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Why *Modrić and Real* rather than *Real and Modrić*? On the order of proper names under coordination¹

The order of the constituents within a coordinated NP construction is in theory open, i.e. either constituent can occupy either the initial or the final position. When it comes to specific realizations of the coordinate constructional template, the choice of the initial constituent need not be random at all. It is well-known that in some phraseological units, i.e. in the so-called irreversible binomials, their order is as a rule quite fixed (e.g. *duša i tijelo* 'body and soul,' *kruh i sol* 'bread and salt,' *život i smrt* 'life and death,' *ice i piće* 'drinks and food,' *muž i žena* 'husband and wife') and seems to be dictated by a number of cognitive factors, among which iconic principles play an important role. Apart from such conventionalized phraseological pairs, the relative order of constituents seems to be guided by the speaker's communicative intentions, and therefore in principle be quite flexible. However, it appears that in cases of coordination of proper nouns denoting parts and wholes there is a clear preference for the construction in which the part precedes the whole (*Osijek i Slavonija* rather than *Slavonija i Osijek*, *Modrić i Real* rather than *Real i Modrić*, etc.). The differences between their distributions on the one hand, and the distributions found with comparable inanimate nouns and animate common nouns in coordination on the other, are explained in terms of the reference point construction (Langacker 1993). The proper noun denoting a person functions as a cognitive reference point facilitating the resolution of indeter-

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minacy due to the fact that the second proper noun in coordination can have more than one metonymically related sense. Such coordinated constructions are shown to be functionally similar to associative plurals as they are also a means of referring to heterogeneous collectives that have a prominent, focal member.

Key words: reference point construction; coordination; metonymy; associative plural.

1. Introduction

The order of constituents within a coordinated NP construction is in theory open, i.e. either constituent can occupy either the initial or the final position. Let us illustrate with fragments of two cooking recipes:

- (1) a. *Drizzle pears and onions. Season with salt and pepper and toss.*
- b. *Add the butter and melt it, then add the onions and pears and season with salt, pepper and nutmeg.*

The sequence *pears and onions* is roughly equally frequent (or rare) as *onions and pears*, as borne out by a Google query (43,000 vs. 53,700 hits, respectively). However, when it comes to some specific realizations of the coordinate constructional template, the choice of the initial constituent need not be random at all. This is obviously true in the case of pairings of *salt* and *pepper*. If the two are linked by *and* and preceded by the expression *season with*, salt is almost 20 times more likely to occur before pepper. An exact Google query in which quotation marks were used returned 1,190,000 hits, while the reverse order was attested only 64,900 times. When only the exact phrases were searched, *salt and pepper* vs. *pepper and salt*, the disproportion in their frequency was even more pronounced: 28,900,000 vs. 522,000. *Salt* is far more likely to come first than *pepper* even if the two are joined by *or*: *salt or pepper* was attested 334,000 times while *pepper or salt* occurred only 56,300 times.

Similarly, coordinated noun phrases in which two proper nouns are conjoined need not in theory exhibit any clear preferences concerning their relative order. Thus, two Croatian first names such as *Jozo i Pero* may be expected to as frequently used as *Pero i Jozo*. However, in somewhat more special cases of proper noun coordination, where one constituent is a personal name and the other is a non-personal name, and where the former is a “part” of the latter, as in

- (2) *Dolaze Wenger i Arsenal*



‘Wenger and Arsenal are coming’

we find clear preferences. For some reason, this ordering was attested 32 times by a Google query, while the reverse was found only 17 times. The contrast in frequency becomes even more conspicuous if we consider cases of coordination with names of some more or less well known Croatian personalities, such as football players and their clubs, or politicians and their parties (Zoran Milanović as the leader of *Socijaldemokratska partija Hrvatske*, or SDP for short, ‘socialist-democrat party’), or religious leaders (Bozanić as the cardinal of the Roman Catholic church in Croatia) and the bodies they head (*Kaptol* as the capitulum or chapter, a body of canons connected to a cathedral):

- (3) a. *(Luka) Modrić i Real vs. Real i (Luka) Modrić*
- b. *(Mario) Mandžukić i Atletico vs. Atletico i (Mario) Mandžukić*
- (4) a. *Milanović i SDP vs. SDP i Milanović*
- b. *Bozanić i Kaptol vs. Kaptol i Bozanić*

I am well aware of the potential problems with using Google as a corpus (cf. also Lüdeling, Evert and Baron 2006). The most acute danger is the possibility of returning too many false positives, e.g. hits with a comma before the coordinator, or counting duplicates or near-duplicates, etc. I therefore decided to search for exact expressions enclosed by quotation marks appearing on web pages in Croatian. This language constraint dramatically reduced the number of hits, resulting in numbers that can be manually checked. I also used hrWaC, a web corpus collected from the .hr top-level domain. The current version of the corpus (v2.0) contains 1.9 billion tokens and is annotated with the lemma, morphosyntax and dependency syntax layers. Overall, although the number of examples is in some cases relatively small and can hardly be used for any further quantitative analyses, the tendency is quite clear.

It seems that the same sort of asymmetry obtains not only with football players and the clubs they play in, but also with politicians and their parties. The figure below shows the number of hits returned for the two coordinate constructions with *Modrić i Real*, the football club in which Luka Modrić, a Croatian midfielder, plays at the moment. The left pair of columns shows the results retrieved by Google using an exact query of the type “X i Y” restricted to Croatian, while the pair of columns on the right shows the results from hrWac. The number of examples retrieved for *Mandžukić* and *Atletico* is fairly small, with no combination attested in hrWac. The scarcity of examples may be due to extralinguistic reasons, viz. to the fact that



Mario Mandžukić spent two years at Wolfsburg, then transferred to Bayern Munich, which he left after two years to join Atlético Madrid for a season, to be transferred to Juventus F.C., Turin, in 2014, which means that he spent relatively short periods of time in one club. His year in Madrid may have not been enough to produce a significant number of results. Note, however, that hrWac retrieves some examples for *Mandžukić i Bayern* (5) vs. *Bayern i Mandžukić* (2), which fits into the general picture, although it cannot be considered anywhere close to be statistically significant. The only combination that yielded unexpected results was *Bozanić* and *Kaptol*, at least as far as Google as the source is concerned, *Kaptol* as initial element winning over *Bozanić*. However, the results from hrWac were as expected. The total number of examples is in both cases relatively small. A possible explanation for the reversal in this case might be the fact that *Kaptol* seems to be quite salient and well entrenched as a metonymy in Croatian (PLACE FOR ORGANIZATION, among others), as discussed in Section 3 below. On the other hand, Cardinal *Bozanić* does not seem to be much of a charismatic figure, capturing attention and standing out against *Kaptol*.

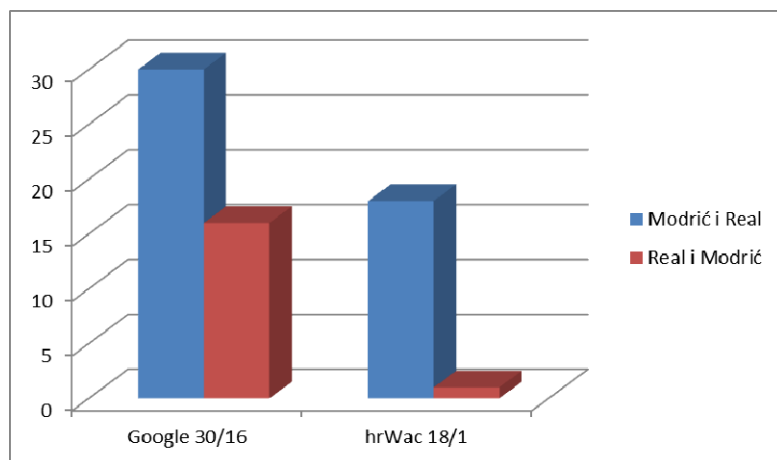


Figure 1: Distribution of *Modrić i Real* vs. *Real i Modrić*

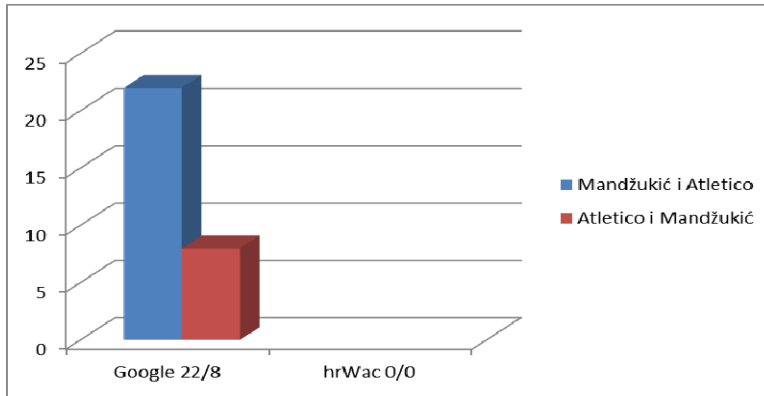


Figure 2: Distribution of *Mandžukić i Atletico* vs. *Atletico i Mandžukić*

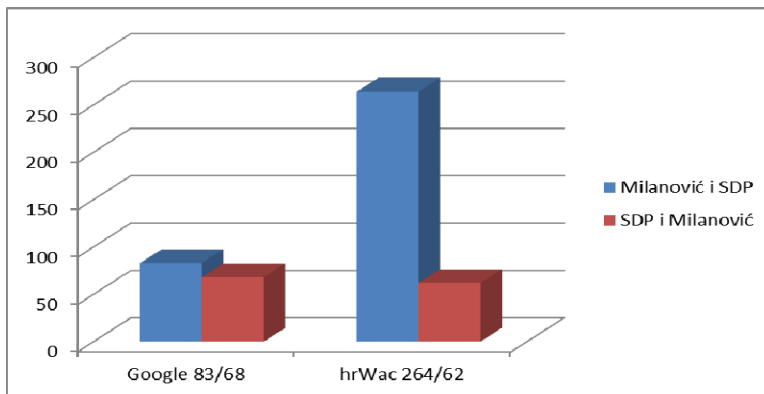


Figure 3: Distribution of *Milanović i SDP* vs. *SDP i Milanović*

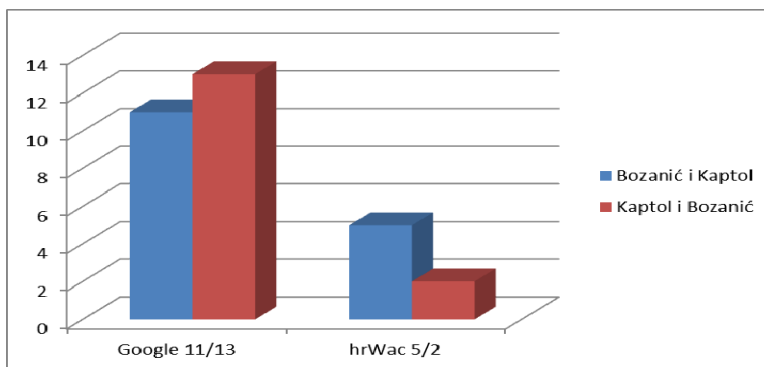


Figure 4: Distribution of *Božanić i Kaptol* vs. *Kaptol i Božanić*



What is more, more or less the same situation is found with towns and the regions they belong to:

- (5) a. *Split i Dalmacija* vs. *Dalmacija i Split*
b. *Osijek i Slavonija* vs. *Slavonija i Osijek*

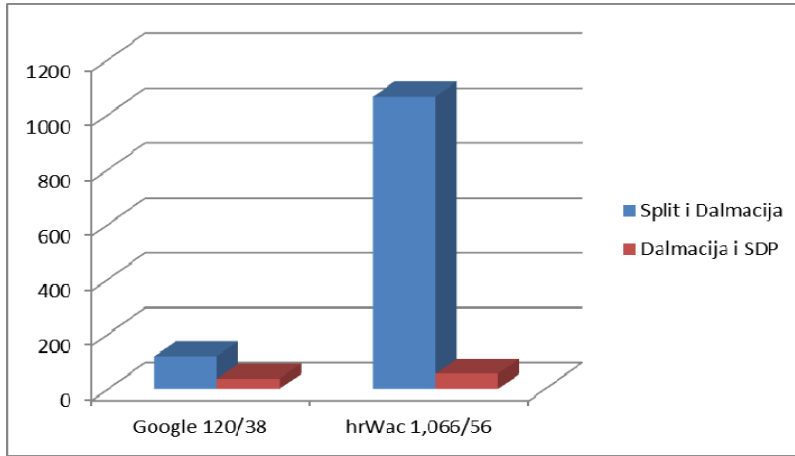


Figure 5: Distribution of *Split i Dalmacija* vs. *Dalmacija i Split*

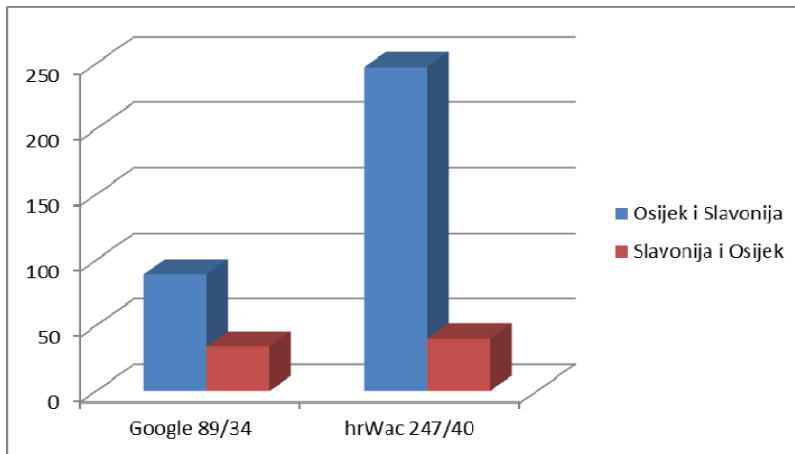


Figure 6: Distribution of *Osijek i Slavonija* vs. *Slavonija i Osijek*

In Part 2 of this paper I consider some factors that may motivate the relative order of constituents in coordinated phrase, and then go on in Part 3 to discuss the



observed distributions in light of the phenomenon of the reference point construction (Langacker 1993). I will also compare Croatian with some other languages that apparently exhibit the same tendency as well as with some languages that do not, such as Hungarian. I hypothesize that the comparable coordinated construction is underused in Hungarian because they are functionally equivalent with another reference point construction, viz. the associative plural construction, which is extremely common in Hungarian.

2. What may (not) determine the order of constituents in coordinated NPs?

It is well-known that in some phraseological units, more precisely, in the so-called irreversible binomials (i.e. expressions of the form X conj Y, whose semantic properties change when the order of the noun phrases is reversed, cf. Malkiel 1959; Cooper and Ross 1975; Fenk-Oczlon 1989), their order is as a rule quite fixed, regardless of whether they are realized as pairs or nouns or verbs or adjectives, and regardless of whether they are conjoined by cumulative coordinators, such as English *and* or Croatian *i*, or by adversative coordinators such as *but* in English or *ili* in Croatian, e.g. *hammer and sickle*, *law and order*, *hugs and kisses*, *smoke and mirrors*, or *duša i tijelo* ‘body and soul,’ *kruh i sol* ‘bread and salt,’ *život i smrt* ‘life and death,’ *ice i piće* ‘food and drink,’ *muž i žena* ‘husband and wife.’

As it happens, both *salt and pepper* and *pepper and salt* can be used as such irreversible binomials, a fact that makes the above picture even more complex. *Pepper and salt*, more frequently spelled as *pepper-and-salt*, is used in the sense of ‘having two colours that are mixed together, especially a dark and a light one’, as in *His hair was pepper-and-salt*. The same meaning may also be expressed by the reverse order, *salt-and-pepper*. This pairing may also be used to refer to plants: *erigenia bulbosa*, a perennial plant in the family of carrots found in the mid-latitude US, or *philoteca spicata*, a shrub endemic to the southwest of Western Australia. *Salt and pepper* is most frequently used to refer to a traditionally paired set of the two condiments found on dining tables in shakers, either as a matched set or in separate shakers. However, this pairing is also used to refer to plants, either to a breed of cucumbers, or to a perennial wildflower also known as Piper’s desert parsley, or to a type of American daisy also known as snow squarestem (*melanthera nivea*). Finally, *salt and pepper* can also be used to refer to noise seen on images in the form of sparsely occurring white and black pixels.

The order of constituents seems to be dictated by a number of cognitive factors,



among which iconic sequencing plays an important role. In essence, iconic sequencing means that the order of coordinates mirrors the order of elements in the extra-linguistic world (first things first). This principle is operative in cases where one item (onto)logically or temporally precedes or presupposes the other, as in *crash and burn* or *spit and polish*, *eggs and larvae*, etc. Extra-linguistic hierarchies have also been suggested as a further factor motivating the orderings, but it could be seen as an extension of the above principle to the social world. According to Benor and Levy (2006), scalar ordering can also be seen as a subtype of iconic sequencing, as in *nickel and dime*, or *sixes and sevens*. Lohmann (2014) discusses a whole series of dimensions of what he terms conceptual accessibility, such as vertical before horizontal, animate before inanimate, positive before negative, concrete before abstract, prototype first, proximal before distal, etc., but these can all be seen as various specific manifestations of iconic sequencing in the above sense.

Talking about general “principles of cognitive salience”, Langacker (1993: 30) mentions the following:

- human before non-human,
- whole before part,
- concrete before abstract, and
- visible before non-visible

The first of these is clearly irrelevant in the case of the coordination of geographical names, but may be seen as making the right prediction in the rest of pairs consisting of individuals and teams. However, teams may also be construed as groups of humans. It will be seen that all our cases of coordination of proper nouns denote parts and wholes. Surprisingly, they do not follow Langacker’s principle of psychological salience according to which wholes should precede parts. Instead, we note a clear preference for the construction in which the part precedes the whole. To make the whole phenomenon even more interesting, we may add that the cases of coordination of parts and wholes like the ones in our examples are, strictly speaking, logically deviant. Modrić is a player in a team, i.e. part of the whole with which his name is coordinated (a more precise expression might be something like ‘Real minus Modrić’, or ‘Modrić and his teammates in Real’).

There are, however, again certain preferences that have to do with the form of the construction and its constituents. It has been noted long time ago that the order of constituents is in general often sensitive to their weight. Behaghel’s Laws (*Deutsche Syntax: Eine geschichtliche Darstellung*, 1923–1932) describe some basic regularities concerning the relative order of constituents. Two of his four laws are of immediate concern for us here. Behaghel’s Second Law says that a less im-



portant constituent (or the one already known to the listener) is placed before the one that is more important. Behaghel's Fourth Law, also known as the Law of Increasing Terms, or Panini's Law, says that "given two phrases, when possible, the shorter precedes the longer." The two laws may work in unison, e.g. in the organisation of clauses, when subject, which are given or topics, i.e. already known, tend to be shorter than predicates, which are new or comments. Some of the pairs of proper nouns in our initial examples actually comply with Behaghel's Law of Increasing Terms (*Osijek i Slavonija*, *Split i Dalmacija*, *Zagreb i Hrvatska*). However, in the rest of the examples the first constituent is apparently longer/heavier than the second. Not even adding the first name to the surname seems to be enough to overturn the preferred order:

- (6) a. **Luka Modrić i Real** protiv *Sociedada* prosuli tri boda,...
 'Luka Modrić and Real passed up (literally: spilled) three points against Real Sociedad'
- b. **Mario Mandžukić i Bayern** nisu imali sreće u Nyonu.
 'Mario Mandžukić and Bayern weren't lucky in Nyon'
- c. **Tomislav Karamarko i HDZ** odustali su od zagovaranja *pelješkog mosta*...
 'Tomislav Karamarko and HDZ (Croatian Democratic Alliance) gave up the support of the Pelješac bridge'

Apart from the conventionalized phraseological pairs discussed at the beginning of this section, the relative order of constituents in coordination such as (3–5) and (6) should in principle be quite flexible. However, as my data clearly shows, it is not that flexible, a situation that needs to be explained. Of course, we could say that the order seems to be guided by the speaker's communicative intentions, but then we need to explain what speakers want to communicate by using the preferred order, and not the other.

3. Name_{PART} & Name_{WHOLE} construction as a type of Reference Point Construction (RPC)

My central claim in this article is that the differences between the distributions of coordinated proper nouns where one denotes a part and the other the whole on the one hand, and the distributions found with comparable inanimate nouns and animate common nouns in coordination, on the other, can be explained in terms of the reference point construction (Langacker 1993). Reference-point construction (RPC)



is a mental operation in which the conceptualizer (C) uses one conceived entity in order to establish mental contact with another entity (Langacker 1993). More precisely, one conceived entity serves as the reference point (R), and the mentally accessed entity as the target (T). The dominion (D) is the conceptual region that the conceptualizer can access through the reference point. This reference-point ability is one of our basic cognitive abilities. Langacker first introduced the notion of reference points in the analysis of possessive constructions, including possessive pronouns, *s'genitive*, and *of-genitive*. Later, RPC has been used in a whole series of articles and monographs by Langacker and other researchers in discussing a broad range of phenomena. Langacker (1993) applies the reference-point model to the topic construction and the presentational construction.

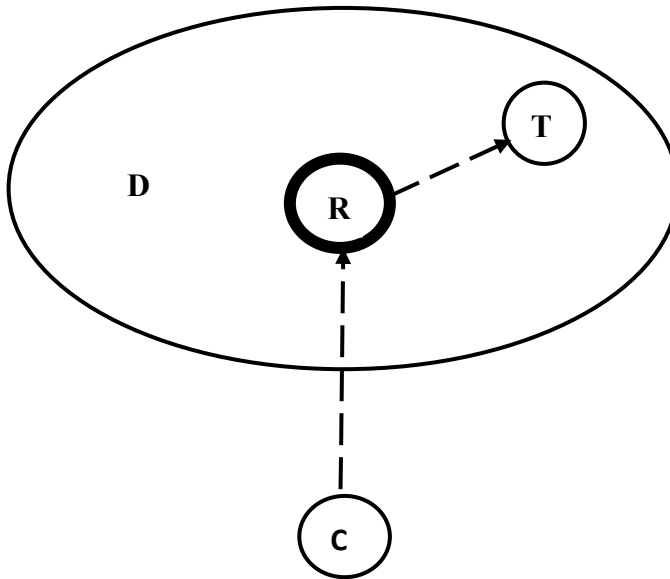


Fig. 7: Reference-point construction (RPC) (Langacker 1993)

Willemse (2006) distinguishes a special type of nominal reference-point constructions, the so-called esphoric NP, where the linear order of the reference point and the target is reversed (as in the expression *the lights of a car*, where the car is a reference point. In addition to the grammatical phenomena described above, Langacker (1993, 1999) also makes use of the reference-point model in his analysis of metonymy. He points out that in metonymy:



... the entity that is normally designated by a metonymic expression serves as a reference point affording mental access to the desired target (i.e., the entity actually being referred to). (Langacker 1993: 30)

In other words, in a metonymic expression a salient entity can easily provide a mental path to a target that is less salient or harder to code. It should, however, be stressed that reference point phenomena and metonymy are not co-extensive, i.e. there need not be anything metonymic about most RPCs. They may be at best seen as instances of metonymic processing of language, as opposed to (processing) metonymic language, as pointed out by Gibbs (1999: 69).

Van Hoek (1997) observes that the organisation of reference points is largely determined by prominence and semantic connectivity. Prominence involves relations such as profile/ base and figure/ground distinctions. Semantic connectivity has to do with the fact that

... other entities tend to be construed as belonging to the dominion of the reference point to the extent that they are semantically connected with that reference point. (Van Hoek 1997: 218)

This is, I would like to claim, precisely what this Name_{PART} & Name_{WHOLE} RPC does as an instance of metonymic processing of language: it provides a familiar and locally salient (relatively attractive/interesting), access point to a collective entity. However, it also appears that a genuine metonymy may be involved here, however inconspicuous it may be. This is not surprising in light of the Equipollence Hypothesis (Mairal and Ruiz de Mendoza 2009), one of the methodological pillars of the Lexical Constructional Model (LCM), stating that linguistic processes found to be at work in one domain of linguistic inquiry are expected to be active in other domains. In other words, conceptual metaphor and metonymy are used at all possible levels of enquiry, they have been found to be operational well beyond the level of lexical description as constraining factors in lexical-constructional interaction, i.e. in grammar (Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera Masegosa 2014).

Let us illustrate the role of metonymy on the example with *Kaptol*. This noun can have several readings. It can be used to refer to a particular place, i.e. a part of Zagreb. It could also be used to refer to the part of any city in which a cathedral is located. Further, according to the canon law it is used in the sense of cathedral chapter, i.e. a college of clerics (chapter) formed to advise a bishop and, in the case of a vacancy of the episcopal see in some countries, to govern the diocese in his stead. Finally, it is used very often in Croatian to refer to the whole of the Roman Catholic Church in Croatia, or its “head”, including the Archbishop of Zagreb and his aides. This clearly indicates that we have a sort of metonymy here, the one that



is sometimes singled out as metonymic facets (cf. Croft 1993). At the same time, this means that *Kaptol* may be indeterminate between several possible readings. However, if it is preceded by a CRP such as *Bozanić*, which in a way functions similarly to active zone specification, the intended sense is clear from the outset, as *Bozanić* normally precedes *Kaptol* in such coordinations, and so to say foregrounds the intended sense.

A similar situation obtains in the case of footballers and team names (the intended sense whose activation is facilitated is not the club as an institution, or the club's supporters, etc., but rather just the footballers cum coach, but excluding the club's officials, etc.). This, to a degree may apply to coordinations of towns/cities and counties/regions (i.e. they are either both meant as geographical objects, or both as metonymically standing for local authorities, or both for their respective population, etc.). Returning to the issue of part and whole, it is interesting to note that there is the reversal of these roles in a related RPC:

(7) *Modrićev Real ide na Juventus*
'Modrić's Real faces Juventus'

In the majority of cases of RPC discussed in the literature, the entity serving as the reference point (R) is normally the whole, while the target is its part, but here we have just the reversal of this, at least in logical/real world terms. However, if we take a closer look at it is coded, we realize that, surprisingly, the logical part is coded here as the possessor, implying that it is now the whole, which makes it closer to the ideal CRP, i.e. the asymmetrical relation between CRP/target is now also coded as such. This construction is of course not available as an alternative in the case of geographic nouns. Incidentally, this construction is also prone to produce a range of metonymic readings (e.g. the football team's composition/style of play, etc. during the period of time in which X was its member/coach, or the sort of football team one supports or would like to support, etc.). The search for the intended sense is not necessarily facilitated by the CRP:

- (8) a. *Modrićev Real vs. Šukerov Real*
'Modrić's Real vs. Šuker's Real'
b. *tvoj Real vs. Mourinhov Real*
'your Real vs. Mourinho's Real'

This may be one of the reasons why this construction is statistically speaking less frequently used than the coordinated RPC. If NPs denoting people function as RP, both constructions are means of referring to heterogeneous collectives that have a prominent or focal member (i.e. a frontman). This prominent focal member at the



same time functions as a sort of emotional anchor, biasing the reader/listener towards more positive emotional involvement with the topic of the text. In a way, the reference point is used to bring closer the target to the conceptualizer.

It is relevant that similar cases of coordination are found in many other languages, with comparable tendencies:

English:

- (9) a. *Wayne Rooney and Manchester United delivered a knockout performance as Tottenham were blown away at Old Trafford.* (104,000 hits)
b. *Who would have thought that League Two Cambridge United would become such significant opponents for Manchester United and Wayne Rooney?* (62,500 hits)

German:

- (10) a. *Müller und Bayern* verspüren Lust auf Revanche. (36,000 hits)
'Müller and Bayern feel a yen for revenge'
b. *Bayern und Müller* werden noch lange zusammenarbeiten. (20,900)
'Bayern and Müller will go on to cooperate for a long time'

Italian:

- (11) a. *Pirlo e la Juventus: la storia continuerà insieme altri 2 anni* (37,800 hits)
'Pirlo and Juventus: the story goes on for another 2 years'
b. *La partita a scacchi fra la Juventus e Pirlo è in pieno svolgimento.* (7,550 hits)
'The chess game between Juventus and Pirlo is in full swing.'

Spanish:

- (12) a. *El show de Cristiano Ronaldo y Real Madrid* (103,000 hits)
'The show by Cristiano Ronaldo and Real Madrid'
b. *Real y Ronaldo esperan una mínima pena* (6,800 hits)
'Real and Ronaldo expect a minimum penalty'

Polish:

- (13) a. *Lewandowski i Bayern* kiwają razem (540 hits)



‘Lewandowski and Bayern nod together’

- b. *Bayern i Lewandowski w Porto zaczynają grę o półfinał Ligi Mistrzów* (25 hits)
‘Bayern and Lewandowski start in Porto the semifinal match of the Champion’s League’

Bulgarian:

- (14) a. *Димитър Бербатов и Монако се класираха на полуфиналите за купата на Франция* (64 hits)
‘Dimitri Berbatov and Monaco have qualified for the semi-finals of the French Cup’
b. *Ювентус изхвърли Монако и Бербатов от Шампионска лига* (50 hits)
‘Juventus threw out Monaco and Berbatov from the Champion’s League’

It is interesting to note that, quite in keeping with my prediction above concerning how the first conjoin can help metonymic narrowing down of the meaning of the second conjoin, typically backgrounding any corporate or potentially negative sense, in practically all the cases when the name of the club precedes the name of the football player the text is either about something negative (being punished, thrown out of competition), or the corporate sense of the club is more prominent, as in (10–12) b. Cf. also the following Croatian example:

- (15) *Real i Modrić na koljenima; Atleticov trijumf na Bernabeu*
‘Real and Modrić on their knees; Atletico’s triumph on the Bernabéu stadium’
(<http://m.tportal.hr/sport/418114/Real-i-Modric-na-koljenima-Atleticov-trijumf-na-Bernabeu.html>)

Apparently, the construction, with these choices, is thus no longer motivated only conceptually, but also takes on additional dimensions of intersubjectivity and emotionality. It may be seen as having a role similar to datives in Spanish, as analysed by Maldonado (2002: 60) because by choosing a particular construal “speakers are able to express the subtle distinctions in how they view everyday events affecting their experience.”

Not surprisingly, these constructions are not frequently found in languages that exhibit associative plurals. It is, for example, conspicuously rarely used in Hungarian, which has the associative plural construction. Associative plurals nor-



mally consist of a personal noun and a marker, which can be a dedicated suffix, a clitic, a pronoun, regular plural affix, etc. In semantic terms, associative plurals are characterized by referential heterogeneity and reference to groups. They have a focal member of a group, typically a noun denoting a human. Their meaning can be roughly described as ‘X and other people associated with X’ (Moravcsik 2003).

In Hungarian, this construction is marked by the ending *-ék* (apparently, closely related to the possessive suffix and the additive plural suffix *-k*), added to nouns denoting persons (either names of people or common nouns denoting kinship, e.g. *Jancsiék* ‘Jancsi and his family/group/people,’ *anyamék* ‘my mother and the family’, from *anya-m* ‘mother-my’). The result is a heterogeneous associative plural, referring to a focal member and a number of associates. These associative plurals are analyzed as RP constructions in (Brdar and Brdar Szabó 2013; Brdar, Brdar-Szabó and Kugler, in press). My claim is that the coordinate or possessive constructions in Croatian and Hungarian associative plurals are functionally equivalent. This does not mean that the two constructions are always and everywhere in any sort of complementary distribution. Rather, they may be both available but may exhibit various degrees of frequency of use.

As pointed out above, the coordinated RPC of the type we are interested in is infrequently found in Hungarian, but is certainly possible, though the asymmetry in the distribution is absent, due to the availability of the associative plural. A Google search for comparable coordinated constructions in Hungarian with names of prominent Hungarian footballers playing abroad or in Hungary did not yield many hits: the name of Zoltán Gera, who plays in Ferencváros, Budapest, was found in some such combinations: *Gera és a Ferencváros* ‘Gera i Ferencváros’ (1 token), *Gera és a Fradi* (3 tokens), but no results for *Gera és az FTC*, where *Fradi* is the popular nickname, and *FTC* is the abbreviation for the club. This contrasts with 84 hits in the last 12 months (this restriction was introduced in order to make the two sets of data comparable, as Zoltán Gera returned to Ferencváros in 2014 from the UK, where he last played for West Bromwich Albion) for the associative plural *Geráék*, as in:

- (16) a. *Spanyol edzőt kapott Geráék csapata*
 Spanish coach got Gera-POSS-PL team
 ‘Gera and his team got a Spanish coach’
 (<http://www.akereso.com/component/easytagcloud/692-module/kapott>)
- b. *Vonattal mentek Geráék Debrecenbe*
 train-by went.3pl Gera-POSS-PL Debrecen-to
 ‘Gera and his mates went to Debrecen by train’



(<http://www.blikk.hu/sport/magyar-foci/vonattal-mentek-geraek-debrecenbe-fotok/xkn95mf>)

No coordinated constructions were found for two popular Hungarian footballers playing abroad, Richárd Guzmics, playing for Wisla, Krakow, and Balázs Dzsudzsák, playing for Turkish Bursaspor from Bursa. However, there were 96 hits for *Guzmicsék*, and 97 for *Dzsudzsákék*.

Another factor that may skew the proportions in Hungarian is that the use of the associative plural may be in some cases seen as producing a pejorative meaning in certain types of discourse, e.g. in political discourse when the base is a proper name denoting a politician, due to a shift towards homogeneity effected by a complex interplay between conceptual metonymy, image schema transformation and homonymy with a suffix used to derive collectiv nouns with negative meaning, as discussed in Brdar, Brdar-Szabó and Kugler (2015). This pejoration effect is nevertheless completely absent in the sports discourse where the associative plural clearly has a heterogenous interpretation.

On the other hand, the associative plural construction may in a certain language be less frequently used than the coordinated RPC. As discussed in Mauri (2014), Italian has recently developed a sort of associative plural construction ending in the suffix *-ame*, typically used with a pejorative meaning by younger generations, as in:

- (17) *Dire che la Boldrini è uguale a Mastella, al figlio di Bossi o al **berlusconame** è una violenza ideologica che non porta da nessuna parte*
'To say that Boldrini is the same as Mastella, as Bossi's son or as ALL THOSE PERSONS HAVING TO DO WITH BERLUSCONI (INCLUDED BERLUSCONI HIMSELF)/BERLUSCONI & CO. is an ideological violence that does not lead anywhere'

Still, this construction is still from becoming fully entrenched, and thus present no real competition for the coordinated RPC illustrated in (11), particularly in view of the light that the stylistic effects of the two constructions are very different. Note that Croatian exhibits morphologically complex nouns derived by means of the polysemous suffix *-ac* that is added to adjectives derived from proper nouns by means of the possessive affix *-av/-ev*, e.g. *radićevac* 'follower of Stjepan Radić, a Croatian politician,' *dinamovac* 'supporter of Dinamo, Zagreb, football club,' *Habsburgovac* 'descendent of, member of the Habsburg family.' When used in plural, these nouns refer to homogeneous groups and come very close to the Italian or the Hungarian associative plural, and not surprisingly often have pejorative overtones, e.g. *bandićevci* 'supporters of Milan Bandić, mayor of Zagreb,' *milanovićevci*



‘supporters of Zoran Milanović, the president of the Socialist-Democratic Party,’ etc. Thus a Croatian football fan not sympathetic of Real, Madrid, and Modrić, may use this construction, as in:

- (18) *A vi modrićevci ste fakat nenormalni.*
 and you Modrić-ev-c-PL are really abnormal
 ‘And you Modrić people/fans are really abnormal’

4. Summing it up

In this article I have tried to demonstrate that the order of two proper names such that one is part and the other whole tend to appear in that particular order in coordination, in Croatian, and in many other languages. This order seems to be motivated by the function of the proper noun denoting a person.

I have argued that the whole coordinated construction can be analysed as a reference point construction, and that the proper noun denoting a person functions as a cognitive reference point facilitating the resolution of indeterminacy due to the fact that the second proper noun in coordination can have more than one metonymically related sense. Finally, we have seen that such coordinated constructions are means of referring to heterogeneous collectives that have a prominent, focal member, the whole being functionally similar to associative plurals. In fact, the two types of constructions, the coordinated RPC and the associative plural construction, seem to be functionally equivalent, which explains the relatively low frequency of the use of the former in languages that exhibit the latter construction.

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ZAŠTO MODRIĆ I REAL PRIJE NEGO REAL I MODRIĆ?

O REDOSLIJEDU VLASTITIH IMENA U KOORDINIRANIM KONSTRUKCIJAMA

Redosljed je sastavnica unutar konstrukcije s koordiniranim imenicama je u teoriji posve otvoren, tj. svaka od sastavnica se može pojaviti u početnom ili završnom položaju. U nekim specifičnim slučajevima realizacije konstrukcijskog okvira koordiniranog imenskog izraza njihov redosljed ne mora biti tako proizvoljan. Dobro je poznato da je njihov poredak u nekim frazeološkim jedinicama, tzv. frazeološkim parovima, u pravilu nepromjenjiv (napr. *duša i tijelo, kruh i sol, život i smrt, iće i piće, muž i žena*) te je određen nizom kognitivnih čimbenika među kojima ikonična načela igraju veliku ulogu. Osim takvih konvencionaliziranih frazeoloških parova, relativni se poredak sastavnica čini vođen govornikovim komunikacijskim namjerama i stoga je u načelu prilično fleksibilan. Čini se, međutim, da u slučaju koordinacije vlastitih imenica koje označuju dijelove i cjelinu postoji očita sklonost prema konstrukcijama u kojima dio prethodi cjelini (*Osijek i Slavonija* prije nego *Slavonija i Osijek, Modrić i Real* prije nego *Real i Modrić* itd.) Te se razlike u njihovoj distribuciji i distribuciji koja se nalazi kod usporedivih imenica za neživo i općih imenica za živo u koordinaciji objašnjavaju pojmom konstrukcije s referentnom točkom (Langacker 1993). Unutar te konstrukcije vlastita imenica funkcionira kao referentna točka koja olakšava razrješavanje neodređenosti u slučaju da druga vlastita imenica ima više od jedne metonimijski povezane moguće interpretacije. Pokazuje se da su takve konstrukcije s koordinacijom funkcionalno bliske asocijativnoj množini kao sredstvu pomoću kojega se može referirati na heterogene kolektive koje odlikuje prisutnost nekog istaknutog ili fokalnog člana.

Ključne riječi: konstrukcija s referentnom točkom; koordinacija; metonimija; asocijativni plural.