i.e. in coordination), backwards anaphora and backwards ellipsis are limited to sporadic instances. This shows that there are structural differences between subordinate and coordinate relationships but that these boundaries are not clear-cut and that it is impossible to define subordination or coordination only based on individual criteria. The presence of backwards anaphora and backwards ellipsis in some coordinated sentences shows that even in these relationships, the clauses are not completely symmetrical; instead, there is at least a slight hierarchy between them, which allows presence of backwards anaphora and backwards ellipsis.

In principle, most cases of backwards anaphora and backwards ellipsis can be altered to create “regular” anaphora and ellipsis, often simply by switching the order of clauses, but the reverse is not always possible: this, too, shows that anaphora and ellipsis are prototypical, while backwards anaphora and ellipsis

⁵ This is an old thesis disproved as early as the 1980s (Mittwoch 1983). It would be better to say that there is no backwards anaphora and backwards ellipsis in the vast majority of coordination types; this thesis is also supported by the fact that I have only found rare examples of backwards anaphora and backwards ellipsis in coordination.

⁶ Because not all clauses in which backwards anaphora and backwards ellipsis occur are called a dependent clause sentence, a clause introduced by a conjunction is called a conjunctive clause.

are exceptions. This also points to at least some stylistic effect in all instances of backwards anaphora and backwards ellipsis. The only type where only backwards anaphora is possible is added proposition (SECTION 3.3) – reversing the order of sentences is impossible there.

Anaphora is the process of abstracting an antecedent, which is referenced with a pronoun instead of a lexical word, and the bond between them is kept mainly through proximity as they are normally located in the same sentence or adjacent sentences. Ellipsis is the next step in abstraction as the antecedent is expressed as a gap. This also applies to backwards anaphora and backwards ellipsis, which proves why they are rarer: it is easier to create a text going from the concrete towards abstraction (lexical word⁷ → pronoun (anaphor) → Ø) than vice versa. In backwards anaphora and backwards ellipsis, a text is created thus: Ø/pronoun (backwards anaphor) → lexical word.

The condition for backwards anaphora and backwards ellipsis is that at least one of the words is repeated in both clauses of a sentence. As anaphora and ellipsis are text-building processes, it is possible for the reference to stretch across multiple sentences.

Instances of backwards anaphor are coindexed with *i*, the position of backwards ellipsis is coindexed with the Ø_{*i*} symbol, and the antecedent of backwards anaphor or backwards ellipsis is coindexed with *i*. The second and third instances of backwards anaphora and backwards ellipsis in the same example are coindexed with *j* and *k*.

3 BACKWARDS ANAPHORA

This section discusses backwards anaphora. Backwards anaphora appears in a number of multi-clause relationships but is the most common in subordination. An anaphor is often located in the first clause of a sentence but relates to the previous sentence; such cases should not be considered backwards anaphora. To qualify as a backwards anaphora, it must refer only to a constituent in the following clause or the whole following clause. Sporadically, a backwards anaphor and its antecedent can be more than one clause apart. Considering the above, a backwards anaphor introduces new information, i.e. a new argument that has not yet been mentioned in the text.

⁷ I consider lexical words to include nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs.

As a rule, and this is especially apparent in the correlative role (SECTION 3.1.1) and in added proposition (SECTION 3.3), a backwards anaphor announces content with a pronoun:⁸ this content is thus as yet undetermined, unknown, and only made concrete by the following clause.

3.1 BACKWARDS ANAPHORA IN THE MAIN CLAUSE

Backwards anaphora in the main clause occurs only sporadically, and some discussions consider it impossible. We have found only one such example. Backwards anaphora as a correlative, on the other hand, is much more common (SECTION 3.1.1), although it also occurs in the main clause.

(3)

<i>Pri</i>	<i>njeni_i</i>	<i>zdravnici</i>	<i>sem</i>	<i>izvedela,</i>	<i>da je</i>	<i>hčerka_i</i>
at	her.loc.sg	doctor.loc.sg	AUX.PST	find out.lpt.f.sg	that	AUX.PST daughter.nom.sg
<i>bolezen</i>	<i>dobila</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>okužbo.</i>			
disease.acc.sg	get.lpt.f.sg	with	infection.ins.sg			

‘I found out from her doctor that my daughter had contracted the disease through an infection.’

3.1.1 BACKWARDS ANAPHORA AS CORRELATIVE

A dependent clause is introduced by a pronominal correlative, which is located in the main clause, reveals the function of the dependent clause and acts as a bridge between the main and dependent clauses (Ross 1967: 120; Petr 1986: 531; Žele 2016; 2017; Gabrovšek, Žele 2019; Gabrovšek 2023a: 61; 2023b). A correlative is typically located before the dependent clause, so it functions as a backwards anaphor (Jelovšek 2024: 228).⁹ It can also be left out; in which case it also functions as a backwards ellipsis (SECTION 4.2). A correlative in the backwards anaphora role is prototypical (examples (4-6)).¹⁰ A correlative announces the content, but the pronoun has too wide a meaning, so the dependent clause makes it more concrete (Halliday, Hasan 1976: 56). The same applies to

⁸ This sentence also contains a backwards anaphor.

⁹ Backwards anaphora can also be found in 16th century Slovenian texts (Jelovšek 2011: 421; 2024: 138, 143).

¹⁰ A correlative in the role of an anaphor is rarer:

[<i>Če</i>	<i>vam</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>všeč</i>],	<i>potem</i> ,	<i>uživajte.</i>
if	you.dat.pl	AUX	this.nom.n.sg	like.adv	then.adv	enjoy.ipfv.imp.2pl

‘If you like this, then enjoy.’

a dependent clause preceding or inserted in the main clause. The position of the main clause thus has no (major) role in the placement of the correlative; there is a strong tendency to place it before the conjunction, i.e. before the dependent clause. A backwards anaphor refers to the whole dependent clause. The function of a correlative as a backwards anaphor is important because this is the only position where backwards anaphora is common and prototypical. In all other positions, backwards anaphora is an exception. A correlative plays the role of backwards anaphor anytime a dependent clause is located after or nested in the main clause, and often also where a dependent clause precedes the main clause.

(4)

Včasih naredim kaj, [kar ga malo razjezi].

sometimes do.pfv.prs.3sg what.acc.sg which.nom.sg.n.rel he.acc.sg little make angry.pfv.prs.3sg

‘Sometimes I do something that makes him a little angry.’

(5)

Najlepše je tu, [kjer živim].

beautiful.adv.sup AUX here where.adv.rel live.ipfv.prs.1sg

‘The most beautiful place is where I live.’

Backwards anaphora is mandatory in attributive clauses (Petr 1986: 524). However, the pronoun *ta* ‘this’ or *tisti* ‘that’ which stands at the beginning of a noun phrase is usually omitted. Such cases belong to the type 4.2 Backwards ellipsis as correlative.

(6)

Tisti, ljudje, [ki so uspešni v svojem

that.nom.m.pl people.nom.pl which AUX successful.nom.m.pl in your.adj.refl.loc

poklicu], so pogosto pod pritiskom.¹¹

profession.loc.sg AUX often under pressure.ins.sg

‘People who excel in their profession are often under pressure.’

3.2 BACKWARDS ANAPHORA IN DEPENDENT CLAUSE

Backwards anaphora is possible in referring to any sentence element. Among all dependent clauses, backwards anaphora in conditional clauses stands out

¹¹ [lemma="ta|tisti|tisti"] [tag="So.*"] [word=","] [word="ki|da"]

prominently as such clauses cover most of the examples found. Backwards anaphora in concessive clauses is also fairly common, whereas it is barely detectable in other dependent clauses. The dependent clause must always precede the main clause. Theoretically, it can be nested, though I have not found any such example. This makes backwards anaphora in a dependent clause significantly different from backwards anaphora as a correlative as the latter is not as bound to the placement of the dependent clause in the sentence.

(7)

Če jih_i še ne jemljete, je sedaj pravi čas, da
 if he.gen.pl yet not take.ipfv.prs.2pl AUX now right.nom.m.sg time.nom.sg that
 začnete jemati [nosečniške vitamine].
 start.pfv.prs.2pl take.ipfv.inf pregnancy.acc.m.pl vitamin.acc.pl

‘If you aren’t taking them yet, now is the right time to start taking pregnancy vitamins.’

(8)

Ker ga_i predsednik ni želel uporabljati,
 because he.acc.sg president.nom.sg AUX.PST.NEG want.lpt.m.sg use.ipfv.inf
 so Mehičani prodali letalo_i.
 AUX.PST Mexican.nom.pl sell.lpt.m.pl plane.acc.sg

‘Because the president refused to use it, the Mexicans have sold their jet.’

3.2.1 BACKWARDS ANAPHORA IN DIRECT SPEECH

As with other dependent clauses, the antecedent here is expressed in the non-initial clause, and the backwards anaphora is part of the literal quote.

(9)

Žalosti me_i, pravi strokovnjakinja, da ljudje
 make sad.ipfv.prs.3sg I.acc.sg say.ipfv.prs.3sg expert.nom.f.sg that people.nom.pl
 tako malo hodijo peš.
 that.adv little.adv walk.ipfv.prs.3pl on foot.adv

‘It makes me sad, says the expert, that people walk so rarely.’

3.2.2 BACKWARDS ANAPHORA REFERS TO THE WHOLE CLAUSE

The demonstrative pronoun *to* ‘this’ in the neuter gender and singular refers to the whole clause (Huddleston, Pullum 2002: 1458). This function of the neuter singular *to* is very common in the role of anaphora and backwards anaphora.

(10)

<i>Če</i>	<i>bodo</i>	<i>razmere</i>	<i>to</i> _i	<i>dopuščale,</i>
if	AUX.FUT	situation.nom.pl	this.acc.n.sg	allow.lpt.f.pl
<i>[bom</i>	<i>dal</i>	<i>več</i>	<i>priložnosti</i>	<i>mlajšim]</i> _i .
AUX.FUT	give.lpt.m.sg	more	opportunity.gen.pl	young.dat.pl.cmpr

‘If the situation allows it, I’ll give more opportunities to younger players.’

3.2.3 BACKWARDS ANAPHORA IS AN ADJECTIVAL PRONOUN

The backwards anaphora is an adjectival pronoun that is part of a noun phrase. The fact that the backwards anaphora and antecedent are different parts of speech does not decrease the understandability of the reference.

(11)

<i>Kljub</i>	<i>neprijetnim</i>	<i>značajskim</i>	<i>lastnostim,</i>	<i>kjer</i>
despite	disagreeable.dat.pl	character.dat.pl	trait.dat.pl	where
<i>vsekakor</i>	<i>vodi</i>	<i>njegova</i> _i	<i>pretirana</i>	<i>samovšečnost,</i>
definitely	lead.ipfv.prs.3sg	his.nom.f.sg	excessive.nom.f.sg	self-importance.nom.sg
<i>direktorju</i> _i	<i>priznavajo</i>	<i>izjemne</i>	<i>menedžerske</i>	<i>sposobnosti.</i>
director.dat.sg	recognize.ipfv.prs.3pl	outstanding.acc.f.pl	managerial.acc.f.pl	skill.acc.pl

‘Despite disagreeable character traits, especially his excessive self-importance, the director is hailed for his outstanding managerial skills.’

3.2.4 BACKWARDS ANAPHORA IS AN ADVERBIAL PRONOUN

The adverbial pronoun *tako* ‘so’ refers to an adverb, example (12), or a whole clause, example (13).

(12)

<i>Čeprav</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>zdi</i>	<i>tako</i> _i ,	<i>je</i>	<i>[jasno]</i> _i ,
though	REFL.ACC	not	seem.ipfv.prs.3sg	so	AUX	clear.adv
<i>da</i>	<i>brez</i>	<i>avta</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>moreš</i>	<i>nikamor</i> ¹²	
that	without	car.gen.sg	not	can.ipfv.prs.2sg	nowhere	

‘Though it may not seem so, it’s clear that you can’t get anywhere without a car.’

¹² [word="čeprav|čtudi"] []{0,3}[lemma="zdeti"][]{0,3} [word="tako"] [word=","] []{0,4} [tag="R.*"]

(13)

*Četudi se sprva ni zdelo tako, [so se
 though REFL.ACC at first AUX.PST.NEG seem.lpt.n.sg so AUX.PST REFL.ACC
 ljudje izvrstno zabavali].*
 people.nom.pl excellently fun.lpt.m.pl

‘Though it didn’t seem so at first, people had great fun.’

3.3 BACKWARDS ANAPHORA IN ADDED PROPOSITION

Added propositions are two-clause sentences punctuated with a colon or semicolon (Petr 1987: 535; Žele 2013: 21). The second clause usually refers to the last sentence element of the first clause. As a rule, a colon can be replaced by the conjunction *in sicer* ‘namely, that is’, though this conversion at least partly alters the meaning, as any conversion does. Direct speech is not part of this type. The second clause can concretise or explain the first one or list options according to the first clause (Petr 1987: 535; Belaj, Tanacković Faletar 2020: 403-404). In this type, the backwards anaphora has a strong linking role as the pronoun functioning as the backwards anaphora is the only word joining the two clauses to form a sentence – no conjunction is possible in this type. Backwards anaphora is mandatory in this type; reversing the order of the clauses would be ungrammatical or at least unusual (Huddleston, Pullum 2002: 1456).

(14)

*Navijači so doživeli marsikaj: [od
 fan.nom.m.pl AUX.PST experience.lpt.m.pl many things.acc.pl from
 proslavljanja napredovanja, napetosti zaradi preiskave
 celebrating.gen.sg promotion.gen.sg tension.gen.sg because investigation.gen.sg
 in zdaj še veliko razočaranje].¹³
 and now yet big.acc.n.sg disappointment.acc.sg*

‘The fans have experienced many a thing: celebrating the promotion, tensions due to the investigation and now great disappointment.’

(15)

*Prava težava je [nekje drugje]: [zahteve je
 real.nom.f.sg problem.nom.sg AUX somewhere else demand.acc.pl AUX*

¹³ [tag="Z.*"] [word="":"]

treba podpreti s prepričljivimi dokazi].

necessary support.pfv.inf with convincing.ins.m.pl evidence.ins.pl

‘The real problem lies elsewhere: demands need to be supported with real and convincing evidence.’

3.4 BACKWARDS ANAPHORA IN PARENTHESIS

Backwards anaphora is possible, though rare, in parentheses (Vičar 2011). Very often, backwards anaphora in parentheses behaves similarly in supplementary clauses (SECTION 5.1), the only difference being that the role of backwards anaphora is played by the conjunction and pronoun *kar* in supplementary clauses and by the pronoun *to* here, with *in* ‘and’ playing the role of conjunction. This separation of functions to two words also proves that *kar* intertwines both functions. It is characteristic of parenthesis to disrupt the flow of speech: information is not passed on linearly, unlike in typical coordination (where backwards anaphora is almost non-existent for exactly this reason); instead the order is altered as the parenthesis is inserted within a clause, turning an “ordinary” anaphora in a compound sentence (example (16a)) into a backwards anaphora (example (16)). Backwards anaphora mainly plays the role of additionally highlighting the content to follow; it is an announcement. The same applies to supplementary clauses.¹⁴ In this type, backwards anaphora has a strong linking, i.e. conjunctive role.

(16)

Naposled, in [to]_i je pomembna novost, [je
 in the end and this.nom.n.sg AUX important.nom.f.sg innovation.nom.sg AUX.PST
nastal tretji red – tisti, ki dela]_i.
 arise.lpt.m.sg third.nom.sg order.nom.sg that.nom.m.sg which work.ipfv.prs.3sg

‘In the end, as an important innovation, a third order arose – the working order.’

(16a)

Naposled, je [nastal tretji red – tisti, ki
 in the end AUX.PST arise.lpt.m.sg third.nom.sg order.nom.sg that.nom.m.sg which
dela]_i, in to_i je pomembna novost.
 work.ipfv.prs.3sg and this.nom.n.sg AUX important.nom.f.sg innovation.nom.sg

‘In the end, a third order arose – the working order, which is an important innovation.’

¹⁴ A parenthesis with a backwards anaphor can be converted into a supplementary clause and vice versa, which shows how similar these relationships are.

3.5 BACKWARDS ANAPHORA IN COORDINATION

In coordination, backwards anaphora is possible only in highly specific, often also stylistically marked examples: as a rule, arguments are first expressed with a lexical word before they can be left out (ellipsis) or expressed with a pronoun (anaphor) (Quirk 1985: 922; Orešnik 1992: 73; Haspelmath 2004: 35; Gabrovšek 2024: 78).¹⁵ Haspelmath provides the following example to demonstrate the ungrammaticality of backwards anaphora: **His_i wife worked/working at the mountain, (and) the old man_i tended the store* (Haspelmath 2004: 35).

An analysis of the materials has shown that very rarely, backwards anaphora does appear in coordination, usually for stylistic effect. Notably, I have not found backwards anaphora in copulative coordination, which is the most typical coordinate relationship, but I have found it in adversative coordination (Mittwoch 1983: 130-131) and in causal coordination. The most typical example of backwards anaphora in coordination is the construction *tega ne vedeti, ampak* ‘not know this but’, example (20).¹⁶ In this type, the first clause announces new information, which is typically unusual, unexpected. This shows that backwards anaphora is often subject to structural limitations: a number of specific conditions (like pronoun *ta* ‘this’, verb *vedeti* ‘know’, conjunction *ampak* ‘but’) must be met for it to appear, otherwise it is not possible.

It is worth noting that examples of backwards anaphora in coordination are so rare that sporadic examples are only found in big corpora, which contain more texts and thus have a higher chance of (very) rare structures appearing. My analysis shows that backwards anaphora is indeed absent from at least the most prototypical types of coordination, especially copulative coordination and disjunction. Adversativeness allows sporadic instances, probably in part because the clauses have antithetical content, and backwards anaphora further emphasises this opposition. As backwards anaphora appears in coordination only sporadically, I can confirm the thesis that in principle, backwards anaphora is not possible in coordination, but this is not an absolute rule. Example (19) is interesting because the antecedent is expressed only

¹⁵ The first clause of a compound sentence can include anaphoric pronouns, but as a rule, they relate to the previous sentence.

¹⁶ Similar example is in SECTION 4.3.4 Announcing unexpected information.

in the dependent clause following the main clause – this also proves that a dependent clause is part of its main clause as well as shows that backwards anaphora and its antecedent can be located more than one clause apart without this affecting the understandability of the sentence. Due to rarity, I cite more examples than with other types.

(17)

Morski pes se je večkrat zagnal vanjo, a najstnici je uspelo pobegniti.
 sea.nom.m.sg dog.nom.sg REFL.ACC AUX.PST repeatedly chase.lpt.m.sg in she.acc.sg but
 teenager.dat.f.sg AUX.PST manage.lpt.n.sg escape.pfv.inf

‘The shark snapped at her several times, but the teenager managed to escape.’

(18)

Dali so jima dva odstotka možnosti, da preživita, a [čudežni deklici] bosta kmalu praznovali sedmi rojstni dan.
 give.lpt.m.pl AUX.PST she.dat.du two.acc.m.du percent.acc.du chance.gen.sg
 that survive.pfv.prs.2du but miracle.nom.f.du girl.nom.du AUX.FUT
 soon celebrate.lpt.f.du seventh.acc.m.sg birth.acc.m.sg day.acc.sg

‘They gave them a two-percent chance of survival, but the miracle girls will soon celebrate their seventh birthday.’

(19)

V celico mu prinesejo šest istih obrokov, paznik pa izbere, katerega bo zapornik pojedel.
 in cell.acc.sg he.dat.sg bring.pfv.prs.3pl six.acc same.gen.pl meal.gen.pl
 guard.nom.sg and select.pfv.prs.3sg which.rel.acc.m.sg AUX.FUT prisoner.nom.sg eat.lpt.m.sg

‘They bring him six same meals to his cell, and the guard selects which one the prisoner is to eat.’

(20)

Morda tega še ne veste, a [sem hitre jeze].
 perhaps this.gen.n.sg yet not know.ipfv.prs.2pl but AUX quick.gen.f.sg anger.gen.sg

‘Perhaps you don’t know this yet, but I’m quick to anger.’

In sporadic examples, which have a significant semantic overlap with added proposition (SECTION 3.3), the second clause defines the pronoun located in the first clause in more detail.

(21)

<i>V</i>	<i>zadnjih</i>	<i>letih</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>avtobusna</i>	<i>postaja</i>
in	recent.loc.n.pl	year.loc.pl	AUX.PST	bus.nom.f.sg	station.nom.sg
<i>začela</i>	<i>sloveti</i>	<i>še</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>nečem_i</i>	<i>in</i>
start.lpt.f.sg	be famous.ipfv.inf	yet	after	something.loc.sg	and
<i>sicer</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>kriminalu_i</i> . ¹⁷			
otherwise	after	crime.loc.sg			

‘In recent years, the bus station has acquired a reputation of something else, namely crime.’

3.6 BACKWARDS ANAPHORA IN JUXTAPOSITION

Backwards anaphora is possible if there is a non-initial vocative in the sentence and a pronoun in the first clause refers to it. All examples have been found in dialogue – this is the typical environment for vocative use. This type is very close to exophora.

(22)

<i>Strinjam</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>vami_i</i>	<i>Ana_i</i> . ¹⁸
agree.ipfv.prs.1sg	REFL.ACC	with	you.ins.pl	Ana.nom.sg

‘I agree with you, Ana.’

3.7 BACKWARDS ANAPHORA REFERRING TO THE WHOLE TEXT

Particularly to attract interest in reading a whole newspaper or online article, the title only indicates the news content with a backwards anaphora that refers to the content of the whole article. This is an example of backwards anaphora reaching beyond the sentence in which it is located; the pronoun *to* ‘this’ can summarise the entire text that follows.¹⁹ This is also the only type of backwards anaphora systemically reaching beyond the limits of a sentence, though such cases are most likely possible in other types as well.

(23)

<i>To_i</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>drami</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>pritiskih</i>	<i>počne</i>	<i>novinarka</i> .
this.acc.n	after	drama.loc.sg	and	pressure.loc.pl	do.ipfv.prs.3sg	journalist.nom.sg

¹⁷ [tag="Zn.*"] [word=","] [word="in/to"] [word="sicer/je"] within <s/>

¹⁸ [tag="Gg.*"] []{0,2} [tag="Zod.*"] []{0,2} [word=","] [tag="P.*"]?[tag="S...i.*"]

¹⁹ Due to its length, this text is not cited here.

4 BACKWARDS ELLIPSIS

Backwards ellipsis behaves in a manner very similar to backwards anaphora; they differ mostly in the fact that backwards ellipsis is more common than backwards anaphora in coordination, though it is still very rare. Backwards ellipsis does not have such a strong linking role as it cannot function as a conjunction or referent, and supplementary clauses, added propositions and parentheses need at least one linking element, i.e. a conjunction or referent or both. This is also why there are more types of backwards anaphora than types of backwards ellipsis, but on the other hand, there are more types of backwards ellipsis than of backwards anaphora in coordination. This is because compound sentences do not need as many linking elements (which definitely include pronouns playing the role of backwards anaphor) as complex sentences do, and ellipsis is also more characteristic of coordination, so backwards ellipsis, too, can be somewhat more common in coordination.

4.1 BACKWARDS ELLIPSIS IN SUBORDINATION

Backwards ellipsis is somewhat more common in subordination and more systemic than backwards anaphora. In backwards ellipsis, conditional clauses feature very common and well-established constructions. It seems that even where it is possible, backwards ellipsis is very rare and limited to certain more or less established constructions. Conditional clauses are a prominent exception; in other dependent clauses, I have found only sporadic instances of backwards ellipsis, which shows that the relationships where backwards anaphora and backwards ellipsis are more common overlap significantly. In examples (25-26), the subject is left out in the dependent clause: this is normal in Slovenian,²⁰ so these are examples of backwards ellipsis.²¹

(24)

Če kdaj \emptyset_i , [si nagrado zaslužijo]_i, letos.
 if when REFL.DAT award.acc.sg deserve.pfv.prs.3pl this year
 ‘If ever, they deserve to win the award this year.’

²⁰ Slovenian is a pro-drop language.

²¹ If a pronoun was inserted in the dependent clause in the example (26): *Odkar je ona, rodila, se je vplivnica, zelo spremenila*, the subject would be emphasised, and this would be an example of backwards anaphora. It would also be perfectly normal for the word *vplivnica* ‘influencer’ to appear only in the second clause. *Odkar je vplivnica, rodila, se je \emptyset_i zelo spremenila*.

(25)

<i>Čeprav</i> Ø _i	<i>ne</i>	<i>spada</i>	<i>med</i>	<i>najbolj</i>
though	not	belong.ipfv.prs.3sg	among	most.adv.sup
<i>mondene</i>	<i>predele</i>	<i>Sredozemlja,</i>	<i>postaja</i>	<i>Jadran</i> _i
cosmopolitan.acc.m.pl	part.acc.pl	Mediterranean.gen.sg	become.ipfv.prs.3sg	Adriatic.nom.sg
<i>zanimiv</i>	<i>tudi</i>	<i>za svetovne</i>	<i>bogataše.</i>	
interesting.nom.m.sg	also	for world.acc.m.pl	rich people.acc.pl	

‘Though it isn’t among the most cosmopolitan parts of the Mediterranean, the Adriatic is becoming more and more interesting to rich people of the world.’

(26)

<i>Odkar</i>	<i>je</i> Ø _i	<i>rodila,</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>vplivnica</i> _i	<i>zelo</i>	<i>spremenila.</i>
Since	AUX.PST	give birth.lpt.f.sg	REFL.ACC	AUX.PST	influencer.nom.f.sg	very	change.lpt.f.sg

‘Since she gave birth, the influencer has changed significantly.’

I have not found any examples with backwards ellipsis in the main clause, which is confirmed by scholarly literature (Kehler 2018: 318).

4.2 BACKWARDS ELLIPSIS AS CORRELATIVE

Since I claim a correlative is mandatory in subordination (Gabrovšek 2023a: 61; 2023b) but not always expressed, cases of unexpressed correlatives are instances of ellipsis. If a correlative precedes a dependent clause, this is a case of backwards ellipsis.²² Because the correlative is left out, it is not always unequivocally clear which kind of ellipsis there is as the correlative could be inserted before or after the dependent clause. There is definitely backwards ellipsis if the dependent clause follows the main clause; see example (27). The pronoun *to* ‘this’ is elided. The same type with the pronoun is in the SECTION 3.1.1.

(27)

<i>Mislím</i> Ø _i ,	[<i>da nam bo uspelo</i>] _i .
think.ipfv.prs.1sg	that I.dat.pl AUX.FUT succeed.lpt.n.sg

‘I think we’ll make it.’

4.3 BACKWARDS ELLIPSIS IN COORDINATION

In coordination, backwards ellipsis is very rare but still more common than backwards anaphora, so the thesis that backwards ellipsis is not possible in

²² As noted in SECTION 3.1.1, an expressed correlative is a backwards anaphor.

coordination (Žele, Krajnc Ivič 2020: 232) has not been confirmed (Mihaljevič 2024: 315). Backwards ellipsis in coordination is either stylistically marked or a special construction with a very specific meaning. Unlike backwards anaphora, which is only a sporadic exception, backwards ellipsis has a strong semantic role. The reason for the rarity of backwards ellipsis lies in the structural equality of clauses, which is one of the criteria for coordination (Gabrovšek 2021; 2023a: 74; 2024: 78). As the clauses are structurally equal, they can complement each other, and repeated arguments can be left out, which they usually are. Ellipsis in coordination is (almost) always anaphoric. Arguments must be expressed first (with the exception of the subject, which is evident from the finite verb form, in Slovenian) before being left out.

The basic type of backwards ellipsis is the same as in backwards anaphora in coordination (SECTION 3.5). Because the pronoun (*oni* ‘they’) in the first clause is in the nominative case and functions as the subject, it is left out.

(28)

<i>Sicer</i>	<i>so</i> Ø _i	<i>imeli</i>	<i>dobre</i>	<i>namene,</i>	<i>a</i>
while	AUX.PST	have.lpt.m.pl	good.acc.m.pl	intention.acc.pl	but
<i>je</i>	<i>stranka</i> _i	<i>krepko</i>	<i>zgrešila,</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>je</i>
AUX.PST	party.nom.sg	strongly	miss.lpt.f.sg	when	AUX.PST
<i>na</i>	<i>Twitterju</i>	<i>objavila</i>	<i>napačno</i>	<i>zastavo.</i>	
on	Twitter.loc.sg	post.lpt.f.sg	wrong.acc.f.sg	flag.acc.sg	

‘While it had good intentions, the Party made quite a flop when it posted the wrong flag on Twitter.’

4.3.1 EMPHASISED STYLISTIC ROLE

This section includes examples where the role of backwards ellipsis is purely stylistic, i.e. to express particular information in a more prominent manner – this proves that backwards ellipsis is an exception in coordination, but useful to emphasise particular information for this exact reason. All examples could be expressed equally with no backwards ellipsis. The following types of coordination are also stylistically marked, but categorised into specific groups based on shared characteristics.

(29)

Še dobro se ni iztekel en Ø_i,
 yet good.adv REFL.ACC AUX.PST.NEG end.lpt.m.sg one.nom.m.sg
že se obeta nov [jazzovski festival]_i.
 already REFL.ACC promise.ipfv.prs.3sg new.nom.m.sg jazz.nom.m.sg festival.nom.sg
 ‘While one festival has not even quite ended, a new jazz festival is in the works.’

4.3.2 EMPHASISED ADDITION WITH BACKWARDS ELLIPSIS

One piece of information is emphasised with backwards ellipsis, which seems marked due to its great rarity. This type is structurally limited to the same verb in two different forms: these can differ in tense, or one of them is negated (Quirk 1985: 976).

(30)

On je bil Ø_i in še je brez dvoma legenda_i.
 he.nom.sg AUX.PST be.lpt.m.sg and yet AUX without doubt.gen.sg legend.nom.sg
 ‘He was and undoubtedly still is a legend.’

(31)

Naloga ni Ø_i in ne bo lahka_i.
 task.nom.sg AUX.NEG and not AUX.FUT easy.nom.f.sg
 ‘The task is not and will not be easy.’

4.3.3 SUBSTITUTION EXPRESSED WITH BACKWARDS ELLIPSIS

The first clause conveys a first alternative, and the second clause a second one, which is better, more appropriate. The verb appears only in the second clause, so there is backwards ellipsis of the verb. The same meaning of the whole sentence could also be expressed without backwards ellipsis, but such a substitution is more emphasised, so the construction has an expressive effect. This is adversative coordination, which has also been found to be the most common type of coordination with backwards anaphora. The first clause is negated, and the second one is affirmative.

(32)

Ne Ø_i Sloveniji, tokrat spodrsuje_i Evropi.
 not Slovenia.dat.sg this time slip.ipfv.prs.3sg Europe.dat.sg
 ‘Not Slovenia, this time Europe is failing.’

(33)

Ne Ø_i *veter,* *odnos* *do igre bo odločil*_i
 not wind.nom.sg attitude.nom.sg to play.gen.sg be.ind.fut.3sg determine.lpt.m.sg
*o uspehu.*²³
 about success.loc.sg

‘It isn’t the wind but rather the attitude to playing that will determine who succeeds.’

4.3.4 ANNOUNCING UNEXPECTED INFORMATION

The first clause in the form *ne boste verjeli, ampak* ‘you won’t believe [this] but’ announces the second one; example (20) in SECTION 3.5 has the same effect. A pronoun which functions as argument can be inserted in the first clause of each example, which points to similarity in the behaviours of backwards anaphora and backwards ellipsis.

(34)

Ne boste verjeli Ø_i, *ampak* [*še vedno imam tremo*]_i.²⁴
 not AUX.FUT believe.lpt.m.pl but yet always have.ipfv.prs.1sg fright.acc.sg

‘You won’t believe this but I still have stage fright.’

4.3.5 BACKWARDS ELLIPSIS IN ADDITIVE CORRELATION

Backwards ellipsis in additive correlation introduced by the conjunctive phrase *ne samo – ampak tudi* ‘not only – but also’ (with synonymous variants) behaves in a manner similar to substitution with systemic ellipsis in the first clause. The possibility of backwards ellipsis in additive correlation is most likely enabled by its similarity to adversative coordination as some conjunctions are the same.

(35)

Ne Ø_i *le izplačilo nagrade, želi* *še dodaten milijon*
 not just payment.acc.sg bonus.gen.sg want.ipfv.prs.3sg yet additional.acc.m.sg million.acc.sg
*in pol.*²⁵
 and half.acc.sg

‘He wants not only the bonus but an additional million and a half.’

²³ [word="\." [word="Kaj|Ne"] [tag="S.*|Z.*"] [word=","] [tag!="Vd"]

²⁴ [word="ne"][] {,3} [lemma="verjeti"] [] {,3} [word=","] [word="ampak|toda|a"]

²⁵ [word="ne"] [word="samo|le"] [] {1,5} [word="ampak|temveč|marveč|pač"]

(36)

Ne Ø_i *le* *zvečer*, *s* *pojavom* *tigrastih* *komarjev*
 not just evening with advent.ins.sg tiger.gen.m.pl mosquitoes.gen.pl
 [*smo na pikanje obsojeni*]_i *ves* *dan*.
 AUX on biting.acc.sg doomed.nom.m.pl all.acc.m.sg day.acc.sg

‘With the advent of tiger mosquitoes, we are doomed to being bitten not only in the evening, but throughout the day.’

4.3.6 BACKWARDS ELLIPSIS WITH TWO SUBORDINATE CONJUNCTIONS

In examples where two dependent clauses differ only in the conjunction whereas the other words are the same, the sentences can be joined by coordinating the subordinating conjunctions, with the content of the dependent clause following (Ha 2008: 123). As a rule, only conjunctions close in meaning (e.g. temporal and conditional conjunctions) can be joined. This possibility is a very good way to concisely convey information but is also systemically very limited and thus quite rare. Example (37) is a shortened form of example (37a). Predominantly, it is the conjunctions *ko* ‘when’ and *če* ‘if’ that are joined. The most common combinations are: *ko in če* ‘when and if’, *če in ko* ‘if and when’, *ko oziroma če* ‘when or if’, *če oziroma ko* ‘if or when’, *če in kadar* ‘if and when’. The backwards ellipsis results in coordination of two subordinate conjunctions.

(37)

Znate *se* *zavzeti*, *kadar* Ø_i *in* *kjer* [*je treba*]_i.²⁶
 know.ipfv.prs.2pl REFL.ACC commit.pfv.inf when and where AUX necessary

‘You know how to make a stand when and where needed.’

(37a)

Znate *se* *zavzeti*, *kadar* *je treba* *in* *kjer* *je treba*.
 know.ipfv.prs.2pl REFL.ACC commit.pfv.inf when AUX necessary and where AUX necessary

‘You know how to make a stand when needed and where needed.’

(38)

Do *sprememb* *bo* *prišlo* *ko* Ø_i *in* *če*
 to change.gen.pl AUX.FUT come.lpt.n.sg when and if
 [*bo gospodarstvo presodilo*, *da* *mu* *koristijo*]_i.
 AUX.FUT economy.nom.sg deem.lpt.n.sg that it.dat.n.sg benefit.ipfv.prs.3pl

‘The changes will take place when and if the economy deems them useful.’

²⁶ [tag="Vd"] [tag="Vp"] [tag="Vd"]

5 SEMI-BACKWARDS ANAPHORA AND SEMI-BACKWARDS ELLIPSIS

Sporadically, in addition to backwards anaphora and backwards ellipsis, semi-backwards anaphora and semi-backwards ellipsis are also possible. Semi-backwards anaphora is only possible where the dependent clause is embedded in the main clause and the neuter pronoun *to* ('this') refers to the entire main clause surrounding the dependent: part of the content referred to by the pronoun is before the pronoun and part is after the pronoun, hence the proposed term semi-backwards anaphora, examples (39-40). The same is true of semi-backwards ellipsis, where the pronoun *to* is absent, example (41). Both possibilities are rare.²⁷

(39)

[*Do oltarja se jima*]_{i/2} *kljub temu, da si*
 to altar.gen.sg REFL.ACC they.acc.du despite of this.dat.n.sg. that REFL.DAT
to_i močno želita, [*še ni uspelo sprehoditi*]_{i/2}.²⁸
 this.acc.n.sg strongly wish.ipfv.prs.2du yet AUX.PST.NEG succeed.lpt.n.sg walk.pfv.inf

'They have not yet managed to get married, despite their strong desire to do so.'

(40)

[*Zaposleni so*]_{i/2}, *če je to_i bilo mogoče,*
 employee.nom.pl AUX.PST if AUX.PST this.nom.n.sg be.lpt.n.sg possible
*[zapustili delovna mesta ter odhiteli domov]*_{i/2}.
 left.lpt.m.pl working.acc.n.pl place.acc.pl and rush.lpt.m.pl home.

'Employees left their jobs and rushed home whenever possible.'

(41)

[*Vsak grafolog bi lahko*]_{i/2}, *če bi*
 every.nom.m.sg graphologist.nom.sg COND can.adv if COND
bilo *Ø_i treba,* [*dokazal, da je to*
 be.lpt.n.sg necessary prove.lpt.m.sg that AUX.PST this.nom.n.sg
njegov podpis]_{i/2}.
 his.nom.m.sg signature.nom.sg

'Any graphologist could, if necessary, prove that it is his signature.'

²⁷ The proposed Slovenian equivalent terms are *polvzvrtna anafora* and *polvzvrtna elipsa*.

²⁸ [tag="[SG].*"] [] {,2} [word=","] [tag="Vd"] [] {,3} [lemma="ta"] [tag!="[PS].*"] [] {,3} [word=","] [] {,2} [tag="[SG].*"] within <s/> neg filter [word="ki"] in [tag="Vp"]

5.1 SEMI-BACKWARDS ANAPHORA IN SUPPLEMENTARY CLAUSES

The second, structurally similar possibility is represented by supplementary clauses. These are clauses that are introduced by originally subordinating conjunctions and express a typical coordinate relationship (Gabrovšek 2019; 2023a). In English, they partially overlap with non-restrictive attributive clauses (Huddleston, Pullum 2002: 1035). Generally speaking, supplementary clauses structurally²⁹ behave the same as instances of subordination or very similarly, so the presence of backwards anaphora is expected. Despite structural similarities, supplementary clauses have a special type of semi-backwards anaphora as the role of semi-backwards anaphora is not played by the pronoun *to*, but rather by *kar* ‘which’, which is both a conjunction and relative pronoun. *Kar* summarises an entire clause and introduces a new one, so it is usually in a non-initial position, but is sporadically also embedded, in which case it functions as a semi-backwards anaphor. In this type, semi-backwards anaphora has a strong conjunctive role. Similar constructions, but without relative conjunction, can be found in SECTION 3.4.

(42)

[Šprint	bo] _{i/2} ,	kar _i	že	dolgo	vem,
sprint	AUX.FUT	which.nom.sg.n.rel	already	long.adv	know.ipfv.prs.1sg
[v	klasični	tehniki] _{i/2} .			
in	classic.loc.f.sg	technique.loc.sg			

‘As I’ve known for a long time, the sprint will be done in classic technique.’

(43)

[Malček	nam	je] _{i/2} ,	kar _i	smo	na	teh
little boy.nom.sg	I.dat.pl	AUX.PST	which.nom.sg.n.rel	AUX.PST	on	this.loc.pl
straneh	že	zapisali,	[resnično	zlezel	pod	kožo] _{i/2} .
page.loc.pl	already	write.lpt.m.pl	really	crawl.lpt.m.sg	under	skin.acc.sg

‘As we’ve already said on these pages, the little car really grew on us.’

6 COMBINATION OF BACKWARDS ANAPHORA AND BACKWARDS ELLIPSIS

In the example (44), there are two backwards anaphors and two backwards ellipses. This example is the title of an article and in the next two sentences the participants are expressed by nouns. In this example, three participants are

²⁹ The differences are mainly semantic and significant enough for these elements to form their own group.

expressed by one backwards anaphora and two backwards ellipses, making it difficult to understand without further context.³⁰

(44)

Po 24 letih zakona jo_i je Ø_j prevaral, tega
 after 24 year.gen.pl marriage.gen.sg she.acc.sg AUX.PST cheat.lpt.m.sg this.gen.n.sg
mu_j Ø_k nikoli ni odpustila.³¹
 he.dat.sg never AUX.PST.NEG forgive.lpt.f.sg.

‘After 24 years of marriage, he cheated on her and she never forgave him.’

Slovenian and translated further context:

[Rowan Atkinson]_j se je leta 2015 po 24 letih zakona ločil od [svoje žene Sunetre Sastry]_i, s katero ima dva otroka: 30-letnega sina Benjamina in hčerko Lily_k. Lily_k nikoli ni odpustila očetu zaradi njegove prevare mame.

[Rowan Atkinson]_j divorced his wife of 24 years, [Sunetra Sastry]_i, in 2015, with whom he has two children, 30-year-old son Benjamin and daughter Lily_k. Lily_k has never forgiven her father for cheating on her mother.

The example (45) is an example of a backwards ellipsis and a backwards anaphora in the same sentence. The backwards anaphora is also present in the first clause of the second sentence, and the antecedent is only present in the third sentence.

(45)

Vodstvo je_i ni želelo videti, toda vseeno je Ø_i
 leadership.nom.sg her.gen.sg AUX.PST.NEG want.lpt.n.sg see.ipfv.inf but anyway AUX.PST
postala izbranka ljudskih src.
 become.lpt.f.sg favourite.nom.sg people.adj.gen.n.pl heart.gen.pl

‘The leadership did not want to see her, but she became the favourite of the people’s hearts anyway.’

Slovenian and translated further context:

Na valu vsesplošnega antisemitizma ji_i je predsednik želel preprečiti nastop na Evroviziji. Toda [Eden Golan]_i je prišla in postala ljubljenska evropskega občinstva.

³⁰ That is one of the reasons why we quote it here.

³¹ This example also includes ‘regular’ anaphors, but they are not coindexed.

On the wave of widespread anti-Semitism, the President wanted to prevent her from performing at Eurovision. But Eden Golan came and became the darling of the European public.

7 CONCLUSION

Backwards anaphora and backwards ellipsis have proved to be important but rather rare text-building procedures. The claim that they are impossible in certain relationships, particularly coordination, has proved false; it is better to say they are rare in such relationships. A larger quantity of corpus materials has enabled me to find even such rarer examples. Backwards anaphora and backwards ellipsis have been shown to be one of the indicators of hierarchy between clauses: in coordination, therefore, the chances of forming backwards anaphora and backwards ellipsis are almost zero, whereas in subordination they are more frequent and sometimes even predominate.

ABBREVIATIONS

ACC – accusative; ADJ – adjective; ADV – adverb; CMPR – comparative; COND – conditional mood; DAT – dative; DU – dual; F – feminine gender; FUT – future tense; GEN – genitive; IMP – imperative mood; IND – indicative mood; INF – infinitive; INS – instrumental; IPFV – imperfective aspect; LOC – locative; LPT – L participle; M – masculine gender; N – neuter gender; NEG – negation; NOM – nominative case; PFV – perfective aspect; PL – plural; PRS – present; REFL – reflexive pronoun; REL – relative; SG – singular; SUP – superlative; 1 – first person; 2 – second person; 3 – third person

REFERENCES

- Fran: Slovarji Inštituta za slovenski jezik Franba Ramovša. www.fran.si
- Gigafida 2.0: *Corpus of Written Standard Slovene*. <https://viri.cjvt.si/gigafida/>
- Gigafida corpus in the NoSketch Engine tool: https://www.clarin.si/noske/run.cgi/first_form?corpname=gfida20_dedup;align=
- Belaj, Branimir, Tanacković Faletar, Goran. 2020. *Kognitivna gramatika hrvatskoga jezika. Sintaksa složene rečenice*. Zagreb: Disput.
- De Beaugrande, Robert Alain, Dressler, Wolfgang Ulrich. 1992. *Uvod v besediloslovje*. Ljubljana: Park.
- Gabrovšek, Dejan. 2019. Tipologija nestavčnočlenskih nematičnih dopolnil. *Jezikoslovni zapiski* 25/2: 83-96. <https://doi.org/10.3986/JZ.25.2.5>

- Gabrovšek, Dejan. 2021. Termina priredje in podredje z vidika stopenj odvisnosti. In: N. Kočnik et al. (eds.). *9. simpozij mladih slavistov. Mejniki in prelomnice v slovanskih jezikih in literaturah*. Ljubljana: Študentska sekcija Zveze društev Slavistično društvo Slovenije. 259-272.
- Gabrovšek, Dejan. 2023a. *Slovenska zložena poved z vidika stopenj odvisnosti*. PhD Thesis. Ljubljana: Filozofska fakulteta Univerze v Ljubljani.
- Gabrovšek, Dejan. 2023b. Vloga odnosnice v slovenski podredno zloženi povedi. *Jezik in slovstvo* 68/3: 43-55. <https://doi.org/10.4312/jis.68.3.43-55>
- Gabrovšek, Dejan. 2024. Criteria for Coordination in Slovenian Multiclausal Sentences. *Slavistica Vilnensis* 69/1: 67-86. [https://doi.org/10.15388/SlavViln.2024.69\(1\).5](https://doi.org/10.15388/SlavViln.2024.69(1).5)
- Gabrovšek, Dejan, Žele, Andreja. 2019. Tipologija stavčnočlenskih odvisnikov v slovenščini. *Slavistična revija* 67/3: 487-507. <https://srl.si/ojs/srl/article/view/2019-3-1-5>
- Ha, Seungwan. 2008. Backwards Ellipsis is Right Node Raising. *Berkeley Linguistics Society* 34/1: 121-132. <https://doi.org/10.3765/bls.v34i1.3562>
- Halliday, Michael, Hasan, Ruqaiya. 1976. *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 2004. Coordinating constructions: An overview. In: M. Haspelmath (ed.). *Coordinating constructions*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 3-39.
- Huang, Yan. 2006. Anaphora, Cataphora, Exophora, Logophoricity. *Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics*. Reading: University of Reading. 231-237.
- Huddleston, Rodney, Pullum, Geoffrey (eds.). 2002. *The Cambridge grammar of the English language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jelovšek, Alenka. 2011. Neosebna raba oblike ono v jeziku slovenskih protestantskih piscev 16. stoletja. *Slavistična revija* 59/4: 415-435. https://srl.si/ojs/srl/article/view/COBISS_ID-33760557
- Jelovšek, Alenka. 2024. *Osebnostni zaimki in nastajajoča slovenska knjižna norma*. Ljubljana: Založba ZRC. <https://doi.org/10.3986/9789610507628>
- Kazanina, Nina, Phillips, Colin. 2010. Differential effects of constraints in the processing of Russian cataphora. *The Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology*. 63/2: 371-400.
- Kehler, Andrew. 2018. Ellipsis and Discourse. In: J. Craenenbroeck, T. Temmerman (eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Ellipsis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 314-341.
- Mihaljević, Milan. 2024. Coordination and Subordination in Slavic Languages. In: D. Šipka, W. Browne (eds.). *The Cambridge Handbook of Slavic Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 304-337.
- Mittwoch, Anita. 1983. Backward anaphora and discourse structure. *Journal of Pragmatics* 7: 129-139.
- Orešnik, Janez. 1992. *Udeleženske vloge v slovenščini*. Ljubljana: SAZU.
- Pavlič, Matic, Stepanov, Arthur. 2023. Number mismatch effect and processing cataphora in a pro-drop language: The case of Slovenian. In: *Advances in formal Slavic linguistics 2021*. Language Science Press. 293-314. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.10123649>
- Petr, Jan, et al. 1987. *Mluvnice češtiny 3*. Prague: Academia.

- Ross, John Robert. 1967. *Constraints on variables in syntax*. PhD Thesis. Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Quirk, Randolph, et al. 1985. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. New York: Longman.
- Trnavac, Radoslava, Taboada, Maite. 2016. Cataphora, backgrounding and accessibility in discourse. *Journal of Pragmatics* 93: 68-84. doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2015.12.008
- Vičar, Branislava. 2011. *Parenteza v novinarskem in parlamentarnem diskurzu*. Maribor: Mednarodna založba Oddelka za slovanske jezike in književnosti, Filozofska fakulteta.
- Žele, Andreja. 2013. *Slovenska besedilna skladnja z jezikovnosistemskega vidika – temeljni pojmi*. Self-published.
- Žele, Andreja. 2016. Odvisniki v slovenščini: vsebinski odvisniki in nepravi prislovnodoločilni odvisniki. *Slavistična revija* 64/2: 81-94. https://srl.si/ojs/srl/article/view/COBISS_ID-61135714
- Žele, Andreja. 2017. Razmerje osebek proti osebkom odvisnik v slovenskih povedih. *Slavistična revija* 65/1: 81-97. https://srl.si/ojs/srl/article/view/COBISS_ID-63781986
- Žele, Andreja, Krajnc Ivič, Mira. 2020. *Sodobna slovenska skladnja: diskurzni in slovnični vidik*. Maribor: Univerzitetna založba Univerze.

Received November 2023, accepted January 2024.

Prispelo novembra 2023, sprejeto januarja 2024.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This article has been produced as part of the P6-0038 programme, The Slovenian Language in Synchronic and Diachronic Development, financed by the Slovenian Research and Innovation Agency.

SUMMARY

BACKWARDS ANAPHORA AND BACKWARDS ELLIPSIS IN SLOVENIAN MULTI-CLAUSE SENTENCES

The article discusses backwards anaphora and backwards ellipsis in Slovenian multi-clause sentences. What both phenomena have in common is that a pronoun (backwards anaphor) or ellipsis (backwards ellipsis) is followed by the lexical element (especially noun or verb) that the pronoun or ellipsis refers to and not the other way round, unlike in anaphora and ellipsis, which are more common ways of text building. The second part of the article first examines all types of backwards anaphora and then of backwards ellipsis that are possible in Slovenian multi-clause sentences,

using corpus examples. Backwards anaphora is possible in all types of multi-clause sentences and is the rarest, only sporadic, in coordination. The most common role it plays is that of a correlative. In most types, backwards anaphora has a strong linking role. Backwards ellipsis is possible in subordination and coordination but in no other types of Slovenian multi-clause sentences; in coordination, it appears more often than backwards anaphora and has a strong semantic extension role. A special type of backwards ellipsis joins two subordinate clauses into one. A semi-backwards anaphora and semi-backwards ellipsis are also shown as a special type of a backwards anaphora and backwards ellipsis.

VZVRATNA ANAFORA IN VZVRATNA ELIPSA V SLOVENSKI VEČSTAVČNI POVEDI

Članek se ukvarja z vzvratno anaforo in vzvratno elipso v slovenski večstavčni povedi. Njuna skupna značilnost je, da zaimku (vzvratni anafori) oziroma elipsi (vzvratni elipsi) sledi polnopomenski element (zlasti samostalnik, glagol), na katerega se zaimek ali elipsa nanaša, in ne obratno, kot to velja za anaforo in elipso, ki sta pogostejša načina tvorbe besedila. Drugi del članka na korpusnih zgledih proučuje vse tipe najprej vzvratne anafore in nato še vzvratne elipse, ki so v slovenski večstavčni povedi možni. Vzvratna anafora je možna v vseh tipih večstavčne povedi, najredkejša, zgolj sporadična, pa je v priredjih. Najpogostejša je v vlogi odnosnice. V večini tipov ima vzvratna anafora močno povezovalno vlogo. Vzvratna elipsa je možna v podredjih in priredjih, v ostalih tipih slovenske večstavčne povedi pa ne, s tem da se v priredjih pojavlja pogosteje kot vzvratna anafora in ima tudi močno pomenotvorno vlogo. Poseben tip vzvratne elipse je povezava dveh podrednih stavkov v enega. Kot poseben tip vzvratne anafore in vzvratne elipse sta obravnavni tudi polvzvratna anafora in polvzvratna elipsa.

